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THE WANDERING UNICORN OF CLUJ. THE STORY OF THE THREE UNICORN PHARMACIES ACTIVE IN THE CITY BETWEEN 1732 AND 2015

ANA-MARIA GRUIA*

Abstract: The paper analyzes the history of one of the most frequently relocated and transformed pharmacies of Cluj (Hu. *Kolozsvár*, Germ. *Klausenburg*). Unlike the oldest pharmacy in town, which remained stable after privatization in both location and ownership, the Unicorn (Hu. *Egyszarvú*, Germ. *Einhorn*, Lat. *Unicornis*) has often changed owners and location. It was the second pharmacy to open in the city and one of the few pharmacies that could be inherited. It functioned for 283 years in three locations. This case study aims at correcting already published information and analyzing the history of this pharmacy in the context of Cluj and Transylvania between the eighteenth and the twenty first century, revealing political and administrative changes, the acceptance or rejection of religious orders, town planning transformations, trends in the ethnicity and gender of pharmacists, as well as marketing strategies and cases of competition among pharmacies.

Keywords: apothecary shop, history of pharmacy, history of marketing, Cluj, Transylvania

Rezumat: Lucrarea analizează istoria uneia dintre cele mai mutate și transformate farmacii din Cluj (magh. *Kolozsvár*, germ. *Klausenburg*). Spre deosebire de cea mai veche farmacie din oraș, care după privatizare a fost stabilă atât în ceea ce privește locația cât și proprietarii, farmacia Unicorn (magh. *Egyszarvú*, germ. *Einhorn*, lat. *Unicornis*) și-a schimbat frecvent proprietarii și relativ deseori locația. A fost a doua farmacie deschisă în oraș și una dintre puținele farmacii care puteau fi moștenite. A funcționat timp de 283 de ani în trei locații. Acest studiu de caz urmărește să corecteze unele informații deja publicate și să analizeze istoria acestei farmacii în contextul Clujului și al Transilvaniei între secolele al XVIII-lea și al XXI-lea, evidențiind schimbările politice și administrative, acceptarea sau respingerea ordinelor religioase, transformările urbanistice, tendințele privind etnia și genul farmaciștilor, dar și strategiile de marketing și concurența dintre farmacii.

Cuvinte cheie: farmacie, istoria farmaciei, istoria marketing-ului, Cluj, Transilvania

Introduction

The existence of three Unicorn pharmacies in Cluj (Hu. *Kolozsvár*, Germ. *Klausenburg*) between 1732 and 2015 has created some confusion, as expected. Pharmacies were bought and sold, transformed and updated; they changed name and sometimes location as well. This is also true for the pharmacies of Cluj-Napoca, where the most circuitous is the history of the Unicorn pharmacy that changed location three times, changed type of ownership four times (from religious to private, then public, and eventually private again),

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changed private owners countless times, and eventually even the name. It started out in 1732 as a Jesuit-run pharmacy, but after the order was expelled from Transylvania, it was bought by Tobias Mauksch, the most successful pharmacist of Cluj in the second half of the eighteenth century. Mauksch moved it (i.e., name, license, and artifacts) to the rooms of the first public pharmacy of the city (that he had also bought and moved to another location). After a while, Mauksch gave the Unicorn to his son-in-law, Michael Streicher, who left it to his heirs. The building housing Streicher's Unicorn was demolished at the end of the nineteenth century, and the pharmacy moved to yet another spot in the city center. In 1949, all private pharmacies were nationalized by the Romanian Communist regime, and the Unicorn continued to function in etatized form, changing its name to State Pharmacy Number 5. After the 1989 Revolution, following a law of 1991, the pharmacy was privatized again and functioned under different names until 2015, when it eventually closed. The 283 years of existence of the Unicorn pharmacy in Cluj reflect political and administrative changes, the acceptance or rejection of religious orders, town planning transformations, trends in the ethnicity and gender of pharmacists, marketing strategies, and competition among pharmacies.

The present article has two aims. First, it wishes to clarify the convoluted history of the Unicorn Pharmacy (pharmacies) in Cluj, identifying and, if possible, correcting errors in the existing bibliography. Second, it sets out to analyze, through this case study, the history of pharmacies in Cluj and Transylvania in general and to stress what its development reveals about their evolution between the eighteenth and the twenty-first centuries. The research questions focus on the reasons behind its remarkable longevity, the degree to which the history of pharmacy in Cluj is defined by general political trends or personal choices, and ultimately hazard, as well as on how one can define the identity of an apothecary shop that changes type, owner, location, and name. I was also interested in how the pharmacy's development reflects changes in the city in terms of population numbers, ethnic groups, languages spoken, town planning transformations, changes in the name of the central square, and the numbering of houses there, as well as how these aspects influenced the competition between local pharmacies.

In order to answer these questions, I have employed different types of primary sources, including written ones (manuscripts, almanacs, newspapers, local guides), visual ones (architectural plans, photographs, printed commercials and logos), and artifacts preserved in the Pharmacy Museum in Cluj-Napoca, part of the National Museum of Transylvanian History. I also strove to find relevant secondary literature, which was also rather difficult, considering the different types and languages of works mentioning the pharmacy. Methodologically, the most painstaking aspect was to reconstruct the pure chronological development of the Unicorn pharmacy(ies), especially considering that fact that data are often erroneous, sometimes conflicting, and at times incomplete. The main approach was comparative, attempting to understand this development in the wider context of Cluj and Transylvania.

My method was atypical and adapted to the long period covered by the study: I started by collecting data regarding the Unicorn Pharmacy in all preserved sources available to me, primary and secondary. I then structured the data in a table with the following columns: time (year, interval, or general period), degree of certainty of the chronological data, person

in charge, status (owner, owner's widow, tenant), ethnicity (if known or inferred based on the name), pharmacy name, associated language(s), address, other recorded data (such as telephone no.), source, and observations (especially stressing contradictions in published data). In order to answer the research questions, I then analyzed the data according to topic, making reference to comparative information regarding the other pharmacies of Cluj, the city's general development as well as the situation in Transylvania/Romania.

The many unicorns of Cluj

The Unicorn Pharmacy in the Jesuit complex

Despite local opposition,[1] the Jesuits managed to open a pharmacy in Cluj in 1732.[2] In 1731, the rector of the order's college had requested that a pharmacy be constructed "for the public good and the comfort of his own." It was a lavish pharmacy, with Baroque furniture and "the most beautiful stands, decorative wares and a laboratory richly equipped with copper mortars, cauldrons and distilling equipment," estimated at a value only comparable to the order's pharmacy in Bratislava.[3] The Jesuit pharmacy in Cluj was called Unicorn (Lat. *Unicornis*).[4] It was one of the popular pharmacy names throughout Europe, due to the association of unicorns with purity and the presumed miraculous healing properties of their horns. Narwal horns were believed to belong to unicorns, and many pharmacies adopted the name, displayed unicorn heads as shop signs, and, if able, displayed such horns inside.[5] It was also one of the preferred names for the pharmacies of the Jesuit order.[6]

The pharmacy initially worked for the internal needs of the college, but it also sold low-cost drugs or dispensed free medicine for the poor. The list of pharmacists running the pharmacy is known until 1773, when the order was disbanded, but there is some confusion in existing publications regarding their exact names, status, and activity periods.[7] The Jesuit employee lists for the province of Austria record the following sequence of *coadjutores* active as *apothecarii* for the college in Cluj: Michael Guett (sometimes spelled Gut, between 1732 and 1735), Josephus Reiser (1736, 1740–1753, 1756–1769), Johannes Reiser (1737–1739), Georgius Balásovics (1754–1755), Jacobus Neüssel (1770), and Athonius Schmadlpauer (1771–1773).[8] Josephus Reiser was in charge of the pharmacy for the longest period, by far, and, like Georgius Balásovics and Jacobus Neüssel, he was subsequently active at the order's pharmacy in Oradea as well.[9]

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[1] Tuka 2012.

[2] Older bibliographic works also mention, erroneously, the foundation of the Unicorn Pharmacy in 1685, as it features in several of the Hungarian Pharmacist Yearbooks published between 1900 and the 1940s (some though, such as the *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve zsebnaptár* 1900, 191, mention the year 1775). The date 1685 was thus adopted and published by László Tuka and Lajos Farkas (Tuka, Farkas 2012, 36–37) and subsequently by myself (Gruia 2018, 513).

[3] Ságі 1998, 266.

[4] Péter 2002, 11.

[5] Fischer, Fischer 2011.

[6] Péter 2002, 52.

[7] Tribel 1994, 93; Ságі 1998, 266; Péter 2002, 11–12; Gruia 2018, 513; Offner 2023, 248.

[8] I thank one of the reviewers for indicating this source and its online availability: *Catalogus personarum 1715–1734*; *Catalogus personarum1735–1752*; *Catalogus personarum 1753–1768*; Lukács 1995a, 589; Lukács 1995b, 9, 80, 152, 224.

[9] Péter 2002, 11.

The Jesuit pharmacy in Cluj was profitable, supporting the acquisition of scientific equipment for the mathematics and astronomy faculties of the Jesuit College.[10] Due to their intercontinental network, the Jesuits were able to procure exotic *materia medica*, obtaining a clear advantage over other pharmacies.[11] This advantage and the fact that they dispensed low-cost or even free medicines turned the Jesuits into strong competitors in the pharmaceutical business. Local opposition to them opening and operating pharmacies in the Habsburg Empire was so strong that the state intervened, deciding that the Jesuits had to pay taxes to the cities where their pharmacies also provided medicine to the general population, or they were even forbidden to do so in cities that owned public apothecary shops.[12]

Cluj did have a public pharmacy, opened sometime between 1561 and 1581 in one of the buildings around Saint Michael's parish church in the main square. That pharmacy had been privatized in 1710 and continued to function in that location, albeit with periods of discontinuity.[13] After 1723, the pharmacy remained closed until the subsequent pharmacist, Samuel Schwartz, took over in 1729 and married the widow of his predecessor in 1735. The Jesuits obtained the right to open their own pharmacy, possibly also taking advantage of the discontinuities in the activity of the public apothecary shop.[14]

The Jesuit pharmacy in Cluj was located in the one-story building attached to the southern side of the Jesuit church, near the typography and the library of the college complex, currently in the area of the Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church (formerly the Piarist Church) and the Babeș-Bolyai University[15] (Fig. 1).

About 30 years after it started functioning in Cluj, the Unicorn gained direct access to the street and thus became an active competitor for the other, older pharmacy in town. The authorities only granted the Jesuits the right to open that door after the agreement of pharmacist Tobias Mauksch, the recipient of an exclusive imperial privilege of operating a pharmacy in Cluj since 1760.[16] The agreement stated that Mauksch would receive in compensation a certain quantity of wheat, wine, firewood, and cash[17] that was to be paid annually.[18]

Despite the off-center location of the Jesuit Unicorn Pharmacy, the area it opened to had become more prominent through the erection, after 1744 (likely in 1746), of the first public statue of the city there. The column surmounted by a depiction of the Immaculate Virgin was a *Pestsäule*, built after the end of the great plague epidemic of 1738–1740. Interestingly enough, the contract between nobleman Antal Kornis, who paid for the monument, and the sculptor also mentions 15 statues of saints and three statues of reclining unicorns (that do not feature in the monument's final version).[19] The Kornis coat of arms

[10] Tribel 1994, 93–94.
[11] Boumediene 2020.
[12] Tuka 2012, 15.
[13] Gruia 2023a, 173.
[14] Offner 2023, 240–241. The author believes the pharmacy might have been run by tenants.
[15] Orient 1926, 164.
[16] Gruia 2023a, 173.
[17] Orient 1926, 167, mentions a document preserved in the Hintz pharmacy in 1890 (since then lost).
[18] Orient 1933, 122.
[19] Kovács 2010. Between about 1753 and 1920 two statues of unicorns, possibly the ones initially created

featured unicorns, so these statues were likely a means of personal propaganda, but one cannot miss the possible connection with the Unicorn Pharmacy located nearby. Further research might even connect the site selection of this monument to the activity of the Jesuit pharmacy during the plague.

The exact location of the Unicorn Pharmacy is not known and preserved photographs of the building, albeit later, show a single entrance to the entire complex, and general access could not have been through the apothecary (Fig. 2). Still, the information regarding the door opening to the street might shed some light on the matter, as one of the ground floor windows might have been turned into a door and then, after the pharmacy was moved, reverted to the original function. The preserved photographs of the area date to the second half of the nineteenth century, thus more than a century after the pharmacy moved away, providing no indication of the exact location of the apothecary and its opening to the small square (Figs. 1 and 2). The building of the old Jesuit College (*Academia Claudiopolitana*) was constructed sometime between 1703 and 1734 and was demolished in 1893 (Fig. 2).[20] Nevertheless, both photographs show that the second ground-floor window from the church is wider than all the others, and in Fig. 1 even surmounted by a decorative element. The oldest known elevation drawing of the building, dated 1778, thus earlier than the photographs and just a few years after the closing of the pharmacy, shows the wider window surmounted by a canopy-like decoration (niche?) and a couple of steps in front of the window.[21] An 1803 ground plan reveals further differences, as the second room from the window (which at that time functioned as a *Cassa*) was wider than the others and lacked the back partition wall.[22] Considering the openings on this plan, the pharmacy might have occupied rooms 2 and 1, as the classical partition of pharmacies included an *officina*, a laboratory, a storage room, and sometimes also an office. On the ground plan, the *Cassa* also occupies both rooms, suggesting the continued use of 1 and 2 together. Based on these arguments, I suspect that the window in question was turned into a door when the Jesuit pharmacy obtained the right to do so and then partially built-in and turned back into a window after the pharmacy moved away. My hypothesis will hopefully be confirmed by further research into collections of Jesuit documents.

The Jesuit order was disbanded in 1773, and its pharmacy in Cluj was put up for auction in June 1774. It was acquired, unsurprisingly, by Tobias Mauksch himself.[23] It had functioned under Jesuit administration for 42 years with notable success and profitability. It must have been a serious enterprise, as it provided pharmaceutical aid to the students and teachers of the Jesuit College and others beyond it. By the time the order was disbanded, the academy included almost 500 students and teachers, representing about 20% of the adult male population of Cluj.[24]

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for the column, stood in front of the Loreto chapel that Antal Kornis funded near the Franciscan church in present-day Museum Square in Cluj.

[20] Biró 1945, 11.

[21] *Mariae Theresiae augustae Transylvaniae magnae principi bonarum artium matri haec architectonica specimina flexo poplite studiosi Claudiopolitani obtulerunt*, 1778. MNL OL, T 15, No. 36/I, fig. 39 (*Die alte Facciàta von P bis Q*). I thank Dr. Oana Toda for sharing this source.

[22] *Plan des sogenannten alten Collegiums zu Klausenburg*, 1803. MNL OL, T 75, No. 16/1. I thank Dr. Oana Toda for sharing this source.

[23] Ságí 1998, 266.

[24] Shore 2013, 58.

No artifacts have been preserved from this first Unicorn apothecary. Some sources mention that its copper cauldrons, laboratory equipment, a large iron mortar with artistic design, and possibly the year marked on it, as well as several "beautiful leather-bound medicine and pharmacy books printed in Latin," were still at the Unicorn pharmacy in the 1870s, in its subsequent location.[25] There are also mentions of a large commode that ended up in the collection of Gyula Orient, together with a stone mortar and "a few grams of Mummy pieces, a medicine that was once so popular with the Jesuits."[26] None can be identified in the present-day collection of the Pharmacy Museum in Cluj, and their whereabouts remain unknown.

The private Unicorn Pharmacy near St. Michael's church

In 1775, Tobias Mauksch, the privileged pharmacist of Cluj, moved the Unicorn to the rooms of the former public pharmacy of the city, in the corner of the south-eastern building around St. Michael's church. Mauksch had acquired two medieval houses in the corner of the main square, unified them, and designed a larger building with an attic for drying medicinal plants, an upper floor as living quarters, and a ground floor for the pharmacy and rented rooms for other businesses. He moved the former public pharmacy to the new location (currently known as the Mauksch-Hintz house), and the original site likely remained unoccupied or changed destination for some years. Two private pharmacies thus functioned in the main square of Cluj, the Unicorn and the Saint George, between 1775 and 1780, both owned by the same person (photographed almost a century later in Figs. 3 and 4). In 1780, Tobias Mauksch gave the Unicorn Pharmacy to his son-in-law, Michael Streicher, a Saxon from Sibiu (1748–1822, owner between 1780 and 1817).[27] It seems that demand for medicines was high enough in Cluj to support two apothecary shops, even in such close proximity.

The second Unicorn was commonly referred to as the Streicher Pharmacy,[28] as it was run first by Michael Streicher and then by his son, Samuel Gottlieb, and nephew, Michael Joseph.[29] In 1807, *protomedicus* Ferenc Nyulas inspected the pharmacies in Transylvania, including the ones in Cluj. His report on the Streicher Pharmacy has been preserved and is rich in information.[30] The *officina* was deemed suitable and included several antiquities (likely those of the Jesuit Unicorn), though the containers displayed in spectacular rows, many made of tin, were mostly empty and not in alphabetical order, so that one would sometimes have to search laboriously for something. Many inscriptions were partially erased or illegible. According to Nyulas, the laboratory was close at hand and furnished with equipment and furnaces, but cramped and so dark that he wondered how operations could be safely performed. The materials chamber was also close by, windy, and well-organized. There was a complete lack of order among the roots stored, but that was because repairs were being made to the house. The cellar was quite spacious but had no opening except for the main descent, which was almost vertical. The supply was estimated as sufficient,

[25] Orient 1926, 165.
[26] Orient 1933, 122.
[27] Offner 2023, 243.
[28] Gáll, Gergely, Nagy 2022, 88, fig. 3/B.
[29] Offner 2023, 248–249.
[30] Péter 2022, 87–88.

meeting the needs of the local community. Still, the doctor identified 12 spoiled medicines that were eliminated, as well as various poisonous drugs scattered about the *officina*. The weights and scales were accurate and followed the Viennese system, while pricing was set according to the purchase price rather than the list. The owner, Michael Streicher, was a talkative man, present in the pharmacy less often in the morning and more often in the afternoon, and not very interested in new things. He took care of medicinal plant collecting for the pharmacy and was a modest person, trying to serve the public as best as possible. He always had good assistants.[31]

Summarizing the results of his thorough examination of the two pharmacies in Cluj, Ferenc Nyulas recommended that both their owners be praised by the *Gubernium*, the supreme governing authority of Transylvania, directly subordinated to the Viennese court.[32] In 1807, the other pharmacy was run by Johann Martin Mauksch, one of Tobias Mauksch's sons,[33] so the two apothecary shops in the center were owned by brothers-in-law, and it remains unclear if and how they addressed their status as competitors. It might be the case that no competition existed since no other pharmacies were active at the time in Cluj – the third was founded in 1814, two years after Tobias Mauksch's privilege was cancelled by the local authorities.[34]

The label of a veneer box for medicines preserved from the pharmacy run by Michael Streicher (unclear if the first pharmacist or his nephew by the same name) mentions the owner and indicates that the Jesuit name had been maintained but was used in Hungarian translation: *Az Unicornishoz* (Fig. 3).[35] The original content (wild thyme, *Thymus serpyllum*) is still preserved inside the box. One should note the traditional use of Latin for medicine denominations, but the printed form in Hungarian, including the owner's name, was rendered as Mihály instead of Michael. No exact address is indicated in the printed form, just the city, suggesting the pharmacy was well-known and a landmark in itself.

The succession of pharmacists is not entirely known. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Unicorn was run by József Khuda and subsequently by tenants for his widow. The label of another wooden box preserved at the Pharmacy Museum in Cluj-Napoca includes the name of the pharmacy, still in Hungarian, but in the modernized form of *Az Egyszarvúhoz* (Fig. 4).[36] Again, the printed label mentions the owner, the name of the shop, and the city, but not the exact address. It is also interesting to observe that the owner was more important than the pharmacist in charge, even if in this case the owner was a woman, József Khuda's widow. The inscription (*Schwefel eisen*, namely iron II-sulfide) is handwritten in German, as are other words noted on the other sides of the box, thus confirming the use of three languages in pharmaceutical practice during that period in Cluj: Hungarian, German, and Latin.

An 1859 photograph by Ferenc Veress depicts the Unicorn Pharmacy in the corner of the large stone building by St. Michael's church, with two pairs of wooden shutters flanking

[31] Péter 2022, 87–88.

[32] Péter 2022, 90.

[33] Gruia 2023a, 176.

[34] Gruia 2023a, 178; Offner 2023, 249.

[35] On display at the Pharmacy Museum, part of the National Museum of Transylvanian History; Colecția MNIT, no. IF 953, donated by Gyula Orient in 1907. Gruia 2023c, cat. 60.

[36] Colecția MNIT, no. IF 1032, donated by Gyula Orient in 1907. Gruia 2023c, cat. 65.

the two entrances, decorated with depictions of ancient-style busts. One also notes the existence of short flights of stairs one had to climb in order to enter the pharmacy (Fig. 5). On the right, in the background, one notes Tobias Mauksch's pharmacy that was, at that time, run by administrators, and looked a bit old-fashioned, with just a small semicircular cover above the entrance.

A bit more details are visible in Ferenc Veress' photography taken a couple of years later (Fig. 6). The two entrances of the Unicorn are surmounted by rectangular signs written in large capital letters with the word "Pharmacy" in Hungarian (*Gyógyszertár*), interestingly not including the name, while the shutters bear more detailed writings below the busts (unfortunately not legible on the reproduction). Tobias Mauksch's pharmacy shows much improvement though, as it had been taken over and restored by Dr. Georg Joseph Hintz, Mauksch's great-great-nephew.[37] That shop displays a large front towards the square, with the name in large letters above the entrance: *Dr. Hintz Gyógyszertára.*

Existing publications mention the names of owner József Engel[38] and employed pharmacist Ignatz Sperlagh working at the Unicorn during the 1860s and 1870s.[39] A medicine package from that period, for a variety of parsley seeds, mentions József Engel as owner, the name of the pharmacy in Hungarian (*Az Egyszarvúhoz*), and uses the depiction of a unicorn as logo, besides the main depiction of a child holding plants and a caduceus (Fig. 7).[40] The address is again very brief, with just the city mentioned. This is the first attested use of a unicorn as the visual marker of this pharmacy in Cluj.

Pharmacist Bogdán Ember was the subsequent owner of the Unicorn until about the mid-1870s,[41] followed by tenant János Biró until the late 1880s. János Biró was one of the longevous pharmacists of Cluj,[42] with several pharmacists having completed their practice in his shop.[43] Numerous wooden jars preserved at the Pharmacy Museum in Cluj still have the printed labels of the Unicorn Pharmacy that mention him as tenant (Fig. 8).[44] The same elements feature on these labels: the owner (in this case tenant, *bérlő*, a distinction clearly marked), the name of the pharmacy in Hungarian (*Az Egyszarvúhoz*), and the location (just the city).

The buildings around St. Michael's church were gradually demolished in the 1880s.[45] The one housing the pharmacy was already demolished in 1894.[46] The owner recorded in that year was Lajos Bogsch,[47] but his name is not mentioned on the printed labels recording

[37] Gruia 2023a, 176.

[38] Péter 2002, 316, who mentions the existence of a second pharmacist by this name who was assistant at the Golden Stag pharmacy in Târgu Mureș, but subsequently became a doctor and linguist (Péter 2002, 409).

[39] Offner 2022, 67.

[40] Colecția MNIT, no. IF 1277, Gruia 2023c, 123, cat. 89.

[41] Offner 2022, 67.

[42] Péter 2013, 179.

[43] Péter 2002, 320, 341.

[44] On display at the Pharmacy Museum, Colecția MNIT, no. IF 1759, obtained through nationalization. Gruia 2023b, 239–240, cat. 207.

[45] Gaal 2014, 39.

[46] *Kolozsvári Kalauz* 1894, the second photograph between pages 18 and 19.

[47] Tuka, Farkas 2012, 36.

the move (see Fig. 9). Despite the opinion of some specialists,[48] the Unicorn Pharmacy did not cease to exist once the building was demolished, but moved to a new location, though this does bring up the issue of when a pharmacy ceases to maintain its identity when changing location, owner and/or type of property.

The private Unicorn pharmacy in the Jósika palace

After the demolition of the buildings around St. Michael's church, the Unicorn Pharmacy was relocated to the western side of the square, on the right side of the ground floor of the Jósika palace (currently Unirii 10), where it appears in records starting with 1902. Furthermore, almost 170 artifacts from the Unicorn pharmacy ended up in the collection of the Pharmacy Museum through nationalization, and many are dated, based on preserved labels, to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The label in Figure 9, for example, reveals the continued existence of the pharmacy and the transfer of artifacts to be reused in the new location. The circular label inside a wooden jar, though partially erased, is clearly similar to the one in the previous figure, thus dating from the time of János Biró, but the more recent, rectangular label records the name and address of the pharmacy in *Mátyás Király tér*, as the central square was called at the beginning of the twentieth century.[49]

A photograph dated 1902 captures a corner of the new Unicorn pharmacy, on the ground floor of the Jósika palace, on the right side of the columns, surmounted by a sign in Hungarian marking the function of the shop, *Gyógyszertár*, doubled on the level of the first floor and surmounted by a depiction of a unicorn head (Fig. 10). Another photograph, though showing the pharmacy in the background, allows one to see the use of two, affronted unicorn heads flanking the second-floor window above the pharmacy entrance.[50] This shows an increased commercial competition in the area, with a doubling of visual markers – two pharmacy signs and two logos – just in order to make sure, through redundancy, that the apothecary shop was visible.

Due to the repeated changes of administration (1918, 1940, 1944), the history of the Unicorn pharmacy in the first half of the twentieth century is incompletely known. A 1933 commercial printed in the city's medical directory employs the following bilingual information: *Farmacia Unicorn Dr. Kohn, Egyszarvú Gyógyszertár, fondat 1685 Alapítva, Cluj, Piața Unirii 9, Telefon 11–38* (Fig. 11).[51] For the time, Cluj was under Romanian administration, during the Inter-War Period, the name was used in Hungarian form, *Egyszarvú*, as well as in Romanian translation, *Unicorn*. As for the identification data, the owner was still important, but also the full address (square name and number) and even the telephone, recently introduced to Cluj. The square was called *Unirii* in 1933, and the number was 9, following the renumbering of the houses.

Data published in pharmaceutical almanacs are prone to errors (such as the repeated mention of 1685 as foundation year of the Unicorn), but they record the following owners:

[48] Offner 2022, 67.

[49] In the collection of the Pharmacy Museum: Colecția MNIT, no. IF 1760, Gruia 2023b, 242–243, cat. 208.

[50] "Kolozsvár; Mátyás király téri részlet" / OSZK–Hungaricana.

[51] Péter 2013, 54, fig. 5.

Dr. Gyula Kohn in 1921,[52] 1925,[53] 1926,[54] and 1933 (see Fig. 11); in 1940 Gyula Orient, the well-known historian of pharmacy who seems to have acquired it in the very year of his death, owning it together with Zoltán Nagy;[55] in the 1940s the widow of Gyula Orient (*Orient Gyuláné*) with different administrators: in 1943 the Orient brothers (sic!) and Zoltán Nagy,[56] in 1944 the Orient brothers and company;[57] Dr. Orion in 1946;[58] and again Dr. Gyula Kohn in 1949, the year the pharmacy was nationalized together with all private pharmacies in Romania.

As for the aspect of the shop, no illustration of the pharmacy under the Romanian Inter-War administration has been preserved, but the depiction of the unicorn heads had been abandoned by the 1940s (Fig. 12). At that time, the store front had a single sign, in Hungarian, above the entrance (*Gyógyszertár*) and other signs on the shutters flanking it (unclear in the available photo, but possibly crosses).

State Pharmacy Number 5

In 1949, all private pharmacies, pharmaceutical laboratories, drugstores, as well as medical and cosmetic stores in Romania were nationalized. Appendix 1 of decree 134/2 April listed those in each county and settlement. For Cluj, it includes the pharmacy run by Dr. Gyula (Iuliu) Kohn in Piața Libertății 10 (listed under no. 16).[59] Under no. 29, one finds the former owner, Gyula Orient's widow, a pharmacist herself, together with their son, Tibor, and another man. Their pharmacy was located on Mărășești St. 17.[60]

The names of the pharmacies were not recorded in the legislative document, but likely it was still the Unicorn, while the name of the square had been changed to Freedom Square after the return of the Romanian administration, and the old house numbers were used again. After the nationalization, all memory of former owners or names was intentionally erased, and the pharmacies received numbers instead of names. The Unicorn became State Pharmacy Number 5 (*Farmacia de Stat nr. 5*), and it functioned as such in the same location for another 42 years.

The reprivatized pharmacy, Clematis Farm

Decree no. 15/10 January 1991 regarding the establishment of pharmaceutical companies marks the reprivatization of pharmacies in Romania, soon after the 1989 Revolution and the change of the Communist regime.[61] Local newspaper Adevărul de Cluj records the following names of the pharmacy functioning in Unirii 10: Farmacia 5 Clematis (in 1995–1998), Clematis Farm (in 1999 and 2001–2002), Nr. 5 Clematis (in 2000). The end of the pharmacy remains unclear, but it seems to have functioned until 2015. An online

[52] *Gyógyszerészek czimtára és zsebnaptára* 1921, 101.

[53] *Almanachul Farmaciștilor din România* 1925, 154.

[54] Tuka, Farkas 2012, 36–41. Another almanac records Dr. Kohn in 1941 (*Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1941, 767), likely erroneously.

[55] Tuka, Farkas 2012, 39.

[56] *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1943, 418.

[57] *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1944, 448.

[58] *Cluj–Kolozsvári Kalauz és Címtár* 1946, 46.

[59] Gruia 2023a, 192.

[60] Gruia 2023a, 192.

[61] HG 15/1991.

photograph dated 2007 shows the place surmounted by the sign *FARMACIE*, and a piece of online information mentions Clematis Farm in Unirii 10 in 2015.[62] In 2016, the location was occupied by a bar (L'Alchimiste, since 2023 Che Guevarra) and thus the history of the Unicorn ended after 283 years.

Pharmacy identity

The first topic of discussion, after the reconstruction of this convoluted history, is how we define the identity of a pharmacy. Is it the name of the shop? The owner, i.e., the person, family, institution, or religious order owning it? The location? The license? The issue has not been really debated as far as I am aware, likely because cases like that of the Unicorn pharmacy of Cluj are not very frequent. There is certainly no consensus regarding the identity of the Unicorn in time. I chose to see continuity throughout this complicated history, but several other approaches exist. First, there is the debate on when it was **founded**. One may argue that its story started one year earlier, in 1731, when the Jesuits were granted the right to open a pharmacy. But I believe a document does not a pharmacy make, as only its physical existence can mark the start of it. Some of the pharmaceutical almanacs published in the first part of the twentieth century mention that the Unicorn was founded in 1685, and the date was adopted, erroneously, in subsequent publications.[63] The first half of the twentieth century saw the proliferation of pharmacies in Cluj,[64] and it had become fashionable for the traditional shops to use the founding date as a marketing strategy. The Dr. Hintz pharmacy boasted the longest period of activity, since 1573 (though the source of this date remains unclear as well).[65]

The **name** of the pharmacy is attested rather consistently throughout its history (in its Latin, Hungarian, and Romanian versions: *Unicornis, Unikornis, Egyszarvú, Unicorn*), and I have also identified depictions of unicorns on *material medica* packages at the end of the nineteenth century and as shop signs in the first half of the twentieth century. The name only changed after nationalization, in 1949, when it became State Pharmacy no. 5 (*Farmacia de Stat nr. 5*) and then after the second privatization, in 1991, when it became Clematis. For pharmacies everywhere, the name was an important element of self-identity. The name had to be striking and easy to remember, so that one could easily identify the pharmacy and ideally return to it. In 1793, Tobias Mauksch explained the name Golden Stag that he gave the pharmacy he had acquired in Târgu Mureș thus: "I would have never ordered the painting of such an unusual pharmacy sign, but as the other pharmacist [in the city] is also called Mauksch I chose this **sign** so that even the last peasant knows my pharmacy."[66] The phrase is very interesting, as it shows that the first identity marker of a

[62] Business websites also indicate a stop of activity in 2015 (data for Clematis Farm SRL, fiscal code 2891318, registration number J12/4623/1992): https://harta.biz/cluj-napoca-cj/farmacii/farmacia-clematis-farm-unirii/.

[63] See also footnote 3. In 1685 the only pharmacy of Cluj was public and the Jesuits had been expelled from the city, so this founding date suggests the Unicorn was the second public pharmacy. The information cannot be verified from other sources.

[64] Gruia 2023a, 180–181.

[65] The date was first mentioned by Elek Jacab in 1870, and then in the twentieth century it was included in the pharmacy's printed materials and during the 1930s even on the façade. Offner 2023, 238; Gruia 2023a, 180, 182.

[66] Gruia 2018, 515.

pharmacy was the name of its owner (and in eighteenth-century Transylvania, there were very few of them), but it also shows that at that time, illiteracy among clients was still an issue, and pharmacy signs could thus be "read" (and memorized) by all. A unicorn was certainly exotic and memorable for Cluj, but it was also a powerful symbol, as the imaginary animal stood for purity, and its horn (mistaken for narwhal horns) had great fame as a cure-all. Interestingly enough, the shop also used other visual signs, such as the busts visible in photos taken right after the middle of the nineteenth century, and the text sign above the entrance does not mention any name. Other Unicorn pharmacies are attested in the area during the eighteenth century: a Golden Unicorn in Debrecen in 1772,[67] a Unicorn in Rimavská Sobota (Hu. Rimaszombat) in 1777,[68] and another in Cehul Silvaniei (Hu. Szilágycseh) in 1796,[69] but the name is rather rare by comparison with others such as Lion, Crown, Savior, Trinity, etc. I am wondering if, during its first decades of existence, it was known as the Jesuit or the Unicorn pharmacy. During the other periods, as previously mentioned, the **name of the owner** was more relevant than that of the pharmacy itself, especially when enough time had passed for it to become tradition. At the end of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Unicorn Pharmacy was better known as the Streicher Pharmacy, as three men of that name owned it, forming one of the few dynasties of pharmacists in the city. Nevertheless, Nyulas' inspection makes no record of the Unicorn name, but focuses on the personal qualities and preferences of the owner. The best example of the owner's name being more important than the pharmacy name is the Dr. Hintz Pharmacy, owned by Hintz pharmacists between 1860 and 1949, which was marked at such even on the shop's facade signs. This pharmacy also had its own name, Saint George, but it was more rarely promoted and recognized as such, and for a while, between 1907 and 1911, the name was even changed to the Red Cross.[70] One cannot exclude that such short-lived marketing attempts were also made for the Unicorn pharmacy, but no records exist to the best of my knowledge. Still, as the Unicorn Pharmacy changed ownership rather frequently, the name was retained between 1732 and 1949 as a general identity marker, and I suspect it had become a local tradition. And it was only broken by the Communist Regime that intentionally removed mention of former names of pharmacies and owners, and just delegated numbers to the state pharmacies.

Location is another key element in the identity of a pharmacy. In this respect, the Unicorn was unusual in having functioned in three distinct locations. For the first 42 years, it was active in the Jesuit complex, for the next 119 years it was in the middle of the central square, and for the last 121 years in the Jósika palace, on the side of the same square. The first spot is off-center, but it was selected for considerations other than marketing. The pharmacy provided aid to members of the Jesuit order and their numerous students, and the pharmacy was thus placed amid the buildings used for these purposes. In the final

[67] *Budapesti gyógyszerész testület évkönyve* 1948, 1101, 1076; *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1944, 418; *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1943, 418; *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1942, 329; *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1941, 737, *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1940, 590; *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1939, 448; *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1938, 328; *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1937, 439.

[68] *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1944, 484; *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1943, 485; *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1942, 395, *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1940, 643; *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1939, 538.

[69] Péter 2013, 122; *Gyógyszerészek évkönyve* 1936, 188.

[70] Gruia 2023a, 181.

quarter of the eighteenth century, the area had become a second center in fact, with a small square containing the statue of *Maria Immaculata* surrounded by Jesuit religious and academic buildings. The other two locations of the pharmacy are both in the main square of Cluj, thus providing maximum visibility and a commercial advantage. On preserved commercial materials, the address was general, with just the name of the city recorded in the nineteenth century. This shows that there were still few pharmacies (in Cluj, the third pharmacy opened in 1814 and six more until the end of the century),[71] that everyone knew their location, and the old ones had possibly become landmarks in themselves. It also means that their products reached well beyond the city itself, and this should be further researched and corroborated with other historical sources. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the pieces of information printed on labels and commercials mentioned the name of the square as well, and by the Inter-War period, it was the square, the number, and the telephone number. The first half of the century marks a time of proliferation of pharmacies (45 of them are mentioned in the nationalization decree of 1949),[72] as well as an increase in the number of new inhabitants, so more detailed information was necessary for efficient identification and promotion.

The identity and **continuity** of the Unicorn pharmacy for almost three centuries is thus not straightforward, as it changed location three times, changed type of ownership four times (religious – private – public – private), changed private owners countless times, and eventually even the name. Other researchers stress the discontinuities. Mária Péter, for example, deals separately with the Jesuit Unicorn Pharmacy, founded in 1732, and the private Unicorn Pharmacy, founded in 1775.[73] The pharmaceutical yearbook printed in 1900 also mentioned 1775 as the founding year of the Unicorn.[74] Robert Offner believes this year to be the correct one and ends the story of the Streicher Pharmacy with the demolition of the buildings around St. Michael's church, but mentions that further research was needed in the reconstruction of its history.[75] The present article fills some of the missing pieces of the puzzle and brings to light more information in support of the Unicorn's continuity. It is true that Tobias Mauksch bought the license of the Unicorn and moved it, but he kept the name and the artifacts. Similarly, there is evidence of material culture continuity after the demolition of the second location, as the overlapping labels in Fig. 9 demonstrate. The most drastic change was, in my opinion, the 1949 nationalization. On that occasion, the pharmacy lost its traditional name, its owner, and even changed type of ownership, and at least some of the objects (the almost 170 jars now in the Pharmacy Museum), preserving only the location.

Local and regional history

The changes the Unicorn Pharmacy experienced reflect the evolution of Cluj and even Transylvania. The most direct connection is with **town planning**, as the pharmacy's address records changes in the name of the central square of Cluj, from *Mátyás király-tér*

[71] Gruia 2023a, 178–179.
[72] Gruia 2023a, 192–193.
[73] Péter 2013, 54.
[74] Offner 2023, 248, footnote 77.
[75] Offner 2023, 249.

from the end of the nineteenth century until the First World War, to *Piața Unirii* in 1918–1940, likely *Mátyás király* again in 1940–1944, *Piața Libertății* in 1945–1999, and since 1999 again *Piața Unirii*.[76] Place names in Cluj were, as elsewhere, strong political statements, so the name of the main square followed mainly changes in the administration. Printed forms with the address of the Unicorn also reflect the change in numbering the houses around the square, as for a while in the first part of the twentieth century, it was at no. 9 instead of 10. Even the four-digit telephone number of the pharmacy, recorded in 1933, is revealing as to the inclusion of pharmacies among the first places to have a telephone in Cluj. The Dr. Hintz pharmacy also had one before nationalization, and Mrs. Edith Hintz, still a child at the time, recalls that the phone was something special, and they still did not have one installed upstairs, in the living quarters of the Hintz family.[77]

The list of owners and active pharmacists can also be analyzed from an **ethnic** perspective, though more research is needed in each individual case. But overall, the pharmacists were of German or Saxon origin until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, of Hungarian origin the rest of the century, and until nationalization, likely Jewish during the Inter-War period and Romanian possibly after 1949, but clearly more detailed research is needed. The Jesuit pharmacists bear Austrian (German) and likely Polish names; one knows that Mauksch and the Streichers were Saxons, the first from present-day Slovakia and the others from Sibiu, while names such as Kohn, Orion, and Sperlagh might have been of Jewish origin. This sketchy overview matches the evolution of the different ethnic groups in Cluj, with Saxons forming the majority during the Middle Ages and regaining in importance during the eighteenth century, with the Habsburg rule, the Hungarians growing in numbers and equaling the Saxons in the second part of the fifteenth century, Cluj becoming the most important Hungarian city of Transylvania up to 1918, and with Jews active in the field of pharmacy especially during the Inter-War period.[78] As for the **languages** associated with the Unicorn pharmacy, there are very few available examples, with Latin as the international language of pharmacy, especially for ingredients and medicine names, German used in the middle of the nineteenth century on the label in Fig. 9 for example, but certainly spoken by Tobias Mauksch and the Streichers, while most of the preserved artifacts related to the Unicorn have texts in Hungarian. Some combinations also occur, with German handwritten inscriptions on Hungarian printed ephemera, confirming that pharmacists did speak several languages. In 1807, physician Nyulas, inspecting the pharmacies of Transylvania, also recorded the languages that the 35 pharmacists from Transylvania spoke: all spoke German, 30 also Romanian, 26 also Latin, some even other languages, and it is self-understood that all of them were fluent in Hungarian.[79] It is difficult to distinguish between their native tongues and their working language or languages, but Latin was the international language of the trade, and even if not fluent in reading it, pharmacists certainly knew the Latin technical terms and names they employed daily, while the other working languages were certainly useful for business.

[76] The change of place names in Cluj is yet to be published in full detail.

[77] Personal communication, 2023.

[78] This is true for all pharmacists active in Cluj, as a general trend. Gruia 2023a, 188.

[79] Péter 2022, 85. The numbers should be checked in the original source, the author mentions 42 pharmacies, 5 certified pharmacists and 54 assistants and other employees recorded by Nyulas in his summary of visitations entitled *De novis Apothecarum medendis*.

As for **gender**, all recorded pharmacists working for the Unicorn were male until the mid-twentieth century, after which no data has been available for the present study. As an exception, two women are mentioned as owners or co-owners, both widows of pharmacists (József Khuda and Gyula Orient).

Marketing and competition

Pharmacy is and was a profitable line of business, which has generated a lot of competition and conflicts. Existing studies focusing on Western Europe have identified that pharmacists were among the first to develop retail selling strategies and marketing methods.[80] This is also visible in the case of the Unicorn, but there are also interesting, non-competitive situations. The first example is the conflict between Tobias Mauksch and the Jesuits. In the eighteenth century, Jesuit pharmacies and those run by other religious orders in the Habsburg Empire raised strong urban opposition, and the state was forced to impose clear regulations.[81] Before obtaining his imperial privilege in 1760, Tobias Mauksch complained that the Jesuits were dispensing free or cheap medicines to the poor, thus affecting his private business. He was partially appeased when the Jesuits compensated him for the official permission to expand their services to the general populace by opening their pharmacy to the street. But the true end of the conflict came in 1775 when Tobias bought the entire Jesuit apothecary shop. The subsequent episode is atypical. For a while, Tobias Mauksch owned two pharmacies in close proximity, but then changed his mind and gave (gifted?) the Unicorn to his son-in-law. And ten years later, he bought another apothecary shop for his second son, but in another city (the Golden Stag in Târgu Mureș mentioned above).[82] It is possible that no competition existed between Mauksch and his relative, as these were the only pharmacies in town and likely both had enough clients to prosper. Demand had grown, but the exclusive privilege prevented the opening of new apothecary shops until 1814, followed by six more pharmacies opening until the end of the nineteenth century. Mauksch might have foreseen this development and thus decided to avoid competition between his two sons, if they were to own neighboring pharmacies in the same city.

I have discussed elsewhere the main marketing strategies of the early modern pharmacies of Cluj, such as the central location, the use of memorable names and visible signs, the decoration of the *officinae*, the mention of owner, name and address on printed labels and commercials, with increasingly detailed information regarding the address and eventually the telephone number, knowledge of the best and cheapest sources of primary materials, diligent accounting habits, selling para-pharmaceutical goods, behavior control, even sending gifts to local doctors.[83] Some of these strategies can also be noted in the case of the Unicorn, such as the prime locations, the memorable name, the use of visible front signs, the mentioned owner and address, even the behavior of the owner (Michael Streicher was reportedly talkative, modest, trying to serve the public as best as possible, and with good assistants). Though not visually recorded, the interior was also noted by the

[80] Wallis 2008.
[81] Gruia 2018, 514.
[82] Gruia 2023a, 243.
[83] Gruia 2018.

sources. The Jesuit pharmacy was said to be lavishly decorated, the *officina* of the Streichers included antiques and spectacular rows of tin jars, while the front room of the Unicorn in its final location was an ample vaulted space in an urban palace. Some of the commercials mention the doctorates of the owners (Dr. Kohn, Dr. Orion), trying to impress buyers with their erudition, while others attempt to gain public trust through mentions of the shop's antiquity (though sometimes fictitiously ancient).

Conclusions

The Unicorn was the second pharmacy of Cluj, but definitely the one with the most circuitous existence. Both its longevity and numerous transformations seem to have been due to chance and outer influences. In fact, one can argue that it miraculously survived a long line of tragedies and random decisions: the banishing and expulsion of the Jesuit order; the move of artifacts and change of ownership type; the fact that Tobias Mauksch chose to give it to one of his sons-in-law and not to one of his own sons; the demolition of the building housing the second Unicorn pharmacy; and eventually the 1949 nationalization and 1991 reprivatization. By comparison, the history of the Mauksch-Hintz pharmacy was much more linear, with one privatization and one nationalization, a single move, and a very long line of owners from the same family (Mauksch and his heirs, the Hintz). But the more convoluted history of the Unicorn increases its historical value. I hope I have opened for discussion new pieces of information relevant for the town planning of Cluj (including the hypothetical identification of the original location, by the plague column that was also meant to include unicorn statues), the aspect, marketing and retail strategies of pharmacies and shops in general, the ethnicity and gender of pharmacists and shop owners, even the languages spoken in the city and the introduction of the telephone service. The case of the Unicorn can certainly be refined and further detailed by subsequent research into various sources (especially Jesuit ones, commercial and financial documents, and twenty-first-century company details), but is already rich enough to support the more exact dating of existing pharmaceutical goods, comparisons in pharmacy history and urban studies and debates on the nature and identity of pharmacies that have survived decades and centuries of significant and often rapid changes.

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Fig. 1. Detail of an 1859 photography of the Plague Column in Cluj and the former Jesuit Academic College that housed the Unicorn Pharmacy ("Statuia Fecioarei Maria din Cluj-Napoca" / Wikipedia).

Fig. 2. The Jesuit College (*Academia Claudiopolitana*), subsequently seat of the *Gubernium*, while being demolished in 1893 (Csucsuja 2012, 75).

Fig. 3. Veneer medicine box with circular paper label with printed information (*Streicher Mihály Gyógyszertárából az unikornishoz Kolószvártt*) and handwritten inscription (*Pulvis Serpilli*) (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 4. Wooden medicine box with circular paper label with printed information (*özvegy Khudy Józsefnö Gyógyszertára az egyszarvúhoz, Kolosvárott*) and handwritten inscription (*Schwefel eisen*) (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 5. 1859-photograph of the central square in Cluj, with the Unicorn pharmacy on the left (shutters with busts) and the Mauksch-Hintz pharmacy in the center, in the background (Gruia 2023a, 197, fig. 4).

Fig. 6. 1863–1869 photograph of the central square in Cluj, with the Unicorn Pharmacy on the left (shutters with busts) and the Mauksch-Hintz Pharmacy in the center, in the background (Gruia 2023a, 198, fig. 6).

Fig. 7. Paper package with printed information (*Engel József GYÓGYSZERTÁRA az Egyszarvúhoz KOLOZSVÁROTT*), printed depictions (a unicorn, a child holding a bunch of plants and a caduceus), and a handwritten inscription (illegible, in the ledger *Sem Petroselini*) (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 8. Wooden pharmaceutical jar with paper label inside the lid, with the printed form of the Unicorn pharmacy administered by tenant János Biró: *Biró János berlö Gyógyszertára, az Egyszarvúhoz Kolosvárott* (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 9. Inner side of a wooden jar cover with overlapping paper labels, the uppermost with the following printed text, in Hungarian: *GYÓGYSZERTÁR „AZ EGYSZARVUHOZ" KOLOZSVÁR, MÁTYAS KIRÁLY TÉR* (image from the MNIT Archive).

Fig. 10. Early twentieth-century photograph with the Jósika palace on the right and half of the pharmacy located on the ground floor, marked by two written signs (*GYÓGYSZERTÁR*) and a depiction of a unicorn head (Hăineală 2023).

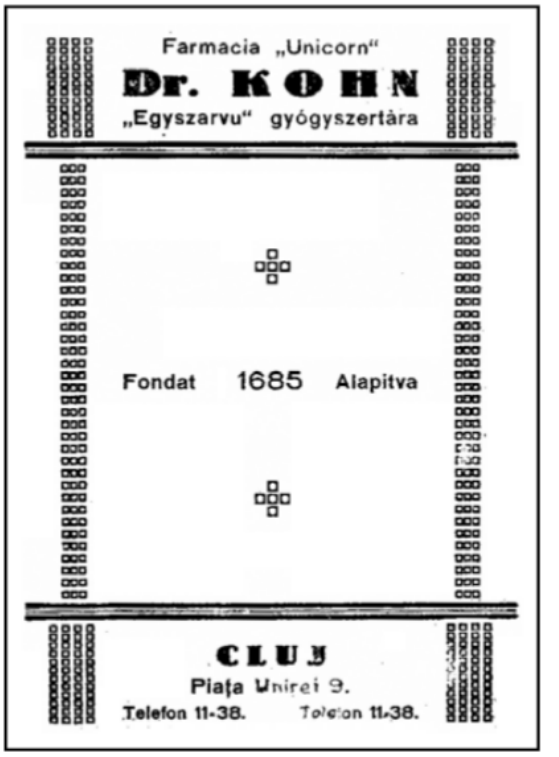

Fig. 11. 1933-printed commercial of the Unicorn pharmacy, with bilingual data and erroneous foundation year (Péter 2013, 54, fig. 5).

Fig. 12. 1940s-photograph of the Jósika palace with the pharmacy marked by a large *GYÓGYSZERTÁR* sign ("Cluj farmacie gyogyszertar Palatul Josika aniversare" / Okazii).