

## CULTS AND COMMUNITIES

### THE UNKNOWN BRETHREN OF CLUJ: JESUIT *COADJUTORES TEMPORALES* IN THE HEART OF TRANSYLVANIA (1690–1773)<sup>1</sup>

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#### I

For many, including some noted authors who have recently published histories of the Society of Jesus, Jesuit equals priest.<sup>2</sup> In fact, from the earliest days of the Society there have been Jesuit brothers, or *coadjutores temporales* who performed the practical and applied tasks that kept Jesuit communities functioning, and who added to its creative, spiritual, and cultural life.<sup>3</sup> Jesuit brothers were typically not beneficiaries of the rigorous educational program set forth in the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 and in fact were originally forbidden to be taught to read, although in later years many *coadjutores temporales* were literate and a few even kept some of the records of the communities in which they worked.<sup>4</sup> Others served as musicians, organ builders, shoemakers, tailors, bookkeepers, and night watchmen, in which roles they shared in the dangers of mission work of the Society.<sup>5</sup> In the view of the founder of the Jesuits, Ignatius of Loyola, these men

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<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Wright, *God's Soldiers: Adventure, Politics, Intrigue and Power: A History of the Jesuits*, New York, 2004. Even John W. O'Malley's magisterial *The First Jesuits*, Cambridge, 1993 does not deal with *coadjutores temporales*.

<sup>3</sup> The Society also made a distinction among its priests, distinguishing *coadjutores spirituales*, who concentrated on teaching, from priests who were professed, i. e., committed to serve the Pope in any way requested. *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus by Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, trans. by George E. Ganss S.J., St. Louis, 1970, p. 83 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The sixth *Regulum* of the Fourteenth General Congregation of the Society stated: "Non sunt in Societate Coadjutores temporales literis instituendi," and the advancement of brothers "ad alium statum" was likewise proscribed. By 1661 Abraham Jung, a German *coadjutor temporalis*, could be praised for his studies in physics that earned him a master's degree. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter: ARSI), Aust. 142, Lit. An Prov. Aust. 1661, f. 103v. In the eighteenth century several German Jesuit brothers even published their devotional works.

<sup>5</sup> Paul Shore, "Charissimi Fratres": *Jesuit Brothers of the Bohemian Province*, in "Kosmas," 18, 2005, no. 2, pp. 1-14. Brothers sometimes took on other roles, such as nurse, barber or stonemason. A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind: The Mentality of an Elite in Early Modern France*, Ithaca and New York, 1988, p. 53. Ignatius Killnhofer, who served in the Trnava Jesuit community in 1652, also "dat

were not inferior in a spiritual sense to Jesuit priests and therefore were full members of the order.<sup>6</sup> Jesuit brothers, while segregated in their roles within the Society, should be distinguished from both the *conversi* who for centuries had worked the lands of older Western monastic orders, and from the *famuli*, salaried laypersons whom Jesuit communities often employed to perform a variety of tasks.<sup>7</sup>

Although *coadjutores temporales* did not receive training in classical languages, the process of spiritual “formation” that each brother underwent was long and demanding. Often a decade or more might elapse between admission to the Society and the completion of this formation.<sup>8</sup> Paralleling the explicitly theological formation was a less well documented socialization process that reoriented a man from the world of kinship, trade, and marriage relationships to a strictly male community of faith and obedience – and, arguably, greater security than secular society could frequently offer.

By the seventeenth century, a few *coadjutores temporales* had earned reputations for sanctity and sacrifice that had gained them mention in major biographical studies prepared by the Society. The Belgian Edmundus Renard, for example, cared untiringly for plague victims in Liège, dying there in 1643.<sup>9</sup> Other brothers were martyred in the New World.<sup>10</sup> Franciscus Moreno, a sixteenth century Spanish brother renowned for his piety and his example to youth, is portrayed in an engraving accompanying a biographical sketch with quill pen in hand.<sup>11</sup> In a more elevated setting, Andreas Pozzo (1642–1709) decorated the

cibum pauperibus.” Ladislaus Lukács, *Catalogi personarum et officiorum Provinciae Austriae S.I.*, vol. III 1641–1665, Roma, 1990, p. 331.

<sup>6</sup> Antonius M. de Aldama, S.I., *De coadjutoribus Societatis Iesu in mente et praxi Sancti Ignatii*, in “Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu,” 38, 1969, pp. 389-430.

<sup>7</sup> In the eighteenth century the Cluj Jesuit community also collectively owned at least 60 serfs, some of whom were probably Romanian speaking. Paul Shore, *Fragmentum annuarum Collegii Societatis Iesu Claudiopolitani: The Account of a Jesuit Mission in Transylvania, 1659–1662*, in “Renaissance and Reformation Review,” vol. 8, 2006, no. 1, pp. 76-96, here 93. Cluj Jesuits also on occasion employed laypersons as musicians.

<sup>8</sup> For example, the Bavarian Andreas Spiegel was admitted to the Society in 1697, but only completed his formation in 1708. ARSI, Austria 59 Catal. I. Residentiae Claud. 1711, p. 333.

<sup>9</sup> Matthias Tanner, *Societas Iesu apostolorum imitatrix, sive gesta praeclara et virtutes eorum: qui è Societate Iesu in procuranda salute animarum, per apostolicas missiones, conciones, sacramentorum ministeria, evangelij inter fideles & infideles propagationem, ceteraque munia apostolica, per totum Orbem terrarum speciali zelo desudarunt. Pars prima Societatis Iesu Europaeae*, Praegae, 1694, pp. 710-712.

<sup>10</sup> Two anonymous *coadjutores temporales* (of European origin) were martyred in Brazil as early as 1555. Idem, *Societas Iesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans, in Europa, Africa, Asia, et America, contra gentiles, Mahometanos, Judaeos, haereticos, impios*, Praegae, 1675, pp. 440-443.

<sup>11</sup> Idem, *Societas Iesu apostolorum ...*, p. 362. Yet this illustration perhaps should not be taken as a completely literal representation of Moreno’s service, as in it he is aided by an angel who expels a plague of frogs disrupting his work!

mother church of the Jesuits, the Gesù, in Rome, painted frescos in the Liechtenstein Palace in Vienna, and corresponded with cardinals.<sup>12</sup> A few Jesuit brothers entered the Society late in life after distinguished professional careers; most notable among these within the Habsburg lands was Jan Marek Marku z Lanskrouna, or Joannes Marcus Marci de Cronland (1595–1667), who served as the personal physician to Emperor Ferdinand III.<sup>13</sup> Although priests and brothers pursued different career paths, at least one instance is known of a Jesuit scholastic of the Austrian Province who changed paths and subsequently became a brother.<sup>14</sup> Occasionally, a Jesuit brother would make enough of an impression on his priestly colleagues to merit a detailed obituary composed by fathers. One such instance was Joannes Auer, who died of the plague in Alba Iulia in 1739.<sup>15</sup>

## II

This study examines the presence of *coadjutores temporales* in Cluj, which housed one of the most important Jesuit communities in Transylvania from 1690 until 1773.<sup>16</sup> This Jesuit outpost is of special significance to Romanian history as it

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<sup>12</sup> Unlike most *coadjutores temporales*, Pozzo, a member of the Austrian Province, had received a classical education at a Jesuit gymnasium. Bernhard Kerber, *Andrea Pozzo*, Berlin, New York, 1971, p. 5; Ladislaus Lukács, *Catalogi personarum et officiorum Provinciae Austriae S.I.*, vol. VI 1700–1717, Roma, 1993, p. 503. Many other brothers entered the Society in early adulthood, which may mean that they were widowers or otherwise separated from family connections. Brother Mattheus Brosck, of the Bohemian Province (–1734) had followed the profession of arms before entering the Society. Élesban de Guilhery, *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus: Assistance de Germanie*, 1<sup>ère</sup> série, 2<sup>nde</sup> partie, Paris, 1989, pp. 125–126.

<sup>13</sup> *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy*, vol. II 1622–1802, ed. by Ivana Čornejová, Praha, 1996, p. 252.

<sup>14</sup> Josephus Bohuscsky (1722–1765) after two years of the study of philosophy, chose the “sortem Marthae.” *Historia Collegii Homoniensis-Vnguarisenis Societatis Iesu Praecipue ab anno 1700 in usum collecta*, f. 127v. Thanks to the Jesuit community of Budapest for providing access to this document.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Shore, *Missionen und Schulen der Jesuiten in Siebenbürgen und Ost-Ungarn 1770–1773*, in vol. *Lesestoffe und kulturelles Niveau des niedrigen Klerus: Jesuiten und die nationalen Kulturverhältnisse*, ed. by I. Monok and P. Ötvös, Szeged, 2001, pp. 101–118, here p. 116.

<sup>16</sup> Cluj had been the scene of a major missionary and educational effort undertaken by the Society with the support of the Transylvanian Prince and Polish king Stephen Báthory in the late sixteenth century; among the Jesuits expelled in 1588 were at least three *coadjutores temporales*. Letter of Johannes Schönhovius, S.I., Iași, 25 April 1590, cited in *Moldvai Csángó Okmánytár 1467–1706*, ed. by Benda Kálmán et al., vol. I, Budapest, 1989, p. 108; *Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu de rebus Transylvanicis temporibus Principium Báthory (1579–1613)*, ed. by Andreas Veress, Budapest, Veszprém, 1921. Before Leopold I formally supported the Society’s undertakings in the newly acquired Habsburg territory of Transylvania, Jesuits (including Jesuit brothers) had resided in Cluj with semi-tolerated status. An Italian traveler reported in 1677 that in Cluj and Alba Iulia together there were six Jesuit brothers, who like their priestly counterparts, dressed as secular clergy. This essay will use the geographical place names currently employed for all locations.

was one of the major points of contact between the Society of Jesus and the Romanian speaking population of Transylvania,<sup>17</sup> and the site of a school that would eventually train the first generation of Greek Catholic Romanian intellectuals.<sup>18</sup> Yet as the data presented here will show, this encounter between Latin and Eastern Rite, between Hungarian or Austrian, and Romanian, was by no means consistently straightforward or sustained. In fact, the records kept by the Jesuits indicate a notable gap between the backgrounds and language skills of priests and the characteristics of the local Romanian population.<sup>19</sup>

This study does not claim to be a quantitative investigation, but will instead present biographical and other data on specific brothers for whom there are more or less complete records found either in their obituary notices or in the systematic reports of Jesuit personnel compiled for the Austrian Province. Particular attention will be given to those brothers who had at least some fluency in Romanian; given the striking absence of native speakers of Romanian among all Jesuits working in Transylvania, the ability of *coadjutores temporales* to use the language of a significant minority of the residents of Cluj and its environs was an important link between the Jesuit community and the surrounding populace.

The number of Jesuit brothers residing in Cluj rose steadily from 2 in 1702 to 10 in 1726 and then generally remained between 6 and 10 in the coming years.<sup>20</sup> This increase reflects the steadily expanding presence of the Society in the community: endowed by the Emperor and noble donors, Jesuit properties included villages, several of the most important buildings within the Old Town of Cluj, livestock and vineyards, and a compound at Cluj-Mănăştur, which the Society had occupied in the seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup>

The early history of the Cluj Jesuit community, like much of Transylvania, was punctuated by virulent outbreaks of the plague; as early as 1661 a brother was reported to have died from this disease. At one point in 1710 the majority of Jesuit community left its residence in the central part of the old walled town and fled to Cluj-Mănăştur, a few miles to the west. Left behind in Cluj were two priests and

<sup>17</sup> The exact number of ethnic Romanians living in eighteenth century Cluj is not known, but was probably over 10%.

<sup>18</sup> Keith Hitchins, *A Nation Discovered: Romanian Intellectuals and the Idea of Nation 1700–1848*, Bucharest, 1999.

<sup>19</sup> Father Michael Szalbeck, born in Moldavia and natively fluent in Romanian, arrived in Cluj in 1739, almost half a century after the reestablishment of a powerful Jesuit presence in Transylvania to serve as the “missionarius” in the Hungarian and Romanian languages. Szalbeck was the first Jesuit priest active in Cluj to specialize in this field and later served as the *theologus* to the Greek Catholic bishop of Transylvania. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (hereafter: OszK), 2039 FMI/1608 Historia S. J. Claudiopoli, f. 255v.

<sup>20</sup> OszK, 2039 FMI/1608 Historia S. J. Claudiopoli, ff. 12v; 127v.

<sup>21</sup> Matthias Langweiler, aged 39, worked as a goatherd (“caprarius”) in 1730. ARSI, Austria 77 (1730), p. 79.

one *coadjutor temporalis*; this sacrifice was considered significant enough to merit mention in the *Historia Residentiae* for that year.<sup>22</sup> Yet no Jesuits, brothers or priests, are reported to have died in Cluj of this disease in the eighteenth century.

Thanks to Jesuit record keeping practices, we know the job titles of most *coadjutores temporales*. In 1714, almost a quarter century after the establishment of a sizeable Jesuit presence in Cluj, we find Georgius Tompai in his fifteenth year of working as the assistant to the “Procurator” of the community; earlier Tompai had performed various domestic tasks in Jesuit communities in Győr, Levoča and Bratislava.<sup>23</sup> Although a native of Győr County in western Hungary, he spoke “Wallachè mediocriter” as well as German and Hungarian. Another brother who understood Romanian was Andreas Waldmann, whose exact date of birth, like that of several other Jesuit brothers working in Cluj, was not known.<sup>24</sup> Waldmann was a native of Franconia, well outside Habsburg controlled territory; on occasion Jesuits working in Cluj came from even further away.

Architecture was long a province of Jesuit brothers, a skill they often combined with other applied crafts.<sup>25</sup> Valentinus Schertzer, a native of Frankfurt and identified in 1730 as a woodworker, was probably the designer of the Jesuit church in Cluj, which was arguably the first Baroque structure in Transylvania and a highly visible example of the expansion of Austrian esthetic models into the region.<sup>26</sup> The roles of Jesuit decorator, artist and architect were frequently blended, although the documentation of the highly mobile Jesuit artisans working in the Austrian Province is far from complete.<sup>27</sup>

Pharmacy was a field in which Jesuit brothers excelled, and pharmacies were important components of Jesuit communities in Oradea and Cluj.<sup>28</sup> As early as

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<sup>22</sup> OszK, 2039 FMI/1608 Historia S. J. Claudiopoli, f. 47v. The danger here was very real; perhaps half of the town’s population was stricken with the disease.

<sup>23</sup> ARSI, Austria 62 (1714), p. 40. Tompai had entered the Society at the age of 23 in 1694 and completed his formation fourteen years later; his age, coupled with the fact that he is identified as “in saeculo sartor” point to considerable experience in the secular world of work.

<sup>24</sup> “Natus circa annum 1666.” ARSI, Austria 62 (1714), p. 39.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph Sellinger, a native of Moravia who died in Cluj in 1737, combined the skills of “architectum, fabrum lignarum, aurarium, arcularium, [et] caementarium [worker in concrete].” OszK, 2039 FMI/1608 Historia S. J. Claudiopoli, f. 228r.

<sup>26</sup> Sas Péter, *A kolozsvári piarista templom*, Kolozsvár, 1999.

<sup>27</sup> For example, Bernardus Seltenreich, who died in Trenčín at the age of 40, had carved the wooden altars of three unnamed churches during his 18 years in the Society. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, B. P. V. 12.063 (An. Lit. Prov. Austria 1666), p. 139.

<sup>28</sup> Stephen J. Harris (*Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge*, in vol. *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts*, ed. by John W. O’Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris and T. Frank Kennedy, Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1999, pp. 217-240, here 225) points out that a number of the Jesuit scientific treatises produced before 1773 were written by *coadjutores temporales* serving as apothecaries.

1587 the Society's pharmacy in Alba Iulia had been led by the Italian Jesuit Maximus de Milanesiis.<sup>29</sup> The role of the "apothecarius" might include service to the surrounding lay population as well as to the Jesuit community, a potentially important connection during the epidemics of plague that attacked the town repeatedly in the early eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup> The pharmacy, like others operated by the Society, also generated income that was used to fund church renovations.<sup>31</sup> The Cluj pharmacy was established in 1731, which meant that it was able to provide medicines worth 200 florins during yet another severe attack of the plague that arrived in 1739.<sup>32</sup> In Cluj in 1770 the duties of pharmacist were carried out by Jacobus Neüssel, a 46-year old who spoke four languages, including Latin.<sup>33</sup> Neüssel had been born in Buda of German parents, and had served in Prešov, Oradea and Eger before coming to Cluj.<sup>34</sup> Josephus Reiser, born in Sibiu in 1694, was among the most renowned Jesuit pharmacists of his day, leaving behind manuscripts that remain unpublished.<sup>35</sup>

Like pharmacy, the profession of surgery was another applied science which Jesuit priests avoided, although they often made use of surgeons, both lay and Jesuit. The obituary of Norbert Riedl noted that this brother had served as a surgeon in Uzhgorod and Košice as well as Cluj.<sup>36</sup> Andreas Schmidt, who hailed

<sup>29</sup> Péter H. Mária, *Az erdélyi gyógyszerészet Magyar vonatkozásai*, mek.oszk.hu/02700/02752/02752.doc accessed 8 May 2008. De Milanesiis (Milanesi) (1529–1588) was also an architect and diplomat, designing buildings in Poland. He entered the Society at the age of more than forty. *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. by Charles E. O'Neill S.I. and Joaquin Maria Dominguez S.I., vol. 3, Roma, Comillas, 2001, p. 2672.

<sup>30</sup> The plague was so severe that between 1735 and 1736 the *collegium* was closed.

<sup>31</sup> Ferenc Szigetvári, *Die Apotekengründungen der Jesuiten*, in vol. *Reformation und Gegenreformation im pannonischen Raum. Schlaininger Gespräche 1993/1994*, ed. by Gustav Reingrabner and Gerald Schlag, Eisenstadt, 1999, pp. 385-388.

<sup>32</sup> OszK, 2039 FMI/1608 Historia S. J. Claudiopoli, f. 241r.

<sup>33</sup> ARSI, Austria 118 (1770), p. 94.

<sup>34</sup> Péter H. Mária (*Az erdélyi gyógyszerészet ...*, mek.oszk.hu/02700/02752/02752.doc accessed 2 May 2008) gives the following table for Jesuit pharmacists in Cluj:

|           |                       |
|-----------|-----------------------|
| 1732–1735 | Michael Guett         |
| 1736–1753 | Josephus Reiser       |
| 1754–1755 | Georgius Balásovics   |
| 1756–1769 | Josephus Reiser       |
| 1770–     | Jacobus Neüssel       |
| 1771–1773 | Antonius Schmadlpauer |

In addition two secular pharmacists also worked in the Cluj Jesuit pharmacy during these years.

<sup>35</sup> Joannes Nepomuk Stoeger, *Scriptores Provinciae Austriae ab eius origine ad nostra tempora*, Viennae-Ratisbonae, 1856, p. 298. Sommervogel gives Reiser's birth year as 1704 and place of birth Braşov. Augustin de Backer, Alois de Backer, Carlos Sommervogel et al., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols., Bruxelles, 1891–1960, vol. 6, p. 164.

<sup>36</sup> OszK, 2039 FMI/1608 Historia S. J. Claudiopoli, f. 282v.

from Swabia, appears among the list of Jesuit brothers in Cluj for the year 1746.<sup>37</sup> The obituary of Brother Melichior Götz (who died in 1737) speaks of his skill in the “arts of surgery.”<sup>38</sup> The same year Ignatius Urbanszki, a native of Bratislava, worked in Cluj as a surgeon.<sup>39</sup> Urbanszki spoke German with apparently native fluency, and like a number of other Jesuit brothers active in Cluj, had spent time in the Jesuit community in Vienna, the headquarters of the Austrian Province of the Society.

Also from Vienna was Joannes Baptista Fischer, who was born there in 1727 and who in addition to speaking German and Hungarian “bene,” and having some knowledge of Latin and Slovak, also spoke Romanian, or “Valach” “supra mediocritem.”<sup>40</sup> Jesuits, either priests or brothers, who could communicate in Romanian were very rare, a fact compounded by the extremely small number of members of the Society with documented Romanian ancestry.<sup>41</sup> Fischer had functioned in various roles in Jesuit communities as far flung as Pécs, Trnava, and Košice. Another *coadjutor temporalis* with a knowledge of Romanian was Joannes Horváth, who demonstrated a talent for languages with his command of Latin, German, Hungarian, “Illyricam” (Croatian), and “Slavicam” (Slovak). With these abilities Horváth in 1743 served as the assistant to the Procurator of the community, a position of some responsibility.<sup>42</sup>

The printing press of the Cluj Jesuits was an important instrument of the Society’s program to bring Habsburg sponsored Tridentine Catholicism and Danubian baroque culture in all its forms to Transylvania, and played a key role in the promotion of the Greek Catholic Church in neighboring Ruthenia.<sup>43</sup> A bookshop run by the Jesuits presumably sold works in Latin, German and Hungarian produced by this press.<sup>44</sup> Joannes Rain, a twenty-five year old was the *typographus*, a job requiring an especial degree of knowledge and skill, in 1743.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>37</sup> ARSI, Austria 93 Catal. I Coll Claud. 1746, p. 83.

<sup>38</sup> OszK, 2039 FMI/1608 Historia S. J. Claudiopoli, f. 227v.

<sup>39</sup> ARSI, Austria 118 (1770), p. 94.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, p. 95.

<sup>41</sup> Georgius Buitul (1598?–1635) and Gabriel Ivul (1619–1678) were among the first Jesuit priests of Romanian ancestry to be active in the Habsburg East. Buitul translated the catechism of Peter Canisius into Romanian; Ivul taught in the Jesuit *collegium* in Košice. C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 4, pp. 695-696; vol. 2, p. 362.

<sup>42</sup> ARSI, Austria 90 (1743), p. 69.

<sup>43</sup> The press produced an elementary text in Latin and Old Church Slavonic: *Elementa Puerilis Instructionis in Lingua Latina* ..., Claudiopoli, 1746.

<sup>44</sup> Jakab Elek, *Kolozsvár története*, vol. 3, Buda, 1888, p. 325. At the time of the suppression the inventory of the print shop included 600 unbound copies of a Hungarian language “Girl’s A. B. C.” Magyar Országos Levéltár, F-577 Erdélyi Kincs. Levéltár, Exactoratus Cameralis Jesuitica. Protocollum Commissionis Claudiop. Inventarium Universae Substantiae in Civitate Claudiopoli post suppressum ibi Collegium Societatis Jesu Apprehensae, no. 30, p. 52.

<sup>45</sup> ARSI, Austria 90 (1743), p. 69.

Eleven years later, the Austrian native Josephus Wolff, aged 32, had become the *typographus*.<sup>46</sup> Jesuit records from this period hint at how the local Protestant population continued to harbor a dislike of the Society's printing operation: in 1757, when a fire destroyed the printing press, melting the type, the "heretics" were filled with joy at the destruction of one of the Jesuits' most powerful tools for promoting Catholicism.<sup>47</sup> Josephus Pichler, a native of Trnava (home to the most important Jesuit publishing operation in Central Europe), was 34 years old in 1770; Pichler's assignment in Cluj was to be the assistant or "socius" to the printer.<sup>48</sup> This brother's four languages did not include Romanian, which would not have posed much of a difficulty, since the Jesuit press in Cluj did not produce many books in that language.<sup>49</sup>

Some of the Society's undertakings were short lived or only required the services of brothers for a brief period of time. In support of its press, and perhaps also for profit, the Cluj Jesuit community maintained a paper mill which in 1739 was supervised by Thomas Piller, who had previously been a cook. But Piller seems to have held this position for only a short time.<sup>50</sup> Periodically the community listed a "balneator" or bath attendant among its workers, although this does appear to have been a permanent position.<sup>51</sup> On at least one other occasion a brother spent only a short period of time in Cluj: Mattheus Göth came to the community from Trnava in 1737 to try to regain his health, but soon died.<sup>52</sup>

A few of the tasks assigned to *coadjutores temporales* are harder to identify: Ferdinandus Moser, from the village of Rattenberg in Tyrol, is identified in 1730 as a "Mercator et pictor."<sup>53</sup> How a man with these skills and origin came to work in far off Cluj is not clear, nor can we easily account for the presence of Joannes Herbst, born in overwhelmingly Protestant Berlin in 1709, while Antonius Wartman, who served in Cluj in 1723, was a native of Switzerland.<sup>54</sup>

Narratives composed by Jesuit chroniclers do not specify the kinds of contacts that took place between brothers and the general population; obituaries of

<sup>46</sup> Idem, Austria 99 Catal. Coll. Claud. p. 93.

<sup>47</sup> Idem, Austria 214, Lit. An. 1757, f. 59r.

<sup>48</sup> Idem, Austria 118 (1770), p. 95.

<sup>49</sup> The Jesuit press in Cluj did produce a reprint of Ivul's translation of the Canisius catechism: *Catechismus szau Summá Krédinczéi Katholicsést R. P. Petri Canisii...*, Klus, 1703. The Latin alphabet orthography of this edition, which had been previously published in Trnava in Cyrillic, shows Hungarian influence. Alexandru Dușu, *Sinteză și originalitate în cultura română*, București, 1972, p. 216; Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Bisericii Românești*, vol. 1, București, 1928, p. 423.

<sup>50</sup> OszK, 2039 FMI/1608 Historia S. J. Claudiopoli, f. 245v.

<sup>51</sup> Antonius Schmidt, from Glacz in Bohemia (Silesia?) was the "balneator" in 1730. ARSI, Austria 77, (1730), p. 76.

<sup>52</sup> OszK, 2039 FMI/1608 Historia S. J. Claudiopoli, f. 227r.

<sup>53</sup> ARSI, Austria 77, Catal. I Coll. Claud. 1730, p. 77.

<sup>54</sup> Herbst entered the Society in Buda, and served in several other Jesuit communities before coming to Cluj in 1764. Idem, Austria 110, Catal. Coll. Claud. 1764, p. 101. Wartman had been *socius domus professae* in Vienna. Idem, Austria 71, Catal. I Coll. Claud. 1723, p. 64.



these men (apparently always composed by priests) focus heavily on the brothers' piety and obedience, and in particular on their fulfillment of the Baroque ideal of a "good death." But because *coadjutores temporales* attended to many of the practical needs of the Jesuit community and because their skills and tasks often paralleled those of craftsmen in the secular world, the nature of interactions with the larger world were probably very different from those between Jesuit priests and laypersons.<sup>55</sup> Then, too, the frequently greater age at which Jesuit brothers left the secular world and entered the Society may have enabled them to intermingle more successfully with the secular population and could also have placed them in a different relation to the younger Jesuits in training ("scholastics") who often taught the lower grades of the *collegium*. Also, a habit for Jesuit *coadjutores temporales* was never specified, which would have further enhanced the ability of brothers to pass without garnering attention through the streets of Cluj. Yet there may have remained many significant barriers between Jesuit brothers and their priestly colleagues, not the least of which was the self-consciously literate culture of the sacerdotal Society which avoided the pursuits of practical sciences in favor of the liberal arts.

### Conclusion

The Jesuit community of Cluj during the eight decades of its greatest influence found itself surrounded by a multiethnic population that included many ethnic but made little apparent systematic effort to engage ethnic Romanians aside from the promotion of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church and efforts to convert Orthodox Romanians who had not accepted union. Given the close relationship of Romanian to Latin, which all priests and some brothers understood, as well as the Society's typically robust engagement with local vernaculars worldwide, this lacuna is notable. We must conclude that in a number of instances *coadjutores temporales* may have functioned as intermediaries between the secular world of work and the culture of Jesuit priests, more concerned as it was with theological, pastoral and intellectual matters. This supposition of course depends as much upon the depth of contacts between priests and brothers as it does on relations between the *coadjutores temporales* and townspeople. The Society's records provide scant documentation of what must have been, given the size of the Cluj community, continual and perhaps at times intimate interaction extending over years and even

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<sup>55</sup> On occasion, *coadjutores temporales* appear to have played a role similar to that of Jesuit priests among the lay population. In 1663, in Cotnari, Moldavia, a Jesuit brother, through an interpreter, heard confessions, preached, and even persuaded a widow to lend money to the Society, even though these activities were forbidden to him. *Moldvai Csángó Okmánytár 1467–1706*, ed. by Benda Kálmán et al., vol. 2, Budapest, 1989, p. 561.

decades among these Jesuits.<sup>56</sup> Contemporaneous perceived ethnic divisions may have played a major role in relations between these two groups: a high percentage of the brothers working in Cluj appear to have been ethnic German, while fewer were native speakers of Hungarian. By contrast, a very high percentage of the Jesuit priests active in Cluj were Hungarian speakers, either from Hungary proper or from Transylvania.

The Society's keen interest in nobility and social rank must also be factored into the equation: Jesuits prized connections with high born patrons, students, and recruits, and the almost entirely lower class origins of the *coadjutores temporales* would have presented a barrier to the creation of friendships. Finally, the Society was governed by a rule of strict obedience that impressed its friends and foes alike and the expectation of restraint and frequently even silence within the confines of the Jesuit compound would have shaped interactions among all Jesuits, providing a unique structure to a community that ultimately remained isolated from large segments of the population around it.

Jesuit *coadjutores temporales* must ultimately be seen as significant contributors to the Society's program of integrating Transylvania into the Catholic Habsburg realms, an enterprise that sought to promote confessional conformity and loyalty to the dynasty. Jesuits, while members of an organization stretching across the world, brought with them notions of ethnicity, geographical origin and native language that shaped and restricted their experience in Cluj. While Jesuit brothers were not the creators or even the consumers of the texts that defined these categories within the Society through their collective and individual experiences these men lived the values expressed in these texts. Their community, in a Transylvanian town but arguably not of it, represents a partial and unfulfilled encounter between east and west that aid the groundwork for the educational and cultural institutions of the Greek Catholic Church that would usher in the era of rising Romanian national consciousness of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> One documented instance of significant interaction between priests and brothers in Cluj in 1726, when Franciscus Obermeyer directed several brothers through the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. ARSI, Austria 74, Catal. I Coll. Claud. 1726, p. 64.

<sup>57</sup> The literature on this theme is extensive; a succinct presentation is found in Pompiliu Teodor, *The Confessional Identity of the Transylvanian Greek Catholic Church*, in vol. *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe*, ed. by Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, and Graeme Murdock, Aldershot, Burlington, VT, 2002, pp. 167-180.