

## ***NICOLAE PĂTRAȘCU, SON OF MICHAEL THE BRAVE, AND THE JESUIT COLLEGE OF CLUJ***

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**Abstract** From the first half of 20th century to the present day, the Romanian historiography present that Nicolae Pătrașcu, the son of Michael the Brave, enrolled to Jesuit College at Cluj. In the present study I propose to research this subject, trying to answer some questions: did the son of Michael the Brave truly attend the school in Cluj and if he did, when? What are the sources that relate to such a possibility and do they fully support the hypothesis? When were the sources issued? When did Nicolae Pătrașcu come to Cluj?

**Keywords** Nicolae Pătrașcu, Jesuit College, Michael the Brave, Andrew Báthory, City Accounts of Cluj.

In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Transylvania was characterized by a series of religious debates. This created the premises for cohabitation and flourishing of various doctrines and religious practices. With the death of bishop Johannes Statilius in 1542, the bishopric's estates were taken over by queen Isabela. All this diminished the influence of the Catholic Church in Transylvania. As effect, a favourable context for the spreading of the Reformation in this geographical area was created. Like all the other settlements, Cluj had come to know this tumult. Due to this fact the Unitarian politics of Francisc David called antitrinitarism, to which the town magistrate adhered, managed to gain ground.

Peace would not last long in the town located on the river Someș. With the death of Johannes Sigismudus Zápolya, a new catholic prince of Transylvania would be named in the Pearson of Stephan Báthory. Being supported by the Catholic Church and with the help of the Jesuits, Báthory tried to reinstate the power of the Roman Church<sup>1</sup>. Among the projects

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\* doi: 10.26424/philobib.2019.24.2.14

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<sup>1</sup> Szegedi Edit, "Reforma în Transilvania. Constituirea identităților confesionale", in: *Istoria Transilvaniei*, ed. Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Năgler, Magyari András, vol. II (De la 1541 până la 1711), (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2005), 237-247.

initiated by him were the establishment of a Jesuit school in Cluj. The aim of its educational program was to bring up children in the spirit of the Latin Church. Between 1579-1581 the new institution aligned with the periods European educational standards opened in Cluj. The main purpose of the school was to attract students to the Western Church Confession. Despite this, students were not compelled to attend mass. Because of this a large number of young people, catholic, as well as 'heretics' enrolled in the school from Cluj<sup>2</sup>.

It was, for a long period of time believed that one of the students that attended the newly instated Jesuit School of Cluj was Nicolae Pătrașcu, son of Michael the Brave, voivode of Wallachia. This hypothesis was first mentioned in Romanian historiography in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and has since been reiterated in various historical works. In the present study I propose to research this subject, trying to answer some questions: did the son of Michael the Brave truly attend the school in Cluj and if he did, when? What are the sources that relate to such a possibility and do they fully support the hypothesis? When were the sources issued? When did Nicolae Pătrașcu come to Cluj? Before attempting to debate questions it is of the utmost importance to review the historical data, as well as the given arguments for the premise that Michael the Brave's son attended school in Cluj.

The first mention regarding the attendance of the courses in Cluj by Nicolae can be found in the 7<sup>th</sup> volume of *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești* [Documents regarding the history of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia], edited by Andrei Veress and published in 1932. While making a review of the type of documents from the volume, the editor shortly mentions the travels of Michael the Brave's son in the Habsburg Empire. He talks about the numerous requests issued by Nicolae Pătrașcu in Latin regarding the retrieval of the fatherly inheritance. These are an expression of how troubling the financial situation of the voivodes' son was. In the same time, they illustrate Nicolae's knowledge of Latin, the language he learned at Jesuit College. Being an introductory part of the volume, written with the purpose of capturing the public's attention, Andrei Veress did not make use of a critical apparatus and, as effect, he does not mention the exact source that mentions the attendance of the school from Cluj by Nicolae<sup>3</sup>.

Andrei Veress's affirmation was taken *ad litteram*, without any further research, by Ștefan Meteș in his work *Domni și boieri din țările române în orașul Cluj* [Princes and Boyars from the Wallachian states in the town of Cluj]. The historian, while debating the connection between the Transylvanian town and Michael the Brave, touches the subject of Nicolae's studies at the Jesuit College. Meteș argues that Nicolae attended the school between 1595 and 1600. He based his assumption on the text written by Veress in the foreword of the above mentioned volume<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Începuturile: Colegiul iezuit din 1579-1581", in: *Istoria Universității „Babeș-Bolyai”*, ed. Ovidiu Ghitta, (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2012), 16-21.

<sup>3</sup> "Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării-Românești" ed. Andrei Veress, vol. VII. Acte și scrisori (1602-1606), (București: Cartea Românească, 1934), IX-X.

<sup>4</sup> Ștefan Meteș, "Domni și boieri din Țările Române în orașul Cluj și românii din Cluj", (Cluj: Astra, 1935), VII-VIII.

The presumption was put under question by Nicolae Iorga in his monography dedicated to the Wallachian voivodes. While describing the conquest of Transylvania by Michael the Brave, the historian mentions in a footnote the affirmation made by Veress. Iorga, loyal to scientific accuracy, expresses the need bring further documentary evidence in order to sustain the hypothesis. The lack of such determined the scholar of the middle ages to express doubt when it comes to Nicolae having learned Latin from the Jesuits<sup>5</sup>.

Shortly after the publication of the works of Meteș and Nicolae Iorga, an issue of *Patria* [Homeland] newspaper from 1936 featured a new unsigned article entitled *Fiul lui Mihai Viteazul, elev al Colegiului iezuiților din Cluj* [The son of Michael the Brave, student at the Jesuit College of Cluj]. The author of the article stated that Nicolae Pătrașcu studied in Cluj between 1595-1600 „și probabil și după ce tatăl său a cucerit Transilvania”<sup>6</sup>. As expected from a newspaper article addressed to an extended audience, with no specialization in the historical field, the source employed by the author is unknown<sup>7</sup>.

Nicolae Iorga was the only one to have treated the affirmation made by Andrei Veress with scepticism. Later on M. Ciuntu, in his work *Pretendenți domnești în sec. XVII* [Princely contenders in the 17<sup>th</sup> century], noted that „s-a susținut în ultimul timp că fiul de Domn a învățat la iezuiții din Cluj și că aceste studii s-ar așeza între 1595 și 1599; dovada nu s-a adus încă”<sup>8</sup>. In this aspect, Ciuntu mentions the works of Ștefan Meteș and Nicolae Iorga, as well as a reference Andrei Veress made to a document from 1602 in volume 7<sup>th</sup> from *Documente privind istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*. The charter talks about a financial aid request addressed by Nicolae Pătrașcu to the Habsburg emperor, Rudolf the 2<sup>nd</sup>. Veress speaks about the short biography of the issuer written in the footnote to the published charter. It starts with the affirmation that Nicolae „a fost așezat de tatăl său în colegiul iezuiților din Cluj ca să învețe carte latinească”<sup>9</sup>. Despite this, the author notes that Veress does not mention the exact source for augmenting that the son of Michael the Brave was enrolled in the school<sup>10</sup>.

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the professor and later on head of The University of Cluj, Ștefan Pascu, together with Viorica Marica, wrote a monography of medieval Cluj. Shortly debating the subject of the school system from Cluj, the historians mention Nicolae Pătrașcu as disciple of the Jesuit College between 1595-1600. The documentary source that comes to validate the enrolment of the voivodes' son in the school system of Cluj is not mentioned<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Nicolae Iorga, “Istoria lui Mihai Viteazul”, vol. II, (București, 1935), 1, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> And probably even after his father conquered Transylvania.

<sup>7</sup> “Fiul lui Mihai Viteazul, elev al Colegiului iezuiților din Cluj”, in *Patria*, 1, XII, 1936, special number.

<sup>8</sup> It had been affirmed in that period that Nicolae Pătrașcu attended the Jesuit School in Cluj between 1595 and 1599, but the proof was yet to have been retrieved.

<sup>9</sup> Nicolae was put by his father in the Jesuit college of Cluj to learn Latin. “Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării-Românești”, ed. Andrei Veress, vol. VII. Acte și scrisori (1602-1606), 97.

<sup>10</sup> M. Ciuntu, “Pretendenții Domnești în sec. XVII”, (Universul, 1940), 9.

<sup>11</sup> Ștefan Pascu, Viorica Marica, “Clujul medieval”, (București: Meridiane, 1969), 64.

The same professor writes a few years later, in a monography of the history of Cluj from Antiquity until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, an article regarding the social and political situation of the city in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Presenting, among others issues, the political programs of Michael the Brave, as prince of Transylvania, Ștefan Pascu mentions that voivode had an active interest in the Jesuit school, attended even by his son, Nicolae Pătrașcu. Once again, the medievalist does not mention the document that confirms his fact<sup>12</sup>.

A more detailed inquiry of the subject was made by Damian Todîța in the monography entitled *Pătrașcu Cel Tânăr, fiul lui Mihai Viteazu* [Pătrașcu the Young, son of Michael the Brave]. The aim of this study was the life of son of the Wallachian voivode, from its beginnings until his death. The life of Nicolae is presented as being shattered by a canon sound heard at the beginning of his father's reign. In 1595 Wallachia was again threatened by the ottoman army. Using an army unit inferior to the one of the Turks, Michael the Brave asked his neighbours from across the Carpathians for help, more precisely prince of Transylvania and voivode of Moldavia. In all this time, the Wallachian voivode sent his family to Sibiu for shelter. Damian Todîța stated that Michael sent his wife and children in Transylvania with two purposes. The first was to be safe from the Turkish danger and the second was the occasion of the wedding of Sigismund Báthory with Maria Christierna. It is precisely this period, in which Nicolae travelled through Transylvania, that he is remembered by historiography as being a student at the Jesuit College. Damian Todîța, using the documents issued between 1595-1600 and published in various editions, reports that there is no source that can certify his enrolment at the mentioned school. If he would have been a disciple of the college, in 1596, at 12 years of age, el trebuie să fi început cursul inferior<sup>13</sup>. In the summer of 1597-1598 Nicolae is mentioned as being in Wallachia. The monography's author raises the question of Pătrașcu being on holydays, but there are no documents that could further argue his enrolment in any school whatsoever<sup>14</sup>.

A key detail in researching of the subject, that puts Damian Todîța in front of other historians, is that he mentions a *regest* of a document from 1599, published by Andrei Veress in the *Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu. De rebus Transylvanicis temporibus principum Bathory 1579-1613*. The document was issued by Andrew Báthory. It refers to a recommendation of the prince addressed to the Jesuits from Cluj to enrol Nicolae Pătrașcu in the school program. The letter, most probably was not of use to Nicolae, because a few months later Transylvania was conquered by his father. Damian Todîța considered the existence of such a document part of Michael's attempt to convince Báthory of his loyalty and of the fact that he did not intend to wage war against him. As proof of the friendship, the Wallachian voivode asked the prince „să-l primească pe Pătrașcu la o școală înaltă cum era cea din Cluj”<sup>15</sup>. Damian Todîța, despite

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<sup>12</sup> "Istoria Clujului", ed. Ștefan Pascu, (Cluj, 1974), 149.

<sup>13</sup> He most probably underwent the inferior cycle of education.

<sup>14</sup> Damian Todîța, "Pătrașcu cel Tânăr, fiul lui Mihai Viteazul", (București: Albatros, 1982), 23-24.

<sup>15</sup> To accept Pătrașcu in a school with high standard education, like the one in Cluj. Damian Todîța, "Pătrașcu cel Tânăr, fiul lui Mihai Viteazul", 35.

collecting all this information from historiography and documents, does not pursue their analysis. He does, however, leave room for further research. Todîța states that even though the intellectual formation of Nicolae in Cluj is questioned, it is sure that the son of Michael the Brave studied Latin. Proof of this fact are the letters written by Nicolae in this language. The historian also launches the supposition that he could have learned Latin at the principal court in Wallachia or in other Wallachian schools<sup>16</sup>.

The studies of Nicolae Pătrașcu at the Jesuit College are mentioned in more recent works. In 1999, Radu Mârza published an article entitled *Implicarea familiei în diplomație la Mihai Viteazul: Practica trimerii familiei proprii ca ostatică la partenerii politici* [The involvement of family in the diplomacy of Michael the Brave: the practice of offering the family as hostage to political partners]. In this paper he shortly presents the diplomatic policy of Michael the Brave with Andrew Báthory. The information mentioned by Andrei Veress regarding the attendance of the Jesuit College by Nicolae Pătrașcu must be understood, as professor Mârza argues, from this perspective. The historian does not detail the subject as the article does not aim at following the educational track of the voivodes son, but to identify the moments in which Michael used his family as guarantee for the honouring treaties carried on with different political powers<sup>17</sup>.

Michael the Brave represents one of the most studied historical figures starting with the 19<sup>th</sup> century until nowadays. Researches are mostly focused on the military politics led by the voivode, and in this context some historians have shifted their attention on the people surrounding Michael, either the ones that fought besides him as representatives of the military, either in what concerns diplomacy, so that his plans could be fulfilled. Among the researchers concerned with the military and diplomatic personnel active during the reign of Michael the Brave is Ștefan Grigorescu. In 2011 he published a paper entitled *Căpitanii lui Mihai Viteazul* [The Generals of Michael the Brave]. In the eight years of his reign, his son, Nicolae, had a military role that can be found in Grigorescu's study. The historian shortly describes Pătrașcu's life from birth to his death. Like other historians, he also mentions the period Nicolae spend at the Jesuit College. The author bases his affirmation on the above mentioned work of Damian Todîța, whose information was not critically analysed by Ștefan Grigorescu<sup>18</sup>.

In 2012 a volume dedicated to the history of the Babeș-Bolyai University, was published under the coordination of Professor Ovidiu Ghitta. The medieval past of this cultural institution was described by professor and member of the Romanian Academy of Science, Ioan-Aurel Pop. In the chapter *Începuturile colegiului iezuit 1579-1581* [The beginnings of the Jesuit College 1579-1581], the historian mentions that the catholic school was open not only

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<sup>16</sup> Damian Todîța, "Pătrașcu cel Tânăr, fiul lui Mihai Viteazul", 25.

<sup>17</sup> Radu Mârza, "Implicarea familiei în diplomație la Mihai Viteazul: practica trimerii familiei proprii ca ostatică la partenerii politici" in: *Familie și societate. Studii de istorie a Transilvaniei*, ed. Ionuț Costea, Valentin Orga, (Cluj: Clusium, 1999), 75.

<sup>18</sup> Ștefan Grigorescu, "Căpitanii lui Mihai Viteazul", (București: Univers Științific, 2011), 106.

for those baptized in the roman church, but also for those belonging to other religions and confessions. Ioan-Aurel Pop states that there “se știe despre un proiect prin care chiar Nicolae Pătrașcu, fiul și moștenitorul principelui Țării Românești, Mihai Viteazul, ar fi urmat să studieze la colegiul catolic clujean”<sup>19</sup>. Being a work dedicated to the large public, the rigors of historical research were left aside. As effect, the text contains no references to the corresponding source. Of course, the structure of the text, “a project through which even Nicolae Pătrașcu (... ) was to attend the catholic college from Cluj” (t.n) references the regest of the document issued in august 1599<sup>20</sup>. The researcher from Cluj used the same phrasing in an article called *Elogiul Tradiției* [Eulogy to Tradition]<sup>21</sup>.

From the information presented until this point a few considerations can be noted. The educational path of Nicolae Pătrașcu was not a profoundly studied subject until nowadays. Most of the research stating that he attended school in Cluj are related to monographs regarding the story of Michael the Brave, the city of Cluj or the history of Babeș-Bolyai University. All the works present the information that Nicolae Pătrașcu attended the school in Cluj as being certain, based on the text written by Andrei Veress in the abovementioned volume. Some authors mentioned the enrolment of Nicolae at the college in Cluj as proof of the how prestigious the school was. Yet, historians have not critically analysed this affirmation, but have instead used it as a given and tried to identify the exact period in which Nicolae conducted his studies. This was set between 1595 and 1600. Part of the researchers did express doubt with regard Nicolae actually attending the school. This hesitation was generated mainly because of the lack of a primary sources that could certify the enrolment in the catholic school. Starting with the published work of Damian Todîța, the document that determined Andrei Veress to consider that Nicolae studied at the Jesuit College entered historiography. The recommendation written by the prince of Transylvania Andrew Báthory in 11<sup>th</sup> august 1599 changed the historical perception about the educational path pursued by Pătrașcu in Cluj, making a shift from certainty to probability.

The mentioned document was published in 1921 as a regest by Andrei Veress in *Apendix VI* of the volume *Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu. De rebus Transylvanicis temporibus principum Báthory 1579-1613*<sup>22</sup>. The editor mentions that the letter could be found in original form in the bishopric archive of Alba Transilvaniae, kept in Alba Iulia, Romania<sup>23</sup>. Until today the document has not been edited, and other historians that uses it as a reference, appealed to the regest published by Andrei Veress. Over time, the archive of bishopric has undergone

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<sup>19</sup> A known project through which even Nicolae Pătrașcu, son and heir of the Wallachian voivode Michael the Brave, was to attend the catholic college from Cluj.

<sup>20</sup> Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Începuturile: Colegiul iezuit din 1579-1581”, 20.

<sup>21</sup> Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Elogiul tradiției”, in: *140 de ani de învățământ universitar în limba maghiară*, ed. Batiz Enikő, Nagy László, Soós Anna, (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2013), 15.

<sup>22</sup> “Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu. De rebus Transylvanicis temporibus principum Báthory (1579-1613)”, ed. Andreas Veress, (Budapest, 1921), 258.

<sup>23</sup> “Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu”, 270.

various changes in organization, storage and preservation<sup>24</sup>. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, at the orders of the *Gubernium* and the Diet, part of the bishopric archive was taken to Budapest<sup>25</sup>. The documents that stayed in Transylvania were again divided in 1912 when, due to security reasons the medieval charters were taken to the Batthyaneum Library of Alba Iulia<sup>26</sup>. Antal Beke, a churchman, managed the selections and placing of the documentary materials in bishopric archive. He compiled a list according to which in the collection that was taken to the library there were about 1900 documents dated before 1715<sup>27</sup>. The recent policy of the institution did not make it possible for the undersigned to consult the medieval documentary material. As effect, the prince's recommendation from 1599 could not be found and crosschecked with the published information.

Despite the lack of the document, we will attempt to rebuild the context in which the source was issued. The purpose is to see if it represents a plausible proof of the fact that Nicolae Pătrașcu attended of the school in Cluj. The prince of Transylvania, Andrew Báthory issued the letter in august 1599. The year 1599 represented a period of changes in the political scenery of Transylvania. In that spring, Sigismund Báthory, renounced the leadership of the land in favour of his cousin, Cardinal Andrew Báthory<sup>28</sup>. The former was elected prince of Transylvania by the Transylvanian Diet from March 1599<sup>29</sup>. The enthronement of Andrew was not well seen by the imperialists. As effect, even from the start of 1598, when Sigismund Báthory first renounced Transylvania, they tried to install archduke Maximilian as governor of

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<sup>24</sup> Bernád Rita, "Istoricul Arhivei Arhiepiscopale și a Capitlului de Alba Iulia", <http://gyfl.ro/ro/arhive/arhiva-arhiepiscopal/prezentare.html>, Accessed September 2019; Szögi László, "Arhiva arhidiecezană de Alba Iulia și arhiva statusului romano-catolic din Transilvania. 1429-2000. Repertoriu", in: Szögi László, "A Gyulafehérvári Érseki Levéltár és az Erdélyi Katolikus Státus Levéltára", (Gyulafehérvár-Budapest, 2006), 325-329.

<sup>25</sup> Rita Magdolna Bernád, "Organizarea și funcționarea Arhivei capitulare de Alba Iulia", in: *Revista Arhivelor*, no. 1-2 (2014), 32.

<sup>26</sup> Ileana Dârja, "Colecțiile arhivistice și muzeale ale bibliotecii naționale a României filiala „Batthyaneum” din Alba Iulia", in: *Gând românesc*, 1, no. 3, (2007), 102-103.

<sup>27</sup> Rita Magdolna Bernád, "Organizarea și funcționarea Arhivei capitulare de Alba Iulia", 34-35.

<sup>28</sup> "Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării-Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. V. Acte și scrisori (1596-1599), (București: Cartea Românească, 1932), doc. 88; Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Mihai Viteazul și Transilvania", in: *Istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. II (1541-1711), 86-87; Gábor Barta, "The first period of the Principality of Transylvania", in: *History of Transylvania*, ed. Béla Köpeczi, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 750-752.

<sup>29</sup> "Erdélyi Osztágyülési Emlékek", ed. Szilágyi Sándor, vol. IV (1597-1601), (Budapest, 1878), 277-283.

Transylvania<sup>30</sup>. The return of Sigismund in August 1598<sup>31</sup> and then a new abdication in March 1599<sup>32</sup> managed to upset the political system of Transylvania<sup>33</sup>.

Even from the start of his reign, Andrew Báthory, managed to regulate the relationships between Transylvania and the marginal countries. In this aspect he sent envoys in Moldavia and Wallachia to renew the peace treaties<sup>34</sup>. In June 1599 Michael the Brave<sup>35</sup>, and the boyars of country<sup>36</sup>, pledged to the cardinal the same loyalty they had pledged before his predecessor, Sigismund Báthory. But this was a superficial act, as the relationship between the two political leaders grew colder. Michael the Brave lost faith in an alliance with Andrew Báthory, because the prince tried to subordinate Transylvania to the Ottoman Empire<sup>37</sup>. Moreover, Báthory adhered to the plan of Ieremia Movilă, the voivode of Moldavia, to overthrow Michael from the Wallachian throne and replace him with Simion Movilă<sup>38</sup>.

These political plans were well known by Michael<sup>39</sup> who tried to organize his army and acquire military help from the Habsburg Emperor. In the summer and fall of 1599 Michael corresponded with Rudolf the 2<sup>nd</sup>. Andrew Báthory wanted to know the purpose of these correspondence<sup>40</sup>. For that, Toma Csörtomány was sent in Wallachia to find out what the strengths of his adversary were and to find out the plans of the Wallachian voivode. Contemporary chroniclers recount that Andrew Báthory ordered Toma to find out what were Michael's plans and force him to flee the country. The voivode from Wallachia, knowing the intentions of his neighbours and having time to organize his army, answered Báthory through an envoy telling him exactly what he wanted to hear: that he will renounce the reign of the state if the prince could grant him and his family protection. Csörtomány answered that he could do this in Transylvania, a thing approved by Michael<sup>41</sup>. The negotiations between the

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<sup>30</sup> "Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării-Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. V, doc. 95, 110.

<sup>31</sup> Petre P. Panaitescu, "Documente privitoare la istoria lui Mihai Viteazul", (București, 1936), doc. 22; "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești, ed. Andrei Veress, vol. V, doc. 112, 118.

<sup>32</sup> "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești, ed. Andrei Veress, vol. V, doc. 136, 138.

<sup>33</sup> Ion I. Nistor, "Istoria Românilor", vol. I, (București: Biblioteca Bucureștilor, 2002), 405.

<sup>34</sup> Manole Neagoe, "Mihai Viteazul", (Craiova: Scrisul Românesc, 1976), 151.

<sup>35</sup> "Mihai Viteazul în conștiința europeană" (hereinafter: MVCE), vol. I, Documente externe, ed. Ion Ardeleanu, Vasile Arimia, Gheorghe Bondoc, Mircea Mușat, (București: Academia RSR, 1982), doc. 82.

<sup>36</sup> MVCE, I, doc. 83.

<sup>37</sup> "Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor", vol. III (1576-1599), ed. Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki (București, 1880), doc. 249; "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești, ed. Andrei Veress, vol. V, doc. 146, 156, 157, 180.

<sup>38</sup> "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești, ed. Andrei Veress, vol. V, doc. 175.

<sup>39</sup> Manole Neagoe, "Mihai Viteazul", 148-152.

<sup>40</sup> Ion C. Petrescu, "Mihai Viteazul și arta diplomației", (Ploiești: Premier, 2009), 89-91.

<sup>41</sup> Stephanus Szamosközy, "Erdély története 1598-1599, 1603", in: MVCE, vol. II, Cronicari și Istorici Străini. Secolele XVI-XVII. Texte alese (București: Academia RSR, 1983), ed. Ion Ardeleanu, Vasile Arimia, Gheorghe Bondoc, Mircea Mușat, 162-163; Manole Neagoe, "Mihai Viteazul", 163-166.



envoy and the Wallachian voivode managed to calm Báthory for the moment, but he continued to receive news about Michael's military preparations, and about a possible plan to invade Transylvania. The voivode caught sight of the prince's suspicion and, to further mask his plans, send Treasurer Damian and Preda in Transylvania. They informed Andrew Báthory that the Turks are attacking Hungary and the Habsburg Empire could not withstand such a threat. As an ally to the Christians he should help them defeat the pagans. Because of this, Michael asked the price to allow the passing of his army through Transylvania, so he can junction with the empyreal troops and support them. Andrew confessed that he does not necessarily need the Wallachian help, and if they really want to help the Empire, they could do it by attacking the Turks South of the Danube. That area was shallowly guarded and the manoeuvre could distract the ottomans' attention, who should withdraw in the area threatened by the Wallachian's. Although Andrew Báthory did not approve the crossing of an army, the aim of the Damian and Preda's diplomatic mission was not to get the prince to agree, but to distract him, to make him believe that the wasn't in any danger<sup>42</sup>. Still, Báthory sent Pongrác Sennyey to the voivode to uncover any plans, because he did not want the Wallachian army threatening his reign<sup>43</sup>. Sennyey returned to the cardinal expressing the good thoughts Michael had about him. The ruler mentioned that he was willing to send his entire family as hostages in Transylvania and the prince could make sure that his son learned Latin.

The correspondence between the Transylvanian envoy and Michael the Brave recorded in chronicles. One contemporary chronicler of Michael, that writes in 1603 a work on the history of Transylvania between 1598-1599, was Stephen Szamosközy. Because of his work we know that Michael the Brave asked the price to make sure that Nicolae Pătrașcu would learn *litterae latine*<sup>44</sup>.

In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, another chronicler, Mathias Milles writes a book called *Siebenbürgischer Würg-Engel*. Among other information, he also mentions the correspondence between Andrew Báthory's representative and Michael the Brave. Milles argues that the envoy to whom Michael reveals his intention to send his family as hostages in Transylvania was Gáspár Kornis. To him, the Wallachian voivode told that if the alliance letters and the woes were not sufficient to prove his loyalty, then the prince should send his brother, Stephen Báthory to Turnu Rosu, where he could meet him, his wife and his son, Nicolae Pătrașcu. There he would tell Stephen all his secrets. Would this act not be enough, he was willing even to send the family as hostages in Transylvania. This act had the purpose of dispatching any doubt regarding his loyalty. During this account, Milles noted that in Michael also asked that his family be well guarded and his son be initiated in Latin once they were in Făgăraș, if he had to send them North of the Carpathians<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> Mathias Miles, "Siebenbürgischer Würg-Engel", in: *MVCE*, vol. II, 338.

<sup>43</sup> Stephanus Szamosközy, "Erdély története 1598-1599, 1603", 164.

<sup>44</sup> Stephani Szamosközi, "Rerum Transylvanarum. Pentas Qvinta", in: *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, (Budapest, 1876), 282.

<sup>45</sup> Mathias Miles, "Siebenbürgischer Würg-Engel", 339.

The correspondence between the Transylvanian envoy and Michael the Brave is also depicted in later chronicles from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. One work that is remarkable for this period is that of Johann Christian von Engel called *Geschichte des Ungrischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer*. The author mentions the same intention of the voivode to argue his fidelity to the prince by sending his family to be imprisoned by Andrew Báthory. This would be on the condition that Andrew would kindly see this as proof of his faith and would agree to take care that his son, Pătrașcu, learned Latin<sup>46</sup>.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Saxon chronicler Willibald Stefan Teutschlaender, writes *Michael der Tapfere*. In this work the author described the personality of the voivode from the start of his reign to his last battle. He did not overlook the moments preceding the conquest of Transylvania by the Wallachian prince. Describing the diplomatic politics of Michael the Brave with Andrew Báthory, Teutschlaender mentions that the voivode attempted to strengthen his alliance with the cardinal. He notes that Michael would have been capable to give his family as prisoners if Andrew Báthory would have granted them adequate protection and, especially, if he would take care that his son be given the conditions to learn Latin<sup>47</sup>.

After his repeated attempts to distort any suspicions Andrew Báthory had about an attack, and to make him believe his military preparation were addressed to the Ottoman Empire, Michael sent boyar Mihalcea to the prince with the intention of spying the army quartered near Sebeș. Mihalcea, having the same role as the Treasurer Damian, confessed to the prince that the Wallachian voivode wanted to attack the Turks south of the Danube and for this he needed confirmation that there will be no danger coming from the Transylvanian parts. Andrei promised the principality will not attack. But peace did not last long. At the end of October Michael entered Transylvania with his army. At Șelimbăr one could hear the sound of canons<sup>48</sup>. After about five hours of fight<sup>49</sup>, the Cardinal was defeated<sup>50</sup>.

It is in this political context that prince Andrew Báthory issued the recommendation letter for Pătrașcu. Given the fact and the event it cannot be a reliable proof of the enrolment of Michael the Brave's son at the Jesuit College. It is more the result of a diplomatic policy lead

<sup>46</sup> Johann Christian von Engel, "Geschichte des Ungrischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer", in: *MVCE*, vol. III. Istoriografia străină din secolul al XIX-lea. Texte alese, ed. Ion Ardeleanu, Vasile Arimia, Gheorghe Bondoc, Mircea Mușat, (București: Academia RSR, 1984), 68.

<sup>47</sup> Willibald Stefan Teutschlaender, "Michael der Tapfere. Ein Zeit- und Charakterbild aus der Geschichte Rumäniens", in: *MVCE*, vol. III, 381.

<sup>48</sup> Nicolae Iorga, "Istoria lui Mihai Viteazul", vol. II, (București, 1935), 1-8; Petre P. Panaitescu, "Mihai Viteazul" (București, 1936), 155-159.

<sup>49</sup> Hieronymus Ortelius, "Chronologia oder Historische beschreibung aller Kriegs-Empörungen und belagerungen der Stat und Vestungen auch Schramützeln und Schlachten so in Ober-und Unter-Ungern auch Sibenbürgen mit dem Türcken von A<sup>o</sup> 1395 biss auff gegenwertige Zeit denckwürtig geschehen", in: *MVCE*, vol. II, 59.

<sup>50</sup> "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. V, doc. 183, 188, 190, 192.

by the voivode with prince Andrei. This manoeuvre was most likely used to convince the prince that he is faithful. Moreover, given the date of the letter<sup>51</sup> and the moment Transylvania was conquered by Michael<sup>52</sup>, it is impossible to believe that Nicolae could have physically attended the courses at the Jesuit College.

As one can observe from the above mentioned facts, there are even historiography assumptions that consider Nicolae to have attended the Jesuit school starting with 1595<sup>53</sup>. In order to correctly identify the period in which Michael's son could have done this, one must verify the specific rules that were in use at the school. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the humanist Antonio Possevino, made an essential contribution to the foundation and organization of the school in Cluj, by laying down some necessary regulations for the order of things<sup>54</sup>. In *Ratio seminarii pontificii et regii administrandi*, Possevino states that the minimum age for enrolment was 15 years of age, *aetas minimum erit quidencim annorum*. Only an *ingenius* student, very witty or with a high education could deflect from this rule<sup>55</sup>. It is not known if Nicolae could benefit from such an exception. Because of this I will take into consideration the general rule and consider that he had to be at least 15 years of age in order to enrol in the college.

Contemporary and later chronicles mention the age of Michael the Brave's son in the context in which he received the sings of the reign from the sultan. It was the moment in which the Ottoman Empire recognised the reign of the voivode and his son Nicolae as respective successor to the throne. The receiving of the sings of the reign took place in 1597, when Nicolae should have been 13 years of age<sup>56</sup>. As effect, the voivode's son should have been born in 1584<sup>57</sup>. In the same year in which the sultan recognizes Michael's reign, at the Silesian Balthazar Walther was present at the voivode's court. He wrote an elegy in the honour of the voivodes' son on the occasion of his birthday. The literary work was presented to Pătrașcu

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<sup>51</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> August 1599.

<sup>52</sup> October 1599.

<sup>53</sup> Ștefan Meteș, "Domni și boieri din Țările Române în orașul Cluj și românii din Cluj", VIII; Ștefan Pascu, Viorica Marica, "Clujul medieval", 64.

<sup>54</sup> "Ratio seminarii Claudiopolitani administrandi, Leges seminariorum pontificiorum", in: *Monumenta Antiquae Hungariae*, ed. Ladislaus Lukács, vol. II (1580-1586), (Romae, 1976), 423-431, 432-436; Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Începuturile: Colegiul iezuit din 1579-1581", 22-24; Ferenc Daniel Páll-Szabo, "Educația iezuită din Cluj (1576-1690)", [Teză de doctorat], (Cluj-Napoca, 2018), 92-98.

<sup>55</sup> "Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum. Epistolae et acta jesuitarum Transylvaniae temporibus principum Báthory (1571-1631)", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. I (1571-1583), (Kolozsvár, 1911), doc. 89, 274-275.

<sup>56</sup> Richard Knolles, "The Generall Historie of the Turkes (...)", in: *MCVE*, vol. II, 93; Balthasar Walther, "Brevis rerum a Michaele Moldaviae Transalpiniae sive Valachiae Palatino", in: *MVCE*, vol. II, 285; Ludewig Albrecht Gebhardi, "Allgemeine Weltgeschichte von der Shöpfung on bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit (...)", in: *MVCE*, vol. II, 499.

<sup>57</sup> Ștefan Andreescu, "Familia lui Mihai Viteazul", în: *Mihai Viteazul. Culegere de studii*, ed. Paul Cernovodeanu, Constantin Rezachevici, (București: Academia RSR, 1975), 232; Damian Todîța, "Pătrașcu cel Tânăr, fiul lui Mihai Viteazul", 15.

around the feast of St Peter and Paul<sup>58</sup>. Because of this some historians consider that he was born in June 1584, around the aforementioned feast. Another argument to this fact is the that the name of Michaels son - Pătrașcu - is a derivative of the name Saint Peter<sup>59</sup>.

From what we have seen above, Nicolae did not have the minimal age to enrol in the seminar until June 1599. Because of this the mentioned interval 1595/1596-1599/1600, that can often be found in historiography, is not realistic when taking into consideration the rules of the school and his age. Of course, if Nicolae had previously benefited from a high standard education, above his natural age, he could have done this before he turned 15. This information is not supported by any written sources.

The possibility of the voivode's son to attend the courses in Cluj can also be analysed from the perspective of his presence in the aforementioned Transylvanian town. In order to pursue such a scientific premise, it is mandatory to first compile an itinerary of Pătrașcu travels. Of course, his presence in Cluj is not a guarantee of him attending the college, but, in corroboration with other sources, it could help prove or contradict de presumption related to his education.

The first mention of Nicolae in contemporary chronicles is when his father managed to be gain the throne of Wallachia. When Alexander the Evil found out that the ban of Craiova, Michael wanted conquer the throne, he ordered his imprisoned. Michael managed to flee for Constantinople. Before that he managed to put not his family into shelter. The chronicler, Szamosközy, notes that Michael left his wife, to 'some women in the countryside', and his son 'with some gypsies'<sup>60</sup>.

Written sources also mention Nicolae in the moment preceding the battle of Călugăreni, when the voivode of Wallachia wanting to protect his family from the Turkish danger, sends them in Sibiu<sup>61</sup>. From 1595 to 1597 the voivodes' son is not mentioned in any documents or chronicles referring to the period. Because of this Damian Todîța considered that Nicolae was attending the school in Cluj during this period. As it was said above, Pătrașcu's age could have been an impediment. In the summers of 1597<sup>62</sup>, 1598<sup>63</sup> and 1599<sup>64</sup> there are charters mentioning Nicolae present in Wallachia. Together with his father, in the fall of 1599

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<sup>58</sup> Balhsar Walther, "Elegie la aniversarea nașterii Domnului de bun neam și de fire aleasă Domnului Petru (...)", in: *Literatura română veche*, ed. G. Mihăilă, Dan Zamfirescu, vol. II (1402-1647), (București: Tineret, 1969), 184-185.

<sup>59</sup> Ștefan Andreescu, "Familia lui Mihai Viteazul", 234-235.

<sup>60</sup> Ioachim Crăciun, "Cronicarul Szamosközy și însemnările lui privitoare la români. 1566-1608, Partea a II-a, Însemnările ungurești privitoare la români (Traducere)", (Cluj, 1928), 99.

<sup>61</sup> Johann Christian von Engel, "*Geschichte des Ungrischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer*", 57.

<sup>62</sup> "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. V, doc. 48.

<sup>63</sup> "MVCE", vol. I, doc. 63;

<sup>64</sup> "Ibid.", 83.

they lead the army into Transylvania<sup>65</sup>. After the conquest of the principality by Michael, Nicolae is sent to Walachia so that together with the boyars he can rule the country in the absence of his father<sup>66</sup>. He returns shortly in Transylvania in the spring of 1600<sup>67</sup>, and in May the same year he joined his father with an army battalion, for the attack on Moldavia<sup>68</sup>. After Michael conquered Moldavia, Nicolae retreated in Wallachia<sup>69</sup>.

The revolt of the Hungarian nobles from Transylvania against Michael the Brave led to the battle of Miraslău on the 18<sup>th</sup> September 1600. Nicolaus was supposed to participate in the battle with his troops, but he arrived too late<sup>70</sup>. Not being prepared, the voivode was defeated by general Basta. He went to Emperor Rudolf the 2<sup>nd</sup> to ask for help<sup>71</sup>. During this time his family was held hostage by the general<sup>72</sup>. Nicolae and his mother, Stanca, were taken in October 1600, in the castle of Gilău<sup>73</sup>. They stayed there until February 1601 when Sigismund Báthory took the command of Transylvania. General Basta was arrested and Michaels family taken to Făgăraș<sup>74</sup>.

In the summer of 1601 Michael came back to Transylvania, with the promise that the emperor will send general Basta to help him. Together with the generals' army, the voivode

<sup>65</sup> Stephanus Szamosközy, "Erdély története 1598-1599, 1603", 172; "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. V, doc.232; Ioannis Bisselius, "Aetatis nostrae gestorum eminentium Medulla Historica, per aliquot Spetennia digesta. Septennium I ab anno MDCL usque ad annum MDCVII inclusive", in: *MVCE*, vol. II, p. 301.

<sup>66</sup> "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. V, doc. 233; "Documenta Romaniae Historica, B. Țara Românească", (hereinafter: DRH), ed. Damaschin Mioc, Ștefan Ștefănescu Marieta Adam (*et. all*), vol. XI (1593-1600), (București: Academia RSR, 1975), doc. 354, 358, 359, 360, 361, 363, 366.

<sup>67</sup> Ștefan Grigorescu, "Căpitanii lui Mihai Viteazul", 107.

<sup>68</sup> "MVCE", vol. I, doc. 184; "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. VI (1600-1601). Acte și Scrisori, (București: Cartea Românească, 1933), doc. 108.

<sup>69</sup> "DRH, B. Țara Românească", doc. 391, 392, 394, 395, 396, 398, 400, 403, 405.

<sup>70</sup> Petre P. Panaitescu, "Mihai Viteazul", 221-228.

<sup>71</sup> Ileana Căzan, "Domni români creditori ai curții din Viena. Un aspect mai puțin cunoscut al relațiilor țării române cu Imperiul Habsburgic în secolele XVI-XVII", (București: Academia Română, 2012), 83-99; Ileana Căzan, "Domni români pribegi în Imperiul german, secolele XVI-XVIII", in: *Călători români în Occident. Secolele XVII-XX*, ed. Nicolae Bocșan, Ioan Bolovan, (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane&Institutul Cultural Român, 2004), 147-150.

<sup>72</sup> Szádeczky Lajos, "Erdélyi és Mihályi Vajda története. 1595-1601 oklevéttárral", (Temesvár, 1893), doc. 145; "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. VI, doc. 241, 258; Radu Mârza, "Implicarea familiei în diplomație la Mihai Viteazul: practica trimerii familiei proprii ca ostatică la partenerii politici", 77-79.

<sup>73</sup> Ștefan Grigorescu, "Căpitanii lui Mihai Viteazul", 107; Radu Mârza, "Implicarea familiei în diplomație la Mihai Viteazul: practica trimerii familiei proprii ca ostatică la partenerii politici", 80.

<sup>74</sup> Radu Mârza, "Implicarea familiei în diplomație la Mihai Viteazul: practica trimerii familiei proprii ca ostatică la partenerii politici", 80-81; "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. VI (1600-1601)", doc. 340.

manages to defeat Sigismund Báthory at Guruslău on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1601<sup>75</sup>. The success of the Wallachia ruler was not to last long. A few days later, on the field of Turda he found his death<sup>76</sup>. With this came a new page in the personal history of Nicolae, marked by a long period of travels and wanderings. In March 1602 the son and wife of Michael left for the Habsburg Empire, seeking Rudolf the 2<sup>nd</sup> for help<sup>77</sup>. Nicolae's travels in the Empire are characterised by numerous difficult situations especially from a financial point of view<sup>78</sup>. It is during this period that he formed a family. In 1618 he married Ana<sup>79</sup>, daughter for Radu Șerban, and together had three children – Michael, Gavrilaş, who died soon after, and Elinca<sup>80</sup>. In 1627 Nicolae Pătrașcu died due to a plague, in the Habsburg Empire<sup>81</sup>.

The biography of the son of Michael the Brave, together with the rules of the seminar in Cluj can help us understand that before 1599 Nicolae could not have studied in Cluj. After the conquest of Transylvania by his father, his life was filled with military conflicts, travels, and moments that could not have allowed him to attend the school. Moreover, neither his biography, neither the documents or chronicles related to his life show him present in Cluj at an adequate time.

A source that could clarify the period in which the voivode's son was in the city on the Someș are the City Accounts of Cluj. They mention Nicolae Pătrașcu as being present in Cluj between 24 and 25 October 1600<sup>82</sup>. The reason of the voivode's son presence is not mentioned. It can be known only by reviewing the political situation of the period, more exactly the days after his father, Michael he Brave, lost the battle at Miraslău. The voivode, together with ban Mihalcea, left for Prague. His family ended up being kept hostage by Basta. The latter, as mentioned, took them to the castle in Gilău. It is possible that on the road they made a short stop in Cluj. This could be the reason Nicolae was in Cluj at the end of October 1600.

In conclusion, the attendance of the school in Cluj by Michael the Braves son was brought into the historians' attention from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is, to this day, a captivating subject. It reflects not only the education of Nicolae, but also the prestige of the Jesuit College. The subject entered historiography after Andrei Veress mentioned it, with a certain degree of certainty, and subsequent historians have used the information without carefully inquiring whether it was true or false. This was based on the recommendation letter

<sup>75</sup> Petre P. Panaitescu, "Mihai Viteazul", 241-244.

<sup>76</sup> Alexandru Lepădatu, "Din zilele de cădere ale lui Mihai-Vodă Viteazul", (București, 1908), 53-65.

<sup>77</sup> "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. VII, doc. 79.

<sup>78</sup> Ileana Căzan, "Domni români creditori ai curții din Viena. Un aspect mai puțin cunoscut al relațiilor țărilor române cu Imperiul Habsburgic în secolele XVI-XVII", 100-123.

<sup>79</sup> "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. IX (1614-1636), (București, 1937), doc. 139.

<sup>80</sup> Damian Todîța, "Pătrașcu cel Tânăr, fiul lui Mihai Viteazul", 94

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 96.

<sup>82</sup> See the Annex- City Accounts of Cluj.

issued by Andrew Báthory, on 11<sup>th</sup> august 1599. The letter does not represent, as we could see in the present study, a clear proof that the son of the Wallachian voivode did enrol in the college of Cluj. Moreover, the date from the statutes of the Jesuit seminar regarding the minimal age for students who wanted to enrol in the program and the information regarding Nicolae's age, as well as the moments in which he was present in the Transylvanian town do not support the assumption regarding Pătrașcu of attendance of the school in Cluj. Of course, Michael the Brave's son did learn Latin, as proven by the mentioned historians and the documents that he issued in this language. Nicolae was able to learn the Latin language at schools other than Cluj. In 1603, one year after his arrival in the Habsburg Empire, Nicolae was sent by the emperor to the court of Archduke Ferdinand for education. Where possible that this education includes learning Latin<sup>83</sup>.

Latin language facilitated Nicolae's communication with the Emperor, as well as the understanding of various books he requested from the library in Vienna<sup>84</sup>. The willingness to pursue knowledge and to learn that characterised Nicolae until the end of his life support the fact that the son of Michael the Brave underwent a thorough education. This is not necessarily dependent on the professors from the Jesuit College from Cluj. Instead he could have benefited from teachers and scholars of Latin that swirled the royal courts in the respective period.

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<sup>83</sup> "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești", ed. Andrei Veress, vol. VII, doc. 165.

<sup>84</sup> "Documente privitoare la Istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești", ..., vol. IX, doc. 217.

*Annex- City Accounts of Cluj*<sup>85</sup>

*F 111*

Eodem die<sup>86</sup> Petrasko iuta vacziorara Bogati meny hartval gazdalkottunk neki<sup>87</sup>

Egi fel iuhot niomot 26 fontot <sup>88</sup> .....	d 52
5 tykot, pro d 8 <sup>89</sup> .....	d 40
2 ludat, pro d 20 <sup>90</sup> .....	d 40
44 font hust swtni <sup>91</sup> .....	d 88
Sot teöreöttetu <sup>92</sup> .....	d 5
Repat <sup>93</sup> .....	d 5
3 retket element, 15 fontot <sup>94</sup> .....	d 60

*F 112 anno 1600*

Diversa

Item semlingat <sup>95</sup> .....	d 20
Almat, keörtuelt <sup>96</sup> .....	d 4
Veres hagymat <sup>97</sup> .....	d 4
Fokhagymat <sup>98</sup> .....	d 3
5 eytel veczetet <sup>99</sup> .....	d 60
Peterselymet <sup>100</sup> .....	d 3
2 dezno labat <sup>101</sup> .....	d 22
7 kolbaszt <sup>102</sup> .....	d 21

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<sup>85</sup> Arh. Naț. Rom., SJ Cluj, Fond Primăria Municipiului Cluj, Socolilele orașului, Pachet 9/I, f.111-112.

<sup>86</sup> 24th October 1600.

<sup>87</sup> The same day, Pătrașcu arrived with another six persons at Bogati's dinner. I gave it to him.

<sup>88</sup> Half a sheep that weigh 26 *font* (unit of measure, equivalent to ½ kg).

<sup>89</sup> 5 chickens, one costs 8 diners.

<sup>90</sup> 2 geese, one costs 20 diners.

<sup>91</sup> 44 *font* of roasted meat.

<sup>92</sup> Borken salt.

<sup>93</sup> Bett.

<sup>94</sup> 3 fresh fish that weigh 15 *font*.

<sup>95</sup> Huck.

<sup>96</sup> Apples, pears.

<sup>97</sup> Red onion.

<sup>98</sup> Garlic.

<sup>99</sup> 5 *eitel* of vinegar. *Eitel* (unit of measure, equivalent to 0,57 l.)

<sup>100</sup> Parsley.

<sup>101</sup> 2 pig legs.



Dezno husz peczieniet <sup>103</sup> .....	d 16 ½
Zalonnat <sup>104</sup> .....	d 12
3 eytel bortaz etekben pro d 4 <sup>105</sup> .....	d 12
Fel eytel mezet <sup>106</sup> .....	d 12 ½
Tyk moniat <sup>107</sup> .....	d 4
Fel eytel vaját <sup>108</sup> .....	d 17
Fwzerzanaot varoset <sup>109</sup> .....	
70 cytot az vrak aztalara <sup>110</sup> .....	d 70
70 kemieret, pro d 4 <sup>111</sup> .....	fl 2 d 80
Item 12 kemieret, pro d 15 <sup>112</sup> .....	fl 1 d 65
Gertiam mendenesteol keoltel <sup>113</sup> .....	d 39
6 zövetneket, pro d 12 <sup>114</sup> .....	d 72
Az urak aztalara bort 36 eytelt, pro d 8 <sup>115</sup> .....	fl 2 d 72
Az kuczisott es egeeb renden lwveoknek Leorinc uram mezet 78 eytelt, pro d 4 <sup>116</sup> .....	fl 3 d 12
25 octobris ebedre az Petrasko konyhayara <sup>117</sup>	
21 font hust swtne feozne <sup>118</sup> .....	d 42
2 deszno labot <sup>119</sup> .....	d 19
Kaposztat <sup>120</sup> .....	d 40
Zilvat <sup>121</sup> .....	d 15

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<sup>102</sup> 7 sausages.

<sup>103</sup> Pork steak.

<sup>104</sup> Bacon.

<sup>105</sup> 3 *eitel* of wine for food, one *eitel* costs 4 diners.

<sup>106</sup> Half *eitel* of honey.

<sup>107</sup> Chicken egg.

<sup>108</sup> Half *eitel* of butter.

<sup>109</sup> The spices of the city.

<sup>110</sup> 70 small breads for the table of princes.

<sup>111</sup> 70 Breads, one costs 12 diners.

<sup>112</sup> 12 breads, one costs 15 diners.

<sup>113</sup> I spent in total for candles.

<sup>114</sup> 6 textiles, one costs 12 diners.

<sup>115</sup> 38 *eitel* of wine for the table of princes, one *eitel* of wine costs 8 diners.

<sup>116</sup> For coachmen and another boys, Mr. Lorinc measured 78 *eitel* of honey, one *eitel* of honey costs 4 diners.

<sup>117</sup> Patrascu's lunch on October 25<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> 21 *font* of reasted meat.

<sup>119</sup> 2 pig legs.

<sup>120</sup> Cabbage.

<sup>121</sup> Plums.

11 font element halat retket <sup>122</sup> .....	d 44
1 ludat <sup>123</sup> .....	d 20
Peterselymet <sup>124</sup> .....	d 2
Veres hagymat <sup>125</sup> .....	d 3
2 tyk fiat <sup>126</sup> .....	d 18
Keöles kasat <sup>127</sup> .....	d 16
Az etekbe 2 kenieret <sup>128</sup> .....	d 8
Sos halat <sup>129</sup> .....	d 75
Fel eytel mezet <sup>130</sup> .....	d 12 ½
Almat az etekben, keörtuelt feöne <sup>131</sup> .....	d 4
Malosa zeöleöt <sup>132</sup> .....	d 6
5 font pet olayat <sup>133</sup> .....	d 80
2 eytel eczetet <sup>134</sup> .....	d 24
Az Petrasko Agarinak 4 kenieret <sup>135</sup> .....	d 16
6 cypot zelt nek <sup>136</sup> .....	d 6
Tormat <sup>137</sup> .....	d 1
Gewmeolczeot retkut <sup>138</sup> .....	d 8

Reste latus facit fl 18 d 80 ½<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> 11 font of radish fresh.

<sup>123</sup> Goose.

<sup>124</sup> Parsley.

<sup>125</sup> Red onion.

<sup>126</sup> 2 chicks.

<sup>127</sup> Proso millet seeds.

<sup>128</sup> 2 breads.

<sup>129</sup> Salted fish.

<sup>130</sup> Half *eytel* of honey.

<sup>131</sup> Apples, pears.

<sup>132</sup> Grape wine

<sup>133</sup> 5 font of oil.

<sup>134</sup> 2 *eytel* of vinegar.

<sup>135</sup> For Patrascu and Aga 4 breads.

<sup>136</sup> 6 sliced bread.

<sup>137</sup> Horseradish.

<sup>138</sup> Rare fruits.

<sup>139</sup> The total price is 18 florins and 80,5 dinars.