

RÜSZ-FOGARASI ENIKŐ

The Early Modern History of St Elisabeth's Almshouse in Kolozsvár until the Merger



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INTRODUCTION

The present volume traces the early modern history of the oldest continuously functioning institution in Kolozsvár, St Elisabeth's Almshouse, up to the moment when the two almshouses of the city, St Elisabeth's and the Holy Spirit, merged. I am obviously aware that a comprehensive history of St Elisabeth's Almshouse would be very useful, but since the archival sources currently available on the almshouse have only been minimally processed by experts, it would be much more time-consuming to write the complete history. I have therefore deemed it necessary to divide the history of St Elisabeth's Almshouse into several sections and discuss it that way. I will first look at its mediaeval and early modern history, then in the second part – perhaps together with my colleagues – at its modern history. In the third part, I will attempt to provide a more complete treatment of the period after the transfer of power in Transylvania. The present work attempts to provide the early modern part of this three-phase work, because, as already mentioned, the sources for the mediaeval part are still unexplored and only fragmentary information is currently available. Once the three parts have been completed, I plan to summarise the new research findings on the almshouse in a comprehensive book that presents the information in an informative and instructive manner.

My analysis begins with a description of the sources used in the study, a brief prehistory of the institution and its contextualisation in time and space.

The structure of this monographic treatment is provided by the valuable information contained in the sources. I had originally intended to focus on the residents and their care (since, after all, St Elisabeth's was essentially a care institution), but unfortunately this aspect of the institution's life is the least present in the surviving sources. The information currently available comes mostly from economic accounts, which can usually provide a fairly detailed picture of how the almshouse wardens managed the assets entrusted to their care. At a slightly later stage in the operation of the hospital, the instructions given to the almshouse wardens provide only occasional insight into the care of the poor and the related expectations. Based on these possibilities, one can follow the life and history of St Elisabeth's almshouse mostly from the point

of view of its management, but I will also try to embed the institution in the history of contemporary Kolozsvár and the universal early modern history of hospitals.

The most important aspect represented in the available sources is therefore the economic one, which gives an idea of the economic, management and maintenance activities that took place there (I will attempt to reconstruct them from as many perspectives as possible). However, by examining the fragments of data about the people associated with the institution and by analysing the links between them, I will also try to provide as complete a picture as possible of the people who ran the institution and who benefited from its existence and services.

I want to make the most of this highly fragmentary material and shed some light on what it meant to care for the wards of the hospital. I will try to describe who the poor cared for by the institution were, how they were cared for and what funerals were provided for them.

The whole system, from wealth management to support for the poor, depended on the people at the head of the hospital. This is why the work of the almshouse wardens is also an essential part of this book. I have attempted to extend the investigation of them to the period before and after their service at the home for the aged. In doing so, I seek to expand the range of archontological data from the early modern period of Kolozsvár and to incorporate them into the mechanisms of the city's management.

The sources contain much scattered data on the salaries and benefits of the staff of the institution, as well as on the provisions of the wards, and I would like to use these data to outline as much as possible the daily life of the institution in early modern Kolozsvár.

Another interesting aspect that I would like to explore in this study is how the life and functioning of St Elisabeth's almshouse was connected and related to its natural environment. It is interesting to trace where, for example, the materials used in the institution (whether building materials or basic foodstuffs) came from, how large an area its husbandry covered and in what way. This in itself is a big task, but it helps one visualise the almshouse in space, time and its relationships.

In this work, I will also be assisted by my earlier studies on related subtopics. The Hungarian text was translated by Lóránd Rigán, the Latin texts were checked by Emőke Gálfy, and the map was made by Zsombor Bartos-Elekes. Thank you for their work.

1. 🐼 AN OVERVIEW OF ALMSHOUSES

Hospitals appeared in European cities sometimes earlier and sometimes later, among Western and Eastern Christians, Muslims and Jews alike.¹ Each culture had its own way of organising and using these institutions. In any case, by the Middle Ages they had already played a significant role in Western culture and it is almost inconceivable to imagine a major city without a hospital. For us, Western Christian culture may be relevant, and within this context, Central European examples are the most relevant parallels.

In the history of mediaeval and early modern Europe, the almshouse had a well-defined place and role.

What Latin texts called *hospitalis*, *xenodocium* or sometimes *nosocomium*, is found in different forms in different European languages. The terminology used in each language is also an interesting aspect, particularly in the early modern period, when vernacular languages began to play an increasingly important role. In English, the terms *hospital* and *almshouse* were used more frequently, while in German the terms *Spital*, *Hospital*, and *Krankenhaus* are used to designate these institutions.

The Hungarian language used the word *ispotály* for a long time; the term *kórház* became common only later. Some problems with the Hungarian names of these institutions may arise from the fact that, from modern times onwards, the term *ispotály* was used as a synonym for *kórház*. Therefore, when one reads the term *ispotály*, one is looking for, or assumes the existence of, data on healing in such places. However, the early modern hospitals (*ispotály*) in Transylvania were only engaged in healing or caring for the sick in exceptional cases. In the sources from Kolozsvár, the Hungarian word *ispotály* is the dominant and common one and only very rarely is some form of the Latin *xenodocium* also used.

According to the comprehensive definition of the archdeacon of contemporary Wrocław, a hospital is any place that provides a space for

¹ Horden, Peregrine. "The Earliest Hospitals in Byzantium, Western Europe, and Islam." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. 2005. Vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 361-389.; Ragab, Ahmed. *The mediaeval Islamic Hospital. Medicine, Religion, and Charity*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

charitable care of the poor, travellers, pilgrims, the sick, the incapacitated, those without food and clothing, the mentally ill, orphans, abandoned children, lepers, the terminally ill, and all who deserve mercy.²

The scholarly literature in both Western Europe and Hungary favours the analysis of mediaeval histories. However, the early modern era was a period that introduced much that was new to Central Europe, especially when, alongside the Reformation, the Turkish presence brought an uncertain, restless but also vibrant cultural life. In the wake of these profound changes, the existing hospitals were transformed and new ones were created alongside them. Uncovering these processes is no easy task, but it leads to interesting results.

There have been many works on the subject, either summarising the history of a country's hospitals in a particular era, or presenting a monograph of a hospital, or reflecting on a specific area of hospital history.³ These works show that there has been an extraordinary amount of research in some areas, which makes it possible to determine the place and role of this institution in mediaeval and early modern society. In the Middle Ages, hospitals were only differentiated according to their profiles in exceptional cases, only in the larger cities and when the urban community wanted to be involved in social issues. In these cases, in order to increase the efficiency of care, the tasks could be divided among the city's institutions.

In the Middle Ages, hospitals were located on the outskirts of the cities of western Christendom. These institutions were completely intertwined with the Church, which is why it is impossible to imagine a hospital or an almshouse without at least one chapel. In addition, these institutions were quite often founded by the Church. Even when they were initiated by the community or the nobles, the people working there belonged to the Church.

At the end of the Middle Ages, secular leadership also emerged in the ecclesiastical institutions and even became prominent during the 14th-16th centuries. The secular role in addressing the social problems of the city came to the fore in varying ways in different regions and cities of Europe. In some cases, the power of the community and the presence of secular power means

² Apud: Rocznik, Wladyslaw. "Civic or Religious? The Issues of Governance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hospitals: The Case of Poland." p. 6. In Kumor, B. *Szpitalnictwo w Sądeczyźnie w okresie przedrozbiorowym* [Hospitals of Nowy Sacz in the pre-partition period]. *Rocznik Sadecki*, 10, 1969, p. 221. In 1579, the archdeacon of Wrocław (Breslau) defined hospitals as "every place, having as its goal charitable care, which supports all those who are poor, pilgrims, ill, incapable of working, not having food or clothes, mentally ill, poor orphaned children, abandoned infants, lepers, those with terminal and communicable diseases, and all others worthy of mercy." / "Loca omnia pietati erga proximum consecrata, in quibus aluntur peregrini pauperes, invalidi et ad labores, quibus victus et amictus comparetur, inepti, sens, parentibus orbat, atque inopes liberi, infantes expositi, leprosi, contagiosis ac perpetuis morbis obnoxii atque aliae miserabiles personae."

³ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. Kőrűp az eurűpai ispotálytűrtűnetet irodalmábűl. In *Erdűlyi ispotálytűrtűneti tanulmányok*. Kolozsvár, Argonaut, 2008, pp. 11-37.

simply the presence of secular provisors, while in others the influence of the Church disappears completely from these institutions. The provisors are set up to make the economic backing effective; they are in fact the economic managers of the hospitals, who do not make the decisions but are merely the executors.

European almshouses were already quite varied during the Middle Ages, so the increase in the role of the community is in line with this trend of diversification. This variety of paths has been summarised by the historians of mediaeval and early modern Europe in two volumes and a journal issue.⁴ The two volumes bring together histories of mediaeval hospitals from England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Hungary and reveal and publish interesting sources that help to compare the hospitals of the different regions. The journal issue presents Polish, Livonian, Dalmatian, Transylvanian, Dutch and Bohemian hospitals. As a result of recent research, Austrian hospital historians now have at their disposal the internal regulations and instructions of the early modern hospital in published form, which may be important not only for them but also for understanding the processes in the region.⁵ The available archival data are increasingly rich, especially from the second half of the 17th century, both for hospitals founded by nobles and for those operating within the framework of the Church. The history of such an institution established in the second half of the 17th century can be presented via a multifaceted approach thanks to the availability of sources, for example, in the case of the St Julian family in Weitersfeld, Lower Austria.⁶

The history of hospitals in early modern Europe is closely linked to the care of the poor and the history of poverty and misery. In the history of every age there exists, even if marginally, the research into marginalised social groups, and every age has its own solutions, which the community in question develops according to its own circumstances and attitudes. More specifically, an entire volume has been devoted to this early modern issue, summarising

⁴ Scheutz, M., Sommerlechner, A., Weigl, H. and Weiss, A. S. (Eds.). *Europäisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Hospitals and Institutionale Care in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Böhlau Verlag, 2008, p. 477.; "Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung" Themenschwerpunkt: Europäische Spitäler ist erschienen. 2007, no. 115 (3-4); Scheutz, M., Sommerlechner, A., Weigl, H. and Weiss, A. S. (Eds.). *Quellen zur europäischen Spitalgeschichte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit / Sources for the History of Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Böhlau Verlag, 2010, p. 682.

⁵ Scheutz, Martin and Weiß, Alfred Stefan (Eds.). *Spital als Lebensform. Österreichische Spitalordnungen und Spitalinstruktionen der Neuzeit*. Böhlau, 2015.

⁶ Damm, Alfred. "Poverty in Central Europe in the 17th / 18th centuries – The Almshouse in WEITERSFELD as an Example of Manorial Care for Poor Subjects." https://www.academia.edu/21782227/Poverty_in_Central_Europe_in_the_17th_18th_centuries_an_Almshouse_as_an_Example_of_Manorial_Care_for_Poor_Subjects (Accessed 2022.07.16.12.22.).

the results of poverty research in the period 1450-1800.⁷ However, research on the subject is not new. The studies of Natalie Zemon Davis are seminal in this regard, as she helps us gain a nuanced view of the evolution of the perception of poverty from the late Middle Ages through the early modern period.⁸ The care of the poor was part of everyday life in the cities; crisis situations and changes in mentality forced communities to adopt measures that made their settlements liveable. The ideas of humanism and both the Protestant and Catholic Reformation formulated their own answers to these questions. Religion and its changes have helped to ensure that poverty did not remain just a Church issue; it made the community an active agent in this regard as well. The ideals of humanism, the Protestant Reformation, and the crisis situations that arose pushed the Catholic Church and urban communities out of their comfort zones. Whereas in the Middle Ages it was the biblical nature of poverty that was emphasised, in the 16th century poverty gradually began to be defined as a social problem. From the 16th century onwards, poverty began to be referred to as a hotbed of epidemics and crime.⁹ In this new publication, poverty is taken to mean hunger, deprivation, inequality and the deficit of the conditions that enable people to live up to their full social potential without help.¹⁰ So, in this context, it concerns the deficit of rights, the deficit of will and the deficit of opportunities. These approaches are novel, but they address the issue from the perspective of contemporary life, which does not necessarily help one understand and appreciate early modern society in its own context.

In the 17th century, in the European states, royal and imperial decrees and parliamentary resolutions were adopted in a unified attempt to tackle the problem of urban poverty.¹¹ In addition, the leadership of Catholic synods and the Protestant churches across Europe were also confronted with these issues and forced to find solutions. However, the answers were determined by the social context in which the question was formulated. Churches remained an important factor in addressing the issue of poverty. In the 16th century and until the mid-17th century, responses were sought at the local level, after which the solution to the issue was gradually supplemented, reinforced or sometimes overruled by centralised action at the local level.

⁷ Hitchcock, David and McClure, Julia (Eds.). *The Routledge History of Poverty, c. 1450-1800*. Abingdon, Oxon, New York, Routledge, 2021.

⁸ Davis, Natalie Zemon. Jótékonyág, humanizmus és eretnekség. In *Társadalom és kultúra a kora újkori Franciaországban*. Budapest, Balassi, 2001.

⁹ *The Routledge*. p. XXI.

¹⁰ *The Routledge*. p. XXVI.

¹¹ Innes, Joanna. The regulations of charity and rise of the state. In Hitchcock, David and McClure, Julia (Eds.). *The Routledge History of Poverty, c. 1450-1800*. Abingdon, Oxon, New York, Routledge, 2021, p. 9.

In many respects, the history of hospitals coincides with the solution to the issue of poverty, as these institutions played a prominent role in this area in early modern society. In the states of early modern Europe, the daily life of the hospitals took different forms, depending on local conditions.

I have previously described the major trends in English hospital history in a previous study. The earlier treatments have been joined by others.¹² The scholarly literature on the British Isles ranges from comprehensive studies to single-issue analyses and monographs on various institutions and from examinations of the architectural characteristics of the hospital buildings to analyses of their economic history.¹³ Even if these English hospitals are geographically remote, the analytical methods and models used to study them can also prove useful. The structure of the sources on English hospitals allows for a wide-ranging and multi-perspective study of these institutions.

In England, it is only on very exceptional occasions that one can speak of large-scale early modern almshouses and hospitals. Hall-like buildings of this type are rare; hospitals functioned mostly in small buildings, just like in this region. In the Carpathian Basin, since, unlike in the West, there were no large cities with great populations; there were also no large hospitals. Here, such institutions operated only in smaller buildings. Many summaries and monographs have been written on the hospitals of mediaeval and early modern England. Among the English historical literature on hospitals, the book by Angela Nicholls comes closest in terms of the availability of relevant source material. Her work analyses the hospitals of early modern England, discussing the possibilities and limits of their underlying material base.¹⁴ In this work, she sheds light on how and by whose decision the residents of the institution came to be there, the financial background of some hospitals and their role in the region.

From the point of view of early modern English monastic history, the era of Henry VIII brought about a major reorganisation. The secularisation of Church property and decisions affecting the functioning of Church institutions rewrote and rearranged the processes of social welfare. As a result of these measures, all church institutions operating on fewer than 200 pounds were liquidated.¹⁵ Those with a viable economic background survived and adapted to the new circumstances, while smaller hospitals were eliminated. However,

¹² Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Körkép az európai ispotálytörténet irodalmából*. In *Erdélyi ispotály-történeti tanulmányok*. Kolozsvár, Argonaut, 2008, pp. 11-37.; Sweetinburgh, Sheila. *The Role of the Hospitals in medieval England*. Fours Courts Press, 2004, pp. 16-21.

¹³ Prescott, Elisabeth. *English Medieval Hospitals, 1050-1640*. Seaby, 1992, p. 4.

¹⁴ Nicholls, Angela. *Almshouses in Early Modern England, Charitable Housing in the Mixed Economy Welfare, 1550-1725*. Boydell & Brewer, 2017, pp. 90-188.

¹⁵ Dickens, A. G. and Carr, Dorothy. *The Reformation in England*. London, Edward Arnold Publisher, 1967, pp. 102-3.

these changes were not the solution to the problem, as they did not eradicate poverty and left the issue of the needy unresolved. The emphasis shifted to local communities throughout the hospital and almshouse system. At the same time, the role of wealthy individuals was strengthened. In order to address the issues at stake, existing and emerging institutions needed to have a financial basis that could make the life and management of the hospitals predictable. The involvement of urban communities in the context of English society meant the realisation of the municipalisation process. The running of the almshouses and the management of the problems of the poor can be seen as an important issue of public health, which served the public good.¹⁶

In England, hospitals and almshouses were already referred to separately in that period. Between 1480 and 1660, overall, three times as much was spent on almshouses as on hospitals.¹⁷ In these institutions, morality, sobriety and piety were expected values. Residents were expected to participate in the upkeep of the institution, in cleaning and in gardening, as long as they were able to do so.¹⁸

The literature on Italian and French hospitals can be interpreted as an imprint of those particular societies. Although at the level of state organisation they follow a completely different path, in the field of social and nursing care, even if the role of communities is noticeable, the influence and importance of the Church always remained.

Using Florence as an example, John Henderson traces how the fate of the hospitals and their inhabitants developed in the life of a major Renaissance city.¹⁹ Mostly due to demographic growth, hospitals were created out of necessity. Here, however, they specialised early on, depending on the duties to be performed. In Northern Italy, large almshouses were common. Particular care was also taken with their construction. These hospitals are hall-like structures, which are present not only here, in the more populous cities of Northern Italy, but also in the more populous and wealthier Hanseatic cities of the north, such as Lübeck. For example, in the Holy Spirit almshouse, founded in the 15th century, the needy were cared for in the three-nave church hall building, where the chapel, the almshouse warden's quarters and the small gardens of the hospital can still be seen today. The Lübeck hospital, built in the Gothic style, was modelled on the Roman Holy Spirit almshouse.

¹⁶ Rawcliffe, Carola. *Urban Bodies. Communal Health in Late Medieval English Towns and Cities*. Boydell Press, 2019, pp. 339-352.

¹⁷ Archer, Ian W. *Hospitals in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England*. pp. 60-61.

¹⁸ *ibid* p. 70.

¹⁹ Henderson, John. *The Renaissance Hospitals. Healing the Body and Healing the Soul*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2006, p. 457.

The institutions here were run by a rector with priestly status, and the residents were cared for by pious laymen and -women.²⁰ Sometimes, these tasks were carried out by members of a religious order. The city only intervened in these matters if the head of an institution refused to account for the assets or there was suspicion of mismanagement. In Santa Maria Nuova in Florence, 250 people could be cared for at a time. At the beginning of the 16th century, this institution cared for 6,500 women and men per year, representing 10% of the city's population²¹, although it was not the only hospital in the city. Here, in Northern Italy, one can already speak of specialised patient care, as doctors themselves were already organised into guilds at the end of the 13th century and the high population meant that there were also a large number of people in need of care. In such circumstances, it proved more efficient, for example, to have a separate institution for the education of foundlings, another for patients with infectious diseases and still another for the chronically ill.

Hospital accounts play an essential role in understanding the economic background, as they not only show revenues and expenditures, but also reveal the long-term prices of products. Income came from house and land rents, the sale of goods produced on their estates, begging and the bushels placed in churches. The expenditure was made up of the costs of providing for residents and running the institutions. More than 30% was spent on food and around 5% on medicines.²²

The source material is richer for hospitals in Northern Italy. In their case, one can also learn how the care recipients were admitted. The person who wanted to move in was examined, confessed and was led to his or her bed. The carer washed the patient's feet, then he or she was given a different set of clothes and an identification number to be recorded in the institution's register.²³

The care of the poor and sick under the Medici family was centralised and based on a more reliable economic background. A resolution was adopted in 1542 to resolve issues in this area, which was enforced by an elected council. They sought to solve the major problems of the era, such as the situation of beggars and to create a more efficient institutional management. In this sense, efforts were made to make better use of existing resources. These decrees and Buonomini's decisions were not only valid for Florence, but were used throughout the city-state.²⁴ From the middle of the 16th century, the ideas of the Counter-Reformation also made their way into the institution. A parish

²⁰ *ibid* p. 82.

²¹ *ibid* p. 92.

²² *ibid* p. 55.

²³ *ibid* pp. 163-166.

²⁴ *ibid* pp. 103-110.

priest's recommendation was required for admission and good Christian behaviour was expected, along with attendance at church services.²⁵

The large hospitals of Florence and other major northern Italian cities served as models for their medium-sized and smaller counterparts. It is possible that the mechanisms described were also used to organise everyday life here.

A different trend can be observed in the southern part of the Italian peninsula. The specificities of this region, its multi-ethnic and religious imprint, are also reflected in the history of hospitals. The first major hospital/almshouse reform in southern Italy took place in the late Middle Ages. Salvatore Marino, among others, reported on this process and its specificities.²⁶ Founded in the 14th century, the Annunziate almshouses were created by the communities of cities or by groups of citizens. In keeping with mediaeval custom, a church was also founded next to the hospital, for which permission was sought from the local bishop. In addition to all this, the hospitals were excluded from the authority of the bishop. The city was responsible for them and chose their directors. This institutional model can be found in Naples, Capua, Gaeta, Melfin, Sulmona, Aversa, Benevento and several other southern cities.²⁷ They were under the patronage of royalty and the citizens, and the social identity of the citizens included supporting the life of the hospital in some way. These processes began during the reign of the House of Anjou, but the later House of Aragon also helped to develop these facilities.²⁸ From donations, foundations and bequests, these institutions created a substantial economic base, thanks to which in the mid-15th century, in Naples, for example, they owned one of the eight municipal banks that lent at preferential rates.

The real change for the Italian hospitals came in the 17th and 18th centuries, but these processes had already begun in the 16th century. At this point, there already seems to be a clear separation between caring for the sick and caring for the poor. Even in this transformed system, the Church found its place in such a way that it played a significant role, although no longer a leading one.²⁹

The history of French early modern hospitals is also a time of great transformations, when both the central authorities and local communities were active players in this field. This does not mean that the Church did not retain this competence, but rather that it became just one actor among many. The period between 1540 and 1640 was a period of reform and transformation

²⁵ *ibid* p. 110.

²⁶ Marino, Salvatore. "Late Medieval Hospitals in Southern Italy. Civic Patronage, and Social identity." *Mediterranean Chronicle*. Vol. 5, 2015, DIAVLOS, pp. 141-161.

²⁷ *ibid*.

²⁸ *ibid* p. 151.

²⁹ Bressan, Edoardo. "Hospitals and Social Care in the Early Modern Period in Italy." *Europäische*, p. 147.

in the history of French hospitals.³⁰ Mediaeval poor relief acquired new theoretical foundations with the Protestant and Catholic Reformation and humanism. One important question that arose was: who is eligible for help? Who are the truly poor and sick? The question of beggars was also raised with increasing frequency, but the answers to this question tended to be local. In some cases, they were given bread, in others, institutions were set up for them, or those eligible were put on lists and then cared for.³¹ Addressing this issue always came at a financial cost, most often a local tax to be spent specifically on the care of the needy. At the time of the hospital reform, many hospitals were in secular hands, but Daniel Hickey argues that this was not due to the laicisation of the issue, but to the early modern process of municipalisation in the cities.³² The increasingly conscious involvement of urban communities in social issues has also been reinforced by the positive attitude of the public administration. The central authority also introduced an increasing number of measures aimed at caring for the poor, such as the royal decree of Francis I in 1543, the Edict of Rochefort in 1546, the resolution of the Parliament of Grenoble in 1564, or the Edict of Moulins in 1566, all aimed at resolving this issue as effectively as possible.³³ These decrees either empowered the men of the judiciary to inspect the almshouses, or required that 24% of the churches' income be used to care for the poor, or repeatedly stated in various forms that the care of the needy was the primary responsibility of village and urban communities.

The restructuring of hospitals was pushed by local authorities on the one hand and the central authority on the other. Both parties aimed to organise effective care for the poor. In the course of these processes, the question arose as to who might be eligible for institutional care and what were the viable institutions within a municipality that could address the issue effectively.³⁴ For this purpose, less well-performing institutions disappeared under the provisions of the central authority and their financial backing enriched the economic power of other similar establishments. In this modern transformation, the reorganisation of the traditional *Hotels-Dieu*, whereby they were transferred to local communities, played a significant role.³⁵

³⁰ Hickey, Daniel. *Local Hospitals in Ancine Regime France*. Montreal and Kingston London Buffalo, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

³¹ *ibid* pp. 18-19.

³² *ibid* p. 21.

³³ *ibid* pp. 22-44.

³⁴ Hickey, Daniel. Institutionalized Care for the Sick and the Poor in Early Modern France. In Scheutz, M., Sommerlechner, A., Weigl, H. and Weiß, A. S. (Eds.). *Europäisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. MIOG, Ergb. 51, Wien-München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008, p. 76.

³⁵ Hickey, Daniel. *Institutionalized...*, p. 77.

It is from this same perspective that Tim McHugh approaches the history of 17th-century French hospitals, arguing that this assumption of community roles was initiated by urban communities and embraced by the central authority, while poor relief was seen as the responsibility of local communities.³⁶ It can be considered a French characteristic that, as early as the 16th century, the French state intervened effectively in caring for the poor, using both direct and indirect methods to make it more effective.

There is a whole library of literature on the history of German hospitals. Here, in the principalities and duchies of the Holy Roman Empire, there were independent processes. Even in the mediaeval period, hospitals were differentiated according to urbanisation and financial background. This difference was further reinforced with the Reformation, since the situation of the hospitals in countries where there was no secularisation was different; the places where the property of the Catholic Church was secularised and then donated during the Reformation set out on a different path. In *Länder* where the Catholic religion became dominant on the basis of the principle of “*cuius regio, eius religio*”, there was also a process of municipalisation, but a certain degree of religious attachment remained for some of the hospitals. In these places, this process is manifested in the appointment of lay people at the head of the economic administration, who were held accountable for their activities. In Protestant countries, these institutions underwent a multidirectional transformation, with urban communities mostly taking responsibility and holding these institutions accountable. The link between the city and the institution was the almshouse warden, who was responsible for the life of the institution. In the case of the German and Austrian hospitals, the right of ownership, the right of decision and the right of enforcement did not always coincide. In the Holy Roman Empire, and later in the Habsburg Empire, one finds a wide range of early modern care institutions: *Hofspital* (Court Hospital), *Bürgerspital* (City Hospital), *Klosterspital* (Monastery Hospital), *Herrschaftspital* (Manor Hospital), *Armenhaus* (Poorhouse), *Zauchthausspital* (Prison Hospital), *Brüderschaftspital* (Fraternity Hospital).³⁷ Marie-Luise Windemuth distinguishes between monastic and municipal hospitals, leprosy houses, Antonite and Johannine Holy Spirit almshouses and foundation hospitals.³⁸ In addition, I have not yet mentioned the specialisation that began in the early modern period, with separate institutions for orphans, sick people and the poor. The

³⁶ McHugh, Tim. *Hospitals Politics in Seventeenth-Century France: The Crown, Urban Elites and the Poor. The History of the Medicine in Context*. Aldershot, U.K. Ashgate, 2007.

³⁷ Scheutz, Martin Weiß and Alfred, Stefan (Eds.). *Spital als Lebensform. Österreichische Spitalordnungen und Spitalinstruktionen der Neuzeit*. I-II. Böhlau Verlag Wien, 2015. pp. 1111.

³⁸ Windemuth, Marie-Luise. *Das Hospital als Träger der Armenfürsorge im Mittelalter*. Sudhoffs Beifte, Frany Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1955, p. 164.

list included only care institutions operating within a Christian framework, but one should not ignore the Jewish hospitals found in cities with a large Yiddish population.

There was a wide range of social and sick care institutions in the German-speaking world. These aimed to support public safety in cities and provide institutional assistance to those in need, in the context of the challenges of the early modern age and the specificities of the *Länder*. The functioning of the many different institutions was regulated by the respective religious, municipal, provincial and imperial orders. Instructions on hospitals can be very telling about these complex processes.³⁹ The processes taking place in the German and Austrian hospitals also had their impact on the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, even if later and to a lesser extent.

In early modern Central Europe (which included Transylvania as well, even if peripherally), the highest levels of urbanisation can be seen in the Moravian cities. Here, the population of the settlements was larger and its dynamics more significant. Thanks to Hussitism, ecclesiastical diversity was achieved earlier than anywhere else in the region. These processes are discussed in Miller's book in parallel only with the Western urbanisation of Europe.⁴⁰ However, the data for Transylvania only appear sporadically due to the low level of their processing in this region. At the level of development of the Czech cities, too, the communal commitment to humanism and the Reformation thus began earlier and ended earlier. After Hussitism, the Church of the Czech-Moravian Brethren remained and continued to function. In this context, even if not with very great intensity, the idea of a continuous reform of the Church was present in the 15th and 16th centuries. As a result, municipalisation processes also occurred in the history of the hospitals. Here, the turning point came after the battle of Bila Hora. Here, the impact of the Counter-Reformation made it abundantly clear that there was no turning back to diversity and that the Catholic Church was finally regaining its long-lost bastions of power. Gabriel Bethlen, who went to the aid of the Czech Protestant orders, also arrived late when everything was already settled. Within the Czech territories, Protestants either left their country or became Catholic. The position of the Catholic Church became exclusive in church life. This process is also clearly reflected in the history of the hospitals. In this context, these institutions developed within the framework of the re-established Catholic Church.

The history of Polish hospitals sometimes followed Western trends and sometimes went its own way. Here too, as in the western regions of

³⁹ Scheutz, Martin and Weiß, Aldred Stefan (Eds.). *Spital als Lebensform. Österreichische Spitalordnungen und Spitalinstruktionen der Neuzeit*. Böhlau, 2015.

⁴⁰ Miller, Jaroslav. *Urban Society's in East-central Europe, 1500-1700*. Ashgate, 2008.

Christianity, one finds hospitals founded by religious orders, parishes, urban communities and nobles in the Middle Ages and early modern times. These were mostly located in cities and on their outskirts. Initially, they resemble the forms of the German model.

Also, in the case of the ecclesiastically founded hospitals, in the 14th century a transfer of responsibilities occurred within the urban communities to secular persons, with secular people taking over the management of the institutions. In the Polish hospitals, the care for spiritual needs remained with the Church, but the entire administration was handled by laymen. This situation became even more pronounced with the advent of the Reformation. In Poland, too, after the Lutheran Reformation, several other new denominations emerged and here too, the coexistence of several churches was being tried out. In the Warsaw Confederation from 1573, the denominations committed themselves to peaceful coexistence.⁴¹ However, this general opening of the Church proved to be only temporary. Nevertheless, at the end of the 16th century, there was still an atmosphere of tolerance and acceptance in Poland when, for hospitals, the religion of the people who sought their protection made no difference.

This change was initiated by the Council of Trent, but due to the political and ecclesiastical context, its decisions were only reflected in the life of the Polish hospitals and churches later. The hospitals became an important base for the Counter-Reformation, although not immediately, but rather after a long and tenacious campaign. This process was also reflected in the synodal decisions of the Polish Catholic Church from 1586 onwards.⁴² In these Catholic assemblies, the restoration of ecclesiastical responsibility in the hospitals and almshouses was often brought to the fore. Initially, the aim was restoration, which was supplemented in the early 17th century by the need to create new social institutions. In 1607, the separation of the sick and the healthy, the separation of men and women, and the religious life of the residents in institutions were considered important.⁴³ The need to hold the provisors to account and to remove the pseudo-needy is also reflected in these resolutions. The religious practice of residents in these institutions and the maintenance of internal order were becoming increasingly important. The admission of new residents was slowly

⁴¹ Ptaszynski, Macej. *Toleration and Religious Polemics: The Case of Jonas Schlichting (1592-1661) and the Radical Reformation in Poland*. In Ptaszynski, Maciej and Bem, Kazimierz (Eds.), *Searching for Compromise? Interreligious Dialogue, Agreements, and Toleration in 16th/18th Century Eastern Europe*. Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2023. pp. 249. https://www.academia.edu/96321483/Toleration_and_Religious_Polemics_The_Case_of_Jonas_Schlichting_1592_1661_and_the_Radical_Reformation_in_Poland (Accessed 2023.10. 25. 18.54.).

⁴² Roczniak, Wladyslaw. *Civic or Religious? The Issues of Governance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hospitals: The Case of Poland*. p. 25-27. https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.istr.org/resource/resmgr/working_papersCAPE_TOWN/roczniak.pdf (Accessed 2021. 11. 21. 23.42.).

⁴³ *ibid* p. 25.

being taken over by the Church and the link of the beneficiary to the Catholic Church was gradually becoming an important aspect. Thus, in 1610, the Synod of Warmia forbade the admission of residents who did not know the Catholic dogmas, while at the same time requiring the inhabitants to confess from time to time and to sing sacred hymns in their free time.⁴⁴

A summary of the history of the Polish hospitals was written by Waldyslaw Rocznik, tracing the development of this important social institution from the 12th to the 18th century.⁴⁵

Livonian hospitals in the Middle Ages were closely linked to the Church, or were founded by cities, citizens or nobles.⁴⁶ They generated their financial resources from testamentary donations and the management of the assets they owned. They quite often received cash payments as support. At other times, they monetised the income from farming that exceeded their needs. In addition, they invested their existing cash, from which they quite often extended favourable credit to clients and used the interest thus earned for the operation of the institution.⁴⁷ At the same time, it became a common custom in the cities to hold feasts for the poor, funded by the whole community or the by the guilds, on Sundays and major holidays.⁴⁸ These organised food distributions were present not only here, but also in Catalonia,⁴⁹ as well as at other ecclesiastical institutions, in many places, on the day of the patron saint of the church, in the spirit of charity.

The organisation of hospitals in Renaissance Dalmatia was mostly under the influence of the Venetian Republic, with the exception of independent Ragusa. Irena Benyovszky Latin wrote a summary study on poor care in Dalmatian cities.⁵⁰ Ecclesiastically, the region belonged to the Catholic Church and was a place where the Reformation had not taken root. From the Middle Ages onwards, hospitals were established here by wealthy benefactors, the city community or the Church. Their establishment did not determine their management, as there were examples where an ecclesiastical establishment

⁴⁴ *ibid* p. 17.

⁴⁵ Rocznik, Wladyslaw. *A history of hospitals of pre-modern Poland from the twelfth through the eighteenth centuries*. Lewiston, N. Y., Edwin Mellen Press, 2009.

⁴⁶ Mand, Anu. Hospitals and Tables for the Poor in Medieval Livonia. In *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 115, Heft 3-4, Oldenbourg, 2007, pp. 234-270.

⁴⁷ See also, interestingly, that the institutions in Marosvásárhely have also engaged in such lending (School, almshouse): Lichiditățile monetare în testamentele orașenilor din Transilvania premodernă. In Rădvan, Laurențiu and Căpraru, Bogdan (Eds.). *Orașe, orașeni și banii: Atitudini, Activități, Instituții, Implicații*. Iași, Ed. Univ. Alexandru Ioan Cuza, 2011, pp. 16–31.

⁴⁸ Mând, Anu. *Hospitals and Tables...*, pp. 257-265.

⁴⁹ Brodman, James William. *Charity and welfare. Hospitals and the poor in medieval Catalonia*. Philadelphia, 1998.

⁵⁰ Benyovszky Latin, Irena. "Between St Mark and St Blaise: Late medieval and Early Modern Dalmatian Hospitals." *Medicina & Storia: rivista di storia della medicina e della sanita*, 7, 14, 2007, Firenze University Press, pp. 5-36.

was placed under secular management and vice versa. In these institutions, there are very few records of healing. Mostly, they looked after and cared for old, sick and poor people. In the 16th century, a military hospital was founded in the city of Zara to treat the wounded from the conflicts between Venice and the Ottoman Empire. In the cities of Zara, Trau and Spalato, the Order of the Holy Spirit was involved in the care of the poor and sick. During the Counter-Reformation, the city of Spalato employed a Jewish doctor (1579). The Venetian authorities informed the city authorities that a Christian doctor should be employed, to which the community responded that they were completely satisfied with the work of their doctor. In Dalmatian cities, small hospices provided a framework for poor care. In many cases, donated houses were converted for this purpose. Zara, the seat of the province of the Republic of Venice, had the highest number of such establishments (14).⁵¹

Among the Dalmatian cities, Ragusa followed its own path. Its importance and the independence it gained in 1368 determined the development of its hospitals.⁵² In Ragusa, one can find everything from relatively large social institutions to small shelters serving a few needy people. Many institutions were established here in the Middle Ages to care for the poor, the needy, the sick, the contagious and travellers. The founding of new institutions did not stop in the Middle Ages, with new ones being established in the 16th century. The ecclesiastical orders of St Anthony and St Lazarus also did their part to care for the poor and sick. A foundation almshouse was set up for orphans, where abandoned children found a home, at least until someone adopted them.

The city community also founded a hospital (*Domus Christi*), which was later re-established and enlarged, and in which, by the mid-16th century, care was taken to ensure the separation of the genders. The city barber was also occasionally employed. It was the first of the Dalmatian cities to provide care for the terminally ill, and the city's doctor and barber often visited it. It was housed in a building complex that was sophisticated for Dalmatia at the time; it even had a garden.

Dalmatian cities were influenced by Italian cities and there were examples of both very small and medium-sized hospitals. The increased involvement of communities took place in the midst of transformations in the Catholic Church.

In the Kingdom of Hungary, the history of the early modern hospitals continues, building on mediaeval antecedents, but in different political, social and religious contexts, and as a result, the history of these institutions evolved in an interesting way in the territories of Upper Hungary, the area of the

⁵¹ *ibid* p. 35.

⁵² *ibid*.

Ottoman occupation and the Transylvanian Principality. Most overviews of 16th-century urban history emphasise continuity, but it is impossible to ignore the changing external circumstances, which were different in each part of the country, which was divided into three. It is very interesting to look at the history of the hospitals in early modern times in mediaeval, divided Hungary, since the urban communities of the three parts of the country had different relationships to this institution.

The situation of Ottoman Hungary is summarised by Antal Molnár as follows: “In the 16th century, the dynamics of the development of Catholic and Protestant institutions were exactly the opposite. Under the pressure of new social demands, political anarchy and Turkish conquest, the traditional ecclesiastical structures collapsed and the internal strength and personnel replacement of the institutions of the Catholic Church practically ceased. With the almost total destruction of the monastic orders and the disintegration of the parish network, the Catholic Church was no longer an attractive alternative for young people preparing for intellectual careers. The pastors, receptive to the new cultural ideals, were no longer integrated into the old structural framework, but established their own new institutions with the support of the social elite, primarily the merchants of Ottoman Hungary.”⁵³ In addition to all this, the Hungarian cities under Turkish rule lived their lives within narrow limits and even the former institutions could only hope for survival. In settlements with strategically important administrative centres, Christian institutions declined and most of them disappeared. Thus, in Buda, for example, which had been set up as a centre of the Pashalik, the Christian hospitals, and hospitals in general, disappeared.⁵⁴ In their place, baths appeared in several parts of the city, which obviously had a different purpose and role. It is a fascinating question to explore the fate of each of the mediaeval hospitals in the Ottoman-ruled settlements: were there any that survived these times and if so, how? The cities of Hungary became stronger at the end of the Middle Ages and were able to formulate their community interests in statutes and to increasingly assert their interests, but their development was interrupted by the Ottoman administration and the development of urban life was taken in a completely different direction. The existing Church lived on and tendencies of the Reformation emerged (Lutherans, Helvetican denomination Protestants, Unitarians)⁵⁵ and took root, but their energy was mostly exhausted in self-sustenance. Thus, urban communities could only care for their hospitals to a very small extent. Data from these installations

⁵³ Molnár Antal. *Mezőváros és katolicizmus*. Budapest, METEM, 2005, p. 13.

⁵⁴ Végh András. *Buda, I. kötet, 1686-ig*. Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2015.

⁵⁵ Vonyó József and Font Márta (Eds.). *Pécs története, II. A püspökségtől a török hódoltságig*. Pécs, Pécs Története Alapítvány – Kronosz Kiadó, 2015, pp. 108-111.

from the era of Ottoman Hungary are fragmentary, but their collection and evaluation can shed light on the topic.

The part of the country defined as Royal Hungary had to meet completely different challenges in the mid-16th century. It is nevertheless here that the mediaeval institutional system was most clearly inherited, while at the same time being transformed in the spirit of the times. The development of towns and cities and the strengthening of their communities can also be traced in their institutions. In these regions, in addition to the institutions of the Catholic Church, new religious communities and churches emerged in the wake of the Reformation, based on the old laws of the country and the decisions of the Hungarian National Assembly. In terms of denomination, the coexistence of Catholic, Lutheran, Helvetic and Israelite communities in this part of the country was outlined, with all the problems this entailed. In early modern Hungary, the hospitals survived and played an increasingly important role in the care of the destitute in urban communities. Here, the number of hospitals is a function of the population of urban communities and their response to the needs of the most vulnerable. The history of these institutions in the Middle Ages has been the subject of numerous studies and books, but their operation in the modern era, although there are records, has been very little studied. In any case, it would be interesting to examine how the care of the poor and the sick developed in the early modern cities within the framework of the Hungarian Kingdom and how much their development was influenced by the changing denominational structure. This does not mean that one cannot find interesting data on this subject in various works, but that it has not been analysed in a coherent conceptual framework. The issue of care for the poor was presented in the context of the environment, but even here all one can see is the raising of the issue with several possibilities for further reflection.⁵⁶ The issue of cities and the care of the sick and poor also offers a number of possibilities for further research and it will be interesting to ask these questions and evaluate the answers for the cities of the three regions. Already in the 16th and 17th centuries, the sources are much more extensive and contain many possibilities for interpretation. This is also attested by István H. Németh's extremely thorough treatment, which sheds light on the economic and administrative background of early modern Hungarian urban development, although with completely different aims and emphases.⁵⁷ In these studies, the development of mediaeval processes in this direction obviously plays an important role. Thus, the studies, source research and publications associated with Katalin Szende and Judit Majorosi are an

⁵⁶ Kincses Katalin Mária. Szegénygondozás és környezet. In R. Várkonyi Ágnes. *Táj és Történelem*. Osiris, 2000, pp. 326-369.

⁵⁷ S. Németh István. *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16-17. századi Magyarországon*. Budapest, Gondolat, Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2004, p. 528, 394.

excellent starting point. These studies, especially through the hospital histories of Sopron, Pozsony, Bártfa, Beszterce, Nagyszeben and Brassó, present this extremely interesting and complex aspect of mediaeval Hungary in such a way that they bring together the studies published on the subject and provide a unified picture of the issue.⁵⁸ Their comprehensive studies contain several examples from the second half of the 16th century, but they have not yet been placed in a contemporary context, which is a task still ahead of us. In any case, what emerges from these studies is that local communities increasingly felt a responsibility to address this issue, which can be seen as a measure of the degree of municipalisation. Church institutions (both Catholic and Jewish) survive in the cities and new denominational facilities (Evangelical, Reformed, etc.) were being founded, while community-run shelters also played an important role in alleviating the problems of the poor and needy. In this context, the annual accounts of the manager of the Sopron hospital are also highly significant⁵⁹, not only because they help to outline the economic background of the early modern social institutions, but also due to the way they shed light on the way the city's early modern accounts were rendered. There are also new developments in the history of the Hungarian hospitals in the early modern period, namely with the appearance of the field hospitals. These institutions operated intermittently depending on demand.⁶⁰ Such institutions have been set up in Pozsony, Nagyszombat, Sopron, Bruck and Hainburg. In addition to the field hospitals, leprosy houses also occasionally received people with various contagious diseases; these also operated intermittently. In the early modern world, the ecclesiastical affiliation of the almshouses was determined by the majority religion of the community.

The independent Principality of Transylvania emerged in the changing, dynamic world of Central Europe in the 16th century, a period of survival and reorganisation, when the new framework created a new political, social, ecclesiastical, and cultural background, where all the previous institutions sought their place and tried to establish themselves and fulfil their tasks according to their vocation. The role of the Transylvanian cities is enhanced in the context of the new country: whereas hitherto they were peripheral points in the urban network, now they had to take over the role of economic

⁵⁸ Majorossy Judit and Szende Katalin. Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary. In Scheutz, M., Sommerlechner, A., Weigl, H. and Weiß, A. S. (Eds.). *Europäisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. MIÖG, Ergb. 51, Wien–München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008, pp. 409-454.

⁵⁹ Palla Ákos. "Soproni ispotály gondnokának 1586. évi elszámolása." *Orvostörténeti közlemények / Communicationes de historia artis medicinae*. Vol. 10, no. 31, 1964, pp. 31-82.; D. Szakács Anita: "A soproni 16. század végi heti étrendje." *Soproni Szemle*. 2008, pp. 202-203.

⁶⁰ Majorossy Judit and Szende Katalin. *Europäisches...*, pp. 448-449.

powerhouse. Adapting to the new situation gave them an impetus, even if they often had to face wartime conditions.

Transylvania, this new country in search of a new way, but built on mediaeval roots, moved away from Hungarian conditions, due especially to the Reformation and the emerging denominational system placed the local society in a completely new context. From this point onwards, the presence of several nations and religions required new issues to be resolved and made the already diverse and colourful Transylvania even more diverse. Thanks to these profound changes, the relationship between the Church, or rather Churches, and hospitals was not uniform.

The functioning of institutions in cities can be examined in terms of the extent of the resources and this varies from case to case. The existence and functioning of some of these facilities can be documented, but the lack of resources does not allow one to go further. For others, a wealth of written sources and even archaeological excavation results and material culture data have been preserved, which provide a good record of the activities that took place in them. If one takes a closer look at the written sources on Transylvanian cities, one can see that in the second half of the 16th century, institutions were increasingly issuing various documents in Latin, Hungarian and German. In urban environments, documents written in vernacular languages – accounts, minutes, instructions – are increasingly common.

Another significant phenomenon in 16th-century Transylvania was the Reformation, which developed in a particular way within the framework of the new country, according to the decisions of the estates. With the emergence of new religious denominations in a country in the process of taking shape, the emphasis was on respect for one other's faith and, above all, on the right of communities to choose their own priests, thanks to the orders of the estates of the Diet and the attitude of first the elected king and queen, then the princes. After the Reformation, the property and institutions of the Catholic bishoprics were liquidated and their assets reorganised. Under these circumstances – especially at a time when the new denominations did not yet have an established institutional system –, one cannot speak of any denomination taking on the organisation and operation of a hospital. It is only rarely (Debrecen) or later (Marosvásárhely, and the Saxon cities) that one of the churches played a more important role in the life of one of the hospitals. In the period of analysis of this volume, most hospitals were run by communities in Transylvania. This can be explained by the fact that the Catholic Church had lost its assets and opportunities, while the Protestant churches did not have such a strong financial base. In addition, in a multi-denominational city, it was difficult to manage the situation differently. Later on, due to the Counter-Reformation, already here in Transylvania, proselytism was also practised through the hospitals, but that is a later story.

I have already summarised the data on the Transylvanian hospitals elsewhere⁶¹; I will simply mention them here and add the data that have come to light in the meantime. Based on current knowledge – though very little information is available –, it seems that there were hospitals in Dés, Szászrégen, Gyulafehérvár, Torda and Enyed.⁶² There is also little data on leprosy houses and their operating time is uncertain. Archival sources mention leprosoria in Kóhalom, Feketehalom, Földvár, Medgyes, and Tövis.⁶³ The existence of several (4?) hospitals in Nagyvárád is supported by a few sources.⁶⁴ Sporadic, but still significant knowledge has been found of the early modern Beszterce hospital and leper colony of St Elisabeth.⁶⁵ There is also data for Brassó about a hospital and a leprosarium.⁶⁶ In Segesvár, a Saint Anthony and a Holy Spirit almshouse are mentioned in written sources.⁶⁷ In Nagyszeben, in the 16th century, one can document the operation of a hospital and a leper colony, but these merged in 1603. The issue of care for the poor in Nagyszeben has already formed the subject of monographs.⁶⁸ There is also a well-documented study of the early mediaeval hospital of Marosvásárhely.⁶⁹ In Kolozsvár, in the middle of the 16th century, there were three hospitals operating at the same time, but one of them was closed down. Then, for more than a century, there were two poor-care institutions in the city, which then merged.⁷⁰ For a longer or shorter period of time, among the cities of the

⁶¹ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. A kora újkori erdélyi ispotályok. In Idem. *Erdélyi ispotálytörténeti tanulmányok*. Kolozsvár, Argonaut, 2008, pp. 76-95.

⁶² *ibid* pp. 76-95.

⁶³ Simon Zsolt. The Finances of Transylvanian Hospitals in the Late Middle Ages. In *Spital und Wirtschaft in der Vormoderne. Sozial-karitative Institutionen und ihre Rechnungslegung als Quelle für die Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Studien zur Geschichte des Spital-, Wohlfahrts- und Gesundheitswesens (14)*. Regensburg, Friedrich Pustet, pp. 31-45.

⁶⁴ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Körkép...*, pp. 84-85.

⁶⁵ Simon Zsolt. The Finances of Transylvanian Hospitals..., pp. 38-41.

⁶⁶ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Körkép...*, pp. 90-91.

⁶⁷ Baltag, Gheroghe. *Sighișoara, Sásburg, Segesvár*. Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p. 224.

⁶⁸ Besliu Munteanu, Petre. *Hermannstädter Spital und Spitalkirche 13.-18. Jb./Spitalul și Biserica Spitalului din Sibiu secolele XIII-XVIII*. Honterus/ AKSL, 2012; Simon Zsolt. The Finances of Transylvanian Hospitals in the Late Middle Ages. In *Spital und Wirtschaft in der Vormoderne. Sozial-karitative Institutionen und ihre Rechnungslegung als Quelle für die Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Studien zur Geschichte des Spital-, Wohlfahrts- und Gesundheitswesens (14)*. Regensburg, Friedrich Pustet, pp. 42-45.

⁶⁹ Berekméri Árpád Róbert. A marosvásárhelyi ispotály az Erdélyi Fejedelemség korában. In Pál Antal Sándor, Simon Zsolt (Eds.). *Marosvásárhely történetéből*, 3. Marosvásárhely, Mentor Kiadó, 2013, pp. 9-40.

⁷⁰ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. Vázlat a kolozsvári ispotály-kutatás jelenlegi eredményeiről. In Idem. *Erdélyi ispotálytörténeti tanulmányok*. Kolozsvár, Argonaut, pp. 95-114.; Idem. *Egy elfeledett intézmény. A kolozsvári Szentlélek ispotály kora újkori története*. Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2012.

Principality, Debrecen⁷¹, Szatmárnémeti⁷², Nagybánya⁷³, Temesvár⁷⁴, and Kassa⁷⁵ had their own hospitals.

Most of the institutions for the care of the poor in the Principality were of mediaeval origin. The vast majority developed significantly in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, thanks to the involvement of urban communities. In some places, the role of the Church subsequently became more significant and cities helped to provide assistance to those in need.

The rich hospital literature described above has proved extremely useful in the study of the Kolozsvár hospitals, because when the data is incomplete, the analysis can be supplemented by relying on analogies.

The history of St Elisabeth's almshouse in Kolozsvár has a very interesting history, as it is the only institution in the city whose history can be documented from the mid-14th century through to the present day. Moreover, it has not changed its profile over the centuries.

⁷¹ Herpay Gábor. *A debreceni református ispotály története 1529–1929*. Debrecen, 1929.

⁷² Kubinyi András. Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek, fürdők és ispotályok a késő középkori Magyarországon. In Idem. *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*. Budapest, METEM, 1999, p. 266.

⁷³ *ibid* p. 263.

⁷⁴ Petrovics István. *A középkori Temesvár. Fejezetek a Bega-parti város 1552 előtti történetéből*. Szeged, JATEPress, 2008, p. 73.

⁷⁵ Kubinyi András. Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek..., p. 263.

2. 📖 ARCHIVAL SOURCES ON ST ELISABETH'S ALMSHOUSE IN KOLOZSVÁR

Historians researching the Kolozsvár hospitals were, and still are, in an extremely fortunate position, since the early modern archival sources are extremely rich. This is particularly true in the case of St Elisabeth's almshouse, one of the oldest continuously operating institutions in Kolozsvár.

Numerous inventories, donation and privilege letters, various orders, *urbaria*, instructions, detailed accounts, summary accounts and council decisions contribute to a greater or lesser extent to the history of the hospital. These documents can be found in the archives of St Elisabeth's home for the aged in the Catholic Church's Collection Archives, the Reformed Church's Collection Archives and the Romanian National Archives in Kolozsvár, in the fonds containing the history of the city.

Inventories are a very important source for the history of a hospital. In his *Kolozsvár története* (The history of Kolozsvár), Elek Jakab mentions an inventory from 1577⁷⁶, the original of which has unfortunately not yet been identified in any of the archives. This inventory can be read in the framework of a summary account. This mentions the hospital building, where the almshouse warden was said to be living, the farm and the cereals and hay deposited there. The treasures of the hospital included a chalice, a brass cross, 5 silver *poltura* (2 larger and 3 smaller), 10 silver spoons, pawned objects, a ring and an ornamental buckle. The state of the heritage is also taken into account here: garden, vineyard, mill, brewhouse, bakehouse, city house, arable land, an estate in Méra, including serfs, farmland belonging to the manor house, arable land, hay meadows, woods, farmhouse/manor house and mill.⁷⁷

The inventory of 1591 also recorded the letters and privileges held at the hospital. If one compares the documents in the current archives of St Elisabeth's home for the aged and those recorded at the time of the inventory,

⁷⁶ Jakab Elek. *Kolozsvár története*. II. Budapest, 1888, p. 280-282. There is a "Regestrum Partiale universorum provenitum civitatis Colosvariensis" from 1577 in the Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca fond of the State Archives, but it is not found in the archives under the number 2/XII.

⁷⁷ *ibid* pp. 281-282.

it is difficult to identify them, because none of the documents were dated. More than a page and a half of the 15 pages of the inventory of the documents, written on eight sheets of paper, are alphabetically ordered, but it is not clear how and in what way this alphabetical order was established. For each letter, the inventory compilers provide a very short abstract based on their own logic, which does not always aid identification. In the hospital, the inventory takers found a total of 15 documents⁷⁸ and there should have been many more in comparison with the documents issued before 1591 relating to the hospital in the archives of St Elisabeth's home for the aged. In the current archival fonds, there should be 36 documents issued before 1591, as the numbered documents reach this number.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, not all of them are in the archives of the home for the aged. For example, document number 27 is missing. What explains this difference between the documents in the inventory and those recorded in the archives? I have not yet found a plausible explanation for this, but hopefully other sources will reveal the answer.

From this archival fond, András Kovács published the documents dated before 1540 in the form of extracts. Several of them have been published in

⁷⁸ Collections Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Kolozs-Doboka. Archives of St Elisabeth's Home for the Aged. Inventory from 1591, no. 53, "Keöwetzeknek az privilegiumok es egieb lewelelek iuxta seriem Alphabeticam:

A. *L(itte)rae fassionales super collatione domus hospitalis in theatro hospitalis civitatis in Vicinitate domorum Colomani Niereo et Matthej Viczey in pergameno sigillo sub impendenti emanatae/*

B. *L(itte)rae Super comprobatione honestae Genealogiae cuiusdam nichil ad hospitalis negotium pertinens/*

C. *L(itte)rae venditionales cuiusdam domus in nullo pertinens ad negotium hospitalis/*

D. *L(itte)rae fassionales Super collatione possessionis Mera Coram conventu Colosmonostoriensi factae quae in alys litteris Confirmationalibus continentur ad Verbum/*

E. *L(itte)rae confirmationales Joannis Regis super collatione possessionis Mera ad hospitale S. Elisabeth legata confectae/*

F. *L(itte)rae confirmationales Joannis Secundj factum possessionis Mera tangentis et originales l(itte)ras collationis Ad verbum continentur/*

G. *L(itte)rae privilegiales super introductione et Statutione in possessione Mera Sine omnj contradictione peractam confectae et purae ema(n)atae/*

H. *Diversa l(itte)rae exemptio(na)les simul colligatae quae sunt/*

I. *L(itte)rae fassionales Conventus Colosmonostrensis Super collatione cuiusdam particulae Silwae Isthenkelely wocitate ad ecclesiam possessionis Mera/*

K. *Collatio totalis Silwae Istenkelely wocitatae Ad possessionem Mera coram conventu facta/*

L. *L(itte)rae impignoratiitiae super quibusdam duobus Jobbagionibus in possessione Mera olim existentibus/*

M. *Diversa li(itte)rae caussales foenatum (?) hospitalis S. Elisabeth tangentes et concernentes/*

N. *L(itte)rae Annuentionales Martino Seres Datae ea conditione ut si Cerevisiam Braxare uolet, decem florenorum in Annum hospitali pendere debeat/*

O. *L(itte)ra protectionales Ludovici Regis Super hospitali et possessione Mera confectae."*

⁷⁹ Collections Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Kolozs-Doboka. Archives of St Elisabeth's Home for the Aged, numbering from 1 to 36 until 1591.

full or in part in various publications in the past.⁸⁰ The document in letter A is about the donation of their house in the main square and is probably dated 23 December 1496.⁸¹

The letters of privilege in the archives of the city of Kolozsvár were sorted and catalogued by Gergely Diósy, the city notary, in 1592.⁸² Only three documents in this list are related to the hospitals of Kolozsvár, two of them to the Holy Spirit and one to St Elisabeth.⁸³ It is the donation letter about the so-called Lajos mill that can be linked to the hospital. But here another question arises. Could this be the same as the 1366 charter in the hospital's archives, which survives as a transcript of a 1377 charter, or is it a completely different charter (since, in the words of Gergely Diósy, the document in the city archives should be the donation letter of the mill)?⁸⁴

For the period under discussion, no other inventory has so far been found; they exist only from the 18th century. This inventory from 1733 includes a detailed description of the assets of the hospital of Kolozsvár⁸⁵, due to a change in almshouse warden.

There were, as already seen, several inventories of the assets of St Elisabeth's almshouse, and these were constantly supplemented by the items purchased, or at least such was the expectation the auditors had of the almshouse master who prepared the accounts. The surviving account of 1600, following the first inventory recorded in 1591, records the payment of 2 florins to the notary for writing the inventory.⁸⁶ The accounts also show that the institution's assets are inventoried and that any new assets that come into their possession by any means must also be recorded. The auditors usually examine these records and hold the almshouse warden to account for them.⁸⁷

In addition to all this, the accounts contain so-called inventories on several occasions. These also occur in the detailed and aggregated accounts and are usually recorded separately at the end of the partial accounts. What is recorded here varies widely. In any case, none of the entries is intended to record all the assets, but mostly foodstuffs in stock or livestock on the farm. The data in these minor inventories reflect the situation found by the auditors. In 1616, what was meant by these minor inventories was defined

⁸⁰ W. Kovács András. A kolozsvári Szent Erzsébet-ispotály levéltárának középkori oklevelei. In *CERTAMEN*. 3. Kolozsvár, 2016, pp. 253-260.

⁸¹ *ibid* p. 256.

⁸² Kiss András. A kolozsvári városi levéltár első levéltári segédlete. In *Más források és más értelmezések*. Marosvásárhely, Mentor, 2003, pp. 141-159.

⁸³ *ibid* p. 146, 150, 156.

⁸⁴ *ibid* p. 150. "Lajos levele: Donalta az Espotaly Molnath az Espotalyba, kit mostis oda Bjrnak."

⁸⁵ Romanian National Archives. (RNA), 1733, Fasc. IV, no. 149.

⁸⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth, 1600, 9/XII, p. 6.

⁸⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 138-139.

as “horses, oxen, chariots and all things other than in an ordinary inventory”.⁸⁸ Such and similar records can be found from time to time at the end of the partial accounts.⁸⁹

The 17th century saw an increasing number of *urbaria*, which were intended to take into account the assets of the various manors. Regardless of who owned the manor or portion, keeping an account of these agricultural units was part of good farming.⁹⁰ Thus, knowledge of the potential of cities' portions is increasingly important for accounting and control purposes. Such accounts were also made of the assets of the hospital in Méra.

The *urbarium* from 1643 gives the number of serfs and their plots of land in the Méra portion of St Elisabeth's almshouse, according to custom.⁹¹ The record itself was written on seven bound pages of six sheets of paper. The *urbarium* has survived in a very poor state, but it is legible in its entirety, and was made on the occasion of the inauguration of the almshouse warden István Vásárhelyi Szabó, in the presence of the auditors Tummes Lang and Mihály Nyírő. After that, the only surviving document is a *registrum* from 1698 of the serfs, cotters, lads and widows of Méra, where the names of the 58 people who belonged to the estate of the hospital are listed in a table over nearly three pages.⁹²

The next census of the property of Méra was made in January 1715 and gives an account not only of the serfs and their livestock, but also of the land and mill of the hospital in Méra.⁹³ This description also contains valuable information for those who wish to gain a better understanding of the period following the Rákóczy uprising. The preparation of *instructions* for various officials, whether royal, noble or municipal, became increasingly common in early modern administration, already in the last quarter of the 16th century. These are designed to brief a person taking up an office, describing what is expected of him by the person or community who has appointed them to the position.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 444.

⁸⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 421, 426, 428-9, 434, 445.

⁹⁰ Maksay Ferenc. *Urbáriumok XVI–XVII. század*. Budapest, 1959.

⁹¹ Collections Archives of the Catholic Diocese of Kolozs-Doboka (Catholic Archives), 1643, *Urbarium*.

⁹² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1698, Fasc. IV, no. 154.

⁹³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1715, IV, no. 147.

⁹⁴ For early Hungarian instructions, see Baros-Gyimóthy Eszter Márta. A Batthyány-várak belső fegyelme: a porkoláboknak szóló utasítások 1643-ból és 1663-ból. In J. Újváry Zsuzsanna (Ed.). *Minden nap élet a török árnyékában*. (Khronosz I.) Piliscsaba, 2008, p. 169–184.; Benda Borbála. *Egy főúri rendtartás*. <http://epa.oszk.hu/01500/01500/00005/pdf/09benda.pdf>; Imreh István. *Mezőgazdasági rendtartások, egyezségek, utasítások (1580–1635)*. <http://epa.oszk.hu/00900/00979/00003/pdf/029-050.pdf>; Koltai András (Ed.). *Magyar udvari rendtartás. Utasítások és rendeletek 1617-1708*. Budapest, Osiris, 2001; Kenyeres István (Ed.). *XVI. századi uradalmi utasítások. Utasítások a kamarai uradalmak prefektusai, udvarbírái és ellenőrei*

In Kolozsvár, not only was there a guide for the almshouse warden, but also for the wine-merchants and market judges, among others.⁹⁵

There were a number of instructions for European hospitals, some concerning the conditions of admission, others regulating life in the institution, or setting out the framework and expectations of the almshouse wardens.⁹⁶ In the case of St Elisabeth's almshouse in Kolozsvár, only the regulations for the duties of the person entrusted with the management of the institution were recorded.

In the case of the instructions for the almshouse warden, if one were expecting them to deal with everyday tasks, one would be disappointed, because these texts are limited to the technical issues of accounting. This general trend is also reflected in the instructions of the hospital, dated 1586, where the expectations for what is expected in the accounting of the results of the management are noted.⁹⁷ Here one can learn about the ideas that aim to precisely describe the structure and chapters of the expected accounts and the succession of the different structural units. This instruction is recorded on a page of minutes, together with several other regulations.⁹⁸ From this it emerged that the city expected the almshouse warden to record revenues first and to present the expenditures in the same sequence only after this task had been completed. Since there are a few such texts from the early modern period, but too few to cover all perspectives of urban accounting, the value of the few that survive is multiplied.

The instruction of 1614 reveals more about the activities in the hospital and what was expected of the almshouse warden.⁹⁹ This document is more than just a description of the duties of the head of the institution. The transcribers make this clear already in the introduction, since it is called both an inventory and an instruction. Arranged over three pages, the text first takes stock of everything that was handed to the almshouse warden when the document was drawn up, along with instructions on what to do with these

részére. Budapest, 2002; Nagy Imre. "Gróf Nádasdy Ferencz két utasítása." *Századok*, 1871, 5. szám, p. 53–56; Némethy Károly. Nádasdy Ferencz utasítása a mezei pásztorok számára (1649). *Történelmi Tár*. VIII. 1884, p. 558–560.; Gáti Magdolna. Az instrukciók létmódja az irodalmi műfajok rendszerében: Teleki Mihály kercsesorai utasítása. In G. Etényi Nóra and Horn Ildikó (Eds.). *Színlelés és rejtőzködés: A kora újkori magyar politika szerepjátékai*. Budapest, 2010, p. 183–201; Illik Péter. „A jó gazda szeme hizlalja a jószágot.” – Funkcionalitás és textualitás a 17. századi Batthyány-uradalmi instrukciókban. In Illik Péter (Ed.). *A történelem peremén: adalékok Magyarország történetéhez*. Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2012, pp. 39–49.

⁹⁵ Corpus statutotum. pp. 20–200.

⁹⁶ Scheutz, Martin and Weiß, Aldred Stefan. *Spital als Lebensform. Österreichische Spitalordnungen und Spital instruktionen der Neuzeit*. Böhlau, 2015.

⁹⁷ RNA. Instruction. 1586.

⁹⁸ RNA. De Liber Civitatis, p. 19.

⁹⁹ Catholic Archives. Fasc. A, no. 82.

assets. Last but not least, it summarises in ten points what the head of the institution should look out for. The transcriber of the text was the young Gáspár Heltai, the city's sworn notary.

Contrary to expectations, very few instructions for the almshouse warden survive from the period under study. The following text is a one-page document on rather damaged paper, in which the writing was crossed out in several places and added to in others. It is also possible that this was just a draft. All of this makes this **instruction, dated 17 February 1623**, rather difficult to read. The content itself differs from that of the earlier one: while the 1586 instruction focused mostly on economic accounting, this 1623 six-point briefing of the almshouse warden was centred on the tasks to be performed in the hospital.¹⁰⁰

After this document, the only surviving instruction from the 18th century on the management of the hospital is the 22-point document dated 4 February 1743.¹⁰¹ The existence of written records is due to the sworn notary Ferenc Bányai and their authenticity is guaranteed by the relatively intact seal of the city. There is also an undated instruction, which may date from around the second decade of the 18th century.¹⁰² This document on the management of the hospital summarises what was to be done in 25 points; it gives the impression that it was intended to be continued.

The most significant set of sources on St Elisabeth's home for the aged in Kolozsvár are **the detailed accounts that follow the activities of the institution**.¹⁰³ These are most often found in the city archives among the accounts, but there is also a fragment of an account from 1585 in the Hungarian National Archives.¹⁰⁴ A few detailed financial accounts of

¹⁰⁰ RNA. Fasc. IV, 143, 17 February 1623.

¹⁰¹ RNA.1743, Instruction.

¹⁰² RNA. Fasc. IV, 156.

1. The instruction can be dated to around 1715, as it resembles his handwriting.
2. The text mentions maize, which cannot be dated before the begin of 18th century.
3. He uses the terms "almshouse master" (ispotálymester) and "lieutenant/warden of the hospital" (ispotály ispánja) simultaneously.

4. The mill of the almshouse is spoken of as a vacant building, the later instruction does not even mention the mill and the first military survey does not even indicate the almshouse's mill, which was restored later.

¹⁰³ Romanian National Archives. Departmental Archives of Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca City Archives, Registers of St Elisabeth, 1586/3/XXVI; 1587/3/XXXIV; 1588/4/V; 1589/4/XI; 1597/7/VII; 1600/9/XII, 1601/9/XXVI; 1602/10/II; 1603/11/V; 1606/12a/XII; 1609/12b/III; 1610/12b/III; 1617/14a/XX-XXI; 1619/15a/I; 1623/15b/VI; 1624/16/XXV; 1626/17b/VII; 1628/18a/I; 1643/24/IV; 1646/24/XII; 1647/25a/II; 1648/25b/I; 1649/26/III; 1650/26/VII; 1651/27/VI; 1652/27/VIII; 1653/27/X; 1654/27/XVII; 1656/28b/VIII; 1660/32/XXXV; 1661/33/XVII; 1663/33/XXIX; 1665/34/IV; 1665/34/XIX; 1666/34/XXXVI; 1668/34/XXIII

¹⁰⁴ National Archives of Hungary. R. 314, Municipal documents. Kolozsvár, IX.

the privileges (1594, 1596) have also been found in the archives of Kolozsvár, albeit in a different location.¹⁰⁵ Just as in the case of other urban institutions, the managers of the hospitals take note of what is expected of them and what they find important.¹⁰⁶ These accounts mostly contain the expenditures of the hospital for 11 months, because the city auditors already examined the records of that year's management at the end of November and the beginning of December. At times, the individual responsible for verifying the accounts would make malicious and sarcastic remarks, but ultimately, they accepted the master's notes.¹⁰⁷ On other occasions, their feedback was very pertinent and aided in correcting the manager's behaviour and calculations.¹⁰⁸ After the audit, they were corrected and the auditors, added comments and instructions to the accounts at the end of the page or after the accounts had been drawn up. When the same almshouse master continued the work, he had started, he included the data between two accounts and if there was a change, the month of December might be omitted from the accounts. In the course of this examination, however, these counts will be treated as if they were full years, since they were approved and found to be correct by the auditors. Most of the accounts had to meet the same requirements, but their authors had different ways of keeping the accounts, some of which are detailed, others brief – but no matter how detailed the expenditures are, it cannot be said that all expenditures are recorded. For example, there is a continuous record of a carter of the mill, which implies the keeping of horses, but often no related expenditure is found, while at other times this expenditure is also reported.

The summary accounts in Kolozsvár are known as *registreum partiale* and contain a summary of the most important revenues of the city.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ RNA. A 1594 no. 152, 1596, A no. 153.

¹⁰⁶ For more on the Kolozsvár accounts, see also: Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. A gazdasági iratok lejegyzésének elméleti háttere a kora újkori Kolozsváron. In Kádas István, Skoroka Renáta and Weisz Boglárka (Eds.). *Márvány, tárbáz, adomány. Gazdaságtörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*. Budapest, MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2019, pp. 541-555; Idem. Gospodărirea Bisericii Unitariene din Cluj, de la începuturi până la finele secolului al XVII-lea. In Rădvan, Laurențiu (Ed.). *Orașul și Biserica. Patrimoniu. Oameni. Activități (secolele XV–XIX)*. Ed. Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza-din Iași, 2019, pp. 37-51; Idem. "Kolozsvár számadásai a fejedelemség korában." *Történelmi szemle*, 2018/1, pp. 17-34.

¹⁰⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 53, 115, 151, 187.

¹⁰⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 22, 24, 25, 28, 144, 172, 231.

¹⁰⁹ Partial accounts, 1557/1/III; 1570/2/I; 1571/2/III; 1572/2/IV; 1573/2/V; 1574/2/VI, 1575/2/VIII; 1576/2/IX; 1577/2/XII; 1578/2/XIII; 1579-80/2/XVII; 1580-1/2/XXII; 1581/3/II; 1582/3/VI; 1583-4/3/X; 1585/3/XXIII; 1586/3/XXIX; 1590/4/XVI, p.17; 1591/5/II, III; 1592/5/XI; 1593/5/XVII; 1594/6/V; 1595/6/XV; 1596/6/XIX; 1597/6/IV; 1600/9/IV; 1602/9/XXXIV; 1603/14b/I; 1606/14b/II; 1607/14b/III; 1608/14b/IV; 1609/14b/V; 1610/14b/VI; 1611/14b/VII; 1612/14b/VIII; 1613/14b/IX; 1614/14b/X; 1615/14b/XI; 1616/14b/XII; 1617/14b/XIII; 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638 /22/I 3-980 p.; 1674-1660, 1645-1646, 1647, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655,

The surviving partial regestra almost always include an economic summary of St Elisabeth's Hospital. There are a few cases where this is missing, but these are the exceptions that prove the established rule.¹¹⁰ When these brief financial summaries of the hospital were launched, they only included the amount of the income and the major items of expenditure, but later became somewhat more detailed and included a short inventory. In fact, the questioning of the partial accounts reveals the size of the income and expenditure of the city's institutions and the proportions between them.

Data on hospitals can also be found in the **Council Decisions**, but these are mostly limited to the change of leadership. These mostly took place at the end-of-year accounts meetings. Only in exceptional cases was it necessary to choose someone else during the year, when the incumbent almshouse warden fell ill or died. The Council Decisions and the decisions of the Assembly of the Centumviri can be found in Kolozsvár's city archives. The documents are important for determining the dates of the election of officers and the harvesting of the grapes. Both aspects are extremely important in the life of the hospitals, including the St. Elisabeth's Hospital.

Numerous letters and supplications were written concerning St Elisabeth's almshouse, its properties and its operations, but these have been scattered and can be found either in the almshouse's archives or in various holdings of the city archives, to the extent that they have weathered the storms of time.

There is also a considerable quantity of documents in St Elisabeth's Home for the aged relating to the bequest from Méra. Most of them, in order to examine the legitimacy of the donation, copied from the minutes of the Convent of Kolozsmonostor the documents related to the issue. Thus, the source presents thirteen pages of extracts from fifty charters dated between 1398 and 1623 and issued by the Convent.¹¹¹ In addition to these excerpted documents, the archives also contain several documents relating to the possession of the manor of Méra. These are all unpublished documents. It would be possible, on the basis of these, to carry out a full analysis of the legal transactions that have developed around the inherited property in Méra. This would not only highlight the importance of the Méra portion, but would also have legal historical implications. However, this issue should be examined separately later.

In addition to all these archival sources, the Romanian Academy Library in Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár also holds two manuscripts related to the history of St Elisabeth's Hospital. One of them was written by István Móricz, the former treasurer of the hospital, the secretary to the district director general

1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660/31/I-XIV; 1661/33/XVIII; 1662/33/XXVI, 1663/33/XXX; 1665/34/IV; 1672-1673/34/XXX; 1671-1680/35/IX.

¹¹⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 468.

¹¹¹ Catholic Church archives. Fasc. A. no. 111.

of the city of Kolozsvár, who completed his manuscript in 1889.¹¹² The other description is by former church minister Tamás Marcell, as he himself says at the beginning, “based on the diplomatica historia description of the establishment of the Transylvanian Gubernium”, titled *A Szent Erzsébet aggház története* (The history of St Elisabeth’s Home for the aged).¹¹³ The information contained in these manuscripts is not always supported by other data; the older the period, the more difficult it is to document their content.

¹¹² Romanian Academy Library/Cluj-Napoca Branch, Manuscripts, History of the home for the aged, MsC. 743.

¹¹³ Romanian Academy Library/Cluj-Napoca Branch, Manuscripts, History of the home for the aged, MsC. 744.

3. 🐼 THE MEDIAEVAL HISTORY OF ST ELISABETH'S ALMSHOUSE IN KOLOZSVÁR

The history of the hospitals in the Kingdom of Hungary was similar to that of the hospitals of the Western Christian countries. The history of the hospitals in Kolozsvár can be included in this general trend. In Transylvania, data on institutions for the care of the needy appear in the sources from the very end of the 13th century (Nagyszeben, 1291).

In the history of Kolozsvár, St Elisabeth's almshouse is documented from the mid-14th century. In fact, this Kolozsvár hospital is the earliest such establishment. The manuscript histories of the hospital reveal different ideas about its origins and foundation. Some associate it with the daughter of King Louis; other theories attribute an earlier origin to it.

Here, I will only provide a brief summary of its mediaeval history. I will list only those elements of the history of this institution that were related to its pre-Mohács history, as almost all of this information will be the subject of a more extensive analysis later in this work, but we considered it important to see what can be known about the mediaeval origins of the hospital. These data are also present in the study of András Kubinyi¹¹⁴ and in the review of Katalin Szende and Judit Majorosi¹¹⁵; they are also mentioned in the history of Kolozsvár by Elek Jakab¹¹⁶ and in the book on the suburbs of Kolozsvár by Elek Benkő¹¹⁷.

The first record is from the papal tithe registers of 1332, which mention the trustee of the hospital and the sum of tithes paid by the institution.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Kubinyi András. Ispotályok és a városfejlődés a késő középkori Magyarországon. In Neumann Tamás (Ed.). *Várak, templomok, ispotályok. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*. Budapest, 2004.

¹¹⁵ Szende Katalin and Majorossy Judit. Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary. In Scheutz, M., Sommerlechner, A., Weigl, H. and Weiß, A. S. (Eds.). *Europäisches Spitalwesen. Institutionelle Fürsorge in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Wien–München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, MIÖG, Ergb. 51, 2008, pp. 409-454.

¹¹⁶ Jakab Elek. *Kolozsvár története*. I. Buda, 1870; Idem. *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez*. I. Buda, 1870, pp. 363-364.

¹¹⁷ Benkő Elek. "Kolozsvár magyar külvárosa a középkorban." *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek*, 248, Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2004.

¹¹⁸ CDTrans. II, p. 402, no. 1110.

On the basis of this information, one can assume the existence of an active church establishment generating income.

The next information, a document dated 22 May 1366 in a transcript dated 30 April 1377, already refers to a change of profile regarding the hospital's mill. It is quite clear from the same text that, at the time it was written, the institution was already caring for patients. In other words, what was at stake was the transformation of a mill belonging to an operational institution, which, in addition to probably generating more income as a result, also contributed, not incidentally, to the provision of food for its inhabitants.¹¹⁹

On 16 April 1368, in the presence of the city judge and his jury, a citizen of Kolozsvár left the income of his house to the altar of St Catherine in the church of St Michael, the church of the hospital, and the Convent of the Virgin Mary in Kolozsmonostor for the salvation of his soul.¹²⁰ The testimony of this charter adds to what is already known, for according to it, the city had a hospital, which undoubtedly also had a functioning church, as was common for all similar mediaeval European institutions of this kind. What is unusual is that no other source confirms this assumption.

Most of the further information on the mediaeval history of St Elisabeth's almshouse concerns its managers large and small testamentary donations or the clarification of related matters.

In addition to a number of smaller donations, two bequests were made to St Elisabeth's, the income from which provided substantial financial support for centuries and facilitated the maintenance of the beneficiaries. In a document dated 23 December 1496, one of the bequests came into the possession of the hospital, together with all its encumbrances, by the will of Michael and Margit Kautusch.¹²¹ The other major donation was the inheritance of the property of the Dezső couple (husband and wife) of Méra to the hospital at the end of the Middle Ages, but this testament led to a long legal dispute and it is difficult to determine whether everything included in the donation letter was actually used by the institution, or if not, to what extent the legal dispute changed the part that was transferred to St Elisabeth's.¹²²

Data on the hospital show that it was a continuously functioning institution in the Middle Ages, but the amount of data is insufficient to allow a more detailed analysis of life there. On the basis of the data on other hospitals in this region, it is possible to expand this mediaeval history of the hospital by drawing on analogies, but there is no possibility of a well-supported investigation. The ongoing litigation surrounding the bequests

¹¹⁹ CDTrans. IV, p. 466, p. 196; W. Kovács András, pp. 255-256.

¹²⁰ CDTrans. IV, no. 679, p. 273.

¹²¹ KvOKL, I, pp. 307-308.

¹²² KvOKL, I, pp. 363-365.

received by the hospital may yet bring minor additions to the question of the legitimacy, identification and taking possession of the testamentary donations received by the institution. However, there are no records of their exploitation.

In broad terms, this is the mediaeval heritage of St Elisabeth's. Is it a lot, or is it little? This is a difficult question to answer. Obviously, there are many questions to be answered about the mediaeval history of the institution, but it is also interesting, and telling, that a significant part of the wealth-generating income in the early modern period comes from this heritage. In other words, the enrichment of the hospital is directly linked to the increasing economic and political power of the city and has evolved accordingly.

4. 🏠 THE ASSETS OF ST ELISABETH'S HOSPITAL

For the purposes of examining the functioning of the institution, the primary task is to assess its property. The property situation of St. Elisabeth's Hospital in Kolozsvár can be outlined from the accounts, the inventories of 1577¹²³ and 1591¹²⁴ and the fragment of the urbarium of 1643¹²⁵. By juxtaposing these sources with the half-sentences and fragments of information on maintenance found in the accounts, one can form a picture of the hospital's assets, which provided its economic background.

First of all, at the centre of the institution's activities was the hospital house (ispotályház), placed by the sources outside the city walls. Elek Benkő places the erstwhile building at the bottom of Fellegvár Hill, based on charters and archaeological excavations. So, it was probably located close to Szamos bridge, outside the city walls, beyond the Szamos River¹²⁶, on Híd (Bridge) Street¹²⁷, on the outskirts of the city, beyond the bridge¹²⁸, more precisely at the bottom of the Kőmál, in the area between the former Astoria Hotel (nowadays the Cluj County branch of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry) and the former petrol station on Horea Road.¹²⁹ If one takes a look at the sources, they show that the hospital stood in a place where there was a vineyard and a garden attached to it. On this basis, the bottom of the Fellegvár Hill is entirely consistent with the descriptions.

From the scattered records of the Kolozsvár accounts, one can learn that there was an upper and a lower hospital building and that the upper had a much greater capacity for accommodating the poor than the lower. The upper hospital building usually meant St Elisabeth's, while the lower one referred to the Holy Spirit. Sometimes, however, it is not clear whether the

¹²³ Jakab Elek, II, pp. 281-282.

¹²⁴ 1591, Inventory.

¹²⁵ 1643, Urbarium.

¹²⁶ KvOkl. I, 384. "*Extra muros ciuitatis Coloswariensis trans fluvium Zamos vocatum fundatae...*"

¹²⁷ KvOKL. I, 393. "*Domus hospitalis in Hyd uwcza habita*"

¹²⁸ KvOkl. I, 396. "*In suburbio ciuitatis Coloswar, vltra pontano fundati*"

¹²⁹ Benkő Elek. "Kolozsvár magyar külvárosa a középkorban." *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek*, 248, Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2004, pp. 46-47.

“lower” and the “upper” refer to the two hospitals or to the two buildings of St Elisabeth’s. The correct interpretation of the information found in the sources is also complicated by the fact that when they wrote about the house of almshouse, they could have meant two locations, the building of the hospital itself and the building or house in the main square owned by the hospital. If it is not further specified (and this is most often the case), it is difficult to identify what the records refer to each time.

The work on the building suggests the existence of at least three rooms, but let us see what the sources reveal about the house. The 1626 accounts of the hospital speak of an “upper house at the back”¹³⁰ and a “middle room” and in 1624 they again mention a “middle room” and a “house at the back.”¹³¹ The condition of the house at the back caused many problems, so in 1624, a ridge beam under the attic had to be replaced. The hospital had several ovens. From time to time these were repaired and maintained and the chimneys were cleaned. In 1603, an enamelled oven was placed in the right room for 12 florins.¹³² Another oven was made of bricks in the back room for only 3 florins 49 denars.¹³³ An account dated 1660 reported that in the 3 houses, i.e. rooms, the soldiers had broken the windows and the ovens, so much so that one had to be rebuilt and the other two had to be repaired.¹³⁴ In light of this information, it is clear that in the turbulent period around 1660, there were 3 rooms, each equipped with an oven. Starting in the middle of the century, the cleaning of the two chimneys became an almost regular expense.¹³⁵

The house also had several windows, which were lined with dried cattle bladder membranes (lantorna)¹³⁶ instead of glass. In 1648, seven such lantornas were bought for the windows of the hospital for 58 denars.¹³⁷ These lantornas wear out quite quickly, so the damaged ones had to be replaced from time to time. The building also housed a kitchen, for the window of which 2 windowsills and 2 staves were purchased in 1603.¹³⁸ The kitchen was of course needed by the institution, especially during the period when the poor of the hospital were cooked for on a daily basis.

In fact, the inventory includes an entry on “the copper cauldron of the bathhouse oven”, which was crossed out, but this entry may be revealing nonetheless. Even if there was no longer a “bathhouse” at the time of the

¹³⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 298.

¹³¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 264.

¹³² Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 52.

¹³³ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 264.

¹³⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, 33/XXXV, p. 30.

¹³⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, 1647, p. 343; 1648, p. 365; 1649, p. 387; 1650, p. 412.

¹³⁶ EMSZT. VII, pp. 808-809. Small window made of rumen membrane.

¹³⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 365.

¹³⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 53.

inventory and the copper cauldron used in the oven was no longer in use, the building may have once included a bathing room.¹³⁹ Such a room is rarely found in the buildings of mediaeval and early modern cities, but there are quite a few hospitals in which evidence of it can be found. Thus, in the case of the Sopron, Nagyszében, Eperjes and Brassó hospitals, more similar data and records exist.¹⁴⁰ In the case of Sopron, Zoltán Somogyi, based on Jenő Házi, mentions at least 3 bathrooms.¹⁴¹ In Nagyszében, the first mention of the hospital baths dates back to 1486-1467 and it is this facility that Michael Altemberger equipped with a bath.¹⁴² In Eperjes, the wife of a butcher named Benedek had a room built in the hospital so the poor could bathe.¹⁴³ On several occasions, the Brassó municipal account books record costs associated with the existence of the baths in the hospital.¹⁴⁴

Unfortunately, all attempts to find information on the early modern building materials of St Elisabeth's almshouse proved unsuccessful and there is only one record of the maintenance of the walls, which indicates that masons were working on the building (1637).¹⁴⁵ This suggests that at least part of it must have been made of a more durable material, bricks.

According to the surviving inventory records, the hospital house was quite richly equipped with all the necessary facilities compared to similar buildings of the time and region. It was furnished with a plate rack, several benches, tables, chests and closets, two cupboards and the pallets (*nyoszolya*) of the poor.¹⁴⁶ The inventory gives only the number of pieces of furniture and does not specify their quality or finish.

The cosiness of the place was enhanced by an old Turkish and four other kinds of good tapestry; in addition to old carpets in good condition, good tablecloths, sheets, cloths and handkerchiefs made the place more habitable.¹⁴⁷ The variety of textiles found in the hospital shows that the house was well-equipped.

The inventory records wooden vessels (wooden plates, wooden bowls, wooden pool), copper vessels, tin vessels, iron vessels and tools,¹⁴⁸ which were

¹³⁹ Inventory from 1591, no. 53.

¹⁴⁰ Somogyi Zoltán. *A középkori Magyarország szegényügye*. Budapest, STEPHANEUM, 1941, p. 100.

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*

¹⁴² *Quellen*. I. 126, 544; Besliu Munteanu, Petre. *Spitalul medieval din Sibiu*. Sibiu, Ed. Honterus, 2008, p. 60; *Hermannstädter Spital und Spitalkirche 13.-18. Jb./Spitalul și Biserica Spitalului din Sibiu secolele XIII-XVIII*. Honterus I/AKSL, 2012, p. 225.

¹⁴³ Somogyi, p. 100; Pásztor Lajos. *A magyarság vallásos életes a Jagellók korában*. p. 61.

¹⁴⁴ *Quellen*. I. 299, 300, 551, 575; II. 243, 293.

¹⁴⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 465.

¹⁴⁶ Inventory from 1591, no. 53.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, 33/XXXV, p. 29.

essential accessories for a household of that time.¹⁴⁹ We also find the necessary and suitable utensils for cooking, such as several cauldrons, poppy seed grinder, horseradish grater, pie dough board, iron mortar, vinegar barrel (átalag)¹⁵⁰, cooking fork, salted milk jug (deberke)¹⁵¹, mill wheel axle and pail. In other words, the records show a well-equipped household. This is true even when compared to the equipment of a private household on the basis of divisional letters (osztálylevél) of private bequests¹⁵² or studies of everyday life in Kolozsvár.¹⁵³ These also show that even in the well-to-do private household, there were no more than 5-6 tapestries and 4-5 carpets. If one takes into account the fact that the building was even decorated with a Turkish tapestry, which was a rarity at the time, and that there were four other good tapestries and carpets recorded, one can definitely think of the standard of a medium private household's interior.

The inventory recorded not only containers and tools, but also everyday necessities such as bacon, smoked ham (soldor)¹⁵⁴, cheese, butter, salted milk, salted cabbage, geese, chickens, and even 5 peacocks and 3 bushels of plums.¹⁵⁵

The house had a shingled roof like most of the houses in Kolozsvár at that time and the hospital and its courtyard were surrounded by a wicker fence. The shingled roof was renewed and repaired several times. Thus, in 1603¹⁵⁶, 1626¹⁵⁷, or 1648¹⁵⁸ only minor repairs were made, but in 1650 one can read of major roof repairs¹⁵⁹.

The fence was re-woven in 1652 by the serfs. Previously, wicker, stakes, props and thorns had been brought in for the purpose.¹⁶⁰ This fence was so badly damaged by soldiers in 1660 that it was necessary to buy wicker, stakes and even harrow to repair it.¹⁶¹

¹⁴⁹ 1591, Inventory, „Az zegeniek hazaba/Rezbeól chinalt borso teórléó j/Vas nias iijj/Wst egyik Nagiob á masik/Kysseb vagion ij/Rostelj j/Bochka ij áthúzva/Bochka hitwan j/Cheó-beór éóreeghes apro saitarostol X/Kemenchebe valo rezwst xj/Retchiel wizméréó 3/Az feredóhaz kemenczie/Ben reez wst j/Apro tekeneó felra valo viij 4/Pad zek ij/Eoregh was fedeo j/Ket harangochka ij/Az zegeniek zama xvi/ Az haznal vadnak arwak ij”

¹⁵⁰ EMSZT. vol. I, p. 277, “Small barrel type”.

¹⁵¹ EMSZT. vol. II, p. 281, Bödön (bucket, pot).

¹⁵² Kovács Kiss Gyöngy. *A kolozsvári osztóbírói intézmény és a kibocsátott osztálylevelek*. Kolozsvár, KORUNK KOMP-PRESS, 2012.

¹⁵³ Jakó Zsigmond. *Orthon és művészete a reneszánsz Kolozsváron*. In *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*. Bodor András, Cselényi Béla, Jancsó Elemér, Jakó Zsigmond and Szabó T. Attila (Eds.). Bukarest, 1957, pp. 361-393.

¹⁵⁴ EMSZT. XI. Budapest, 2002, p. 837. Smoked ham.

¹⁵⁵ Inventory from 1591, no. 53.

¹⁵⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 52.

¹⁵⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 298.

¹⁵⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 364.

¹⁵⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 412.

¹⁶⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, 33/XXXV, p. 37.

¹⁶¹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, 33/XXXV p. 30.

In addition to the hospital, a **manor house** and other outbuildings are also mentioned. As for the size and the geographical location of the manor, it is known that the farmhouse, together with the garden, stood between the two Szamos rivers, next to the parish priest's farmhouse, where the existence of a barn is also indicated.¹⁶² It is known that one of the windows of the manor house was made of glass¹⁶³ and that the place was sometimes rented out. The use of glass windows in the manor house is also interesting because, as far as it is known, the windows of the hospital were fitted with dried cattle bladder membranes (lantorna) and there are no records of the use of glass here. In addition to glass and lantorna, paper was also used to cover the windows.¹⁶⁴ In the farmhouse, grain storages and various crops (threshed wheat, flour, oats, barley, spelt, peas, linseed, lentils, hemp seeds, fodder [hay, straw] and animals [bullocks, calves, bulls, cattle, oxen, pigs, goats, sheep (328), and lambs (95)]) were recorded.¹⁶⁵ Fowl were not absent from the inventories either: hens, geese, ducks and pigeons were also among their possessions.¹⁶⁶ The care of the dovecote was also among the repairs, for example in 1610, when it was floored with planks.¹⁶⁷ All this was part of a genuine farming economy and perhaps to be expected when one considers that the hospital's purpose was to provide for the poor.

Quite unexpectedly, the 1591 inventory also includes the books at the manor house. Their list begins with the note that it contains the books which must all be sold.¹⁶⁸ In the list of about 19 books, there are some that had their titles written down but were subsequently crossed out. This may also mean that they had already changed hands. The catalogue includes books in Hungarian, German and Latin: biblical commentaries, breviaries, evangeliaries, prayer books, hymnals and a Latin grammar.¹⁶⁹ After the list of books, oddly enough, various other items are listed: a wheelbarrow, a worn-out iron cart, a sabre, a harrow, an axe, an iron chain; also two carriage horses, two good cart horses and a riding horse are recorded here. The latter was later crossed

¹⁶² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 182.

¹⁶³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 78.

¹⁶⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1603, p. 51.

¹⁶⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1591, p. 5.

¹⁶⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1644, p. 469; 1647, p. 347.

¹⁶⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1610, p. 141.

¹⁶⁸ Inventory from 1591, nro. 53.

¹⁶⁹ Inventory from 1591, no. 53, p. 4-5. „Az Udwarhaznal /az estpotalban á/ keönyvek melli-eket minde el kel adny/ Egi eóregh postilla fáßul/ missale/ ... inu keöny/Explicatio evangeliar(ium)/ Explicatio Simboli ap(os)tolij hungar(rum)/ Annal es hungaror(um) Regni/ Orgonahoz Valo fekete keöny/ Egi Magyar Cantualis/ Más Magyar Cantualis/ Egi dominicale Evangeliu(m)/ Vigaztalo keónwethke/ Egi breviar vagi opfiál/ Nas illeín Zabasú/ Egi imadsagos Zazul/ Deakul es magiarul enekiras/ egi Hitwan Grammatica/ Nemmeteól Evangeliu(m)os keöny/Egi veres brebiar/ Egi hitwan Pergamonamos”.

out of the register.¹⁷⁰ The above-mentioned books were not needed by the hospital, and the town council decided to sell them. The location of the books is not recorded in the inventory.

In 1609, a stable was recorded as having been rebuilt because it had been damaged by high winds. They bought laths, shingles and shingle nails for this purpose¹⁷¹, spending five florins, including the amount paid to the carpenter¹⁷².

A cellar also belonged to the properties outside the city walls. It is not quite clear whether it was part of the hospital building or the manor house of the farm. A few additions, such as the phrase “upper house at the back”, indicate that it is very likely that the cellar was part of the hospital building and that this room was above it.

Among the external holdings of the hospital, a shingle-roofed barn is recorded, which had to be roofed in 1623 and then again in 1626.¹⁷³ The existence of these outbuildings indicates that the hospital had everything necessary for providing for its needs. It even had gardens, which it acquired by either donation or exchange.¹⁷⁴

The main square building of St Elisabeth's almshouse was acquired by the hospital in 1496.¹⁷⁵ The house on the eastern side of the main square was bequeathed by Mihály Kautusch's widow Margit. According to the 1591 inventory, it was located between the houses of Kálmán Nyíró and János Rosás Borbély.¹⁷⁶ This placement is also suggested by the tax data for the years between 1590 and 1599.¹⁷⁷ In the middle of the 17th century, when the roof of the house was being repaired, another neighbour was identified as István Tordai.¹⁷⁸ The house on the main square and its contents were given to the institution on the condition that they could never be sold.¹⁷⁹ The gracious

¹⁷⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1591, p. 6.

¹⁷¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p.113.

¹⁷² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p.113.

¹⁷³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 219, 299, 415.

¹⁷⁴ Inventory, 1591, no. 53, „Egy gwmeoltheies kert az uy utza wegiben hidelwe kit Bathy Peter-teol chereltek. Egy kert ki Nagj Benedek hagiót a zegenieknnek afuz zelbe kendert wetenek beleie vadnak sylwa fakis benne ugi feleol Czirbes Balk Erdeje”.

¹⁷⁵ Rűsz-Fogaras Enikő. A kolozsvári Szent Erzsébet ispotály Főtéri háza. In Gálf Emőke, Kovács Zsolt, Kovács Klára (Eds.). *Arte et ingenio. Tanulmányok Kovács András 75. születésnapjára*. Kolozsvár–Budapest, Erdélyi Műzeum Egyesület, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2021, pp. 619-628.

¹⁷⁶ Inventory, 1591, p. 11. „Az Varosban az piaczon Nireó Kalman/Es Rosas Borbely Janos hazok/ keózt vagion egy ekó ház ki az Zenth/ Ersebet Espotalbelj zegenieke/Vagion az Udwaron Nagi sellier haz/Eóteódik az haz derek Avagj Zoba, / es á Bolt/ Alat wagion egi Boltos keó pincze”.

¹⁷⁷ Mihály Melinda. „Reneszánsz polgárházak Kolozsvár Fő terének északi során. Néhány kísérlet a megrendelők azonosítására.” *Korunk*, 2008/7, p. 63, 68.

¹⁷⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 27 March 1654, p. 43. „Tordai István uram felől verettem fel zszindelyt fel a hátulsó házra nro. 350 fizettem d. 70”.

¹⁷⁹ Jakab Elek. *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez*. I. Buda, 1870, p. 307-308.

donation in memory of her husband became the property of the beneficiary institution after the death of both of them. According to the inventory of 1591, the house was built of stone, with a courtyard containing four cottagers' houses and a large room, supplemented by a cellar with a store.¹⁸⁰ This building was used for many purposes: the store and rooms were rented out, while the cellar was used to store the wines of the citizens of Kolozsvár. Then, when the hospital building outside the city walls was destroyed by the soldiers, the hospital continued its activities here until the construction of their building next to St Peter's Church. Maintenance work on the house was financed by the hospital and was personally overseen by the almshouse warden. Thus, the costs, such as for repairing the roof and building the ovens, are reflected in the accounts.¹⁸¹ Various works were carried out on the building in 1594, 1595 and 1596.¹⁸² Two thousand bricks were purchased for the floor (*padimentum*) and then laid. At the end, the upper atrium was also floored with planks.¹⁸³ The stairs and the privy were also renovated. In the inner courtyard, a wooden porch was built over the stairs in 1660.¹⁸⁴

In 1595, an oven was built for which the potter was paid 7 florins and 50 denars and an oven made of carved stone was also built for which only 3 florins was paid for the carving.¹⁸⁵ In the same year, a large door opening onto the street was also made, the frame of which was of carved stone and for which 6 florins were paid. According to the account, iron hinges and corners were put on a large window for 6 florins and 24 denars. The upper room at the back was floored with 1500 bricks by the almshouse warden for 3 florins. A stone staircase was added to the upper house, for which the mason was paid 12 florins and the material itself cost almost 9 florins. In the same wave of reconstruction, the kitchen was demolished and rebuilt. The windows and doors of the building were also renovated, with more than 17 florins spent on glass alone. The rebuilding work was continued in 1598, when 2,000 bricks were purchased for the flooring (*padimentum*), which was laid. In the same year, the upper atrium was also floored with planks.¹⁸⁶

The house had shingled roofs in the early modern period, which were repaired on several occasions, including in 1650, when there are records of

¹⁸⁰ Inventory, 1591, no. 53, p. 11.

¹⁸¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 412.

¹⁸² Romanian National Archives. Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca City Archives, 1594, Series A, Privileges and documents. Subseries A2, Bundled documents, Bundled, Bundle 4, no. 152; 1595, Registers of St Elisabeth. 1595, 6/XV; 1596, Romanian National Archives. Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca City Archives, Series A, Privileges and documents. Subseries A2, Bundled documents, Bundled, Bundle 4, no. 153, p. 50, 51.

¹⁸³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1598, 8/III, p. 31.

¹⁸⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, 33/XXXV, p. 29.

¹⁸⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1595, 6/XV, p. 50, 51.

¹⁸⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1598, 8/III, p. 31.

shingles being bought and replaced and the rotten beams of the upper house also being replaced.¹⁸⁷ A wooden tower was built in the inner courtyard above the stairs in 1660.¹⁸⁸ The house had a large cellar underneath, where a lot of barrels and therefore a considerable amount of wine could be stored. In 1617, for example, 23 barrels of wine were stored here¹⁸⁹, while in 1660, 36 barrels of wine from foreigners and 1,512 casks of wine belonging to the hospital were stored here in one year.¹⁹⁰

There was also a well in the courtyard and its costs were recorded for several years.¹⁹¹ In 1647, the carpenter was paid 35 denars to repair the parapet of the well¹⁹², then in 1652, 3 florins and 50 denars were spent on repairing the well¹⁹³. In 1661, it cost 1 florin and 60 denars to maintain the upper half of the well¹⁹⁴. It is presumably this well that was found during the archaeological excavations for the renovation of the status houses. This building also included a stable, which was demolished in 1610 and later rebuilt.¹⁹⁵

It is also possible that this building existed until the present status palaces were erected, but after a while it was no longer owned by the hospital. There are even photographs of this property from the 19th century. The later accounts and documents of the hospital do not contain any details of major alterations to it, so it is believed that the entries in the early modern accounts concern the maintenance of the house mentioned in them. The building shown in the postcards and photos is one storey high, as can be seen from the accounts, with a store on the ground floor, access from the street and a room for rent above. This property structure was also recorded in 1733, when it was clearly stated that the hospital building had a small store "opening onto the street".¹⁹⁶ Adjacent to the store was the stone framed door leading into the hospital building, made of planks. Another store may have been in the doorway.

¹⁸⁷ Márton Tünde Mária (Ed.). *Szent Erzsébet ispotály számadáskönyve 1601-1650*. Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2010; Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 412.

¹⁸⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660,33/XXXV, p. 29.

¹⁸⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 179.

¹⁹⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, 32/XXXV, p. 9-10.

¹⁹¹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1598, p. 31, „Item az piacon való háznak kútot (!) csináltattam, fizettem az két csinálónak Fr. 9 d. 2[]./ /Item ki kútot csináltattam vettem kút gárdát Fr. 1 d. 50./ Item az kútra vedret csináltattam, vas abroncsost Fr. 1 d. 50./Item az kúthoz vettem kötelet egy darab leachott[?] d. 50./Item az ácsnak fizettem az kúthoz való hogy mekcsinálta[!] Fr. 1./Item az espotál-háznál ki kút vagyon csináltattam egy vedret Fr. 1 d. 25.” 1652, p. 39.” Az belső ispotály háznál való kútnak vöttem egy útgárgyát fr. 3 d. 50”.

¹⁹² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p.343.

¹⁹³ Registers of St Elisabeth. p. 39.

¹⁹⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. p. 29.

¹⁹⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p.140.

¹⁹⁶ 1733, Inventory.

Sometimes, it was rented out; other times, it was used to store grain.¹⁹⁷ This must have been the structure of the house during the period under review, as the accounts do not record any profound structural changes compared to the previous period.

This main square building definitely belonged to St Elisabeth's Hospital. It also appears in the inventories of 1733 and 1736 and again in 1759, when it was listed as such in the city's tax records.¹⁹⁸ A document in the Bánfy archives reports that repairs were made to the house of Farkas Bánfy in 1765, when the house next door to the south was already owned by Mrs. Rhédey.¹⁹⁹ So, the hospital must have sold its house in the main square sometime between 1759 and 1765.

Accordingly, in the tax register of 1778, the property on the eastern side of the main square was no longer recorded as belonging to the hospital. It was now owned by the Rhédey family.²⁰⁰



¹⁹⁷ 1733, Inventory, „A kapu közében is volt egy ’jó, ép, edgyütt az közötté való bottal, melly most gabonásznak tartatik”.

¹⁹⁸ Thanks are due to Zsolt Kovács for the data, apud *Aestimatio et Classificatio Domorum in Civitate Claudiopolitana existentium*. National Archives of Hungary, Transylvanian National Government Archives, F49, Miscellaneous conscriptions, Bundle 17, no. 11–12., p. 20., 28.

¹⁹⁹ RNA, The Archives of the Gróf Bánffy family. I. Family Archives, Fasc. no. 25, „A Kolosvári Háznak reparatiojára minémü munkát tett légyen a pallér, minémüt kellették még tennie...arról való adtestatum de Ao 1765”.

²⁰⁰ Based on data and information provided by Zsolt Kovács, with thanks. *Aestimatio et Classificatio Domorum in Civitate Claudiopolitana existentium*. National Archives of Hungary, Transylvanian National Government Archives, F49, Miscellaneous conscriptions, Bundle 17, no. 11–12., p. 20., 28.

Subsequently, it is still listed as the house of the Rhédeys in the 1796 tax register, but in the 1899 census it is already referred to as the property of the Catholic Church.²⁰¹



The earliest existing asset of St Elisabeth's almshouse in Kolozsvár was its mill on the Szamos, where flour was milled from the 14th century onwards.²⁰² The first surviving record of this, from 1366, tells of the conversion of the bark mill on the Szamos into a flour mill.²⁰³ The 1591 inventory of the mill extension recorded that the mill had three wheels and was equipped with tools, picks, pails, tubs, a mill wheel axle (*vajtokló*)²⁰⁴, grappling hooks, dry wheel axle (*gerendely*)²⁰⁵, and even a pair of new millstones.²⁰⁶ The accounts add to our picture of the hospital in several ways. A room was also built for the mill, in which a stove was added in 1609²⁰⁷. A larger oven was added in 1617, one that required 103 bricks.²⁰⁸ The stove in the mill house also required

²⁰¹ Based on data and information provided by Zsolt Kovács, with thanks. This period in the history of the house was certainly eventful, because the house is also called the Tivoli house after the Rhédey period and then it is transferred to the Catholic Church by testament, thanks to Ferenc Schütz. See also: Gál Zsófia. „Ez az építési eredmény eddigelé páratlanul áll nálunk a maga nemében.” A kolozsvári Státus-házak története. In: Pakó Klára, et alii (Eds.). *Erdélyi Évszázadok, Várak, erődök, kastélyok az erdélyi régiségben*. V. Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Műhely Kiadó, 2020, p. 217.

²⁰² For further information, see: Rüszt-Fogarasi Enikő: *Mesterözvegyek a 16. századi kolozsvári céhekben*. In Pál-Antal Sándor (Ed.). *Emlékkönyv Kiss András születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*. Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2003, pp. 482–487.

²⁰³ Jakab Elek. I, p. 55; DRH, C, XIII, p. 123-124.

²⁰⁴ EMSZT. XIII, p. 1021.

²⁰⁵ EMSZT. IV, p. 577.

²⁰⁶ Inventory from 1591, no. 53, p. 10.

²⁰⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 117.

²⁰⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 179.

spending in 1623.²⁰⁹ The mill building was constructed entirely from wood. The almshouse mill had three wheels and two pairs of stones. To ensure the safety of the mill, the miller constructed a wooden canal to direct the water to the wheels.

There are both contemporary and later data on the geographical location of the mill. From the accounts of the hospital and municipal maintenance works, it is known that the mill was located between the bridge and the wooden street on the Szamos River in Kolozsvár. These scattered data are not always supplemented by clear information in later records. On the one hand, no mill is indicated on the Szamos on the map of the first military survey depicting Kolozsvár, so it is possible that it was not in operation at that time. Later, in the 1840s, however, the data recording the rehabilitation plan of the mill confirms the earlier information, according to which the mill was located on the Szamos between the street and the bridge.²¹⁰ The plank on the Szamos is mentioned in several sources, in several cases clearly identifying the location of this crossing: “the hospital is at the mill”²¹¹, or it says that “the cost of the street this side of the hospital mill”²¹². The repair was listed among the tasks of the road-makers, as it was in 1617²¹³, but sometimes both almshouse wardens were urged to take part in repairing the street²¹⁴. This crossing on the Szamos was used in early modern Kolozsvár. This or a similar covered street can even be seen in a 19th-century watercolour.

The hospital also had a **brewery**, which may have stood at the end of the “big bridge” on the banks of the Szamos and which was rebuilt in 1635 with a large financial investment.²¹⁵ The major renovation was carried out after the hospital removed it from the mortgage. However, nothing is known about its size and materials, or whether it was a separate building or associated with something else, perhaps the mill. According to an inventory from 1591, it had an old and shabby copper cauldron, which was found in the oven, and it is said that there were also 500 shingles, unsoaked hemp, several planks and a salt grinding mill.²¹⁶ It is possible that it was no longer used for its intended purpose, but perhaps as a storage space at the time of the inventory, but in 1588 and 1589, even if not continuously, brewing

²⁰⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 218.

²¹⁰ Sas Péter. *A római Katolikus Egyház szerepe Kolozsvár építészet történetében/Rolul bisericii Romano-Catolice in istoria arhitecturii Clujene*. Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca, Verbum, 2011, p. 180.

²¹¹ Council minutes, 17 July 1617, p. 250.

²¹² Registers of St Elisabeth. 1594, 6/VIII, p.117.

²¹³ Council minutes, 17 July 1617, p. 250.

²¹⁴ Council minutes, 7 March 1607, p. 31.

²¹⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 458.

²¹⁶ Inventory from 1591, no. 53, pp. 10-11.

can be documented.²¹⁷ The brewing of beer in 1589 generated 48 florins and 62 denars in revenue, but the one brewer who worked there had to be paid 16 florins for clothing.²¹⁸ It was then mortgaged at some point, from which it was removed in 1634-1635, then it disappeared from sight again shortly afterwards.²¹⁹

The bread for the poor of St Elisabeth's was made in their own **bakehouse** on the shore of the Szamos. The inventory takers found here several old tubs²²⁰ and several kinds of sieves and riddles, together with a cauldron with four buckets and a large pail²²¹. It is possible that the inventory was limited to objects that were easy to move and did not include, for example, the table.

One can also read about the **vineyards** of St Elisabeth's almshouse in the 1591 inventory, namely the crescent-shaped one in Kőmál, listed as lying above the hospital house, at the mill near the Szamos.²²² Only a few years later, the 1609 inventory shows that the size of the vineyards had increased, with 10 acres recorded in Kőmál and one acre in Sidó.²²³ In the 17th century, the almshouse wardens already reported the cultivation of these 11 acres of vineyards. Thus, in 1610, a total of 16 acres of vineyards were already recorded in Kőmál and Sidó.²²⁴

In the hills around Kolozsvár, the hospital had **arable lands** in several places: in Borhánacs, in Kövespad, on the top of the Borhánacs, near Löttpálca, at the end of the Új (New) Street, towards Kajántó, at the bridge of the Nádas, between the two Tuzokmál, beyond Asszúpatak, at the periphery of Papfaly, above Asszúpataka, near the Lomb stream, near the Lombi forest, near the Juhkosár, above the meadow of St. James and at the end of the big Híd (Bridge) Street near the country road.²²⁵ Thus, they had at their disposal this bequest of 14 separate pieces of arable land as a solid arable land asset. To summarise, I have drawn up a map of all the possessions of St Elizabeth's hospital, which can be viewed at the end of this volume.

All in all, it can be said that the hospital had a significant heritage outside Kolozsvár and its walls, which it could use to fulfil its tasks. This bequest also included the **estate from Méra**, donated by the Dezső family in the early 16th century. This property underwent some changes over time, but it

²¹⁷ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1588, p. 48. In 1588, 6 köböl of wheat were used for brewing; Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, p. 6, 16, in 1589, 6 köböl of barley were used for brewing.

²¹⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, p. 16.

²¹⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 1634, p. 458.

²²⁰ EMSZT. IX, p. 436. A kind of tub used in the bakehouse.

²²¹ Inventory from 1591, no. 53, p. 11.

²²² Inventory from 1591, no. 53, p. 12.

²²³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 118.

²²⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 143.

²²⁵ Inventory from 1591, no. 53, pp. 12-13.

remained the institutions and the income from it went to the maintenance of the hospital.

In 1525, Antal Dezső and his wife donated half of their estate in Méra to the hospital. This included the cultivated and fallow fields, meadows, waters, fish ponds, forests, the two-wheeled mill on the Nádas, 5 vineyards, 6 carriage horses, 3 riding horses, 40 oxen, 32 cows, 250 sheep, 150 pigs and 32 beehives.²²⁶ This testamentary donation, in addition to the income from it, caused quite a lot of trouble for the hospital, as the relatives on Antal Dezső's side challenged it in court and only after a long, drawn-out trial was the issue resolved. Dezső's blood relatives were working to recover the ancestral property, and several documents about these legal transactions have been preserved in the archives of the hospital. There are 16 documents relating to the mediaeval history of St Elisabeth's almshouse, 10 of which relate exclusively to the clarification of the legal status of its Méra property. These documents indirectly confirm that the Dezső heritage, or at least part of it, was used by the hospital. This can be seen from the charters relating to the various tax exemptions granted to the hospital's property in Méra.²²⁷ On each occasion of the judicial proceedings, the relatives invoked the wrongful donation of ancestral property as a justification for their request. In the course of the lawsuit, the hospital must have lost the testamentary items that were not acquired by the donors during their lifetime, but were part of the inherited property. However, concrete data on this remains to be discovered.

²²⁶ Jakab Elek. *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez*. I, Buda, 1870, pp. 363-364. "...volentes Igitur omnibus rebus mundanis Huiusmodi Transitorys et caducis Renunciare Seque Totum ad dei Seruitium exhibendum et Salutem Animarum ipsorum acquirendum dare et Apponere atque in perpetuum dei Seruitium ad Hospitale Ecclesie Sancte Elisabeth vidue, extra muros, Ciuitatis Koloswariensis fundate causa mansionis perpetue conferre Idemque Hospitale siue eandem Ecclesiam Juribus isporum possessionarys atque alys Rebus Infra notandis a deo ipsis collatis predotare, primo directam et equalem medietatem pretacte possessionis Mera vocate, In Comitatu de Colos existentis et habite Simul cum cunctis vtilitatibus et pertinencys quibuslibet Terris Scilicet Arabilibus Cultis et incultis, Agris, pratis, Campis, pascuis, fenetis, fenilibus, Siluis, Nemoribus, Rubetis, Virgultis, Aquis, fluys, Riuis, Aquarumque decursibus, Molendinis, piscinis, piscaturis, molendinorumque et piscinarum locis, Montibus, Vallibus et vinearum promontorys, generalitaer vero quarumlibet, vtilitatum et pertinenciarum eiusdem integritatibus quouis Nominis vocabulo vocitatis ad eandem de Jure et ab antiquo spectancium pertinereque debencium Molendinum vnum duarum Rotarum Super flu[v]io Nadas vocato Habitum, vineas quinque, in Territorio et intra Metas dicte possessionis Mera vocate adiancentes Equos redales sex, Tres autem Succubiales siue Supersessionis aptos Equos equaciales Quadraginta boues Jugales siue Aratro convenientes Sedecim vaccas Maiores sex et Totidem minores, Oues ducentos et Quinquaginta, porcos Maiores cum minoribus Centum et Quinquaginta, Apum aluearia Triginta duo pefate Eccleie Hospitales Sancte Elisabeth..."

²²⁷ Jakab Elek. *Oklevéltár Kolozsvár története első kötetéhez*. I, Buda, 1870, pp. 397-390. 1557, the Méra estate is exempted from royal taxes, the serfs of Méra are exempted from the tithe.

This donation from Antal Dezső was the core of the Méra property, but it was expanded over time either through subsequent donations, mortgages and purchases. The parts of the property in Andrászáza were later added to this estate.

The 1591 inventory records a farmhouse, a manor house, arable lands, grasslands, woods and a mill on the Nádas stream as the property from Méra.²²⁸ The items mentioned here were definitively the property of the hospital. The farming here was based on the cultivation of several fields. Thus, there was the **arable land** under the vineyard, between the two bridges, in Borsópad, Zalagos, in the field of Vám, in front of the mill, in Pad itself, on the middle foot, behind the garden, on the Nyáras hill, under Isten keleti, in Járó, at the outskirts of Járó and there were **grasslands**: in the Medvés, in the ready meadow, in Hollós teribe, on the border of the great oak tree and in the meadows between the mill dams.

The property of Méra also included **forests**: the Barátok Forest, at Máté párnája, in kovács mál, on the Weres Stone, towards Száldobos, at the bottom of the hay road, on both sides of the Choma Field, in the Szilvás, in the Elővölgy, in the Várhegy, in Vervölgy, in Ölyves, in Lyukas határ and in Galnas²²⁹. A significant part of these came into the possession of the hospital with the Dezső fortune. Others were added to the estate later. In 1531, Ábrahám Gesztrágyi bequeathed a piece of woodland around Medvés, at the outskirts of Méra, to the hospital.²³⁰ Despite the fact that in 1584 and 1587 there is a record of the donation of Hollóskő, the forest of Nagy Hollós to the hospital, it was certainly not introduced into their possession, since the inventory of 1591 does not include it – or it is the forest near Korogy, which was sold to the Hidelvians in 1587 for 8 florins.²³¹ This forest is mentioned again in 1592. In 1646, a piece of the Vervölgyi forest was sold for 10 florins to Ferenc Stenczel and Antal Csanádi, while Mrs. György Bachi bought a piece of the oak forest of Andrászáza for 1 florin.²³² In 1623, the almshouse warden with two other citizens, probably jurymen, bought a piece of wood from Miklós Macskási. Its location and size are unknown, only that they searched for the seller several times and finally paid 32 florins for it.²³³ In an inventory of the hospital, however, it says that the forest is located between Andrászáza and Szentpál and is referred to as an acorn forest.²³⁴

These forests were mostly located to the north of Méra, but not immediately on the outskirts of the village, where there were other forests

²²⁸ Inventory from 1591, no. 53, pp. 13-15.

²²⁹ Inventory from 1591, no. 53, pp. 14-15.

²³⁰ Catholic Archives. St Elisabeth's almshouse fond. Fasc. A, no. 97.

²³¹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587, p. 7.

²³² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 315.

²³³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 219.

²³⁴ Catholic Collection Archives. St Elisabeth's almshouse fond. Fasc. A, no. 97.

not belonging to the hospital. There were forest portions on the right bank of the Nádas stream, south of Szent Pál and Szomordok and on the left bank of Hidegpatak, west of Korogy. The Várhegyi Forest was on the left bank of the Nádas stream north of Sárd. The Hollókő, Hollós forest in question, like most of the forests in the hospital, lay north of Méra.

While the testamentary donation clearly mentions five vineyards, their use seems doubtful. Since the number of animals of the Méra property and the vineyards were completely omitted from the census of 1591, we first suspected that some of the pages in bad condition had been lost and that is why they do not record these things, but if one looks closely at the sheet on the property of Méra, one can see that the opening word of the next page is marked at the bottom of each one. So, there can be no question of pages being lost in the meantime. It should be noted, however, that this use of catchwords is only seen in the record of the properties from Méra. Other pages on the properties of the hospital do not have them. It is also conceivable that these vineyards were ancestral inheritances, which could have been reclaimed and possibly obtained by blood relatives in the lawsuit that went on for decades.

The Méra estate also included *serfs* and *serfs' lots*. A significant part of these came into the possession of the hospital after a long litigation, based on the will of the Dezső family. The institution also acquired additional plots of land through purchase and mortgaging. In 1537, during the period when Antal Dezső was the almshouse warden, the hospital bought two *serfs' plots* from Mátyás Menyhárt Solyomkői in perpetuity and two *serfs' sessions* from Sophia Jánosné Sengyel, also in perpetuity. In both cases, two bare Andrászázi *praedia* also belonged to each of them.²³⁵ One can learn about the conditions prevailing here from an *urbarium* of 1643.²³⁶ According to the census of a few pages, quite a few plots of land were vacant. The record names the *serfs* and their plots, sons and livestock belonging to the estate of the hospital. It counts fifty-two *serfs' plots*, seventeen vacant and two with occupants elsewhere – one at the mill in Kolozsvár and the other in Torda. Cattle, oxen, pigs and bees were counted on the *serfs' fields*. The number of these certainly reflected the labour potential of the *serfs* and their financial situation.

A few decades later, in the 1698 *urbarium*, the number of people was slightly higher, as the names of 58 *serfs* and *cotters* were listed, together with their cattle. 127 oxen, 70 cattle, 147 sheep and 6 horses were counted on the farms of the *serfs* and *cotters* belonging to the Méra portion.²³⁷

²³⁵ Catholic Archives. St Elisabeth's almshouse fond. Fasc. A, no. 97.

²³⁶ *Urbarium*. 1643.

²³⁷ RNA, 1698, Fasc. IV, no. 154.

The next surviving urbarium dates back to 1715 and records the names of 31 serfs and 24 cotters.²³⁸ The census notes that many of the serfs and their sons were not living on the estate. Some of them were staying and working at the postmasters in Zilah, others in Kolozsvár and Szalárd. The population of the estate had only 3 horses, 11 oxen and 64 cattle. As the surviving data show, the strength of the estate did not diminish significantly despite the turbulent times.

If one examines the donor's letter of donation and compares it with the records in the registers, one notices that the size of the estate did not change much, but the people and families who lived and worked on it did. In the urbarium, one can read about mortgaged serfs; there were also cases of people and their families becoming serfs, as well as examples of people escaping from the estate. At each census, they were forced to write about unoccupied serfs' plots. The turbulent times of war brought uncertainty and dangerous living conditions. Therefore, in 1600, Bálint Bakos, a free man, pledged himself and his sons as serfs in perpetuity to the estate of St Elisabeth's almshouse in Méra, in the hope of protection.²³⁹ The settlers provided letters of guarantee to confirm their intention to remain on the land belonging to the hospital. Thus, in 1673, nine persons provided the guarantee for Ferenc Nyilas before the county judges.²⁴⁰

The description of the estate and manor of Méra from 1715, which is not of a much later date, contains quite a significant amount of interesting information.²⁴¹ According to it, the Méra estate had a manor house with a good oven, including a baking oven, as well as good doors, but the record also mentions a wobbly house wall. The furniture of the building is described as poor, with only an old table, three benches, an armchair, a shabby couch and two racks. There was also a cellar under the house; some of the gardens were found in good and others in poor condition. There is also mention of a dilapidated barn in the garden, which should be renovated soon. One should not be surprised at these conditions, since the unrest and troop movements of Rákóczi's War of Independence also affected this region.

The mill in Méra stood on the Nádas stream and had two wheels. The inventory of 1591 took stock of the stone picks, pails, mill wheel axle and other picks found in it.²⁴²

There were also pigeons and dovecotes in the manor house in Méra and/or Kolozsvár. The dovecote was floored with planks in 1610, but which one

²³⁸ RNA, 1715, Fasc. IV, no. 147.

²³⁹ Church archives. Archives of St Elisabeth's home for the aged. 4 July 1600.

²⁴⁰ Church archives. Archives of St Elisabeth's home for the aged. Guarantor's letter from 1673, no. 6.

²⁴¹ Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca City Archives. Bundled documents, Fasc. IV, no. 147.

²⁴² Inventory from 1591, no. 53, p. 15.

was not specified.²⁴³ Barnyards are recorded in both farming centres; these were actually located in the garden of the manor house and were used to protect the fodder stored and were thus enclosed, in whole or in part, by a fence.²⁴⁴

The hospital's assets, like those of any farm, also included the tools and implements needed to carry out farming. Data is available on them in almost all sources, even if it is scattered. Thus, the inventory recorded spades, hoes, vineyard-hoes, iron rakes, picks, scythes, grape marc (trébely)²⁴⁵ cutting axes, ploughs, grain baskets, sieves, vat, tubs, tubs, pails, cauldrons, grills, spits.²⁴⁶

These items wore out from time to time, so they needed to be replaced. The accounts also show purchases and investments to replace them.²⁴⁷ Most often, information is recorded on the repair or purchase of spades²⁴⁸, hoes²⁴⁹, scythes²⁵⁰, rakes²⁵¹, axes²⁵², and ploughs²⁵³. The (horse- or ox-drawn) wagon²⁵⁴ and the (horse-drawn) cart²⁵⁵ were an integral part of the almshouse's assets and the costs of these are constantly reflected in the accounts.

The lighting in the properties belonging to the hospital was provided by candles, candlesticks and lamps, as reflected in the inventory and purchases.²⁵⁶

The assets of St Elisabeth's almshouse also grew through bequests. Thus, in 1633, a person named Anna Balogh died and her house was left to the hospital.²⁵⁷ The sources also reveal that this property is mentioned in the accounts as the house next to the forge on the banks of the Szamos²⁵⁸, the house at the forge²⁵⁹ across the bridge²⁶⁰, the house next to the

²⁴³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 140.

²⁴⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 139, 292, 311, 328, 329, 346, 388, 413, 416.

²⁴⁵ EMSZT. XIII, p. 575. Szőlő törköly (grape marc).

²⁴⁶ Inventory from 1591, no. 53.

²⁴⁷ Inventory from 1591, no. 53.

²⁴⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 52, 54, 78, 154, 241, 329, 347, 357, 421.

²⁴⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 23, 42, 54, 59, 122, 202, 203, 207, 240, 244, 276.

²⁵⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 35, 55, 58, 421, 324.

²⁵¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 50, 421.

²⁵² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 49, 53, 78, 138, 149, 421.

²⁵³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 36, 53, 57, 112, 172, 220, 290, 322, 406.

²⁵⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 24, 34, 36, 38, 51, 54, 84, 111, 114, 117, 218, 236, 237, 311, 323, 421, 427.

²⁵⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 27, 36, 38, 51, 52, 54, 84, 98, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 151, 138, 141, 166, 168, 260, 271, 294, 295, 301, 305, 324, 328, 342, 362, 384, 388, 408, 413, 415, 427, 428.

²⁵⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 49, 51, 59.

²⁵⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 453.

²⁵⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 315.

²⁵⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 335.

²⁶⁰ Partial accounts, 1593, p. 16.

slaughterhouse²⁶¹, the waterside house²⁶² or the house at the bridgehead²⁶³. What kind and how big this house was is unknown but what is undisputed is that it strengthened the economic background of the institution. It is also known from the places mentioned earlier that this small inherited property generated some income as well.

All these movable and immovable properties belonged to the hospital in perpetuity, regardless of how they came to be owned by it. According to the partial accounts, the Macskásy family first pledged their lands in Méra to St Elisabeth's almshouse in Kolozsvár between 1592 and 1599.²⁶⁴

The Macskásy family's praedia in Méra, Nádas and Andrásfalva were probably located close to the Méra property, and were mortgaged to the hospital in 1602 by Menyhárt Macskási and his wife for 100 florins in accordance with the council's decision.²⁶⁵ According to the census of the property of the hospital, this part of the property represented its entire estate (portio) here (in Méra and Andrásháza).²⁶⁶ Data does not exist for every year and even in the years when there is a hospital or partial account, amounts paid for the use of the land of the Macskási estate were not always recorded.

The institution continued to grow; in 1604 János Csomafáy's wife, Borbála Erdős transferred her entire estate (portio), to the value of 500 florins, to the hospital.²⁶⁷ In 1628, András Szentpáli mortgaged his entire portio of Méra and Andrásháza to the hospital.²⁶⁸

The lack of data also highlights the weaknesses inherent in the accounts: there are incomes that should be received from year to year, yet the accounts do not contain the relevant data, despite the fact that the accountants checked the records and did not indicate any shortfall.²⁶⁹ In such cases, it is conceivable that the management of these assets may have been integrated into the management of the pre-existing Méra property.

In summary, the sources available, as seen so far, are scattered and thus only reveal the situation of the almshouse's assets as recorded at different moments. The assets listed at the time of the receipt of the Méra estate only refer to the donation in question and do not provide a comprehensive picture of the hospital's other assets, so the nature and extent of the institution's other possessions at that time are not known, apart from the mill, the

²⁶¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 400.

²⁶² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 464.

²⁶³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 467.

²⁶⁴ Partial accounts. 1593, p. 16; 1599, p. 25.

²⁶⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 45.

²⁶⁶ Catholic Archives. St Elisabeth's almshouse fond. Fasc. A no. 97.

²⁶⁷ *ibid.*

²⁶⁸ *ibid.*

²⁶⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1617, p. 151; 1619, p. 185; 1624, p. 236; 1626, p. 6 ft; 1631, p. 448; 1633, p. 451; 1648, p. 315; 1649 p. 378; 1650, p. 400, 415.

hospital house and the house in the main square. Although the inventory of 1591 is supposed to list all the assets, it makes no mention of the livestock and vines of the estate in Méra, despite the fact that the income from it is already present in the accounts. The detailed and aggregated accounts are a relatively decent reflection of the changes that have taken place, but as they are incomplete, a number of unanswered questions remain. One can list the most important assets, but one of the most elusive elements is the livestock that was on the farm.

5. 🏠 INCOME AND MANAGEMENT OF ST ELISABETH'S ALMSHOUSE

5.1. THE DOWNTOWN HOUSE

Even if it is not the earliest recorded source of income for St Elisabeth's almshouse, in the period under examination, one of the most secure, permanent sources of income for the institution was its property in the main square of Kolozsvár. The house in the main square, which was bequeathed to the institution, provided support for it in several similar ways, namely by renting out the store, the cellar and the apartments belonging to the property. Incidentally, the donor herself also referred to the purpose of this building.

This house was built of stone and required only periodic maintenance work. In May 1603, for example, a door was made for the store, complete with lock and padlock, and the costs were recorded. Auditors even asked why this expenditure was necessary and what happened to the previous door.²⁷⁰ However, no explanation could be found, so the verbal answer must have satisfied the inquisitive auditors, since they finally accepted this item of expenditure and the account itself. On other occasions, if an expense was not justified, it was not only mentioned but also questioned.

Accessible from the front of the building, the store was in a very busy location in the main square of the city, so finding a tenant may not have been difficult. In some cases, the lessees' names are recorded in the accounts, in other cases only the amount of rent received or owed is recorded. The first surviving name of a lessee dates back to 1589; he was János Borbély.²⁷¹ The tenants mostly used the store for several years. Thus, the name of Mátyás Neb was mentioned as a lessee in both 1610 and 1617 and it is not impossible that he owned the store for the entire period.²⁷² In 1624, 1626 and 1631, the lessee was Mihály Fenesi²⁷³, in 1606 and 1636 it was rented to Greeks²⁷⁴ and between 1646²⁷⁵ and 1649 it was used and paid for by Pál Göcsi.²⁷⁶ There are

²⁷⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 53.

²⁷¹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, p. 16.

²⁷² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 127, 152.

²⁷³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 236, 300, 448.

²⁷⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 90, 463.

²⁷⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 315.

²⁷⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 355, 356, 364, 387.

obviously cases where someone used it for only one year, such as in 1605, when it was rented to the minor priest, who was allowed to use it for the then usual 8 florins a year.²⁷⁷

Perhaps because of its location or size, the price of letting the store gradually increased over the years, from 8 florins a year to 20 florins a year. While in 1598 the income from the rent of the store was 8 florins, from 1610 it was 9 florins, in 1624 it rose to 10 florins and from 1646 it was 20 florins, at which level it remained for a long time. This increase to 20 florins a year took place in circumstances when the rent for the stores around the church in the main square did not exceed 6 florins a year, even in the most expensive period, even for the stone stores.²⁷⁸

The other parts of the house were also used by tenants. Several rooms were available for rent. The size and quality of these rooms were not the same, so different amounts were paid for them at the same time. It also happened that not every room had a tenant. According to the 1606 accounts, 4 rooms were rented out. One was called "the upper house", the second "the small house", the third "the middle house" and the fourth simply "a room".²⁷⁹ As already seen, the house had a stable, which was demolished, a well and a back gate. The parapet of the well was thoroughly renovated in 1652, as 3 florins and 50 denars were paid for it.²⁸⁰

The rooms to be rented out and the house itself were repeatedly renovated by the hospital, but there were also cases when the tenants themselves carried out certain works in exchange for their rent. Thus, over time, the roof, the chimneys and the ovens were repaired. These works became necessary from time to time. Thus it was that in 1606 it was recorded that a poor woman had an oven made for her rent or that another tenant refused to pay, because he had carried out repairs on the house worth an amount which he claimed should cover his rent.²⁸¹ The repair of the sewer also became necessary from time to time and was carried out in cooperation with neighbours and residents.²⁸² In 1649, a period began when more major works were carried out on the property. So, a fence was built, for which several beams, planks and shingles were purchased, the cost of which was around 20 florins.²⁸³ A year later, the roof was repaired at a cost of more than 13 florins, the beams

²⁷⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 90.

²⁷⁸ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. Adatok a kolozsvári unitárius egyház gazdálkodásáról, a kezdetektől, a 17. század végéig. In Idem (Ed.). *Erdélyi évszázadok. A levéltár rejtett kincsei. Források és értelmezések a gazdaságtörténet köréből*. IV. Kolozsvár, Egyetemi Műhely Kiadó, 2019, pp. 99-117.

²⁷⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 90-91.

²⁸⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1652, p. 39.

²⁸¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 91.

²⁸² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 186, 364.

²⁸³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 387.

were replaced and a drainpipe was installed next to the chimney.²⁸⁴ Various repairs were also made here and there to the inner building of the hospital. In 1650 and 1654²⁸⁵, 17 florins were spent on renovations and in 1660, 18 florins.²⁸⁶ Major alterations were also carried out, a wooden tower was built above the stairs, and the fence built years previously had to be repaired. The whole job took 6 days for the carpenters to complete.²⁸⁷

In some cases, the names of the tenants of the rooms were also recorded. Sometimes the tenants changed, occasionally because they did not pay enough, such as when, in 1617, an individual named Gáspár Szabó, who lived in the upper house for 3 months and paid 1 florin 50 denars, was sent away, because they had hoped he would bring in more revenue.²⁸⁸ On other occasions, the tenant of a room had to be changed because of the neighbours; a person called Benedek Molnár had to leave the room he had rented, for which he paid 3 florins, because the neighbours did not care for him.²⁸⁹ The upper house was the most valuable; in 1624, Mihály Kalmár Fejérvári paid a rent of 10 florins a year, when the store in the same property was rented for 9 florins.²⁹⁰ Two years later, for the same room, the tenant (whose name is not noted here, but it must have been the same person as two years previously) paid 11 florins and 40 denars and the store was rented for 10 florins.²⁹¹ This upper house was used by Mihály Kalmár for a very long time, since the record shows that in 1647 he had not paid rent for two years and was indebted to the hospital.²⁹² For several years, it was also the home of the city's trumpeter, who did not prove to be a very good tenant, sometimes paying and sometimes not.²⁹³

The cellar of this building in the main square of Kolozsvár was the third space that sometimes generated a very good income. Its size must have been significant because, as is sometimes recorded, it could hold a very large quantity of wine. In addition to the wine from their own vineyards and the tithes, they also stored the wines of the city's inhabitants. In 1617, they stored 21 barrels of their own wine and 20 barrels of wine for 12 people.²⁹⁴ In 1617, 14 florins and 44 denars were paid to the hospital for the storage of wines and the letting of cellars. It seems unlikely that this cellar would have been

²⁸⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 412.

²⁸⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 1650, p. 40, 1654, p. 43.

²⁸⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 1660, p. 28.

²⁸⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 1660, p. 29.

²⁸⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 152.

²⁸⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 91.

²⁹⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 236.

²⁹¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 271.

²⁹² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 335.

²⁹³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 152, 335.

²⁹⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 178-179.

large enough to hold 41 barrels at a time and that they would even have been able to serve their own wine in it, but this is what the sources show. Of this large quantity, their own wine is recorded as 1,525 buckets, while the wine kept in addition (other people's wine) was 1,444 buckets. The amount of wine in storage obviously varied according to the harvest, with differing amounts going into the cellar for storage and serving.

But whose wines ended up in the cellar of the hospital? Only the detailed accounts – and in some cases the names of the owners – can provide further information. Therefore, only the names are known of those who kept their wine there from the years for which there are proper and meticulous accounts and of course when there was such foreign wine in the cellar of the hospital. The rent for the cellar fluctuated heavily between not quite 1 florin²⁹⁵ and 15 florins²⁹⁶ and several cases exist where there are all kinds of accounts without any of them mentioning any income from it. In some years, they even justified why they accepted foreign wines into the cellar of the hospital. Thus, on several occasions in 1660, at the will of the town council, foreign wine was accepted from city magistrates, i.e., from the judges of the trade, from the citizens of Kolozsvár, from the fathers from Monostor, but also from external nobles, due to danger in the city and war in the surrounding area.²⁹⁷ At that time, the 10 barrels of the friars from Monostor, György Batay's 7 barrels, Ferenc Süley's barrels, György Bánfi's 5 barrels and Mrs. László Thorockay's 4 barrels were kept in the cellar of the hospital. The wine deposited by the judges of the trade may have been considerable, but the almshouse warden says that *"although I wanted to measure them, as they were sealed, I did not touch them"*. According to the record, 1,512 buckets of wine that did not belong to the hospital were also kept in the cellar.²⁹⁸

In 1617, János Salanki's 1, Gáspár Pusztá's 3, Balázs Ádámosy's 2, Mihály Kantha's 1, Jakab Olaios' 1, the trumpeter's 2, György Ferenczy's 2, János Monos' 2, János Fazakas' 2, Gergely Szalay's 1, the cooper Barthos' 1, master István's 1 and Mrs. Máthé Nagy's 2 barrels of wine were kept in the cellar of the hospital.²⁹⁹

A common figure in the extant lists is young Mihály Kantha, whose name appears several times after 1617 on the list of owners of foreign wines.³⁰⁰ The first time he stored his wine in the cellar of the hospital was during his father's tenure as almshouse warden. Later, in 1624, he and his father used

²⁹⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 1611, 433.

²⁹⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 1617, 179.

²⁹⁷ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, pp. 9-10.

²⁹⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 179.

³⁰⁰ *ibid.*

this facility during the tenure of Péter Werner Szöcs.³⁰¹ In 1626, the name Mihály Kantha appeared in two places, once with the adjective “little”.³⁰²

As already seen, the Kautusch house of the hospital was used for a variety of purposes and made a continuous and substantial contribution to the institution's income. The occupancy of the house showed a variable trend. Sometimes, it was fully occupied from the cellar to the attic and the store and the rooms of the building were full. At other times, there were very few barrels in the cellar and hardly any rooms occupied. Despite all these fluctuations, the institution was able to rely on a steady stream of income, although not always of the same level. There were also occasions when rent payments were delayed or the tenants refused to pay because of disagreements.

Serial no	Year	Florins	Serial no	Year	Florins
1	1586	12.2	21	1629	15.14
2	1587	6	22	1630	32.4
3	1589	18.2	24	1633	33.51
4	1602	32	25	1634	12.10
5	1603	32	26	1635	18.93
6	1606	39.98	27	1636	44.71
7	1608	25	28	1637	22
8	1610	16.2	29	1643	21
9	1611	22.80	30	1644	44.65
10	1612	22	31	1645	33.65
11	1613	23	32	1646	52.80
12	1614	47	33	1647	33.50
13	1615	17.50	34	1648	50.8
14	1616	17.35	35	1649	55.08
15	1617	26.94	36	1650	53
16	1619	22.92	37	1651	33
17	1624	28.51	38	1652	50
18	1626	34.8	39	1654	55.75
19	1627	36,3	40	1660	28.33
20	1628	23			

The data from the available sources cover 40 of the 74 years between 1586 and 1660. The sources for the first half of the 17th century are quite frequent and provide continuous data for several time periods. Despite their shortcomings, the degree of occupancy of the property on the main square is quite well outlined. The income from the rent increased from 6 florins in 1587 to 55.75 florins in 1654. Of the three components, the most constant income came from store rents. The occupancy of the rooms and the income

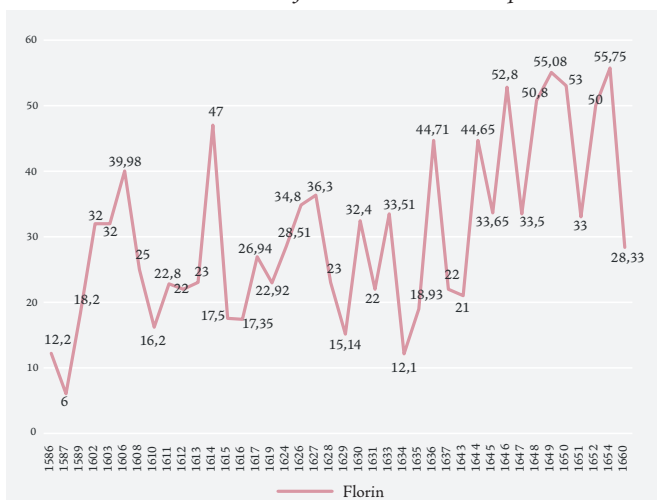
³⁰¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 236.

³⁰² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 269, 272.

from the wines stored in the cellar fluctuated strongly. Despite this, it is clear that a certain amount of cash income was expected each year, which contributed significantly to the income of the hospital and, in addition, to its running.

The figures also listed in the table make it clear that this property was a major financial asset for the institution.

FIGURE I. *Income of the house in the main square*



If one takes a closer look at the graph, one can see that the income from the house varied between 6 florins and 55 florins. What is also worth highlighting from these data is that, however unfavourably the year may have developed, in most cases at least 12 florins income could be expected from here. This was also important for the hospital in the sense that it could be used as cash to help pay for purchases needed by the institution.

5.2. THE VINEYARD

In the mediaeval and early modern Hungarian towns, craftsmanship never reached a level where agriculture, including viticulture, did not remain an occupation and a means of subsistence for the inhabitants.

Viniculture has played a very important role in the history of Kolozsvár, providing a supplementary income for the citizens and institutions of the city. In order to do this, the local council drew up strict rules to protect

the grapes and the wine produced from them³⁰³ – despite the fact that Kolozsvár and its surroundings were not a particularly good wine-growing region. However, if one takes a look at the first Transylvanian military survey of the city of Kolozsvár and its surroundings, one can see that there were a good number of vineyards on the hills surrounding the settlement even at the end of the 18th century.

Each year, the town council also decided when and where to start the harvest, the exact dates of which can be found in the town council's minutes.³⁰⁴ The data show that, on average, grape harvesting in Kolozsvár started between 1 and 16 October.³⁰⁵ These data come from an independent study by Annamária Jeney-Tóth on viticulture in Kolozsvár.³⁰⁶ However, the case of Kolozsvár is not unique, as wine production also played an important role for other cities, in some cases even a decisive one, such as in Buda, Pozsony (Bratislava) or Debrecen or in the other early modern cities in the Carpathian Basin where viticulture was also part of citizens' everyday life.³⁰⁷ Meanwhile, however, the citizens of Debrecen, for example, had vineyards not only on the outskirts of the city, but also in several settlements of Bihar county. However, the vineyards of the citizens, institutions and guilds of Kolozsvár were located only in the narrow area of the city.

However, the cultivation of vines required a great deal of research. Most often citizens and institutions hired a special person (or persons), the vineyardist (*vincellér*), to organise this demanding and regular care work. Usually, one or two vintners were in charge of organising the vineyard work, but there are also examples of seven vintners being entrusted with the vineyards of the hospital.³⁰⁸ In 1663, there were 3 people doing this job.³⁰⁹ In 1665, the work of tilling the cultivation of the vineyard was divided among five vintners.³¹⁰ The vintner could not, of course, do all the work on his own. He merely organised it, so he employed day labourers to work in the vineyard. The vintners who cultivated the vineyards of the hospital did their work in accordance with the regulations in force in the city. They worked under heavy

³⁰³ Corpus statutotum. 1583, pp. 196-197.

³⁰⁴ Jeney-Tóth Annamária. Szőlősgazdák, vincellérek és szőlőművesek Kolozsváron a 16-17. század fordulóján. In Orosz István and Papp Klára (Eds.). *Szőlőtermelés és borkereskedelem*. Debrecen, 2009, pp. 86-92.

³⁰⁵ *ibid.*

³⁰⁶ *ibid* pp. 77-97.

³⁰⁷ Tózsá-Rigó Attila. Szőlőbirtoklás a 16. századi Pozsonyban. In Orosz István and Papp Klára (Eds.). *Szőlőtermelés és borkereskedelem*. Debrecen, 2009, pp. 33-55; Bársony István: A debreceni polgárok szőlőbirtokai Bihar megyében. In Orosz István and Papp Klára (Eds.). *Szőlőtermelés és borkereskedelem*. Debrecen, 2009, pp. 175-197.

³⁰⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1661, p. 14.

³⁰⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1663, 33/XIX, pp. 6-8.

³¹⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1665, 34/IV, p. 5.

regulation, which also set out their pay, their duties and the penalties for misconduct.³¹¹ Carrying out these tasks and purchasing the necessary materials (such as stakes, tools, hoes) for the work proved to be quite expensive. During the period when the grapes were ripening, they even hired a vineyard guard to protect the harvest.³¹²

After a period of time, some of the vineyard donations received over the years could no longer be cultivated, so in 1578 some of the vineyard was sold, and the money was invested by the smaller hospital in its other income-generating assets. On rare occasions, there were also difficulties in cultivating the vines. In their case, the vineyards were also more dispersed, located at relatively considerable distances in different parts of the city. In their case, several smaller gardens served the institute. Even at the time of the census, when they held the largest vineyards, the gardens of the Holy Spirit almshouse did not exceed five acres. In addition, the vineyards of both hospitals were exposed to many dangers; the city was often under siege, and the hospital's vineyards were of course outside the city walls.

There are no regular records of the cultivation of the vineyards of St Elisabeth's almshouse mentioned in the Dezső bequest and the income from them; only the cultivation of the vineyards on the outskirts of Kolozsvár were recorded for longer periods of time. Insignificant quantities of wine were recorded from time to time, but very rarely and in negligible quantities compared to the wine from the vineyards of Kolozsvár. In the light of these data, it is possible that the 5 vineyards listed in the Dezső bequest were no longer in their possession and that at the time from which accounts have survived, i.e. at the end of the 16th century, only the wine of the vineyards of Kolozsvár could be counted on. When they do refer to a wine from Méra, they refer to it as the tithe wine. When cultivating the vineyards of St. Elisabeth's, it was perhaps an advantage that these gardens were not located in different parts of the city. A significant part of the vineyard was in Kőmál and only a small one-acre portion was on the hill to the north of the town. There was some distance between the two places but all were located in the northern part of the city.

The records of the hospitals of Kolozsvár concerning viticulture have preserved very interesting and revealing data. On the one hand, the sequence of vine-growing phases within each year can provide important information about the climate conditions of that year. On the other hand, the accounts also provide interesting data on the employment of people working in the

³¹¹ *Protocollum Centomvirovorum*. I/3, 1581, pp. 214-215; *Protocollum Centomvirovorum*. I/5, 1591, p. 81; *Protocollum Centomvirovorum*. I/6, p. 315. For more details see Jeney-Tóth Annamária. *Szőlősgazdák...*, pp. 80-81, and Jakab Elek. *Kolozsvár története*. II. Budapest, 1888, p. 253.

³¹² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 89, 121, 193, 247, 396.

vineyard. In the case of St Elisabeth's, the vineyard was cultivated by day labourers and serfs belonging to the estate of the institution. Among the day labourers, one can find both men and women and learn that men were paid more than women for participating in the same phase of work.³¹³ The use of the labour of the serfs often proved to be ineffective, as it happened that they came to Kolozsvár, but due to bad weather could not work in the vineyards for several days. However, they were still entitled to their daily benefits.

The cultivation of vines was a process consisting of several phases (covering, pruning, bending, propagation, hoeing, staking, mixing, tying, removal of leaves, harvesting), where the same operations were carried out in due time every year, thus creating the possibility of a good harvest. In a foothill vineyard, the work started with levelling the ground, followed by pruning, propagation, hoeing, staking and tying, followed by more hoeing.³¹⁴ It is clear from the list of work phases alone that vineyard cultivation was quite labour-intensive. At each stage of the work, the almshouse warden recorded the payments he had to make. It also happened that the serfs of the hospital were called in to work in the vineyards, in which case the accounts also summarised the costs of their feeding. Each phase of the work was organised by the vintner according to his best judgement. Of all the work phases, only the date of the harvest did not depend on the decision of the vintner, but rather on atmospheric conditions. The start of the harvest was decided by the town council.³¹⁵ In the same way as in Bártfa (more often), in Kolozsvár (less often) the vines were fertilised with manure in the hope of a better harvest.³¹⁶ While the cultivation of the grapes is fairly well documented, the sources are silent about the way the grapes were made into wine, but one can assume that this was also the job of the vintner.

By looking closely at the vineyard accounts, one can trace the costs of cultivating the vineyards and the income from wine in the years for which resources are available. However, even when annual data is extant, a more in-depth analysis is no easy task, as the income from wine was rarely recorded in the year of harvest, with the wine most often being sold in the following year. Therefore, it is not possible to compare the annual amount spent on wine production with the income received from it, nor can one determine exactly how profitable cultivating the vineyard was. In fact, one should not seek answers to these questions according to current economic expectations, but rather formulate assessments according to the possibilities of the time.

³¹³ Jeney-Tóth Annamária. *Szőlősgazdák...*, pp. 77-97.

³¹⁴ Gulyás László. Csontos Éliás Bártfai szőlősgondnok számadásai. *Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Évkönyv*. 2019, pp. 98-99.

³¹⁵ Jeney-Tóth Annamária. *Szőlős gazdák...*, pp. 77-97.

³¹⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 153, 154, 172.

The hospital was in a favourable position, as it had an infrastructure that allowed it to store the wine produced in the establishment – and, as already seen, even the wine of strangers – for a longer period of time.³¹⁷ Thus, quite often, cellar rent was collected for the barrels kept at the hospital, as seen in the description of the use of the property on the main square.

The sale of wine was also subject to the regulations set by the town council. The retail sale of the wine was carried out by the members of the town council (*iurati cives*).³¹⁸ The price of wine varied according to the grape yield and the quality of the wine. The income from wine produced each year showed a fluctuating trend.

Gyöngy Kovács Kiss, also using the vineyard accounts, collected data on the costs of the vineyards in Kolozsvár, which showed that, as elsewhere, the viniculture involved much work and considerable financial investment.³¹⁹ Her analysis also traces the mechanisms of the wine's retail sale; in this case, the hospital's wines were also sold in compliance with the city's regulations.

But let us look at what the work invested in the vineyards of the hospital meant and how much it cost the St Elisabeth's almshouse of Kolozsvár. To do this, I looked at two relatively well-documented years. One year is 1601, when the Fifteen Years' War was raging and the second is 1648, when the town was living its peaceful daily life.

In 1601, only the most essential works were carried out in the vineyards of St Elisabeth's Hospital. From 3 May to 3 July, the vintner organised the layering (*homlítás*) of the vines. He paid each participating worker 12 denars and paid a total of 65 days' wages during the period indicated above.³²⁰ The layering work was not yet finished when the time had come to prune the vines. This work was also rewarded with 12 denars per person per day. This work started on 15 June and finished on 21 July.³²¹ The removal of leaves had already started on 4 June and was completed on 23 June. For this work, 8 denars were awarded per labourer per day.³²² The vines were tied up twice, from 22 June to 10 July, for which the payment was 8 denars per day.³²³ The vintner paid 60 days' wages of 12 denars for pruning the vines, which amounted to 7 florins and 40 denars.³²⁴ He also paid 12 denars for the

³¹⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 126, 184, 457.

³¹⁸ *Corpus statutotum*. pp. 200-202.

³¹⁹ Kovács Kiss Gyöngy, „AZ SZŐLŐNEK DOLGÁRUL.” SZŐLŐK ÉS SZŐLŐ-TERMESZTÉS A KORA ÚJKORI KOLOZSVÁRON. In Jakab Albert Zsolt and Peti Lehel (Eds.). *Aranymadár. Tanulmányok Tánzos Vilmos tiszteletére*. Kolozsvár, Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság – EME, 2019, pp. 603-611.

³²⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 29.

³²¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 29-30.

³²² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 30.

³²³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 31

³²⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 31.

covering of the vines for a total of 70 days, which amounted to 8 florins and 40 denars in total.³²⁵ Some of the work, such as preparing the vines for covering(*pántfejtés*)³²⁶ collecting them, was done by the hospital staff and therefore not paid for. The collection was recorded together with the additional costs. The amount spent on vine cultivation over the year was close to 100 florins. Thus, in 1601, it cost the institution 98 florins and 99 denars.³²⁷ As the figures show, there were harder and therefore better paid jobs and there were lower days' wages. The removal of leaves was paid at 8 florins per day, other operations at 12 denars per day. However, in the year under analysis, only basic tasks were performed; there was no expenditure on maintenance, but rather only minimal works are indicated. This is not surprising, given that the year in question was in the period of the Fifteen Years' War, when Kolozsvár and its surroundings were far from peaceful.

In another year, 1648, the sums spent on working the vines were quite different. I have chosen a year when more tools were purchased and when the stakes were replaced, which resulted in more costs and extra work. Between 9 March and 7 April, the vines were staked, with 65 vineyard workers working for 9 florins and 90 denars.³²⁸ The bending started already during the staking works, from about 28 March to 18 April, at a cost of 12 denars per person per day. This cost the hospital 18 florins and 8 denars.³²⁹ The hoeing began on 23 April and lasted until 20 May, costing 28 florins and 87 denars.³³⁰ The dates of the layering were not recorded by the almshouse warden, only that it was done in the summer and that 58 persons did it for 18 denars a day, amounting to a total payment of 10 florins and 44 denars.³³¹ The removal of leaves and tying took place between 4 June and 12 June. The men were paid 15 denars and the women 12 denars per day, costing the hospital 61 florins and 77 denars.³³² In the second round, the same work was carried out between 15 and 20 June and cost 40 florins and 13 denars. In this work process, it is striking that most of the workers in the vineyard were women.³³³ Between 23 July and 4 August, men were employed for the second hoeing or mixing for 20 florins and 40 denars.³³⁴ The second tying took place between 6 and 13 August and

³²⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 31.

³²⁶ *EMSZT*, X, p. 436.

³²⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 31.

³²⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 357.

³²⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 357.

³³⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 358.

³³¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 358.

³³² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 358.

³³³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 358.

³³⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 358.

cost only 4 florins and 32 denars.³³⁵ The last hoeing before the grapes ripened³³⁶ took place between 7 and 14 September. Most of the workers were women and they were paid 5 florins and 28 denars for this work. The harvest started on 25 September and lasted four days. The pruning took place from 5 to 15 October. It was done by men and women and cost 17 florins and 47 denars.³³⁷ The work on the vines was completed with covering, which began on 29 October and was completed on 13 November. This work also involved both men and women and cost more than 40 florins.³³⁸ In the year 1648, the cultivation of the same amount of grapes cost more than twice as much as before, as 224.17 denars were paid for it. The two years analysed also reflect the different ways in which the same vineyard can be cultivated.

The designations of the work phases in the vineyard are identical in the accounts of the two hospitals of Kolozsvár. One or, at best, two hoeings were recorded among the works. Accounts of vinicultural work in the Carpathian Basin in the early modern period report similar but not identical phases. There are vineyards where more than two hoeings were common (in Buda, for example).³³⁹

The figures in the accounts answered many questions, but also raised new ones. One in particular is how many acres of vineyards the hospital actually had, 11 or 17? In 1589, Farkas Balogdi, during his tenure as almshouse warden, reported 12 acres of vineyards cultivated, but the auditors corrected the figures and noted that only 10.5 acres were actually cultivated.³⁴⁰ In 1616, 10 acres of vines were reported to have been cultivated.³⁴¹ In 1609, 10 acres were reported in Kőmál and 1 in Sidó.³⁴² The report is the same for 1617³⁴³ and 1619³⁴⁴. In 1610, 17 acres of vines are clearly mentioned: 1 acre in Sidó and 16 acres in Kőmál.³⁴⁵ In 1660 and 1661, the vineyard guard was entrusted with 8 acres of vines.³⁴⁶ The data suggest that for most of the early modern period, 11 acres of vines were cultivated, i.e., there were no uncultivated vineyards in St Elisabeth's property. It is also important to clarify this so that when examining the costs of the vineyard, the data is assessed in this light. The data indicate that 11 acres of vines were tended for the longest time

³³⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 358.

³³⁶ *EMSZT*, VII, p. 767.

³³⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 358.

³³⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 358.

³³⁹ Hoeing the vineyard in Buda.

³⁴⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth., 1589, p. 12.

³⁴¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p.442.

³⁴² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 118.

³⁴³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 152.

³⁴⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 190.

³⁴⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 143.

³⁴⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, p. 15,1661, p. 16.

during the period under study. According to the table, St Elisabeth's spent from 11 florins to 27.14 florins per acre on vineyard maintenance.

In the vineyards, stakes and tools (hoes) had to be occasionally supplemented or replaced³⁴⁷ and barrels had to be bought or repaired³⁴⁸. However, these expenses were negligible compared to the expenditure on workers. Viniculture occupied an important place in the life of the town and the town council also dealt specifically with the issue of vineyard stakes, determining their price, quality and length.³⁴⁹

Comparing the costs with the revenue can yield a rough assessment of the profitability of the work in the vineyard. However, this comparative analysis cannot be accurate, as there are also differences between the accounts and vine cultivation in a given year did not take place in the timeframe of the calendar year. Under these circumstances, there is no way of keeping track of how much income was generated and how much was spent on the wine produced in a given year, since the accounts are for the calendar year, regardless of the vineyard work taking place from late autumn until the following autumn. Often the almshouse wardens and auditors were content to record the number of barrels of wine sold, but they did not record how much money was made from it. Such, for instance, was Gergely Fodor in 1610, who was content with noting the number of barrels and their volume.³⁵⁰ If one looks at the amount of wine produced in a year, there is also a fluctuating trend: while in 1606 only four barrels were enough for the hospital's wine, two years later 28 barrels were filled with wine from the institution's vineyards.³⁵¹ As for the wine of St Elisabeth's, regardless of whether it was a good harvest or a poor year, it was not sold in its entirety in that or the following year, but some was kept in reserve. Thus, there are years for which the accounts do not include data on the sale of wine, while in other years the income was as high as 720.68 florins. In the year in question, the largest income of the hospital came from viniculture. The wines of the hospital were mostly sold in the town and only rarely by the barrel or in other municipalities. There is no trace in the thirtieth customs registers of any payment for the export of wine from the vineyards of Kolozsvár, despite the fact that wine made from grapes grown in the vineyards of the city was present, albeit rarely, among the citizens' exported goods.³⁵²

³⁴⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 42, 53, 118, 201, 239, 275, 280, 316, 327, 336, 378, 400, 404, 457.

³⁴⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 21, 31, 44, 49, 59, 70, 89, 96, 98, 121, 123, 125, 130, 139, 146, 148, 149, 151, 161, 178, etc.

³⁴⁹ Jeny-Tóth Annamária. *Szőlősgazdák...*, pp. 85-86.

³⁵⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 442, 130, 148, 431-432.

³⁵¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 426, 428-429.

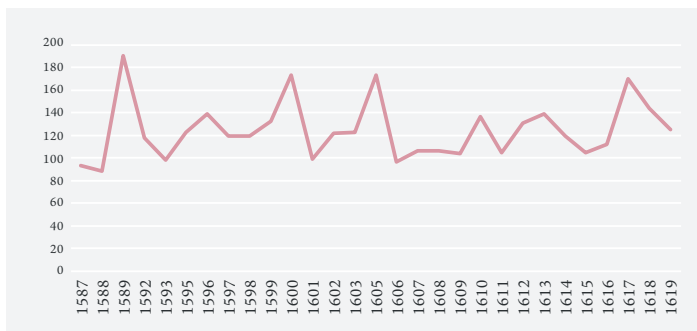
³⁵² Papp Ferenc. *Kolozsvári harmincadjegyzék*. Bukarest–Kolozsvár, Kriterion, 2000, p. 106, 110, 112, 130, 348-60.

Yet despite the gaps in the sources, a comparison will be conducted for a couple of years between the money spent on grapes and the money made from the wine from those grapes. In 1602, after an expenditure of 121.35 florins, they sold 601.40 florins worth of wine.³⁵³ In 1603, 122.60 florins were spent on the vineyard and 392.14 florins earned from the sale of wine.³⁵⁴ However, these two years can be considered exceptional, as such high sums were never made before or since from the retail sale of the hospital's wine. In 1602, the surplus was due to the way in which the wine was sold, as several barrels of wine were sold without expenses, two to the Germans and one to a person mentioned by name. No retail sale costs were added to this. All three sales were above the usual price. The Germans, in particular, paid 180 florins for vintage wine on one occasion and 120 florins for new wine on the other

In 1605, they spent 15.76 florins per acre, i.e., 173.36 florins in total and sold only 86.06 florins worth of wine, but still had 12 barrels left in the hospital.³⁵⁵ In 1606, they spent only 96.39 florins on the vineyard³⁵⁶ and sold 129.98 florins worth of wine, but they still had 619 buckets of wine in the cellar. In these cases, it is difficult to assess the value of the wines owned by the hospital. There are also records of years (1614, 1615) when no wine reserve was recorded and the amount spent was greater than the revenue.

The account books allow one to collect the vineyard costs for the period under study in a table and plot them on a graph.

FIGURE 2. Expenses for the vineyard of St. Elisabeth's Hospital in Kolozsvár



³⁵³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 33.

³⁵⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 47-8.

³⁵⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 423-4.

³⁵⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 425.

Between 1587 and 1619, the amount spent on the vineyard varied between 88 florins and 190 florins.

FIGURE 3. *Expenses for the vineyard of St. Elisabeth's Hospital in Kolozsvár 1620-1621*



Continuing in the higher register, between 1620 and 1660, expenditure on the vineyard was already between 122 and 300 florins.

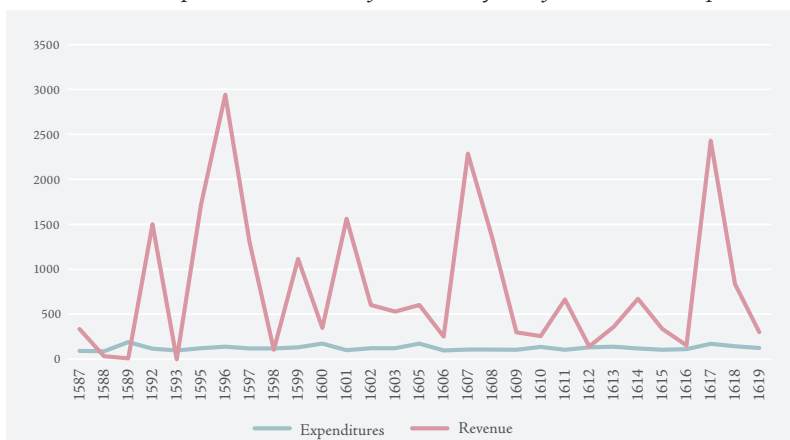
A closer look at the graph reveals that, despite the fact that the institution cultivated the same size of vineyard, it recorded higher expenditures from time to time. This underscores the careful vineyard work when possibly re-staking or replanting the damaged parts. There are written records of the re-staking. Specific data on replanting is lacking, but it may be reflected in the expenditure on the late autumn or early spring operations. In most years of the late 16th century, the amount spent on the vineyard was less than 100 florins. In the early 17th century, it dropped below triple figures only in exceptional years. The peaks in the graph indicate increased attention on vineyard work, renovation or staking. The vineyard's expenditures and revenues were included in a table between 1587 and 1663 which can be found at the end of this volume.

In my analysis, there is data on viniculture or wine production for 60 of the 76 years between 1587-1663. Unfortunately, there are no accounts for 16 years of St Elisabeth's history. There are a few years (1593, 1622, 1663) when one has to rely on accounts of work on the vineyard; data on the economics of viniculture is lacking, firstly because it is mentioned with the other incomes and secondly, because the hospital's records on this have not survived. Another anomalous case (1588, 1589, 1598, 1602, 1612, 1663) is when the accounts report on viniculture and wine sold, but there is no data on the quantity of wine left in the hospital. It also happens (1596, 1607, 1609) that the vineyard records show the quantity of wine in the institution's inventory, but the wine sold during the year is recorded together with other revenues, so that its

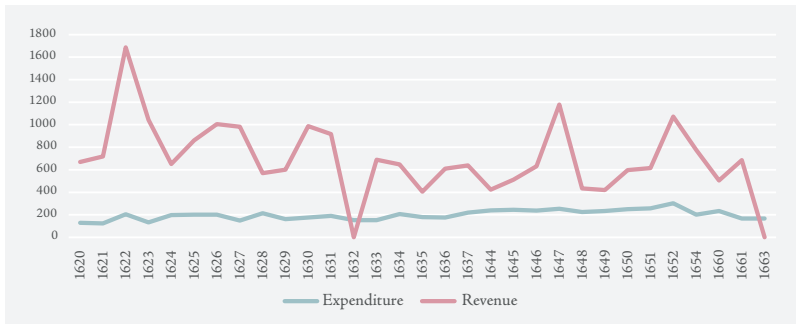
separate value cannot be established. For the final florin data included in the figure, I use only integers and omit decimals.

Summing up the income from the vineyard is no easy task, as also shown by the table, because in addition to the cash income, there is also the wine not yet sold in the cellars of the institution. The other problem is that the quantity of wine in reserve was sometimes given in buckets and sometimes in barrels. While the size of the bucket as a unit of measurement is a known quantity, the size of the barrel can vary. The other question that arises is that the barrels of different capacities were not always full and do not always indicate how much wine was kept in each one. The most frequently mentioned barrels are of 75 and 79 buckets, but there are also a few mentions of barrels of 80 and 90 buckets. In my calculations, I assume that the barrels were completely filled, but I use the smallest barrel size. Where the accounts give the contents of the barrels, I have calculated them on that basis. Since the retail sales of wine were calculated in *ejtels*/cups, all wines made from grapes grown in the vineyards of the hospital are given in *ejtels* in the table.³⁵⁷ I have used the average price as the price of wine in the years when there are no data available. Taking all this together, I tried to convert the wine made from the grapes into florins. In this way, I have attempted to compare the costs of vine cultivation with the potential income from wine.

FIGURE 4. *Expenditure and revenue from the vineyards of St Elisabeth's Hospital*



³⁵⁷ About measures: Jakó Zsigmond: „Az erdélyi mértéktörténet kérdéseihöz.” *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 1945, 3–4, pp. 240–243. Online: <https://api.eda.eme.ro/server/api/core/bitstreams/6f8b6f73-1f6b-4b0d-ae25-c8dc5653f816/content> (Accessed 14 October 2023); Kovács Géza: Területmérési rendszerek Arad környékén. Történelmi áttekintés és helyzetfelmérés. In Kós Károly and Faragó József. *Népismereti Dolgozatok*. Bukarest, 1980, pp. 26–36. Online: https://adatbank.ro/html/alcim_pdf12452.pdf (Accessed 14 October 2023).

FIGURE 5. *Expenditure and revenue from the vineyards of St Elisabeth's Hospital*

As shown in the graphic representation, however much human and financial investment was required to cultivate the vineyards was well worth the investment of their resources. When the vineyard work was carried out as expected and the weather conditions were favourable, an outstanding quantity of wine was produced from the vineyards of St Elisabeth's Hospital. The low incomes are from years with only partial data, which in fact does not rule out the possibility that the income from this source may have outweighed the expenditure. There were also more modest years (1606, 1610, 1616) when, despite the work invested, the vineyards did not produce as much as expected. However, there were a couple of outstanding years (1596, 1607, 1617) in the period under study when incredible quantities of wine were recorded. These extreme years were typical for the first half of the analysis, with revenues from wine steadily above the amount spent from 1620 onwards. Over the whole period, St Elisabeth's almshouse boasted an outstanding grape harvest on several occasions (1592, 1599, 1601, 1622, 1626, 1647, 1652). The viniculture works in Kolozsvár were successful for a long time from 1621 onwards, since throughout the whole period they could count on making a multiple of the money spent from selling their wine.

The wine of the hospital was stored in the properties of the institution and sold locally in Kolozsvár. This wine was sold according to the rules used and in force in the city. In Kolozsvár, the tapping of wine barrels was only possible through wine merchants (*csaplár*)³⁵⁸ sworn to the city, with special permission from the city authorities.³⁵⁹ The records of wine sales show that both old and new wine, and even wine made from lees, was sold. In these cases, the costs incurred (candles, payment for the wine-merchant) were also recorded. There is no precise data on how long they were able to store their

³⁵⁸ A person appointed by the City Council and sworn to perform his duties by the City's laws and ordinances. They are provided with instructions by the City Council.

³⁵⁹ EMSZT. II, p. 30.

wines, but it is clear that their prices varied. There are also rare references to three-year-old wines, when 75 buckets of three-year-old wine were offered for sale for 8 denars per bucket for seven days, before the price was lowered to 6 denars.³⁶⁰ It also struck me as interesting that, contrary to the scholarly literature, which claims that new wine was considered better during this period, there is evidence that vintage wine was sold at a higher price. They also sold off the wine lees, especially when they had a significant amount of wine and it must have had considerable lees; about 1/11th of the wine was counted as wine lees. The revenue from this can and should also be counted towards the wine revenue.

The price of wine obviously also depended on the quantity and, above all, the quality of the harvest. These in turn depended on natural factors. Depending on the quality of the wine, the price varied greatly from 3 denars to a very high 18 denars per ejtel³⁶¹, but most often it was between 8 and 12 denars. However, there were years when they would have sold their wine for 3 denars if there had been buyers.³⁶² The price of wine was this low in 1610 as well.³⁶³ The highest price was recorded in 1652 when it went from 12 denars to 28 denars within the same year.³⁶⁴ If one would like to define a virtual value for the annual income from their vineyards, the ideal would be to use the price of wine for that year and if there is no data available, then an average wine price. In cases for which data exist, they are used in their analysis. Bálint Segesvári's data on viticulture and wine production from 1608 to 1637 are of assistance. Thus, he reports that in 1608 wine was cheap and scarce, while in 1609 the vineyards were hit by hail storms in the autumn and very little wine was produced.³⁶⁵ After that, the grape harvest must have been average, because nothing was recorded until 1613, when they complained that the wine produced on the outskirts of the city was scarce and bitter.³⁶⁶ In 1615 and 1616, the cold weather damaged the grape harvest, but in 1617, thanks to the good weather, enough wine was produced.³⁶⁷ The following year, 1618, saw little wine, while in 1619, the May frosts caused considerable damage to the grape and fruit harvests.³⁶⁸ From 1620 onwards, when wine was sold for 8, 10 and 12 denars, the vineyards and the wine production were free of major problems for a few years.³⁶⁹ In 1625, the grapes were damaged

³⁶⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1651, p. 12.

³⁶¹ EMSZT. II, p. 723.

³⁶² Accounts of St Elisabeth's. 1609, p. 99.

³⁶³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1610, p. 127.

³⁶⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1652, p. 14.

³⁶⁵ *Kolozsvári emlékirók*, p. 139.

³⁶⁶ *ibid* p. 147.

³⁶⁷ *ibid* p. 149.

³⁶⁸ *ibid* p. 150.

³⁶⁹ *ibid* p. 151.

by the cold. In 1627, a disease caused a lot of grapes to rot, which was also noticeable in the quality of the wine³⁷⁰, while in 1628, the wine became bitter, so much so that it was hardly drinkable³⁷¹. Thereafter, there were fewer problems with the vineyards around Kolozsvár. Although it was a dry year in 1631, good and strong wine was produced, and it went for 6 or 8 denars per ejtel.³⁷² In 1633, the May frosts again damaged the vineyards. Up until the frosts, the city had plenty of cheap wine, but as soon as the frost damage appeared, the price of wine went up.³⁷³ The effect of the frosts on the price of wine can also be observed in 1635. Until the May frosts, the price of wine was 5, 6 and 8 denars. After the frosts, it rose to 8, 10, and 12 denars and later on, for Christmas and carnival, to 16 and 20 denars.³⁷⁴ A year later, Segesvári praised the good grape harvest and wrote about the good wines made that year, which were nevertheless sold at a high price of 16 and 20 denars.³⁷⁵ His last entry about wine, from 1637, notes that it was good and sufficient and went for 6, 8 or 10 denars per ejtel.³⁷⁶ These data are a faithful reflection of weather, crop and price trends over the period of record and also indicate how sensitive prices were to climate conditions.

For the years without any data, given the large variation and differences, the mean for these calculations is taken from the range that was most commonly used.

The retail sale of wine also had its costs. Wine was measured according to the city's regulations, which required the wine barrels to be tapped with the knowledge of the city and only wine-merchants sworn to the city's laws could perform this task.³⁷⁷ The person appointed by the city was responsible for the authenticity of the measurements used for the retail sale of the wine, for selling unadulterated wine and for compliance with the regulations.³⁷⁸

The retail sale of wine also had its costs, the amount of which obviously varied in proportion to the tapped amount and the time spent on it, the work of the wine-merchant, his meals and the candles and mugs used.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁰ *ibid* p. 156.

³⁷¹ *ibid* p. 157.

³⁷² *ibid* p. 162.

³⁷³ *ibid* p. 165.

³⁷⁴ *ibid* p. 167.

³⁷⁵ *ibid* p. 169.

³⁷⁶ *ibid* p. 171.

³⁷⁷ For more details about the retail sale of wine, see Kovács Kiss Gyöngy. *A játékos város*. In Idem. *Rendtartás és kultúra, Századok, mindennapok, változások Erdélyben*. Marosvásárhely, 2001, p. 13-19; Jeney-Tóth Annamária: *Szőlős gazdák...*, pp. 77-97.

³⁷⁸ *Corpus statutotum*. pp. 20-200.

³⁷⁹ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, 1610, p. 137. „4 Apr. Kezdettem meg az 79 vedres hordó bort. Bor ivó csuporokat vöttem hozzá fl. – d. 12.

Az csaplárnak ételre költöttem két nap fl. – d. 14.

Az csaplárnak fizettem fl. – d. 40.”

The wine from the hospital's vineyards was not just a source of income, as it was also used by the hospital itself and served to those who received its care. This part of the wine production is the least traceable, as there are only vague records of, for example, one or more barrels of wine being turned over to the poor in a given year, but no record of the size of the container, with several sizes being reported. Sometimes a portion of a barrel of wine put up for sale was distributed to the poor and another part served as the drink of the wine-merchant.³⁸⁰

The amount of wine the hospital produced each year ranged from a few barrels to as much as 26 barrels.³⁸¹ A large part of the wine came from the vineyards of Kolozsvár and a smaller part from the tithes of Méra.³⁸² According to the surviving accounts, the amount of the tithe wine fluctuated between 4 and 16 buckets.³⁸³

1596 was an extraordinary year, when the hospital had so much wine that it could not keep it in its own storage facilities. So, in the cellar of their house in the market square, they had 19 barrels and 4 átalags of old and new wine, at the hospital house 19 barrels and 12 átalags, at Jákob Bernhardus in Óvár, 4 barrels of vintage wine, and at Mrs György Rudolf in Monostor 7 barrels of wine, while the tithe wine from Méra amounted to 2 átalags.³⁸⁴ The question arises as to why the hospital's wines could not fit on its properties. The explanation must be that the house and cellar on the main square were being renovated and could only be used in part, or that they were busy extending the cellar but that there are insufficient data on it.

St Elisabeth's had another form of income from wine, namely from storing other people's wine in the spacious cellar of their main square property. This income was not permanent, but from time to time, after a good vintage or in case of danger, several institutions, noblemen and leading citizens stored their wine in barrels here. However, records suggest that this income from wine

³⁸⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1651, p. 12.

³⁸¹ 16 barrels of wine in 1601, in *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 22; 9 barrels of wine in 1606, in *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 90; 26 barrels of vintage wine and 7 barrels of new wine, in *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, pp. 96-97; four barrels of last year's wine and 11 barrels of new wine in 1610, in *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, pp. 125-126, 130; 1525 buckets of wine in 21 barrels in 1617, in *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, pp. 178-179; 6 barrels of wine from the previous year and 4 barrels of that year in 1619, in *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 183, 199; 5 barrels of old wine and 5 of new wine in 1623, in *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, pp. 229-230; 9 barrels in 1624, in *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 234; 16 barrels of vintage wine and 14 barrels of new wine in 1626, in *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 268; 2 barrels of vintage wine and 9 barrels of new wine in 1648, in *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 353.

³⁸² The wine tithe of Méra was twice confirmed as a donation of Queen Isabella, first in 1572, during the reign of István Báthory in Fasc. A, no. 26, and in 1585 under Zsigmond Báthory in Fasc. A, no. 36.

³⁸³ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 97, 126, 152, 314, 334, 354, 397.

³⁸⁴ *Partial accounts.*, 1596/6/XIX, p. 24.

storage was not regular. Data on the storage of significant quantities of external wine were as follows. In 1587, Kálmán Nyírő, a former judge of Kolozsvár, paid 4 florins and 20 denars for the storage of his wine. But not only was there this foreign wine in the cellar, but at least three other people also owed money for its use.³⁸⁵ In 1588, the auditors questioned the almshouse warden on the accounting of the cellar rent, so there were foreign wines in the cellar at that time too.³⁸⁶ The following year, only 1 florin and 20 denars revenue came from letting the cellar.³⁸⁷ At most a few florins a year came from storing foreign wine in the cellar of their house in the main square. However, there were a couple of exceptional years when a significant amount of wine from other vineyards was kept in their cellars. Thus, in 1617, 1444 buckets of wine were stored in 20 barrels for 14 florins 44 denars³⁸⁸, in 1623, 13 barrels of wine for 9.50 florins³⁸⁹, in 1624, 12 barrels of wine for 9.51 florins³⁹⁰, in 1626, 18 barrels for 14 florins and 9 denars³⁹¹, in 1646, 8 barrels³⁹², in 1648, 334 buckets of the previous year's wine and 1208 buckets of external wine in seven vessels³⁹³ and in 1660, more than 1510 buckets of wine³⁹⁴. The data of the partial accounts are complementary to the cellar rent data, but they present only the grand total. As a result, it can be seen that the amount of money made from letting the cellar was quite variable.³⁹⁵ This income required almost no labour input and added a clear profit to the institution's income.

St Elisabeth's almshouse reported income from its own vineyards, from the tithe wine of Méra and from the wines of outside persons. The income from these sources was not constant, as it varied according to the harvest, but each year it brought in at least enough to cover the costs. However, during

³⁸⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1587, p. 11.

³⁸⁶ 1588, Registers of St Elisabeth. p. 8.

³⁸⁷ 1589, Registers of St Elisabeth. St Elisabeth's, p. 16.

³⁸⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 179.

³⁸⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 229.

³⁹⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 236.

³⁹¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 271-272.

³⁹² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 314.

³⁹³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 354.

³⁹⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, St Elisabeth's, pp. 9-10.

³⁹⁵ In 1613, the cellar rent was 7 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 436; in 1619, it was 13.92 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's St Elisabeth's, p. 92; in 1621, 453 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's. p. 206; in 1622, 7.49 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 164; in 1626, 15 florins and 80 denars, in Accounts St Elisabeth's, p. 400; in 1627, 8.11 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 413; in 1628, 14.9 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth. St Elisabeth's, p. 448; in 1629, 3.74 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth. St Elisabeth's, p. 570; in 1630, 11 florins and 4 denars, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's, St Elisabeth's, p. 612; in 1631, 11.45 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 448; in 1633, 8.51 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 453; in 1635, 9.13 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 460; in 1636, 4.91 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 464; in 1645, 65 denars, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 473; in 1647, 2.41 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 335.

the period under study, the wine-related revenues of the hospital can be safely assessed as significant and an important support for the activities of the institution. Even in the poorest years, the inhabitants of the hospital, the almshouse warden's family and his workers benefited from their wines, some as part of their sustenance, others even as payment.

5.3. THE MILLS OF THE ALMSHOUSE

Mills are a fixture of early modern towns. They could be run by private individuals (burghers, noblemen), the city community or other city institutions. Each mill had its own service area, so the more mills a settlement had, the more populous the town was likely to be. The mill generated income for the institutions, which helped strengthen their financial backing. An increasing amount is being written about the presence and role of early modern mills.³⁹⁶ This is also the case in Kolozsvár, where the mills of St Elisabeth's almshouse generated income and ground the grain needed to feed the poor and the staff without expenditure.

The information about the mill on the Szamos in Kolozsvár is the first data available on the economic background of St Elisabeth's Hospital. The scattered data show that the mill received by the institution as a royal donation was previously a bark mill, which was converted into a grain mill with the consent of the sovereign.³⁹⁷ Later, with the permission of Queen Isabella (13 November 1558), the two-wheeled mill was converted into a three-wheeled one, so that the third wheel could be used by the bun-makers.³⁹⁸ This mill was already in the service of the hospital from the second half of the 14th century, but there is no information about its revenues until much later, from the time that the accounts of the hospital were preserved. What is certain is that the inventory of 1591 also mentions the three-wheeled mill of the hospital in Kolozsvár, on the Szamos, which was in operation. Inventories taken of the mill included several stone picks, wheat pails, tubs, measures, *vajtoklós*³⁹⁹, grappling hooks, a pair of new stones and a dry wheel axle.⁴⁰⁰

The maintenance of the mills, according to the account books, mainly meant the renovation, repair and purchase of equipment, but it turns out that this was not enough, as the cleaning of the river and the building of

³⁹⁶ Szende Katalin. MILLS AND TOWNS. Textual evidence and cartographic conjectures regarding Hungarian towns in the pre-industrial period. In *Extra Muros*. Wien-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau Verlag, 2019, pp. 485-517.

³⁹⁷ Jakab Elek, I, p. 55; DRH, C, XIII, pp. 123-124.

³⁹⁸ Jakab Elek, II, p. 92.

³⁹⁹ EMSZT. XIII, p. 1021. Measuring vessel for tolls.

⁴⁰⁰ Inventory, 1591, p. 10. EMSZT. vol. IV, p. 577, Gerendely = mill wheel axle.

dams were also an integral part of this process. While the work on the building was entirely the responsibility of the mill owner, the latter were carried out by the town community, obviously with help from all the mills. This way, disagreements could be avoided and the interests of each mill could be served, i.e., the dam could be built in such a way that it was good for all mills. Rebuilding ice-damaged dams required money, expertise and manpower. A major role in this work was played by the city's curator *stercoris*.⁴⁰¹ In early July 1587, a flood wave on the Szamos damaged the dam so badly that it took 3 to 18 men per week working for a week and subsequently 4 days to repair the damaged dam, at a cost to the hospital of 17 florins and 76 denars.⁴⁰² The accounts also reveal that this occurrence was repeated in May 1588, although the damage was not so significant, as it cost the hospital only 13 florins to clean up the accumulated rubbish and repair the dam.⁴⁰³ The flood occurred again in 1597, but this time the dam was worked on only 2 times for 3 days. The municipality paid the curator *stercoris* 36 denars for the work on each occasion.⁴⁰⁴

At other times, when there was a very bad winter and the Szamos was thoroughly frozen over, the almshouse warden watched the melting with concern and tried to prevent the damage. Thus, in February 1589, a man who was most probably the almshouse warden of the time wrote: "*as I was afraid of the ice, both for the dams and the mill, I asked the 25 fishermen here to help me release the ice and I paid them 3 florins for two days*".⁴⁰⁵ But even this was not enough, for in the June of the same year, the almshouse warden paid 12 or 13 day labourers every day for a whole week to make a place for the mill to draw water. The whole work cost them over 12 florins.⁴⁰⁶

Any problems in water usage resulted in delays to the efficient operation of the mills, which in turn could have caused significant damage to the revenue of the city's mills, while at the same time jeopardising the Kolozsvár's flour supply. Since in the 16th century such events, mainly caused by the weather, took place quite often, the city sought a solution to this situation. Firstly, they constructed a wooden canal to safeguard the mill from the force of the strong water. To this end, the city council decided to dig a mill race to supply the mills with water and protect the city and its mills from weather-related losses. This mill-race is considered one of the most important early modern investments of the city, which started on 27 March 1558 and lasted for many years.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰¹ EMSZT. XII, p. 338, trash carrier.

⁴⁰² Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587, p. 18.

⁴⁰³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1588, p. 13.

⁴⁰⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1597, p. 14.

⁴⁰⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, p. 26.

⁴⁰⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, p. 18.

⁴⁰⁷ *Kolozsvári emlékirók*, p. 407.

The completion of the mill race raised a number of questions. What should happen to the mills on the Szamos? Should they be moved to the completed mill race or remain in place? What should happen to the mills on the Szamos? Should they be moved to the completed mill race or remain in place? If the mills were moved, when and how did this happen? The citizens of Kolozsvár clashed with the nobles of Szamosfalva over the issue of the mills. The problem between the opposing parties started with water usage in 1576 and lasted for several decades.⁴⁰⁸

Thanks to the 1591 inventory of St Elisabeth's almshouse, and earlier from the entry of the Dezső family's bequest, it is known that the hospital had a two-wheeled mill on the Nádas stream in Méra, with stone-cutting picks, pail, measure, vajtokló and grappling hooks. The inventory of the mills lists several components, such as the pair of millstones belonging to the machinery, the wooden enclosure surrounding the stone and the funnel where the grain to be milled was placed and the associated box for receiving the flour, flour measuring paddles, chest, stone picks, measuring instruments, a bushel and the water wheel or, in the case of a dry mill, the millstone-driving mechanism. If it was a larger mill, there may have been several pairs of stones in it. Mills with 1, 2, 3 or 4 pairs of stones are known from the early modern period, but mills with only one pair of stones were the most common.

For the mill to work properly, it was essential that it was adequately equipped and driven without interference. As already seen, the thaw of ice often caused problems and damage to the mill and its operation. The accounts also reveal that drought was an obstacle to the efficient operation of the mill. Such a case was mentioned in the accounts of 1617, when it was recorded that since there was no water in the Nádas stream in the summer, the mill in Méra was not working, making it impossible to collect the mill toll from there.⁴⁰⁹ At other times, the almshouse master could not find a miller to operate the mill.

The frequency with which the millstones were replaced depended on the quality of the stones, as well as on the miller's skills and the mill's turnover. The best quality millstones were sourced from the best places in the region for the mills of Kolozsvár. The cutting of millstones, the frequency of cutting the so-called "rémes", varied in proportion to the mill's traffic. If the mill had a broad grinding base, the stones' grooves had to be deepened more often and the stones themselves had to be cut more frequently. The professionalism of the cutting was essential for ensuring the quality of the grist. Not every millwright carried out the tasks entrusted to him with sufficient

⁴⁰⁸ Barta Zoltán: A Gyerőffyék és Kolozsvár. Egy 16. századi malomper. In *Erdélyi Krónika*, 25.08.2018, <https://erdelyikronika.net/2018/08/a-gyeroffyek-es-kolozsvar-egy-16-szazadi-malomper/> (Accessed 29.01.2020 17.19.).

⁴⁰⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 150.

conscientiousness, so it sometimes happened that the city authorities admonished a professional who was not doing his job, as happened in 1588. They called upon him to preserve this heritage built at so much expense and if he wanted to profit from the mill, to attend to it, not attend to anything else, not go elsewhere and to live in the mill, for the city authorities would not allow him to serve two masters.⁴¹⁰

The mills operating in Kolozsvár, whether or not they were directly owned by the city, were only allowed to use the measures set by the city, so from time to time either the city's agents would go out to the site or the measures would be called in for inspection. In particular, the city took action in this regard when the city administration received a complaint. This happened in 1575, when a complaint was received about the collection of tolls in mills and bakeries and all the scales were brought in for inspection.⁴¹¹

Major rebuilding works, general repairs and extensions to the mill can also be traced in the accounts. These clearly show when major works have been carried out and the costs incurred. In 1590, a millstone was brought from Solyomtelke⁴¹² and in 1603 from Solyomkő.⁴¹³ A millstone was needed again in 1619.⁴¹⁴ In 1590⁴¹⁵ and in 1610⁴¹⁶, major repairs and constructions were carried out at the mill in Méra. Later, in 1651, a pair of stones worth 20 florins each was brought for both mills from Csicsó (Csicsó Szent Mihály).⁴¹⁷

In addition to the millstone, the millers procured iron (from Torockó) and bought various types of timber, which was reported and recorded in the hospital accounts by the almshouse wardens. The timber had various purposes. On the one hand, it was used to build the mill house, which was covered with a shingle roof and on the other hand, a large part of the milling structure was made of wood. While the iron part of the mill and the ironwork for the wheelbarrow and wagon was done by a hired blacksmith, the woodwork was carried out by the miller himself. Sometimes it was a minor repair and they would pay the blacksmith for individual jobs. At other times there was so much to do that they would prepare an annual account.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁰ EMSZT. VIII, p. 125.

⁴¹¹ *Protocollum Centumviorum*. V/3a, 114a.

⁴¹² Registers of St Elisabeth. 4/XIX., pp.13-4.

⁴¹³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 68.

⁴¹⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 188.

⁴¹⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. 4/XIX., pp. 13-14.

⁴¹⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 141.

⁴¹⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1651, p. 34. It should be noted that this millstone extraction site was still in use at the end of the 20th century. Millstones were transported hundreds of kilometres from here. See also: Koós Károly. Csicsói malomkő. In *Eszköz, munka, néphagyomány*. Bukarest, Kriterion, 1980, pp. 291-307.

⁴¹⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, they hire a blacksmith for a year, p. 39.

The repair and rebuilding of the mill's woodwork was carried out by the miller himself, since in those days the miller was not only the supervisor and operator of the milling process, but also the master mill builder.

According to the records in the account books, a wheelbarrow, a wagon, and horses were kept at the hospital's mill in Kolozsvár. The recorded costs were also included in the mill's general expenses. The data on the wheelbarrow, horses and wheelbarrow man (*taligás*)⁴¹⁹ of the Kolozsvár mill are a sensitive indicator of the intensity of activity in the institution.

The maintenance of the mill therefore cost various amounts and these expenses appear in the accounts from time to time, but unfortunately neither uniformly nor consistently. In order to quantify the costs for the two mills, one has to solve several problems. For example, how to assess or determine the amounts spent on the mill when the costs of the mill on the Szamos are negotiated together with the costs of the wheelbarrow next to the mill and the wheelbarrow man. At other times, the costs for the mills were combined with the costs for the vineyards or the total costs were given together with the costs for the other properties. These uncertainties make it impossible to clarify the expenditure on the operation of the mills.

In our calculations, the cost of the two mills and the expenditure on the wheelbarrow are treated as one in each case, since it is always presented as an accessory to the mill. In the case of multiple expenditures, we have attempted to develop a percentage average and to assign an approximate figure from the total cost given. Apart from these cases, there are a few years without any figures recorded, or if there are the information about the mill is missing for some reason or was provided together with other costs and therefore cannot be used properly. For these reasons, the attempts to quantify expenditure have failed.

The operation of the mill in Méra may have faced other obstacles in addition to the provision of equipment and a professional. Due to its natural characteristics, the Nádas stream was not abundant in water, so in years of drought it sometimes dried up and there was not enough water to run the mill.

The income from the mills is very difficult to aggregate and especially difficult to quantify. On the one hand, it is difficult because the mills of the institution were also used to grind the grain needed by the hospital. On the other hand, others were also grinding in the mill and paid their toll in wheat in exchange for the service. This income could have been quantified, but these records are rather general. The grain thus collected as toll was sometimes issued in payment to workers within the institution or it could be sold and thus monetised.

⁴¹⁹ A person who transports the grain to the mill and from the mill with a horse-drawn carriage. They are paid from the mill's revenue.

For example, in 1601, 150 köböl⁴²⁰ and 5 bushels of wheat were collected as toll from the two mills, of which 38 köböl and 3 bushels were used for sowing, 4 köböl and 4 bushels were added to the farm, 2 köböl were paid to the blacksmith and 66 köböl were milled for the needs of the hospital. All this left the institution with 38 köböl and 6 bushels of grain.⁴²¹

In other years, even more grain was offered as payment and some of the remaining grain could even be sold. So, in 1602, 21 köböl of wheat were sold.⁴²² There were years when the price of wheat was good, as in 1603, when they received 31 florins for 3 köböl and 7 bushels⁴²³ or in 1608, when their revenue from wheat amounted to 146 florins and 63 denars⁴²⁴. However, there were also years when wheat was bought and sold in the same year by the hospital. In 1606, for instance, they sold 12 köböl of wheat and bought 10 köböl and 6 bushels.⁴²⁵

If one tries to find out what was milled in these mills, the available data seem to confirm that the two mills were mostly used for wheat, with other cereals appearing in the accounts in negligible quantities.

The income of the mill is, as already noted, difficult but not impossible to quantify. The data on mill toll income is diverse, but within the research period, continuous quantifiable records are available for 33 years only. Examining this information alongside data from other mills in the town can help determine the minimum amount of grain that was ground in the town.⁴²⁶ Based on the records, the almshouse mill, despite having two pairs of stones and three wheels, ground more than 129,860 kg annually, which is less than what the town's mills ground collectively.⁴²⁷ The Méra mill produced more issues for the institution than income. However, even if one only counts the toll wheat from the grain that came from its own properties and had to be milled for the needs of the house, that alone can be considered a significant income, not to mention the payments received from the mill tolls. It is very clear that the management of the mills depended on many factors and that it is not possible to make very precise and rigid demands in this matter. However, it can be safely concluded that it provided a comfortable background for the food supply of the hospital.

⁴²⁰ Specific Hungarian unit of measurement, from the latin "cubulus". Köböl in Kolozsvár= 8 bushels= 29 litres= 172 litres= 86 kg.

⁴²¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 21-23.

⁴²² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 33.

⁴²³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 47.

⁴²⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 428.

⁴²⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 92.

⁴²⁶ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. Malmok a 17. századi Kolozsváron. In *Közösségben közösségért. Tanulmányok Kiss András születésének századik évfordulójára*. Flóra Ágnes and Pakó László (Eds.). EME, HUN-REN BTK TTI, Kolozsvár-Budapest, 2023, pp. 307-317.

⁴²⁷ *ibid.*

5.4. THE MÉRA ESTATE

As seen above, the estate or manor of Méra came into the possession of St Elisabeth's as a result of a testamentary donation from the Dezső family. Since there is a testament, one would think it would be easy to take stock of the movable and immovable property that belonged to the estate, but, despite expectations, quite a few difficulties arise. The take-over of the estate itself proved to be problematic, as even before the donation was made, part of the family warned the interested parties that they did not agree to the alienation of the estate.⁴²⁸ From this point on, although there is a fairly detailed description of the donated goods, it is not possible to determine what actually ended up in the possession of the hospital. What makes this task particularly difficult is that for a generation after the testament, the only information available concerns the lawsuit with the family; not much is known about what the hospital may have actually taken possession of in the meantime. During the trial, the family often said that the donor had no legal basis for transferring the hereditary estate or parts of it outside the family, but what this category included is not clear from the sources. Obviously, this must have been clear to the parties at the time, but it has remained a mystery from then until now and may remain so for a long time to come.

The first data on the use of the estate come from the accounts and the inventory of the hospital. On this basis, there may have been quite significant differences between the will and the received property. Analysing the records of the sources, the absence of vineyards belonging to the estate of Méra is striking. While the will referred to five vineyards, the inventory no longer mentioned them, nor did it provide any information on the cultivation of the vineyards of Méra or on the wine made from the grapes produced there, either earlier or later. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to quantify the actual size of the Méra estate and hence its degree of utilisation; all that can be established is the income it generated.

Wheat can be considered the staple grain of the hospital's economy but small quantities of barley and oats were also recorded. All three cereals were grown primarily on the institution's allodium or fields, but some were recorded in the accounts as the serfs' tithe grain. The grain collected was used primarily to feed the poor. A number of payments were also made to various masters and servants for their work benefiting the hospital. If, under these circumstances, there was still a surplus of the grain collected, it was sold and the proceeds were used for the maintenance of their movable and immovable property. The crops (millet, buckwheat, peas, hemp) that were grown on their property in Méra were also used for the maintenance of the estate.

⁴²⁸ W. Kovács András. *Szent Erzsébet levéltár*. pp. 259-260.

According to the accounts, in addition to the mill, the Méra estate and the serfs' plots also generated income. The available data give the impression of a smaller estate. The urbarium of the Méra estate gives several accounts of the number of serfs and their potential. The number of serfs' plots, the number of people living there and the number of animals they owned determined the strength of the estate of Méra. In exchange for their plots of land, the serfs provided services in terms of crops, money and labour. There were also cases where their obligation to supply produce was exchanged for cash. In particular, cash payments were recorded in place of the tithe for pigs and bees. The serfs belonging to the estate of Méra not only helped on its lands, but also took part in agricultural work for the hospital in the city or on its outskirts. The accounts recorded the help of the serfs from Méra in the vineyards, in the harvesting of the grain and in the maintenance of the farm in Kolozsvár or other properties of the hospital. The value of this labour cannot be quantified, but they can be considered as a component of the total value of other incomes (wine, wheat).

These data show that the estate of Méra exploited its potential beyond the boundaries of the manor and applied it in a variety of ways in the joint economic system of the hospital and the institution. This is not a unique mechanism, as for example the labour of the serfs belonging to the city was also used for major works in the settlement.⁴²⁹

The manorial management mechanism of the hospital itself was organised in a similar way to the management of other manors. The available data certainly suggest that the estate of Méra was self-sustaining and also generated some small income. The income from the estate could be in the form of crops, labour, or money. Annual tithes of wheat, barley, oats, wine, bees, and pigs are mentioned as being collected or redeemed. The tax to be paid in cash was 25 florins in the period under consideration. There were times when it was expected to be paid at the end of the year in one lump sum and other times when it was due in the spring and autumn.⁴³⁰ In 1623, the serfs of Méra wanted to repair their church. To this end, they asked the city auditors to waive their taxes for that year in order to support the renovation. The petition of the serfs was accepted by the city authorities on condition that they would waive the tax of the serfs of Méra if they succeeded in completing the works by Pentecost the following year.⁴³¹

The farming centre of the Méra property was the farm, together with the administrator's house, where the person in charge of the farm (steward) and his family lived.

⁴²⁹ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Kolozsvár koraijkori uradalma és gazdálkodása*. In publication. Lecture delivered on 20 September 2017 at the Hungarian Agricultural Museum.

⁴³⁰ Partial accounts, 1618, p. 36; 1619, p. 93; 1621, p. 207, 1622, p. 264; 1626, p. 300.

⁴³¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 232.

It is quite likely that similar institutions in the West functioned in the same way as they did here, as is also suggested by the volume summarising the management of the English hospitals.⁴³²

The farm (farms)

As seen so far, the estates of St Elisabeth's had two farms, one in Méra and one in Kolozsvár near the hospital house. These were the manorial centres from which the agricultural work on the hospital estates was managed. This is where the animals used in the institution's economy and those used for feeding were kept. The revenues from here were usually in the form of crops and were recorded only in rare and exceptional cases; even then, they were not quantified in value. It did happen, although not very often, that some of the livestock kept there was sold. In such cases, cash receipts were also declared in the accounts.⁴³³

The farms probably also included a vegetable and fruit garden. These were taken care of by the steward (farm administrator) in Méra; in Kolozsvár usually by the almshouse warden and, in rare cases, by the local steward. The vegetables from these gardens did not bring in extra income, but they did help to feed the hospital's inhabitants.

Quite often, but not always, data on the management of the meadows can also be found in the accounts, in connection with the farms or completely independently of them, as an integral part of the estate management. The collection and storage of hay cut from the meadows played a very important role in the animal husbandry on the farms. Sometimes, due to bad weather, there was not enough hay collected for the institution's farm, so it was necessary to buy more. In 1603, during the invasion of Mózes Székely, the cattle were forced into the city between 6 and 17 May, so the hospital had to buy hay for 3 florins for the animals. In the same year, hay for the sheep was bought from the Romanians of Asszonyfalva for 29 florins.⁴³⁴ In 1610, the hay grown in Méra proved to be insufficient and in mid-April they supplemented it for more than two florins.⁴³⁵

The amount of livestock varied greatly over the period studied. It consisted of horses, cattle, oxen, bullocks, pigs, sheep, goats and poultry (hens, roosters, geese, ducks, peacocks). At the time of the inventory of 1591, the hospital cared for a significant number of animals. This provided the institution with food and

⁴³² Fox, Christine Merie. *The Royal Almshouse at Westminster c. 1500-1600*. London, University of London, 2012, pp. 86-126.

⁴³³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587, p. 9.

⁴³⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 57.

⁴³⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 138.

financial security, as well as the livestock needed for the work.⁴³⁶ Several cattle, oxen, bullocks, pigs and a flock (328 sheep, 95 lambs) of sheep with goats, 4 horses, peacocks, geese and chickens were recorded in the inventory.⁴³⁷ Just ten years later, in 1601, only 5 old cows, 5 summer steers, 2 old bullocks, 1 additional bullock, 4 cattle, 9 pigs and poultry were recorded.⁴³⁸ The events of the Fifteen Years' War severely decimated the livestock of the hospital. However, in 1602 the purchase of 232 sheep was reported.⁴³⁹ In the same year, the hospital was forced to buy oxen, but the hajdús drove some of them away and it was left with only 7.⁴⁴⁰ In 1609, they counted 8 oxen, 2 cart horses and 7 goats.⁴⁴¹ The large flock of sheep fell prey to raiding armies during the Fifteen Years' War – it was driven away several times. An attempt was then made to restore it when order was almost reestablished, but it fell into enemy hands again.

From time to time, as the livestock increased in number, a specially assigned person would take care of them. Thus, when there was a large flock of sheep, a designated shepherd would look after it or when there were several pigs to look after, the swineherd would also appear among the servants. Sometimes, they hired cowherds and sometimes swineherds or shepherds.⁴⁴²

For most of the year, the animals were kept using natural resources, grazing on the land belonging to the institution. A distinction was made in this period between pigs kept on pasture and mast-fed pigs. However, the mast-feeding of the cattle of the hospital was rarely recorded.⁴⁴³ The collected fodder was waiting to be used in the gardens behind the barns of the farms.

Croplands, grain fields, meadows and forests

The management of St Elisabeth's almshouse in Kolozsvár is also discussed in relation to the cultivation of grain fields, with a special focus on allodium farming. Since the institution had two farms, one in Méra and one outside the city walls, it was thought that the cultivation of the land was related to these, but the almshouse wardens recorded the income in kind, independently of the farms. The croplands were also mentioned separately in the donor's will, but there is no data on how they were worked, except that it was the manor's responsibility to look after them.

⁴³⁶ Fasc. A, no. 53, 1591, Inventory.

⁴³⁷ Fasc. A, no. 53, 1591, Inventory.

⁴³⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 416.

⁴³⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 40.

⁴⁴⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 41.

⁴⁴¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 123.

⁴⁴² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 24, 25, 177, 201, 372, 396.

⁴⁴³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 177, 179.

Special mention is made of the grain fields on the outskirts of the city and the grain taken from them. It is very important to note here that the revenue generated from them was probably a function of a number of factors. The first and most important factor is how much of the land they owned was worked and in what way. If the hospital took care of the grain fields from sowing to harvesting, then the cereals harvested from there remained entirely in the hands of the institution. If the land had been leased, the harvested cereals were received according to the agreement. These fields were mostly sown with wheat and scattered crops of einkorn, but there are also records of spelt, oats, millet, lentils, barley, rye, buckwheat and hemp. The crops from here were used to provide for the hospital. The quantity of cereals produced was not always sufficient. Sometimes seeds had to be bought and sometimes, although very rarely, even cereals for everyday use.

In addition to these basic conditions, environmental and climate factors naturally had a significant influence on crop yields as well. In addition, there may have been epidemics, warfare and military depredations, all of which made sowing or harvesting difficult or impossible, thus jeopardising the supply of grain to the hospital. There were times (in 1645) when the crops were damaged by ice or (in 1646) when the wheat was "weak"⁴⁴⁴ due to the weather (in Kövespad, 1617). In some places, wheat grew sparsely and yielded little.⁴⁴⁵

The cultivation of the land was overseen by the almshouse warden. The accounts do not provide precise data on which land was cultivated, when and how, but the highly fragmentary material suggests that both uses (cultivation and leasing) were possible simultaneously. No day labourers were recorded as working these fields, so the serfs of Méra must have been called in to help or perhaps the poor from the hospital did the weeding and harvesting of the grain (this occurred very seldom, but there is also data on this).

Only a part of the hospital's grain income came from the cultivation of the fields, because the serfs' crop tithe and the mills' tolls supplemented it. The cereals used for sowing came from the hospital's farming, and the tools for working the land were mentioned quite rarely in the inventories. Purchases of tools used in cereal production were recorded very rarely, with inventories mentioning only a plough and a relatively small number of sickles. These all confirm that work was often outsourced, or that workers used their own tools during the works. This way, there was less hassle and less cost. And when the serfs did the work, in several cases the records suggest that they worked with their own tools.⁴⁴⁶ In such cases, however, they were entitled to their daily meals for their work.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 311.

⁴⁴⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 150.

⁴⁴⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, in 1617 they worked with 4 ploughs, p. 172, in 1646 with 8 ploughs, p. 322, in 1650 with 7 ploughs, p. 406.

⁴⁴⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1617, p. 172; 1623, p. 220.

For the cultivation of the grain fields and croplands on the outskirts of Kolozsvár, the accounts occasionally mention the work phases of ploughing, mixing, sowing, weeding, harvesting, transportation and threshing. The harvested grain, as in other estates, was most often stored in stacks in the farm gardens, while at other times, the accounts reveal that it was stored as grain in barrels, crates or chests. However, this method of storage was not always the most favourable. For example, it was recorded in 1647 that in the second half of October they were forced to use and distribute the wheat because it had begun to canker.⁴⁴⁸ One form of safe storage employed in the early modern period as well was to keep it in pits, but in the case of St Elisabeth's almshouse, this method was rarely used.⁴⁴⁹

As I have already mentioned, only part of the grain intake came from the areas under their own cultivation, since this was supplemented by the mill toll and the serfs' tithes. Only a part of the grain thus received was used for the subsistence of the hospital (for the needs of the house and the animals, as fodder); a large part was used to pay the servants who were hired to do various jobs. Wheat was used to pay the forest watchman, the carpenter, the day labourers, the cooper, the blacksmith, the miller, the wheelbarrow man, etc.⁴⁵⁰ In these circumstances, it is difficult to quantify the actual income derived from this source.

Occasionally, when the hospital had a surplus, it would sell the grain, instead of hoarding and storing it for years. In 1633, 5 köböl and 5 bushels of wheat were sold for 52 florins and 81 denars.⁴⁵¹ In 1650, they sold 103 köböl and 7 bushels of wheat, for which they received 719 florins and 8 denars.⁴⁵²

Hayfields

Hay was essential for feeding the animals in the farms, courtyard and garden of the hospital. The reaping, collecting and carrying of the hay were mostly done by the serfs of the estate, which is why there is no trace of these works in the accounts, except when related to the meals of the serfs.⁴⁵³ On rare, urgent occasions, they hired day labourers, or brought in other employees of the hospital to do the work. In this way, in 1603, the vintner was also paid for haymaking and day labourers were hired for the same job as well.

⁴⁴⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1647, p. 332.

⁴⁴⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1617, p. 172.
Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1647, p. 332.

⁴⁵⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 47, 70, 79, 112, 130, 138, 179, 187, 262, 396.

⁴⁵¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 452.

⁴⁵² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 400.

⁴⁵³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1616, p. 292.

The auditors did not accept the latter expenditure.⁴⁵⁴ In the same year, the reaping was also carried out by day labourers and the expenditure was accepted without comment by the inspectors appointed by the city.⁴⁵⁵

The meadows and hayfields belonging to the hospital mostly provided enough fodder, so that the hospital only needed to buy in exceptional situations. It is recorded that on one such occasion they bought hay from Asszonyfalva, a village where the city owned land.⁴⁵⁶ Or at other times, during long winters, as happened in 1603, they bought hay from the market or from Méra and Szeliste.⁴⁵⁷ The harvested fodder was stored in the farm's gardens and in barns in huge cross-shaped bales, sections and stacks made of these.

Forests

Very little is known about the hospital's forest management. From archival sources, it is known that St Elisabeth's almshouse owned forest land in several places in Méra. From time to time, but not continuously, the payments included two köböl of wheat for the forest guard.⁴⁵⁸ It is not clear why there are no regular annual records, since these forests were permanently in their possession.

The forests must have been the deciduous forests characteristic of this region, since in one place it is mentioned that someone paid the hospital for renting an oak forest.⁴⁵⁹ A significant part of these forests must have been beech, since not only the hospital itself, but also people outside the institution, used to feed their pigs with acorns here. Thus, in 1616 the hospital earned over 14 florins from this.⁴⁶⁰

The hospital must also have had a pine forest, because when the almshouse warden bought pine boards in 1623, the auditors blamed him for buying them when it should have been the duty of the serfs to make them.⁴⁶¹

The forest primarily provided firewood for the institution, but also served as a source of raw material for buildings, barns, mills, houses, farms, vineyards and dams. Construction in Kolozsvár at that time was mostly based on timber, despite the increasing use of more durable materials. In early modern urban construction, everything from beams, planks, doors and windows to shingles required the presence of timber.

⁴⁵⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's. 1603, p. 59.

⁴⁵⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's. 1603, p. 65.

⁴⁵⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 57.

⁴⁵⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 55, p.138.

⁴⁵⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 312, 332, 372, 394, 466.

⁴⁵⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 335.

⁴⁶⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 177, 442.

⁴⁶¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 218.

However, only ordinary timber was used for all this. Semi-worked timber was bought on the market or from more distant forests. Thus, the hardwood⁴⁶² or planks needed for the mill also came from elsewhere.

The forest not only provided wood for this institution, but, as already noted, also a place for the feeding of the farm pigs.⁴⁶³ It seems, however, that they were not always able to make full use of this opportunity, as it also happened that people from outside the hospital would feed their pigs in the hospital's forest in Méra and pay them money for it. In 1616, 14 florins and 51 denars were collected for using the forest.⁴⁶⁴

A recorded occurrence related to the forest (though not to the hospital's) is that one of the hospital's serfs living in Méra went to András Somay's forest to fetch wood, and was captured with his oxcart, so the hospital had to pay a ransom.⁴⁶⁵

New paths are currently emerging in the research of forest and land use. It is worth following this up with a closer look at what the forest would have meant for the economy of an institution. Ünige Bencze's study has unearthed some quite interesting data on the land usage of the Kolozsmonostor convent estates in the vicinity of the Méra estate.⁴⁶⁶

The hospital's salt

The **income from salt** was extremely important for the hospitals of Kolozsvár. The revenue from the salt was included among the hospital's income as a princely donation. In the 8th decade of the 16th century, salt was still being bought for the hospital. Thus, in 1587, in nine months, salt was bought for 4 florins and 12 denars⁴⁶⁷ and in 1588, in ten months, salt was bought eight times for a total of 1 florin and 78 denars.⁴⁶⁸

Salt was an essential part of an early modern farm. Above all, it was an indispensable element in the food industry, as it played an important role not only in flavouring, but also in baking bread and preserving food. Salted cabbage, in particular, was an indispensable staple for these farms, and this required salt as well. Salt was also needed for livestock husbandry by the

⁴⁶² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 163.

⁴⁶³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 177, 179.

⁴⁶⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 442.

⁴⁶⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p.187.

⁴⁶⁶ Bencze Ünige and Toda Oana. Tájhasználat a kolozsmonostori bencés apátság Kajántó-völgyi birtokain. In *Dolgozatok. Az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem és Régiséggyűjtéséből. Új sorozat (X-XI)* (XX-XXI). Kolozsvár, 2015/2016, 2019, pp. 101-119.

⁴⁶⁷ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587, p. 68.

⁴⁶⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1588, p. 45.

larger economy of the farm. The bigger the farm, of course, the more salt was needed. The aforementioned purchases are essentially indicative of the amount of salt required by St Elisabeth's Hospital. The salt blocks purchased and later received as a donation were probably ground using the salt grinding mill documented in the brewery, which must have been turned by hand.

More regular data on salt is available from 1596 onwards. From this point onwards, the income from salt was reported with varying thoroughness. The first salt donation letter dates from sometime in the last decade of the 16th century. However, it is difficult to answer the question of what the charter might have contained. A close examination of the accounts reveals that salt donations arrived in Kolozsvár as early as 1596 and amounted to 2,000 cubes of salt per year. However, if one wishes to obtain more precise data on their distribution, one runs into difficulties. In the first years of the 17th century, the summary accounts of the Holy Spirit almshouse and the summary minutes of 1718 mention a total of 2,000 stone salts, the cutting of which was the task of the lower almshouse warden.⁴⁶⁹ In 1606, the city auditors instructed the almshouse warden of the Holy Spirit to give two hundred blocks of salt to St Elisabeth's. However, only one hundred pieces arrived at the upper hospital.⁴⁷⁰ A year earlier, in 1605, the almshouse warden of St Elisabeth's had bought salt for money, for which the auditors had reproached him and questioned him as to why he had not asked the lower almshouse warden for salt.⁴⁷¹ The data shows a donation of salt to the hospitals in Kolozsvár and for some reason (possibly because the donation letter fails to specify how the distribution should occur), the Holy Spirit was managing and using all the salt, although it is not sure that this was justified. But as this donation letter has not been found, what is actually behind this uncertainty about the receipt of salt is not known.

The available donation letters have previously been analysed as sources of information on the donation of salt in a separate study.⁴⁷² The series of these surviving letters begins in May 1613, when Gábor Báthory issued his charter. This was followed by another one at the end of the year, thanks to Gábor Bethlen, from which time the donations of salt became regular. From that date onwards, both hospitals would receive the 1,000 cubes of rock salt allocated to each of them.

Revenues from salt are shown in the hospital account books and in the municipal summary accounts. In addition, at the beginning of the 18th century,

⁴⁶⁹ Minutes of an almshouse inspection, 1718, 48/ XXXI; Accounts of the Holy Spirit almshouse, p. 225, p. 228,

⁴⁷⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 90.

⁴⁷¹ Minutes of an almshouse inspection, 1718, 48/ XXXI.

⁴⁷² Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. A só, az ispotály és Bethlen. In Papp Klára and Balogh Judit (Eds.). *Bethlen Gábor képmása*. Debrecen, 2013, pp. 229-241.

when the assets and revenues of the hospital were inventoried during the Habsburg regime, salt revenues were also summarised in a separate protocol, so the data of the other two sources (hospital and summary accounts) can be checked and supplemented in this case.⁴⁷³

On the basis of the available data, it is quite clear that the donation of salt meant much more to the Kolozsvár hospitals than what they could use in their own households. In addition to this use, the salt donations contributed to their financial assets.

According to the donation letter, the hospitals received the same amount of salt blocks per year (1000 from 1614 onwards), but the costs of cutting and bringing the salt blocks home seriously reduced the income from them. Therefore, it was often more profitable to sell the salt cubes they received locally, already at the salt mine, to avoid the hassle of transport and storage. In cases where they had cut the salt earlier and could not go and get it, they also had to pay for storage. For example, the accounts state that in 1650 and 1652, the almshouse wardens had to pay 1 florin for the storage, for an unknown period of time, of the salt mined.⁴⁷⁴ However, sometimes they decided to take the salt home and store it, which was probably useful because the salt blocks could be stored well and sold only when needed, thus providing cash for the institution's ongoing operations.

The revenues from salt donation of the Holy Spirit and St Elisabeth's were similar and were received by the institutions through the same mechanisms.⁴⁷⁵ Except for a few years, the salt came from the salt mine in Kolozs. So, when they talk about the salt blocks received by the hospitals, one has to think of the salt cubes cut here, as far as their size is concerned. This is also important because not all salt mines cut salt blocks of the same size. In the case of the Kolozs salt mines, one can reckon with salt blocks of 21 pounds (10.31 kg).⁴⁷⁶ This also depended on how and by what means the salt was transported: by water or by cart.⁴⁷⁷

When one looks at the institution's income from salt, one must also bear in mind the costs involved. These costs are rarely recorded, but the few data available are sufficient to allow one to imagine the steps that preceded the receipt. Thanks to the donation letters, St. Elisabeth's was also entitled to its 1,000 cubes of rock salt per year, but the cost of collecting the salt was high.

⁴⁷³ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. "Kolozsvár számadásai a fejedelemség korában." In *Történelmi Szemle*, 2018, no. 1, p. 26, 47. Note, p. 24, note no. 38.

⁴⁷⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1650, p. 21; 1652, p. 20.

⁴⁷⁵ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledett intézmény. A kolozsvári Szentlélek ispotály kora újkori története*. Budapest, LHarmatttan, 2012, p. 27.

⁴⁷⁶ See Draskóczy István. A sókocka nagysága. In Draskóczy István. *A magyarországi kősó bányászata és kereskedelme (1440-1530)*. Budapest, MTA, BTK, TTI, 2018, p. 155, p. 145-157.

⁴⁷⁷ *ibid.*

In the first place, officially and legally, they had to pay ten florins for the whole period for the cutting of the salt.⁴⁷⁸ The transport itself and the on-site visits to organise it also cost money.⁴⁷⁹ In this case, the transport of salt could have been done with the help of the serfs of Méra, but this was difficult to organise, so in most cases it was done with paid transporters. The transport of serfs encountered several obstacles or issues to be resolved. First of all, there was no way of knowing exactly when the hospital's salt would be cut. Then, the carts of the serfs had to go from Méra to Kolozs, and from there to Kolozsvár. In addition, in the case of such work, the hospital also had to provide food for the serfs involved in the transport.

In addition to all these legitimate expenses, the accounts quite often mention expenses incurred in trying to gain the goodwill of the appointed head of the salt chamber (kamaraispán), the salt accountant and two salt inspectors (máglás⁴⁸⁰). They mostly sought to gain their goodwill with gifts. While in the twenties and thirties, they were given hilted knives⁴⁸¹, in the fifties the chambers received some baize for a pair of trousers and the accountants and the inspectors a pair of boots each⁴⁸². In general, the gift received by the chambers was roughly equal to the sum of the gifts received by the other three persons involved. The almshouse wardens hoped that due to these small courtesies, the hospital's salt would be made available sooner. The auditors who checked the accounts of the almshouse wardens made caustic remarks about such expenses, but did impute them to the almshouse warden. The cost of cutting salt varied from a minimum of 16 florins to a maximum of 36 florins.

The salt revenue of the Holy Spirit, the other hospital in Kolozsvár, was between 80 and 100 florins per year, not counting the costs involved.⁴⁸³ There are several difficulties in calculating the salt revenue of St Elisabeth's. This is because most of the time the salt was received quite late and could not be sold that year. At other times, they did not sell all the salt, but instead kept it for rainy days, and sold it when the hospital needed money. There was a year (in 1628) when 103 florins and 20 denars were received for 1,000 cubes of salt⁴⁸⁴ and in 1629, 991 salt cubes were sold for 99 florins and 10

⁴⁷⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 172, 198, 202, 336, 400.

⁴⁷⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 274, 412.

⁴⁸⁰ EMSZT. VIII. p. 47. Salt inspector.

⁴⁸¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 219.

⁴⁸² Registers of St Elisabeth. 1652, p. 19; 1654, p. 21; 1660, p. 14.

⁴⁸³ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledett intézmény...*, p. 27.

⁴⁸⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 524.

denars⁴⁸⁵. In 1631, 99 florins⁴⁸⁶, in 1634, 100 florins⁴⁸⁷, in 1635, 90 florins⁴⁸⁸ and in 1651, 100 florins⁴⁸⁹ were recorded as income for 1000 cubes.

The price of salt showed a variable trend over the period analysed, often even within a year. Thus, in 1600, at the beginning of the year, 9 denars were paid for a piece of rock salt, while at the end of the year it was only 7 denars. In 1606, the almshouse warden sold the salt from the hermitage for 10 denars a piece.

The net income from salt per year for St Elisabeth's was between 65 and 85 florins. This in fact indicates that the salt revenue was the least labour-intensive and yet it provided significant, relatively steady, predictable income for these hospitals throughout the 17th century, from 1614 onwards.

As a concluding thought of these analyses, it is worth noting that not only the hospitals of Kolozsvár received donations of salt from the princes, but other institutions could also benefit from this kind of princely donation as well. These donations could be one-off, longer-term or perpetual. For example, several early modern schools in Transylvania, enjoying the princes' benevolence, could also count on income from salt.⁴⁹⁰

Testamentary donations

Another source of income for the hospitals, similar to other ecclesiastical or communal institutions, were the testamentary donations of burghers or noble persons connected with the city.

Dispositions of property upon death were a widespread practice in mediaeval private law. As a result, noblemen, burghers and even serfs could dispose of their acquired wealth. There is a very rich international and Hungarian literature⁴⁹¹ on the patrimonial succession of the nobility,

⁴⁸⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 570.

⁴⁸⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 661.

⁴⁸⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 457.

⁴⁸⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 460.

⁴⁸⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1651, p. 18.

⁴⁹⁰ Antal Pál Bakk's lecture at the conference of doctoral students in Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca, March 2019.

⁴⁹¹ Literature on testaments: Szende Katalin. *Otthon a városban. Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopron, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen*. Budapest, MTA Történettudomány Intézete, 2004, p. 318; Tüdös S. Kinga. *Erdélyi testamentumok. I–IV*. Marosvásárhely, Mentor, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2011; Lupescu Mária. *Késő-középkori erdélyi végrendeletek joggyakorlata*. In Nagy Róbert and Rüszt-Fogarasi Enikő (Eds.). *Ablakok a múlttra*. Kolozsvár, Egyetemi Műhely Kiadó – Bolyai Társaság, 2012, pp. 84–105; Idem. *Miért? Kinek? Mit? Erdélyi középkori végakaratok szerkezeti jellemzői*. In Egyed Emese, Pakó László and Weisz Attila (Eds.). *CERTAMEN I. Előadások a Magyar Tudomány Napján az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület I. szakosztályában*. Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2013, pp. 191–210; Idem. *Spoken and Written Words*

noblemen and burghers. The disposition of property could apply to the family or people close to the person concerned, but also to institutions as well. One can learn about the circumstances of the serfs' patrimonial succession from the works of Katalin Péter, among others.⁴⁹²

Between the Middle Ages and the early modern period, the justification for bequests to ecclesiastical institutions varied considerably. Whereas in the Middle Ages the primary motive for this kind of testamentary donation was the redemption of one's soul⁴⁹³, in the early modern period this explanation disappears in the case of Protestant testators. Only occasionally, rarely and in exceptional cases, can one find sentences referring to this justification. In the Middle Ages, the hospitals were ecclesiastical institutions, so these institutions also benefited from the donations given in exchange for the salvation of souls.

This custom of making testamentary donations to hospitals persisted even after the Reformation, when there was no longer the justification of the salvation of one's soul. In this period, the support of community institutions and the sense of responsibility towards them formed the justification for the testamentary bequests. In some cases, the bequest to a hospital, school or church took the form of a cash donation, which the institutions concerned lent, or could lend, to trusted persons who would return a fixed amount of money to the beneficiary institutions each year as interest. This procedure was quite common in 17th-century Marosvásárhely, for example, where it was almost a standard practice.⁴⁹⁴

in Testaments: Orality and Literacy in Last Wills of Medieval Transylvanian Burghers. In Mostert, Marco and Adamska, Anna (Eds.). *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns. Medieval Urban Literacy II*. Turnhout, Brepols, 2014, pp. 271-297; Máthay Monika: „Historiográfiai viták a testamentumról.” *KORALL. TÁRSADALOMTÖRTÉNETI FOLYÓIRAT*. 2004, 15-16, pp. 248-270; Horn Ildikó. Testamentele maghiare din Transilvania premodern”. In *CAIETE DE ANTROPOLOGIE ISTORICĂ III*, 2004, 1-2 (5-6), pp. 107-119. p. 13.

⁴⁹² Horváth József. „A falusi végrendeletek formái és tartalmi sajátosságai a Nyugat-Dunántúlon a 17-18. században?” *Soproni Szemle*, LIII., 1999, no. 4., pp. 356-37; Toth István György. *Jobbágyok hajdúk, deákok. A körmendi uradalom XVII. században*. Budapest, Akadémia, 1991; Idem. „Írásbeliség a körmendi uradalom falvaiban paraszti jogügyletekben a XVII-XVIII században.” *Levéltári Közlemények*, 60, 1989/1, pp. 83-142; Péter Katalin. Ad vocem fősvénység. Pénz a jobbágy-földesúr viszonyban az örökös jobbágyág idején. In Janovics József, Császtvay Tünde, Csörsz Rumen István and Szabó G. Zoltán (Eds.). „*Nem súlyed az emberiség*” *Album amicium Szörényi László LX. születésnapjára*. Budapest, MTA, ITI, 2007, pp. 1393-1413.

⁴⁹³ Lupescu Mária. „Item lego... Gifts for the soul in late medieval Transylvania.” *AMS*, 7, 2001, p. 161-185; Idem. „Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval Sighişoara (Segesvár, Schässburg).” *Caiete de Antropologie Istorică*, 2004, pp. 93-106; Idem: „...pályám egy nagy kaland volt... Beszélgetés Jakó Zsigmonddal.” *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 2006, pp. 16-25.

⁴⁹⁴ Rüszt-Fogarasi Enikő. Öröklési szokások a fejedelemségekori Marosvásárhelyen. In *Marosvásárhely története*. Marosvásárhely, Mentor, 2013, p. 29; Idem. *Marosvásárhelyi végrendeletek*. Marosvásárhely, Mentor, 2014, p. 15.

In Transylvania, in settlements with Saxon communities, the momentum of will making was reduced by the establishment of the institution of the property settlement judges.⁴⁹⁵ Its operation made it in many cases unnecessary to distribute assets by will. Nevertheless, wills were still made to record the bequests of acquired property, although much less frequently and usually quite briefly. In the Saxon region, the rules of testamentary disposition were determined by the *Eigenlandrecht*.⁴⁹⁶ The towns outside the university of the Saxons had their own rules on succession and on the conditions for making a will. In Kolozsvár, the rules of succession were laid down in the statute “*Succesoról való tractátus*”, which also included the statute of testamentary succession.⁴⁹⁷ In the case of Kolozsvár, the assets left to the beneficiaries from the property inheritances were either bequeathed by wills or through the mediation of the property settlement judges. The accounts presented such income as alms, testamentary bequests, dispositions and testaments in their explanations.

The hospitals of Kolozsvár also benefited quite often from the donations ordained after the distribution of property. If one takes a closer look at the institution's assets, it becomes quite clear that it owed a significant part of its assets to testamentary donations. Behind every donation there was a story, a human destiny, which unfortunately, even in exceptional cases, cannot be pieced together anymore. From donations of crops or small donations of money to substantial bequests of movable and immovable property, there are examples of everything.

The data gathered from several sources sometimes support each other, while in other cases they highlight the fact that a will may not always be carried out, or may not have been recorded despite all the checks and accounts requested. For instance, János Szakollosy bequeathed four florins to the two almshouses of Kolozsvár in 1645⁴⁹⁸, but neither in that year nor later does this amount appear in the accounts of the hospitals.

Since an evaluation of the testamentary donations of the Holy Spirit almshouse in Kolozsvár has already been made⁴⁹⁹, I will now attempt to take into account the donations received as alms or testamentary bequests to St Elisabeth's in the light of these data and results.

⁴⁹⁵ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. A fejedelemségkor beszercei polgárainak örökösödési tendenciái. In Mikó Gábor, Péterfi Bence and Vadas András (Eds.). *Tiszteletkőr. Történeti tanulmányok Draskóczy István egyetemi tanár 60. születésnapjára*. Budapest, ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2012, pp. 349–359.

⁴⁹⁶ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. Nagyszeben, a szászok „fő” városa? In Oborny Teréz and Kenyeres István (Eds.). *URBS. Magyar várostörténeti évkönyv. VIII*. Budapest, 2013, pp. 47–61.

⁴⁹⁷ Kovács Kiss Gyöngy. *A kolozsvári osztóbírói intézmény és a kibocsátott osztálylevelek*. Kolozsvár, Korunk Komp-Press, 2012, pp. 7–28. (Property settlement judges)

⁴⁹⁸ *EREL*. VII. 1645.

⁴⁹⁹ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledett intézmény...*, pp. 39–45.

An examination of the data series of the two institutions shows that, in both cases, the transfers of assets included donations that determined or at least complemented their economic background over a long period of time. While in the case of the Holy Spirit Hospital, the bakehouse on Király Street was of paramount importance⁵⁰⁰, the house in the main square, the Dezső estate in Méra and the small cottage by the Szamos River generated revenues over a longer period of time for St Elisabeth's.

The testamentary data are taken not only from the hospital accounts, but also from the letters of divisions (*osztálylevelek*) and wills.⁵⁰¹ When one tries to evaluate these revenues, one encounters a number of difficulties, as it seems an impossible undertaking to bring to a common denominator the donations of different natures. The only possibility would be if one could determine the monetary value of these donations, but this attempt is also impracticable, because, even though it is known that a mill, a manor house or some fields, vineyards, forests and meadows belonged to the Méra portion, determining their size and value is not possible. In fact, even if the will quantifies that someone left two *köböl* of wheat or two barrels of wine to the hospital, it is not clear how much the two *köböl* of grain were worth in that year, or how big the barrels were, or how much the wine was worth that year.

In the case of testamentary donations, the testator quite often simply left the use of the donation to the institution, but sometimes he/she specified exactly what was to happen to it. When money was donated, it was often the case that part or all of the donation was received by the hospital to be distributed among the poor. At other times, the hospital's accounts give only the amount of the bequests and the number of donors, without even saying how much of the amount was left by each donor. But there are also cases where the names of the testators and the amount they donated were recorded quite precisely.⁵⁰²

In interpreting the sources, it has become clear that the contemporary sources often draw a distinction – even terminologically – between a donation to the institution and the amount to be distributed among the poor, both for the same person and for different persons. While the sums distributed to the poor are referred to as alms, the amount given to the institution is called a testamentary legacy (*testamentária legáció*). In the case of alms, the almshouse warden also recorded that he had distributed it to the poor as ordered.

⁵⁰⁰ *ibid* p. 39.

⁵⁰¹ The data on testaments come from the almshouses' accounts, partial censuses, testaments in the Reformed and Catholic archives, and settlement certificates.

⁵⁰² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1646, p. 315. „*Felten Brayer allegált volt testamentária dispozi-tióba szegényeknek d.50 Rájok osztottam. Az bába asszony allegált testamentumában Fr. 2, Hidelvi Beel Gergely allegált testamentumában Ft. 1, Farkas Deák allegált testamnetumban Fr. 3, Hodos Daniel allegált testamentumában Ft. 2, Molnár György Hidelven lakott Ft. 2*”.

In Marosvásárhely, sums of money were left as a testamentary donation to the hospital or other institutions on the condition that the sum lent and the interest earned could be used by the institution which received the donation.⁵⁰³ No evidence of similar mechanisms has been found in Kolozsvár.

Thus, in the period under review, the testamentary and alms donations made to St Elisabeth's were as follows. Very few testamentary donations are recorded as having been made to the hospital before the 17th century. These range from a few florins in 1471⁵⁰⁴, which the hospital received along with other institutions, to the inheritance of the very significant property in the main square in 1496⁵⁰⁵ and the large estate in Méra in 1525⁵⁰⁶, or from a paltry 1 florin in 1565⁵⁰⁷ to a pharmacist's property to be transferred to the hospital on the death of his widow in 1586⁵⁰⁸. No information has been found on whether the latter was actually accomplished. In 1595, the summary accounts recorded the value of the 12.10 florins bequeathed to St Elisabeth's, which was transferred to the hospital upon the execution of the will of Gáspár Viczey.⁵⁰⁹ Although rare, donations in kind were also made, as in 1615, when one köböl and two bushels of wheat were donated to the hospital.⁵¹⁰

There are a good number of records of testamentary donations to the hospital in the 17th century, but their value is much more modest than the value of the property acquired in this way earlier. During this period, only small properties of minor value were added to the hospital's assets. One of them was located outside the wall, on the banks of the Szamos, near the slaughterhouse, opposite the outer hospital house, beyond the Hídvége. This property was left to the hospital by a poor woman named Anna Balogh in 1633 and was rented for years to a blacksmith named Kovács.⁵¹¹ In 1637, another poor woman's possessions, which were left to the hospital together with her house, were sold for 34 florins.⁵¹²

⁵⁰³ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. A marosvásárhelyi Nagy Szabó Péter végrendelete. In Pál-Ántal Sándor, Cornel Sigmirean and Simon Zsolt (Eds.). *A történetíró elhivatottsága, Emlékkönyv Szabó Miklós születésének 80. Évfordulójára*. Marosvásárhely, Mentor, 2012, pp. 278-284.

⁵⁰⁴ Jakó Zsigmond. *A kolozsmonostori konvent jegyzőkönyvei*. I. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990, No. 29, p. 721.

⁵⁰⁵ W. Kovács András. A kolozsvári Szent Erzsébet ispótyál levéltárának középkori oklevelei. In *CERTAMEN*. 3. Kolozsvár, EME, 2016, no. 4, p. 256; KvOkl, I, pp. 307-308.

⁵⁰⁶ *ibid* no. 6, p. 257; KvOkl I. 363-365; *KmJkv* II. 4097. sz.

⁵⁰⁷ S. Tüdös Kinga (Ed.). *Erdélyi Testamentumok*. II. p. 77.

⁵⁰⁸ Catholic Collection Archives, St Elisabeth's home for the aged fond, Fasc. A, no. 36.

⁵⁰⁹ Partial accounts. 1595/ 6/XV-XVI, p. 37. Gáspár Viczey becomes a member of the Council of the Centumviri representing the Hungarian nation in 1572. See Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk. Románok, magyarok, németek és délszlávok feudalizmus kori falusi és városi együttéléséről*. Bukarest, Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1982., p. 288.

⁵¹⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 441.

⁵¹¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 453; 1647, p. 10; 1648, p.16.

⁵¹² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 466-467.

Donations were also received from outside persons, as revealed by the wills written in their names. Sometimes, 1 florin was donated to hospitals in Kolozsvár⁵¹³, sometimes 50⁵¹⁴ or 10 florins.⁵¹⁵ However, there is a catch with these donations, as no record of their receipt was found either in the respective year or later. A settlement certificate mentions the will of Mihály Kantha and the amount left to the poor of the hospital. His will was ordered to be carried out⁵¹⁶, but the receipt of this amount was not found either in the accounts of 1627 or in the receipts of the following years. In the same year, a testamentary donation from another person was recorded for 12.25 florins.⁵¹⁷

In the twenties of the 17th century, testamentary donations started to become increasingly frequent, with one or more persons leaving smaller and larger sums to the poor of the almshouse or the hospital itself in their wills, almost year after year. In 1623, they received 25 florins⁵¹⁸, in 1627, 12.25 florins from Gáspár Trebinger⁵¹⁹, in 1628, 8 florins⁵²⁰, in 1629, almost 10 florins⁵²¹ and probably the list could be continued to the end of the thirties⁵²², when there are no accounts for a few years. From 1644 onwards, sums left in testamentary legatio or to be distributed to the poor were again collected year by year.⁵²³ The regularity of such donations is also indicated by the fact that there were occasions when no such donation was made in the mid-17th century and it was considered important to record this in the account book.⁵²⁴

The aggregation of the data showed that it was quite common in early modern Kolozsvár to make small donations to the hospital or to the poor it cared for after property settlements, whatever the source of the settlement was (wills, settlement certificates) – there is no information on the justification for these actions.

⁵¹³ S. Tüdös Kinga (Ed.). *Erdélyi Testamentumok*. II. 1565, p. 77.

⁵¹⁴ S. Tüdös Kinga (Ed.). *Erdélyi Testamentumok*. III. 1601, p. 33, 241.

⁵¹⁵ S. Tüdös Kinga (Ed.). *Erdélyi Testamentumok*. III. 1611, pp. 65-67.

⁵¹⁶ Divisors. p. 167.

⁵¹⁷ Partial accounts.1627, p. 483.

⁵¹⁸ Partial accounts.1623, p. 29.

⁵¹⁹ Partial accounts.1627, p. 483.

⁵²⁰ Partial accounts.1628, p. 524.

⁵²¹ Partial accounts.1629, p. 570.

⁵²² Accounts of St Elisabeth's. 1633, pp. 452-453; 1634, p. 456; 1635, p. 460; 1637, p. 466, 467.

⁵²³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's. 1644, p. 470; 1645, p. 473; 1646, p. 315, 330; 1647, p. 335; 1648, p. 356; 1649, p. 378; 1650, p. 400, 415, Almshouse accounts. 1660, p. 14; 1661, 33/XVIII, p. 51, 8, 37.

⁵²⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1663, 33/XIX, p. 5. "*Testamentaria dispositioból nihil percepi, quia nihil dederunt nec testaverunt.*"

6. 🍷 A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ST ELISABETH'S AND THE HOLY SPIRIT ALMSHOUSE IN KOLOZSVÁR

Every hospital, wherever it was, had its specific revenue structure, which was dependent on local specificities and opportunities. Thus, in northern Europe in the early modern period, there are places where revenues from lending played a prominent role in this structure.⁵²⁵ In some cases, income from vineyards, mills or both, in others, cart transport services provided a significant part of the economic base. At one stage in the early modern period, the finances of the hospital in Nagyszében were based on cart transport, but there was also a poor relief fund set up for supporting the poor.

However, lending also generated income in some parts of this region as well, similarly to the northern European examples mentioned above. In Marosvásárhely, the people of the city made bequests in their wills to the institutions operating in the city, including the hospital. The deed itself contained a conditional bequest of a certain sum, which required it to be entrusted to a trustworthy person who had to make a fixed annual contribution to the beneficiary institution in return.⁵²⁶ However, in this case, the sources do not allow one to determine the total revenue ratios, so what proportion of this is represented by the lending is not known.

On the other hand, the analysis of the management of the two hospitals that were in operation for a longer period in Kolozsvár provide a number of possibilities for observation. The data produced by the almshouse wardens or verified and subsequently summarised by the auditors are the first-rate source of information on this issue.

A careful examination of the account books leads one to the conclusion that, while it is true that much can be learnt from them, they are by no means suitable for knowing every aspect of the history of the Kolozsvár hospitals, nor do they even allow one to fully quantify the management of a longer period and to carry out serial studies on their basis. For these reasons, it is not possible to monitor the evolution of expenditure and revenue over the period under study. The primary reason is that the data are not always

⁵²⁵ Mänd, Anu. *Hospitals and Tables...*, p. 251.

⁵²⁶ Rűsz-Fogarası Enikő. Öröklési szokások a fejedelemségkori Marosvásárhelyen. In *Marosvásárhely története*. Marosvásárhely, Mentor, 2013, p. 29; Idem. *Marosvásárhelyi végrendeletek*. Marosvásárhely, Mentor, 2014, p. 15.

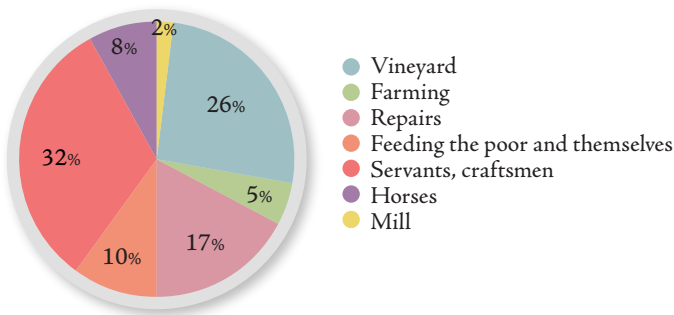
continuous, even when the hospital accounts are complemented by the relevant parts of the summary accounts.

However, even in these circumstances, we will try to juxtapose several years of data and examine the evolution of the revenue and expenditure mechanisms of the two hospitals.

Only partial accounts can be used for the first selected year (1592), since there is no year in the 16th century for which both detailed and partial accounts are available for the same calendar year for both hospitals. The other problem with this comparative analysis is that, at the outset, these aggregated accounts only break down separate items of income and expenditure in exceptional cases. Therefore, for the 16th century, it is only possible to determine the structure of the economy – in particular the structure of revenues – when detailed accounts have survived or, in rare cases, when the summary account records slightly more data.

In 1592, 426.30 florins were received by St Elisabeth's almshouse from the income of Dávid Nyírő, wine, wheat and allodiums, but this revenue was not detailed. However, more detailed data on expenditure was recorded. 117.62 florins were spent on the cultivation of the vineyards, 22.15 florins on reaping, 75.12 florins on building the stone house and the hospital in the town and 42.63 florins on meat for the poor and for the inhabitants of the house for the year. For other necessities, servants, the blacksmith and the cooper, 144.18 florins were spent, for horses 35.53 florins and for the mill 11.18 florins. In total, 448.87 florins were spent.⁵²⁷

FIGURE 6. *St Elisabeth's, expenditure, 1592*



In the same year, the Holy Spirit almshouse had a revenue of 281.61 florins, as a result of Tamás Bachy's estate management. For this, they received 50 florins from the quartás and 20 florins from the sale of oats, so the total income amounted to 331.61 florins. It is rather strange that there is no mention of the bakehouses that year. In this case, there are no more detailed accounts of the

⁵²⁷ Partial. 5/XI; St Elisabeth's, 1592, pp. 16-18.

expenditure either. According to the summary account, the almshouse warden gave an account “in a Christian manner”. As the manager, he built the hospital, added to it with grain and sowing and was therefore a worthy and praiseworthy, pious steward of the hospital.⁵²⁸ During one year of work, he spent 374.36 florins. However, the subtotals of these amounts have not been preserved.

In this case, there is only data for the quantities of income and expenditure of the two institutions. This shows that St Elisabeth’s had a more significant income (426.30 florins), while the Holy Spirit a more modest one (331.61 florins) in the same year. Both hospitals exceeded their cash income: the upper hospital spent 448.87 florins, while the lower one 374.36 florins on financing their works. At this time, there was still significant farming happening on the estates of both hospitals and the difference in income between the two institutions is not significant. Since the hospital was almost always recorded as having at least some reserves of wine, wheat and – later – salt, the auditors quite often accepted a bit of overspending. Sometimes, the institution itself covered the shortfall later; at other times, the city made up for it if it deemed it justified.⁵²⁹

In the following, we have selected years for which not only the hospital accounts, but also the relevant parts of the summary account have survived. Thus, at the beginning, we will attempt to illustrate the farming system of the two Kolozsvár institutions by examining the years 1603, 1626 and 1650 and attempting to determine the proportion of the different areas based on the whole farming system. The first difficulty in this comparison is that only part of the income and expenditure is stated in monetary value. Therefore, wheat and wine also have to be reckoned with both as income and as a means of payment. The following analysis will also try to take these into account in order to provide an overall picture.

In 1603, Mihály Szöcs Rettégi, the almshouse warden of St. Elisabeth’s, recorded an income of 631 florins and 10 denars, while he spent 998 florins and 48 denars.⁵³⁰ According to his account, the city owed him 367 florins and 38 denars. However, part of this amount was considered by the auditors to be unjustified and was therefore not accepted; only a payment of 200 florins was considered justified. Thus, the auditors accepted 798 florins and 48 denars of the expenses of the hospital.

392.14 florins came from the sale of wine, 79.35 florins from the repayment of a debt, 32 florins from house rent, 19 florins from the sale of arable land, 22 florins 46 denars from the sale of lambs, 75 florins from wheat, 16.15 florins from cheese. After accounting for the expenditures, the following payments remained in kind: 13 köböl of wheat, six and a half barrels of wine and 52 pieces

⁵²⁸ Partial. 5/XI; Holy Spirit, 1592, p. 19.

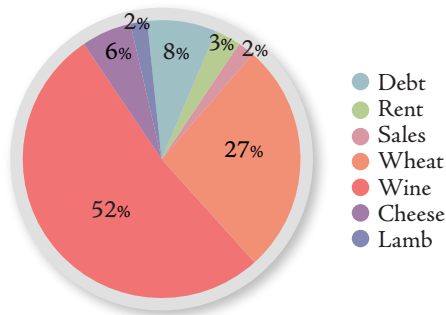
⁵²⁹ *ibid.*

⁵³⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, pp. 46-71, 420-422.

of cheese. How many buckets the wine barrels contained is not known, but since the barrels sold contained 85 buckets and were mostly sold at a retail price around 25 florins each over the course of several days, it is likely that the wine left in the institution must have been worth around 162 florins. During the year, wheat was sold for 16 florins per köböl, so the value of the wheat left in St Elisabeth's was 208 florins, while the price of cheese fluctuated between 80 denars and 1 florin per piece. Since there were 52 cheeses, their value amounted to 50 florins. Thus, the pure cash income can be supplemented with 162 florins from wine, 208 florins from wheat taken to the market to be sold, and the price of cheese, i.e., 50 florins. Based on this, the total income of St Elisabeth's was 812.14 florins in 1603. If one examines the calculations of the auditors, the income of the institution in cash and crops indicates a slight surplus.

In order to determine the source of this income, one must include the cash value of the wheat, cheese and wine sold by the almshouse warden, as well as the cash value of the crops left in kind and treat the value of the same products as the same source of income. Thus, of 812.14 florins, 79.35 florins came from the repayment of debt, 32 florins from house rent and 22.46 florins from the sale of arable land. The value of the wheat in the hospital was 283 florins, that of the wine 554.14 florins, that of the cheese 66.15 florins, and from the sale of lambs 22.46 florins were received.

FIGURE 7. *St Elisabeth's Hospital, revenues, 1603*

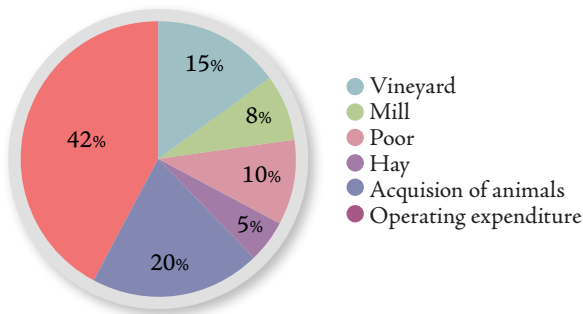


The year 1603 still bore many traces of the Fifteen Years' War. This can also be seen from the fact that 10% of total income (debt, sales) is not normal, ordinary income. A deeper examination reveals that more than half of the revenue came from wine, followed by the revenue from wheat, which amounted to half of the former. Thus, the house rent is negligible and the profit from the mills is not visible at all, not quantifiable, even if it is somewhat present in the value of the wheat. Salt revenue was not constant at that time and there is no specific data for this year. The conclusion of the analysis is that in 1603, a significant proportion of St Elisabeth's income came from the

farming at their estate. It should be noted that this calculation is based only on the monetary value of the revenues and is not intended to represent the total value of the hospital's assets, which included, among other things, the livestock in and around the manors.

As already seen, quantifying the revenues has proven quite difficult. Only the accounting of expenditure has proven more problematic, as the records of the almshouse warden seem to be rather chaotic. He did not keep in mind the requirements of the 1586 instruction, according to which he should have kept a thematic account of his expenses. The published expenditures mostly follow each other chronologically, with a few expenditures (for mills, vineyards) being listed, but even among these one finds interspersed questions on the poor, servants, farming and the almshouse warden's table. The auditors also complained that the almshouse warden did not keep his records as requested. He spent 120.66 florins on the vineyard, 62 florins on the mill and 78.62 florins on the needs of the hospital between 1 January and 16 November. The year in question proved to be an exceptional one, as the institution's livestock was damaged (driven away, killed) on several occasions. To make up for these losses, oxen, dairy cows and bullocks were bought for 37 florins and, on another occasion, 118 florins for the hospital's farm. There were also other problems with animal husbandry, as they could not provide fodder from their own resources, so they had to spend 39.96 florins on hay. In addition, the expenditure on labourers, maintenance of buildings, food and fodder were listed, mostly in chronological order. Entries appear at irregular intervals: sometimes several expenses were recorded in one day; at other times, there was no record of any expenditure for several days.

FIGURE 8. *St Elisabeth's Hospital, expenditures, 1603*

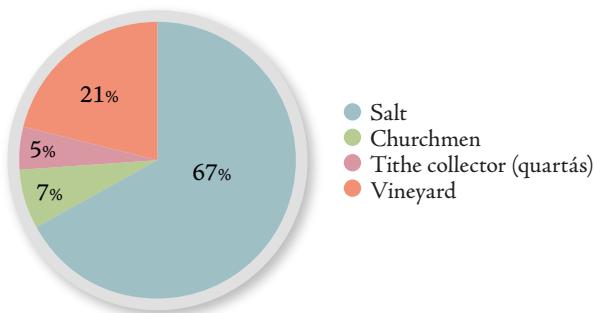


It is clear from the diagram that the pressure of the exceptional times was still on the institution, as the animals that had been driven away had to be replaced. The upheaval and frequent confusion did not favour haymaking, so the shortage had to be made up by purchases. Thus, in these troubled times, the value of the extraordinary expenditure amounted to 25% of the annual

expenditure. It should be noted, however, that the amounts spent on maintenance made up 43% of operating costs.

In the same year, the Holy Spirit almshouse of Kolozsvár, exposed to the same events and happenings, had a different income and expenditure structure.⁵³¹ They accumulated 654.56 florins from monetary income. Of this, 333.99 florins came from the sale of salt, 36 florins from the church vergers, 25 florins from the quartás and 105.34 florins from the vineyards. That year, the toll bread from the bakeries was only enough for the poor and those living and working in the hospital's household. That year, most of the accounted income came from outside, with the income from the vineyards tended by the hospital amounting to only 21% of the total. No trace of the farming has remained, since it was decided to sell the farms, on the advice of the auditors and elders of the city and because it was considered more unprofitable than profitable.⁵³² There are traces of the farm economy in the partial accounts of 1597 and 1598⁵³³, but after that it was mentioned less and less frequently. However, there is no record of the sale, so it is possible that the lower almshouse's farm disappeared amid the hardships of the Fifteen Years War, in a year from which no accounts have survived.

FIGURE 9. *Holy Spirit Hospital, revenues, 1603*



The expenses of the lower hospital included 122.90 florins for salt cutting, 6.77 florins for meat for the poor, 16.99 florins for the bakeries and 67.82 florins for the vineyards. The total amount spent was 217.57 florins that year, which amounted to a third of the total revenue. Hence, this was an extremely profitable year, with the surplus income generated for the Holy Spirit almshouse being handed over to the city authorities by the almshouse warden. The almshouse warden handed over more than 411 florins to the auditors.

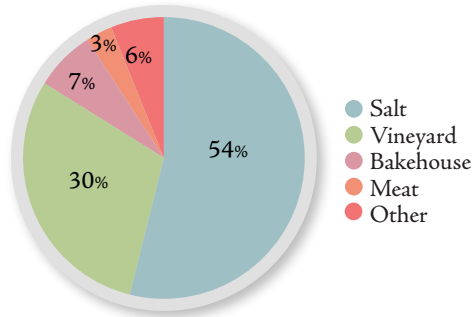
⁵³¹ Accounts of the Holy Spirit, p. 36, 224.

⁵³² Partial, 1595, 6/XI, p. 26.

⁵³³ Partial, 1597, 7/IV, p. 24-25; 1598, 8/IV, p. 29-30.

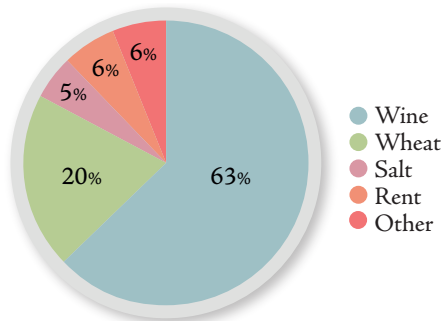
Most of the income of the Holy Spirit almshouse came from amounts provided for by city ordinances and, in particular, from the donation of salt by the central authority. Under these circumstances, the institution's farming did not even account for a quarter of its annual income.

FIGURE 10. *Holy Spirit Hospital, 1603, expenditures*



Another year chosen for analysis is 1626, for which, as it happens, the detailed and aggregated accounts of both institutions were preserved. Under the management of Péter Werner Szöcs, the income of St Elisabeth's almshouse was as follows: 118.3 florins from wheat, 373.49 florins from wine, 29.17 florins from salt, 1 florin for a horse skin, 25 florins tax from the serfs of Méra, 6 florins from the tithe collection, 11.40 florins rent from the house, 10 florins rent from the store, 14.9 florins rent from the cellar and 84 denars from the bee tithe. Thus, the hospital's treasury received a total of 589.2 florins.⁵³⁴

FIGURE 11. *St Elisabeth's Hospital, cash revenues, 1626*

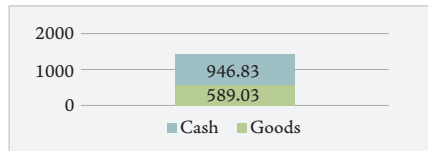


For some of the products, the hospital received the equivalent value in cash, while another portion of the salt, grain and wine was later sold and the proceeds were used. This year's income is a very telling reflection of the economy of

⁵³⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 300; Partial. 1626, I/22, p. 411-460.

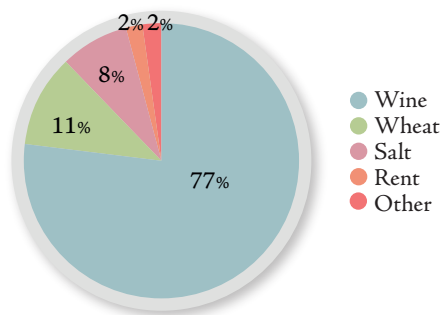
St Elisabeth's. Later, 75 florins from salt, 39 köböl of wheat and 18 köböl and 7 bushels of oats remained in the hospital, but a considerable amount of wine remained as well: 968 buckets of vintage wine in 13 barrels and 951 buckets of new wine, also in 13 barrels. Their value or the amounts of money received for them varied according to the moment of sale. In this year, according to the accounts, it received 349.39 florins for 11 barrels of wine, i.e. 31.76 florins per barrel. The wine left in the hospital was worth approximately 825.83 florins. The wheat left in its possession was worth 46 florins. These are the values that can be added to the income of St Elisabeth's Hospital. This cash amount of 589.2 florins can be supplemented by the value of the goods left at the hospital, which would have reached 1535.03 florins if put on sale.

FIGURE 12. *St Elisabeth's Hospital, revenues, 1626*



As illustrated by the chart above, the hospital did not often monetise the full amount of the goods it received. There are times when it kept assets of significant value, which would be sold or used if necessary. One can examine the nature of the revenue sources so as to determine their proportions. In 1626, the most significant income of the hospital was clearly in the form of wine (1199.32 florins), followed by wheat (164.3 florins), salt (124 florins), rents (35.40 florins) and other sources (32.84 florins), i.e. the taxes paid by the serfs, the tax of tithe collection and the bee tithe.

FIGURE 13. *St Elisabeth's Hospital, total revenues, 1626*



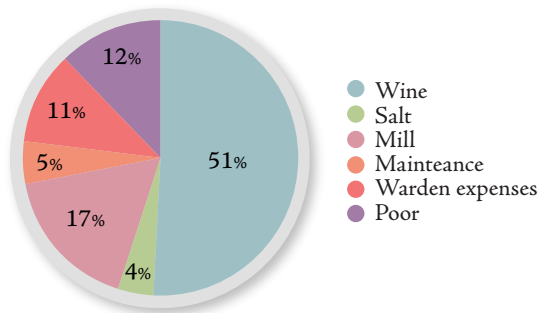
Viniculture seems to have significantly exceeded all other income sources that year and to have determined its yield structure. The income from wine

exceeded the total of all other income, both when only the cash income and when the value of the goods received were taken into account.

Regular vineyard management and good harvests contributed to this outstanding wine production. Some of the wine was vintage (not from that year) so the wine was not necessarily put on sale in 1626. Compared to the year previously analysed, the salt revenue now also generated income for the institution.

Most of the work, money and investment was related to the vineyards. In this context, it is very important to look at the extent to which these types of expenditure were included in the general expenditure. The total cost of cultivating 11 acres of vines was 201 florins and 16 denars. The almshouse warden spent 13+6, i.e., 19 florins on cutting and transporting the salt. 24.26+0.60+32.69+13, i.e. 70,55 florins were spent on the mills, and 32.13+9.80+7.60, i.e. 49.53 florins on the poor for their food and other necessities. For reaping, ploughing, and transport, the hospital paid 3.65+3.35+1.39, i.e. 8.39 florins. 5.77 florins were spent on the maintenance of the hospital's properties and lime-burners and 15.44 florins on the hospital house and the farm, amounting to a total of 21.21 florins. The expenditure of the almshouse warden's own household was 44.40 florins. To this must be added the cost of selling the wine, which was 9 florins and 7 denars. In sum, the expenditure of St Elisabeth's almshouse in monetary terms amounted to over 422 florins in 1626.⁵³⁵

FIGURE 14. *St Elisabeth's Hospital, expenditures, 1626*

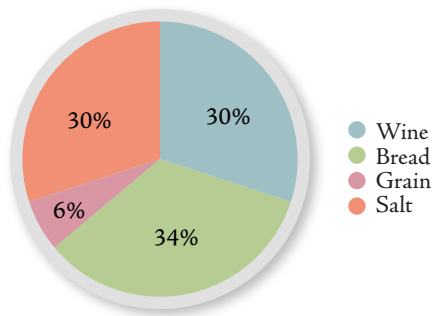


More than half of the expenditure was for the vineyards, but the maintenance and upkeep of the hospital's property was also a significant expense, while only 12% was spent on the inmates of the institution.

⁵³⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 301. Partial. 1626, I/22, p. 411-460.

In the same year, the income and expenditure of the Holy Spirit almshouse were more modest.⁵³⁶ During the year, 23.11 florins were received from selling the toll bread of bakeries and two hundred salt blocks were sold for 20 florins. They received 26.20 florins for 70 buckets of wine. The sale of 9 bushels of wheat and 3 köböl of oats for 3 florins were also recorded here. Based on this, the hospital acquired a rather modest income of 72.40 florins. There were still 200 pieces of rock salt, 23 buckets of wine and 77 stacks of wheat at the almshouse. If one were to express in florins the value of the goods in stock, the rock salt would have been worth another 20 florins and the wine another 8.60 florins. Wheat was worth 2.5 denars per stack⁵³⁷ at the average price, adding 192.5 florins to the institution's assets. In the early modern era, grain was stored in this form for years, so it is not clear how many years' worth of harvest the wheat in storage represented. In any case, including the wheat, the reserves of the Holy Spirit almshouse amounted to more than four times the monetary income, i.e., 293.5 florins.

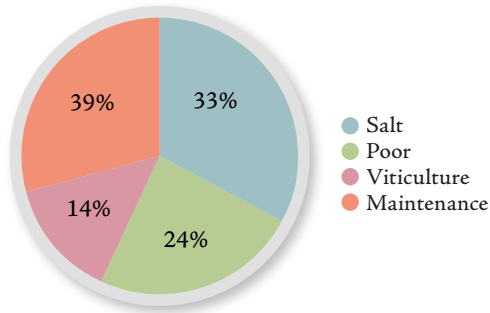
FIGURE 15. *Holy Spirit Hospital, incomes, 1626*



In 1626, the annual expenditure for the cutting of salt was 29 florins, paid by the almshouse warden. He spent only 20 florins and 40 denars on the poor and 12 florins and 46 denars on the vineyard. 25.39 florins were spent on maintaining their properties and purchasing equipment. This expenditure is illustrated in the following figure.

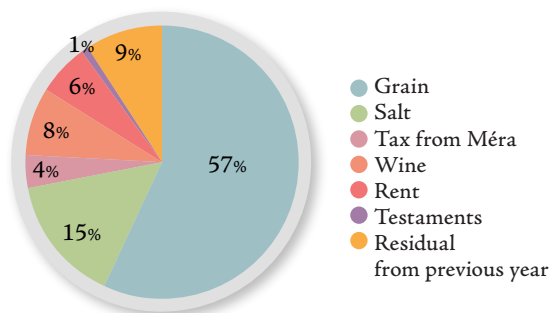
⁵³⁶ Accounts of the Holy Spirit, p. Partial. 1626, I/22, p. 411-460.

⁵³⁷ EMSZT. VI. O. 38, "1621: az Jo Buzanak kalongjajától teőbbet sekj ne adio(n) d 2. Az Keőzép rendw Buzanak kalongjajától d 2 1/2 Az igen szegenjteől d 3 (Protocollum Centumviorum. II/l. 23)].

FIGURE 16. *Holy Spirit Hospital, expenditures, 1626*

If one looks at the balance of costs and income for the Holy Spirit almshouse, one can see that 14% of the expenditure was on grapes and 30% of the income was recorded for wine in the same year. 33% was spent on cutting salt, while the proceeds also brought 39% to the hospital.

In the middle of the 17th century at St Elisabeth's almshouse, i.e. in 1650, the management structure was different.⁵³⁸ In this year, two years' worth of taxes were recorded for the inhabitants of Méra, to the amount of 50 florins. The wheat of the hospital was sold for 719 florins and 9 denars. 93.86 florins were received for the wine from the vineyard, 192.80 florins for the salt, 69 florins as rents, 2 florins for the Macskási lease and 12 florins and 50 denars from the testamentary bequests. In addition to this, 116.96 florins remained in the possession of the almshouse warden from the previous year. These revenues amounted to 1256 florins and 20 denars, making it perhaps one of the most profitable years in the history of the hospitals. The revenues for this year need some explanation.

FIGURE 17. *St Elisabeth's almshouse, incomes in 1650*

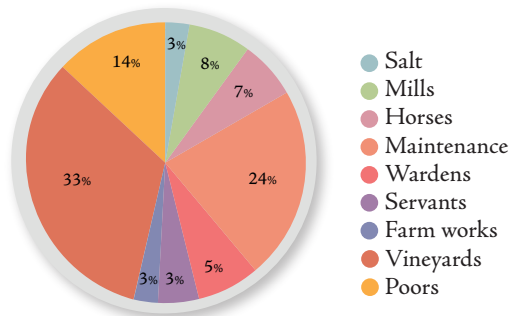
⁵³⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 394-416.

Surprisingly, the sale of wheat generated the highest revenue that year. More than 644 stacks of wheat were sold, generating over 719 florins of revenue. The 108 köböl of wheat produced after threshing were sold at a good price – over 6 florins per köböl. This was two years' worth of wheat and did not even represent the entire wheat stock, as the inventory shows that there was still a small amount of grain left in the institution after the sale.

In the same year, the expenditure of the upper hospital included the cutting of two thousand pieces of rock salt, which cost 25 florins and 60 denars; 19.73 florins were spent on the two mills; 48.25 florins were spent on the wheelbarrow man; 250 florins were paid for the cultivation of the vineyards; 25 florins and 52 denars were spent on ploughing, sowing and reaping, i.e. agricultural works. In addition to all this, 106.67 florins were spent on the poor's praebenda and various funerals. The purchase of horses and tools cost 54 florins and 49 denars. A shingled barn, including the gate, cost 150.60 florins. At the inner hospital house, they spent only 13 florins and 80 denars, the blacksmith was paid 14 florins, the servants 18.25 florins and the almshouse warden spent 35 florins on his own table. 35.15 florins were charged for other expenses.

The figures above paint a picture of an economically sound institution with the potential to build additional space for farming, where fodder could be stored in the future. This proved to be a significant investment, as it accounted for 24% of the almshouse's annual expenditure.

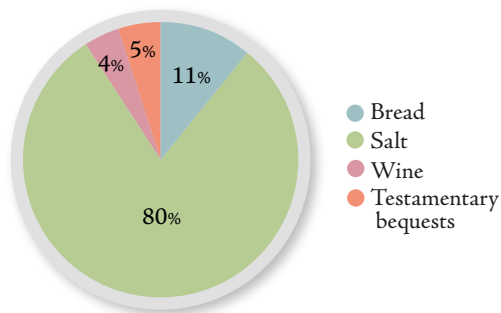
FIGURE 18. *St Elisabeth's Almshouse, expenditures, 1650*



In that year St Elisabeth's almshouse experienced extremely complex economic activity, with the most significant cost being the cultivation of the vineyard and major investments in the arenas of that activity. The amount spent on the poor was higher than in other years. A poor person was paid a cash allowance of 12 denars per week and a loaf of bread that year. At that time, they were no longer provided with hot meals, but were given a cash praebenda instead.

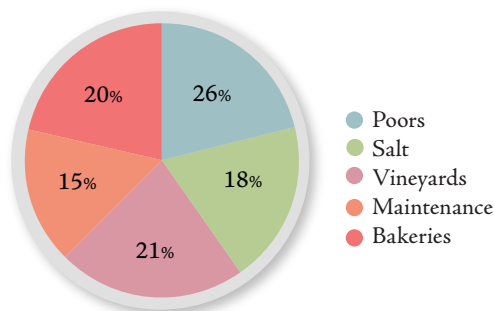
The monetary income of the Holy Spirit almshouse in 1650 was quite insignificant, 75.32 florins.⁵³⁹ Only 8 florins and 44 denars were received from the sale of toll breads, 600 pieces of rock salt were sold for 60 florins, the sale of wine brought in 2.88 florins only and 4 florins came from testamentary bequests. However, they still had 800 pieces of rock salt, which were worth about 80 florins, 20 buckets of wine, which were worth 96 florins per ejtel at the average price for that year and 8 bushels of wheat brought 8 florins to the hospital. This income of the lower hospital must have been worth about 259.32 florins in 1650.

FIGURE 19. *Holy Spirit Hospital, revenues, 1650*



With such a low income, it is no wonder that its expenses were higher than the amounts it received. A total of 27.87 florins was spent on the poor and funerals, 22 florins 18 denars on the two bakeries, 19.60 florins on cutting salt, 22 florins 18 denars on the vineyard, and 16.38 florins on the hedge of the hospital. The testamentary bequests were passed on as they were received, i.e. they were immediately distributed among the poor. The cash expenditure was 108.21 florins, which exceeded cash revenue, but the assets in the house served as guarantees of subsequent payments.

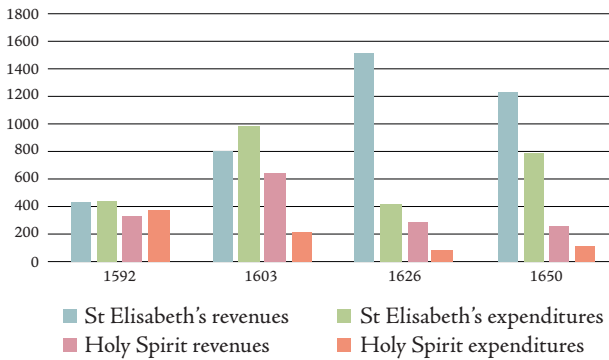
FIGURE 20. *Holy Spirit Hospital, expenditures, 1650*



⁵³⁹ Accounts of the Holy Spirit, p. 221, 272.

If one compares the income and expenditure of the Holy Spirit and St Elisabeth's over the four years analysed, one can see the scale of the economic activity of the two institutions and their relationship to each other.

FIGURE 21. *The hospitals of Kolozsvár*



It is quite clear that the income and expenditure of the two hospitals were not very different at the end of the 16th century, but from the beginning of the 17th century, the revenues of St Elisabeth's moved ever further away from those of the Holy Spirit and the expenditure and economic activity of the latter became increasingly insignificant.

An analysis of the two Kolozsvár hospitals' economic activity reveals the similarities and differences between the Holy Spirit and St Elisabeth's in the early modern period. The accounts for the different years and institutions vary in detail, but they certainly reflect the volume and value of the work being done, or at least its proportions. Throughout, and not only in the years analysed, St Elisabeth's possessed greater assets and income than the Holy Spirit, but also greater expenditures. It was just a question of when the difference between the two economies would become more significant.

The common point in both was the cultivation of vineyards, the income from which was mostly in proportion to the area cultivated. Since the vineyards of St Elisabeth's were several times the size of those of the Holy Spirit, the resulting incomes varied accordingly. In a similar way, testamentary donations either enriched the income of both almshouses or the poor living there were the beneficiaries of the donors' offerings. At first, the salt donation could only be enjoyed by the Holy Spirit almshouse, but it has been proven that from the early 17th century, from the time of Gábor Bethlen, the security fund received in salt cubes was extended to St Elisabeth's. It was sometimes sold at the salt mine and at other times was taken back home and sold only when the institution needed some working capital. This item of income shows

that, although both institutions benefited from it and were entitled to the same amount, the income from it varied from year to year. Both institutions receive the same amount of cash revenue from salt in the same year. Despite this, the salt revenue of St Elisabeth's accounted for 8% of the income in 1626, while in the Holy Spirit it accounted for 30%. In 1650, salt represented 17% of the income in the upper hospital, while in the lower hospital the same amount represented 80%.

The income from the estate of St Elisabeth's is a considerable externality compared with that of the lower hospital, since it produced a considerable quantity of grain, which was ground in the two mills of the institution and baked in their baking house for the poor, the workers employed there and the almshouse warden's household.

In contrast, the Holy Spirit had two bakeries that generated a steady income from the surplus toll bread, as the excess bread used for feeding and in the household was sold and the proceeds used for the hospital's residents. At the end of the 16th century, there was also a certain amount of economic activity in the lower hospital, but by the end of the century, this had become less and less important. At the beginning of the 17th century, the town council decided to set an annual fixed sum from the *quarta* (the *Kolozsvár* term for city tax) and the income of the church vergers. However, the money which came in as a result of this instruction began to lag behind and disappear sometime in the 1610s. The amounts appeared alternately: between 1612 and 1619, it was the income from the *quarta* that is recorded, while between 1633 and 1637, the income of the church vergers was allocated to the lower hospital.⁵⁴⁰

The upper hospital's property on the main square also provided a steady but fluctuating income for the running of the institution. This also reflects the different management structures of the two institutions.

If one tries to determine which hospital took more work to run and which required more organisation, one can see that the management of the assets of St Elisabeth's required constant attention. It suffices to think of the two mills, the estate, the vineyards and the renting of the main square property. In contrast, the *quarta* of the lower hospital, the amounts received from the church vergers, the donation of salt and even the sale of the toll breads caused much less headache. This also indicates that the expenditures of the individual hospitals reflect the more complex management of St Elisabeth's.

⁵⁴⁰ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledett intézmény...*, pp. 29-30.

7. 🐼 THE POOR OF THE HOSPITAL

WHO WERE THE HOSPITAL'S RESIDENTS?

All the work done in the hospital, all the donations made in its favour, were made in order to care for the poor of the city.⁵⁴¹ The wards of the hospital were simply called “the poor” by the narrative sources and all kinds of accounts, council decisions, and instructions. Tünde Márton has written about the inhabitants of the Kolozsvár hospitals⁵⁴² and I myself have also dealt with their wards in the context of processing the source material of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁴³

In the case of the hospitals in Kolozsvár, there is no sign of any registers in which the names and origins of the wards were recorded, as was the case in similar institutions further west.⁵⁴⁴ Sometimes the number of people who could be cared for in the institution was specified, as was who decided whom to admit. To ensure good decisions, the rules of the College of the Poor, St Saviour Southwark, as recorded in 1584, defined and divided the eligible into six groups, while also describing what their allowance included and what was expected of them.⁵⁴⁵ There were no such decisions and rules here, perhaps partly because the city administration had a strong say in who was admitted as a care recipient. Sometimes, when a new care recipient arrived at the institution, it was mentioned that someone was being taken in or looked after on the orders of the city magistrates. A 1651 entry reveals that the town magistrates sent two small children (aged 4 and 3), abandoned by their mother, to the hospital. But the records also show that they were not accommodated at the institution, but that a poor woman was given money and bread to care for them for a month instead. Later on, the two children

⁵⁴¹ On the poor, see Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledett intézmény...*, pp. 126-127.

⁵⁴² Márton Tűnde. A kolozsvári ispotályok lakói a 17. század első felében. In Gábor Csilla, Knecht Tamás and Tar Gabriella-Nóra (Eds.). *Árpád-házi Szent Erzsébet. Magyar-német kultúrkapcsolatok Kelet-Közép-Európában*. Kolozsvár, Verbum, 2009, pp. 214-226.

⁵⁴³ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledett intézmény...*, pp. 125-132.

⁵⁴⁴ See Christ's Hospital admission register where they record the age, sex, place of birth, and religion of the person admitted, apud: W. Archer, Ian. *Sources for Early Modern English Almshouse*. p. 105, however, the introduction also shows that even in the case of the English almshouses, such sources are exceptional.

⁵⁴⁵ *ibid* pp. 116-118.

were also placed at the hospital.⁵⁴⁶ A year later, in mid-winter, a one-and-a-half-year-old girl was found again in Central Street, and the hospital hired a nurse to look after her. There were other occasions when there were small children in the hospital, and the institution paid the nurse 14 florins and two köböl of wheat a year to look after them.⁵⁴⁷ In 1660, the hospital cared for two children. They were looked after by a nurse, who was paid in bread and money week after week. One of the foundlings was picked up three weeks later by his mother.⁵⁴⁸ In August 1661, two children arrived again, at the order of the judges.⁵⁴⁹ However, it is clear that the proportion of children among the wards of the hospital was never more than twenty percent; their care was rather different from the usual and therefore more often recorded.

In 1570, the minutes of a council meeting, from a confession, show that someone reported that he gave three florins to the almshouse warden in order to get his brother admitted to the hospital.⁵⁵⁰

Most of the time, only the number of people cared for was recorded, but there are also periods for which the names of those who lived at the hospital are also known.

Initially, only the number of persons who had died at the institution was recorded, but during the 17th century, names and the money spent on each funeral were added.⁵⁵¹ From a historical point of view, these data could be of great importance if the people behind the names could be identified, but the current state of processing the historical data for Kolozsvár does not allow for this. On the other hand, it is important to draw attention to these data precisely in order to process the early modern history of the city.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1651, p. 25.

⁵⁴⁷ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1652, p. 30.

⁵⁴⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, p. 19.

⁵⁴⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1661, p. 24.

⁵⁵⁰ EMSZT. V. p. 820. "1570: Angalit Emryk gasner Eozwegie, Ezt vally. Hallotta hogy az Gereb Balas leania ezt Montha hogy Nem tagadya azt hogy három forintot adot hoz Bartos az espotalba, Mykor az Eochet oda Zerzette volt | Az Ispital dolgát es az Negy vrainm dolgát, es az Quaratarol es egieb dolgokat eo kmek halaztottak eztennapra „ Protocollum Centumvirorum. III/2. 155, Protocollum Centumvirorum. V/3. 11a.

⁵⁵¹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, p. 23. "Következik az halottakra expensa/Die 1 Septembris Csiki Péter Szegény nevű holt meg az ispotály háznál az lakatos céh fr. 2./Az deákoknak adta[m] fr. – d. 75./Neb Andrásnak koporsó csinálástól szeggel együtt adta[m] fr. – d. 85./Die 12 Octobris Vékon János holt meg, csináltatta[m] koporsót szeggel együtt fr. – d. 85./Az deák[okna]k adta[m] fr. – d. 75./Az harangozónak adta[m] fr. – d. 50./Az mészáros céhnek semmit./25 Novembris holt meg Maitini Balázsné, csináltatta[m] koporsót, szeggel együtt adta[m] fr.-d. 85./Egyéb szükségre költött Tasnádi Szöcs Jánosné."

⁵⁵² See the named residents of St Elisabeth's based on published and unpublished almshouse accounts: Kata Seres-p. 24- (1600); Mrs. Szaniszló (1601); Steffen Keller-p. 264-, Jeremias Obel-p. 251-, a German apprentice-p.253-(1624); Anna Balog -p. 453-(1633); Mrs. Buzai, Mrs. György Veres, – p. 448-(1631); Sophia-p. 457-(1634); Mihok Buzai – p. 325,364-(1646); Kata Arcul, Mrs. Kömőves, Péter Szabó,-p. 343-, Magdó-p. 344-(1647); Mrs. Császár-p. 363,

There are a few surviving names for the period under study, but it was also quite common, for example, to bury someone without even recording their name, but only to write something such as: "I buried a wretched woman from the hospital, who was sent by my lord judge."⁵⁵³

The year 1661 deserves a closer look from the point of view of the inhabitants of the hospital, since the accounts mention that footwear were bought for them and quite a few of them are recorded by name. These are György Fejérvári, Mrs. Sárosi, Mrs. Pál Bak, Mrs. János Nagy, Erzsek Teoreok, Mrs. Varga, the daughter of the priest Menyhárt, István Olajos, Istók and there is mention of another child and 4 poor women from Méra, as well as four new women who had recently been sent to the hospital by the council.⁵⁵⁴ This list did not include the names of all the inhabitants of the hospital, since in the same account, the names of those who died in the hospital were also listed and there were several other names not on the previous list. In 1661, nine people died between March and November alone, while the death toll for the whole year rose to eleven. Among the names listed are Miklós Nemturi, Mrs. Márton Kárásztelki Szabó, Márton Kerekes the Elder, the Tankó girl, the Bancsi kid, the priest Menyhárt, a girl, a poor old woman, Mrs. Balázs Maytai and János Somosszegi.⁵⁵⁵

The wards of the hospital were admitted at the will of the city council or the judge. Occasionally, however, it also happened that someone personally requested that he and his spouse might be allowed to move into the hospital. The most prominent example of this is the Dezső family of Méra⁵⁵⁶, to whom the hospital owed a significant part of its fortune, but there were more examples later⁵⁵⁷. Similarly, in 1626, István Nagy and his wife were admitted to the institution by the almshouse warden Péter Verner Szöcs, with the knowledge and by the will of the council and the judge.⁵⁵⁸

The city's sick was also collected and taken to the hospital, indicating the city's concern for the lives of its citizens. The hospital was also used for varying

364, Mrs. Katona- p. 364, Orsolya Nagy -p. 363,364, Mihály Szenci-p. 363, 364, (1658); Angalit-p. 410-, Mrs. Jakab Bel-p. 409, Mrs. Menhárth Szabó, Mrs. Vida-p. 411-(1650); Márton Papai-p. 29(1651), Mrs. Vica, p. 23, a woman named Annus, Mrs. Kádár, Mrs. Menyhárt Szabó, Süveges, Borbára, a poor person named, Mrs. Antal Teoreok (her husband has left) p. 28, (1652); Mrs. Márton Meleg, Mrs. Kádár, p.24, András Gazdagh, p. 28 (1654); János Vékon, Márton Kerekes, the daughter Ferenc Nyereö. Mrs. Gáspár Bán, p. 19, Tamás Szeöcs, János Szamoskezi, p. 20, Péter Cziki, Matthias Türeö, p. 21 (1660).

⁵⁵³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1600, p. 14.

⁵⁵⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1661, p. 27.

⁵⁵⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1661, p. 7, 27.

⁵⁵⁶ Kovács András, p. 257.

⁵⁵⁷ See the case of Antal Teoreok and his wife, the husband leaves the almshouse after the death of his wife. 1652, p. 29.

⁵⁵⁸ Márton Tünde. *A kolozsvári ispotályok...*, p. 218.

amounts of time to care for the chronically ill, for whom nurses were employed for certain periods. Most often, this meant caring for people with serious illnesses who were about to die.⁵⁵⁹

Contemporary sources also testified that disabled people were placed in the hospital as well.⁵⁶⁰ At times, money had to be paid to have someone accepted into the almshouse. The records of the Council Meeting certified that in 1570, someone paid three florins for her brother to be accepted into the institution.⁵⁶¹

During and after the war, the number of orphans increased and they were also taken care of by the hospital. A case was recorded in 1603 of a small child being placed there and of the institution receiving some support for his care and education. This event was commemorated in a document which noted when the child was placed in the hospital, what was provided for his upbringing and finally, a few years later, also his death.⁵⁶² In the same year, the almshouse warden recorded the making of some sandals for a Serbian and a German child and the purchase of clothes for an orphaned girl at St Elizabeth's.⁵⁶³ There were also earlier records of orphans being given shelter in St Elizabeth's. Thus, in 1587, an orphan girl named Katus was mentioned and in 1597, three orphaned children were given sandals in the institution.⁵⁶⁴ In 1652, a one-and-a-half-year-old girl was found in the city at the barrier on Central Street and was taken in and cared for by the hospital.⁵⁶⁵

The year of 1661 and the turbulent years that followed confronted the city, and its hospital with it, with difficult tasks. In August, four child prisoners were admitted to the hospital.⁵⁶⁶ It was also recorded that in the same year, four women from Méra were taken in, but unfortunately why they were taken into care was not recorded.⁵⁶⁷

The material and social perception of care recipients also varied greatly, from those who were simply mentioned in sentences such as "a poor old woman died" to the Dezső family, whose social and financial status was rather

⁵⁵⁹ Registers of St Elizabeth. p. 30.

⁵⁶⁰ Márton Tünde. *A kolozsvári ispotályok...*, pp. 216-218.

⁵⁶¹ *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. III/2. p. 55.

⁵⁶² St Elizabeth's archives. 18 february 1603.

⁵⁶³ Márton Tünde. *A kolozsvári ispotályok...*, pp. 216-217.

⁵⁶⁴ *ibid* p. 216.

⁵⁶⁵ Accounts of St Elizabeth's, 30, "Anno 1652 die prima Feb[ruarii] Középuca végén az sarampó alá vetettek volt egy leánykát el, mint egy másfél esztendő, melyet az utca kapitányi az tanácsi házhoz vittek Birák Uraim elejekben. Ő Kegyelmek hívatván parancsolák, hogy az gyermeknek gondját viseltessem, fogadjak dajkát neki. Egy asszonyt fogadtam az gyermek mellé. Esztendeig kész pénzt adta[m] neki fr. 14.

Az mellett két köből búzát. Az házamtól egyszer másszor holmi házalékotis adta[m]."

⁵⁶⁶ Registers of St Elizabeth. 1661, p. 25.

⁵⁶⁷ Registers of St Elizabeth. 1661, p. 25, 27.

exceptional, since they even donated the Méra estate to the hospital. In addition to these two extreme cases are many examples of more affluent people who needed care. Such was the case of Anna Balog from 1633, whose possessions were sold after her death for four florins and whose small house was also left to the hospital and which was later rented out and brought some income to the institution⁵⁶⁸ or poor Mrs Balázs Maytai, who died in 1661, in whose case a debt certificate proved that two persons owed her money, which the hospital collected⁵⁶⁹.

The number of residents at the early modern St Elisabeth's almshouse varied between 6 and 26, often significantly even within a single year. It also happened that there were 4 or 5 more or fewer people in care in a year.

The care of the hospital's residents had to be organised by the almshouse warden. The city's expectations were set out in the instructions. In order to have the money and the people to deal with the poor, the hospital had to provide an income-generating background. This was certainly given in the case of St Elisabeth's. Administering this was the responsibility of the almshouse warden. What was expected of him was set out in the instructions already mentioned.

The case was similar for late mediaeval and early modern European hospitals. The day-to-day life of the hospital's residents was defined by the policies of the institution. However, no such information is available for the hospitals of early modern Kolozsvár. An extraordinary source publication can serve as a parallel for life in the hospital, one which includes the inventories, instructions, house rules and meal plans of the Austrian hospitals.⁵⁷⁰

However, in Kolozsvár, one can only rely on the inventories and instructions of such documents. For the period under examination, the city drafted three documents in Kolozsvár to serve as instructions for the almshouse warden.⁵⁷¹ The first instruction set out the way of managing and accounting for the hospital's assets, while the second and third instruction dealt with life in the hospital and its organisation. On the basis of these facts, it is quite clear that the almshouse warden had to ensure the feeding and clothing of the residents, i.e. their complete care. The almshouse warden therefore had to provide for their livelihood and, if needed, staff who could care for them. In 1614, the instructions stressed the importance of keeping the "union", i.e. of taking care of people from both nations of the city. The text emphasised the need to have a servant to take care of the poor, i.e. cook for them, wash their clothes and clean them – and not someone to do

⁵⁶⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 453.

⁵⁶⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1661, p. 7.

⁵⁷⁰ Scheutz, Martin and Weiß, Alfred Stefan (Eds.). *Spital als Lebensform. Österreichische Spitalordnungen und Spital instruktionen der Neuzeit*. Böhlau, 2015.

⁵⁷¹ See, regarding these instructions, at the sources and also at meals.

the work of the almshouse warden. In addition, the instructions state the importance of providing them with accommodation, including the need for firewood. The organisation of their feeding was also mentioned specifically. The instruction of 1623 considered it essential to maintain divine piety and discipline in the hospital and to resolve the question of feeding.⁵⁷² Later on, this expectation of care changed and mostly consisted of providing them with bread, some money, wine and possibly shelter. The turn took place in the István Lutsch's tenure as almshouse master. Some of those cared for may not have been living in the institution's buildings, but could still have received care.

In theory, the financial background for caring for the residents of St Elisabeth's was fully secured, but environmental and personal factors created a number of obstacles. Periods of war, the siege of the city and repeated epidemics made it difficult to implement standards and expectations. Moreover, the attitude of the almshouse wardens was not always exemplary either.

CARING FOR THE RESIDENTS

The institution provided housing, clothing, burial and food for the residents.

The **accommodation** was obviously provided in the hospital house and the equipment there helped them have the necessary framework for life. Maintenance of the hospital was essential, primarily for the purpose of housing. This was taken care of from time to time, as seen above. In addition, it was important that the institution had enough firewood for the winter. Despite the fact that there was firewood every year in winter, the recording of this is quite sporadic, which can be explained by the fact that they were able to procure their own wood supply from the forests belonging to the hospital.⁵⁷³ In an extraordinary situation, during the beggar crisis of 1602, property was rented to care for the needy during the harsh winter. Much later, not in the period under study, the back of the main square house of St Elisabeth's was also used as a shelter for the poor.

Information on the equipment of the hospital was only provided in the inventory of 1591, in which everything from basic to more special items were recorded within the house of St Elisabeth's.

According to the inventory, the hospital house contained several benches and tables, two lanterns, a candlestick, two cupboards, one closet in good and

⁵⁷² *ibid.*

⁵⁷³ Ladó-Kajtár Gyöngyvér. „Szorgalmasan az szegényeket meg látogassák és cirkálják meg, kik érdemlik meg az alamizsnát s kik nem”. Az 1600-1601 telének kolozsvári koldusválsága. In Tötös Áron (Ed.). *Fejezetek Erdély történetéből*. Nagyvárad, EME-RODOSZ, 2018, pp. 156-172.

one in poorer condition, a chest, four modest tapestries made of wool waste (nyiredék)⁵⁷⁴, one Turkish tapestry, and three carpets, one of which was in good and two in poor condition⁵⁷⁵. This list shows the outlines of a facility suited to early modern urban life. Zsigmond Jakó assumed that the nyiredék tapestry was neither a cottage industry product nor an imported wall covering, but was instead the product of local tapestry workshops.⁵⁷⁶ The Turkish tapestry may have been a more sophisticated piece. It must have been a donation from someone, rather than a purchase by the institution. Only the material and condition of the furniture is recorded, not its form or decoration.

Pallets (nyoszolya) are mentioned as reclining furniture, similar to those in the houses of moderately well-off or poor citizens.⁵⁷⁷ The inventory did not record what these old-fashioned couches were like. According to Zsigmond Jakó's research, these were either painted green, black or white or were simple peasants' beds. Their value in the 16th and 17th centuries were estimated as being between 16 denars and 1.5 florins.⁵⁷⁸ The size of these beds and how many people they were made for is unknown. At the beginning of the 16th century, a similar number of beds served the poor in the Pozsony (Bratislava) hospital. In 1510, 25 beds were mentioned in St Lazarus and 12 in St Elisabeth's Hospital.⁵⁷⁹

The couches were fitted with mattresses (derékalj). The inventory recorded thirteen old, but good derékalj cushions and eighteen smaller, used ones that were converted into ten better ones. These were equipped with twenty good and used fewalj (pillows).⁵⁸⁰ They also had covers for the featherbeds and pillows. The inventory counted twenty-one covers for the featherbeds and thirty-one covers for the pillows, as well as six sheets.⁵⁸¹ The bedding also included a golden quilt (paplan). This was definitely a luxury article, just like the Turkish carpet or tapestry. The quilt itself can be seen as a luxury item of early modern burgher life in Kolozsvár and its presence can be interpreted as an expression of wealth.⁵⁸² These types of bed linen were valued at between 5 and 16 florins by the settlement certificates, while duvets worth as much as 25 florins were also recorded, which, in this case too, must have been a donation or bequest of some kind.

⁵⁷⁴ EMSZT. IX. p. 801, Pieces of waste wool.

⁵⁷⁵ Inventory, p.3.

⁵⁷⁶ Jakó Zsigmond. p. 370.

⁵⁷⁷ Inventory, p. 4.

⁵⁷⁸ Jakó Zsigmond. p. 381.

⁵⁷⁹ Majorossy Judit and Szende Katalin. p. 436, 655-657.

⁵⁸⁰ EMSZT. IV., p. 338.

⁵⁸¹ Inventory, 1-2.

⁵⁸² Jakó Zsigmond. p. 383.

In a sense, the quantity of cots and featherbeds can indicate the capacity of the institution. However, it is important to note that no specific measurements for them have been recorded. Additionally, during the early modern period, in times of crisis, these items could potentially have been used by more than one person.

Another very important task of the hospital was to ensure the clothing of its inhabitants, but there is very little data on this. On the one hand are the instructions' vague references; on the other are highly scattered accounts. It is rather odd that so few related costs are recorded. There are several explanations for this. The first is that the hospital was able to produce a lot of clothing because it also grew hemp and flax and had a rather significant sheep herd. But it is also possible that when someone was admitted to the institution for care, they may have brought their own clothes with them. It is also possible that the hospital received items of clothing that were obviously used by the residents from various bequests.

For footwear there is slightly more data. In this case, amounts spent on the purchase of sandals were more often recorded, but funds were also set aside from time to time for repairing existing ones.

These records are obviously quite scattered, but there are several instances of sandal purchases in the period under consideration.⁵⁸³ The main problem

⁵⁸³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587, p. 69. He paid the cobbler a total of 9 florins and 85 denars for repairing a shoe head and for some sandals. But for this amount he had footwear made for servants and also for himself. He had sandals made for two orphaned children as well.; Registers of St Elisabeth. 1597, p.7 a sandal was made for 40 denars for the mute girl, for 40 denars for the orphan girl, and for 53 denars for the two orphan children.; Registers of St Elisabeth. in 1600, 53 denars for sandals for the two orphaned children.; in 1602, sandals were made for a Serbian and a Saxon child. In Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 34.; in 1649, they bought sandals for eleven poor people for 6.5 florins, in Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 386, 392.; On 5 February 1650, thirteen pairs of women's sandals and one pair of men's shoes were bought for the poor of the almshouse. In Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p.409; Registers of St Elisabeth. in 1652, an orphaned girl's sandals cost 56 denars. p. 30; Registers of St Elisabeth. 1654, p. 22 11 egy saru 80/van pénzen és 3 sarú a 3 gyermeknek.; Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, p. 22, "Következik az szegényekre való ruházatbeli költség per spaium anni/Vöttem Nyerő Ferenc leányának sarut hatvan öt pénzen fr. – d. 65./Item. Az Tarka árva leánának egy condorát fr. 1 d. 05. /Az 3 férfiú gyermek[ne]k 3 condorát fr. 2 d. 95./Item. Azok[na]k az 3 ferfiú gyermek[ek]nek 3 bokor sarut fr. 1 d. 08. /Item. Szomosközi Jánosnak egy bokor sarut fr. – d. 70. /Kárász Teleki Mártonnének egy sarut fr. – d. 65./ Sárosnének egy bokor sarut vette[m] fr. – d. 66./ Nagy Jánosnének egy bokor sarut fr. – d. 66./ Egy világtalan asszonynak egy bokor sarut fr. – d. 66./ Sáfárnének egy bokor sarut fr. – d. 66./ Az mérai 3 asszonynak egy bokor sarut hatva[n] hatva[n] pénzt teszen az ára fr. 1 d. 80./ Kerekes Mártonnak egy sarura való pénzt fr. – d. 70./ Menyhart papnak az leányával együtt adta[m] sarura való pénzt fr. 1 d. 20./ Colosi Jánosnak sarura való pénzt fr. – d. 60./ Az többinek vagyon most"; Registers of St Elisabeth. 1661, p.27. Anno 1661 die 25 Jan[uar]ii az szegeny/Nemturi Matjas[na]k atta[m] egy sarura penzt fr. – d. 65./ Die 20 Nove[mbris] atta[m] sarura valo penszt/Fejervari Giörgnek fr. – d. 65./ Sarossinenak fr. – d. 65./ Bak Palmenak fr. – d. 65./ Nagy Janosnek fr. – d. 65./ Teorök Erszek[ne]k fr. – d. 65./ Varganének fr. – d. 65./ Menyhart papnak leaniával egyút fr. 1./ Olajos Istvannak fr. – d. 70./ Istoknak vette[m] egy sarut fr. – d. 35(.....)/Az

with these records is when they only mention the purchase of footwear, but not who it was for, i.e. a servant, a hired labourer or the poor of the hospital.

Money was also occasionally spent from time on **repair** and maintenance work.⁵⁸⁴ On this, as well as on purchases, I am convinced that they took place many more times than mentioned in the accounts.

The accounts mention several articles of **clothing**. Thus, quite often there is talk of shirts, a small tatters (condrácška) and embroidered coats (szűr), skirts, maiden's hood-moulding (párta), white linen (gyolcs) and other garments. However, these were most often not bought or given to the residents, but mostly appear as payments to servants or hired craftsmen. However, there are a few occasions when clothing costs for the poor were recorded.

When the weaver was paid to make different textiles, the clothing of the poor was surely included in the products made. Thus, the purpose behind ordering various types of linen could also have been to provide clothing for the residents.⁵⁸⁵ On another occasion, skirts were bought for orphaned care recipients.⁵⁸⁶ Short baize coats (condora)⁵⁸⁷ were purchased a few times.⁵⁸⁸

The hospitals monitored the needs of the poor and needy in their institutions and tried to fulfil the task entrusted to them, but within the city administration, confiscated clothing items were distributed by the city's church vergers to the needy.

There is little mention of the care that occurred in the hospital. When it was written about, it was not the day-to-day, but rather the extraordinary that was recorded. Two questions arise in this context: one concerning the care of orphans and the other concerning the issue of caring for the sick.

The care of orphans proved very cumbersome, especially in the case of very young children. As the records show, the care of very young children was entrusted to the almshouse warden, but he, on his part, mostly entrusted this task to external persons. There were also cases where the task is left

Meraj negy aszonyak atta[m] fr. 1./Az kik mosta[ng allottak be az/ negynek atta[m] egynek d. 25 tt. fr. 1./(...).Ita Latus facit fr. 9 d. 99.

⁵⁸⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 24, 34-36, 50, 59, 81, 82, 112, 138, 139, 140.

⁵⁸⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1588, p. 47. 'Az takáccsal számvetve, hogy az házhoz művelt: „zeot zeszebeol” font vászmat 114 sing, fizettem Fr. – d. 48.

Esmeg csináltattam fevalj 103, fizettem Fr. – d. 80.”; 1602, Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p.33. „Az takácsnak adtam 100 sing kender vászontól, singitől adta[m] 1 ½ tt. fl.1 d. 50.

Ugyan azon takáccsal szőttetem 80 sing szösz vászmat, adta[m] singitől d. 1, tt. d. 80.

Vöttem három kendő keszkenőnek veres fonalat pro d. 14.”

⁵⁸⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587, p. 60, “Az egyik árva leánnak, Catús nevőnek vöttem egy szoknyát, fodor igler, az szegényektől pro Fr. 1./Az egyik árvának, az Catának vöttem posztót nekie egy szoknyához és mostan csinálják, fizettem az posztóért Fr. 1, én Orsolia asszony.”

⁵⁸⁷ EMSZT. I. p. 1216-7. Condra, short baize coat.

⁵⁸⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, p. 22. “Az Tarka árva leánnak egy condorát fr. 1 d. 05./ Az 3 férfú gyermek[ne]k 3 condorát fr. 2 d. 95.”; 1652, p. 30, “Két condorácskát vöttem d. 75.”

entirely to a poor woman⁵⁸⁹ and other times to the farm manager's wife in Méra.⁵⁹⁰ In several cases, a nurse was hired to look after the children in the institution's care.⁵⁹¹

Despite our earlier hopes, the operation of the early modern hospitals indicates only exceptional cases of nursing people with illnesses. The current study covers a lifetime and yet the data on patient care is extremely sparse. In this case, too, it is clear that many more patients were cared for than are recorded in the accounts. First, there is the case of a couple in the 17th century who moved into the hospital and lived together there, but after a while the wife died and the widower left the institution. This story suggests that the sick woman's care could not be provided by her husband alone, so they took advantage of the possibilities offered by St Elizabeth's, where the burden of care was presumably lifted from her husband's shoulders.⁵⁹²

When bedridden patients had to be cared for, the hospital required the involvement of external helpers. This was the case in 1646, when a suffering person was found in the city⁵⁹³ or in 1648, when a girl was admitted who

⁵⁸⁹ Registers of St Elizabeth. 1651, p. 26. "Die 27 Marcii. Birák Uraim kültek két annyoktól el hagyottot gyermeket az ispotályban, hogy gon[d]jokat viseltesse[m]. Egyik négy esztendő, az másik háro[m]g lebet, egy szegény asszonytól tartatta[m] őket. Eodem die atta[m] pénzt s[zá]mokra d. 24. p. 30."

⁵⁹⁰ Registers of St Elizabeth. 1651, p. 8. "Az udvarháznál lakó majornének juxta conve[n]cionem] adta[m] ez esztendőben mivel hogy egy árva gyermeket tartatta[m] vele cub. 5 m. 4./Egy leánykát tartattak Birák Urai[m] mellyet Magyar utca végén vetettek volt el, adta[m] attól juxta co[n]vencionem] cub. 2."

⁵⁹¹ Registers of St Elizabeth. Anno 1652, p. 30, "die prima Feb[ruarii] Középuca végén az sarampó alá vetettek volt egy leánykát el, mint egy másfél esztendő, melyet az utca kapitányi az tanácsi házhhoz vittek Birák Uraim elejekben. Ó Kegyelmek hivatván parancsolák, hogy az gyermeknek gondját viseltessem, fogadjak dajkát neki. Egy asszonyt fogadtam az gyermek mellé./ Esztendeig kész pénzt adta[m] neki fr. 14./Az mellett két köből búzát. Az házamtól egyszer másszor holmi házalékotis adta[m]; Registers of St Elizabeth. 1660, p. 6. Item az mely két leányval bánik az ispotályba egy asszony adta[m] kesire?? valójára fr. 1./ Item. Egy el vetett leánykát tartott az B. Város az B. Tanács, annak dajkát fogatta[m] Új utcában lakó Nagy Irtai [?] András feleségét, adta[m] búzát cub. 1 m. 6.; 1660, p. 18. Die 5 Janu[arii] B. Város igazgató Uraimék parancsolvá[n], hogy két elvetett gyermek volna, hogy azok[na]k viselnék gondjokat.; Die 6 Janu[arii]. Fogatta[m] egyiknek dajkát Sz[ent] György napig fr. 1 d. 50, hogy meg holt temetésére költöttem fr. – d. 80.; Item. Az másik árvát az kit az directorok tartottak annakelőtte fogadta[m] meg az előbbi dajkáját, hétre adta[m] d. 12, egy kenyeret. Három hét alatt el vitte az anyja. Teszen fr. – d. 36, kenyér no. 3/1660, p. 21. Die 1 Septembris holt meg Cziki Péter nevű szegény, helyette adta az B. t. egy árva néma tartotta gyermek leánt. Registers of St Elizabeth. 1660, p. 22.; Registers of St Elizabeth. p. 24. Die 10 Aug[usti] Biro Ur[am] T. kett árva/el vetet gyermekeket adot az ispo-/Die 25 Aug[usti] holt meg egy Tarko/ árva leány kit Szekely Leorinczis/tartot./ p. 25, Die 5 No[vembris] az B[ec]sületes] Venszegh megh/ parancziola hogi ez Elek Janos/haza alat nyomoroghna egy szegeny/ leany egy kis árva gyermekel, hogi /be venne[m] az ispoalyb[a] es igy/lonek in personis 20./

⁵⁹² Registers of St Elizabeth. p. 21. 1646, "Die 23 Julii. Biro Uram küldött egj embert az Ispotalib[an] az meli embert az korsagh az Hid Kapuba[n] rontott az Ispotaliba[n] megh halvan, temettettem el."

⁵⁹³ Registers of St Elizabeth. p. 34." 1648, Die 22 Aprilli Nagj Orszolja nevű leány ... Mivel

needed a nurse. In another case, the hospital also recorded the number of weeks of external help needed.⁵⁹⁴ It is possible that it was not the resident of the hospital who was the subject of the entry in the accounts according to which a swine-herd boy had his finger bitten by a pig and the hospital paid the barbers to take care of it.⁵⁹⁵

The institution also had to take care of the funerals of the hospital's poor. Fortunately, these also involved expenditures, which is why the money spent on them was accounted for, although not always accurately, as it also happens that neither the items of expenditure nor the name of the deceased was recorded. In other cases, they even recorded that the hospital did not give any money, but they supported the funeral, for example with planks from the hospital, which were used to build a coffin. Several types of expenditure were reported on the occasion of funerals. Most often, they listed all the items with the totals spent, without giving details. The funeral of a poor person involved buying or having a coffin made, paying for the bells to be rung, paying the scholar who attended the funeral and also the burial itself. These were all expenses for the hospital.

The coffin for the funeral was an essential accessory. Its cost was also borne by the hospital. The almshouse warden was responsible for purchasing the coffin. The cost of this was included in his accounts.⁵⁹⁶ There were several occasions when the hospital provided planks for the coffin in order to pay a lower price for its production.⁵⁹⁷ The coffins were not identical; in the same year, 1661, for example, some were sold for 25 denars, others for up to 75 denars.⁵⁹⁸ In the same year, they made a so-called flat coffin for an old man called Márton Kerekes, which cost less money.⁵⁹⁹ In some cases, clothing was also purchased for the deceased. This is what happened in 1652, when Mrs. Szabó Menyhárt left this life and the hospital bought 7 cubits of linen for her burial.⁶⁰⁰

The tolling of the bell was an indispensable part of Christian funeral rites and the tribute to the deceased.⁶⁰¹ In fact, tolling the bell was one of the most

hogy felette nagy nyavalyába volt, fogattam egy asszont egy hétre melléje d. 75. Az feretösbén vele ment [...] attam] fl. 1. Szerszámra attam d. 25."

⁵⁹⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1650, p. 36. "Die 29 Decembris "Egy asszont fogattam három hétig melléje mert igen rusnya nyomorék volt, annak fizettem fl. 2. Annak attam kenyeret nro. 3."

⁵⁹⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1600, p. 13. "Egyik gyermekért, ki az búzát őrizte, hogy az disznó megharapta az úját, fizettem az Borbely [...] nek gyógyításáért Fr. 1 d. –"

⁵⁹⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 222, 325, 364, 409, 410, 411.

⁵⁹⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 222, 325, 409.

⁵⁹⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1661, p. 28.

⁵⁹⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1661, p. 28.

⁶⁰⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1652, p. 27.

⁶⁰¹ On the kalandos society of Kolozsvár, see Kiss András: Kalandosok-kalandos-temető Kolozsvárt. In Idem. *Források és értelmezések*. Bukarest, Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1994, pp. 83-102;

effective communication channels in early modern Kolozsvár, as the bells could convey a variety of information. Thus, they could signal the approach of danger or warn of a fire, summon the inhabitants of the settlement to a funeral and summon the Council of the Hundred to a meeting. Even the simple call to worship was signalled by the tolling of a bell. The tolling at funerals did not always sound the same. It always depended on the social status of the deceased, but the gender and age of the deceased and the amount of money spent also mattered for the quantity and quality of the tolling of the bells. When, on rare occasions, the amount spent on tolling the bell is recorded at St Elisabeth's, it is usually 50 denars.⁶⁰² According to the tolling instructions in force in the city, the residents of Kolozsvár could choose between four types. When the church bell was rung for 25 denars, it was the three small bells of the church that were rung, and the bell ringer had to be paid for each time the bell was rung. On the second level, the old bell was rung together with the others for 60 denars, of which the bell ringer was paid 20 denars. This amount covered two ringings of the bell. On the third level, 1.4 florins was charged for tolling the bell. Of this, 40 denars went to the bell ringer and for this amount the bells were tolled twice. The highest form of tolling the bell was tolling all the bells thrice, for which one florin was paid to the church and one florin to the bell-ringer.⁶⁰³ The accounts showed that the residents of the hospital received the basic form and that the institution had the smaller bells tolled twice for them.⁶⁰⁴

The almshouse wardens also paid the scholar from the cemetery different amounts of money for last rites. For the clerks, 1 florin was recorded in the bell-toller's instructions⁶⁰⁵, while 75 denars were consistently recorded by the hospitals⁶⁰⁶. Their role in the ceremony was not quite clear, whether these "cemetery clerks" merely sang at the funeral or whether they performed the ceremony themselves.

The more prosaic part of the funeral was left to the Kalandos society⁶⁰⁷, one of the guilds or the gravediggers. The guilds of tailors, furriers, butchers and

Lindner Gusztáv. "A kolozsvári Kalandos-Társulatok." *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 1894, XI, pp. 65-84, 140-152, 215-226, 373-383.

⁶⁰² Registers of St Elisabeth. 1661, p. 28.

⁶⁰³ Registers of St Elisabeth. The accounts of the churchmen. 1585, XIX/3/p. 6.

⁶⁰⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660, p. 23. „Következik az halottakra expensa Die 12 Octobris Vékon János holt meg, csináltatta[m] koporsót szeggel együtt fr. – d. 85. Az deák[okna]k adta[m] fr. – d. 75. Az harangozónak adta[m] fr. – d. 50. Az mészáros céhnek semmit.”

⁶⁰⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. The accounts of the churchmen. 1585, XIX/3/p. 6.

⁶⁰⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1661, p. 28.

⁶⁰⁷ Kiss András. *Kalandosok...*, pp. 83–109; Lindner Gusztáv. „A kolozsvári Kalandos-társulatok.” *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 1894, vol. XI., 21, pp. 65-84.

locksmiths were asked to undertake the funerals of the deceased of St Elizabeth's hospital. In these cases, the deceased must have had some connection with these associations, especially in cases where the guilds performed this task for free.⁶⁰⁸ However, in 1661, the locksmith's guild was paid two florins to bury a poor man from the hospital.⁶⁰⁹ Quite often, this phase of the funeral was entrusted to the Kalandos in exchange for varying amounts of money.⁶¹⁰ When it wasn't the Kalandos or one of the guilds that did the digging and burying, it was the gravediggers who performed this task.⁶¹¹ The amount spent on funerals varied greatly, from 2 florins to 12 florins 55 denars, which was spent on the funeral of the priest Menyhárt.⁶¹²

It also occurred that the town council entrusted the hospital with the burial of strangers who had died in the city as well.⁶¹³ The hospital also played a prominent role in the burial of the deceased during epidemics. Thus, in February 1602, the almshouse warden commissioned the cook to make arrangements for the burial of 55 persons. There was even a day when 15 dead had to be buried.⁶¹⁴ Obviously, not all of the people buried were residents or care recipients of the hospital, some may have been people who did not have anyone to bury them because of the epidemic. Burying strangers was not only the responsibility of hospitals. The church vergers also did their fair share of this task and fortunately they recorded their expenses, so one can read about them in their accounts.⁶¹⁵ Their contribution is especially visible during epidemics and more turbulent periods.

⁶⁰⁸ Butchers' guild Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 411; Tailors' guild Registers of St Elisabeth., 1651, p. 27; Coopers, p. 27; Registers of St Elisabeth., 1661, p. 27; Furriers' guild 1653, p. 29.

⁶⁰⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth., 1661, p. 23.

⁶¹⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth., 1600, for 50 denars, p. 6, 31; in 1623, for two florins; Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 222; 1646, 1 florin and 55 denars, Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 325; 1647, Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 343; 1648, Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 364; 1650, 2 florins and 25 denars, Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 409, and 1 florin and 25 denars, Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 410, 411; 1650, 25 denars, p. 29, 30; 1661, 1. 35 denars, p. 28; Registers of St Elisabeth., in 1661, 75 denars, p. 29.

⁶¹¹ Registers of St Elisabeth., 1661, p. 28. The Kalandos society was a neighbourhood-based association. The individuals belonging to it assisted each other, organized kalákas (voluntary co-operative work) for house construction, dug graves for funerals, arranged funerals, and supported the families.

⁶¹² Registers of St Elisabeth., 1661, p. 29.

⁶¹³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 411, 1650, "Die 11 Augusti bírak uraim parancsolattjából temettettem egy szegén asszont el az az Püspök Uram háza alatt holt volt meg. Az kalandosnak attam fl. 1 d. 25. Az dejákoknak attam fl. – d. 55."

⁶¹⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 41.

⁶¹⁵ Accounts of the church vergers, 1596/7/II, p.29.

CATERING AT THE HOSPITAL

The topic of food and nutrition in the hospital has been dealt with in several other studies. However, this issue is rarely addressed in Hungarian and Romanian historiography. In Western and Central Europe there have already been a number of key books and studies published in this field. This can be explained by the availability of sources and the earlier start of their publication. Within the framework of this analysis, Hungarian, Prussian and Lithuanian examples have been used as parallels. The studies of Andrej Klonder⁶¹⁶, Stanislaw Litak⁶¹⁷ and Miloslava Bodnárova⁶¹⁸ have provided interesting data for comparison to Kolozsvár as they also approached hospitals from the perspective of food supply.

The food from the Hungarian, Prussian and Lithuanian hospitals is here compared with the food from Kolozsvár and specifically from St Elisabeth's. The issue of catering in relation to Kolozsvár has been raised several times in research, but these studies have focused on the catering for princes in Kolozsvár⁶¹⁹ or sometimes on envoys' receptions⁶²⁰ or the city's catering venues⁶²¹. The issue of catering in the hospital was raised in the monograph on the Holy Spirit⁶²², with a separate study dealing specifically with the issue of catering in the hospital.⁶²³

In the present case, one can start from the expectations and instructions related to feeding the hospital's residents and evaluate the data on this subject. These instructions are limited to the care of the hospital's residents. In this case, what will be examined is how expectations are reflected in the accounts.

This study on catering will first of all take into account all forms of catering that can reveal something new about the feeding of the residents, the servants and the almshouse warden. The catering for the residents will be outlined first, then the serfs of the hospital, the hired craftsmen, the almshouse warden

⁶¹⁶ Klonder, Andrej. "Poor and abundant diet in the towns of royal Prussia in the 17th century." *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 2002, pp. 89-127.

⁶¹⁷ Litak, Stanislaw. "Poor relief in multiconfessional society. The case of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth." *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 2003, pp. 5-29.

⁶¹⁸ Bodnarova, Miloslava. A polgárság életszínvonal a mai Kelet-Szlovákia szabad királyi városaiban a 16. században. In *Bártfától Pozsonyig. Városok a 13-17. században*. Budapest, 2005, pp. 319-341.

⁶¹⁹ Jeney-Tóth Annamária. „Attam Urunk ő nagysága konyhájára.” In *Kiss András Nyolcvanadik születésnapjára*. Kolozsvár, 2003, pp. 223-236.

⁶²⁰ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. Alteritate și ospitalitate. In *Identitate și alteritate*. Cluj-Napoca, PUC, 1998, pp. 56-64.

⁶²¹ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. "Nivele de alimentație în Clujul din epoca Principatului." *Caiete de antropologie istorică*, V, no. 1-2 (8-9), 2006, pp. 55-67.

⁶²² Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledeett intézmény...*, 2012.

⁶²³ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. A kolozsvári kórházok élelmészése a fejedelemség korában. In *Urbs. Magyar várostörténeti évkönyv*. X. Budapest, 2015, pp. 105-121.

and the auditors. The latter are not covered by the instructions, so scattered accounts and the context of other provisions must be used to construct as full a picture as possible.

In the West, the residents' daily life was usually prescribed by the hospital instructions, which in effect provided those caring for them with a standard for their work. These rules quite often covered how the catering was to be provided and the forms that were expected. A good selection of sources for mediaeval hospitals in Hungary have been published, including charters, donation letters, wills, letters of appointment, accounts and inventories, but no instructions were included in this selection.⁶²⁴ However, the instructions of the Sopron hospital, which also contain a weekly meal plan, have been published.⁶²⁵ According to this, the residents were fed twice a day and meat was a fairly frequent item on their menu.

As mentioned above, three instructions for the administration of St Elisabeth's have survived. The first instruction deals almost exclusively with the management of the hospital's assets and the expectations related to the accounts.⁶²⁶ In this document, the council of Kolozsvár specified St Elisabeth's income sources for 1586 and described the forms of accounting for them. This text is not negligible regarding the aspect of catering, either, since it provides information on the basic foodstuffs produced in the economic framework of the hospital. Only the second almshouse warden's briefing provides a better understanding of the issue of catering in the hospital.

A significant part of the ten points of the 1614 expectations concerns the provision of food for the hospital.⁶²⁷ They required the hospital to sow millet and give it to the poor three times a week. There are also instructions for keeping pigs at the property. The hospital was also expected to have cabbage, parsley, carrots, onions, garlic and peas in the garden and to sow flax as well, as the oil made from it was important in the preparation of food. The instruction also specified the cooking of food, saying that the servant should bake and cook for the poor and provide two pounds of processed meat per week for each person in care.

Two of the six points of the third Instruction, outlined in 1623, similarly relate to the feeding of the poor.⁶²⁸ This order required the almshouse warden

⁶²⁴ Szende Katalin and Majorossy Judit. Sources for the Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary. In *Quellen zu europaischen Spitalgeschichte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Wien, Böhlau, 2010, pp. 323-368.

⁶²⁵ D. Szakács Anita. „A soproni ispotály 16. század végi heti étrendje.” *Sopron és térsége-Sopron és polgárai. Tanulmányok Tirnitz József emlékére*, 2008, LXII. Évfolyam, 2. szám, pp. 75-77.

⁶²⁶ De Liber Civitatis, 1586, p. 19. Instructions.

⁶²⁷ Church archives. Fasc. A, no. 82., 1614. Instructions.

⁶²⁸ RNA. Fasc. IV, 143, 17 February 1623.

to ensure that the institution baked and cooked for the residents and that they were always given bread and wine with their meals. It also determined when in the course of a week the poor should be given their weekly pound of meat. The orders were that Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday were to be meat days. Previously, the poor had only had meat twice a week. The examined accounts also show that in the first period of the early modern history of the hospital of Kolozsvár (from the Reformation to 1643), more attention was paid to the feeding of the poor. The almshouse wardens also seem to have been more accurate in their accounts and the auditors seem to have checked the records more rigorously. An account recorded in 1587 made it clear that the poor were given meat twice a week, on Sundays and Thursdays and oil and fish on Fridays.⁶²⁹ Under these circumstances, 12 denars a week were spent on meat and the provision of cooked food was important.⁶³⁰ In his 1609 account, Péter Lutz mentioned two meat days a week, but he also admitted that sometimes meat was only given to the poor once a week and he called Sunday and Wednesday meat days, while on Friday they were given peas and porridge.⁶³¹

These were the expectations behind the organisation of the feeding of the care recipients at St Elisabeth's Hospital in Kolozsvár. These expectations were met for the most part, with the successive almshouse wardens always making an effort to organise the logistics of cooking. This worked until 1643, when there was a change and instead of cooking, the poor were only given money for meat. Later, this also turned into a weekly allowance, which was initially supplemented by the hospital with wine and bread. In the second half of the 17th century, the care of the poor was completely different, as the money spent on their food was then called *praebenda* and care for the poor consisted of bread, a weekly allowance and a roof over their heads.⁶³²

⁶²⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth., 1587, 1588, „Ezeknek utána következik miérthogy az szegényeknek rendtartások, mikorontán az beott bezallott[?], tehát csak kétszer attanak húst egy héten, főképpen vasárnap és csütörtökön, annak utána minden pénteken olajt és halat mikorontán kívánják mindezeknek alatta következik.”

⁶³⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth., „Anni 1587. Következik az szegényeknek húsrá, halra és olajra való költség mellett regestum tartása szerint egy-egy hétre rend szerint megírtam ezeknek alatta.

2 die Ianuarii az szegényeknek húsrá d. 12.

3 die Ianuarii az szegényeknek húsrá d. 12.

4 die Ianuarii az szegényeknek húsrá d. 12.”

⁶³¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's p. 101, „Attam az szegényeknek minden héten (gyakrabban kétszer, noha pedig az alkalmatosságokhoz képest csak egyszer), hat-hat font húst, vasárnapra és szerdára, péntekre pedig borsót avagy kását attam az magokéből és ahhoz olajat ugyan az magokéből attam, mert volt len magjok, az kiből olajat csináltattam, kenyeret pedig minden napra attam két-töt-kettőt esztendő által.”

⁶³² Registers of St Elisabeth.

“1663 In mense Apr[iliu]

Die 7, 13, 21, 28 Apr[iliu]. Atta[m] heti pénzzt fl. 5 d. 04.

On average, a poor person was given one loaf of bread and 12 denars per week to feed himself. The turbulent period of the 1660s also did nothing to help the plight of the needy. Even the money for the wine was left out of the *praebenda*. In the most difficult times, in the 1660s, in 1663 to be precise, even the weekly allowance was abolished and only bread was provided. St Elisabeth's almshouse warden, András Kapusi Szabó, complained that so many burdens are placed on the institution (taxes and soldiers' food and housing) that it was unable to provide the poor with the weekly allowance they were owed, so that the inhabitants of the hospital were starving.⁶³³

The most important part of the diet at St Elisabeth's was bread. Certainly, there were differences in the quality of the bread, but these are very difficult to detect. Bread was made from wheat, but the quality of this wheat varied. Furthermore, several varieties of wheat were grown and used. The records also mention autumn and spring wheat, einkorn and spelt. In addition, flour of different qualities, consistencies and compositions could be used while milling the wheat. Thus, the products of the milling process included white flour, brown flour, semolina, porridge and bran. However, there is no record of the different qualities and composition of the flour. If the flour had a higher bran content, it became brown or white flour and this determined the quality of the bread. The food for the hospital came from grain grown on the city's outskirts, milled in the mills of the city or hospital and prepared in the bakeries of the city or the hospital.⁶³⁴ The poor of the Holy Spirit almshouse in Kolozsvár received their bread from the two bakeries as toll bread, part of which they consumed themselves; the rest was a source of income. This was different at St Elisabeth's, where the wheat was grown in their own fields, ground in their own mills and baked in their own bakeries for the poor and all who lived in and around the institution. However, St Elisabeth's only baked as much bread as it used, so its bakehouse did not generate any income.

The records did not consider it important to specify whether the bread was white or brown. At most, the loaves are described as "tiny", "small", "common" and "old" bread. Buns also appeared, but only on the table of the almshouse master and his guests. White bread was always referred to as buns.

Kenyeret no. 84'

⁶³³ Registers of St Elisabeth, 1663 – St Elisabeth's, „Eddig az ideig adta[m] az szegények[ne]k heti pénzt, de két forintot háro[m] pénzt vetnek reá[m] egy hétre az németek vagy az szászok, az előttis hol hatnak, hol tíz[ne]k kellett gazdálkodno[m] és így az szegényektől meg kelle vonno[m] magamat, az heti pénzt ne[m] adhatta[m] meg, mert ne[m] bízhatta[m?] semmi jövedelemhez. Az B[ecsületes] Vénység előttis ígérének egy poharat, de abb[an] sem telik semmi és így az szegények koplalnak, az németek jól laknak, az és erszényemis meg üresült, ne[m] tudok csak az németnekis mit adni, szánya meg az I[ste]n.”

⁶³⁴ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. Food Supply and Distribution in Early Modern Transylvania (1541-1640). In Angela Jianu and Violeta Barbu (Eds.). *Earthy Delights. Economics in Ottoman and Danubian Europe c. 1500-1900*. Leiden/Boston, Brill, Balkan Studies Library, 2018, pp. 271-274.

Usually, two köböl of wheat were used to bake 16 loaves of bread.⁶³⁵ In the hospitals of Kolozsvár, bread was a staple. Without it, catering in the institution was almost unthinkable. It would be important to know how big these loaves of bread were, especially after the hospital stopped cooking for the residents and gave them bread once a week. It is possible that the size of the bread varied. If one takes as a basis the data of the 1676 account book, they must have been quite big loaves. According to a simple calculation, the residents received around 5 kg of bread per week, which corresponds to 71 dkg per day.⁶³⁶ In contrast, the Sopron instruction mentions bread only once. This either means that the bread was indeed so rare or that it went without saying that it came with the meal.⁶³⁷

Porridges made from cereals were common on the tables of the hospital residents, workers and serfs. These could be made from semolina, spelt, millet or buckwheat, with oil or butter.

Another important staple in the hospital's food supply was meat. The quantity and quality of the meat used in the food supply increased according to the social status of the care receiver. Most of the meat supply in Kolozsvár was brought to the market through the butchers.⁶³⁸ The meat used to feed the poor was the cheapest on the market, inferior in quantity even to the food prepared for the servants hired for secondary activities. The meat used in the hospital came from the farm or the market and was sometimes irregularly processed meat confiscated from the butchers. The meat bought was mostly beef or bacon, as these were the cheapest types of meat in the slaughterhouses of Kolozsvár.

Only some of the animals that could be found on the farms of the Kolozsvár monasteries were used for food, but it is necessary to list the animals on their farms on the basis of the inventories. In the inventories of farms and hospital houses, horses, oxen, cattle, bullocks, pigs (acorn-raised, grass-fed), goats, sheep, hens, geese, ducks, peacocks, pigeons and bees are mentioned in various sources. In contrast, turkeys, donkeys and mules do not appear. Around Easter and Pentecost, there were several occasions when lamb was given to the poor and in the winter, around Christmas, pigs were among the meats bought for the care recipients of the hospital.⁶³⁹ Very rarely,

⁶³⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth., 1679 Die 27 Maii süttettem egy köböl búzának a lisztit az Die 27 Maii süttettem egy köböl búzának a lisztit az szegények számára, sült kenyér belőle no. 16."

⁶³⁶ Köböl in Kolozsvár = 8 bushels = 29 litres = 172 litres = 86kg. See Kovách Géza: Terület-mérési rendszerek Arad környékén. Történelmi áttekintés és helyzetfelmérés. In Kós Károly-Faragó József (Eds.). *Népismereti Dolgozatok*. Bukarest, 1980, pp. 26-36. https://adatbank.ro/html/alcim_pdf12452.pdf

⁶³⁷ D. Szakács Anita. *A soproni ispotály...*, pp. 75-77.

⁶³⁸ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Food Supply...*, pp. 284-291.

⁶³⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 104-109.

twice or three times a year, fish or salted fish were among the meals bought for them.⁶⁴⁰

The accounts rarely indicate⁶⁴¹ specifically which vegetables or fruits were used to feed the poor. All that is known is what the auditors asked the hospital to produce for this purpose. The scattered data reveal that salted cabbage was an important part of their diet, but crab apples⁶⁴², gooseberries⁶⁴³, vinegar⁶⁴⁴, garlic⁶⁴⁵ and onions⁶⁴⁶ are also mentioned several times. As a side dish or main course, peas⁶⁴⁷, lentils⁶⁴⁸, parsley⁶⁴⁹, carrots⁶⁵⁰ and stewed vegetables were also common. Oily cabbage, various kinds of porridges (millet, barley, spelt), stews (peas, lentils) and meat cooked twice, then later three times a week provided the poor with their daily food. Cheese, cottage cheese, *deberke* (salted milk), milk, butter, lard and bacon were also common in early modern everyday life.

The farms of the hospitals grew wheat, *einkorn*, spelt, barley, oats, flax, hemp, millet, lentils, peas, cabbage, onions, shallots and garlic. Wheat flour was used for making bread, while wheat bran, oats and barley were used for animal feed. Barley was even used to make beer.⁶⁵¹ Flax and hemp yarns, as well as sheep's wool, were woven into the fabrics needed for clothing and sold in this way. Flax was not only important as a textile plant, but also as an oilseed, since they made oil from it in the hospital and used it.⁶⁵²

Millet, lentils, peas, and cabbage were frequent ingredients at every level of the Principality's kitchen. Cabbage, whether red, white or salted, was a common element in the diet of all social classes. Salted cabbage was present in their diet throughout the year and was included in the inventories on several occasions.⁶⁵³ The different varieties of onions and garlic were almost

⁶⁴⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 104, 106, 134.

⁶⁴¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 149.

⁶⁴² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 255, 256.

⁶⁴³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 255, 257, 291.

⁶⁴⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 239, 274, 380, 402.

⁶⁴⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 126, 256, 421.

⁶⁴⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 34, 195, 196, 220, 421.

⁶⁴⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 23, 59, 91, 139, 172, 174, 176, 256, 258, 291, 292, 297, 307, 313, 397, 415, 416, 444, 456, 467, 473.

⁶⁴⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 91, 96, 125, 148, 172, 428, 431.

⁶⁴⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 131, 172, 195, 196, 255, 257, 274, 291, 292.

⁶⁵⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 58, 210, 222, 256, 281, 380.

⁶⁵¹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587 "Ser főzésre költ köből 6 búza."

Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, *Vetettem vala el benne cub. 6, de az üdö nem szolgálván nekie löt esmét cub./6 rajta./Ezekből az árpákból esztendő által sert főztem a ház szükségére, kit peng pénzén adattam ki benne.*

⁶⁵² Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587 „Eodem die. 1 negyed lenmagot törettem meg, csináltanak olajtt belölle, löt 13 fontt. Az szegényeknek és ház szükségére még ebben az olajban tartott nem kellett pénzt olajra költenem, fizettem kedig d. 4.”

⁶⁵³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589 "Káposzta dolga/Restantiara maratt volt sós káposzta két

indispensable in the diet of the time. Interestingly, the cultivation of onions was already happening in a similar way to today, as the records state that the almshouse warden bought onion seeds for seedlings at the fair in Bánffy-hunyad.⁶⁵⁴

Crab apples also appeared in the diet of the poor and servants. The fruits bought included apples, pears, walnuts, sea grapes⁶⁵⁵ and chestnuts⁶⁵⁶. The fruit was used raw, cooked and dried.

The vineyard was a major focus of attention in both hospitals, as it proved to be a significant source of income. Some of the wine was obviously consumed in the hospital, but a considerable part of it was sold at retail. The instructions, as already seen, included a portion of wine as part of the poor's meal.

The inventories and accounts of St Elisabeth's contain references to brewing, but this drink must have been made for private consumption only, as no trace of this type of income is left in the accounts, despite the fact that in 1571, the town council decided to use the proceeds of brewing to help the poor and at the same time prohibited citizens from brewing beer for commercial purposes.⁶⁵⁷ In 1595, a council resolution specified brewing as not only the right of the hospitals, but also of others, so the burghers gained the right to brew good beer and sell it for a maximum of 10 denars.⁶⁵⁸ It was probably as a result of this decision that the hospital mortgaged its brewery. Only in 1634 did it start to be used again for the hospital's purposes.⁶⁵⁹ However, beer from the hospital was only sold for a year, after which brewing disappeared again from St Elisabeth's.

The almshouse's inventories and accounts also recorded the produce from the farm, most of which was used to feed the people in the institution, with the surplus sold on the market. Milk, butter, cheese, cottage cheese and *deberke* (salted milk) appear in these records regularly.

What they did not grow and could not get from their own farm, they bought on the market, at fairs. Shopping lists sometimes referred to everyday necessities, while at other times, when they had to cater for guests or on special occasions, the sources indicate the purchase of completely different

káddal, melyet ő kegyelmek attak kezemhez. / En magamét hozattam ki egy káddal./Ez esztendőbe kit szóztam volt 5 káddal restál benne 4 káddal./Az 725 fű káposztáját pénzen vöttem, a többi a majorba lött./

⁶⁵⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. „1603 25 Januarii. Huniadra menék, hogy valami vetni való zabot vegyek, de hogy azt ne[m] találék, vök ház szükségére veteménynek fok hagymát, veres hagymát fl. 3 d. 10. Nota”

⁶⁵⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1602, p. 34, 71, 307.

⁶⁵⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1628, p. 307.

⁶⁵⁷ Jakab Elek. *Kolozsvár története*. II, p. 232.

⁶⁵⁸ Corpus statutotum. p. 242.

⁶⁵⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 458.

foodstuffs. The following are listed as everyday purchases: beef, bacon, rarely pork, sheep or lamb, fish, porridge, millet, semolina, honey, fat, onions, carrots and horseradish.

The other social categories, when money was spent on food, were associated with the secondary activities of maintaining the hospital. This is true even if, in value, much less was spent on feeding the poor than on all the rest.

The hospital accounts, as already seen, contain records of several types of food services. The accounts provide information on food for the poor, for people called to various jobs and for the auditors. The poor were fed with the fruits and livestock grown and reared on the farm and the products derived from them, eggs, milk and some vegetables. Sometimes, especially in spring, vegetables were bought as well. The poor were most often given meat, cabbage, butter, porridge, dried fruit and bacon. Sometimes carrots, millet, lentils and peas were also recorded.

This food list is broadly the same as the list of the Holy Spirit almshouse in Elbląg.⁶⁶⁰ But there are naturally also peculiarities; while in the example above, pork was quite prominent, there is no record of it in these almshouses. The use of smoked meat, lard, sausages and fish, especially herring, is quite common in the menu of the Polish almshouse, while in the institutions of Kolozsvár, it is recorded at this level of nutrition only as an exception. Rye bread was common in the Elbląg almshouse, while in Kolozsvár the poor only ate wheat bread, even if the quality of this flour was not always very good. Food was bought in large quantities for the residents of the royal almshouses in the royal cities of Upper Hungary, mainly beef, veal, pork, fish, fat, oil, flour and bakery products, but also vegetables, mainly onions, garlic, lentils and beetroot, as well as beer and wine, but the latter were only given to the employees.⁶⁶¹

The food for the poor was the most meagre, according to the records. The diet was not varied at all and changed very rarely. Since the records do not follow the seasons, i.e. the foods mentioned do not change in the records even in the summer and autumn months, it is possible that the foods from the farm, especially the vegetables, may not always have been recorded.

The basic foodstuffs of the residents were bread, meat and wine. The bread was always made from wheat and the meat was usually beef, or very rarely goat meat, available at the same price, i.e. 2 or 1.5 denars.

According to some accounts, the poor were quite often given meat. In 1652, the almshouse warden recorded that he gave the poor meat twice a week, along with cabbage, parsley, porridge and bacon. The daily food ration

⁶⁶⁰ Kloner, Andrej. *Diet...*, p. 104-106.

⁶⁶¹ Bondarova, Miloslava. *A polgárság...*, p. 335.

included two loaves of bread per day for eight people.⁶⁶² This essentially means that the poor were given meat twice, (occasionally three times) a week. This was in fact more than in the case of St Elisabeth's Hospital in Elblag, where meat was provided once a week and corresponds to the case of the Holy Spirit located in the same municipality, where the usual ration was also two or three portions of meat a week.⁶⁶³

The Great Hospital in Königsberg provided meat twice a week and the Holy Spirit almshouses of Warsaw, Lublovia and Wismar thrice. In some places, other institutions, such as schools and military institutions, were in a slightly better position. In this way, the schools of Torun and Joachimsthal required meat to be served four days a week.⁶⁶⁴ The instructions of the Sopron almshouse stipulated meat for every day and there were even days when meat was served twice. There are no signs of fasting, except that fish would be ordered for Fridays.⁶⁶⁵ This diet was based on beef and pork with cabbage, carrots, peas and millet, with the remark that the poultry received by the almshouse was also used to feed the poor. Soup was also required to be served twice.

It is very interesting and at the same time strange that in the case of the almshouses of Kolozsvár, fish was rarely mentioned (if at all) among the foodstuffs listed at the first catering level. As preservatives and spices in the kitchen, horseradish, savoury and dill were commonly used spices at this level.⁶⁶⁶

The not always eloquent data of the account books sometimes reported that, on feast days, the food of the care recipients differed from the ordinary provisions. The data do not support the conclusion that the poor were somewhat better fed on all festive occasions; one can only conclude from the few and scattered reports that on several occasions, the ration of meat increased on feast days, with lamb being mentioned at Easter – and sometimes at Pentecost – and pork at Christmas. However, at the Holy Spirit almshouse, milk loaves were also recorded around the festive season, but they might have formed part of the festive table at St Elisabeth's too, since bread was baked locally there and they often did not record that which did not involve special expenditure.

⁶⁶² Registers of St Elisabeth. St Elisabeth's, 1652, 63 scroll, 6. „Vadnak pedig az ispotályban való szegények az főző asszonnyal együtt nyolccan, kiknek egy héten gyakrabban kétszer attam húst, abhoz káposztát, petrezselymet, kását, szalonnát, az szegényeknek attam, kenyeret pedig minden napra kettőt – kettőt attam”.

⁶⁶³ Konder, Andrzej. p. 122.

⁶⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁶⁵ D. Szakács Anita: *A soproni ispotály...*, pp. 75-77.

⁶⁶⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1597 – Eod[em] die tormát vötte[m] fl. – d. 10. Kaprot és csombordot fl. – d. 14.”

St Elisabeth's accounts for 1624 contain some extremely interesting information about **the food of the people who performed the various jobs**. These records present something close to a real diet, since they include plums, porridge, cheese, parsley, oil, crab apples, gooseberries, meat, semolina, cabbage, bacon, peas, butter and roast meat. These accounts are also interesting because, even if very rarely, they provide information on how the food was prepared or at least which foods were associated with each other. The data usually concerns cooking; mentions of baking are rather rare. Plums were more commonly served for dinner and eaten cooked.

In 1614, a day's ploughing required a bushel of porridge, a bushel of plums, cheese, eight pounds of meat with porridge and five loaves of bread, at a time when nearly thirty serfs were engaged in this work.⁶⁶⁷ This year's accounts mentioned quite a few variations in the way meat was prepared and served. Meat was served with porridge, parsley, crab apples, gooseberries, semolina, cabbage, peas, carrots, bacon and as a roast.⁶⁶⁸ The accounts mention white cabbage separately – which means that there were other types of cabbage as well.

The accounts do not usually indicate what meat was purchased. It was quite often beef, in which case it might appear specifically in the accounts. Sometimes, rarely, one can find pork among the meat purchased. At other times, the meat did not have to be bought because a burgher had given it to the hospital of his own free will or of the will of the council, i.e. as a punishment. Thus, in 1630, there was no need to buy meat in the Holy Spirit between 8 and 15 January, since "János Vékony gave them meat for several days". The meat ration was doubled on feast days.⁶⁶⁹

Fortunately, the expenses for the wedding of one of the servant girls of the hospital were recorded. It must have involved much merriment, since they recorded a hundred hens, 41 geese, 10 piglets, 300 eggs, two bushels of wheat, a barrel of wine and a vat of apples.⁶⁷⁰

In the case of St Elisabeth's, the almshouse warden spent more than 22 florins and 68 denars on meat to feed the poor over the course of a year, in a year when, by the end of the year, the hospital had as many as 12 residents. **For the needs of his own house, the almshouse warden bought meat at the**

⁶⁶⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1624, p. 24.

⁶⁶⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 40-44.

⁶⁶⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1606; Holy Spirit, 15 scroll, p. 47.

⁶⁷⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587; St Elisabeth's, p. 70, „Következik az menyekzőre való kölcség/100 elegy chiukot pro Fr. 3 d. –./41 ludat vöttem 1 pro 7 d. ... Fr. 2 d. 87./10 malacot vöttem pro Fr. 1 d. –./300 tyukmonynak pro d. 60./ 2 köből búzát öröltettem, atták köblét Fr. 1 d. 25. Teszen Fr. 2 Fr. 50./Költöttem egy hordó bort, sajátomat./1 fél szalomát pro Fr. 1 d. –./ Vöttem 1 cseber almát d. 10./Vöttem lemonyát pro Fr. 1 d. –./Vöttem egy taghúst d. 75./ Vöttem 2 font borsot Fr. 1 d. 60./Vöttem sáfránt pro Fr. 3 d. –./Cseresznyét vöttem pro d. 22./Vöttem 1 font gömbért d. 38.“

value of 36 florins and 34 denars.⁶⁷¹ In 1610, when there were eight poor people in the almshouse, 5 florins and 6 denars were spent on meat in a year. They bought about 31 pounds of meat in one month, which amounted to one pound (0.3895 kg) per day. In the same year, the table of the almshouse warden, which included seven persons, spent just 30 florins 16 denars on meat. This amounted to 142 pounds of meat a month and 4.5 pounds of meat a day for the household of the almshouse warden.⁶⁷²

Obviously, the meat bought for the poor was always of the cheaper variety, as was repeatedly recorded in the account books, and in any case, there is a fairly significant difference in value between these purchases. The account books contain no record of what was put on the table of the almshouse warden, but it is certain that his diet was much more varied than that of the poor or the workers. This can be seen just by looking at the foodstuffs recorded when the auditors received guests and those bought for the millwright.

In 1624, St Elisabeth's had the mill in Méra completely restored. This work alone cost the hospital almost a hundred florins. Of this amount, the millwright's wage made up 45 florins. In addition, he was also given, according to the records, half a piece of bacon, a bushel of porridge, two cheeses and a live sheep.⁶⁷³

The visit of the auditors and the induction into or transfer of office were all reasons or pretexts for lavish feasts. Not all almshouse wardens were fond of large feasts, so such expenses were only recorded for those who, for some reason (to make auditors more lenient, or when the almshouse warden was inducted into the coveted office, or had left his office, which he had come to perceive as a burden), still thought it important to celebrate the auditors' visit in this way. These were the more festive moments of the hospital, when special ingredients were used to prepare and serve dishes that were certainly different from the usual. Of the meats, the more expensive and better-quality veal, goose, pig, venison, deer, partridge, rabbit, of the fish, pike, carp and the Romanian barbel⁶⁷⁴, as well as the more expensive spices (saffron, pepper, ginger, cloves, mace), but also cakes and fruits. In short, gourmet items were on the shopping lists.⁶⁷⁵

In 1602, for example, a wide variety of cuisine was served at St Elisabeth's for the auditors. The products purchased included pork, venison for cooking, rabbit meat, pork chops and chicken. Buns were served with the meal, followed

⁶⁷¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1624, p. 35.

⁶⁷² Registers of St Elisabeth. 1652; Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 63 scroll, pp. 6-11.

⁶⁷³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1624, p. 59.

⁶⁷⁴ EMSZT. XI, p. 732. A kind of small fish.

⁶⁷⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1628, p. 306. „Die 31 Januarii Meraban es Ithon mikor Getzi Istvan U[ram] Meraban, az Malomban Ithon az Malomban es az Ispotalj hazban Statuالتak.”

by fruit such as sea grapes, walnuts and apples.⁶⁷⁶ They even hired a special chef for the occasion.

In 1606, Péter Lutsch bought 2 partridges, 3 hens, 5 pounds of cow meat, fish, 3 pounds of orja (the meaty spine of pork), 3 pounds of pork chops, almonds, sea grapes, buns and white bread for the auditors.⁶⁷⁷

On another occasion, during a visit by the auditors in 1628, the almshouse warden of St Elisabeth's, Péter Werner Szócs, bought nine pounds of pike. They also had four chickens in ginger, chicken and pie in vinegar and veal steak and all these were served with ginger, saffron and pepper. The guests were treated to apples, walnuts, cheese and doughnuts made with eggs and butter. The feast was crowned with wine bought for three florins and 20 denars.⁶⁷⁸ The accounts mention both lunch and dinner for these guest receptions. Another account - this time, that of the Holy Spirit - even mentioned breakfast.

Spices and seasonings from local and long-distance trade were used for the dishes prepared in the almshouse. Above all, salt was used on the hospital's farm not only to flavour the food of the people living in the almshouse, but also for the animals (sheep and cattle) on the farm.⁶⁷⁹ Since St Elisabeth's would receive the salt donation later, the remaining accounts recorded how much money was spent on salt purchases at the time when the princely donation was not available. Thus, in 1587, from January to mid-September, 4 florins and 12 denars were spent on salt on 13 occasions.⁶⁸⁰ Between February and mid-October of the following year, a total of 1 florin and 78 denars was paid over the course of eight occasions for this purpose.⁶⁸¹

The most commonly mentioned spices and preservatives used in the almshouse were dill, horseradish, summer savoury, and pepper, but more special flavourings were also used, such as cloves, nutmeg and its flower.

Pork was rarely included among the meats purchased by Kolozsvár's almshouses, but it is present in the accounts in other processed forms, such as sausages, pork backbone, steak, bacon-fat, bacon and smoked ham.

Meals provided by the almshouse were prepared in the almshouse's kitchen. Therefore, it is important to look through the surviving inventories and see what kitchen utensils, cooking tools and eating utensils the kitchen had. The 1591 inventory records tin, wood and iron kitchen utensils.⁶⁸²

⁶⁷⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1602, p. 412.

⁶⁷⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 71.

⁶⁷⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 306-307.

⁶⁷⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587, p. 68.

⁶⁸⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587, p. 68.

⁶⁸¹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1588, p. 45.

⁶⁸² Inventarium, Fasc. 53.

Among the tin vessels recorded are 22 small to medium tin trays, nine tin plates, a tin pitcher, two more tin plates, a rounded tin bottle and tin pots. The inventory-makers found iron pans, an iron lid, a hook, a mortar, a cooking fork⁶⁸³ and a spit support in the almshouse. A copper basin, a copper wash pitcher, a copper pot for the oven and a copper pepper mill completed the equipment.

Wooden furnishings and kitchen utensils were also made. Thus, the hospital recorded an intact closet, a plate rack, several wooden benches, several tables and a cupboard. Wooden plates (32), wooden platters (18), a basin, a tub, a pie flattening board, a cutting board and several wooden flasks were a significant addition to the kitchen equipment. The kitchen equipment of the almshouse described above would have been at the level of a small middle-class family. Tin and wooden vessels were a major part of the equipment.

To help with the cooking in the kitchen of St Elisabeth's almshouse were a roasting pan, a pair of tongs, an iron spoon, two good fans, a vinegar barrel, several cauldrons, a wooden poppy seed grater, a horseradish grater, a wooden vessel for salted milk (*deberke*) and a cutting knife. The milk pail, the *deberke* for salted milk and the butter churn may indicate milk processing in and around the building. They even record the presence of dishcloths, tablecloths and kerchiefs.

The 1591 inventory recorded the kitchen's furnishings and eating utensils. It paints a picture of a fairly well-equipped property, with all the necessary facilities for baking, cooking and dining. What is strangely absent, however, are the earthenware vessels. It is possible that they were treated as consumables and therefore not included in the inventory. However, Zsigmond Jakó's research also indicates that earthenware pots were rare in ordinary burgher houses as well.⁶⁸⁴

According to the list, the female cooks also used poppy grinders and pie flattening boards. They ground poppy seeds, crushed pepper and grated horseradish, which certainly added variety to the dishes on the table. In any case, the inventory of the assets of St Elisabeth's Abbey summarised the institution's property and movable and immovable assets and can be considered an authentic snapshot in the history of the institution.

The accounts recorded the purchase of new kitchen utensils and equipment when necessary. One can read about the purchase of a wooden spoon⁶⁸⁵,

⁶⁸³ *EMSZT*. I, p. 51. Cooking fork.

⁶⁸⁴ Jakó Zsigmond, p. 385.

⁶⁸⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 49.

a wooden cup⁶⁸⁶, pots⁶⁸⁷, a cabbage tub⁶⁸⁸, a knife⁶⁸⁹, a churns⁶⁹⁰, a small cask (légely)⁶⁹¹, a milk pail⁶⁹², a tub⁶⁹³, an oil jug and a funnel⁶⁹⁴.

The accounts enrich, directly or indirectly, the data on the pastries of this period, as they may also suggest the preparation of doughnuts, pretzels and cakes, which testify to the variety of the dishes served here.

All things considered, an examination of the inventories, instructions and accounts of St Elisabeth's reveals a relatively well-equipped kitchen, where anything from simple dishes to elaborate meals could be prepared. In addition, the farm buildings and the livestock of the almshouse, the fields, vegetable gardens and orchards owned by the institution provided ample opportunities for food production. The limits of the possibilities were set by the historical times, climate conditions and the almshouse wardens' work as good farm managers.

⁶⁸⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 23.

⁶⁸⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 23, 49, 50, 142; 1600, p. 7, „Zent Péter napján vött Sára asszony Pulacher uramméval Zent Mihály fazakasul egy szekér fazakat Fr. 3 d. 50, leszen felinek az ára Fr. 1 d. 80. 1600, p. 7 Vöttem tányért és fazakakat Zent Antal napba Fr. 1./p. 10. Fazakat ugyanaz nap vöttünk Fr. 1 d. –.”

⁶⁸⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 126, 458.

⁶⁸⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 59.

⁶⁹⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 54, 260.

⁶⁹¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 54, 141, 421; EMSZT. VII, p. 916. Small barrel, cask.

⁶⁹² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 53.

⁶⁹³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 34, 142, 149.

⁶⁹⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, p. 44. „Egy olajos korsót Fr. – d. 1. Egy öreg tölcsért Fr. – d. 12.

8. 🍷 THE ALMSHOUSE WARDENS OF ST ELISABETH'S

THE EARLY YEARS

The almshouse wardens of Kolozsvár have been reviewed in an earlier study,⁶⁹⁵ which explored who they were, how they acquired this mandate and the career trends that can be observed among their ranks.

The focus here is solely on the almshouse wardens of St Elisabeth's and how they carried out the tasks entrusted to them. This enterprise will only become possible with the emergence of economic resources. Until then, this study will have to remain content with the occasional appearance of some of the almshouse wardens in the charters.

The head of this long-standing institution of Kolozsvár was mentioned for the first time in 1332 in the papal tithe registers under the name of **Heluicus**, as the procurator hospitalis of the almshouse, mentioned in the record with the amount of 4 b. n.⁶⁹⁶ Since most of the persons listed in the register had a Church background and the management of the almshouses in this period was in the hands of the Church, it can be concluded that the head of this institution must have been a church verger.

A particularly interesting case is that of the second almshouse warden who appears in the sources. At this time, through the intervention of **Jakab Zaaz(d)**, the head of the institution, an earlier charter with a secret seal is confirmed, which contains a reference to the property of the almshouse and its economic activity.⁶⁹⁷ It should here be noted that in the middle of the 14th century the occurrence of names with two elements was still very rare. This, here is an example of such a structure, despite the fact that this was not yet the usual practice in ecclesiastical society.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁵ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. A kora újkori kolozsvári ispotálymesterek. In Egyed Emese, Pakó László and Weisz Attila (Eds.). *CERTAMEN. Előadások a Magyar Tudomány Napján*. Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Műzeum-Egyesület, 2013, pp. 211-223.

⁶⁹⁶ CDT, II, p. 402, no. 1110.

⁶⁹⁷ KvOkI, I, pp. 55-56; Ub. II. p. 459; DRH, XV, pp. 169-170.

⁶⁹⁸ Slíz Mariann. *Személynévtörténeti vizsgálatok a középkori Magyarországon*. Budapest, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2017, p. 84.

The next mention of the almshouse warden was made in connection with a postponement of a trial, when, in 1467, they were acting on behalf of the almshouse warden in a certain legal proceeding.⁶⁹⁹

Another instance not related to his office is the mention of St Elisabeth's almshouse master in the same year (1467), when the judge of Kolozsvár and the city jurors issued a report on the role of the almshouse warden **Jakob Scheerl**⁷⁰⁰ and his wife Margarete in an inheritance lawsuit.⁷⁰¹

Another master of the upper hospital of Kolozsvár mentioned in the context of an inheritance was **Adam Jakob**, who acted as an official in order to confirm a testament. At this time, the city council and the almshouse warden formulated and accepted a certificate based on the testamentary statement of Margareta, widow of Michael Kautusch.⁷⁰² This document would later prove highly important in the management and history of the institution. This move by the head of the institution indicates a responsible manager.

The name of another almshouse warden, **Antal Dezső**, is intertwined in a complex way with St Elisabeth's almshouse in Kolozsvár. First of all, he made a large donation to the institution, then he moved into the almshouse with his wife and became its master for a few years. Antal Dezső had already shown his attachment to the Church by his donation to the Dominicans, when he donated his forest in Méra to them, so that they would pray for his spiritual salvation.⁷⁰³ In June 1525, sources write that he wished to move into the almshouse so that he could serve God while donating his Méra estate to the institution. His relatives must have become aware of his decision earlier, because two letters of prohibition were issued in this matter, one for the property of Méra and the other for the estates from Pata, Rőd and Bos.⁷⁰⁴ Despite all this, the deed of donation was signed with but one single change, namely that only half of the property in Méra was left to the almshouse. In 1529, several charters mentioned that the almshouse was incorporated into the Dezső estate of Méra, but did not name the head of any institution.⁷⁰⁵ In 1534, Antal Dezső sold his part of the Korogy estate to János Statilio, bishop of Transylvania, for 60 florins.⁷⁰⁶

⁶⁹⁹ KmJkv. no. 1742, pp. 644-645; Ub. VI., no. 3621, pp. 277-278 "providum Petrum magistrum hospitalis beate Elyzabeth"

⁷⁰⁰ Why do I think that St Elisabeth's was run by laypeople in the 15th century? The nomenclature of the hospital masters excludes church vergers, and they also have wives.

⁷⁰¹ KmJkv.II, no. 2707, p. 68.

⁷⁰² Kovács András, no. 4, p. 256; KvOkl. I. pp. 307-308.

⁷⁰³ KmJkv. no. 3813, p. 382.

⁷⁰⁴ KmJkv. II, no. 4093, p. 457; no. 4094, p. 458.

⁷⁰⁵ Kovács András, no.7, 8, p. 257.

⁷⁰⁶ KmJkv. II, no. 4476, p. 564.

It is not possible to determine the exact duration of his tenure. In April 1537, Antal Dezső, as almshouse warden, bought serfs' estates in Méra and Andrásháza.⁷⁰⁷ In the following year, he is mentioned in several documents as the head of the institution, but in an order dated 30 December 1538, King John I asked Mihály Azthalos, as almshouse warden, to protect the property of St Elisabeth's.⁷⁰⁸ On 15 January 1539, a document issued by the convent of Kolozsmonostor already mentioned Antal Dezső as the late almshouse warden.⁷⁰⁹ In the same document, Mihály Azthalos appeared as a juror and almshouse warden.

In a document dated 1546, it is mentioned that earlier, regarding the matter of some estate, the parties handed over the documents to the late Antal Dezső, who was then the almshouse warden of St Elisabeth's and from whom the documents were transferred to his successor, Mihály Azthalos.⁷¹⁰ Mihály Azthalos represented the almshouse on several occasions in the lawsuit concerning the Dezső estate, but since no sources have survived, how long he was at the head of the institution is unknown. Mihály Azthalos, as the almshouse warden of St Elisabeth's, testified at the Martinuzzi trial in 1554. This definitely indicates that he was a respected figure among the citizens of Kolozsvár and that he was familiar not only with the conditions in Kolozsvár, but also with events in the rest of the country and that he was therefore heard as a credible witness.⁷¹¹ On 21 April 1559, Mihály Azthalos was no longer alive, since the bakehouse's donation letter mentions his widow.⁷¹² (This is the donation letter of the bakehouse.)

It is also certain that in the year before his death, in December 1558, the almshouse warden was already someone else, **Benedek Orgonás**.⁷¹³ The only thing the document reveals is that he was the master of the upper almshouse and that he was mentioned in the context of a financial transaction. In November 1576, his name was mentioned in the trial of the Száldobos forest, but in retrospective form, noting that when wood had been cut from this forest in the past, it had always been done with the knowledge of Benedek Orgonás.⁷¹⁴ In 1564, he was mentioned in the tax registers⁷¹⁵ and in 1557,

⁷⁰⁷ KmJkv. II, no. 4599-4600, p. 596; Kovács András, no. 11, p. 258.

⁷⁰⁸ Kovács András, no. 13, p. 258.

⁷⁰⁹ Kovács András, no. 15, 16, p. 259.

⁷¹⁰ Fasc. I, 38.

⁷¹¹ Papo, Adriano and Németh Gizella. György Martinuzzi Utyeszenics, primo principe di Transilvania? In Dáné Veronka, Oborni Teréz and Sipos Gábor (Eds.). *...éltünk mi sokáig 'két hazában'...* Tanulmányok a 90 éves Kiss András tiszteletére. Debrecen, 2012, p. 64.

⁷¹² Fasc. H. 3.

⁷¹³ Fasc. II/ 15.

⁷¹⁴ Fasc. H.5; Jakab, II, 99-100.

⁷¹⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. II/X, p. 47.

1560, 1569 and 1570 in the council minutes⁷¹⁶. Since the citizens of Kolozsvár were mostly tax exempt while holding office, one can assume that Orgonás' career as an almshouse warden may be dated to sometime before 1564. Benedek was certainly the caretaker of St Elisabeth's in 1557 and 1560. In 1570, he was listed as a requisitor next to the notary, which does not exclude the continuation of the office.⁷¹⁷ The historian Zsolt Bogdándi, who studies this period, mentions Orgonás as a sworn citizen of Kolozsvár and a member of the Assembly of the Centumviri between 1570 and 1572.⁷¹⁸ According to Pál Binder, Orgonás' death was first mentioned in the 1569 records of the Council of the Centumviri.⁷¹⁹ In 1583, the tax registers recorded only the name of Mrs Benedek Orgonás.⁷²⁰ From 1581 until her death, the wife of Benedek Orgonás rented the wooden chamber in the vicinity of St Michael's Church, as also proven by the accounts of the church vergers.⁷²¹ However, she did not live long either, because in 1585, Gergely Lakatos alias Halmi is mentioned as the debtor of the town for the same house in Király Street. The widow was buried in the great church on 8 June 1585, for which the accounts of the church vergers recorded 10 florins of income.⁷²² This matches the item in Diosy's list of the city archives about a document in which Benedek Orgonás left his inheritance, i.e. his *dualitás*⁷²³, to the city; however, this promising note has yet to be found.⁷²⁴

The sources also mention the widow of an almshouse warden, whose case was brought before the Prince in 1573 and who, even in 1579, asked the town council to take from her the two shares she was not entitled to, so that she could freely dispose of her own share.⁷²⁵

The council records show that in 1575, a leader was elected from the Saxon nation to head St Elisabeth's, in the person of Symon Swrdok.⁷²⁶

Someone named Symon Zwrdok is mentioned in the accounts of 1554 and in the council decisions of 1557.⁷²⁷

⁷¹⁶ *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. V/1. p. 80, p. 82; Kv, 6/VIII, p. 117; *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. V/3, p. 259a; *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. III/ 2.

⁷¹⁷ KmFJkv. p. 30.

⁷¹⁸ *ibid.*

⁷¹⁹ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 286.

⁷²⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 3/X, p. 2.

⁷²¹ Accounts of the church vergers, 1581, 3/16/IV. p. 3; 1582, 3/21/VII, p. 4; 1583, 3/23/XV, p. 2; 1584, 3/29/XV, p. 2.

⁷²² Accounts of the church vergers, 1585, 3/XIX p. 17, 21.

⁷²³ *Dualitás* in Kolozsvár refers to the inheritance share within marriage for a man.

⁷²⁴ Kiss András. Kolozsvár önkormányzata. In Idem. *Más források – más értelmezések*. Marosvásárhely, Mentor Kiadó, 2003, p. 146.

⁷²⁵ EMSZT, p. 821, *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. V/3, 90b, 93b.

⁷²⁶ EMSZT, p. 822, *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. V/3, 112a.

⁷²⁷ EMSZT, XII, p. 729.

Another hospital master was mentioned already the following year, in 1576, when the legal proceedings concerning the forest of Száldobos were initiated by **János Lakatos**, the senior almshouse warden. From the nine testimonies sent to the voivode in November, it became clear that the above-mentioned forest had always belonged to the almshouse warden of St Elisabeth's.⁷²⁸ János Lakatos was admitted to the Hungarian nation in the Council of the Centumviri of the city of Kolozsvár in 1571. However, he was no longer on the 1603 list, probably because he died in the meantime.⁷²⁹ Lakatos' election as almshouse warden that year was confirmed by the council minutes.⁷³⁰ He was previously thought to be the head of the Holy Spirit, but the presence of Orgonás and Lakatos in a charter now casts some doubt on this earlier assumption. It is now believed that he may have been the head of St Elisabeth's.

A document issued in 1583 by Zsigmond Báthory and belonging to the archives of St Elisabeth's mentioned a provisor named **Thoma Keomiwes**.⁷³¹ The note in this document suggests that he may have been the almshouse warden that year. Although it did not literally say that the person mentioned above was the head of St Elisabeth's, the document does indicate that he was informed of the document on behalf of the institution.

The 1585 accounts of the church vergers mentioned the death of a deceased almshouse warden, for whom the bell was tolled on 18 June. His name was **Imre Nag**, and the council decided that his widow did not have to pay for the tolling of the bell.⁷³²

GERGELY SÜVEGES' TENURE AS ALMSHOUSE MASTER 1586, 1587, 1588,

The history of Kolozsvár in the seventh and eighth decade of the 16th century is increasingly well documented, so one can learn more and more about the events and people of the time. The number of town records (administrative, legal, and economic) was certainly increasing. This is also due to the fact that many of the townspeople had mastered the art of writing and when they were appointed to an office, they were able to write their reports themselves. Obviously, this does not mean that all the people who took office could write, just that quite a few of them were able to keep records and accounts. However, there are also examples of almshouse wardens paying the notary or the clerk

⁷²⁸ Fasc. H.5; Jakab, II, p. 99-100.

⁷²⁹ Bidner Pál, p. 288.

⁷³⁰ *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. V/3, p. 135a.

⁷³¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, Sigismund Báthory, 1583.

⁷³² Accounts of the church vergers, 1585, p. 17.

to write the accounts, but these are exceptions. In such an evolving cultural context, it was slowly becoming an expectation that the person at the head of any office should be able to keep accounts. In addition, more and more instructions were being drafted to make accounting more efficient and in line with expectations. The instructions on managing St Elisabeth's were written down under the tenure of Gergely Süveges as almshouse warden.

The sources contain several versions of his name: Greger Hwtter, Süweges, Süveges, Seweges, Gergely Síveges. From 1569 to 1580, he was a member of the Council of the Centumviri on behalf of the Saxon nation⁷³³, but already in the 1603 list there is no sign of his name. However, it seems he may have been a member of this body while holding office.⁷³⁴

In 1574, Süveges appeared in the sources in a lawsuit, where he acted on behalf of the town with Tamás Brózer and Kelemen, the city's servant.⁷³⁵

There are problems in evaluating his management from the very first steps, as it is not yet possible to determine the start of his tenure as an almshouse warden. Süveges certainly managed the property of the upper almshouse in 1586-88. In the evaluation of the two remaining detailed accounts, one can also examine how the instructions are reflected in the accounts. The instruction itself dealt with income and expenditure separately and specifically defined the headings (articles) that had to be included in the account.⁷³⁶ It is striking, although understandable, that immediately after the year of drafting, the accounts were obviously written in the form requested and that the amount paid to the clerk was included in the expenses for that year.⁷³⁷ However, a year later, they were already following the established requirements quite loosely.⁷³⁸ The partial accounts available at this time do not yet summarise the data on the management of the hospital.

Annual incomes were recorded under the headings of wheat, the mill on the Szamos, the mill in Méra, the tithe of Méra, the vineyards, the income from sheep, the income from the bakehouse, the rent from the downtown property and the income from hay, pigs, horses and poultry. During this period, the bakehouse of St Elisabeth's also baked bread as toll bread for the citizens.⁷³⁹ The number of animals on the almshouse's farms is unknown, but the almshouse warden employed a separate person to look after the cattle

⁷³³ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 286.

⁷³⁴ *ibid.* p. 290-291.

⁷³⁵ Pakó László and Tóth G. Péter (Eds.). *Kolozsvári boszorkányperek. 1564-1743*. Budapest, Balassi Kiadó, 2014, p. 97.

⁷³⁶ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. A kora újkori kolozsvári ispotálymesterek. In Egyed Emese, Pakó László and Weisz Attila (Eds.). *CERTAMEN. Előadások a Magyar Tudomány Napján*. Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2013, pp. 211-223.

⁷³⁷ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1586-7, p. 53-4.

⁷³⁸ See the Instructions of the hospital master from 1586.

⁷³⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1586, p. 10, 145 pcs.

and pigs, so it seems that a larger number of animals may have been under their care.

Most of the expenses were for the maintenance of the almshouse and its appurtenances, the salaries of the servants, the work of the craftsmen, their own table and the food and clothing of the residents. The purchase of salt was treated as a separate item, which was used "first for the needs of the house and then for the needs of the sheep and other cattle".⁷⁴⁰ In the expenses, the items were listed chronologically and not thematically, which was perfectly normal for this period.

The almshouse's farm produced a lot of food for the residents and workers, as well as for the animals in their households (cattle, bulls, etc.), but under the management of Gergely Süveges there was not enough barley, einkorn, oats, millet, fat, honey, carrots, horseradish, onions and various kinds of porridge, so he bought them. Everything that was not spent on was not included in the accounts, so for example there is no mention of salted cabbage during the second year's management, yet the accounts of the next almshouse warden state that he counted two stowed-away tubs of cabbage at the handover.⁷⁴¹

For the various jobs on the farm, he constantly bought replacements for missing or broken tools (hoes, axes, honing stone, vat, three-legged stools, sieves, sledge, forks, scythe handle, scythe, copper funnel, hatchet, saddle, harness, pickaxe) or kitchen utensils (platters, bowls, cauldron, vat, milk pail, tub) or materials and objects for maintenance (padlocks, keys, pine boards, locks, straps).

The almshouse warden employed and paid for the work of several craftsmen involved in farming (saddler, blacksmith, butcher, weaver, cooper, cobbler, miller).⁷⁴²

In light of the accounts, one can safely say that the hospital had a strong economic background, since in 1587 there was also data on the operation of a wagon, a larger and a smaller cart, a barrow and a sleigh.⁷⁴³

A special event in the era of Gergely Süveges' management was a wedding held in 1587, which was reflected in the accounts as a major expense.⁷⁴⁴ More than 150 poultry, piglets, spices, two köböl of wheat and wine were used, of which quite a lot was bought, resulting in a total cost of over 37 florins. From the accounts, one can infer that the wedding itself was paid for by the

⁷⁴⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1586-87, p. 68.

⁷⁴¹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, p. 4b.

⁷⁴² Registers of St Elisabeth. 1588, p. 37, 46.

⁷⁴³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1587, pp. 52-52.

⁷⁴⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. p. 70, „Anni 1587. (...) Vöttem az Orsolia asszonyinak egy hernác palástot pro Fr. 17 d. -/Fr. 35 d. 02./ Esmeg mikorontán az szomszédságot attam, költöttem Fr. 2./ Fr. 37 d. 2.“

almshouse. One can speculate that it was the wedding of a young person who grew up in the institution or of a servant of the institution.

The city's auditors asked additional questions and made comments, to which Süveges must have answered satisfactorily, as he was able to close his accounts without any problems or reprimands.

FARKAS BALOGDI'S TENURE AS ALMSHOUSE WARDEN 1589-1591

There are a few lucky cases as, for instance, the evaluation of Farkas Balogdi's management, for it is known when it began and ended. Thanks to council decisions, it is known that he was given the job in 1589⁷⁴⁵. The same source reveals that he was replaced as head of the hospital in 1591.⁷⁴⁶ There was a curious justification for this move, which has not been found before or since: "Because Farkas Balogdj had a child, and as St Elisabeth's Hospital has never been managed by people with children, in order to keep the old custom, the two nations unanimously chose David Jekel as almshouse warden."⁷⁴⁷ Thanks to this information, it is clear that he managed the assets of St Elisabeth's for two years, but unfortunately only one year's accounts from this period have been preserved.

The life of Farkas Balogdi was quite dramatic, as he became not only the head, but also the resident of one of the city's almshouses towards the end of his life. The details of his career were summarised in a study in Hungarian and later in an extended study in Romanian⁷⁴⁸, so here only the important stages of his career will be traced, with a focus on the evaluation of his duties as an almshouse warden.

Balogdi's name also appears in several forms in the sources: letters, accounts and minutes refer to him as Balogdi Farkas, Lupuj Balogdi, Wolfgang Balogdj and under several variations of these names.

The sources first mention him in 1578, when he became a member of the Council of the Centumviri on behalf of the Hungarian nation and his name

⁷⁴⁵ *Protocollum Centumvirorum* I/1, p. 97 „1589: Az zent Ersebetbely Ispotalj Mestersegre walaztottak ... Balogdy Farkas Wramath.”

⁷⁴⁶ Catholic Archives, nr. 53. Inventory „1591: Baloghy Farkas letewen az Zent Ersebetj Espotaly Mesterseget es ottan Nireó Daidot az ket Nemzet Valasztwan az Espotalt illien Inuentariummal iktattak azon eztendeóbely Zamwewéó Vraim Nireó Daididnak kezebe.”

⁷⁴⁷ *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. I/1, p. 80.

⁷⁴⁸ Rűsz-Fogarası Enikő. „Balogdi Farkas, kolozsvári polgár életútja.” *Korunk*, 2010, no. 10, p. 28–32; Rűsz-Fogarası Enikő. De la magistrul la asistat, de la onom preșuit, la o persoană în agonie. In Aurel Chiriac and Sorin Șipos (Eds.). *Seminatores in artium Liberalium Agro. Studia In Honorem Et Memoriam Barbu Ștefănescu*. Cluj-Napoca, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2014.

was even on the 1603 list.⁷⁴⁹ He was entrusted by the city with a number of smaller and larger representative tasks, such as the supervision of farming in the villages of the city on several occasions. At other times, he was given tasks related to forestry and logging.⁷⁵⁰ He also rented and used one of the wooden chambers next to St Michael's Church for several years.⁷⁵¹

What remains of his work are two detailed and one very short summary account from 1590, where only the amounts of income (508.84) and expenditure (503.97) were recorded.⁷⁵²

His accounts are rather meticulous; when he talks about the beneficiaries of the expenditures, he mostly mentions by name not only the servants of the almshouse, but also the craftsmen and their assistants who completed various assignments for the almshouse. But when auditors checked the figures, these were not always accurate, so corrections were made. On other occasions, the decisions of the almshouse warden were questioned, even in cases where he listed by name the mill hands whose work he had paid for. Finally, an examination of the figures shows that the payment for the work of eight of the mill hands was not accepted; only four were considered justified. This case is interesting because the work was actually carried out and the almshouse warden paid for it. The question arises as to whether the remaining amount paid remained his loss - or what happened to it? The auditors did not consider Balogdj's expenditure to be entirely justified. In fact, quite a handsome amount was thought to be unjustified and yet he was retained in office for the following year. The wording of the account suggests that he wrote his own account and did not dictate it to someone else.

His account reveals that he took care of the livestock of the almshouses' farm. A considerable number of sheep (292-260) were entrusted to his care and as a result he also accounted for hides, cheese, cottage cheese, salted milk and wool. Thirty-six cows and thirty-seven pigs were recorded, including the dead and those torn apart by wild animals. He sold the sick, mangy horses but there is no sign that he bought new ones. It is very difficult to imagine how he managed to make up for the shortfall of seven horses sold, although it is also true that the mill was not running at the time, as it was under general repair and there was no urgency to buy horses for pulling the wheelbarrows. The surroundings of the almshouse must have been particularly colourful, since in 1589, he sold 15 peacocks for 7 florins and 50 denars.⁷⁵³

⁷⁴⁹ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Balogdi Farkas...*, p. 29.

⁷⁵⁰ *ibid* p. 30.

⁷⁵¹ Accounts of the church vergers, 1581,3/16/IV, p.3.; 1582,3/21/VII, p. 4.; 1583, 1584,3/29/XV, p. 2.

⁷⁵² Partial accounts, p. 17.

⁷⁵³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, 4/XI,

He started the management of the almshouse with great enthusiasm, improving in almost all areas. He did not find his predecessor's work satisfactory. Accordingly, he wrote that the vineyard-hoeing had not been done as required for three years; therefore "*the vine was in a very poor state*" and he had to spend more money on it. He also noticed problems with the storage of the wine, as the barrels had not been properly cared for in the past, which caused them to become damaged and lose their bottoms, so he had to have new ones made.⁷⁵⁴

The mill in Kolozsvár underwent major maintenance and renovation works in 1589, where from the beginning of May to mid-September, two millwrights (for 54 florins) and eight mill hands worked (for more than one hundred Saxon florins). Their food was also provided by the almshouse. The mill repairs also involved the expenditure on materials (slats, planks, rafters, beams, piles, shingles, shingle nails, millstones, ironwork) as a rather significant cost item.⁷⁵⁵

They also made repairs to the mill in Méra and even worked on an old barn there, repaired the oven in the bakehouse, and worked on the manor.⁷⁵⁶

For the needs of the house, he bought tools (sieves, riddles, wooden basins, hoes, tubs), tools for everyday life (milk pail, horseradish grater, poppy seed grinder, pots, cups, oil jug, an old funnel, plates, pedestal wash basin), had linen woven and also bought linen and salt for the needs of the almshouse.⁷⁵⁷

In the first year of his tenure, he cared for 23 residents, providing them with shelter, daily food and clothing. Among the servants of the almshouse, two wagon drivers, a wheelbarrow man, a cowherd, a swineherd, a shepherd, a brewer, a cooker woman, two maids and a girl were listed. Their hiring and payment were also the responsibility of the almshouse warden. This list does not include the vintner, whose employment was described by Balogdi with reference to vine cultivation.

He was not hindered in the execution of his plans by the fact that the almshouse might not have had enough cash, as he borrowed 145 florins from various persons in one year and occasionally fronted 150 florins for the almshouse's activities himself.⁷⁵⁸

From the momentum that emerges from his accounts, it is possible that he thought the task would be long-term; however, due to the dissatisfaction of the auditors and the judgement and decision of the council, his mandate lasted only two short years. So shaken was the confidence in his stewardship

⁷⁵⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 4/XI, p. 39.

⁷⁵⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, 4/XI, p. 18-26.

⁷⁵⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, 4/XI, p. 26.

⁷⁵⁷ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, 4/XI, p. 43.

⁷⁵⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1589, p. 7.

that an inventory of the goods found in St Elisabeth's was taken when the new almshouse warden was installed.

Farkas Balogdi's tenure was one of the milestones of his public career, a mandate which, despite starting with great momentum, lasted only two years and ended due to some unexpected and obscure event.

After his dismissal from the almshouse, he received other commissions from the city and in 1591 was entrusted, together with János Nirelt, with the task of making roads.⁷⁵⁹ In 1592, he was again mentioned as lord lieutenant of the city's estate.⁷⁶⁰

Even though he held various public offices for a long time, he ended his life as a resident of the Holy Spirit as a sick man.⁷⁶¹

DÁVID NYÍRŐ JEKEL'S TENURE AS AN ALMSHOUSE WARDEN 1591-1600

This period brought some rather ominous events for the Principality and, specifically, for Kolozsvár, under the turbulent reign of Zsigmond Báthory and during the Fifteen Years' War that began in 1594. Kolozsvár would be the scene of important events in this period.

In this context and at this time, the St Elisabeth's almshouse master was Dávid Nyírő. As was typical of the linguistic uncertainty of the time, his name appears in the sources in a variety of versions: Nyírő, Nyireo, Nyirelt Dávid, Dávid Jekel, Jekeli, Dávid Jacobi. Dávid Jekel and his brother Jekel or Jacobinus Bernád were born in Berethalom and moved to Kolozsvár in the mid-16th century.⁷⁶² Perhaps this explains why very little is known about his life before he took office.

Prior to his work at St Elisabeth's, he spent two years at the Holy Spirit, which he managed to everyone's satisfaction. An evaluation of his activities there has been drawn up in our work dedicated to that institution.⁷⁶³ He probably also performed other tasks, since he rented one of the stone stores next to St Michael's Church and paid less rent than his peers.⁷⁶⁴

When Dávid Nyírő took over the management from Farkas Balogdi, an inventory of the assets was made. It is known when he started to serve;

⁷⁵⁹ Partial accounts. 1591, p. 17.

⁷⁶⁰ Partial accounts. 1592, p. 14.

⁷⁶¹ Flóra Ágnes (Ed.). *Szentlélek ispotály számadáskönyvei 1601-1650*. Budapest, Transsylvania Emlékeiért Tudományos Egyesület, 2006, p. 60, 72.

⁷⁶² Mátyás Pál. „Kolozsvári orvosdoktorok a XVI-XVII. század fordulóján.” *Comm. Hist. Artis Med*, 100 (1982), pp. 61-62-68.

⁷⁶³ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledett intézmény...*, p. 60.

⁷⁶⁴ Accounts of the church vergers, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584.

according to the sources, it was in 1591 and it is also certain that he was still in charge of the almshouse's assets in 1597. He could even have been the almshouse warden in 1599, since in the fragment of an account from 1600, the then almshouse warden took over certain things from him. Moreover, the minutes of the council in January 1600 relate that Dávid Jekel, "indicating his old age and ill health"⁷⁶⁵, asked the city council to relieve him of his duties and choose someone else in his place. He was in charge of the management of St Elisabeth's for quite a long time, nine years. Unfortunately, the sources on his activities are rather scattered and fragmented. But if one looks at the general war situation, the four surviving accounts (1594, 1595, 1596, 1597) and the one account on the building of a bridge can be considered significant. In addition to these, a number of other data may be derived from the partial accounts of 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1598, 1599.⁷⁶⁶

The 1591 inventory of the almshouse is related to Dávid Nyíró's entry into service. It is a relatively wide-ranging inventory, which lists the assets from Méra, the movable and immovable property and what was of interest from a cultural history point of view. It listed dozens of books, which it also noted should be sold. However, the surviving accounts do not contain any information on this sale. He either did not sell the books in the years for which the accounts survived or did not record this transaction. He was left with a considerable fortune by his predecessor, which he had to manage amid these turbulent times. The summary account of his first year as almshouse warden praises him: "His pious and faithful service was well-received and deemed satisfactory and his account-keeping was praised."⁷⁶⁷

In 1592, he was mentioned as almshouse warden Dávid Nyíreő in connection with the bequest of a forest in Hollósmező by a certain Borbála Erdős, and even his wife Anna was mentioned.⁷⁶⁸

In 1592, he spent more than 75 florins to, as the record put it, "build" the stone house and the almshouse in the city.⁷⁶⁹ The work of the auditors was appreciated and thanked for as a pious stewardship, while the institution's goods were inventoried, including the old and new wines at the house in the market square and the almshouse, the wheat and oats stored in stacks and in threshed form, the cheese and bacon in the institution, the 279 sheep, 88 lambs and the hay.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth.1600.01.20, p. 121.

⁷⁶⁶ Partial accounts, 1591/5/II–III.; 1592/5/XI.; 1593/5/XVII.; 1594/6/V.; 1595/6/XV.; 1596/6/XIX.; 1597/6/IV.

⁷⁶⁷ Partial accounts. 1591, p. 11.

⁷⁶⁸ Catholic Archives, St Elisabeth's home for the aged fond, Fasc. A, no. 37.

⁷⁶⁹ Partial accounts.1592, p. 16.

⁷⁷⁰ Partial accounts. 1592, p. 17.

The partial account from the following year records an outstanding income of 657 florins, of which 148 florins remained. From this sum, 100 florins were given to the sons of Boldizsár Macskásy, in return for which certain goods were mortgaged to the almshouse in Méra.⁷⁷¹

In May 1594, at the time of taking possession of the house purchased by János Rózsás, Dávid Jekeli is mentioned as the almshouse warden of St Elisabeth's, because the house in question was located next to the hospital's house in the main square.⁷⁷²

The sources reveal that in 1594, Dávid Nyíró carried out major works on the manor in Méra and the house in the market square as part of the maintenance of the property in his care. This happened in a year when there was a diet held in the city and when the fight against the Turks seemed to be taking shape. He consolidated and roofed the manor in Méra, had a chimney built and bought 4,000 bricks, crossbeams, beams and a large quantity of shingles for this work. The mason was paid 3 florins, 3 köböl of wheat, 4 lambs, 2 cheeses and 6 buckets of beer.⁷⁷³ The house in the main square must also have undergone substantial renovations, as he bought 6,000 bricks and 2,000 padimentum bricks, had a chimney installed, the roofing renovated, and a gutter made.⁷⁷⁴ This year, in addition to these major works, the chimney and the bottom of the oven were also repaired in the bakehouse. The revenue collected this year did not cover the expenditure and hence he remained indebted to the city. However, his maintenance work was praised by the auditors: "His devout and faithful service was gratefully accepted."⁷⁷⁵

The 1595 memorial for the partial account shows a slight change in the structure of the livestock, as in addition to the significant sheep flock (324), 14 milk cows, three bullocks, 3 bulls and eight calves were also recorded.⁷⁷⁶ The repair work started earlier on the house in the market square and, to a lesser extent, the almshouse, continued. These are reported in detail both in the accounts of the almshouse and in our presentation of the institution's immovable property.⁷⁷⁷

In 1596, minor works were carried out, such as building a wooden staircase for the house in the market square, making repairs to the flooring and digging a privy and a well. The housing facilities here were supplemented by the construction of a stable.⁷⁷⁸ Similarly, a privy and a well were dug in the

⁷⁷¹ Partial accounts 1593, p. 16.

⁷⁷² RNA. Suky Family Fond, Seria 1, Mediaeval documents, no. 379, mediaeval archive.

⁷⁷³ RNA, A 1594 no. 152.

⁷⁷⁴ RNA, A 1594 no. 152.

⁷⁷⁵ Partial accounts. 1594, p. 11.

⁷⁷⁶ Partial accounts. 1595, p. 25.

⁷⁷⁷ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1595, p. 50, 51.

⁷⁷⁸ RNA, 1596, A no. 153.

courtyard of the poor. Due to the adverse weather conditions, the wind damaged the roof of the almshouse, so it had to be repaired. In Méra, he had an oven built.⁷⁷⁹ The partial account presents the repair work as the repair of the stone house in the city.⁷⁸⁰ The memorial of the census of the almshouse's possessions mentions a considerable quantity of wine. These were deposited either in the almshouse itself or in their house in the main square, in Méra, or with other people. At the same time, 236 sheep and 74 lambs were recorded. The auditors also recorded bricks suitable for flooring.⁷⁸¹

No major maintenance work was carried out in 1597 (except for the repair of the windows of the almshouse), but he paid various sums to a cobbler, a cooper, a blacksmith and a saddler.⁷⁸² According to the surviving records of his tenure, he bought 26 denars worth of meat per week for the residents, but his accounts do not reveal how many people he bought it for.

On 28 April, 1597, Dávid Nyírő attended a meeting on behalf of the almshouse. It was on his initiative that Pál Tomori and Mihály Barla visited the site and listened to the locals, with the aim of defining the border between the forests of Korod and Méra to the satisfaction of all parties.⁷⁸³ Thus, the head of the institution not only managed the assets entrusted to him, but also represented the institution in legal proceedings.

Also under his tenure, on 10 January 1598, the Prince rewrote Isabella's charter, exempting the almshouse's estate in Méra from the tithe, thus granting it preferential treatment.⁷⁸⁴ In June of the following year, he even had this privilege confirmed by András Báthory.⁷⁸⁵

In 1599, the Macskásy heirs redeemed the property mortgaged in 1593 and this amount was also accounted for.⁷⁸⁶

Not only did he see to the improvement of the properties owned by the almshouse, but in 1593, for example, he spent on the almshouse's bridge⁷⁸⁷, and it was he who in 1598 accounted for the construction of a rather important bridge in the almshouse's vicinity⁷⁸⁸. The records of this construction project give an account of the raw materials used in the works and their origins and sources. As such, they provide valuable information about the natural environment on which construction work in the city relied and, better still, how far stakeholders went to obtain suitable materials at the time.

⁷⁷⁹ RNA, 1596, A no. 153.

⁷⁸⁰ Partial accounts, 1596, p. 23.

⁷⁸¹ Partial accounts, 1596, p. 24.

⁷⁸² Registers of St Elisabeth. 7/VII, p. 8.

⁷⁸³ Catholic Archives, St Elisabeth's home for the aged fond, 28 April 1597, no. 38.

⁷⁸⁴ Catholic Archives, St Elisabeth's home for the aged fond, 10 January 1598, no. 39.

⁷⁸⁵ Catholic Archives, St Elisabeth's home for the aged fond, no. 40.

⁷⁸⁶ Partial accounts. 1599, p. 25.

⁷⁸⁷ Registers of St Elisabeth. 5/XXIV.

⁷⁸⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 8/III.

Under his tenure, both the almshouse and the house in the market square underwent major renovations, resulting in much stronger and more durable buildings.

The council minutes also recorded that in February 1599, Dávid Nyírő wanted to leave the service, but because of his piety and diligence, he was still entrusted with the work.⁷⁸⁹ Thus, he stayed on for another year at the head of St Elisabeth's. The old and sick Dávid Nyírő died on August 27, 1600 and, according to the account of the church vergers, on this occasion 11.40 florins were paid, just like for those who were buried in the church.⁷⁹⁰

His surviving accounts contain at least two handwritings, so it is difficult to say whether he wrote them himself or had someone else write them. His accounts are sometimes detailed and sometimes incomplete, but the auditors did not blame him for not having entered everything in the records year after year. Without exception, vine cultivation is reported in a relatively thorough manner, but other works or income are detailed only exceptionally.

For contemporary sources, accuracy somehow moved within different parameters than today. Several surviving sources on Dávid Nyírő's tenure attest to this. Some data do not appear continuously. For example, cattle, bullocks, pigs and horses appear in the sources in a haphazard fashion. When the possessions of the almshouse were inventoried or summarised in a memorial, it happened that some of the above-mentioned items are missing, but in the following year or in the same year they were accounted for elsewhere, or it is said that they were driven away or even that they spent money on them. All these data are missing, but the auditors were nevertheless satisfied with the management and the accounts. Despite such shortcomings, it is incredible that these accounts reveal so much about a person's work, life in an institution, the staff and even the purchase of materials for daily life or maintenance.

SIMON ÍJGYÁRTÓ 1600

On 20 January 1600, the community of the city heeded the wishes of the old and ailing Dávid Jékeli and elected a different almshouse warden to manage St Elisabeth's.⁷⁹¹ This task was assumed by the new hospital on the 23rd day

⁷⁸⁹ *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. 1599.02.27. before, p. 120.

⁷⁹⁰ Accounts of the church vergers, 1600, p. 10.

⁷⁹¹ *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. I/5, p.181. „Dávid Jekel felseo Ispotaly mester uram uensege-nek es beteges/ állapotjainak my voltat mutogatvan eo kegyelmek eleott/varasul az eo kegyelme tisztit resignala es kewanna/ hogy eo kegyelmek helyette mast vlaztanának/Eo kegyelmek ezért az Uniott ogservalvan egyenleo voxal es Suffragiummal valasztottak az Zent Erzebetbeli ispotaj mestersegnék gondviselesere az magyar nemzeteol: Igyártó Simont.”

of the month of the Blessed Virgin and he carried it out until his death on May 25, 1601. Simon Íjgyártó, representing the Hungarian nation, was appointed the almshouse warden. He was born as the son of the lawyer György Íjgyártó.⁷⁹² His name can be found among the goldsmiths when he was listed as a guarantor at a guild entry in 1592.⁷⁹³ The same year, the death of Demeter Hunyadi was recorded with Tamás Fejér.⁷⁹⁴ In 1594, he was also a church verger, but then in the company of Miklós Marti.⁷⁹⁵ He also filled this position in 1596.⁷⁹⁶ In addition to all this, he was a member of the Council of the Centumviri and from 1597 one of the jurors, while also serving as tax collector and property settlement judge.⁷⁹⁷

It was a very turbulent time in Kolozsvár when Simon Íjgyártó became the holder of the office after his old and ailing predecessor. War, insecurity, hunger and bad weather dominated Transylvania and within it Kolozsvár and its surroundings. As a result, the city had to take extraordinary measures in the winter of 1600-1601 to restore security. Due to the adverse times, Kolozsvár was so invaded by beggars that a real beggar crisis developed, which tested the city and its leadership. In order to effectively deal with the situation, unconventional measures were necessary. Gyöngyvér Ladó-Kajtár, a young researcher, thoroughly explored this situation and problem a few years ago and put it into context.⁷⁹⁸

The problem of the poor and the beggars was normally the responsibility of the almshouse wardens. However, the situation that year was beyond the capacity of the city's two almshouse wardens and the city itself had recognised this. In addition to the two incumbent almshouse wardens, the city council assigned two people to assist each of them, so that the situation was then handled by six people. István Radnaszegi and János Bek were assigned to the almshouse warden of St Elisabeth's, while Mihály Csiszár and Mihály Kádár were assigned to assist the almshouse warden of the Holy Spirit. The primary task of these elected persons was to account for ("*megh látogassák és megh církálják*") those deserving alms and to provide for them. Who deserved help and who did not was not for them to decide. In this matter, the city council itself took a decision, deciding, for example, that the poor of the county were not eligible. On the basis of this decision, the town magistrate issued an order

⁷⁹² *ibid.*

⁷⁹³ Bunta Magdona. *Kolozsvári ötövösök a XVI.-XVII. században*. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001, p. 195.

⁷⁹⁴ Accounts of the church vergers, 1592.

⁷⁹⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. Partial, 1595, /6/XV.; 1596/6/XIX.

⁷⁹⁶ Partial accounts, 1596, 6/XIX.

⁷⁹⁷ Pakó László. „A korrupt boszorkányüldöző. Igyártó György prókatori tevékenységéről.” *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 2011, vol. 73, no. 3-4, p. 94.

⁷⁹⁸ Ladó-Kajtár Gyöngyvér. *Szorgalmasan az szegényeket...*, pp. 156-172.

to the guardsmen (*darabont*) not to allow such persons to enter the town gate. In fact, those beggars who were in the city and did not deserve care had to be expelled from the city by the guardsmen.

The group of people who deserved care was quite diverse, including the injured, the sick, poor students, the crippled and the orphaned.⁷⁹⁹ When the people in need were counted, it turned out that there were so many that there was not enough space for them in the city's two almshouses. Therefore, based on the decision of the city council, the city administration authorised the appointed elected persons to rent a suitable house and there to provide food and drink to the needy.⁸⁰⁰ The two almshouses fed the beggars from their own farms, the city contributed to the financial costs and when the two almshouses were short of money, the city council provided grain and firewood to help the beggars. The beggar crisis emerged already at the end of October 1600, but it reached its peak in the middle of the festive season, prompting the authorities to address the issue and to make special provisions for solutions on 30 December and 13 January.⁸⁰¹

Under these circumstances, Simon Íjgyártó's tenure of cca. 14 months were governed by different rules, especially from the second half of October until the beginning of spring. In this way, his work cannot be compared with that of the previous or subsequent almshouse wardens, since his management was also marked by extraordinary circumstances.

In this extraordinary situation, the economic activity of the almshouse could not be interrupted and the almshouse warden tried to do everything in his power to ensure that economic life would not decline. Thus, in July, he had the grass mowed, the hay dried and spent over 27 florins on various works and as a result collected a significant amount of fodder.⁸⁰² He also carried out repairs around the house and the mill and was constantly looking after the vineyards. He had all the work in the almshouse's vineyards carried out in good order and reported on it in considerable detail. The harvest took place quite late (on 27 October), not by decision of the almshouse warden or the vintner, but by the order of the town council. Further work was subsequently carried out, with pruning and covering of the vines taking place until 28 November.⁸⁰³ In the inventory submitted after 2 December, he accounted for 346 old sheep and 70 lambs.⁸⁰⁴ After one year's management, he had to account to the city for 283 florins, of which he handed over 200 florins to the auditors on 20 December.

⁷⁹⁹ *ibid* p. 166.

⁸⁰⁰ *ibid*.

⁸⁰¹ *Protocollum Centumviroorum*. p. 191, 195.

⁸⁰² Registers of St Elisabeth. 1600, p. 15.

⁸⁰³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1600, p. 34.

⁸⁰⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1600, p. 49.

Taking everything into account, one can say that Simon Íjgyártó, as the almshouse warden of St Elisabeth's, did a good job and remained in office the following year, but his death ended the second year of his management.

GEORG ALCZNER 1601, 1602

After Simon Íjgyártó's death on 25 May 1601, the town entrusted Georg Alczner – probably representing the Saxon nation – with the management of St Elisabeth's Hospital.⁸⁰⁵ Membership of the Saxon nation is also confirmed by texts written in the Saxon language, which are, as an exception, found embedded in the Hungarian account. His short term in office ended with his death, with the last entry in the account book being made on 13 November.⁸⁰⁶

His name appears in several forms in the sources: Georgius, Georgy, Georgi, Gergi, Aczner, Altzner, Alczner, Olczovai. Prior to his work as an almshouse warden, he worked as a lord lieutenant between 1596 and 1599, when he and István Radnóthy carried out the tasks entrusted to them, but they were accused of negligence and dismissed from their posts.⁸⁰⁷

Georg Alczner was also engaged in trade. In November 1599, he paid 26 florins and 6 denars for his goods from Vienna and in May of the following year, he paid 4 florins 20 denars as customs duty to the customs officer.⁸⁰⁸ He traded mostly in clothing and knives.

In examining a very short management period, one can rely not only on two detailed accounts, but also on an equal number of summary records. The accounts for the second year were completed by his wife and written down by the notary⁸⁰⁹, who was paid 2 florins “for his last year's writing”⁸¹⁰.

The city was still in the midst of a period of turmoil during his tenure as almshouse warden. Thus, the affairs of the institution had to be organised accordingly. The account reveals that he paid the debts of his predecessor to craftsmen (cooper, saddler).⁸¹¹ The almshouse's economy was a great help in these times of crisis, as they were able to make considerable sums from the wheat they produced, the wine and the sale of their animals. On one occasion, 135 lambs were sold for 55 florins⁸¹², which meant cash income for the

⁸⁰⁵ *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. I/1, p. 195.

⁸⁰⁶ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 32.

⁸⁰⁷ *Partial accounts*, 1596, p. 17; *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. I/1, p. 334.

⁸⁰⁸ Papp Ferenc, p. 121, 122.

⁸⁰⁹ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, pp. 21-45, 417-419.

⁸¹⁰ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 45.

⁸¹¹ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 24, 31.

⁸¹² *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 21.

almshouse and less livestock to care for. Nothing shows better what a problem animals were in such troubled times than the fact that in 1602, the almshouse warden bought oxen (24) on several occasions, but the *hajdús*⁸¹³ drove them away twice and there were hardly any livestock left on the farm.⁸¹⁴ However, in 1602, he sold wine for a record 600 florins, half of it to the fighting Germans who arrived in the city.⁸¹⁵ He sold the wine by the barrel rather than at retail, thus saving the costs of measuring it out. To escape the troubles of war, the almshouse warden had the grain stored in pits, as revealed by a note from the auditors, who mentioned the burying of 25 *köböl* of oats.⁸¹⁶

The city was going through extraordinary times, as evidenced by the 59 burials recorded between 22 December 1601 and February 1602.⁸¹⁷ Most of the burials took place in February and the low amount spent on them suggests that the deceased were buried in mass graves. The funerals of almost sixty people cost less than five florins. The high number of people buried in the relatively short two months of winter raises the possibility of an epidemic.

At the time of Alczner's management, St Elisabeth's almshouse had not yet received the donation of salt. Only the Holy Spirit almshouse collected this donation, while the upper almshouse was forced to continue buying salt for the needs of the house. Three salt purchases took place in 1602; in April, July and September, a total of 11 pieces of rock salt were acquired.⁸¹⁸

Under his management, the mortgaging of all the portions of Menhárt Macskásy in Méra and András háza was again carried out, strengthening the institution's economic potential.⁸¹⁹ He also accounted for the costs of taking action on behalf of prisoners of war.⁸²⁰

Knowing the history of Georg Alczner's activities as a lord lieutenant prior to his work as an almshouse warden, it does not seem extraordinary that the auditors made comments and asked questions about Alczner's accounts. If it had not been for a damning note about his work as a lord lieutenant, one could have attributed the questions and comments about the accounts to the overzealousness or even malice of the auditors. But Alczner attempted to take advantage of the troubled times and wanted to have a house he had bought and which had burnt down to be paid off by the city. The account

⁸¹³ *Hajdú*: Originally armed cattle herders, whose military role significantly increased during the time of Stephen Bocskai. In 1605, he settled and ennobled them. They constituted a significant military force during the Fifteen Years War. They frequently engaged in pillaging around Kolozsvár.

⁸¹⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 41.

⁸¹⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 33.

⁸¹⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 28.

⁸¹⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 41.

⁸¹⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 34-36.

⁸¹⁹ Catholic Archives, St Elisabeth's almshouse fond, Fasc. A no. 97.

⁸²⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 23

book says: “When the soldiers were stationed in the city and there was no place to keep the poor people’s cattle, I had to buy a house on Új Street for 50 florins.” To which the answer of the auditors was: “Non tenent. He bought it for himself, but it burned down and now he wants the almshouse to pay for it; but where did he see the innocent paying such a tax?”⁸²¹

That said, and despite the comments, there was considerable wealth left after Alczner’s management. Under the circumstances, he held St Elisabeth’s firmly in hand, but his death prevented him from completing the work he had begun there. The property entrusted to his care and remaining after his death was handed over by his widow to the city and then to the next administrator. Despite the fact that he sold 135 sheep in 1601 and the passing armies drove away a great deal of livestock, he still had 186 sheep, 16 oxen, one cow and two horses left after his death, which is a considerable number, given that it was wartime.⁸²²

MIHÁLY RETTEGHI SZŐCS, 1603

Due to the death of Georg Alczner, a new manager was appointed to the head of St Elisabeth’s on 31 December 1602 in the person of Mihály Retteghi Szőcs, after the acceptance of the accounts. Thus, there is information about the beginning of his management, but not its end. One can only speculate that he may have continued to run the almshouse in 1604 and that his administration may have ended with his death. An entry referring to the continuation of the work is found in the summary accounts when it was written that it would be “refunded in the future.”⁸²³ When his successor took possession of the institution’s property on 22 February 1605, he also received grain “at the house of the former, deceased almshouse warden.”⁸²⁴ This reveals that Mihály Szőcs Retteghi was succeeded by Péter Lutsch at the head of St Elisabeth’s.

During his term of office, the city was still in a state of war, as it was during this time that Mózes Székely laid siege to the city, when he joined forces with Turkish and Tatar armies to besiege Kolozsvár in the spring of 1603.⁸²⁵ The city and its surroundings were under the attack of the troops of Básta, the hajdús, Tatars and Turks, which made it extremely difficult not only to carry out economic activities but also to secure the institution’s assets, since a significant part of them were located outside the city limits. According to

⁸²¹ *ibid.*

⁸²² Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 419.

⁸²³ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 420.

⁸²⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 422.

⁸²⁵ *Kolozsvári emlékirók*, p. 89, 90.

the record of Gáspár Heltai the Younger, the besiegers even set fire to the almshouse and its appurtenances.⁸²⁶

Almost nothing is known about Mihály Szőcs Retteghi. Sources reveal that his wife was named Orsolya and that in 1572, she took part in the trial against Mrs Boldizsár Kis Bekken. From this, one can conclude that when Mihály Szőcs Retteghi became the almshouse warden in 1603, he must have been quite an old man.⁸²⁷

A detailed and a summarised account of his work exist⁸²⁸, which he himself indicates as having occurred between 31 December 1602 and 30 November 1603⁸²⁹. This shows that the almshouse was trying to get on with its daily life, but the conditions in and around the city were constantly frustrating their efforts. The maintenance of the institution's assets was already coming to the fore in the accounts, with repairs to doors, fences and roofs. Due to the harsh winter, they also dug an ice pit and filled it with ice. It must have been quite a job, as it cost 3 florins and the auditors found nothing to complain about; they merely asked where it had all been made.⁸³⁰ The long winter meant that the mills were only able to start working at the end of February and the dam required major repair work in May and throughout the autumn.⁸³¹ In a way befitting wartime, the almshouse warden tried to be prepared for all eventualities, including bringing in fodder for the animals in case the town was surrounded. As it turns out, this actually occurred and the hay was scarce but sufficient.⁸³² The livestock of the almshouse suffered losses again that year, as Mihály Szőcs received 197 sheep, but on 23 May, the hajdús drove them away. Thus, he was forced to buy new ones and a month later he redeemed 10 of those driven away in Gyalu.⁸³³ Some of the lambs born were taken by the Tartars lurking on the outskirts of the town, while the oxen were driven away by the hajdús and others had to be bought to replace them. He justified this by saying: "As the hermitage can in no case be without oxen, lest there should be great damage to its bequest, I bought new oxen with my own money, because no other money came from anywhere..."⁸³⁴ His management of the wine was not particularly effective because he sold the wine prematurely, necessitating the purchase of additional wine for the institution. The reasons for his actions are unknown. The records controllers

⁸²⁶ *Kolozsvári emléktírók*, p. 128.

⁸²⁷ *Kolozsvári boszorkányperek*, p. 84.

⁸²⁸ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, pp. 46-70, 420-421.

⁸²⁹ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 46.

⁸³⁰ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 50.

⁸³¹ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 68.

⁸³² *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 56, 57.

⁸³³ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 65.

⁸³⁴ *Accounts of St Elisabeth's*, p. 67.

noted in the account books that such behaviour was not acceptable. In many other instances, the town's auditors were displeased with what they discovered in the records. The auditors' records show that 21 residents were cared for and that a woman cook was hired for them and other residents of the house. The almshouse warden recorded that as many as three poor people died during the harvest.⁸³⁵ It can be inferred that Mihály Rettegghi Szócs managed the almshouse under very challenging conditions and that his performance was not the best.

PÉTER LUTSCH'S TENURE AS ALMSHOUSE WARDEN
1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609

After a period of short tenures and almshouse wardens who died while they were still in charge of the almshouse, the Council of the Centumviri appointed Péter Lutsch from the Saxon nation to the head of St Elisabeth's. His case offers an exceptional opportunity compared to the research on other almshouse wardens, since there are two detailed accounts of his activities and five summary reports⁸³⁶, which allow his work at the head of the institution to be accurately outlined.

His name appears in the sources as Pitter Luchi, Lúts, Lutzi, Luch, Luczy, Pytter Luetsch, Lutsch Peter.

In 1603 and 1606, he was on the list of the Council of the Centumviri.⁸³⁷ He was no longer listed in the 1617 register, so he must have died sometime before 1617. He was also present at the hearings of witnesses to the events of 1606.⁸³⁸ Péter Lutsch later appeared as a property settlement judge in several succession cases, first in 1614 and then in 1616.⁸³⁹ In the same case, he was present at the property settlement in March 1616, but not in April; only two of the property settlement judges presents were there at the previous distribution as well. The other two were replaced and one of them was Péter Lutsch, but the reason for this replacement was unknown.

The five years of his tenure occurred during calmer times, but even then, there was no complete peace in Kolozsvár, as also indicated by the witness hearings of 1606, the time of the hearings on the previous events in the city.⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 47.

⁸³⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 71-124, 422-431.

⁸³⁷ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 290, 292.

⁸³⁸ *Kolozsvári emlékirók*, p. 102, 103, 110, 111.

⁸³⁹ *Divisors*. p. 116, 137.

⁸⁴⁰ Gaal György. *Kolozsvár a századok sodrában. Várostarténeti kronológia*. Kolozsvár, Kincses Város egyesület, Kritterion, 2016. p. 30.

The population and the institutions of Kolozsvár left the old war times behind, but there was no shortage of events, as three princes succeeded each other at the head of Transylvania in a relatively short period of time: István Bocskai, Zsigmond Rákóczi, and Gábor Báthory. The city of Kolozsvár played an important role in the plans of all three.

The entire estate of Méra, valued at 500 florins and “inscribed” to the almshouse by Mrs János Csomafáy Borbála Erdős in 1604, became part of the almshouse’s administration, but for how long is unknown.⁸⁴¹

The accounts show that the life of the almshouse got back to normal and that the focus was no longer on the extraordinary, but on farming and caring for the poor. Thus, repairs to buildings and mills, the hiring of servants and vineyard cultivation appeared in the accounts increasingly often. During the turbulent period, everyday things were not detailed, for example, no care was taken to account for the bread supply and no details were given of how much grain was ground and how much bread was baked from it. They were able to do this because they ground their own grain in their own mills and baked bread in their own bakeries for the needs of the almshouse. The bread thus made was intended for the poor who lived there and for the workers at the almshouse. At St Elizabeth’s, bread was made for personal use only and was not considered a source of income, as it was at the sister institution, the Holy Spirit.

It was during Lutsch’s tenure that salt revenues were recorded for the first time for St Elizabeth’s Hospital. However, this only happens in one year, 1606, when the salt got there indirectly. The auditors ordered two hundred pieces of rock salt for the upper almshouse from the Holy Spirit. However, only half of it was brought to St Elizabeth’s by the almshouse warden, of which he sold 53 pieces for 5.30 florins.⁸⁴² The auditors later question why the full amount of salt ordered for them was not used. These details show that the donation of salt was originally intended for the Holy Spirit and was only later divided between the two institutions.

The institution reported buying meat for the poor twice a week, but sometimes they only received meat once. The almshouse warden accounted for 6 pounds of meat on Sundays and Wednesdays. On Fridays, he gave the residents peas or porridge from the almshouse’s own farm and oil, also of their own production, while he had two loaves of bread baked in their own oven every day.⁸⁴³ However, the residents were dissatisfied with their food, complaining that they rarely received meat, only on Sundays and even then, it was raw and not cooked.⁸⁴⁴ Indeed, the hired servants of Lutsch’s time did not

⁸⁴¹ Catholic Archives, St Elisabeth’s almshouse fond, Fasc. A no. 97.

⁸⁴² Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 90.

⁸⁴³ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 101.

⁸⁴⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 104.

include the female cook (*főzőné*). In 1606, he hired a woman named Orsolya to cook, but she was frequently ill, and in later years there were few, if any, signs of cooking for the poor. It is certain that the almshouse warden did not take particular care to have cooked food always available in the institution.

During his tenure, the almshouse's mills were out of order (between 7 and 31 January 1606, until Pentecost 1609), and he was forced to have their grain ground either in another mill in the city or in the mill in Fenes, which meant paying a toll on the quantity processed.⁸⁴⁵

The almshouse's assets were not outstanding during Péter Lutsch's management, despite the relatively peaceful times during his tenure, in contrast to the previous period, when peace in the town and the surrounding countryside were frequently upset. After his first year, he was called to give an explanation of how his accounts were prepared. If one considers of the instructions in force, he moved quite far away from the accounting expectations set out in them.

On several occasions, he needed external financial support in order to adequately carry out the tasks entrusted to him. Thus, at the end of 1605, the local council gave him almost a hundred florins worth of gold and silver objects in order to monetise them and start the economic activity of the institution.⁸⁴⁶ It was for this purpose of stimulating the hospital's economic activity that in 1606 the little salt available was directed towards the institution, but as already seen, Lutsch could not really take advantage of it and could not start the economic activity at a level that would have been to the satisfaction of all.

In the summary account for the year 1608, the auditors already indicated that they were aware of Péter Lutsch's ill health when the accounts were given. Thus, it is not at all surprising that after 1609 someone else was entrusted with the management of the almshouse.

GERGELY FODOR'S TENURE AS ALMSHOUSE WARDEN

1610, 1611, 1612, 1613,

Gergely Fodor had already been an almshouse warden previously. He was the head of the Holy Spirit almshouse in Kolozsvár between 1605 and 1609 and from there he came to lead the other similar, one might say, sister institution of the city. Thus, a person with undoubted experience and knowledge of the internal system of social institutions took over the management of St Elisabeth's, which had quite considerable assets.

⁸⁴⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 92.

⁸⁴⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 423.

The detailed financial reports on his work at the head of the Holy Spirit almshouse show thorough and careful work⁸⁴⁷, which is why he was praised by the auditors for his work there⁸⁴⁸.

Several people named Gergely Fodor are known from early modern sources in Kolozsvár. There is a Gergely Fodor who was chief justice (mid-16th century), there is the almshouse warden (turn of the 16th/17th century) and there is even a third person of the same name (second half of the 17th century).

Gergely Fodor was known as a master furrier.⁸⁴⁹ His wife is mentioned as a witness in a trial between 1592 and 1594.⁸⁵⁰ In 1603, he represented an orphaned child, Lőrike Székely, at a time when his share of an estate was inventoried.⁸⁵¹ In 1614 and 1616, there was a legal case concerning the wines stored in his cellar.⁸⁵² According to witnesses, he stored other people's wines in the cellar of his house and they were damaged while in storage. This data shows that Gergely Fodor must have had a large house and a large cellar, where he could place and store large quantities of wine.

The 1603, 1606 and 1617 lists of the Council of the Centumviri include him among the ranks of the Hungarian nation.⁸⁵³ How long he lived is not known. Later still, in 1647, there was an individual called Gergelj Fodor, but the rather distant dates suggest that this cannot be the same person, especially as in 1623 there was no such name in the register and if someone was co-opted to the grand council, he was there as long as he lived.⁸⁵⁴

One can form an opinion on his activities in St Elisabeth's from a detailed account of 1610 and a summary of the years 1610-1613.⁸⁵⁵ He successfully fulfilled his former task in the Holy Spirit, so they certainly hoped and expected from him to boost the economy of the larger institution as well.

In the summer of 1611, during his tenure at the upper almshouse,⁸⁵⁶ the city was besieged and even the hostáts⁸⁵⁷ were set on fire, causing damage to the almshouse's assets, its grain fields and vineyards.⁸⁵⁸ In the summary accounts for 1611, the very small amount of grain collected was attributed

⁸⁴⁷ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledett intézmény...*, p. 70-73.

⁸⁴⁸ Accounts of the Holy Spirit almshouse, p. 229. „Meglátogatván ökegyelek az ispotálynak állapotját, jó forgolódását gondviselését, ökegyelmek jónéven vötték és colaudáltak”.

⁸⁴⁹ Jeney-Tóth Annamária. *Műves...*, p. 75.

⁸⁵⁰ Kolozsvári boszorkányperek. p. 176.

⁸⁵¹ Divisors. pp. 44-46.

⁸⁵² Jeney-Tóth Annamária. *Műves...*, p. 75.

⁸⁵³ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 290, 292, 294.

⁸⁵⁴ *ibid* p. 303.

⁸⁵⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 124-149, 431-438.

⁸⁵⁶ From 19 July 1611, King Matthias II's general, Count Zsigmond Forgách, surrounds and besieges the city with his troops, the suburbs are burnt, and on 25 July the city surrenders. Gaal György. *Kronológia*. p. 31; Heltai, p. 126.

⁸⁵⁷ Hóstát is a district outside the city walls; suburb.

⁸⁵⁸ *Kolozsvári emlékirók*, p. 143.

to the military campaign and the wastage of the armies.⁸⁵⁹ Only his last year of farming was criticised by the auditors, when they complained that, despite the fact that the almshouse had 6 oxen, servants and serfs, it had no spring crops.⁸⁶⁰

In the first year, momentum was still evident in the measures taken, with more money spent on vine cultivation than before and after, with 17 acres cultivated.⁸⁶¹ The mills did not really feel his care, since only the provision of what is necessary for normal operation appears in the records. Also, the maintenance of the almshouse's property was only minimally reflected in the financial statements. This was despite the fact that, according to contemporary accounts, the *hostáts* were ransacked and burnt down in 1611.

The accounts show that considerable attention was paid to feeding the poor, or at least this is what the detailed records show. Compared to all the almshouse wardens before and after him, Gergely Fodor recorded interesting data concerning the residents' food. Not only did he note the monetary value of the meat purchased, but he also considered it worth recording the additional food sourced from their own farm or purchased.⁸⁶²

In the last year of his tenure, the issue of salt donation was also settled. In May 1613, in his privilege letter, Gábor Báthory took care of both almshouses, but in December of the same year, Gábor Bethlen's charter made it clear that the two almshouses of Kolozsvár could count on the salt cubes separately.⁸⁶³ How much the almshouse warden had to do with issuing these charters is not known, nor how much the city administration requested and fought for this donation of salt to its two institutions, but even during the management of Gergely Fodor, the salt was not collected and only appeared in the accounts the following year.

After four years of managing the economy of the Holy Spirit almshouse and four years of administering the estates of St Elisabeth's, Gergely Fodor must have grown tired of the job, for on 18 January 1614 he resigned.⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁵⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 433.

⁸⁶⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 436.

⁸⁶¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 149. 136 florins.

⁸⁶² Holy Spirit, pp. 47-57, 80-91, St Elisabeth's, pp. 131-137.

⁸⁶³ EREL, Almshouses, nr, 1, no. 2.

⁸⁶⁴ *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. 1614, p. 170. „Az Szent Erzsébetbeli ispotály mester Fodor Gergely Uram/ s ott mikor az Ispotálmestereknek tisztit resignalvan es leteven. Azt itilvén ökegyelmek hogy immár eleget szolgált volna/ az városnak böcsületes választassa szerint ugy személyet ő os már nyugalmat kivanván magának, tölt üres akarván lenni. Azokéért az választást szorgalmatosan meg consideralvan, szükség volt, hogy városul olyant válaszunk, aki nem csak szóval, hanem de facto szorgalmatosan gondját viselje az ispotálynak, mint, hogy az Sok ellenségnek irruptioja miat igen meg pusztult kiért Serény gondviselő ember kívántatik az tisztibe.

Ezeket városul szemünk előtt viselvén, Istennek akarattyjából választottak, az Sz. Erzsébetbeli Ispotályban Ispotálymesternek Gergh Schneidert alias Webert. Kérik várossul számvevő urainkat, hogy menttel hamarabb/ az Ispotályban introdukáyuk es Statuáljuk:

As stated in the council's decision, he wished to retire after serving for quite a long time as an almshouse warden.

GEORG SCHNEIDER WEBER, GYÖRGY TAKÁCS, 1614, 1615, 1616

After Gergely Fodor, the city authorities were looking for a person who would "diligently take care" of the almshouse and restore it after the destruction and devastation. The new administrator was also expected to spend the proceeds on the almshouse and the poor and not on himself and his household.⁸⁶⁵ The city authorities chose György Takács who, before becoming almshouse warden in 1613, had prepared a director's account under the name of Gergh Schneider alias Takacz.

In contemporary sources from Kolozsvár, his name appeared as Gerg, Gergh, Georgius, Georg Weber, Georg Schneider or Takach György, Takács György. It is also possible that within the same document, his name appeared as Gerg Schneider alias Weber or Takacz György.⁸⁶⁶

Georg Schneider Weber was known primarily as a weaver, as suggested by the names found in the sources. He must have had considerable prestige within the guild, since in 1589, when the discussions of the Transylvanian Saxon Weavers' Union took place, he was one of the representatives of his own interest group and also of the city of Kolozsvár.⁸⁶⁷

He was also a member of the Council of the Centumviri representing the Saxon Nation in 1603, 1606 and 1617.⁸⁶⁸ His name was no longer listed in the 1623 register.

There are no detailed accounts of his management of St Elisabeth's. His work and its assessment are only known from the summary accounts. The data in the partial accounts, according to their intended purpose, only provide a summary and not a detailed account of the work of György Takács Schneider. His tenure ended after three full years, on 4 February 1617, when the city council unanimously elected a new man.⁸⁶⁹

Instructiok eleiben referalvan mindenekről kiváltképpen az Unionak tartassa szerent, ahol a vagyon, hogy az Szegények szükségére commentalyak az aki is Provenitust mely az Ispotaly mesternek szorgalmatos gondviselebeol, az ispotaly örökségéből szokott bejönni, hogy nem magára és maga külömb-külobmfele haza nepert, melyek nem az Szegényeknek ispotalására tartanak. Azért Ökegyelmek effelöl irvan salyanak/ es valami bizonyost iryanak eliben, kihez kepes az Ispotalybeli Szegények, igasságokban meg ne fogyatkozzanak."

⁸⁶⁵ *ibid.*

⁸⁶⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 438-439.

⁸⁶⁷ Jeney-Tóth Annamária. *Míves...*, p. 99.

⁸⁶⁸ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 290, 293, 295.

⁸⁶⁹ *Protocollum Centumvirorum. 1617*, p. 281.

The mill on the Szamos was one of the driving forces behind the fortune of St Elizabeth's Hospital in Kolozsvár. In the first year of his administration, he renovated the institution's mill and bought millstones because the previous ones were "very dilapidated", as he justified his action in the summary accounts; he spent over 31 florins on this.⁸⁷⁰ He also worked diligently in the vineyards. Thanks to the favourable weather, his efforts proved fruitful in the first year, but in 1615 his luck changed, as spring frosts damaged the vineyard and in 1616, in addition to spring frosts, the vines were infested with cockchafers.⁸⁷¹ Despite all this, he achieved good results in his last year of management. Fickle weather conditions resulted in a significant loss of income, mitigated by a new donation of salt to St Elizabeth's Hospital. Following the charters to this effect, in 1614, the upper almshouse received for the first time the one thousand blocks of salt intended for it. From then on, it could count on the salt donation relatively regularly and include it in its income.

The administration of the almshouse warden was in accordance with the wishes of the city council, as the elected György Takács led the institution effectively, with deeds and not with words and spent more of the income he received on the poor than on himself. This is best illustrated by the expenditure on meat. In 1614 he spent 28 florins on his own table and 8 florins and 96 denars on the poor.⁸⁷² In 1616, he spent 10 florins on the poor and 28 denars on the people of his own household.⁸⁷³ For its predecessors, this ratio stood at 6 to 30 florins.⁸⁷⁴ This is certainly also due to the instructions of 1614⁸⁷⁵, which expressly required increased attention to be paid to the almshouse residents.

MIHÁLY KANTHA, 1617, 1618, 1619

Three years of relatively successful farming by György Takács was succeeded by Mihály Kantha on 4 February 1617.⁸⁷⁶

His name occurs in the forms *Canta*, *Kanta*, *Kantha*, *Mihalj*, *Mihaly*, *Mihály* in contemporary documents.

⁸⁷⁰ Accounts of St Elizabeth's, p. 438.

⁸⁷¹ *Kolozsvári emlékirók*, p. 149.

⁸⁷² Accounts of St Elizabeth's, p. 438.

⁸⁷³ Accounts of St Elizabeth's, p. 443.

⁸⁷⁴ Accounts of St Elizabeth's, p. 437, 431.

⁸⁷⁵ Catholic Archives, Fasc. A, no. 82.

⁸⁷⁶ *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. 1617, p. 281. „A Szent Erzsébetbely Ispotaly mester Georg Schneider elbucsuzván városul eő Kegyelmek mind két nemzet Táblára iarulván Egyenleő voxal az Zent Erzsébetbely Ispotalyba levő zegényeknek gondviselésére választották Kanta Mihályt. Kerik eő kegyelmek városul zamveveő uraimat, hogy eő kegyelmek/ az előbbi mod zerint introducalliak primo queq z tempore/ hogy az szegenyekre valo gondviselés meg ne szünjék”.

The name of Mihály Kantha is often found in the columns of the thirtieth tax lists. It first appeared in two entries in 1599⁸⁷⁷ and then several times a year from 1610 onwards, so that in 1610, three trips were recorded⁸⁷⁸, in 1611, two⁸⁷⁹, in 1612, three⁸⁸⁰ and one could continue. In the three years of his tenure, only once did he have to pay customs duty for goods brought by himself, but he had commercial goods brought into the city through another person several times.⁸⁸¹ The last customs entry for Mihály Kantha dates from 1636.⁸⁸² However, not all the data is about the elderly Mihály Kantha, since in 1627 he was sometimes referred to as "late" in the context of the distribution of his property.⁸⁸³ After his death, his elder son of the same name, Mihály Kantha, continued the business. The data show that he developed an extensive network of contacts with the merchants of Nagykároly, Eperjes, Vienna and Buda during his trade trips. The younger Mihály Kantha's wife was also involved in this transport of goods; her name can be seen on the pages of the customs logs between 1630 and 1634. According to the sources, she was connected exclusively with Nagybánya, bringing and taking goods there.⁸⁸⁴ In light of these sources, the Kanthas can safely be regarded as professional traders.

The probate proceedings reveal that the elderly wife of Mihály Kantha, Orsolya, did not give her daughter Kata Kantha her share of the property and that the distribution of property was made for her orphaned children (Szófia - 13 years old, Istók - 4 years old). These children were no longer living in Kolozsvár, but in Szatmár, at their father's house.⁸⁸⁵

Thanks to his wealth and connections, Mihály Kantha the Elder rose to become one of Kolozsvár's most respected citizens and represented the Hungarian nation in the lists of 1617 and 1623 of the Council of the Centumviri.⁸⁸⁶

Under these circumstances and with such an economic background, it is difficult to understand why he took such a job; why it was worth it for him, a trader, to take on an administrative task, when it could have meant a loss of income for his business.

⁸⁷⁷ Pap Ferenc. *Kolozsvári harmincadjegyzék (1599-1637)*. Bukarest-Kolozsvár, Kriterion, 2000, p. 105, 113.

⁸⁷⁸ *ibid* p. 144, 148, 153.

⁸⁷⁹ *ibid* p. 154, 158.

⁸⁸⁰ *ibid* p. 159, 169, 177.

⁸⁸¹ *ibid*.

⁸⁸² *ibid*.

⁸⁸³ *Divisors*. p. 166, 167.

⁸⁸⁴ *ibid*.

⁸⁸⁵ *Divisors*. pp. 166-176.

⁸⁸⁶ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 295, 302.

This situation is exceptional, since there are two detailed accounts and three summaries of partial accounts for his three years of management.⁸⁸⁷ He even left behind a drawer full of records (*registrum*), which contain data from the end of November 1619, after the proper settlement of the accounts, until mid-January 1620, that is, until the new almshouse warden was installed.⁸⁸⁸

Mihály Kantha must have dictated his accounts, because in 1619, he paid 7 florins for the preparation of the accounts, “to the clerk, as I cannot write.”⁸⁸⁹

In his first year of management, he renovated the almshouse’s mill, which must have been quite a job, as it cost nearly 150 florins.⁸⁹⁰ According to the detailed accounts, the old building was demolished and completely rebuilt, for which rafters, laths, planks and shingles were purchased in large quantities. The exterior woodwork was followed by interior restoration of the rebuilt mill, which started that year, but was not completed until the third year.⁸⁹¹

He also paid particular attention to the vineyard, to every stage of the work without exception, which is also reflected in the accounts. During his tenure, 11 acres of vineyards were cultivated and the grapes were made into wine. They also used the labour of the serfs of the almshouse, as was also expected of them by the city authorities. The harvest in Kolozsvár followed a specific order, which was confirmed in 1617. They confirmed older decisions that no one should be allowed to harvest in the vineyards before the almshouse wardens and considered it important to back up and enforce these measures.⁸⁹² And this care paid off, as the good harvest was already discussed at the October meeting of the Council of the Centumviri.⁸⁹³ The grapes not only generated income from their one-time use, but also from the sale of the wine lees.

Maintenance work was also carried out on the hospital’s inner-city house, repairing the roof and the guttering of the building.⁸⁹⁴ The house was well used, because they were able to rent out the store, the rooms and the cellar.

On 2 May 1617, during his tenure, the donation of salt was confirmed, but the warden’s role in this – or whether he contributed at all – is unknown.⁸⁹⁵

Managing the donation of salt was also part of his management, including its cutting, transport and sale. He also used the labour of serfs to transport the salt. Cereal farming and the reaping of the meadows were also presented

⁸⁸⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, pp. 150-205, 445-446; 1618/22/I, pp. 3-58; 1619/22/I, pp. 59-126.

⁸⁸⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, pp. 203-205.

⁸⁸⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 198.

⁸⁹⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 168.

⁸⁹¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 201.

⁸⁹² Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 300.

⁸⁹³ *ibid.*

⁸⁹⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth’s, p. 186.

⁸⁹⁵ *EREL*, Gábor Bethlen, 2 May 1617, no. 3.

in the accounts. During his tenure, there was only a small number of livestock at the almshouse's farm.

There are also differences between the two detailed accounts: while in the first year, he reported in detail on the cost of food for the residents; for the third year, he provided only a summary of the data.

Other almshouse wardens accounted separately for the number of loaves of bread baked in the almshouse. Mihály Kantha took this as a matter of course, no doubt because the institution ground its own grain in its own mill and baked it into bread in its own bakehouse.

The repair of the plank at the almshouse's mill, decided on 17 July 1617, was related to the management of the almshouse indirectly. Although not the responsibility of the almshouse wardens but of the lord lieutenants, it contributed to safer access to the mill.⁸⁹⁶

HANNES VOGHNER 1620, 1621

Following Mihály Kantha, Hannes Voghner managed St Elizabeth's for just under two years.

His name appears in the sources as János, Hannes Voghner, Vogner, Woghner, Wogner, Wagner, Vagner. In a summary account of one of the almshouses, he was referred to as Hannes Voghner alias Mészáros. This could also mean that his occupation was a butcher. He was a member of the Council of the Centumviri representing the Saxon nation in 1617 and 1623.⁸⁹⁷

Only two summary accounts of János Voghner's work at St Elizabeth's survive. These are sufficient for giving some indication of what was noteworthy and important about his work from the point of view of the city authorities.⁸⁹⁸

There was no significant maintenance work during his short period of management, but in Méra, the hospital bought a piece of forest for 12 florins from Miklós Maczikássy, which could also be considered an investment.⁸⁹⁹ Voghner spent average amounts on vines, grain, mills and real estate. A larger item was the purchase of a millstone worth 7.5 florins, which can otherwise be seen as a consumable of the mill.⁹⁰⁰

Despite this, in the first year there was a good grape harvest, which resulted in a significant amount of wine (10 barrels), but in the second year only half

⁸⁹⁶ *Protocollum Centumvirorum. 1617, p. 281.* „Az ispotály malomnál valo palonak valamennyire valo restauralásat mostan eő kegyelmek committálták az kett utcsinaloknak jeovendeőben penigh derekasképpen annak az palonak megh chinalásat committaltak eő kegyelmek az kétt ispan uramnak.”

⁸⁹⁷ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 294, 301.

⁸⁹⁸ Partial accounts, 1620, 1621.

⁸⁹⁹ Partial accounts, 1621, p. 209.

⁹⁰⁰ Partial accounts, 1620, p. 161.

of that amount was produced. The sale of the wine, the salt cubes accumulated over several years and the surplus wheat provided the almshouse with a substantial income, which gave it solid financial security. He spent part of the money he earned on everyday expenses and had to pay the rest to the city. It seems that he may even have sold more of the produce from the almshouse's farm and its donations than the institution needed. Wine could certainly not be stored for longer periods, but wheat could be stored for years, in stacks, granaries or even in pits, not to mention the blocks of salt, which could have been stored for even longer.

BENEDEK KÉKESI SZABÓ 1622, 1623

In 1622, Benedek Szabó Kékesi succeeded János Voghner in the administration of St Elisabeth's. Very little is known about him from the sources. The inheritance of György Verner's daughter was inventoried in 1615, of which a certified copy was issued by the city notary in 1623. In it, Benedek Szabó appeared as a neighbour of the beneficiary's one and a half acres of vines in Bertfő.⁹⁰¹

In 1617 and 1623, he was one of the most respected citizens of the city, representing the Hungarian nation in the Council of the Centumviri.⁹⁰²

Benedek Szabó received an instruction from the auditors, dated 17 February 1617.⁹⁰³ The document's execution (crossing-outs, insertions, corrections) suggests that it may have been a draft. It summarises the tasks of the almshouse in six points. These were mostly intended to formulate the orders that were missing from the previous instructions. The following orders were recorded in writing:

1. *To keep the fear of God and supplication and discipline among the poor.*
2. *Take personal care of the poor and the almshouse's property.*
3. *Serve a pound of meat three times a week on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.*
4. *See to it that the meat is cooked, see to it that cooking and washing is taken care of and give them wine every Sunday.*
5. *Provide them with underwear and distribute to them what the almshouse possesses.*
6. *In addition to these, in genere, everything should be taken care of."*

⁹⁰¹ Divisors. p. 128.

⁹⁰² Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 294, 301.

⁹⁰³ RNA, Fasc. IV, No. 143.

In spite of all these requirements, only a very small proportion of the accounts addressed the expectations.

One can analyse two summary and one detailed account of his short, two-year management.⁹⁰⁴ The almshouse's livestock farming was completely sidelined for over a decade; they were no longer hiring shepherds or swineherds, nor registering any income from cheese or wool. The focus was increasingly shifting to viticulture and cereal production.

Under the tenure of Benedek Szabó, 11 acres of vineyards were cultivated. The detailed account of 1623 began with an important note on the costs of vine cultivation, leaving aside all other antecedents, which is quite unusual. A year earlier, a significant amount, 204 florins, was spent on vine cultivation.⁹⁰⁵ In 1623, he spent a hundred florins less and yet the auditors were constantly making disgruntled remarks about the expenses paid. All the work related to the viticulture of the time was carried out that year. As before, they certainly did a thorough job. Special care was also taken to loosen the soil. They made the most of the harvest by also using the wine lees left over after the first wine. That year, 23 barrels of wine were produced and added to the almshouse's inventory.⁹⁰⁶

Under Benedek Szabó's management, more than enough wine was produced, thanks to a good grape harvest. At that time, wine was already one of the major sources of income for the almshouse. In 1622, only 134 florins worth of wine was sold⁹⁰⁷, while a year later, a total of 447 florins was earned from the sale of old and new wine⁹⁰⁸. That year, wine also appeared on the customs list of exported goods, unlike in other years. It was not only the wine produced in its own vineyards that brought income to the almshouse; in 1623, the cellar rent collected from the citizens brought in nearly 10 florins as well.⁹⁰⁹

In addition to the grapes, there were problems with the wheat crop. In this region, the price of wheat was quite low at 8 to 10 denars per bushel, while elsewhere the crops were scarce. Thus, several people from the city exported wheat, where they received several times the price. On several occasions, a resulting customs duty was recorded in the thirtieth tax register.⁹¹⁰ In light of this, the dissatisfaction of the auditors is understandable when they criticised him for selling the wheat cheaply and thus damaging the institution's income.

⁹⁰⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 206-233; 1622, pp. 261-265; 1623, pp. 309-313.

⁹⁰⁵ Partial accounts, 1622, 22/I. p. 264.

⁹⁰⁶ Partial accounts, 1622, 22/I. p. 263.

⁹⁰⁷ Partial accounts, 1622, 22/I. p. 233-280.

⁹⁰⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1623, p. 312.

⁹⁰⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 229.

⁹¹⁰ Papp, p. 343, 344, 345.

While on the one hand, the people of Kolozsvár had a good agricultural year, on the other hand, the city was afflicted by plague. The epidemic started in August 1622. According to the records of Bálint Segesvári, there were days in December when more than 125 people died in the city.⁹¹¹ Many prominent burghers and church vergers fell victim to the disease, but there is no mention of it in the almshouse's records, neither in the detailed nor in the two summary accounts. Perhaps the 25 florin testamentary donation left to the almshouse by Mihály Balog's son was related to the epidemic ravaging the city.⁹¹²

The almshouse wardens also became increasingly skilled in the use of salt donations. They became aware that they had their salt donation, but in order to use their salt blocks in time, they had to have them cut into blocks and in order to do this when it was useful for the almshouse, they had to attract the interest of the salt chamber, the salt accountant and the salt inspector as well. In order to cut the salt, the almshouse warden gave each of them a knife as a gift.⁹¹³ In the first year, the almshouse made 124 florins from salt⁹¹⁴, while a year later it earned nearly 60 florins from the sale of 660 pieces of rock salt⁹¹⁵.

Apart from some smaller or larger repairs, no essential maintenance work was carried out. The warden had an oven built in the mill, which cost over one florin and was considered expensive by the auditors.⁹¹⁶ He had locks repaired on the doors of the almshouse, the farmhouse and the cellar and also bought locks for them.⁹¹⁷ The barn next to the almshouse was roofed again.⁹¹⁸ A bigger and more interesting purchase of this almshouse warden was the sledge belonging to the mill.⁹¹⁹

An occurrence relevant to the history of the almshouse was an earlier investment project finished under Benedek Kékesi Szabó. The accounts of his predecessor show that in 1621, he paid Miklós Maczkássy 12 florins for a forest section in Méra. This transaction continued during his time, but now, thanks to the detailed accounts, it is clear that the almshouse warden was assisted by two persons representing the city, one of whom was his predecessor, János Voghner, and the other István Rosás. The purchase of the forest in 1623 was the result of several rounds of negotiations, until finally, on 9 August, the forest was bought for the almshouse for 32 florins.⁹²⁰ It is known from

⁹¹¹ Kolozsvári emlékirók, p. 154.

⁹¹² Partial accounts, 1623, p. 312.

⁹¹³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 219.

⁹¹⁴ Partial accounts, 1622, p. 164.

⁹¹⁵ Partial accounts, 1623, p. 312.

⁹¹⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 218.

⁹¹⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 219.

⁹¹⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 219.

⁹¹⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 218.

⁹²⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 219.

other sources that it was an acorn forest on the border between Szentpál and Andrásháza.⁹²¹ As detailed as Benedek Szabó Kékesi's account is, it does not mention this forest purchase, nor does the summary account mention the transaction.

In his second year of management, Benedek Szabó Kékesi carried out four of the city senators' instructions. First, he granted half a bushel of wheat, a bucket of wine and 32 denars for the wedding of a serf in Méra. On the same day, he paid 3.35 florins to a person living in Nádas under the same instructions. Later, he paid another serf the same amount of wheat, wine and money. He gave a woman 20 florins, carrying out an order with an unknown justification and was questioned about it by the auditors, to whom he must have given a verbal answer because there is no written record of the justification.⁹²²

In the same year, the serfs of the almshouse in Méra made a petition to the auditors to waive their taxes in 1623, as they want to build their church and use the money for that purpose. In 1623, the auditors decided to grant his request on the condition that, if the church was completed by Pentecost of the following year, the payment would be waived, but if they did not complete the work, they would have to pay the amount without delay and without any concession.⁹²³ However, this must have been too big a task for the serfs of Méra and they could not fulfil the conditions, because in the summary accounts of 1623 and 1624 the tax of the serfs is included in the revenues.⁹²⁴

Benedek Kékesi Szabó's tenure was centred around the cultivation of grapes, wine, cereals and salt and, seeing that the almshouse had sufficient income, he spent more money on the cultivation of the land.

PÉTER SZŐCS WERNER, 1624, 1626, 1628

Péter Werner Szőcs took office on 27 January 1624 to administer the property of St Elisabeth's and on 31 January 1627 handed it over to his successor, István Géczi.⁹²⁵

His name appears in various sources as Pitter Werner, Verner, Zeots, Zech, Szőchy, Zechj, Zeochy, Szeochy Péter.

Péter Werner was a long-lived burgher of the city, who enjoyed public esteem, as he was a member of the Council of the Centumviri from 1617, in

⁹²¹ Catholic Archives. St Elisabeth's almshouse fond, Fasc. A, no. 97.

⁹²² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 223.

⁹²³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 232.

⁹²⁴ Partial accounts, 1623, p. 312; 1624, p. 354.

⁹²⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 233, 306.

1623, 1647 and even 1659, on behalf of the Saxon nation.⁹²⁶ He was registered as a citizen of the city on 10 August 1600.⁹²⁷ His prolonged advisory role suggests that he may have been a member of the great council from a young age. He was mentioned as a director in 1623, when a bequest of silver left to the city was made over to him and his fellow director.⁹²⁸ The city entrusted him with the supervision of grinding gunpowder for many years, from 1612 to 1622 and later from 1652 to 1660.⁹²⁹ In 1620, another inheritance transaction mentioned him as a neighbour of the field above the Asszupatak vineyard.⁹³⁰

Two annual detailed financial accounts (1624, 1626), a detailed account of his four years of tenure as an almshouse warden, in which he reported on expenses that were missing from the previous detailed accounts (1628) and a summary account for each year (1624, 1625, 1626, 1627) have survived.⁹³¹ The effect of the instruction of 1623, written during his predecessor's tenure, is quite nicely reflected in the detailed accounts of Péter Verner. In these, the amount of meat, bread and wine given to the poor was also recorded by the almshouse warden.

Viniculture and wine occupied a prominent place in this management cycle. The increased vineyard costs noted by his predecessors showed no signs of decreasing, despite the dissatisfaction of the auditors. Initially, the hospital continued to cultivate their 11 acres of vines, with an annual expenditure of around two hundred florins.⁹³² During the second half of Verner's tenure, only 10 acres would be cultivated, which would reduce costs accordingly.⁹³³ St Elizabeth's income from wine was also considerably high in this period: 235.62 florins in 1624⁹³⁴, 446.18 florins in 1625⁹³⁵, 391.62 florins in 1626,⁹³⁶ 334.81 florins in 1627.⁹³⁷ In the case of viniculture, the crop naturally varied depending on weather factors and the quality of cultivation. The retail sale of the wine can also be seen as an integral part of viticulture. These data are

⁹²⁶ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 294, 301, 303, 304.

⁹²⁷ De Liber Civitatis. p. 100. Apud Kiss András manuscript: "*Die 10 augusti ad fideiusso-riam cautionem Circumspectorum Nicolai Mark, et Georgy Alczner, honestus iuvenis Petrus Verner iunior Pellifex naione Saxo patricius praestito iuramento gratis uti moris est inscriptus.*"

⁹²⁸ Divisors. p. 156; Partial accounts, 1623, p. 317.

⁹²⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 14a/XI, 14b/VIII-XIII, 15a/IX-XVI.

⁹³⁰ Divisors. p. 99.

⁹³¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 233-309; 1624, pp. 351-355; 1625, pp. 396-401; 1626, pp. 444-449; 1627, pp. 479-485.

⁹³² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 247, (197.24 florins); 1625, (201.16 florins) p. 400.

⁹³³ Partial accounts, 1626, (138.68 florins) pp. 411-460; 1627, (148.95 florins) pp. 461-508.

⁹³⁴ Partial accounts, 1624, p. 354.

⁹³⁵ Partial accounts, 1625, p. 400.

⁹³⁶ Partial accounts, 1626, p. 448.

⁹³⁷ Partial accounts, 1627, p. 483.

also included in the detailed accounts and thus the evolution of wine prices in Kolozsvár and the costs of its retail sale can be tracked.⁹³⁸

If one attempts to compare the income from grape production with that from cereals, one can immediately see that in the latter case there are many more factors to consider. First of all, it should be borne in mind that the cereal income of St Elizabeth's came from several sources. On the one hand, from the toll wheat of the two mills; on the other hand, from the wheat grown in Méra and from the grain harvested on the outskirts of Kolozsvár (Kövespad, Kút, Györgyfalvi Road).⁹³⁹ The cereals from the mills and those obtained as tithe from Méra came in grain form, while those grown on the outskirts of the town were counted in stacks. The hospital threshed out as much grain as it needed from the grain stored in the stacks and sheaves. Wheat was the dominant cereal, while oats also played an important role, but their volume was significantly lower than that of wheat. There was not a big demand for oats on the almshouse's farm either, because there were very few horses. Of all their cereal sources, only the cultivation of the fields in Kolozsvár, which were under their own cultivation, had to be managed.

The salt revenue, the house, the store and the cellar rent remained a constant source of income for the almshouse during Péter Verner's tenure and contributed to creating a secure financial background for the institution. According to the balance sheets in the account books, St Elizabeth's consistently generated a surplus exceeding its expenditures thanks to its assets and salt revenue.

Péter Verner proved to be a prudent administrator, constantly monitoring and maintaining the institution's income-generating assets and properties. He also had the mills of the almshouse revived to make them run even more efficiently. In 1624, for example, the mill in Méra was completely rebuilt. The walls, the shingle roof, the ironwork of the mill, the mill wheels and the stone were replaced and a considerable sum of money was paid for all this, almost one hundred florins.⁹⁴⁰ In 1626, more than 24 florins were spent on the mill in Kolozsvár. This money was used to replace the ironwork and the stones of the mill structure and to restore the dam, the sluice, the wheels and the mill house.⁹⁴¹

He had the fence, the lock and the barn repaired on the almshouse's farm, had an oven built in the house on the main square, had a window frame made, had animal horn in the windows replaced, had the attic boarded and plastered and had the shingles of the roof repaired.⁹⁴² In the almshouse, he had a brick

⁹³⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 269-270.

⁹³⁹ Partial accounts, 1626, p. 444.

⁹⁴⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 264-265.

⁹⁴¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 293-294.

⁹⁴² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 297-298.

oven built, a room painted, windows repaired, a grate installed on the cellar and locks put on the fence and the gate.⁹⁴³

All this work paints a picture of a hard-working and responsible manager who took care of the assets entrusted to him. The financial background of the almshouse allowed for the continuous maintenance of its assets and even with such a large amount of construction and repair work, there was still enough income left over.

Under these circumstances, as seen in the account books, the city also entrusted him with an increasing number of assignments. Thus, by the will of the council, lime-burning was also supported at the Méra estate, for in May and June of 1626, wheat, wine and money were ordered for the lime-burners.⁹⁴⁴ At other times, one-off, occasional commissions or orders were also made. In some cases, wheat and wine are included in the accounts prepared for the city for treating the Prince⁹⁴⁵; in others, goods were ordered to be paid on the occasion of the marriage of serfs in Méra⁹⁴⁶.

In Méra, problems arose with the Zentpalj family over the use of the outskirts, to the extent that the matter was taken to court. Expenditure for dealing with it was recorded over several years.⁹⁴⁷

It can be concluded from the accounts of Péter Verner that he liked to do everything in style. When, for example, he was inducted into his office, he treated the auditors to pike, veal, doughnuts and various other delicacies.⁹⁴⁸ In 1628, when he transferred his office, he also took care of the organisation of the banquet, at a cost of 35 florins, and had geese, deer, veal, fish and strudel prepared.⁹⁴⁹

ISTVÁN GETZI, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633

István Géczi took over the administration of St Elisabeth's from Péter Verner in the presence of his predecessor at the end of January 1628 and looked after the institution's assets until his death in 1633.

Very little is known about István Getzi's life. It is not known, for example, what other tasks he had previously carried out. His name is only found on the list of the Council of the Centumviri of 1623.⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 264.

⁹⁴⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 272-274.

⁹⁴⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 237.

⁹⁴⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 237.

⁹⁴⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 265-266.

⁹⁴⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 239.

⁹⁴⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 307.

⁹⁵⁰ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 302.

His work is known only from aggregate accounts. It is true that there are records of all his years of management, but some are missing pages. His six years of administration were characterised by relative financial security.⁹⁵¹ The revenue came from hides, wheat, salt, the taxes from Méra, rents and leases (árrenda). The proportion and rate of each item varied annually. Sometimes the amounts recorded were higher for wine and sometimes for wheat or salt cubes. The management and accounts of István Getzi did not always bring in as much income as his predecessor's. Due to a lack of resources, the almshouse warden's perspective is not known, so one must settle for the opinion of the auditors. In 1629, the auditors were not satisfied with István Géczi's work, especially his accounts, but it turned out that, during the harvest, while he was busy harvesting the grapes, his own property had suffered great damage, so the discrepancies found in the accounts were resolved and his debt was forgiven.⁹⁵² Eventually, the relationship between the auditors and the almshouse warden seems to have been settled and in 1631 they record that "his service and efforts to date have been gratefully acknowledged by the auditors."⁹⁵³

The city authorities' dissatisfaction may also have been caused by problems connected to the salt cutting, which they tried to solve by confirming the salt donation. In April 1630, the city authorities had the donation of salt confirmed by Catherine of Brandenburg.⁹⁵⁴

During his tenure, St Elizabeth's redeemed the brewery that had been mortgaged to the blacksmiths for 35 florins. It is not known when and under what circumstances this facility of the institution was mortgaged, but it is telling about the solid financial situation of the almshouse that they managed to recover it.⁹⁵⁵ The expansion of the almshouse's assets can also be seen in

⁹⁵¹ Partial accounts, 1628, 22/I, pp. 509-550; 1629, 22/I, pp. 551-594; 1630, 22/I, pp. 643-654.; Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 447-454.

⁹⁵² Partial accounts, 1629, p. 572. „Igy azért noha adossa teszi szamadasa szerient az varast avagy Ispotalyt, de mind az alatal eo kegyelmek Zamveveo Vraim keolthsegeben es egyeb keppen valo szmadasaban fogyatkozasokat es abusosokat tapasztaltanak, ez mellet aztis megh gondolvan jo itelettel, hogy Jozagot es Molnokat birna semmi hasznot be nem ad, tebat azt leszalitvan az mivel az varast adossa teszi Zamveveo Vuraim in Super az abusosoknak defectusokra, az okra nezveis hogy kez penzt percipialna azert el keolt, tuttakeo kegyelmek jo itelettel R.75 mellet varos szamara be kel administtalni eo kegyelmek.

1630 dei 21 Decembris. Ez eztendeoben walaztot Szamveveo Vraim eo kegyelmek ez R. 75 be kérvén Geczi Istvan Vrtol mivel eo kegyelme ez eztendeobelj hasznos szolgalttyat mutatta annak felette az Szegenyek szeolojebe szüretelese mellet ketelnitve lenni, házára gondot nem uiselhetven nagy kart vallot, es ez mellet instalvan hogy eo kegyelmek ezekre méltó tekintete lenne. Eo kegyelmek mind hasznos Szolgalttyat, mind penigh nagy Kárvallasat Szemek eleiben veven condonaltak gratiose azt R. 75 es absolváltak annak fizetseol. Ex commisione D. Exactorum Rationum.”

⁹⁵³ Partial accounts, 1631, p. 663. („eddig való Zolgalattyat es forgolodasat eo kegyelmek Zamveveo Vraim keoszeonettel veottek”)

⁹⁵⁴ EREL, 1630.04.22. Fasc. VI. 2.

⁹⁵⁵ Partial accounts, 1630, p. 613.

other directions. He attempted to preserve the viability of their farming by increasing the number of serfs in Méra. In 1628, he bought a serf for four florins and a house for two florins for another serf, both in Méra.⁹⁵⁶

His activities in the last year of his life were not accounted for by himself, but by his widow; it is possible that his death was caused by the plague, which returned between 1633 and 1634.⁹⁵⁷

ANDREAS TEÜFFWL 1634, 1635, 1636

Andreas Teüffwl took over the administration of the life and property of St Elisabeth's from the deceased almshouse warden or more precisely from his widow.

His name appears in the contemporary documents as Endres Tewfel, Tefwel, Andrea Teüffwel, Tewffer, Teüffel, Tewffel, Eordog, Eördögh, Eördeogh. Luckily, the Hungarian version of his name is also written in brackets in one of the accounts of the prince's visit.⁹⁵⁸

Andreas Teüffwl became a member of the tailor's guild in 1612 and lived in the *Vetus intra* part of Kolozsvár. He paid one *dika* in taxes to the local budget in 1639 and 1649, which suggests that he was a wealthy citizen.⁹⁵⁹ Previously, the city council had given him the duties of mill supervisor (*malombíró*) and lord lieutenant (*ispán*). In 1626 and 1627, he was simultaneously a lord lieutenant and the administrator of the mill in Alparét.⁹⁶⁰ In 1627, András Eördeogh was mentioned as a neighbour of Mrs Tamás Wicey's inheritance, as he was the only neighbour of the garden farm, which was bounded on the other side by the defile.⁹⁶¹

Unfortunately, only three partial accounts of his activities are extant⁹⁶². These provide only the city's perspective and it is not possible to compare them with Teüffwl's own accounts.

Under the leadership of Andreas Teüffwl, the management and life of St Elisabeth's continued to be based on the solid foundations on which its predecessors had also built. Thus, the revenues from wine, wheat, salt, the toll from the operation of the mills and the various rents remained the main sources of economic activity.

⁹⁵⁶ Catholic Archives, Fasc. A, no. 45., 1628, p. 525.

⁹⁵⁷ Gaal György. *Kolozsvár a századok sodrában...*, p. 33.

⁹⁵⁸ It must have been György Rákóczy I.

⁹⁵⁹ Jeney-Tóth Annamária. *Míves...*, p. 60.

⁹⁶⁰ Partial accounts, 1626, p. 429, 431; 1627, p. 486, 497.

⁹⁶¹ Divisors. p. 193.

⁹⁶² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 455-465.

The difference was brought about by the repossession of the brewery under István Géczi, in which, under Teüffwl's management, an attempt was made to establish another source of income for the upper almshouse. He invested heavily in order to achieve this, buying vats, barrels, a cauldron, tubs and pails, renovating the brewhouse itself and buying grain suitable for brewing, spending a total of almost two hundred florins.⁹⁶³ Although these large investments paid off for the treasury of the almshouse – because 220 florins of income from the sale of beer was recorded already that year⁹⁶⁴ – the later accounts are silent about the fact that the almshouse would have had further income from beer. The inventories also occasionally mentioned mead, but the beer they brewed was not sold or at least there is no trace of it.⁹⁶⁵ Therefore, the drink produced at the brewery of the almshouse was probably put to their own exclusive use.

Andreas Teüffwl was entrusted with other tasks following the administration of St Elizabeth's home for the aged. In 1637 and 1638, he was the organiser, on the city's behalf, of the post, the envoys' receptions and the prince's visits.⁹⁶⁶ In 1643, his name was recorded among the senators and sworn citizens of the city of Kolozsvár.⁹⁶⁷

ISTVÁN VÁSÁRHELYI SZABÓ, 1637, 1638, 1643

According to contemporary sources, András Eördögh was succeeded by István Szabó Vásárhelyi in the management of the upper almshouse, but unfortunately the exact date of the transfer of office is not known. It is also questionable when his tenure ended. Unfortunately, there is no data for 1639, so it is possible that he continued to carry out the task entrusted to him until 1640, but also that his successor was managing the institution in 1639. Since there is no information about the manager from 1639, it could have been István Szabó, or his successor, Andrea Kirschner.

For the period between 1637 and 1645, the sources of the state archives of Kolozsvár and the church archives are quite incomplete, so it is more difficult to reconstruct the events of this period. This lack of sources is difficult to explain. Surely the accounts were prepared in the same way as before, but they may have been lost somewhere or preserved in a place where one would not think to look for them. Thus, these stories can certainly be added to and expanded in the future.

⁹⁶³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 458.

⁹⁶⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 458.

⁹⁶⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 467.

⁹⁶⁶ Partial accounts, 1627/21b, III, p. 1-206; 1638/22, I.

⁹⁶⁷ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 285.

István Vásárhelyi Szabó is found on the list of the Council of the Centumviri in 1647, but was certainly a member of this esteemed council of Kolozsvár even before that.⁹⁶⁸ His name appears a few times in various documents, such as in 1632, when he made two trade journeys, one to Eperjes in June and one to Várad in December.⁹⁶⁹ From 1635, his name appeared several times in inheritance matters related to Kolozsvár.⁹⁷⁰ These transactions concerned the estates of noble families.

Even in researching his work at St Elisabeth's, one can only rely on aggregate figures, which makes it extremely difficult to conduct a closer analysis of how he carried out his duties. In fact, there is only one evaluative summary account of István Vásárhelyi Szabó's work as an almshouse warden. It relates to 1637, as instead of the 1638 account of St Elisabeth's, the notary wrote that he could not find it, despite the fact that the other almshouse's account was available.⁹⁷¹ If there had been a major change at the head of the almshouse, the city administration, and thus the notary, would surely have known about it, so one can assume that it was only negligence that prevented the detailed accounts from reaching him, both then and later.

The only summary account that has been found reveals that the almshouse warden followed the usual path of asset management. He found viticulture, the grain revenue and rental opportunities important and took care of feeding the poor, but paid no attention to and did not spend any money on salt cutting and received substantial sums of money from at least three people as bequests to the almshouse.⁹⁷² During his tenure, major repair, maintenance and renovation work was carried out on both the mills and the almshouse. One can only regret that the detailed accounts, in which he must have meticulously recorded these works and the associated costs, have not yet been found. Thus, all one can learn is that he spent over 48 florins on the mill in Kolozsvár and nearly 28 florins on the one in Méra and that he also ordered a millstone, which he paid for with wheat.⁹⁷³

It is quite rare to find any mention of major repairs to the almshouse in the documents. Now, however, under István Szabó Vásárhelyi, over 135 florins were spent on the outer almshouse.⁹⁷⁴ This is only the amount of money paid for this purpose, but fortunately the summary accounts also reveal that not only money but also grain was spent to supplement the remuneration of the craftsmen. The same source reveals that several masons worked on the house

⁹⁶⁸ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 303.

⁹⁶⁹ Pap. p. 407, 416.

⁹⁷⁰ Divisors. p. 276, 277, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 373, 382, 383.

⁹⁷¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 468.

⁹⁷² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 466-467.

⁹⁷³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 465, 467.

⁹⁷⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 467.

and that they received eight bushels of wheat for their work.⁹⁷⁵ There were also carpenters working on the almshouse, as they were also paid in wheat according to the accounts.⁹⁷⁶ Even if these had been the only improvements he had made, he would still have earned a prominent place in the history of the institution, also compared to the other almshouse wardens.

Thanks to his care, the poor living in the almshouse were also provided with food. The summary accounts drawn up by auditors and notaries show that he also bought peas and spent more than 40 florins for this purpose. The almshouse also had servants who looked after the residents.⁹⁷⁷ Thus, István Vásárhelyi Szabó completely fulfilled all three of his duties as an almshouse warden according to the instructions. His account is the last to provide information on the residents' food.

ANDREAS KIRSCHNER 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643

The first information on Andreas Kirschner's tenure is found in the 1718 list of data on the administration of the salt donation, which was compiled from information taken from the Kolozsvár accounts and which states that in 1640, he was the almshouse warden at the head of St Elisabeth's.⁹⁷⁸

Subsequently, a complementary *regestrum* attests to his activities at the head of the almshouse between 10 December 1642 and 18 February 1643. The wording of these accounts ("last year's ration submitted, left over from last year's ration") suggests that he was also responsible for this task in the previous year.⁹⁷⁹

On the basis of these, it appears that Andreas Kirschner was in charge of administering the almshouse in 1640, 1641, and 1642 until 18 February 1643. Strangely, and perhaps uniquely for St Elizabeth's, István Szabó Vásárhelyi took over the almshouse's administration from him for a year. It is possible that the interests of the city demanded that he also be entrusted with the office of stewardship (*sáfárpolgárság*), and that these two roles together became quite burdensome, which is why Vásárhelyi returned to the head of the almshouse. However, it is also conceivable that he did not provide for the poor as instructed.

His name appeared in several forms in the sources: Andreas, Endres, Endresz, Kirschner, Kyrchner.

⁹⁷⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 465.

⁹⁷⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 466.

⁹⁷⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 467.

⁹⁷⁸ Minutes of an almshouse inspection, 1718/48/XXXI.

⁹⁷⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 309.

Andreas Kirschner, a well-respected citizen of Kolozsvár, is listed in the 1623 register of the Council of the Centumviri.⁹⁸⁰ The sources indicate that the town council entrusted him with various tasks. In 1631, for instance, he was both a lord lieutenant and a mill supervisor.⁹⁸¹ These assignments occurred not only before his tenure as almshouse warden, but also afterwards, when he was entrusted with the administration of inheritance matters requiring experience. In 1643, after his tenure as an almshouse warden, he managed the property of Kolozsvár as one of the city's stewards.⁹⁸² The name of Endreas Kyrchner is mentioned in the later records of succession matters on 8 February 1651.⁹⁸³

His activity could be examined on the basis of a nine-week drawer regestrum, but it is difficult to evaluate, as it focuses on this short period of management and presents the missing accounts. The accounts do not include data on food provided to the poor and the expenditures show that the poor were given sufficient money for a week's food instead. Each of them received 12 denars for one week.⁹⁸⁴ It is during his tenure, therefore, that the essential change took place, when the feeding of the poor was replaced by the weekly allowance paid to them, a practice which was subsequently perpetuated.

This account is important rather because it explains the second, short tenure of István Vásárhelyi Szabó, who succeeded András Kirschner.⁹⁸⁵

ISTVÁN VÁSÁRHELYI SZABÓ 1643, SECOND TENURE

No accounts of his activities, spanning about a year, have survived, but his period of management coincided with the city's decision to survey all the property of the almshouse and to make an inventory and urbarium of the Méra estate, which has fortunately been preserved.

The inventory took place on 6 February 1643, in the presence of the auditors named.⁹⁸⁶ Of the six auditors, Mihály Nyíró and Tummes Lang

⁹⁸⁰ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 302.

⁹⁸¹ Partial accounts, 1631, p. 664, 674.

⁹⁸² Partial accounts, 1643/24/IV, pp. 61-316.

⁹⁸³ Divisors. p. 333.

⁹⁸⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 310.

⁹⁸⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 310. „számadásom után az meddig a Becsületes Város helyet-tem más ispotálymestert introducált volna;” „Vasarhelyi sucesor Szabo Istvan uramnak tempore introductiones et inventationes”.

⁹⁸⁶ RNA.Fasc. IV, no. 149.

„Die 6 Febr(uarie), 1643 In nomine Domini Anno 1643

Az Szent Erzsébet nevere fundaltatt Colosvari Ispotaly/nak es abban elwo Szegenyeknek minden javoknak ugy/ mint külseo eoreokeos es Zalagos Jozzagoknak, es a varas/hataran leveo külseo belseo eoreokegeknak es ahoz walo igassagoknak s egyeb jussoknak es illedeo/kenséegeknak es ingho marha-

introduced Vásárhelyi to the institution's property and justified their intention to take inventory and make a survey by the "neglect of the assets".⁹⁸⁷

Either the great momentum was lost or the inventory did not survive, as only the census of the serfs and their property in Méra survives from this initiative. In this document, the perpetual serfs of Méra are listed by name and with the number of their animals.

Even so, this partial inventory is a very useful source, because it provides information about the size and strength of the Méra portion and the size of the serf community from which St Elisabeth's received annual tithe and tax. 54 serf plots are named, together with the serfs who lived, or had once lived, on them, but 14 of these plots were standing empty at the time of the inventory. The decline of the Méra estate was well seen by the prudent predecessors of the almshouse warden, as they bought, brought and settled more and more serfs in order to preserve it as a good source of income.

ISTVÁN LUTSCH 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647

István Lutsch's tenure started in 1644. After four years of work, he handed the office over to János Kovács. His name appears in several forms in contemporary sources: Stephen, Stephn, István, Luttchy, Stephani Luczh, Lutsch.

He was one of the wealthier citizens of Kolozsvár, as he paid a tax higher than one dika and is mentioned among the tailors.⁹⁸⁸ In 1647, he was listed as a member of the Assembly of the Centumviri.⁹⁸⁹ The city had great confidence in him, so he was given various tasks. Between 1634 and 1637, he was entrusted with the supervision of grinding gunpowder⁹⁹⁰ and in 1634, he was also the one who recorded the revenues of the quartás.⁹⁹¹ After running the almshouse

joknakis Inventariu/ma es Urbariuma. Mely iratot az / Coloswari Beoczületes Szamveveo uraknak hagyásá/bol, kik voltanak az mevezett Urm.

Lôrenz Filstich	Jo Mihály Deak
Stephen Puelacher	Nyireo Mihály
Tummes Láng	Szabó István és
Gerg Nechel	Szakál Andras"

⁹⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, „mivel az eleot walo wdeokban az sok weszedelemnek mia az szegenyeknek Josza/gok es egyeb javokis pusztulwan, de imma/ Istennek kegyelmességbol az nehln wdeokban/ ismet gyarapodot es epült. Annak okaert Zam/ veveo Uraim eo KeGYELmek az regy jo szokást akarwan /keovetni es restauralni azon Ispotlyhoz tartozo/ minden es mindneütt walo ingo és ingatlan jokrol ui es/ derekas Inventariumot akarván jeovendeo poldara in/ pitualni, mind azonak rendi igr keowtkezik.”

⁹⁸⁸ Jeny-Tóth Annamária. *Míves...*, p. 60.

⁹⁸⁹ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 303.

⁹⁹⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 22/I, p. 721-936.

⁹⁹¹ 1634, DOMINORUM QUARTAQ ARENDATAE PROVENITUM Stephani Luczh, 19, XIII, p. 813-820.

in 1652, he recorded accounts for the city as dispensator.⁹⁹² Two years later, he was listed among the property settlement judges (divizors), as a municipal commissioner for matters of inheritance⁹⁹³ and in 1655, he was mentioned among the sworn citizens and senators of the city of Kolozsvár⁹⁹⁴.

A settlement certificate dated 1637 mentions that István Lutsch had a farm in Hidelve and that the neighbouring farm was valued at 60 florins.⁹⁹⁵

Three summaries (1644, 1645, 1647) and two detailed accounts (1646, 1647) of his work in St Elisabeth's remain.⁹⁹⁶ This wealth of sources is a luxury after a period of poor records, as it allows one to see the life of the almshouse's manager from multiple perspectives, as well as to learn about and evaluate the work in the almshouse from the point of view of the almshouse warden, the auditors and the city administration.

One of the accounts includes an interesting addendum, in which he described a rather unusual situation, namely that when the auditors visited him, he was not at home and therefore they could not really settle the accounts.⁹⁹⁷ The reason why this information seems strange is that in the case of his predecessors, not only did this not happen, but there were great preparations, lunch meetings and dinners associated with such occasions.

The first striking difference compared to István Szabó Vásárhelyi's first tenure, for example, is that the feeding of the poor had completely changed. Now they no longer cooked for the poor in the almshouse but granted them a weekly allowance instead, the so-called praebenda. Whereas previously the almshouse used to provide them with cooked food, bread, and wine, it no longer had any employees hired for cooking. Now the poor received a praebenda, which was 12 denars per person per week (which included the poor's wine allowance), plus a weekly ration of one bread per person.⁹⁹⁸

The size of the bread in the praebenda is not known, but on the whole, the almshouse provided a meagre provision for the poor, as reflected in the accounts. When cooked food was provided by the almshouse, significantly less money was spent on feeding the poor, as much of the processed food was provided by the almshouse's farm. Even if the female cook's salary was included in the expenditure, it was still less than the total expenditure of the praebenda. Under these circumstances, one may legitimately ask why they switched to such a convenient, but expensive and poor way of feeding the poor.

⁹⁹² Registers of St Elisabeth. 1652, Dispensator representing the Saxon nation, Stephan Lutsch, 28a III, VI.

⁹⁹³ Divisors. p. 338.

⁹⁹⁴ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 285.

⁹⁹⁵ Divisors. p. 291.

⁹⁹⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 311-350, pp. 469-477.

⁹⁹⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1646, p. 317.

⁹⁹⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 343-345.

If one considers only István Lutsch's tenure, the cost of the food supply was as follows: 80.40 florins in 1644⁹⁹⁹, 77.76 florins in 1645¹⁰⁰⁰, 84.72 florins in 1646¹⁰⁰¹, 75.84 florins in 1647¹⁰⁰². In contrast, István Szabó Vásárhelyi spent 42.43 florins on food in 1637¹⁰⁰³, the highest in the period when the feeding of the residents was organised by the almshouse, from shopping and cooking to serving. Obviously, these costs also varied according to the number of beneficiaries, but the average number of residents in the two periods under consideration was ten.

Clothing for the poor rarely appears in the accounts because they mostly wore second-hand and inherited clothes, so they usually only spent money on repairing them or possibly on footwear. In the years for which only summary accounts exist, one cannot be specific about the exact amount spent on this because it was discussed along with other expenses, which happened to be the funeral expenses of the inmates. These costs appear less frequently or not at all in earlier accounts, but by the middle of the 17th century, the amount spent on the funeral of each person was recorded with increasing accuracy. During Lutsch's tenure, this was also due to the returning plague.¹⁰⁰⁴ The increasing frequency of testamentary donations is probably also due to this.¹⁰⁰⁵

Regarding István Lutsch's management of the almshouse, it can be said that the almshouse warden found it difficult to maintain a balance, since he had the same economic background as his predecessors and no extraordinary events disturbed the life of the city and yet he spent more than the assets would allow. The vectors of economic activity were the same as usual, with the operation of the mills, the cultivation of vineyards, the renting of property, the maintenance of the Méra estate and the management of the salt donation generating income. There was no loss of livestock, the same amount of vines was cultivated, the salt donation was received and yet the income was still lower than before, despite the fact that there were hardly any paid servants in the almshouse. Instead of the previous four or five persons, there was just one servant to bake bread for the poor in the almshouse in Kolozsvár; in Méra, there was also a single woman employed to take care of things around the house.¹⁰⁰⁶

⁹⁹⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 471.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 474.

¹⁰⁰¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 476, 331.

¹⁰⁰² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 348.

¹⁰⁰³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 467.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Gaal György. *Kolozsvár a századok sodrában...*, p. 34.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1644, p. 470, 2 florins; 1645, p. 473, 22 florins and 50 denars, p. 315; 1646, Felten Brayer, the midwife, Gergely Hidelvi Beel, Farkas Deák, Daneil Hodos, György Molnár, 10 florins in total.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 327. „Az szegények számára, mivel minden héten kenyeret kell sütni és szorgalmatos gondot reájok viselni, ab antiqio observáltott, hogy az ispotálymesterek

In the management of the almshouse, accounts show that the almshouse warden often used the labour of the serfs of the institution. This could even mean that for certain jobs, he could have used fewer day labourers and therefore could have had lower costs. The serfs were called on to plough, harrow, harvest, carry wheat, reap, to carry hay, wood, branche, and clay, to plaster, burn lime, harvest, work at the mill, build bridges and barricades.¹⁰⁰⁷

The scale and orientation of the expenditure shows that particular attention was paid to wine production¹⁰⁰⁸. The accounts also reflect the attention paid to the various phases of viticulture. However, the revenue from this did not appear to be outstanding.¹⁰⁰⁹

He also took care of the mills, made the necessary repairs and replaced the millstones. The grain toll from the mills remained at the usual, but fluctuating, level.¹⁰¹⁰ Obviously the income from this source also depended on the weather and the grain crop. When milling was continuous and storms, floods and frosts did not cause damage, this was reflected in the amount of the toll wheat received.

Of the other movable and immovable property, repairs were made to the outer almshouse. Six of the serfs of the almshouse spent several days plastering and carried two carts of materials¹⁰¹¹, all this after he had spent more than 15 florins on the construction of external and internal houses in the previous year, according to the accounts¹⁰¹².

Overall, it can be concluded that István Lutsch's management of the assets of the almshouse did not reach its full potential, but it did generate the resources necessary to maintain it even when a negative financial balance was generated, since at all times the institution's inventory contained reserves which could be turned into cash that allowed it to maintain the financial balance and economic strength of St Elisabeth's.

tartottanak ő számokra egy szolgálot szabad fizetésen. Mostan is azt megrögzött szép és jó rendtartást és usust observálván én is fizettem egy szolgálonak. Fr. 12."

¹⁰⁰⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 312, 322-323, 341-342, 469.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1644, p. 198, 69; 1645, p. 244, 11; 1646, p. 237, 51; 1647, p. 254, 53; p. 330, p. 348, p. 471, p. 473, p. 476.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1645, p. 473, 298, 49 florins; 1645, p. 330, 159,22 florins; 1647, p. 476, 206,02 florins.

¹⁰¹⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1644, 30 florins on the two mills, p. 471, 81 köböl of income from the two mills, p. 469; 1645, 27 florins on the two mills, p. 473, 82 köböl from the two mills, p. 472; 1646, p. 330, 9.23 florins on the two mills, 130 köböl toll from the two mills, p. 329; 1647, 34 florins on the two mills, p. 476, 88 köböl from the two mills, p. 475.

¹⁰¹¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1646, p. 325.

¹⁰¹² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, 1645, p. 474.

JÁNOS KOVÁCSI 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654,

János Kovácsi was elected almshouse warden of the upper almshouse on behalf of the Hungarian nation at the council meeting held on 11 January 1648 and was inaugurated on 1 February.¹⁰¹³ His name appears as Kovaczi, Kouachi, Kovácsi, Kovács in various sources.

These sources mention two persons named János Kovácsi in 17th-century Kolozsvár, one with the prefix “kolozsvári”, who died sometime in 1603. The other one (our almshouse warden), who was known as a clerk¹⁰¹⁴, was mentioned in the sources from 1622 and died sometime in 1675¹⁰¹⁵. He was also involved in trade, according to the thirtieth tax registers, mostly in Poland (1622, 1630, 1633), then in Vienna in 1635 and 1636, driving out fattened cattle, sometimes on behalf of Ferenc Bethlen and sometimes for himself.¹⁰¹⁶ In 1637, János Kovácsi redeemed a vineyard in Fenes – probably because business was good – and it is possible that he mortgaged it for the sake of the cattle business. These lucrative businesses established and consolidated the family’s financial background. It is probably also thanks to this that, as an important citizen of Kolozsvár, he was a member of the Assembly of the Centumviri in 1647.¹⁰¹⁷ His name appeared in a property settlement in 1638.¹⁰¹⁸

In terms of the availability of sources, the situation is fortunate, as was the case with the previous almshouse warden, because his management can be traced almost all the way through his tenure, due to his detailed accounts. Our analytical work can rely on two summary accounts (1648, 1650)¹⁰¹⁹ and seven detailed accounts (1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1652, 1654) for his eight years¹⁰²⁰. During his tenure at St Elisabeth’s, the city was at peace and no extraordinary events were recorded in the history of Kolozsvár

Analysing his eight years of continuous management, it is striking that the almshouse warden took detailed notes of his activity. The income-generating resources belonging to the almshouse were constantly taken care of by the almshouse warden. He also carried out minor and major maintenance work on the houses of the hospital and adapted the appurtenances of the houses to their tasks.

¹⁰¹³ *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. 1648, p. 24.

¹⁰¹⁴ Pap, p. 124; *Divisors*. p. 59.

¹⁰¹⁵ Pap, p. 321, 384, 124, 447, 494, 503, 528, 521; Gyöngy, 193, 293, 298, 306, 439.

¹⁰¹⁶ Pap, p. 503, 528, 521.

¹⁰¹⁷ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 302.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Divisors*. p. 306.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Accounts of St Elisabeth’s*, pp. 477-481.

¹⁰²⁰ *Accounts of St Elisabeth’s*, pp. 350-416; *Registers of St Elisabeth*. 1651/27/VI/ p. 132; 1652/27/VIII; 1653/IX; 1654/27/XVII.

The detailed accounts of János Kovácsi are very rarely commented on by the auditors. When one does find such reports, they contain no condemnatory remarks, only minor calculation corrections or notations of later repayments. This either means that they were very satisfied with his work, as his long tenure in office may confirm, or that the auditors were more lenient. After analysing the accounts, the former possibility seems more likely.

In addition to taking care of all the movable and immovable elements of the estate that generated income or were related to the organisation of everyday life, János Kovács also carried out works that can be considered outstanding from the point of view of the long-term management of the estate. One of these unusual events was the demolition of an old barn in Kolozsvár and the construction of a completely new one, where the old ironwork was also used, but he had completely new timber brought for it. The serfs also contributed to the purchase of the material and the wood they bought or brought from their own forest was transported to the city. Not only was the barn renovated, but the gate and hedge of the garden behind the barn were also modified, the entrance was cut elsewhere and the fence was rewoven. This major work lasted for a month, during which time a large number of serfs participated, 22 in number¹⁰²¹. Even so, the entire work cost the considerable sum of 150 florins.¹⁰²² Another major, but less costly, rebuilding project was the construction of the passageway next to the house in the main square. This was accompanied by the renovation of the farm buildings in the courtyard of the hospital's downtown property.¹⁰²³

Mihály Kovácsi was not as generous as István Szabó Vásárhelyi. During his long tenure as almshouse warden, there is no record of him entertaining the auditors or other notable personalities and in his detailed accounts, he described such events only very succinctly.¹⁰²⁴

In keeping the mills in good order, not only the machinery but also the habitability of the buildings was a management consideration. During his tenure, repairs had to be conducted in the aftermath of one major weather event only. In the spring of 1649, the floods did great damage to the Szamos, tearing up the dams and even sweeping away the land along the river banks. Under these circumstances, a new dam had to be built quickly in order to restart the mill. To this aim, the serfs were called in several times and skilled

¹⁰²¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 404.

¹⁰²² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 405.

¹⁰²³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 387.

¹⁰²⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1652, p.10. „Az el múlt télen és nyáron költ el bizonyos szükségre, Urunk is két úttal ott evén ebédet vadászása, maga lovainak és az udvariaknak abrakkal gazdálkodván ispánok szolgabíróknak is mikor odajöttek sertés marhákra és ludakra is költ benne cub. 12.”

craftsmen were paid, but even so, the time from May to autumn was spent repeatedly building dams, thus reducing the mill's income.¹⁰²⁵

During his tenure, he had to deal with several supplications. Various special requests were also made at other times, but less frequently and mostly only the decision in response is extant. Here, however, there are several written records of a single case, which may implicitly also attest to the rise of modern literacy. These wishes associated with the almshouse provide a fascinating insight into everyday life there and the relationships between people. One of the requests was made by the city's coachman and related to the fact that he had been renting a room in the hospital's house in the main square and had not paid the rent for some time, which the almshouse warden had repeatedly demanded from him. The coachman, citing his poverty and busyness, appealed to the city council to have his debt forgiven. The city responded by waiving part of the amount to be paid, and this decision was attached by the almshouse warden to his account.¹⁰²⁶

In another case, a supplication was received from a poor free man living in Méra, who had performed the same services as a serf, but had received nothing for his serfdom. Now he committed himself to serfdom and asked for the support he deserved in such a situation, especially because he was also planning to marry. Thus, he would be doubly entitled to a subsidy from his master, on the one hand, because he had made the commitment and the custom of the time was that the newly settled serf was entitled to an initial subsidy; on the other hand, serfs also received some support in the event of marriage. In response to the supplication, the auditors allowed the almshouse warden to give him four florins, eight buckets of wine and two köböl of wheat, with the remark that he should "not bite off more than he can chew and indulge in unreasonable expenses."¹⁰²⁷ Incidentally, several serfs joined the Méra estate during Kovácsi's his tenure.¹⁰²⁸

He represented the interests of the almshouse locally or, if necessary, through envoys. Thus, in 1652, he sent two persons to Radnót to the Prince to resolve the issue of the toll of Bács. The costs of this delegation are reflected in his accounts.¹⁰²⁹

¹⁰²⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 383-384.

¹⁰²⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1651, 19.b.

¹⁰²⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 374-375.

¹⁰²⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 403.

¹⁰²⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1652, p. 40.

ADAM EDENBERGER, 1658, 1659

There is no data on the years 1655, 1656 and 1657 in St Elisabeth's. This is the period between 1655 and 1659, which can be considered a critical one in the history of Transylvania and Kolozsvár. On 3 April 1655, a large part of the city burnt down. Even the churches were damaged. Their bells were melted by the fire and the walls and towers of the town were also damaged.¹⁰³⁰ In 1657, during the Polish campaign, Kolozsvár also contributed a significant sum to the redemption of those taken into captivity.¹⁰³¹ From 10 to 14 September 1658, hostile troops (Turkish, Tatar, Cossack, Romanian) surrounded the city. The inhabitants of the suburbs were tortured and terrorised and spared only in exchange for a thousand talents and a considerable amount of food.¹⁰³² Between 1658 and 1662, following the unsuccessful Polish campaign, the city was besieged and pillaged several times by Turkish and Tatar armies.¹⁰³³

The next almshouse warden for whom data exists was Adam Edenberger. The council minutes of 1659 reveal that the almshouse's administration remained with Adam Edenberger for the following year as well.¹⁰³⁴ This suggests that he was in charge of the administration of the property of St Elisabeth's for at least two years, in 1658 and 1659. Unfortunately, no account of his activities has yet been found. It is even conceivable that he took over this task from János Kocsisi himself, but there is no evidence of this.

It is also known that Adam Edenberger had previously served as a dispensator for the city in 1656.¹⁰³⁵ He is included on the list of the Council of the Centumvirii of 1659, which also noted that he died in September¹⁰³⁶, thus ending his tenure as almshouse warden.

It was during his tenure as almshouse warden that, on 9 February 1659, the donation of salt was confirmed by Ákos Barcsay.¹⁰³⁷ In these difficult times, the income from this donation must have been of paramount importance, as farming and milling activities faced significant difficulties in generating sufficient income. This must have been due to widespread and prolonged uncertainty.

¹⁰³⁰ Gaal György. *Kolozsvár a századok sodrában...*, p. 35.

¹⁰³¹ *ibid.*

¹⁰³² *ibid.*

¹⁰³³ *ibid.*

¹⁰³⁴ *Protocollum Centumvirorum.1659*, p. 161.

¹⁰³⁵ *Registers of St Elisabeth.1656/29/VI.*

¹⁰³⁶ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 305.

¹⁰³⁷ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Bethlen és a szó*, p. 236.

ANDRÁS KAPUSI SZABÓ, 1660, 1661, 1663, 1665

András Szabó Kapusi's tenure as an almshouse master did not occur under the same favourable circumstances as János Kovácsi had the chance to experience. These were dire times for Transylvania and this city on the banks of the river Szamos. Battles, sieges, epidemics and even the loss of the city's cherished freedom turned the world upside down in Kolozsvár, with one ordeal after another, so much so that it is difficult to even list them all. In May 1660, Kolozsvár was saved from the ravages of the besiegers by the negotiations of János Linczigh, the chief justice of the city, but the city was forced to pay considerable tribute and to provide a large amount of food.¹⁰³⁸ The sacrifices made by the city left its citizens in debt and they had to bear this burden for many years.

In September 1661, János Kemény stationed imperial guards in the city, who constantly extorted it. In 1661, there was a plague epidemic in Kolozsvár. From April 1662, the city was attacked sometimes by Mihály Apafy, sometimes by the Turkish armies. In 1664, the German garrison rebelled and defected to Apafy.¹⁰³⁹ The whole urban structure, the administration and the municipality itself had a difficult time. The city lost its autonomy and was no longer headed by the chief justice and a royal judge elected by the city, but by a lieutenant appointed by the central power. When this happened, there was a constant conflict between the municipal administration and the central power and institutions operating according to long-established customs and statutes were in a state of uncertainty. The people of Kolozsvár were constantly trying to defend their freedoms and make a living. Such was the generally difficult environment of András Kapusi Szabó's tenure.

He must have been a wealthy and respected citizen, as he was mentioned as a member of the great council of 1659.¹⁰⁴⁰ In parallel with his work as an almshouse warden, he also acted as a property settlement judge, as evidenced by two records from 1662, one from February and the other from December.¹⁰⁴¹

In August 1660, András Szabó reported that the almshouse had little wheat because the Turks had destroyed it. The Turks also took the ropes from the mill and even broke the oven and the gate.¹⁰⁴² On the judge's orders, he had bread baked and sent to the Turks twice.¹⁰⁴³ András Szabó paid two hundred florins as tribute to the Turks on behalf of the almshouse, on the

¹⁰³⁸ Gaal György. *Kolozsvár a századok sodrában...*, p. 35.

¹⁰³⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴⁰ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 305.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Divisors*, p. 351, 352, 355.

¹⁰⁴² *Registers of St Elisabeth. 1660*, p. 1, 25.

¹⁰⁴³ *Registers of St Elisabeth*, p. 36.

orders of the city authorities.¹⁰⁴⁴ In such troubled times, the economy outside the city walls was under constant threat, so the income dried up at every level. There was, however, one source of income that increased due to the danger in the area: the cellar rent paid for the wine barrels kept in the cellar of the hospital's house in the main square.

His six years of hospital management were spent with reducing damages and the struggle to survive. But the city and its auditors did not and could not expect more from him. He did not live to see the handover of his office, as his death left the task of drawing up the final accounts to his widow.¹⁰⁴⁵ It seems from his calculations that all revenues counted for a lot. Half of the wheat he received was used to bake 66 köböl of bread, of which he had 1,078 loaves made for the hospital and its poor residents.¹⁰⁴⁶ In 1662, he spent 125 florins on the poor's weekly allowance.¹⁰⁴⁷ At that time, he still had 260 acres and 22 köböl of wheat and 437 buckets of wine in barrels. He was still expecting the payments for the wine stored in the cellar, the tax for the Méra estate from the previous year, two years' worth of salt donations, the rent of the store, 20 baskets of bees, 10 pigs, two barren cows, two milk cows and two steers, the skin of a dead old cow and wheat sown on the outskirts of Méra. However, he could not count on any fowl or even hay for the institution as the German army had previously squandered it.¹⁰⁴⁸

It became more and more difficult to feed the poor. Due to the low income, in 1663, the poor received only bread from the almshouse, which could not afford to pay their weekly allowance. In April 1663, the warden was able to provide money for the poor, but then he stopped the payments on the grounds that he was forced to support the Germans who occupied the city. The city authorities promised him a chalice to compensate him for these expenses, but despite this, the poor were forced to go hungry.¹⁰⁴⁹

The hard times were very hard on the almshouses, their inhabitants and their serfs. There were also unprecedented breaches of long-standing customs and obligations. Instead of the usual two bushels of wheat, the serfs of Méra

¹⁰⁴⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. p. 42.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1665, 34/V, p. 12.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1662, p. 49.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1662, p. 52.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1662, p. 53.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1663, p. 12., „Eddig az ideig adta[m] az szegények[ne]k heti pénzt, de két forint háro[m] pénzt vetnek reá[m] egy hétre az németek vagy az szászok, az előttis hol hatnak, hol tíz[ne]k kellett gazdálkodno[m] és így az szegényektől meg kelle vonno(m) magamat, az heti pénzt n(em) adhatta(m) meg, mert ne[m] bízhatta(m?) semmi jövedelemhez. Az B(ecsületes) Vénység előttis ígérének egy poharat, de abb(an) sem telik semmi és így az szegények koplalnak, az németek jól laknak, az és erszényem is meg üresült, ne[m] tudok csak az németnekis mit adni, szánja meg az I(ste)n.”

would only receive one bushel from the almshouse in exchange for their work on the estate's farm, due to the miserable times.¹⁰⁵⁰

Because of the many uncertainties and wars, the cutting of the salt was also delayed every year¹⁰⁵¹ and if all this was not enough, there was a year (in 1660) when the mill in Méra stood idle for a long period because of the drought¹⁰⁵². In spite of this, and in order to cope with the damage caused by the attacks and adversities, the mills still required expenditure; the mill in Méra was looted¹⁰⁵³, while the mill in Kolozsvár was damaged by the floods.¹⁰⁵⁴

The name of his successor was recorded on the last, fragmentary record of András Kapusi Szabó, drawn up in 1665, noting that the new almshouse warden, Incze Nekkel had accounted for the remaining wheat and wine¹⁰⁵⁵, as attested by a certificate issued by the auditors on 1 December 1667¹⁰⁵⁶.

IMRE NEKKEL 1665, 1666, 1668.

His name can be found in the sources in the forms Nekkel, Nekkely, Imreh, Imre, Imbre, Emrich.

The earliest information about him dates back to 1658, when it was revealed that, in times of trouble, the city entrusted him with the collection of the tribute payable to the Tatars, on which he reported in 1661 and even added to these remarks in 1663.¹⁰⁵⁷ In the meantime, he was listed in the Assembly of the Centumviri of 1659, of which he was still a member in 1665.¹⁰⁵⁸ He was assigned to represent the Unitarian Church in the city administration.

There is also information about his financial and family situation. Imre Nekkel had a house in the Óvár (Old Castle)¹⁰⁵⁹, a vineyard in Hója¹⁰⁶⁰,

¹⁰⁵⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. p. 5.

¹⁰⁵¹ Registers of St Elisabeth. p. 14.

¹⁰⁵² Registers of St Elisabeth. p. 4.

¹⁰⁵³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1663, 33/XIX, p.9. „Mivel az tavalyi veszedelmes esztendőben az malmot mind el pusztították az hadi népek, ez idén kelletté újonnal meg csináltatno[m], hogy enge[m] ne causalljanak, hogy ha meg csináltatta[m] volna lött volna valami kevés prove[n]t[us] belőle, de az malo[mna]k még eddig ige[n] kicsin jövedelme volt, az malo[m]b[an] csak egy darab vas sem ma[ra]dott.”

¹⁰⁵⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1663, 33/XIX, p.6. „Mivel az gát el szakadt volt az nagy árvizek miatt, ige[n] sokat kellett költenem[m] mert az jószágból meg nem csináltathatta[m]g semmiképpe[n].”

¹⁰⁵⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1665, 34/V. p. 11.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1667, no. 12g.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Registers of St Elisabeth. pp. 33-34.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Binder Pál. *Közös múltunk...*, p. 304, 306.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Tax register, 1662, p. 47. His neighbours were Mihály Szakács and András Szabó.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Kolozsvári emlékirók*, p. 197.

a garden in Új Street¹⁰⁶¹ and a field at the end of Kajántó by the stream¹⁰⁶². The paternal house stood in Híd Street.¹⁰⁶³ The records of János Linczig state that he was related as a brother-in-law to him, János Linczig, and Mátyás Szőrös (Raw) through their wives.¹⁰⁶⁴ After the death of their father-in-law, Szőrös and Nekkel sold their wives' paternal house.¹⁰⁶⁵ The last data on him is from a property settlement in 1705.¹⁰⁶⁶

He was appointed head of St Elisabeth's after the death of his predecessor. It is therefore possible to determine the start of his administration with relative precision. However, precise details of the end of his tenure here are lacking.

For Kolozsvár, this was a time of legal and armed struggles. As a new border fortress, it became a noble city and the hitherto well-functioning city administration entered a phase of transformation. In a city that was hitherto so wary of nobles moving in, there would now be no obstacle to this. Moreover, if one looks at the names of those serving in the administration, one can see that new people were emerging to take on the burden of difficult times. The city of Kolozsvár considered the loss of its status as a free royal city to be only temporary, but the few decades during which it was unable to exercise its acquired rights left deep marks on the administration of the city. Changes took place which – even later, when Kolozsvár could once again proudly bear the burden of its freedom – made it a different world, a pale replica of the conditions that existed during its period as the “treasure city”.

There are several records of Nekkel's work in the service of the city. As early as 1661, the city must have entrusted him with certain tasks because the city stewards paid him 17.79 florins.¹⁰⁶⁷ He replaced János Dreszler, who fell ill.¹⁰⁶⁸ The *Regestrum Partiale* of 1665¹⁰⁶⁹, a detailed account of the almshouse from 1666¹⁰⁷⁰ and the account dated 20 December 1668¹⁰⁷¹ are available for analysis. A partial *regestrum* from 1673 reported that Imre Nekkel, after resigning from his position as almshouse warden, submitted all the accounts, according to which the poor owed him 26 florins and 89 denars.¹⁰⁷²

¹⁰⁶¹ *ibid* p. 200.

¹⁰⁶² *Divisors*. p. 463.

¹⁰⁶³ *Kolozsvári emlékirók*, p. 207.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *ibid* p. 208.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *ibid*.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Divisors*. p. 463.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Partial accounts*. 33/XVIII, p. 7.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Partial accounts*. 33/XVIII, p. 16.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Partial accounts*. 1665, 34/V, pp. 33-36.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Registers of St Elisabeth*. 34/XXXVI, pp. 1-32.

¹⁰⁷¹ *Registers of St Elisabeth*. 1668

¹⁰⁷² *Registers of St Elisabeth*. 34/XXXVI, p. 10.

Imre Nekkel must have been in charge of St Elisabeth's from 1665 until at least the end of 1668. Our findings suggest that, from 1671 onwards, the two almshouses were united for several years and managed by two almshouse wardens, Márton Rajner and István Berki.¹⁰⁷³ What happened between 1668 and 1671 is unknown, but it is possible that Imre Nekkel was in charge of St Elisabeth's home for the aged until the merger of the two institutions. He took over the management during the year. As already seen, he had already served as a substitute for sick stewards on other occasions as well, but this time he was not only given the job for a few months, but rather managed the almshouse for over three years. It is probably due to his intercession that the letter of confirmation of the donation of salt was issued. This donation was confirmed by two charters during the reign of Mihály Apafy. The first confirming charter was issued in Szamosújvár on 23 August 1666, during the tenure of Imre Nekkel.¹⁰⁷⁴ Not only was the confirmation made under his management, but one can also document his personal involvement, as he accurately recorded the costs of this in the accounts.¹⁰⁷⁵ He also paid a letter of donation on the almshouse's properties based on the recording of costs.¹⁰⁷⁶ For the entire time, the salt income was one of the incomes that required the least amount of work; it became essential in times of hardship.

His accounts paint a picture of a skilful and prudent administrator. If he agreed with someone on a particular job and it was not completed, he deducted the value of the work not completed from the amount paid and also reported this.¹⁰⁷⁷

In 1666, in spite of all the difficulties, the property maintenance of the institution was also carried out. In February, he bought stones worth 25 florins from Csicsó, bought ironwork and had a chest made for the Kolozsvár mill on the Szamos.¹⁰⁷⁸ He often spent money on the serfs brought in for work (carrying wheat, ploughing, harrowing, grass picking, etc.), for their food and meat.¹⁰⁷⁹ One of the serfs got married on the Méra estate and, because he was so poor, the warden helped him with 6 bushels of wheat.¹⁰⁸⁰

¹⁰⁷³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1674, p. 16a.

¹⁰⁷⁴ EREL, Fasc VI, no. 4.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1666, XXXVI, p. 29. „Az mit az Sorol ualo donatyora költöttem/.... Ualo donatyora Miel mind az/.... Confirmałta, Kyegyelmes UrunkMellyet/ meg lathat kyegyelmetek/Die 23 Augusti Attam az Sorol ualo Donayatiotol R3/ Saslikaciobol? Az Deyakoknak R3/ Ugian akkor Szamos uyuarat totluen az üdöt/költöttem tovabba Magamra R. 2./ Die 8bros Ujabban Az Jozságról ualo Donatyokból fizettem az Deyakoknak R. 3.”

¹⁰⁷⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷⁷ Registers of St Elisabeth., 1666, XXXVI, p. 22. „Vagyon Ugyan mellet Masfel hold/ Melytől Igirtem harmincz egy/ florinhot de miuel az homlitas/ el Maradot Attam...R 29, 50 den.”

¹⁰⁷⁸ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1666, XXXVI, p. 19.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1666, XXXVI, pp. 25-26.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1666, XXXVI, p. 5.

He had the chimney cleaned twice and bought windows for the poor's house.¹⁰⁸¹ Times were also somewhat better for the poor because he had their bread baked for them every week and was able to pay them the weekly allowance they were due.¹⁰⁸² He had three people buried, one named Erzsébet from the almshouse, on whom he spent 4 florins 15 denars, an orphaned child for 2 florins and 20 denars and a crippled woman, who had recently been lying among the houses and was admitted to the almshouse, but died shortly afterwards, for 1 florin 15 denars.¹⁰⁸³

There are no records of the almshouse warden's salary for many years, but the 1666 account contains a record of it. Imreh Nekkel recorded the receipt of 32 florins. He also added a justification as to why he deserved the amount for all his efforts, especially because in the past, the almshouse wardens had possessed much more freedom than in his time.¹⁰⁸⁴ One can infer from this that, in the past, an almshouse warden could raise his salary in several ways, such as using the wine for his own benefit, spending money on his own table, etc.

Reflecting on the activities of the almshouse wardens who held office at St Elisabeth's (while also keeping in mind the administrators of the Holy Spirit), I kept asking myself how the work of an almshouse warden could be evaluated on the basis of the surviving sources. Was it important what kind of accounts he produced? Or how they represented the institution he was managing? Was it his job to have the privileges confirmed? Or was the only thing that mattered how carefully he managed the estate he ran? In any case, the ideal almshouse warden would have performed positively on all performance measures. But history does not like the "would have" and the ideal state has always been and will always be far from everyday reality. The almshouse wardens of Kolozsvár differed in their temperament and attitudes. There were good managers and administrators, well-connected craftsmen, there were those committed to the poor and needy, but there were also those who took on the administration of St Elisabeth's out of selfish calculation. None of the almshouse wardens ever became a city justice, so this office should not be seen as a stepping stone. There is no discernible difference in the work of the almshouse wardens of Kolozsvár, the Holy Spirit and Saint Elisabeth's. They were put in charge of the institutions by the same mechanisms, they presented their accounts in the same way, they had the

¹⁰⁸¹ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1666, XXXVI, p. 23.

¹⁰⁸² Registers of St Elisabeth. 1666, XXXVI, p. 27.

¹⁰⁸³ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1666, XXXVI, p. 26.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Registers of St Elisabeth. 1666, XXXVI, p. 29. „Az magam faradsagomert ualo Salayumom/ miuel azon küül is Semmi szabadSagom nincz mint az/ regi ispotaly meStereknek uolt az regyeknek pedig/ az SzabadSag mellet az 32 florin is meg Járt/ enis ne legyek alab ualo Adassok meg mellyet/ feyenként meg Szolgalok kyenek.... R. 32”

same form of contact with the city administration and their work was monitored in the same way. There were craftsmen, clerks and merchants at the head of the almshouse and the almshouses assets were administered in times of peace and war. Sometimes, the administration of property overshadowed the care of the poor, but the almshouse, and thus the almshouse warden, performed in any case an important function of the city. It is also visible that, in situations of social crisis, the city expected them to solve the problem or to manage the situation.

9. 🍷 THE WORKERS OF THE ALMSHOUSE

Early modern almshouses were mostly urban institutions designed to deal with social and possibly health issues in the settlement. Each almshouse had an economic background established over decades, sometimes centuries, the content of which varied from case to case. There may have been similarities in the management of the hospitals, but their unique economic structures left their mark on their operations.

St Elisabeth's can be understood as an early modern complex economic unit, where daily and medium-term decisions were concentrated in the hands of the almshouse warden, who organised its smooth functioning. The basic aim was to provide the basic foodstuffs needed in the almshouse with the help of its economic background, as well as the financial base for ensuring the care of the poor and the efficient functioning of the whole system.

The assets of the almshouse were so complex that they required a combination of different forms of management. The cultivation of cereals and grapes, the management of the farms, the operation and maintenance of the mills, the brewing of beer, the baking of bread, the organisation of the cutting and transport of salt and the efficient leasing of the house in the main square were all aspects of this multifaceted work.

If one attempts to give an account of the workers on whose service the life of the almshouse was based, or without whose activity it would not have been possible to organise the daily life of the institution, one notices that there were persons who carried out their tasks as a duty, but very there were also people who worked for a fee, doing occasional tasks.

Let us take a closer look at who can be classified into the two broad groups.¹⁰⁸⁵

In all cases, **those who worked for pay** in the almshouse undertook to perform certain tasks for a certain period of time, in exchange for a set wage, by mutual agreement with the almshouse warden. Of particular importance were these workers employed for longer periods, because from then on, the smooth running of certain segments of the almshouse's economic activity became predictable.

¹⁰⁸⁵ See Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledett intézmény...*, pp. 119-124.

For St Elisabeth's, viticulture was of paramount importance throughout the early modern period. This included the employment of a *vintner* (or *vintners*) who managed the entire vineyard work and, together with the almshouse warden, also supervised the grape harvest. The institution had at least 16 acres of vines, of which 11 were generally cultivated. One or two vintners were employed to organise the work, each being responsible for the vineyard for which he was contracted. Viticulture played a very important role in early modern Kolozsvár, as it represented a significant source of income, or supplementary income, for both institutions and citizens. For this reason, in 1580, the city council drew up a six-point code of conduct on vine cultivation, which set out the conditions for working in the vineyard.¹⁰⁸⁶ The vintners had to organise their work according to these rules. In 1621, a town council resolution was passed on the role of the vintner, which limited how much he could charge for an acre of vines and what was allowed and what was punishable in his undertakings.¹⁰⁸⁷ These general rules of Kolozsvár had to be followed by the vintners who worked in the almshouse's vineyards as well.

According to the accounts, the vintner mostly received a monetary payment, in addition to a certain amount of money for sandals and a cap, as well as a linen headdress and sandals for his wife.¹⁰⁸⁸ It also happened that they received a cereal allowance instead of a cash payment.¹⁰⁸⁹ It was their job to make sure that all the vineyard work was done well and on time and that there were enough day labourers for each job, i.e. to organise the whole season of viticulture. It also happened that, if they were satisfied with their work, they hired the same person to work the same vineyard for several years.

His basic task was therefore to organise the work, but he also supervised and managed the activities of the day labourers and the serfs of Méra in the vineyard. It is not clear from the sources whether the rations for the serfs were provided by him or by the almshouse warden. What is clear, however, is that it was the almshouse warden, not the vintner, who called the serfs from Méra to work. On one occasion, in his account, the almshouse warden Mihály Kantha said that "I had food made for them", from which one can conclude that their feeding was the responsibility of the almshouse warden.

According to the sources, the almshouse had two farms and a steward and his wife were employed to maintain them. The steward (farm administrator) was also employed according to the general and local rules. Efforts were made to find a suitable person or persons who could manage

¹⁰⁸⁶ Jakab Elek. *Kolozsvár története*. II. Budapest, 1888, p. 253.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Protocollum Centumviorum*. I/6, p. 315. For further details, see Jeney-Tóth Annamária. *Szólósgadák...*, pp. 80-82.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 122, 147, 152, 403, 440, 453.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 396.

the farm of the manor and run it efficiently. It was the task of the almshouse warden to find the right person to take care of the goods and livestock of the farm. The farm administrator or his wife was engaged for a longer period of time, at least one year, and the care of the vegetable gardens, the orchards and the livestock formed part of their duties. If there were few animals on the farm, they were also responsible for looking after them, but in the case of a more substantial amount of livestock, a separate person was responsible. Thus, when they had a large flock of sheep, a shepherd was hired or a herdsman in the case of a large number of pigs. They carried out their tasks completely independently of the farm administrator. However, it is hard to imagine that they did not work closely together.

From the end of the 16th century until the third decade of the 17th century, farming was an important part of the entire almshouse's economy, especially while the almshouse fed the poor itself. The status of the farm administrator was also elevated in comparison with the other servants, but when the almshouse ceased feeding the poor on its own and started giving them weekly allowances, the status of the work on the farm and of the person who took it over also lost some of its importance.

There was also a significant difference between the two farms of the almshouse. **The farm administrator at the manor house in Méra** was responsible for organising the management of the farm there, but was also in charge of other work on the farm. It was a fortunate situation when the steward was also the judge of the serfs in Méra, since the organisation of work in the allodium there or on the estate in Kolozsvár could be more efficient, as the serfs could be recruited for work through him. Since the sources are incomplete, the names of these people are unknown, as is the extent to which it was possible for one person to perform both roles. According to the data, **the farm in Kolozsvár** was not so important, as it did not have a significant amount of livestock, so its management required less work. However, this farm, as it was outside the city walls and close to the city, was much more exposed to the dangers of depredation. The farm administrator or the servant was paid mostly in grain. In 1649, the wife of the farm administrator living at the manor house received two bushels of wheat as payment from one St Margaret's Day to the next.¹⁰⁹⁰ In 1650, the wife of the farm administrator living at the manor house in Méra was given four bushels of wheat according to the convention, which was valued at 7 florins and 75 denars in the summary account.¹⁰⁹¹ But it also happened, for instance in 1647, that the almshouse warden paid for a year's service in Méra with clothing. He gave the administrator's wife a skirt from Brassó, which cost 6 florins and paid 3 florins

¹⁰⁹⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 372.

¹⁰⁹¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 396, 412.

85 denars for sandals for the administrator and his wife and for a linen headdress for the wife.¹⁰⁹²

The **wheelbarrow man** was constantly present in the life of St Elisabeth's almshouse in Kolozsvár, which spent money on him and the wheelbarrow. However, it is difficult to see exactly what the wheelbarrow man did around the almshouse. He must have been engaged in transport and carting, although not to the extent of generating income, since this is not mentioned in the accounts, as it was in the case of the almshouse in Szeben. Most likely, he merely occasionally transported smaller goods between the almshouse and its properties for the benefit of the institution. This transport activity is most likely to have taken place around the mill, because it is mostly mentioned in the accounts of the mill. He is also mentioned in the accounts as the mill's wheelbarrow man (*taligás*).¹⁰⁹³ His case is peculiar because money was spent on him without any income from him being recorded. The wheelbarrow man's wages were calculated weekly, and totalled 33 florins and 80 denars for a year.¹⁰⁹⁴ In some years, he was paid for 16 weeks only. The breaks in the payment of the wheelbarrow man can be linked to the operation of the mill, because when the mill was not running for some reason, he was also paid less. The income of the wheelbarrow man and the miller was discussed by the city council on the same occasion.¹⁰⁹⁵ The work of these two people was linked: when the mill was in operation the *taligás* also had work. This suggests that the *taligás* transported the grain for grinding and the grist to the townspeople. In addition to a cash payment, the *taligás* also received food and wine.¹⁰⁹⁶

Among the workers paid by the institution were **the miller and the millwright**, who also appear in the accounts of St Elisabeth's, since two mills belonged to its property. These were two professionals: the miller, who handled the mill and ground the grain, cutting the millstone when necessary and the millwright, who built and repaired the mill itself, a professional highly skilled in carpentry and the operation of the mill structure. The accounts contain countless data on the construction and maintenance of the mills, but, interestingly, there is less information about the operator of the mills. The millers were hired for a longer period, but almost nothing is known about the conditions. It is certain that a smaller mill could not have provided a satisfactory livelihood for the miller, so it is understandable that, in 1606, the almshouse warden hired another miller for the mill in Méra, because the previous one had run away. The accounts usually refer to both craftsmen as "millers" (*molnár*). Of the two professionals, the miller, who ground the

¹⁰⁹² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 345.

¹⁰⁹³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 412.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 345.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Protocollum Centumvirorum*. I/1, 1586, p. 28.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 204, 48, 49, 53.

grain, was hired for a longer period, while the millwright was hired to do specific jobs. The miller was paid according to the city's customary law. In 1648, the account stated that "apart from the millers' share, the almshouse received..."¹⁰⁹⁷, i.e. the operation of the mill recovered its cost and the almshouse also received income.

The servants were also hired by the almshouse on a longer-term basis. For many decades, St Elizabeth's also employed a *fullajtár* (stableman)¹⁰⁹⁸. In the almshouse's accounts, he is referred to as the *fellajtár*.¹⁰⁹⁹ Sometimes even two hired hands (*béres*) were employed for the work around the almshouse. In addition, the almshouse had at least one, sometimes several, maids or servant women and, until the mid-17th century, a cooker woman (*főzőasszony*) was also part of this occupational group. Each of them had a well-defined task in the almshouse and on its farm. As long as the almshouse provided food for the residents, the female cook could not be absent, but once only weekly allowances and bread were given to the poor, her work was no longer needed. From then on, the servant woman employed by the almshouse took over the task of baking bread for the poor. The salaries of these servants working around the almshouse were agreed upon for a longer period, either a calendar year or from a feast day until the same feast day the following year (e.g. from one St Margaret's Day to the next).

In 1601, there were three female servants at the almshouse and their pay arrangements (and obviously their duties) were agreed on an individual basis. A servant named Márta was paid 8 florins a year plus a linen headdress, a velvet hood moulding (*párta*) headdress, an overshirt, a linen under-blouse (*ingváll*), a hemp shirt, a hair braider and a new pair of sandals. Angalit got 4 florins for half a year, a linen shirt, a hair braider, a linen headdress and a pair of new sandals, while the female cook received 8 florins and a pair of sandals.¹¹⁰⁰ The payment of the servants is also recorded in detail in 1606. Saru sandals, the condora¹¹⁰¹, the aba cloth, linen and hemp shirts, waders, footwear (*bocskor*)¹¹⁰², caps, embroidered coats (*szűr*), trousers, stockings and skirts were among the clothing articles provided in addition to their cash payment.¹¹⁰³ In addition to all this, the repair of footwear and clothing featured constantly in the accounts as well.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 351.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Equestrian escort.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 82, 434.

¹¹⁰⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 28-29.

¹¹⁰¹ A jacket-like upper garment made of woolen cloth.

¹¹⁰² A primitive footwear made from a single piece of thick leather, covering the foot with upturned edges and secured with a strap threaded through its edges.

¹¹⁰³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 81-82.

The **blacksmith** also occupied a prominent place among the craftsmen around the almshouse, which is only fitting, since there was always work to be done in an institution with such a wide range of activities and so many properties and appurtenances. The maintenance of the mill and the gate locks or the shoeing of the horses were all tasks that were part of the maintenance of the institution. For the most part, the blacksmith was paid annually for the performance of specific tasks, but when work above and beyond the agreed level was undertaken, it was paid separately. Geog Alczner provided a detailed account of the hiring of the blacksmith in 1602, mentioning him by name and noting that he was paid 22 florins and 50 denars for his work. He also notes that the extra payment for the blacksmith's services was charged separately, so, for the fixing of four new horseshoes on the hoofs of a horse, the blacksmith received 64 denars.¹¹⁰⁴

Mill repairers were among the workers hired for **casual jobs**. Their work appears in the almshouse's accounts from time to time, as is only natural, since the mills wore out during their operation and natural disasters or other damages also occurred quite often. The amount of work carried out by the millwrights determined their payment, which was always agreed upon with the almshouse warden. There are examples of all kinds of work, from the simple and ordinary replacement of a millstone to the complete renovation of the mill. In 1617, for example, the almshouse's mill was demolished and a new one was built, for which the millwright was paid 30 florins and full board.¹¹⁰⁵ This large-scale work took place from March to September and cost nearly two hundred florins, including the cost of materials, which can also be seen as an investment in the future. But this was not the only time in the early modern period that such a major rebuilding took place.

Carpenters were often mentioned as repairing the shingle roofs, gates, fences, appurtenances, barns, stables and other structures of the almshouse's properties. The almshouse's buildings were covered with shingle roofs and required frequent maintenance. Obviously, the payment also depended on the size and extent of the work and usually included cash, full board and produce. In 1603, for example, the almshouse warden had the press of the almshouse renovated, for which he paid 5 florins.¹¹⁰⁶ In 1608, he paid the carpenter 1 florin for the gate of the manor house, almost the same for the passageway next to the almshouse and 5 florins for a damaged stable.¹¹⁰⁷

The almshouse's farm always had several carts, including light wagons, horse-drawn carts, ox carts and wheelbarrows. Even if not all the carts were in constant use, their maintenance required the work of a **wheelwright**.

¹¹⁰⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 39.

¹¹⁰⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 161.

¹¹⁰⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 58.

¹¹⁰⁷ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 111, 113.

The wheelbarrow was the most used vehicle. Only during the periods when the mill was idle is there no record of spending on its use. The wheelwright's work was paid on a job-by-job basis when he bought a new wheel or repaired an old one.¹¹⁰⁸

Wine played an important role in the life of every citizen and institution in Kolozsvár, including St Elisabeth's Hospital. It had a number of vineyards and harvested and made wine from 11 and sometimes 16 acres of vines. The wine was stored in several barrels and the institution also used vats and storage vessels for the production of wine, all of which belonged to the almshouse. In addition to these, salted cabbage was also a common dish for the poor and, as recorded by the accounts, it was also prepared in the almshouse. From time to time, the tubs and pails of the manor houses and cellars had to be renovated or even new ones had to be bought. In 1617, for example, the almshouse warden Mihály Kantha had hoops made for 19 barrels and bottoms carved for 30.¹¹⁰⁹ Obviously, such major maintenance works did not take place every year, but one or two pails, barrels or tubs always needed to be repaired, so the expenditure on the work of the *cooper* occurred year after year on the Kolozsvár or Méra farms of the almshouse.¹¹¹⁰

In connection with the vineyards and viticulture, the old and new wines produced in the almshouse were put on sale every year. The income from wine, as already seen, represented an important source of income for the institution. The retail sale of wine in Kolozsvár was subject to strict rules.¹¹¹¹ The main protagonist of this sale was the *csaplár* (wine-merchant). In Kolozsvár, the *csaplár* could only be a person who swore before the judge that he would measure, sell and pay the price of the wine to the owner faithfully. When it came to the retail sale of wine, the vintner – in this case, the almshouse warden – had to ask the city's authorised official for a wine-merchant.¹¹¹² The decision to tap the wine barrels and sell the wines of the almshouse was taken by the almshouse warden. The *csaplár* was hired for the period when the wine was put up for sale. He was paid for his work according to the customs and rules. During the wine sale, the *csaplár* received monetary payment, food and drink. In 1603, for example, a barrel and 80 buckets of wine were sold over the course of 3 days and the *csaplár* was given 16 denars a day for food and paid 1 florin for his work.¹¹¹³ There were periods when larger quantities of wine were put up for sale, in order to generate

¹¹⁰⁸ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 28, 38, 55, 294, 424.

¹¹⁰⁹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 161.

¹¹¹⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 34, 44, 121, 168, 193, 220, 260, 322, 341, 359, 412.

¹¹¹¹ Kovács Kiss Gyöngy. Kolozsvári szőlők és borok a fejedelemség korában. In *Emlékkönyv Egyed Ákos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*. Kolozsvár, 2010, p. 196.

¹¹¹² Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledett intézmény...*, p. 122.

¹¹¹³ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 53-54.

revenue and reduce the amount of the wine collected. In these cases, as well, the sale was counted per barrel and the wine-merchant's payment was recorded likewise. In 1647, the sale of the almshouse's wines took place in April, twice in July and again in August and the costs of the wine-merchant's labour, food, and drink appeared in the almshouse's accounts on each occasion.¹¹¹⁴

The ongoing maintenance of the almshouse's properties also required the work of *stove-makers* and *pottery*. Stoves and ovens were built and repaired on several occasions. The accounts distinguished between peasant stoves, brick stoves and glazed stoves. The almshouse warden paid these craftsmen a mutually agreed amount in proportion to the complexity of their work.¹¹¹⁵ The pots used in the household were bought from the market, sometimes in larger, sometimes in smaller quantities.

The works listed above required a certain expertise and professional experience, but these were not the only works that took place in the almshouse. During the farming, there was an occasional need for watchmen to guard the livestock (for instance when it increased in number) or protect the vineyards, the forest and the grain from possible dangers.¹¹¹⁶ Of the various *herdsmen*, the shepherd was expected to have knowledge of processing sheep milk, while the swineherd, the bullock herder, the vineyard guard, the guard of the wheat field and the forest guard were only responsible for supervision. Among the shepherds, it was the mountain shepherd (*pakulár*) who generated income for the almshouse by his work. This information is constantly present in accounts in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, when the income from cheese, salted milk (*deberke*) and wool was recorded.

The *day labourers* were a separate group among those who worked for the almshouse. Workers hired on a daily basis were recorded in the vineyard and during major repair and maintenance works. There was also a council decision in 1585 on the wages of day labourers in the vineyards, prohibiting the almshouse wardens from paying them more than 10 denars per day and offering them food (this was done to prevent unfair competition in hiring day labourers).¹¹¹⁷ Their daily wage was also determined by the difficulty of the work and women were paid less.¹¹¹⁸ The day labourers were most often employed in the cultivation of the vineyards, where they carried out the vast majority of the work.

There were numerous occasions on the almshouse's farm when various tasks were carried out with *serfs* from the Méra estate. These jobs had to be

¹¹¹⁴ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 334.

¹¹¹⁵ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 52, 218, 264, 298.

¹¹¹⁶ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 24, 25, 89, 112, 121, 177, 193, 201, 210, 247, etc.

¹¹¹⁷ Corpus statutotum. p. 205.

¹¹¹⁸ Rűsz-Fogarasi Enikő. *Egy elfeledett intézmény...*, p.124.

performed as *serf-duty* without pay, but the serfs received food rations while they worked. The serfs were called and expected to work on the Méra estate and in various locations in Kolozsvár. Ploughing, including deep ploughing of the fallow ground (*ugarolás*)¹¹¹⁹, sowing, harvesting, hay and wheat carrying, weeding, timber hauling, salt-transportation, the procurement of timber (stakes and piles), dam building and harvesting were carried out using their labour; sometimes, they were called upon for other vineyard work as well.¹¹²⁰ The records also provide extremely interesting information about the life of the serfs, their living space, food rations and life opportunities. When some of the serfs (or their daughters or sons) got married, their patron would often provide assistance in organising the wedding and help them as they started their new family.¹¹²¹

The almshouse's residents who were in good health were expected by the city authorities and auditors to participate in some light work around the almshouse and to help out in exchange for their board. This expectation was expressed by the auditors on several occasions, but nowhere was it specifically stated how much work should be done, when and what kind. On one occasion in 1603, nineday labourers were paid for the training of grapevines in Kőmál. Four of them were poor residents of the almshouse and the record states that the almshouse warden paid each of them daily wages for their work. Yet the next day, according to the almshouse warden, the almshouse residents who had worked in the almshouse's vineyards the previous day, went to work as day labourers elsewhere.¹¹²²

The property management of St Elisabeth's almshouse in Kolozsvár involved a wide range of work and there was someone responsible for each task, who contributed to the functioning of the institution by completing his or her duties.

¹¹¹⁹ "Ugarolás" meant the deep ploughing of the fallow land, which took place in late May and early June, and which also indicates the use of the two- or three-pressure systems.

¹¹²⁰ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 140, 143, 158, 172, 173, 176, 177, 198, 218, 232, 333, 341, 445.

¹¹²¹ Accounts of St Elisabeth's, pp. 374-376.

¹¹²² Accounts of St Elisabeth's, p. 60.

10. 🐾 THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT, HABITAT AND LANDSCAPE USE OF ST ELISABETH'S ALMSHOUSE

In the course of this investigation, we came across a number of data relating to the institution's use of the natural environment and the landscape. However, this is a very complex issue. Here I would like to outline just a few further possibilities for investigation.

The almshouse itself was located on the other side of the Szamos River, near the Kőmáljalja, where it also had fruit trees and a manor house with a vegetable garden. The institution's ten acres of vineyards, which yielded a considerable income, were located in Kőmáljalja.

The institution had enough agricultural land to cultivate to produce the goods it needed. It always had enough wheat, einkorn, barley, millet, lentils, peas, cabbage, onions and garlic on its farms. On rare occasions, there was a shortage of some of these, in which case they would be bought from the town market. Often, even missing data can be telling, for example, when the work of a wheelbarrow man was continuously recorded by the almshouse. The wheelbarrow implies keeping one or more horses and keeping a horse without oats is inconceivable. However, there is little data on either oat production or purchase. From this point of view, the lack of data can in many cases also be revealing.

Grain was provided for the almshouse by working 13 fields (next to and above Borháncs, in Köves-pad, next to Lótt Pálcza, at the end of Új Street by the slack water, in Borsópadja, on the road to Kajántó, by the bridge of the Nádas, between the two Tűzok mál, on the top of Asszúpaták, next to the Lomb Stream, next to the Sheep basket, next to the stream, next to the Juh kosár by the stream, next to the forest of Lombi, by the Szentjakab meadow, at the end of Nagy Hídutca, next to the highway). Most of these fields were used to grow wheat, oats, barley and millet for the almshouse. A significant proportion of these sites were located on the hills to the north of the city.

Water management had an impact on the management of the almshouse in several ways. The location of Kolozsvár and its favourable stream network contributed to the agricultural advantages of its surroundings. The available maps from the 18th century, as well as the geographical names that have survived in the place names (Lomb creek, Nádas creek, Asszúpataka, Kajántó creek, Borháncs creek, Békás creek) underline these favourable conditions.

In any case, the smooth running of the institution itself was ensured by its own wells near to its houses in Kolozsvár. The Szamos and Nádaspataka streams had a significant impact on the mills of the almshouse. There are many indications that the spring floods damaged the mill on the Szamos, but the Nádas stream was more of a problem because its bed dried up during the dry summer and it could not drive the mill situated on it.

The almshouse also had a forest as part of the Méra estate, which even brought it income through the mast-feeding of pigs. The timber for minor repairs and firewood were also taken from here. One of the most frequently missing data concerns firewood. Despite the fact that, of course, there was a winter every year, there is only occasional mention of firewood being brought from the forest or bought. This is due to the fact that the serfs of Méra had the task of providing it and the occasional amount of wine and food offered to them when they brought the firewood was probably negligible and not considered worth recording. When wood was needed for special purposes, such as shingles, pine wood, harrows or beams, they were obtained from the surrounding villages or from the fair.

Stone was also used in the construction and repair of the house and for the construction of the bridge over the Szamos. As the almshouse was near a bridge, the city occasionally commissioned the almshouse warden to build a bridge. On such occasions, the stone was brought from the mines of Fenes, Kajántó, Bács and Vista. In the context of these works, a distinction was made between building stones, carving stones, ledge stones, stones for flooring, stacking stones, parapet and cornerstones. From time to time, the two mills of the almshouse also needed millstones, which were brought from Solyomtelke, Solyomkő and Csicsószentmihály.

Most of the iron needed for the economy of the almshouse was sourced from Torockó.

In everyday life, the almshouse's assets could provide the necessary goods. This could be called the inner circle of its economy, the living space of the institution. To meet periodic demands, a wider natural environment was needed, located in the market area of the city. Rarer needs were met by visiting the fairs, as well as settlements within half a day's or a day's journey (Torockó, Csicsószentmihály).

These data on the landscape are presented in this monograph, but they also provide interesting possibilities for further reflection on the topic. The landscape archaeological works and archival sources can justly support the natural resource potential of St Elisabeth's almshouse in Kolozsvár and at the same time draw attention to the possibility of addressing the history of the city from this perspective.

👉 CONCLUSION

In the Middle Ages and early modern times, St Elisabeth's almshouse in Kolozsvár was a vibrant institution, able to pull through under any circumstances. The Hungarian kings and princes, the city and, if necessary, the citizens created a complex economic background through their donations (and testamentary donations in the case of the latter) that enabled the almshouse to rely on several sources of income and to reinvent itself in any situation.

To manage this complex economy, capable managers were needed, who could look after the vineyards, the estate from Méra, the mill, the house in the main square and the fields, to organise their management and to provide a fair account of the work done. Obviously, no one expected the almshouse warden to be equally competent in all areas – he employed specialists for these, but only to coordinate and keep an eye on the different types of work and the lives of the residents. The administrators of the upper almshouse tried to fulfil these diverse tasks in a way that served the community and was profitable for them.

The overall purpose of the administration was to provide the necessary financial support for the care of the almshouse's residents. Often, it is the people for whom the institution was created, the residents, about whom contemporary sources reveal the least. The city authorities had to draw up specific instructions on the standards of care for them and these provide some clues as to what it meant to live in an almshouse in the early modern period. The almshouse cared for men, women and children, the poor and the rich, the lonely and entire families alike. When a husband and wife, or father and daughter were admitted to the almshouse, usually one of them was in need of care due to an illness. Despite the fact that there is evidence that the sick was cared for, doctors, pharmacists, barbers, or surgeons are almost completely absent from the accounts. Up until the 17th century, the residents of the hospital were provided with hot meals and clothing, but then a major change took place, as the poor could expect much less from then on. Accommodation was provided for them and at first, they were also given bread and wine, as well as money for meat and footwear, but as the city fell on hard times, wine was no longer distributed, only their bread allowance

and occasionally the almshouse would give them a little bit of money, when it had some to spare.

In other cities in the middle of the 17th century, the almshouse priests were already present in the life of almshouses, or these institutions were strongly supported by a church. In Kolozsvár, the sources allow one to detect these activities only on the basis of documents at the end of the century.

St Elisabeth's almshouse was in every way larger and more important than the Holy Spirit. It had a larger financial base, owned more property and could obviously cater for more people at once. The city administration monitored every aspect of the life of this economic and social unit. The almshouse wardens also needed to listen to the will of the city and to ask for approval for major investments. If they were temporarily short of cash, the city provided them with some expensive livestock that they could sell to get back on track. In addition, the city's auditors carried out written and on-the-spot audits of the management and called the almshouse wardens to account for any errors detected, recovered debts and made their presence felt at all levels.

The almshouse wardens filled the role of the economic administrators of St Elisabeth's home for the aged for time periods of varying length. There were some who had held other municipal offices before and afterwards and others who for many years had been in charge of the administration of the almshouses (St Elisabeth's and the Holy Spirit). There were periods in the management of the almshouse when the farm and the almshouse's properties in Kolozsvár had significant staff. In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, it was common to have at least two to three servant women and the same number of servant men to manage the institution's affairs. In addition to them were the stewards (farm administrators), the various shepherds, the vintner or vintners, the wheelbarrow man (*taligás*) and the miller, who had their own tasks. It was the smooth communication and cooperation between them that made for a trouble-free everyday life.

St Elisabeth's almshouse was a prominent institution in the history of early modern Kolozsvár, where the city sought to maintain equality between the two nations (Hungarian and Saxon), both at the level of the administrators and the people they cared for. It is very interesting that in early modern, Protestant Kolozsvár, the name of St Elisabeth was preserved.

If one takes the Central European context into account, St. Elisabeth's Hospital in Kolozsvár was one of the larger such institutions in terms of economic power and number of residents. It performed the same tasks, but the surviving written records of its activities lag behind its counterparts further west, even if the largest amount of documents relating to the operation of almshouses in Transylvania can be found here.

The accounts and other documents of St Elisabeth's contain a wealth of data that could also be useful for other studies, for example on landscape use

in Kolozsvár, for which the data and references contained here could be useful. But that is a topic for another time.

The history of the almshouses of Kolozsvár does not end here, since the institution, which was created by the merger of the Holy Spirit and St Elisabeth's, tried to fulfil its tasks during difficult times. The institutions, which were entirely under municipal administration, were initially run by almshouse priests and then slowly came under the administration of the Catholic Church. This was the source of much discontent, causing the institution to be accused of failing to provide shelter to Protestant people in need. At the same time, the Reformed Church ran several small almshouses to care for the latter. Not only did almshouses and nursing homes appear gradually, in the 18th and 19th centuries, but also hospitals where the city's patients were cared for at the level of professionalism appropriate to the times. These all emerged from interesting processes that have so far hardly been fully discussed. Many interesting facts from the history of Kolozsvár could be uncovered during such a discussion, which could then be used to compare the city's almshouses with similar institutions in other regions, underlining their similarities or uniqueness.

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LIST OF THE ALMSHOUSE WARDENS

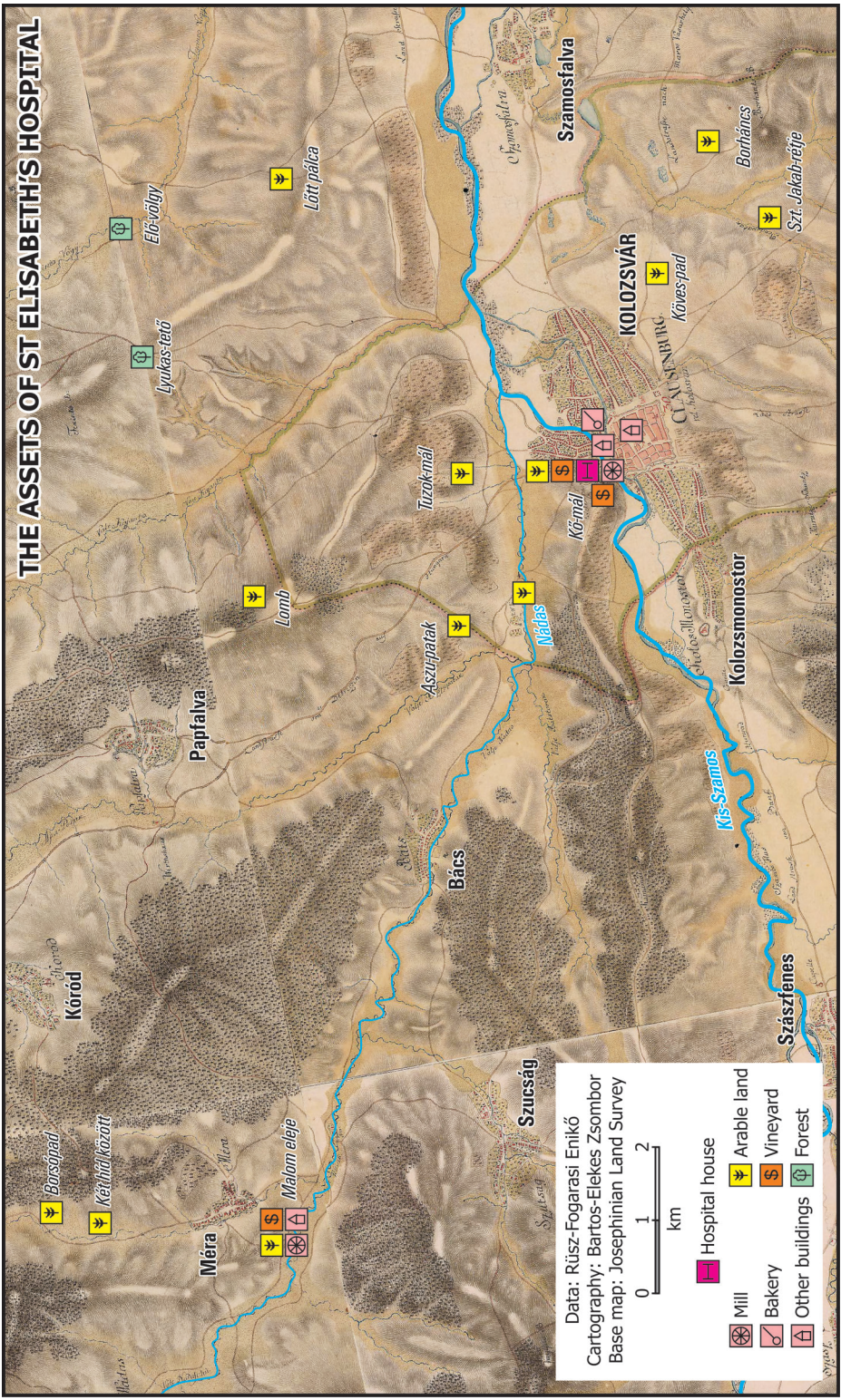
1. Helcuicus	1332
2. Jakab Zaaz	
3. Jakob Scheerl	1467
4. Jakob Adam	
5. Antal Dezső	
6. Mihály Aztalos	1538-1539, 1546, 1554
7. Benedek Orgonás	1557,1560
8. János Lakatos	1576
9. Thoma Keomives	1583
10. Imre Nagy	1585
11. Gergely Süveges	1586-1588
12. Farkas Balogdi	1589-1591
13. Dávid Nyírő	1591-1600
14. Simon Íjgyártó	1600
15. Georg Alczner	1601-1602
16. Mihály Retteghi Szócs	1603
17. Péter Lutsch	1605-1609
18. Gergely Fodor Gergely	1610-1613
19. Georg Schneider Weber alias Takács	1614-1616
20. Mihály Kantha	1617-1619
21. Hannes Voghner	1620-1621
22. Benedek Kékesi Szabó	1622-1623
23. Péter Szócs Werner	1624, 1626, 1628
24. István Getzi	1628-1633
25. Andreas Teüffwel	1634-1636
26. István Vásárhelyi Szabó	1637-1638, 1643
27. Andreas Kirschner	1640-1643
28. István Lutsch	1644-1647
29. János Kovács	1648-1654
30. Adam Edenberg	1658-1659
31. András Kapusi Szabó	1660-1661, 1663, 1665
32. Incze Nekkel	1665-1666, 1668

THE VINEYARDS OF ST ELISABETH'S ALMSHOUSE IN KOLOZSVÁR				
No	Year	Ex- pendi- ture	Revenue (in money+in crops)	Revenue (in florins)
1	1587	92.74	36 ft+5 barrels = $75 \times 5 = 375$ buckets = 3000 ejtel $\times 10$	36ft+300=336 ft
2	1588	88.47	34ft n/a	34 ft
3	1589	190.32	8.9ft n/a	8.9 ft
4	1592	117.62	25 barrels = $25 \times 75 = 1875$ buckets = 15000 ejtel $\times 10$	1500 ft
5	1593	97.70	n/a	n/a
6	1595	122.45	100 ft + 27 barrels = $27 \times 75 = 2025$ buckets = 16.200 ejtel $\times 10$	100+1620=1720
7	1596	139.17	49 barrels = $49 \times 75 = 3675$ buckets = 29400 ejtel $\times 10$	2940
8	1597	119.32	119.85 ft + 1478 buckets = 11824 ejtel $\times 10 = 1182.40$	1182+119.85=1301,85
9	1598	119.32	104.70ft n/a	104.70 ft
10	1599	132.65	199.71 ft + 1199 buckets = 9592 ejtel $\times 10 = 959.20$	199.71+915.92=1115.63
11	1600	173.32	240,46 ft + 337 buckets = 2696 ejtel $\times 4 =$	240.46+107.84=348.30
12	1601	98.99	63.11 ft + 25 barrels = $25 \times 75 = 1875$ ejtel $\times 10 = 187.50 \times 8$	63.11+1500=1563.11
13	1602	121.35	601.40 ft - n/a	601.40 ft
14	1603	122.60	62 ft + 6.5 barrels = $487.5 = 3900$ ejtel $\times 12 =$	62+468=530
15	1605	173.36	86.8 ft + 12 barrels = 646 buckets = 5168 ejtel $\times 10$	86.8+516.80=603.60
16	1606	96.39	129.85 ft + 181 buckets = 1448 ejtel $\times 10$	129.85+144.80=251.98
17	1607	105.87	357 buckets = 2856 ejtel = 22848 ejtel $\times 10 = 2285.60$	2285.60
18	1608	106.18	107.52 ft + 28 barrels = 1557 buckets = 12456 ejtel $\times 10$	107.18+1245.60=1352.78
19	1609	103.32	6 barrels, 374 buckets = 2992 ejtel $\times 10$	299.20
20	1610	136.5	42.25 ft + 667 buckets = 5336 ejtel $\times 4$	42.25+213.44=255.69
21	1611	104.60	205.6 ft + 572 buckets = 4576 ejtel $\times 10$	205.6+457.60=663.2

THE VINEYARDS OF ST ELISABETH'S ALMHOUSE IN KOLOZSVÁR				
No	Year	Ex- pendi- ture	Revenue (in money+in crops)	Revenue (in florins)
22	1612	130.32	141.90 ft n/a	141.90 ft
23	1613	138.40	127.95 ft + 290 buckets = 2320 ejtel × 10	127.95+232=359.95
24	1614	119.18	90.14 ft + 726 buckets = 5808 ejtel × 10	90.14+580.80=670.94
25	1615	104.45	217.33 ft + 149 buckets = 1192 ejtel × 10	217.33+119.20=336.53
26	1616	111.85	49.75 ft + 129 buckets = 1032 ejtel × 10	49.75+103.20=152.95
27	1617	169.8	55.60 ft + 2969 buckets = 23752 ejtel × 10	55.60+2375.20=2430.8
28	1618	143.52	339.85 ft + 621 buckets = 4968 ejtel × 10	339.85+496.80=836.65
29	1619	125.15	135 ft + 208 buckets = 1664 ejtel × 10 =	135+166.40=301.4
30	1620	128.86	129.07 ft + 843 buckets = 6744 ejtel × 8 =	129.07+539.52=668.59
31	1621	122,89	391.22 ft + 406.5 buckets = 3252 ejtel × 10	391.22+325.20=716.82
32	1622	204,20	229.67 ft + 1822 buckets = 14576 ejtel × 10	229.67+1457.60=1687.27
33	1623	131.98	447 + 746 buckets = 5968 ejtel × 10	447+596.80=1043.8
34	1624	197,24	235.62ft + 865 buckets = 6920 ejtel × 6	235.62+415.20=650.82
35	1625	201.16	446.18 ft + 864 buckets = 6912 ejtel × 6	446.18+414.72=860.9
36	1626	201.16	467.72 ft + 961 buckets = 7688 ejtel × 7	467.72+538.16=1005.88
37	1627	148.98	374.49 ft + 757 buckets = 6056 ejtel × 10	374.49+605.60=981.09
38	1628	213.64	252.40 ft + 396 buckets = 3168 ejtel × 10	252.40+316.80=569.2
39	1629	160.95	84.70 ft + 646 buckets = 5168 ejtel × 10	84.70+516.80=601.5
40	1630	175.86	312.32 ft + 843 buckets = 6744 ejtel × 10	313.32+674.40=987.72
41	1631	191.09	469.67 ft + 798 buckets = 6384 ejtel × 7	469.67+446.88=916.55
42	1632	153.42	n/a	
43	1633	153.42	372.42 ft + 397 buckets = 3176 ejtel × 10	372.42+317.60=690.02
44	1634	206.12	201.67 ft + 558 buckets = 4464 ejtel × 10	201.67+446.40=648.07
45	1635	180.52	300.68 ft + 130 buckets = 1040 ejtel × 10 =	300.68+104=404.68

THE VINEYARDS OF ST ELISABETH'S ALMSHOUSE IN KOLOZSVÁR				
No	Year	Ex- pendi- ture	Revenue (in money+in crops)	Revenue (in florins)
46	1636	175.40	128.50 ft + 334 buckets = 2672 ejtel × 18 =	128.50+480.96=609.46
47	1637	218.77	202.20 ft + 682 buckets = 5456 ejtel × 8 =	202.20+436.48=638.88
48	1644	239.12	29.40 ft + 492 buckets = 3936 ejtel × 10	29.40+393.60=423
49	1645	244.11	298.49 ft + 266 buckets = 2128 ejtel × 10	298.49+212.80=511.29
50	1646	237.51	158.22 ft + 422 buckets = 3376 ejtel × 14 =	158.22+472.64=630.86
51	1647	254.53	206.02 ft + 152 buckets = 1216 ejtel × 8 =	206.02+972.8=1178.82
52	1648	224.17	101.99 ft + 532 buckets = 4744 ejtel × 7 =	101.99+332.08=434.07
53	1649	233.22	215.44 ft + 366 buckets = 2928 ejtel × 7 =	215.44+204.96=420.40
54	1650	250	93.86 ft + 572 buckets = 4576 ejtel × 11 =	93.86+503.36=597.22
55	1651	257.79	253.33 ft + 411 buckets = 3288 ejtel × 11 =	253.33+361.68=615.01
56	1652	302.39	510.07 ft + 1005 buckets = 8040 ejtel × 7 =	510.07+562.80=1072.87
57	1654	201.40	368,67 ft + 727 buckets = 5816 ejtel × 7 =	368.67+407.12=775.79
58	1660	234.59	505.42 ft	505.42 ft
59	1661	167.85	338.5 ft + 435 buckets = 3480 ejtel × 10	338.5+348=686.5
60	1663	167.81	Neither grapes nor wheat	

THE ASSETS OF ST ELISABETH'S HOSPITAL



Data: Rűsz-Fogarasi Emikő
 Cartography: Bartos-Elekes Zsombor
 Base map: Josephinian Land Survey

	Hospital house
	Arable land
	Bakery
	Vineyard
	Other buildings
	Mill
	Vineyard
	Forest

0 1 2 km

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The oldest continuously operating institution in Kolozsvár was the almshouse dedicated to Saint Elisabeth. Records of its existence date back to the early 14th century. During the late Middle Ages, it came under municipal administration and continued to serve as the city's largest almshouse, caring for the poor. This institution continues to function today as a retirement home. Over the centuries, it has provided refuge for the poor, orphans, the disabled, and those suffering from infirmities.

This book delves into the operation of an early modern almshouse, drawing comparisons with similar institutions. The reader will discover what such an institution offered to a destitute citizen in need, who managed it, the social status of the almshouse wardens, its economic background, and its sources of income and expenditures.

The book presents an institution that was an integral part of everyday life in early modern Kolozsvár, telling an engaging story about the care of the poor.

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