

Medicine in and out of the Cloister
The abolition of monasteries and medic(in)al provision in late eighteenth-century
Hungary

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Submitted to
Central European University
History Department

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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Budapest, Hungary
2013

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Abstract

My research sets into focus the impacts of the medical and monastery reforms of Joseph II put through in Hungary. It aims to answer the question to what extent did the suppression of religious orders influence the medical marketplace. It maps up medical connections of monastic communities and their strategies to provide medical provision for their members and vice versa: the catchment area of some urban pharmacies can be uniquely detected from the monasteries located in their neighborhood.

My study provides a chronological overview of the procedure of monastery abolition from the aspect of the ceased monastery pharmacies and expelled medical professionals belonging to monasteries. It contrasts the alternatives provided by the Emperor in order to facilitate medical provision in his lands and the practical outcomes that failed to channel human resources, special equipments and goods into that direction.

It also sets into focus the controlling role of the medical police that challenged monastery pharmacies according to secular requirements and maps up the strategies of religious orders to save their medical resources for themselves and in sake of public welfare as well.

Acknowledgments

“From the stars we come, to the stars we go. Life is but a journey into the unknown.”

~ Walter Moers, *The City of Dreaming Books*

I owe thanks to all my facilitators and fellow travellers who accompanied me and showed direction during this trip to the unknown. First of all I have to say thank you to dr. Kálmán Varga whose engagement toward the history of the Capuchin monastery of Máriabesnyő whirled me into the study of monasteries and to Márta Velladics, whose selfless guidance in the archival sources was essential.

I owe special thanks to my supervisor, Professor László Kontler for the inspiring consultations, for the steady encouragements and for his very emphatic, but strong-minded strictness that did not allow me to fall down from the seemingly endless staircase leading out from the labyrinth of my ideas.

I owe special thanks to the archivists of the Hungarian National Archives, dr. János Kalmár and Margit Marján for their very patient and long-lasting help. Special thanks to Krisztina Kulcsár for her guidance in the materials of the Loctenential Council.

I owe thanks for the patient support to Gottfried Undesser, the archivist of the Viennese Capuchin Archive, to Brother Bernát (Tamás Bartucz) an engaged caregiver of old documents at the Capuchin monastery of Mór and to Zoltán Fáy, director of the Hungarian Franciscan Library and Archive.

Finally this thesis would not have been written without my family members, who provided me the necessary circumstances for my research. I owe thanks especially to my husband, Imre Kovács, who did not give up believing in the importance of this work and contradicted all my doubts.

Table of contents

Acknowledgments.....	4
Table of contents	5
Secularization of the Medical Marketplace	6
Secularization in terms of utilitarian principles	6
The suppression of religious orders as an assault on monastery pharmacies	8
Numerical data and conceptual framework	9
Pharmacy inspections and the concept of the medical police	10
Pharmacy inspection reports as sources	13
Archives of the Capuchin and Franciscan Orders	16
Medicalization.....	17
Professionalization.....	18
Medical marketplace	19
Monasteries and the medical marketplace in late eighteenth century Hungary.....	23
Different forms of payment and the scanty bookkeeping of the medical marketplace	23
Monasteries that availed themselves of healers of more settlements	29
Medical centers and networks reflected in the dissolution files of monasteries.....	34
Monastic medicine at a crossroads: (self-)supply, professional licensing, challenges and opportunities	38
Poor Clares' and Camaldolese monasteries 1782-1786	38
Pauline monasteries 1786.....	46
Franciscan and Capuchin monasteries 1787-1790	50
Conclusions	61
Bibliography	62
Appendices.....	67

Secularization of the Medical Marketplace

My thesis evolved from a discrepancy regarding the medical aspects of Joseph II's monastic policy mainly discussed in terms of the suppression of several religious orders between 1782-1790. The dissolution of monasteries justified with the aim to carry into effect utilitarian principles contradicted the general image of monasteries presented as repositories of medical knowledge and significant competitors of lay healers the history of medicine. For this reason, first of all I present these two main narratives that opened up for me the path to a more nuanced understanding of the challenges and concerns evolving in terms of medical provision in the middle of the eighteenth century and culminating in the 1780s during the reign of Joseph II.

Secularization in terms of utilitarian principles

The utilitarian reform of monasteries was a constantly reemerging issue in the Habsburg Monarchy during the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and Joseph II (1780-1790). The rhetoric condemning monks and nuns as too expensive and mostly idle repeatedly affirmed argument to justify imperial ordinances aimed at diminishing the number of religious houses and at confiscating monastic goods. Maria Theresa thus fulminated in her political statement in 1750 regarding the clergy:

“[T]hey do not—alas!—apply what they have as they should, and moreover, they constitute a heavy burden on the public. For no monastic House observes the limitations of its statutes, and many idlers are admitted; all this will call for a great remedy, which I propose to effect in good time and after due consideration.”¹

¹ *Kaiserin Maria Theresias politisches Testament*, ed. Josef Kallbrunner (München: Redaktion Oldenbourg, 1952.) 38. cited by Derek Beales, “Joseph II and the Monasteries of Austria and Hungary,” in *Religious Change in Europe 1650–1914: Essays for John McManners*, ed. Nigel Aston (1997) 21. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198205968.003.0009 (accessed February 4, 2013).

She also declared the required and useful activities in terms of Hungary. Her argumentation did not connect the listed, socially important functions to monasteries, but required cooperation with lay people:

“I except from such measures the Kingdom of Hungary, where much still remains to be done for religion, in which task I shall require the clergy there to cooperate, but not work with them alone, but concert chiefly with laymen on the principles to be followed, the chief aim of which must be to introduce seminaries, colleges, academies, hospitals for the sick and injured, conservatories (as in Italy) for unmarried women, for the better instruction of the young etc., taking careful pains to support and develop what is useful to the public, and not what profits the private advantage of the clergy, monks and nuns in any Province.”²

Joseph II's declared more explicitly the socially useful tasks for monasteries in just right after the suppression of Carthusians whose contemplative lifestyle and monastic rules prevented them from meet utilitarian requirements. Joseph II intended “that no monastery of any kind would be allowed to survive unless it performed a useful function. That meant, in Joseph's own first draft for the Council of State (*Staatsrat*), only educating youth or looking after sick persons. To these qualifying functions were added, after discussion, ‘preaching, hearing confessions and attending deathbeds’, and, later still, cure of souls.”³

Although Joseph II's requirements did declare possible roles for religious orders, the monasteries had no monopoly over these ‘useful tasks’ that the rulers also regarded as separable from the ecclesiastical context and sustainable by lay subjects being more dependent on the controlling and licensing power of the state. With other words, tasks –such as caring about sick and poor people - could not provide ultimately sufficient reason to legitimize the existence of the whole monastery.

² *Kaiserin Maria Theresias politisches Testament*, ed. Josef Kallbrunner (München: Redaktion Oldenbourg, 1952.) 38. cited by Derek Beales, “Joseph II and the Monasteries of Austria and Hungary,” 21.

³ Derek Beales, “Joseph II and the Monasteries of Austria and Hungary,” 11.

The suppression of religious orders as an assault on monastery pharmacies

A study of József Ernyei published in 1935 provided a quick calculation regarding the number of pharmacies in 1746. This was the first time when the counties had to send in reports to the Locotenential Council⁴ providing information about the number of pharmacies. According to these reports only 41 pharmacies could be listed in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom. Ernyei made an attempt to correct this number through adding the hypothetical number of monastery pharmacies. He pointed out that neither the houses of the two medical orders, the Order of Saint Elisabeth and the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God, nor the Jesuits' pharmacies were taken into consideration by the Locotenential Council. He calls attention on the changing number of monasteries as well, hinting at more than 140 monasteries dissolved by Joseph II in Hungary. Ernyei assumed that the suppressed religious orders also could be owners of a significant number of pharmacies, even though several convents must have been reliant on secular healers, too. Ernyei finally concluded that approximately 150 pharmacies must have been in the country from which 100 could be administered by lay pharmacists.⁵ Ernyei's argumentation was somewhat inconsistent and lacked any empirical underpinning. For this reason Frigyes Perényi interpreted the number of pharmacists as a typo and he corrected the calculation to 200 pharmacists. Perényi's estimation was also based on mere speculation, furthermore neither he, nor Ernyei made distinction between phamacists and pharmacies in their calculations. Although Perényi did

⁴ The Locotenential Council marked with several names in different languages. Latin: Concilium Locumtenentiale, German: Ungarische Statthaltereien, Hungarian: Magyar Helytartótanács. There are different versions of its English translation, I apply the one used by the Hungarian National Archives.

"The task of the Locotenential Council, which operated between 1724 and 1848, was to execute the decrees of the sovereign and the Chancellery. Except Transylvania and the frontier defense districts, its competence included the public administration of the entire territory of Hungary, Croatia, and, from 1778, the Banat of Timisoara. Besides public administration the Council acted as the professional supervisory authority of the branches of economic and social administration emerging in the eighteenth century: taxation, army supplies, agriculture, industry, trade, transport, culture, education and health as well as peasant-landowner relations."

Description of the Archives of the Locotenential Council at the webpage of the Hungarian National Archives.

http://old.mol.gov.hu/index.php?akt_menu=645 (accessed June 2. 2013).

⁵ József Ernyei, "A Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem és első gyógyszerészei," *A Magyar Gyógyszerésztudományi Társaság Értésítője* 11. no. 5, (1935): 493. [First Pharmacists of the Pázmány Péter University]

not go into details regarding the suppression of religious orders, he also accepted implicitly the supposition that a significant number of pharmacists belonged to a monastery in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁶

The same supposition is presented in a more nuanced way in the studies of Otto Nowotny and Árpád Blázy. Nowotny set into focus the history of monastery pharmacies in Austria from the middle ages to the beginning of the 20th century and he considered Joseph II's monastic policy to be the main reason for the cessation of monastery pharmacies. He argued that the suppression of religious orders disburdened lay pharmacists from their monastic concurrence.⁷ Árpád Blázy analyzed the pharmaceutical network of Zala county in historical perspective and he came to a similar conclusion: in terms of ownership relations lay pharmacies could prevail at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because of the suppression of the Jesuits and then of several other religious orders.⁸

Numerical data and conceptual framework

The validity of the previously presented two contradicting narratives could be tested and justified in terms of numerical data, since numbers can be good indicators of the significance of monastery pharmacies in comparison with lay apothecaries and they can measure to what extent the relations were changed.

Nevertheless a precise calculation regarding the number of pharmacies in this era underpinned with contemporary archival sources is still missing and the gap cannot be filled easily: the official sources informing the Locotenential Council about the medical conditions

⁶ József Perényi, "Gyógyszerészképzés a nagyszombati egyetemen 1770–1777," *Orvostörténeti Közlemények. Communicationes de Historia Artis Medicinae*. 57–59., ed. József Antall (Budapest, Medicina Könyvkiadó: 1971), 104. [Education of Pharmacists at the University of Nagyszombat]

⁷ Otto Nowotny, "Zur Geschichte der Klosterapotheken in Oesterreich," *Österreichische Apotheker Zeitung* 10-12. no. 23-25 (1956): 355.

⁸ Árpád Blázy and Zalai Károly, "Gyógyszertári hálózat fejlődése Zala megyében (1711-1849)," *Orvostörténeti Közlemények. Communicationes de Historia Artis Medicinae. Supplementum 9-10.* ed. József Antall (Budapest: Medicina Könyvkiadó, 1977): 63. [Development of the Pharmaceutical Network in Zala County]

Árpád Blázy, *A gyógyszerészet megjelenése és fejlődése Zala megyében 1711-1847.* (Zalaegerszeg: Zala Megyei Tanács V. B Művelődési Osztálya, 1974) 50-52. [The Evolvement and Development of Pharmacy in Zala county between 1711-1847]

of each county are fragmented before 1786 (and even thereafter) and for this reason they cannot provide solely sufficient basis for a reliable calculation. The archives of different religious orders are quite diffuse and they also suffered damages in various ways during the centuries.

Considering these limitations my essay can contribute to this question also in a partial way through providing the number of pharmacies closed down or handed over to lay professionals because of the suppression of religious orders. Detailed minute books that documented dissolution procedures make this possible.

Nevertheless my investigation does not aim to provide mere numerical data, but to reveal the impact of monastery dissolutions on the medical provision and to investigate causal relations, motives and effects in a more nuanced and complex way regarding the changing set of services.

In order to perform this analysis the concepts of ‘medical police’ and ‘medical marketplace’ are essential, just like some remarks on the terms of medicalization and professionalization.

Pharmacy inspections and the concept of the medical police

Ernyei’s initial inquiry implied concerns regarding the reliability of the first medical reports sent by county officials to the Hungarian Locotenential Council in the year 1749. In 1752 a royal decree obliged the counties in Hungary to appoint a county physician at a fixed annual salary. This can be regarded as the initial step of building up a network of authorized professionals in order to control and manage medical activities on local level. It took more

than three decades to create the necessary preconditions in the fields of education, administration and policy unless the network started to work properly from 1783⁹.

This improvement cannot be separated from the activity of the most important intellectuals and theoreticians concerned about public health care and state administration in the court of Maria Theresa. Their agency in the closest circles of the Empress marks important chronological landmarks in terms of the formation of a ‘medical police’, a concept that developed in line with the cultural, political and economic tendencies of the Enlightenment.¹⁰

Johannes Gottlob von Justi (1717-1771), the leading representative of eighteenth-century cameralism, developed the concept of police and administrative technology in terms of the absolute patriarchal state.¹¹ The health care aspect of Cameralism derived from that it associated state power with a large population under governmental control.¹²

This idea was developed further by Joseph von Sonnenfels (1733-1817) holder of the chair in *Polizey- und Kameralwissenschaften* at the University of Vienna from 1763. Sonnenfels regarded effective administration as one of the main pillars of monarchical legitimacy: the inner safety of the state is based on its capability to assure/provide convenient and safe life for its inhabitants. Sonnenfels emphasized the importance of public health care to an extent that was unprecedented among theoreticians and “[h]is brand of *Polizeywissenschaft* has been credited with providing the most important stimuli (in other

⁹ Lilla Krász, “Quackery Versus Professionalism? Characters, Places and Media of Medical Knowledge in Eighteenth-century Hungary,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences. Part C: Centre and Periphery in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg ‘Medical Empire’* 43, no. 3 (September 2012): 706. doi:10.1016/j.shpsc.2012.02.006 (accessed March 16, 2013).

¹⁰ George Rosen, “Cameralism and the concept of Medical Police,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 27., (Baltimore, 1953): 21-41.; László Kontler, “Polizey and Patriotism: Joseph von Sonnenfels and the Legitimacy of Enlightened Monarchy in the Gaze of Eighteenth-century State Sciences,” in *Monarchism and Absolutism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Cesare Cuttica and Glenn Burgess (Pickering and Chatto: London, 2012), 73-90.; Martin Scheutz, “Ein Lutheraner auf dem Habsburgerthron. Die josephinischen Reformen und die Klosteraufhebungen in der Habsburgermonarchie,” in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 120. (Böhlau Verlag: Wien, 2012): 320-338.; Johannes Wimmer, *Gesundheit, Krankheit und Tod im Zeitalter der Aufklärung: Fallstudien aus den Habsburgischen Erbländern*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs 80., Wien/Köln: Böhlau, 1991

¹¹ George Rosen, “Cameralism and the concept of Medical Police,” 32-33.

¹² George Rosen, “Cameralism and the concept of Medical Police,” 24.

words, more important than those of medical science) to the construction of a rational system of public health care in Austria.”¹³ His ideas led to “the development and exploration of the concept of medical police” that “culminated in the outstanding works of Johann Peter Frank and Franz Anton Mai.”¹⁴ Especially Frank’s *System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizey* - issued from 1779 in six volumes – proved to be a “landmark in the history of thought on the social relations of health and disease”¹⁵

Nevertheless the implementation of the concept of medical police could not have been possible without well-trained medical experts and a normative legal framework. Gerard van Swieten (1700-1772) was privy councilor and court physician of Maria Theresa. He was appointed by the empress to head the Viennese faculty of medicine in 1749 and fulfilled the office of the premier physician (*Protomedicus*) simultaneously.¹⁶ His reforms established not only a high quality of medical education in Vienna, but laid down the fundamentals of the network of medical experts connected to the local level of administration (county, town magistrate) and prepared a new generation of physicians for the evolving medical bureaucracy from the 1770s.¹⁷ The elaboration of the first normative regulation of public health policies is also associated with the name of Van Swieten. It was issued under the title *Generale Normativum in Re Sanitatis* in 1770 and it was completed with a supplement in 1773.¹⁸

¹³ László Kontler, “Polizey and Patriotism” 75., 78., 86.

¹⁴ George Rosen, “Cameratism and the concept of Medical Police,” 42.

¹⁵ George Rosen, “Cameratism and the concept of Medical Police,” 21.

¹⁶ E. C. Spary, “Introduction: Centre and periphery in the eighteenth-century Habsburg Medical Empire,”

¹⁷ Lilla Krász, Orvosi tudás és hatalom. A hivatalnok-orvos társadalmi képlete Magyarországon, 1750-1830, in *Tudósok a megismerés színterein* ed. Dezső Gurka (Gondolat Kiadó: Budapest, 2012) 195.

¹⁸ Péter Balázs, *Generale Normativum in Re Sanitatis 1770. Szervezett egészségügyünk 1770-es alaprendelete* (Piliscsaba: Magyar Tudománytörténeti Intézet, 2004) [History of the public health care ordinance 1770]

Pharmacy inspection reports as sources

Reports about pharmacy inspections provide information about the changing set of medical activities that were set into focus more thoroughly by Norbert Duka Zólyomi in 1982 through calling attention on the available archival sources produced in consequence of mandatory pharmacy inspections¹⁹ and it have been improved further by Ágnes Romhányi's ongoing study and recently published analysis on the inspection reports of the year 1786.²⁰

The control exercised on the local level by county physicians in the form of pharmacy inspections must have been a challenge for monastery pharmacies, too, that could lead even to their liquidation and could cause their decline at the end of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless the county physicians' reports sent to the Hungarian Locotenential Council are surprisingly short-spoken regarding monastery pharmacies, only two or three minute books per year can be found reporting about pharmacies run by religious orders.²¹ This low number contradicts the previously presented calculations and raises the question whether monastery pharmacies could be left out of the investigations for some reason and if yes, whether it could indicate limits of the inspectors' authority.

The diocese exercised authority mainly over the clergy and it interfered into the matters of religious orders, since they were managed by their own leaders in an independent organizational framework, directly subordinated to the pope. Episcopal authority was exercised over religious orders in specific cases, often transmitting imperial requirements.²²

¹⁹ Norbert [Duka Zólyomi](#), "A magyarországi gyógyszerészeti vizsgálatok alapvető reformjai a 18. században," *Orvostörténeti Közlemények. Communicationes de Historia Artis Medicinae* 97-99. ed. József Antall (Budapest: Medicina Könyvkiadó, 1982) 151-154. [Reforms of Pharmacy Investigations in Hungary in the eighteenth century]

²⁰ Ágnes Romhányi, "Magyarországi gyógyszerészek és üzleteik a 18. század végén (Az 1786. évi patikavizitációk tanulságai)," *Kaleidoscope Művelődés-, Tudomány- és Orvostörténeti Folyóirat/Journal of History of Culture, Science and Medicine* 3. No. 4.(2012): 37-50. [Hungarian Pharmacists and Stores at the End of the 18th Century (The lessons of visits in Pharmacies in the year of 1786)]

²¹ I owe thanks to Ágnes Romhányi for sharing with me this information.

²² For example in case of the foundation of a new monastery, when royal and episcopal permissions were de facto necessary – even if this question was debated in juristic terms. Another case was when Maria Theresa ordered the bishops in 1774 to define and redistribute the territories of their dioceses in which mendicant orders can collect alms.

My inquiries in the diocese archives of Vác and Pécs did not bring any result: the archivists could not provide me any documents that would have proved the existence of pharmacy investigations put through by the dioceses. The dioceses were not ordered to do so and had no motivation for it. Furthermore it should be taken into consideration that ecclesiastical authorities also lacked authorized professionals to exercise control over monastery pharmacies similarly to secular authorities, who –as I will present in the following chapters on the basis of a few preserved examples– did not hesitate to put through the investigation in a monastery and there is no trace of any refusal or doubt regarding the inspectors’ legitimacy.

Furthermore chronological concerns should be taken into account. The Jesuit Order was suppressed in 1773 and the monastery abolition process started in 1782, while medical reports of the counties were made and sent to the Locotenential Council only from 1786 systematically. Although “the main group of suppressions, which in Austria began in 1783, did not start in Hungary until 1786-7, [... and] [o]nce the process had started, however, it seems to have proceeded rapidly.”²³ For this reason it also could happen that some of the monastery pharmacies did not exist anymore when the reports were made.

Nevertheless the dissolution of 140 monasteries in Hungary²⁴ does not mean automatically that so many pharmacies were erased between 1782-1790. Only a more thorough investigation of the very detailed minute books and inventories of each abolished religious house can give us detailed and reliable data about the existence of monastery pharmacies. The documents preserved in the Hungarian National Archives can inform us about the specific role of the pharmacy inside the monastery and in its wider environment, i.e. in its medical catchment area. In order to gain a better overview and understanding of the

Gyögy Piusz Szabó, *Ferencrendiek a magyar történelemben: Adalékok a magyar ferencrendiek történetéhez* (Budapest: 1921), 381-382., 386. [Franciscans in Hungarian history]

²³ Derek Beales, “Joseph II and the Monasteries of Austria and Hungary,” 21.

²⁴ Márta Velladics, “A II. József korabeli szerzetesrendi abolíció statisztikája (1782-1847),” *Századok* 133, No. 6 (1999): 1260. [The statistics of monastery abolition during the reign of Joseph II. (1782-1847)]

potentially useful archival sources, I would like to present the way they were produced and the most important units that can contain relevant details.

The catalogue of the Archives of the Locotenential Council edited in 1961 lists the dissolution files of 117 monasteries in the fond C 103.²⁵ According to a newer catalogue edited between 2003-2010 by Krisztina Kulcsár the files of the Franciscan monasteries of Sombor and Petrovaradin were handed over to Yugoslavia in 1957, the actual placement of these documents is unknown for the Hungarian National Archives. The files of the monasteries of Kanizsa (Capuchin) and Rožňava (Praemonstratensian) could not be found during the revision of the files, because of this they are not indicated in the new catalogue.²⁶ During my research I had to face the lack of the files of the Poor Clares of Bratislava, too. The archivist of the Hungarian National Archives could not provide me further information about the location of this file either. Thus the fonds C 103, the most entire collection of abolition documents could give me information about 112 monasteries.

A summary of the financial status of the dissolved monasteries, the so-called Vermögensstand was copied and preserved in the fonds of 'notated books'.²⁸ Although this is a less entire list of the dissolved monasteries it contains the Vermögensstand 4 of the 5 missing files of the fonds C 103.²⁹ It contains the Vermögensstand of further 15 monasteries,

²⁵ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára - C 103 Helytartótanács Számvevőség - Alapítványi ügyosztály: Inventarien der in Ungarn aufgelassenen Klöster [Hungarian National Archives - Accountant Office of the Locotenential Council - Department of Foundations - Inventories of the abolished monasteries of Hungary]. The fonds' citation form is abbreviated in the following footnotes as MNL OL C103 and specified with the name of the religious order and location of the monastery. Names of settlements are indicated in accordance with the catalogue of the fonds.

For an overview see: Ibolya Felhő and Antal Vörös, *A Helytartótanács Levéltár ismertető leltára* (Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest: 1961) 446-449.

²⁶ C 81-C 100, C 103 – C 104, C 182. Repertorium of the Hungarian National Archives, edited by dr. Krisztina Kulcsár (Budapest 2003-2010) 203-209.

²⁸ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára – Helytartótanács Levéltár - C 99 Jelzetes könyvek [Hungarian National Archives - Archives of the Locotenential Council – Notated books]

²⁹ They are the following: Poor Clares of Bratislava (Slovakia), the Capuchin monastery of Kanizsa (Hungary), the Franciscan monasteries of Sombor (Serbia) and Petrovaradin (its fortress belongs to Novi Sad, Serbia). Unfortunately it does not contain any information about the Premonstratensian monastery of Rožňava (Slovakia).

mainly from the Croatian and Dalmatian provinces of the Dominican Order.³⁰ Thus 19 further monasteries could be investigated in this reduced form, that means 131 in total from 140.

Archives of the Capuchin and Franciscan Orders

The Hungarian Franciscan Library and Archive in Budapest manages mainly the documents of the two main – Salvatorian and Marian – Franciscan provinces that were united in 2006 and since then it defines itself as the collecting place of the historical documents of every Franciscan monasteries on the territory of nowadays Hungary. The traditional vertical division of the onetime Marian and Salvatorian Provinces in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom was cut through horizontally by the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. The central monastery of the Marian province in Bratislava and 7 further cloisters of the Marians were united with 6 Salvatorian monasteries in order to form a new province in the territory of Slovakia. Because of this a significant part of the Franciscan archives – mainly regarding monasteries in the Transdanubian and Highlands region - can be found in the National Archives of Bratislava (Státny Archív v Bratislave).³¹

The Austrian-Hungarian Province of the Capuchin order had its mutual center in Vienna until 1928. Most of the historical documents of the Capuchin order were destroyed in Hungary in the 1950s, the documents preserved in the monastery of Mór are strongly fragmented, although they managed to preserve the beautifully composed historia domuses of

³⁰ The Pauline monasteries of Novi Vinodolski (Croatia), Crikvenica (Croatia), Kamensko (Croatia), Čakovec (Croatia); the Augustines of Rijeka (Croatia); the Dominicans of Pest (Hungary) and Szombathely (Hungary); the Franciscans of Levice (Slovakia); Križevci (Croatia), Kostajnica (Croatia), Marija Gorica-Brdovec (Croatia); Ruma (Serbia), Stara Gradiška (Croatia), Brod (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Požega (Croatia).
Ibolya Felhő-Antal Vörös, *A Helytartótanácsi Levéltár ismertető leltára* (Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest: 1961) 402-409. [Catalog of the Archives of the Hungarian Locotenential Council]

³¹ Csaba Borsodi, "Ferences iratok, levéltárak Magyarországon 2002-ben," in *A ferences lelkiesség hatása az újkori Közép-Európa történetére és kultúrájára 2, Művelődéstörténeti Műhely. Rendtörténeti konferenciák 1/2*, ed. Sándor Őze and Norbert Medgyesi-Schmikli (Piliscsaba-Budapest: 2005) 561-570.; Ádám Balogh, *Archiv Marianskej Provincie Frantiskánov a Bratislave 1253-1918. Inventar* (Bratislava: Státny Archív v Bratislave, 1972.)

the monasteries of Hatvan, Máriabesnyő and Bodajk.³² Fortunately several copies or even original documents were preserved in the Capuchin monastery of Vienna. I managed to find exciting letters and reports about the pharmacies of the monasteries of Hatvan, Tokaj, Máriabesnyő and Mór. After the 1770s annual *Personalstands* were sent to the provincial center, which can inform us about the presence of a surgeon or pharmacist in the monastery.

Medicalization

The term of ‘medicalization’ – coined by Foucault in the 1970s – still serves as a popular and continuous umbrella term that describes the health care aspect of the general modernization of the society and refers to the fact that “more and more people were gradually drawn into the provision of medical care and to the professionalization of healers”³³. From this stage evolved the widened scope of investigation paying more attention to other healers and providing a more general picture about medical ‘provision’.

Sonia Horn’s doctoral dissertation from 2001 presents the transformation of the history of medicine – previously dominated by medically trained professionals – to an interdisciplinary research field as a result of its capacity to integrate new ways of questioning initiated by historians, anthropologists and other social scientists. Horn argues for the necessity of a new self-definition of/by scholars engaged in the multidisciplinary enrichment of medical history in order to re-establish its challenged position in the ‘canon of faculties’ (“Fächerkanon”). She proposes to understand the history of medicine as a synoptic term involving all different point of views to investigate questions of health and illness in the past.³⁴

³² Kálmán Varga, *Nagyboldogasszony bazilika, Máriabesnyő (1759-2000)* (Budapest: METEM, 2010)

³³ Lilla Krász, “Quackery Versus Professionalism? Characters, Places and Media of Medical Knowledge in Eighteenth-century Hungary,” 700.

³⁴ Sonia Horn, *Approbiert und examiniert. Die Wiener medizinische Fakultät und nicht-akademische Heilkundige in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Phil. Diss. (Wien 2001) 31-36.

Professionalization

Parallel with the concerns emerging from multidisciplinary, researchers of the early modern period needed a suitable framework that allowed them to investigate the diversity of actors and their various interactions without reductions. In order to avoid falling into the trap of anachronism and classifying the investigated practices according to norms of our contemporary notions it is necessary to think in terms of a neutral pluralism –a concept established by David Gentilcore’s influential analysis of early modern Naples³⁵ - that can be seen also as an initial status before the evolvement of new norms of accredited professionalism.

Studies focusing on the evolvement of professions and strategies of professional self-fashioning can draw our attention on finer aspects of pluralism. The mixed, layered and changing ‘professional’ identities of healers can indicate that the ‘smallest units’ of pluralism should not be identified with individuals, but with occasionally practiced activities and roles.

³⁶ It is worth to consider how these roles could be piled up by the same person – for example when a surgeon besides his surgical and other activities also functioned as apothecary - or how could they be integrated into characteristic ‘activity patterns’ – e.g. when surgeons completed their services with activities targeting personal hygiene (barbers, bather) – and to what extent can these ‘mixtures’ mirror the education of the person or the demand of his environment.³⁷ Although legislative regulations mirrored attempts to prevent healers from

³⁵ David Gentilcore, “Medical Pluralism in Early Modern Naples”, in *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester University Press, Manchester-New York: 1998) 1-28.

³⁶ The following works can illustrate the process of identity-shaping mainly focusing on physicians and surgeons: Thomas Broman, “Rethinking Professionalization: Theory, Practice, and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth-Century German Medicine”, *The Journal of Modern History* 67, No. 4. (1995): 835-872.; Anna Maerker, “Florentine Anatomical Models and the Challenge of Medical Authority in Late-eighteenth-century Vienna,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences, Section C: Centre and Periphery in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg 'Medical Empire'* 43, no. 3 (September 2012): 730–740, doi:10.1016/j.shpsc.2012.02.005. (accessed March 16. 2013).

³⁷ I would like to illustrate this statement with two examples:

A lay brother in the Capuchin monastery of Hatvan was a surgeon according his degree but he also run the pharmacy of the cloister.

merging different roles, they remained often ineffective and authorities could not put into effect normative requirements immediately.

Medical marketplace

The term of medical marketplace was used by Harold John Cook in 1986 and since then it enjoys great popularity among researchers of the history of medicine.³⁸ Philipp Rieder summarized the benefits and risks of its application recently in the following way: “In the past twenty years, historians of early modern medicine have integrated the medical market model into their work in different ways. Some have used it to explain changes in consumer patterns others have concentrated on particular settings, on ‘places’, describing an open medical market of medical commodities. Although definitions of the concept are often hazy, it has been successfully used to bypass a constrained perspective focused on orthodox medical figures in favor of a larger vision including all types of medical actors and services. The consecutive explosion of information on medical practitioners conveys a better understanding of their practices and invites historians to focus on local contexts and traditions.”³⁹ Sonia Horn saw the medical marketplace model as a set of questions (“Fragenkomplex”) that can help to learn about regional characteristics of treating health and illness.⁴⁰ She reflects on the possible implementation of the marketplace-model on the Habsburg Empire, calling attention on the fact that the term was invented and spread in

“der Frater mit namen Fridericus Holzegger, da er die Apothecke unter sich hatte, um sein Diploma befraget, bey vorzeigung dessen fanden wir, das er ein examinirter Chyrurgus, nicht aber Apothecker seyn, es wurde also Pater Guardian herbey getreffet? und befraget, warumm er schon so lange kein examinirtes subject hielte” Heves Megyei Levéltár [Archives of Heves County] IV-4/b 2. 376/1787.

Among the unpaid bills of the secularized Franciscan monastery of Svätý Anton (Báč, Slovakia) the monks owed the *chyrurgus* more than 30 florini for the medicine and haircut he provided for them.

MNL OL C 103 Franciscan monasteries – Szentantal (See also footnote 99.)

³⁸ Harold John Cook, *The decline of the old medical regime in Stuart London*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), quoted by David Gentilcore, “Medical Pluralism in Early Modern Naples,” 2.; Lilla Krász, “Quackery Versus Professionalism? Characters, Places and Media of Medical Knowledge in Eighteenth-century Hungary,” 701.

³⁹ Philipp Rieder, “The Physician Louis Odier and the Medical Market in Geneva (1774-1817),” *Gesnerus. Swiss Journal of the History of Medicine and Sciences*, 69. no.1 (2012): 54.

⁴⁰ The main questions to consider: 1. What kind of regulations are in effect? 2. Who initiated them? 3. For what purpose were they supported, 4. What kind of political, cultural and economic conditions influenced it? 5. What kind of concepts came true through the regulations? Sonia Horn, “Approbiert und examiniert,” 38.

English and French contexts. In contrast with the relatively free health market of the previous countries, the model's adaptation cannot be precise enough if actual regulations affecting the medical marketplace are not taken into consideration.⁴¹ Furthermore well-identified regulations can signify regional differences and local characteristics.

The question of scales is a crucial point regarding the medical marketplace-model, since one of the main arguments on its beneficial applicability is based on its capacity to facilitate investigations on local or regional level. Because of this the concept of medical marketplace is strongly embedded into discussions regarding the utility of small-scale research.

An essay of Steven King and Alan Weaver argues directly for the advantages of applying regional and local scales and simultaneously criticize "broad-brush generalizations [that] have proved invaluable to the development of the social history of medicine".⁴² King and Weaver states that such generalizations "also act as a limitation, fostering a concentration on 'medical development' at the national level, and serving to deflect attention from the observation and explanation of regional and local differences in the development of medicine as a trade and in the consumption of medicine by patients."⁴³ However the authors express their concerns regarding local level as well, namely "how far local and regional peculiarities reflect real, enduring, and conscious attitudes towards medicine and medical personnel, and how far they simply reveal different stages of adjustment to wider changes in medical theory and practice."⁴⁴ But finally they come to the conclusion that "systematic regional and local studies [...] can provide a vehicle for questioning the implicit theoretical models [...] which underpin some medical historiography [...] they can suggest new strands of motivation,

⁴¹ Sonia Horn, "Approbiert und examiniert," 37-39.

⁴² Steven King and Alan Weaver "Lives in many Hands: The Medical Landscape in Lancashire 1700–1820," *Medical History* 44, (2000). 173-174. doi: 10.1017/S0025727300000016

⁴³ Steven King and Alan Weaver, "Lives in many Hands..." 173-174.

⁴⁴ Steven King and Alan Weaver, "Lives in many Hands..." 175.

belief, and experience which might otherwise remain buried, providing an historical foundation for understanding the enduring regional and local disparities [... and] identify complex sub-regional variations.”⁴⁵

Philip Rieder’s critical remarks regarding the medical marketplace mirror a less tendentious interpretation of the expression at first glance: “The notion of market itself does affect the way we understand medical history and can induce misinterpretations of medical actors’ roles. Generally speaking it requires that historians tackle medical history from two point of views, that of the offer and that of the demand. It also conveys a sense of bustling confusion that tends to infer synchrony rather than diachrony.”⁴⁶ However the possibility of concurrence-contests and financial matters implied in the marketplace-model occurs in Rieder’s further enumeration of shortcomings in a radical sense: it invites historians to focus on paid services, excluding from the picture charitable and philanthropic activities which were at the core of many healers’ practice”.⁴⁷ Sonia Horn takes the term in a less strict sense shifting her focus from competition to exchange, emphasizing the importance, that the ‘offer’ in its broadest sense can embrace every actor owing some kind of knowledge/skills/know-how in terms of healing and it can indicate the presence of the demand for such services.⁴⁸

I disagree with Rieder in terms of philanthropy and charity that can also influence the market, even though its practitioners are not concerned about making a living through healing activity. Their presence and the fact that they satisfy a demand can influence the catchment area and clientele of other healers. However it is an interesting question if mere ‘presence’ can trigger contest, whether philanthropists can be regarded as ‘conquerors’ of any ‘market share’ from financially interested actor or if they rather fill a gap everybody else ignores. For example philanthropic healing activities of mendicant monks were strongly debated already

⁴⁵ Steven King and Alan Weaver, “Lives in many Hands...” 175-176.

⁴⁶ Philip Rieder, “The Physician Louis Odier...” 54-55.

⁴⁷ Philip Rieder, “The Physician Louis Odier...” 55.

⁴⁸ Sonia Horn, “Approbiert und examiniert“ 37-38.

in the eighteenth century. On the one hand the alms they received simultaneously with curing ill people could be seen as alternative ways of exchange that could violate the interests of other healers. But the same activity can be interpreted also as a way to ease the lack of available and trained healers for the poor and for inhabitants of the countryside.

Monasteries and the medical marketplace in late eighteenth century Hungary

Different forms of payment and the scanty bookkeeping of the medical marketplace

According to the precisely documented minute books of the dissolution procedures recorded between 1782 and 1790, the monasteries availed themselves of the services of secular healers - mainly surgeons— much more often than of any member of the religious community. The bills of local or nearby resident healers – pharmacists, physicians, surgeons (chirurgus) – appear among the documents of 33 dissolved monasteries and the rest of the suppressed monasteries without any trace of medical care must have been also reliant of ‘outsider’ healers. It could happen much more easily that a surgeon or pharmacist did not announce his claims for the payment – especially if he lived in another town or was prevented from presenting his claims for any reason - than any trace of healing activities inside the monastery would have avoided the attention of the commissionaires. If there is no sign of a surgeon’s or pharmacist’s presence among the members of the religious community and the inventories of the building do not contain any record that would indicate the existence of a pharmacy, it is almost sure that the monastery represented on the medical marketplace rather the demand for medical provision than the supply.

Regarding the lack of sources it should also be taken into consideration that monks and nuns could offer even holy masses or prayers in return for services and the ‘bookkeeping’ of such agreements was usually documented in the archives of monasteries. The financial value of holy masses in the late eighteenth century can be underpinned with the documents of

monastery abolition as well. The active capitals of dissolved monasteries listed so-called mass foundations (*Stiftungsmessen*), i.e. of donations given under the precondition that a certain amount of holy masses had to be kept either as a onefold series or in an annually repeated way in return of the largess. These mass foundations had to be conscribed by the commissionaires and their ‘bookkeeping’ was managed by the Hungarian Locotenential Council after the confiscation of monastic goods and dissolution of monastic communities.⁵⁰

Medical care could be provided also as a kind of alms or benefit for a monastery. For example the church history (*historia domus*) of the Capuchin monastery of Hatvan kept annual lists of benefits that preserved a note about Franciscus Kössler the surgeon of Gyöngyös who offered medicine to the monks for his lifetime.⁵¹ However, such acts were not always recorded and the lack of records does not necessarily mean the lack of medical provision for the monastery.

The medical bills preserved in the dissolution files probably do not represent all the monasteries that provided medical provision for their inmates with the help of outsider healers, but they are still suitable for extrapolating some characteristic tendencies of the exchange between monasteries and medical practitioners.

The so-called *Passiv Rückstand* is a unit of the dissolution files that summarized the backlogs of the monasteries. It was extracted from and completed with the bills or previously made contracts of the artisans and other creditors who provided products or services for the monastery. The accounts had to be approved by the leader of the monastery, too, who testified with his signature that the required sum covers real costs of the cloister.

⁵⁰ Ibolya Felhő and Antal Vörös, *A Helytartótanácsi Levéltár ismertető leltára* 411-413.

⁵¹ Archives of the Capuchin Order in the Capuchin monastery of Mór. Conventus Hatvaniensis Archivium ab Anno 1729 - Series Benefactorum Conventus Ab Anno Incarnationis Dominica 1729
“D. Franciscus Kössler Gyöngyösiensis, Comitatus Hevessiensis Chyrurgus spondit tota sua vita se nobis gratis daturum medicinas, quod et servavit.”

The bills had to contain at least the total sum of the costs, but – fortunately - they provide sometimes very detailed lists of the items that were unpaid at the beginning of the dissolution procedure. The bills and contracts also contain information regarding the two usual ways in which the creditors received their payment. Physicians and surgeons were paid either on occasion or according to an annual contract, a so-called convention. The previous way could result various total sums and the bills indicate - in some fortunate cases - when, to whom and what kind of cure was necessary. If the doctor lived in another town, his travelling costs could be also levied as many times as he visited his patient(s). These bills express the costs in cash and no other goods are offered in exchange. Another way of paying was to contract with a qualified healer in advance for a year and to agree on a fix sum or on any determined amount of natural goods or services in return of the medical provision.

Contracts and agreements were made quite often verbally, which could also bring to surface conflicts between the contracting parties during the dissolution procedure, since the one time and final opportunity to get the payment also served as a catalyst of literacy regarding the documentation of exchanges and sometimes uncovered discrepancies. The discussions kindled and documented this way can provide precious information about otherwise undocumented exchanges.

Some invoices in the file of the Hieronymites of Štiavnické Bane (Siegelberg)⁵² testify such contradictions between Pater Fortunatus, the prior of the dissolved monastery and the two doctors – Doctor Hoffinger in Banská Štiavnica⁵³ and Doctor Jacob Oberleuthner in Štiavnické Bane (Windschacht)⁵⁴ - providing medical provision for the mining district of Lower Hungary. The two doctors presented bills of significant amounts of money – 384f 26x,

⁵² Siegelberg and Windschacht (Hegybánya and Szélakna in Hungarian) were two neighboring, separate settlements at the end of the eighteenth century. Later they lost their individual status and they constitute present-day Štiavnické Bane, Slovakia.

⁵³ Slovakia, previously called Selmečbánya or Schemnitz.

⁵⁴ See footnote 52.

approximately the half of the total sum of unpaid invoices, 748f 54x – on the basis of verbal agreements with Pater David, the previous prior of the monastery.⁵⁵ Doctor Oberleuthner intended to support his claims with interesting arguments: he referred to six holy masses as previous forms of payment and to the fact that the actual doctors ‘inherited’ the actual situation from their predecessor Herr Melchior who ensured the medical provision for free to the monastery. Although the doctors accepted the validity of this practice, they presented invoices to the dissolving commissioers about costs of cures that took place in the previous two years. But Pater Fortunatus, the actual prior did not want to confirm their claims and argued that he had nothing to do with the two doctors, since he ensured medical provision for the monastery according to an annual contract with Anton Sperling, the town physician of Banská Štiavnica, whose annual fee was 6 Kremnica ducats.⁵⁶ Sperling required his payment from the commissionaires not for the whole year, but pro-rata for the period between the start of the year and the date of the abolition, which amounted to 23f 45x and was approved by the

⁵⁵ MNL OL C103 - Hieronymite monasteries – Hegybánya

Ausweis deren, bei den, den 24ten July aufgehobenen in hontenser Komitat liegenden hieronýmítenen kloster zu Siglisberg vorgefundenen Passiv Rückständen

“Nro 1. dem Anton Sperling Stadt-Physicus von 1te Januar bis letzte July l.J. vermög sub No. 1o geschlossenen Contract 23f 45x, Nro 2. dem Ludwig Lietner Stadt-Apohecker für dieß Jahr durch abgerichtete Medicamenten Zeug sub No. 2o 38f, [...] Nro 16. dem Joseph Felz Siglisberger Chyrurgo für d. J. sub No 16 22f 33 2/3x, Nro 17. dem Doctor Hoffinger zu Schemnitz v 5ten März 784 biß 24 July 786 l. J. ut sub No 18o 240f 20x, Nro. 19. dem Doctor Jacob oberleuthner zu Windschacht von Anno 1787 biß 786 inclus. ut sub No 19. 144f 6x” (folio 55r - a copy of the same document can be found at folio 247r)

⁵⁶ MNL OL C103 - Hieronymite monasteries – Hegybánya

Liquidirung 144f 6xr welche mir als medici loci Cammeratici von dem daseyn 787 1o Julii ad finem 786 ex fundo des erhabenen Hieronimitener Orden anspruchlich mache, weilen 1. mit dem oblat. Patris David dermaligen Provincial 6 heiligen Messen gänzlich zufrieden war 2. da auf Einsehen der inneren Kloster Unruhen juxta taxam regiam 30xr anverlanget 3. weilen mit dem jährlichen Berechnen in Auslag 26f 12xr für einen Kloster medicum pro vexe der Berechnung selbst activ werden 4. weilen auf mündlicher Bezeichnung gesichert bin, daß der alte herr Melchior durch 30 Jahre ohnentgeltlich diesen Kloster nicht mir allein abewartet, sondern noch darüber der herr Collega Doctor Hoffinger dem Patri Fortunato die Kur des Pater Januarii bezahlenden verdienst voll gegen den heil Orden zurückgestellt hat und nicht angenommen wie ich es fide sacerdotali kenne. Also bei Schluß der Rechnung, da auf diese Auslag wiederfindlich und gewalthätig Bestritten wird, einen bekre..en Einnahm uber billigen Rechts als loci phisici auf 144f 6xr ansprüche anmit eingelege. Windschacht d. 2t August 786 Jacobus Oberleitner 2n Caal Medicus mp. – Nachdem ich mit meinem P.P. diesen Doct. niemals gebraucht habe so wird gegenwärtige Praetension durch mich ungültig er Wäret. P. Fortunatus Ex-Prior mp. (folio 59r-v)

“Verzeichniß derjenigen forderungen welche ich Endes genannter an das Kloster deren V. V. E. E. hieronimitaner auf den Siglisburg zu machen habe [detailed list of the provided services] D. Hoffinger mp. primarius monatae Crae medicus col. reg. [...] Nachdem ich unter meinem Priorat nichts mit dem H. Doctor Medicinae Hoffinger, aber mit dem Stadt Phisicus H. Sperlig in Ansehung Versorgungs des hiesigen Convents mit verwissen meiner P. P. gegen baare jährliche bezahlung von 6. Dukaten den vertrag /ut sub No1o zu ersehen ist:/ folgsam hier obengesagte Verzeichniß deren des Herr Hoffinger Praetensionen findet bei mir keiner statt. P. Fortunatus Ex-Prior mp.” (folio 61)

prior as well.⁵⁷ This was a general way of payment for conventionalists during dissolution processes and the similarly employed surgeon of the monastery, Joseph Peltz got until the 24th of July 1876 22 Gulden and 33x out of his annual 40 Gulden payment.⁵⁸

The invoice of Ludwig Lindner, the town pharmacist of Banská Štiavnica accounted to the Hieronymits is an exciting illustration of the contemporary discourse regarding the financial literacy of pharmacies. In contrast with surgeons and physicians, the bills of pharmacists had to list each item they sold to their clients. Proper bookkeeping and detailed invoices were important requirements that had to be controlled during pharmacy inspections, and various insufficiencies were often recorded by the inspectors in the minute books. The bookkeeping of pharmacies had to happen according to an official tariff of charges, the so-called Taxa, from which several versions - not rarely outdated exemplars - were in use in the 1780s. The inspectors often complained about the general lack of bookkeeping in the monasteries. Ludwig Lindner's pharmacy, dedicated to the 'Golden Lion' was also visited by the inspectors and criticized because he indicated only the total sum received for the sold medicaments and he could not provide more detailed records.⁵⁹ He may took the advices of the inspectors, since his invoice presented to the Hieronymits indicates the exact date of selling the medicine, the name of the cured monk, the name or type of the medicine – sometimes described with the name of the illness – and the price of each medicament, that

⁵⁷ MNL OL C103 - Hieronymite monasteries – Hegybánya

“Das ich Endes gefertigter vermöge mit dem R. P. Fortunatus Ord. S. H. Conventus Siglisbergensis Prior geschlossenen Contract de dd. 22den Julij 785 in Betref der Bestallung von jährl. 6 Kremnitzer Ducaten und dem Ersatz derer für gedungenen fuhr gehalten Ankosten von 1n Jän bis letzten Julij 786 zu empfangen habe. [...] Zusammen 23f 45x, Schemnitz den 2n August 786. anton Sperlich Stadt-Phisicus m. p. – dessen Richtigkeit bestättige P. Fortunatus vorgewesener Prior mp.” (folio 91r)

The contract between the monastery and Sperlich was also attached to the invoice of the physician. (folio 92)

⁵⁸ MNL OL C103 - Hieronymite monasteries – Hegybánya

“Quittung zwanzig zwey Gulden 33 ½ xr welche ich Endes gefertigter als ein von dem mir für Barbieren, Aderlassen, dann sonstige Vorfällende Kuren von einem Löbl. Convent der wohl erwürdigen Hieronimitanern am Siglisberg bestimmt jährlichen vierzig Gulden Contingent von 1ten Jenner bis incl. 24ten Julij laufend 786ten Jahrs zukommende Gebühr baar und richtig zuhanden empfangen habe. Urkund dessen mein hier unten gesetzte fertigung. Siglisberg den 28 Julij 786. Joseph Peltzl Kai. Kön. Berg Chyrurg - dessen richtigkeit bestättige den 3ten August 786. P. Fortunatus Ex-Prior mp.” (folio 65.)

⁵⁹ Romhányi, Ágnes “Magyarországi Gyógyszerészek és üzleteik a 18. század végén (Az 1786. évi patikavizitációk tanulságai),” in *Kaleidoscope Művelődés-, Tudomány- és Orvostörténeti Folyóirat* 3. no. 4.(2012) [Hungarian Pharmacists and Stores at the End of the 18th Century (The lessons of visits in Pharmacy in the year of 1786) in: Journal of History of Culture, Science and Medicine] 47-48.

amounted in total 37f.⁶⁰ He must have been also motivated by the promise of payment to follow the guidelines of bookkeeping and to present his claims in such a detailed way. (Appendix, fig. 8.)

The example of the Hieronymites also shows an ideal set of medical services ensured for rich and well-located monasteries: a physician, a surgeon and a pharmacist covered the medical tasks emerging in the community whose services could be completed with the help of other qualified healers. The Pauline monastery of Székesfehérvár also provided an annual payment both for the local surgeon Mihál Világ⁶¹ and to the physician Johann Matthias Brigelius⁶² and took medicine from the one-time Jesuit pharmacy owned by Franz Walter⁶³, the previous provisor of the pharmacy before the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773.⁶⁴

Another Pauline monastery of Varaždin was similarly fortunate: the monks had not only a contract with the physician doctor Lalangue for an annual fee of 6 ducats, but they also could avail themselves occasionally of the services of the local surgeon Georg Batzer and the pharmacist Anton Halter.⁶⁵ Doctor Lalangue presented his contract to the commissionaires,

⁶⁰ MNL OL C103 - Hieronymite monasteries – Hegybánya

“Ad Rationes Monasterii R.R. P.P. Hyeronimitanorum sunt Medicamina Xhibita ex Pharmacopolio ad Aures Leonem ut Anno 786. Ludovicus Lindner” (ff 89-90.)

⁶¹ MNL OL C103 – Pauline monasteries – Székesfehérvár – Quittung über dreyzehn Gulden 3 1/3 xr welche ich Endes unterschriebener des aufgehobenen Stuhlweissenburger Pauliner Klosters angestellter Chyrurgus von jährlich 20f Besoldung von 1ten Jenner bis 20ten Augusti 786 gerechnet von dem Ka[mmer]al Commisär H. Karl Rupp baar, und richtig empfangen hat. Sig. Stuhlweissenburg den 25ten Augusti 786. Világ Mihál chyrurgus” (folio 206)

⁶² MNL OL C103 – Pauline monasteries – Székesfehérvár – Quietatia super novem decim f[lori]nis 10x, quos ego infrascriptus aboliti conventus Albensis P.P. Paulinorum medicus ex annuo 30 fnos honorario a 1a January usq. 20 Augusti 786 a Cammerali Comissario Dno Rupp sine et absq. omni defectu percepi. Sig. Alba Regia die 25 Augusti 786. Jo. Math. Brigelius Med. doct. ac Phys. Alba. Ordin. (folio 209)

⁶³ MNL OL C103 – Pauline monasteries – Székesfehérvár – Specificatio Medicamentorum qua pro Venerabili Conventu Ordinis Sti Pauli e Pharmacopoe Albaregiensi exhibita sunt [...]22f 52x, Fr. Walther Pharmacopolo mp. (folio 168)

Among the summary of the costs the extracts of previous invoices appear again: Rechnung über die, nach der untren 20ten Merz 786 bescheneher aufhebung des, in Stuhlweissenburg befindliche Pauliner Klosters theils in Schuldbriefen vorgefundenen Capitalien, theils aber naar übernommen, dann für veräusserten Naturalien und Mobilium eingekommen und anwidrum verausgabte gelder, ... – Ausgaaben – Nro 2., 39., 42. (folio 237v, 239r)

⁶⁴ Erzsébet Sági, “A régi magyarországi jezsuita patikák ismertetése a legújabb kutatások alapján. Az egykori székesfehérvári jezsuita patika,” *Gyógyszerészet* 42. (December 1998) 661-662.

⁶⁵ MNL OL C 103 – Pauline monasteries - Varasd - Ausweis deren bei dem den 20ten Marty 786 aufgehobenen in Warasdiner Comitatu liegenden Pauliner Kloster zu Warasdin vorgefundenen Passiv Rückständen.

“Nro 1. dem Medicinae Doctori Lalangue vermög des hier beigeschlossenen Contracts für die Cur denen hier Clösterlichen Religiosen gebühren jährlich zuzahlen 6 Ducaten von 24ten May 785 bis 20ten August 786 rückständig 33f 45x” [...] Nro.

while the surgeon and the pharmacist provided similarly detailed lists of their services and products, as we have seen in the case of the pharmacist of Banská Štiavnica.⁶⁶

Nevertheless among the dissolved religious houses only a few could afford a similarly advanced labor division and pluralism of the employed healers. For example the Camaldolese monastery of Majk similarly paid an annual fee to a *chirurgus* of Kecskéd that included not only surgical services, but the price of medicaments provided by the surgeon as well.⁶⁷ (Appendix, fig. 6.)

The regular payment of conventionalists did not necessarily happen in cash. The Pauline monastery of Svetice paid a barrel of vine annually to the local *Sanitäts medicus*,⁶⁸ and the Benedictine abbey of Tihany paid with meat to its conventionalist *chirurgus* János Schiller.⁶⁹

Monasteries that availed themselves of healers of more settlements

The accessibility of medical care for a monastery – just like for any other group or member of the society - was dependent not only from the number and erudition of available healers and from their affordability for the monks, but also from the geographical distance between the monastery and the required medical service.

17. Dem Warasdiner Apothecker Halter für die denen Pauliner Religiosen gegebenen Medicamente 87f 27x; Nro. 18. Dem Warasdiner Chyrurgo Balczes für die denen Pauliner Religiosen dargereichten Medicamenten, und Curen 40f 43x” (folio 180r -181v)

⁶⁶ MNL OL C 103 – Pauline monasteries - Varasd

Was bey den Erwürdigen P.P Paulinorum von 1ten Jen. bis 10en Juny 786 Chyrurgischen verrichtungen geschehen accordirter als ... Johann Georg Batzer geschworener chyrurgus (folio 183r-v).

The contract of doctor Lalang was also attached to the invoices. (folio 184r)

Venerabile Collegium Patrum Paulinorum Varasdinensium Sequentia medicamenta ex apoteca accepit: [detailed list of the medicaments] Ant. Halter, apothecar approbat (folio 192-193)

⁶⁷ MNL OL C 103 - Camaldolese monasteries – Majk - Status Cassa – Restatae Passiva “Nro 9o Georgio Veinpolter(?) Chyrurgo Kecskédiensi pro anno 1781 secundum conventionem et pro suppeditatis Medicamenti solvendi sunt 12f 12x [...] Majk 15a Aprilis 1782” (folio 7v)

⁶⁸ MNL OL C 103 – Pauline monasteries –Sveticze

“Löbl. Comission! Nachdem der vormaligen Expauliner klostern zu Szveticze mir für die dem Kloster in Krankheitsfällen leistende hülfe jahrl[ich] ein Faß Wein zur bestellung zu verabfolgen zugesichert hat; so ergeheth das ansuchen, bey gelegenheit des vorsehenden aufhebungs geschäfts den gefelligen Bedacht dahin zu nehmen, womit mir für das verflossenen Jahr entweder das Wein oder nach findender billigkeit der diesfällige geld betrag erfolget werde. Karlstadt den 3ten Augusti 786 Zisz (?) Sanitäts medicus” (folio 127r.)

⁶⁹ MNL OL – Benedictine monasteries - Tihany – invoice of the bucher about the meet provided to the conventionalists of the monastery (folio 195)

The previously presented invoices are suitable sources to reconstruct networks and catchment areas either centered around a cloister according to the claims of the monastic community or to map up the presence and location of monasteries in the praxis of a healer.

Regarding the medical network of monasteries the Premonstratensians of Túrje had one of the most diverse set of medical contacts according to the invoices of five different healers from which none of them resided in Túrje, a market town seemingly lacking any medical expert. The rich Premonstratensian monastery could be the most concerned about the acquisitions of medicaments they bought from different qualified healers, such as the surgeon of Zala county, the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God of Pápa and Zacharias Kumer, the pharmacist of Sümeg. They also availed themselves of examinations and other services of two chirurgs, Georg Eikhel in Sümeg and Rupert Récs, the surgeon of Vas county who may have resided in Szombathely, the center of the county. The latter one presented a bill of 258f 7x, that included his travelling costs, too.⁷⁰ The geographic distances the monks had to overcome were significant: Túrje was 15 km from Sümeg, 30 km from Zalaegerszeg, the seat of Zala county and it was approximately 60 km both from Pápa and Szombathely. The medical costs of the monastery amounted in total 396f 41x. (Appendix, fig. 10.)

Other ‘overlapping’ networks could also facilitate medical mobility and ‘long distance’ exchanges. For example Šaštín and Holič were manorial centers of estates owned by the Habsburgs and supplied with medical provision by a common physician, Franz Ungerhoffer and a surgeon, Joseph Döhn, providing medical care for the settlements of both estates. Joseph II suppressed two monasteries in these territories: the Capuchin monastery in

⁷⁰ MNL OL 103 Premonstratensian monasteries – Túrje – Consignation deren nach ableben des hiesigen Türyer Praemonstratenser Probstens Herrn Isidori Tichi, hinterlassenen Passiv Schulden alß... “Nro 6. dem Comitats Chyrurgo der Löbl. Szalader Gespanschaft für unterschiedlich verabgereichte Medicamenten 5f 9x [...] Nro 10. Sümegher Apotheker Zacharias Kumer für abgereichte Medicinen 21f 22x, [...] Nro 11. dem Sümegher Chyrurgo Johann Georg Eikhel 11f 51x [...] Nro 17. denen F.F. Misericordiae zu Papa für unterschiedlich verabfolgte Medicamenten 100f 12x, Nro 18. dem, der Löb. Eisenburger Gespanschaft primario Chyrurgo Rupert Récs für abgereichte Medicamenten, Mühewahlungen, und dann von eigenen Praestirten fuhr Speesen? 258f 7x” (folio 154)

Holič and the Pauline one in Šaštín. Ungerhoffer's name appears in the dissolution files of both cloisters, although the Capuchins did not have any bill of him⁷¹. The Pauline monastery of Šaštín owed 40f 13x⁷² to Ungerhoffer who contracted with the monastery for an annual fee of 30f and resided in Holič according to his petition.⁷³ He could acquire medicaments for his patients from the pharmacist of Holič, too, to whom the Paulines had to pay 36f 12x.⁷⁴ The monks received medicine and other treatments including barber services also from the "bestellter herrschaftlicher chyrurgus" Döhn, residing in Šaštín, to whom they owed 430f 10x. As his very detailed invoices inform us, this significant sum consisted of several small expenses of an almost 4 year long period from 1782 July until the dissolution of the monastery in 1786 April. The appearance of so old costs induces again the suspicion that the surgeon required a payment that he would have waived – or at least postponed – even longer if the dissolution procedure would have not accelerated his claims.⁷⁵ Besides the contracted healers of the estates, Josephus Novak, leader of the pharmacy dedicated to the 'Golden

⁷¹ Nevertheless some cash of the Capuchins was deposited at Ungerhoffer, who could fulfill the function of the trustee (syndicus) of the monastery.

MNL OL – Capuchin monasteries - Holics

⁷² MNL OL C 103 Pauline monasteries – Sasvár - Ausweis der Forderungen welche nachstehende Parteyen und den Schoßberger Pauliner kloster zu suchen haben und was noch abschlag der 10sten von jene betragen, die nicht bedungen, oder abzugsfähig sind, bei dem holitscher 30gsamt zahlbar anzuweisen.

"Ungerhoffer Franz Artz der Herrschaften Holitsch und Sassin Betrag des Ausziegl: 40f 13x, kommen auszuweisen: 36f 12x [...] Döhn Joseph Chyrurgus für Arzneyen und Bedinenung, betrag des Ausziegl 430f 10x, kommen auszuweisen 375f 18 ½ x (folio 40r.) [...] Novak Joseph Apotheker zu Tyrnau betrag des Ausziegl 14f 24x, kommen auszuweisen 12f 57 3/5 x" (folio 41r.)

⁷³ MNL OL C 103 Pauline monasteries – Sasvár

"Infrascriptus hisce recognosco me titulo Conventionis anne pro servicio medicio p[rae]tensionem habere a venerabili Conventu Sassiniensi florens 30a , quos mihi exsolvi humanissime peto. sig. Holitschy die 27a Martu 786. Franciscus Ungerhoffer AALL Pil. et Med. Doctor mp." (folio 89.r)

⁷⁴ MNL OL C 103 Pauline monasteries – Sasvár

"Consignation deren für die S. P. Wohlehre in Gott Geistl. Herrn P.P. Pauliner aus der Holitscher Apetheker verabfolgten Medicamenten benannt [...] 36f 12x" (folio 88)

⁷⁵ MNL OL C 103 Pauline monasteries – Sasvár

"Specification denen Medicamenten, welche von mir von 10 July 784 bis 10 July 785 sind gegeben werden, auch was mir von die jährliche balbier Bedienung, wie alle jahr zu bezahlen kommt. [...]Specification denen Medicamenten, welche von 10 July 785 ins Kloster bis heutigen datum den W. W. Herrn P. P. Paulinern sind gegeben worden als [...] Nachtrag was annoch an Medicamenten von 4 Marty mit Wissen des P. Prior ist gegeben worden [...]Summa 430f 10x Joseph Döhn" (folio 90-98)

Unicorn' in Trnava - a city from which Šaštín was approximately 60 km far away – also presented a bill of 14f 24x⁷⁶. (Appendix fig. 7.)

Although retrospectively announced claims for payment in case of the Hieronymites of Štiavnické Bane, the Premonstratensians of Túrje and the Paulines of Šaštín raise the question to what extent the presented invoices can mirror the real value of exchanges, it is sure that a poorer monastery could not have afforded so high expenses that also influenced the distances it could undertake for medical products and/or services. This tendency can be illustrated with the Franciscan friary of Tolna. The friary owed 8f 45x for medicaments and 10f 41x for barber services to Adam Heffner, a local *chirurgus*. Heffner could be the most easily available healer for the monks who bought medicine for 2f 57x from Georg Müller, a pharmacist of Szekszárd and availed themselves of the services of Anton Madarasz, a surgeon of Paks that costed them 4f 18x.⁷⁷ Szekszárd was already the seat of the county at that time and it can be found 10 km from Tolna, while the distance between Tolna and Paks is approximately 25 km. (Appendix., fig. 9.)

Sometimes the necessary medical service or medicaments were available in the direct neighborhood of the monastery. The monastery of Poor Clares of Zagreb was located in the so-called Upper Town (Gradec) of Zagreb, in a fortified free royal city that developed independently from the neighboring canonical settlement of the episcopal seat, called Capitulum (Kaptol). Although both towns constitute the medieval nuclei of present day Zagreb, they were integrated only in the 19th century and their inhabitants still perceived them

⁷⁶ MNL OL C 103 Pauline monasteries – Sasvár – Activ und Passiv Stand

“Novak Joseph Apotheker zu Tyrnau für gelieferte Arzneyen 14f 24x” (folio 34v)

Consignatio Medicamentorum qua ad rationes Conventus sassiniensis Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi eremitae [...] pro quodam Patre Paulino Sassiniensi in Termis Pöstiniensibus aegrotante ea ordinatione Dni Medici Nagell ex apotheca ad Unicornum Auream Tyrnaviae sunt extradata [...] 14f 24x [...] Josephus Novak pharmacopans mp. (folio 130)

⁷⁷ MNL OL C 103 – Franciscan monasteries – Tolna - Ausweiß der bei dem, den 3n Xber 788 aufgehobenen Tolnauer Cottat liegenden franziskaner Kloster zu Tolnau vorgefundenen Passiv Rückstände

“Nro 2. dem Adam Heffner chirurgus in Tolnau für das Medicamente 8f 45x, dd. für das Barbieren laut sub no 2 10f 41x [...] Nro 5. Georg Müller Apotheker in Szexard laut No5 2f 57x [...] Anton Madarasz chirurgus in Paksch laut no 12. 4f 18x” (folio 33r)

at the end of the eighteenth century as two separate settlements. The dissolution files of the Poor Clares of Zagreb preserved bills of pharmacists both from the Upper Town and from the Capitulum that inform us about the medical costs of the monastery from the years of 1781 and 1782, i.e. from the period before its abolition. According to the bills the nuns availed themselves more often of the pharmacy of the Upper Town and they were in debt with 250f 19x from 1781 and with 252f 10x in 1782. The ‘alterius Pharmacopae Capitularis’ gave them medicaments for 40f 58x in 1781 and for 51f 22x in 1782.⁷⁸

Sometimes the monastery was founded in a smaller settlement, but very close to a bigger town and the ‘outsider’, but still strongly town-connected situation of the monastery was reflected in its medical provision as well. For example The Pauline monastery of Diósgyőr owed money to the pharmacist of Miskolc.⁷⁹ Similarly the Franciscans in Vrbica⁸⁰ used the pharmacy of Samuel Möß in Liptovský Mikuláš⁸¹. (Appendix, fig. 6.)

There are also a few examples when the monastery availed itself exclusively of local healers and there is no sign of any kind of mobility. Pauline monks took over the one-time Jesuit monastery of Skalica. Even though the pharmacy was sold for 3000f to two pharmacists in 1773⁸³, its rooms must be rented by the pharmacist that provided an annual

⁷⁸ MOL C 103 – Poor Clares’ monasteries - Zággráb – Auszugalis Praetensiones Pharmacopoleae Superioris Civitatis tardius porrecte horsum sub PP. armexiae efficiunt 112f” (folio 14)

Extractus auszeugalium non exolutorum

“1. pharmacopeae superioris cittis 252 f 10x, 2. alterius Pharmacopeae Capitularis 51f 22x” (folio 29)

Specification der Medicamenten welche für die würdigen Frauen des Ordens der Heiligen Clarae aus der alhiesigen oberen stadt Apotheken sind verabfolget werden Anno 1782– 112f 46x - Karl Fröschl Apoth[ekar] (ff 65-68)

Specification der Medicamenten für die Wohlwürdigen geistlichen Frauen des Ordens der Sz. Clarae aus der alhiesigen Stadt Apotheke sind verabfolget werden, als Anno 1781- 250f 19x – Karl Fröschl Apoth[ekar] (ff. 140-143)

Medicamenten welche für das Löbl. Convent der Ehrwürdigen Kloster Frauen auß den Orden der Heil Clara zu Agram in Croatien, auß der Apotheke im Dohm -Kapitl verabfolget sint worden – 53f 28x – Johann Jürgens Apotheker (folio 150r-v)

⁷⁹ MNL OL C103 Pauline monasteries – Diósgyőr – ausweis deren bey den, den 20n März 786 aufgehobenen im Borsoder komitat liegenden Pauliner kloster zu Felső-Győr vorgefundendn Passiv-Rückständen

“Nro. Miskolczer Apotheker Keill für abgereichte Medikamenten 4f 42x” (folio 41.)

⁸⁰ Vrbica is a part of Liptovský Mikuláš (Slovakia), but they were separate settlements until 1923.

⁸¹ MNL OL C103 – Franciscan monasteries – Vrebic - Deren bey den , den 26ten May 786 aufgehobenen in Lypto=Arvenser Comitát liegenden franciscaner Kloster zu Verbicz vorgefundenen Passiv=Rückstenden

Nro 4. dem apotheker von Sz-Miklós Samueli Möß 48x (folio 34.)

The bill of the pharmacist: folio 36.

⁸³ It was bought by Josephus Novák, pharmacist of Tynava and Carolus Bernasconi.

Erzsébet Sági, “A régi magyarországi jezsuita patikák ismertetése a legújabb kutatások alapján. – Az egykori szakolcai jezsuita patika,” *Gyógyszerészet* 42. (June 1998): 337.

income of 80f for the Paulines.⁸⁴ The Paulines of Skalica employed Jacob Kellenmajer chirurgus with an annual contract⁸⁵ and took medicine from the previously mentioned pharmacy⁸⁶. Another Pauline monastery of Kežmarok used the services of the local pharmacist Johann Berg and of the surgeon Thomas Kissler.⁸⁷ The Paulines of Oradea owed money to the local pharmacist Philip Müller for medicaments.⁸⁸

Medical centers and networks reflected in the dissolution files of monasteries

The bills of some pharmacists and surgeons can be discovered among the documents of more monasteries located in the same city or in its catchment area. For example in the case of Pécs, the bills of the pharmacist Johann Georg Hölbling and of the chirurgus Joseph Takatsch could be found among the files of the Augustinian⁸⁹, Dominican⁹⁰ and Pauline⁹¹

⁸⁴ MNL OL C 103 Pauline monasteries – Szokolca -Inventarium Universae tam mobilis quam et immobilis substantia aboliti A 1786 20a Menss Marty Conventus P.P. Paulinorum Szakolczens in Cottu Nittriensi - Consignatio restantiarum activarum... (folio 31)

“Nro. 6. Ex Apotheca in Domo conventuali existente provenient Ulo census annue f80 Ex his pro medio anno a Festo S. Michaelis Anni praeteriti 1785 40f”

⁸⁵ MNL OL C 103 Pauline monasteries – Szokolca –Inventarium ... - Consignatio Restantiarum passivarum...

“Nro. 4. Chyrurgo Szakolczensi Jacobo Kellenmajer Teste Documento sub no. 4. 6f” (folio 32)

Conto einer chyrurgischen dienstleistung für des hiesigen Löb. Pauliner kloster Individuen, und zwar für das barbieren bis den 20ten Marty lauth contract synd noch zu bezahlen ruckständig 6f Jacobus Kellermajer M. Chyrurgia (folio 113)

⁸⁶ MNL OL C 103 Pauline monasteries – Szokolca –Inventarium - Consignatio Restantiarum passivarum... Pro Venerabili Conventu Adorum Patrum Paulinorum data sunt ex apotheca Sequentia Medicamenta ... Summa 10f 16x Ferd. Bauer Provisor (folio 9.)

Pro Venerabili Comunitate Adorum Patrum Paulinorum data sunt ex apotheca Szakolczensi Sequentia ... 2f 13x Ferdinand Bauer Provisor. (folio 114)

⁸⁷ MNL OL C103- Pauline monasteries – Késmárk

Verzeichniß der Passivrückstände des aufgehobenen Pauliner klosters zu Käßmarkt. (folio 11.)

“Josef Berg. Apotheker allda [=Késmárk] 1f 3x, [...] Thimas Kißler Chyrurgus allda 11f30x”

Ausweiß deren bey der dem den zwanzigsten März 1786 aufgehobenen in Zipßer komitat liegenden Pauliner Konvent zu Kaismarck vorgefundenen Passiv Rückständen. (folio 26r)

“Nro 4. Johann Berg Apotheker in Käßmark für die, den Käßmarker Pauliner Convent abgereichte Medicamenten ut No 4. 1f3x [...]

Nro 6. dem Thomas Kisler Chyrurgus in Kaißmark für Barbiren übrigen dem Convent geleistete verrichtungen. ut No 6to 11f30x”

⁸⁸ MNL OL C 103 – Premonstratensian monasteries - Szentmárton – Ausweiß deren bei den 1ten Xbers 787 aufgehobenen in Biharar Komitat liegenden Praemonstratenser Kloster zu Sz. Martin vorgefundenen Passiv Rückständen

“Nro 4 Apotheker Pfilip Müller x Großward laut auszügel betragt seine forderung für gelieferte Medicament. 62f 28x, dann hat selbiger für dem Kloster geliefertes Schmalz zu fordern 54x” (folio 47)

⁸⁹ MOL C 103 – Augustinian monasteries – Ausweiß Über die bey dem aufgehobenen im Baranyer Comitatz liegenden Augustiner Residenz zu Fünfkirchen vorgefundenen Passiv Rückständen welche bey dem königliche Fünfkirchner Salzamt anzuweisen kommen.

“Nro. 2. Joseph Takatsch chyrurgus, [...] Nro 7. Johann George Hölbling Apotheker” (folio 31r)

⁹⁰ MNL OL C 103 Dominican monasteries – Pécs – Ausweiß der bey der fünfkirchner Dominikaner Residenz vorgefundene Passiv Rückstände

“hölbling johann Georg Apotheker für gelieferte Medikamenten laut Auszigl No. 4. 57f 11x” (folio 474r)

monasteries of the city. Hölbling's pharmacy was the only one at the city at that time, because the previous pharmacy of the Franciscan monastery was already closed down, and the new pharmacy of the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God was established only in 1796.⁹²

The name of Joseph Novak, a pharmacist of Trnava – and the owner of the one-time Jesuit pharmacy in Skalica – also appears in terms of monasteries. He provided medicaments to the Paulines in Šaštín⁹³ and to the Franciscan residence of Katarínka (Naháč, Slovakia)⁹⁴. (Appendix, fig. 4.)

Franciscus Erlinger, the pharmacist of Sopron also had a significant catchment area regarding monasteries. He also supplied with medicaments to the Jesuits before 1773⁹⁵ and his bills appear in the dissolution files of the Camaldolese monastery of Landsee (Markt Sankt Martin, Austria)⁹⁶, of the Pauline monastery of Sopronbánfalva⁹⁷, too. But surprisingly there is no sign of his medicine in the files of the Franciscans of Sopron. (Appendix, fig. 3.)

The catchment area of Bratislava cannot be connected to a single healer, but it still mirrors in the invoices of surrounding monasteries. The monastery of Neusiedl am See

Ausweiß deren bei der, dem 3ten Xber 1788 aufgehobenen in Baranyer Komitat liegenden Dominicaner Residenz zu fünfkirchen vorgefundenen Paßiv Rückständen

“Nro. 2. den Jos: Takatsch Chýrurgus zu 5kirchen vor 1 ¼ jähriges Barliren 10f [...] Nro. 4. Johann Georg Hölbling Apotheker zu 5kirchen 57fl 1x” (folio 501)

⁹¹ MNL OL C 103 – Pauline monasteries – Pécs – Opus abolitionis Conventus antehac patrum Paulinorum quinque Ecclesiensis nec non Residentiae Sacro Fontana de Anno 1786 - Specificatio restantiarum passivarum... (no folio number, Pag 15a, 17a) “Nro. 18. Apothecario hujati Dno Georgio Hölbing pro suppeditatis as conventum a 1a Jan usque 20 Martii ac diversis medicamentis, erga recognitas auszugales solvendi restant 54f 4x”

⁹² S. n., “Emlékirat az Istenes szent Jánosról nevezett Irgalmas Rend magyar tartománya Budapest (Budai) Rend- és Kórházának újjáépítése és 1903 szeptember 29-én történt ünnepélyes felavatása alkalmára számos képpel,” (s. l.: Irgalmas Rend Magyar Rendtartománya, s.a.) 13. [Memoir of the Hospitaller Brothers of Saint John of God for the renovation and consecration of their monastery and hospital in Buda in 1903.]

⁹³ See footnote 76.

⁹⁴ MNL OL C 103 –Franciscan monasteries - Szentkatalin

Erogatio 8. ad pharmacopolam pro medicinalibus 60f (folio 28.)

Series - Receptarium ad me Auszugalium quas justas et reales esse attestor [...] Nro 4. Pharmacopaei Josephi Novak 35f 17x [...] Nro 7. His acceluns Medicus cum 1. Januarii 15f, Chyrurgus a 20. Augustus ex fl 40 – fl 5. Spacicaminarius a 1a Jan. 10f, Fr. Stephanus Adamovics guardian mp., F. Sigismundus Simovics vicar mp. (folio 31.)

⁹⁵ Erzsébet Sági, “A régi magyarországi jezsuita patikák ismertetése a legújabb kutatások alapján. – És ahol nem volt jezsuita patika...” *Gyógyszerészet* 42. (December 1998): 664.

⁹⁶ MNL OL C 103 – Camaldolense monastery - Landsee - Francisco Erlinger Pharmacopaei Soproniensi pro medicinis juxta specificationem

⁹⁷ MNL OL C103 Pauline monasteries – Sopronbánfalva – Inventarium uiber das den 20ten März 1786 aufgehobenen Oedenburger Komitat liegenden Pauliner kloster zu Wondorf und Ihren Vermögenst Stande – Ausweis deren [previously given datum and location] Pauliner kloster zu Wondorf vorgefundenen Passiv-Rückständen.

“dem Apotheker Franz Erlinger laut conto sub GG14f 3x” (folio 26v)

The bill of the pharmacist is attached, too. (folio 123r)

acquired medicaments from the pharmacist Franz Augusti in Bratislava and it was simultaneously the debtor of the surgeon of Breitenbrunn, a settlement on the opposite side of the Neusiedler See⁹⁸. The monastery of the Order of Minims in Šamorín - a market town and manorial center at that time located 20 km from Bratislava - preserved a bill from Karl Vinzenz Sessel, the pharmacist of Bratislava Castle that listed the prices of medicaments in the value of 19f. Sessel's pharmacy was also used besides the services of two local healers, namely Joseph Schott chyrurgus requiring 50f 18x and the pharmacist Jacob Richter expecting only 9f 3x.⁹⁹ Schott and Richter both provided medical care for the Franciscans of Svätý Anton¹⁰⁰, who also had medical debts toward the pharmacy of the Franciscan monastery of Bratislava.¹⁰¹ (Appendix, fig. 1.)

The pharmacy belonging to the hospital of the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God of Pápa also had a significant catchment area: it provided medicine to the Pauline

⁹⁸ MOL C 103 – Pauline monasteries – Nezsider – Ausweis denen bey den, den 20ten März 786 aufgehobenen in Löbl. Wieselburger Comitatz liegenden Pauliner kloster zu Neusidl am See vorgefundenen Passiv Rückständen
“Nro 5. Daniel Tatzer Chyrurgus v Breitenbrunn 12f 8x; [...] Nro.10 Franz Augusti Apotheker allhier [=Preßburg] 1f 12x (folio 20.)

⁹⁹ It is also important to note that none of these bills referred to a longer period than 5 months.

MNL OL C 103 – Monastery of Minims – Somorja – Ausweis deren bey den, den 7ten August 786 aufgehobenen, in Preßburger Komitat liegenden Paulaner Kloster zu Somerein vorgefundenen Passiv=Rückständen.

“Nro. 12. Joseph Schott Chirirgus von Somerein hat für von 6. May bis 7ten Augusti 786 gegebenen Medicamenten, und chyrurgischen Operationen zu fahre 50f 18x

Nro. 16. dem Somereiner Apotheker Jacob Richter für Medicamenten von 7ten März bis 7ten Augusti 786 9f 3x

Nro. 17. dem Preßburger Apotheker Karl Sessel, für Medicamenten von 2ten April 21ten July 786 21f 6x” (folio 8r-v)

Conto venerabilis P.P. Paulanorum pro sumptis medicinis, et chyrurgicis operationis ut sequuntur. anno 786 die 7a Augusti, Josephus Schott Chyrurgus Ordinarius Vrb. Contus mp. 50 f 18 x (folio 87-88) – medicines and operations are indicated according to the names of the monks.

das löbl. Convent derer ehrwürdigen P.P. Paulaner allhier beliebe für empfangenen medicamenten. Jakob Richter apotheker (folio 92r) 9f 3x

Sct. Salvators apotheken Conto. Karl Vinzenz Sessel bürg. Apotheker 21f 6x-2f 6x=19f (Folio 94.)

¹⁰⁰ MNL OL C103 – Franciscan monasteries - Szentantal - Inventur des den 24ten August 786 aufgehobenen im Preßburger Komitat liegenden P.P. Franciscankloster zu St. Anton in der Insel Schütt – Ausweis Nro 6.

“Nro. 5. Jakob Richter Apotheker von Somerein hat für Medicamenten zu empfangen 2f 58x

[...] Nro. 10. Joseph Schott chyrurgus von somerein hat von 12ten Jenner bis 17ten May 786 dem Convent gegebenen Medicamenten, und für das jährliche Barbieren zusam zu empfangen 30f 38x” (folio 63 r-v.)

¹⁰¹ MNL OL C103 – Franciscan monasteries – Szentantal - inventur des den 24ten August 786 aufgehobenen im Preßburger Komitat liegenden P.P. Franciscankloster zu St. Anton in der Insel Schütt – Ausweis Nro 6.

“Nro. 1. dem Preßburger Franciscaner Apotheker für diesen convent gegebene Medicamenten von 11. Febuarý. bis 30ten Augusti 1786 sind zu zahlen 28f 30x” (folio 63r., the same information is indicated in the Vermögenstand as well, folio 8r.)

monasteries of Pápa¹⁰² and Tüskevár¹⁰³ and to the Premonstratensians of Túrje¹⁰⁴.
(Appendix, fig. 2.)

It is important to note that besides the Brothers Hospitallers of Pápa and Franciscans in Bratislava only one further monastery pharmacy appears in the *Passiv Rückständen*: the Franciscan monastery of Križevci that supplied with medicine the Pauline cloister of the same town¹⁰⁵ and it was dissolved in 1786 too, but its inventory was not preserved, only its extract, the so called Vermögensstand is available in the C 99 fond.

The location of the doctors is unknown in the following cases: the Cistercian monastery in Eger paid an annual fee – 30 f – to the chyrurgus Pissegger¹⁰⁶. The Trinitarians of Komárom were debtors of a surgeon Franciscus Griener and of the pharmacist Johannes Kormán.¹⁰⁷ The Franciscans of Győr owed money to the pharmacist Leopold Dienstrich.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² MNL OL C 103 – Pauline monasteries – Pápa - Specificatio Medicamentorum quae ex officina F. Misericordiae Papae pro venerabili Familia Conventus P.P. Paulinorum Papens[is] ad servitia fuer adstrata (folio 288r/v)

¹⁰³ MNL OL C 103 – Pauline monasteries –Tüskevár - 79 Fr. Consignatio Medicamentorum, quae pro Venerabili Conventu ordinis Sti Pauli Primi emeritu in Tüskovar ex officina Papensi Fr. Misericordiae ad servitia administrita sunt... Summa: 3f 26x Crispinus Hoffmann mp. p. t. Pharmacopaeus

¹⁰⁴ See footnote 18.

¹⁰⁵ MNL OL C 103 Pauline monasteries – Körös – Ausweis deren bey den, den 20ten Marz 786 aufgehobenen in Löbl. Komitat Liegenden Pauliner Kloster zu Keutz vorgefundenen Passiv Rückstände (folio 76)

“nro. 1 Vermög Auszüge seit in die allhiesige P. Franciscanes Apateken vor von Jenner bis 19. März d. J. durch die P. Pauliners abgenommene Medikamenten zu zahlen Rückständig 47f 17x”

¹⁰⁶ MNL OL C 103 Cistercian monasteries Eger- Pásztó – Tabelle deren in den aufgehobenen Heveser Comitatz liegenden cisterciten Residenz befindlichen dienstbothen, und conventionirten ...

“dem Chyrurgus Pissegger jährliche convention 30f, bis 16 7bris als dem aufhebungslag zu forden: 21f 15x” (folio 124r)

¹⁰⁷ MNL OL C 103 – Trinitarian monasteries – Komárom - Inventarium eorum qua in diversis conventus Comaromiensis Trinitariorum Commoditatibus sparsim continentur – Passivus status Auszugalia (folio 48v)

Bills attached:

Contos was ich denen wohl Erwirdigen P.P. trinitary in chyrurgischen dienst geleist hab. Erstlich ein jährliches Balvir Bestallung, und vor alle chyrurgische Operation ist mir erfolgen zu lassen f36 Franciscus Griener Bürg. Exam. Chyrurgus” (folio 50r) ; Pro Venerabili Conventu admodum Reverendorum P.P. Ordinis SSSma Trinitatis Discalceatorum Redempt Castivorum Comaromy sequentia Medicamenta administrata sunt [...] Johannes Kormán” (ff 55-56)

¹⁰⁸ MNL OL C103 – Franciscan monasteries – Győr – Ausweis deren, bei den, den 29ten Xber 786. aufgehobenen, im raaber Komitat liegenden Franziskaner Kloster zu Raab vorgefundenen Passiv-Rückständen

“Nro. 20 dem Apotheker Leopold dienstrich 83f 30x” (folio 26.r)

Monastic medicine at a crossroads: (self-)supply, professional licensing, challenges and opportunities

Poor Clares' and Camaldolese monasteries 1782-1786

Besides the elimination of a great number of monastic communities as uniquely organized patients sharing the costs of medical provision, the other main medical aspect of the abolition of monasteries was the liquidation of sanitary activities practiced by the inmates of cloisters.

This chapter summarizes the outcomes of a research that primarily aimed to detect indicators of medical activities practiced by the members of the monastic communities, namely the presence of qualified and engaged people, such as the necessary equipment and dedicated spaces inside the monastery serving medical purposes.

Thinking in terms of 'indicators' can make it possible to present transitional and mixed patterns of medical (self-)supply as well. Imposing on the sources rigid institutional categories - such as detecting the presence and publicity of pharmacies or hospitals - would be anachronistic especially if we take into consideration the pluralism and fluidity of medical practices of the discussed period. I also want to keep the boundaries of the actual study expandable: the fragmentariness of the preserved and actually available data in the dissolution files needs to be completed with the results of further research not only in terms of institutionalized and advanced forms of medical services, but with any sign of initiatives of active self-supply of a closed community that implies the possibility of contributions to public health care.

The chronology of monastery abolition in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom can serve as a guide to follow the impact of closing down cloisters in respect of the different

religious orders and of gradually refined imperial ordinances that also could influence the way in which individual and communal decisions were made and documented.

Joseph II's ordinance about the suppression of hermitages and secularization of contemplative orders was proclaimed on the 26th January 1782. This date can be regarded as the beginning of a secularization process that lasted until the death of the emperor. The literature distinguishes between two main phases of the abolition process and assigns the borderline about the end of the year 1786. In the first phase whole religious orders were secularized in three bigger waves: in 1782 the Carthusians, Camaldolese, Poor Clares and the female branch of Augustinians, in 1783 the Trinitarians, in 1786 the Pauline Fathers, Hieronymites and Camillians were abolished. The second phase from 1787 is called the "regulation of monasteries" (*Klosterregulierung*) in which only individual monasteries were secularized until 1790 and approximately one third of the Franciscan monasteries were closed down.¹⁰⁹

The main outlines of secularization procedures were declared in eight paragraphs in the first ordinance sent to the Locotenential Council and proclaimed on the 26th January 1782. This ordinance was completed with a *rescriptum* sent to the Hungarian Chamber a few days later on the 4th February.¹¹⁰ According to the first ordinance two commissioners had to put into effect the secularization procedure in each case, performing their task as deputies of the two main governmental authorities, the Hungarian Chamber and the Locotenential Council.

One of the first tasks of the commissioners was to inform the inmates of the dissolved monastery about the following options regarding their future lives:

¹⁰⁹ Márta Velladics, "A szerzetes rendek felszámolása II. József korában," *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 2, no. 1 (2001): [The abolition of religious orders in Hungary]

<http://www.uni-miskolc.hu/~egyhtort/cikkek/velladics.htm> (accessed December 14, 2012).

¹¹⁰ idem

1. Novices were not allowed to take their oath (profession). They got a lump sum of 150 florini and had to leave the monastery in four weeks.
2. Those who decided to join another monastery *and undertook its regulation* could get an annual pension of 150 florini. If a man chose the Order of the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God or parish service, he got a pension of 300 florini. If a woman decided to join a convent of the Order of Saint Elisabeth, her pension amounted to 200 florini.
3. If somebody insisted on continuing their life *according to the rules of the abolished order*, they could request accommodation and provision in a cloister of any other order inside the country, but in this case their living costs were not covered by the state.
4. If somebody decided to return to secular life, the Emperor ensured a pension of 300 florini until the petitioner could make a living on their own.
5. Those who could not choose the previous possibilities because of their age and/or health condition and had no relatives to look after them were directed into monasteries dedicated for their care. The only excuse to stay in the building of the secularized monastery could be serious illness or life hazard from transportation.¹¹¹

The Order of the Brothers Hospitallers of Saint John of God and the Order of Saint Elisabeth were the two main religious orders¹¹² in the territory of the late eighteenth century Hungarian Kingdom providing medical care to their fellow creatures. The options provided by the Emperor obviously mirror a strong intention to improve medical provision and the

¹¹¹Márta Velladics, "A szerzetesrendek felszámolása II.József korában"

¹¹² However none of them were religious orders in the strict sense of the word: the Brothers of Hospitallers were organized as a lay mendicant order and the Order of Saint Elisabeth as a congregation that belonged to the third order of the Franciscans.

‘cure of the souls’ through the simultaneous rearrangement of the parochial system. The higher pension was clearly intended to motivate the expelled monks and nuns to rearrange their lives in line with these principles.¹¹³

Although joining any of the two ‘medical orders’ did not require professional qualification or previous practice in looking after sick people, it could provide a possible framework for continuing a medical praxis in monastic environment. The number, education and motives of those who joined these orders after the dissolution of their monasteries is a question that has not been investigated in its entirety and it still cannot be answered in the framework of the actual study. Nevertheless my accounts on the choices of monastic healers and nurses regarding their further lives need to be considered also from the perspective of the aspect of this option.

Among the religious orders abolished before 1786, the commissioners’ records preserved traces of medical activity only in Poor Clares’ monasteries and in the Camaldolese monastery of Lechnitz. The minute books of Trinitarians and Carthusians did not provide any information regarding medical provision except some surgical bills of the Trinitarian monastery of Komárom discussed previously.

Nevertheless minute books of the Poor Clares’ monasteries provide nuanced details regarding the effects of monastery abolition on nunneries from a medical perspective.

The Poor Clares’ monastery of Buda provides insight into the personal aspects of medical knowledge and engagement of nuns. The inmates of the monastery had to submit personally signed individual statements providing information about their future plans and petitioning for an annual pension. The commissioners of the Poor Clares’ monasteries of

¹¹³ Both religious orders can be regarded as privileged ones in the period of monastery abolitions: the number of their houses was not diminished, but increased during the Josephine decade, since a new monastery of the Order of Saint Elisabeth was founded in 1785 in Buda. According to some hints there were also plans to reconstruct the Franciscan monastery of Keszthely and the Camaldolese monastery of Lechnitz in order to arrange new monasteries for the Brothers of Hospitallers. But these intentions were not sufficient to provide the necessary outlet/background to channel a great number of monks and nuns for the benefit of medical provision.

Buda and Pest made uniform summaries of these statements in a tabulated form that was completed for the monastery in Buda on the 30th May 1782.¹¹⁴ The commissioners added to the table some information about the novices, who - according to Joseph II's ordinance - had to leave the monastery in four weeks after the abolition with a lump sum of 150 florini, and according to a short notice they really did so on the 10th May.¹¹⁵

The tabulated form of the personal statements provides precious information about the nuns and novices. According to it the monastery accommodated a high number of nuns, namely 53 persons in total that must have required an organized way of caring the sick nuns. However there was only one nun, Soror Apollonia (Anna Weinhartin) dedicated to the task of nursing sick inmates. The 45-year-old nun was already herself seriously ill and a young novice, the 24-year-old Soror Nepomucena (Eleonora Majerhofferin) from Buda was probably enrolled by the monastery to support Soror Apollonia's activity. She was a learned surgeon (*gelehrte Chyruugin*) from a burgher family of Buda, who must have received her education from her family members – and thus she could provide medical provision for the monastery in a professional way.

The dissolution of the monastery influenced the reactions of the two nuns in opposite ways. Soror Apollonia – having regard to her poor health condition - chose the option of returning into secular life in May directly and according to a table made in September in order to summarize the places to where the pensions had to be sent, Soror Apollonia stayed in

¹¹⁴ Personal data were marked in the table only with keywords and numbers, while a short report about the nuns' concerns regarding their future possibilities was summarized in the last column under the title "Notes" (*Anmerkungen*). MNL OL C 103 - Poor Clares' monasteries – Buda – Consignation deren in dem abolirten Offner Clarissen Closter sub Dato 10ten April 1782 vorgefundenen Geistlichen Ordens Gliederen, ihrer Geistl: und Weltlichen Namen, item aufgehabten Dignitaet, lebens Alter, verwendeten Jahren im Closter, und Erklärungen, zu welche Lebens Art sich ein jegleiches dieser aufgehobenen Closter Individuen künftighin entschlüssen wollen? Mit denen original Beylagen a Nro 1mo bis 53tium. (ff 3-12)

¹¹⁵ MNL OL C 103 - Poor Clares' monasteries – Buda – Nota A Nro 38vo usq. Nr. 43tium sunt insertae, sex illae non Professae Virgines, quae ad exigentiam Atissimi Mandati Caesareo=Regj Die 10ma May 1782 e Claustro discedere debuerunt (folio 69)

Buda and lived with her mother.¹¹⁷ In contrast with Soror Apollonia's resigned behaviour, Soror Nepomucena took the initiative, complained about her novice status to the commissioers, petitioned for her acknowledgement as a nun and for the permission to enter the Order of Saint Elisabeth in this elevated status. Her age played an important role in her argumentation. The table made by the commisioners indicated that she was already 24 and half years old. This strange accuracy makes sense if we take into consideration that a previous ordinance of Maria Theresa – influenced by Joseph II and Kaunitz - did not allow novices to take their vow before the age of 24.¹¹⁸ Although Soror Nepomucena had already reached the required age limit, the rumors about the monastery abolitions and finally the start of the secularization process prevented her from taking her monastic oath (*Profession*). She wished to be treated as all the other nuns that could have meant the highest annual pension and a place for her in the St. Elisabeth Order. Unfortunately there is no trace of further consideration of her request in the dissolution files of the monastery.¹¹⁹

Her intentions were unique in comparison with all the other nuns of the monastery who mostly decided to return to the world and arrange their private life according to their monastic vows. Only 9 nuns out of 37 decided to enter another nunnery, and merely 3 of them undertook the move to Bratislava in order to join the monastery of the Saint Elisabeth Order in Bratislava. All the nuns and Soror Nepomucena justified their decision with their

¹¹⁷ MNL OL C 103 - Poor Clares' monateries – Buda – Tabella Exhibens specificam Deductionem, qvalemnam aboliti Conventus Monuialium Clarissarum Budensium Individua cum altissimo Indultu Cae[sare]o Regio e Claustro egressa vitaestatum amplexa sint? ubi commorabuntur? & penes qvalem Cassam usdem Pensiones assignari possent? (folio 280)

¹¹⁸ This raise of the age limit was introduced by the State, dismissing papal authority and the dictates of Trent that allowed men to take their vow at the age of 16.

See: Derek Beales, "Joseph II. and the Monasteries of Austria and Hungary," 5.

¹¹⁹ MNL OL C 103 - Poor Clares' monateries – Buda – Consignation deren in dem abolirten Offner Clarissen Closter sub Dato 10ten April 1782 vorgefundenen Geistlichen Ordens Gliederen... (folio 10)

„diese Person wäre in Rücksichtdessen, daßsiebereitsam 9ten Janura h: a: das 24te Jahrzurückgelegetmithin der vorgeschriebenen Professions In ist erreicht hatte, als eine würd. professin anzusehen, und nun die verbreitete Nachricht von der erfolgen sollen den Aufhebung dieses Ordens, ist an sothanen Aufschub Ursach gewesen ; Und da die auch weiters sie geistlich leben will; so bittet sie um die Erlaubniß, zu Preßburg in den Elisabethiner Order treten zu dürfen.“

wish to live in a monastic environment and status, but professional concerns did not come into question explicitly.¹²¹

The monasteries of Poor Clares in Trnava and Zagreb provide unfortunately less detailed information regarding medical knowledge inside the cloister. In the monastery of Zagreb – that was well supplied with medicaments from the local and neighbouring pharmacies, according to the preserved invoices - an even younger novice, Francisca Handtin nursed her sick inmates. She was a 22-year-old Bohemian regarding her origin and she had been living in the Order for already 4 years.¹²²

The inventory of the monastery of Zagreb indicates the functional distinction of a sickroom (*infirmaria*), too.¹²³

The same spatial distinction appears in the Poor Clares' monastery of Trnava, too, but it is unknown whether it had a dedicated person for looking after the sick. However the inventory of the sickrooms and their chapel indicates pieces of furniture dedicated for storing medicaments and instruments suitable for preparing drugs.¹²⁴

Although Joseph II's decree of January 1782 seemed to treat nuns and monks relatively equally offering them higher (although unequal) pension in case they chose one of the healing orders, men clearly had a wider range of possibilities to ensure their livelihood once they left the monastery - either through finding a position in a parish or finding another

¹²¹ See footnotes 114. and 117.

¹²² MNL OL C 103 – Poor Clares' monasteries – Zagreb - Tabella. Sancti Monialium aboliti Ordinis S. Calrae in Claustro Zagrabiensis hac tenus residentium sine eo elaborata, ut clementer applicidata Diurnalis pensio cum aliis competentiis Accuratus assignari & dependi possit, horum inducta. (folio 83)

¹²³ MNL OL C 103 – Poor Clares' monasteries – Zagreb - Inventarium Mobilium Religiosam Communitatem Suppressi Claustri Sacrimonialium Zagrabiensium olim Concernentium infrascriptis diebus Mensis Aprilis 1782. modo sequenti adornata, et quidem ... (folio 48)

¹²⁴ MNL OL C 103 – Poor Clares' monasteries – Trnava - Inventarium Anno 1782 Die vero 18a & sub sequis tam Mensis Aprilis, quam & Maij Diebus in Libera Regiaque Civitate Týrnaviensi I. Co[m]it[at]ui Posoninen[is] ingremiata Mobilium, ac Imobilium & Universae Suppellectilis profanae ad Claustro[m] & Conventum aboliti Religiosi Ordinis Sanctae Clarae Monialium Virginum Týrnaviensem antehac pertinentium & in eodem repertatum per Nos infrascriptos tam ex Parte Status Politici, quem et Excelsae camerae Hungarico Aulicae denominatos Commissarios Regios modo & ordine sequentibus peractum. (ff 85-87.)

lay profession for themselves.¹²⁵ Lay brothers, who usually did the daily work in the monastery and they were often proficient in some kind of artisanship that enabled them to make a living outside the monastery with the same activity.

The inventories of the Camaldolese ‘Red Monastery’, Červený Kláštor of Lechnica preserved the name of a chyrurgus lay brother Dionisius Egle. He was 40 years old and had served in the Order for 18 years, but he made his vow only 10 years earlier. He planned to return to his homeland, Swabia (*Svevia*) in a secular status and petitioned for his pension.¹²⁶ The commissioners conscribed in his room five surgical books and some surgical instruments without any further specification.¹²⁷ He could take these objects as his private goods with him, since the equipment of the monks’ cells was spared from confiscation.

The monastery also owned a small pharmacy that was inventorised in the minute books¹²⁸ and a list of its auctioned goods¹²⁹ was also preserved. According to the inventory furniture of the pharmacy contained of a big painted chest with 60 drawers (*stellasa major colorata cum subladis No 60*) with several bigger and smaller painted wooden pyxis/vessels used for storing medicaments and from two further chest of drawers with glass, suitable for exhibiting objects. Glass phials in different size and gallons were also conscribed, but all of the vessels were empty or even damaged, which makes the impression that the pharmacy was not used or consciously emptied before the suppression of the Camaldolese Order. This is confirmed by the fact that there is no trace of medicaments in the inventory at all. Some instruments – such as pharmacy scales, pans, instruments for destillation, slings, ball vitreous,

¹²⁵ Martin Scheutz, “Ein Lutheraner auf dem Habsburgerthron” 336.; Derek Beales, “Joseph II and the Monasteries of Austria and Hungary” 12.

¹²⁶ MNL OL – Camaldoles monasteries – Lechnicz – Dionysius Egle’s petition (folio 103)

¹²⁷ MNL OL – Camaldoles monasteries – Lechnicz – Conscripção Rerum Mobilium et Supellectium in privatis Religiosorum Cellis repertarum (folio 63.)

¹²⁸ MNL OL – Camaldoles monasteries – Lechnicz – Conscripção Diversarum Rerum Mobilium (folio 40-41)

¹²⁹ MNL OL – Camaldoles monasteries – Lechnicz – Instrumentum Licitationis Rerum Mobilium Allensilium, ex Inventariis Comissional[ibus] sun Nris 4to: 5to: et 7mo: desumptarum, ac pro aconomiae Cursu minus necessariarum, aboliti rubri Claustrum de Valle Lechnitz Camaldulensium Anno, Diebus et Loco infrascriptis penes Festinonum Legale peractae (folio 122v)

- testify the making of medicaments on site. There was another room named the ‘kitchen of the pharmacy’ (*culina apothecae*) that similarly contained instruments for distillation, pots, a chest of drawers and some other objects.¹³⁰ (Appendix, fig. 12.)

Pauline monasteries 1786

The year 1786 is an important turning point in the process of documenting the dissolution of monasteries. In the previous year precise instructions and exemplary tables were elaborated by the Viennese Court Accountant of Funds (*Stiftungs- und Städtische Buchhalterei*) that were declared in the form of a court decree in March 1786. It was applied first during the abolition of the Pauline Order and later in the phases of cloister regulation (*Klosterregulierung*). It confirmed the previous two ordinations and determined the secularization process in a very detailed way in 54 paragraphs, and put special emphasis on the making of inventories.¹³¹

The Pauline monastery of Lefantovce had a small pharmacy, but in the list of its inmates nobody was named as pharmacist or surgeon,¹³² although the inventory of the monastery indicates ‘the room of the pharmacist’, too. The list makes a difference between the objects serving the pharmacist’s – and occasionally maybe his patients’ daily comfort, such two beds, a table with abacus, a chest, 2 old chairs and some pictures on the wall. Pharmaceutical equipments in the same room were inventorized separately: a pharmaceutical table with 7 drawers, another table with abacus, a stool and pharmaceutical glass vessels and instruments, probably alembics.

¹³⁰ See footnote 128.

¹³¹ For a detailed description and explanation of the ordinance see: Márta Velladics, “A szerzetes rendek felszámolása II. József korában”

¹³² MNL OL – Pauline monasteries – Felső-Elefánt – Tabella Individuor aboliti Claustri Elefant (folio 55)

The furniture of the pharmacy consisted of 5 chests and two pharmacy tables. Most of the equipment consisted of vessels made of glass and wood that were listed and distinguished according to the type of the medicament – unguents, oils, liquids, powders - they stored. The other type of vessels was used for measuring, they were usually made of tin. Essential and emblematic instruments of pharmacist were mortars, of which this pharmacy owned two, made of stone. The inventory also lists 27 medical books as a part of the pharmacy's equipment, excluding them from the catalogues of the monastery's library. A smaller room attached to the pharmacy could be a chamber dedicated to the storage of pharmaceutical materials (Materialkammer), since its inventory lists exclusively objects, such as 50 red wooden vessels, 15 new vessels, 120 new small lagenas, 3 iron pillboxes and a stone for preparing medicaments. The 'old laboratory' is also named in the inventory, but there are only two old pans made of copper indicated.¹³⁴

Unfortunately there is no data in the dissolution files regarding the later fate of the pharmacy, but it was probably sold off. From 1786 confiscated goods were also collected in Buda under the control of a new office called (*Depositorium officium sacrae supellectilis/Kirchengeräthschaften Depositen Amt*), but this aimed to redistribute church equipments for the newly founded or poor parishes and could not make any use of a pharmacy.¹³⁵

The monastery of Lepoglava was the center of the Croatian Pauline province and its minute books also preserved the inventory of a well-equipped pharmacy. It is worth noting

¹³⁴ MNL OL – Pauline monasteries – Felső-Elefánt – Inventarium Universale Bonorum et Substantia Aboliti Ordinis Paulinorum. In Conventu seu Claustro S. Joannis Baptistae Supra Elefant nuncupato existentium et eo Spectantium tam Immobiliū quam Mobilium –inventarium in Mobilium – In laboratorio (folio 61v) – In cubiculo apothecary – In camra ejusdem – In Apatheca – In camrea sunt sequentia –Cathalogus librorum (ff 64v-65r)

¹³⁵ Márta Velladics, "Szerzetesrendi abolíció Magyarországon (1782-1790)," *Levéltári Közlemények* 71. (2000): 48-50. [Abolition of Monasteries in Hungary]; Márta Velladics, "A feloszlatot szerzetesrendek felszerelési tárgyainak sorsa. A tárgyak kezelésének, tárolásának és szétosztásának módja," in *Miscellanea Fontium Historiae Europaeae. Emlékkönyv H. Balázs Éva történészprofesszor 80. születésnapjára*, ed. János Kalmár (Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 1997), 286-291.

that the inventory was made under the inspection of the county physician, doctor Johann Baptiste Lalangue,¹³⁶ who is famous for the first medical book written in Croatian under the title *Medicina ruralis iliti vractva ladanskja*¹³⁷. He was also the contracted doctor of the monastery for an annual fee of 50f.¹³⁸

The monastery accommodated 30 persons, among whom a lay brother, Fr. Damianus Prutter was indicated as pharmacist. He came from Graz and his mother tongue was German. He was already 64 years old and had served for 32 years in the Pauline Order. He stayed in Varasdin after the dissolution of the monastery because of his poor health condition.¹³⁹ According to another document he suffered from podagra, and according to a posterior mark with red pencil he died soon thereafter.¹⁴⁰ The same document reports about the servants of the monastery, among whom Josephus Biszek is indicated as '*Pharmacopolae famulus*'.¹⁴¹ The same list preserved the name of Xaverius Hrasznik chirurgus. A list of debt letters found in the rooms of the monks indicated the existence of a book that contained the incomes and expenses of the pharmacy. Unfortunately I could not find any record that would inform about

¹³⁶ MNL OL – Pauline monasteries – Lepoglava – Inventarium deren bei dem, den 20ten März 1786 aufgehobenen in Varasdiner Komitat Pauliner Ordens Kloster zu Lepoglava vorgefundenen Mobilien, Naturalien und Effecten – folio 192 – In der klösterlichen haus Apoteken (ff192-202, signature of Lalangue at folio 207.) Regarding Lalangue's payment see also: footnote 138.

¹³⁷ Tartalja Hrvoje, "L'histoire de la pharmacie en Yougoslavie et sa situation actuelle," *Revue d'histoire de la pharmacie* 46. no. 156. (1958): 258.

¹³⁸ MNL OL – Pauline monasteries – Lepoglava – Praetensiones et respective Debita abolitum Monasterium Lepoglavense passae Concernentia (folio 156)

¹³⁹ MNL OL – Pauline monasteries – Lepoglava – Ausweiß deren in dem aufgehobenen Pauliner Kloster zu Lepoglava Varasdiner Komitat vorgefundenen geistliche (ff 376-377)

¹⁴⁰ MNL OL – Pauline monasteries – Lepoglava – Specificatio Personarum Religiosarum Anno 1786 d. 20t Mensis Martij occasione institutis Benignarum sua Mattis Sermac circa abolitionem ordinis P. Paulinorum ematarum Resolutionem Regiarum Publicationis in Claustro lepoglavensi una constitutarum, et adeundem Publicationem concurentium, utpote... "Frater vero laicus Dominianus Pruter podagricus siquidem cum reliquis comparare nequiverit, at eundem itum, atque in Apotheca respectu ipsi concreditorum Iuramentum Manifestatorum ab Apothecario ipso exceptum est." (folio 385r-v)

¹⁴¹ Another document gives a more detailed account about him, according to which he was a servant in charge of oxes before he became laborant in the pharmacy.

MNL OL – Pauline monasteries – Lepoglava – Ausweiß Aller rückständigen Besoldungen und Conventionen bei dem den 20t März 786 aufgehobenen Pauliner Kloster in Lepoglava in welche nach aussage und bestätigung deren hier unterschriebenen Kloster vorstehere zur auszehlung der Lepoglava herrschaft Cassa nachfolgender Massen angewiesen woden und zwar... (folio 481.)

the later location of this book.¹⁴² The inventory of the room of Fr. Putter besides the usual furniture of a cozy living room, clothes and other household objects also reports about medical books and pharmaceutical instruments, such as clyster and throat injections vessels for measuring and a mortar. Regarding his small library, he had several books written by Lalangue that he could access from the doctor personally. His bookshelves also contained works about surgery and even about midwifery – also written by Lalangue – mixed with religious works. He also had a so-called Feldapotheker, a small chest that could serve as a mobile pharmacy usually used by military surgeons.¹⁴³

The monastery owed money to the pharmacist Anton Halter in Varasdin, namely 11f 25x.¹⁴⁴ There are also costs of materials bought for the pharmacy from a merchant, Daniel Jocominus, which amounted of 81f.¹⁴⁵

The inventory of the pharmacy provides a precise and detailed list of different kinds of medicaments. It was a very well equipped pharmacy that must have occupied one big or several smaller rooms, since its very detailed inventory lists not only the furniture of an *officina*, but several instruments that indicate the existence of a laboratory: an old iron hearth with two hangers from which cauldrons and kettles could be suspended. Several tops, pans made of brass copper and iron in different sizes constituted a significant part of the equipment. The toolkit of preparing different materials also could happen here: knives and boards for chopping roots and herbs, grater, funnels, sieves, scales with weights, measuring vessels, a big wooden press and two smaller ones for pressing oils and juices, 10 smaller and

¹⁴² MNL OL – Pauline monasteries – Lepoglava – Außweiß Über die Schuld Briefe dann übrigen Schriften Protocollen, Manualien, Kloster Bücher, welche nach der Aufhebung diese Lepoglaver Pauliner Klosters von dessen unten angemerkten vorstehern reversiret und :/ dann dieser aufhebungs Comission, eingehändigt sind worden.

“Ein Protocol Buch der der hiesigen Apotecken über die gesamten Empfänge, und ausgaben.“ (ff 404-405)

¹⁴³ MNL OL – Pauline monasteries – Lepoglava – Inventarium deren bey den Apotheker Frater Damian Pruter in seinen zimmer vorgefundenen und nach seiner aussage aus eigenen beygescheften, theils aber von dem Kloster zum täglichen gebrauch empfangenen Geräthschaften./Inventarium Über die Effecten des Frater Damian Pruter Apoteckers in dem Zimmer gleich neben der Apothecken. (folio 449)

¹⁴⁴ MNL OL – Pauline monasteries – Lepoglava – Ausweis deren bey den, den 20ten März 786 aufgehobenen im Varasdiner Comitatz liegenden Pauliner Kloster zu Lepoglava vorgefundenen Passiv Rückständen (folio 155)

¹⁴⁵ See footnote 138.

bigger mortars made of brass and a glass mortar were on hand for the pharmacist and his famulus. The variety and number of the instruments made possible their simultaneous workflow. The size of the pharmacy indicates that it was suitable to provide medicaments not only for the inmates of the monastery on occasion, but also for the local people constantly. The furniture and number of storing vessels also let to sketch up a well-equipped officina: five chests with drawers and shelves accommodated 400 old painted wooden pyxis, 32 sugar jars, 50 bigger and 40 smaller white majolica vessels (the most expensive kind of), 80 glass phials, 186 other pharmaceutical vials, 5 green glazed jars, 120 wooden boxes in different size, 360 small glass jars, 19 glasses for sweets, 30 blue glass jars, 30 green glazed jars, 16 small glasses and bottles.

The multi-functionality of the pharmacy can be supposed also from a clystir injection, a folding screen (Spanischer wand) and 2 barber knives, i.e. razors listed in the inventory.¹⁴⁶

Franciscan and Capuchin monasteries 1787-1790

After 1787 only individual friaries were dissolved – Joseph II did not abolish more nunneries in Hungary after 1782 -, which made it possible for the monks to move into the remaining monasteries of the order. The goods of the mendicant orders were also not confiscated completely, but selected and partly distributed among the not dissolved monasteries, since their storage caused too many problems and costs. The Franciscan and Capuchin provincial leaders organized and directed themselves the distribution of monks and goods and the beneficiaries, i.e. the monasteries provided certificates (*reversale*) about the overtaken goods.

The Franciscan monasteries showed a tendency to arrange medical care for themselves inside the monastery with at least dedicated nurses and sickrooms. These

¹⁴⁶ See footnote 136.

arrangements could serve as an initial basis for more advanced forms of medical self-supply – although such a development was not necessary - that also could transgress the walls of the monastery and provide care for the environment of the monastery.

Vimpác

The files of the Conventual Franciscan monastery of Vimpác did not preserve any sign of medical care inside the monastery except the presence of a surgeon among the lay brothers. Ferdinandus Braun was 39 years old and he had spent 16 years in the Order. He himself was in a poor health condition and died before moving to any other monastery.¹⁴⁷

Buda

The Franciscan monastery of Buda had two lay brothers, Lazarus Fink and Victorin Burghard dedicated for the care of the sick. Both of them were German-speaking, 46-year-old and they had served in the Order for 25 and 26 years, respectively.¹⁴⁸ Both of them were sent into the monastery of Preßburg after the dissolution.¹⁴⁹

Sopron

Canatus Purschlager was a lay brother in the Franciscan monastery of Sopron, who fulfilled the function of the nurse and surgeon of the cloister. His mother tongue was German,

¹⁴⁷ MNL OL C 103 - Trinitarian monasteries – Vimpác- Inventarium des aufgehobenen in Oedenburger Comitatz liegenden Minoriten Kloster zu Wimpassing - Ausweis aller in dem, den 16n Jänner 787 aufgehobenen in Oedenburger Comitatz liegenden Minoriten Kloster zu Wimpassing wirklich gegenwärtig befundenen geistlichen (folio 50v)

¹⁴⁸ MNL OL C103 – Franciscan monasteries –Buda – Ausweis nro 13. Aller in dem 22ten Julii 786 aufgehobenen Franciscaner Kloster zu Ofen in der Festung von der Marianischen Provinz in dem Stand wie solche sich bei dem Austritt aus dem Kloster befunden haben 1787 (folio 196) A less complete copy of the same document can be found at ff 69v-70r

¹⁴⁹ “Quittung nro 28. von zweihundert sechzigvier Gulden welche nachfolgende geistliche aus dem Ofner aufgehobenen franziskaner Kloster in der Festung, zeug ihre eigenen unterschrift, in einer gnadigst bewilligetn Reißengeld auf abschlag ihrer Pensionen, aus der vorgefundenen Kloster Kassa empfangen zu haben bestätigen.” (folio 195r)

he was born in Hollfeld, he was 46 years old and he had been a member of the Franciscan Order for 13 years.¹⁵⁰ His further activity after the dissolution of the monastery is unknown.

The monastery had a room reserved for the sick. Its equipment contained only 6 pillows, 2 mattresses 2 palliasses, bedclothes and an altar picture representing Christ on the cross.¹⁵¹

Győr

In the Franciscan monastery of Győr, nobody is indicated as a person being in charge of nursing the sick, although there were two separated rooms and a chapel for sick monks.¹⁵² The equipment of one of the sickrooms hints at the existence of a small domestic ‘pharmacy’: a built in chest with drawers, three mortars, 11 wooden pyxis for medicaments, scales, a throat injection. A sugar pyxis and a churn were also listed indicating ingredients for home made clystir injections, for which the necessary instruments could be also found in the room.

Keszthely-Andocs

The pharmacy of the Franciscan monastery of Keszthely was not inventorized during the dissolution process, only a short note reports about the handing over of the pharmacy for

¹⁵⁰ MNL OL C 103 – Franciscan monasteries – Sopron – Verzeichniß aller und jenen Individuen sie bei dem aufgehobenen in Oedenburger Komitat, Raaber diozeß liegenden und der Marianischer Provinz einverleibten franziskanerkloster zu Oedenburg sich befunden und pensioniret werden. (folio 47)

MNL OL C 103 – Franciscan monasteries – Sopron – Ausweiß aller in dem, den 2ten Jänner 1787 aufgehobenen in Oedenburger Komitat befindliche Franciscaner Kloster zu Oedenburg wirklich gegenwärtig befundenen geistlichen (folio 108-109)

¹⁵¹ MNL OL C 103 – Franciscan monasteries – Sopron – Inventarium Uiber das, den 2ten Jänner 1787 aufgehobenen in Oedenburger Komitat liegende Franciscaner Kloster zu Oedenburg – Mobilien

“In kranken Zimmer: Bölster, Madrazen, Strohsack, Bethdecken mit Leintüchern, Leintücher, Alter Bild Xtus am Kreuz” (folio 91)

A copy of the same inventory:

MNL OL C 103 – Franciscan monasteries – Sopron – Ausweiß jeder Kloster fahrnisse welche bei Combinirung des uibergabe Instrument mit dem Inventario des aufgehobenen in Oedenburger komitat und raaber dioeces liegenden franziskaner Kloster zu Oedenburg als abgängig befunden worden sind.

“In kranken zimmer: Pölster, Matrazen, Strohsäcke, Betdecken mit Leintüchen, Leintüchen” (folio 38 r.)

¹⁵² MNL OL C103 – Franciscan monasteries – Győr – Ausweis deren, bei den, den 29ten Xber 786. aufgehobenen, im raaber Komitat liegenden Franziskaner Kloster zu Raab vorgefundenen Passiv-Rückständen

“Nro. 20 dem Apotheker Leopold dienstrich 83f 30x” (folio 26.r)

Inventur deren bei den, den 29ten December 1786. aufgehobenen, im raaber Komitat liegenden Franziskaner Kloster zu Raab vorgefundenen Naturalien –Im kranken Zimmer–In dem kranken kapellen–Im krankenwarter zimmer.

847f 20x to Jacob Thein, the pharmacist of Kanizsa in 1788 January.¹⁵³ There was a room for separating the sick¹⁵⁴ and two lay brothers, Camillus Majberger and Bartholomeus Likler were both named as surgeons in the *Personalstand* of the minute books.¹⁵⁵ Although the monastery was dissolved, Camillus Majberger stayed an active healer of the region. Some local surgeons with good connections must have made complains about him, because Gábor Vezza, the *protomedicus* of Hungary was informed about him and sent an order to the county physician to put an end to his “quackery”.¹⁵⁶

The pharmacy of Keszthely also incorporated the Franciscan pharmacy of Andocs that was closed down in 1781, in spite of the protest of several officials and noblemen of Somogy county.¹⁵⁷ The Archives of the Franciscan Order in Bratislava preserved the copy of an unsigned letter written in Hungarian to the *ispán* of the county that aimed to advocate in favor of keeping the pharmacy. The argumentation of the writer points out the problem of geographical circumstances and distances that strongly influenced the accessibility of medicaments. The writer’s location is unknown, but he states that the pharmacies and doctors of Kaposvár are as far away from him as Veszprém – on the other side of the lake Balaton -

¹⁵³ MNL OL C 103 - Franciscan monasteries – Keszthely – Womit der Vermögensstand des den 11ten Juny 788 aufgehobenen im Szalader Komitat liegenden Marianer Franciscaner Klosters zu Keszthely mit Anmerkungen überreicht wird (folio 61v) “Und da, in dem Sub 2. beiliegenden Kaße Ausweiß angemerkt wird, daß unter der obangesezten, ausdrücklich aber unter den beim Kloster vorsteher vorgefundenen 847f 20x: 500f: enthalten sind, welche der Kanischaer Apothecker Jacob Thein für die an selben käuflich überlassen Kloster Apotheken unter 2e Jänner 788. erleget hat, daher wäre an den aufhebungs Komißär der hohe auftrag zuerlassen womit dieses Kapital, welches nicht mit der Kloster Baarschaft hätte vermänget und zum allgemeinen Genuß überlassen worden sollen, ehebaldigst eingebracht, und in das hiesige haupt zahl amt abgeführt werde, um solches für den Religions fond bei der Kredits Kaße gleichwie in dem Vermögensstand der Antrag gemacht worden, ad Ernetificandum(?) anlegen zu können.”

MNL OL C 103 - Franciscan monasteries – Keszthely – Kassa Stand des, dem 1ten Juy 1788 aufgehobenen im Szalader Komitat liegenden Marianer Franciscaner Kloster zu Keszthely, was darinnen an baaren Geld vorgefunden worden ist. (folio 39 v)

“Unter denen bey dem P. Quardian vorgefundenen 847f 20xr. ist eine Summen von 500f enthalten, welche der Jakob Thein Kanisaer Apothecker für sie ihm auf hohen Orts Veranlassung veraüserte Apotheke den 2 Jänner 1788 erleget hat.”

¹⁵⁴ MNL OL C 103 - Franciscan monasteries – Keszthely - Inventur deren bey dem, den 11ten Juny 788 aufgehobenen in Szalader Komitat liegenden Marianer Franciscaner Kloster zu Keszthely vorgefundenen Naturalien und Vieh-Gattungen – Inventur der Mobilien (folio 44r)

¹⁵⁵ MNL OL C 103 - Franciscan monasteries – Keszthely - ausweiß aller in dem, den 11ten Juny 788 aufgehobenen in Szalader Komitat befindlichen Marianer Franciscaner Kloster zu Keszthely wirklich gegenwärtig befundenen geistlichen (folio 87r)

¹⁵⁶ MNL OL C 66 1789 F 134 p. 1-3.

¹⁵⁷ Márta Sziliné Decsi, *Gyógyszerészet Somogy megyében 1760-1950*, (Kaposvár: 1990) 28. [Pharmacies in Somogy county between 1760-1950]

because of the mountains and roads he had to cross travelling to Kaposvár. For this reason the pharmacy in Andocs is the only accessible place to provide medicine in a reasonable distance. The writer of the letter begs for the keeping of the Franciscan pharmacy in a theatrical way and also questions the competencies of the doctor in Kaposvár, alluding to gossips that he was placed into their county just to get rid of him at another place. The distance is even worse if the doctor and the pharmacist cannot act simultaneously: it takes one day or two to meet the doctor and to get a prescription from him, and the way to the pharmacist for the medicaments takes at least as much time again with all the risks of the trip for the traveller. For this reason the efficiency of healing can be very bad, since the patient cannot get the appropriate medicine soon enough.¹⁵⁸

The passionate protest could not bring any result; the pharmacy was moved to Keszthely, where its remains must have been handed over soon to the previously mentioned pharmacist of Kanizsa, Jacob Thein.

Popov Dol

The Franciscan monastery of Popov Dol - that belongs to present-day Kotari in Croatia- had a small pharmacy that must have been led by a lay brother and chyrurgus called Pantaleon Deller listed among the inmates of the monastery. He was at the time of the dissolution of the monastery 36 years old and he was the member of the Order since 10 years.¹⁵⁹ After the dissolution of the monastery he was moved to Samobor.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Státny Archiv, Bratislava, Archives of the Marian Franciscan Province, Andocs – 161. Lad. 23 Fasc. 3.

“A kaposi Doctorunknak böcsület adassék, de abbul nem csak csuda tévő ember soha nem lesz, de azt tartom, hogy maradgyon magának örökösen, akit tudom, Excellentiád nem tett közinkben, hanem az egyetlenség hozta ki, de bánnyák azt, mint magoka az ottlévő urak az előtt nékem megvallották, azért commendáltak, hogy tőlök el menvén, attul meg szabadulhassanak. Kaposban patikábon még innét küldünk, nyári egy nap oda, viszha egy nap, télen pedig két annyi: addig a nyavala változikés heában esik az orvosság. A doctor aki hozzám jön, a ynavalát, mikor a beteget meg láttya, akkor mer igazán praescribálni, és olly meszi mint hozzám Kaposvár bizonynyára orvosság küldésiért el annyira veszedelemben forgunk ezentáján, hogy ha Excellentiád az Andocsi patikát el küldi, nem különben, hanem mint a Barmoknak, minden segétség és táplálás nélkül köll el vesznünk.”

¹⁵⁹ MNL OL C 103 - Franciscan monasteries – Popov Dol – Ausweiß aller in dem, den den 10ten 7ber 1789 aufgehoben, in Agramer Komitat befindlichen St. Leonard Kloster zu Popov doll wirklich gegenwärtig befundenen geistlichen. (folio 87)

The medicaments of the pharmacy were listed in 9 folios that must have been stored in the more than 250 vials and glasses listed with the equipment - the pharmacy was certainly functioning at the moment of the dissolution. It owned only the most necessary instruments: a hearth, mortars, distillation equipment, caldron, measuring vessels, scales. The room was furnished modestly, but clearly as an officina: there was a table with 32 small and 2 bigger drawers, a small chest with further 5 drawers put on the table, and a big pharmacy cabinet with 56 drawers.

Some of the paraments, furniture and instruments found in the monastery were not confiscated, but they were handed over to the Franciscan provincial in exchange for a “revers” and could be distributed among other Franciscan monasteries. For this reason the objects were listed, but since there was no need for further calculation with them, their value was not estimated.¹⁶¹ The pharmacy was initially planned to be confiscated and sold off – and an estimation was also made, according to which it amounted to 88f 18 ½ x¹⁶² - but it was finally given over to the Order for free.¹⁶³ The estimation was made by Franz Xaver Wagner pharmacist and Doctor Fabi from Zagreb.¹⁶⁴

Capuchin monasteries- Hatvan, Máriabesnyő, Mór

Ferdinand Holzegger was a lay brother of the Capuchin monastery of Hatvan in 1786. Holzegger was a qualified surgeon and he was also in charge of the pharmacy in spite of the

¹⁶⁰ MNL OL C 103 - Franciscan monasteries – Popov Dol – Ausweiß deren Ordensgeistlichen, wie selbe nachdem das Kloster St Leonardi eingegangen, in andern Kloster sind eingetheilet worden. (folio 28r)

¹⁶¹ MNL OL C 103 - Franciscan monasteries – Popov Dol – Inventur deren beÿ dem, den 10ten 7ber 1789 aufgehobenem, in Agramer Komitat liegenden St. Leonarder Kloster der P.P. Franciscanern zu Popovdol vorgefundenen Wirthschaftsgeräthen und Kloster Effekten. (folio 23r)

¹⁶² MNL OL C 103 - Franciscan monasteries – Popov Dol – Inventarium et Taxa Medicamentorum et Supellectilis Apothecae R. R. P. P. Franciscanorum ael S. Leonardum adinventorum, conscripta 7ma Novembris 1789. (ff 71-75)

¹⁶³ MNL OL C 103 - Franciscan monasteries – Popov Dol - Vermögensstand – An Naturalien und Mobilien (folio 3v)

¹⁶⁴ MNL OL C 103 - Franciscan monasteries – Popov Dol – Ausweiß derjenigen Handwerksleuten, welche zur Abschätzung der Na[tur]alien und Gebauden des den 10ten 7ber 1789 aufgehobenem, in Agramer Komitat zu Popovdoll liegenden St. Leonarder Franciscaner Klosters berufen und verwendet worden.- Namen deren Handwerksleuten (folio 45)

Their more exact signature can be found at the end of the inventory (see footnote 20): Mauritius Fabi M. D. et Co[mi]t[a]tus Zagradiens Ord. Phy[sic]us mp., Franciscus Xaver: Wagner mp. Ci[vi]t[at]is Zagradiensis Pharmacopaeae superioris Provisor.

fact that he did not have the required certificate to fulfill this latter task.¹⁶⁵ At the dissolution of the monastery of Hatvan in 1787 Holzegger was 34 years old and he had served the Capuchin Order for 9 years. According to a table, the so-called *Personalstand* of the inventory, listing the members of the monastic community he was born in Lambach and he spoke German.¹⁶⁶ After that the monastery was closed down, Holzegger was directed by the leader of the Austrian-Hungarian province of the Order to the neighboring monastery of the Capuchins in Máriabesnyő.¹⁶⁷

The monastery of Máriabesnyő also ran a pharmacy from 1769 on, but after the death of its leader Frater Joachim –who had previously run the pharmacy in Hatvan for 18 years - in 1780 and the departure of his successor Frater Bernardus to Bazin in 1784, the monastery had no other expert who could have fulfilled the function of the pharmacist.¹⁶⁸ According to a short report of the guardian about the status of the pharmacy - in which he approved the visit of pharmacy inspectors in 1786 - Pater Jaroslaus stated that the pharmacy had not been functioning for three years because of the lack of a pharmacist to run it.¹⁶⁹

Although most of the medicaments and equipment of the pharmacy of Hatvan were sent to Mór, where the pharmacist already had the necessary qualification to run a public pharmacy, several instruments and books were considered as Holzegger's private goods – and they were conscribed in the inventory of his own room – and he had the right to take

¹⁶⁵ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Heves Megyei Levéltára, [Archives of Heves County] IV-4/b 2. 376/1787

See footnote 37.

¹⁶⁶ MNL OL C 103 - Capuchin Monasteries – Hatvan - Ausweis Nro 12. Aller, in dem den 4t April 787 aufgehobenen Kapuziner Kloster zu Hatvan in Hevesser Komitat, sowohl wirklich gegenwärtig befindlichen, als auf dem Land als Kapläne abwesenden geistlichen (ff 36r-37v)

¹⁶⁷ idem and MNL OL C 72 (Departamentum Ecclesiasticum Oeconomicum) 1787 F 132. p. 17.

[Hungarian National Archives – Archives of the Hungarian Locotenential Council – Department of Church Economic Affairs]

¹⁶⁸ v. K. K. M. dr., “Besnyői kapucinus gyógyszerészek,” *Gyógyszerész Közlöny* (1939): 724-725.

¹⁶⁹ MNL OL C 66 F 37. p. 48.

“Infrascriptus recognosco, quod Sp[ecta]b[ili]s ac Clarissimus D[omi]nus Medicus Comitatis die 31a Octobris in Besnyő fuerit, ut Apothekam visitaret, verum cum jam ultra tres annos nullum subjectum habeamus in apotheca, nec aliquae medicinae ab illo tempore confectae fuerint, ideo visitatio fuisset inanis. Besnyo die 31a Xbris 1786. P. Jaroslaus Capuc[inus] Guard[ian]”

these things with him to Máriabesnyő.¹⁷⁰ His medical practice could be restricted for a while, since the next record reporting about his activity in Besnyő appears only in 1802 again. From this time he is labelled again as *chirurgus*, pharmacist and nurse of the sick until 1814, when he was moved to the monastery of Buda.¹⁷¹

The Capuchin pharmacy of Mór, which must have taken most of the equipments from Hatvan,, was run by Frater Didacus, whose name and function can be found earliest in a list of the inmates of the monastery made in 1775. According to the list it was his 6th year in the monastery of Mór.¹⁷² According to another list made in 1797 April, his family name was Würth and he came from Würzburg (Herbipolis), and he spoke German as all of the monks in the monastery. He joined the Capuchin Order in 1764, at the age of 22, and he took his vow one year later, i.e. he could start his pharmaceutical activity at Mór around 1770.¹⁷³

According to a rescript of the Locotenential Council 1786, the pharmacy inspectors in Fejér county made complains about the lack of the pharmacist's required qualification.¹⁷⁴ He must have made the necessary exam quite quickly, since the main argument for transporting the pharmacy of Hatvan to Mór was his valid certificate.¹⁷⁵

The Capuchin pharmacy of Mór must have met the requirements of pharmacy inspections, because it was still functioning in 1798. In this year one of the monks, Pater

¹⁷⁰ About the division of objects among the monasteries see: MNL OL C72 1787/88 F. 539. p. 1., p. 6.

About the goods found in the cells of monks regarded as their private goods see: Márta Velladics, "A szerzetes rendek felszámolása II. József korában"

The inventory of Holzegger's room can be found in the MNL OL C 103 – Capuchin monasteries – Hatvan - Ausweis Nro 13. Deren in der geistliche ihren zellen zu ihrem gebrauch vorgefundenen Gerätschaften und eigenthümlichen Büchere zeug deren hier angeschlostenen eigends unterzeichneten Specification nemlich ...

About the concerns regarding the distinction between the rooms of the pharmacy and of the pharmacist see:

Katalin Pataki, "A hatvani kapucinusok gyógyszerháza (1785-1787)," in *Archivum 20. A Heves Megyei Levéltár Közleményei*, ed. Jolán Szabó, (Eger: 2013) 40-41. [The Pharmacy of the Capuchin Order in Hatvan]

¹⁷¹ v. K. K. M. dr., "Besnyői kapucinus gyógyszerészek" 725.

¹⁷² Archives of the Capuchin Order, Vienna, Hungarian monasteries, Mór, Familia Morensis Ao 1775

¹⁷³ Archives of the Capuchin Order, Vienna, Hungarian monasteries, Mór, Deductio Effectivi Status Personalis Religiosorum Claustrum Moerensis, Ordinis Capucinatorum in Comitatu Albensi, Diocesis Albensis cum ultima Aprilis 797 subsistens 30.4.1797.

The same list indicates an infirmarius lay brother Fr. Hortulanus, too. He was already 65 years old and served the order since 1753. Fr. Hortulanus' family name was Pastinger, he came from Buda and spoke only German language.

¹⁷⁴ MNL OL C 66 1786 F. 36. p. 44.

¹⁷⁵ MNL OL C 72 1787 F 132. p. 17.

Hospitius wrote a letter to the Capuchin monastery of Linz. He shared his concerns regarding the future of the monastery's pharmacy with a friend of his, Pater Paulus Maria Styren[berg?], mentioning that Frater Didacus was getting old and there was no potential successor of him in the monastery. He asks his friend to mediate between a promising young person and the monastery and provides a range of requirements the candidate should meet.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Archives of the Capuchin Order, Vienna, Hungarian monasteries, Mór, Letter of P. Hospitius to P. Paulus Marie Styren[berg], 10.7.1798.

Tokaj

The physician of Szabolcs County made complaints about the pharmacist of the Franciscan monastery of Tokaj, Frater Sebalus in 1784, because he transgressed the boundaries of Zemplén county and entered and provided medical help and medicaments to anybody without any distinction in Szabolcs county. As a result of the physician's letter, the Locotenential Council sent an order to the provincial of the Capuchin Order and to the officials of Zemplén county to provide more information about Fr. Sebalus' activity, especially regarding his language skills, the illnesses he treated, his qualification and the payment he required for his services. The Universitas Comitatus provided six testimonies that mirrored a general satisfaction regarding the activities of Sebalus and stated that he cured his patients for free. Although the official language was at that time German, the testimonies were written in Latin and Hungarian by Emericus Szögyényi ispán of Szabolcs county, by Franciscus Török fiscal of Szabolcs County, by Franciscus Nitzky assessor of Szabolcs county, by two noblewomen Árvavítai Vítay Susanna and Dessewffy Clára and by an assembly of the juridical officials of the county.¹⁷⁷

There is no further data regarding the outcomes of the advocacy of Szabolcs county, but it is very likely that the Capuchin pharmacy could not meet the requirements of staying a licensed institution. A very detailed and exemplary report about the pharmacies of Zala county made by the county physician in 1786 did not mention it at all.¹⁷⁸ The monastery was dissolved in the following year and the inventory indicates several rooms dedicated to the pharmacy of the monastery: a very well-equipped laboratory, a chamber for the materials (*in conservatorio Apothecae*) and the so-called *Apotheca* constitute one unit that seem to be the places for producing and storing the medicaments. Another part of the list named as *Apotheca*

¹⁷⁷ MNL OL C 66 1784 F 33. p 1-5.

¹⁷⁸ MNL OL C 66 1786 F 37. p. 35.

Domastica must have had the function of the *officina*. The most elaborated and qualitative pieces of furniture, namely several pharmacy cabinets could be found in this room. However it is important to note, that there are no records about the medicaments and vessels. It cannot be known whether they were left out of the list, or the lack of data indicates that there were no any of them and the pharmacy was not functioning any more at the time of the suppression.¹⁷⁹

After the dissolution of the monastery some pieces of its equipment were sent to the Capuchin monasteries of Buda and Máriabesnyő, but the lists of the transferred goods do not indicate anything from the furniture or instruments of the pharmacy.¹⁸⁰ The fate of Frater Sebaldu is also unknown, he was certainly not present in the monastery in 1787.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ MNL OL C 103 – Capuchin monasteries – Tokaj – Inventarium Naturalium, Pecorum, et Mobilium omnium conventu Tokajensi PP. Capucinatorum Cottui Zempleniensi ingermiato repertorum. (ff 57-60, f 63)

¹⁸⁰ MNL OL C 103 – Capuchin monasteries – Tokaj – Reversales Capucini Budensis perceptis effectibus per patrem provoncialem eidem conventui destinatis (folio 169)

MNL OL C 103 – Capuchin monasteries– Tokaj – Reversales Guardiani Benyöensis super vite perceptio effectibus per patrem provoncialem eidem conventui destinatis (folio 171)

¹⁸¹ Inventarium Librorum, Mobilium in Cellis Religiosorum Sublati Conventus Tokajensis PP Capucinatorum Cottui Zempleniensi ingermiati Repertorum (ff 87-97)

Conclusions

Although seeking after monastery pharmacies proved to be anachronistic, the numerical data regarding this question is still meaningful. Out of the inventories of 117 monasteries 6 pharmacies could be identified and invoices from other monasteries refer to 3 further monastery pharmacies closed down with their monasteries simultaneously. The only exemption can be found at Keszthely, where the monastery sold the pharmacy before its abolition and it could work continuously until the middle of the 19th century.

The evolvement and increasingly effective medical police put into effect by county physicians could be a similarly important factor in closing down monastery pharmacies. They could become easily the means of concurrence fights regarding lay healers, as it happened in the case of the Franciscan monastery of Gyöngyös in 1787 and could happen in a similar way in Keszthely in 1789.

Imperial ordinances and local interests could get into conflict in a political framework, too: in case of Tokaj and Andocs county officials took the initiative to save monastery pharmacies – although their actions could not be successful.

My thorougher study on the medical marketplace shows that healers could play multiple roles and providing medicament was not the monopoly of pharmacies at all. Medical services were often far away for the patients, and the simultaneity of diagnosing and providing the necessary medicaments could be essential regarding the effectivity of the healing process. Because of this geographical distances and the economy of time and costs occuring in urgent cases require further research and consideration.

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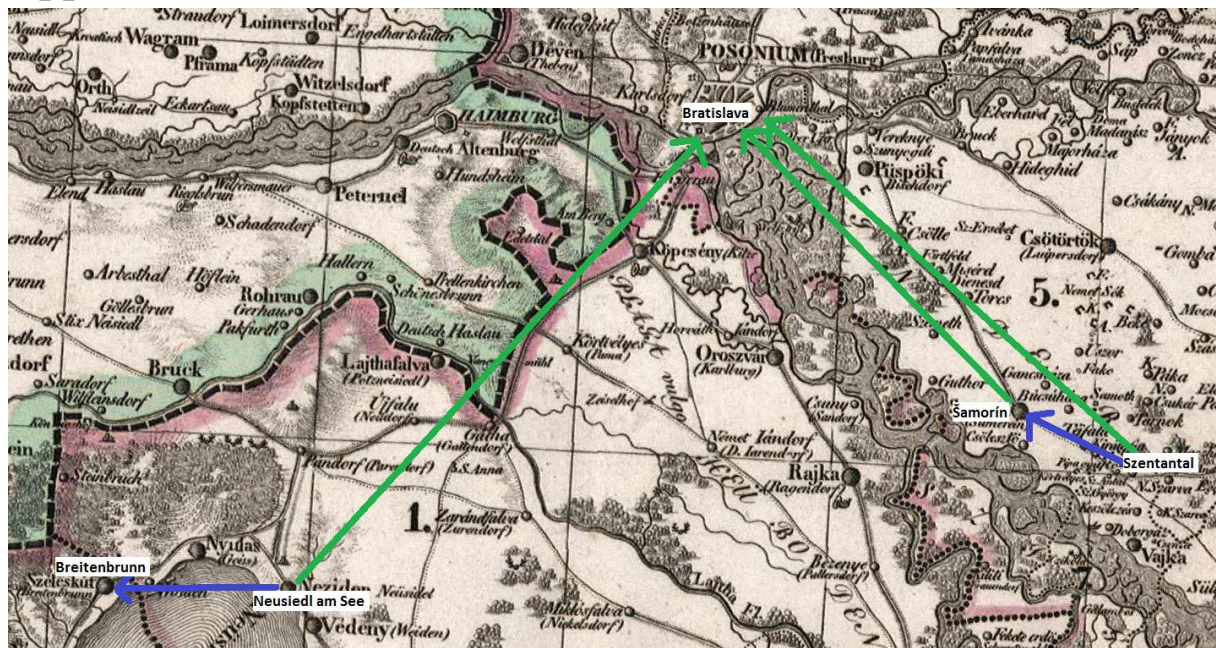
Maps of Appendices

The First Military Survey: Hungarian Kingdom. DVD-ROM, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2004

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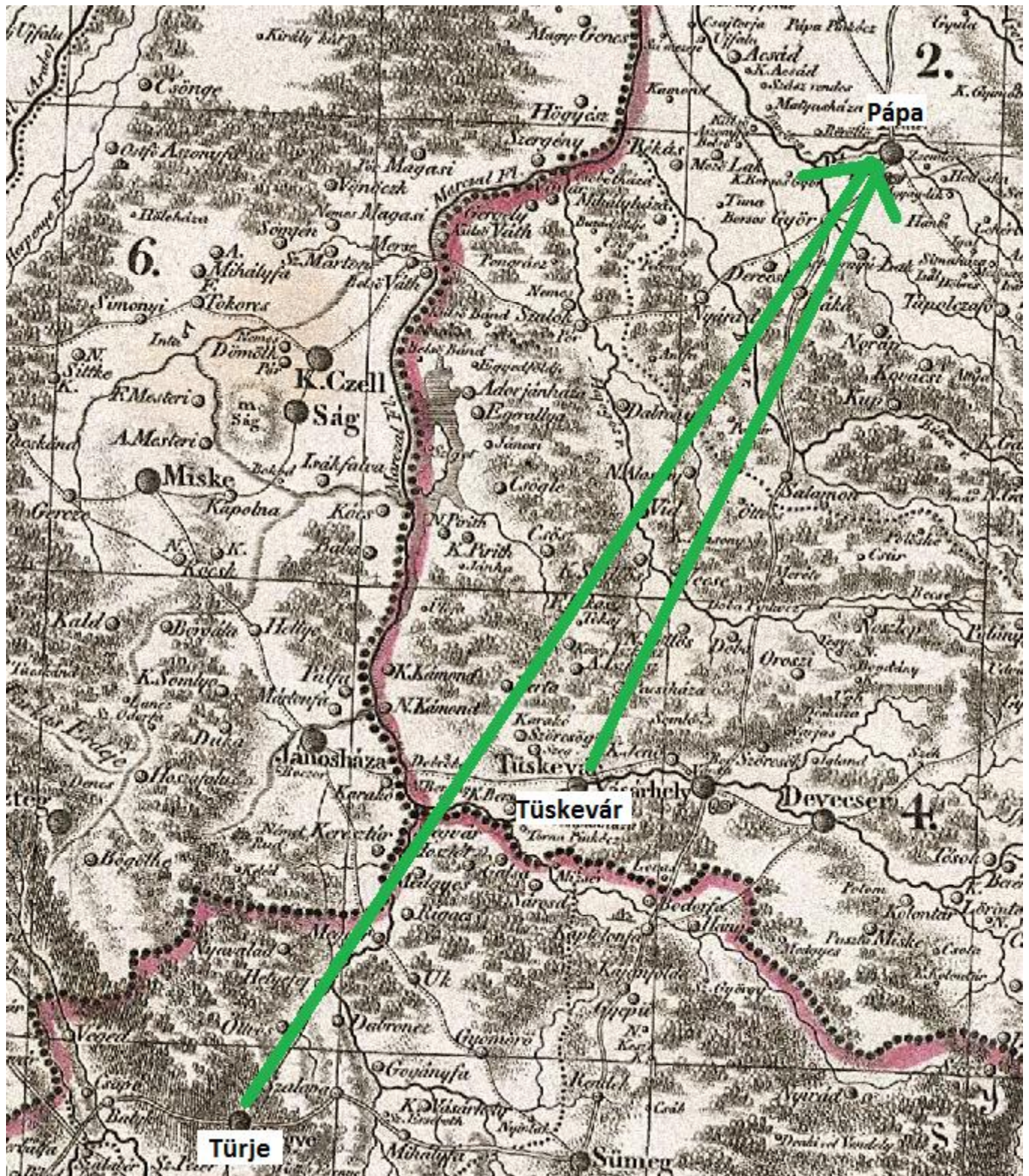
MOL térképtára II. - Helytartótanácsi térképek 1735-1875. S 12 Div 8. No. 249. 1., DVD-ROM, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., December 2006 [Map Collections of the Hungarian National Archives, Maps of the Hungarian Locotenential Council]

Appendices



1. Catchment area of the pharmacies of Bratislava¹⁸²

¹⁸² János Lipszky, *A Magyar Királyság és társországai térképe és névtára (1804-1810)*, DVD-ROM, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., June 2005 [Map and Register of the Hungarian Kingdom 1804-1810]



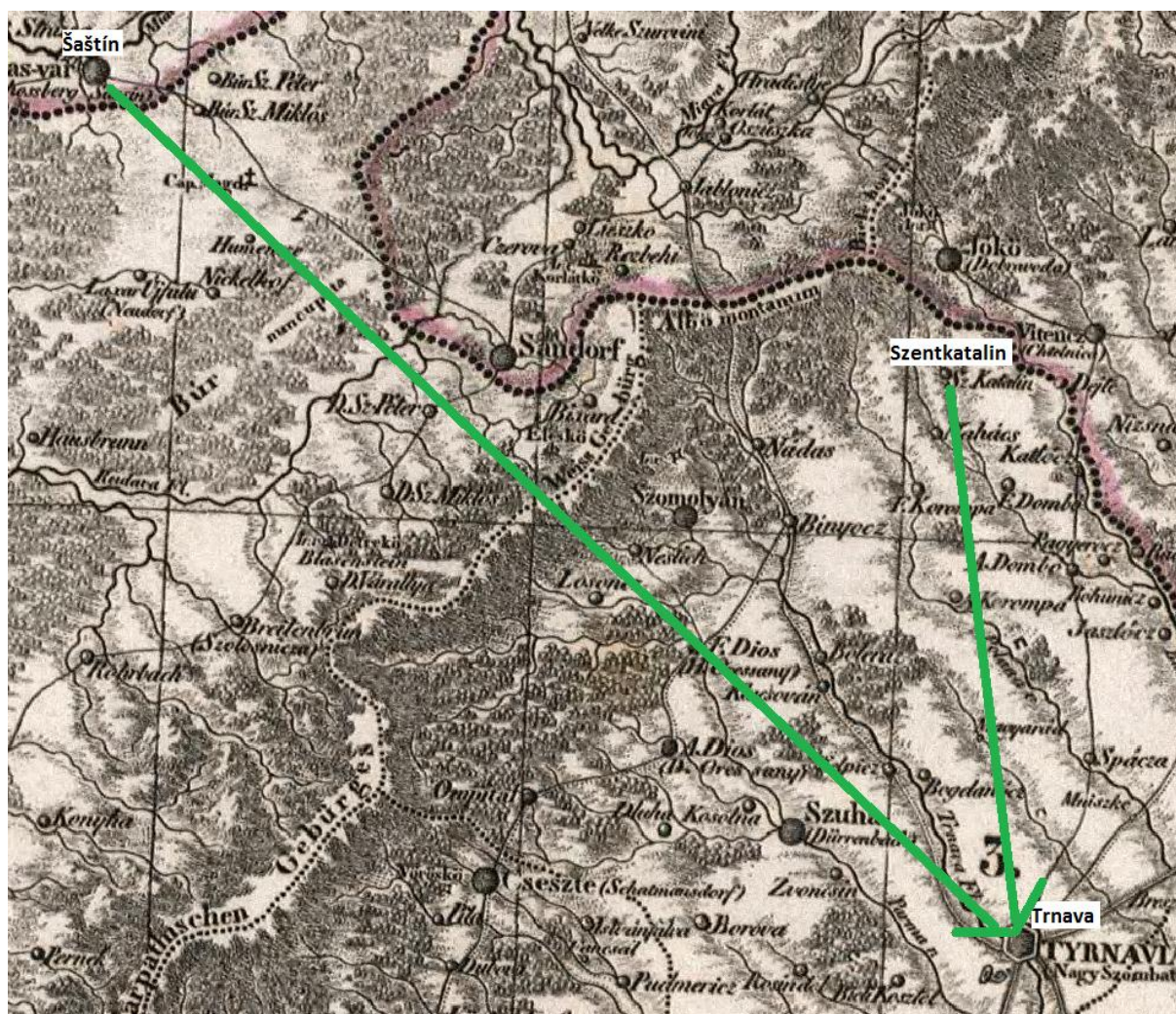
2. Catchment area of the Brothers of Hospitallers of Saint John of God of Pápa¹⁸³

¹⁸³ János Lipszky, *A Magyar Királyság és társországai térképe és névtára (1804-1810)*



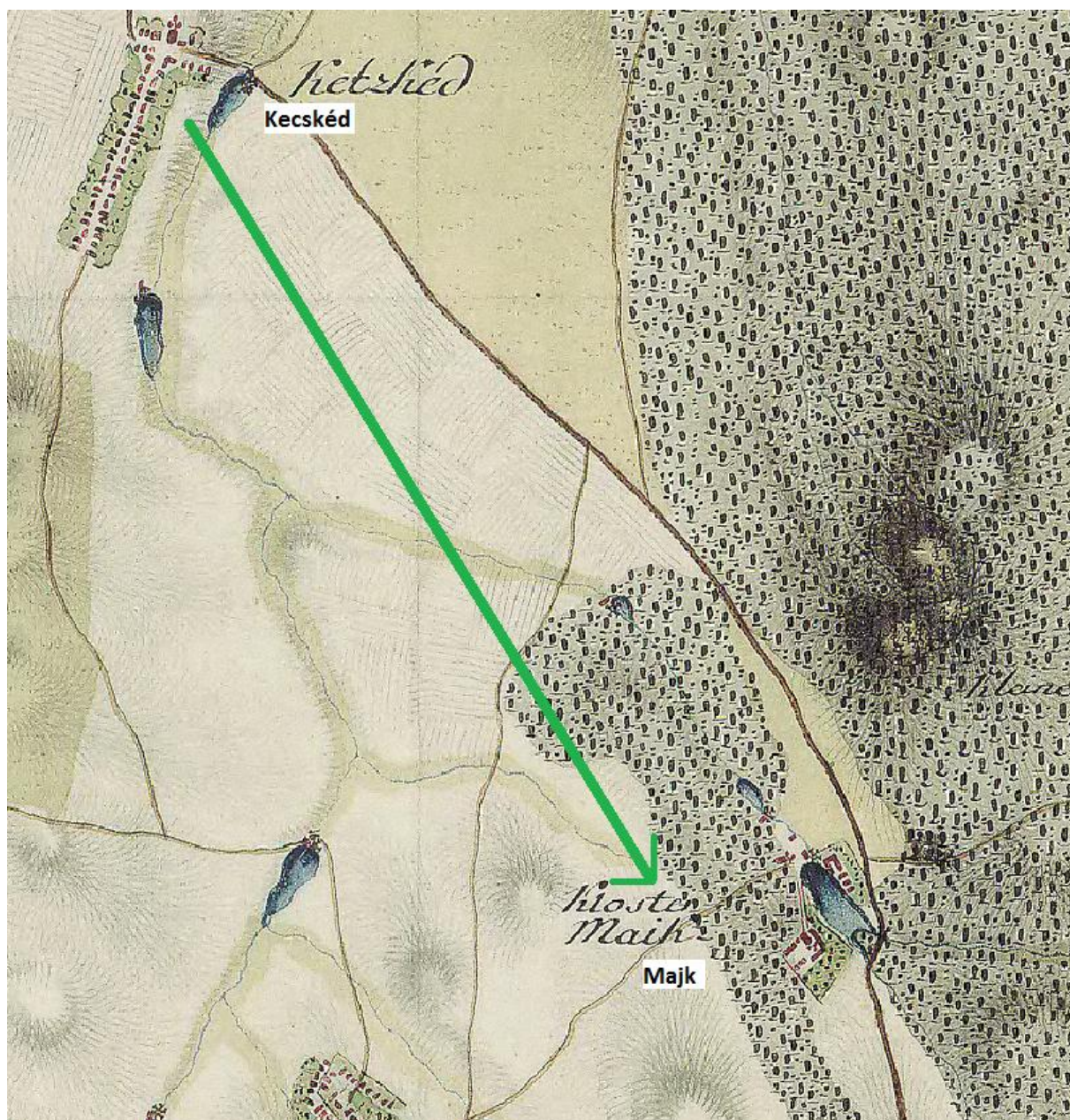
3. Catchment area of Joseph Erlinger, the pharmacist of Sopron¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ János Lipszky, *A Magyar Királyság és társországai térképe és névtára (1804-1810)*



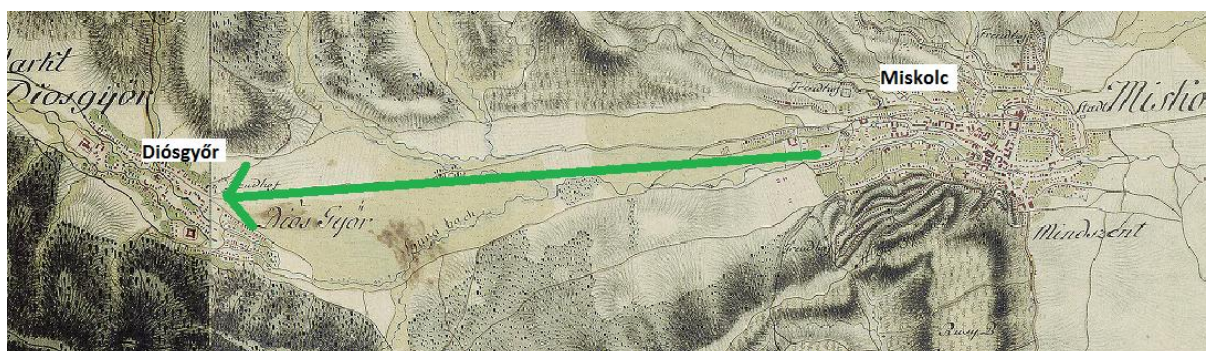
4. Catchment area of Joseph Novak, the pharmacist of Trnava¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ János Lipszky, *A Magyar Királyság és társországai térképe és névtára (1804-1810)*



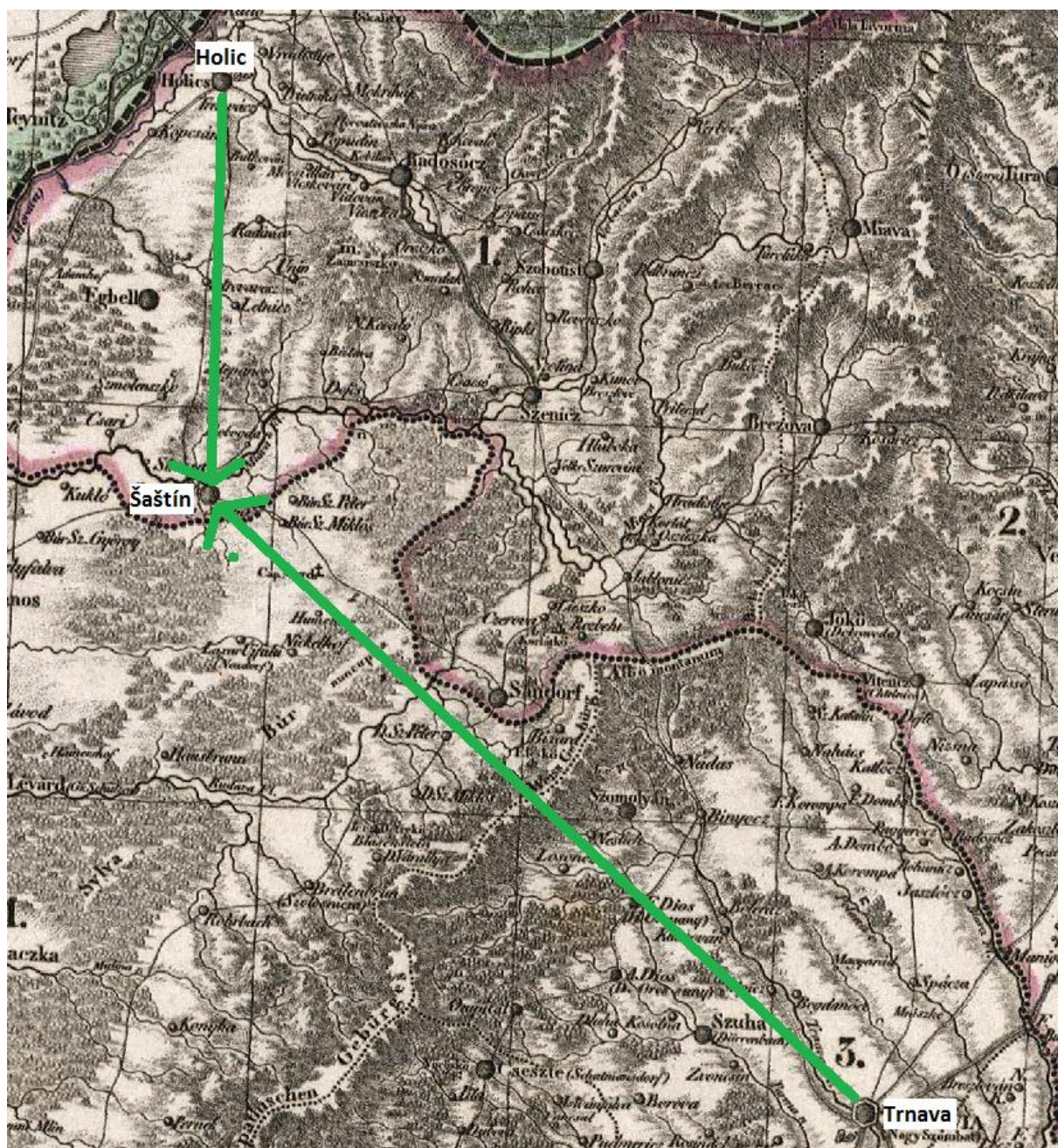
5. The Camaldolese monastery of Majk used the services of the surgeon of Kecskéd¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ *The First Military Survey: Hungarian Kingdom*. DVD-ROM, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., 2004



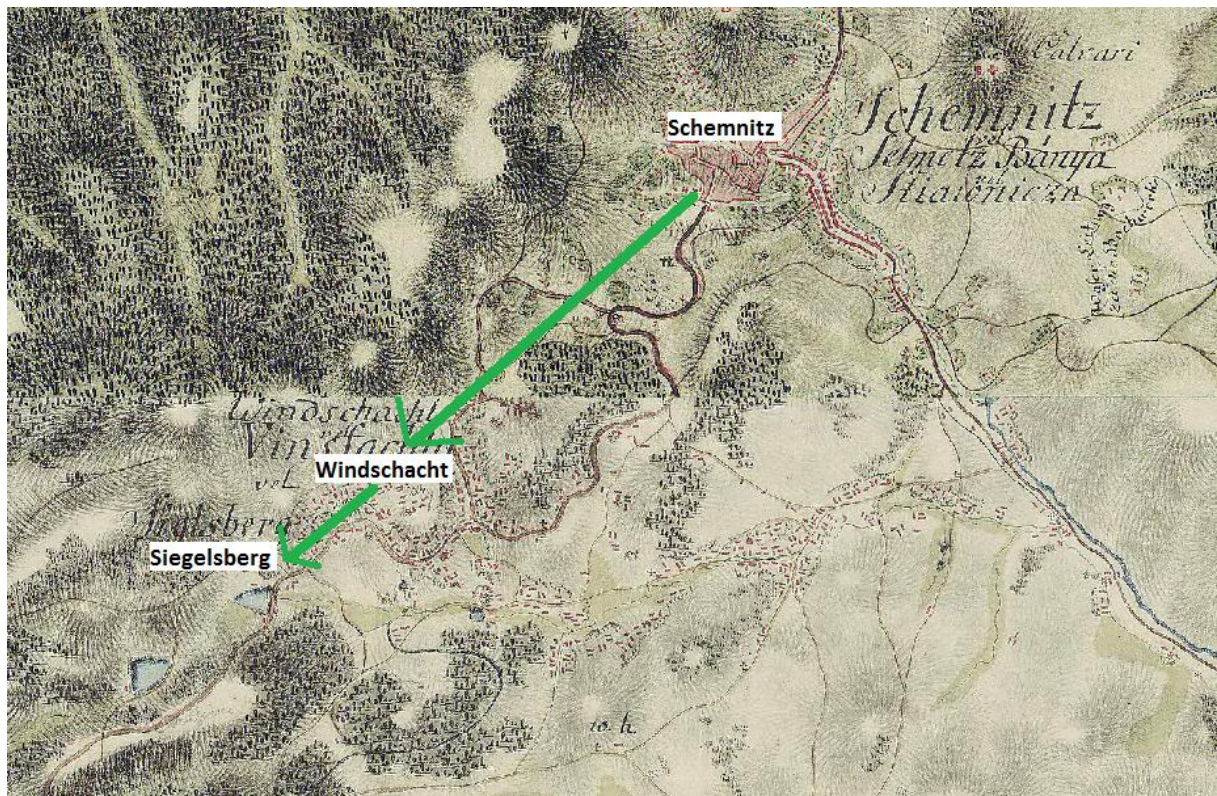
6. The pharmacist of Miskolc provided medicaments to the monastery of Győr¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ *The First Military Survey: Hungarian Kingdom.*



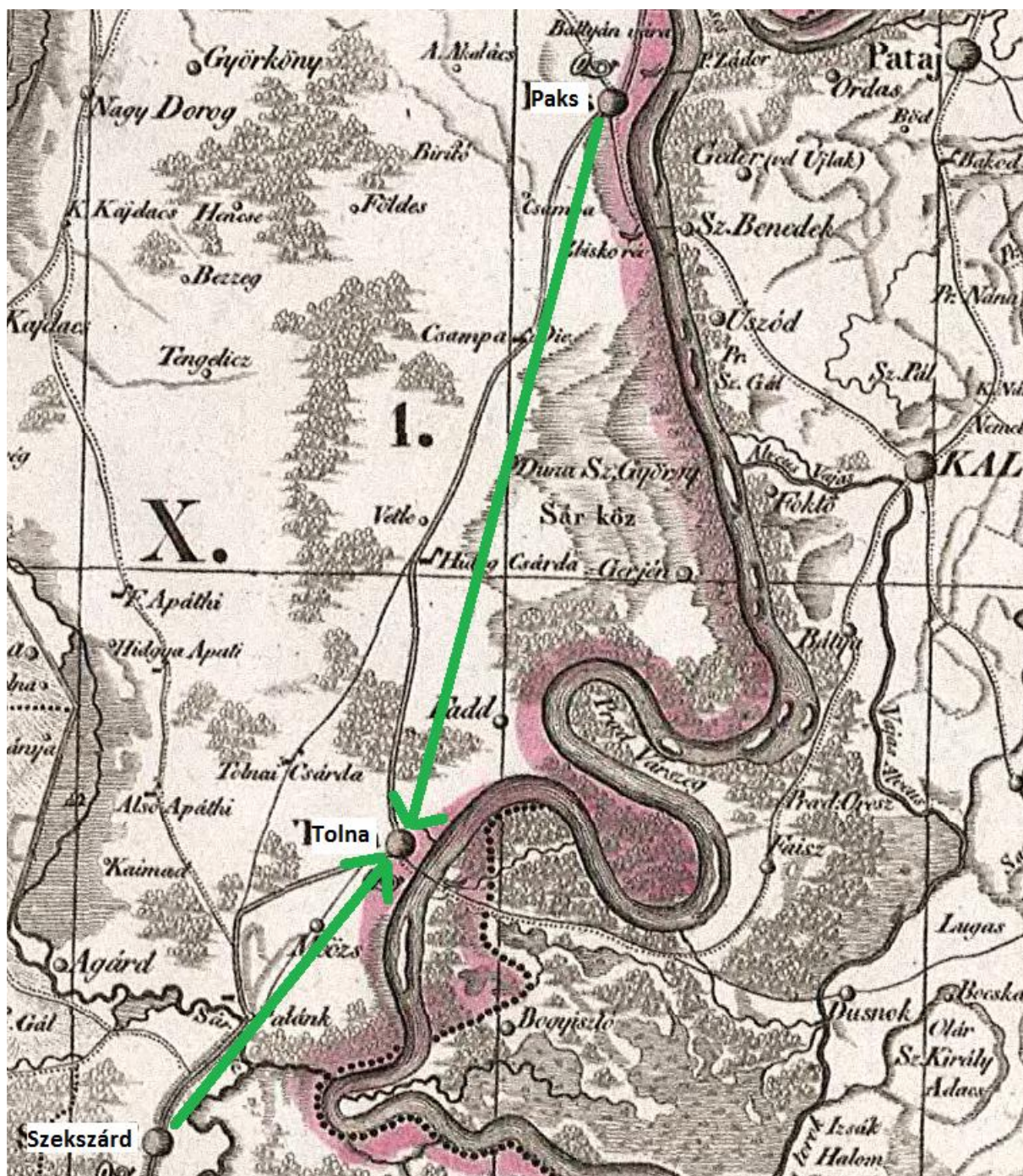
7. Medical services provided for the Pauline monastery of Šaštín.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ János Lipszky, *A Magyar Királyság és társországi térképe és névtára (1804-1810)*



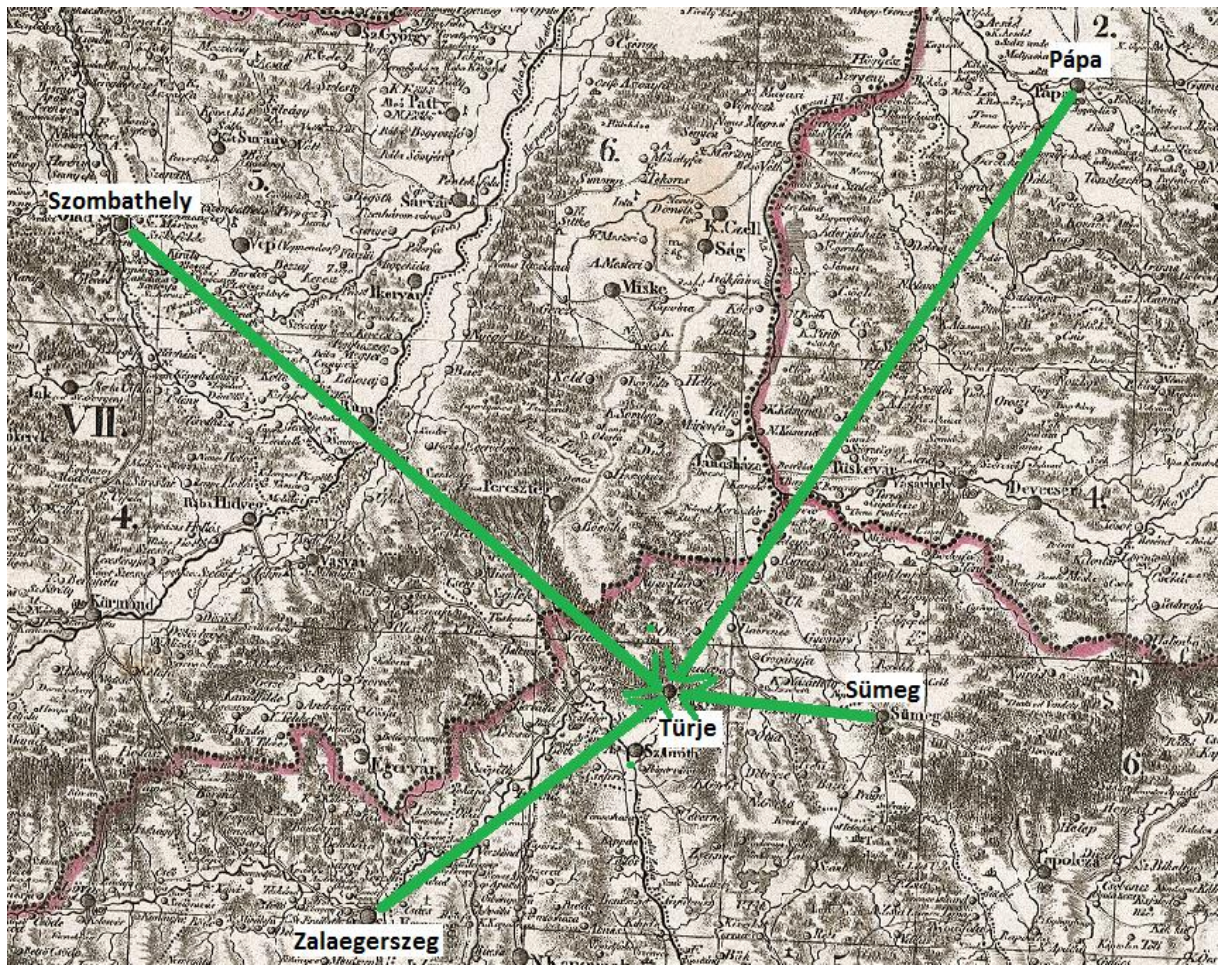
8. Medical connections of the Hieronymites monastery of Štiavnické Bane¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ *The First Military Survey: Hungarian Kingdom.*

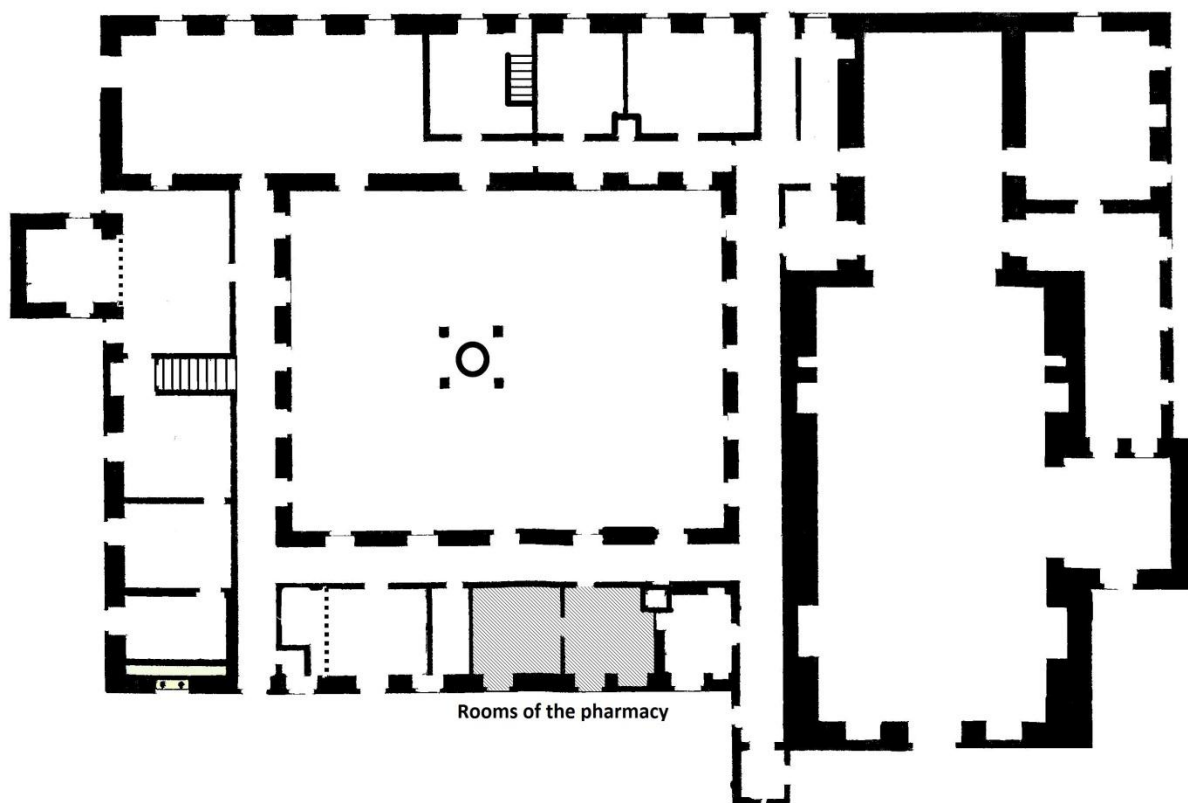


9. Medical connections of the Franciscan monastery of Tolna¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ János Lipszky, *A Magyar Királyság és társországai térképe és névtára* (1804-1810)

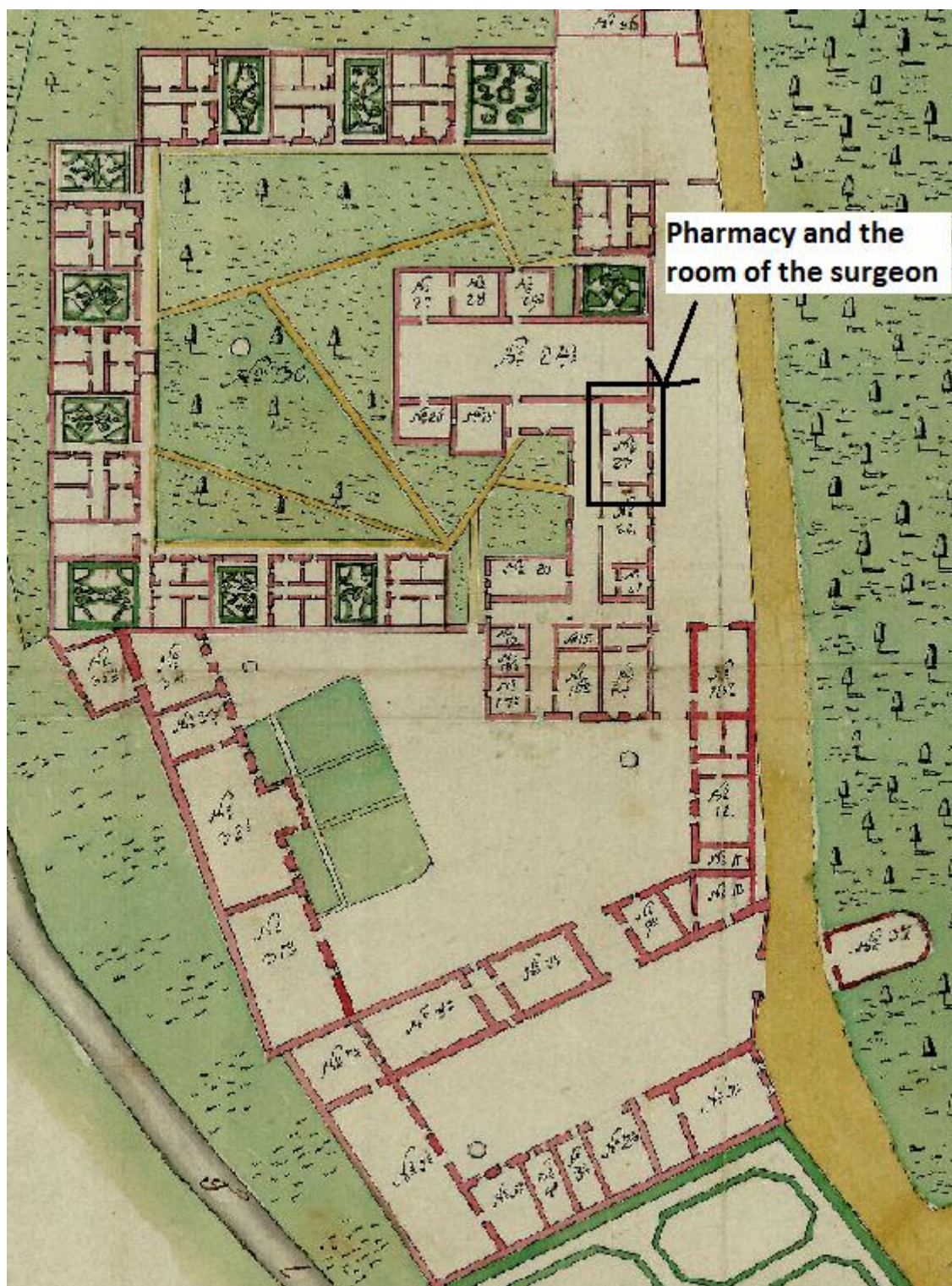


10. Medical connections of the Premonstratensians monastery of Túrje¹⁹¹



11. Layout of the Capuchin monastery of Hatvan¹⁹²

¹⁹² Katalin Pataki, "A hatvani kapucinusok gyógyszerháza (1785-1787)," in *Archivum 20. A Heves Megyei Levéltár Közleményei*, ed. Jolán Szabó, (Eger: 2013) 39.



12. Layout of the Camaldolese monastery of Lechnica¹⁹³

¹⁹³ MOL térképtára II. - Helytartótanácsi térképek 1735-1875. S 12 Div 8. No. 249. 1., DVD-ROM, Arcanum Adatbázis Kft., December 2006 [Map Collections of the Hungarian National Archives, Maps of the Hungarian Locotenential Council]