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Hospitals and the Poor in Late Medieval Bratislava

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The overall objective of the following survey is to clarify the number and size of hospitals in late medieval Bratislava (Pozsony/Pressburg). The other purpose is to rank and evaluate this institution as a place for spiritual investment of citizens as indicated in their testaments and as an economic-financial unit of the town compared to its size. The main intention here is to reconsider some of the documents on the history of hospitals used by earlier scholarly literature and combine them with the analysis of hitherto untouched sources, mainly hospital accounts and inventories.¹

On the basis of – both old and new – scholarship concerning the issue of the hospitals in medieval Bratislava one faces an annoying disorder concerning their number and patronage. István Vámosy stated in his nineteenth-century quasi-monograph on the hospital of Bratislava that in the Middle Ages there was only one hospital in the town. He asserted that this hospital, belonging to the Order of Saint Anthony, was founded in the time of King Ladislas (1077–1095) and constructed a whole history for the early period without any reference to sources whatsoever. He argues that after the decline of the institution at the beginning of the fourteenth century it was re-established in 1391 – still without any sources concerning these events – and shortly afterwards, in 1397, it was handed over to the town as a “new” hospital by its patrons, *Paulus Domicellus* and *Ladislaus de Nuova Domo*. The Hussite wars caused serious damage to the buildings and therefore, in 1429, the preceptor of the Anthonites, *Gerhardus de Tombres*, definitively left the hospital to the town. Above all his mixing of sources referring to different institutions – for example, the document of 1397 concerns another hospital –, his

¹ The issue of hospitals and caring for the poor in late medieval Bratislava forms part of my Ph.D. research based on the analysis of pious bequests of burghers. In my dissertation, entitled *The Church in Town: The Religious Life of the Burghers in Late Medieval Bratislava (Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries) in the Light of Last Wills* these sources will be discussed extensively, here only certain aspects are highlighted.

main argument for the existence of only one hospital was that from the year 1529 the accounts of only one hospital were extant.²

Tivadar Ortvy, the monographer of the town, criticised him harshly, although only on the issue of the number of hospitals. On the basis of the sources, he clearly saw the existence of another such institution. Similarly to Vámosy, Ortvy believed that the Order of Saint Anthony had a hospital dedicated to Saint Ladislav and he identified both the old and the new hospitals with the same institution, but he referred to a second hospital with the patronage of Saint Elisabeth.³ In his mid-twentieth century countrywide overview of religious life in the Jagellonian period, Lajos Pásztor relied completely on Ortvy's work.⁴ The first person to criticise the above mis-interpretations was Pásztor's contemporary, Zoltán Somogyi, in his work on caring for the poor in the medieval kingdom of Hungary. He argued that the hospital of the Order of Saint Anthony was not identical with the Saint Ladislav hospital, stating that the latter was a civic foundation and had nothing to do with the orderly hospital. He also clarified that in contrast to this old monastic institution the civic foundation was called *novum hospicium*. Seemingly he created a clearer picture, but by listing three separate hospitals – with the titles of Saint Anthony, Saint Ladislav, and Saint Elisabeth – another problem was generated.⁵

Recent scholarly works touching upon the issue from different angles rely principally on the earlier, above described historiographical tradition. András Kubinyi, in his general article about medieval healing and hospitals, collected a list of such institutions all around the medieval kingdom of Hungary. In this list, for Bratislava he named a Saint Ladislav and a Saint Elisabeth hospital, but on the basis of Ortvy and Pásztor he linked the first one to the Order of Saint Anthony.⁶ Marie-Madeleine de Cevins, in her book on the Church in late medieval Hungarian towns (published both in French and Hungarian), gives the number of two or three hospitals in the town in a table on the charitable institutions – in her context meaning hospitals – thus leaving the question open.⁷ Tamás Grynaeus' survey in his book on

² I. Vámosy, *A pozsonyi katolikus polgári ápolóintézet. Fennállásának 500 éves évfordulója alkalmából*. [The Catholic Civic Hospital of Bratislava. On the Occasion of the Five-Hundredth Anniversary of Its Existence], Bratislava 1898, 12–31, esp. 28–31.

³ T. Ortvy, *Pozsony története*. [The History of Bratislava] Vol. II/4. Bratislava 1903, 288–289, 300. For the hospitals otherwise see: 288–301 and 420–421.

⁴ L. Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában*. [The Religious Life of the Hungarians During the Reign of the Jagellonian Kings] Budapest 1940, reprint: Budapest 2000, esp. Chapter 3: Szegénygondozás és betegápolás [Caring for the Poor and Nursing the Sick], 50–65, esp. 51 and 57.

⁵ Z. Somogyi, *A középkori Magyarország szegényügye*. [Caring for the Poor in Medieval Hungary] Budapest 1941, passim, esp. 32, note 1. For Saint Elisabeth separately see: 101.

⁶ A. Kubinyi, "Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek, fürdők és ispotályok a késő középkori Magyarországon," [Healing, Apothecaries, Baths and Hospitals in Late Medieval Hungary] in *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon*. ed. I. Zombori, Budapest 1999, 253–267, for the hospitals in Bratislava see his list: 263.

⁷ M.-M. de Cevins, *L'église dans les villes hongroises à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1320-vers 1490)*. Publications de l'Institut Hongrois de Paris: Dissertationes 1. Budapest–Paris–

the cult of Saint Anthony concerns only the hospital of the Order of Saint Anthony. He separates the Saint Ladislav hospital from the monastic one, stating that all the confusion can be solved with a document dated to 1509 in which donations were given both to the Saint Ladislav and Saint Anthony hospitals. However, among the documents concerning the Anthonite institution in Bratislava he still listed the charter of 1397. Interpreting this source has caused most of the trouble in the historiography of the Bratislava hospitals through identifying the title of Saint Ladislav with the monastic hospital, although this document is only concerned with the hospital founded by the burghers.⁸ On the other hand, Jan Lukačka – who also cautiously separates the old and the new hospitals of Saint Anthony and Saint Ladislav respectively – oversimplifies the whole question. He states that in 1395 – without any document referring to this date – the Saint Ladislav hospital was attached to the original Saint Anthony hospital, and thus implies that afterwards there was only one hospital in the town.⁹ Both Grynaeus and Lukačka disregard the occasional appearance of a Saint Elisabeth title in the sources.

In trying to clear up the above confusion, one should turn to types of sources that have not been considered in this respect. Along with the reconsideration of some of the often-quoted documents, the present investigation is based on the systematic processing and analysis of the *Protocollum Testamentorum*, a town book containing 844 last wills made between 1409 and 1529. This source reflects the best of all how the citizens themselves regarded this type of charitable institution in the town.¹⁰ Some of the town books, mainly town accounts,¹¹ town statutes, and tax-books,¹² but above all several account books of the hospitals themselves,

Szeged 2003, 351. [Hungarian edition: *Az Egyház a késő-középkori magyar városokban*. Budapest 2003, 186. In the main text for the same issue see 51.]

⁸ T. Grynaeus, *Szent Antal tüze*. [Saint Anthony's Fire] Budapest 2002, 58–59. For the listed sources see table 10. The documents mentioned for Bratislava at the dates 1397 and 1464, however, are not connected to the monastic hospital but to the civic Saint Ladislav hospital.

⁹ J. Lukačka, "Pramene k mestský špitálom na juhzápadnom slovensku," [Sources on Municipal Hospitals in Southwest Slovakia] *Historické Štúdie* 42 (2002), 139–144, for the hospitals in Bratislava see: 140–141.

¹⁰ Archív Mesta Bratislavy [Town Archives of Bratislava] (henceforth: AMB), 4.n.1. Also in Magyar Országos Levéltár [National Archives of Hungary], Photo archive (henceforth: Df.) Df.277056. (Henceforth referred to as PT). Hereby, I owe a debt of gratitude to be able to use the unpublished transcription of the whole protocol prepared by Katalin Szende. A concordance of the wills is to be found in K. Szende, *Óthon a városban. Társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen*. [Home in Town: Society and Material Culture in Medieval Sopron, Bratislava and Prešov], Budapest 2004, 272–294. Henceforth in brackets these numbers are also given.

¹¹ AMB, Kammerrechnungen (henceforth: K).

¹² Related statutes are to be found in a town book of mixed content. AMB, 3.a.1. (Df.277806). The tax-book of 1434: AMB, no. 3599 (Df.241676).

provide a picture of how these institutions were administered and how they were considered from the town's point of view.¹³

Since from these town books of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries a more complex picture can be drawn about the hospitals, hereafter a reversed – or at least not a linear – chronology is followed in presenting the history of the hospitals. Two things seem to be strikingly evident after the analyses of the *Protocollum Testamentorum* and the hospital accounts. Firstly, there were not more than two hospitals in the town in the Middle Ages. In all the available sources, the institutions in question were referred to either in the singular (*Spital*), or with the term both hospitals (*baide* or *zwai*). Secondly, even these two institutions were in most cases considered as one. Most of the citizens bequeathed goods to “the Hospital” and less than a quarter of the total hospital donations were addressed to both hospitals (Fig. 1).

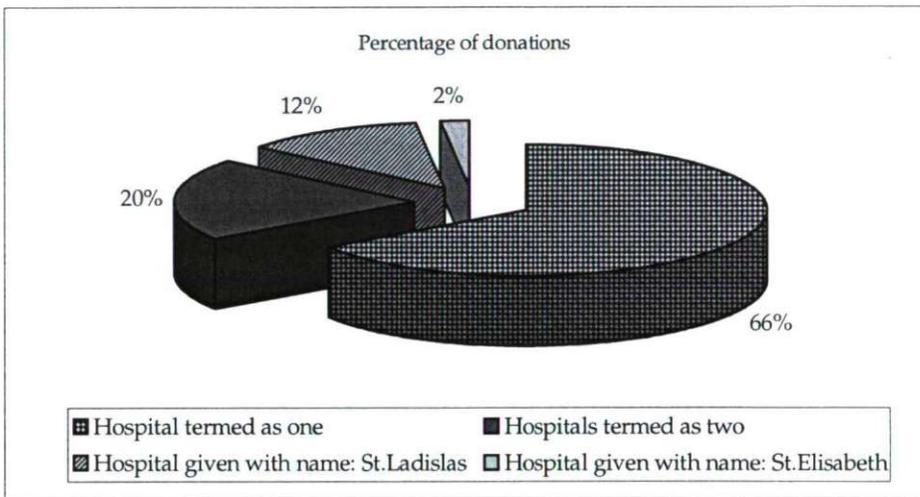


FIG. 1. DONATIONS TO THE HOSPITALS OF BRATISLAVA IN THE *PROTOCOLLUM TESTAMENTORUM* BETWEEN 1409–1529

On the other hand, the accounts of both the hospital and the town¹⁴ handled the two institutions together and on the basis of the sources examined here it can also be stated that these two hospitals were administered by one hospital mas-

¹³ Among the six hospital accounts consulted, three are basically kinds of land-registers containing payments due on certain immovables. From 1441: AMB, 1.Bs.c.1. (Df.283629), from 1506–1516: AMB, B.s.2. (Df.283630), and from 1517: AMB, B.s.3. (Df.283631). However, the second book contains two inventories as well. The other three are proper account books of incomes and expenses from 1493: AMB, B.s.1.a., from 1503–1504: AMB, 1.b.B.s.4., and from 1512–1516: 1.c.B.s.

¹⁴ Mostly, when a reference appeared in the town accounts about donating wine (e.g. in 1434: AMB, K1, 12r, in 1448: AMB, K13, 93), bread (e.g. in 1440: AMB, K3, 245, in: 1509: AMB, K64, 285), fish (e.g. in 1478: AMB, K41, 240), salt (e.g. in 1455: AMB, K22a, 249, in 1458: AMB, K26, 23, 26, 27), or oil (e.g. in 1478: AMB, K41, 239, in 1487: AMB, K47, 255, in 1494: AMB, K53, 358) to the poor in the hospital, the institution was termed as one.

ter.¹⁵ As early as 1398 Ulrich Kitzmagel was the *spital mayster* and *verweser armer lewt* of the two – the new and the old – hospitals in the suburbs of Bratislava.¹⁶ The several documents consulted, among them the numerous due-bills, are definite in stating that the old hospital was the Saint Anthony and the new one was the Saint Ladislas.¹⁷

The old hospital that belonged to the Order of Saint Anthony must have been established before 1309, but since no earlier document has survived, against all attempts, nothing more can be stated about its origin. In that year a dispute – the concrete cause of the trouble is unknown – between the town and the Order ended with the compromise that only the spiritual matters remained in the hand of the Order – meaning principally the election of the hospital priest. In any secular matters the authority over the house, the real estate and the income, as well as over the inmates of the hospital, was in the hand of the procurator, who was elected by the burghers and had to be accepted by the Order.¹⁸ The hospital priest was only a co-rector or chaplain beside the procurator. Furthermore, the Order could keep only those donations that were directly given to it and not to the poor in the hospital. In any other case, it would have been strange that the Anthonites gave over to the town so easily most of the rights concerning their own monastic hospital. Zoltán Somogyi, however, has raised the possibility that the legal claim of the town might have originated from the fact that the urban community took part financially in the foundation of the hospital or invited the regular canons to run an already existing institution.¹⁹ Though his idea has been overlooked in later literature, it is not negligible, at least on the point that the town might have invited the Anthonites. The same document also states that the Order could keep as its own possession a stone house with a small house and a fruit garden as well as a chamber belonging to the nearby bath.

In addition, after a while even the authority of the *capellanus hospitalis Sancti Antonii* was limited, as is well demonstrated by a later conflict with the parish priest of the nearby Saint Lawrence church in 1384.²⁰ Chaplain Ulrich performed burials in the hospital chapel in disagreement with the parish priest, who protested against it. The outcome of the conflict was that the bodies were to be exhumed and reburied in the graveyard of the parish church; and for the future

¹⁵ For the list of hospital masters according to the present state of research see Appendix 1.

¹⁶ AMB, no. 549 (Df.239175): “*in dy czwen spital vor der stat zu Prespurch in das new vnd das alde [...] Ulreichen dem Kyczmagel dy czeit ainem gesworn purger zu Prespurch vnd den wir der gancz rat zu ainem spital mayster vnd zu ainem verweser armer lewt...*”

¹⁷ AMB, no. 1530 (Df.239675): “*in das alt spital ze Sand Anthoni gelegen fur der stat ze Presburg*” or the around fourty due bills to “*das neu spital zu Sand Lasla*”. E.g. 1418: AMB, no. 892 (Df.239397), 1438: AMB, no. 1574 (no Df), 1451: AMB, no. 2612 (Df.240094), 1454: AMB, no. 2950 (Df.240288), etc.

¹⁸ AMB, no. 26 (Df.238650). For the numerous editions of the document see: *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár*. [Charters of the Angevin Period] Vol. 2. eds. Gy. Kristó et al., Szeged 1992, no. 677. and Ortway II/4, 289–292.

¹⁹ Somogyi, *A középkori Magyarország szegényügye*, 52.

²⁰ 22 October 1384. Bratislava Chapter, private R-I-II (Df.228288). See also Ortway II/4, 421.

a similar act would involve excommunication. In order to stress the higher rank of the parish church, it was also stated that during the high mass in Saint Lawrence's, there should be no preaching in the hospital.

A full-fledged urban administration – also embracing spiritual matters – was legalised over the Anthonite hospital only after and due to the Hussite destruction. In 1429 the preceptor of the Order asked the town to govern the hospital until the eventual return of the monks.²¹

The new hospital of Saint Ladislav was established sometime towards the end of the fourteenth century. The founders themselves or their immediate successors handed over the newly-founded institution to the town in 1397, stating that „the town judge and the council is more able to beneficially and usefully take care of the hospital and the poor living inside.”²² However, already in 1375 the rich Viennese tradesman, Jans Poll, who settled down in Bratislava and became its citizen, in his last will mentioned two hospitals.²³ Therefore, it can be supposed that the new hospital might have been founded around the 1370s.

As has been explained above, the old hospital of the Anthonites had been under the governance of an elected hospital master since 1309. Evidently, when the new hospital was handed over to the town (1397) it was entrusted to the same person. In the following year of 1398, when the two hospitals received a considerable donation from the last will of the deceased Bernard Glimph, the above-mentioned Ulrich Kitzmagel was named as the master of both institutions.²⁴

However, confusion seemingly remains as to the titles of the above two institutions, since three patron saints appear in the sources: Saint Ladislav, Saint An-

²¹ 1428: AMB, no. 2075 (Df.240913) "*Johannes Artung preceptor domus Sancti Anthonij in Drawcz*" on the state of the hospital in Bratislava. 1429: AMB, no. 874 (Df.239501) "*Gerhardus de Tombres crucifer hospitalis in Drawoz et preceptor generalis ordinis sancti Anthonij in regnis Hungarie et Sclavonie*" handed over all the administrative rights to the town. See for all these: Ortway II/4, 296–297.

²² Two documents are extant concerning the act. (Both have facsimile editions in Vámosy, Table II and III). The first was written on 2 July 1397: AMB, no. 614 (Df.239162). Here the two citizens handing over the new hospital to the town are addressed as patrons, governors, donors and founders of the institution: "... *Paulus Domicellus et Ladislaus de Nova Domo civis Posoniensis [...] veri et legitimi patroni gubernatores collatores fundatores necnon heredes ultimi novi hospitalis ecclesie Sancti Ladislai regis extra muros opidi...*" The second document was written on 17 August 1397: AMB, no. 619 (Df. 239166). In this confirmation letter, however, these persons were addressed only as "*legittimi patroni et heredes fundatorum hospitalis*". Therefore, it is not evident whether they really were the founders themselves, though as the title of the hospital corresponds with the name of one of them this cannot be excluded.

²³ AMB, no. 327 (Df.238910): "...*sol man daz almuesen in daz alte spital geben vor der stat ze Prespurch [...] Auch schaff ich waz ich vber die zehen phunt die ich geschafft hatt hincz den prüderen ewiges geltes hatt in die zway spitol daz man den siechen raychen [...] vnd sol alle wochen raichen ein phunt phenninge in die zway spital ein ganczes jar...*" Szende, *Otthon a városban*, 293 (will no. 861).

²⁴ AMB, no. 549 (Df.239175): "*in dy czwen spital [...] czwey hundert phunt phenning [...] dy Bernhard der Glymph selig dar ain geschafft hat...*", see also Note 16.

thony, and Saint Elisabeth. The Saint Ladislav title presents no problem, as in most of the cases it is explicitly stated that the title belongs to the new hospital. Therefore, the riddle to be solved is the relation of the two other titles. The first pivotal point is a document from 1326 in which the *preceptor* and *magister* of the Anthonite house in Bratislava handed over a piece of arable land to the widow of the ex-judge of the town. She was supposed to pay a certain sum for it, and consult the superior of the Order over whatever was planned for the land.²⁵ Most importantly here, it was stated that the beneficiary „owe[d] to visit devotedly” the Order’s house „on the festivities and holy days of Saint Anthony and Saint Elisabeth.”²⁶ This statement cannot have been included for no reason.

On the other hand, when the later sources refer to both hospitals, the one always appearing is the Saint Ladislav institution, but for the old one they use the title of either Saint Anthony or Saint Elisabeth.²⁷ For example, in the hospital account of 1493 the „servant of the sick-room” (*sutendiern*) serving in Saint Ladislav was named Catherine, but a blind Margareth was also mentioned who lived in Saint Anthony’s.²⁸ In some accounts the same servants appeared only with their names or with their occupations, but in 1513 they were again connected to institutions. This time the wife of a certain Matthew was said to serve in Saint Elisabeth’s and a certain Catherine in Saint Ladislav’s.²⁹

The most eloquent hospital account book is the one led by Martin Sembler, hospital master of *beder spital Sand Laslaw vnd Sand Elspetn* between 1512 and 1516 continuously. Here, among the listed incomes, each year one finds *ophergelt* and *gesamelt gelt* collected on four occasions per year: on Saint Ladislav’s day, Saint Ulrich’s day, Saint Elisabeth’s day, and Saint Anthony’s day.³⁰ This supposedly means that all these feasts had connections to the hospitals in question, and recalling the document of 1326 mentioned above, one can affirm that the feasts of

²⁵ AMB, no. 52 (Df.238676): „*Nos frater Sygo de Portatriona preceptor et magister domorum Sancti Antonij [...] unam partem arabilem terre [...] dedimus contulimus donauimus Margarete relicte comitis Iacobi quondam iudex in Posenio...*” Edited with mistakes and omissions in G. Fejér: *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Vols. I–XI. Buda 1829–1844, VIII/3, 146–147.

²⁶ „*Dicimus eciam quod in festiuitatibus ac sollempnitatibus Sancti Antonij et Beate Elisabehte [sic!] ad nostram domum cum deuotione debeant conuenire.*”

²⁷ In a will of 1451 „*des alten Spital Sand Anthony [...] neuen spital uber Sanndt Lasla*” appears together. PT, fol. 71^v (will no. 149). While in another will of 1491 we read the following: „*Item in bede spital Sannd Lasla und Sannd Elsbeten in iedes schaff ich zugeben III fl. ...*” PT, fol. 230^r (will no. 491).

²⁸ „*Item der Katherina sutendiern zu Sannd Lasla an irem sold [...] v schilling*” and „*Item der plinten Maruschen zu Sannd Anthony umb ain par schuech [...] xxvj denar*”. AMB, B.s.1.a., fol. 17^{r-v}.

²⁹ „*Item Mathesijn suttendieren zw Sannd Elspeten hab ich geben zwo quotemer j talentum iij schilling xvij denar.*” and „*Item Kathrein swtndieren zu Sannd Lasla hab ich ain quotemer geben v schilling xxiiij denar.*” AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 69^v.

³⁰ AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 16^r, fol. 51^r, fol. 86^v–87^r.

Saint Elisabeth and Saint Anthony both had importance in the hospital once belonging to the Order of Saint Anthony.

Consequently, the old hospital had either two titles or, most probably, the usage of Saint Anthony referred to the fact that this hospital was once run by the Order of Saint Anthony, but the real patron saint of the hospital was Saint Elisabeth.³¹ On the other hand, it is also conceivable – though in the light of the Hungarian practice with a lesser probability – that the hospital church was not consecrated to the same saint as the hospital itself, or in the course of time it might have changed its patron.³² Interestingly, among the pious donations of the last wills in the *Protocollum Testamentorum* the old hospital appeared only three times by name (Fig. 1), and among them the only case when the patronage of Saint Anthony was used referred to the hospital church where the testator ordered an anniversary mass for himself.³³ How the institution got its patronage, whether it had two patrons at all or the title of Saint Anthony was transferred from the name of the Order in the burghers' collective mind, cannot be established from the sources. However, the two titles evidently refer to the same – old – hospital.

In a document from 1505, Albert, rector and general preceptor of the Order of Saint Anthony, wanted to appropriate the Saint Elisabeth hospital in the suburbs from the town of Bratislava, stating that it had once belonged to his Order. The citizens of the town, however, did not remember at all – probably did not want to remember – that this institution had ever belonged to the Order. Therefore, King Wladislas II (1490–1516) transferred the decision on the matter to the next diet.³⁴ The judicial process and the outcome of the dispute are unknown; no extant documents have been found about it. However, in the light of what has been

³¹ For Saint Elisabeth as a much-liked hospital patron: Kubinyi, "Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek," 262. Cevins, *L'église dans les villes hongroises*, 49. Generally on hospital patrons see e.g.: W. Deinhardt, "Patrozinienkunde", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 56 (1936), 174–207; G. Zimmermann, "Patrozinienwahl und Frömmigkeitswandel im Mittelalter, dargestellt an Beispielen aus dem alten Bistum Würzburg" *Würzburger Diözesan-Geschichtsblätter* 20 (1958), 24–126, 21 (1959), 5–124; P. Moraw, "Ein Gedanke zur Patrozinienforschung", *Archiv für mittelhochdeutsche Kirchengeschichte* 17 (1965), 9–26. Moraw also dealt with the question of double patronage and changing patron saints.

³² Special thanks is due to Ass.-Prof. Dr. Michel Pauly (Université du Luxembourg), who kindly informed me about his research on hospital patronage in the territory between the Meuse and the Rhine, between Aachen and Mulhouse in Alsace, where he found several examples for double patronage among the Hospitaller orders, and also about some cases for a hospital patron overcoming another. One of them in Bar-le-Duc is especially interesting, because the hospital once belonging to the Order of Saint Anthony changed its patron when it was given over to the town.

³³ Saint Elisabeth Hospital: PT, fol. 230r–231v (will no. 491) and PT, fol. 419v–421v (will no. 833). Saint Anthony Church: PT, fol. 285v (will no. 614).

³⁴ AMB, no. 2366 (Df.240989): "...Albertus rector et generalis preceptor domorum Sancti Anthonij in hoc regno nostro hospitale Sancte Elizabeth in suburbio eiusdem ciuitatis nostre [Posoniensis] existens allegans ipsum hospitale ad dictum suum ordinem Sancte Anthonij pertinere..."

written above – contrary to Tivadar Ortway³⁵ – this document reveals the claim of the Order as the continuation of an old story. In 1429 the preceptor of the Order asked the town to govern the hospital until the possible return of the monks. Apparently, in 1505 – for some unknown reason – they wanted to regain the hospital they had once run. No wonder that the collective memory of the town worked differently from that of the Order.

The will of Lawrence Jung, dated to 1451, reveals that due to their location it was also logical to consider and govern the two institutions together, since the two hospitals were actually located very close to each other. In the text it is stated that the testator's house was to be found: „above the old hospital of Saint Anthony in *Spitalneusiedel* (Hospital Suburb) and opposite to the new hospital of Saint Ladislás.”³⁶ The two extant inventories of the hospitals from 1506 and 1510 also imply that the two infirmaries must have been close to each other. At the same time, it also seems evident in these documents that while the two sick-rooms were named, handled and located separately, the kitchen, the staff-rooms, and the farm-buildings were probably common, at least by the beginning of the sixteenth century.³⁷

Despite the facts of a common hospital master and staff as well as the economic and financial co-administration of the institutions, the two hospitals were never completely merged – their duality is present in the sources all along. The cloth-merchant George Mair's donation to the hospitals and the poor in 1495 well represents how the burghers of the town viewed the whole issue. First he ordered four forints for the building-fund of the *Spital* (given in the singular), then to both hospitals he ordered six forints to be spent for food and wine that was to be distributed among the poor living there.³⁸

The two institutions also had, for example, their own hospital “churches”³⁹ and sometimes the sources also mention about their own chaplains,⁴⁰ both falling

³⁵ Ortway II/4, 301. Here he mentions the document, but only as an argument against István Vámosy, quoting it as evidence that there were two separate hospitals in the town. However, since according to his conjecture the Anthonite hospital bore the title of Saint Ladislás, he found the claim of the Order appearing in the source false.

³⁶ PT, fol. 71v: “...mein haws gelegen oberhalb des alten Spital Sand Anthony auf Spital Neusidl gegen den neuen spital uber Sanndt Lasla...” On the location see more in J. Majorossy, “A város közepén – a társadalom peremén. A szegények helye a középkori Sopron életében,” [In the Middle of the Town – at the Edge of Society. The Place of the Poor in the Life of Medieval Sopron] *Soproni Szemle* 57:3 (2003), 220–221.

³⁷ AMB, B.s.2. (Df.283630). 1506: fol. 3r–4v, 1510: fol. 5v–7r.

³⁸ “Item in das Spital zu dem gepaw schaff ich IIII fl. und sunderlich den armen lewten in baiden spitaln schaff ich VI fl. doch [...] sullen kauffen speiss und wein und den armen lewtten selbs austailn.” PT, fol. 253v (will no. 535).

³⁹ “Item czw Sand Lasla kirchen da selbst zwum paw schaff ich auch I fl. vngrisch.” PT, fol. 387v (will no. 783). “Item [...] jartag [...] zu Sandt Anthonj [...] X fl.” PT, fol. 285v (will no. 614). A document dated to 1515 records an altar in the Saint Ladislás hospital: “Ich Petrus Khrynnner [...] als recht lehennherren des beneficio vnnd altars des spitals Sannd Lasla...” AMB, no. 4548 (Df.241129). The two churches were mentioned together in John Am-

under the authority of the parish priest of the nearby Saint Lawrence church, as one of the testators clearly referred to "the two hospitals of Saint Lawrence".⁴¹

The dominance of the Saint Ladislav hospital is visible in the sources. The fact that its name appears more often in testaments (Fig. 1) and in all the other documents (accounts, due-bills, receipts of payment) may be partially explained from the feature of common management – centred on the hospital which was from its beginning a clearly urban (civic) institution. However, this might be connected to the size of the two institutions as well. Until now, for the late medieval – (pre-1526) – period no data have been disclosed concerning the number of people living in these institutions; only conjectures have been offered. Even I myself, in an earlier article, relied only on the highest number of donated beds to calculate or give a hint at the possible size of the hospital in the period under query.⁴² Namely, in 1442 Andrew Schönbach in his will ordered twenty strap-beds (*spannpett*)⁴³ to be made for the new hospital.⁴⁴ On the basis of the inventories noted above, discovered during the course of my most recent research, it is to be seen that the number of poor nursed does not necessarily correspond to the number of beds to be found in the buildings. The until now estimated number of poor living in one of the hospitals at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century seems to be closer in reality to the number of them living in both hospitals together (Table 1).

	1506	1510
Staff listed	7	9
Poor (+ children) counted in both hospitals	17+2	24
Total	26	33

TABLE 1. THE NUMBER OF THE POOR AND STAFF IN THE HOSPITALS OF BRATISLAVA
(BASED ON TWO INVENTORIES)

In 1506 the number of poor adults and children in both infirmaries together was nineteen, but there were only seventeen strap-beds in the two buildings. At the same time, in 1510 the people being nursed numbered twenty-four in all, while the number of strap-beds enumerated was thirty-seven (Table 1 and 2). It is also visible that the housing capacity of Saint Ladislav's hospital was at least double that of Saint Elisabeth's.

bringer's will in 1525: "*Item zw der zwayer spittalkirichen notturfft vnd gepaw schaff ich in gelt iijj flor.*" AMB, no. 4905 (Df.243586). Szende, *Otthon a városban*, 293 (will no. 856).

⁴⁰ For a list (collected to this date) of hospital chaplains see Appendix 2. Unfortunately, the sources rarely mention in which hospital they served.

⁴¹ "*Item mer in die zwae spital gen Sand Lorentzen in ainen yetz X gulden den armen lewtten umb tuech zu klaidern darumb umb mein armen sel zupitten.*" PT, fol. 334^v (will no. 723).

⁴² Majorossy, "A város közepén," 224.

⁴³ The term refers to the structure of the bed. It meant a wooden frame onto which straps or cords were strengthened that held the feather-bed or the straw mattress. Szende, *Otthon a városban*, 202.

⁴⁴ "*Item vnd mer hat er geschafft in daz new spital in zwainczig spannpett armen leuten in yeglichs spannpett ain halben koczen.*" PT, fol. 41^v (will no. 89).

	1506	1510
Feather-beds / strap-beds (+travel-bed) for the staff in both hospitals	16 / 14(+1)	19 / 13(+1)
Feather-beds / strap-beds for the poor in Saint Ladislas hospital	13 / -	25 / 16
Feather-beds / strap-beds for the poor in Saint Elisabeth hospital	4 / 4	12 / 8
Total	33 / 19	56 / 38
Tin plates (deep and shallow) altogether	19	19
Wooden plates (deep and shallow) altogether	13	17
Copper bowls	2	3
Total	34	39

TABLE 2. THE NUMBER OF BEDS AND PLATES IN THE HOSPITALS OF BRATISLAVA
(BASED ON TWO INVENTORIES)

The number of the permanent personnel fluctuated between seven and nine, although according to the accounts for the years 1513 to 1515 around sixteen people were paid for serving in the hospitals. The staff members always present were the matron (*spitalmaisterin*), usually one nurse in each sick-room (*suttendiern*), the alms-box servant (*zistelknecht*), the scribe, and the priest or chaplain(s). Also included were the woman house-keeper (*schafferin*), who might have been basically in charge of the kitchen, as in some of the accounts where there was no *schafferin*, a woman-cook (*kochin*) was listed instead. The members of the farm-establishment were usually at least two wagon servants (*wagenknecht*), the herdsman (*halter*, *viechhalter*, *pastor*), sometimes also an additional swineherd (*sawhalter*) as well as a herdsman (*herterin*), and from one to four farm or animal servants (*viechdiern*).⁴⁵ Naturally, for work in the vineyards and on the land, odd-job men were employed. Similarly, the priest, the students, and the schoolmaster were hired for certain festivities from the Saint Lawrence parish church, especially on the occasion of the feasts of Saint Ladislas, Saint Ulrich, Saint Anthony, and Saint Elisabeth.⁴⁶

Concerning the economic life of the hospitals in the fifteenth century, the available sources shed light only on their "banking" activity. The so-called account book of 1441 is a register for due payments imposed on different immovables,⁴⁷ and most of the individual charters from the period witnessed the same type of obligation (*census hospitalis*). As it is visible from the later, de facto hospital accounts the *zinsgelt* was the most important source of income – besides wine production – for these institutions (Table 3).⁴⁸

⁴⁵ For the personnel see the following sources. In 1493: AMB, B.s.1.a., fol. 17^{r-v}. In 1503–1504: AMB, 1.b.B.s.4., passim, but esp. between fol. 13^r–16^v. In 1506: AMB, B.s.2. (Df.283630), fol. 3^r. In 1510: AMB, B.s.2. (Df.283630), fol. 5^v. In 1512–1513: AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 32^v–33^r, 50^r. And for "das diennst volkh" in 1513–1514: AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 69^{r-v}, while in 1514–1515: fol. 105^{r-v}, 108^r.

⁴⁶ For the priest and the students: AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 33^r, fol. 65^{r-v}. For the schoolmaster: AMB, 1.c.B.s., fol. 70^v, fol. 109^r.

⁴⁷ AMB, 1.Bs.c.1. (Df.283629).

⁴⁸ The two other hospital books from the period are also registers for payments owing. From 1506–1516: AMB, B.s.2. (Df.283630), and from 1517: AMB, B.s.3. (Df.283631).

Incomes (calculated in denars)	1493	1503-1504	1512-1513	1513-1514	1515-1516
Offering money (<i>ophergelt</i>)	128	-	5.969	5.665	5.706
Alms-box money (<i>püchseingelt</i>)					5.130
Last will donations	-	-	5.700	6.300	8.595
Collected grape-juice [65-100 denars <i>per urnam</i>]	-	110,5 urna 43 quartel	9,5 urna 8 quartel	7,5 urna 3 quartel	13,5 urna 3 quartel
Income from wine	-	-	6.052	25.896	21.889
Income from beer	-	-	-	-	1.401
Income from agriculture (animals, grain, food, wood, dung)	1.931	-	9.275	21.689	14.106
Income from portage	360	-	1.034	760	-
Income from old clothes sold	-	-	1.569	927	-
Repayment (<i>zinsgelt</i>)	8.190	54.450	21.996	28.845	14.760
Other	1.460	-	240	-	-
Total	12.069	54.450	51.835	90.082	71.587

In 1512 six vineyards and two houses were sold a total of 30.600 denars
(by 1516: 24.000 denars were paid)

Expenses (calculated in denars)	1493	1503-1504	1512-1513	1513-1514	1515-1516
Spent on kitchen (<i>kuchenspeis</i>)	1.224	10.133	15.027	19.444	16.189
Spent on animals and other agricultural expenses	3.456	15.104	10.771	12.877	14.217
Spent on vineyard cultivation	4.226	20.422	7.045	23.064	33.531
Payment to hospital workers	4.082	2.350	12.533	13.043	13.532
Spent on "liturgy" (priest, student, schoolmaster, wax, feasts)	-	1.650	1.774	3.504	2.400
Mixed expenses for hospital maintenance	2.049	8.041	10.997	6.864	7.457
Expenses of wood-transport and wood-cutting	333	1.711	-	-	-
Other	-	420	-	411	248
Total	15.370	59.831	58.147	79.207	87.574

TABLE 3. HOSPITAL ACCOUNTS FROM THE GIVEN YEARS FROM BRATISLAVA – GROUPED INCOMES AND EXPENSES

From this particular point of view, the institutions basically served as creditors and the dimensions of this activity seem to have overridden the actual size of the hospitals. Likewise, the bequests for the benefit of these hospitals in the fifteenth century were almost equal in number with the donations made to the two "minor" parish churches, Saint Lawrence and Saint Michael as well as those to the Franciscan friary in the town (Fig. 2).⁴⁹ Namely, in the given period – if orders

⁴⁹ The complete and complex analysis of the donations to each church, chapel, guild or confraternity of the town for the whole period before 1530 with the detailed examination of changes in time, the nature of the donations and full-scale comparisons between

for masses are not counted – the hospitals together got the same number of donations – but not necessarily on the same scale – as the other institutions.

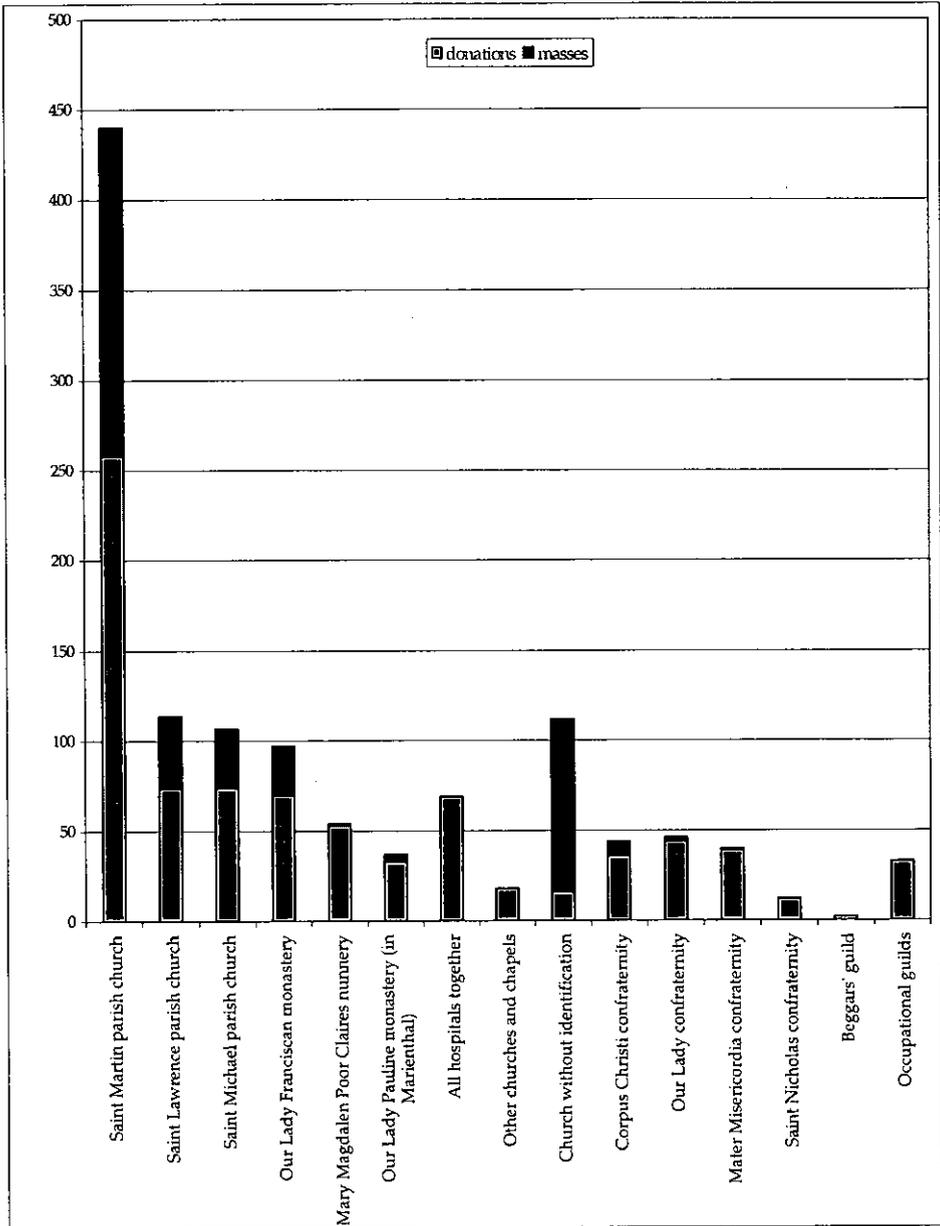


FIG. 2. DONATIONS IN BRATISLAVA BY TESTATORS TO RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS (1409–1495)

the donated institutions is not the subject of this article but that of the dissertation. The intention here is only to determine the place of the hospital – especially in comparison to its size.

As to the nature of the donations given to the hospitals in the fifteenth century, the most frequent type of bequest was money either in general or in particular to the hospital-fund (42%). Similarly, wine – and sometimes other types of food (e.g. pork, fat, etc.) – donations were also significant (29%). The third in rank were the orders for a soul bath and/or a meal for the poor in the hospitals (12%). Naturally, bed and/or bed-clothes (7%), material for clothes (4%), candles and wax were also donated (3%). Finally, there were a few specific orders as well (3%).⁵⁰ For example, the well-known scribe of the town, Liebhart Egkenfelder gave silk for a church flag to Saint Ladislav church in 1455.⁵¹ In 1483 another burgher, Nicholas Pilgram, ordered money to prepare a bell for the hospital (in the singular).⁵²

Reconsidering much quoted sources and considering newly discovered ones and new types of evidence concerning the history of the hospitals in Bratislava, provides a clearer and more refined picture of these institutions.⁵³ On this basis, it is apparent that during the Middle Ages there were not more than two hospitals in the town – the old, Saint Elisabeth, hospital once belonging to the Anthonites and therefore also referred to as Saint Anthony's and the new, Saint Ladislav, hospital. This duality, in one way or another, was present all through the sources. On the other hand, they had co-administration in almost every sense, from the common hospital master and staff to their kitchen. The number and, especially, the size of these hospitals, however, apparently did not much influence their importance as charitable institutions. Furthermore, the small size of the hospital(s) in comparison to the population of the town is not necessarily a sign of backwardness.⁵⁴ As the sources, particularly last wills, witness, there were other – non-institutional – ways of caring for the poor, for example, with families (*hausarme*) or relatives, even in the countryside, that were able to satisfy the rising need.⁵⁵

The sources also reveal interesting details about the inner life, personnel and financial-economic background of the hospitals that can be the subject of another survey. On the basis of the inventories and accounts, one can compare the material culture of a "normal" household and a hospital, as well as the peculiarities of the economy of the hospitals contrasted to other ecclesiastical foundations.

⁵⁰ The given percentages cover the time period between 1409 and 1495 and give the nature of the donations behind the column for the hospitals in Fig. 2.

⁵¹ PT, fol. 90r–93v (will no. 183).

⁵² "Item in das Spittal hie zu ainer gluckhn schaf ich iiii fl." PT, fol. 193r–v (will no. 399).

⁵³ A similar analysis of the accounts of the hospital in Sopron and the citizens' last wills was done in Majorossy, "A város közepén," 216–233. However, it is also worth revisiting the possible sources of other medieval Hungarian towns to investigate whether corresponding data can be found and to see how urban takeover and handling influenced the administration of the former monastic hospitals.

⁵⁴ As it was indicated in Cevins, *L'église dans les villes hongroises*, 55.

⁵⁵ The household poor were not identical with household servants. See e.g. T. Fischer, *Städtische Armut und Armenfürsorge im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Beispiel der Städte Basel, Freiburg i. Br. und Strassburg*. Göttinger Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Band 4. Göttingen 1979, 117.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. THE HOSPITAL MASTERS IN LATE MEDIEVAL BRATISLAVA

Date		Hospital master	MOL	AMB	Folio
1398		KITZMAGEL, Ulrich	Df.239175	no. 628	-
1429		LACHUTEL, Niklas	Df.239501	no. 1089	-
1430		LACHUTEL, Niklas	Df.239506	no. 1107	-
1431		HUETEL, Jorg	Df.241566	no. 1210	-
1432		HUETEL, Jorg	Df.241580	no. 1234	-
1432		HUETEL, Jorg	Df.241579	no. 1232	-
1432		HUETEL, Jorg	Df.283629	1.Bs.c.1.	116
1434		HUETEL, Jorg	Df.277057	K1	2r
1441		SCHARRACH, Bartolme	Df.283629	1.Bs.c.1.	2, 66, 94
1444		EILAUSEMROCK, Hans	Df.283629	1.Bs.c.1.	69
1445		EILAUSEMROCK, Hans	Df.241994	no. 2004	-
1445		EILAUSEMROCK, Hans	Df.283629	1.Bs.c.1.	76
1459	ante	EILAUSEMROCK, Hans	Df.240444	no. 3308	-
1464		GAILSAM, Albert	Df.240483	no. 3445	-
1464		GAILSAM, Albert	Df.240484	no. 3464	-
1485		KURSNER, Hans	Df.242953	no. 3832	-
1490		ROSENTALER, Mert	Df.242991	no. 3916	-
1491		ROSENTALER, Mert	Df.243008	no. 3941	-
1491		ROSENTALER, Mert	DI.46157		-
1492		ROSENTALER, Mert	Df.243007	no. 3961	-
1492		ROSENTALER, Mert	DI.46183		-
1493		KESMAN, Jobst	Df.240763	no. 3984	-
1493		KESMAN, Jobst	Df.243015	no. 3978	-
1500		RUTENSTOCK, Pangratz	Df.283630	B.s.2.	3r
1502		ZELLERPECK, Thoman	Df.277114	K58	224, 258
1503		RUTENSTOCK, Pangratz		1.b.B.s.4.	29r
1504		RUTENSTOCK, Pangratz		1.b.B.s.4.	14v, 29r, 34r
1505		RUTENSTOCK, Pangratz	Df.283630	B.s.2.	4v
1506		VOYT, Friedrich	Df.283630	B.s.2.	3r, 274v
1508		VOYT, Friedrich	Df.283630	B.s.2.	274v
1509		VOYT, Friedrich	Df.283630	B.s.2.	274v
1510		VOYT, Friedrich	Df.283630	B.s.2.	5v
1510		METTENPECK, Mert	Df.283630	B.s.2.	5v
1511		METTENPECK, Mert	Df.277122	K66	156v
1512		METTENPECK, Mert	Df.283630	B.s.2.	24r

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1512		METTENPECK, Mert	Df.241091	no. 4467	-
1512		SEMBLER, Mert		1.c.B.s.	2r
1513		SEMBLER, Mert		1.c.B.s.	20r
1514		SEMBLER, Mert		1.c.B.s.	42r
1514		SEMBLER, Mert	Df.283630	B.s.2.	276v
1515		SEMBLER, Mert		1.c.B.s.	73r
1517		SEMBLER, Mert		1.c.B.s.	115r
1517		ACHACY, ?m	Df.277126	K70	289
1518		ACHACY, ?m	Df.277126	K70	289
1525		PAIER, Hans	Df.277132	K76	163
1526		PAIER, Hans	Df.277132	K76	163

APPENDIX 2. THE HOSPITAL CHAPLAINS IN LATE MEDIEVAL BRATISLAVA (NAMED IN THE SOURCES)

Date	Name	Hospital	MOL	AMB	Folio
1430	Albrecht hospital chaplain	Saint Anthony Hospital	Df.239506	no. 1107	-
1480	Gilig hospital chaplain	Saint Ladislav Hospital	Df.277098	K42	247
1493	GERAD, Wolfgang hospital chaplain	Saint Ladislav Hospital		B.s.1.a.	17r
1493	PRECHTEL, Stefan hospital chaplain	Saint Anthony Hospital		B.s.1.a.	17r
1513	Jorg hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277123	K67	144r
1514	Jorg hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277123	K67	144r
1515	KRYNNER, Peter hospital chaplain	Saint Ladislav Hospital		no. 4548	-
1517	Hans hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277126	K70	270
1518	Matthes hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277126	K70	270
1521	Niklas hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277130	K74	68
1522	Niklas hospital chaplain	not given	Df.277130	K74	68
1522	Niklas hospital chaplain	Saint Ladislav Hospital	Df.243525	no. 4786	-
1527	Stefan hospital priest	not given		no. 4967	-