The background of the entire page is a historical map of Augsburg, Germany, showing a dense grid of streets and buildings. At the top center, there is a coat of arms featuring a red shield with a black eagle and a crown above it. The map is detailed, with various structures and landmarks visible.

# REPRESENTATION OF CHARITY, EXEMPLARY CATHOLICS, OR MODEL NOBLEMEN? THE "SCHNEIDHAUS", A SURGICAL FUGGER HOSPITAL IN AUGSBURG

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## ABSTRACT

The *Schneidhaus* was a hospital foundation of the counts Fugger specialized in surgery of hernia and bladder-stones and characterized by a number of apparently unique features, which allow to trace aspects of how the counts Fugger represented themselves during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. An allusion to charity covers just one functional aspect. During major confessional crises the hospital, including its localization(s) in Augsburg, also served to represent the Fugger as exemplary Catholic citizens. Moreover, evasive traces of several buildings designated as *Schneidhaus* and singular hints at their architecture point to additional functions: the hospital also was a means to support the efforts of the Counts Fugger to establish themselves among the German (and European) noblemen by displaying model behavior as rulers and humanists. A recently acquired illustrated manuscript in the German Museum of the History of Medicine in Ingolstadt was a further tool to assist these functions. The manuscript transferred practices inside the *Schneidhaus* into transportable evidence, thus allowing the counts Fugger to display, wherever necessary, their practice as models for Catholic charitable citizens and rulers of territories in combination with hints at their noble engagement for revealing wonders and marvels while also encouraging accountability of medical personnel and advancement of medical knowledge.

## KEYWORDS

**Augsburg | Fugger | Surgery | Late-Renaissance | Hospital-Foundation | Hospital-Space**

The *Schneidhaus* (cutting house) in Augsburg was a remarkable premodern hospital characterized by a number of apparently unique features<sup>1</sup>. The focus on very specific forms of surgery marks this foundation of the Fugger family even in the differentiated and specialized landscape of early modern hospitals in Augsburg. A rough outline of the hospital's characteristics provides a basis to the main argument of this paper: to summarize the foundation and running of the *Schneidhaus* as a usual representation of charity covers just one functional aspect. During main confessional crises the hospital, including its localization, also served to represent the Fugger as exemplary Catholic citizens. However, evasive traces of several build-

ings designated as *Schneidhaus* and singular hints at their architecture point to additional functions: the hospital also became a means to support the efforts of the Counts Fugger to establish themselves among the German (and European) noblemen by displaying model behavior as rulers and humanists. Several aspects of running the hospital support this argument, substantially assisted by an anonymous illustrated manuscript<sup>2</sup>. The counts Fugger as those responsible for the preservation of the hospital and the foundation seem to occur as ideal rulers of their territories in the Holy Roman Empire and as partners of a vivid exchange of knowledge and treasurable things.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCHNEIDHAUS, A ROUGH OUTLINE

From the sixteenth century onwards, the provision of medical services in the *Schneidhaus* was controlled, administered and financed by generations of the family Fugger to the beginning of the nineteenth century (Kinzelbach, 2021: in print). This hospital belonged to the context of charity and differentiated healthcare in the Imperial city Augsburg provided by the general hospital, the *Heilig-Geist-Spital*, and specialized houses such as the *Blatterhäuser*, plague-hospitals, the leper-houses, the *Pilgerhaus* and (by further foundations of the Fugger) two *Holzhäuser*, and a tiny hospital for servants (Stein, 2003: 95-139, Kinzelbach, 2001; Trometer, 1998: 35-400, Weidenbacher, 1926: 58-59, 118). A singular feature of the *Schneidhaus* is a specialization on specific forms of surgical treatment: Thousands of hospital patients had either bladder stones removed or received treatment for their hernia, mostly by 'cutting', and left the hospital after several weeks of care as 'cured'<sup>3</sup>. A rather intriguing problem in an issue about "Assistance Architecture" is

created by the fact that information on place, space, and actual buildings of this hospital remain somewhat obfuscated: though we are able to locate two buildings labelled as *Schneidhaus* (cutting house) or *Großes Schneidhaus* (big cutting house) and *Kleines* or *Neben-Schneidhaus* (small or neighboring cutting house) for the period between 1583 and 1737, two further houses seem to occur in different places. Two market-places, *Roßmarkt* and *Krautmarkt*, and a hill in a garden-area, *Gooshill*, will have to be considered as successive or alternate locations. Details are not discussed here because the context of localization provides crucial information for the general argument. Moreover, there is evidence that patients have been treated before 1583 and specialized surgeons were employed after 1737, the last surgeon leaving the *Kleine Schneidhaus* in 1806, when it was sold in the context of mediatization. This smaller house had been used frequently as living-quarter of the surgeons and as space for their private patients<sup>4</sup>.

1 The deadline for this paper was 31.12.2019 and it reflects the research-results at that time, accordingly. We would like to express our special gratitude to the archivists Franz Karg and Stefan Birkle in the Fugger archive in Dillingen for their continuous support. We also thank the team at the Stadtarchiv in Augsburg for their efficient services. Since September 2019 our research-project is funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation). See <<http://www.dmm-ingolstadt.de/forschung/schneidhaus-dfg.html>>. Due to the complicated history of the designated buildings I will limit this article to the period before the occupation of the hospital's rooms by Swedish soldiers in the 1630s.

2 Deutsches Medizinhistorisches Museum Ingolstadt (DMM hereafter) Ms 112.

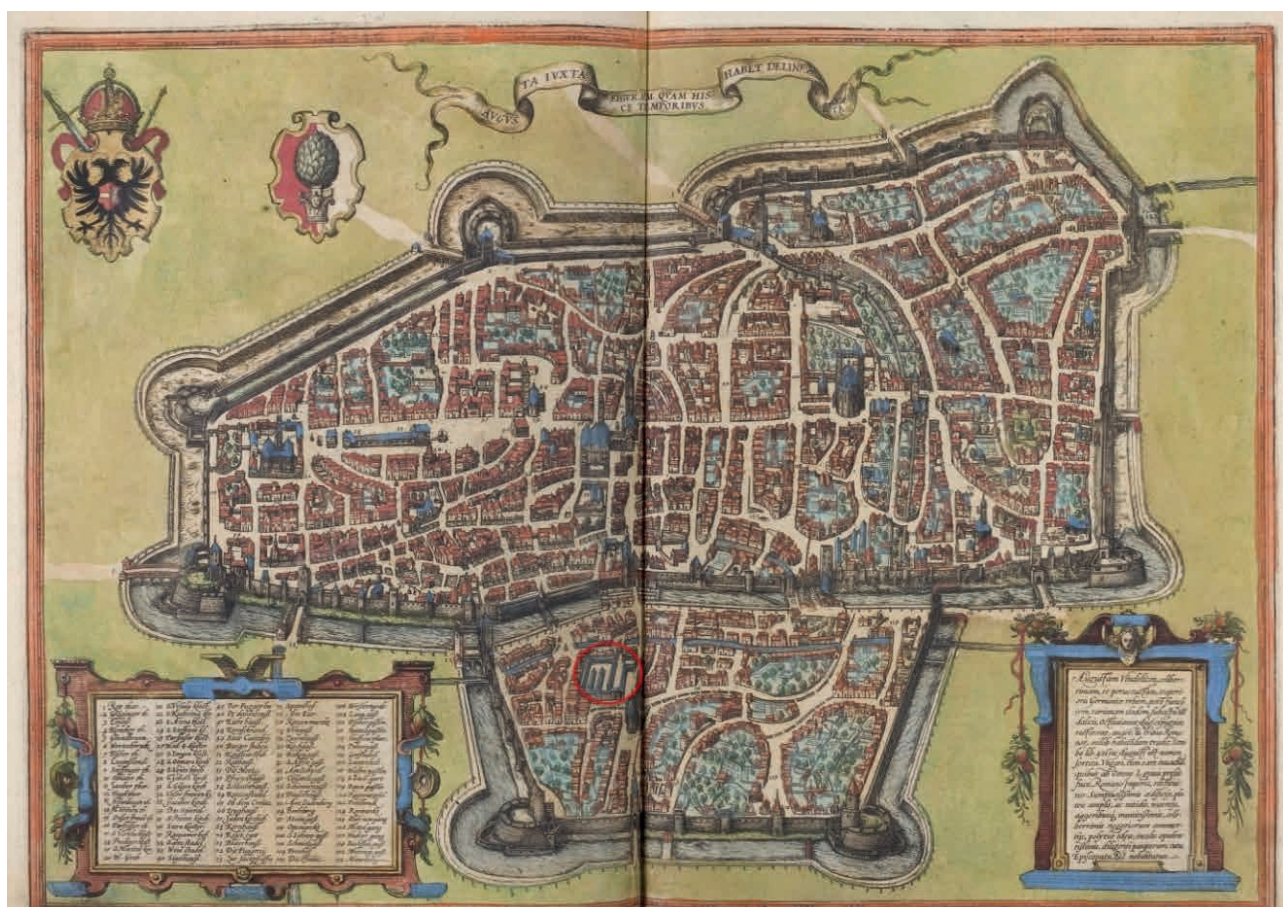
3 Fugger Archive (FA hereafter) 88.2 to 88.6; DMM Ms 112.

4 FA 88.1, 1806, 20.7. „Abschrift [...] Genehmigung.“; FA 88.2-88.6, esp. FA 88.2, 1590, „Aufgeben“ und „Einnemen“ (unpaginiert); FA 88.4 1622, fol. 20-22; FA 88.6, 1617 (12-16), 1624 (3), 1625 (7-8); FA 5.3.3. (1), (46-7, 60-8); FA 5.3.2.b (62-5); FA 532c, 1626.

## THE FUGGER FAMILY: CHARITY IN AUGSBURG, AND EXEMPLARY CATHOLIC CITIZENS

The Fugger family is well known for their banking and trade empire. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, especially their loans to European rulers and other banking activities, supplemented by metal-trading had made them tremendously rich and their influence spread all over Europe and beyond (Häberlein, 2006: 36-118). The elevation to nobility is important for our analysis: In 1507 Jacob Fugger "the Rich" (1459-1525) acquired the territory of Kirchberg-Weißenhorn. He thus laid the basis for the aristocratic status of the Fugger family which was off-

cially achieved by his nephews in 1526 with the title of counts of Kirchberg-Weißenhorn (Hadry, 2008)<sup>5</sup>. At the same time Jacob established for this part of the Fugger family a tradition to act as charitable citizens of Augsburg in conjunction with acts of allegiance to the Emperor and to the traditional faith. At the onset of Reformation Jacob presented himself as an exemplary Catholic citizen by investing not only in Church-related funds but also financing the first big social housing complex in Europe still in use, the *Fuggerei* (Scheller, 2004: 16-17, 127-237).



**Fig. 01.** Braun, Georg; Hogenberg, Franz; Novellanus, Simon: Beschreibung vnd Contrafactur der vornembster Stät der Welt. © <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/braun1582bd1/0089>, 11.10.2016; red marking of the *Fuggerei* by A. Kinzelbach.

<sup>5</sup> See <[http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Kirchberg-Weißenhorn, Herrschaft](http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Kirchberg-Weißenhorn,_Herrschaft)>.

In image one the big complex of the *Fuggerei* (marked in red) is one example of how members of the Fugger family inscribed themselves into the diversified charitable landscape of Augsburg (Werner, 1899: 16-17). Into this monastery like complex of 52 houses the Fugger also integrated their first hospitals (Weidenbacher, 1926: 22). By the 1540s a first *Schneidhaus* is mentioned close to this complex and the church St. Jacob<sup>6</sup>. It must have been built as part of the financial and juridical restructuring of Jacob's pious and charitable foundations that was performed by Jacob's nephew Anton Fugger (1493-1560). Anton became count of Kirchberg-Weißenhorn as well as the main manager of the Fugger businesses (Karg, 1994; Häberlein, 2006: 36-95) and continued his uncle's confessional activities during a period of severe tensions between the Catholic Habsburg Emperor and a majority of citizens in Augsburg who supported the Reformation (Warmbrunn, 1983: S. 1-88, 248-315). Close to the end of his life, in 1560, Anton Fugger followed the example of his uncle by underlining his model behavior as a charitable Catholic citizen: in a codicil to his will he stated to have spent annually about 1,200 Florins for curing poor persons suffering especially from *calculus* (bladder stone), *bruch* (hernia) and *carniffel* (scrotal tumor) as a charity. This charitable practice he wanted to be continued in perpetuity. Therefore, Anton provided the financial foundation for the *Schneidhaus* and, in parallel, fixed the supervision for all future. He stipulated that 28,000 Florins with fixed annual interest of 1,400 Florins be given for the benefit of those poor patients. Their medical treatment, food and care were to be covered. Surgery was to be performed by two named surgeons employed by him before (Simnacher and Preysing, 2, 1992: 158-160). His eldest son, Marx (also Marcus) Fugger (1529-1597), was to become supervising administrator, followed by male heirs and successors living in Augsburg<sup>7</sup>. Sources in the Fugger archive show that the sons Marcus and Hans Fugger (1531-1598) and grandsons, for example, Marx (1564-1614) and other heirs such as Georg Fugger (1577-1643) fulfilled what their ancestors expected: During periods of confessional tensions they vindicated the image of exemplary Catholic citizens by initiating further chari-

table spending in the context of the *Schneidhaus* (Kinzelbach, 2021, in print).

During the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries the Fugger families played a major role as supporters of the Catholic Emperors (Häberlein, 2006: 36-119). This political stance pushed their elevation to nobility and made them Janus-faced for citizens in Augsburg. Major tensions occurred during the period before and after the council had introduced the Reformation in 1533 (Kießling, 2011). The Lutheran majority of inhabitants were suspicious, some even spreading rumors that the Fuggers were plotting against the Lutheran government (Wüst, 2015: 71-73). Mistrust between the city administration and especially Anton Fugger amounted to a degree which prohibited the founding of a hospital in Augsburg in 1541. Not much later, however, members of the Fugger family were able to ease communication with the powerful Catholic neighbor in Bavaria and other Catholic sovereigns during the Schmalkaldic War (1546-1547). Anton Fugger, whose wife was the daughter of a patrician councilor, even negotiated the reconciliation between the government of Augsburg and Charles V (1500-1558), the emperor who had defeated the Protestant league (Pölnitz and Kellenbenz, 1967: 160-553; Scheller, 2004: 241-246). This resulted in a reestablishment of the old elite and a participation of Catholic citizens in the government of the city, among these the Fugger family. Anton's heirs remained in powerful political offices until Swedish troupes occupied the city in 1632 to 1635<sup>8</sup>.

The pious and charitable foundations of the successors of Jacob and, then, of Anton Fugger have to be seen against this background. One aspect, certainly, was a representation of Catholic charity as a fundamental contribution to the benefit of the poor. The Lutheran government had reorganized many charitable institutions which resulted, for example, in 1543 in an exclusion of Catholic inhabitants from "St. Jakob-Pfründ", a hospital run by Lutheran administrators (Herberger, 1848: 16-19). Such punishment of confessional opposition was also performed by Anton Fugger. In 1548, during his reorganization of Jacob's foundations, he was assigning a separate juridical status to the

<sup>6</sup> Fuggerarchiv (hereafter: FA) 5.3.2d; Stetten, 1743: 311.

<sup>7</sup> FA 5.3.2.d, (3) No. 1; FA 88.1, 28.5.1586; FA 88.2, 1586, fol. 5-7.

<sup>8</sup> Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Die Chroniken der schwäbischen Städte. Augsburg 7. Stuttgart, Gotha: Perthes 1917: 57-64, 76, 109, 141; Stetten, Paul von. *Geschichte Der Heil. Röm. Reichs Freyen Stadt Augspurg: Aus Bewährten Jahr-Büchern Und Tüchtigen Urkunden Gezogen*. 2 vols. 1. Frankfurt: Merz und Mayer, 1743. [1. Teil bis 1627]: 326, 360, 385, 399, 402-407, 434-435, 757-758, 806, 811, 819.

*Holzhaus* and had banned all citizens of Augsburg from access to this hospital (Stein, 2003: 132-133). In the second half of the sixteenth century, a bi-confessional regiment was established in Augsburg accompanied by an institutionalized framework for quarrelling between Lutheran and Catholic inhabitants (Warmbrunner, 1983). This can be seen as one reason for less confrontational behavior of Anton's successors as administrators of the *Schneidhaus* foundation. From the 1570s, as soon as sources allow to trace the origin of patients in the *Schneidhaus*, we can see that Anton's son Marcus Fugger admitted inhabitants of Augsburg as did his brother Hans Fugger (1531-1598) as well as their successor as administrators the nephew and namesake Marx Fugger (1564-1614)<sup>9</sup>. This conciliatory attitude might be attributed to their Humanist education and a vivid Humanist culture in Augsburg (Ferber, 2010: 411-419; Müller, 2010: 4-10). However, such apparent or imaginable tolerance did not exclude that Anton's heirs continued to represent themselves as exemplary Catholics in similar context. The *Kalenderstreit*, the calendar reform introduced by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 which led to social unrest in Augsburg, can be given as one

of several examples (Roeck, 1989: 125-133). In his correspondence Hans Fugger stressed in this crisis rather strongly that persons agitating against this reform destabilized the society (Dauser, 2008: 12-23, 251-281). Furthermore, in 1586, while serious conflicts prevailed in Augsburg, Marcus added another 4,000 Florins to the capital of the *Schneidhaus*.<sup>10</sup> This underlines that for the Fugger their hospitals remained a means to demonstrate their continued contribution to the benefit of the poor, especially during periods of confessional conflict. Most obvious became the zealous Catholicism in the Imperial general Ottheinrich Fugger (1592-1644): during the Thirty Years' War, after the defeat of Augsburg, he became Imperial governor of the city and tried to re-establish Catholicism as the only valid confession. He even was responsible for initiatives to expell Lutheran inmates from hospitals (Haberer, 2004: 308-334; Herberger, 1848: 32-33). More differentiated insights into how far a representation of exemplary Catholic counts shaped attitudes and influenced the running of the *Schneidhaus* will be provided by further analysis of the account-books, which are beyond the goal of this article (Kinzelbach, 2021: in press).

## ELUSIVE HOSPITAL SPACES AND ARCHITECTURE AS REPRESENTATION OF NOBILITY

Over decades and centuries, the history of the *Schneidhaus* became blurred for various reasons: The buildings were occupied and partly damaged during the Thirty Years' War and the various hostile occupations of Augsburg. Moreover, other hospitals cared temporarily for those patients that were financed by the *Schneidhaus* foundation and were cured by surgeons appointed by the Fugger. Last but not least during the eighteenth century some family-members of the Fugger voted for selling a couple of hospital-spaces; and at the present stage of our research it is only clear that the *Nebenschneidhaus* was sold in 1806 (Kinzelbach, 2021, in press).

Image two shows three different locations for a hospital specializing in surgery – as the literal denomination as 'cutting-house' suggests. In research literature

the existence of a *Schneidhaus* is mentioned but it is placed at two different locations: the *Roßmarkt* (Horse Market), (Stein, 2003: 136; Simnacher, 1960: 98) and *Gänßbüchel* (Goose Hill), (Pölnitz, 1971: 16; Kellenbenz, 2001: 437-438). The location at the market also adjoined the busy *Reichsstraße* close to the main part of the city, whereas the location on the hill transferred the hospital into a garden area at the outer north-eastern end of the suburb St. Jakob.

A third location appears in archival sources that reveals much of the functions imbedded into the mere localization of these hospitals. The very first version of the *Schneidhaus* was placed at the *Kohlmarkt* (Cabbage Market). As indicated in image three, this is a place close to the Fuggerei.<sup>11</sup> According to the text in image three, it was funded by several counts Fugger.

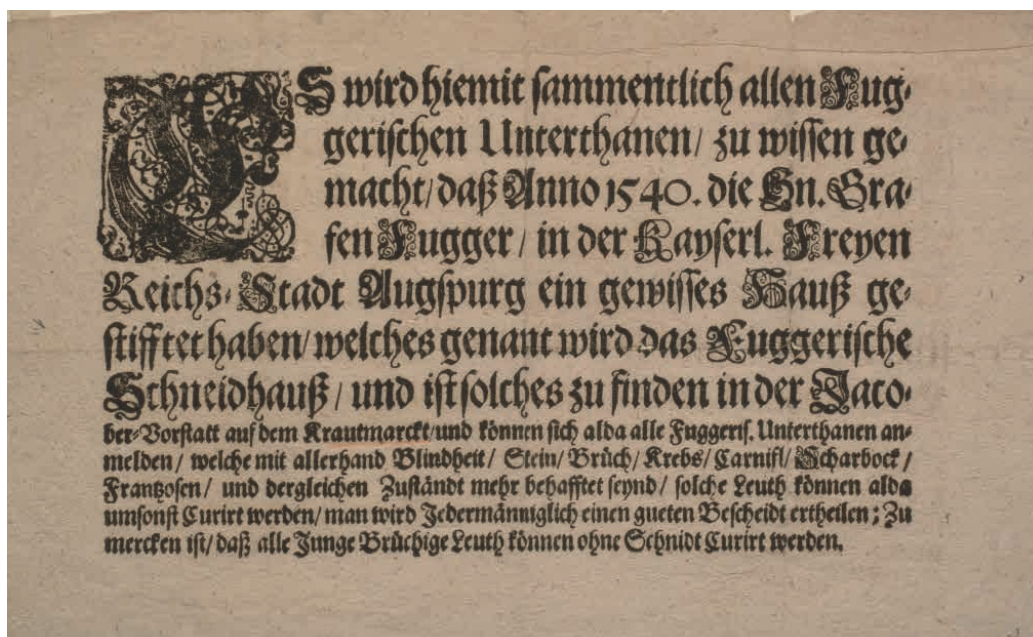
<sup>9</sup> FA 5.3.2d; FA 66.1, fol. 161 (li); FA 88.2; DMM Ms 112.

<sup>10</sup> FA 88.1, 28.05.1586.

<sup>11</sup> FA 5.3.2d.



**Fig. 02.** Braun, Georg; Hogenberg, Franz; Novellanus, Simon: Beschreibung vnd Contrafactur der vornembster Stät der Welt. © <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/braun1582bd1/0089>, 11.10.2016; red marking of Roßmarkt (towards the left), Kohlmarkt (almost in the middle) and Gänßbühel (towards the right) by A. Kinzelbach



**Fig. 03.** Leaflet announcing the "Fuggerische Schneidhaus" in 1540, © Fugger Archive 5.3.2d

Anton Fugger as administrator acted in the name of his late brother Raymund Fugger (1489-1535)<sup>12</sup>.

The leaflet shown in image three announces<sup>13</sup>:

*Herewith it is announced to all subjects of the Fugger that in 1540 the lords Fugger have founded a certain house in the Imperial city Augsburg. [This house] is denominated as Schneidhaus of the Fugger. It is to be found in the Jacob suburb on the Krautmarckt. There, may register all subjects of the Fugger suffering from various blindness, [bladder-] stone, hernia, cancer, scrotal hernia [and other forms of scrotal tumors], scurvy, the French disease and similar diseases. Such persons can be cured there free of charge; everybody will receive a positive reply. Note that the young suffering from hernia can be cured without surgery.*

The *Krautmarkt* had been established as a separate market in 1529 close to the church St. Jacob<sup>14</sup>. The various hospital spaces in the *Fuggerei* were placed also next to St. Jacob (Weidenbacher, 1926: 60-61). Since no further evidence of this specific surgical hospital could be found, the aforementioned leaflet referred probably to a hospital which was not managed as usual by the administrator in the *Fuggerei*, in that case the records have not been kept. An alternate explanation is that, in 1540, Anton made use of already existing hospital-space inside the *Fuggerei* which was provided with this new purpose: Among these was the small "Krankenhaus für Fugger'sche Diener (hospital for servants of the Fugger)" and a hospital that later sources and historians named the *Holzhaus* (woodhouse), where people primarily suffering from the French disease received medical treatment (Weidenbacher, 1926: 112-122; Stein, 2003: 128-135). This implies that the purpose of the *Schneidhaus*, including its designation, would have been changed as early as 1544, such fast alterations seem unlikely<sup>15</sup>.

The location (at a market place) together with the chosen form of publication (an announcement via leaflet) indicate that the family Fugger made use of their charitable institutions in more than one way. The traditional pious and memorial functions still applied – as in other

pious and hospital foundations (Scheller, 2012: 31-171). However, the *Schneidhaus* also served as a means to represent an ideal citizen and sovereign. By placing it at locations frequented by citizens as well as trading peasants from surrounding and own territories and, additionally, by announcing the hospital via leaflet the Fugger transferred their engagement for the poor and suffering publicly to model behavior. First of all, such publication of a hospital founding could occur as a general contrast to politics of the Lutheran government: In the aftermath of the Reformation the governors transferred a hospital that served wealthier and well established inmates – it accepted exclusively retired members of the council and citizens – into space that had been owned by a monastery where a "wonderful building" was constructed (Herberger, 1848: 14-16). In providing a different image which might serve as model behavior towards the poor, the Fugger also aimed at inhabitants of the city. Inside the walls, it might have been considered as a response to a repeated critique of an ostentatious lifestyle, especially of Anton Fugger's family. Anton and his sons, for example, had reconstructed houses into palaces in which emperors stayed as guests and they had performed expensive festivities when children married (Lieb, 1958, S. 90: 158-203; Pölnitz, Kellenbenz 1986: 348-356; Mauer, 2001: 101-106).

Second, the announcement of a hospital for subjects of the Fugger was another step to represent model noblemen and a definitive step towards integrating inhabitants of the acquired territorial and feudal property. Only few explanations for this function can be developed in this paper, more of the complex set are developed in a separate paper (Kinzelbach, 2021b: in press). The arguments will be based on an explanation of the rather intriguing role of a surgeon-family and they need the context of the complicated story of the *Schneidhaus* property.

Intriguingly, since 1543 several specialized surgeons are first in leaving traces indicating that the hospital intended by Anton Fugger was actually working, among these was Mauritz Stromair who also embodied the public office as *pruch vnnd Stainschneider* (lit. cutter of hernia and bladder-stones) of the Imperial city<sup>16</sup>.

12 This is recorded for the *Holzhaus* in 1548, FA 66.1-1, fol. 45.

13 FA 5.3.2d (My translation remains close to the early modern text, where possible. The punctuation is changed in order to provide a clearer structure. Where necessary for comprehensibility, I am rendering free).

14 Stetten, 1743: 311 Kohl-Märckte.

15 FA 66.2-1, s.f. (1544); FA 66.1-1, fol. 44-52.

16 FA 1.2.1, fol. 2v, 4-5, 7-8, 14, 18, 20 and s.f. (1543); FA 5.3.2b; FA 88.2, 1571; 1574. The members of the family Stromair will be

In Anton Fugger's will from 1560, his son Joseph Stromair is mentioned as one of the surgeons who should receive compensation from the hospital foundation for performing surgery of hernia and bladder-stones, as before (Simnacher and Preysing, 1992: 160). Joseph seems to have continued his commissioned surgery: the onset of the series of account books for the foundation of Anton in 1571 proves that he received compensation for performing surgery of hernia and bladder-stones on 89 persons<sup>17</sup>.

Moreover, another member of the family Stromair assisted in establishing a permanent localization for a big and a small *Schneidhaus*. As mentioned above, in 1540 the city-council had rejected the foundation of another Fugger hospital, so this acquisition resembles a cherished schedule. In August 1583, Moritz Stromair acquired two houses, courtyards and a garden by the *Roßmarckt* in the vicinity of Friar's Gate<sup>18</sup>. These buildings were to become the big *Schneidhaus* and the smaller *Nebenschneidhaus* of the Fugger: Stromair sold his property to Marcus, Hans, and Jacob Fugger after less than four months after purchasing them<sup>19</sup>. It seems that this transaction was based on either a clientele or a patronage relationship between the Fugger and the Stromair families. Moritz Stromair was a *Schnittarzt*, a specialized surgeon, and citizen of Augsburg coming from a family that had been established in pertinent public offices since 1543. In 1579 he had received a contract for the public office of specialized surgeon (*statt Schnittarzet vnnd diener*) similar to his ancestors<sup>20</sup>. It is not yet clear where Joseph and other members of the Stromair family cured their patients before 1583.

From December 1583 the big *Schneidhaus* and the smaller *Nebenschneidhaus* were run in a building combination near the *Roßmarckt* (horse market). Unfortunately, today only size and structure of the smaller building can be seen.



Fig. 04. A 2019 photograph of the present-day *Nebenschneidhaus* located near the horse market, photo by A. Kinzelbach

The big hospital was destroyed during World War II. The smaller house (see image four) with the exception of the roof is built similar to the rough plan of a hospital-construction in 1571 (depicted in image six). However, since it currently is not designated as a protected monument, the building may have been reconstructed later. This implies also that the recently altered curb roof which could have been typical for Renaissance-buildings in Augsburg as well as for those built during the eighteenth century became no decisive factor<sup>21</sup>.

The structure of the hospital buildings followed property rights as well as technical necessities and medical needs and they seemed to perform representational functions. The basis for the latter, however, is a discussion of functions and the complicated history of acquisitions and sellings. The two buildings were ar-

described in more detail in a forthcoming paper. First results have been published in a conference: Kinzelbach, Annemarie. Transforming Skills: Two Early Modern Manuscripts and Surgery of Hernia in Early Modern Imperial cities, paper presented on 2.9.2020 during the ESHS-conference, Bologna, online, room 10, S4 Learning by Doing and Doing to Learn: Skills, Texts and the Materiality of Surgical Knowledge in Early Modern Europe – 2, Abstracts, S. 190-191. An article under this title is forthcoming

17 FA 5.3.2b; FA 88.2, 1571.

18 Stadtarchiv Augsburg (from here StadtAA) Litera-Register mit Grundbuchkopien G 325, and G 326, 323, 322; StadtAA Repertorium Grundbuchauszüge Bd. XV G 1-340.

19 FA 103.4, 2.12.1583.

20 StadtAA 00129 Urkundenselekte-Bestellungsurkunden, 1579 Dezember 16, Moritz Stromair, Bürger.

21 Stadt Augsburg – Untere Denkmalschutzbehörde, Häuser-Plan der Kriegszerstörungen 1944. Special thanks to Gerhard Huber, Stadt Augsburg – Untere Denkmalschutzbehörde, who shared his specific knowledge in a most helpful and efficient way and assisted thus in identifying these buildings.

ranged in an L-formation. In image four is visible how the small *Nebenschneidhaus* – situated exactly in the same neighborhood of other buildings as its earlier version – adjoined at the one side open space and at the backside was separated by a clearance from a neighboring building. How tiny distances were separating neighbors in early modern Augsburg can be seen in image five, in which the Fuggers' property between the street and the river Lech is marked red – two houses joined at street-level, a garden, shared courts



**Fig. 05.** Location of the large and small *Schneidhaus* with a garden in Augsburg, Wengplan 1874, © Stadt Augsburg - Untere Denkmalbehörde; annotations made by A. Kinzelbach.

and spaces for air or ditches for roof water<sup>22</sup>.

Image 5 shows how one neighbor (no. 324) was surrounded at two sides by the backside of the small *Schneidhaus* (no. 326) and side-parts of the big *Schneidhaus* (no. 326) with adjoining garden and how these houses shared an inner courtyard (bigger red oval mark) giving access to the river Lech (here *Ochsenlech*). The courtyard could be entered from the garden at the backside of the big hospital<sup>23</sup>. The smaller building served primarily as home and private hospital for the surgeons (*Schneidarzet*) who often did not have to pay rent<sup>24</sup>.

The bigger house, often named *Großes Schneidhaus*, sheltered the patients coming for surgical treatment

and was equipped for medical purposes and care in a functional manner, including aesthetic aspects<sup>25</sup>. The rooms for *Schneidhausvater* (lit. hospital father) and *Schneidhausmutter* (lit. hospital mother), both responsible for the care of patients, and the kitchen were on the ground floor. On the second floor, medicine and caregiving prevailed: surgery was performed in a room facing the street. Windows of rooms for patients were oriented towards the garden and provided with glass-windows to provide light and ventilation. Glass allowed light to enter the rooms while also keeping warmth produced by several tile stoves inside, since winter, but also spring, and autumn could bring cold temperatures to Augsburg. Windows and their orientation provided promises of good recovery since also the noises of a busy street were kept out, and gardens were appreciated in medical and city-related literature as healthy and recreational spaces (Rawcliffe, 2008). The glass-windows needed almost annual repair, so the Fugger family – most probably encouraged by the surgeons who needed light for the performance of surgery – must have appreciated the functional and perhaps also the representative aspect of window glass as signal of wealth (van Dülmen, 1999: 63-65)<sup>26</sup>.

The required rooms must have been spacious enough to even permit cures that lasted for thirteen weeks, because patients remained in the hospital to the point they felt cured. For instance, between November 1596 and November 1597 the appointed surgeon performed 71 operations. His patients, admitted on average every fifth day, stayed most often between six and seven weeks to cure their wounds<sup>27</sup>. So at the very least ten beds were necessary and this fits nicely into an inventory written in 1626. Six beds for adults and four beds for young persons are listed and nine bed curtains, and additionally, three cots and a bed with green curtains for the ward guardian, the same color as the curtains for the windows<sup>28</sup>. The numbers of straw- or bran-mattresses (32) and of bed-covers (23) suggest that not only mothers of small children under age one stayed with the baby-patients, but other kin probably joined the patients, also. The joined access

22 Augsburg – Untere Denkmalbehörde, extract Augsburg Wengplan 1874; StadtAA Litera-Register mit Grundbuchkopien G 325, and G 326, 323, 322; StadtAA Repertorium Grundbuchauszüge Bd. XV G 1-340; FA 103.4, 2.12.1583; FA 5.3.3 (2) 1750-1760.

23 Augsburg – Untere Denkmalbehörde, section of Augsburg Wengplan 1874; the relation between the properties is visible best in Augsburg Urkataster ca. 1810, Freistaat Bayern.

24 FA 5.3.3 (1) 14.3.1609; 1.10.1626; 3.7.1647; 5.7.1660.

25 Details are recorded as well in the account-books FA 88.2-88.5 as in several voluminous files FA 5.3.2b-d, FA 5.3.3.

26 FA 88.2-88.5; FA 5.3.3; 5.3.2c.

27 FA 88.3.

28 FA 5.3.2c.

for mother and child is recorded in account books, whereas other kin is not mentioned, perhaps because they financed their residence themselves.

Further aspects of health for body and soul seemed to matter (Henderson, 2006): The hospital was equipped with a bath, with privies and a separate washhouse. A sewer channeled wastewater into a ditch which flowed into the river. Since the performed surgery was accompanied by blood-loss and the usually disposal of blood in ditches was forbidden in Augsburg, the access to the river (as shown in image 5) was important. Concern for the soul – and for enhancing Catholicism – becomes obvious in the detailed account of *Handtbüchlen* (hand books) which listed five Catechisms, and ten books with pious content and only three books focusing other issues as for example the solstice<sup>29</sup>.

The localisation of the *Schneidhaus*-buildings suggests not only practical considerations but also representational functions. The combination of two houses facing the *Reichsstraße*, a very busy street coming from Bavaria and leading into Swabia and Franconia, could have served to send messages into these territories underlining the noble engagement of the Fugger for the poor. Moreover, acquiring and running a hospital at a market place, the *Roßmarkt*, marked in image 2, points to a similar intention, especially because this was the market which provided the city with meat. Additionally, the Fugger were making a confessional statement by positioning their hospital as near as possible opposite the façade of “St. Jakob-Pfründ” and a newly enlarged and transferred Lutheran hospital. The “St. Jakob-Pfründ” hospital had been established during the 1540s in the former monastery of the friars by the Lutheran government, as mentioned above (Herberger, 1848: 14-19). The new hospital emerged shortly before the sons of Anton Fugger bought the houses belonging to the *Schneidhaus* in the same main road: The *Pilgerhaus*, a densely populated hospital controlled by Lutherans, was enabled to move into the *Reichsstraße*, away from too small housing, by a foundation of Martin Zobel in 1578. Zobel’s enterprises were similar to those of the Fugger, yet he

was member of the leading Lutheran elite in Augsburg (Trometer, 1998: 35-47).

There is, however, more to be said concerning the architecture of the *Schneidhaus*: It is well known that Fugger palaces and chapels served as representations of extraordinary citizens, pious Catholics and humanist noblemen (Lieb, 1958: 158-195, 266-290; Häberlein, 2010: 25-27, Karg, Fugger, 2008: 3-31). This paper suggests that the heirs of Anton Fugger also represented themselves as humanists in hospital-buildings and in acquiring knowledge in the context of this specific hospital. In order to analyze this aspect the third location suggested by the literature will be considered: the *Gensbühl* (goose hill) is named as place for the *Holzhaus* and for the *Schneidhaus* (Pölnitz, 1971: 16; Kellenbenz, 2001: 437-438). For some decades the financial basis for these two hospitals was destabilized and so, following financial need and the aftermath of the Thirty Years’ War, the *Schneidhaus* might have been transferred temporarily to goose hill: the financial basis for the hospitals, especially the silver-mining, became unreliable<sup>30</sup>. Financial shortages also may have led temporary to an alternating opening of both hospitals as suggested by Claudia Stein (Stein, 2003: 137). Though Stein’s conclusion is based on one unreliable source, the account books show that from 1610 the summer-brake in the *Schneidhaus* extended from about three weeks during the sixteenth century to 25 weeks in 1622 and more than 34 weeks in following years<sup>31</sup>. The situation worsened because soldiers occupied the rooms for patients in the *Schneidhaus*. Moreover, in the period of dearth in Augsburg house father and house mother had stripped the hospital of most what the soldiers had left of the equipment.<sup>32</sup> So, in 1638 patients of the surgeon appointed by the counts Fugger recovered in the aforementioned Lutheran *Pilgerhaus*. The government of Augsburg wished to alter this situation not least because the war had shown damaging effects on financial resources of city and citizens (Roeck, 1989: 870-876, 882-885)<sup>33</sup>. Moreover, in 1642 the surgeon appointed for the Fugger foundation appealed to re-open the *Schneidhaus*, at least partly. An on-site inspection in 1647, however, revealed serious damage and implied even

29 FA 5.3.2b; 5.3.2c 1626, 1633.

30 FA 5.3.3 (2-35, 39-40).

31 FA 88.3, 88.4, 88.5, 88.6.

32 FA 5.3.3, 7.11.1638, 7.12.1638.

33 FA 5.3.3 (31-33).

that the *Nebenschneidhaus* could collapse<sup>34</sup>. From the second half of the seventeenth century the *Schneidhaus* became the home of the surgeons and traces of cures for patients in this house are still missing<sup>35</sup>. Attempts to sell the hospitals in 1648 and 1737 resulted in serious conflicts within the Fugger families, and it is not clear whether vain attempts to regain a *Schneidhaus* referred to one of the two houses on the *Roßmarkt* or to the hospital on goose hill<sup>36</sup>. Though singular scribes occur not familiar with the actual places, it is in the eighteenth century, when the location of the hospitals suddenly were mixed up: In 1738, the small *Schneidhaus* is located at goose hill<sup>37</sup>.

Bearing in mind that probably goose hill was the third location of the *Schneidhaus*, it seems justified to include the architecture of the hospital on goose hill in this article and continue the quest into the meaning of hospital architecture for representative purposes of the Fugger family.

This sketch of a new hospital situated on a slope was provided by the master mason of the Fugger foundations, Benterieder, in 1571<sup>38</sup>. Benterieder alluded in his outline of the façade freely to Late Renaissance-Elements, for example Tuscan order and rustication of the first floor and a rather playful adaptation of elements at the windows, as suggested, for instance, by Sebastiano Serlio<sup>39</sup>. The big library of the counts Fugger most probably contained Serlio's illustrated work, because that would be expected from rich merchants eager to become leading humanists (Häberlein, 2006: 142-163)<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, the sketchy outline of the windows on the second floor suggests familiarity with the newly built façade of Villa Giulia in Rome; since the counts Fugger also provided loans to Roman Popes, the counts were familiar with ongoing constructions in the pontifical state (Stetten, 1762). The plans suggest a building covering about 110 square meters of ground, organized over a vaulted cellar in three storeys. As mentioned above, size and structure resemble the small *Schneidhaus*, the present situation is depicted in image 4. Even the chimney is to be found at the same place in the only roughly sketched roof with two dormers (image 6). The whole building alludes to the fact that the heirs of Anton Fugger modelled even a rather small hospital into a representation of what the family members wished to communicate to the citizens of Augsburg and to visiting inhabitants of surrounding territories, including the newly acquired Fugger territories: A fusion of exemplary charitable citizen, humanist European nobleman and responsible ruler of territory.

A manuscript belonging to the context of the *Schneidhaus*, underlines this conclusion and opens new perspectives, at the same time<sup>41</sup>.



**Fig. 06.** Rough sketch of the façade of a new hospital on goose hill by the master mason Benterieder, ca. 1571; ©FA 5.3.2b

34 FA 5.3.3 (37-45).

35 FA 5.3.3 (53-102).

36 FA 5.3.3 (102-275); FA 5.3.3 (2) 7.12.1757.

37 FA 88.4, 1623, p. 22; FA 5.3.3 (252).

38 FA 5.3.2b.

39 Serlio, Sebastiano. *Extraordinario libro di architettura*, Venetia 1560: Marchio Sessa fratelli, illustrations (for example VI, XII);

40 In 1656 a Fugger library was sold containing 15.000 volumes, Stetten, 1762: 205. Diverse Fugger libraries are now incorporated in scientific public libraries in Munich <<https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/sammlungen/bestandseueberblick/bestandsgeschichte/>> and Augsburg <<https://www.uni-augsburg.de/de/organisation/bibliothek/uber-uns/ausstellungen/markus-fugger-bibliothek/>>.

41 Deutsches Medizinhistorisches Museum, MS 112.



**Fig. 07.** Illustrated Manuscript representing records of surgery and bladder stones, MS 112, © Deutsches Medizinhistorisches Museum Ingolstadt.

The anonymous manuscript in the museum in Ingolstadt displays 20 similar double-pages with adorned records of cures of hernia on the left and disembodied bladder stones on the right side. All-in-all it represents an elaborate, though odd account of surgery on 704 different patients because many details but no dates are given, one singular exception is dated December 1617. Comparison with account-books from the Fugger archive revealed that all cures were performed in the *Schneidhaus* of the Fugger during the first decades of the seventeenth century<sup>42</sup>. Though neither author nor initiator of the manuscript are known, this manuscript could fit perfectly into the developed arguments: The opposite folios could be seen rather simplistically as a form of representation for success in the running of an innovative hospital. The purpose of treatment was to release cured patients and only few red crosses signaled total medical defeat because of the death of patients. Documenting a specifically successful hospital for the public might have enhanced the prestige of Marx Fugger (1564-1614) in a time of increasing confessional and social tensions shortly before and during the first decade of the Thirty Years' War<sup>43</sup>.

However, the manuscript's artful illustrations point at a broader goal. The pictures of bladder stones, especially the variety of the stones presented to the reader, also provide an argument in a scholarly or learned

debate (Kusukawa, 2012: 250). This also would not only fit perfectly into the image shaping of a family with an increasingly learned tradition and humanist engagement. The contribution to a scholarly debate was, additionally, enhanced by a collection of natural objects gathered from the invisible parts inside the human body. The manuscript's illustrations represented these objects and made them to marvels of God's creation. As Mark Meadow underlined, the Fugger participated in a system of collectors and purveyors of marvels which allowed them to place "themselves within an intellectual and social milieu that furthered much more than their business goals. As a result, at least in part, the Fuggers gained the rank of minor nobility, status as legitimate scholars and humanists, a role as patrons of the arts, scholarship, and technology" (Meadow, 2002: 184). Moreover, the manuscript was a means to proceed beyond architecture which was tied to one place – Augsburg. The manuscript transferred practices inside the *Schneidhaus* into transportable evidence, thus allowing the counts Fugger to display, wherever necessary, their practice as models for Catholic charitable citizens and rulers of territories in combination with hints at their noble engagement for revealing wonders and marvels while also encouraging accountability of medical personnel and advancement of medical knowledge.

42 FA 88.3-88.5.

43 FA 5.3.3. (1) 14.3.1609.

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