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## Pedro de Illanes and a field hospital to be established in Hungary during the Long Turkish War (1593-1606)<sup>1</sup>

### Pedro de Illanes és kísérlet egy táborigospotály létrehozására a tizenöt éves háború időszakában (1593-1606)

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#### **Abstract:**

The hired soldiers had to face many perils during the campaign. Naturally, injuries taken on the battlefields and in sieges were primary among these. Slash, stab and bullet wounds all were commonplace and required proper treatment by the barber surgeons, *Feldshers* and doctors who travelled with the unit or the camp. However, the various diseases posed an even more severe problem. These could be caused by the poor nutrition, unfamiliar food and drinks, by the different climate, by the heat or cold, the lack of sleep, wearing of armor and gear, by prolonged guard duty, the filth and garbage accumulated in the camp, and by the smoke and harmful fumes from the gunpowder and fuses. But more than any other contagious diseases, the military leadership most feared the nearly epidemical syphilis, spread by the prostitution that was ever present in the camps. At the urging of Pedro de Illanes and paying attention to his advice, did make efforts in the first half of the Long Turkish War to set up a healthcare facility independent of the town hospitals and which could operate under field conditions as well. But it was not successful, due to financial reasons on the one hand and because of human negligence on the other hand. Thus the court had to involve in the healing of soldiers those towns that possessed hospitals.

**Keywords:** Pedro de Illanes, Long Turkish War, field hospital, Habsburg Monarchy, Zacharias Geizkofler

**Kulcsszavak:** Pedro de Illanes, tizenöt éves háború, táborigospotály, Habsburg Monarchia, Zacharias Geizkofler

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As it is known from past academic research, the Spanish Kingdom contributed with some 2.5 million Escudos (3.75 million Rheingulden) to the Habsburg Monarchy's land campaign against the Ottoman Empire between 1594 and 1605, during the Long Turkish War. There was one instance when the donor, Spanish King Philip III (1598-1621) directly raised an army. Following the Turkish capture of Kanizsa in 1600, which was a site of much strategic importance with regards to the protection of Italy and the Southern lands of the Holy Roman Empire, Archduke Ferdinand (ruler of Carinthia, Carniola and Styria, the future Emperor Ferdinand II) prepared to retake the castle. However, he was aware that the armies of his provinces are insufficient for this campaign. In his letter to his in-law, the Spanish King Philip III, he requested support for his planned enterprise, arguing that Inner Austria could not raise a sufficient number of experienced soldiers to besiege Kanizsa. Due to various military, political and denominational reasons, the Archduke could not expect help from the Emperor and from the Empire's nobility, his only potential supporters remaining the Spanish Monarchy, the Holy See and some Italian rulers (Stauffer 1886, 265-313.; Banfi 1940, 143-156.; Antonitsch 1975, 289-305.; Niederkorn 1993, 183-255.). The Spanish King had already noted in his letter (February 12, 1601, Valladolid) that he had already ordered the recruitment of 6000 men, which army would be organised in two regiments and then sent to join the army that was preparing for the siege of Kanizsa. In addition, he also promised to utilise his influence and convince the Pope and the Emperor to aid Archduke Ferdinand (Antonitsch 1975, 290., 294.). The army arrived to the siege camp led by Gianangelo Gaudanzio di Madruzzo, Baron d'Avy; its better part being Germans, mainly from Tyrol. The rest of the army, however, came from other lands subject to the Spanish crown, as eyewitness Peter Casal wrote in one of his letters (Stauffer 1886, 275.; Antonitsch 1975, 302.). But it is little known that a Spanish priest also made efforts to establish a field hospital during the Long Turkish War.

The hired soldiers had to face many perils during the campaign. Naturally, injuries taken on the battlefields and in sieges were primary among these. Slash, stab and bullet wounds all were commonplace and required proper treatment by the barber surgeons, *Feldshers* and doctors who travelled with the unit or the camp (Gersdorf 1967). However, the various diseases posed an even more severe problem. These could be caused by the poor nutrition, unfamiliar food and drinks, by the different climate, by the heat or cold, the lack of sleep, wearing of armor and gear, by prolonged guard duty, the filth and garbage accumulated in the camp, and by the smoke and harmful fumes from the gunpowder and fuses (Coberus 1685, 20.).<sup>2</sup> But more than any other contagious diseases, the military leadership most feared the nearly epidemical syphilis, spread by the prostitution that was ever present in the camps (Héjja 1936, 115-116.; Czigány 2004, 46.). It is not by chance that paragraph 68 of the 1570 Artikelbrief prohibited harlots from being near the soldiers (Lünig 1723, 46.). In spite of that, they were present in both the perimeter castles and the military camps of the Long Turkish War.<sup>3</sup> So it follows that Illanes told the advisors of the Lower Austrian government and chambers in the January of 1596 that preserving an army that had cost a fortune required, first and foremost, a field hospital to accommodate and nurse the sick and the wounded. Later, it was him who argued that during the 1595 campaign three soldiers perished by the hand of the

<sup>2</sup> Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA) Hoffinanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (HKA) Hoffinanz (HF) rote Nummer (RN) 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 213r.-230r.

<sup>3</sup> ÖStA Kriegsarchiv (KA) Hofkriegsrat Akten (HKRA) Prag. No. 16.; ÖStA KA HKRA Wien Reg. 1603 Juli No. 140.

enemy while three hundred died due to the lack of a suitable healing site in the field (Coberus 1685, 20.).<sup>4</sup>In his letter dated September 2, 1594, Reichpfennigmeister (imperial treasurer) Zacharias Geizkofler (Müller 1900, 251-304.; Sigelen 2009) mentioned another quite practical argument for the treatment of soldiers: “because if the wounded return to the empire, they bring such terror among the populace that nobody would ever want to enlist”.<sup>5</sup>

So it is not surprising that governmental bodies both in the Prague court and in Vienna thought it necessary to set up a field hospital to heal the soldiers. At this time, men were looked after by the barber surgeons assigned to the units (Bagi 2011, 71., 85., 145-146.), by the two doctors and the one apothecary serving in the camp (Pálffy 1997, 52.)<sup>6</sup> and by the not really professional wives of soldiers (Dinges 1996, 94-95.).

In his cited letter from September 2, 1594, Geizkofler advised Rudolf II suggesting a discussion about the installation (where, how and how many) of facilities outside Vienna, to treat the wounded and the sick arriving from the battlefield. According to the Reichpfennigmeister, the primary and deputy hospital masters (administrators) should be appointed as soon as possible, and then these would arrange the construction of the hospital (if it is needed), the provision of the necessary equipment and the employment of proper and suitable staff. Geizkofler also described the person who would be most suitable to manage the hospital. In his view, the position required a man skilled in medicine and gracious in his heart, a person loyal to the Emperor who is able to maintain order and discipline in the hospital and does not act for his own prosperity. So that no abuses could be done, the Reichpfennigmeister suggested that the future hospital master should be obliged to provide accounts on a regular basis.<sup>7</sup>

A plan to build a field hospital was sent next year to the Emperor by the aforementioned Pedro de Illanes. But in his reply (July 26, 1595) to Archduke Matthias, Rudolf argued that constructing it would require too much time and unreasonably great effort. Therefore he ordered instead that one or two hospitals should be furnished in Pozsony, closest to the camp of the Christian army, and thus there would be no need to build a new one. And in case there was no suitable site available here, then some other relevant town and building should be designated.<sup>8</sup>

Thus Pedro de Illanes became the main motivator of the establishment of the field hospital. The Emperor had no problems with the person of the Spanish priest and even was in favour of the cooperation with him, but in his November 27, 1595 letter he ordered that Archduke Matthias had to assign a German to the office of head administrator (supremaeconomia). At that time he already had a candidate, namely Bartholomäus Pezzen.<sup>9</sup>

Illanes held discussions with representatives of the Lower Austrian government and chamber at the turn of the 1595-96, about which the three appointed advisors sent their report, dated January 26 1596, to the Emperor.<sup>10</sup> This document is of extraordinary importance, as

<sup>4</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 213r.-230r.

<sup>5</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 201r-202v.

<sup>6</sup>In 1596 and 1597, two field doctors and a field apothecary (Feldapotheker) were charged with the healing of the wounded or sick soldiers. From the year of the battle of Mezökeresztes, the names of these three persons were preserved to us. The already mentioned Tobias Coberus and Paul Perghauer were responsible for curing and Jakob Meckenhausen was in charge of the production of medicines. Source: An account of the salaries of the imperial royal army staff, sent to the Lower Hungarian war scene, December 1596. In: ÖStA KA Alte Feldakten (AFA) 1596/12/ad6f.

<sup>7</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 201r-202v.

<sup>8</sup> ÖStA HKA Niederösterreichische Gedenkbücher 1595-1596 Bd. 157 Fol. 568v-569v.

<sup>9</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 232r-233r.

<sup>10</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 234r-v.

they noted down in detail not only their own opinions on the issue, but also the standpoint and ideas of the Spanish priest as well. Illanes explained in the discussion that diseases during campaigns may have had countless causes, but there was no field hospital where the sick and the wounded could find shelter and recovery. Similarly, there was a lack of personnel who could care for the soldiers and treat them in a professional manner. The absence of a hospital, as the Spanish priest explained perhaps with some exaggeration, could result in the dissolution of the whole army, and could also scare off those intending to enlist. Moreover, Illanes argued that the ancient Romans and even Charles V already utilised such facilities. Of course, the Spaniard was aware that establishing his planned hospital would be hindered by severe difficulties and obstacles, but he thought that this had not dissuaded anyone in the past either and that “in such matters that are pleasing to God, the Lord will assist us!” The three appointed advisors, of course, asked particular questions as well: how, where and at what costs could the institution be set up? The Spanish priest handed them four memorandum, the contents of which they also included in their report. According to Illanes, first a primary military hospital is needed, from where the other *particular* field hospitals would be supplied with medicines, staff, beds and everything else. In his view, Vienna would have been the most suitable site for that, as the Imperial hospital was located there. This had been used for looking after the wounded or sick soldiers already at Sultan Suleiman’s siege of Vienna in 1529. In addition, as it was well provided with rooms and basement, not much further construction would be required. Those currently treated here and those unskilled in healing would have been simply relocated by Illanes. Moreover, as the Spanish priest continued, the vacant St Anne cloister and the St John courtyard would also be available, and there are plenty vacated palaces and houses in the city. If this was not chosen, then the main military hospital should be installed in a healthy and rich town with a large number of merchants and trade companies. He considered smaller and poorly constructed settlements as ill-fitted to accommodate such an institution, as epidemics can break out easily at such places. But there was no need to worry about the plague or other contagious diseases, as he reassured his readers, because the hospital would not house anyone contagious or anyone with syphilis or rashes, within its walls, but these soldiers would be redirected to their designated place outside the city walls.

On the other hand, Illanes considered it important that the hospital must be well protected from raids and pillaging. He suspected that such an institution, full of cash and supplies (grains, wine, mattresses, beds) would attract such transgressions.

In the conclusion of his memorandum the Spanish priest pointed it out again that the military hospital must be set up in an appropriate house, where no additional construction would be necessary. The building should be located at a broad, spacious, healthy site.

In his second and third documents Illanes discussed the financing options for the future field hospital. During the negotiations with the Lower Austrian representatives, Illanes noted that thirty thousand Rheingulden had been collected through alms and, in his view, two thousand Gulden a month could be spent on the expenses of the institution<sup>11</sup>. However, he and the three appointed advisors<sup>12</sup> were on the opinion that this money would not be sufficient to establish and maintain the field hospital, as almost everything must be obtained new. Therefore, in his second document he suggested the utilisation of other financial resources for consideration. In the first paragraph he suggested that Rudolf II should issue a patent in the

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<sup>11</sup> Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA) Hofffinanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (HKA) Hofffinanz (HF) rote Nummer (RN) 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 263r-265r.; ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 259r-262r.

<sup>12</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 263r-265r.

Holy Roman Empire, offering to aid the installation and maintenance of a field hospital for members of each nation participating in the war.<sup>13</sup> Though the origins of the needed sum for this offer were not detailed in Illanes' suggestions, we can probably that he was familiar with the resolutions of the 1594 Imperial Diet in Regensburg. These include a passage according to which boxes were to be set up in churches (to whatever denomination they belonged). On Sundays and holy days, priests and preachers had to urge their followers to place alms and aids for the wounded and sick soldiers and for the better provision of hospitals. This money was to be collected by the town and village principals and transferred to the assigned deposit sites (Legstädte) (Heischmann 1925, 216.; Stangler 1972, 144.).<sup>14</sup>

Illanes asked in his third memorandum that Archduke Matthias should, in the name of the Emperor, issue a patent for the priests and preachers in Lower Austria (Vienna and elsewhere) to encourage the donation of alms.<sup>15</sup> Actually, this had already been issued, in accordance with the resolutions of the 1594 Diet. It is known from Gottfried Stangler's research that the Lower Austrian nobility answered Archduke Matthias' suggestion of collecting alms already in the beginning of 1595, stating that they had arranged this and had already received the first collected sum to be distributed (Heischmann 1925, 216.; Stangler 1972, 144.).

However, the Emperor could address or did address other forums, so that the sick and wounded soldiers would be cured better and a field hospital be erected. The correspondence between Rudolf II and Archduke Matthias (from January 30 –February 22, 1597) reveals that the Prague court asked for support of this cause directly from the Imperial districts.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the 1596 Hungarian patrician conclave also decided in favour of a tax in order to care for the wounded and sick soldiers and to set up a field hospital (Heischmann 1925, 217.).<sup>17</sup> In both cases it is to be noted that the requests for these aids are probably the result of Illanes' activity.

But in his aforementioned second document, the Spanish priest also mentioned the involvement of alternative financial sources that he considered suitable for compensation of the expenses. He wrote in the second paragraph of the document: “ *Each Obrist, Hauptmann, Fähnrich, other office holder and everyone else involved in the military and having a monthly salary, should give in one or two Kreuzers of their wages, starting from the beginning of this year's March.*” Paragraph 15 of the memorandum would have extended this to the mercenary infantry and cavalry hired by the Imperial nobility.<sup>18</sup> The concept that the soldiers themselves should contribute to the installation of a military hospital from their payments was favoured by both the government in the court and by the Lower Austrian nobility. In their letter addressed to Archduke Matthias and dated February 8, 1596, the counsellors of the Lower Austrian government and chamber emphasised that during the next campaign, soldiers should be warned to pay the contribution to the installation and maintenance of the military hospital, or the sum be deduced from their wages in the first place, immediately when they are given

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<sup>13</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 213r.-230r.

<sup>14</sup> Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Mainzer Erzkanzlerarchiv Reichstagakten, Fasc. 91. Fol. 7v.; ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 203r-204v.

<sup>15</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 213r.-230r.

<sup>16</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 308r-v.; ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 271r-272r.

<sup>17</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 210r-v.; ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 308r-v.; ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 271r-272r.

<sup>18</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 213r.-230r.

their monthly payments.<sup>19</sup> Therefore it is no surprise that the future Emperor, now assigned to the Hungarian affairs, wrote in his June 22, 1596 letter to the crown that he had sent Illanes to Óvár, to Archduke Maximilian. Along with Feldmarschall Adolf von Schwarzenberg, the Spanish priest's task was to convince the Obrists and Hauptmanns to get every soldier to offer some of their wages for the setting up of the field hospital.<sup>20</sup>

In the first two paragraphs of the second memorandum, the Spanish priest listed the two most significant financial sources for the installation of the military hospital: the alms and aids from various places and the deduction from the soldiers' wages. But Illanes listed other potential ways of getting money. Paragraph 3 of his document states that soldiers should contribute money to the treatment of the sick, according to a certain quota, from the loots that they obtained from sorties or elsewhere. Thus the Emperor should have issued an order about the following: if there are such items among the pillaged goods that are considered (by the administrator of the institution) necessary for the facility or its patients, then the hospital would enjoy prerogative in the purchase and distribution of these (paragraph 4)<sup>21</sup>.

Testaments were also regarded by the Spanish priest as potential income for the field hospital. In his opinion, the Emperor should have made a decree that the author of the last will could freely decide on the inheritance of half of the goods that he had obtained in the war, while the other half must be left to the institute even if he did not say a word on this in his testament (paragraph 7). Illanes also thought of the possibility that the patient may die in the hospital without any written testament. In this case any silver, cash or other valuables belonging to the deceased would be passed down to the institution. Thereafter, even his relatives could not demand these for themselves (paragraph 8).<sup>22</sup>

If a soldier died, became prisoner or deserted, it was recorded with the most possible precision in the muster books of the cavalry unit or the infantry regiment, for payment calculation purposes. This is how the so-called vacant slots (*Vakante* or *vacierndeLucken*) occurred in the payment lists. Illanes viewed this, too, as a possible financial resource to contribute to cause of the field hospital. As he wrote, on the one hand the residuary wages of the deceased should go to the facility (paragraph 9). On the other hand, the belongings left behind by deserters could also be claimed by the field hospital (paragraph 10)<sup>23</sup>. It is worth noting that when the installation of a military hospital was reconsidered again in 1603, its financing was planned to be arranged by the same means (Heischmann 1925, 218.; Stangler 1972, 149.).<sup>24</sup>

However, the second document contains some non-financial points as well. In paragraph 12, the Spanish priest pointed out that wherever the military hospital would be set up, another healing institution should be established there for the local population. The employees must belong under the protection of the Emperor (13.) and the resources of the hospital should be free from any fees, charges or commissions (14.).

The fourth memorandum contained Illanes' discussion on what kind of persons should be hired and employed at the hospital. Firstly, he suggested that the court should employ those healers who had served by the Papal relief army in the previous year (in 1595), as these had

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<sup>19</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 263r-265r.

<sup>20</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 210r-v.

<sup>21</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 213r.-230r.

<sup>22</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 213r.-230r.

<sup>23</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 213r.-230r.

<sup>24</sup> ÖStA KA AFA 1603/4/1

done an excellent job (Fraknói 1903, 237.).<sup>25</sup> In addition, he asked Archduke Matthias to assign a honourable person to the office of treasurer (Schatzmeister), another to janitor or custodian (Hof-, Hausmeister) and one to deputy (Leutnant) of the primary administrator. Being in charge, the head administrator was to decide on the additional personnel, such as doctors, surgeons, barbers and servants.

Having read the memorandum, the three appointed advisors formulated four questions, on the basis of which they explained their opinions.

1. Is the establishment and maintenance of a field hospital pleasing to God and is it necessary?
2. Can it be established in the manner and with the conditions that the Spanish priest assumes?
3. Where should be the field hospital established?
4. Who would be in charge of the facility and how would it be managed?

The answer to the first question shows that the counsellors themselves considered the installation of military hospital important and that it could not be postponed.

They explained in the second one that it cannot be far from the location of the campaign and from the military camp, so that the wounded could be transported quickly. Moreover, the chosen town must be large, heavily populated and rich in both goods and cash, where alms could be collected regularly and the necessary medicines could be obtained. They also pointed it out that the main and the particular military hospitals had to be appointed with various office holders (primary and secondary administrators, treasurer, custodian, priests, alms collectors, scribes, doctors, surgeons, barbers, cooks, cellar-masters, wagon drivers) and the necessary items (medicines, wagons, horses, wine, grains, several hundreds of beds and mattresses, etc.) Where these are not available, it would be very disadvantageous for both the locals and the soldiers transported there. However, the three counsellors thought that it would be unadvisable to hinder this work any further.

Answering the questions as to where and which site, they explained that Illanes' idea to establish it in Vienna was not good, since they thought it was impractical and unsuitable due to the street structure of the city (too many narrow alleys, the city is poorly blown through by wind) and the vicinity of the suggested sites to the Imperial residence. They recommended a town where a suitable and cheap(!) building can be acquired from the owners at an appropriate site, outside the town walls. As it is perceivable from their answers, the three advisors considered the establishment of the military hospital important, but they intended to protect the towns as well.

The fourth paragraph was about the management of the institution. The three advisors repeated Illanes' plan concerning this and the contents of the aforementioned Imperial rescript. According to this, they recommended for the office of the primary administrator either the headmaster of the Vienna city hospital or someone skilled in warfare. In addition, they explained about the latter that this is possible only if he is in charge of each necessary personnel and utilities.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> In 1595, Jesuits and Minor Capuchin Friars cared for the spiritual needs of the soldiers in the papal relief army, while members of a healing order arrived to the Hungarian scene to look after their sick and wounded. But according to the memorandum, it was staff transferred from Pozsony who treated the Spanish soldiers.

<sup>26</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 213r.-230r.

In the document addressed to Archduke Matthias and dated February 8, 1596, the counsellors of the Lower Austrian government and chambers summarised their views on the issue again but also complemented it in two important regards. On the one hand, they now considered Pozsony<sup>27</sup>, Sopron, Bruckan der Leitha or Hainburg as the most suitable sites for the setting up of a military hospital. On the other hand, as Illanes did not speak German and was yet unfamiliar with the local affairs, they suggested court curator Balthasar Fierrath for the management of the institution<sup>28</sup>.

The Archduke informed the Emperor accordingly, recommending that the severely wounded and sick should be accommodated in the camp, while those able to walk or be transported should be accommodated in Nagyszombat, Pozsony, or Bruckan der Leitha. There was no need to erect new buildings at these towns either, but instead everyone should be accommodated in the already existing hospitals, and for that the town would receive a certain amount of money. The supervision of the local town authorities over the hospital would continue, but they would be obliged to keep detailed accounts. The plan to build a new hospital in Vienna was abandoned. Matthias emphasised again that Illanes would volunteer for the management of the hospital, but he should be accompanied by a suitable person as countersigner. The primary hospital headmaster would reside in Vienna and could supply and manage the particular facilities from there. Moreover, the Archduke advised that Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini, the leader of the papal relief armies should be contacted and negotiated with about the tents necessary for the hospital.<sup>29</sup>

In his letter dated June 22, 1596, Matthias informed the Emperor that he had already ordered the hospitals at Wienerneustadt, Bruckan der Leitha, Hainburg, Pozsony and Nagyszombat to be prepared for the reception of soldiers.<sup>30</sup> On July 3, Illanes received the patent to establish a field hospital<sup>31</sup>.

So they started to organise a field hospital that operated along with the urban hospitals, but the process was not going just as the Spanish priest expected. On the one hand, the awaited wages did not arrive.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, the court assigned Cornelius Propst zu Eisgarn, instead of Illanes, for the management of the institution (Stangler 1972, *passim*). Archduke Maximilian talked with him and with a certain Cornelius Cauler about the field hospital to be set up for the next campaign.<sup>33</sup> Some days later, he received the *instructio* to be the hospital's headmaster. This also included that the appointed person belonged under the Court Chambers, was responsible for the employment of appropriate personnel and for the organisation of the provisions, and was obliged to make precise and daily accounts on these. He had to record the first and family names of every patient, the regiment they were from, the amount of money they possessed and the garments they had at their arrival. Doctors and Feldshers were obliged to report the type and severity of their injury or illness. The hospital headmaster and the healing staff had to make a visitation round in the tents twice a day and keep Eisgarn informed about all these things.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> MNL Győr-Moson-Sopron (Gy-M-S) Megyei Levéltár (ML), Sopron Városi Levéltár (SVL). Sopron Város Tanácsának iratai B. sorozat. Ma.

<sup>28</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 263r-265r.

<sup>29</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 259r-262r.

<sup>30</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 210r-v.

<sup>31</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 205r-v.

<sup>32</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 273r.; ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 273v.

<sup>33</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 274 r-v.

<sup>34</sup> ÖStA HKA HF RN. 79 Konv. 2. August 1599. Fol. 278r-279v.

The hospital was not operating properly, however, as it is revealed in the April 14, 1598 petition turned in by Illanes. This document is a true indictment but it also delineates the shape of a future establishment. Now the Spanish priest compiled his 80 paragraphs based on his own experiences. In some of these, he accused Eisgarn of not being competent in his appointed task. He did not employ the right staff. He had hired 12 darabont foot soldiers, three of which had vanished just after leaving Vienna. The rest of them were not helping in the hospital either, instead they were looking after the horses. If they did get in contact with patients, these lowly people treated everyone badly and gave them nothing. Usually these foot soldiers were commissioned to bury the dead as well. They took their sacks, clothes and everything on their person. In their avarice they even went as far as burying those still living. Several times they demanded money for the burial. From the monks who had been appointed to the field hospital, Eisgarn kept only two. One of them was a useless ne'er-do-well lay brother, who ate and drank at the kitchens all day, but soon died when he travelled from Győr to Vienna. As to the other priest, Illanes claimed he even wondered how such a person could be a monk in the first place. Eisgarn hired eight women as well, seven of whom also fled. But it was not only "womenfolk" who left, but also the provisions clerk, Eisgarn's secretary, the drivers, the stable boys, the aforementioned darabont footmen, the medic, the doctor's assistant. They were never replaced by newly hired staff, though.

He also failed to do the task he was appointed with. The Spanish priest claimed, for example, that many of the wounded and sick from the Christian army besieging Pápa died because the hospital was not set up in time. The above mentioned footmen did not bury the dead properly, thus an epidemic broke out in the camp – yet Eisgarn did not really care about this either, although several staff members of the hospital died of the illness. This crime list went on stating that each of the twelve purchased tents had been left behind in Vienna. Additional items, goods belonging to the hospital and garments of patients, had also become wasted: stolen, taken and snatched. Eisgarn was unwilling to transport the necessary equipment to Pozsony on the Danube, so they had to travel through wilderness and forests, which cost a full month.

Thirdly, Eisgarn was not able to deal with money either. Instead of purchasing two or three wagons as suggested by Illanes, he hired ten or twelve wagons, along with their drivers and forty horses, which meant a considerable expense. However, the most severe accusation was that, according to Illanes, Eisgarn was acting for his own prosperity in his office, i.e. he abused the goods that he was responsible for.

In his petition, the Spanish priest tried to emphasise his own useful activity. At the end of June, 1597, he asked for the help of the Holy See, via Archbishop Madruzzo, so that they would support his cause. As a result, the Minorites and the traditional Franciscans both gave six brothers at his disposal. In addition, the Maltese knights contributed to the healing of wounded and sick soldiers with twelve persons. The Jesuits agreed to send priests to the field hospital who speak Hungarian, Czech and German, so they could offer consolation and could, if necessary, give out the sacraments as well. As we have seen, Eisgarn drove almost all of these away. The twelve servants and other staff who were hired in the hospital were also unwilling to stay because Eisgarn withheld everything from them.

Illanes managed to influence the Pope, through his aforementioned petition, that the military hospital would receive all of the items that were left behind in 1595 by the pontifical troops in the Kingdom of Hungary.

Finally, the Emperor designated Pozsony as the site for the field hospital, so only three or four tents had to be set up at the battlefield, and from there, the wounded or ill soldier could be transported on land or water. Illanes had negotiations with the principals of the town and

they made a promise to give a house for free, along with an area where the tents can be set up. They also offered to provide free straw to lie on, hay to feed the horses, and also firewood. But in the end, the principals of Pozsony forgot to send these. Perhaps the reason was that the Walloon soldiers were being looked after in the same year in the town hospital, at the community's expense.<sup>35</sup>

Apart from all these, the Spanish priest suggested organising a new hospital as well, now according to his own ideas. His opinion was that it would only take twelve priests and the good-willing people of the kingdoms and land of the Habsburg Monarchy, to establish a new and better hospital instead of the terminated one. The new institution should be managed strictly and with just determination, and a trustworthy and able person should be charged with the financial matters. The resources needed for the establishment and maintenance had to be acquired in time. In addition, he made efforts through an array of examples to prove how necessary the military hospital was.<sup>36</sup>

In their petition dated March 3, 1598, the city council of Vienna advised that the court should appoint one ecclesiastic and one mundane principal to manage the future field hospital. The first should be involved in spiritual service and in giving the sacraments, while the latter should deal with the everyday issues. He recommended the employment of several citizens as layman principals<sup>37</sup>. The Emperor gave his consent and tasked the city leaders of Vienna with the election of the mundane principal.

Meanwhile, Illanes attempted to set up a field hospital again. Matthias informed the Court Chambers in June of 1598 that the Spanish priest intended to install his healing facility in the outskirts of Pozsony, without asking for any of the Emperor's incomes. Thus the Archduke commanded that the Hungarian Chambers be ordered to provide all assistance and that the negotiations with the town leaders of Pozsony should be started to purchase a suitable house.<sup>38</sup>

What we know about the further story of the military hospital is that the Lower Austrian conclave agreed upon contributing money to establish it in 1600 and in 1601 as well. But it is known from the proposition turned in at the 1602 provincial conclave that this did not happen in the end (Heischmann 1925, 217-218.; Stangler 1972, 147-148.). The Court Chambers wrote about the field hospital to the Court War Council on May 19 1603, but presently we do not possess any data on the realisation of this.<sup>39</sup> It is certain, however, that it was featured in the document about the hiring of the Ehr Gott infantry regiment, but was later rescinded from it (Heischmann 1925, 218.; Stangler 1972, 149.).

All these clearly show that the court, at the urging of Pedro de Illanes and paying attention to his advice, did make efforts in the first half of the war to set up a healthcare facility independent of the town hospitals and which could operate underfield conditions as well. But it was not successful, due to financial reasons on the one hand and because of human negligence on the other hand. Thus the court had to involve in the healing of soldiers those towns that possessed hospitals.<sup>40</sup>

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