

Academic Education in 18th Century Cluj

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The presence of Catholic religious orders in Cluj in the 18th century, and especially of the Jesuits and the Piarists, produced effects in three directions: education, missionaryism, and urban churches.

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THE 18th century brought about a reconfiguration of political, social, and confessional relations in Transylvania, and consequently a reorientation of institutional structures and of the education process itself. The integration of the province in the Habsburg Monarchy triggered the Catholic resurrection, and the new vitality of Catholicism was also felt in the development of the Catholic curriculum. Schools played the role of an agent of re-conversion. On the other hand, education came directly under Vienna's attention. The reforms in the empire, the Austrian reformism from Charles VI to Maria Theresa and Joseph II, led to gradual changes in the curriculum. The direct interest of the state to control and direct education became quite manifest. Education was no longer a complementary field, under the auspices of the Catholic Church and of the religious orders, but rather an instrument by which the imperial policies, in the spirit of the Austrian *Aufklärung*, were to reshape the empire's citizens.

Within the Habsburg Empire and throughout the early modern world, schools became a political instrument. The rational and political philosophy,

based on Christian Wolff's thesis and on the theories of cameral administration, formulated by Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi and Josef von Sonnenfels, emerged together with an understanding of education as a means of creating obedient taxpayers. The creation of obedient people, faithful to both dynasty and empire, was achieved by education and not through the adoption of coercive measures. The economic and social reforms devised by the enlightened despot and implemented in society demanded the instruction of obedient people, if the structure of the bureaucratic state was to be operational. Therefore, the obedient people's identification of their own good with that of the state offered a new justification to the political regime. Consequently, the goal of the education policy promoted by the Court in Vienna was to increase the efficiency of governance. This trend is more and more evident starting with the Resolutions of 1715 and 1723. These set forth the right of the state to control the activity of schools, and continued with the creation in 1760 of the High Commission for Education (*Studien Hofkommission*), which was meant to organize and guide school policies and impose the German language as a discipline in all schools throughout the empire.

With the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, during the pre-Josephine period, secondary and higher education came under the control of the Austrian bureaucracy. The higher education curricula were adjusted, in keeping with the instructions issued by the Court, such as the *Ordo studiorum* of Charles VI (1735), or the decision of Maria Theresa (1752) to place the Faculty of Theology under state authority. Consequently, two essential processes guided the evolution of education during the Enlightenment period: the institution of Catholic hegemony and the increasing interest of the state in controlling it. Gradually, education was integrated into the modern process concerning the emergence of a public sphere, given its prominently useful character, in the service of the imperial bureaucracy. The teaching of the German language was uniformly demanded in Cluj's schools during Joseph's reign: in 1780, a class in German was imposed to the Reformed College. During Maria Theresa's reign, the German language was recommended to the Reformed and Unitarian people. The regulations of 1773 also encouraged it, stating that knowledge of German was necessary to all applicants for public office. The Piarists, the Catholic order which at the time was setting the trend in education throughout the empire, oversaw the learning of the German language in non-Catholic schools in Cluj. In 1790, following the abolishment of Joseph's reforms, the compulsory teaching of the German language was eliminated; the sciences were to be taught in the national languages.

During the 18th century, the cultural milieu of Cluj saw a shift from Cartesian and pre-Enlightenment ideas to new openings, postulating the ideas of the

Transylvanian Enlightenment; in the last third of the century, these ideas dominated the cultural life of the town, during a time of institutional modernization supported by the reformism of Maria Theresa and of Joseph, and based on the writings of Friedrich Christian Baumeister, Josef von Sonnenfels, and Johann Ignaz von Felbiger. These writings reached Cluj's libraries and became very popular among the local intellectuals. The Latin language preserved for a long period the atmosphere of the Baroque world, influenced more and more by the Austrian Baroque, but the Enlightenment soon changed the situation the favor of national languages. During the 18th century, the driving forces behind the town's culture were the institutional dynamics and the school policies of the town's denominations, which, at the middle of the century, came to the attention of the Court in Vienna, becoming an important issue in public life.

In those years, the process of Catholic revival was fully felt in Transylvania. It was a process supported by the military authorities, by the provincial administration, the Catholic status, and the religious orders. If the location of Catholic institutions on the city map is significant for this particular process, the defining role in the education system was played by the Jesuits, whose tradition in organizing a high-level education was well known to Transylvanians.

The initiatives of creating a university in Transylvania involved both the political institutions and the various religious groups in the province. The opening of a Catholic university in Cluj, as suggested Chancellor Gabriel Bethlen, and of another one in Aiud, for the Reformed people, did not receive the necessary support. The plan of Samuel von Brukenthal, involving the organization in Sibiu, using the German model, of a university financially supported by the Saxon "nation" and meant for the Protestant denomination, was not approved by the State Council in 1761. The Aulic Commission for Education demanded the creation of a university for all denominations. The chancellor of this institution was to be a Catholic. The funds for the university had to be gathered from Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist contributions. The disagreements between the denominations and the constant opposition of the Roman-Catholic bishop led to the abandonment of this initiative. It was to be reconsidered during the post-Josephine period, during the Diet of 1790–1791, which sought to draw up an education project for the Transylvanian youth. In the context of this Catholic offensive, a series of coercive measures were taken. In 1721, the Court granted to the Protestants the right to study abroad, but only for theological studies, and after 1722 they had to pass an exam. After 1725, the Protestants had to obtain passports from the Transylvanian authorities, which issued such papers only following an application sent to Vienna. The situation remained unchanged until 1725, when Maria Theresa introduced new restrictive measures. Consequently, in order to attend classes in a foreign uni-

versity, one needed the approval of the prince and had to cover all of his expenses. These decisions appear to have been taken for financial reasons. Over only two decades, the students cost the empire more than 200,000 florins. The coercive measures affected the financing of Protestants studies. The practice of raising money from noblemen, patricians, city dwellers, or church communities was forbidden. Bursaries for the students of Cluj were offered by Count Adam Teleki in 1734–35, covering their board, lodging, and tuition, those studying in Frankfurt upon Oder being a case in point. With all these coercive measures, taking into account the estimates of some historians, during the 18th century and until the middle of the 19th century more than 4,700 students studied outside Transylvania and Hungary.

The education system of the Protestants in Transylvania underwent major transformations in the context of the new balance of power between the denominations of the province. The Reformed College of Cluj (*Collegium Claudio-politanum*) operated in the city starting with the 17th century, with Hungarian as the language of instruction. The curriculum reflected the values of late Humanism, and the learning of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic was associated with the study of the Bible. Starting with 1718, a series of curricular adjustments were effected under the control of the Consistory, amid new changes promoted by the Catholic schools. In 1747, a commission was created in order to reorganize the educational program. The reforms taken after 1761 made it so that some local Reformed professors were consulted by the Court in connection to the possible creation of a Protestant university in the empire. The new initiatives meant, in the spirit of the European culture of the late Humanism, a critique of theological education and of its content, in which the natural sciences and rationalist ideas were only superficially represented. During this century, a series of reputed philosophy and philology professors gained considerable fame: Máté Boczoni Incze (1679–1742), Mihály Udvarhelyi (1670–1737), Ferencz Csepregi Turkovics (end of the 17th century–1758), a professor of Church history, foreign languages, Greek antiquities, György Verestói, and András Huszti, the first professor of law. The college had two types of students, *studiosus* and *publicus*. The first were alumni enrolled under the 1737 regulations, and the others were students that had accommodation in the town, and did not have to obey the regulations devised by the school staff. Among them we also find some Romanians. Between 1668 and 1786, 2,731 youths studied here. One hundred and fifty of them could have been, taking into account their names, Romanians or of Romanian origin. Generally, Calvinist education was useful and practical, the graduates having lay careers as clerks or in the professions. The number of students, during the entire 18th century, was comparable to that of the pupils who attended Catholic schools. In exchange,

the school had fewer professors, the difference being replaced by the system of preceptors: the senior students had the obligation to teach in junior classes. Therefore, in 1731, we find mention of only three professors who taught the philosophy and theology classes.

In the 18th century, the Unitarian College of Cluj lost its old buildings to the Jesuits, but continued to promote an education with a content open to the new disciplines of law, world history, and geography. The difficulties experienced by the school can also be noticed in the decline of the school population which, between 1700 and 1761, ranged between 30 and 100 students. In the second half of the second decade, the college was led by Mihály Szent Ábrahádi (1716–1758), who promoted new initiatives for the Unitarian school. The curriculum mainly consisted of humanistic disciplines and natural sciences. Latin, Greek, Hebrew, philosophy, logic, physics, mathematics, geography, astronomy, rhetoric were also studied. In the first half of the century, Paul Kolozsvári, who had a Ph.D. in medicine, gained reputation as a science professor. The 18th century was a time of crisis for the Unitarian school. During the reign of Joseph II, the college had three professors. They taught mathematics, physics, Hebrew, logic, philosophy, morals, German, world history and geography. In the last decade of the century, József Pákai came to teach natural law.

ONE OF the main concerns of the Jesuit order was to develop a curriculum likely to attract a great number of children belonging to the social elite. The Jesuit order ran, besides the university of Trnava, the academic colleges of Košice, Győr and Cluj, and 28 gymnasia and 6 boarding schools. Until 1773, the year of the order's suppression, their number increased to 41 gymnasia, 7 boarding schools, and 12 theological seminaries. In Transylvania, they reorganized the gymnasium of Alba Iulia (1698), created a secondary school in Braşov (1700), and a number of schools in Târgu-Mureş, Odorhei, Târgu Secuiesc, Baia Mare, Satu Mare, Carei, Oradea, Arad, and Timişoara. The Piarists represented the second Catholic religious order involved in Transylvania's school life. They defined themselves as a monastic order, an instrument of Catholic proselytism, focusing on the education of the lesser elements of society. They had gained recognition as an order in 1669. Their teaching was based on the *Ratio Studiorum*, with the 1757 modifications operated by Ioannes Coerver, and on the *Norma Studiorum*, after 1766. In Transylvania, they created gymnasia in Bistriţa (1717), Carei (1723), Sighet (1730) and, starting with 1776, they took over the Jesuit schools of Cluj (the seminary, the boarding school, and their assets). In Cluj, in 1693, the Emperor Leopold I had given back to the Jesuits the assets confiscated by the Reformed princes. These were able to build in town a new academic residence (*residentia academica*). In late

September of the same year, the Reformed church and the Unitarian college were given back to the Catholics in the presence of Unitarian bishop Gergely Almási. A year later, in the same place, they inaugurated an academic college named *Collegium Claudiopolitanum* or *Academia Claudiopolitana*. In the words of the young erudite Jesuit István Kaprinay, the legalization of the presence of the Jesuit order in town took place only at the end of 1699: “In 1686, Transylvania was ruled by the Emperor Leopold, who allowed the Jesuits to return to Cluj. In 1700, they returned dressed in their frocks and took up residence on Calea Turzii, where the college was built up together with a church and a hostel for youths.” On 22 August 1701, the Emperor Leopold I confirmed the privilege by which Stephen Báthory (1571–1590), king of Poland and prince of Transylvania, had created the Jesuit College of Cluj, in 1583. The act did not only have a judicial significance, as it also involved financial support, a donation of 700 Rhenish florins that completed the 4,700 Rhenish florins raised as cathedral taxes from the Saxon priests. The donation of Leopold I stimulated other Catholic noblemen, such as István Apor of Altorja (1638–1704), a fervent Catholic and a supporter of the Habsburgs. In an additional document, issued in Vienna on 9 March 1698, he donated to the priests of the Catholic parish of Cluj 8,000 florins to study philosophy. On 21 March 1700, he donated 3,000 florins to the Cluj seminary. His donations for the creation of the seminary reached 30,000 florins, and the interest had to be used in order to educate the Catholic youths, to support the parishes in the principality, and to support those who returned to Catholicism and the young Catholic noblemen from Transylvania. Another important donation—2,000 florins—was made in 1747 by Eva Koncz. Seven years later, a nobleman who wished to remain anonymous donated the same amount. Important amounts came from the domains of the order. Starting with 1731, additional funds came from the revenue of the pharmacy that the Jesuits opened in town.

The taking over of the Reformed church, of Saint Peter’s church and of Saint Michael’s church from the central area of the town, and of the Unitarian college, did not satisfy the ambitions of the Jesuit order. János Rajcsányi, the rector of the Jesuit College, demanded financial support from the Gubernium for the construction of a Jesuit church. The Diet’s decision, obtained with the support of István Wesselényi of Hadad (1708–1757), provided funds for the acquisition of the construction lot, in the amount of 15,000 florins; the building was to be erected in 1724, on the order’s expense. The main concern of the order was the consolidation of the material basis of the educational institutions: Saint Joseph’s seminar (*seminarium Sancti Josephi*) and the nobiliary boarding school (*convictus nobilium, a nemesi konviktus*) built between 1727 and 1735. The boarding school could accommodate 60 youths (6–11 were candidates to priest-

hood). Within the seminary, there were an additional 130–140 places for laymen. A description of the town from 1734 mentions the completion of the new school building on Wolf Street (Farkas utca). The plan of the southern part of the town made by the engineer Conrad von Weiss places the Jesuit schools in the vicinity of the Calvinist College, near the church of this denomination.

In 1753 the college became a Higher Education College, but in fact the “Jesuit college was a secondary education institution with some academic disciplines” (Josef Wolf). A new building was erected between 1752 and 1765. After the suppression of the Jesuit order, the College was taken over by the Piarists, and was named *Universitas*, as mentioned in 1775. During the reign of Joseph II, with the number of universities reduced to three (Vienna, Lviv, and Pest), in 1780 the college received the rank of royal academic high school (*Lyceum Regium Academicum*), having an academic class of philosophy. In 1785, Saint Joseph’s College and the nobiliary boarding school of Saint Mary were abolished. These institutions had a major role in the financial support of the students. They were re-opened in 1791. Although from a formal point of view the institution in Cluj did not compete with other European academic centers, in actual fact the college preserved its status, being considered “a place of liberal arts and sciences.” As indicated by István Pállya, the rector of the Piarist College, this school took sciences from the private domain and into the public sphere, for the happiness and safety of all citizens. The Cluj schools were led by a rector *rector academicus* or a *rector magnificus* (starting with 1725), assisted by a *cancellarius*. The rector took an oath in front of a miraculous icon of Saint Mary, located in the order’s church. After the reforms from the middle of the 18th century, the rector was named *Colegii Academici et Almae Universitatis Rector Magnificus*. The rector, together with the two deans (*decanus theologiae*, *decanus philosophiae*) and the chancellor constituted the college’s bench. In 1776, the Court in Vienna, together with the rector, appointed Dionysius Bánffy, baron of Losoncz, as director of the university.

Given the Jesuit interest in an education grounded in the study of books, a *bibliotheca selecta* was eventually created, with a carefully selected collection of books. In the 16th century they had laid the foundation of a library in Cluj, but nothing came to pass due to the precarious status of the order and of Catholicism in Transylvania. In the 18th century, the Jesuits gathered a library with a number of texts that exceeded the recommendations of the curriculum. Unfortunately, at present we do not have even a list of books that could offer us an image of that *bibliotheca selecta*. After some researches, it is considered that at the beginning of the college, in the first years of the 18th century, there were 1,000 volumes, and their number increased to 6,000 volumes in 1773. The library was constituted through the acquisition of books (notes to that effect are

found in various diaries) or by donations of the Jesuits professors, such as Professor Imre Boér, in the second half of the 18th century. Information concerning the book collection of the Jesuits is found in the lists made up by the authorities during the suppression of the order, but these lists do not offer data on the titles of the books, simply classifying them by field. From a linguistic point of view, 156 were in German, 108 in Hungarian, 7 in Slavonic (illyrici), and one in Romanian. The catalogues of the Piarist library, which also included the books of the Jesuits, for the last three decades of the 18th century confirmed a massive presence of European books. The library included the writings of Bossuet, the promoter of the national autonomy of the church, Febronius' writings, remarkable for their criticism of the pope, as well as texts by Josephine authors such as Eybel, Rieger, Sonnenfels, Martini, by Heineccius and Puffendorf, historians of natural law, by Wolff, Beccaria, Iselin, or Montesquieu, representatives of the Enlightenment.

The publications necessary to education and to missionary work were also provided by a printing shop, which opened in 1727 and functioned during the presence of the Jesuit order in Cluj. It published manuals and other texts of the Jesuits, with an agricultural and health-related content that reflected the program of the enlightened absolutism of the Habsburgs. In 1773, the printing press was taken over by the Gubernium, and between 1783 and 1812 it was owned by Batthyány.

The bases of this education were expressed in the *Ratio et institutio studiorum*, drawn up at the end of the 16th century by a commission led by the priest Claudio Aquaviva. Considered a general regulation concerning the creation of Jesuit schools all over Catholic Europe, it also provided for adjustments according to the specificity of each particular school. The humanistic and scholastic dimension of this education is rather obvious. Its aim was the acquisition of Latin, and the higher levels focused on poetics, logic, and metaphysics. Natural and hard sciences had a more modest presence, just like the education in vernacular languages (starting with Charles VI's reign, knowledge of German became mandatory; Daniel Cornides was appointed preceptor for German within the college in 1771).

Starting with the school reform of 1753, we see a reorientation towards lay education, and new disciplines appeared in the curriculum. Studies lasted for 7–8 years, comprising two classes of grammar, two classes of humanities (three after 1753) and two mandatory years of philosophy. Among the studied disciplines, besides the aforementioned ones, there were classes for natural sciences, geography, trigonometry, Newtonian mathematics, post-Ptolemaic astronomy and natural law (course taught by Imre Boér). In the nobiliary boarding school, classical languages, music, arithmetic, and the vernacular languages were stud-

ied; starting with 1751 the use of German was introduced as a general rule. Initially, in Cluj education started only with the humanistic curriculum, and only in 1712 it came to include theology courses. Consequently, Antonius Szeredai, who obtained *suprema philosophiae laurea* at Cluj, continued with theology at Trnava. Under the Piarists' authority, after 1774, the University of Cluj suffered a series of transformations. The structure of the three previous faculties changed, and the institution operated with faculties of philosophy, medicine, and theology. Four chairs were established within the faculty of theology, with new professors: church history and polemic theology, Hebrew, dogmatic theology and moral theology. In 1777, theological studies were transferred to Alba Iulia. The Law School was created in 1774 with three professors, each of them earning 700 florins a year. Within this faculty, four chairs functioned: criminal law, canon law, Austrian law, and state sciences. The juridical education in the last decade of the century reflects the developments in Transylvanian society. In 1796 the curriculum included disciplines such as mining and economic law, statistics, agrarian economy, mathematics, physics; the teaching of mathematics diversified into theoretical and practical mathematics, and in 1779–1789 a new chair of history and another one of natural sciences were created. Within the same faculty, medicine was introduced as an autonomous chair, with two professors, teaching surgery, anatomy, and obstetrics. Later on, these were completed with courses in ophthalmology, veterinarian medicine, physiology, medical practice, chemistry and botany.

In the first years of the Jesuit school of Cluj, education took place in an inadequate building, near the city walls, not far from where the Jesuits would build their own complex. During the winter, as a former student of the school, Peter Apor, remembered, the rooms were very dark, and the professors could hardly read from the books, the students being obliged to raise the necessary money for candles.

To accomplish the educational mission of the Jesuits and to increase its social impact, ensuring the revival of Catholicism, history was introduced in the curriculum in 1737. The measure was in consonance with the modifications brought to the curriculum in 1735 by the Jesuit Franz Molindes, through the act known as *Instructio privata seu Typus cursus annui*, which demanded a more thorough study of history. Charles VI, who in the same year approved these modifications in a patent called *Über die Ordnung und Einrichtung der Schule*, introduced the mandatory requirement whereby the professors of the Jesuit schools had to know German. The teaching of history combined the patriotic perspective with hagiography, in order to increase the prestige of the Habsburgs in the province. A poem from 1722 praised a series of heroes, from John Zápolya and Sigismund Rákóczi to Charles VI, seen as the emperor of the Holy Ro-

man Empire and not as the king of Hungary or prince of Transylvania. In 1725, Stephen Dobner, receiving a Ph.D. in Cluj, used the opportunity to speak highly of Stephen Báthory, the king of Poland, and of Charles VI, the emperor, as patrons of the Jesuit College. The history of the region—that of the presence of the Jesuits in Cluj—was completed with that of the Hungarian kings, in an attempt to cast a bridge between the culture of the 18th century and the early history of the province. Systematically, the history of Baroque inspiration from the second half of the 18th century was replaced by a world history animated by the spirit of the time and by a polemical history involved in the political controversies of the province. The history, the poems, the theatrical representations and the writings in the field of natural sciences promoted the idea of a Dacian land, legitimizing the Habsburg control over Transylvania. The school theatre promoted by the Catholic religious orders developed together with other forms of public performance, such as recitation and academic defense, both of them playing a cultural and instructive role. In the Hungarian territories, the theater of the Piarists and of the Jesuits contributed to the creation of the literary Hungarian language and to the preservation of the Baroque language as a living language in a nation that continued to use Latin in the administration until the 19th century.

Like many other theatrical plays from the Baroque period, these represented the competition between good and evil, between redemption unto Jesus Christ and the powers of the devil. The Hungarian Jesuit theater comprised elements from all over the world. Special attention was given to the subjects concerning the history of Hungary, especially to those suggesting that Hungary had a special mission as a Catholic nation. The piety of the first Christian kings of Hungary had a special significance in Transylvania, where the main part of the population was Protestant. The theater, the public recitations, and academic disputes promoted the morality of what a particular historian named the “ideal Baroque.” The story of the Catholic conversion of the dynasty that founded the medieval kingdom of Hungary was meant to consecrate the authority of the Holy Crown over Transylvania, even if that crown had passed to a foreign dynasty. Education was meant to consolidate dynastic loyalty and ensure the conversion or the return to Catholicism of a large number of people from Transylvania. The Catholic higher education of Cluj operated within its classical limits, stressing public eloquence and linguistic knowledge.

THE 1770 report of the Jesuit superior to the authorities mentioned that since 1693, 744 professors within the Jesuit order had taught within the College of Cluj; in the same year, there were 15 Jesuit professors, 6 lay magisters, and 8 assistants. In 1786, the number of theology professors

was reduced to two; their income came from the study fund administrated by the *Commissio Catholica*, in the amount of 500 florins each, while the other professors received 135 florins a year. Beginning with 1683, among the Jesuits in Cluj-Mănăştur we find Ladislaus Baranyai, mentioned as “professor” and probably teaching Latin grammar. At the end of the century we find references to Paulus Szamoroczi, who taught rhetoric, and Paulus Adamovich, who also died in Cluj. Throughout the century in question, among the most important faculty members we find Imre Bókai, Joseph Radnóti, Andrei Ilia, George Daróczi, Francis Fasching, Johannes Fridvaldszky, and Maximilian Holl. Some of them were of Romanian origin, such as Andrei Ilia, Antonie Muscă, Nicolae Muscă, Ştefan Duma, Mihail Leştian, Ladislau Dobra, Gheorghe Jurj, Mihail Buruiană, and Iosif Voicu. Among the best-known Jesuit professors who were present in Cluj, we mention the historian Samuel Timon, rector of the college between 1725 and 1726. He drew up a history of Hungary and published several other history books. Another important name was that of Johannes Fridvaldszky, considered one of the pioneers in agronomy and geology. He graduated in Vienna and in 1767 he published his dissertation about the gold deposits in Transylvania. In Cluj, he taught philosophy and mathematics. After the order’s suppression, he continued to teach in the city as an honored professor, obtaining a life annuity from Empress Maria Theresa after inventing a new method for the production of paper. The best-known personality associated with the Jesuit education in Cluj was Maximilian Holl. After 1755, we find him in Cluj teaching mathematics and physics, and conducting research in magnetism and electricity. For the needs of the school, he published a manual about the principles of mathematics in natural philosophy. After the order’s suppression, he continued his career at the University of Vienna, becoming at the same time royal astronomer to Empress Maria Theresa.

Ioan Piuriu-Molnar (1749–1815) was one of the most remarkable professors of the Piarist school’s Institute of Surgery. He studied in Cluj, Sibiu, and Vienna, training as a specialist in ophthalmology and becoming “professor and doctor in the healing of the eyes.” He started working as doctor in the Romanian regiment from Banat, where he was an educator for one year, and in 1777 he was appointed ophthalmologist in Transylvania. His medical reputation opened the gates for the ophthalmology chair within the academy of Cluj. In 1790, the Imperial Hungarian-Transylvanian Office invited him to teach every year a course in ophthalmology lasting three months, and to become thus a professor of this academy. Leopold II appointed him professor on 21 January 1791, with a salary of 450 florins. An additional 150 florins were offered from the “study fund” and, from that particular fund, microscopes and other devices necessary for education were also bought.

The Jesuit schools of Cluj educated 20,487 youths at various levels of education, between 1693 and 1773. The number of students increased every year: 50 students in 1703, 90 in 1706, 186 in 1711, 387 in 1747, 427 in 1753, 493 in 1771. In the last decades of the century, during the period of the Piarist schools, the number of students decreased: in 1777 there were 346 students, while in 1788 there were only 85. This decrease can be associated with the suppression of the seminary and the college under Joseph II. Although the education provided by the Jesuits in Cluj was free of charge, a fee was nevertheless collected for the academic titles awarded. To obtain a high school diploma one paid around 1 florin and 30 kreutzers. A bachelor's degree in theology cost 2 florins, and for a Ph.D. the tax was 4 florins. There were also taxes for the public defense of one's dissertation: a commoner paid 12 kreutzers and a nobleman 1 florin and 30 kreutzers. Since the first days of the mission's presence in Transylvania, the students had to pay a high fee: 100 Hungarian florins per year for a nobleman's son. Although the Jesuit education sought to be of academic level and wanted to attract only the social elite, the great number of boarding schools for the sons of noblemen being a case in point, orphans and poor children were also present. Within this *seminarium pauperum*, teaching displayed considerable paternalist overtones, and the severity of Jesuit schools gained considerable notoriety. This led to tensions and disputes between the students and the representatives of the order. For example, in 1717, a year of drought and famine, there were a series of disputes in the seminary, where a riot started against one professor. The situation returned to normal only when supplementary rations were offered to the students. The leaders of the riot were publicly punished. The reports of the order mentioned, on other occasions, problems linked to the acceptance of disciplinary rules, briefly stating that "many were unable to conform to the rigors of discipline." The majority of students were Hungarians, a part of them Saxons, but there were also some Romanians. The Uniate Synod held in Cluj in 1728 received a demand whereby the Uniate should not send their children to "schismatic" or "heretic" schools, any deviation being punished for the clerics with 24 florins and for the laymen with 12 florins. The first known Romanian student of the Cluj college is mentioned in 1719, and until the order's suppression more than 30 Romanians attended the Jesuit College. The great majority of them came from noble families and, from a religious point of view, the majority were Greek-Catholic, but the Orthodox were also represented. From a total of 325 persons receiving a baccalaureate diploma between 1725 and 1752, 10 were Romanians, and, for the same period, 8 of the 230 Ph.D. candidates were also Romanian.

Fifteen of the eighteen aforementioned Romanians were of noble origin. In the last decade of the 17th century, the rector of the Jesuit College, András

Horváth, increased the number of Romanian students in Cluj. A number of outstanding representatives of the social and political life of the Romanians from Transylvania frequented the Jesuit College: Ioan Patachi, Inochentie Micu, Petru Pavel Aaron, Atanasie Rednic, Grigore Maior, Ioan Lemeni, Vasile Moga, Silvestru Caliani, Meletie Neagoe, Filotei Laszlo, Gheorghe Șincai, and Gheorghe Lazăr. Some of them occupied administrative positions in the province or in Vienna, while others became army officers within the borders regiments.

The presence of Catholic religious orders in Cluj in the 18th century, and especially of the Jesuits and the Piarists, produced effects in three directions: education, missionarism, and urban churches. With the support of the Habsburgs and despite the opposition of Protestant circles, the city of Cluj changed its face. Before physically altering the urban space, the Catholics tried to cultivate an intellectual climate in which the missionary attempts would succeed (Paul Shore). The role of education in promoting this agenda was quite central, as it spread the message and the symbolism of what Pietas Austria represented in a frontier region of Western Catholicism.

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Abstract**Academic Education in 18th Century Cluj**

The paper discusses the developments occurred in the education system of Cluj city during the 18th century, chiefly under the impact of the policies pursued by the Court in Vienna and intended to reassert Catholicism and to place the education system in the service and under the control of the state authorities. Among the aspects discussed in the paper we find the introduction of compulsory German classes, the activity of the Jesuit Order, the attempts to establish a local university, the disagreements among the recognized denominations, the restrictions concerning the Protestants, the activity of the Reformed College, of the Unitarian College, and especially of the Jesuit and then Piarist institution of higher education.

Keywords

Cluj higher education, Habsburg Empire, Enlightenment, Reformed College of Cluj, Jesuit schools, Piarists