

News Networks in Early Modern Europe

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News Networks in Early Modern Europe

Edited by

Joad Raymond
Noah Moxham



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Places and Dates

In a volume that not only covers a broad expanse of Europe over a long period but also needs to accommodate the scholarly conventions of contributors from an area almost as broad there needs to be a degree of flexibility in relation to naming. The naming of places has been an interestingly complicated issue. Where there are modern English names in general use for cities we have preferred these (Vienna rather than Wien or its numerous alternatives); otherwise we have preferred original names and spellings (though these have been made consistent), especially where they are commonly used in the historiography (Breslau, rather than Wrocław, Thorn rather than Toruń). However, where there is a strong argument for preserving an unfamiliar name—in order to be consistent to sources or sympathetic to analysis—we have done so. Latitude has been granted to contributors to exercise discretion over what best suits their subject.

Two calendars operated in Europe during this period, the Julian, used since the first century BC, and the Gregorian, introduced by Pope Gregory in 1582. While the Italian states, France, Spain and Portugal immediately adopted the Gregorian calendar, soon followed by the Roman Catholic states of the Holy Roman Empire, Poland and Hungary, other European states did not do so until much later; the protestant states of the Holy Roman Empire in 1700; Great Britain in 1752, and Greece in 1923. The Gregorian dealt with an imperfection in the Julian calendar, but the switch necessitated a significant alteration of the date. In 1582 the Gregorian calendar was ten days ahead of the Julian; after 1700 eleven days. This can result in confusion when tracing the movement of news around Europe, particularly when considering time delays and the speed of news. All chapters use the local calendar—n.s., new style, s.n., or *stilo novo* indicating the Gregorian; o.s., old style, s.v. or *stilo veteri* indicating the Julian—and explicit disambiguation appears where necessary.

Abbreviations and Other Conventions

Names are given in their modern form, and have been anglicised when this form is in common usage. However, quotations have not been modernised, though u/v have mostly been standardised for ease of reading.

BL	British Library, London
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
EEBO	Early English Books Online
HMSO	Her / His Majesty's Stationery Office
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
SP	State Papers, at The National Archives, Kew, London
STC	A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, <i>Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and English Books Printed Abroad 1473–1640</i> (1926; revised edition, London, 1976–91)
TNA	The National Archives, Kew, London
USTC	Universal Short-Title Catalogue
Wing	Donald Wing, <i>Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700</i> (1945–51; revised edition, New York, 1972–98)

Notes on Contributors

Ruth Ahnert

is a Senior Lecturer in Renaissance Studies at Queen Mary University of London. Her work focuses on the literature and culture of the Tudor period, with a specific emphasis on religious history and letter writing. She is the author of *The Rise of Prison Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2013), and editor of *Re-forming the Psalms in Tudor England*, a special issue of the journal *Renaissance Studies* (2015). Ruth has held fellowships at the Folger Shakespeare Library and Stanford Humanities Center. She has also been awarded an AHRC fellowship to work on 'Tudor Networks of Power', a collaborative project that applies quantitative network analysis to the study of the Tudor State Papers. Ruth is also working on an edition of *The Letters of the Marian Martyrs* with Thomas S. Freeman (Boydell and Brewer, forthcoming).

Paul Arblaster

holds a D.Phil. from Oxford University (2000) and teaches at the Marie Haps Faculty of Translation and Interpreting, Saint-Louis University, Brussels, and the Louvain School of Translation and Interpreting. He has published books on 17th century journalism in the Habsburg Netherlands (*From Ghent to Aix*, 2014), on the 17th century journalist Richard Verstegan (*Antwerp & the World*, 2004), and a *History of the Low Countries* (2nd edition 2012). His academic essays and articles concern early-modern news, communication, translation, exile, martyrology and monasticism.

Sara Barker

is a Lecturer in Early Modern History at the University of Leeds. Her first monograph *Protestantism, Poetry and Protest: The Vernacular Writings of Antoine de Chandieu (c.1534–1591)* (Ashgate, 2009) explored the different media forms used by a leading figure of the French Reformation. She has published on early modern translation and news, including a volume co-edited with Brenda M. Hosington, *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640* (Brill, 2013) and is currently working on a project investigating international news pamphlets.

Sheila Barker

took her PhD in art history at Columbia University in 2002, and since 2010 she has directed the Jane Fortune Research Program on Women Artists at the Medici Archive Project. In relation to this program she has edited two forthcoming volumes: *Artiste nel Chiostrò* (Memorie Domenicane, 2015), and *Women*

Artists in Early Modern Italy: Careers, Fame, Collectors (Brepols, 2015). Additionally she pursues topics in the history of medicine, as in her essay, 'Christine of Lorraine and Medicine at the Medici Court', in *Medici Women: the Making of a Dynasty in Grand Ducal Tuscany*, ed. Giovanna Benadusi and Judith C. Brown (Toronto, 2015).

André Belo

(b. 1971) has a PhD in History (on printed and handwritten news in eighteenth century Portugal). He is *Maître de Conférences* or Associate Professor in the department of Portuguese Studies in the University of Rennes 2, France. From 2011 to 2013 he was a member of the 'Early Modern News Networks' project (dir. Joad Raymond). Main publications: *As Gazetas e os livros* (Lisbon, 2001); *História & Livro e Leitura* (Belo Horizonte, 2002, 2nd edition 2013), 'Language as a Second Skin: the Representation of Black Africans in Portuguese Theatre (Fifteenth to Early Seventeenth Century)', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 36 (2013). His current research interests are aspects of social identity and testimony in the Iberian world.

Davide Boerio

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News Networks in Early Modern Europe

Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham

Let us begin with a question: what is news?

No one will dispute that the category of news has a degree of transhistorical pertinence. But what do we mean by news—or *nouvelles*, *notizie*, *noticias*, *noticias*, *zeitungen*, *tijdingen*, *haber*, *newyddion*? We know what the dictionaries say, but we equally know, from experience, that writing about the history of news, or more commonly writing about particular kinds of news, shares no consensus on a working historical definition. Most of the time it does not matter, because we are happy to run with a loose definition, but then it comes into play in debates about particular forms and about priorities which are affected by definitions—whether a monthly or biannual periodical should feature in histories of newspapers, for example, whether exact periodicity matters, whether issue numbering is an essential. That is to say, the definition of news is contested in discussions about inclusion and exclusion.

This is not an exclusively modern problem. We can see the same paradigms being crossed in Jonson's 1626 play *The Staple of News*, in an exchange between Cymbal, the entrepreneur who runs the Staple, a news scriptorium, Fitton, his employee, and Penyboy Junior, a gullible customer:

FIT. O Sir! it is the printing we oppose.

CYM. We not forbid that any *Newes*, be made,
But that 't be printed; for when *Newes* is printed,
It leaves Sir to be *Newes*. while 'tis but written –

FIT. Though it be ne're so false, it runnes *Newes* still.

P. JU. See divers mens opinions! unto some,
The very printing of them, makes the *Newes*;
That ha'not the heart to beleeve any thing,
But what they see in print.¹

So what makes something news? Can we even say that it is something recent? Not really, because accounts of early-modern people exchanging news show

¹ Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, in *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* [The second volume] (London, 1631), p. 15.

them passing on, and valuing as news, something that is weeks, months, years old, an old sermon or battle, or, significantly, confirming one of two or more earlier, already received, reports; and we recognise that what counts as recent is proportional to distance anyway. Furthermore, as several of the chapters in this collection make plain, news was sometimes more efficiently and speedily transmitted in person than in manuscript or in print, and many forms of written news sought not so much to be the first source of information as to confirm, correct, contextualise or reconfigure news which was already circulating orally. News is as much about the nature of the exchange as it is about the content.

So is it possible to define news? Is it reasonable to ground a definition on a typology of bibliographic criteria, a practice well-represented in the Anglophone tradition, and productively used in Andrew Pettegree's recent history? Or should we look towards a less positivistic list of criteria for what makes a particular event into news, such as the sociologists Galtung and Ruge proposed in the seminal 1973 volume, *The Manufacture of News*?² This is the kind of move that Gérard Genette makes in *Paratexts*, where he states that what he offers is "a synchronic and not a diachronic study—an attempt at a general picture, not a history of the paratext". Yet, as Roger Chartier argues in relation to paratexts, this runs the risk of effacing the specificity of the textual configurations, the trade conditions, the technologies, the social formation, the patronage relations that govern the production, appropriation and reception of works in different periods.³ A similar problem, and certainly a more complicated one, arises in relation to news. In order to write a history of early modern news that is not a reflection of its modern history, we must be attentive—more attentive than a positive definition or a typology of news affords—to the logic and the discontinuities that govern particular exchanges of news.

If we start with a synchronic definition, we treat the thing as an organism with a continuous existence, something that evolves yet retains some degree of identity. The *reductio ab absurdum* of this can be found in the light-hearted but nonetheless symptomatic chapter headings of Joseph Franks' seminal

2 Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014); Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge, 'Structuring and selecting news', in *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance, and the Mass Media*, ed. Stanley Cohen and Jock Young (London: Constable, 1973), pp. 62–72; according to Galtung and Ruge, news is information with a specific quality (up-to-dateness, media transmission, publicity). Cf. Alphonse Silbermann, *Handbuch der Massenkommunikation und Medienforschung* (Berlin: Volker Spiess, 1982).

3 Roger Chartier, *The Author's Hand and Printer's Mind*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), pp. 135–6.

1961 book, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper*: 'Early Adolescence', 'Growing Pains', 'Coming of Age', 'Maturity'. This work, incidentally, influenced the first part of Jürgen Habermas' *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, first published in German in 1962, which has cast a shadow, both inspiring and imposing, over histories of news in the Anglophone world since its translation in 1989. Surely Genette would have done better to start with a diachronic (or historical) approach in order to judge which categories have some grip beyond the present, before erecting a synchronic typology that might be no more than an aetiology of the present.

We dwell on this because the problem of definitions and boundaries seems to us to be both a matter of mere convention, to which the most appropriate response might be comfortable indifference, and a fundamental impasse to how an adequate history of news might be written. By adequate here we mean both senses: satisfactory, and fully and exactly representing its object (*OED* 2, 3b).

We do not only mean that it is hard to write a book about something when you cannot say what it is, but that to write a history of the newspaper, for example, or a history of *avvisi*; or to write a history of periodicity, or of news pamphlets; or to write a history of diplomatic news communication and so on; is to make a decision about exclusion that probably runs counter to our own working definition of news, one that emphasises flows, continuities, networks, social improvisation. We see passing recognition of this in scholarship on one topic or another that acknowledges the relevance of other modes of news communication while staying sharply focussed; but there is a deeper problem than that, one that emerges from the fundamental inseparability of modes of news communication.

News is essentially connective and dynamic, and resists this kind of compartmentalisation. When we look at a barber shop in a particular street in Venice in 1550, to understand the significance of what is said by the barber to his customer we need to know the position of that barber shop in relation to the Rialto Bridge and St Mark's Square, which, though joined by the *Mercerie* with its long run of book shops, were distinguished by the different kinds of itinerant vendors who populated them, a distinction codified in periodically issued orders and rules, and by the fact that the former was the economic nervous system of the city, the latter its political heart. But we would also need to know about how news leaked from the city's rich and complex diplomatic network, which received *avvisi* from the government, and sent in return newsletters from embassies that were transformed into *avvisi secreti*, which in turn fragmentarily made their way into *avvisi pubblici*. We would need to know the rules governing the restriction of certain kinds of news to the Council of Ten, the

Senate, the Great Council and the Inquisitors of State, and how leakage happened. We would need to know the conventions of the oral exchange of news, and we would need to know whether this barber shop was spied upon by those working, directly or indirectly, for the Inquisitors. And it would certainly benefit us to look outside the city, to the different channels of news: who was receiving news from Antwerp, and who from Vienna? Did this piece of news from Constantinople arrive by the faster sea route, passing through Syria then Cyprus before reaching Corfu? Or did it travel more slowly overland towards Ioannina, and then on to Corfu? The question matters because the former route was faster but less reliable, which would factor in the careful weighing of news.⁴ And there are sure to be many other things that we do not yet know that we need to know.

So the difficulty in defining news is not only a matter of common historiographical practice, but also a consequence of the distinctive properties of the thing itself, and these are transferred to its apparently simpler components, such as a newspaper, or a conversation held while having a shave.

One of the most entrenched approaches to managing this excess—and we think *management* is a useful concept, and an experience that we share with early modern people who participated in some way in the production, distribution and reception of news—is to restrict analysis geographically.⁵ The history of news grows out of mid-nineteenth century histories of newspapers, and these earlier histories were embedded in national concerns and nationalist ideology. Though they acknowledged the significance of international news, and sometimes the influence of international models for news dissemination, they emphasised domestic politics, commerce, innovation and readers. The interest in news of the nation, and the need to create a story of news that reflected the spirit or culture of the people—their people—seemed to these early historians to erect as firm a barrier as language.⁶

4 In addition to the chapters by Carnelos and Palazzo in this volume, see Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Laura Carnelos, *Con libri alla mano: L'editoria di larga diffusione a Venezia tra Sei e Settecento* (Milano: Unicopli, 2012); Mario Infelise, *Prima dei Giornali: Alle Origini della Pubblica Informazione, secoli XVI e XVII* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002), p. 31.

5 A conference on the theme of 'Managing the News in Early Modern Europe' was held at the Huizinga Institute, University of Amsterdam, 18–20 July 2014.

6 Joad Raymond, 'Review Article: The History of Newspapers and the History of Journalism: two disciplines or one?' *Media History* 5 (1999), pp. 223–32; and Raymond, ed., *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe* (London: Routledge, 2006), also published as a special double issue of *Media History* 11.1/2 (April 2005).

Probably the most important transformation in the recent historiography of news is a changed understanding of the importance of geography. Studies of news media have shifted their focus away from case studies and well-defined histories towards examining transnational connections of news, either by looking at a particular news flow (news exchanged between Constantinople and Venice, or the spread of news of a particular event), or by examining a large body of news (a collection of newsletters, say, or printed periodicals in one or more countries) and finding evidence of, and measuring, the movement of news through areas outside the immediate geography of that source material. In some instances this is supported by quantitative network analysis and other methods developed by STEM subjects (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics). We mean here the research undertaken by the *Fuggerzeitungen* Project, including Nikolaus Schobesburger and Paola Molina, by Stéphane Haffemayer, Johann Petitjean, Renate Pieper, Virginia Dillon, and others; and, using more traditional humanities methods, Nicholas Brownlees, Brendan Dooley and Nina Lamal.

The full consequences of this research are still being felt for, but it seems to us that a paradigm is shifting in media history, at least as it pertains to the early-modern period. Defining scope by political (or even theological) geography is no longer plausible, because that geography is artificial and profoundly porous, and because early-modern subjects did not think of communicative geography in those terms. Even in cases where we can point to a concretely expressed wish to restrict access to a network or part of a network—as for instance the limiting of the network of postal relays in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century France to the business of the crown, which envisaged stiff penalties for any breach—we tend to find evidence that these attempts are unsuccessful, and of people managing to obtain access to it; and such semi-enclosed networks in any case themselves depend on other networks. We need to find a way of writing that is not confined to political boundaries, but follows flows. One implication of this is that we need a more complex relationship with political and social history: we cannot rely on narratives, periodisation, units of analysis, and no doubt other things, established in those forms of history for which political geography is a dominant unit.

Adopting the network as a way of conceptualising early modern news allows us to follow flows in precisely this way, while at the same time enabling us to maintain an understanding of news that respects its conceptual integrity; in other words, that does not compel us to view it in strictly developmental terms or, even worse, as an epiphenomenon of a putative march of western political culture towards liberal democracy; that does not enforce separation between the various forms of news and thereby isolate them from the spheres in which they actually functioned; and that allows us to transcend national

historiographies of news, and to avoid confining early modern news within boundaries which it does not in fact respect. This leads, of course, to some serious practical problems. The history of the media experienced powerful changes towards the end of the twentieth century, when it benefited from a series of interdisciplinary approaches—comprising social history, the history of books and of reading, post-revisionist methodology and so on—which resulted in a much richer approach towards understanding both the social and historical significance and the internal logic of the media. However, the consequence of this was an inevitable centripetal tendency: more detailed studies of smaller topics, in the vein of representative microhistory or material reconstruction (in important work by Ottavia Niccoli, Jason McElligott, David Randall, Filippo de Vivo, and Rosa Salzberg).⁷ How could the archival intensity and attention to minutiae demanded by this kind of work be married with the scope proposed by quantitative analysis and transnational coverage?

It was the prospect of this dilemma that resulted in a 2011 application to the Leverhulme Trust for funding for a research network—though in 2011 the shift towards transnational analysis using quantitative methods was not so evident. The initial proposal defined the network's objective as “to devise methods for analysing news communication across Europe, to identify and address the problems inherent in studying news culture in the microscopic detail that has become necessary in recent years, combined with the geographical and chronological expanse proposed here”. The network would spend one year formulating such methods, and a second year testing them. The intention was to “provide a framework for creativity and innovation” that “could be the first stage in a longer-term project through which the news networks of Europe could be comprehensively mapped”.⁸ The application was successful, and the network was launched with four other core members: Paul Arblaster (then at Zuyd University, Maastricht), André Belo (Université Rennes 2), Carmen Espejo (Universidad de Sevilla) and Mario Infelise (Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia), and Noah Moxham as administrator (replaced by Lizzy Williamson in the spring of 2013). These were joined by another 29 scholars at our five workshops, and more at the London conference in July 2013.

In 2011 the proposal (and proposer) envisaged that the range of methods developed would essentially involve a range of ways of making case studies

7 For example: Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Jason McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007); David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2008); de Vivo, *Information and Communication*; Rosa Salzberg, *Ephemeral City: Cheap Print and Urban Culture in Renaissance Venice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

8 Application submitted to the Leverhulme Trust by Raymond, 21 March 2011.

interlock and identifying mathematically convincing ways of scaling up case studies. This is not what happened: essentially the network saw that our own communication needed to be erected upon a clearer grasp of the linguistic foundations of our exchanges (see Chapter 3), and from there we moved towards defining the institutions and the patterns of communication that shaped those foundations. The conflict that arose here was productive, because when we absorbed new case studies, we did so within ongoing contestation about the larger picture within which they should be assessed. In other words the rolling debate of the network, which reflected in its organisation the early-modern news network that we were studying, provided a guarantee that we would be engaged with minutiae and the broad sweep at the same time. With this dynamic the collaboration took its own direction. After two years we arrived at a series of more or less consensual lessons. They are here presented as nine propositions, with the caveat that this summary of a collective outcome reflects the view from a single node within the network.

- (i) Between 1450 and 1650 an international news network developed, which was not the product of any single country or set of institutions

There was a series of parallel evolutionary processes in the news media in many European countries, often temporally close, not necessarily involving direct influence. This happened because of transnational communication networks: the emergence of news media in print and manuscript in any given place was the local manifestation of an international exchange not limited to any one medium.

One way of demonstrating the existence of this network was through the research of those who were challenging the old geographies of news. Numerous scholars have been drawn to analysing the movement of news stories in time and space. This is possible because of the conventions observed by those who relayed news in writing. This is most apparent in the way that the paragraph of news worked. Paragraphs characteristically contained indicators of the place and date not only of the news item, but of the place or places where the news originated or was relayed. This data was retained through subsequent transmissions, and when the news moved between languages or between forms. The logic of the paragraph as an instrument of news technology has been insightfully captured by Will Slauter.⁹ At the same time several scholars simultaneously yet independently developed means of tagging date and place data in paragraphs, and exploring

9 Will Slauter, 'Le paragraphe mobile: circulation et transformation des informations dans le monde atlantique du 18e siècle', and 'The Paragraph as Information Technology. How News Traveled in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 67 (2012), pp. 253–78, 363–89.

thereby the spread of sources for a news publication, and the time intervals between events and the stages of their transmission. These include Johann Petitjean; the work of the Fuggerzeitungen project, directed by Katrin Keller in Vienna, including powerful data mapping by Nikolaus Schobesberger; Virginia Dillon's work on the spread of news about Gábor Bethlen and the two Rákóczi in Transylvania; Chiara Palazzo on the spread of the news of the battle of Chaldiran in 1514, work showing the importance of Cyprus in the entry of news from the Ottoman Empire into the Venetian and hence the Europe-wide news network; the present co-author Joad Raymond's work on the reception of Milton's polemics in the 1650s; Massimo Petta on the standardisation of printed *avvisi*; Carmen Espejo on the movement of news between the extremes of Europe, Transylvania and Seville; Javier Díaz Noci on Spain's connections with Europe and with America; and Stéphane Haffemayer, in his extraordinarily meticulous analysis of international news based on the Paris *Gazette* in the 1680s.¹⁰

These are just a few examples of the ways in which networks—and we hope it is becoming apparent that we mean by *network* not only a number of people in contact but also the narrower sense of a complex and dynamic system.¹¹ These scholars use innovative methodologies to be very precise about the movement of news, and these precise conclusions need to and can displace the old generalisations, to which they very often run counter.

To understand how the network came into existence, and why it takes the shapes it does, it is necessary to understand the role of diplomats, the postal service, and cities.

- (ii) Diplomatic channels constitute the original news networks, and determine the form of communication

The *avviso* (or *aviso*) form developed as a means of communicating with resident diplomats. Diplomatic missions were a significant means of relaying news, both to home and to communities in exile, and indeed to the host

10 See the contributions of these scholars to the present volume, and, in addition: Johann Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses: une histoire de l'information entre Italie et Méditerranée, XVI^e–XVII^e siècle* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2013); <fuggerzeitungen.univie.ac.at/> (2/2/15); Virginia Dillon, 'News of Transylvania in the German Printed Periodicals of the Seventeenth Century, from István Bocskai to György 11 Rákóczi', DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2014); Chiara Palazzo, 'Nuove d'Europa e di Levante. Il network veneziano dell'informazione nella prima età moderna. 1490–1520', PhD thesis (Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia, 2012); Raymond, work forthcoming in vol. 7 of the Oxford *Complete Works of John Milton*; Haffemayer, 'La Gazette en 1683–1685–1689: analyse d'un système d'information', *Le Temps des médias*, 20 (2013), pp. 32–46, and also his *L'information dans la France du XVII^e siècle: la Gazette de Renaudot (1647–1663)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002).

11 See Ch. 3, below.

country. Both host and visitors needed to exploit news effects—spin and propaganda, to use anachronistic terms—in order to conduct their business. Moreover, resident ambassadors formed important nexuses in webs of communication. They were integral, for example, as the Venetian state archives reveal, to the way the Venetian *Maggior Consiglio* gathered the news that dictated its foreign policy. The basic periodical form of the period developed out of the conventions of diplomatic newsmongering into regular newsletters. These *avvisi somari* emerge in the late fifteenth century out of the weekly despatches sent by ambassadors. These were essentially secret documents, but the communication network was a leaky one, and informed broader social groups. It was the original reports—not the digests into *avvisi*—that were the earliest forms of printed news; these were then joined by other kinds of letters, until the trade in occasional pamphlets of news was widespread by the late sixteenth century. As Tracey Sowerby demonstrates in her chapter on the Elizabethan diplomatic network, the flow of news through the ambassadorial community was also essential to its smooth functioning; news was currency, and in order to obtain a worthwhile stream of information to send back to the home court an ambassador needed news of his own to supply in exchange.

- (iii) Cultures of managing news, including the linguistic management of news, followed the network

This is an occasion to mention the dangers of *faux amis*. From the start the network members had to exorcise some lexicological ghosts. Mainly working within the romance languages, we shared a vocabulary; a commonality only intensified by the fact that *the terms for news and news forms spread across Europe with the news itself*. However, international vocabularies were inflected by local circumstances, and produced a series of false friends. *Avviso* and *avvisi* were near-universal terms. But in Italy they were generic terms describing an object and the news-content, and it was necessary to distinguish between *avvisi secreti* and *avvisi pubblici*. In Spanish, however, this distinction did not apply: moreover, an *aviso* was a single information unit; hence the formulation *relación de avisos* or *carta de avisos* to describe the material form containing the information units. In Portuguese the word carried more of the freight of its older etymology and meant circulating news and opinion, moral advice and so on. Meanwhile in Dutch *advij*s implied foreign origins, and was used to describe the object (and in titles, unlike the Spanish); and in English *avisoes* was used to describe news publications without this formal specificity (and by the eighteenth century, began to be used metonymically for a despatch boat). This resulted in some confusion. Even this is a simplification, as it overlooks semantic change, which could occur rapidly—the cultural associations of words sometimes shifted from year to year.

As they were imported into a language, new terminologies of news often indicated the inherently and distinctively foreign aspect of news; and in certain cases the attributes denoted by the adoption of a particular term in a new linguistic context refer to the language and news culture which are its proximate sources, and not to the actual origin of the term. Thus the term *gazeta*, when first adopted in Portugal in the 1640s, takes it for granted that a gazette is a printed news form and has Renaudot's printed French *Gazette* as its immediate reference point rather than the manuscript *gazette* of Venice from which Renaudot adopted the word, a point reinforced by the later emergence of *gazetas de mão* in Portuguese to describe manuscript newsletters.

So the linguistic medley reflected the nature of the news network; it was fundamentally international, but subject to the transformative influences of local culture; and the local ramifications of the international network then fed back into it. Another striking homology across much of Europe involves the granting of print-distribution privileges to guilds of blind men: in Madrid, for example, the guild of blind men held a quasi-monopoly over commercial news 1605 to 1637; in a 1611 dictionary Sebastián de Covarrubias defined “cartanova en lengua Valenciana” as “las coplas, or relacion en prosa de algun successo nuevo y notable, que los ciegos y los charlatanes y salta en vanco, venden por las calles y las plaças” (“*cartanova* in the Valencian tongue [means] the verse or prose relation of news events that are new and noteworthy, which the blind men, charlatans and street performers sell on the streets and in the squares”); and in the late eighteenth century a local newspaper was entitled *Correo de los ciegos de Madrid*. In Lisbon the blind fraternity had a similar privilege, and in Venice there was a close relationship between the formal guild of blind men and the distribution of news; and across Italy singers of ballads were often blind.¹² In this case not the language but the practice of news management spread in a surprising way that cannot be ascribed solely to function.

- (iv) (a) Postal routes formed the spine of news communication, shaping all printed and manuscript forms that follow, including periodicity

Complementing the diplomatic network, and remaining in place when the significance of that network had diminished, the post, initially official and

12 See the chapters by Carnelos and Díaz Noci in this volume; Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua castellana ó española* (Madrid, 1611), fo. 206r; <hemerotecadigital.bne.es/details.vm?q=id:0003752667&lang=es> [2/1/15]; see also Rosa Salzberg, ‘Print Peddling and Urban Culture in Renaissance Italy’, in *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in Britain, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1900*, ed. Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman (Leiden: Brill, 2013), at pp. 43–4; we are also indebted to communications with Javier Díaz Noci.

subsequently commercial, was the most important basis for the geography, speed and economics of news dissemination. Wolfgang Behringer and Paul Arblaster had already insisted on the importance of postal networks for the temporality and geography of news.¹³ News followed postal and carrier routes—of course it did, though not exclusively. There were several postal networks: the Taxis system in the Holy Roman Empire, a separate one established by the Taxis in Spain, the English and French postal systems, the system centred on Antwerp, the various systems in the Italian city states, and more. In certain well-known cases the postmasters themselves were newsagents (the first Swedish printed newspaper, for instance, the *Ordinari Post Tijdender*, was based on reports gathered by the post-masters); as Nikolaus Schobesberger demonstrates in his analysis of the origin points and distribution routes of the Fugger newsletters, the postal route could actually function as an instrument of news-gathering across borders, with newsletters commissioned by Philip and Octavian Secundus Fugger being compiled serially by the addition of news at each major entrepot on the road to Augsburg. Post-masters and -mistresses could also work as state agents by searching posts, thus facilitating the transfer of news from one mode into another, and causing those who preferred secrecy to improvise means, including codes and ciphers, to circumvent this constraint.¹⁴

(iv) (b) News moved freely between various regional postal routes, enabling pan-European communication

These postal routes were interconnected, and there were means of sending letters and packets that jumped from one system to another. It was possible to send a letter from Venice to Exeter. Postal systems have an arterial function within news networks; they are a necessary though not sufficient foundation of periodical news, and determine its periodicity. The shape of the postal networks, and the effectiveness of the movement across apparently discrete systems, can be confirmed by the actual movement of news, as detected, for example, in reception. This is an important general point for the understanding of news networks, and one that historians should remain mindful of, since it reflects the challenges we face in trying to describe to articulate fully its structure and function—that

13 Wolfgang Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions: A Historiographical Concept', *German History*, 24.3 (2006), pp. 333–74 and *Im Zeichen des Merkur: Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003); Paul Arblaster, 'Posts, newsletters, newspapers: England in a European system of communications', in *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe*, ed. Raymond, pp. 19–34.

14 Nadine Akkerman, 'The Postmistress, the Diplomat, and a Black Chamber?: Alexandrine of Taxis, Sir Balthazar Gerbier and the Power of Postal Control', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 172–88.

the network was exploitable by contemporary actors without necessarily being fully apprehensible. It was not necessary to know every node of the network, or every means of transmission that news would pass through to transmit it successfully from Aachen to Zurich. This fact is also a further indication of the conceptual limitations of microhistorical approaches to the history of news.

- (iv) (c) The speed of news depended on the speed and frequency of the post or carrier

The velocity of news can be calculated anecdotally but also more systematically by using the archives of post offices and the franking of the documents that travelled by post; and by measures of the speed of horses and estimates of miles travelled per hour. Such studies are exceptionally useful. However, post is not simply a measure of geography against time, and additional factors shaped the temporality of the post, beyond its raw speed.

One of the newsletter writer Joseph Mead's sources was James Meddus, the rector of St Gabriel Fenchurch. Writing from London, Meddus supplied a good deal of Mead's foreign news, probably from the Exchange. Meddus sent Mead news by the ordinary weekly carrier, probably from the Black Bull on Bishopsgate, and the carrier travelled over Friday night. The arrival on Saturday, however, was too late for the inclusion of this news in Mead's letter to Sir Martin Stuteville, because the carrier from Cambridge to Dalham, where Stuteville lived, also left on Saturday morning. Hence although the journey was under 18 miles, and could easily be walked in a day, the inconvenience of mere hours meant that Dalham received some news a week later. This is what it means to be on the periphery.¹⁵

A similar example can be found in the case Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, a scholar in Aix-en-Provence, who worked out by careful calculation based on the speed and frequency of the post, and the speed at which news reached Lyon, that Renaudot was lying on the date of his gazette, and that it was in fact published on a Friday and not on the Saturday advertised, and that therefore Renaudot was perfectly capable of getting it to him a week earlier.¹⁶

- (v) Metropolitan centres are essential to the functioning of the network

The above points lead towards this fifth: the importance of *entrepôts*. News clearly moved between various parts of the network, but also between various forms in cities.

¹⁵ See Ch. 24, below.

¹⁶ See Ch. 16, below.

We can begin to understand the whole of Europe's networks by analysing the varied constitution of *entrepôts*. The social, urban and commercial topography of Venice has been opened up for us in quite brilliant detail by Filippo de Vivo and Laura Carnelos. We have less exhaustive accounts of London, Antwerp and Paris already. Looking at centres, at the volume and speed of communication among them, the chronologies by which seriality and periodicity and other practices such as printing evolved in them, we can work towards the reconstruction of a network that was greater than any of the media that we conventionally study.

News travels between and is relayed by *entrepôts*, and it is within these that units of news are recombined into various aggregates. Translators congregate in cities and form relationships with scribes and printers, and thus provide the means by which a news item shifts from one language to another, which sometimes means shifting from one set of network connections to another. It moves between forms—word of mouth, manuscript and print—and also into the various forms and genres. These systems of aggregation are local as well as transnational, of course, drawing in local news from a surrounding catchment area and loading it onto the international network as well as retransmitting international news. The local transforms the international, and the conditions for how the international is experienced are local; the international news network extends from Stockholm to Lisbon, but it looks different from those two places.

Similarly with the printing of news. For many historians of the news—as for Penyboy Junior—the shift to printing represents the apogee of the newness of news, because it is when it is printed that news receives that step-change in publicness that grants it the ability to affect crowds, influence politics, and shape debates in the public sphere. The printing of news takes place within the network, as one of the consequences of this network, when certain circumstances converge. And the politics and economics of a particular urban centre is one of those circumstances: so the printing of news takes place at the intersection between local conditions and quite possibly unrelated transnational networks. The printing of news happens at specific moments, and we need to see its chronology in that way. This is not to deny that the printing of news is important—the effects may be more important than the causes. But it is not the way to understand the life of news.

There is obviously a great deal more to be said about cities and the way they work. But one general conclusion we can draw is that the geographical consciousness that we do find in early modern news culture is one that reflects the major *entrepôts* of news, the shifting balances between them, and the ways in which they are connected.

(vi) state censorship is practised in international contexts

Among the ways in which local circumstances transformed an international network was through censorship. The circumstances for the production and distribution of manuscript newsletters and printed news, and particularly the interrelations among this production and distribution and the state vary from place to place. To understand the comparative history of censorship in various countries, however, we need more than a series of correspondences with varying dates and relative importance; it is no more a simple matter of translation than understanding the lexicons of news. The conceptual underpinnings of censorship were very different in the Habsburg Netherlands from Portugal from the Italian city states from Britain. Even so, states examined each other's censorship practices partly in order more effectively to undertake their own. There is in fact a long-term history of international diplomatic co-operation in censorship.¹⁷ And, to add an extra layer of complexity, the proximity of other countries where censorship operates differently, and can be used to evade local restrictions, shapes transnational communications and exchanges. To use perhaps the most obvious example: the fact that there were alternative printing centres in the Low Countries not subject to English or Scottish law shaped the development of the war in the British Isles at several points between 1637 and 1660—it was a war of three kingdoms plus an indiscreet republican neighbour.¹⁸ So censorship is more important than we have recognised, though not because it was more effective: indeed there is plenty of evidence from numerous political and theological jurisdictions that many key figures and pioneers in the development of early modern news media worked to a significant extent within the apparatus of state, whether with tacit or official permission or with privileged access to information. It is important because the international network is modified locally, and because local circumstances shape the international network elsewhere.

(vii) Centre and periphery are products of patterns of communication as much as of geography

Peripheries are relational. Two points.

As we have suggested, to be in Dalham is to be on the periphery; and in a sense to be in Britain is also to be on a periphery, in part because Britain is the

17 See Joad Raymond, 'Les libelles internationaux à la période moderne : étude préliminaire', *Études Épistémè*, 26 (2014), <episteme.revues.org./297> [2/2/15].

18 Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 161–201.

end of a network. News seldom went from there to anywhere else. This matters for a number of reasons. One is that a city like Lisbon was both connected to and remote from the centres of European modernisation and yet it was the major inlet for news from the new world, thus providing an essential connection between Europe and the rest of the world. Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik), Venice, and Strasbourg have importantly complicated roles in terms of the mismatch between their physical and their cultural or political centrality, and the development of patterns of news communication across Europe is influenced by this mismatch. In that sense Strasbourg's position in the history of news remains in some sense inexplicable—in that its status as the site of the first printed newspaper contrasts with its relatively inconsequential position within the European communications network. This might act as a further warning against the danger of privileging the printed newspaper in the historiography of news.

Secondly, accounts of speeds of transmission show that news slows significantly across certain areas, such as east of the line between Venice, Vienna and Krakow. And in some relationships there is an asymmetry in interest in news: Constantinople is a source of great fascination for western Europe, but the relationship is not fully reciprocated.

So it seems that news networks, though they are fundamentally connective, experienced and enhanced or even created boundaries, constituted peripheries as well as centres.

Conclusion

These, then, were the shared lessons of the research network. They represent a mixture of the methodological and the empirical, and the basis of a history without constituting that history itself, or even a precise manifesto of how these foundations should be built upon. The scale of the enterprise remains the most difficult challenge and the richest opportunity. To write this history on anything less than a European scale is to ignore the phenomena that gave national news its shape. A national history, or a series of case studies of international news, risks examining only the local inflections and modulations and transformations of a fundamentally international system. It is not merely the case that international news is important locally: the news system is itself an essentially international phenomenon, and local manifestations of it effect only local and relatively minor variations. This international system has its own life and rationale: it is much more than the aggregate of its local manifestations, and this is a reason why individual studies have failed to result in a new big picture to replace that we have inherited from the historians of the mid nineteenth century.

We argue that the present volume demonstrates the fundamental importance of the European network as a conceptual framework for the history of news. Such a conception provides a matrix which can productively hold together without falsification many different aspects and instantiations of early modern news—forms, languages and lexicons, genres, uses, responses, particular flows, agents, and events. It is also crucial precisely because it can usefully accommodate case studies, and even depends upon them; it legitimates them in turn by changing the relationship of part to whole, and by not insisting that the part do duty *for* the whole. The European news network cannot be explained solely in terms of the spread of forms of news, nor in terms of physical infrastructure; it is partly constituted by, among many other groups, young aristocratic travellers, or by exiled religious communities, or by natural philosophers eager for news of the latest discoveries. All of these subsidiary networks, whose structure can only be apprehended at a microhistoric level, also inform our understanding of the wider network, from which they are not separable.

This understanding of feedback helped resolve prolonged debates about the structure of this volume. The 37 essays could have been separated and ordered in various ways. At first it seemed that the most obvious was to divide theories and methods from case studies, and to divide the former into themes: space–forms–uses, perhaps. More abstract conceptual divisions might have worked too: locales–connections–boundaries, for example. The present scheme seeks to integrate some of the processes of the project into its legacy. It begins with accounts of networks and network analysis as a means of understanding the pan-European history of news, and in particular with a pair of synthetic, collaboratively-authored essays, one on the emergence of the early modern postal networks that moved and shaped news and another that lays out the development and spread of the lexicon of news in several important European vernaculars; it moves on to a section on ‘modes’, that looks at particular forms of news communication, and constitutive elements of those forms; and thence to case studies that articulate parts of the network not apprehensible from too far away, but which remain essential to its function. By this means we could embrace, without reducing to a one-size-fits-all model, the fundamental connectedness between the transnational, the national and the local, and between the many modes in which news communication was experienced. And the order of case-studies? They are arranged not temporally but longitudinally, from west to east.

PART 1

Networks



European Postal Networks

*Nikolaus Schobesberger, Paul Arblaster, Mario Infelise, André Belo,
Noah Moxham, Carmen Espejo and Joad Raymond*

During the early sixteenth century state postal routes, based on a sequence of horses ridden by a single rider across a series of organised stages, were developed across Europe and were progressively transformed into public services. Postal communication was fundamental to European news, and though they were by no means the only basis of communication they formed the essential spine to news networks.¹ We have two working assumptions: the first, that the penetration of *avvisi* into the public culture of early-modern Europe (i.e. beyond official communications) depended on the development of accessible postal services. The second is that (relatively) predictable public postal deliveries, which developed out of state administrative needs and manuscript culture, including manuscript news, were a precondition for the development of a (relatively) periodic newspaper press. Once newspapers were established, they could draw in communications from other types of network connection (merchants, churches and monasteries, booksellers, diplomatic couriers, soldiers, travellers, ships' captains, and so on), but to be widely established in the first place they needed reliable public posts, bringing correspondence from a number of newswriting centres elsewhere. In this article we sketch the various postal systems that transversed Europe, and, crucially, how they were interconnected.

The Holy Roman Empire

Until the 1490s the communication network in the Holy Roman Empire was built up by courier services of merchant families, cities, aristocrats and sovereigns. All these services were inaccessible to the wider public. Due to the needs

1 Paul Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European system of communications', in *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 19–34, and *From Ghent to Aix: How They Brought the News in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur: Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

of the Habsburg dynasty for communication over longer distances, primarily for the gathering of political news for the court and for administration, but additionally to serve the needs of the emerging merchant communities and cities, the postal system in the Holy Roman Empire developed very rapidly in the last decades of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The reasons for establishing an Imperial post were the emerging needs of the Habsburgs for an efficient method of communication after the acquisitions of the Burgundian and later the Spanish Inheritance. In particular the emperor, Charles v, who reigned over the Spanish kingdoms with their colonies, the Low Countries, southern Italy, Lombardy and the Holy Roman Empire, was very interested in developing a fast and efficient information system.

Maximilian I first established an Imperial postal system in 1490, immediately after he gained control over the county of Tyrol. The management of this Imperial post was given to the Taxis family, originating from Bergamo, whose members had rich experiences in the courier services of the pope and of Venice. They built up a system of posting houses between Innsbruck and Brussels, the residence of Maximilian's son Philipp. On this main route the running time was a mere five days (six in winter).

The main route went from Brussels via Augsburg to Innsbruck then across the Alps to northern Italy, where the Imperial post connected with the postal systems of the Italian states. The first headquarters of the Imperial post was Innsbruck, the favoured residence of Emperor Maximilian I. In 1501 the postal centre moved to Brussels and was subordinated to the Spanish crown. In 1505 Franz von Taxis and Philip I of Spain signed a contract, in which the post was awarded the status of an independent service company. In the second Neerland-Spanish postal contract of 1516, the Taxis gained control over the postal system in the Italian territories of the Spanish crown. In 1530 Emperor Charles v appointed Johann Baptist von Taxis to the rank of postmaster-general over all his territories, including the Holy Roman Empire. This led the way from the Spanish Taxis-post to the future Imperial post. For financial reasons, the Taxis began, in the first decade of the sixteenth century at the latest, not only to transport the dynastic and administrative post of the Habsburgs, but also to offer their service to other groups of customers. This meant that not only the major merchant families, like the Fuggers and the Welsers from Augsburg, but also cities, secular and clerical authorities, and private persons could make use of the postal service. They had to pay a postal charge for the transport of the mail.

In this way the dynastic transport service changed its character into a service company, accessible to everyone, with a defined scale of charges and regular traffic. By the 1530s at the latest the postal service had weekly intervals.

The pre-existing courier services of cities, merchants and aristocrats in the Holy Roman Empire connected to the postal route from Brussels to Innsbruck. News could circulate more quickly than before and the space between the North Sea and the Mediterranean was shrinking.

In the second half of the sixteenth century other Princes of the Holy Roman Empire installed their own messenger relay services, which were only for their private needs, not for the public. Correspondingly, during the sixteenth century the major merchant cities built a network of courier services along the main trading routes in the Empire. The cities of Augsburg, Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Cologne, Leipzig and Hamburg, which were (except for Augsburg and later Cologne) not connected to the Imperial post, were connected by their own services. For example the Nuremberg courier connected the cities of Nuremberg and Hamburg and was the main communication line to the Hanseatic states of northern Germany. A letter from Cologne to Hamburg would have been transported by the Cologne courier to Frankfurt, by the Frankfurt courier to Nuremberg and by the Nuremberg courier to Hamburg.

The post intensified and accelerated communication in every way, for instance through the sending of letters and news, the transportation of passengers, and the cashless transactions via bills of exchange. On the main route between Brussels and Innsbruck the distances between posting houses were reduced from 35 to 22 km and in the first third of the seventeenth century to 15 km. Until the implementation of the mail coach in the late seventeenth century, private persons could use the service of the posting houses for hiring and changing horses. The first evidence for the use of this service dates from 1515.

As the payments from the Spanish Habsburgs were notoriously slow and incomplete, the Taxis post focused on private transportation. Brussels remained the main centre of the Taxis post and the seat of the general postmaster. In the Holy Roman Empire the 'Spanish' post was increasingly seen as an aberration. This intensified in the second half of the sixteenth century due to the national bankruptcies of Spain and the Dutch War of Independence, starting in 1568. In 1577 the international postal system of the Taxis collapsed, after the postmaster-general Leonhard I von Taxis lost his property during the Dutch rebellion and left the Netherlands. During this postal crisis the local courier services of cities and merchants filled the void in communication and information. The reformation of the post by Emperor Rudolf II put an end to the postal crisis. In 1595 Leonhard von Taxis was declared the General high postmaster of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1597 Rudolf II declared the postal transportation in the Empire to be an Imperial prerogative, which was granted to the Taxis family as a fiefdom. It was forbidden, under threat of severe penalties, for other courier services to offer the transportation of post and to use the post horn. The aim of this regulation was to build a monopoly of postal

transportation under the control of the imperial administration. The newly christened 'Reichspost' was to be made profitable by eliminating its private competitors. Despite the forbidding of private postal services, the courier systems of the cities and merchants were necessary to ensure service to the whole Empire till the nineteenth century.

The monopoly of the centralised Taxis post in postal transportation made governmental censorship possible, which was first used on a large scale during the 1640s.

Beginning in around the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the main postal route from Antwerp to Innsbruck and Italy was complemented by new routes. In this way a postal network was formed. New postal stations were established in the major cities Cologne (1577), Frankfurt (1598), Hamburg (1616), Erfurt (1616), Nuremberg (1617) and Regensburg (1618). The founding of these postal houses was necessary after the prohibition of private postal services. Between 1604 and 1615 a route from Cologne via Frankfurt and Nuremberg to Prague was built. Just before the beginning of the Thirty Years War, the post house in Frankfurt replaced Augsburg as the most important centre in the German postal network. German princes besides the Emperor also built up their own postal systems in their territories. Especially during the Thirty Years War a lot of German territories—especially in the northern parts of the Empire, that fell under the Swedish sphere of influence—established postal networks after the model of the Taxis Reichspost.

In fact the first territorial postal system was the court post of the Habsburgs in the Austrian, Bohemian and Hungarian territories, which was already in place at the beginning of the sixteenth century and also managed by the Taxis family. In 1623 the management was transferred to the Styrian Paar family. Like the Reichspost, the Austrian Post was initially licensed to transport only the mails of the Habsburgs, the court and the administration. The 'court Post' was connected to the Reichspost by two routes, one from Vienna to Innsbruck, the other from Prague to Augsburg, which were established in the 1520s.

During the Thirty Years War the rulers of Brandenburg, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Saxony and Hesse-Kassel licensed their own postal systems, which were loosely connected to the Reichspost. In 1648 Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg ordered the building of a Brandenburgian postal system. The first route connected Memel-Berlin-Kleve with branches to Amsterdam, Hamburg, Stettin, Leipzig, Breslau and Warsaw. The Brandenburg post was organised as a governmental enterprise under the control of the Brandenburg state council.

In 1658 the fiefdom of the post to the Taxis family (Thurn and Taxis since 1650) was renewed after the election of Emperor Leopold I. First the postal rights of the German territorial princes were respected, until 1660, when Leopold, who was very much interested in an imperially controlled postal

monopoly, prohibited all territorial posts. Brandenburg, Brunswick and Hesse, which all had their own territorial postal services, joined with Sweden in their rejection of the authority of the Reichspost. The following decades were dominated by competitions between the Reichspost and the territorial services, which were also in competition with each other. Several postal routes were operated by two or more postal services. For example on the route Aachen-Cologne-Frankfurt-Leipzig the Brandenburg Post and the Taxis Reichspost were in direct competition.

In 1681 the Elector of Saxony took control of all postal services in his lands and ordered the building of a territorial system as well. The differences between the Brandenburg and the Saxony posts lasted until 1699. As it was politically impossible for Leopold I to enforce the claim of the Reichspost-monopoly for the whole empire a mixed system was established, whereby the northern territories enjoyed their own system and the southern parts of Germany came under control of the Reichspost. This plurality of services persisted until 1700.²

The Netherlands and Further Afield

Both the Northern Netherlands (the Dutch Republic) and the Southern (Habsburg) Netherlands had dense networks of civic carriers and (especially in the North) barge and ferry services for the internal communications between various larger and smaller towns.³ One source that opens a window on to the density of carrier networks in the Southern Netherlands is the overview drawn up around 1618 by Father Damiaan Pletz, secretary to the provincial of the Flemish Province of the Capuchin order, showing the various fortnightly,

2 For sources for the Holy Roman Empire, see Johannes Arndt and Esther-Beate Körber, eds., *Das Mediensystem im Alten Reich der Frühen Neuzeit (1600–1750)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010); Oswald Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung. Die Fuggerzeitungen (1568–1605) und das frühmoderne Nachrichtensystem* (Berlin: Oldenbourg Akademieverlag, 2011); Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, and 'Fugger und Taxis. Der Anteil Augsburger Kaufleute an der Entstehung des europäischen Kommunikationssystems', in *Augsburger Handelshäuser im Wandel des historischen Urteils*, ed. Johannes Burkhardt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), pp. 241–8; Thomas Schröder, 'The Origins of the German Press', in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 123–50; Cornel Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei. Die Entstehung neuer Denkraumen im 16. Jahrhundert und die Wahrnehmung der französischen Religionskriege in Italien und Deutschland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

3 On connections by inland waterway see Jan de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy, 1632–1839* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

weekly, twice- or thrice-weekly, and sometimes daily services available between the towns in which there was a Capuchin house.⁴ These services ranged from licensed carriers to poulterers and yeastmen who carried messages on their regular rounds. This was a working document for a man who needed to communicate with the houses of his order, so it omits all towns not on the Capuchin network except for the ports Nieuwpoort and Dunkirk (important for their shipping connections).

Another partial source, listing only those carriers with services from Ghent, can be found in an almanac printed in Ghent for the year 1636.⁵ Frequencies again varied from fortnightly (to Hondschoote), through weekly (to Paris, to London), to two or three times per week (to most towns in Flanders), and even daily (to Bruges, to Brussels and to Antwerp).

By 1541 Antwerp was connected to the main imperial post when a Taxis branch office opened in the city; Brussels was already the headquarters from which the Taxis dynasty ran the imperial posts. The main international post road, the backbone of Europe's postal communications, was from Brussels to Augsburg to Trent, there splitting for Venice, for Rome, and for Milan.⁶ There was daily service between Brussels and Antwerp, which was the point at which the Taxis post connected with the Antwerp civic carrier system that linked to London and to the northern Netherlands.⁷

The fullest contemporary description of the ordinary posts of Europe is provided by Ottavio Codogno, deputy postmaster general of the state of Milan, in his *Nuovo itinerario delle poste per tutto il mondo*, first printed in 1608 and much reprinted, sometimes under the title *Compendio delle poste* (see Figure 2.2). Codogno explains that those wishing to write beyond the northern confines of the ordinary public posts could do so by having their letters forwarded through Antwerp's merchant carrier networks:

Should you wish to write to the States of Holland, that is The Hague, Dordrecht, Haarlem, Rotterdam, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Gelre,

4 P. Hildebrand, 'Vlaamse boden in 1618–1619', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, 32 (1949), pp. 43–7.

5 Joos de Schepere, *Almanach van't Schrickel-jaer ons Heeren M.DC.XXXVI. Gemaect ende gecalculeert op den Meridiaen der vermaerde stadt van Gent met harre omliggende Provincien* (Ghent, 1636). Available online at: <books.google.com/books?id=_s4WAAAAQAAJ/> [21/4/15].

6 Jan Albert Van Houtte, 'Les postes dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux sous la maîtrise des Tour et Taxis', in *De post van Thurn und Taxis. La poste des Tour et Taxis. 1489–1794*, ed. Luc Janssens and Marc Meurrens (Brussels: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1992).

7 M. Coppens and P. De Gryse, 'De Antwerpse stadsboden. Een bijdrage tot de kennis van de lagere ambtenarij in de 17de eeuw', in *Liber alumnorum Karel Van Isacker S.J.* (Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis 63; 1980), pp. 151–217, at 152.

Zutphen, Arnhem and Nijmegen, or further to Lübeck, Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund and Novgorod, do so by way of the merchants of Antwerp.⁸

This 'merchant post' was licensed by the city and based at the Antwerp Exchange. The combination in Antwerp of a Taxis post office and the extensive system of merchant carriers made the city one of the most important postal interchanges north of the Alps.

Older corporate bodies (such as monasteries and universities) had dedicated messengers with some sort of postal privilege, but these were not open to the general public; some letters continued to be sent by private couriers, by ships' captains, or through trade connections that were not strictly postal, and even by chance travellers; while government bodies made frequent use of special couriers. The systems that were both regular and public were the civic (or merchant) carriers, licensed by the cities from which they operated, and the royal posts run by the Taxis family.

In the first half of the seventeenth century Amsterdam's main international carrier services were provided from Antwerp, Cologne and Hamburg. In the second half of the century Amsterdam developed its own civic control of the Dutch end of these connections, which were eventually merged and nationalised in the eighteenth century.⁹ There were also services between Antwerp and Rotterdam. Attempts to establish Dutch postal connections to England in the second half of the seventeenth century were complicated by the Anglo-Dutch Wars. A service from Rotterdam to Dover, begun in 1660, failed to survive past 1665,¹⁰ while an Amsterdam service, with a packet boat between Harwich and Hellevoetsluis,¹¹ survived (with interruptions) but became a point of contention, litigation and lobbying between Amsterdam and Rotterdam well into the eighteenth century.¹² The

8 "Et volendo scrivere per li Stati d'Hollanda, cioè per Haia, Dordrech, Haerlem, Roterdam, Delft, Leiden, Olanda [*sic*], Amsterdam, Utrech, Della Gheldria, Zutfen, Armen [*sic*], & Nimega, & anco per Lubecco, Rostoc, Vismar, Stralsunda, e Novogardia, inviatele a' negotianti d'Anversa". Codogno, *Compendio delle poste* (Milan, 1623), p. 428.

9 J.C. Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het Postwezen in Nederland vóór 1795 met de voornaamste verbindingen met het buitenland* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1902), pp. 146–7.

10 Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het Postwezen*, p. 251.

11 J.C.W. Le Jeune, *Het Brieven-postwezen in de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1851), p. 106.

12 Herman Bots and Joris Wiersinga, 'Brieven en aandelen. Het Amsterdamse postnetwerk en de integratie van kapitaalmarkten in de 18e eeuw', *Leidschrift*, 13:2 (1998), pp. 97–115, at 99–103; *Generalen Index op de Registers der Resolutien van de Heeren Staten van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt* for 1687–1700 and 1701–13, s.v. 'Posteryen', 'Post', 'Postmeesters'.

Dutch posts to Hamburg were a similar bone of contention between the two cities.¹³

During the second phase of the Eighty Years War (1621–48) there were packet boats from Middelburg and Vlissingen to Rouen and Calais, to avoid passage through the Southern Netherlands, but these could fall victim to Dunkirk privateering. Military activities and marauding soldiers could disrupt other parts of the network in various ways.¹⁴ The rivalry in Holland between the merchants of Rotterdam and of Amsterdam was mirrored in the South by the rivalry between the Taxis postmaster general in Brussels and the Taxis postmaster of Antwerp early in the century, as well as between the Taxis system and the civic carrier system through mid-century.¹⁵ Central government insistence that civic carriers defer to the Taxis posts was a blow to Antwerp's position as the linchpin of the carrier and postal systems, leading to protests and civil disobedience that verged on rebellion, and that were put down by military force.¹⁶ In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Taxis postmaster general in Brussels co-operated with the postmaster of Rotterdam to cut Antwerp out of the main link between Holland and Paris, ending the city's importance to Europe's postal infrastructure.¹⁷

Italy

Under Giangaleazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan from 1378 to 1402, there was a radical reorganisation of the postal system in a modern sense. The main routes

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- 13 E.A.B.J. ten Brink, 'Een langdurige controverse tussen Amsterdam en Rotterdam over de postverbinding met Hamburg', *Economisch-historisch jaarboek*, 32 (1967–8), pp. 235–68.
- 14 J.A. Worp, ed., *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608–1687)*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1911), pp. 308, 368; *ibid.*, vol. 3 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914), pp. 19, 243; Maarten Coppens, Piet De Gryse, James Van Der Linden and Leo De Clercq, *De Post te Antwerpen van aanvang tot 1793* (Antwerp: Pandora, 1993), p. 101.
- 15 Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het Postwezen*, pp. 38–40.
- 16 Birgit Houben, 'Violence and Political Culture in Brabant', in *Hoge rechtspraak in de oude Nederlanden*, ed. Hugo de Schepper and René Vermeir (Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 2006), pp. 23–49. The official account of the settlement of the conflict was published in Brussels in 1659 as *Acten van Accommodement van de ongheregeltheden Veroorsaecht binnen der Stadt Antwerpen, door resistentien van de dekens ende ambachten Teghens d'Executie van den Vonnisse by den Rade van Brabant ghewesen op het stuck van de Posterye* (*Acts of accommodation of the irregularities caused within the city of Antwerp by the resistance of the deans and guilds against the execution of the sentence of the Council of Brabant regarding the posts*).
- 17 Overvoorde, *Geschiedenis van het Postwezen*, pp. 209, 235, 102–3.

were divided into stages called *poste* that were covered by professional post riders with in-depth knowledge of the roads who could even travel by night. During this period the postal system became a public service with fixed departure times and charges that were known to all and accessible to anyone who could afford it, regardless of rank or class.¹⁸ During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this system gradually extended to all of northern Italy and central and western Europe, becoming—as pointed out by Wolfgang Behringer—‘a crucial agent of change’ that distinguished Europe from contemporary Asia where such communication networks were the exclusive purview of rulers.¹⁹

Thus the final decades of the fourteenth century saw the introduction of wide-range postal services with regular public dispatches and courses. In 1395 the Milanese agent of the Datini company wrote that every Sunday a courier would leave for Venice and Bruges, and that another rider would stop off on his way from Lucca to Paris.²⁰ These postal services were run by private entrepreneurs or princes with the aim of providing an efficient and reliable service along constantly expanding routes; post sent from Milan took 26 days to reach London, 16 days to Paris, 18 to Barcelona, 11 to Rome and 4 to Venice.²¹ The service continued to improve steadily throughout the fifteenth century, and by the time the Taxis family from Bergamo obtained the contract for the Imperial postal services in the early 1500s, tried and tested models would have been available to them. In the meantime other leading Italian entrepreneurs had also invested in this sector, harnessing consolidated organisational capacities and networks of relationships, as in the case of Sebastiano Montelupi who was appointed in 1568 by the King of Poland to set up a postal service between Venice and Krakow.²² At the time all the major European cities had official post

18 Luciana Frangioni, *Milano fine Trecento. Il Carteggio milanese dell'Archivio Datini di Prato* (Firenze: OpusLibri, 1994), pp. 84–112.

19 Wolfgang Behringer, ‘Communications Revolutions: A Historiographical Concept’, *German History*, 24.3 (2006), pp. 333–74.

20 Frangioni, *Milano fine Trecento*, p. 87.

21 Federigo Melis, ‘Intensità e regolarità nella diffusione dell’informazione economica generale nel Mediterraneo e in Occidente alla fine del Medioevo’, in *Histoire économique du monde méditerranéen 1450–1650. Mélanges en l’honneur de Fernand Braudel*, vol. 1 (Paris: Privat, 1973), pp. 389–424; Luciana Frangioni, *Organizzazione e costi del servizio postale alla fine del Trecento* (Prato: Istituto di studi storici postali, 1984); C. Fedele, M. Gallenga, ‘Per servizio di Nostro signore’: *Strade, corrieri e poste dei papi dal medioevo al 1870* (Prato: E. Mucchi editore, 1988).

22 Rita Mazzei, *Itinera mercatorum. Circolazione di uomini e beni nell’Europa centro-orientale* (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 1999), p. 124.

offices to handle and forward correspondence. There was also a network of postal stations at fixed intervals on the main routes where couriers could change their horses, leading to more regular delivery times, and clearly defined routes and exchange nodes.

In Italy, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the system focused on a central axis heading northwards from Rome towards Flanders. Urban centres of varying importance were all connected to this axis—bearing in mind that the Italian peninsula featured both states of European importance along with a series of more or less independent minor courts like the duchies of Mantua and Parma, the Republic of Lucca and many more fiefs aiming for capital status that needed to maintain links with the larger European network. There were a number of crucial nodes, like Rome, Venice and Milan, along with secondary nodes that were nonetheless important for the regular flow of information, like Naples, Genoa, Turin and Florence.

One of the key nodes in the seventeenth century was Rome, which had permanent links to Naples, the transit node for couriers from southern Italy, Sicily and Lecce/Otranto. Couriers from Lecce/Otranto transported letters from Corfu, from the entire Greek area and from Constantinople.²³ Correspondence from the capital of the Ottoman Empire also reached Rome via the Ragusa (Dubrovnik) to Ancona route.²⁴ The *ordinari* couriers travelling northwards from Rome headed for Genoa, Florence, Bologna and Ancona-Venice.

Venice not only had fairly frequent links to the minor centres in northern Italy, it also sent correspondence by *ordinari* couriers to Milan then via Genoa to Spain or via Turin to Lyon and France. Another important route headed north along the Trent road via the Brenner Pass and Augsburg for Germany and Flanders. The Vienna route via Gorizia and Graz was also very important. There was also a sea route going from Venice to Cattaro (Kotor), a Venetian port on the southern Dalmatian coast, and via Ragusa (Dubrovnik) to the Balkans and Constantinople, which was in turn a key node for correspondence from the entire Middle Eastern and Asian area.

Italy's third nodal point was Milan, which had connections to all major Italian centres, and couriers leaving for Flanders via Cologne, and for Prague via Trent, Munich and Regensburg. The system overall was consolidated and highly efficient, and from 1608 there were handbooks explaining in great detail

23 On the postal routes see Ottavio Codogno, *Nuovo itinerario della poste per tutto il mondo* (Milan, 1608).

24 Ivan Dujčev, *Avvisi di Ragusa. Documenti sull'Impero turco nel sec. e sulla guerra di Candia* (Rome: Pont. institutum orientalium studiorum, 1935); Luciano De Zanche, *Tra Costantinopoli e Venezia. Dispacci di stato e lettere di mercanti dal Basso Medioevo alla caduta della Serenissima* (Prato: Istituto di Studi Storici Postali, 2000).



FIGURE 2.1 *The nodes in the flows of information across Italy*

how it worked. It was in 1608 that Ottavio Codogno, the Milanese deputy post-master general, published his highly popular guide to the postal services that went through several reprints during that century. Though focused on Europe, it extended to the entire known world, describing a network that allowed people to send and receive correspondence between the far-flung corners of the world. Readers of the guide would discover that if they needed to send a letter from Milan to Goa in India, they would have to ensure that their correspondence reached Lisbon by 20 March, which is when the Portuguese galleons weighed anchor for the Indies.

The nodal points of the postal system automatically became places where news was received and sent on. The organisation of *ordinari* couriers

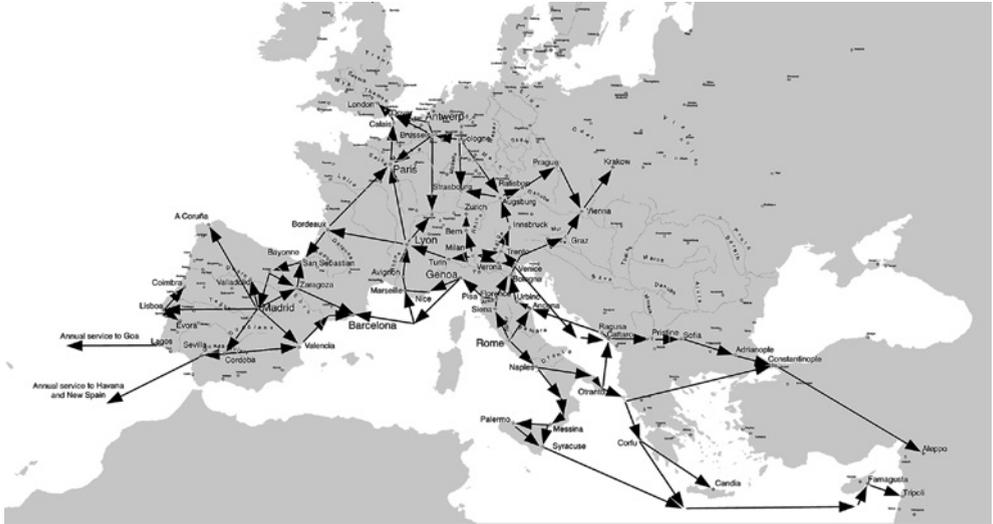


FIGURE 2.2 *Ottavio Codogno's scheme of postal routes*

and diffusion of information were obviously closely connected. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, the names of postmasters often crop up among the subscribers to news-sheets by the leading gazetteers, suggesting they had taken charge of diffusing and probably even reproducing these newsletters. From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, the gradual improvement of postal links and greater frequency contributed to the regular publication of handwritten gazettes, which depended upon the arrival of the couriers, making frequent reference to this fact. At the time the standard travel time was 4–5 days from Rome to Venice, 8 days from Rome to Milan, 12–15 to Vienna and 20–25 to Paris. These were average travel times. Particularly important news, like the death of a pope or of a ruler, was sent via extraordinary couriers who could travel extremely fast. Usually, the news from Paris was published in Venice between 20 and 25 days after the event. But if the piece of news had major political importance, the time differed. In such cases the posts were entrusted to extraordinary couriers, who would stop for nothing. For example, the news of the assassination of Henri IV of France in 1610 reached Venice after only 8 days after the fact and was published in the main handwritten gazette after 15, when the news was already the subject of public debate.²⁵

25 M. Infelise, 'Les mécanismes de l'information: l'arrivée à Venise de la nouvelle de l'assassinat d'Henri IV' in J. Foa, P.-A. Mellet, *Le bruit des armes. Mises en formes et*

The relevance of nodes also affected the speed of communications. Travel times depended less on the effective distances of routes than on the ability of couriers and gazetteers to coordinate their activities so that writers could exploit downtime and compile their news-sheets in the intervals between the arrival of one courier and the departure of the next. In fact, news did not necessarily travel along the shortest route nor did shorter routes necessarily guarantee shorter times. For example, it was difficult for the news of Florence to reach Bologna directly; it was more likely that news would be collected in Rome or Venice and then sent to Bologna. Similarly, *avvisi* from Genoa did not reach Ancona directly, crossing the peninsula from west to east, but would travel via Rome or Venice first. This led to the creation of preferential routes along which information would travel faster due to the better organisation of postal services or existence of political relations favouring the establishment of more efficient lines of communication. In France, news from Marseille took only 11 days to reach the *Paris Gazette*: a distance of 809 kilometres covered at a rate of 74 kilometres per day. News from Milan, which was in Spanish hands, took 24 days to cover a distance of 850 kilometres, an average speed of 36 kilometres per day.²⁶

The efficiency of transport systems also depended on the political relations between Italian states and other European powers. After 1713, when the Kingdom of Naples passed to the Austrian Habsburgs, it took only 16 days from news from Vienna to be published in the Neapolitan gazette, rather than 22 days as had been the case when Naples was under Spanish rule. It was now possible to cover the 1350 kilometres between the two cities travelling 84 kilometres per day instead of 61 as in the past. At the same time, links between Naples and Spain became weaker.

The postal services had a significant impact upon the total costs of producing news-sheets, even though precise data is not always available. In 1664, Mantua's printed gazette, which was published under the protection of the duke, was compiled using handwritten *avvisi* arriving every week from Venice, Vienna, Cologne, Brussels, Amsterdam and Augsburg in particular. Subscriptions, including postal fees, ranged from 240 lire for newsletters from Augsburg to 360 lire for those from Brussels and Cologne, accounting for 46.3% of the total costs; the remainder was made up of costs for printing (47.4%) and

désinformations en Europe pendant les guerres de Religion (1560–1610) (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012), pp. 365–381.

26 Stéphane Haffemayer, 'Les gazettes de l'Ancien Régime. Approche quantitative pour l'analyse d'un "espace de l'information"', *Histoire et mesure*, 12 (1997), pp. 69–91, at 85.

TABLE 2.1 *Estimate of the costs of the Milan Gazette, 1659*²⁷

	£	%
Rent of premise	900	18.9
Compilation	1500	31.5
office worker	720	15.1
postal expenses	400	8.4
delivery in Milan	72	1.5
Supplies	200	4.2
Printing	800	16.8
lighting / heating	72	1.5
<i>Avvisi</i>	100	2.1
Total	4764	100.0

paper (6.3%).²⁸ The breakdown of costs for Milan's printed gazette (Table 2.1) is more detailed, and shows that postal expenses could account for 8.4% of the total investment.

France

One of the earliest postal services in France was the system of university messengers established in the fourteenth century. The University of Paris's system was particularly extensive, with the student body divided into four 'nations' (three for the various regions of France and one for students from England, Northern Germany and the Low Countries) and messengers assigned to each.²⁹ The positions were made more attractive by exempting them from certain taxes.³⁰ Similar exemptions were afforded to the postal couriers established in the late fifteenth century under Louis XI.

27 Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2003), p. 103.

28 Mario Infelise, 'L'origine della gazzetta e l'informazione a Mantova in Antico Regime', in *Gazzetta di Mantova. 1664–2014 trecentocinquanta'anni avanti* (Mantova: Publi Paolini, 2014), pp. 19–24.

29 Suzanne Budelot, *Messageries universitaires et messageries royales* (Paris: Domat-Montchrestien, 1934).

30 Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 30–1.

The postal couriers were set up as a royal service by an Act of 1464, which, it has been suggested, had two original purposes: to keep the king informed of the dauphin's illness, and to allow for better communication to areas where French troops were campaigning.³¹ As in England and Wales, the initial relays were not permanent but *ad hoc*, put in place for a month at a time with options for extension. The system was designed for the exclusive use of the crown and was, in theory, strictly policed until the late sixteenth century. It was in no sense a public service or a reliable letter-post.³² Nevertheless the improvements made by Louis XI to the royal posts provided the infrastructure of the French public posts from when they emerged in the seventeenth century until the advent of the railways.

The early routes to Burgundy, Picardy and Guyenne were established as matters of administrative or military necessity. Later routes to Lyon were important not just because of Lyon's significance but because of its position as a communications hub to the Languedoc, Switzerland, and Italy; the Boulogne road enabled better communication with England, and the Picardy road with Flanders.

In practice, the development of the public postal service in sixteenth-century France was essentially an extension, often by abuse, of the notional royal monopoly of letter-transport, until the public use of the posts became officially tolerated during the reign of Henri IV. There is evidence, from an edict issued to prevent the practice in the Languedoc in 1550, of royal messengers supplementing their meagre wages by carrying private letters; a report by a Spanish envoy from 1572 details the same thing among the messengers attached to princes of the blood. (The French crown had also been notably resistant to the extension of the Taxis posts across their territory, although it represented the natural land route between the Habsburg territories in the Low Countries and Spain—see the sections on the Imperial posts above and the Spanish posts below. In the 1560s and 1570s special messengers for the Habsburg monarchies passing through France were occasionally attacked by Huguenot bandits with a particular interest in the contents of their messages.³³)

One of the key components of the system was its regulatory aspect. The carrying of private letters by the royal messengers was technically forbidden and warrants were periodically issued to that effect; the very fact that reminders had to be issued suggests that they were largely ineffective, however. This was

31 Eugène Vaillé, *Histoire générale des Postes françaises*, 7 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1947–55), 2: 24–5.

32 Vaillé, *Histoire générale*, 2: 36.

33 E. John B. Allen, *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), pp. 91–2.

also manifested in the monopoly on horse-hire granted to local postmasters and periodically renewed, along with exemption from various duties as part of their compensation (their wages by themselves were relatively insignificant; and when the Crown ceased to be able to pay them at all, following France's long wars with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, Catherine de Medici', the Queen Regent, renewed the horse-hire monopoly in lieu of them).³⁴ This privilege was linked to the Crown's interest in monitoring the passage of strangers over French territory, and theoretically made it impossible for a foreigner to pass through the Kingdom unknown, as well as restricting the routes he or she could travel on.³⁵ Francis I, who imposed this stricture, was also anxious that there should be no private use of the service, and he forbade the establishment of any rival network. The privilege was essentially unenforceable anywhere except on the great highways, however; the byways, where many of the people who actually hired horses lived, including farmers and smallholders, lay beyond the reach of the authorities in practice. The privilege was also designed to restrict, or at any rate make predictable, the speed at which a person could travel on French roads; a horse hired at the daily rate had to be returned to the renter, and it was the hirer's responsibility to see it done.³⁶ The system was liberalised by Henri IV in 1597/8, finally permitting horse-hire for ploughing and barge-pulling as well as travel, and legalising it on the byways as well as the highways.

During the period of illicit use of the royal post by private individuals, and even by the time of Henri IV's assassination in 1610, the network did not cover the whole of France. This was partly a matter of attempts by the Crown to displace the expenses of the service onto the regions, which had been a long struggle. From the 1590s Brittany and the Languedoc, in particular, were resistant; when Brittany was charged for expenditure on the service, the Estates of Brittany responded that no posts had been established in their territory and that it would be dangerous to allow them to be. Brittany was notable for continuing its opposition into the 1620s, by which time most of the other regional authorities had come around. And indeed the map drawn up of French post routes in 1632 by Nicolas Sanson (see Figure 2.3) shows that Brittany, historically an independent duchy which became subject to the French crown only in 1532, was almost completely disconnected from the primary network.

By 1615—the point at which Fouquet de la Varane sold his office of Comptroller-General to Pierre d'Almeras—the postal service was organised roughly as follows: *Maîtres des Postes* supplied the actual means of transport,

34 Vaillé, *Histoire Générale des Postes*, 2: 61.

35 Vaillé, *Histoire Générale des Postes*, 2: 73.

36 Vaillé, *Histoire Générale des Postes*, 2: 146.

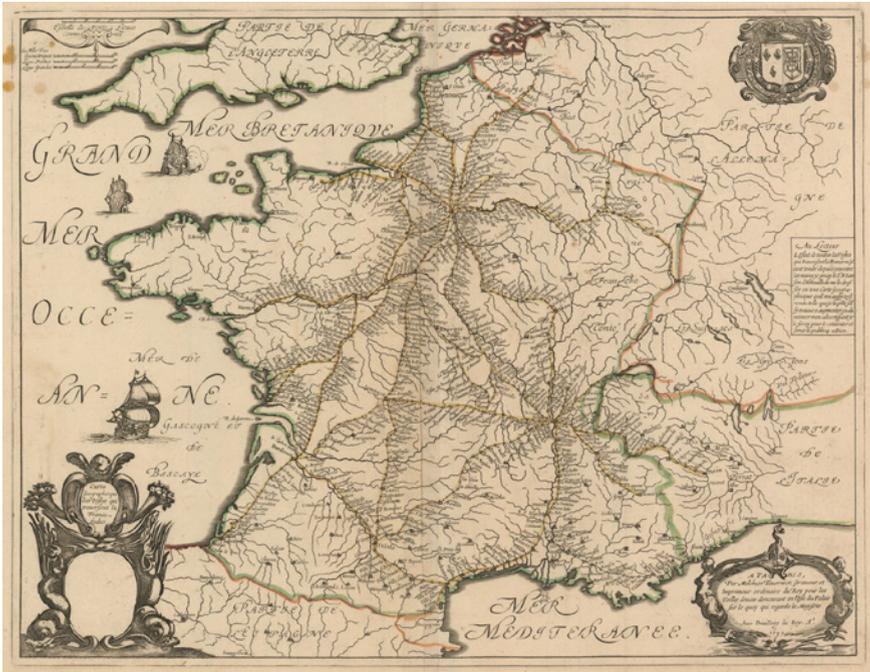


FIGURE 2.3 Nicolas Sanson, *Carte géographique des postes qui traaversent la France. A Paris ... Par Melchior Tauernier ...*, 1632. (HMC01.6723), Historic Maps Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library

manning the relay stations and supplying horses; couriers to carry the letters; and *commis* and distributors to deal with the public, which meant collecting the postage or duties on letters, making sure letters actually reached their private recipients, and so on. This system was fairly attractive for the man in charge, and Vaillé points out that it was in his interest to make sure that the system did not change too much, because the crown and the localities paid for the system's infrastructure and expenses while the Comptroller-General took the profit. If the setup became too costly he risked shaking things up to his own disadvantage.

The creation of the public posts from 1630 changed the management of the postal service, liberating the *controleur-général* from the oversight of the *Grand Ecuyer* (master of the royal stables). He was replaced in 1630 by the first *Surintendant-général*. The regional and local postmasters effectively bought or leased their offices from the *Surintendant*, as they had formerly done from the Comptroller-General, with the size of the payment depending on the value of the particular post. The inauguration of the post as a public service also saw the introduction of postal tariffs for the first time. These were relatively simple, envisaging only four destinations (Lyon, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Dijon/Macon)

and three basic rates (for single letters, small packets of up to half an ounce in weight, and large packets of over an ounce). In France as in Britain, postage was payable by the recipient, not the sender.

In addition to the University messengers and the special royal couriers, communal messenger services had begun to be established from the late sixteenth century. These were initially very little disturbed by the establishment of the public posts, which only gradually began to challenge and absorb them as they came to be seen as direct competitors for revenue. Toulouse, for example, employed 14 messengers, 3 providing a dedicated service to Paris and two each to Toulon and Bordeaux, with an implied break between journeys for each messenger. Departures for Paris were fortnightly; the journey would take two weeks, and the messenger would remain in Paris for eight days to distribute and receive letters. On this reckoning the service was notably less efficient than its English equivalent, the carrier system, although it must be admitted that the English carriers had, for the most part, considerably less distance to cover.

In 1672 control was transferred to the *Ferme Générale*—the revenue-gathering service. Where the previous system had effectively left the revenue of the postal service in the hands of the people who actually ran it, the *Ferme* guaranteed a certain annual payment to the Crown's treasury. The level of this was renegotiated every time a new *Intendant* was appointed, and the monarch could (and on several occasions did) displace the incumbent if he saw an opportunity for better terms.

International Post

Philip the Fair of Burgundy attempted to extend the Habsburg Taxis posts to his French territories for the first time in 1504; Charles V issued a similar order in 1516 three years before becoming Holy Roman Emperor, although he specified that the route was to be established only with the permission of the French crown.³⁷ Francis I also created permanent routes to Switzerland and north-west Italy, as well as regular courier services to Rome and Venice in the mid-sixteenth century. For the most part, however, organised international correspondence went via the Court's special messengers and was chiefly concerned with the specifics of foreign policy and affairs of state. Their privileged status, their proximity to the Court, and the fact that they could be brought to deliver other letters besides those the court had given them in charge gave them visibility; and Vaillé notes that diplomats would interrogate them for the latest news. The Venetian ambassador in France wrote to Venice in 1512 to complain of a messenger who went about announcing the news he was

37 Eugène Vaillé, *Histoire des Postes françaises jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1946), pp. 33–4.

carrying while en route; a grave breach of discretion, but one which demonstrates their potential importance in the dissemination of news and not just the delivery of diplomatic messages.

The creation of a public letter-post wrought fundamental changes in the system; partly as the Comptroller-General endeavoured to bring international letter-traffic and the potential for financial gain that went with it under his own control. In particular they challenged the private courier systems organised by foreign merchant communities in France (and centralised, for Swiss and Italian traders, in Lyon). These organisations, by effectively extending edicts already in place for restricting the movement of silver, gold, specie, and uncustomed goods in France, were debarred from operating their own service; in exchange the Comptroller-General was obliged to guarantee a regular service in its place, sending fortnightly couriers to Rome and Venice on the first and fifteenth of each month, with two more leaving Rome for Genoa and Lyon on the same days.³⁸ With other states the system gradually became more integrated, with each jurisdiction taking up the transportation of letters within its own territory; earlier in the sixteenth century the monarch faced a choice between employing his own messengers for the entirety of the journey to London (for instance) or entrusting his letters to the English king's posts, a potentially risky approach.³⁹

Just as the distinctive outlines of the English postal network are determined to some extent by its island position, France's are determined by the way in which its territory is interposed in the middle of the Habsburg empire. The existence of the Taxis postal service effectively meant that there was little need for France to establish its own postal services for communication with Spain, Flanders, or the German lands. These routes were complex, and subject to local shifts occasioned by rebellions, changing alliances, outright disruption during the Thirty Years War, and were eventually displaced as the primary means of transmission across French territory by the establishment of the public letter-post and by Fouquet de la Varane's attempts to bring this properly under his control.⁴⁰

Spain

The working of the mail system in early modern Spain is well understood, but studies have seldom considered the implications of this postal system in the

38 Vaillé, *Histoire Générale des Postes*, 2: 296–8.

39 Vaillé, *Histoire Générale des Postes*, 2: 339–42.

40 Vaillé, *Histoire Générale des Postes*, 2: 344–73.

development of a national news market.⁴¹ How—in its more material dimension—did news travel to and from Spain?

To begin with, news—in the form of *cartas de aviso* (handwritten newsletters), as well as printed *gazetas*—circulated through the system of *estafetas* or posts established by the king for the use of his subjects. Alongside this, there existed a royal mail system exclusively used by the authorities, and a further postal infrastructure employing private carriers and used by all sorts of people. This is why we often read in news pamphlets and gazettes that news had arrived through ‘el ordinario’—the ordinary mail system—or



FIGURE 2.4 *Madrid to Antwerp*

41 See Montáñez Matilla, María. *El correo en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953); Alonso García, Fernando, *El Correo en el*

‘el extraordinario’—an extraordinary mail system. This is the same standard division as obtained in many other European jurisdictions.

The official Spanish mail system was established from 1580 onwards by the Taxis family; but, here as elsewhere in Europe, some other international mail systems—mainly the one established in Antwerp—were able to compete with it for efficiency and speed. In any case, these systems provided two main routes linking Spain with the rest of Europe: first, the route that joined the capital of the kingdom—Valladolid or Madrid—with Antwerp via Bordeaux and Paris; secondly, the route that linked the capital with Rome via Lyon (see Figure 2.5). Nevertheless, to reach this latter point, an alternative route started from Barcelona and reached Rome by the sea, via Genoa (see Figure 2.6).

Meanwhile, within in the Iberian Peninsula, the main route started in Irún, close to the French border, and reached Vitoria, Burgos, Valladolid,



FIGURE 2.5 *Main postal routes linking Spain with the rest of Europe*

Renacimiento Europeo. Estudio Postal del Archivo Simón Ruiz (1553–1630) (Madrid: Fundación Museo de las Ferias, 2004).



FIGURE 2.6 *The alternative sea route from Madrid to Rome, via Barcelona and Genoa*

Medina del Campo and Madrid, and, from there, the rest of the regional capitals such as Barcelona, Lisbon and Seville. Prior to the eighteenth century, communication between Madrid and other towns in the Kingdom, Seville for instance, used to be done through mail on a weekly basis, weather permitting (see Figure 2.7).

European and Spanish mail to and from the Indies (or the Americas) was collected in Seville, the only port licensed to do so. The ‘Correo Mayor de Indias’—the official postmaster in the Americas—who resided in Lima, Perú, had leased this part of his business to successive lieutenants of the *Casa de Contratación* established in Seville: this was because from such a distance he was unable to manage the onward distribution of American mails within Spanish territories in Europe.

Despite the speed with which postal system was established in Habsburg kingdoms, Spain generally fell outside the mainstream conduits of the



FIGURE 2.7 *Main postal routes within the Iberian peninsula*

European news network. Paul Arblaster has remarked that the ‘reintegration’ of Spain within large international postal networks only occurred after 1650. Stéphane Haffemayer points out that Spain sent out no news on its own account before 1659. This implies that, before that date, information about Spain that reached European newspapers arrived through other intermediaries, mostly Italian, French and Flemish, and with some delay when compared with communication from other peripheral lands.⁴²

Given the dates, the reason for the marginal situation, indeed even the partial failure of the postal and communicative flow, could be blamed on the position of Spain at the beginning of the Thirty Years War—which is considered by some scholars as a true starting point for journalistic activities in Europe. Postal traffic was seriously hindered by a French boycott, which followed the

42 Arblaster, ‘Post, Newsletters, Newspapers’, pp. 21–36. Stéphane Haffemayer, ‘La géographie de l’information dans la *Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663*’, in *Gazettes et information politique sous l’Ancien Régime*, ed. Henri Duranton and Pierre Rétat (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l’Université Saint-Étienne, 1999), pp. 21–9.

outbreak of the war officially declared some years after. The carriers had to look for alternative routes avoiding French soil (although the disruption to overland postal traffic through France was never total, with news and other letters and merchandise to and from Spain occasionally crossing France, even during wartime). Between 1689 and 1815, for instance, carrier boats sailed from La Coruña (in the North coast of the peninsula) to Falmouth in England. For all the perils of the Northern seas, this route made it possible to circumvent French territory.⁴³

As the news traffic depended on the mail system, it was seriously harmed by the inconveniences of Franco-Spanish war (1635–59). But news found other ways to get itself broadcast. As early modern often dealt with military and diplomatic matters, they often travelled with troops and ambassadors throughout Europe. News pamphlets and gazettes included sometimes blunt references to this fact, with the line 'desde el campo' indicating that they came straight from a military dispatch written on the battlefield.

The zeal of Spanish Habsburgs was remarkable too, and they strongly devoted themselves to maintaining law and order on the 'camino', the roads on which their armies travelled. The defense of the 'Spanish roads' that, starting from Mediterranean coast, via Genoa and the Lower Palatinate, communicated between the two large strategic dominions of Habsburg Spain—the Iberian Peninsula and Flanders—is at the origin of most of their military or diplomatic decisions. But this route also consequently lay between the military targets of the Spain's many enemies in this war, and its closure must have been an obstacle for news circulation, too.

In fact, scholars have pointed out that communication between Spain and Flanders was made, curiously enough, indirectly through Italy. A major reason for this must have been continuous French harassment of Spanish roads and mails, which discouraged shorter and straighter routes.

Having said all the above, the Spanish news market must have been strongly dependent on the Italian market right through the first decades of the seventeenth century, for reasons all related to the communication infrastructure. This gave a communicative advantage and a prominence to cities near Spanish Mediterranean seaports, such as Barcelona and Valencia, places in which journalism was more often practiced than in inland Spain.

We need, therefore, further research which tries to analyze whether the Iberian Peninsula, particularly Spain, lay outside the main news networks, and whether this affected the development of early Spanish journalism. Our

43 Antonio Mejjide Pardo, *Correos marítimos entre Falmouth y La Coruña (1689–1815)* (La Coruña: Librería Arenas, 1966).

hypothesis is that, before the Spanish-French war declaration in 1635, Spain was well connected to the rest of Europe through the same routes that served the rest of the European news markets. That is why the emergence of journalism in Spain is concurrent with its appearance in the rest of Europe and adopts very similar formats and genres.

A second hypothesis is that, from the outbreak of the Spanish-French war, Spain was progressively isolated, and that this contributed to the slow development of news communication by comparison with other countries in Western Europe (and that this reason is at least as significant as the one that is more usually given, which always looks to censorship as an explanation for the delay of Spanish journalism).

It is noticeable that the most prolific moments of early journalism in Spain coincide with the period leading up to the outbreak of the Franco-Spanish war, around 1618, and the moments after the end of the same war: the official *Gazeta Nueva*—published under tacit privilege, and which no doubt might have helped in the ending of the Spanish communicative isolation—appeared in 1661, only three years after the end of the war. Further research may prove the hypothesis or explanations given here, linking the evolution of Spanish journalism to the development of the international mail system.

Portugal

In Portugal, as in the rest of Europe, the evolution of the postal service was complex, with different elements existing alongside one another well into the seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries. First, by the coexistence of and, to a certain extent, competition between different systems for distributing messages. This complexity was also present within the royal administration, which granted different privileges to transport messages to specific bodies. Royal monopoly of the ‘private’ Post was not taken for granted but something that was historically built by different actors, not always following a ‘public’ interest. As a consequence, it is possible that most representations of postal systems in maps tend to focus, perhaps to a misleading extent, on the royal routes of the post, failing to give us a global picture of an intrinsically heterogeneous system in which the role of *almocreves* (mule drivers) and *correios de pé* (foot messengers) remained very important throughout this whole period.⁴⁴

44 For a recent, updated, state of the question, see Margarida Sobral Neto, ed., *As Comunicações na Idade Moderna* (Lisbon: Fundação Portuguesa das Comunicações, 2005).



FIGURE 2.8 *International news routes into Portugal in 1763, based on João Baptista de Castro's Mappa de Portugal, 1762–3*

Origins of the Postal System of the Portuguese Monarchy

1520 saw the creation of the royal office of the *Correio-mor*. Administrated and inherited by private families, the office was incorporated in the crown only in 1797. In the years after 1580, following the integration of Portugal in the Habsburg monarchy, the two main routes of communication of the early modern period were organised the first connected Lisbon with the main relays of the north–south axis: Coimbra, Aveiro, Porto and Braga. The other main route was the connexion from the capital to Aldeia Galega, to the south of the

Tagus's bank, with Elvas-Badajoz in the Castillian border, the relay to the postal system of northern Europe, Flanders and Italy.

The office of *Correio-mor* was sold in 1606 to the Gomes da Mata family (from Elvas, confirming the geographical importance of this nodal point). This family would monopolise and govern the post until the end of the eighteenth century. When the Gomes da Mata took the office, the royal postal network—the *ordinário*—worked on a weekly basis between Lisbon and Braga. The jurisdiction of the *Correio-mor* extended to the maritime post in 1657 (the Indian Ocean excepted), but its role limited itself to fiscal operations of invoice and reception, not the conduction of letters.

As mentioned, alongside the crown other organisations had their own post or messenger services. Of particular note are the hierarchical network of the Church (bishoprics), the University of Coimbra, the Inquisition, and the royal charities (*Misericórdias*). In many cases the couriers employed by these services travelled on foot. Every institution had its preferred routes and chose the best way to carry messages and orders.⁴⁵

Even though the Crown paid the *Correio-mor* annually, it also made systematic use of its own, much more rapid, 'extraordinaries': special messengers who travelled day and night, with all the additional costs involved. The Crown could also make use to the Church network, more dense, to obtain information about local life and infrastructures. This dual system, of an ordinary service as well as extraordinary, high-speed couriers for special situations and much more narrowly employed in the royal service, was also found in Venice, in England, in Spain, and in France. Broadly speaking, then, there was a contrast between the relative efficiency of the international mails to and from Lisbon, and the relative slowness of the land routes, especially within Portugal itself.

In the eighteenth century a series of conventions and agreements were signed in order to develop the domestic routes and regularise the international ones. The appearance of a stable weekly *Lisbon Gazette* (1715) should be seen in relation to the reliability and increased periodicity of such international connections. Some important dates are:

1702: ordinary post service to the Algarve, followed by measures to prevent mule carriers (*almocreves*) to carry letters.

45 This there were more land routes to Spain than shown on the map: for example, the Coimbra Inquisition's communication with Castille depended on the destination—letters via Almeida or Bragança to Valladolid; via Almeida to Murcia; via Valença to Galiza; via Évora to Granada. And there could be messages sent by ship to Coimbra, Porto, etc.

1705: convention with the English post (via the Falmouth Packet), with an agreement to establish a weekly connection between Falmouth and Lisbon.

1716–18: after the peace following the war of Spanish Succession, postal agreements with Castille in order to facilitate the postal exchanges in the border (Badajoz) and the weekly connection to Lisbon; land postal service to Seville, via Tavira.

Eighteenth century sources also mention the development of alternative maritime routes to the land postal service: mail arrived from France via Bayonne and from Spain via Cadiz. Nevertheless, complaints about the slowness of the post and the inefficiency of the *Correio-mor* were an enduring topic (“Letters ran as slow from Miranda do Douro [northeastern Portugal] to Lisbon as from Paris to Lisbon”, observed one disgruntled observer in 1740, while the ambassador D. Luis da Cunha offered criticisms of his own, preferring the Dutch model). Proposals were made to incorporate the office into the Crown, in the hope of securing a more efficient administration.

Britain

Britain (a term that is problematic in this period, as it refers to an archipelago notionally, but not actually in this period, united into a geo-political entity) is an interesting case with respect to the development of postal connections precisely because it is surrounded by water. It exists at the margins or periphery of the wider European network, but is still part of that network, not least because the rest of Europe was interested in news from Britain. Moreover, its connectivity to the European postal system depended on a limited number of nodes; and inside those nodes it had a largely autonomous system. Thus it had its own logistical needs, as well as a distinctive relationship to the mainland.

What were the effects of the isolation of Britain by water, how did this shape the development of post and the cultures surrounding it, and how did it shape the role of news there? The north Atlantic archipelago is not unique in being a group of islands that constitute a geographically and politically semi-distinct region of Europe. It may be unique in the imbalance between long-term political and economic influence and its isolation. However, there are ways in which the culture of the archipelago was shaped by geographical circumstance and transport networks; and therefore it makes sense to identify some of its distinctiveness before proceeding with the mechanics of its postal networks.



FIGURE 2.9 *The water routes for news, showing landfalls at Edinburgh, London, Dover and Plymouth*

England—or even, after the union of 1536, England and Wales, a hendiadys that is often understood though left unspoken—is not and has never been an island. But you would be forgiven for thinking that some of its inhabitants over the centuries had mistaken it for one. Not only was there the problem of the northern neighbour Scotland (the union of the Crowns in 1603 did not prevent war, of course, nor the political union of 1707); but also the Isle of Man with its own parliament; and Ireland, which was an unsettled colony of the English crown with a strong Scottish presence. And there were the territories of northern France governed by the English crown until 1558; which were followed by invasion attempts in 1627–29; and more successfully in 1658 against Dunkirk, which was sold back in 1662. So there were good reasons for not thinking of *Britain* let alone England as an island. But gradually through the seventeenth century it came to be thought of as one, and the English and British began to identify themselves as islanders.

However, the sea is important to the English imagination, as are boundaries. The model for understanding the geography of seventeenth England was not centre-periphery but through boundaries. Once a year, during Rogation week,

every child in each English and Welsh parish was required to follow the local priest or curate and 'beat the bounds' of his or her parish. Since 1559 this had been a secular function, undertaken not in *imitatio Christi*, but in order to know the boundaries of one's parish. Walking around the periphery was how one knew where one belonged. Hence the sea represents where one lives. But it is also a convenient, fast and comfortable, if sometimes terrifying, mode of transport—and with the roads in appalling condition, as British and foreign travellers frequently complained, the sea was frequently preferable to land transport. The growing sense of Britain as an island was not necessarily rooted in xenophobic nationalism⁴⁶ but in how English and Welsh people understood *belonging* to a place.

This permeable isolation—or peripheralness—also characterised the book trade in Britain, which in turn shaped the postal networks. The book trade was (i) uniquely centralised in London (itself not geographically central), except for a much smaller centre in Edinburgh, and some printing at the universities; (ii) regulated by a commercial body, the Stationers' Company, whose jurisdiction, however, extended only over England and Wales; (iii) more vernacular (and less Latinate) than the print culture of other European countries; (iv) shaped by the lack of indigenous paper production. These characteristics to some extent isolated the British book trade; but they also made it dependent on shipping. While being exceptionally insular, the book trade was also exceptionally dependent on trade, and thus on sea passage.⁴⁷

The Logistics of the Post in Britain

There were four main modes of transporting written or printed news in early modern England. First, the irregular services provided by packhorses and wagon kept for other purposes and used for communications when circumstances demanded. Both, especially wagons, were notably slow because of poor condition of the roads. As they were irregular their effectiveness and the frequency of use is hard to recover, and they were probably of limited importance in the development of news networks. Secondly, the private retainers or

46 Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Krishnan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

47 Andrew Pettegree and Matthew Hall, 'The Reformation and the Book: A Reconsideration', *Historical Journal*, 47 (2004), pp. 785–808; Joad Raymond, 'International News and the Seventeenth-Century English Newspaper', in *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in Britain, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1900*, ed. Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond, Jeroen Salman (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 229–51.

servants employed by wealthy families and institutions to carry messages over shorter distances. This was evidently not cost-effective, and even in the letters of relatively wealthy families we find the expectation that correspondents will seek out other, common services.

The third mode was the carrier (or 'common carrier'), a system for transporting packets between specific points, with regular periodicity on certain routes. Carriers weekly left London to travel to many parts of the country. The poet, pamphleteer and occasional journalist John Taylor published in 1637 *The Carriers Cosmographie*, a manual facilitating the use of carriers in Britain, indicating their destinations and times and places of departure. Its alphabetical organisation (by places of destination) serves to provide the reader with an early reference work; it then indicates the inn and day of departure. The full title is as suggestive as the text itself is practical:

*The Carriers Cosmographie. or A Briefe Relation, of The Innes, Ordinaries, Hosteries, and other lodgings in, and neere London, where the Carriers, Waggon, Foote-posts and Higglers, doe usually come, from any parts, to townes, shires and countries [meaning counties], of the Kingdomes of England, Principality of Wales, as also from the Kingdomes of Scotland and Ireland. With nomination of what daies of the weeke they doe come to London, and on what daies they returne, whereby all sorts of people may finde direction how to receive, or send, goods or letters, unto such placed as their occasions may require. As also, Where the Ships, Hoighs, Barkes, Tiltboats, Barges and wherries, do usually attend to Carry Passengers, and Goods to the coast Townes of England, Scotland, Ireland, or the Netherlands; and where the Barges and Boats are ordinarily to bee had that goe up the River of Thames westward from London.*⁴⁸

Printing this information as an inexpensive, commercial pamphlet suggests a perceived expansion in communications, and a widening demand for postal services in the years prior to the civil war. And it was a changing, developing service: Taylor published a new, briefer guide around 1642.⁴⁹ Even Taylor, not given to modesty, admitted that his information was patchy, so his guide can serve as a pessimistic picture of the minimum services available. Though not comprehensive it is nonetheless extensive. Taylor identified carriers conveying goods to most parts of England, and indicated how packages could be then

48 There is a study of Taylor by Bernard Capp: *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

49 *A Brief Director* (?1642; Wing T434aA).

forwarded to Scotland and Wales. Ireland obviously represented different circumstances, and it is difficult to gauge in what quantities books were distributed there in the 1640s. The areas immediately surrounding London were predictably the best served, but Taylor also indicated local concentrations in Yorkshire, Gloucestershire and Dorset. His promotion of his book is suggestive, both of expansive geography and of the particularities of the English regions:

if a man at Constantinople or some other remote part or Region shall chance to send a letter to his parents, master, or friends that dwell at *Nottingham, Derby, Shrewsbury, Exeter*, or any other towne in *England*; then this booke will give instructions where the Carriers doe lodge that may convey the said letter, which could not easily be done without it: for there are not many that by hart of memory can tell suddenly where and when every carrier is to be found. I have (for the ease of the Reader & the speedier finding out of every townes name, to which any one would send, or from whence they would receive[]), set them downe by way of Alphabet [...]⁵⁰

Taylor also refers (in the guidance that concludes the pamphlet) to the post service available via Thomas Witherings (more on him below): ‘All those that will send letters to the most parts of the habitable world, or to any parts of our King of Great Britaines Dominions, let them repaire to the Generall Post-Master *Thomas Withering* at his house in *Sherburne Lane, neere Abchurch*.⁵¹ The frequency with which place names appear in Taylor’s text may not be a straightforward indicator of the geographical density of the services to particular regions, but Taylor does show that there were means of distributing letters, and that these means were relatively easy to access. Speeds were slow, however: Carriers travelled at between 20 and 24 old English miles per day (statute miles, established in 1593, were the modern length of 1760 yards, or 1.61 km; old English miles were about 30% longer).

I will focus on the fourth mode of sending packets and letters: the post. This was arguably the most significant because swifter and cheaper. The royal post system in England and Scotland was essentially modelled on the Roman post

50 John Taylor, *The Carriers Cosmographie* (London, 1637), sig. A3r. Though organised as a reference work, it relied on some geographical knowledge. See also Michael Frearson, ‘The distribution and readership of London corantos in the 1620s’ in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *Serials and their Readers, 1620–1914* (Winchester: St Paul’s Bibliographies, 1993), pp. 1–25, at 13–15.

51 Taylor, *Carriers Cosmographie*, sig. C4v.

system, the *cursus publicus*. A 'King's Post' first appeared in the 1480s, under Edward IV and Richard III, though some semi-formalised system had been emerging for about a century. The service was significantly developed and improved under the Tudors, and Brian Tuke was formally granted the title 'Master of Posts', recognising an office that had existed for years, in 1517.⁵²

In the sixteenth century, there were four main postal roads in England, the longest terminating in Scotland; they were expanded to six through the early seventeenth century. These were not identical with the major mercantile routes. On these roads were staging posts every 10–12 miles. At each a postmaster was *required* to have horses ready for conveying royal messages; the remuneration for so doing—a penny a mile per job, doubled to two pence and then reduced to three half pence under Elizabeth, then increasing to two shillings and five pence per mile in 1635—was not enough to cover the costs, at least not at the level of service required.⁵³ In a way this was a form of regional taxation. The royal prerogative meant that the crown had the right to use the goods of any subject in return for a payment that the crown determined. With the appointment of postmaster and the creation of a formal postal system, the king no longer used his subjects' horses, but required his subjects to provide a man with a horse. In return he paid a punitively low rate. However, a profit could be made from 'by letters'—private persons could pay for the service, though their communications would have to be set aside for any official business. In other words, the royal post was a loss-making business that relied on private enterprise to subsidise it; and it was a *de facto* monopoly.

The first two roads to be established with permanent staging posts—until then stages were *ad hoc*—were the great north road to Edinburgh, and the Dover road linking the kingdom with France. The year 1512 saw the semi-formal appointment of Sir Brian Tuke as the first postmaster, followed in 1514 by the establishment of a mercantile postal system. From 1555 to 1600, and especially in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, a series of parliamentary acts were passed aimed at improving the condition and maintenance of the roads. Permanent staging posts on the Bristol, Plymouth and Holyhead roads were established in the 1590s, in response to the military threat from Spain and the Irish rebellion; branches were established to the west midlands from the Holyhead road, where the weapons used by English forces in Ireland were

52 Duncan Campbell-Smith, *Masters of the Post: The Authorized History of the Royal Mail* (London: Allen Lane, 2011), pp. 7–9.

53 Brian Austen, *English Provincial Posts, 1633–1840: A Study Based on Kent examples* (London: Phillimore, 1978), pp. 1–13; Campbell-Smith, *Masters of the Post*, pp. 11–12.



FIGURE 2.10 *Post Roads in England, Scotland and Wales, c. 1675*

manufactured. Under Elizabeth the post was also tacitly opened to private customers.⁵⁴ This changed the enterprise from being a financial liability to a potentially lucrative one.

In 1603 the newly-crowned James I of England issued *Orders for the Posts of our Realmes, and for all men to observe and obey in the speedy carriage of Packets, directed for our affaires*, reviving and renewing previous orders. These stipulated the keeping of horses and means of carriage (cotton-lined leather bags); that each post must be despatched within a quarter of an hour of receipt; the keeping of precise records about packages sent (which, if they were kept and had survived, would be very revealing to the historian); and that the minimum speed of conveyance should be seven miles per hour, reduced to five miles per hour in winter (8 and 11.2 kph). These speeds were seldom achieved. The Orders were most precise about the limitation of the post for official use:

Every Post thus furnished shall at all houres receive and cary, or send away, all Packets or Letters brought unto him, directed for Our special affaires, dated on the outside, with the time and place of their first delivery, and subscribed by the hands of our Principall Secretaries, and Master and Comptroller general of the Postes: And for matters of the Navy, or to the Maritime Forts upon the Sea coast, or principal Port Townes, by our Admirall of England: For matters of the Cinque Ports, by our Warden: For matters of Scotland, by our Treasurer and Secretary of Scotland: And for Ireland, by our Lieutenant of the L. *Mountjoy*, Or addressed to them in the proper business of their places, or to the body of our Counsell, from what persons or places whatsoever: Of whose names, and addresse only, the Posts shall take notice, according to the first Institution, and Originall use of their service, and of none other.⁵⁵

The royal protestations indicate concern over the Elizabethan opening of system up to 'by letters'—either because it made the system inefficient, or, more likely, because it appeared violate crown privilege and secrecy, of which James was peculiarly protective. In 1619 the first postmaster with specific responsibility for foreign parts was appointed, Matthew de Quester (more on him below). In 1635 De Quester's replacement as foreign postmaster, his former deputy

54 Campbell-Smith, *Masters of the Post*, pp. 15–18.

55 *Orders for the Posts* (London, 1603).

Thomas Witherings, was granted a monopoly to run a national postal service, and he implemented a radical series of reforms, systematising the inland post (as the international post had been systematised), and opening the royal mail to the public, fulfilling a process begun under Elizabeth. The mails, which increased in speed, left London weekly on Tuesdays.⁵⁶

This was surely the most significant event in the development of the posts: the shift in the function of the mail from what was officially a royal function, with a tacit permission of public use, to a public function; combined with a greater emphasis on the profit motive as a means of sustaining it (as opposed to the obligation to the crown). Witherings also regularised the rest of the post, as the Dover road was improved.⁵⁷

Thereafter we can observe a pattern of increasing frequency of postal despatches. This is notwithstanding the civil war, which disrupted but did not halt the operation of the service: king and parliament fought for control of the posts, and parliament won control of all but the Western road by 1643.⁵⁸ In response the king sought in 1644 to establish an alternative post, based in Oxford and Weymouth. In 1649 the Commonwealth introduced a Saturday post, and the Common Council of London its own post to Scotland. Prices were cut substantially in 1650, and in 1654 a third weekly post was introduced. The same Ordinance ruled that MPs' letters should be free, and, crucially, gave control of the post to the Protectorate's Secretary of State, John Thurloe. The indefatigable Thurloe was also head of the intelligence services. This confirmed the double-face of *intelligence*. The 'Act for Settling of the Postage of England, Scotland and Ireland' passed in 1657 explicitly recognised this conjunction when it observed that a post office had proved:

the best means, not onely to maintain a certain and constant Intercourse of Trade and Commerce betwixt all the said Places, to the great benefit of the People of these Nations, but also to convey the Publique Dispatches, and to discover and prevent many dangerous, and wicked Designs, which have been, and are daily contrived against the Peace and Welfare of this

56 Kevin Sharpe, 'Thomas Witherings and the Reform of the Foreign Posts, 1632–1640', *Historical Research*, 57 (1984), pp. 149–65; also J. Crofts, *Packhorse, Waggon and Post: Land Carriage and Communications under the Tudors and Stuarts* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 101; Campbell-Smith, *Masters of the Post*, pp. 23–7.

57 Austen, *English Provincial Posts*, pp. 5–6.

58 Austen, *English Provincial Posts*, pp. 9–10.

Commonwealth, the Intelligence whereof cannot well be Communicated, but by Letter of Escript.

Government surveillance, public news and private communication seem interlinked in this Act. The same Act established the first 'general Post Office'. The 1657 Act also fixed a tariff for private posts. When the monarchy was restored in 1660 a General Post Office was established, followed by the Turnpike Act of 1663 which accelerated the improvement of roads.⁵⁹

It has been demonstrated that the speed of the post improved during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: very approximately, journey times fell by half or more between 1450 and 1620.⁶⁰ The invaluable analysis of Mark Brayshay, Philip Harrison and Brian Chalkley, based, on postmasters' endorsements of letters, shows average journey times from London: 80+ hours to Edinburgh, 55 to York, 50 to Plymouth, 40 to Exeter and Chester, 20 to Bristol and around 14.5 hours to Dover (all in the 50 years to 1620). In addition to the increase in speed there was an increase in volume: for example, use of the Kent posts increased from an annual average of 229 packets a year in the period 1566–71, increasing by 70–80% in volume every five years or so to 2146 packets annually in 1589.⁶¹ Of course the main routes could only carry a message so far. They were supplemented by sub-branches. Travel here was slower, not least because roads were poor. However, it has been estimated that most British towns were within 20 or 30 miles of a staging post.⁶² Some large towns maintained municipal posts that provided a means for local distribution. The earliest extant record of such a service indicates that Norwich had one in 1569.⁶³

59 *An Act for Settling of the Postage of England, Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1657); Campbell-Smith, *Masters of the Post*, pp. 30–2; Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (1996; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 239–40; Herbert Joyce, *The History of the Post Office: From its Establishment Down to 1836* (1893), pp. 15–32; Howard Robinson, *The British Post Office: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), pp. 23–47.

60 Mark Brayshay, Philip Harrison, and Brian Chalkley, 'Knowledge, Nationhood and Governance: The Speed of the Royal Post in Early-Modern England', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24 (1998), pp. 265–88, at 274–5.

61 Mark Brayshay, 'Royal Post-Horse Routes in England and Wales: The Evolution of the Network in the Later-Sixteenth and Early-Seventeenth Centuries', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 17 (1991), pp. 373–89, at 380.

62 Brayshay, Harrison and Chalkley, 'Knowledge, Nationhood and Governance', p. 269.

63 Campbell-Smith, *Masters of the Post*, p. 6.

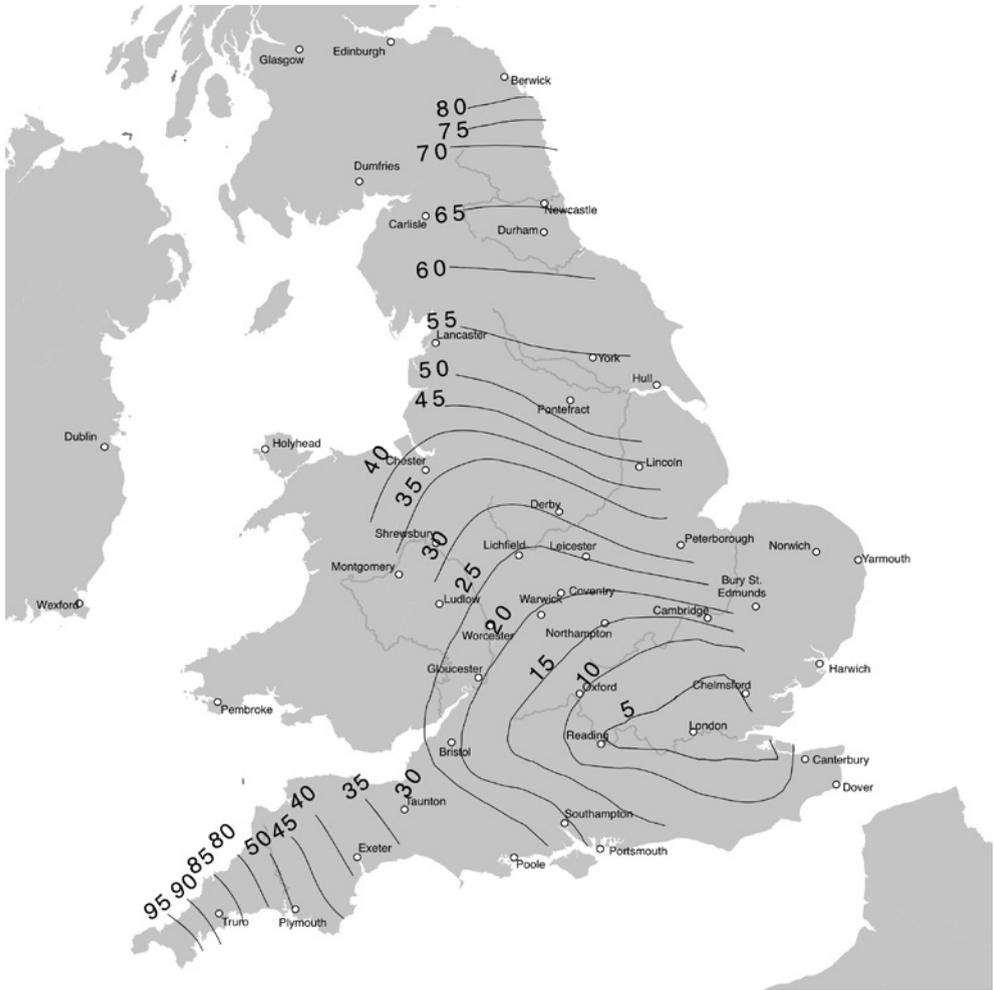


FIGURE 2.11 *Average travel times of post along Treasury-funded roads from London, 1570–1620. Times measured in hours, based on postmasters' endorsements. Adapted from Mark Brayshay, Philip Harrison, and Brian Chalkney, 'Knowledge, Nationhood and Governance', 279*

The late sixteenth century also witnessed substantial increases in expenditure on maintaining and improving roads: spending on the Great North road increased from £8333 to £10743 in 1566–76 and 1597–1607 respectively; payments to postmasters on the Dover road increased by nearly £800 a decade in consecutive decades up to 1597, reaching £1918 between 1586 and 1597. The most dramatic increases occurred on the Plymouth and Holyhead roads in the first decade of the seventeenth century. These leapt from around 5% of total



FIGURE 2.12 *Post routes to south west England, showing main and subsidiary routes, with travel times to off-route locations. The dotted lines show the actual times (based on postmasters' endorsements) taken to travel to off-route locations by royal post boys, calculated at 5.5 miles per hour (8.85 km per hour). Adapted from Brayshay, Harrison and Chalkley, 'Knowledge, Nationhood and Governance', 283*

postal expenditure (1586–97) to over 40% (1598–1607).⁶⁴ The care taken over the roads declined under James VI and I, and he was negligent in paying his postmasters (as indeed he was many of the state's servants).

The costs of posting to the purchaser were as follows: a single letter was carried up to eighty miles (128.7 km) for two pence, up to 140 miles (225.3 km) for four pence, and anything further than 140 miles cost sixpence. Postage to Scotland was eight pence. Prices were reduced in 1650; up to 80 miles from London for two pence, three pence to remote parts of England and Wales, four pence to Scotland, and sixpence to Ireland.⁶⁵

The fee of the post service probably did not guarantee door-to-door delivery. It ensured delivery within a certain distance. Extra was paid for the final stage

64 Brayshay, 'Royal Post-Horse Routes', pp. 383–4

65 Raymond, *Invention*, pp. 239–40; Joyce, *History of the Post Office*, pp. 15–32; Robinson, *British Post Office*, pp. 23–47; Austen, *English Provincial Posts*, pp. 5–6.

if it was brought to the recipient's door. A suggestive illustration of this can be found in a bill of disbursements from 1641, which gives the price of 'two printed declaracons' as twopence, and a 'diurnall of parliament Occurrences', evidently a manuscript, as one shilling and sixpence. The purchaser also gave sixpence to the 'post boy' (that is, one who worked under a deputy postmaster, a word first recorded in 1588).⁶⁶

Foreign Post

A system of international posts had been run by English merchants since the early sixteenth century; prior to that British merchants had benefitted from mercantile communication systems based elsewhere, notably those operated by the Flemish. This system was declared a royal monopoly in 1591, taking the advantage from the Flemish merchants and handing it (temporarily) the Merchant Adventurers' Company (who thereby gained effective control of the Dover road).

James VI and I granted the Flemish Matthew De Quester a patent to run a 'Foreign' post in 1619, effectively providing competition for the inland posts and especially the Dover road. After running this successfully (and despite a challenge to his monopoly mounted in 1627 by the Merchant Adventurers' Company), and making a profit through the private dimension of his business, De Quester was appointed 'Postmaster of England for Foreign Parts' in 1628. De Quester and his son employed 13 messengers: three for ordinary posts to France, six to Antwerp and Middleburg, three for the packet services to France/Spain and Holland. On Thursday, on 'the tyde that falleth after midnight', letters were sent to Brussels, Heidelberg, Cologne, Frankfurt, Prague, and the Paris-Turin-Madrid route. Letters for the Hague and Holland left on Saturday night or very early on Sunday mornings.⁶⁷

After Witherings' appointment in 1635, a note was posted on the door of the office for foreign posts which read: 'for way of Antwerp everie friday, for way of France everie wednesday & for that of Holland everie Saturday al to be in the office before five in the afternoone'.⁶⁸ The mail was to be in by 5pm, was sent off to Dover at 6pm, from where it took about 14 hours;⁶⁹ packet boats sailed immediately for Calais. Until that point the post took an alleged 8 days to get to Antwerp; this new system was intended to reduce it to 3 days (although, again,

66 TNA, SP 16/493/62; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series ... 1641-1643* (London: HMSO, 1887), p. 428: the manuscript is more likely to be from 1641 than the stated 1642; Campbell-Smith, *Masters of the Post*, 10; OED: post boy, *n.*¹.

67 Sharpe, 'Thomas Witherings', pp. 149-64.

68 Austen, *English Provincial Posts*, p. 3.

69 Brayshay, Harrison and Chalkley, 'Knowledge, Nationhood and Governance', p. 276.

this ideal seems to have been rarely achieved in practice). In 1637 the Thurn und Taxis postmasters stated that under Witherings delivery between London and Antwerp took four days; between London and Milan, seventeen to eighteen days; and between London and Naples, 23 to 24 days.⁷⁰

Before the establishment of the international posts, and continuing alongside them, were *ad hoc* couriers, paid irregular but often large sums and also travelling irregularly. Like diplomatic services, they constitute part of a news network, though it is difficult to generalise about the nature of their contribution to the shape and form of the network. There were also irregular means of communicating documents in national and international networks. Hence ships returning from Spain and the Levant made landfall at Plymouth,⁷¹ depositing packets, but also collecting them en route to London. Although Dover-Calais was officially (from the English point of view) the sole point of postal connectivity with the Continent it was plainly not. Similarly one Samuel Jude was running a private carrying service for merchants between Plymouth and London in 1626.⁷²

Significance of Posts to News Networks

The post quickly became an integral part of the news infrastructure, the foundation of its operation as a network. While oral exchange must remain the most everyday mode of news communication, the way it worked depended on other modes. The communication of written and printed documents was perceived to be sometimes though not always faster; but where it was not faster, it was understood to be more reliable. Documents confirmed or repudiated rumour. Moreover, news was associated with communication transport; hence 'to tell news after the carrier' was proverbial for a futile action, like shutting the stable doors after the horse had bolted. Carriers told news (and pedlars told gossip). Hence news and postal and carrier networks were fundamentally connected in language and culture more broadly. Post-houses became centres of information in themselves, and in certain jurisdictions, such as Sweden, the postmasters were the designated compilers of official newspapers.

News networks were bound together by conflict—confessional conflict—as well as by trade and community consensus. This caused sensitivity to news at other nodes in the network that bound Europe.⁷³ Yet in Britain at least there was little done to transform the news into something that was more evidently confessionally sympathetic. Specifically there seems to have been little adaptation

70 Austen, *English Provincial Posts*, p. 3; Sharpe, 'Thomas Witherings', p. 160.

71 Crofts, *Packhorse, Waggon and Post*, p. 97.

72 Crofts, *Packhorse, Waggon and Post*, p. 98.

73 Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers', p. 31

done in the translation of news: it tended to be neutral. This neutrality—and it is striking that during the 1630s the English government insisted that translations of news *had* to be literal—made the practical infrastructure all the more important as an influence on what news was available.⁷⁴

The post had other significance and connotations. First, state centralisation. The increase in traffic and speed, and the systematisation of the postal services, has been associated with state formation or modernisation. Thus Brayshay, Harrison, and Chalkley follow the historian Geoffrey Elton in his account of Tudor state formation: the connection may be overstated. The causes of the development of the postal system were probably at least as much economic as political, and likely to have been driven more by demand, including the demand for news evidenced in other aspects of public life, than by the intentions of successive councils of state.

Secondly, surveillance. Searching posts seems to have been commonplace. It is significant that the meaning of the word ‘intelligence’ in English communicates news (as digested and interpreted by an editor) *and* what we would call spying.⁷⁵ The relationship between news and state intelligence took off in the 1580s under Sir Francis Walsingham, based on practical exigency as much as the emulation of foreign practices. This coincided with the opening of the Royal posts to private customers and the two things were at some level connected. The opening of post was an important element of state intelligence (and, incidentally, ensured that, far from being entirely unguarded in contrast to print, manuscript news was often circumspect). By the mid-seventeenth century the Taxis service had a Black Chamber for the surveillance of postal communications, and it was certainly not alone. Opening letters was extensive during the civil war (ciphers were commonly used in correspondence) and was fundamental to the operation of the government in the 1650s under John Thurloe, who had his own Black Chamber.⁷⁶ The 1657 act clearly established

74 Thomas Archer was reportedly imprisoned for ‘making or adding to Corrantoes’, BL: Harl. MS 389, fo. 122r; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 131; Joad Raymond, ‘Exporting Impartiality’, in Anita Traninger and Kathryn Murphy, eds., *The Emergence of Impartiality: Towards a Prehistory of Objectivity* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 141–67.

75 Raymond, *Invention*, 158–63; cf BL: MS Stowe 176, fo. 3, letter from Ralph Winwood to Sir Thomas Edmunds, 26 March 1616, which uses ‘intelligences’ as synonymous with both news and spying.

76 Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen Lane, 2012); John Cooper, *The Queen’s Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber, 2012); Nadine Akkerman, ‘The Postmistress, the Diplomat, and a Black Chamber?: Alexandrine of Taxis, Sir Balthazar Gerbier and the Power of Postal Control’, in

surveillance as a function (as it implicitly had been prior to 1657). Hence the concern that Quakers expressed about the safe delivery of their letters.⁷⁷ This is subtly different from the fear of interception of letters as they passed between different European states: the state fostered postal networks at the same time as it increased surveillance. And this happened simultaneously with the expansion of public debate, and the increased influence of that debate on national politics. It is further evidence of the very intricate ways that private culture and public culture are interwoven in Britain. News expanded, and as it expanded it was nonetheless governed by notions of secrecy and secrets of state.⁷⁸

Conclusion

This paradoxical dynamic—between a news culture expanding and developing a rich relationship with its publics (national and transnational), and the tenacious and in some ways increasingly subtle hold of notions of secrecy—was integral to news culture in Britain, though signs of similar dynamics can be found in many other European cultures. As further evidence of this we might point to the fact that while the public posts of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries emerged from expanding networks originally developed for diplomatic communication and other purposes of statecraft, they did not simply absorb or replace them. European rulers continued to maintain extraordinary private couriers for their diplomatic communications alongside the regularly scheduled postal services; public use of the service rather *displaced* rulers' original, essentially private conception of it, which then had to be reconfigured outside of the repurposed network. State consciousness of the exploitability of the public posts for purposes of surveillance of people and goods as well as information may have contributed to this perceived need.

Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox, eds., *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), 172–88; Philip Aubrey, *Mr Secretary Thurloe: Cromwell's Secretary of State, 1652–1660* (London: Athlone Press, 1990); C.H. Firth, 'Thurloe and the Post Office', *English Historical Review*, 13 (1898), pp. 527–33.

77 Kate Peters, 'The Dissemination of Quaker Pamphlets in the 1650s', in *Not Dead Things*, ed. Harms, Raymond, and Salman, pp. 217–8.

78 David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Filippo de Vivo, *Information & Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

The other indispensable point to notice about the emergence of European postal networks is that, although locally variable in their administration and in the speed with which they were established, they were fundamentally transnational in their conception. In Britain, in France, and in the Habsburg lands, the earliest established post routes were to speed communication with other states. The national scope of a postal network was always intended to reach beyond political and linguistic boundaries; and the transnational element always depended on a rich, internal involution. This was one of its strengths in promoting a European news culture that similarly was both local and pan-European in nature.

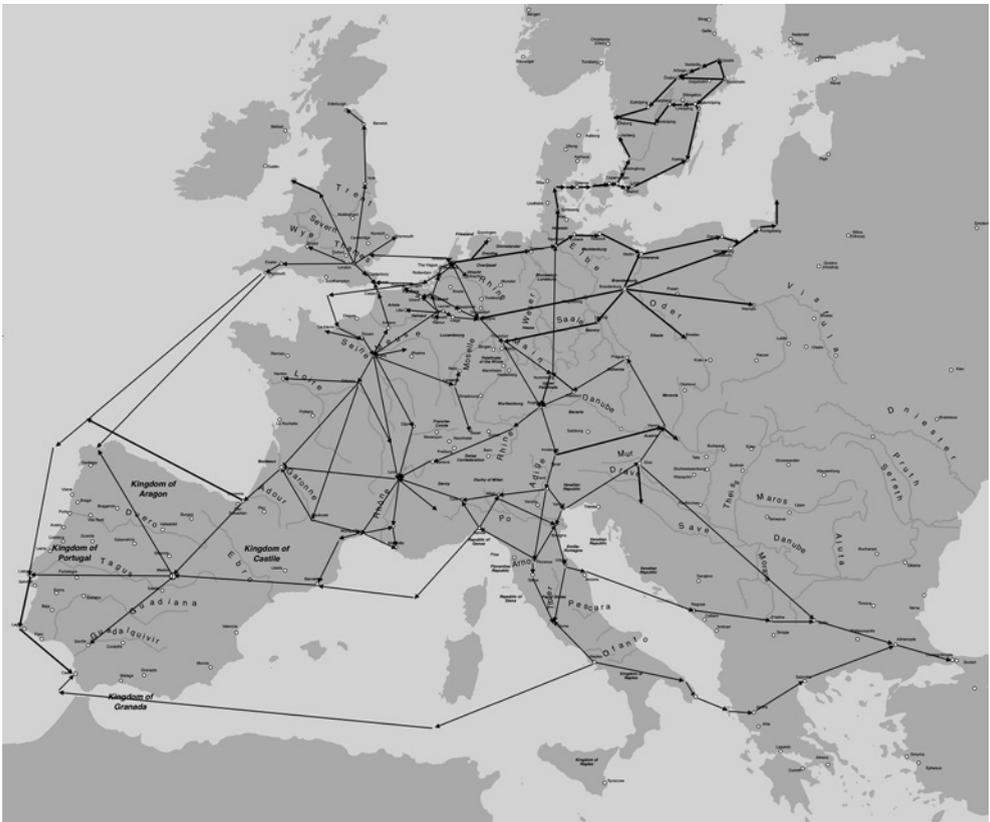


FIGURE 2.13 *Sketch map of major European postal routes operating at various times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Collaboratively compiled, at the Vienna workshop of the News Networks in Early Modern Europe research project, 13/9/12, by Paul Arblaster, Nikolaus Schobesberger, Mario Infelise, André Belo, Carmen Espejo, Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham, with input from Oswald Bauer*

A full picture of the *actual flows* of news is not yet possible,⁷⁹ but an impression of the spine around which that news flowed can be obtained from a collaboratively drawn map of Europe's postal networks (see Figure 2.13). This can only be impressionistic, because it is neither exhaustive (it represents major routes, and only scheduled travel), and because the actual routes developed and changed over time, but it nonetheless presents an imaginative rendering of a European network of news.

79 See Ch. 4, below.

The Lexicons of Early Modern News

*Paul Arblaster, André Belo, Carmen Espejo, Stéphane Haffemayer,
Mario Infelise, Noah Moxham, Joad Raymond and Nikolaus Schobesberger*

The vocabulary for news spread across Europe with the news itself. This is evident enough in the geographical dispersal of words including *gazette*, *avviso*, *mercury*. However, also like the news itself, as these words were domesticated into regional languages and local news cultures they developed local inflections. Looking closely at the languages of news across Europe reveals continuities and discontinuities in practice, it identifies the movement of conventions and uncovers false friends that are evidence of both common and idiosyncratic practices.

One of the first things discovered in the workshops organised by the Leverhulme-Trust funded research network, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe 1500–1700*, was that we needed to understand more precisely the lexicons we deployed in various tongues in a wider context, and that a polyglot lexicon was a necessary foundation for a transnational understanding of the cosmopolitan cultures of European news. The history of news in early modern Europe has been strongly shaped by—and consequently fashioned into—national narratives, narratives that risk ignoring or downplaying the extent to which news and its circulation were transnational phenomena. It was a starting point of the network and its participants that the tendency to view the historiography of news in national isolation, by separating news products from the variety of forms, names and networks by which they were distributed across Europe, risks simplifying news history into a narrowly developmental account that measures the sophistication and interest of a given news culture principally by the speed with which it brought about the printed daily newspaper. We sought to replace this with an international story, recognising the international character and freedom of movement of news, its fungibility and mobility between diverse political, social, and linguistic contexts.

Translation (and thus communities of jobbing translators) was one of the foundations of the movement of news, and it was soon apparent to the network that the polyglot and cosmopolitan character of Europe's vocabularies of news presented unanticipated challenges. Discussions of forms, networks, and definitions of news in the course of the project's researches highlighted a number of important questions: how can we be sure, when we use a single word to

compare news publications, that we are talking about similar phenomena? Are the various names given to printed and manuscript forms of news commensurate between countries? Conversely, how is a given word used as it moves between vernaculars? How was the terminology understood, and how was the contemporary sense of those meanings recorded? What degree of influence or feedback was there between national news cultures?

Names for news items and news objects moved alongside the things themselves; words imperfectly described things, and they adapted to local and regional contexts; and their meanings changed according both to the exigencies of varying circumstances and to changing cultural contexts. For instance, as is shown below, part of the expansion of the active vocabulary of news in English was to include the use of such words as **proceedings**, **affairs**, **occurrences**, **transactions**, and **passages** in the titles of news publications (all of which seem to reflect the importance of reporting on parliamentary activity to the news culture of the 1640s). Yet if these titles are suggestive of a specifically English aspect to that culture, there were also numerous titles of early English news publications—**mercuries**, **corantoës**, **gazettes**, **tidings**—which borrowed from the continental vocabulary in a manner that suggests that the foreignness of the contents, forms and titles of news publications was part of what made them recognisable as news. It is also worth noticing that this foreignness was generic: that is, the foreign term by which the news was recognised need not originate in the same place as the news it contained. This article records numerous instances of terms adopted from the immediate example of a neighbouring region, which had itself borrowed the term from elsewhere.

This chapter began life as a multi-way dialogue or polylogue, and developed into a collaborative reference essay. In it we provide a non-exhaustive yet panoramic survey of the rapidly-changing lexicons of news terminology in seven of early modern Europe's vernaculars—Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish—covering the period from the early sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is our hope that scholars and students of the history of news will find this useful, not simply because it brings this information together in one place for the first time, but also because it broadens our understanding of the interrelatedness of early modern news genres, and assembles an important strand of evidence in drawing the historical and geographical outlines of a European news network. It underscores the necessity of studying the European news network as a whole. It further provides a practical foundation for many of the analyses of transnational flows that appear elsewhere in this volume.

Although we have sought to avoid falsely isolating national cultures of news, the logic of a survey of early modern news terminology seems to us to require

separate treatment for each language considered; and, in order that the migration of forms and terms may be more readily apparent, the discussions of each language have been arranged according to a rough chronology of innovation (beginning with the establishment of **avvisi** networks in Italy, to the appearance of printed news pamphlets and the first newspapers in the Holy Roman Empire, the establishment of Dutch-language **couranten** and **nieuwe tijdinghen**, moving on to France, England, Spain and Portugal.)

A note on typography: in order to avoid privileging one news vocabulary over others, the convention by which non-English words are italicised within English prose has been abandoned. Terms whose meaning and usage are the subjects of this essay's scrutiny are given in bold where they are first encountered (or reintroduced to discussion), and are thereafter not emphasised. Italics are confined to titles of printed works; a word which is both italicised *and* bold denotes an instance where the title of a particular printed work introduces a term which comes to be used generically.

Italy

The word **nuova** (singular; the plural is **nuove**; and variants include **nova**, **nove**, **novella**) has been used since at least the fifteenth century to indicate the account of something that has happened recently. It shares its meaning with the English **news**.

Over the same period **avviso** has been a generic term: it does not distinguish between the object (a sheet containing written news) and its content (the news). An **avviso** could be a news-sheet containing various news items, or it could equally well be a single piece of news.¹ The **avviso** (handwritten or printed) became the principal vehicle of news communication on the Italian peninsula, and continued to predominate until the end of the eighteenth century. Its origins can be traced to the last decades of the fourteenth century, when the particularly informative parts of private and merchants' letters or of political

1 On the Italian terms see Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002), and 'From merchants' letters to handwritten political avvisi: notes on the origins of public information', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 3, *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 33–52. Also still useful is Salvatore Bongi, 'Le prime gazzette in Italia', *Nuova Antologia*, 11 (1869), pp. 311–46. On **avviso** see also the studies of Johann Petitjean, 'Mots et pratiques de l'information. Ce que *aviser* veut dire (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles)', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Italie et Méditerranée*, 122.1 (2010), pp. 107–21, and *L'intelligence des choses. Une histoire de l'information entre l'Italie et Méditerranée* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2013), pp. 2–5.

dispatches began to be excerpted and incorporated into a single sheet with other, similar excerpts. The result was a text made up of short informative sections, relaying news that was thought to be of general interest. Between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century the layout of the avviso was gradually perfected. The news was introduced by headlines such as “Copia di nuove in lettere da ...” (copy of news in letters from ...), “Sommario di avvisi” (summary of avisos), “Sommario di nove” (summary of news), and so on.²

In Venice the term **reporto** (also *riporto/raporto*) had the same meaning as *avviso*. They were used interchangeably, even if later on, in the eighteenth century, *reporto* could also indicate a single item of information. The *avvisi* or **reporti** (plural) were usually anonymous, although it is possible to find them signed, especially when they were addressed to important personalities. Some began to be issued in serial form from the second half of the fifteenth century, and in periodical form from about 1550. Both were commonly used in the papal bulls against the news circulation between 1572 and 1590.³ The same meaning was conveyed by the word **ragguaglio** (plural *ragguagli*), less used, less common, but employed by the writer Trajano Boccalini in the title of his famous book *De' ragguagli di Parnaso* (Venice, 1612), translated into English as *Advertisements from Parnassus* by Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth (London, 1656).⁴

Another important distinction was between **avvisi secreti** (secret avisos), carrying confidential information addressed to men of power, and **avvisi pubblici** (public avisos). The former were exclusively handwritten, while the latter might be handwritten or printed.⁵

The **gazzetta** was the *avviso pubblico* par excellence. It was an *avviso* available to anyone who could afford it, and thus capable of expanding its readership. Use of the word *gazzetta* begins to be recorded around 1570, but for many decades it seems to have been a term primarily belonging to spoken language, referring to news-sheets that lacked credibility.⁶ A *gazzetta* was typically

2 Quotations from the collection of *avvisi* preserved in Archivio di stato di Modena, *Cancellaria ducale, avvisi e notizie dall'estero*, bb. 1–3.

3 See *S.D.N.D. Pii PP. V Constitutio contra scribentes exemplantes, & dictantes monita vulgo dicta gli auisi, & ritorni* (Rome: Antonio Blado, 1572) in Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma 13.F.23; *Editto che predicatori non trattino nelle loro prediche de reporti & avvisi* (Rome: Paolo Blado, 1590), in Bibliothèque nationale de France, E 4720.

4 See also 96, 272, 304, 471, 519, 678, and 724, below.

5 Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, pp. 30–3; Brendan Dooley, *The Social History of Skepticism. Experience and Doubt in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 36–7.

6 For more on the word *gazzetta* see Ch. 10.

handwritten, although printed **gazette** (contemporary attestations of the term more commonly use the plural than the singular) began to appear from the early seventeenth century onwards. In the first decades of its use, *gazette* could as easily refer to single-event, occasional newsletters as to parts of a regularly appearing series (which is what *avviso* more commonly refers to) but there is also evidence for the terms *gazetta* and *avviso* being used interchangeably. The term *gazetta* is conventionally supposed to derive from the name of a small-denomination Venetian coin in circulation in the sixteenth century and which came to stand metonymically for the newssheets whose purchase price it represented: late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dictionaries and encyclopaedias offer this explanation and supply possible etymologies via Hebrew (*Izgad*, meaning messenger), or Persian (*gazna-*) via Greek ($\gamma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\alpha$), meaning treasure or treasure-house.⁷ This derivation is hard to verify, however; the earliest evidence we have for it in an Italian monolingual lexicon is from 1676. It is, however, mentioned in John Florio's 1598 Italian-English dictionary *A Worlde of Wordes* and in Randle Cotgrave's Anglo-French dictionary of 1611.⁸ Early seventeenth-century dictionaries of Italian tend not to include the word, possibly because, as noted above, it was mainly a colloquial usage; it is notable that John Florio's 1598 Italian dictionary, which does include it, is more receptive to informal Italian than most contemporary monoglot dictionaries.⁹

The terms **foglio** (sheet) or **foglietto** (small sheet) are often used as synonyms of *gazetta* or *avviso* and both were used for handwritten as well as printed matter. It was also common to use the expression **foglio di avvisi** to indicate a single sheet of news.

The term **giornale** (journal) appears only in the second half of the seventeenth century in the titles of literary and academic periodicals, probably in imitation of the French *Journal des Sçavans* (1665): *Giornale de' letterati di Roma* (1668), *Giornale veneto de' letterati* (1670), *Giornale de' letterati d'Italia* (1710). During the war against the Turks, at the end of the seventeenth century, and particularly after the siege of Vienna of 1683, many military gazettes were printed in Italian cities with titles like *Giornale dal campo cesareo a Buda* (*Journal of the Imperial encampment at Buda*) or *Giornale dell'armata veneta in*

7 Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia, or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London, 1728), see under *Gazette*. Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 2 vols. (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968–80), p. 206.

8 John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes* (London 1598), p. 145; Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611), sig. S53^r.

9 On the dictionary of John Florio, see Michael Watt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 203–54.

Levante (*Journal of the Venetian Army in the Levant*), and others more or less similar. The name did not indicate regular periodicity of publication, but rather the intention to provide a day-by-day account of what was happening in the war zones. The periodicity was effectively the consequence of protracted military actions that continued to stimulate interest because of their favorable outcome. Practical circumstances tied these military gazettes closely to the military events they reported; their publication ceased altogether in the winter months when military activity diminished.¹⁰

A **relazione** or **relazione** (relation), starting from the sixteenth century, was an occasional printed account of military or political events of particular importance. Generally it was a printed news pamphlet consisting of four pages in quarto or in octavo illustrating a specific fact or occurrence. *Relazioni* circulated widely and were frequently reprinted, often in different cities from the one in which they were first published. The expression **Relazione de' successi** (relations of events) was quite common, and is an obvious cognate for the Spanish **Relaciones de sucesos**. However, the Spanish term was not widely in use in the early modern period, and has been retroactively applied by historians.

The **Mercurio**, derived from the Latin title of the *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus* first printed in Cologne in 1592 or the *Mercurius Austrio-Bohemo-Germanicus* of 1623, was a printed series of books on contemporary historical events (like the German **Messrelation**). The most significant Italian example is the *Mercurio ouero historia de' correnti tempi* by Vittorio Siri, published in 15 volumes and over 20,000 pages between 1644 and 1682, and covering European history between 1640 and 1655. Only later, in the eighteenth century, did the term *mercurio* imply periodical (monthly, biannual or annual) publication.

The terms in use for the professional newswriter and dealer in information varied from place to place on the Italian peninsula; between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a compiler of handwritten newsletters or gazettes was known as a **menante** in Rome, a **reportista** or **scrittore di reporti** in Venice, and a **novellaro** in Genoa. **Novellante** and **novellista** also occur, in the sense both of the newswriter and the more general meaning of a person interested in or enquirer after news.

In the last decades of the sixteenth century the use of the word **gazzettiere** (gazetteer) or **gazzettante** began to be recorded almost systematically, and with derogatory connotations. The earliest attempt at definition is that of John

10 Mario Infelise, 'The War, the News and the Curious: Military Gazettes in Italy', in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 216–36.

Florio, according to whom the *gazzettiere* was “an intelligencer or such as have daily occurrences”. The **Studio di reporti** (office of reports) was the workplace of the *reportista* until the end of the eighteenth century; those in Venice were often located in the workshops of scribal copyists.

The term **giornalista** (journalist) appeared at the end of the seventeenth century to indicate exclusively the writer or the editor of a learned journal—again derived from the Parisian *Journal des Sçavans*. The word retained this meaning until the end of the following century, during which the clear distinction persisted between the journalist—a learned and worthy writer—and the *gazetteer*—a not very reliable writer of news.

Germany

In German, the key word in news and media terminology is **Zeitung**. The original term had a meaning similar to ‘news’. *Zeitung* derives from the Middle Low German word **Tidunge**, which meant some kind of event, incident or happening. The Low German roots of the word *Zeitung* are evident in the English **tidings**. The word begins to be reported from the region around Cologne about the beginning of the fourteenth century and was used to mean a message or an oral report of an event. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the word was used to describe a single piece of news (compare this with the secondary use of *avviso* in Italian).

The term *Zeitung*, in the sense of a printed newsletter, was used for the first time in 1502. It was also used to indicate handwritten newsletters analogous to Italian *avvisi*. In the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century the so-called **Newe Zeytungen** developed in the German-speaking countries. The first example of a printed work answering this description was produced in Augsburg in 1482, though it was not published under the name of *Zeitung*. The *Newe Zeytungen* were for the most part non-serial and non-periodical printed works reporting single events such as battles, wonders, or reports of newly discovered lands. They usually had an elaborate title, which gave a summary of the contents, with a woodcut illustration below. They could take the form of single sheet prints or broadsheets, or pamphlets of twenty or more pages. Unlike *avvisi* and handwritten *Zeitungen*, the *Newe Zeytungen* mainly focused on reporting the sensational, since the printers who produced them had an eye to short-term financial gain.

In the early days of printed news, another commonly used term was **Relation**. In Middle High German, the word originally meant “to report on the fulfilling of an order” (given by some authority), or “eyewitness report”.

It derives from the Latin *relatio*, meaning “a bringing back, throwing back” and (secondarily) “a report”.¹¹ In 1583 Michael von Aytzing published his *Relatio historica* at the Frankfurt book fair. In doing so, he developed a new media genre, the so-called **Messrelation**. These were usually published twice a year at the large trade fairs (*Messe*) in Frankfurt and Leipzig and reported on the political, societal and military events of the past few months. The Messrelationen, originally intended as a kind of historiographical collection, were perhaps the first printed periodicals. They are often seen as the predecessors of periodical journals.¹² To demonstrate their periodical character, the Relationen often bore the suffix **continuatio**.

Handwritten newsletters, such as the **Fuggerzeitungen**, also called themselves *Zeitungen*. Among the important differences between these and the printed *Newe Zeytungen* were an incipient periodicity, and the inclusion of reports on diverse topics in a single newsletter. They were the product of a cultural transfer from the Italian *avvisi* and *dispacci* in the sixteenth century and supplied more or less continuous coverage of events in the major European centres.¹³

The earliest printed newspapers (also called *Zeitungen*), which first appeared in the German territories in the first decade of the seventeenth century, had much more in common with the manuscript newsletter tradition than with the *Newe Zeytungen* that had already been in print for over a hundred years.¹⁴ Along with *Zeitung* the foreign terms *Avvisi* and *Relation* remained in common use in Germany until the second half of the seventeenth century. The first printed weekly newspaper, founded by Johann Carolus 1605 in Strasbourg, was titled *Relation aller Fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien*, not using the word *Zeitungen* at all. The fungibility of the words *Zeitung*, *Avviso* and *Relation* are plainly apparent in the title of the second printed newspaper, printed in Wolfenbüttel in 1609 and called *Avisa, Relation oder Zeitung, Was sich begeben und zugetragen hat*. During the seventeenth century, the word *Zeitung* increasingly displaced the other terms used for

11 Wolfgang Pfeifer, *et al.*, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen* (Berlin: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1989), p. 1408.

12 Ulrich Rosseaux, ‘Die Entstehung der Meßrelationen. Zur Entwicklung eines frühneuzeitlichen Nachrichtenmediums aus der Zeitgeschichtsschreibung des 16. Jahrhunderts’, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 124 (2004), S. 97–123.

13 Cornel Zwierlein, ‘Fuggerzeitungen als Ergebnis von italienisch-deutschem Kulturtransfer 1552–1570’, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 90 (2010), pp. 169–224.

14 Johannes Weber, ‘Straßburg 1605. Die Geburt der Zeitung’, *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, 7 (2005), S. 3–27.

newspapers, so that the first German dictionaries and lexicons in the middle of the eighteenth century only record *Zeitung*.¹⁵ The titles of early newspapers also referred to their characteristics as periodicals, their mode of transmission, and their licensing by the authorities: see, for instance, the evolving names of the *Frankfurter Postzeitung* (founded in 1615), which was called *Ordentliche Wochentliche Postzeitungen* in 1626 and renamed *Kayserliche Reichs-Postzeitungen* in 1706, indicating weekly periodicity, the means by which the news was transmitted, and the imperial authorisation.

During the seventeenth century many of the emerging German newspapers were named *Zeitungen*, with the result that the meaning of the word underwent a change. It was no longer used only for the reported message or the single piece of news itself, but came to stand metonymically for the whole developing medium of printed newspapers. In addition it was increasingly used in its singular form *Zeitung*, which no longer necessarily meant a single piece of news but a single newspaper. *Zeitung* kept its double meaning until the eighteenth century. German dictionaries from the late eighteenth century continued to refer to *Zeitung* in the sense of 'message' or 'report', but also noted that this usage was becoming obsolete. Nonetheless it remained in use until the late eighteenth century among authors including Schiller, Goethe and Lessing, though usually in a consciously archaic fashion.

In German, the word **Journal** describes a regularly published periodical and, in contradistinction to its usual meaning in French, it is not commonly used for daily newspapers. The first journals appeared during the second half of the seventeenth century and were called **Journal**, **Magazin**, **Monatsschrift** (monthly) or **Sammlungen** (collections). The current German word for journal, **Zeitschrift**, was not used until 1751. During the seventeenth century, the journals had a wide variety of titles, including *Monatsgespräche* (monthly discussions / conversations), *Monatsstücke* (monthly pieces), *Acta*, or *Anmerkungen* (annotations).¹⁶

The word **Gazette** was borrowed from the Italian word *gazzetta* via the French *gazette*, and was used for periodical newspapers, mainly in Lower

15 E.g. Johann Heinrich Zedlers, *Universalexikon* (1732–54) and Johann Chrisoph Adelungs dictionary *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart* (1774–86).

16 First German scientific journal: *Acta Eruditorum* (Leipzig 1682); first critical literature journal: *Monatsgespräche* (long title: *Schertz- und ernsthafter, vernünfftiger und einfältiger Gedancken über allerhand lustige und nützliche Bücher und Fragen erster Monath oder Januarius, in einem Gespräch von der Gesellschaft der Müßigen*; Frankfurt and Leipzig 1688); first medical journals: *Monatliche neu eröffnete Anmerkungen über alle Theile der Artzney-Kunst* (Hamburg, 1679) and *Collectanea medico-physica oder Holländisch Jahr-Register, sonderbahrer Anmerkungen, die sowol in der Artzney-Kunst als Wissenschaft der Natur in gantz Europa vorgefallen* (1680–82; Leipzig 1690).

Saxony. Other names used for newspapers were **Courante**, **Merkur** and **Diarium**. *Diarium* was a fairly common title for daily newspapers, including the *Wiener Zeitung*, the oldest Austrian newspaper still in print, which was founded in 1703 under the name *Wienerisches Diarium*.

The usual word for the writer of news was **Novellant** (after the Italian **novellista**). During the seventeenth century, the main word was **Zeitungsschreiber** (writer of *Zeitungen*) and, less frequently, **Zeitunger**, which is more often used for editors of newspapers. As is the case with the corresponding terms in French and English, **Journalist**, which is common in modern German, was not used until the eighteenth century.

Low Countries

In the Low Countries a number of terms were in use that predated the newspaper but were subsequently used in newspapers and of newspapers. The most obvious of these is **gazette**, still used as an informal or dialect word for newspaper in general, but there are also **tijding**, **advij**s or **advij**s, **relation**, and **mercure** or **mercurius**. All these terms were used to mean news, newsletter or news publication, and all were used at one time or another in the titles of periodical news publications. A term that seems to have been new in the early seventeenth century is **courant**, from which the modern standard Dutch term for a newspaper derives: **krant**.

That there was a certain fluidity and tentativeness to the terminology used is apparent from legal texts, which in attempting to be exhaustive have recourse to such lists of possible terms as “eenigerhande Fransche Couranten of Gazettes, ’t zij onder de naem van Couranten, Gazettes, Gazette-Raisonné, Nouvelles Choiesies, Lardons, of wat andere Naem of Titul daer aen soude werden gegeven” (“any kind of French Corantos or Gazettes, whether under the name of Corantos, Gazettes, Gazette-Raisonné, Nouvelles Choiesies, Lardons, or any other Name or Title”).¹⁷

Gazettes: in 1601 the Neo-Stoic humanist Justus Lipsius first used the term *gazettes* in correspondence with his publisher, Joannes Moretus, to designate manuscript newsletters. This is the oldest use in Dutch that I have been able to identify. In 1615, a Dutch translation of *Orlando Furioso* used ‘gaset’ to mean a piece of news (not the most obvious translation of the Italian “fu detto”, “was told”, in Canto XII stanza 62, but one dictated by the exigencies of versification). It was included in the translator’s appendix of ‘poetic words’ that

¹⁷ *Proclamation of the States of Holland* (21 February 1686).

required a gloss, where it was explained that it meant “brieven die alle weken comen van Italien, van alle nieu tijdinghen” (“letters that come from Italy each week with all the news”).¹⁸ In 1618 the word appeared in the title of a book, a satirical collection of fictional news reports by the intelligencer and poet Richard Verstegan, indebted to Sir Thomas Overbury’s *Newes from Any Whence* (1614).¹⁹ By the 1620s it was an established part of the language, with the city government of Kortrijk paying a Domyn Lathem for “port of gazettes and other services to the city” in 1620, and a draft decree (never issued) of the mid-1620s restricting the publication of “discours, gazettes, remonstrances, motifs ou avertissements de droit”.²⁰ The first Antwerp newspaper had no fixed title or masthead, but is usually referred to as the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, two words that are often part of the front page headline; occasionally, however, the word ‘gazette’ would appear on the front page, and the run in the British Library is catalogued as ‘Antwerp Gazette’.²¹

By 1629 ‘gazette’ was being used as a generic designation for printed newspapers, with a government order that Abraham Verhoeven, publisher of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, cease from printing unlicensed ‘gazettes’.²² On 22 November 1635 Martin Binnart paid £2 5s. for the registration of his octroi (privilege, monopoly) “om die gasetten ende nijeuwe tijdingen te drucken” (“to print gazettes and new tidings”), giving legal protection to the newspaper that he launched under the title *Den Ordinarissen Postilioen* or *Le Postillon Ordinaire*.²³ But the word seems also to have retained the older sense of weekly letters of news: a newspaper that began publication in Bruges in (or before) 1637 eked out a rather meagre subscription to foreign newswriting services with the contents of a weekly ‘Brusselsche Gazette’ which was almost certainly a manuscript serial.

18 Everard Siceram, *Il Divino Ariosto, oft Orlando Furioso: hoogste voorbeelt van Oprecht Ridderschap, oock claren Spieghel van beleeftheijt voor alle welgeboorne vrouwen* (Antwerp, 1615), sig. Rr2v.

19 R.V., *Gazette van Nieuwe-Maren van de geheele wereldt. Ghemenght met oude waerheden* (Antwerp, 1618).

20 Inventoried by Micheline Soenen in 1983 as ARB, Geheime Raad—Spaanse Periode, 1277/240. The archive has since been renumbered.

21 In 1620, for instance, an issue published on 16 October was titled *Gazette Universele des Maents October*, ‘Universal Gazette of the Month of October’, while in 1622, issue number 22, published on 16 February, was given the title *De tweede Gazette des Maents Februarij 1622*, ‘The second Gazette of the Month of February 1622’.

22 Order in Council, 29 January 1629, Brussels, General State Archive, Officie Fiscal van de Raad van Brabant, liasse 177, dossier 1566.

23 ARB, Rekenkamer, 20805, fo. 192v. Unfortunately the licence itself, inventoried by Micheline Soenen in 1983, has since disappeared from the archive of the Privy Council.

In the course of the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, the word ‘gazette’ eventually found its way into the titles of such newspapers as the *Gazette d’Amsterdam*, *Gazette de Leyde*, *Gazette de Liège* and *Gazette de Bruxelles*.

Courant: another apparently new term in the early seventeenth century is **courant**, which produced the obsolete English **coranto**. In French it simply means ‘running’, sitting somewhere between **courrier** (a running messenger) and **courant** (signifying a current in water)—and it was used in sixteenth-century Dutch both as a poetic loanword describing the motion of streams and beasts, and more mundanely to mean ‘circulating’, generally in collocation with money: ‘courant geld’, ‘current money’, meaning something like ‘legal tender’.²⁴ By extension it was used of the circulation of news, what would now be called ‘current affairs’. It was the title of the first Dutch newspaper, Caspar van Hilten’s *Courante uyt Italien ende Duytschlandt, &c.*, published from 1618 onwards. It was the title of two further Amsterdam newspapers of the 1640s, Joost Broerszoon’s *Ordinaris Dinghs-daeghs Courante* (a mid-week supplement to the Saturday *Tijdingen*) and Mathijs van Meininga’s *Europische Saterdaegh Courant* and *Euroopsche Donderdaegs Courant*.

The Dutch poet and magistrate Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft in his correspondence referred collectively to both Amsterdam newspapers, the *Courante* and its rival the *Tijdingen*, as **loopmaeren** (running reports), using the more everyday word for ‘to run’, ‘lopen’.²⁵

Tijdingen: one of the first Amsterdam newspapers, printed by Broer Janszoon in both Dutch and French, bore the titles *Tijdingen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* and *Nouvelles de divers Quartiers*, both of which would translate into English as “News from Various Quarters”. As we have seen, the first Antwerp newspaper was often headlined *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* (“new tidings” or “fresh news”), while the first newspaper to be printed in Bruges bore the title *Nieuwe Tydinghen uyt verscheyde gewesten* (*New Tidings from Various Regions*), remarkably similar to Janszoon’s Amsterdam title. The word is attested as early as the fifteenth century, when a chronicler wrote of “waiting for tidings from the Countess”.²⁶

24 J.A.N. Knuttel, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal: Supplement*, vol. 1 (The Hague etc.: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916), cols. 2156–8.

25 P.C. Hooft to Joost Baak, Muiden, 25 August 1631, in *De briefwisseling van Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft*, ed. H.W. van Tricht *et al.*, vol. 2 (Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink, 1977), p. 233.

26 “daer hi lach ende wachte de tidinge die hem vander gravinnen comen soude”, *Bronnen van de geschiedenis der Nederlanden in de Middeleeuwen. Kronijk van Holland van een ongenoemden geestelijke* (*Gemeenlijk geheeten Kronijk van den clerck uten laghen landen bi der see*) (Utrecht, 1867), p. 72, cited in E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, vol. 8 (The Hague, 1916), s.v. ‘Tidinge’.

Like 'Zeitung' in German, **tijding** was a common term in the titles of occasional news pamphlets in the sixteenth century, often in the collocation **nieuwe tijding** (new tidings, or fresh news), such as *Goede nieuwe tijdinge, aengaende die victorie die de coninck van Enghelandt ghehadt heeft tegens die Schotten* (*Good new tidings concerning the victory obtained by the king of England against the Scots*; Antwerp, 1544), or *Nieuwe tijdinghe van alle het ghene dat geschiet is tusschen de Christenen ende de ongelooighe Turcken, inde teghenwoordighe oorloghe van Malta* (*New tidings of all that has passed between the Christians and the infidel Turks, in the present war of Malta*; Antwerp, 1565). It continued in this use well into the seventeenth century, as in the murder pamphlet *Nieuwe tijdinge ende warachtighe beschrijvinge, van een man die sijn eygen vrou met vier kinders seer jammerlicken vergeven heeft* (*New tidings and true description of a man who piteously poisoned his own wife and four small children*; published without place or date, in 1613 or 1614, "After the Copy Printed in Antwerp by Anthony de Ballo").

As Broer Janszoon's French title indicates, the French equivalent to *tijdingen* was **nouvelles**, and this occurred on seventeenth-century pamphlets in much the same way, such as *Nouvelles trescertaines des grands presens faictz en Espagne, au Prince d'Angleterre, de la part de sa Majesté Catholique que Dieu garde* (Antwerp, 1623), *Nouvelles de plusieurs endroits de l'Europe* (Brussels, 1635), and *Nouvelles tirees de plusieurs lettres* ([Douai], 1636). In the sixteenth century, however, the plural noun *nouvelles* was only very occasionally found in the title of a news report, which in French was far more likely to be labelled a **relation**.²⁷

Relation: this was one of a number of terms frequently used in the titles of occasional news pamphlets to designate a substantial narrative account of a single event such as a battle, a siege, an execution, a wedding, or the concluding of a treaty. Others are **discours** and **recit** (with the Dutch equivalents **relaes** or **relatie** and **verhael**, and the Latin equivalent **narratio**), and **description** or **beschrijvinghe**. They were often qualified with adjectives such as **sommier** (summary), **cort** (brief), **veritable**, **vray**, **waerachtich** (true) or **zeker** (certain), or some combination, producing such titles as *Waerachtich verhael*, *Recit veritable*, *Discours veritable*, *Vray discours*, *Briefve description*, *Brevis narratio*, *Beschrijvinghe oft cort verhael*, *Corte beschrijvinghe*, *Cort verhael*, *Sommier verhael*, *Certaine relation*, and *Cort ende waerachtich verhael*. 'Relations' became

27 One such rare example is *Certaines Nouvelles de la bonne & heureuse victoire, que par l'ayde de Dieu, le Comte Charles de Mansfelt at obtenu en Honguerie, pres la ville de Strigonia* (Brussels, 1595).

the title of a newspaper in 1650, when the *Courier véritable des Pays-Bas*, printed in Brussels, was retitled *Relations véritables*.

A pamphlet or booklet giving a longer overview not of a single event but of a sequence of events might be called **histoire** or **historie**, **verclaringhe** (elucidation) or **journael**. So an account of the successive ceremonial welcomes and banquets of the new Queen of Spain as she travelled through Italy was entitled *Waerachtige Historie vande Voyagien ende intreen geschiet door de Coninginne van Spagnien in Italien* (Brussels, Rutger Velpius, 1599). **Journaal**, **journal**, or the Latin **diarium**, was used particularly for a retrospective day-by-day account of a siege or of a voyage, and sometimes doubled up as **dagh-Journael** (daily journal). This makes the use of 'journal' in the Low Countries quite distinct from its use in France, and explains the Dutch origins of 'journaliste'.²⁸ In Dutch, *journaal* is now the common term for a regularly scheduled television news broadcast.

Advijns: yet another word appearing as the name of a newspaper is **advijsen**, chosen by Jan van Hilten (Caspar's son) as the title for his *Extraordinaire Advijsen op Donderdagh* (*Extraordinary Advices on Thursday*), a mid-week supplement to his *Courante*, which came out on Saturdays. More generally, **advijns** or **advis** were used to mean a news report received from elsewhere, an *avviso*.

The term did have a different meaning in medical and legal circles. The newspaper publisher Martin Binnart had begun his career as a proofreader, and was also a lexicographer. He provided two entries for 'advijns' in his dictionary, the first as "advice, counsel, opinion: Consilium, arbitrium, iudicium"; the second a cross-reference to '**Advertentie**', meaning warning or notification.²⁹ It is in the first sense of 'expert opinion' or 'formal recommendation' that it appears in the title of one current-affairs pamphlet, Leon de Meyere's *Advijns pour la paix de la Belgique* (Antwerp, 1598). In 1632 Nicolaas Breyghel, publisher of the first newspaper in Bruges, printed an 'Advertissement' which was an official instruction from the city council on plague precautions, adopted on the 'advice' of physicians.

Otherwise the meaning of 'expert opinion' is a distant connotation, if that, not the intended denotation. 'Advice' simply means 'report' in such common newspaper phrases as "Daer is eenen Post van Spaignien comen met nieuw Advijns" ("A Post has come from Spain with new advice"), or "Men heeft advijns,

²⁸ See n. 64, below.

²⁹ "Advijns / raedt / meyninge: Consilium, arbitrium, iudicium"; "Advijns / waerschouwinghe s. Advertentie"; "Advertentie / waerschouwinghe: Monitio, praemonitio", Martin Binnart, *Biglotton sive Dictionarium Teuto-Latinum* (Antwerp, 1649).

dat den Mansfelder eenen Aenslach hadde ghemaect” (“We have advice that the Mansfelder would have made an attempt”).³⁰ It was already being used in this sense in the sixteenth century, for example in the phrase “Een Carveel, met advijs uyt Lisbonen, brenghende tydinge hoe dat ...” (“A caravel with advice from Lisbon, bringing tidings”).³¹ Very occasionally, it occurs as the verb ‘to advise’, meaning to inform: “sullen metten naesten U.L. advizeren vant’ succes” (“we will by the next advise you of the success”).³²

Sometimes an Italianate (but not really Italian) form of the noun is used, for example “Wy hebben **adviso**, dat de Keyserinne metten Eertz-Hertoch Leopoldus te schepe van Regensborch den naesten wech naer Weenen soude verreysen” (“We have **adviso**, that the Empress has taken ship with Archduke Leopold in Regensburg to take the nearest route to Vienna”).³³ Sometimes both ‘adviso’ and ‘tidings’ seem to be used simply as variations meaning ‘news’ or ‘report’, as in “Tot Genua is **adviso** comen van Barcelona dat den Prince Doria Galleyen 92. kisten met Realen van achten geladen hebben om naer Genua te comen. Voorders isser tijdinghe comen als dat de Cosaggen de Turcken inde swerte zee groote schade doen”. (“**Adviso** has come to Genoa from Barcelona that the Galleys of Prince Doria have been laden with 92 chests of Reals of eight to sail to Genoa. Further the tidings is come that the Cossacks do great harm to the Turks in the Black Sea”).³⁴

Post: Terms related to the posts include **courier**, **postillon** (post master), **ordinaris** or **ordinaire** (meaning regular posts), and **extraordinaris** or **extraordinaire** (meaning special postal messenger). All of these were used by transference of news that came by post, and the new coinage **post-tijdingen** (postal tidings) also conveys that meaning.

All came at one time or another to be used in the titles of newspapers: Van Hilten’s *Extraordinarie Advijsen op Donderdag* and Broerszoon’s *Ordinaris Dinghs-daeghs Courante* in Amsterdam, Willem Verdussen’s *Extraordinaris Post-tijdinghe* and Martin Binnart’s *Le Postillon ordinaire* or *Den Ordinarissen Postilioen* in Antwerp, and in Brussels the *Courier véritable des Pays-Bas*.

Mercuries: The messenger of the gods also became a common term for news reports. Often a **mercury** was a news round-up covering a number of

30 News from Brussels, 7 May, *Wekelijcke Tijdinge*, 53 (1631). News from Cologne, *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 1 (5 January 1624).

31 Linschoten, *Itinerario* (1596), fo. 155^v, cited in C.H.A. Kruyskamp, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal: Supplement*, vol. 1 (The Hague, Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), s.v. Advies (cols. 426–8).

32 Further news from Calais, 1 February, *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 15 (10 February 1623).

33 News from Prague, 4 April, *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 51 (29 April 1623).

34 News from Rome in *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 102 (25 August 1623).

months, or even years, in effect a work of contemporary history rather than a vehicle for communicating new information. This began with *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* of 1592, a six-monthly overview, primarily of news from France and the Low Countries, produced in Cologne by a Catholic exile from the Netherlands.

Adriaan van Meerbeeck gave his overview of five years of world affairs (1620–25) the title *Neder-lantschen Mercurius oft Waerachtich verhael vande geschiedenissen van Nederlandt, ende oock van Duytschlandt, Spaengien, Italien, Vranckrijck ende Turckijen* (*Netherlandish Mercury or True relation of the histories of the Netherlands, and also of Germany, Spain, Italy, France and Turkey*; Brussels, 1625). In the second half of the seventeenth century there were a quarterly *Europische mercurius* and an annual *Mercure hollandois* published in Amsterdam, with another annual *Hollandsche Mercurius* in Haarlem.³⁵ This general use of the term ‘mercury’ for monthly, quarterly, six-monthly or historical works did not prevent it also appearing as the title of a newspaper: the *Wekelyksche Mercurius* that appeared in The Hague in the later 1650s.

Placcart: when an official or public document was reprinted as an item of news, the title would often be the word appropriate to a document of that type, e.g. **Sententie** (sentence), **Requete Présentée au Roy** (request), **Lettres Patentés** (letters patent), **Articles accordez** (articles of surrender), **Manifest** (manifesto), **Edict**, or **Placcart**. Unlike usage in France, in the Low Countries a **placcaet** or **placcart**, in both French and Dutch, was an edict or proclamation, affixed to church doors or posted up in other frequented places, as for example the *Placcart du Roy Nostre Sire, Touchant le livre de l’Evesque Cornille Jansenius & autres oeuvres & livres specifiez en la Bulle de nostre St Pere le Pape Urbain VIII. du 8. de Mars 1642* (Brussels, 1651).

Other terms used for decrees were **decret**, **proclamation** or **proclamatie**, and **ordonnance** or **ordonantie**, and decrees of other governments could also be reprinted, or translated, if they were newsworthy in themselves. So when James VI and I decreed that goods seized from subjects of the King of Spain after the date of his succession were to be restituted to their former owners, this was “faithfully translated from the English into our Dutch speech” and printed in Antwerp, “after the copy printed in London by Robert Barker” under the title *Proclamatie, Ofte ordonantie van de Coninlijke Majesteyt van Engelandt, waer in verclaert wert dat de Goederen die genomen zijn vande Ondersaten des Conincx van Spaengien sedert den 24. Aprilis lestleden: sullen werden gerestitueert aende eygenaers* (Antwerp, 1603). This was not invariably the case. The official account of the rebellion of the Earl of Essex, printed in

35 See Ch. 26, below.

London as a proclamation, was reprinted in Brussels as a “true relation”: *Warachtich Verhael van tgene datter ghebeurt is in Ingelant binnen Londen* (Brussels, 1601).

Pasquil and **libel**: scurrilous or defamatory publication, whether printed or scribal, might be known as a **fameus libel** or **libel fameus** (**libelle fameux** or **libelle diffamatoire** in French), or as a **pasquil** or **pasquille** (in French sometimes **pasquin**). The qualification ‘famous’ here means “touching a person’s good name” (i.e. defamatory), rather than signifying that the libel itself had notoriety. At law the unqualified noun ‘libel’ meant simply a written plaint or claim, so defamatory libels were explicitly qualified as such.³⁶ The standard Dutch work on criminal law, Joost de Damhoudere’s *Practycke ende handbouck in criminele zaeken*, devoted a chapter to **diffamatie by boucxkins** (defamation by booklets)—sandwiched between chapters on tampering with merchants’ ledgers and on tampering with dice—which used the phrase “fameuse libellen”.³⁷ A later chapter specified that **injurien by gheschrifte** (“injury by writing”) could include “ghedichten, liedekins, boucxkins, refereinen, baladen, commedien, openbaere spelen” (“verses, songs, booklets, refrains, ballads, comedies, public plays”) that detracted from somebody’s name and fame.³⁸ Thus Descartes’s *Epistola ad Dinetum* and *Epistola ad Voetium*, two diatribes against the Utrecht professor Gijsbert Voetius, were described by the Utrecht authorities as “diffamatoire gheschriften of fameuse libellen” (“defamatory writings or famous libels”).³⁹

A number of phrases used in newspapers provide reports of news circulated by word of mouth. These include “Men zeyt hier dat de Turcken van Barbarijen noch vijff Franssche schepen van Rowanen comende ghenomen heeft” (“It is said here that the Turks of Barbary have taken another five French ships coming from Rouen”); “Men verstaet oft wilt zegghen, dat zijne Keyserlijcke Majesteyt ghenadelijck soude verclaert hebben, dat hy gheen voorder ondersoeck oft Executie int Coninckrijk Bemen meer en sal doen doen” (“It is understood or said, that his Imperial Majesty would have graciously declared that he will have no further investigation or execution carried out in the Kingdom of Bohemia”); “De sprake gaet hier voorseker als dat onse Coninginne

36 Joost de Damhoudere, *Practijcke in civile saken* (The Hague, 1626), cap. 99. First published as *Praxis rerum civilium* (Antwerp, 1566).

37 Damhoudere, *Practycke ende handbouck in criminele zaeken* (Leuven, 1555), cap. 125.

38 Damhoudere, *Practycke ende handbouck in criminele zaeken*, cap. 138.

39 In the pamphlet account *Aengevangen Procedueren tot Wittrecht tegens Renatus des Cartes* (Utrecht, [1643 or 1644]). On this controversy, see Theo Verbeek, ed., *René Descartes et Martin Schoock: La Querelle d’Utrecht* (Paris: Impressions nouvelles, 1988).

die Godt beware swanger is" ("The speech goes here for certain that our Queen whom God preserve is pregnant").⁴⁰

Hooff's use of 'loopmaeren' (running reports) was touched on above. The first element, 'loop', is 'run'; the second, **maere**, was in Middle Dutch the main word for a piece of news. It is found in the title of the satirical *Gazette van Nieuwe-Maren* (*Gazette of New Reports*) printed in 1618. In Middle Dutch use 'mare' might be translated as 'renown', 'repute', or 'report', but towards the end of the seventeenth century it lost status to 'tiding', eventually coming to mean something indistinguishable from 'rumour'.⁴¹ As late as 1667 the playwright Joost van den Vondel could use it simply to mean 'news' or 'report',⁴² and it may retain this neutral meaning in a satirical prognostication for the year 1718 to the effect that 'mercurialists' (those keen to know the news) will eagerly look forward to the posts that often bring news that they do not like ("maeren ... die hun niet aen en staen").⁴³

France

Political information circulating in the public sphere during the sixteenth century was broadly defined: witness the variety of its forms and genres, and the significant overlap between written forms and the sphere of oral transmission. The *registres-Journaux* (register-journals) published by the Usher of the Parlement of Paris, Pierre de l'Estoile (1546–1611), bear remarkable witness to this lexical variety, which is more precisely spelled out in the dictionaries of Estienne (1549), Nicot (1606), Cotgrave (1611), Richelet (1680), Furetière (1690), Gilles Ménage (1694), the Académie Française (1694), and others.⁴⁴

40 News from Seville, 10 January, in *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 21 (25 February 1623). News from Prague, 4 April, in *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 51 (29 April 1623). News from Madrid, July, in *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 12 (25 August 1623).

41 For the earlier usage: Eelco Verwijs and Jacob Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, vol. 4 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1899), s.v. Mare, citing, e.g., "Die coninghinne van Saba quam tote Salomoen, want si vernam van sire groter wijsheit mare" ("The Queen of Sheba came to Solomon, for she had heard report of his great wisdom").

42 "Genadighste mevrou, broght iemant quae de maeren?" in *Zungchin, of Ondergang der Sinesche Heerschappye*, act 4.

43 *Nieuwen Gentschen Almanach voor het jaer ons heere Jesu Christi M.DCC.XVIII* (Ghent, [1717]), s.v. Junius (unfoliated).

44 Robert Estienne, *Dictionnaire françois-latin, autrement dict les mots françois, avec les manières d'user d'iceulx, tournez en latin* (Paris, 1549); Aimar de Ranconnet, *Thresor de la langue francoyse, tant ancienne que moderne* (Paris, 1606); Cotgrave, *Dictionarie of the*

The sixteenth century was predominantly characterised by occasional, as opposed to periodical news, which nevertheless achieved considerable impact in the public sphere thanks to the medium of print (regarded by some as a curiosity or a collector's item). News and pamphlets intermingled, borrowing from different literary genres and forms according to the type of information they contained. The two terms cited below, for instance, imply the clear identification of author or recipient:

- the **despêche** (despatch) denotes urgency, suggesting that the contents are important and concern affairs of state, and in particular the term implies express delivery, by means of an extraordinary courier.
- In the case of an **avis**, the information takes the form of a warning/notification or an instruction, particularly in the political or military sphere. It is a piece of news which requires its recipient to take some sort of action.

Pamphlets made use of extremely diverse literary forms:

- **Pasquils** (lampoons), an import from Italy, were extremely widespread during the wars of religion, and usually directed against a well-known individual, whose conduct was denounced in the form of raillery.
- The more frankly insulting **placcars** (no direct English translation) are better understood as a mode and form of publication than a type of content. But the commonest use of the term, from the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, refers to a full sheet of paper (or broadside) posted on walls or doors, often at night, attacking or criticising the government or individuals.
- **Libelles** most commonly occurs in collocation with **défamatoire** (defamatory); defamatory libels consisted of insults, reproaches or accusations, and constitute the most violent form of verbal attack against a person's honour or reputation.
- When the accusation's content is particularly brief, Pierre de l'Estoile refers to '**tiltres**' **qui courent** (running titles).
- **Memoires**, by contrast, tend to be longer, and to follow closely upon the death of a well-known figure; the term refers not to autobiographical writing

French and English Tongues; Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois, contenant les mots et les choses, plusieurs nouvelles remarques sur la langue françoise* (Geneva, 1680); Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes et les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts* (La Haye, 1690); Gilles Ménage, *Dictionnaire étymologique, ou Origines de la langue françoise, par M. Ménage. Nouvelle édition* (Paris, 1694); *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (Paris, 1694).

but to texts made public in order to attack or to vindicate the reputation of the deceased. Forms related to **memoires** include **épitaphes** (short poems ending with an ingenious turn/epigram), **tombeaux** (funeral poems), as well as **vers** (verses) of all kinds; **sonnets**, **poulets** (love letters), **quatrains**, and **éloges** (panegyrics) in honour of the deceased. Posted up in the streets, they were politically consequential and (potentially) problematic, a public reflection of the tensions, rivalries and internal conflicts of society.

- Finally, there were also **vaudevilles**: these consisted of news put into song, satirical narratives of amusing adventures sung on the Pont-Neuf and in the streets, set to simple tunes.

This brief survey demonstrates the considerable overlap between oral and written forms. In its material forms, news was mostly put up in places of political significance such as the Hôtel de Ville (city hall), Parliament, or on the walls or doors of the houses of this or that prominent person. It was also cried abroad in Parisian streets and at crossroads before spreading through the streets. The text very quickly breaks the bonds of its original medium and is translated into the sphere of orality. (The verb commonly used for the oral telling or retelling of news, **conter**, has overtones of fantastical as well as factual narration; news becomes subject to all manner of transformations and travesties.) The transition to the oral form denotes a decline towards less dignified genres, appropriate to the masses; a change reflected in the terminology, as news takes the form of **médiances** (missayings), false or insulting language used towards a person, or **quolibets** (bad puns, or double entendres, considered false, trivial, and wretched).

Movement is essential to the description of news. When addressed to a particular recipient, news **vient** (comes) or **arrive** (arrives) by normal means, i.e. through the normal infrastructures of communication. When addressed to the undifferentiated audience of the streets, however, it is variously said to be **publiée à son de trompe** (trumpeted), **affichée** (posted up), **placardée** (placarded) in certain parts of town, or **semée** (sown), **divulguée partout** (spread everywhere), **jetée** (thrown about) then **ramassée** (gathered up), **courant partout** (running everywhere) through a town which is **abreuvée** with it (awash). It carries with it the possibility of disorder; it consists of **grands** or **mauvais bruits** (great or evil noises), which might be deliberately threatening and in danger of tipping over into sedition, or ‘murmurs’, which suggest the as yet muffled and varied complaints of the disaffected. The murmurings of the people constitute an early warning of possible sedition which prudence requires be nipped in the bud. Control of the news was a matter of public order.

This brief overview of the terminology in use in the sixteenth century demonstrates that the news, which was at once fragile, dubious, and threatening, had indisputable subversive potential; the reception of news in the public sphere shows it to be an excellent indicator of tensions running through society.

The advent of periodicity in the seventeenth century, closely linked to the improvement of roads and the postal network, can be traced in the vocabulary used by Théophraste Renaudot, founder of the *Gazette*. In 1611, Cotgrave reported the origin of ‘Gazette’ as a word for a small-denomination Venetian coin, which gave its name to the short bulletins of news Venice put out each month and sent throughout Christendom.⁴⁵ The term is far from flattering; in the seventeenth century, it also denotes the *causeuse* (chatterbox), the woman who reports all the goings-on of her neighbourhood outside it—itsself a kind of transgression against secrecy, and one related to the familiar notion that on political subjects, *parler sûr* (speaking of) is as much forbidden as *parler contre* (speaking against).

According to Furetière, by the end of the seventeenth century it was mainly the common people who showed the most avid interest in the news purveyed by the *Gazette* (whereas the usual readership in its early years consisted of urban elites). News is the offspring of the post and the printing press; carried by *courriers* (messengers who worked a particular road and carried several packets of letters in a satchel slung over their horse’s crupper) in *letters* and *correspondences* (both terms implying an exchange, a reciprocal relationship).

The gazettes establish an ordering principle, a geographical and chronological classification of news, as well as hierarchies: Renaudot’s *Gazette* aims to become “the newspaper of kings and potentates of the Earth”; and frequently the authorities “make [such-and-such] known”, or “order that [such-and-such] be published”. News follows the hierarchies of a holistic society and trickles down to the lower reaches of the population: this was enough to give the *Gazette* the reputation of an official publication (although this account of it becomes considerably more problematic upon closer analysis).⁴⁶

During the seventeenth century, many specialist news publications came into being, with new formal features and a variety of names to suit their contents, geographical origin, frequency of publication, literary genre, style, and so on.⁴⁷

45 See, n. 8, above; and Ch. 10, below.

46 *Gazette* (Paris, 1631), p. 4; Stéphane Haffemayer, *L’information dans la France du XVII^e siècle. La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1661* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002).

47 Jean Sgard, ed., *Dictionnaire des Journaux (1600–1789)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Universitas, 1991).

- first among these are the **mercures**, which Furetière presents as ‘books’, the periodicity of which may be annual (as in the case of the *Mercuré François*) or monthly (the *Mercuré Galant*). In both cases, their function is “to announce something new”.
- **Courriers** (see above) and **relations** appear more frequently. (Relations are narratives of adventures, battles, or events: these accounts are expected to be faithful and exact.)
- In the provinces **affiches** (posters) appear, derived from the placards used to put up proclamations in public spaces; they are utilitarian in character and their formalisation in the eighteenth century made them the forerunner of the provincial press. They gave significant space to classified advertisements.
- The **journal**. Etymologically speaking this should be a daily report on events, but within the context of the *Ancien Régime*’s system of information indicates literary or natural-philosophical content (political content was reserved for the mercuries and gazettes).

The periodical’s title would be qualified by an adjective specifying its thematic or geographical remit, or even its ethos: as for instance **général**, **vrai** (true), **fidèle** (faithful), **universel**, **celeste**, **désintéressé** (impartial), **souterrain** (underground), **historique**, **savant** (expert), **politique**, and so forth. The title would also come to indicate periodicity: “ordinaire”, derived from “the courier who rides post and carries letters” (Richelet, 1680), while “extraordinaire” denoted not so much an occasional publication as “an express courier, charged with some urgent business” (Furetière, 1690). The *Gazette* published one extraordinary issue per week, on average, in the middle of the seventeenth century. A further proof of the success of the periodical press was the development, especially from the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, of satirical forms which aimed to amuse more than to inform; in these instances the periodical might be described as **babillard** (babbling), **burlesque**, **extravagant**, **poétique**, **gallant**, **héroï-comique** (mock-heroic), **plaisant** (jesting), and so forth.

From the lack of any professional designation for early modern news-writers, who for the most part wrote anonymously, and sometimes under multiple identities, we may conclude that it was not an activity to boast of, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, by which time it was possible for news-writers to claim to be illuminating the public.⁴⁸ In the meantime, **gazetier** and

48 Stéphane Haffemayer, ‘Un relais de l’innovation en province: le Journal de Normandie de Jean-Baptiste Milcent à la veille de la Révolution’, in *Un siècle de journalisme culturel en Normandie et dans d’autres provinces: 1785–1885*, ed. Catriona Seth and Eric Wauters (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Publications des universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2011), pp. 25–40.

nouvelliste were unflattering terms, considered largely disreputable through most of the *Ancien Régime*, as we might expect from a genre long held in contempt by men of letters, and little sampled by historians right down to the present.

Spain

In Spain, between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries, the most common name for cheap printed items containing news was **relación**, which literally meant an account or narration; a term close in meaning to the English “news pamphlet”. However, this assertion must be qualified in several ways:

- **Relación**, a derivation from **relatar** (the act of telling), was used to identify the informative purpose of the pamphlet.⁴⁹ With this name, readers could easily distinguish them from other printed products in the market, such as **oraciones** (speeches) or **coplas** (ballads). But relaciones did not necessarily involve actual news: a case in point were the relaciones about Catholic saints, giving accounts of their lives from the moment of their birth to their final days, or the detailed narratives of a complete festivity at Court, taking up to some hundred pages. This is the reason why we can find heterogeneous printed products entitled relación when searching in Spanish early modern catalogues.
- Not even half of the Spanish news pamphlets had a header containing the word relación. Instead, we find **nuevas**, an old word for the modern “noticia”, used in the same sense as the English “news”; **correo**, similar to the English “courant” or “current”; and many other words used on title pages to help readers recognise them as informative papers. Moreover, hundreds of news pamphlets had titles that simply summarised the events described. The typography was sufficient to make their clients distinguish them from other kinds of printed pamphlets.
- Spanish scholars speak of **relaciones de sucesos**, that is, “pamphlets about events”, but this is a recent coinage and the actual pamphlets hardly ever

49 In the Middle Ages a ‘relación’ was an account of important events sent to the monarch, and its rhetorical pattern contributed to the birth of the informative early modern genre. Pedro Cátedra García, ‘En los orígenes de las *epístolas de relación*’, in *Las «relaciones de sucesos» en España (1500–1750)*, ed. María Cruz García de Enterría, Augustin Redondo, Henry Ettinghausen and Víctor Infantes (Paris, Alcalá de Henares: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), pp. 33–64.

make use of this term.⁵⁰ Again, this is a label used broadly, sometimes to identify different kinds of printed works. Scholarly misunderstandings and debates are common on this terminological issue.⁵¹

The Spanish term is derived from Latin, and derivations of the same word are mostly found in Italian, French, Portuguese and German news market as we have already seen. This no doubt speaks of the strong connection between Mediterranean and German journalism under the Habsburg rule.

With these caveats, we nonetheless find that throughout the early modern period the word *relación* most commonly refers to a brief printed product—usually a single-sheet pamphlet, consisting of four pages—recounting a piece of news at length. This is usually a news item of an international or political character, but it can also be national and local news, and it can be presented in verse or prose.

If *relación* is the name of the editorial product, *aviso* (one *v* in Spanish) is the name of the single informative unit—the “news item” in English, or *noticia* in contemporary Spanish. We already know the Italian origin of the word: *avviso*, plural *avvisi*.⁵² But, as they were short in length, news pamphlets usually collected several *avisos*, so we commonly find *avisos*—plural—in the titles. The first appearance of the term *avisos* in the title of an existing Spanish news pamphlet is *Carta venida de Pavia, de diversos y varios avisos de Constantinopla de la muerte de Selimo y dela creacion y coronacion de Armorad emperador ottomanno de los turchos. Con algunos avisos dela enfermedad que tuvo, y en siendo curado los presentes que mando enviar al santissimo sepulchro de nuestro señor Jesu Christo en Hierusalem. Con otras nueuas de la guerra entre el y el Sophi y de la armada suya, en Constantinopla a los 26 de abril de 1575* (Barcelona, 1575). Some years later the term appears at the start of a title, now signifying the informative genre: *Avisos de la China y Japon del fin del año de 1587, recibidos en octubre de 88, sacados de las cartas de los padres de la compañía de Jesus que andan en aquellas partes* (Madrid, 1589). A title which perfectly describes the genre as a gathering of heterogeneous news items is *Avisos*

50 The term *sucesos*—meaning simply ‘events’ in modern Spanish—carried positive overtones in early modern Spanish, close to the English ‘success’. This way, the tag ‘*relaciones de sucesos*’ used in Spanish bibliography, emphasises the political or propagandistic nature underlying these printed newspapers.

51 Víctor Infantes de Miguel, ‘¿Qué es una relación?: divagaciones varias sobre una sola divagación’, in *Las «relaciones de sucesos» en España*, ed. Cruz García de Enterría *et al.*, pp. 203–16.

52 Jean-Pierre Étienne, ‘Entre relación y carta: los avisos’, in *Las «relaciones de sucesos» en España*, ed. Cruz García de Enterría *et al.*, pp. 111–22.

de diversas partes. En que se da relacion de muchas cosas acontecidas en los meses de junio hasta el de septiembre del presente año de 1597 (Barcelona, 1597).

As can be noticed, *avisos* was at first most commonly used to refer to news items from remote lands, such as the Ottoman or the Chinese empires; but it finally evolved to describe a single piece of news received from any sort of source, such as in the news pamphlet *Avisos de Londres de XIX de março de mil y seiscientos y uno de la muerte del conde de Essex* (Sevilla, [1601?]).

The *avisos* travelled by post and were collected into handwritten or printed papers of several items each. For that reason, the most common name in Spanish for the resulting product is **relación de avisos**—that is, a narrative piece which selects and relates a number of news items received between two dates. For example: *Relacion de avisos de todo lo que ha sucedido en Roma, Napoles, Venecia, Genova, Sicilia, Francia, Alemania, Inglaterra, Malta y otras partes, desde seis de enero deste año 1618 embiada desde la dicha ciudad de Roma a esta de Sevilla a un personage grave* (Sevilla, 1618).⁵³

But all these were occasional news pamphlets; the first appearance of serial *avisos* in Spain, as far as we know, is the series published in Seville by the printer Rodrigo de Cabrera on the Christian struggles against the Turks in Hungary, from 1595 to 1600. At least thirty pamphlets have been found belonging to this serial. Thus the start of the Spanish news market can be dated as far back as the latest decades of the sixteenth century.

However, there was not in early modern Spanish news writing an expression meaning “weekly news” or “wekelijcke tydinghen”. Even if news pamphlets were frequently produced as series and were identifiable by the use of a few repeated words in the titles of all numbers—such as *victoria, refriega, famosa*—they were sold simply as *relaciones*, without any actual reference to a regular lapse of time. This confirms that periodicity was a difficult achievement for Spanish printers.

The same non-systematic usage characterised the term **gazeta** or **gaceta** (the latter being the modern spelling). The word possibly derived from (see Ch. 10) a Venetian coin which came to be used across much of Europe. The first printed products entitled *gazeta* appeared in Spain around 1618—the year in which the outbreak of the Thirty Years War vastly increased both the demand for and circulation of international news across Europe. We know of two Spanish news pamphlets from this period that use the term in their titles: a single issue of a *Gazeta*

53 We can relate this title to those appearing in the first German gazettes, such as the famous *Avisa Relation oder Zeitung. Was sich begeben vnd zugetragen hat in Deutsch: und Welschland Spannen Niederlandt Engellandt Franckreich Ungern Osterreich Schweden Polen unnd in allen Provintzen in Ost: unnd West Indien etc* (Wolfenbüttel, 1609).

Romana printed in Seville, 1618; and three remaining issues of a *Gazeta de Roma* published in Valencia in 1619. But, in both cases, these pamphlets belong to an extended series whose issues rarely had the term *gazeta* in their titles. Even if Spanish printers had discovered serial journalism, they had not conceived the commercial possibilities of using the word *gazeta* in the header of a pamphlet.

It was two decades later, during the early 1640s, that a serial *Gazeta* was published in Barcelona by the printer Jaume Romeu. This appeared during the period of French political dominion of Catalonia and the texts were translated from Renaudot's French *Gazette*. It was also in the 1640s that a *Gazeta* was published in Lisbon, during the Restoration War (discussed below). Romeu's *Gazeta* had the status of an official newspaper within Catalonia. The first official gazette for the whole Habsburg kingdom of Spain was *Gazeta Nueva* (later the *Gazeta de Madrid*), published from 1661 onwards; however, initially this was a monthly, only in 1667 becoming a weekly.

The writer of relaciones was simply referred to as an *escritor*, or writer; the writer of gazetas was a *gacetero* or *gacetillero*, but these words are seldom found in the Spanish pamphlets of the time, and where they are used they have pejorative connotations. In the context of modern journalism these words are obsolete. The most common names for papers in Spanish today are **diarios** and **periódicos**. The first one, meaning "daily", was used in imitation of French during eighteenth century, because it served to translate the French term journal—as in *Journal des Savants*. Thus **diaristas** were intellectuals who wrote in cultural or scientific journals. The first actual daily newspaper in Spain was the *Diario Noticioso*, edited by Francisco Mariano Nipho from 1758 onwards.

Other words commonly used to describe the occupation of news writing were **papelista** (the person who makes **papeles**, or papers) or **jornalista** (copied from the French *journaliste*). We can also find significant terms like **escritor público**, or public writer. It could be concluded that, even if journalism was not yet regarded as a profession, in Spain like in the rest of Europe the writing of newspapers was undertaken by literate people who deserved for the first time some kind of recognition.

Periódico is an abbreviation from the current phrase "papeles periódicos", and has been the most common name for newspapers since the nineteenth century. Correspondingly, the word in use in Spanish for journalist is **periodista**. In the same manner, the current Spanish word for journalism, **periodismo**, is as recent as the nineteenth century. This is to say that there was not a Spanish word for journalism during the early modern period, despite the thousands of news pamphlets and gazettes that were published and the "news fever" that, we know for sure, affected Spanish men and women as well as their

contemporary European neighbors. This fact, besides being an interesting socio-historical issue, implies the lack of a proper cataloguing of ancient papers, which does not help scholars researching in libraries or archives.

England

News in English is both grammatically singular and plural. It combines the senses of a series of things that are new, and a discrete, complex, and semantically resonant field of information, customs and expectations. We can begin to trace this semantic field through news-related terms in seventeenth-century English dictionaries and glossaries. Hence in the glossary appended to Henry Preston's *Brief directions for true-spelling* (1673), news is defined as "report of things".⁵⁴

In Thomas Blount's more substantial *Glossographia* (1656) we find the word *news* used in the a series of related entries:

Annunciate ("to declare unto, to bring news or a message");

Diurnal ("a Day-book, or Register of every days business, news, or action");

Gazet ("Venetian Coyn scarce worth our farthing; Also a Bill of news or short relation of the general occurrences of the time, forged most commonly at Venice, and thence dispersed every moneth into most parts of Christendom");

Hawkers ("Those people which go up and down the streets crying News-books, and selling them by retail");

Mercury ("a swift messenger, or for a book of news, because such books are (as it were) the messengers of the newes");

Prenuncious ("that first brings tidings, that goes afore and tells news"; this seems to be from Thomas Thomas' *Dictionarium*, 1587);

Prodrome ("the fore-runner or news-bringer of another mans coming");

Scandalum Magnatum ("false news, or horrible and false Messages").⁵⁵

One of the reasons Blount compiled his dictionary, he tells his readers, was because of the proliferation of words in many books, even (perhaps especially)

54 Henry Preston, *Brief Directions for True-Spelling* (London, 1673), p. 50.

55 I have used 'Lexicons of Early Modern English' (<leme.library.utoronto.ca/>) and correlated results with Early English Books Online (various portals). Blount's book is organised alphabetically. Note that the entry for 'Gazet' is lifted word-for-word from Cotgrave's *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611).

books of news: “In every *Mercurius, Coranto, Gazet, or Diurnal*, I met with **Camizado’s, Pallizado’s, Lantspezado’s, Brigades, Squadrons, Curasiers, Bonmine, Halts, Iuncta’s, Paroles &c**”.⁵⁶ While lamenting the excesses of print was a common hobby among writers, there is much evidence to corroborate Blount’s picture of verbal expansion.

Among the early uses of the words **gazette** and **coranto** in English is a 1621 printed sermon that draws attention to the transnational aspect of news. The preacher complains about false rumours believed by one who “suffered himselfe to be so grosly guld with every fabulous Gazette, and idle Corante that posts betwixt England and Doway”.⁵⁷ The timing is significant: Henry King preached very shortly after the appearance of the first English corantos. In John Florio’s Italian dictionary (*Queen Anna’s new world of words*, 1611), **Nuóua** is translated as “a news, a new report. Also new.”; while in Randle Cotgrave’s French dictionary of the same year, **Nouvelle** is translated as “a novell, newes; tidings; an (unexpected) message; a strange report; a discourse, or tale unheard of before”. The English lexicon of news is always sensitive to its transnational, foreign nature, perhaps because many writers wished to imply that it was, like immoderate fashions, essentially a foreign business.

Elisha Coles’ *English Dictionary* of 1676 was less engaged with exploring networks of cultural associations than Blount’s dictionary. Coles instead focussed on ‘difficult terms’ or ‘hard words’; he was also very open to borrowed words. Here, in addition to many of the above terms, we find “news” also used to gloss:

Albricias (“reward of good news”, borrowed from Spanish),⁵⁸
Bode (“Messenger; also foretel; also to ask news”),
Controver (“he that invents false news”),
Coranto (“a French running dance, also a News-book”),
Courant (“a news-book”),
Evangelium (“the Gospel, good news”), and, oddly,
Hermotimus (“a Lydian whose soul was wont to wander far from his body and return with foreign news ...”)

Coles deploys the word **report** more frequently, associating it, for example, with **bruit, decant, famigeration** (“a divulging, reporting abroad”, from the

56 Blount, *Glossographia* (London, 1656), sig. A2v. The bold font is blackletter in the original.

57 Henry King, *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse, the 25. of November* (London, 1621), pp. 58–9.

58 This is a Spanish word with an Arab etymology; it is also found in Portuguese, **alvíssaras**.

Latin, literally to carry fame—not widely used), **infamy**, **narration**, **nunciature** (“a report or message”), **relatist**. Some of these words do not seem to have been in common use, and are included for completeness or the kind of entertainment that dictionary-makers relish. On the other hand, many of these words were in common use long before their appearance in these dictionaries, so little is to be inferred from the dates of publication. The dictionaries attest to the ambivalence in which news was held in seventeenth century England, and, indirectly, to widespread interest in it: news is both the report of things, and also a common appetite. They also attest to how useful the word “news” was for defining other terms.

Dictionaries can be slow. Also in common use, though not appearing in these lists, were other, related terms that defined the semantic field of news: **intelligence**, **intelligencer**, **information**, **journal**, **diary**, **newsbook**, **tidings**, **newsmonger**. In fact seventeenth-century English news serials seldom used the word “news” in titles, at least after the 1620s: they preferred **occurrences**, **transactions**, **proceedings**, **passages**, **affairs**, **relations**, **intelligence**, **informations**, and, of course, **mercury** and **gazette**. These are only the most common, which reveals some of the richness of English news culture; some of the proliferation may have arisen particularly because of the need for product differentiation in a crowded marketplace during the 1640s. The omission of the word “news” specifically from titles is partly because of the ambivalence surrounding it: the word had been partly discredited in the early-seventeenth century, being used for sensational pamphlets, whereas the editors of the 1640s newsbooks wished to emphasise that these were, initially at least, serious records of matters of fact.⁵⁹ It is important to recognise that attitudes were not simply negative, or negative in an uncomplicated way: the idea of news was taken seriously, and participants in news culture thought hard about the nature of communication, evidence and reliability (after all the Royal Society turned to the periodical as a means of publishing its experiments). More significantly, the language of news had come to accommodate the competing values of news *as fact* and news *as interpretation*—a theme on which news editors were thinking quite hard. Witnessing this, the word news was being used as a verb by the mid-seventeenth century, as in “to news it about”.⁶⁰

Perhaps the most important English term for news in the middle of the seventeenth century is the collocation **diurnal occurrences**. This was the term

59 *Newsbooks* I reserve for the quarto weekly news serials of the 1640s, as distinguished from the foreign-news, near-weekly translated *corantos* of the 1620s; a distinction made by many contemporaries.

60 OED: news, *v*.

given to the weekly manuscripts of parliamentary news that circulated first in the late 1620s and then from 1640 onwards. These manuscripts are essential to the development of written news communication in Britain, and why the archipelago is anomalous in the broader context of Europe. *Avvisi* did circulate in Britain, and the *corantos* of the 1620s borrowed the form then prevailing in the Netherlands. However, the division between domestic and overseas news was in some ways even sharper there than elsewhere, and norms of secrecy and the so-called 'privileges' of parliament meant that printed news was limited in its contents—limited to translations of foreign news, and to non- or indirectly-political news. In manuscript the story was different, however. Scribally published weekly accounts of parliamentary proceedings intermittently provided detailed domestic political news. These manuscripts were called 'Diurnal occurrences or heads of proceedings in parliament' and variations of the same. Because they were reporting on parliament, the organisation of the news was, unlike *corantos*, temporal rather than geographical: they contained daily accounts of proceedings. Hence **diurnal** referred to the daily frequency of news and not to publication. Here we can see the necessity of employing a term not commonly in use elsewhere in Europe in order to reflect local conditions. The first truly periodical printed news in Britain—after the irregular publication of *corantos*, which were in any case banned for most of the 1630s—appeared when these manuscripts, and not *avvisi*, were printed. It was these, and not *corantos*, that survived government controls and continued over future centuries. Hence the earliest London printed periodicals of news looked very different from their European counterparts, with domestic news, their own system of organisation, a unique set of cultural references. Later news publications would, crucially, mix the two forms of diurnal occurrences and *avvisi*. The development of news in Britain fitted into a European system, but it was also highly idiosyncratic or exceptional.⁶¹

A central characteristic of the culture of news in Britain, and one that has been largely overlooked, is the way its words and forms rely upon local, particular and transient significations and associations. This is not to suggest that it is provincial or exceptional—it was thoroughly connected to Europe, though the emergence of periodical news there followed a different pattern to other European regions. Rather, English meanings existed in microclimates. Its

61 Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (1996; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), pp. 80–126, the manuscripts discussed at 100–12. For these reasons Britain cannot be simply collapsed into a generalised European system, as Wolfgang Behringer does, without attention to any evidence. See 'Communications Revolutions: A Historiographical Concept', *German History*, 24 (2006), pp. 333–74, at 350.

words and forms changed rapidly, and the very particular applications of the word can be lost in translation, and are lost over time. They are, however, recoverable.

This can be seen in the interrelations between the words news, intelligence, and information in 1640s London newsbooks.⁶² The latter two were more mediated: 'news' was the matter, while 'intelligence' was 'news' that had been interpreted and digested for the reader. 'Intelligence' revealed the expertise of the editor and was what distinguished between competing news publications. This corresponds to the meaning of **intelligencer**, that is to say a spy, communicating select or secret knowledge; but this kind of intelligencer was a public intelligencer rather than a secret one. Intelligence was, then, superior to unmediated news; this process of interpretation and mediation improved the news. This should be contrasted with **opinion**, which in the seventeenth century was pejorative; it was *mere* opinion. **Information**, meanwhile, referred to the editorial matter that guided the interpretation of news; more mediated than intelligence, it was news put to use; it 'informed' the judgement of readers. Hence opinion was not intelligenced or informed. There is a spectrum of increasing activeness in the words news, intelligence, information. The terms were articulated in *The Scottish Dove*, a weekly London newsbook, in July 1645:

It may be some will tell me, (as they have) that I digresse from the way of intelligence, &c. to them I answer; That I digresse not from the way of information, which I have ever propounded to my selfe to mix with my intelligence; information to cleare the judgement, is better then intelligence to please the fancie; and by such information the evill causes may be removed, from whence flow evill effects and sad intelligences....⁶³

Which is to say, the civil war. These are relatively positive terms. The **editor's** role (**journalist** would be an anachronism) is to mediate between political actors and the public.⁶⁴ The keywords are being used with striking and cerebral

62 This argument is made in Raymond, *Invention of the Newspaper*, pp. 158–63; it is presented in a broader context in Raymond, 'Exporting Impartiality', in *The Emergence of Impartiality: Towards a Prehistory of Objectivity*, ed. Anita Traninger and Kathryn Murphy (Leiden: Brill, 2014 [2013]), pp. 141–67.

63 *Scottish Dove*, 92 (25 July 1645), p. 723.

64 According to the OED the word **journalist** first appears in 1693, in *The humours, and conversations of the town*, in the phrase "Epistle-Writer, or Journalists, **Mercurists**", signifying someone who writes a journal—this is distinct from the modern sense of the word and the modern role of the journalist, someone who gathers news. Marion Brétéché observes that **journaliste** appears in the early eighteenth century, in French-language political

precision, however, and the lexicon is one the editor thought his readers would grasp, despite the fact that he, like his fellow editors, was engaged in the production of popular print culture. This usage may be specific to London in the mid 1640s, or even to a particular community. It does, however, run consistently through the uses of these words in London-based print in the 1640s, and therefore has some claim to be a significant element in the meaning of these words.

Similar distinctions underpin the words **mercuries**, **mercury-women**, and **hawkers**. While often treated as near-synonyms, or as distinguished by gender, they in fact represent different roles within the book trade. Mercuries and hawkers were itinerant street vendors (though mercury could also mean a publication or a bringer of news; and a hawker might sell other items in addition to news, such as pamphlets and ribbons and buttons), whereas mercury-women, from the early 1640s, were wholesale distributors who carried books from printers. Blount writes in 1656:

Hawkers, Are certain deceitful fellows, that go from place to place buying and selling Brass, Pewter, and other Merchandize, that ought to be uttered in open Market. The Appellation seems to grow from their uncertain wandering, like those that with Hawks seek their Game where they can finde it.... Those people which go up and down the streets crying News-books, and selling them by retail, are also called Hawkiers; and the women that sell them by whole sale from the Press, are called Mercury-women.⁶⁵

The term mercury-women is gendered, though it does not designate a female mercury but a distinct role—and this reveals something of the nature of the language of news. The news culture of early-modern England went through periods when it was fast-changing and fungible, and we need to be aware of the tensions between slowly developing institutions and economic structures that shape the press, and a swiftly shifting culture.

The **corantos** of the 1620s preferred such terms as **courant**, **relation**, **weekly news**, **avisoes** and **advices** to describe news publications. The active vocabulary rapidly expanded in the 1640s to include **intelligence**, **intelligencer**, **information**, **journal**, **diary**, **newsbook**, **tidings**, **occurrences**, **transactions**, **proceedings**,

journals originating in the Netherlands. *Les Compagnons de Mercure: Journalisme et politique dans l'Europe de Louis XIV* (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2015), pp. 13–14.

65 See Blount, *Glossographia*, under *Hawkiers*. Also the anonymous *The Downfall of Temporizing Poets* (London, 1641), though the distinction is not so clearly articulated there. See also B.E. *A New Dictionary* (London, 1699) under 'Mercury-women': "Whole-sale News-sellers, who Retail to the Hawkiers". Also *OED*: Mercury, n., 4b, which is not clear.

passages, affairs, relations, intelligence, informations, mercury and gazette, plus other terms that were form-specific, such as **letter** or **dialogue** (a common form of occasional news pamphlet). After the monarchy took control of the press in 1660 and established a (sometimes interrupted or broken) monopoly, the term **gazette** also achieved a *de facto* near-monopoly: it was the main term for a serial news publication. At the same time, however, a word like **popularity** (the deliberate courting of public support) moved from purely negative connotations to more neutral ones, and **courant** and **newsbook** lost the faint condescension they had carried with them. Entries in Coles' 1676 dictionary for **coranto**, **courant**, **diurnal**, **gazette** and **Mercury** all pointed to "news-book" as a definition; while John Kersey's *English Dictionary* of 1702 simply defined news-book as a "paper containing public news". In this respect at least the necessary vocabulary had narrowed and stabilised as news publications became less suspect and more embedded in the culture.

For all of their interest in news culture, the English were happy to modify—sometimes quite freely—an international news vocabulary, and contributed little of their own; they innovated through absorbing the foreign. And some words seemed too foreign: Traiano Boccalini's *De' ragguagli di Parnaso* was a popular book, first translated (as *The New-Found Politicke*) in 1626, and reprinted or published in different translations in 1648 (a fragment), 1656, 1669, 1674, 1704, 1705, 1727 and beyond. The thoroughly clever satire of English civil-war news culture, *The Great Assises Holden in Parnassus* (London, 1645), appropriated Boccalini's form. But the word **ragguaglio**, which contemporaries translated as 'advices' or 'advertisements', was hard on the English tongue, and did not spread.

Portugal

The modern Portuguese word for news is **notícia**, a word that existed in the early modern vocabulary and that could be used to mean an account of a hitherto unknown event. But other words were used to signify news, including **nova**, **novidade** and also—once again—**aviso** (with a single *v*, as in Spanish). Whereas the connotations of **nova** and **novidade** were quite narrowly associated with the action of receiving and sharing news, **notícia** and **aviso** had a more complex semantics. As in other Romance languages, the noun **aviso** and the verb **avisar** had a late medieval meaning pertaining to the circulation of news ('ter aviso', to take notice) but also possessed a variety of older senses, of earlier medieval origin, concerned with giving and receiving instructions, opinions or warnings of a moral or political nature. The constellation of

meanings clustered around news can be looked up in Raphael Bluteau's early eighteenth century dictionary, the most complete lexicographical compilation printed in early modern Portugal.⁶⁶

We can infer from Bluteau's dictionary entries semantic distinctions between the senses of the word *notícia* on the one hand and the words *nova* and *novidade* on the other. The former was clearly associated with **conhecimento** (knowledge) or something that **vem ao conhecimento** (comes to knowledge), with no exclusive nor primary relation to actuality. Bluteau enumerates different kinds of *notícias* based on their philosophical and intellectual nature (news derived from science, from opinion, from faith, natural or acquired news, etc.), regardless of their relation to the form of their transmission. This same sense of *notícias* as a form of knowledge is present in other Portuguese authors preceding Bluteau, like Jerónimo Cardoso or Bento Pereira.⁶⁷ As for the words *nova* and *novidade*, they were clearly associated with recent events or with things that were deemed modern. For Bluteau, *nova* describes any event that is new and is the subject of divulgation. But he also establishes an association between *novas* and **rumores** (rumours), defined as news lacking an identified author or origin. This linking of news and rumour is one of the root causes of the frequent dismissal of news, newsprint and agents of news by scholars. Hence, the **gazeta** is described by Bluteau as a **papel** (printed paper) containing news from abroad—there is no reference to or implication of periodicity, which in his dictionary remains largely an astronomical notion. His dictionary disqualifies *Gazetas* from serious consideration by a quotation from 1650 describing them as being of “little importance”, along with **manifestos** (political proclamations). As in other European languages the vocabulary to describe news writers carried pejorative connotations, reflecting weak professional autonomy and authorial dignity. Though not mentioned in printed dictionaries, the word **gazeteiro** was used in letters and newsletters.

As suggested above, a reconstitution of the sense of the lexicon of news must include not only the relations between the layers of meaning recorded in the dictionaries, but also the uses of words in a variety of sources, from correspondences to legal texts, which incorporate new words faster than dictionaries do. The words used to describe news in ordinary practice were more various than those we find in dictionaries. And the circulation of news was accompanied by fundamental qualifiers, of which two of the most important, well into

66 Raphael Bluteau, *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino*, 8 vols. (Coimbra, 1712–28).

67 *Dictionarium Latinolusitanicum* (Coimbra, 1570). *Thesouro da lingua Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1647).

the late eighteenth century, drew a distinction between **particular** (particular or private) and **público** (public) news. This partly coincided with the distinction between printed and handwritten news, but not entirely. For instance, both oral and handwritten news made echo of public **vozes que correm** (running voices), and **boatos** (rumours).

Turning now to specific objects in circulation, it is necessary to underline the fact that in sixteenth and seventeenth century Portugal no specific word definitively identified a handwritten sheet of news. The word **aviso** could be used in the sense of a news item—one of the senses of the Italian word *avviso*—but it did not become a synonym for a circulating object. **Cartas de novas** was the most used expression, describing both the object (the letter) and its content (the news).

As for printed news, seventeenth century royal decrees establishing censorship mechanism or prohibiting specific titles, offer one system of classification. A royal letter from 1627 mentions **relações de novas gerais** (relations of general news) and the need to submit them to strict pre-publication censorship.⁶⁸ It was not, however, until several decades later that the word **gazeta**, borrowed from the French, was used as the name of the first monthly periodical in Portuguese (1641–7).

Another relevant source to identify the lexicon of news are the different petitions made by printers and booksellers to the competent higher royal court, the Desembargo do Paço, in order to obtain privileges to print and sell pamphlets of news. In 1642 the privilege to print **novas do reino** (news of the kingdom, i.e. domestic news) in a gazette included also a reference to **relações** (which Bluteau describes as a “narrative of something that happened”) translated from French.⁶⁹

The name *relação* was generally given to non-periodical, translated, printed pamphlets during the seventeenth century; and these could appear in serial form, though not strictly periodicals. The word *gazeta* was also used to signify current news coming from abroad. It can be found in poems and satirical parodies of news, both handwritten and printed, pointing to the development of a community of readers of foreign gazettes even though there was no Portuguese counterpart before 1715.

68 Royal letter, 26 Jan. 1627, in José Justino Andrade e Silva, ed., *Collecção Chronologica da Legislação Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1855). <www.iuslusitaniae.fch.unl.pt/verlivro.php?id_parte=96&id_obra=63&pagina=964> [3/3/16].

69 Privilege to João Franco Barreto to translate and print French relations and gazettes, Lisbon, Nacional Archives (Torre do Tombo), Chancelaria de D. João IV, livro 15, fos. 3v, 20v.

A growing diversity of names given to printed papers of news, periodical and otherwise, emerges between in royal privileges awarded in the first half of the eighteenth century. These names corresponded to the different types of printed papers in circulation, translated or otherwise, and over which petitioners sought to obtain a monopoly. Alongside gazetas, eighteenth-century printing privileges mention notícias and **papéis de notícias** or **mercúrios universais** (universal mercuries) called **estado do mundo** (state of the world), and also, after 1742, **suplementos** (extraordinaries, or supplements to the gazette), **relações de batalhas** (accounts of battles) and **epanáforas** (relations, accounts; see below). The title mercúrio is of course important, for it was also part of the European landscape of circulating titles; and there also existed a seventeenth-century Portuguese precedent, the monthly paper published by the secretary of state António de Sousa de Macedo between 1663 and 1667. In the years after 1742 the *Mercúrios Históricos e Políticos* were printed in Lisbon, also monthly, translated from the French periodical edited in The Hague, then into Spanish and finally into Portuguese. Of these different titles, only gazetas (with their suplementos) and mercúrios were associated with printed periodicals. Nonetheless, in legal texts explicit reference to periodicity does not occur until 1752—when the expression **gazeta regular** (regular gazette) is used.

At the start of the eighteenth century one important handwritten newsletter circulating in Lisbon was the **Gazeta em forma de carta** (gazette in the form of letter). The word **folheto** (small sheet), of Italian origin, was increasingly used to indicate handwritten newsletters, generally meaning a separate of handwritten news sent by post. Eighteenth-century handwritten periodicals, edited in Lisbon by the count of Ericeira, and in Santarém, were called **diários** (a day-by-day account of current events, in a use equivalent to “journal” in Dutch or English language, mentioned above), **folhetos** and also **mercúrios**.

Influenced by the circulation of printed sheets of news and infected by the terms in use throughout Europe, we find examples of late-seventeenth-century diplomatic correspondence which describe handwritten separates of news as **gazetas de mão** (gazettes by hand), probably also an expression of French origin (“gazettes à la main”, as opposed to “gazette de bouche”).⁷⁰ This is an important indicator of the migration and fungibility of the term ‘gazette’, since in the course of this chapter we have traced its movement from Venice to Lisbon via Paris over more than a century; in its progress along this inverted v-shape, its

70 See the letter from the Portuguese ambassador in Paris, José da Cunha Brochado, to an unknown correspondent, 15 June 1698: *Cartas* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1944), p. 31.

use also shifted to the point where what had been a normal attribute for a gazette—that it was handwritten—has to be clarified as an exception in the Portuguese lexicon of news.

European Conclusions

We can see contrasting fortunes in several words: *aviso* and *aviso* spread across Europe to signify both a piece of news and the medium of communication. *Gazzetta* spread too, though whereas in Italy it could signify both written and printed news as it moved to Germany, France and the Iberian peninsula it shifted its significance to mean printed news, and became the pre-eminent term for a printed periodical. The textures of words can be subtle and nuanced: at least from 1631, *gazzetta* always implied regularity in a way that *aviso* did not.

Other words were more idiosyncratic and particular. There are the very local and specific resonances of information and intelligence in English news culture. And compare this with *epanáfora*: in eighteenth-century Portuguese it is used synonymously with “*relação*”, and the dictionaries define it as both a rhetorical term (synonymous with *anaphora*) and a *relato* (story, relation), relating both to its Greek etymology. The editor of the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, José Freire Montarroio Mascarenhas, published a pamphlet in 1735 entitled *Epanaphora belica*, followed by several occasional news pamphlets on Portuguese military success in India between 1746 and 1752 with titles beginning *Epanaphora indica* ... Others subsequently used the term with this significance. It implied repetition, and so could suggest the bringing together of multiple items, either as a series or within a single pamphlet. Yet it has this significance in no other European vernacular. Could this idiosyncratic usage simply originate in the title of Francisco Manuel de Melo’s *Epanaphoras de Varia Historia Portugueza* (*Anaphoras of Various Portuguese History*; Lisbon, 1660), a historiographical work in five discrete stories? Mascarenhas might have been borrowing not only the notion of gathered stories but also the cultural prestige of this widely-celebrated history. If so, it is one of the more extreme examples of local cultures adapting transnational vocabularies, and finding space for an eccentric word within the existing multilingual lexicon.

The translators who lived and worked in Europe’s entrepôts, mediating between merchants, diplomats, travellers, and soldiers, played a crucial role in establishing and maintaining the news networks of early modern Europe. The mobility of lexicons of news was essential to their labour, and to that of

the scribes and publishers who gathered and dispersed news in its various forms. In the semantic and geographical shifting of the words for news we can see the evidence of them borrowing and improvising in order to minimise the obstacles that language differences could present. We can also see evidence of tensions between these practical labourers in news communication and more localised readers, satirists, and especially governments who sought to define the news and its technologies in laws intended to confine its subversive potential.

News Networks: Putting the ‘News’ and ‘Networks’ Back in

Joad Raymond

Around 1790 the Scottish antiquarian George Chalmers discovered in the British Museum a newspaper entitled *The English Mercurie*, dated 1588. This was the earliest printed news serial not only in England but in Europe. Chalmers proceeded to publish (in 1794) the first attempt to sketch a history of the newspaper in Britain—and in many respects his was an imaginative exercise, and one that sensitively located innovation in its commercial and cultural circumstances.¹ Importantly his discovery meant that neither the French nor the Germans were first to invent the newspaper: at last the British had done something first. His claims went unchallenged for some decades, but in 1839 *The English Mercurie* was proved to be a forgery made half a century before Chalmers’ discovery by Philip Yorke, second Earl of Hardwicke (his intentions are not known). The proof was offered in a pamphlet by Thomas Watts, a librarian at the British Museum, based on clear bibliographical evidence: Chalmers had been carried away by British patriotism.² What could be more fitting than that the modern history of the newspaper—the form itself characterised by accusations of deliberate or inadvertent lies, and with imputations of credulity to early readers—should itself begin with a falsehood?

The history of the newspaper (and therefore, at that time, of news) was established between about 1850 and about 1880: stories developed in parallel in Britain, France, Spain and Portugal and no doubt elsewhere.³ In Britain this

1 George Chalmers, *The Life of Thomas Ruddiman* (London and Edinburgh, 1794), pp. 102–25.

2 Thomas Watts, *A letter to Antonio Panizzi ... on the reputed earliest printed newspaper: the English Mercurie 1588* (London, 1839).

3 For Britain, see Joad Raymond, ‘Review Article: The History of Newspapers and the History of Journalism: two disciplines or one?’ *Media History* 5 (1999), pp. 223–32; ‘Introduction: Networks, Communication, Practice’, in *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe*, ed. Raymond (London: Routledge, 2006) and in *Media History* 11.1/2 (2005), pp. 1–17; ‘Newspapers: a national or international phenomenon?’ *Media History*, 18.3–4 (2012), pp 1–9. For the useful comparison with Portugal see André Belo, ‘Nouvelles d’Ancien Régime: la *Gazeta de Lisboa* et l’information manuscrite au Portugal (1715–1760)’, PhD thesis (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 2005); Jorge Pedro Sousa, ‘Para

was partly in response to Chalmers' error, as a number of historians—some of them journalists—sought to establish a more secure narrative of events. The ideological framework for this narrative can be found in *The Periodical Press of Great Britain and Ireland: Or An Inquiry into the State of the Public Journals, Chiefly as Regards their Moral and Political Influence*, published anonymously in 1824, which articulates the Whig view of the newspaper as both an engine for moral reform and a means of holding government accountable, and identifies the English press as internationally pre-eminent. The anonymous author is more concerned with present-day matters than history, though he does offer a brief account of the early modern origins of the newspaper in a long footnote that refers to *The English Mercurie*.⁴ Then the great Whig histories of the English press began, following Watts's pamphlet, with Frederick Knight Hunt's magnificent two-volume *The Fourth Estate: Contributions Towards a History of Newspapers and of the Liberty of the Press*, published in 1850. Hunt explicitly acknowledged the impact of Watts's work by reproducing a good part of it. He was followed, improbably given the ideological complexion of the emerging narrative, by Cucheval Clarigny's *Histoire de la presse en Angleterre et aux etats unis* (three volumes in 1857), and then Alexander Andrews's *The History of British Journalism, from the Foundation of the Newspaper Press in England, to the Repeal of the Stamp Act in 1855, with Sketches of Press Celebrities* (two volumes in 1859); Joseph Hatton's *Journalistic London. Being a Series of Sketches of Famous Pens and Papers of the Day* (1882); and Henry Richard Fox Bourne's *English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism* (two volumes in 1887). By this time a clear narrative was in place, one that would hold until the end of the next century.

The narrative has several central characters: first, it is a national story, and the histories of the emergence of periodical news are written from parallel

uma historiografia da historiografia portuguesa do jornalismo: livros pioneiros sobre história do jornalismo publicados por autores portugueses em Portugal até à Revolução de Abril de 1974', <www.bocc.ubi.pt/pag/sousa-jorge-para-uma-historiografia-da-historiografia-portuguesa-do-jornalismo.pdf> [22/10/14], and the works discussed therein especially José Tengarrinha, *Nova História da Imprensa Portuguesa das origens a 1965* (1965; revised edition, Lisbon: Circule e Leitores, 2013), and Alfredo da Cunha, *Elementos para a História da Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa (1641–1821)* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1941). For Spain, see Pedro Gómez Aparicio, *Historia del periodismo español* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1967); Paul Guinard, *La presse espagnole de 1737 à 1791, formation et signification d'un genre* (Paris: Centre de Recherches Hispaniques, Institut d'Études Hispaniques, 1973).

4 *The Periodical Press of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Hurst, Robinson & Co, 1824), pp. 89–92n.

national perspectives. Secondly, it describes the triumph of print over manuscript. Thirdly, it stresses the importance of war as a trigger for the creation and development of the press. Fourthly, it is focussed on the development of various key bibliographical features, including seriality, periodicity, issue numbering, and a consistent title. Fifthly, it dramatises the struggle against censorship and government control of content. Sixthly, the increasing frequency of publication over time, from biannual through weekly to daily: this matters because some historians have insisted that a certain frequency is necessary for a serial publication to be counted as a newspaper. This focus also supports the proposition that news media are associated with history speeding up. Seventhly, the dispersal of the news press from a metropolitan centre to the provinces. Eighthly, the struggle for journalistic independence, so that the press develops the power effectively to critique the government, becomes, in the phrase perhaps devised in 1828 by that eminent Victorian and grand Whig Thomas Babington Macaulay, ‘the Fourth Estate’.⁵ And perhaps a ninth character lurks in the wings: a posited relationship between a national spirit, the spirit of the people, and the press that it creates. These last three suggest the ideological input that the revolutions of 1848 might have had on the formation of this enduring narrative.

The narrative that remained in place through the mid-twentieth century essentially challenged none of this. Matthias A. Shaaber’s *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476–1622* (1929) is a wonderful book that brings in a good deal of new contextual material for consideration, suggesting that we might think of newspaper history within a richer textual canvas; and Henry Ettinghausen’s chapter in the present volume argues that there are still things to be learned from it. But it offers a useful repository of sources rather than a penetrating analysis of them, and the analysis is teleological, as the term ‘forerunner’ warns. Joseph Frank’s seminal *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper* from 1961—with its chapter titles that anthropomorphise newspaper history—adds a good deal of detail to this story for the years 1620–60 in Britain. But it was written not from archives: the research was conducted using photostats of the microfilms of the Thomason Tracts. It could only ever have described printed news from within. The cost of Frank’s attention to detail is, moreover, a narrowing of focus. Frank’s book then became an important source for seventeenth-century Britain in Jürgen Habermas’ *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, perhaps the work most influential on news historiography in the late twentieth century, and one that attributes the first genesis of a sphere of rational critical debate to England.

5 Mick Temple, *The British Press* (1996; Maidenhead: Open Univeresity Press, 2008), p. 19.

However, over the past three decades this story has been significantly challenged. The contents of this volume reveal how historians of news media are living in changing times. There has been a shift towards a more empirically rich and more questioning approach to news, and this constitutes not only a periodic change in fashion but a deepening understanding of how news was produced, distributed and consumed, and a stronger sense of the complex roles of news in society and culture. However, these advances have brought the area of research—it is not a discipline, but a meeting point between disciplines—to a place beset by both opportunities and difficulties. In the next section I will sketch, in broad brushstrokes, the nature of these advances, before proceeding to suggest where they have placed us.

The Changing Historiography of News

The pressure on the nineteenth-century narrative of the emergence of periodical news has become considerable. There is above all the geographical thinking discussed in the introduction to this volume, and the challenge it represents to a nationally centred narrative. And there are perhaps five other methodological developments that have enriched the history of news communication, and in conjunction have rendered the national, sentimental and teleological model untenable. The first of these is the development of bibliographies, in which scholars in Britain have an advantage with the STCs and then especially Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe's *British newspapers and periodicals, 1641–1700: a short-title catalogue* (1987).⁶ These English STCs have been combined with the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue into the online *English Short-Title Catalogue* or ESTC. For the Iberian world there are much richer projects in progress, including images and other resources, but they are not consolidated or unified. They are discussed by Javier Díaz Noci in the present volume; while Carmen Espejo's research on Rodrigo de Cabrera

6 A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and English Books Printed Abroad 1473–1640* (1926; revised edition, London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91); Donald Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700* (1945–51; revised edition, New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1972–98). We lack a resource for pre-1641 materials equivalent to the Nelson and Seccombe *STC*: for this the best resource remains Folke Dahl's catalogue. In the Bodleian there is a unique, printed catalogue, interleaved and annotated; in the BL the slightly haphazard online catalogue.

indicates the complexity of distinguishing between serial and occasional news pamphlets, which makes those bibliographical projects focussed on particular forms and narrow definitions seem problematic.⁷ For the Dutch world the collection-specific catalogues are now gathered in the still-developing Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN), covering 1540–1800; plus Knuttel's substantial catalogue covering the *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*.⁸ The St Andrews French vernacular book project extended knowledge of early modern French bibliography, before being folded into the ongoing online Universal Short Title Catalogue project (which terminates in 1600, soon to be extended to 1650). The examples could be multiplied: while British book output, and British libraries, have been exceptionally well served, across Europe access to materials has been made easier, and information regarding total press output has become more reliable.

Developing alongside these cataloguing efforts, and sometimes pulling in a quite different direction, was the new bibliography, or the sociology of texts. This development in bibliography has been extensively discussed, and its transformative impact upon the field noted. For historians of news it offered particular opportunities. The printing of news was, in its earlier years, long before news printing became a specialist activity, peripheral to the activities of the book trade.⁹ It was also an area of considerable innovation, as stationers explored ways first of benefitting from the commercial trade in *avvisi*, and then of extending the form they had devised to accommodate new kinds of content. The attention paid by Don McKenzie and Roger Chartier to the marginal activities and to the borderline economics of stationers, the focus on the book trade as a whole, as opposed to a handful of high-end publishers or printers with distinguished or extended careers, shed new light on the commercial complexity of the business of news. The focus on the material book and the normative practices of the trade brought into the historians' view the broader cultural background to the bibliographical innovations—issue numbering, trade partnerships—of the printers and publishers of

7 See their chapters in the present volume; and <www.siers.es/siers/principal.htm>. Online resources can be found at <www.cemmn.net/resources/web-resources/> [22/10/14].

8 STCN: <<http://picarta.pica.nl/>> [18/8/15]. W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamflettenversameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 9 vols. (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1882–1920); Paul Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava, 1541–1600: A repertorium of books printed in the Northern Netherlands between 1541 and 1600* (Nieuwkoop: Hes & De Graaf, 1998); J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Ghent: Centrale Bibliotheek, 1979).

9 Most recently and broadly demonstrated by Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014).

news.¹⁰ The emphasis on the processes of transmission of texts, the material traces of those processes, the transformative effects of transmission: this made the content of newspapers more complex and more interesting, and it demanded a greater sensitivity to the complex arrangements of the printed page. The material page, even the page of a cheap and poorly printed newspaper, was a semantic performance. The new bibliographers raised new questions of microeconomics, in particular the way the conventional procedures in the trade shaped the material products. McKenzie in particular warned about confusing the normal with the exceptional and vice versa: how significant was the decision to print translations of Amsterdam folios in London in a quarto format, when the quarto format was typically used in Britain for brief, topical content? Is the quarto no longer a newspaper? Or does the significance lie in binding possibilities after reading? This engagement with minute detail complemented the broader, statistical questions that were increasingly answerable with improved bibliographical data. The new bibliography also helped scholars to focus on the relationship between script and print, and thus to challenge the exclusive focus on *print* as a medium for communicating news.

Associated with this new history of books was a body of work that sought to show that reading too had a history, to challenge venerable assumptions about the passivity of readers in the face of a privileged text, to uncover what readers actually did, and how the reading practices changed over time. Once again, there is a broad literature on this, but it has a particular relevance to the history of news. First, because from the very earliest news publications non-expert readers were described as credulous, gullible, driven by an appetite that was exploited by greedy vendors peddling untested nonsense. Modern historians have frequently quoted these statements, often seeming to agree with their sentiments about the 'vulgar'. Just as a closer attention to the texts of newspapers showed that in fact news was commonly reliable, and editors devised means of articulating the reliability of news, indicating where reports were uncertain, and cross-referring between stories of sources to verify uncertain news, so research on actual readers has shown that they were sceptical, active and complicated.¹¹ This has shown what should perhaps have been obvious all along: that those making those dismissive claims were articulating their own prejudices, or were commenting on the perceived impropriety of a particular

10 On this last point, see Michael Treadwell, 'London Trade Publishers 1675–1750', *The Library*, 6th ser., 4 (1982), pp. 99–134.

11 Widely discussed, but see especially David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008).

class of readers having access to news. Secondly, a model of a sophisticated yet common (or popular) reader is an essential element in recent analyses of political culture that seek to identify the influence of public opinion.¹² While the history of reading and of readers has been well served in French, Italian and Anglophone contexts, there is little as yet in the way of comparative history of reading, which will surely be rewarding in the context of international news networks.

A fourth trend in research involves the promoting of interdisciplinary approaches towards the humanities. This is to risk a platitude: the praise of interdisciplinarity is almost as widespread as excellent examples of the practice are hard to identify. But the history of news communication has particularly benefited from this, as it is a peculiarly rich field for nature's poachers. It stands at a point of convergence between several disciplines: history, bibliography, politics, literary criticism, sociology, and stands to further benefit from anthropology, and art history. I shall suggest later in this chapter that it would benefit further from moving outside the humanities and social sciences, and exploring the interdisciplinary value of maths. Two of the most influential and invigorating studies within the history of news are from outside the field: Jürgen Habermas' *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, of course, but also Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*—which proposes that newspapers are fundamental to the development of national consciousness, nationalism and even incipient capitalism.¹³ Because news communication is a theme that touches upon so many concerns much of its energy and intellectual significance is exogamous or originates outside the system; early modern media historians are natural poachers. So a period in which interdisciplinarity has been endorsed and pursued has been advantageous to its practitioners.

A fifth development that is beginning to lend a new dimension to the history of news is the advent of web resources beyond bibliographies (the first development). Burgeoning online databases are making—are on the verge of making—the analysis of large datasets possible. Among these is the impressive *Die Fuggerzeitungen* project, based at the Austrian National Library in Vienna. The database includes a detailed index of over sixteen thousand newsletters in

12 Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Jason Peacey, *Print and Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

13 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Burger (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; London: Verso, 1991).

the collection, dated between 1568–1605, searchable by name, place and date, together with digitised images of the same. The *Medici Archive Project* is developing a similar scholarly resource for an even larger collection. There are a number of smaller, text-searchable projects, including the *Lancaster Newsbooks Corpus*, the Sheffield 'Participatory Design' project,¹⁴ the *Florence Early English Newspaper Corpus (1620–1649)* and the *Zurich English Newspaper Corpus* (the latter three are not yet public). Spain offers a large number of projects.¹⁵ Unfortunately these projects store different data in different ways, and so there is as yet no means of searching across the databases. However, it may in future be possible to develop from them quantitative conclusions and network analyses that were not previously possible. The interface between newspaper research and computer science is one of the most exciting areas of modern research—and not only exciting but also necessary, I will argue.

Further, lesser factors could be identified, among them the linguistic turn in the history of political thought associated with J.G.A. Pocock and Quentin Skinner; a social history interested in oral culture; and a revival of interest in manuscript studies for its own sake. But these five main developments are sufficient to suggest that newspaper history has profoundly departed from the progressive, positivist models of the nineteenth century. This is not just a change in emphasis, but a paradigm shift. The old narrative no longer obtains.

News Networks

A growing number of localised studies show that news was fundamentally international, that between 1450 and 1650 a European news network developed which was not the product of any single country or set of institutions. This network developed around diplomatic channels, though postal networks guided its communicative geography. These ensured a constant flow of news shaped by commerce, entrepôts, and the physical landscape more than by political boundaries. However, I say 'localised studies' with some reservations. Having thrown out the old picture, how can we reliably build a new one?

A series of local conclusions suggests fragments of this new picture.¹⁶ I propose seven principles as the basis for this new picture:

14 <www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/projects/newsbooks/reuse.htm> [29/9/14]; <<http://hrdigital.shef.ac.uk/newsbooks-project>> [29/9/14].

15 For a growing list, <www.cemmn.net/resources/web-resources/> [29/9/14].

16 Some of these materials are further outlined in the introduction to this volume; others are proposed by chapters in this volume; others derive from my own ongoing research.

1. particular news publications exist at the end of a network; we need to study the processes that generate the products, and not the products alone. That network extends across Europe through a series of major cities; and it spreads news in malleable units of news by routes that are predominantly postal, but also mercantile, diplomatic, scholarly, though in markedly different quantities. We risk mistaking epiphenomena for the thing itself.
2. early modern Europe's news communication has an endoskeleton, the most robust bones of which consist of postal and carrier routes, which then extend into the finer and less regular local extensions.
3. news is recombined into various aggregates in entrepôts, the cities that are the hubs of the network. These transformations are according to local rules and conventions. News is translated between vernaculars. It moves between forms: most commonly word of mouth, manuscript and print. But also between the various manuscript forms (commercial, personal, semi-formalised), and into libel, and between forms of print (gazette, ballad, pamphlet).
4. news of a particular event—to consider the same network from a different perspective—spreads in various forms and at surprisingly calculable speeds along particular routes. It exists in a modified Euclidean landscape, and so follows certain apparently indirect routes in preference to others because transmission is more efficient along those routes. It observes the timetables of post and carrier. But it is pretty unstoppable.
5. some news is more plentiful. News from Turkey is rarer than news from Antwerp, and something like the laws of the market, of demand and supply, affects the perceived value of the news. This is particularly marked when there is a blackout in a normally dense network, such as during the siege of Antwerp.
6. news can be surprisingly indifferent to confessional and linguistic boundaries: which is to say that when it crosses them the news remains strikingly intact.¹⁷ One implication of this is that the movement of a particular news report can sometimes be followed through its translations and transformations.
7. with the romance languages, and partly through diplomatic networks, there was a shared semantic field for news—mercurius, *avvisi*, diurnal, intelligence, gazette, coranto, libel etc. Though we also know that these

¹⁷ Joad Raymond, 'Exporting Impartiality', *The Emergence of Impartiality: Towards a Prehistory of Objectivity*, ed. Anita Traninger and Kathryn Murphy (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 141–67.

words can be false friends, and that in each of the countries they were used, their meaning was closely attuned to local conditions.¹⁸

A history of news following these principles would look very different. But has the research area, or meeting point between disciplines, begun to develop a new picture of the whole based on the case studies that are appearing? Is it even possible to develop a new big picture on the basis of case studies? I would suggest that a traditional narrative has proved tenacious, that it exists alongside transnational case studies of news, sometimes framing them. The difficulty of reconciling the national or regional concerns of history with the fundamentally international nature of news is not to be underestimated. And this remains only *reconciling*, not a more ambitious agenda. We accommodate our new research, undertaking what Renaissance natural philosophers called 'saving knowledge'. We risk resembling those renaissance philosophers who looked to save knowledge by incorporating puzzling astronomical observations into a Ptolemaic cosmology. One of Milton's angels characterises the process:

Hereafter, when they come to model Heaven,
And calculate the stars; how they will wield
The mighty frame; how build, unbuild, contrive
To save appearances; how gird the Sphere
With Centric and Eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and Epicycle, orb in orb.¹⁹

Our own heliocentric model has increasingly complex additions qualifying it. But at what point do we throw out the old system and remodel it? How do we know when we have reached the point at which modifications are merely patching? And how do we process the mountainous data into a new model?

Let us look at this problem from another direction. What is the accumulative value of case studies? Do they add up to more than the sum of their parts—and what, in any case, is the nature of that adding? Case studies, both those that offer accounts of the typical, and those that explore the exceptional, often as a means of shedding light on the boundaries of the typical, have shed new light on flows of news, on the complexity of news transactions, and, perhaps most importantly, asked new and paradigmatic questions.

18 See Ch. 3, above.

19 John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler (1968; revised edition, London: Longman, 1998), book 8, ll. 79–84.

A few examples: Ottavia Niccoli's study *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy* demonstrated the dynamic between a local news community with one set of concerns, and a much broader community with a different set of concerns, and the translation of a cluster of news stories between the two, and between corresponding modes of communication.²⁰ Stéphane Haffemayer has demonstrated, using a meticulous and technically adept quantitative analysis of headings in news stories, that the *Paris Gazette* in the 1680s was focussed on a narrowing news horizon of major cities, and also that the speed of news crossing France increased during the decade.²¹ Paul Arblaster's study of the transmission of news from England to the Habsburg Netherlands between 1620 and 1660 demonstrated one way by which the fragmentary content of individual newspapers, embedded in a postal network, might constitute a coherent European system of communications.²² These studies have the potential to transform the way we conceive of the history of news more generally, and they qualify—should perhaps overthrow—a narrative that follows the traditional milestones, from the invention of the printing press, through Strasbourg in 1605 and the Thirty Years War, to *Die Einkommenden Zeitungen* in 1650.

But, this influence notwithstanding, is it reasonable to assume that the cumulative effect of these case studies will be a fully new narrative, rather than a richer and more complicated version of the old one? To use probably the simplest example: do studies that demonstrate the vitality, sophistication and continuing reach of manuscript news through the seventeenth century that set up print as the gauge offer a means of understanding the complementarity of the two, or even of approaching that understanding? My own sense is not, and that we should face the possibility that the accumulation of case studies—even an endless accumulation, so that the studies separately covered every aspect of all kinds of news in all formats in all countries—would result in a comprehensive picture without a comprehensive understanding. It would be like trying to make an accurate model of the earth with a million

20 Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1990).

21 Stéphane Haffemayer, 'La Gazette en 1683–1685–1689: analyse d'un système d'information', *Le Temps des médias*, 20 (2013), pp. 32–46.

22 Paul Arblaster, 'Posts, newsletters, newspapers: England in a European system of communications', in *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 2006), 19–34; and *From Ghent to Aix: How They Brought the News in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). See also Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur: Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003).

Lego bricks, or in the world of Minecraft. Some years ago I proposed that we should think about early modern European news communication as a network. For the remainder of this chapter I intend to press that term a little harder, and discuss the implications of research into networks, and network theory, for understanding early modern news, and for the looked-for new synthesis.

My conclusions are circumscribed by the fact that this is not a case study: I am not analysing any data in this exposition, and so will not be illustrating my points with material examples of early modern news. However, my conclusions suggest that such illustration would add surprisingly little. Instead I will bring together some of the key themes and conclusions of network research in other fields for their relevance and application to our subject; I hope to project what network analysis could do on a larger scale, in terms of creating a more holistic vision of early modern news.

Organisation versus Randomness

One premise underlies all of the propositions stated above. News communication in early modern Europe was not random. It was organised into a complex network. This has logical consequences.

Randomness is a mathematical property, and I use it in both a colloquial and a mathematical sense. Complex networks were long thought to be random. This was essentially because there were so many factors involved, and because it was impossible to grasp the whole, even—especially—for those within the system. Here I need to introduce two words from network analysis. First, node, which refers to objects or categories in a network (which could be a particular person, or a city); nodes are also known as vertices (singular vertex). Secondly, edges, which refer to the relationships, or connections, between nodes. The mathematicians Paul Erdős and Alfréd Rényi illustrated the properties of randomness by representing it in graph form. Take a system where there is an equal probability of two nodes being connected—this connection hereafter being called an edge. So the probability of node A being connected to node B is 50:50; it could be determined by the toss of a coin. Let us say this experiment is conducted with a large number of nodes, a 1,000. The chance of any one node having 1,000 edges is very small. Most nodes will have around 400–600 edges. A few will have more than 600, many fewer still upward 700, and so on. The nodes vary in their number of edges, but not to extremes. And if we plot the number of nodes against the number of edges we will therefore find that the result is a bell curve, with most nodes clustering in the middle and

increasingly few approaching the limits. That is normal or continuous probability distribution.²³

This pattern, the bell curve, obtains in a number of real-life situations, such as height. The shortest person on record was 55cm tall, the tallest 275 cm. Almost all of our friends are somewhere between 150cm and 200 cm. Most of them are between 160 and 190. So if we chart height against number of friends we see a bell curve (or a *Poisson distribution*, where the variance fits within certain parameters), which is a mark of a random system. This is because the values that are being assessed are relatively homogenous. The same is true of road networks: there is variation between the number of roads off any given road, but it tends to be in the order of tens rather than thousands. Random variation within a network tends to look like this: the variation between random values is small.

One of the reasons the random graph is useful is because we can compare it with non-random systems: network theory evolved through analyses of systems, which do not show the bell curve of continuous probability. These are complex systems, systems in which magnitudes are heterogeneous, in which the number of edges possessed by nodes are radically different: the internet is one of them; friendship networks are another.²⁴ In complex systems, distribution is heterogeneous. Instead of a bell curve we find a power law, a graph that drops from a tall peak on the left to a long tail on the right. On the left are the few nodes that dominate the number of connections; on the right the many that are poorly connected (also known as the 80–20 rule). If a power law governed height, it would mean that in a large enough population there would probably be one person who was 1 cm tall, and one who was a thousand metres tall.²⁵

Power laws do occur in nature, however, and the science analysing them lies within physics as well as mathematics. It is seen in nature in *phase transitions*. This is what happens when matter changes states, and when a metal is magnetised. It is a transition from disorder to order. I am not going to explicate this in detail: the key point here is that the science of the transition of matter into an

23 See <commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Normal_Distribution_PDF.svg#mediaviewer/File:Normal_Distribution_PDF.svg> [2/10/14].

24 Albert-László Barabási, *Linked: The New Science of Networks* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books, 2002), *passim* and esp. pp. 143–59 (on the internet and the World Wide Web); Charles Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks: Theories, Concepts, and Findings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), *passim* and esp. pp. 56–73 (on friendship); Guido Caldarelli and Michele Catanzaro, *Networks: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), *passim*.

25 A generic example can be seen at <commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Long_tail.svg#mediaviewer/File:Long_tail.svg> [2/10/14].

orderly state shows that complex systems *organise themselves* and they do so observing a power law. Power laws are not only ways of describing distribution of frequency; they are a *signature of self-organisation*.²⁶

Analyses of complex social networks have shown them to be governed by power laws, and, far from being random, to display the properties of self-organisation. There are nodes that are profoundly connected, that make it possible, for example, to navigate the internet with surprisingly few clicks, or to contact a stranger with surprisingly few intermediaries. This is the small world effect, also known as 'six degrees of separation' (more on this below). This is because of the presence of highly connected nodes—known as hubs—which exist because of the way the networks develop over time (I discuss the notion of 'fitness' below). They evolve in such a way as to make navigation easier, yet they do so without anyone managing or engineering their development. As the internet developed no one was able to see the whole, let alone shape it—with something of such complexity, any single agent can only have a worm's-eye view—and yet it developed with a strong principle of cohesion, observing precisely the power law that appears in phase transitions. The internet was, then, self-organised.

The world of early modern news communication was just such a network. Pan-European and beyond the grasp of any one agent, it was a complex, self-organised system, and if it were possible to map it in its entirety we would see that it was governed by a power law rather than a bell curve. It had profoundly connected hubs; and outposts (peripheries) that, even if they were not exactly geographically remote, were accessed through those hubs. From this several other conclusions follow.

It's a Small World

First, the small world effect, or six degrees of separation. This proposition of network theory is well known through the website The Oracle of Bacon, which began as a student game, then became a research project, and then a commonplace idiom—the phrase itself originating in an eponymous 1990 play by John Guare, made into the 1993 film.²⁷

The principle is this: in a complex network there will be hubs, well-connected nodes that enable a connection to be established between any two nodes in a small number of stages. As an actor who has performed with many other actors

26 See the works cited in n. 24, above.

27 See <oracleofbacon.org/help.php> [2/10/14].

Kevin Bacon—like the mathematician Paul Erdős and perhaps also the scholar Francis Bacon—is such a hub, and all actors can allegedly be connected to him in no more than six steps.²⁸ The number six is arbitrary (it is seldom six, not even in the case of Bacon, who is not even the most highly-connected actor in Hollywood), and not really a typical property of complex systems. With the internet the maximum number of stages between two pages has been estimated as being closer to nineteen.²⁹ And because those navigating the system cannot see the whole, they do not in practice necessarily choose the shortest route. However, it is the case that complex systems organise themselves in such a way that this it is possible to find connections between any two nodes via relatively few edges. That is: it's a small world.

This is how news moves, between nodes, along edges, via hubs. The edges are frequently postal networks; the nodes are cities; the hubs, depending on when the event happens, are Venice, Augsburg, Antwerp. If an event takes place in Sicily, it will be communicated by letter to Venice. One stage. There it is adapted into a paragraph in a newsletter. Two stages. Then this will be sent to Augsburg, three stages. To Brussels, four stages. Antwerp, five stages. To Calais, six stages. To Dover, seven stages; to London, eight. And somewhere on this journey it will be translated, which might constitute another stage, or degree. We can think of translation as a stage, a point of connection: nodes and edges do not have to be people or places. Nine stages or degrees, perhaps then, from Sicily to London, more if the news is to reach a provincial reader, more if it is to be printed. But the connectivity of each of these nodes is what allows for a relatively efficient transport of this item of news. We can see something similar happen when news from Naples travels—and it does—to Madrid via Antwerp rather than via Genoa and Marseille, and when news travelled from Rome to Florence via Venice.³⁰ It does so because these well-connected hubs increase the speed and reliability of communication.

The early modern news network had shortcuts running across it, enabling efficient communication between Augsburg and Aberystwyth. While network theory proposes that participants in a complex (or emergent) system cannot see the totality, and when they seek to cross it do not always choose the shortest path, we can find in early modern Europe examples not only of people who understood that there were shorter paths but also of those who believed that they could grasp the whole or at least a significant portion of it. Adept news factors understood how to send a message across Europe using more than one

28 See <sixdegreesoffrancisbacon.com/> [2/10/14].

29 Barabási, *Linked*, pp. 29, 41–78.

30 Arblaster, 'Posts, newsletters, newspapers', pp. 21–2.

means of communication, which implies a practical comprehension of large and heterogeneous parts of the entirety.³¹

More ambitiously, others sought to establish *Bureaux d'adresse*, realising in practice an idea of Michel de Montaigne. These offices gathered and disseminated all kinds of information: they were imagined as a kind of super-hub of information and communication. Among the aspirants to this were the well-known Théophraste Renaudot and Samuel Hartlib, whose vision included a transnational information network; but also the less well-known Henry Robinson who ran an office in London in 1650 (and who wrote, not incidentally, an eloquent attack on censorship on the grounds of liberty of conscience, shortly before Milton's *Areopagitica*); also J.A. de Sumaran who proposed one in Vienna in 1636; Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz; and Wilhelm von Schröder. An anonymous man sought to establish something similar in San Sebastián in northern Spain in the 1680s: this is particularly significant, because San Sebastián might seem remote or peripheral (an issue I deal with below). Anton Tantner, who has analysed the development of these bureaux, suggests that, engaged in a process of 'mediatisation', these entrepreneur-visionaries eventually metamorphosed into newspaper publishers.³² Another individual worth mentioning here is Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who saw that an information system could be a valuable administrative apparatus within the French government. These people grasped not only that there was a complex system with shortcuts running across it, but also that an effective means to achieve their end (whether this was political control, commerce, or communication in itself) was to know the system. These are the extreme versions of those more plentiful men who knew how to send a letter from Venice to Exeter. They effectively believed they were able to make the world smaller through the acquisition and organisation of large datasets.

To return to our own analysis: this connective facility of hubs makes the movement of news simpler and more efficient. It also makes it possible to predict and to gauge its movement. Indeed it should be possible to calculate the number of nodes—both a maximum and the mean, median and modal

³¹ See Ch. 2, above.

³² Anton Tantner, Ch. 19 below; also his *Early Modern 'Registry Offices' as Employment Agencies* (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut d'études Europeennes, 2008); and 'Frühneuzeitliche Adressbüros Eine Vorgeschichte der Internet-Suchmaschine' (2005, 2011), <adressbueros.tantner.net/projekt.html> [20/11/14]; Astrid Blome, 'Offices of Intelligence and Expanding Social Spaces', in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 207–22; Howard M. Solomon, *Public Welfare, Science, and Propaganda in Seventeenth Century France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972).

averages—that news passed through in order to travel from one person to another anywhere in Europe. The ‘speed’ at which news moves is only partly an effect of geography. This *is* a Euclidean world, so the network has to reflect distance and mountains and rivers and so on, but other factors are involved. Physical proximity is not a reliable guide to the speed or the extent of communications along a route. Weekly posts can slow things down; if a post from town A arrives in one city B after the post has left from city B to town C, then town A and C can be distant in terms of communicative efficiency, though they may be physically close.

When we have a sufficiently large database of news items indicating the path by which they travelled, and/or a means of identifying the connections between discrete news items, it will be possible to reconstruct a model of the (or a version of the) early modern news network from the movement of news itself. In this network we will find that cities and other places can be assessed as nodes, with moving items of news (no doubt partly guided by roads, and postal, carrier, and shipping routes) as the edges. Hence the resulting analysis could become a map, shaped by geography. Crucially, however, the connections within the map would not have been reconstructed from postal and carrier services, using assumptions, potentially idealistic, about their facility; nor from the endorsement of letters at an office within a postal system, which demonstrates the movement of actual letters within a single system.³³ Instead the network analysis would project actual speeds of news with the horizon of possible trajectories, showing how news actually moved across all systems.

The step from analysis to visualisation would present interesting options. The analysis could be superimposed upon a conventionally projected map, with the edges drawn to encode information about velocity. Or it could be a heat map, indicating the geographical spread of the richest sources.³⁴ Alternatively

33 For these reconstructions—and I do not deny their usefulness—see Ch. 2, above; J. Crofts, *Packhorse, Waggon and Post: Land Carriage and Communications under the Tudors and Stuarts* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), 84–8; Mark Brayshay, Philip Harrison and Brian Chalkley, ‘Knowledge, nationhood and governance: the speed of the Royal post in early-modern England’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24. 3 (1998), pp. 265–88; Wolfgang Behringer, ‘Communications Revolutions: A Historiographical Concept’, *German History* 24.3 (2006), pp. 333–74, at 342–5. For the dangers of such idealistic reconstructions of actual practices a useful point of comparison is printing house practice: see D.F. McKenzie, *The Cambridge University Press 1696–1712*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), and ‘Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 22 (1969), pp. 1–75.

34 As executed brilliantly by the Die Fuggerzeitungen project: <fuggerzeitungen.univie.ac.at/karte> [12/5/15].

the spatial organisation of the nodes could reflect the distance between them measured by time: in which case we might find Antwerp and Augsburg adjacent to distant cities, and other, physically proximate towns in areas with irregular communication represented as remote. Such a visualisation presents distance as relative to speed, and therefore relativises geography. It proposes that our neighbours are those whom we are closer to in time rather than space.

However, a news network has more than two dimensions: the next, important element is volume. This analysis could be complemented by an assessment of the quantity of news flows. This is more complex than the analysis of speed, because variation in survival rates will more directly influence the evidence of quantity than evidence of speed. However, with a representative sample of large and small archives spread across a geographically wide area, we could also calculate the volume of traffic along particular edges within the network as a proportion of the whole (necessarily excluding specialist communication media that might not be represented in these archives, such as the Jesuit epistolary network). A force-directed visualisation of this—that is to say, one that presented the proximity between nodes as a function of the quantity of news that passed between them—would offer another perspective on neighbourliness: our neighbours are those about whom we hear the most.

A complication with this analysis, which would be thrown into relief by the visualisation, would be the potential asymmetry in the relationship between places. The flow of news from Arnhem to Utrecht was probably substantially less than the flow from Utrecht to Arnhem; and the total flow of news into Utrecht was greater than that into Arnhem, so the Arnhem news in Utrecht would be proportionately even smaller. Would it thus be true to say that Arnhem is closer to Utrecht than the other way around? These flows can be understood quantitatively and qualitatively. It would be possible by this means—by choosing an admittedly arbitrary weighting between speed and volume—to analyse and represent the European news network as the quantity and speed of movement of news between various places.

This would, of course, not be all that could be said, or even all that could be quantitatively analysed, about the network. The patterns of these flows change over time, and a more comprehensive analysis would need to offer an account of a changing network. Moreover, particular news events create distinctive patterns, while others create impediments to the network itself. The 1584 Siege of Antwerp, for example, was both an event extensively reported within the network and had a profound direct effect on its functioning, as it displaced much news traffic elsewhere, including Amsterdam. These examples could be multiplied: the point is that network analysis offers an invaluable means of analysing in quantitative and qualitative terms the European system of communications that is commonly referred to, in loose terms, as a 'news network'.

Fitness

In a complex system, as we have seen, some nodes have exponentially more edges than others. How does this happen? Network analysis proposes that some nodes in a network are particularly suited to accumulate connections and thereby become hubs, which characteristic is labelled 'fitness'. Some nodes—websites, people, cities—have properties that make them better at establishing connections than others. In news networks geography plays an obvious part in the *fitness* of nodes to become hubs, because of the Euclidean universe of mountains and rivers in which these networks exist. From a European perspective London is evidently remote geographically, but *also* isolated because of the unpredictable Manche, because of the poor roads between it and Antwerp, and because of its limitations as a printing centre. It is connected to the relatively *poor* system of the rest of Britain. It is not Augsburg or Antwerp (see Figure 4.1).

Networks develop over time, according to internal pressures, and when they grow, they establish more connections. Moreover when a new node appears it is more likely to establish connections with a place that is already well connected (a phenomenon, labelled *preferential attachment*, that has been observed in the internet, companies and other networks). So the older a node, the more connections it is likely to have, and by this means growth within the network results in increasing disparity between the numbers of connections nodes in the network have. This fact has important consequences, and it is a key feature of what are called scale-free networks, that is to say those that are governed by a power law, including the networks of news that prevailed in early modern Europe.

Age doesn't always win. Famously Google rapidly surpassed other search engines, and became a hub despite being new, because its code was innovative and well written.³⁵ This was, in network terms, an example of fitness. The questions of why a particular place should develop a powerful and influential news culture, why an individual newswriter should attract a large number of subscribers, or why a newspaper might develop an effective news-gathering infrastructure or a broad readership are instinctively asked and answered by historians. This quality of fitness partly explains why Antwerp surpassed Venice as a news entrepôt, though it appeared later on the scene: its developed printing industry, preferential road network, and relative freedom from government interference made it stand alongside Brussels (with which it must have worked in tandem?) and Augsburg as *the*

35 Barabási, *Linked*, pp. 93–107.

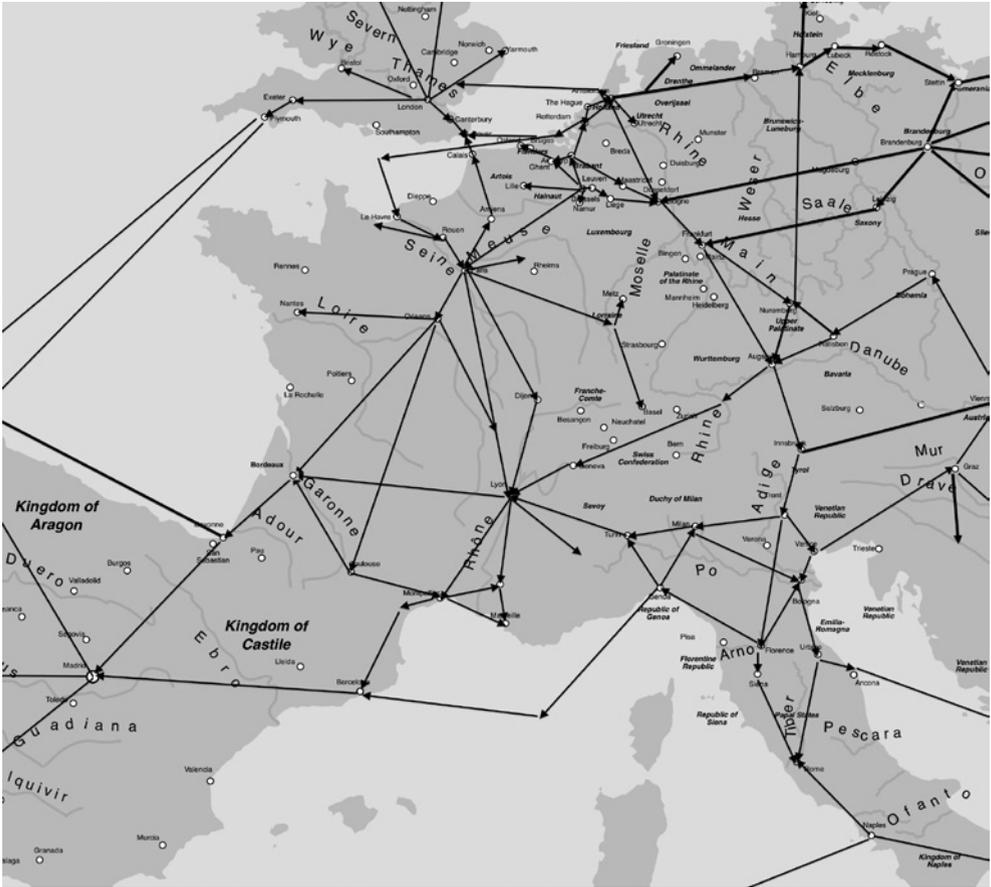


FIGURE 4.1 *Detail from a sketch map of major European postal routes operating at various times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Collaboratively compiled at the Vienna workshop of the News Networks in Early Modern Europe research project, 13/9/12*

hub of the early modern newsbook. In other words, Antwerp was the Google of its day.

The superficially improbable emergence of a *Bureau d'adresse* in remote San Sebastián in the 1680s provides an example of unexpected fitness. The city was a point of transit for news from London to Madrid; its printers were French educated, and had typefaces from Amsterdam; and it had a printing business. San Sebastián was cosmopolitan in its varied constituent materials, and therefore was well disposed (or fit) for establishing a well-connected communication network: and so a projector conceived of a bureau there.

But Not that Small

What happens when we scale up?

Recent studies have reconstructed small networks of early modern pedlars. Alberto Milano has shown that the pedlars associated with the Italian publishing and printing family, the Remondini, “were not isolated figures with their travels individually orchestrated, but were part of a well-organised network for the distribution of popular prints”. His reconstruction of their itineraries in the eighteenth century shows them travelling thousands of kilometres across Europe and beyond—possible only because behind this extraordinary travelling (by foot) was a sophisticated organising principle.³⁶ Jeroen Salman has also reconstructed a smaller network of itinerant booksellers and pedlars operating in Amsterdam at the end of the seventeenth century (see Figure 4.2).³⁷ It was their collaboration in an underground network that made their illegal operation feasible. These networks have been reconstructed—without the explicit use of any network analysis, though describing the object as a network—through traditional historical methods. But what happens when we scale these up? Salman and Milano use datasets on a scale that is compatible with traditional humanist analysis: their nodes have names and identities. As we increase the size of the network this becomes more difficult.

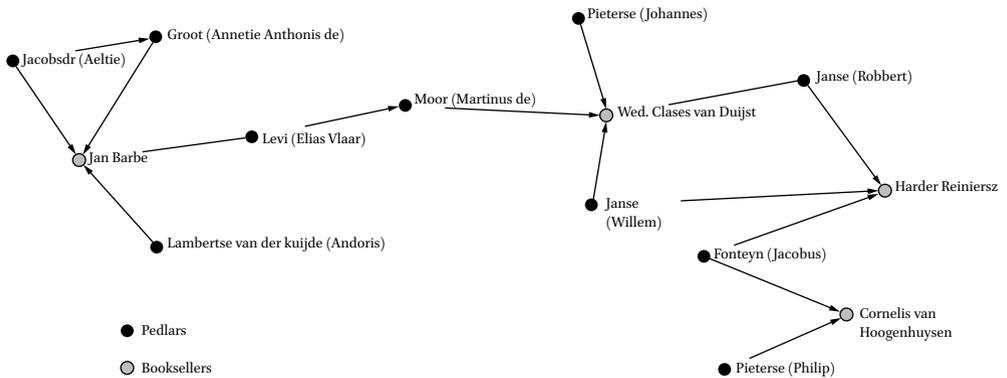


FIGURE 4.2 Jeroen Salman, *Network of booksellers and pedlars, Amsterdam 1690–1707*

36 Alberto Milano, “Selling Prints for the Remondini”: Italian Pedlars Travelling through Europe During the Eighteenth Century’, in *Not Dead Things: The dissemination of popular print in Britain, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1900*, ed. Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 75–96, at 76, 88.

37 Jeroen Salman, ‘Pedlars in the Netherlands from 1660 to 1850: Nuisance or Necessity?’ in *Not Dead Things*, ed. Harms, Raymond and Salman, pp. 53–74, at p. 62.

For example: in her analysis of the dissemination of news from America in Europe during the sixteenth century, reconstructed from references within the texts of newsletters and through cross-reference to printed news, Renate Pieper proposes that manuscript and printed news travelled by different networks.³⁸ The former was centred at Madrid; the latter at Dieppe, and the distinction between the ways these two networks operated hinged on the fact that the capital for printing had to be put up front. Pieper does not indicate that these networks are disconnected: rather that they need to be analysed discretely in order to be grasped and understood. However they clearly overlap, not only in the important nodes of Florida, Madrid, Vienna and Florence, but also in the mechanisms of distribution, translation and reception. Moreover, the economics of manuscript news and the economics of printed news were connected in complex, multiple ways. So in fact we have a single complex network that is capable of partial disassembling in order to be analysed as two. And this is only for news from America in transit to central Europe. Next consider Nina Lamal's research on news moving across the Holy Roman Empire and Italy, which proposes the existence of independent or semi-independent Catholic networks.³⁹ Or Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian E. Ahnert's ongoing reconstruction of a Marian Protestant letter network, with its distinctively shaped news flows.⁴⁰

The networks in these case studies were in the early modern world joined up. But how do we connect them? How do we join these analyses of particular flows in order to understand them, with all their nuances, on a Europe-wide scale? Not by traditional humanist methods, that much is certain: the scale of the data would be unmanageable. But if we reduce them to data, nodes and edges, then perhaps we can. Moreover by doing so we can step beyond the reach of intuition and informed deduction. A network-based analysis might help us look at the evidence in a different way and thus defamiliarise it; or it might produce unexpected results.

Take the common example of a food chain. It includes a predator fish A, and a prey fish B. We would expect that if because of fishing patterns numbers of A fell, then numbers of B would increase. Yet it sometimes happens that a decline in numbers of A results in an apparently paradoxical decline in the numbers of B. Further analysis then shows that A also predated upon C, and C predated upon B; a decrease in A results in an increase in C which in turn

38 See Ch. 21, pp. 495–511, below; also the research presented by Dr Pieper at the News Network workshop in Seville, 22–3 November 2012.

39 Nina Lamal, 'Le Orecchie si piene di Fiandra: Italian News and Histories on the Revolt in the Netherlands (1566–1648)', PhD thesis (Leuven and St Andrews, 2014).

40 Ruth Ahnert, Sebastian E. Ahnert, 'Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary 1: A Quantitative Approach', *ELH*, 82 (2015), pp. 1–33; see also Ch. 5, below.

affects the numbers of B. This is the simplest possible model, and the impact of variation is quite predictable once the connections are understood. However, scale this up to the complex food chains of the Serengeti, and the analysis cannot be described so simply. All biological understanding must be stripped out, and the network reduced only to the species and their interactions, and these must in turn be assembled into groups or guilds on the basis of behaviour.⁴¹ Only then can the guilds be organised into a set of interactions that can be predicted and understood—so we know who is eating whom.⁴² Thus understood in the abstract (by which I mean mathematically rather than historically) and analysed as a complex network it is manageable; a force directed, interactive visualisation of the same could be used to explore local relationships within the broader network. This would be the equivalent of being able to zoom in on Strasbourg, or the journalist John Dillingham, and see the nature and extent of their interactions with, for example, Venice, and the part they play in transnational news communication—and all with a mouse click. It would enable us to isolate and re-combine the manuscript and printed sub-networks that transmitted news from the new world, and see the extend of their interdependency; and it would enable us to see ways in which the letters of Marian Protestants fitted into news communication more broadly.

However, one of the practical obstacles faced for future network analysis is the varying protocols followed by those scholars and institutions that have recorded their datasets, both those stored privately and those publicly available. Efforts across Europe to digitise newspapers, as images, texts, or simply bibliographic records, have not been co-ordinated, and the data they store cannot at present be absorbed into a unified analysis using the same algorithms.⁴³ Analyses therefore face restriction by particular collection, or even title, by time period, and especially by a geographical region. Breaking these restrictions is necessary not only to expand the field of analysis, but because localised conclusions may well not only be modified but even transformed by broader analysis.

41 Edward Baskerville *et al.*, 'Guilds in the Serengeti Food Web Revealed by a Bayesian Group Model', *PLoS Computational Biology*, 7.12 (2011); see <www.trevorbedford.com/pdfs/baskerville-serengeti-2011.pdf> [17/11/14].

42 E.B. Baskerville, A.P. Dobson, T. Bedford, S. Allesina, T.M. Anderson, *et al.*, 'Spatial Guilds in the Serengeti Food Web Revealed by a Bayesian Group Model', *PLoS Computational Biology*, 7.12 (2011); accessible at: <journals.plos.org/ploscompbiol/article?id=10.1371/journal.pcbi.1002321> [17/4/15].

43 For these digital resources, see <www.cemmn.net/resources/web-resources/> [17.11.14], which is updated regularly. I am presently seeking to develop ways of integrating these databases.

Centre and Periphery

Another problem: is the network itself bounded? Does the network have a periphery? This is a problem implicit in the very title of this project, with its overwhelming emphasis on western Europe.

Centre and periphery are of course relative terms, which is to say that from the perspective of Strasbourg, Lisbon looks like the periphery of Europe; whereas from the banks of the Tagus, Lisbon looks like the point at which the new world meets the old, a centre for the encounter between Hispanic and Moorish civilisations, and, at least until 1755, a financial powerhouse. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century London has a very different kind of peripheralness. The inbound flow news is more plentiful than the outbound. It serves as a distribution point for other British cities, but in comparison with Antwerp it provides little two-way transit. Though it was one of Europe's largest and most important cities, on an urbanisation trajectory to becoming a major trading centre, the hub of an empire, its news infrastructure was limited and local. Extraordinarily (and perhaps symbolically), the news of the actions of the Elizabethan privateer Sir Francis Drake in Santo Domingo and Cartagena in 1586 were not transmitted to London directly; instead the news came via Seville.⁴⁴ And yet it did provide a transit point for Spanish and Portuguese news when communication between Spain and France broke down. When one channel is impeded, another can restore its latent capacities. There were moments when London did serve as a news hub precisely because of its otherwise peripheral status.

Is it then meaningful to use these terms? Don't we risk drawing an artificial boundary around Europe, thereby overlooking the significance of the Atlantic or wider world in making the news networks that made Europe?

Network analysis may ultimately furnish us with a different kind of answer, but one way to approach this is to think about what happened in Strasbourg in 1605. Part of the problem in discussing centre and periphery lies in an analytic condition that might well be called *Strasbourg syndrome*: that is, the *double* confusion of (i) conflating geographic with functional centrality, and (ii) the attribution of functional importance to a symbolically-important event: which is to say, the printing of the first weekly newspaper in 1605. The place of Strasbourg in histories of news is ensured because it was there that the printer and scrivener Johann Carolus printed twelve issues of a weekly *avviso*, and

44 Pieper, 'News from the New World', below pp. 505–6.

then petitioned for the right to do so.⁴⁵ However, it is more doubtful that this is an “epoch-making qualitative advance” in any realm beyond the symbolic gesture. Strasbourg was not at the time the best-connected city in the area, nor was it a centre of news.⁴⁶ While geographically central, it is not central in terms of connectivity (see Figure 4.1).

If the intensity of news communication, measured in terms of speed and volume of flows, is a factor in innovation, it is surprising that Strasbourg played an epochal role. However, the earliest surviving copy of the *Relation* dates from 1609, and, while survival rates from this period are very low indeed, it is possible that Carolus’ claim in his 1605 petition to have printed twelve issues were fictitious or exaggerated (because he was seeking to obtain a valuable monopoly). The importance of Strasbourg in 1605 is not a material, commercial, intellectual, or social change: all of these factors were in place there and elsewhere prior to that moment.⁴⁷ Rather it is that a scrivener and printer there, perhaps within a peripheral position within a network, had time, cash, and the relative freedom to perceive and realise this commercial possibility. There is a risk that the significance of the event is further distorted when placed in a national narrative.

The means that network theory provides for thinking around this syndrome involves replacing geographical centrality with connectivity, and understanding centre and periphery in terms of flows. Blackspots are areas of a network in which the nodes have relatively few connections: in such areas, there are few alternative pathways between the nodes. A node with few connections can be understood as occupying a peripheral position. However, where such a node provides a connection between two parts of the network that have few alternative connections—such as Lisbon and Seville, with their connections to the new world, or Cyprus with its connection to the Ottoman Empire—then it importantly functions as a hub between remote parts of the network. If military conflict renders the road from Constantinople to Ioannina less passable then the role of Cyprus is enhanced.⁴⁸ Such nodes hold together the system. These connections are partly determined by geography, of course, but centre and periphery are here understood as functional roles. And were we able to replace my suggestive examples with big data then we would be able to see all the more clearly how the various parts of the network affect each other, how

45 Johannes Weber, ‘Strassburg, 1605: The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe’, *German History*, 24.3 (2006), pp. 387–412.

46 See Ch. 2, above.

47 Pettegree, *Invention of News*, Ch. 9.

48 See Ch. 1 above, and Chiara Palazzo’s chapter, at pp. 854 and 855–6 below.

events that affect the flows on one part of the network have consequences for another—and in ways more subtle than can be inferred by anecdote—and, crucially, how the network changes over time. Because—and this is an important aspect of the self-organising network, and it is clearly true of early modern news—when the network is injured it heals itself. When one route is closed down, others develop to replace it. The network is, by definition, an evolving one: we need to think of innovation not in terms of print, seriality of periodicity so much as developing transformations in the nature, scale and directions of flows moving around the system.

By focussing on connections rather than spatial relationships we can visualise relationships in alternative ways. With the Serengeti food web, for example, the data connecting the species is processed using an algorithm that balances Hooke's Law and Coulomb's Law, further weighted for members of the same group. Even geography can be represented in a more functional way by abandoning spatial exactitude: the London underground map does precisely that.⁴⁹ In news networks central and peripheral relationships could be analysed in terms of the speed or volume of communication, or both, the diversity of the content, or even the number of unique individuals in the node who participate in the flows. In such a context the notions of centre and periphery could be meaningfully deployed in relation to particular questions, and with analytic value.

Finally and most speculatively, how could this enhance our understanding of the boundaries of Europe, if these boundaries are real as well as imagined, and thus our understanding of the nature of Europe itself? Analysis of news flows will, I predict, indicate that the volume and speed of news declines east of the line between Venice, Vienna and Krakow; at least viewed from the west of that line, news from the east is late in coming, and poor in volume and quality. We may also find that there is more appetite for news of the Ottoman empire in the European news network than the other way around; and that this unevenness is reflected in an asymmetry of news flows. Or that to the east news flows in a connected but separate network (demonstrating the strength of weak links) of spies, informers, agents, prisoners, diplomats and sailors, one quite different in the way it works from the relatively public network of postal routes to the west.⁵⁰ This being the case, the flow of news

49 The evolution of the map—from 1908 to 2012—can be seen at <www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-20943525> [17/11/14]; an alternative, less cluttered version by Dr Max Roberts, even less faithful to geography, can be seen at <metrouk2.files.wordpress.com/2013/01/london_underground_circle_map_2013.jpg> [17/11/14].

50 Evidence to support this proposition can be found in Noel Malcolm's masterpiece—published too late to shape this chapter or this volume—*Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World* (London: Penguin, 2015).

may be said to be one of the things defining the contour lines of European identity.⁵¹

Joining the Dots

Early modern news was a Europe-wide network: which is to say that it was a complex, self-organising system governed by a power-law distribution. This has difficult implications for writing a new, pan-European history. The contributors to this volume, and others who have participated in the transformation in the history of media, share an interest in empirical research and internationalism, and are committed to the romantic mess of hard evidence. This has made us gravitate towards the case study, and to the accumulation of case studies. The logic behind this approach is not far to seek: case studies can offer representative examples, and by the multiplication of case studies they can be joined up in order to build a new whole from manageable parts. By this means we can respect the standards of evidence expected of modern media history and still aspire to a large canvas.

Everything I have said points towards the desirability of a *holistic* and *networked* history of Europe's early modern news communication. To write local or regional histories is to deal with the epiphenomena without conceiving of the European system as a whole, and thus to remain in thrall of a post-Victorian narrative. Yet the quantities of evidence we would have to assess to rewrite that narrative on a fully European scale, and the rigorous and imaginative approach to evidence required, make it impossible to master all sources in conventional, humanist ways. The meticulous empirical and evidentiary standards of this new international history of news demand an engagement with sources of such extent and detail that the research will always undermine the approximations of the overview. While we have provided the basis for a new narrative of news, displacing the old Victorian one, we seem to have done so in a way that prevents us from realising it. We can either examine particular cases or microhistories or offer a secondary overview that always risks belying the very insights that we seek to preserve.

51 See Johann Petitjean and Virginia Dillon in this volume (Chs. 7 and 36); Gagan Sood, 'Circulation and Exchange in Islamicate Eurasia: A Regional Approach to the Early Modern World', *Past and Present*, 212 (2011), pp. 114–62; Johann Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses: une histoire de l'information entre Italie et Méditerranée, XVI^e–XVII^e siècle* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2013).

However, the heterogeneity of the news network, and the fact that it is a complex self-organising system presents a further problem. The distribution of connections among entrepôts across the network is governed by a power law that indicates divergence rather than by the bell curve of resemblance. Network theory therefore confirms an intuition. There are no typical places, forms, people, or words; there is no average event. Antwerp and Aberystwyth are too far apart. We can find associations, trace connections, expand our scope by studying mobility and flows. But not more than that. The full range of places, forms and events are too distant to be brought together—and for purely statistical reasons. The theory suggests that while we can use network analysis to develop new case studies, understand case studies better, and even explore the associations between case studies, we cannot use the theory to scale up from the representative examples. Which is to say if we think of the early modern European news network as a network in a robust sense, that is, as a complex, self-organising system, then we should recognise that the principles behind network theory propose that the only way of achieving a perspective on the whole is not through the accumulation of local details but through a comprehensive analysis of the flows and transformations of the network. A comprehensive analysis: based on the meta-data of news communications as well as individual paragraphs of news, sensitive enough to detect the nuances and variations of translation, including news communicated in speech, manuscript and print from all areas of Europe, and indeed beyond in order to reveal the effects of Europe's permeable boundaries.

The only way to develop a new narrative and a new picture that is detailed and holistic—not built from Minecraft or a million Lego bricks—will be to supplement our case studies with network analyses of big data, necessarily based on transparent interfaces that will allow data-sharing between internationally-dispersed projects. If we want to see the whole, and to rewrite the story of the whole, then we have to recover the whole.

Maps versus Networks*

Ruth Ahnert

The discourse surrounding early modern news communication is suffused with the language of networks. In this volume, and in other studies of European news, it is used to describe the infrastructure by which correspondence travelled: the postal network broadly defined; its roads and routes; the network of couriers that carried the letters. The more specialised language of nodes and hubs is used in relation to the centres where news was gathered, or entrepôts, trading posts where information could be exchanged alongside the import and export of merchandise. Similarly, the people that recorded, reported and circulated news—political officials and diplomats, informants and spies, merchants and churchmen—constituted social networks. The word ‘network’ has its origins, as one might expect, in net making, describing the weaving of materials such as threads or wires.¹ Now, more often, it is used metaphorically to denote various kinds of complex systems of interrelated things, from telecommunications routes and computer networks, to neural pathways and biological regulatory networks, ecological systems and social networks. More specifically, ‘complex networks’ describes a burgeoning field of study: despite the hugely divergent nature of different networks listed above—and, indeed the differing scholarly fields within which they are normally studied—a series of key publications in the 1990s and early 2000s showed that complex systems like these share an underlying order and follow simple laws, and therefore can be analyzed using the same mathematical tools and models.² However, despite the obvious promise that quantitative

* This chapter derives from ongoing research with my collaborator Sebastian E. Ahnert, who undertook the computational analysis of the data used in this chapter, and produced the network visualisations and graphs appearing in the following pages. I am extremely grateful to him for this contribution and for his collaboration more generally.

1 *OED*, network, *n.* and *adj.* 1.

2 See Duncan Watts and Steven Strogatz, ‘Collective Dynamics of “Small-world” Networks’, *Nature*, 393 (1998), pp. 440–2; Albert-László Barabási and Réka Albert, ‘Emergence of Scaling in Random Networks’, *Science*, 286 (1999), pp. 509–12; Réka Albert and Albert-László Barabási, ‘Statistical Mechanics of Complex Networks’, *Review of Modern Physics*, 74 (2002), 47–97; and Mark Newman, *Networks: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). For a general overview, see Albert-László Barabási, *Linked: The New Science of Networks* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus, 2002).

network analysis holds, these methods have not, as yet, been applied systematically to the study of news communication.

This statement might cause some readers to protest that they have seen various geographical visualisations that chart the spatial flow of news. Maps have been the dominant mode of representing the postal networks, which—as Nikolaus Schobesberger, Paul Arblaster, Mario Infelise, André Belo, Noah Moxham, Carmen Espejo and Joad Raymond show in their chapter ‘European Postal networks’—underlie the transmission of news in early modern Europe. The work done by these scholars and various others has enabled the reconstruction of the precise routes by road and sea and timings of the journeys undertaken by letter couriers riding between major cities like London, Rome and Vienna. On the more local scale, it has provided an understanding of the ‘remoteness’ of certain locations in the relaying of news: Mark Brayshay, Philip Harrison and Brian Chalkley have calculated from postmaster’s endorsements the “effective distance in travel time” of places located off the Treasury-funded post route from London towards south-west England.³ By depicting these routes and times on maps, we are able to gain a clear sense of what Brendan Dooley describes as the “geographical vector” of news flows.⁴ This is extremely valuable work that has important ramifications for our understanding of early modern epistolary culture, diplomacy, and trade, as well as news transmission.

A map, however, is not a network. A network, simply put, is a set of relationships between objects or entities. We normally refer to the objects or entities as ‘nodes’ in the network and their relationships as ‘edges’ or ‘ties’. In the worldwide web, the web pages would be nodes and the hyperlinks edges; in a social network, the people are the nodes, and the relationships between them edges. One way to understand the difference between maps and networks is through the lens of network visualisation. Networks are most commonly visualised as force-directed graphs (for an example, see Figure 5.1). Such visualisations employ an algorithm to determine the layout, which models the network edges as physical springs so that the most connected nodes (for example, those with the greatest number of edges or links) appear closer to the centre, and those that have the least connections appear at the network’s periphery. While this might seem like a logical enough layout for an ecological network, for example, such a model could seem counter-intuitive where geographical data is involved. The:

3 Mark Brayshay, Philip Harrison and Brian Chalkley, ‘Knowledge, nationhood and governance: the speed of the Royal post in early-modern England’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24 (1998), pp. 265–88, at 283.

4 See Ch. 6.

spatial dimensions (vertical and horizontal) that are so often meaningful in visualizations have no meaning here. There is no x or y axis, and spatial distance from one node to another is not inherently meaningful[.]⁵

In other words, a network of places in a news network might bear no resemblance to their locations on a map. But while this spatial distinction is helpful, it obscures the more fundamental difference between maps and networks: while the former is always visual, the latter need not be visualised. A network can be constructed and measured using computer programmes without it ever needing to be rendered graphically.

So, if network analysis ignores geography, why would it be useful to the study of news communication, and specifically, news communications in early modern Europe? The construction and measurement of communication networks provide an alternative way of understanding the connectivity of places and people in ways that may help us to redefine what we think of as centres and peripheries. The following chapter provides an introduction to the methods and measures employed in network analysis, highlighting algorithms particularly useful for social network analysis, using two separate bodies of early modern letters as a means of illustration. As such, then, this is a chapter about methods rather than findings, and its ultimate aim is to show that network analysis provides a realistic way of overcoming the obstacles that Raymond has identified to moving from multiple national narratives of news communication, to one integrated network of European news flow.⁶

The examples that I will be using derive from previous research on a Protestant letter network dating from the reign of Mary I, and ongoing research on the State papers archive; in the case of the latter I will be focusing on a subset, the State Papers Foreign, also from Mary's reign, to provide a comparable dataset.⁷ As demonstrated throughout this volume, the transmission of news across Europe was largely reliant on correspondence. Although dating from the same five years, these bodies of correspondence provide a useful comparison in terms of the kind of communication infrastructure they relied on. The

5 Shawn Graham, Ian Milligan, and Scott Weingart, *Exploring Big Historical Data: The Historian's Macroscopic* (London: Imperial College Press, 2015), p. 250.

6 Joad Raymond, 'Newspapers: A National or International Phenomenon?', *Media History*, 18 (2012), pp. 249–57.

7 Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian E. Ahnert, 'Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I: A Quantitative Approach', *English Literary History*, 82:1 (2015), 1–33; and Ruth Ahnert and Sebastian E. Ahnert, 'A Community Under Attack: Protestant Letter Networks in the Reign of Mary I', *Leonardo*, 47:3 (2014), p. 275.

Protestant letters were secret communications by which information and ideas were exchanged and communities maintained during a period of intense persecution. They relied on trusted co-religionists to act as couriers, meaning that this communication network can be described as a self-organising system. The letters contained in the State Papers Foreign, by contrast, are a manifestation of institutional structure: these are the papers produced or received by the secretaries of state conducting British diplomacy abroad, including correspondence with English diplomats abroad and foreign diplomats in England, original and draft treaties, letters between heads of state, intercepted despatches and other intelligence, working papers of the secretaries, material relating to military, naval and colonial policy. The following chapter shows how network analysis can help to highlight the individuals within correspondence networks who are crucial to the infrastructure of the network, and to the transmission of news over long distances and across geographical borders. It also, however, seeks to draw attention to the problems of focusing on these long-range links to the detriment of local (often oral) networks, and discusses the methods by which we can seek to reconstruct extra-textual communications. Taken together, these steps allow us, on the one hand, to understand the big picture of news communication—amassing large amounts of data and evaluating overarching structures and patterns—and, on the other, to find out what this means for the transmission of individual news items. This model of macro-history, then, is not opposed to the use of case studies; however, this chapter's contention is that they can only be used to speak for larger trends when analysed within the broader context of the network.

Constructing and Measuring Letter Networks

To analyse a letter network the original documents must first be turned into meta-data. Letters offer themselves very naturally to network analysis because they are relational; by nature they trace an edge between two people or nodes. There are two ways of extracting the data needed to make a letter network. The first is manual, and this was the approach used for the creation of the Protestant letter network because the correspondence in question has not been systematically digitised. In this case I read through the 289 unique letters sent between English Protestants, and recorded the identities of sender and recipient, their location and date (where known, or ascertainable).⁸ A manual approach,

⁸ These letters are found in Emmanuel College Library MSS 260–2; British Library, Harley MSS 416–17, 425, and Lansdowne MS 389; John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (London: John Day,

however, is only really feasible with smaller letter collections. By contrast, the State Papers Archive 1509–1714 comprises almost 3 million separate documents. However, thanks to the digital resource State Papers Online, which links high quality reproductions of the original manuscript documents to their fully text-searchable Calendars (the chronologically arranged catalogues for these documents, which provide a detailed summary of the document's contents), the manual approach is rendered unnecessary. The company behind State Papers Online, Gale, kindly provided my collaborator Sebastian Ahnert and I with access to the XML files for all the Calendars and images for the project we are working on, which allowed us to crawl the records looking for all documents containing both an 'author' and 'recipient' category. In the case of the State Papers Foreign dating from Mary I's reign this search resulted in 754 unique documents. From these we extracted the following information: name of sender, name of recipient, date, place of writing, unique document identifier (Gale Document Number), Calendar reference, and manuscript reference.

This basic information is all that is needed for the first level of network analysis. The senders and recipients provide us with a series of nodes (which may require disambiguation to eradicate variant spellings and to separate out entries such as the Bishop of Ely, and other titles that might have been held by a number of different people); and edges are created for every letter that passes between two nodes. Edges give us paths in a network. These are not physical paths like the routes on which couriers might have journeyed; rather they are non-spatial routes between two nodes in a network. Nevertheless, measuring these paths can tell us some important things about the way that news travels, and the importance of particular individuals within the network's infrastructure. When studying a social group scholars are often interested in finding out who the most active people are in that community, who are the most well-connected, the most influential or esteemed. There are two particular metrics that provide answers to these questions: 'betweenness centrality', and 'eigenvector centrality'. In this section I am going to focus on the correspondence from the State Papers to show how we might use these statistics to derive findings about news flows.

For any two nodes in a network, there is a shortest path between them, and betweenness tells us how many of these shortest paths go through a given

1563 and following editions); Henry Bull, ed., *Certain Most Godly, Fruitful, and Comfortable Letters of Such True Saintes and Holy Martyrs of God* (London, 1564); and Hastings Robinson, ed. *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation: Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1846–7).

node. In other words, it shows us how central a particular node is to the network's organisation, and how important it is in connecting other people. If you imagine a network that is made up of two sub-communities (A and B) that only share one member, that individual will have a very high betweenness ranking because they are the only person via which news can travel between those two sub-communities. The State Papers Foreign network comprises 200 nodes (people) and 284 edges (the non-spatial routes along which letters can travel). In this network the people with the highest betweenness are:

(1) Mary I, (2) Privy Council, (3) Nicholas Wotton, (4) Thomas Gresham, (5) Peter Vannes, (6) John Mason, (7) Philip II of Spain, (8) Emperor Charles V, (9) William Petre, (10) Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, (11) Thomas Thirlby, (12) Pope Paul IV, (13) William Pickering, (14) Edward Carne, (15) William Grey, Baron Grey of Wilton, (16) Thomas Lord Wentworth, (17) Lazarus Tucker, (18) Lord William Howard, (19) Bernardo de Fresneda, Confessor Arnheim to Philip II (20) William Lord Paget.

The people who appear on this list fall into two categories: they are either leaders (1, 7, 8, 12); or in the official employment of such leaders as diplomats and royal agents (3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 14), secretaries of state, members of the royal household or privy council (2, 9, 10, 20), military leaders (15, 16, 18), and confessors and religious leaders (11, 19). The two interesting exceptions to this are Tucker of Antwerp, from whom Gresham secured a high-interest loan on behalf of Mary I, and Pickering, who was a diplomat at the very beginning of Mary's reign, but was then implicated in the Wyatt rebellion, before escaping with Peter Carew to Normandy, and then, later, turning informant against various English conspirators. The significance of Pickering, both as a subject of news, and a communicator of intelligence, will be discussed further below. With these exceptions, however, the general trend is striking for its obviousness. The fact that we find leaders and government officials to be the people with this highest betweenness can be easily explained even before we look at the contents of their letters, simply by considering the nature of their jobs. Leaders and their secretaries would obviously be important hubs in the network, receiving intelligence from foreign officials in a whole host of locations, and sending instructions, questions and news in return. In network analysis the word 'hub' denotes a node with an anomalously large number of edges. They are one of the network features that is easy to detect visually, tending to look like the centre of a dandelion. If we look at the force-directed network visualisation in Figure 5.1, we can see Mary as the biggest hub, just off centre; above and to the right is her husband, Philip, and below him, and further still to the right is Secretary Petre (all marked as dark grey filled squares).

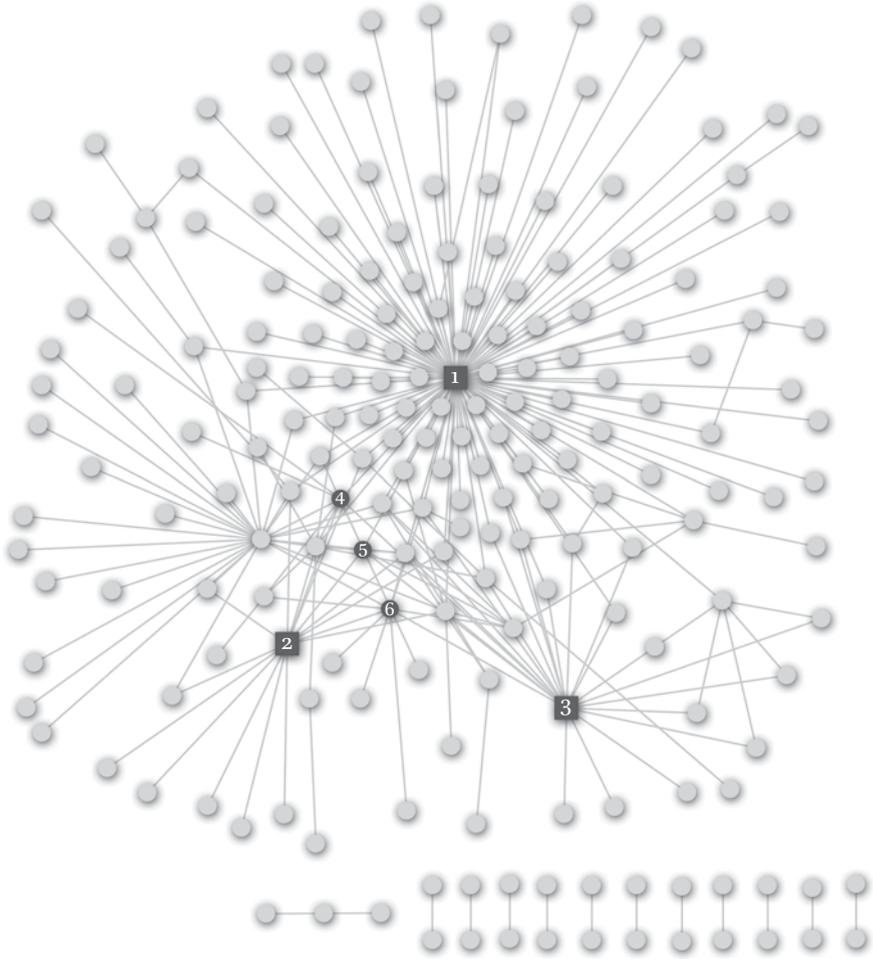


FIGURE 5.1 *A force-directed network visualisation of the correspondence found in the State Papers Foreign dating from the reign of Mary I. The nodes numbered 1–6 are: (1) Mary I, (2) William Petre, (3) Philip II of Spain, (4) John Mason, (5) Edward Carne, and (6) Nicholas Wotton*

Because of the very large number of edges coming off these nodes, it makes it very likely that a shortest path will travel through them. Similarly, if we think about the roles of diplomats, royal agents and military agents posted abroad, the reason for their network profile is once again very obvious. The commission of a royal agent, in its most basic form, is to act for, or in the place of, the monarch by authority from that monarch. As representatives of Mary I abroad—fighting, negotiating political allegiances and financial partnerships

on behalf of her person—they must, necessarily, be in regular communication with Mary and her advisors to relay information and take instruction; similarly their roles require them to interact with a range of contacts abroad to succeed in their tasks. What this means is that they form bridges within the network. If we look at the diplomats Carne, Wotton and Mason (marked with light grey filled circles in Figure 5.1) they do not have nearly as many edges coming off them as the hubs of Mary, Philip and Petre, but they are positioned at a point of intersection between Mary's hub, Petre's, and other communities.

Betweenness, then, is a crucial measure for understanding news flow. Figures with high betweenness tend to act either as news hubs or bridges within the network. We can see from the statistics above—as well as deducing by common sense—that this archive of letters suggests that the best way to get foreign intelligence back to the monarch is to send it via one of these bridge figures, who would then send it to Mary, her Council or secretary, Petre. It is important to remember, though, that these figures are special; they are statistical anomalies within a network. In this network, for example, there are only 28 people within a network of 200 that have a non-zero betweenness. What this means is that the other 172 people have no shortest paths going through them. This, then, bestows these 28 figures with a certain level of importance or status. However, betweenness is not the measure usually employed to ascertain prestige or influence; the measure more typically used for this task is eigenvector centrality. A node that has a high eigenvector score is one that is adjacent to nodes that are themselves high scorers. As Stephen Borgatti puts it:

the idea is that even if a node influences just one other node, who subsequently influences many other nodes (who themselves influence still more others), then the first node in that chain is highly influential[.]⁹

It is important to remember, however, that this prestige is not an absolute measure of the individual's status, but rather a measure of their epistolary status in this archive. The top twenty nodes by this measure are:

- (1) Mary I, (2) Vannes, (3) Mason, (4) Wotton, (5) Philip II, (6) Thirlby,
- (7) Carne, (8) Paget, (9) Pope Paul IV, (10) Christian III of Denmark,
- (11) Francesco de Vargas, (12) Gresham, (13) Fernando Alvarez de Toledo,
- Duke of Alba, (14) Grey, (15) Wentworth, (16) Howard, (17) Conrad Pfennig,
- (18) Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, (19) Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg,
- (20) Christiana, Duchess of Lorraine.

⁹ Stephen P. Borgatti, 'Centrality and Network Flow', *Social Networks*, 27 (2005), p. 61.

The list is perhaps unsurprising: thirteen of these appeared in the betweenness top twenty; and the remainder are similar in profile, including European royals and nobility (10, 19, 20, plus two who are also key Spanish advisors and government officials: 13, and 18), and ambassadors (11). As with the betweenness ranking, however, there is an exception: one Pfennig of Hamburg, who, in a letter dated 13 September 1553, writes to Mary offering to continue in his service to her as he had served under her father and brother, subject to the continuation of his pension. Precisely what this service consisted of is unclear, but we may suppose some form of foreign intelligence.¹⁰

The notable crossover between the people ranked highest for their betweenness and eigenvector centrality rankings, however, disguises an interesting distinction. If we plot the betweenness metrics of those who appear in both rankings against their eigenvector centrality (Figure 5.2), we can see a broad trend.

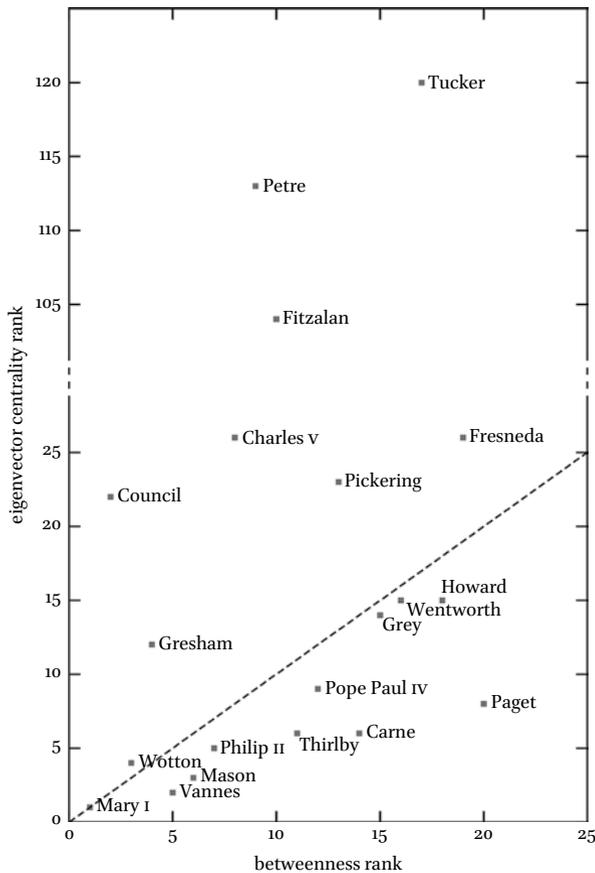


FIGURE 5.2
A graph plotting individuals' betweenness rankings against their eigenvector centrality rankings (for the individuals with top 20 betweenness)

10 TNA, SP 69/1, fos. 74r–75r.

Those situated on the diagonal line are ranked the same for their betweenness and eigenvector ranking; those above the line rank higher for betweenness than eigenvector centrality; those below it rank higher for eigenvector centrality. It is important to note that the rankings are counterintuitive, the lower the number (i.e. the nearer they are to where the x and y axis intersect at 0), the more important they are. So what does this graph tell us? First, we should notice that similar figures tend to appear close to one another. For example, Mason, Wotton, Vannes and Carne all cluster together on or below the diagonal line, very close to the top-ranking positions in the bottom-left corner. This suggests that diplomats like these have a particular network property. As we already know, these diplomats hold the special status of being one of the 28 out of 200 to hold a non-zero betweenness ranking (in other words, to have a shortest path going through them). But they all have an even higher eigenvector centrality, with the exception of Mason who stays static at number 3. These figures then appear more important than we might expect, ranking alongside Mary and Philip (see list above). This is because their bridging function within this letter network alone does not make them influential; rather it is the kinds of people and communities that they bridge. Vannes, the ambassador in Italy during Mary's reign, and second only in this prestige-ranking to the queen, is a clear example of this: he is important because he corresponds with other people with a high eigenvector ranking such as Mary (rank 1), Mason (6), Petre (9), Thirlby (10), Pope Paul IV (12). By contrast we might look at Petre, who ranks much higher for betweenness than eigenvector centrality. This again can be explained by looking at the network profiles of the people he corresponds with. While Petre ranks ninth for betweenness, he comes in at rank 113 for eigenvector centrality. The very nature of Petre's role as Mary's secretary makes him a small hub in this network, giving him a high betweenness. He corresponds with 16 different people in this network, which means he ranks fourth for degree (the total number of separate people he shares edges with); but while some of them have high eigenvector centrality rankings (Mason, Wotton, Vannes, Carne), others rank very low, such as Richard Blount, Master of the Ordnance at Calais (rank 111), Christopher Dawntesey, Gresham's predecessor as royal agent in the Netherlands (111), the dissident figure John Cheke (136), and Gregory Raylton, Clerk of the Signet (136).

Taken together then, by reconstructing, measuring and visualising the network of correspondence found in the State Papers Foreign archive for Mary I's reign, it is possible to see that some basic measures can provide a useful overview of how institutional structures shaped news flow. Given the nature of the archive it is unsurprising that Mary is at its centre; similarly, any knowledge of early modern diplomacy would lead us to expect that her ambassadors and

other royal agents would act as bridging figures, channelling news back and forth between the monarch and influential persons located on the continent. However, by using only the data of sender and recipient, we get the false impression that these institutional links were the prevalent means by which news travelled. If we read even a few of the letters by prominent ambassadors such as Wotton, we realise that his intelligence derives from a whole range of oral sources. The incomplete nature of the news communications that we can reconstruct simply from meta-data also illustrates one of the problems that Scott Weingart has written about encountering early modern intellectual networks:

because we're only looking on one axis (letters), we get an inflated sense of the importance of spatial distance in early modern intellectual networks. Best friends never wrote to each other; they lived in the same city and drank in the same pubs; they could just meet on a sunny afternoon if they had anything important to say. Distant letters were important, but our networks obscure the equally important local scholarly communities.¹¹

As he suggests, we need to apply caution when collecting and analysing network data, understanding what is not there as much as what is. We cannot assume that letter data unproblematically records early modern social networks: it tells us primarily about long-range links between literate people. This is valuable for understanding how news might have travelled long distances, but it is less good at telling us how information got into the hands of a royal agent, or military leader, in the first place. This distinction—between the news communications mapped by the letter meta-data and the merely reported oral communications—alerts us to one of the key shortfalls of traditional geographical models of mapping news flow. Often on such maps, where news flows are represented as edges between places, the nodes will cover the location of the city, thus collapsing the complex local communications by which news was transferred from one person or community to another into a single entity. So, how can we fill in these undocumented edges?

Local Networks

Unsurprisingly, reconstructing oral, local networks is a tricky business. There are a range of approaches one might take, some manual (which I will illustrate

¹¹ Scott Weingart, 'Networks Demystified 8: When Networks are Inappropriate', blog-post dated 5/11/13, available at <www.scottbot.net/HIAL/?p=39600> [14/04/14].

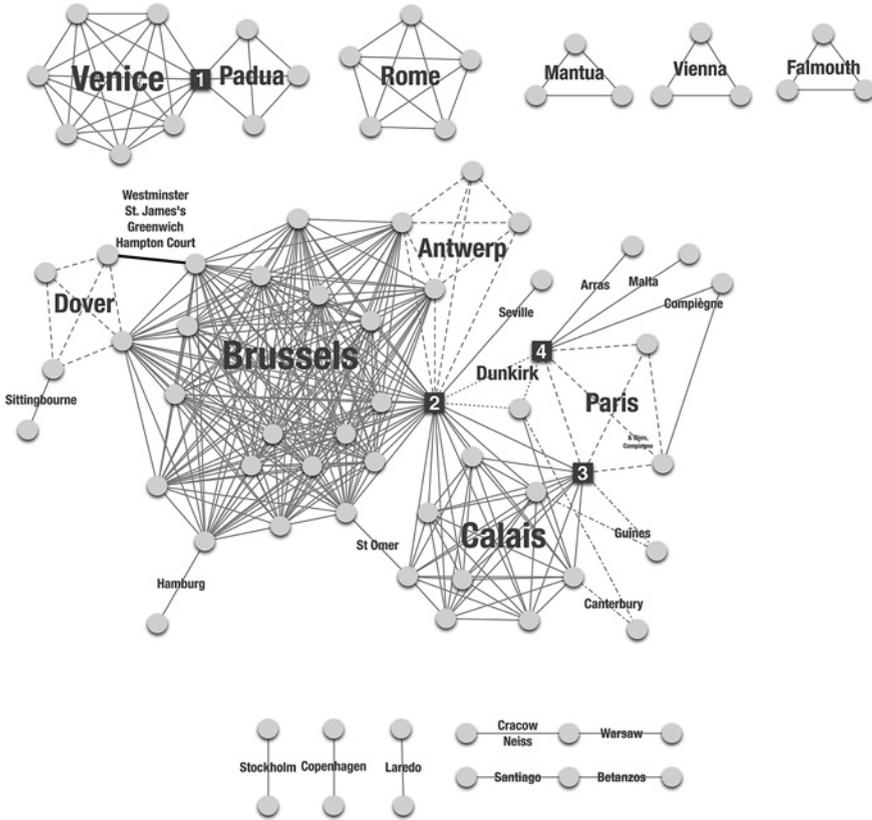


FIGURE 5.3 A network using the State Papers data in which edges are created between people if they have shared a location. The nodes numbered 1–4 are: (1) Peter Vannes, (2) Thomas Gresham, (3) William Grey, and (4) Nicholas Wotton

through an examination of the Protestant letter network that I have neglected until now), and others using more automated methods of data extraction. Each has its own benefits and drawbacks.

Beginning with an automated method, one way is to extrapolate communities from the place-data in letters. For example, in Figure 5.3 we can see a network created using the State Papers data in which edges are created between people if they have shared a location, such as Calais, during the reign. It is therefore a hypothetical network of local communities: the assumption is that if two people were in the same place they may well have spoken or exchanged intelligence. In this particular visualisation a link is drawn if they were there at any point in Mary 1’s five-year reign, which means that there are edges drawn between people who might have been in a location at different times; but it would be possible, for instance, to narrow the temporal window and only draw an edge if the dates of letters sent from these locations are within three months

of each other, thus making the margin for error much smaller (I have not done so here because the dataset is rather sparse compared to, for example, Elizabeth I's reign, and I merely wished to illustrate what is possible). What the image is useful for showing very quickly is who was where. From this we can see that Brussels—the home of the Imperial Court—was a very significant place for the exchange of news, especially about the Italian War raging between the Holy Roman Empire and the French throughout Mary's reign. We also can see a clustering of people around Calais, with connections radiating off to locations such as Guînes (a commune in the Pas-de-Calais department in northern France), Paris, and Canterbury. On the right-hand side we have some isolated groups of nodes around Italian locations: a pentangle-like cluster around Rome, and a bow-shaped one around Venice and Padua, with the two latter locations tied together by Vannes. However, this visualisation not only helps to show the people that may have been talking to one another within a given location, it also highlights people associated with multiple locations. For example, sitting between Calais, Antwerp and Brussels is Gresham; Grey and Wotton are at the top-right hand side of the tapering lines leading off from the Calais cluster and connecting to locations like Dunkirk, Paris, Blois, Arras, Compiègne, and Malta. What is interesting is that these are also some of the figures with the highest betweenness; and through this visualisation we can understand why—they were moving, and taking their intelligence, between various different communities.

But while it may be useful to identify potential centres for information exchange, what we really want to know is which of these potential associations (enabled by shared place) were actualised; or, in other words, who was talking to whom. For this we must turn to the letter contents. While people did not generally write to those associates who were in the same locality—unless, perhaps, they were seeking through formal channels to arrange a meeting—they did write about them. Letters provide glimpses of communities sharing letters, news and other material information, turning them into what Gary Schneider has described as 'socio-texts'.¹² Senders would write about conversations or other interactions they had held with their neighbours, family members or other associates; they would repeat news they had heard about third parties; and they would direct the recipient to pass their letters on to other people, by enclosing commendations, additional messages, tokens, and even letters for other recipients, or by entrusting additional oral messages to the letters' carriers. To reconstruct local communities, then, we must turn to the letter contents

12 Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500–1700* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), p. 22.

to extract an additional layer of relational data. There are two options. With smaller collections, it is possible to read all the letters and record all the social links described therein, providing a detailed and accurate sense of local communities. The other option is to employ automated extraction methods, which are necessary with very large collections of letters, but which provide challenges in terms of completeness and accuracy. In the case of the 289 Protestant letters dating from the reign of Mary I (mentioned in the opening pages of this chapter) it was possible to take the former approach.

The bias we are tackling in the Protestant letter collection—in addition to the common emphasis on long-range links—is the effect of martyrdom on the shape of the corpus. Within the body of surviving letters, found in Emmanuel College Library, the British Library and two contemporary print publications edited by John Foxe and Henry Bull, almost all the correspondence involves a martyr as either sender or recipient. We must suppose that the martyrological association made these letters more valuable to posterity than those sent between Protestants who were not celebrated by Foxe's famous 'Book of Martyrs'. Despite this bias, however, it is possible to begin reconstructing the local communities around those who corresponded with the martyrs by reading the letters and extracting commendations or reported contacts. In this research, undertaken with my collaborator Sebastian Ahnert, we categorised the links that arose between the members of this community as follows: letter links (between sender and recipient); requested links (through a commendation, between sender and commendee); implied links (through a commendation, between recipient and commendee); reported links (where a conversation or other exchange was relayed); messenger links (where a messenger is named, making them an intermediary node between sender and recipient); spousal links; and sibling links. What emerges from this data is a surprisingly large community, with 377 members and 795 edges or social interactions (as opposed to the 281 members and 306 edges with only sender/recipient data).¹³

By visualising this as a force-directed network (Figure 5.4), we see some expected patterns. At its centre are several hubs, here marked by dark grey filled squares; all of them are well-known Protestant martyrs who wrote numerous letters during their imprisonments, and whose letters were of particular interest for the purposes of collection. This, as we can see, is very similar to the organisation of communications in the State Papers Foreign dataset, with Mary, her Secretary, Petre, and husband, Philip, occupying central positions. But when we examine the topological properties of the network in more detail,

13 For a more thorough discussion of this dataset, see the references in n. 7, above.

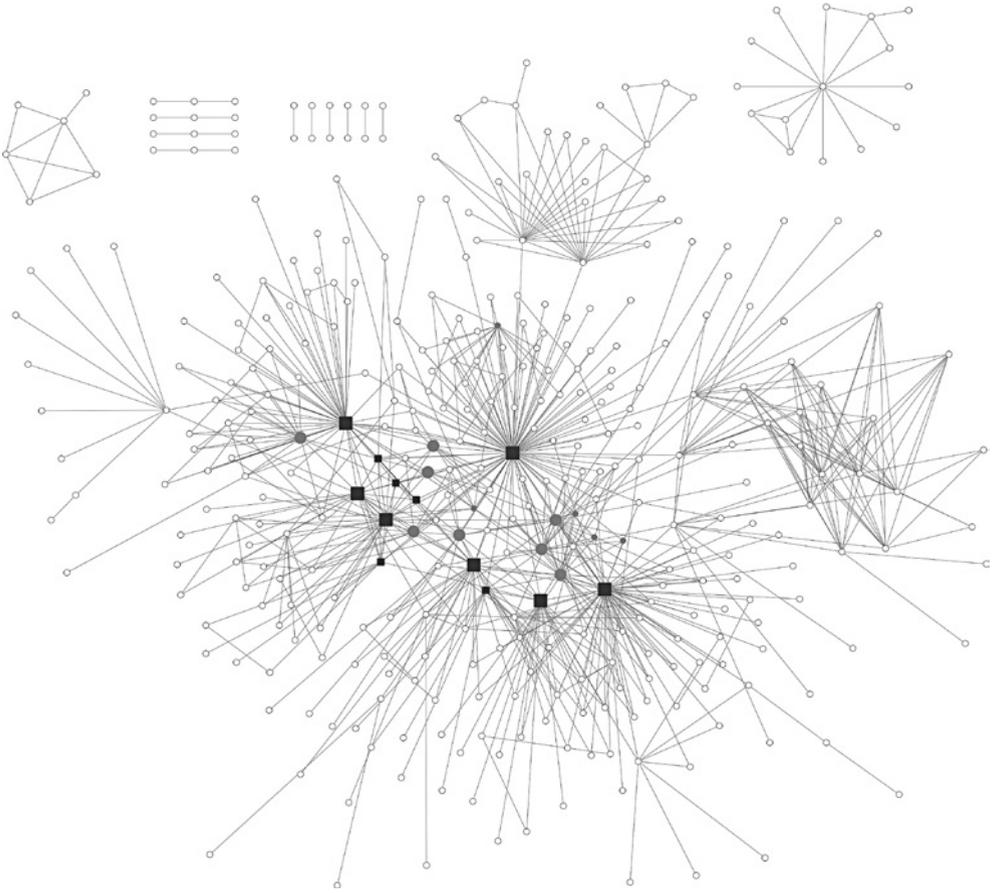


FIGURE 5.4 *A network visualisation of Protestant correspondence, 1553–1558. Martyrs are marked with dark grey squares and so-called sustainers with light grey circles*

using the measures of betweenness and eigenvector centrality, our findings are more surprising: we discover an important category of people who were vital to the infrastructure of this community, but whose role goes far beyond the writing of letters. If we look at the top twenty nodes for their betweenness, we see that fourteen are martyrs, and another is a leader of the separatist group known as the Freewillers (English protestants who rejected the doctrine of predestination). But it also highlights Anne Smith, Barthram Calthorpe, one Bowyer (either William Bowyer or his brother Robert), Augustine Bernher, and Margery Cooke, five figures almost entirely absent from historical accounts of the Reformation. In particular, Smith, Calthorpe and Bowyer wrote no letters. Significantly, all these figures occupy similar roles in their relationship to the celebrated martyrs of the Marian reign, funnelling letters, goods, and oral

messages between prisoners and communities elsewhere in England. Bernher was a valuable letter courier, and Cooke was one of a group of (mostly female) financial sustainers, who sent Protestant prisoners money, clothes, food, and other means of physical and emotional support.¹⁴ Calthorpe and Bowyer were both members of the Middle Temple, and recipients of letters from the martyr Bartlett Green, including one addressed to a group of men including “Mr Goring, Mr Farneham, Mr Fletewode, Mr Rosewel, Mr Bell, and Mr Hussey”. In this letter he makes a long list of requests of each of the letters’ recipients, both individually and as a body, to pass on news and do his work outside the prison, seeking the ‘deliveraunce’ of various co-religionists from incarceration, and the financial support of others.¹⁵ Therefore, even though Calthorpe and Bowyer sent no letters, they are implicated in a significant web of requested and implied links through Green’s use of his contacts outside prison, making them important connecting figures within the social network.

The significance of these infrastructural figures—oral communicators, sustainers and carriers—is emphasised further when we measure the eigenvector centrality of each node. The top twenty nodes by this measure include twelve martyrs, two letter couriers and six financial sustainers (five of whom were women). Which prompts the question: what makes these female sustainers so important in this religious community? One reason is that their acts of charity put them in direct contact with the hubs in the network, the martyrs. But this is not the only reason they were well connected. Taking Margery Cooke as an example, we can see that these women were important nodes because of their particular social position. Cooke, who lived in Hadleigh, Suffolk, sent only one of the letters in our dataset (to John Philpot), and received seven (six from John Careless and one from John Bradford), which is not a large amount of correspondence—although it is all with future martyrs. But the commendations in these letters, as well as commendations to her in other letters, reveal that she not only had active connections with the Protestant community in Hadleigh, but also with co-religionists elsewhere in England. Cooke shares edges with a total of 26 other nodes in the network, three of which are due to the communications listed above; the remaining 23 come through commendations. These show how she is associated with a number of overlapping communities: including her family, known carriers, co-religionists associated with the underground London congregation, and people who were associated at

14 On female sustainers, see Thomas S. Freeman, “The Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuose Women”: The Elizabethan Martyrologists and the Female Supporters of the Marian Martyrs, *The Journal of British Studies*, 39 (2000), pp. 8–33.

15 See ECL MS 260, fo. 64v.

some point with the Freewiller communities and the Kentish conventicles. Crucially, these were communities that stretched across the south-east of England. From the perspective of an imprisoned Protestant leader who might want to get news out of prison and disseminated within various communities, people like Cooke would have been extremely valuable. In fact, if we look at the broad trends across the network as a whole, we can see that the most prolific leaders or martyrs (in dark grey filled squares in Figure 5.4) frequently and repeatedly wrote to people with a network profile like Cooke: infrastructural figures like couriers and sustainers (light grey filled circles in Figure 5.4). In other words, the quickest paths across the network were also the ones most frequently traversed by letters and, by implication, carriers.

What this pattern demonstrates is that these martyrs seem to have recognised instinctively a common feature of networks observed by Mark Granovetter in his landmark study, 'The Strength of Weak Ties'. This much-cited article showed that people's social worlds tend to be made up largely of strong and weak ties, but that weak ties are much more important for the transmission of news. Because our close friends tend to move in the same circles that we do, the information they receive overlaps largely with what we already know. Acquaintances, by contrast, know people that we do not and thus receive more novel information. This outcome arises in part because our acquaintances are typically less similar to us than close friends, and in part because they spend less time with us.¹⁶ In short: to receive or spread news effectively, people must activate their weak ties. What we see from the preceding analysis of Protestant letters is that the largest volume of correspondence travels along the weak ties in this network, from martyrs to sustainers and other infrastructural figures. By designating these as weak ties we do not imply anything about the depth of the emotional connections between the martyrs and certain sustainers; in many cases these relationships seem to have been intense.¹⁷ Rather, they are weak because they are long-range and not maintained by regular physical contact.

This structure has clear parallels with the correspondence between Mary I, her Secretary and Council in England, and figures like Carne, Gresham, Mason, Vannes, and Wotton, men who were posted abroad as ambassadors and on other forms of royal service, military and financial. We might see these as institutionalised weak ties: a structure set up specifically for the effective gathering and dissemination of news and the implementation of English business abroad. The status that we know these men to have illustrates the beneficial

16 Mark Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (1973), pp. 1360–80.

17 See Freeman, 'Elizabethan Martyrologists', p. 23.

effect of spanning communities, both for the node and the network. Ronald Burt's research has sought to reformulate Granovetter's thesis of weak ties by arguing that what is of central importance is not so much the ties, but the rather the gaps that they bridge: what Burt describes as structural holes. When these structural holes are bridged there are benefits for the network, which translates to a benefit (which we might think of as a form of social capital) for the node. Insofar as they constitute the only route through which information or other resources may flow from one network sector to another, these nodes achieve a strategic advantage. People who fill structural holes in corporations or other organisations have empirically been shown to find more career success.¹⁸ This analogy has relevance to the role of early modern ambassadors resident abroad: only the most trusted subjects of the monarch were appointed to such posts, requiring as they did speaking and negotiating on behalf of the government. Given how high the stakes were in this profession, those who performed well stood to become highly valued and influential figures.¹⁹ Similarly, as we shall see further below, informants would seek to show their value by providing accurate and useful intelligence with the hope of having their role formalised.

So how might we go about reconstructing some of the intelligence networks royal agents were embedded within during their foreign postings? It is theoretically possible, given the corpus is only 754 letters, to read all the letters and manually record the reported communications in each of them, as with the Protestant letters. However, these letters are part of a much larger archive, and a much more ambitious project that seeks to analyse the correspondence within the Tudor State Papers, comprising over 130,000 letters. Reading all the letters individually is just not feasible. In these circumstances, there are three options. Firstly, one might just rely on the letter meta-data (of sender, recipient, date, etc.) and undertake to read and manually record reported links within sub-collections of the letters by identifying interesting individuals or groups of people. The downside of this is that it is piecemeal and unsystematic, and therefore may overlook important figures, like the examples of the sustainers within our Protestant example. The second option is that we use natural language processing to mine the descriptions of the contents of the letters contained in the Calendars for names that are preceded (within a

18 Ronald S. Burt, *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

19 On early modern embassy, see *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); and the classic study by Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London: Penguin, 1955).

certain number of words) by prepositions such as 'to', 'from', 'by', 'with', 'of'. This would be considerable work, and would still be likely to produce false links while omitting others that are genuine, due to the complexity of the language in the Victorian synopses of the letter contents. The third option is the optimal choice, balancing time-commitment with output, and therefore the method that I will demonstrate here. The method involves using the list of 200 nodes extracted from the sender/recipient meta-data and searching the descriptions of the letters found in the Calendars of the State Papers for occurrences of those names. While it cannot extract informants that are not also senders or recipients of letters, it does allow us to see, for instance, whether people who appear to be minor figures within the letter network are more actively implicated through oral links. By extracting names from letters it is possible to create a list of nodes (senders) who mention other people in the network, and a list of nodes who were mentioned; edges are drawn between the letter sender and the figure mentioned. A mention might constitute a reference to a person *providing* intelligence or intelligence *about* a given person; in other words, it detects persons both as news carriers and as news-items, but does not distinguish between these different kinds of edges unlike the manual method described above. Nevertheless, it allows us to understand both whom members of the network were talking to and what they were talking about.²⁰

By extracting this additional data the connectivity of the 200-person network is significantly increased from one that comprised 284 separate (letter) edges, to one with 445 (letter and mention) edges. This more densely connected network is able to show a range of interactions that were invisible before, and therefore to understand the different communities or clusters functioning within this network. Unsurprisingly, we can quickly see that the figures that mention the most people in their letters correspond with the people with the highest betweenness, or people who might be said to harness the power of their weak links. People to mention more than ten contacts in their letters are: Mason (39 separate people), Wotton (32), Mary I (29), Vannes (17), Carne (14), and Gresham (13). The reason that Mary I is high in this ranking is unsurprising, given that she would be receiving and deploying intelligence from various sources; all the other figures are ambassadors except Gresham, who was royal agent in the Netherlands. Just as an ambassador's success

20 The fact that we use the names extracted (and disambiguated) from the sender/recipient data to search for mentions of a given individual means that we currently do not find instances in which that person is referred to by any other name or title. In time we plan to add records of these alternatives into the analysis, but this would require a separate, dedicated effort and represent considerable time commitment.

depended upon their forging local intelligence networks in their foreign postings, Gresham's value to the government relied on his ability negotiate deals and broker loans in various mercantile hubs on behalf of the Marian government, and thus repair the serious damage done to the English crown's credit by his (brief) predecessor, Christopher Dawntesey.

Mason is a good example of how the inclusion of mentions in the analysis changes our picture of his social network. His diplomatic career began in 1533, and despite being related by marriage to two men executed for their part in the Wyatt rebellion, and reports of his own hostility to Catholicism, he became a member of Mary's parliament, was posted on diplomatic service in the Netherlands, and appointed treasurer of the queen's chamber. During this period the Netherlands region was part of the Seventeen Provinces of the Low Countries, which also included most of present-day Belgium, Luxembourg, and some land in France and Germany; most of Mason's correspondence was sent from either Brussels or Antwerp. Looking only at letter exchanges, he shares edges with only 8 people: he sends letters to Petre (37 letters), Council (31), Mary (29), Philip (1), the Secretary of State, John Bourne (1), and Vannes (1); and he receives letters from Mary (3), one John Sheres, a gentleman (1), and to the (mistrusted) resident ambassador to the regent in the Low Countries, Philip Hoby (1).²¹ However, once we take into consideration all the people he mentions in his letters, and all the people he is mentioned by, he shares edges with 45 nodes. By looking at the people he mentions, we get a rough approximation of his local intelligence—both the networks of people bringing him this news, and the people about whom information is supplied. For Mason these people are:

The Duke of Savoy (in 16 letters), Petre (in 11), Otho, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg (9), Philip II (6), Cardinal Pole (6), Vannes (5), Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (4), Count Egmont (3), Lalaing (3), William, Duke of Cleves (3), Paget (3), Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon (3), Gresham (3), Cardinal Caraffa (2), Lord Chancellor Gardiner (2), Hoby (2), Howard (2), John Cheke (2), Pickering (2), Ruy Gomez (2), Christiana, Duchess of Lorraine (2), Cardinal Farnese (2), Sigismund II Augustus of Poland (2), William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (1), Pacheco de Ceralbo, Don Francisco, Cardinal Archbishop of Burgos, Governor of Naples for Charles V (1),

21 This is possibly the John Sheres who was tutor to William Brooke in Padua 1543–5, and encountered Thomas Hoby at Padua in 1548. See Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485–1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 270.

Bartolomé Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo (1), Philip Francis, Count Palatine (1), Philip Nigri (1), M. de Courrieres (1), Cardinal Morone (1), Count of Montorio (1), Nicholas Wotton (1), John III of Portugal (1), Otho Henry, Duke of Bavaria (1), Christian III of Denmark (1), Thomas Thirlby (1), Francesco Ferdinando d'Ávalos d'Aquino, VII marquis of Pescara (1), Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg (1), William, Duke of Mantua (1).

From this we can see that Mason is at the centre of a dense social network, which is undoubtedly aided by his location in Brussels, where the Imperial Court was located. The activities of this court were of keen interest to the English court because of the relationship forged by Mary's marriage to Philip, who was son to the Holy Roman Emperor; and Mason reports on all of the court's events from political meetings to informal alliances, dinners, and diplomatic appointments. Most pressingly, during the Italian wars against France waged first by Charles v, and latterly by his brother Ferdinand and son Philip, Brussels was necessarily the key hub for news travelling from Italy and France (see again Figure 5.3). Within Mason's local network the Duke of Savoy emerges as perhaps the most significant figure—both as a topic of news and an important source of intelligence. As a relation of Charles v (his mother was the emperor's sister-in-law), the duke was a member of Charles's army during the war against the French, and later Governor of the Netherlands, 1555–9. In this capacity he personally led the Spanish invasion of northern France and was victorious at Saint-Quentin on 10 August 1557. Mason's letters therefore report on the duke's progress in the war (reporting his location in Cambrai, Hesdin and elsewhere), on his journey to visit England, and the departure of the duke's ambassador 'in post' to Mary and Philip.²² All of Mason's reports are careful to stipulate the origin of the news, and the location of the subject of this news, as in the postscript of letter from Mason to Council dated 29 May 1555, which reports that a post, just arrived from Italy, gives news of the arrival of the Duke of Alva at Augsburg on the 25th, and that of the Duke of Savoy at Vercelli on the 15th.²³ This information is crucial to demonstrate to the recipients the freshness of the news, and to allow them (and, indeed, us) to chart the progression of individuals and whole troops across space and time.

The network derived from letter data plus mentions, then, more accurately reflects the complex diplomatic work in which Mason was involved than that drawn simply from information about senders and recipients alone. Not only do we achieve a more fine-grained picture of his social world than by focusing on the long-range or weak ties marked by letters, it also invites us to re-evaluate

22 TNA, SP 69/4, fo. 153r–v; and SP 69/5, fos. 133r–v, 141r, and 24r–25r.

23 TNA, SP 69/6, fo. 107r.

his quantifiable significance in light of this picture. From the letter network, we already knew that Mason was significant: he ranked number 6 for betweenness and 3 for eigenvector centrality. But once we include all the mentions, he moves up the rankings for both measures: to 4 for betweenness and 2 for eigenvector centrality. In absolute terms, Mason does not move up that many spots (compared to some other people who will be examined below), but that is because there is not far for him to go; in terms of eigenvector centrality, only the queen outranks him. As eigenvector centrality is a measure of network prestige, the addition of letter mentions to our data suggests that Mason was the second most influential person in the transfer of news within the Marian government's foreign correspondence network, and that his local intelligence in Brussels played a crucial part in establish that value.

Because the changes are happening at that local level (defined here through mentions), however, we see a striking tendency in the way that peoples' rankings are affected. Overall, the betweenness rankings are not significantly affected by the additional data as there were only 28 people ranked by this measure using the letter meta-data: all the people with non-zero betweenness ranked at 29, so there are 28 places by which they can move up. With the addition of the mentions there are 84 people with a non-zero betweenness, but only 8 manage to move above their previous ranking of 29th (Francis Yaxley, Cardinal Pole, Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba, Gonzalo Pérez, Secretary of Philip II of Spain, John Bourne, Antonio Pecchi, Cornelio della Croce, and Thomas Stukeley). By contrast, there is huge movement in the eigenvector centrality rankings. These are the figures who moved up by over 50 places in the rankings:

Cardinal Pole (142→15), Lord Clinton (136→25), Petre (113→8), Lalaing (142→40), Colonel William Wallerthum (132→31), Count Egmont (142→42), John Boxall (113→22), Fitzalan (104→18), Stephen Gardiner (113→28), Thomas Chaloner (142→59), Cornelio della Croce (142→60), Ivan IV (142→64), Joanna of Austria, Princess Dowager of Portugal/Regent of Spain (142→64), Dawntesey (111→36), Tucker (120→49), Herman Peper (132→61), Bourne (142→71), M. de Courrieres (142→72), Courtenay (142→55), Nigri (142→84), Sheres (105→52).

It is striking that in a network of only 200 people somebody (Pole) could move up by 127 places. We can understand this through the topography of networks, specifically the difference between strong ties (i.e. with immediate neighbours) and weak ties (which correspond to long-range links). Eigenvector ranking is much more affected by the extra data because extra edges do not necessarily change shortest paths in a network, but eigenvector centrality is more dependent on immediate neighbourhoods; and these change more radically if you

add edges. This is because eigenvector centrality is a recursive measure: a node will rank highly if its neighbouring nodes are themselves high scorers. As if to confirm this, we can see that 8 of the people to move up most in the eigenvector rankings are mentioned by the very high-scoring Mason (Pole, Petre, Lalaing, Count Egmont, Bourne, Courtenay, Nigri and Sheres). The people in this list are also some of the nodes to gain the most edges through the addition of mention-data, thereby increasing their chance of connecting to an influential figure. Pole goes from having just 1 to 10 unique edges, Sheres goes from 1 to 8, Lord Clinton 1 to 6, della Croce 1 to 5, Pérez 1 to 4, and Stukeley 2 to 7.

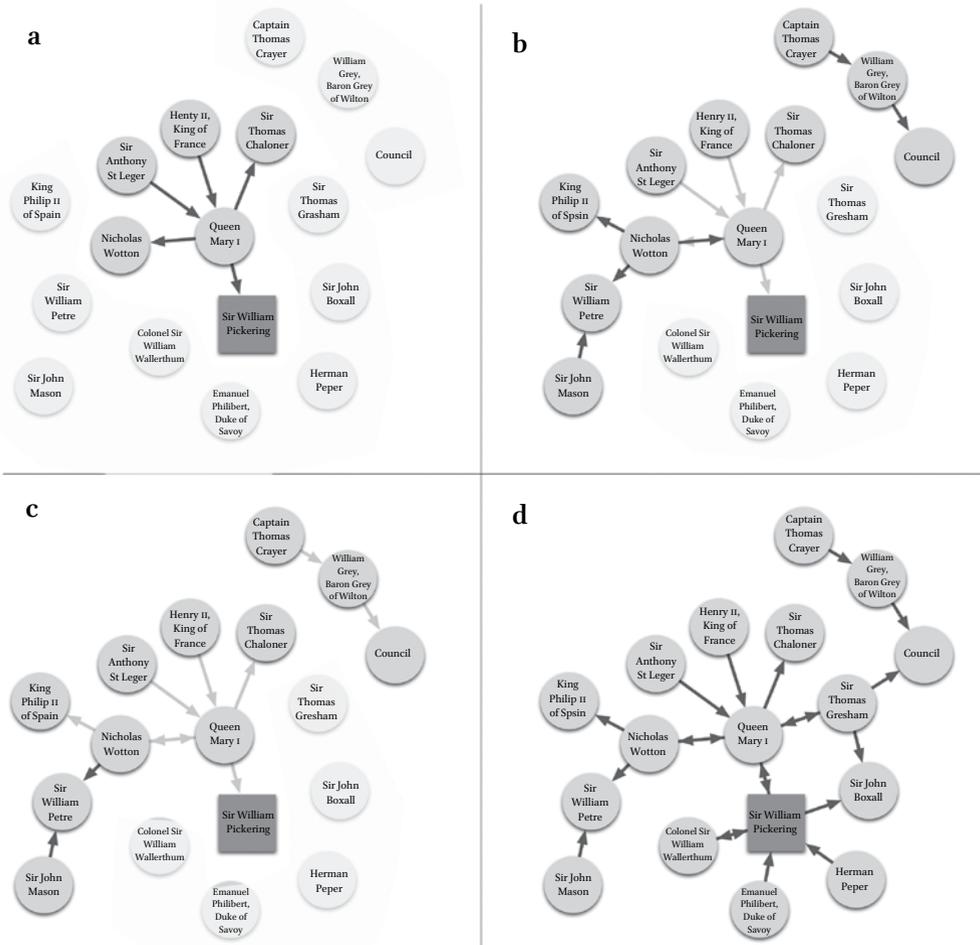
Macro-History versus Micro-History

By compiling these layers of data, then, we are able not only to understand the general trends of how information moved over long distances, but also how local intelligence networks give us a very different perception of who is important to the efficient transfer of intelligence. In the concluding section of this chapter I will demonstrate how we can use this combined data to trace the progress of individual pieces of news, or the changing significance of one figure, over time within a news network. The use of network analysis can often seem as if ‘distant reading’—looking at the big picture—is prized above the exploration of case studies.²⁴ However, the contention of this chapter is that the big picture is the only way to understand case studies in their full context. In the concluding pages, then, I will reflect on the feasibility of and possibilities posed by amalgamating news data from the many different and valuable repositories of European news communications currently available into one unified network of news flows.

The example I am using is the case of one Pickering, who appears in the State Papers Foreign both as correspondent and news item. If we were to look solely at his appearance in this network as a correspondent, his significance would be hard to understand. He sends 8 letters and receives 6, but what is most interesting is that after receiving an initial letter on 31 July 1553 from Mary I, he is involved in no further correspondence within this archive until 1558, when he is commissioned by the queen to go into Germany. For reasons that can be easily gleaned from his biography, and which will be explained below, he seems to have been politically isolated for much of the reign. However, by

24 On the move towards distant reading, or macro-analysis, in literature and history, see Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2007), and *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013); and Matthew L. Jockers, *Macroanalysis: Digital Methods and Literary History* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

tracing the mentions of Pickering that appear across the archive, we can understand how he was monitored and ultimately rehabilitated. Taken together, the letters and mentions make 43 links between 18 nodes. It is possible to trace these over time, making a ‘movie’ in which each frame adds the newest link made through a letter or mention. Figures 5.5a–d chart four of these 43 frames, encapsulating the stages in the process of Pickering’s isolation and subsequent rehabilitation within the news network.



FIGURES 5.5A–D *These figures chart the network of correspondence involving or mentioning William Pickering over time: (5a) July–August 1553, (5b) March 1554–March 1555, (5c) March 1555–March 1558, and (5d) 10 March 1558–November 1558. Dark grey arrows signify letters exchanged within that period; pale grey arrows show previous correspondence*

The first of these (5a) represents letters sent to and about Pickering in July and August 1553. A letter sent by Mary I to Pickering, Wotton and Thomas Chaloner on 31 July 1553 directs them to continue to act as her ambassadors at the French Court. Pickering at this time had been an ambassador in France since February 1551; this letter, however appears to be in response to his ongoing requests (which began as early as May 1552) to be recalled to England, due to the financial burden that the post was putting on him. Despite being relieved of his post soon after, as reported in the letter from Henri II to Mary on 17 August, he was unable to leave Paris immediately due to debts—a fact that is relayed in the letter from Anthony St Leger to Mary on 16 August. At this point, then, relieved of his official post, Pickering shifts from being a news carrier to being a news item; this would remain the case until 1558 because of Pickering's actions on finally returning to England, when he became implicated in the conspiracy against Mary's Spanish marriage. Following Wyatt's rebellion the government believed that Pickering was plotting to capture the Tower; and in March 1554 he fled with Sir Peter Carew and other associates to Caen in Normandy.

In the period directly following his arrival on the continent, Pickering is mentioned in a series of correspondence between royal agents in France and Mary's government: in the 12 months from March 1554 (Figure 5.5b) he is mentioned in 10 letters. These chart a rapidly shifting attitude to the rebel. The first mentions occur in the mini-chain between Captain Thomas Crayer, Lord Grey and the Council in the bottom right hand corner. The first, a letter from Crayer to Grey on 24 March 1554 gives news of Pickering, Carew, Edward Courtenay, John Courtenay, Bryan Fitzwilliam, and other English gentlemen arriving at Caen, and reports that Pickering is going to the French Court, where he believes he will conspire with Henri II to intercept the Spanish fleet transporting Prince Philip to England. With this news he encloses a letter from Carew and Pickering that had been sent to Crayer recommending the bearer, John Adams, to be placed in his company.²⁵ Six days later Grey in turn sends two letters from Crayer regarding Carew, Pickering, and their confederates on to the Council.²⁶ David Loades has commented that Crayer's association with the rebels makes it difficult to discern his political allegiances; however, we see from this chain of correspondence that his ambiguous position put him in an ideal position to funnel intelligence from these confederates back to Mary's government via Grey.²⁷ On the same date, 31 March, Wotton also sends a letter

25 TNA, SP 69/3, fos. 123r–v.

26 TNA, SP 69/3, fo. 206r.

27 David Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 154.

to Mary promising the apprehension of Carew, Pickering, and others; following this are 8 more letters from Wotton, mostly to Mary (6), Petre (1), and Philip (1) about Pickering. These letters recognise both the danger and possibilities posed by the intelligence Pickering has. As Wotton points out to Petre in a letter dated 17 April 1554, Pickering is in possession of the cipher used by Wotton (indeed, in this very letter) and therefore poses a security risk as he is in a position to decode secret correspondence and pass it to their enemies. This seems all the more possible when he relays the information, gleaned from his servant who has spoken directly with Pickering, that a letter Wotton had written to the queen was sent shortly after to the French King.²⁸ Based on this, Wotton is in favour of preventing further damage by offering the rebels the hope of pardon, which he thinks will lure them back to England, where they will be less able to betray valuable intelligence to their enemies. In the letters following this we see him take this idea further, suggesting that Pickering may be rehabilitated and used to their advantage. This becomes a possibility after he receives word that Pickering has become alienated from the rebels, who mistrust him, and has sought to escape them fleeing to Lyon, and thereafter to Italy and Germany. Wotton therefore recommends that the queen show Pickering mercy, as he is both willing and able to do her service.²⁹ This shows how Pickering had already proved himself by providing intelligence, such as the French king's rumoured plans to land the rebels and others at Lee in Essex and the Isle of Wight towards the end of the summer and to march on London. Some agreement was clearly reached with Mary because on 3 March 1555 Mason writes to Petre informing him of Pickering's imminent departure for England, where he would not have been able safely to travel had he not been pardoned.³⁰

In the third stage of correspondence, March 1555 to March 1558, references to Pickering are few: only 2 letters are sent (Figure 5.5c). The first is from Mason to Petre on 3 July 1557, which suggests that Pickering had been employed to carry a letter but had been embarrassed by its loss along with a 'capcase' (a small traveling bag) on the way. Perhaps fearing Pickering, due to his history, would be suspected regarding this loss, Mason defends him, writing that:

He is nott a man too be lost if he may be wonne unfaynedly, as by my growth I think he means none otherwise. This fall may be too him felix

28 TNA, SP 69/4, fos. 13r–14v (partly in cipher).

29 TNA, SP 69/4, fos. 63r–67r (partly in cipher).

30 TNA, SP 69/6, fo. 42r–v.

culpa and the Queen hath thereby occasion to wyinne such a servent as for sundry qualities there be not many in the realm of England[.]³¹

The other letter, from Wotton to Petre on 13 July 1556, seems largely inconsequential in its reference to Pickering, except that it describes him as Wotton's ambassadorial predecessor rather than as a rebel, thereby suggesting his reputation had finally been recovered.³²

The final stage occurs after a gap of almost 20 months, and here we see Pickering finally rehabilitated and reincorporated as a valuable royal agent abroad (Figure 5.5d). This stage comprises 23 letters: the first, from Mary to Gresham on 10 March 1558 informs him of Pickering's commission to recruit 3000 foot soldiers in Germany for the queen's service in defence of Calais, and asking him to oversee the necessary financial provision.³³ This was followed by a letter on 15 March to Pickering from Mary, directing him to go to Brussels, where he was to receive funds from Gresham.³⁴ Pickering's rehabilitation, therefore, is marked by his reintegration within the network, the edge drawn between him and Mary on 31 July 1553 being renewed. This is followed by correspondence with secretary Boxall, Colonel Wallerthum, Herman Peper and the Duke of Savoy, touching his difficulty securing the soldiers, the countermand of the original order from Mary, the transportation of Dutch regiments by sea, and his financial troubles resulting from his service to the crown.

Taken together, this information gives us a nuanced picture of Pickering's role in the transmission of news, both through long-range links marked by letters, and local oral intelligence networks. Pickering was an important diplomatic figure at either end of Mary's reign, and in that position he exhibits the kinds of network attributes that we have already observed as being characteristic of royal agents. He has a betweenness ranking of 13, making him part of the elite group of 28 nodes with a non-zero betweenness, and an eigenvector centrality ranking of 23, which is a relatively high prestige ranking, although unlike figures such as Carne, Mason and Vannes he does not have a higher eigenvector centrality ranking than betweenness (this may, in some way, reflect his damaged status as a former rebel). Like these other diplomatic figures, though, his betweenness ranking means that he could be described as filling structural holes. But what is particularly interesting is the way that Pickering rehabilitates himself after his act of rebellion by doing the same thing: that is,

31 TNA, SP 69/7, fo. 3v.

32 TNA, SP 69/9, fos. 17r–22v (partly in cipher).

33 TNA, SP 69/12, fo. 55r–v.

34 TNA, SP 69/12, fos. 64r–65r.

by filling structural holes, bridging different communities in the exchange of news. As rebel turned informant he uses his local intelligence amongst the rebels in Caen to inform Wotton of plots against the English, which he knew would be transmitted to England. After being pardoned by Mary he is used as a letter carrier, before, finally, being commissioned in 1558 to recruit foot soldiers for the war efforts against the French king. We therefore see that he not only proves his trustworthiness, he also exhibits the right network profile for such a role before it is institutionalised through a formal commission.

Pickering's narrative, then, provides an example of how scholars can extract single news flows from a given archive, tracing both news items and news carriers over time and across space. However, in order to extend this kind of work, we need to contextualise these kinds of individual case studies within a broader picture of European news. It is important to understand how single news items were not only crossing geographical borders, but also multiple archival jurisdictions. By focusing on single archives it is only ever possible to gain a partial picture; therefore it is vital, if we are to attain a genuine perspective of European news communication, that scholars draw on the manifold archives in which early modern European news communications have been collected. Fortunately, in recent years there has been a concerted effort to digitise many of these collections.³⁵ However, just as (until recently) the history of news in Europe has progressed as series of separate, albeit parallel, national narratives, these digital projects have been designed and executed to meet a series of separate agendas. This manifests itself as an accumulation of many different databases, using a whole range of different protocols, and accessed through a variety of different interfaces. But the barriers to the construction of pan-European news network are by no means insurmountable. With the right technological support (and some time) it should be possible to extract the meta-data from each repository and store it one standardised format. Thereafter it will be simple enough to undertake the kinds of analysis described above: to measure this news network, map its evolution over time, and to extract individual news strands for close analysis. This is a task that, necessarily, must be accomplished through collaboration and co-operation, but the result has the potential to fundamentally change how we go about writing histories.

35 See for example Europeana Newspapers <www.europeana-newspapers.eu/>; Delpher <<http://kranten.kb.nl/>>; Sociedad Internacional para el Estudio de las Relaciones de Sucesos and <www.bidiso.es/SIERS/index.html>; the digitisation of the *Paris Gazette* <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32780022t/date>; *Le gazetier universel* <gazetier-universel.gazettes18e.fr>; *Die Fuggerzeitungen* <www.univie.ac.at/fuggerzeitungen/de/>; and relevant sections of the Universal Short Title Catalogue <www.ustc.ac.uk/> [all accessed 23/06/14].

International News Flows in the Seventeenth Century: Problems and Prospects

Brendan Dooley

We know quite a lot about the modalities of news transmission—diplomats, postal services, scholars, diasporic ethnic and religious communities, merchants and so on—yet, in spite of the evident promise of this Braudelian theme, we know less about the overall patterns of news transmission. The availability of new corpora and new approaches suggests new routes to discovery. Here I would like to examine what has been done and point out what could be done to trace the European news networks of early modern times using a combination of methodologies. An important tool for tracing news flows is the measurement of textual borrowing across media, i.e. the study of intertextuality on a massive scale. Another approach would be to compare the stylistic aspects of journalistic prose across several cultures. I shall give examples of both. Centering on the basic unit of news and showing its transformations, I attempt a preliminary picture of news flows.

In a recent article in *Annales Histoire Sciences Sociales*, Will Slauter stated that

although specialists know that the gazettes and journals of the early modern period contained mainly foreign news, the movement of this news across linguistic and political boundaries remains very little studied.

As an example to the contrary he very kindly cited the recent volume published by the Bremen-based research group ‘Culture and Exchange’, *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of ‘Contemporaneity’ in Early Modern Europe* (2010).¹ But the work of that volume is very far from done. Indeed, the

1 Will Slauter, ‘The Paragraph as Information Technology. How News Traveled in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World’, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 67 (2012), pp. 253–78, at 256. Other works cited there include Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows, and Edmond Dziembowski, eds., *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). In addition, concerning international news flows, there is my ‘Die Entstehung der Gleichzeitigkeit in der Frühmoderne’, in *Presse und Geschichte. Leistungen und Perspektiven*

problems we raised there might lead one to think that ‘very little studied’ really means ‘impossible’ or ‘too difficult’. Joad Raymond in the journal *Media History* in 2012 acknowledged, with resounding emphasis, that for writing the history of international news flows in the seventeenth century:

there are profound obstacles not only in method, but also in the practical methods historians in different traditions use to collect and assess data, not to speak of significant and underexplored asymmetries between the contents and the cataloguing of the relative archives in the relevant countries.²

Nevertheless he stated that international news networks are ‘probably the most pressing and promising issue in the history of early media today’. The question is, what have we learnt over the last couple of years and what can we do with it? On the one hand the intervening time has more than confirmed Raymond’s suggestion that “there are profound obstacles”—on the other hand there are also signs that the obstacles may be temporary although the question remains “very little studied”, and here I would like to examine what has been done and what could be done to trace the European news networks of early modern times using a combination of methodologies involving text mining and network analysis.

der historischen Presseforschung, ed. Holger Boening *et al.* (Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2008), pp. 49–66. I examine the topic briefly in the Epilogue to Brendan Dooley, ed., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of ‘Contemporaneity’ in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), where I cite one of the originators of this problematic, namely, Jürgen Wilke, ‘Foreign News Coverage and International News Flow Over Three Centuries’, *International Communication Gazette*, 39 (1987), p. 147. Cross-cultural transfer in the wider sense is a Braudelian theme which has been explored more in detail in the series ‘Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe’ ed. Robert Muchembled and William Monter, of which perhaps the most relevant titles are Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, eds., *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007); and Florike Egmond and Francisco Bethencourt, eds., *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Herman Roodenburg, ed., *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

- 2 Joad Raymond, ‘Newspapers: a National or International Phenomenon?’, *Media History*, 18 (2012), pp. 249–57, at 251. More in general concerning the English papers, *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 1999), and Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

An important tool for tracing news flows is the measurement of textual borrowing across media, i.e. the massive study of intertextuality. And one such tool is the Crouch program developed by Andrew Hardie and his team at Lancaster, named after John Crouch, an early English newsbook writer and satirist.³ And in their chapter for *The Dissemination of News* Hardie and his team used this program to show patterns of textual borrowing between several mid-seventeenth century British news publications, so that, for instance, a significant percentage of news in the 1654 *Moderate Intelligencer* published in London appeared to be derived from the *Weekly Post*, also London-based:

[Joseph] Frank describes ModIntell171#2 [i.e., *Modern Intelligencer*, issue published Wednesday 5th April 1654] as a counterfeit; but what the text reuse analysis makes clear is that its similarity was to a closely contemporaneous text also printed by [Robert] Wood, not the text by [George] Horton that (according to Frank) it counterfeits. In fact, we find it hard to accept this as a straightforward case of counterfeiting, since this incident came at the end of a period when Horton and Wood had been printing alternate issues of the third title they shared/competed over, *The Faithful Scout* (by late April, they settled on it being published with the attribution 'printed by Robert Wood, for G. Horton'); they also went on to alternate their publication of *The Moderate Intelligencer* and *The Weekly Post*. The precise motivations of the two printers are probably not now recoverable in full, although amusingly, both Horton's and Wood's versions of issue 171 of the *Weekly Post* carry the attribution, 'Printed by [name of printer]; to prevent all false copies'.⁴

As the team clearly showed, there are many possible relations between texts that are not necessarily wholesale borrowing. But when any such borrowings occur across state and linguistic borders we refer to news flows—i.e. we add a geographical vector to the textual vector. So the first step in tracing news flows is to compare typical texts.

3 Scott S.L. Piao and Tony McEnery, 'A Tool for Text Comparison', in *Proceedings of the Corpus Linguistics 2003 Conference* (Lancaster: UCREL, Computing Dept., University of Lancaster, 2003), pp. 637–46. Other approaches are discussed by Stéphane Haffemayer, 'Analyse quantitative et presse d'Ancien Régime', *Bulletin de l'Association pour le Développement de l'Histoire Culturelle*, 11 (2012), pp. 13–16.

4 Andrew Hardie, Tony McEnery and Scott Songlin Piao, 'Historical Text Mining and Corpus-Based Approaches to the Newsbooks of the Commonwealth', *Emergence of Contemporaneity*, ed. Dooley, p. 273.

<p>Florence, State Archive, <i>Mediceo del Principato</i>, filza 3088a, fol. 3v, 'Di Venezia li 3 luglio 1621. . . Sabato notte in questo porto sendo andati alcuni con una Peota armati alla nave nominata Toro Negro, che carica di diverse ricche merci stava di partenza per Cost.li, salitisi sopra uccisero il Massero, gettandolo in acqua, et poi levarono delle palle di pannine doro, e di seta, dando fuoco ad essa nave che nell'abbruggiarsi si accese anco fuoco nel Gran Galione Balbi, che si fracassò ieri vicino, mettorno il tutto abbruggiato . . . già sono stati presi 3 imputati complici al tal maleficio'.</p>	<p><i>Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Bohemia, Spaine and Dutchland:</i> 'From Venice the 6 of July 1621: On Sunday at night, certain men with Shippes well appointed, set upon the Ship called the Toro Negro, that lay richly laden to sayle to Constantinople, and having slaine the Massaro, and cast him overboard, and taken certain Balles laden with cloath of gold, silke and some Chests of Rials of Plate, they set fire on the Ship, whereby the great Gally called Balby, that lay not farre from it, was also fired, and much spoyled: there are five men taken that were Actors therein. . .'</p>
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FIGURE 6.1 Comparison between Florence newsletter of 1621 from the Florence State Archive [=ASF] and English coranto of the same year from the Florence Early English Newspapers corpus [=FEEN]

A collaborative project emerged when Nick Brownlees, convinced that the newsletters in the Florence state archive might be a good place to look for the original material that showed up in the early seventeenth century corantos, found the match shown in Figure 6.1. The text on the right is evidently a translation of the text on the left. Brownlees's evidence suggested a flow pattern something like the following, where we imagine a story originating in Venice about mischief occurring in Venice harbor, which by some means, we assume by newsletter, gets transmitted to associates in the Caspar van Hilten shop in Amsterdam, who in turn write it up in their coranto entitled *Courante uyt italien Duytsland* etc., which is in turn translated and printed probably by Nathaniel Butter or Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer in London (see Figure 6.2). So far the original Dutch coranto has not turned up; instead what we have are the English paper and the Venice newsletter collected by the Medici court in Florence. Whether the original information went from Venice directly to Holland or traveled via Florence is still not clear.⁵

5 Concerning the Dutch papers, see Ch. 15 in this volume; also Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries, c. 1550–1630* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), ch. 6; Paul Arblaster, 'London, Antwerp and Amsterdam: Journalistic Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', in *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-trade, 1473–1941*, ed. Lotte Hellinga et al. (Utrecht: Hes & de Graff, 2001), pp. 145–50; Otto Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Politics*

Story of a story

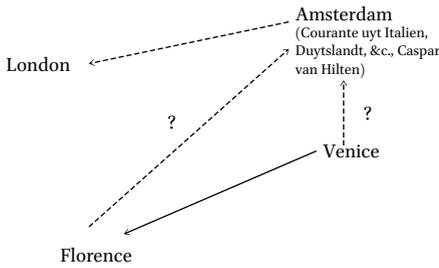


FIGURE 6.2

Hypothetical path of a story in 1621

The next steps will be to collect enough data to establish the main movements from year to year and publish the tabulated results. Matters are not quite so simple as they may appear. The connections between one medium and another, say between script and print and between different print publications, are not altogether easy to find. The problems involved in analyzing large masses of material are formidable; and so at least in early modern studies the Crouch system of Hardie and his team has been applied only to texts in the same language, although potentially it can be used much more broadly. Large corpora for inter-linguistic and inter-textual comparison simply do not yet exist and must be formed—largely by entering text manually as Hardie and his team have done with the Lancaster corpus—and the same obviously goes for the manuscript newsletters. The corpora we are looking for must contain near-complete texts produced over long periods of time containing large numbers of distinct stories, not just samples useful for drawing conclusions about linguistic usage in a given period. Until we devise a mechanical way to carry out the comparisons on a massive basis we have to rely on an eclectic method of looking up texts within certain time frames (since dates are not always reported accurately and calendars differ from place to place).⁶

Some enticing questions are simply not answerable in the current state of research. We know that at least in the German-speaking world Johann Carolus in Strasbourg was the first to start regularly printing up the newsletters he had around his shop beginning in around 1605.⁷ We simply do not know which newsletters they were—also because no printed numbers of his *Relation aller*

of Information in Early Modern Europe, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), ch. 6.

6 On this aspect, see my 'Introduction' to *The Dissemination of News*, pp. 5–7.

7 Johannes Weber, 'The Early Modern Newspaper—A Medium of Contemporaneity', in *Dissemination of News*, 69–82, and 'Straßburg 1605. Die Geburt der Zeitung', in *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, ed. H. Böning, A. Kutsch, R. Stöber, vol. 7 (Stuttgart, 2005), pp. 3–26.



FIGURE 6.3 First pages of the 1609 Strasbourg Relation showing stories from Cologne, Antwerp, Rome, Venice (courtesy of University of Heidelberg Library)

Fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien exist before 1609 (see Figure 6.3). In any case for this number relating to 1609, we can imagine a flow pattern something like Figure 6.4. Not in this case but certainly in many others in the *Relation*, stories said to emanate from particular cities actually come from elsewhere, so care must be taken in interpreting a story to determine the real origin.

The flow pattern of information from newsletters to gazettes is still a matter of conjecture, as Mario Infelise pointed out when he presented a plausible argument for the relation between a Venetian newsletter and the newspaper of Genoa.⁸ By a fortunate coincidence, we know the relation between a Venice newsletter from 1648 and the printed *Gazzetta di Bologna* of the same year—because

8 Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione* (Milan: Laterza, 2002), p. 88. On this theme, note also Pierangelo Bellettini, 'Periodici romagnoli di antico regime: gazzette, giornali dei letterati, almanacchi', in *Storia del giornalismo in Emilia Romagna e Pesaro: dagli albori al primo Novecento* (Bologna: Grafis, 1992), pp. 319–62. Concerning Italian journalism more in general, my *The Social History of Skepticism: Experience and Doubt in Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), ch. 2 and relevant bibliography.

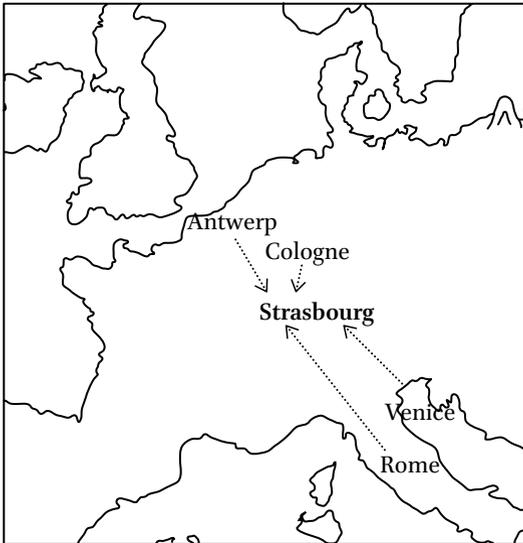


FIGURE 6.4
Flow pattern of stories in 1609
Relation

<p>March 7, 1648 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [=BAV], Ottob. latini, 2450, fol. 97r): ‘Venezia... Giunse sin da Borenica Caiccho partito da <u>Scardona</u> con avviso che dopo il successo seguito nella campagna di <u>Bernizza</u> nella forma che fu scritto la passata si fossero portati alcuni Turchi ad una serra di questi signori quivi vicina a detta di <u>Cassiano</u>, e ci havessero uccisi cinque persone malate e fattane prigioni da cinquanta altre tra putti e donne, et altra gente e condottivi circa da venticinque bovi. . . . S'avvisava ancora che il scritto luogo non fosse tanto facile, poichè sta posto sopra d'una colinetta, la quale viene fatta forse da due fiumi, che la circondano, Crinia l'uno e l'altro Tinio, e che vi fosser dentro cinque pezzi di ferro’.</p>	<p><i>Gazzetta di Bologna</i> March 11, 1648 (BAV, Ottob. latini, 2450, fol. 101v): ‘S'intende di Venezia che dopo lo scritto successo nella campagna di <u>Dernissa</u>, havessero i Turchi nella Terra di S. <u>Cassiano</u> nel Dominio Veneto ucciso cinque persone, che erano malate, con haverne fatto da cinquanta altri prigioni, e condotti via da venti bovi. . . . Per essere il luogo di qualche considerazione rispetto al sito, poichè sta posto sopra una colinetta in mezzo due fiumi, si credeva che fossero ivi per fortificarsi i Veneti, havendovi trovato cinque pezzi di ferro’.</p>
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FIGURE 6.5 *Comparison between Venetian newsletter and Bologna newspaper (underlining mine)*

both were collected in the same volume of the Codici Ottoboniani in the Vatican Archives. Figure 6.5 shows a typical story from that volume.

The underlined place names in these texts suggest an interesting fallacy as well as an interesting itinerary. The stories about Turkish incursions in Venetian Dalmatia attempt to situate the action in a particular geographical space. This is not quite so simple as it seems. Place names are somewhat misleading, as we may see by comparison with a selection from the Venetian historian Giovan

Battista Nani, referring to the action in question, where he talks about Dernis, not Bernizza or Dernissa:

Uniti poi appresso Scardona dou'egli stesso si portó con Gio: Francesco Giorgio Proveditor de' Cavalli, e col Conte Ferdinando Scoti, sei mila huomini, gli spinse à Dernis Castello, che domina un'ampio territorio, e che di qui da' Monti serviva di magazzino a' nemici. Passato sopra un ponte il fiume Citola, che per le pioggie cadute gonfio correua, i Morlachi precorrendo con la vanguardia arsero tutto ciò che trovarono per la campagna, onde i difensori del Castello dalla fama discacciati l'abbandonarono, fuggendo insieme con gli habitanti ...⁹

(Joined together at Scardona, where he himself came with Giovanni Francesco Giorgio, Proveditor de' Cavalli, and with Conte Ferdinando Scoti, six thousand men, he had them go as far as Castle Dernis, which dominates a wide area and which from there to the mountains served the enemy as a magazine. Having crossed a bridge over the Citola river, swollen by the rainfall, the Morlachs, moving with the vanguard, burned everything they found in the countryside, whereupon the defenders of the Castle hearing the news evacuated and fled with the inhabitants ...)

Judging from the Blaeu Atlas from just these years (and interpolating playfully the de' Barbari map of Venice), the news must have made a trip something like Figure 6.6.¹⁰ How the news travelled from Dernis or Dernischi, located just north of Mocuo, to Scardona, and from San Cassiano just south of Zara, and then on to Scardona, where this ship was docked, we don't yet know. Anyway its bearer apparently then boarded the ship at Scardona and made way for Venice, whence the Venetian newsletter traveled down to Bologna.

A still more speculative itinerary regards a story about the 'favorite' of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed IV: see Figure 6.7. From Constantinople the news went over to Venice where presumably it was written up. The news reached Hamburg, Paris and London, though we cannot tell in what order. Just the bare dates suggest Paris came first, even keeping in mind that the English calendar was eleven days behind. The French and English texts are almost identical, with one key difference: the girl is only a 'favorite' in England but becomes a 'favorite Sultana' in France, as also in Germany. We will not speculate on why. The German version is missing important aspects, so perhaps depends on a

9 Giovan Battista Nani, *Historia della Republica Veneta* (Bologna, 1680), p. 89.

10 'Sclavonia, Croatia, Bosnia cum Dalmatiae parte', *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus in quo Tabulae et Descriptiones Omnium Regionum*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1645), unpaginated, of which the Wikimedia Commons version was used, made from the UCLA copy.

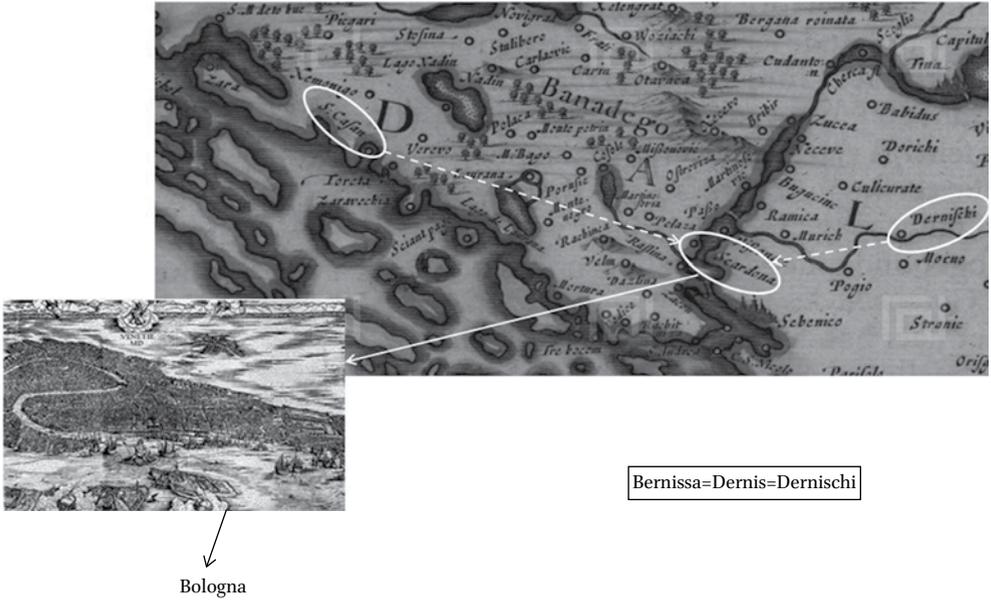


FIGURE 6.6 Hypothetical itinerary of news story in Bologna newspaper, using Blaeu Atlas (courtesy of UCLA) and Jacopo de' Barbari map of Venice (Wikimedia Commons)

<p>'We have received a confirmation of the retreat of the Turkish fleet at Constantinople, where the general Bashaw hath made his peace though for a while he was under a cloud. The report is, that having presented to the young Emperor a young Virgin of extraordinary beauty, who is of the Greek Nation that thereupon he was received into favour, and the young Maid like to be his chief Favourite'. 11.2.1653, Venice. <i>Several Proceedings of State Affairs</i></p>	<p>'Der Türckische gewesene General zur See hat Gnad und Perdon erlangt. Dieser sol dem Türkischen Käyser eine überaus schöne Griechische junge Tochter mitgebracht/und diese das Glück gehabt haben/das sie Sultane und des Käysers Ehegemahlin worden'. 20.1.1654, Venedig, <i>Sambstäigige Zeitung 1654, Hamburg</i></p>
<p>'On nous confirme la retraite de l'armée Otoman ... [du] port de Constantinople, chargée du butin qu'[on a pris].... dans les Isles de l'Archipel; et que le Bassa gen[eral].... [du] mer n'estoit pas si mal à la Porte, qu'on le [dit][le] Grand Seigneur le traitant assez bien depuis [le don] qu'il luy a fait d'une ieune fille Grecque tres-be[lle]...[que Sa] Hautesse recite avec tant de satisfaction, que [l'on dit].... qu'elle l'a declaré la favorite Sultan, mesm[e qu'elle].... doit etre bien tost couronnée.' De Venise ledit jour 19 Janvier 1654. <i>Gazette</i>, no. 20, dated Lyons, 10 Feb. 1654, p. 146.</p>	

FIGURE 6.7 Comparison of Ottoman news in London (Lancaster News Corpus [=LNC]), Hamburg (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen [=SuUB]) and Paris (Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon [=BML]) in 1654

missing original from Venice. Figure 6.8 shows a possible itinerary. If the Venice report indeed came out on 19 January as the French paper suggests (see Figure 6.7), the later-dated London report appears to be derivative, but the connection either to the French paper or the German papers is unclear (hence the missing arrow heads).

Examples abound. Our research team, working in the news archive in the Bremen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, has produced a long list of

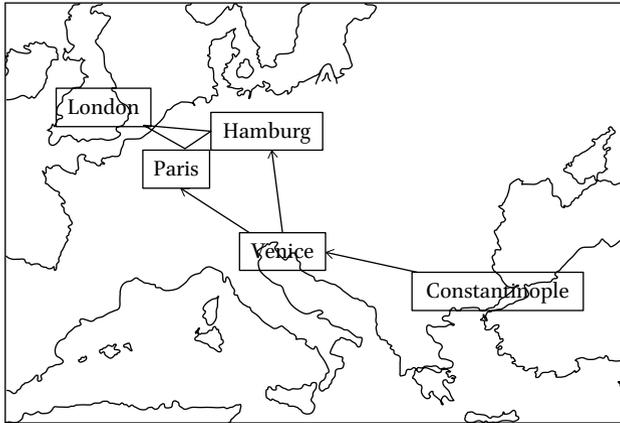


FIGURE 6.8
Possible itinerary of Ottoman news in early 1654

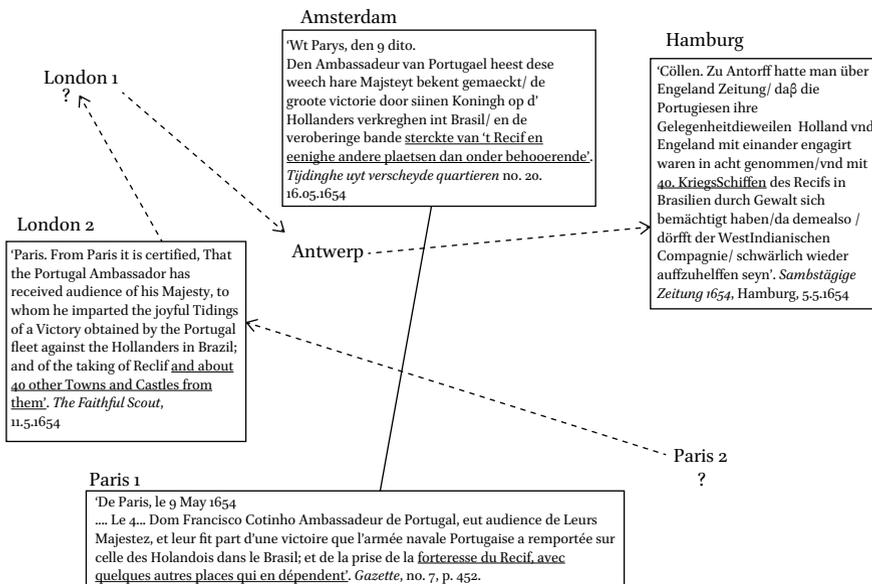


FIGURE 6.9 European reporting in 1654 concerning the Battle of Recife, Brazil. Crucial portions underlined. Sources are BML, LNC, SuUB and National Library of the Netherlands at The Hague [=NLN]

intertextualities between the English and German papers by comparing these to the Lancaster news books; and these we have matched with the respective numbers of the French *Gazette* and sometimes the Dutch corantos. A typical story regards the battle of Recife in Brazil, an episode in the global dimension of the colonial struggle between Holland and Portugal, reported in four papers, visualised in Figure 6.9.

The number 40 occurs in the Hamburg paper and the London one, although in different connections, and no ships or towns are mentioned in either the French or the Dutch papers. The Dutch paper seems almost identical to the account given at Paris; but there is no clear indication of which way the news was traveling. As for the other accounts the German one claims to get the information from Antwerp by way of England; but it is crucially different from the news printed in the English newspaper, which claims to get the news from Paris—obviously not the same *Gazette* as the one that resembles the Amsterdam paper, but some other news source.

Another story from the same time might be called the Diamond Cross Affair. The matter in question concerns a gift by Pope Innocent X to Lucrezia Barberini, grandniece of the previous pope, a significant sign of favor whose purpose has unfortunately not been recorded. Between the reporting in *Several Proceedings* and the *Sambstagige Zeitung* and the *Perfect Diurnal* we note significant similarities, illustrated in Table 6.1:

Here the first three clauses are the same across the sample, whereas the fourth appears only in these two different numbers of *Several Proceedings*. We now take the last example from the *Perfect Diurnal* from the rightmost column of Table 6.1 and compare it to a fifth paper, the French *Gazette*: this is shown in Table 6.2.

Quantitatively we would get a near perfect score according to Hardie's Crouch tool, indicating such a high degree of textual borrowing that one is practically a translation of the other—in this case most probably from French into English.

Applying the same criteria to another story of somewhat greater import, namely the flight of the British King Charles I from Hampton Court at the end of 1647, during the English Civil War, we get the results shown in Table 6.3. First we have the *Weekly Intelligencer* version, and, below this, that of the Bologna newspaper. The diverse numbered sections show which portions of the story are picked up, presumably going from London to Bologna. There are some crucial differences. The London version mentions the discovery of three letters, which become four in the Bologna paper; in addition, in the London paper the letter informing about the Parliament's plan to kill the King is signed E.R., whereas in Bologna this letter is supposed to be unsigned.

An aggregation of many more such examples could form the basis for a realistic picture of the news networks of early modern Europe. The preconditions for such a study would be the availability of some more of the crucial collections: readable corpora of the newsletters of Venice and Rome, and more than scattered numbers of the Dutch corantos. Results could be tabulated in terms

TABLE 6.1 *Reporting on the Diamond Cross Affair, 1654, parallel portions numbered (LNC and SuUB)*

13 Apr 1654 Rome. <i>Several Proceedings of State Affairs</i>	6 Apr 1654, Rome. <i>Several Proceedings of State Affairs</i>	11 Apr 1654 Rohm. <i>Sambstägige Zeitung</i> 1654	3 May 1654 Rome. <i>The Perfect Diurnal of some Passages and Proceedings.</i>
1. The Lady Lucretia Barbarina receiving a cross of Diamonds of a Present from the Pope worth 5000 Crowns,	3. The Signora Lucretia Barbarina hath taken her leave of the Pope going to marry the Duke of Medene.	2. [Vorgestern ist die] Donna Lucretia Barbarina von hier nach Loretto verreist/	3. The Lady Lucretia Barbarina, contracted to the Duke of Modena, being come to take her leave of the Pope,
2. went yesterday towards Lorretta,	[The King of Spain forbad]	3. sich alda mit dem Herzog von Modena trawen zu lassen/	1. who presented her with a Cross of Diamonds, worth 15 hundred pounds sterling,
3. and is to marry with the Duke Of Modena.	4. Sir. Massini the Nuncio [to come to Madrid,] the Pope hath recalled him, being much incensed thereby against the Spaniards, [and doth use Cardinal Astalli hardly, on whom they intend to bestow the Archbishopric of Toledo, because he is out of favour with the Pope:]	1. dero der Pabst ein gülden Creutz mit Diamanten versetzt/ auf 5000 Cronen wehrtverehret. [Im Sicilianischen Meer ist das Schiff Avanzino von Genova / vnnd der Holländische Pellican von Lisabona vnd Cadice kommend/über anderthalb Million Goldes wehrt / vor die Genuesische Kauffteut obhabend / durch Ungewitter mit Menschen vnd Gut zu Grund gangen.]	[went out of the City with a very great number of followers among others were the Cardinals Barberini her Kinsmen, with the Cardinals Collona and de Este, who having brought her on her way about three miles left the Cardinal her Brother to bring her to her intended Husband,]
4. The Pope is high against Spain; he had sent Signior Massini's Nuncio to the King, [and Trivaltio sent a Gentleman of his from Rome along with him, who understanding his Instructions got before him and told the King his Errand, and thereupon the King sent to stop him in his journey. Trivaltio is used hardly by the Pope for it,] and the Pope hath recalled his Nuncio	Archbishopric of Toledo, because he is out of favour with the Pope:]	Million Goldes wehrt / vor die Genuesische Kauffteut obhabend / durch Ungewitter mit Menschen vnd Gut zu Grund gangen.]	2. who is to meet her at Lorretto, [and there the Nuptials are to be consummated by the Cardinal Facchinet.]

TABLE 6.2 *Diamond Cross Affair, 1654: reporting from London and Paris, parallel portions numbered (LNC, BML)*

3 May 1654 Rome. *The Perfect Diurnal* Gazette no. 57, p. 447, Rome, 13 April 1654
of Some Passages and Proceedings

[Le 9]

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. The Lady Lucretia Barbarina, contracted to the Duke of Modena, being come to take her leave of the Pope,</p> | <p>1. la Signora Lucretia Barbarina Duchesse de Modène, apres avoir pris congé du Pape,</p> |
| <p>2. who presented her with a Cross of Diamonds, worth 15 hundred pounds sterling,</p> | <p>2. qui la régala d'une croix de diamans estimée plus de 5000 ecus,</p> |
| <p>3. went out of the City with a very great number of followers among others were the Cardinals Barberini her Kinsmen, with the Cardinals Collona and de Este, who having brought her on her way about three miles left the Cardinal her Brother to bring her to her intended Husband,</p> | <p>3. partit avec une belle suite, accompagnée des Cardinaux François. Antoine et Charles Barberins, Colonna et d'Este, le Prince de Palestrine et ses autres parens, lesquels la laissèrent à demi lieuë de cette ville, excepté ledit Cardinai Charles Barberini son frère, qui la</p> |
| <p>4. who is to meet her at Lorretto,</p> | <p>4. conduït jusqu'à Nostre-Dame de Lorette:</p> |
| <p>3. and there the Nuptials are to be consummated by the Cardinal Facchinet.</p> | <p>3. où elle sera receuë par le Prince Alfonse filce Luigi d'Este,
 [qui s'y doit rendre à cette fin avec les principaux de la Cour de cette Altesse:]</p> |
| | <p>3. que l'on dit avoir donné charge au Cardinal Facchinetti de faire la ceremony des espousaille
 [en cette Eglise de Nostre Dame de Lorette.]</p> |

TABLE 6.3 *Flight of King Charles I, viewed in two news sources, parallel portions numbered (LNC and Early English Books Online)*

Weekly Intelligencer 1647, no. 234, 9–16 Nov., p. 628, report from 11 Nov.:

1. This evening His Majesty departed from Hampton Court,
[he was not so pleasant at dinner as usually and]
2. spent most part of this day in writing in the Bed-chamber privately with himself only;
[About four a clocke at night his Majesty called for lights,]
2. and desired to be private,
[and said that he would not sup that night:]
3. After supper one of them knocking, his Majesty answered not; then the
Commissioners went in
[and Collonel Whalley and]
3. found
[his Majesties cloake there and]
3. *three Letters*
[lying on the table,]
4. with this Declaration:
[*His Maiesties most gracious declaration left by him on his Table at Hampton Court
Nov. 11, 1647: ... Liberty being that which in all times hath been but especially now
is the common Theame and desire of all men; common Reason shews that Kings,
lesse then any, should endure Captivity; and yet I call God and the world to witness
with what patience I have endured a tedious restraint, which so long as I had any
hopes,*]
4. that this fort of my suffering might conduce to the Peace of my Kingdomes,
[or the hindering of more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergo; but now
finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued Patience would onely turn to
my Personall Ruine, but likewise be of much more prejudice then furtherance to
the Publick good;]
4. I thought I was bound as well by naturall as Political Obligations to seek my safety,
by retiring my self,
[for some time, from the publick view both of my friends and enemies: Nor
would I have this my retirement misinterpreted; for]
4. I shal earnestly and uncessantly endeavor the settling of a safe well grounded Peace,
wherever I am or shall be;
[and that (as much as may be) without the effusion of more Christian Blood, for
which ho many times have I desired, prest to be heard? and yet, no Eare given to me:
and can any reasonable man think that (according to the ordinary course of affaires)
there can be a settled Peace without it? Or that God will blesse those who refuse to
heare their own King? Surely no. Nay, I must farther adde, that (besides what
concerns My Self)]

TABLE 6.3 *Flight of King Charles I, viewed in two news sources, parallel portions (cont.)*

-
4. unlesse all other chiefe interests have not onely a hearing, but likewise, just satisfaction given unto them (to wit, the Presbyterians, Independants, Army, those who have adhered to Me, and even the Scots) I say there cannot (I speak not of Miracles, it being in My opinion, a Sinfull presumption, in such cases, to expect or trust to them) be a safe or lasting Peace.
[Now as I cannot deny, but my Personall security is the urgent cause of this my Retirement; so I take God to Witnesse, that the Publick Peace is no lesse before my Eyes: And I can find no better way to expresse this My Profession (I know not what a Wise man may do) then by]
4. desiring and urging, that all chief interests may be heard, to the end, each may have just satisfaction: As for example, the Army, (for the rest, though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the Liberty of their consciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indempnity, (which should extend to all the rest of My Subjects) and that all their arreares should be speedily and duly Payed:
[Which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindered from using such lawfull and honest meanes as I shall chuse. To conclude,]
4. let me be heard with freedome, honour, and safety, and I shall (instantly) break through this cloud of retirement and shew my self really to be *Pater Patriae*.
[Hampton Court the 11 Novem. 1647.]
p. 730, report dated Friday Nov 12:
5. ... amongst the letters which his Majesty left upon the table was this one.
[‘May it please your majesty: In discharge of my duty, I cannot omit to acquaint you that my brother was at a meeting last night with eight or nine adjutators who in debate of the obstacle which did most hinder the speedy effecting of their designes, did conclude it was your Majesty and that so long as your Majesty doth live you would be so, and therefore]
5. resolved for the good of the kingdome to take your life away...
[I wish with my soule Your Majesty were]
5. at my house in Broad Street ...
[Your M’s dutifull subject, E.R.]
... The other letter was to Collonell Whaly...

Gazzetta di Bologna, cod. Ottob. 2450, fo. 2, dated 1 Jan. 1648:

1. La scritta fuga del Re d’Inghilterra di Hampton Court nell’Isola di Vieth viene raccontata in questa forma:
[che alli 22 novembre, dopo haver detto maestà dato udiienza segreta alli Commissari di Scozia, et ad un perincipale Signore del detto Regno, havesse spedito un salvacondotto per 4 de’ suoi gentiluomini, sotto finta che volessero uscire di quel regno,]

2. et il doppio pranzo poi si fosse ritirato nel suo gabinetto
[a scrivere,]
3. e lasciato ordine ai suoi Camerieri che non lasciassero entrare persona da lui, anzi
havesse fatto rispondere ad uno dei suoi Commissari, che li voleva parlare, ch'era
occupato.
Onde insospettiti detti commissari di quella ritiratezza, fossero tornati avanti cena
et entrati nel gabinetto non vi havessero trovato detta Maestà, ma solo in sua vece
4 lettere;
5. una aperta, scritta a S.M. da Londra *senza sottoscrizione*, nella quale veniva
avvertiata che la Camera Bassa trattava di farlo morire;
4. l'altre erano di suo pugno, in una delle quali venivano espresse le cagioni della fuga;
e cioè che havendo conosciuto che la speranza della pace di quel Regno, per la
quale haveva sofferto la prigionia passata, riusciva sempre più vana, si era procac-
ciato la sicurezza della sua persona, per impiegarci poscia in quella di suoi sudditi,
si dichiarava che per la pace di detto Regno egli era di senso, che si dovesse osserrar
una buona giustizia in dar soddisfazione ai Presbiteriani, agli Indipendenti,
all'Armata et a' Scozzesi, et inolge aggiungeva che si dovesse permettere libertà di
coscienza, e pubblicare il perdono generale. Quando il Parlamento avesse
inclinato nel detto suo senso, s'offeriva con modi leciti pagar l'armata, et ogni altro
privato. In fine, proponeva di andar egli medesimo a trattar questo interesse con
detto Parlamento, ma in luogo che fosse libero e sicuro; perche gli havrebbe fatto
conoscere con gli effetti che esso sempre sarebbe stato Padre della Patria'.

of vectors from place to place and from time to time. Finally, there would have to be a clever way of representing the results, something like what the projects at Stanford and Oxford are attempting to do for learned correspondence.¹¹

Even then, we would only be scratching the surface: because next comes the virtually unstudied issue of comparative prose stylistics across several news cultures, using the same texts just examined. Clearly, if the early media functioned as a content delivery system, they did so by conveying particular concepts through grammar, word usage, sentence structure, and every feature of rhetoric. The question then is what are the forms of journalistic narrative in the seventeenth century? Brownlees has offered some very suggestive conclusions regarding narrative in English corantos and news books, differentiating basically between two more or less coexisting approaches to delivering news—namely, the continuous narrative approach and the discontinuous narrative approach.¹²

11 <republicofletters.stanford.edu/>; <www.culturesofknowledge.org/>; see also <sixdegreesoffranciscacon.com/> [24/06/14].

12 Nicholas Brownlees, 'Narrating Contemporaneity: Text and Structure in English News', in *Emergence of Contemporaneity*, pp. 225–50. In addition, Brownlees, *The Language of*

The Brownlees model works rather well for cross-border analyses; and in this context the two accounts in Table 6.3 concerning the flight of the King from Hampton Court are highly relevant. The London version breaks up the narration with what purports to be an original document—in this case a letter written by the King to justify his flight to the Isle of Wight. The story in the Bolognese *Gazzetta* is formulated according to the typical rhetorical conventions not only of the newsletter but also of the printed news story. This type of continuous narrative raises numerous stylistic questions. The grammatical structure seems to favor long run-on sentences, although any measurements, especially ones based on counting punctuation marks, are highly misleading, especially as punctuation practices varied widely in the mid-seventeenth century. The 311-word selection contains four full stops, producing an average sentence length of 77 words, although the maximum length here is 153 words, comparable with the average sentence length in other narrative texts produced in Italy at the same time. A 2488-word extract from Book Three of Pietro Giovanni Capriata's 1644 *Historia* yields an average sentence length of 46.9 words, with a maximum of 147.¹³

Number of words: 2488	Number of commas: 279
Average word length: 5.36 letters	Avg number of commas per sentence: 5.264
Number of sentences: 53	Avg sentence length: 46.94 words
Min sentence length: 9 words	Max sentence length: 147 words

A short story from Maiolino Bisaccioni published in 1664 yields an average sentence length of some 75 words with a maximum of 335 words, greatly surpassing the number of the journalistic example.¹⁴

Number of words: 2635	Number of commas: 316
Average word length: 4.81 letters	Avg number of commas per sentence: 9.029
Number of sentences: 35	Avg sentence length: 75.29 words
Min sentence length: 6 words	Max sentence length: 335 words

These brief excerpts obviously do not fit the criteria for a corpus-based approach; but they may suggest corpora that could be constructed for the purposes of analysis along such lines.

Periodical News in Seventeenth-Century England (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 87–96.

13 Pietro Giovanni Capriata, *Dell'istoria: ne' quali si contengono tutti i movimenti d'arme successi in Italia dal MDCXIII fino al MDCXXXIV* (Geneva, 1644), vol. 1, pp. 143–54.

14 Maiolino Bisaccioni, *Il Porto* (Venice, 1664), pp. 397–406.

Now, examining journalistic texts like the one from the *Gazzetta di Bologna*, what ought to be the unit of analysis? I mean, what makes up a text—apart from the words? Slauter has proposed the ‘paragraph’ as the unit of news in the early modern, although in his article in the *Annales* he focuses on the eighteenth century, not on the earlier period. Looking at the question from the standpoint of the very origins of news, namely, the letter and eventually the newsletter, and keeping in mind the examples just proposed, I would argue that the material seems to be more often laid out in what at the time would have been called a ‘period’ rather than the more vaguely defined notion of paragraph. ‘Paragraph’ must be understood of course in context. The concept of ‘paragrafo’ appears already in Dante as a metaphor for a highlighted text drawn from the legal tradition of scholars marking off sections of the law, i.e. paragraphs, by a sign or ‘paragrafós’. On the other hand according to the definition in Giuseppe Manuzzi’s ‘corrected’ edition of the Florentine vocabulary of the academicians of the Crusca, which he published in Florence in 1838, a period is ‘a certain number of words formed of several members or clauses [*incisi*] the union of which gives a complete sentence.’¹⁵ This seems like a more suitable definition for what we see in the text of the *Gazzetta di Bologna*. Let us keep in mind that the Crusca *Vocabolario* of 1691 gave the following definition of a period: to wit, “a certain composition of words which circulate [*raggirono*]” as the word ‘periodós’ would suggest, and the dictionary entry points to the early seventeenth century Segni translation of the fourth century BC rhetorical handbook by Demetrius Phalereus which elaborates in some detail on the characteristics of a period.¹⁶ What seems common to all definitions is the concept of segmentation, in contrast to continuousness. A period always involves a concatenation of elements.

We shall now examine some of our examples from the standpoint of the concatenation of elements or clauses in a discourse. Here we are not referring to anything so sophisticated as the situating of events in a chronological sequence, which Brownlees has identified in his corantos and newsbooks. We are interested in quantity, not quality. And the concatenation of items in the *Gazzetta di Bologna* example appears in Figure 6.10.

Connections are made not just by the frequent commas and semicolons, but also by the frequent uses of the word ‘che’—a simple functional which in this case I think is highly significant keeping in mind all the caveats of Hardie

15 *Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Florence, 1838), p. 456.

16 *Demetrio Falereo della locuzione volgarizzato da Pier Segni accademico della Crusca detto l'Agghiacciato. Con postille al testo, ed esempli toscani, conformati a' greci* (Florence, 1603), pp. ii, 12, 13, 18, 19, 215–7, 220, 237, 260. In addition, *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*, vol. 3 (Florence, 1691), p. 1190.

La scritta fuga del Re d'Inghilterra di Hampton Court nell'Isola di Vieth viene raccontata in questa forma:

che alli 22 novembre, dopo haver detto maestà dato udienza segreta alli Commissari di Scozia, et ad un perincipale Signore del detto Regno, havesse spedito un salvacondotto per 4 de' suoi gentiluomini, sotto finta che volessero uscire di quel regno,

et il doppio pranzo poi si fosse ritirato nel suo gabinetto a scrivere, e lasciato ordine ai suoi Camerieri che non lasciassero entrare persona da lui, anzi havesse fatto rispondere ad uno dei suoi Commissari, che li voleva parlare, ch'era occupato.

Onde insospettiti detti commissari di quella ritiratezza, fossero tomati avanti cena et entrati nel gabinetto non vi havessero trovato detta Maestà, ma solo in sua vece 4 lettere; una aperta, scritta a S. M. da Londra senza sottoscrizione, nella quale veniva avvertiata che la Camera Bassa trattava di farlo morire; l'altre erano di suo pugno, in una delle quali venivano espresse le cagioni della fuga;

e cioè che havendo conosciuto che la speranza della pace di quel Regno, per la quale haveva sofferto la prigionia passata, riusciva sempre più vana, si era procacciato la sicurezza della sua persona, per impiegarsi poscia in quella di suoi sudditi, si dichiarava che per la pace di detto Regno egli era di senso, che si dovesse osserrar una buona giustizia in dar soddisfazione ai Presbiteriani, agli Indipendenti, all'Armata et a' Scozzesi,

et inoltre aggiungeva che si dovesse permettere libertà di coscienza, e pubblicare il perdono generale. Quando il Parlamento havesse inclinato nel detto suo senso, s'offeriva con modi leciti pagar l'armata, et ogni altro privato. In fine, proponeva di andar egli medesimo a trattar questo interesse con detto Parlamento, ma in luogo che fosse libero e sicuro; perche gli havrebbe fatto conoscere con gli effetti che esso sempre sarebbe stato Padre della Patria.

FIGURE 6.10 *Discourse fragments in Gazzetta di Bologna, 1 January 1648, ASVat., MSS Ottoboniani 2450, fo. 2, emphasis added*

and Brownlees about allowing too many noisy functionals to spoil our data. We have in essence a series of subordinate clauses related to the opening gambit, which is that letters have come in from a certain place. Roughly chronological order appears to have been maintained, after the initial announcement of what the story is about ('la scritta fuga del re').

Looking across various examples, we find that in the Italian media these features fit a common pattern. Here, in the upper portion of fig. 6.11, is another example from Italy, this time from the section devoted to 'Avvisi' in the Vatican Archive. We see a period composed of several elements, each adding to the story. I have separated out the clauses and numbered them from 1 to 4. All four clauses then appear in the bottom example, which is the *Gazzetta di Bologna* carrying the same story, but in a different order. The difference does not seem to be so much in chronology as in emphasis, suggested by the order of elements. For the manuscript newsletter above, the big story appears to be the Turkish arsenal worker who escaped because of the workload; in the printed gazette below, the big story is the arrival of the Venetian fleet in the Dardanelles. Each example contains material not found in the other. The top one, after the four points about the Turks, goes on in the same vein. The bottom example changes the subject completely and reports at least three other stories, all in green. In different media where there is copying across the media, we find that the concatenation of elements may change depending on the circumstances.

According to Will Slauter, it was precisely in the aspect of mobility that the paragraph asserted its particular usefulness in the eighteenth century: easily

<p>ASVat, Avvisi 19, c. 98, avviso, Venezia 5 maggio 1646</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>Dicono che</u> havendo il Turco ordinato al Chiaia almirante dell'Arsenale una quantità di galere impossibili a fornirsi per il primo tempo, 2. <u>questo</u> temendo della sua testa se ne sia fuggito da Costantinopoli con una quantità di quei capi operari di detto arsenale, 3. <u>il che</u> e dall'esser comparso avviso in quella città dell'incaminamento nella nostra armata verso i Dardanelli, publicatosi in maggior numero, havesse alterato talmente quei principali ministri e giannizzeri, 4. <u>et</u> il popolo che molto volentieri interamente desideravano la pace, li primi per il buon governo dell'impero Ottomano, li secondi risoluti quasi di non voler andar a servir sopra l'armata marittima, <p><u>et questi</u> per timore di qualche grande carestia stante che tutti i vivai con quali si mantiene quella popolatissima città, che dall'arcipelago et altri luoghi del mar Bianco arrivano devono passare per quello stretto, ove si trova la nostra armata, tenevano non di meno quei principali di parlar al Barbaro per la gran minaccia di esso a chi le parlasse di pace, aspettavano però, con gran desiderio, l'ambasciatore del re di Francia, publicatosi colà di presto arrivo, <u>et di</u> dover passar uffizio e pretesta, per parte del suo re, sopra l'ingiusta guerra non intimata et tirannica che all'ora poi haverebbe secondati gli uffizi dell'ambasciatore con destrezza per indurlo all'accomodamento'.</p>
<p>Ibid., c. 101, Gazzetta di Genova 5 v 46</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Di Venezia <u>scrivono</u> confome già s'è accennato, che l'armata di quella Repubblica molto numeroso, s'era incamminata verso le bocche di Constantinopoli per impedir l'uscita di quello del Turco, 4. <u>e che</u> havutosi di ciò qualche sentore in quella città, cominciava il popolo a tumultuare; tanto più veggendo molti sforzati dal Gran Signore a remigar sulle galere. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <u>Che</u> non di meno il Turco affretava a più potere l'armamento, assistendo con tanta premura egli stesso nell'arsenale, 2. <u>che</u> riuscendo la faccenda a molti operai non meno pericolosa che di tedio, se n'erano fuggiti molti di essi col Maestro principale. <p><u>Che</u> il Generale Grimani haveva presi 4 vascelli Ragusei, che carichi di pece, e sale, andavano dalla Vallona a Costantinopoli, <u>e che</u> in Andrianopoli sendosi acceso un gran fuoco, haveva abbruciato gran quantità di munizioni da guerra da diverse provincie, colà adunate, con notabilissimo danno anco della città. <u>E che</u> il Turco afflito non meno di quest'accidente che da i Cosacchi che cominciano a far gran danno nel Mar Negro sarebbe forzato a rivolger il pensiero alla difesa di se medesimo'.</p>

FIGURE 6.11 *Comparison of discourse elements in a Venetian avviso and in the Gazzetta di Bologna, emphasis added*

detachable from its moorings in a specific text and transportable lock stock and barrel into another text, it might be embedded in an entirely different context, surrounded with entirely different ideas. We find that in the Italian cases the clauses of a period have the same utility. Easily movable from place to place, removable and exchangeable, they are the building blocks of stories, the seeds of narrative, and ultimately the stock in trade of the vast stream of exchangeable information coursing through the networks of early modern news.¹⁷ Like the packets of data passing through the Internet, maybe also through the silos of the cyberspooks in Fort Meade, MD, they can be traced—although this will clearly require some time and a good deal of machinery.

17 I offer some more bibliography and reviews on current research methodologies in my article, 'Media and History: Cultural Concerns', *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 15 (2015), pp. 11-18.

The Papal Network: How the Roman Curia Was Informed about South-Eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire and the Mediterranean (1645–1669)

Johann Petitjean

Known at the time as Candia, after the former name of its capital city, Crete is the oldest colony of the Venetian Dominion.¹ The island was considered more of a burden than an asset to the Venetian economy, and indeed its commercial importance diminished after the loss of the ports of Modon and Coron, and the redirection of goods to the benefit of Zante (Zakynthos) and Corfu.² Nonetheless, it remained a symbolic jewel of the Venetian Dominion in the middle of the seventeenth century. After the loss of Cyprus, taken by the Ottomans in 1573, Crete was the Most Serene Republic's only significant colony in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean. As an essential stop on the maritime route from Istanbul to Alexandria, it was coveted by the Ottomans, who perceived Venetian control over the island as an obstacle to their Mediterranean policy, even as an anomaly, since the safety of the Ottoman merchants sailing in the Levant could not be guaranteed as long as Christian corsairs could rely on the Cretan ports to provide them with optimal conditions to lead their seasonal campaign.³ Moreover, Maltese activity in the Eastern Mediterranean

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- 1 The island became a part of the Venetian Dominion after the fourth crusade and the disruption of the Byzantine Empire. See Mario Gallina, *Una società coloniale del Trecento: Creta fra Venezia e Bisanzio* (Venice: Deputazione di Storia Patria, 1989), and Democrazia Hemmerdinger Iliadou, 'La Crète sous la domination vénitienne et lors de la conquête turque (1322–1684). Renseignements nouveaux ou peu connus d'après les pèlerins et les voyageurs', *Studi Veneziani*, 9 (1967), pp. 535–623. This paper was presented at the *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* workshop in Rennes (10 May 2012) before being developed, in French, as the last chapter of my book, *L'intelligence des choses: une histoire de l'information entre Italie et Méditerranée, XVI^e–XVII^e siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2013).
 - 2 Benjamin Arbel, 'Riflessioni sul ruolo di Creta nel commercio mediterraneo del Cinquecento', in *Venezia e Creta. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1998), pp. 245–59.
 - 3 Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 13–17; Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*

was the excuse taken by Ibrahim I to send a task force to Crete, thus triggering a 24-year imperial war.⁴

The main events of this war are well known to historians, mostly through some reports and chronicles published in Europe as soon as the troops returned home. The war was not limited to the island itself, however, and contrary to what the titles of many articles and several well-known books on the subject suggest, the conflict did not simply come down to the events that happened in 1667–9. During the 1650s, it spread to the Dardanelles, the Aegean islands, and also Dalmatia as well as Morea, as Lazzaro Mocenigo attacked Chios in 1657, and Francesco Moresini took Kalamata the year after. The entire conflict tends to disappear in the shadow of the two last years of siege, in the same way as, on another scale, the battle of Lepanto often stands for the War of Cyprus, the Turkish War or even all of Mediterranean history. Despite military specialists' fascination for the siege itself, the persistent interest of historians—predominantly French—in the expeditions of the so-called 'Volunteers' enlisted to fight 'the Turk' on Cretan beaches, and all the studies dedicated to the diplomatic moves and alliances caused by the conflict, there are still far fewer publications dealing with the Cretan War than the War of Cyprus.⁵ A few episodes are better known, and the list of these clearly shows that news was far more widely spread when it was good, that is to say, when there was something to celebrate. During the last years of the siege of Candia, however, after the pope decided to commit men and means to help the Venetian armies overwhelmed by the besieging Ottoman troops, it appears that a brand new information policy was implemented, based on the addition and maximisation of pre-existing tools.

An extensive study of the Cretan War, based on the original documentation in the Vatican, allows us to reconstitute the varied circuits that conducted Mediterranean news to Rome, to identify who the 'Popes' men' were in the area and how they collected and transmitted the news in the specific context of the long and decisive crisis of the Cretan war.⁶ The necessarily composite nature of the wide pontifical web dedicated to keeping strategic watch on the Ottoman empire and, at that time, to tracking military operations both on the island and

and the World Around it (London: IB Tauris, 2006), p. 51; Michel Fontenay, 'L'Empire ottoman et le risque corsaire au XVII^e siècle', *Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 32 (1985), pp. 185–208.

4 See Gino Benzoni, 'Morire per Creta', in *Venezia e Creta*, pp. 151–73.

5 See for instance Özan Badrakci and François Prugnière, *La Dernière croisade. Les Français et la guerre de Candie, 1669* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008).

6 The expression comes from Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

in the Balkans, is expressed at the level of spaces, time, institutions, actors, channels and media. It exposes a radical ordered heterogeneity that invites us, in the first place, to consider the papal networks in the early modern Mediterranean as a phenomenon that extends beyond the diplomatic framework, and, secondly, to rethink the institutions through their practices, and the 'international politics' through the information processes.⁷

The Nuncio, Official Agent in Venice and Regional Information Coordinator

The cornerstone of the whole system indeed remains the diplomatic relations with Venice. In the middle of the seventeenth century, it was still thanks to the *Pregadi* that the nuncio was directly and continuously informed about facts and events that the Venetian government also shared with the pope through its ambassadors in Rome. The coded notes of the archbishop of Athens, Monsignor Jacopo Altoviti, show a nuncio extremely busy with the audiences he attends, accompanied by one of his assistants who takes notes about the dispatches, or rather the small abstracts and excerpts that the Senate makes available to the pope.⁸ There are fixed hours and days for ordinary audiences, but the nuncio is sometimes woken up in the middle of the night for an unexpected interview—as happened to Monsignor Caraffa, Altoviti's predecessor, once woken up at 3 a.m. to receive news from Dalmatia, the Greek Islands, and the Ottoman capital city; news of little interest, as it turned out, and probably intended more as just retribution for the nuncio's insistence on being kept informed of everything, all the time.⁹

The fact that Borghi or Ciampoli, the nuncio's secretaries, actually attended the audiences helps us understand how their reports can be as precise and detailed as they are.¹⁰ Besides, the fact that an official sheet summarising everything judged important by the *Savi* was also sent or given at the end of the audience explains why the 'public' letters, that is to say the official letters,

7 For a general account of the institutions, means and goals of the papal diplomacy, see Pierre Blet, *Histoire de la Représentation diplomatique du Saint Siège* (Vatican City: Archivio Vaticano, 1982); and Maria Antonietta Visceglia, ed., *Papato e politica internazionale nella prima età moderna* (Rome: Viella, 2013).

8 Franco Gaeta, 'Altoviti Iacopo', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (hereafter *DBI*), 2 (1960), pp. 576–7.

9 Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter *ASV*), Segr. Stato, Venezia, 90, 8, 7 July 1657.

10 For example: *ASV*, Segr. Stato, Venezia, 282, 71–2, 12 July 1659.

are so numerous in the Roman archives. If we compare systematically all the letters sent to Rome by the apostolic nunciature of Venice from 1645–57 and 1657–9 with those sent from 1570–72, those dealing with the War of Crete are much easier to follow than those from the Cyprus campaigns. Of course, the places where the Ottoman troops actually engaged the Venetian army—soon joined by the Papal forces, the Maltese, and numbers of mercenaries and young European nobles who cherished the spirit of the Crusade—are much closer to the Italian Peninsula than had been the case in the previous conflict. But this proximity of the theatres of operations, as real as it is, is not in itself decisive. More important was the conflict's breaking out into three different combat zones (Crete, the Dardanelles and Dalmatia) and their proximity to Venetian maritime bases and allies.

The information about the Veneto-Ottoman War of 1645–69 is not as massive and continuous as it may seem at first: if there is in fact a real quantitative change, it is only based on the conjunction of two factors that have nothing to do with any qualitative revolution in the *Serenissima's* networks in the Mediterranean. The apparent amount of news transmitted and received during the conflict, often on a weekly basis, does not mean that this war was judged more important than the previous one. From 1645–7, the volume and frequency of the military news bulletins reaching the Apostolic nuncios is comparable with the reporting of the Cyprus war; but ten years later, during the second phase of the conflict, it doubles or even triples. Fields of operations are more numerous, closer to the peninsula, and related to places administered or frequented by the agents of the *Serenissima*. The reason for the change lies mainly in the conjunction of the geopolitics of the war, and the geography of the Venetian overseas dominions. This geographical politics was also a potential commercial and informative geography of the Mediterranean since the Venetian possessions were used as observatories and relays for the transmission of maritime news. It is apparent in an *avviso* of 6 October 1646 which mentions the disappointment of the Venetian authorities when a ship just arrived from Smyrna was unable to provide any information, since it had not stopped in Crete, nor in Zante or Cephalonia, nor even in Corfu.¹¹ The Ionio-Aegean area played a structuring role in the transmission of Cretan news to Venice.

To complete the lists of the islands and stops previously cited, we should add Cythera, through which the General Grimani's letters passed at the end of August 1646.¹² To this first group of places must be added a second, on the

¹¹ ASV, Segr. Stato, Venezia, 71, 512–5.

¹² ASV, Segr. Stato, Venezia, 71, 461–4.

Adriatico-Balkan side, comprising Kotor, Ragusa and Durres (in descending order of importance) which transmitted news from the continental part of the Ottoman Empire in times of war, a role normally assigned in peacetime to the *fregata* that regularly sailed from Istanbul to Venice. From 1645 on, the 'letters from Constantinople' indeed get particularly scarce, and since the *bailo* was reduced to silence, the Venetian authorities had to solicit other ambassadors.¹³ Soranzo succeeded in communicating with his government in April 1646 by enclosing a letter of his own in the mail sent by the French ambassador on a boat unofficially chartered by French merchants.¹⁴ Matters did not improve when the second phase of the conflict began in 1657: for two whole years, the Republic of Venice was left without the slightest 'public letter' and had no other choice but temporarily to replace *avvisi* with rumours.¹⁵

Although the *Serenissima*, in her quest for allies, clearly made an effort to communicate more news than before, and although there was a regularisation of the flow of news between the Mediterranean and the Peninsula, the official ways for transmitting information remain unsatisfactory in many aspects. The Apostolic nuncios, as well as their correspondents, the Secretaries of State and the pope's nephews, who also have access to news of Levantine affairs through the audiences given to the ambassadors in Rome, and who share the central coordination of the popes' networks and manage the news according to topic, geographical origin, and/or institutional type and degree, are products of their time: they became used to receiving a quantity of news each week which was incomparably larger than what was delivered during the War of Cyprus. Their expectations and needs evolved with the situation and grew as new media and geopolitical potentialities were tested. In this regard, the experience of information appears to be structurally unsatisfactory.

So, as early as the summer of 1645, we find Angelo Cesi, bishop of Rimini, adding more confidential information to the official news.¹⁶ The nunciature had its own agents in Venice, able to transmit information held or hidden by the government. On 1 July, for example, most of the news from Istanbul given by the nuncio had been communicated to him "by a person very well informed of the things going on in the Palace", and by another "friend" who, in the official mail freshly arrived from Kotor, had "seen" a letter from the Venetian *bailo*'s

13 For more information about Venetian diplomats in Istanbul, see Eric R. Dursteler, 'The *Bailo* in Constantinople: crisis and career in Venice's early modern diplomatic corps', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 16.2 (2001), pp. 1–30.

14 Dursteler, 'The *Bailo* in Constantinople', p. 285.

15 Andrea Valiero, *Historia della guerra di Candia* (1679; Trieste, 1859), pp. 488–9.

16 Gino Benzoni, 'Cesi Angelo' *DBI* (24, 1980), p. 241.

butler confirming the news given by the first informer.¹⁷ Since Cesi had only been in Venice for two months at that time, we may assume that he inherited the networks of his predecessors and redirected them toward Ottoman questions. The Venetian “friends” of the nunciature allowed access to news where disclosure was delayed or even forbidden. Spying was a way to circumvent these practices and, mostly in the former case when the news was only delayed, an accelerator, the best way to avoid simply submitting to the tempo imposed by the Venetian government. The arrival of mail from Istanbul or from the armies appears to have been an event in itself: it could not be kept hidden for long from the main persons interested in it. For financial as well as diplomatic reasons, the nuncio’s spies could not be perpetually active, but rather were called upon occasionally, depending on the arrival of letters and the degree of delay in normal and official communication. At the beginning of 1646, news became particularly scarce, and Monsignor Cesi was led to present his excuses several times for the paucity of the *avvisi* he was able to supply to the Holy See.¹⁸ When letters from the Levant finally reached Venice in mid-February, the nuncio took them as a sign that the information winter had finally come to an end. So he rejoiced and waited to be called in. But time went by and nothing was disclosed. The nuncio finally lost patience and talked to the Secretary, who confirmed that nothing had been divulged in Rome either, reluctantly announcing the measures to be taken. Spying on an ally is clearly not an easy decision to make, but after two weeks of silence, the nuncio considered that the contract had been broken. Since dissimulation was contrary to the rules of diplomacy, they could be considered as temporarily suspended—which allowed and even justified spying, interpreted as a perfectly legitimate course of action under the circumstances, and always an extraordinary measure.

From 1658 on, the nunciature acquired another secondary, but also most probably confidential, source of information on what happened in Istanbul, the European and continental parts of the Ottoman Empire. This source was

17 “Nella materia del turco hieri fui avisato da persona, che svole esser molto ben informata delle cose di Palazzo, e mi disse, che le lettere di Costantinopoli portorono, che'l Visir mandò à chiamare il Dragomano mag[gio]re del Bailo, e gli domandò, se che nova havea il Bailo, della Sua Armata, e rispondendoli, che nessuna, domandò di nuouo, e della nostra sapetene niente e negando questo parimente soggiunse, se il Bailo havea amor nessuno, rispose l'altro, che timor potea havere, se non havea guerra, et era assicurato dalla buona volontà del Re mediante la parola di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a che direbbe disse, se andassimo à Corfù, rispose, che non potea crederlo stante la parola di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a”, in ASV, Segr. Stato, Venezia, 69, 30 and 32.

18 ASV, Segr. Stato, Venezia, 71, 129.

the Baron Taxis, the Emperor's post-master, who allowed the nuncios Caraffa and Altoviti access to his own networks in Vienna and Eastern Europe, which were used on the one hand to compensate for the diminution of the numbers of 'letters from Constantinople' while the *baile* was under surveillance, and on the other hand to counterbalance the monopoly of the *Serenissima* on the little Ottoman news still reaching Venice.¹⁹ This may seem trivial, and risky too, for the Holy See, compared to the practices and tactics of Facchinetti, the papal nuncio during the War of Cyprus.²⁰ So it would be easy to jump to the conclusion that the nuncios considered themselves happy with the data delivered by the Venetian government, or were at least resigned to their inability to find a durable source of information to replace it. But this would be to forget that the orientations of the nunciature only make sense in the broader context of the general information policy conducted by Rome. In a nutshell, just because the Roman authorities reacted poorly to the Venetian tactics and felt the lack of information throughout the Cretan conflict, it does not follow that they were satisfied with them. On the contrary, this sort of resignation may be interpreted as proof that, between the two Veneto-Ottoman wars, the Roman Curia freed itself, at least partly, of Venice's grip on Levantine news. It should be noted that the news the Venetian government granted to its allies during the war was meant to serve the geopolitical interests of the Republic by convincing the Princes to take part in the conflict. The number of Venetian documents enclosed in the mail of the nunciature, or transmitted by the Venetian ambassadors in Rome, is quite impressive. It even grows notably after 1657, even though some of these ambassadors were known for their anti-ecclesiastic positions—as the *Cavalier* Iacomo Quirini, who caused the Pope Chigi “a particular aversion”.²¹ Numerous military reports are produced at that time, and handwritten copies of them are distributed, probably by the Venetian government itself.²² Since the quantity, and quality, of data communicated were directly related to the geopolitical goals of the *Serenissima*, they varied according to the context, whether the aim was to interest the pope in the destiny of the Dominion, or negotiating with the Sultan.

19 For instance: “*Da Vienna con lettere delli 13 del cadente scrive à questo Sig[no]r Barone Tassis un' suo Corrispondente, che teneva avvisi freschissimi d'Andrinopoli (Edine), che essendosi il Valacco opposto con 25 m[ila] huomini al Bassà di Silitria numeroso di 50 m[ila] trà Turchi et Tartari, questi l'havessero rotto con morte di ottomila de suoi ...*”, ASV, Segr. Stato, Venezia, 91, 269, 27 April 1658.

20 See Petitjean, *L'intelligence des choses*, pp. 247–77.

21 ASV, Segr. Stato, Venezia, 282, 'Prefazione', 6.

22 Mostly in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), *Barb. Lat.*, 5124–5, 5136, 7806; and ASV, Segr. Stato, Avvisi, 41.

Some of the documents enclosed in the nuncios' mail were official not because of who wrote them, but because of the way they were transmitted and, above all, how they were treated in chancellery before being sent inside and outside the government. On 4 August 1657, for example, after exposing the main affairs and negotiations treated by the nunciature, the apostolic agent proceeded to select the news he had received during the week. This includes the seizure of Chios by Venetian troops, but, what with the news coming from Livorno and not directly from the Adriatic Sea and, moreover, with no confirmation after almost 50 days, the nuncio considers it "groundless".²³ Before closing his weekly mail, he added a last document, a letter from Kotor, the Venetian outpost in the Balkans besieged by the Ottoman troops in 1657, signed by a merchant named Giovanni Bolizza, who provided him with some details about the fights between the fleets in June.²⁴ In 1657, as ten years earlier, the Republic's information policy was based on the desire to call upon her allies for help, which explains why the doctrine and rhetoric of the *common enemy* met with real success at this time, (re)activating Christian networking in the Mediterranean and in south-east Europe for the benefit of the Roman Curia.

Papal Assets in the Mediterranean: A Configuration

Many among those involved from the beginning on the various Levantine front lines occasionally but directly informed the pope, the cardinal-nephew, or the Secretary of State. For example, Giuseppe Peruzzini Anconomitain, enrolled in the Venetian army under the command of the Marquis de Ville, offered to send Cardinal Rospigliosi news of the conflict through the mail of the Pontifical regiments.²⁵

Bishops and missionaries in the Balkans also informed the Roman authorities of the state and progress of the Ottoman troops in the region via the *nuncio* of Venice or the prefect of the Congregation *De propaganda Fide*.²⁶ The 644 documents edited by Marko Jačov clearly shows that missionaries and ecclesiastic delegates not only sent documents concerning the religious and administrative

23 ASV, Segr. Stato, Venezia, 90, 119.

24 ASV, Segr. Stato, Venezia, 90, 102.

25 BAV, Barb. Lat., 7806, 89–96.

26 See Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'Per servizio della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide: i nunzi apostolici e le missioni tra centralità romana e Chiesa universale (1622–1660)', in *Ambasciatori e nunzi. Figure della diplomazia in età moderna*, ed. Daniela Frigo, *Cheiron*, 30 (1999), pp. 201–27.

lives of their dioceses to Rome and Venice, but also collected and transmitted first-hand military information to the Holy See. On 2 February 1646, for example, the Bishop of Nin, leaving for Rome, describes the military incursions of the Ottoman army in his diocese; the day after, friar Anton Francesco Orasti seized the 'occasion' to inform the Congregation that the Pasha of Bosnia, with 'more or less' 15,000 men, was marching on Sibenik.²⁷ Missionaries and bishops also wrote newsletters. Details of troops entering the dioceses of Zadar and Nin, ravages perpetrated in the diocese of Kotor, the use of canons against Novigrad in July 1646 and the fall of the city are all to be found in newsletters supplied by ecclesiastical correspondents. The whole Balkan campaign was closely followed by the missionaries and religious authorities present in the area.²⁸ After 1648 and the seizure of the fortress of Klis, however, newsletters became less frequent, though data still flowed, albeit infrequently, without interruption for the duration of the war.

The Ragusan government secretly, but continuously, sent many newsletters to Naples from the mid-sixteenth century, and to Rome since the end of the Cyprus war, at that time using the name of Lucio Pisone.²⁹ However, it is only during the first years of the Cretan war that this noteworthy Balkan circuit begins to run at top speed. On 14 April 1645, while the Ottoman authorities tightened their controls on the post services and agents of the tributary Republic, the name changes to Martino da Turra.³⁰ The newsletters discreetly transmitted by the Ragusan authorities thanks to these aliases principally dealt with the situation in the empire and the main events in Istanbul: the government placed its resources, the merchant and diplomatic networks in the Ottoman empire, at the pope's and Viceroy's disposal, giving them the means

27 Marko Jačov, ed., *Le missioni cattoliche nei Balcani durante la guerra di Candia (1645-1669)* (Vatican City: BAV, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 38-40.

28 Jačov, *Le missioni cattoliche*, 1: 50-3.

29 For more information about this particular part of the papal news network and back-channel diplomacy in Europe and the Mediterranean, see Johann Petitjean, 'On His Holiness' Secret Service: How Ragusa became an Intelligence agency after Lepanto', in *Europe and the Ottoman world: Exchanges and Conflicts (16th-17th centuries)*, ed. Gabor Karman and Radu G. Paun (Istanbul: Isis, 2013), pp. 83-106.

30 "Di V[ostra] Santità alla quale ricordo, che da hora in avvenire quel che mi occorrerà di servirle le scriverò sotto questo nome, cioè Martino de Turra, e così si compiacerà V[ostra] B[eatitudi]ne di chiamarmi nel rescrivermi, perchè per degni rispetti ho risoluto di mutare il mio nome di Lucio Pisone, nel detto di Martino de Turra", Ivan Dujčev, *Avvisi di Ragusa: documenti sull'impero turco nel sec. XVII e sulla guerra di Candia* (Rome: Pont. institutum orientalium studiorum, 1935), 15. Originally in ASV, Segr. Stato, Particolari, 19, 4-5, 14-20 April 1645.

of keeping a cautious eye on lands where these two powers had no official agent and thus no constant network. With the beginning of the war, the Ragusan antennae were directed towards the Balkans in order to follow troop movements and battles in the region without depending on Venetian reports. Between 1574 and 1663, more than 200 Ragusan newsletters reached Rome and were processed by the cardinal-nephews, particularly during the tenures of the Barberini, Maffeo and then Francesco, as 'protectors' of the city.³¹ From 1606 to 1644, approximately two letters were sent each year, but six reached Rome in 1621 and 1635, while the sultan's troops were attacking Poland. In 1645–7, the proportions are incomparably greater: more than 50 newsletters were sent, providing the pope with an unprecedented amount of data.

Because of the annual naval campaigns of the Knights of St John and the naval traffic between the western and the eastern part of the Mediterranean sea, and, later, thanks to the Inquisitor and Apostolic Delegate sent to the island and the Grand Master, the pope kept an eye on the Levant and the ongoing events of the Cretan war from Malta. From the end of winter 1645, the Inquisitor's correspondence notably neglected the local news, its chief preoccupation up to that point, to focus on the Levant, which proves that the pontifical 'sensor' in Malta could be relatively efficiently re-oriented according to the global situation and the needs, explicit or not, of the State Secretary, the Curia and the pope.

Monsignor Gori's correspondence, like those of Antonio Pignatelli and Carlo Cavalletti after him, is full of data brought by the Maltese *exploratores* during the annual campaigns of the fleet, or the sailors and captains of merchant ships stopping at the island.³² Central Mediterranean navigation and intelligence missions organised by the Knights in the Levant complete the strictly local or regional news in both the dispatches and the *Avvisi di Malta* the Inquisitors sent to Rome. The former mostly dealt with the administration of the nations of the Order and the ongoing negotiations between Rome and the Grand Master, the latter with the state of maritime traffic and the activity of Barbary corsairs in the Central Mediterranean. News became more frequent after the arrival of Monsignor Carlo Cavalletti on the island in May 1648. New contacts were made, old ones were reactivated on the fringes of the Eastern Mediterranean, and they all began to be productive. From 1649 onwards that the missives of the Inquisition began to contain (in addition to the official dispatches) copies of the

31 *'Ragusa. Il Card[inale] Maffeo Barberini fu protettore di quella Republica. Assunto al Pontificato, il Card[inale] Francesco successe alla protezione'*, BAV, Barb. Lat., 7809, s.n.

32 Paolo Piccolomini, 'Corrispondenza tra la Corte di Rome e l'Inquisitore di Malta durante la guerra di Candia (1645–1669)', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 41.1 (1908), pp. 67–70.

avvisi that the correspondent of the Sovereign Order transmitted to the Knights and the Grand Master then communicated to the Apostolic Delegate to inform the pope via the cardinal-nephew Camillo Pamphili (until he renounced his cardinalate to marry Olimpia Aldobrandini) the correspondence being handled by the Secretariat of State. In that year, most of the data was primarily assembled in Zante before being communicated to Malta and then on to Rome. An important example would be the news of the Turkish fleet crossing the Dardanelles on 3 May 1649. The news, probably sent by Iacopo Riva, the then leader of the expedition to the Turkish Straits, came first to Candia and reached Zante 14 days later; it was forwarded on 28 May by a certain Giorgio Latino, whose letter of *avvisi* was enclosed in the first mail sent by the new Inquisitor from Malta on 14 July.³³ Giorgio Latino, who might have worked in Zante as a *chargé d'affaires*, is the only informer openly named in the letters of the Inquisition. Although his epistolary activity can be identified as early as 1631, it grew more frequent with the war. Above all, it relayed relevant and precious information: Giorgio Latino, it would seem, was the first to tell the Knights about military preparation in the Ottoman empire, and also revealed the destination of the sultan's galleys stationed at Navarino.³⁴ When the Pontifical regiments did not put to sea with the Maltese to go to Crete, or the Dardanelles, to assist the Venetian troops, the Holy See lost a direct source of information on the conflict, thus intensifying the influence of peripheral various observatories, giving more importance to the Inquisitor's letters. However, from 1658 to 1660, Crete does not seem to have been a priority. While Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi, 1599–1667) and the Curia seemed mostly preoccupied with what was happening on the other side of the Alps, and while the Ottomans focused on Transylvania, the Knights of the Sovereign Order rarely left the Central Mediterranean, fighting mostly with corsairs from North Africa. News from the front line became scarce, and was therefore notably replaced by regional or local news until 1667; that is, while the siege of Candia moved into its decisive phase and Clement IX (Giulio Rospigliosi, 1600–1669) substituted for Alexander VII at the head of the Church.

The role of the nephew Iacopo Rospigliosi (1628–84) at the Curia was highly strategic. As Surveyor of the Ecclesiastic States, he was held in high esteem by his uncle whom he assisted in Madrid, and who did not forget the virtues of nepotism he observed during the times of Urban VIII, when he learned the mechanisms of the Pontifical Curia alongside Antonio Barberini.³⁵ His correspondence

33 Piccolomini, 'Corrispondenza', pp. 105–7.

34 Piccolomini, 'Corrispondenza', p. 114.

35 About the Rospigliosi family, see Gaetano Moroni, 'Rospigliosi, famiglia' and 'Rospigliosi Jacopo, Cardinale', in *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, 59 (1852), pp. 161–9;

with his brother Vincenzo Rospigliosi, in place of Decio Azzolino or in conjunction with the action of the Secretary of State, depending on the subject matter and/or circumstances, is without doubt one of the most critical. On 27 July and 2 August 1668 for instance, as the Pontifical naval force commanded by the *frà* Rospigliosi lay close to St Theodore, Vincenzo completed the reports concerning his squadrons with some news about the siege, given to him by the Venetians who joined him, and reported things that the Venetian Commissioner of Souda had apparently learned by questioning “a few Greeks”.³⁶ However, despite this kind of efficient Roman-Venetian joint intelligence, despite the cardinal nephew’s commitment and power, and in spite of Vincenzo’s efforts and application in following his predecessors’ example, the news did not always arrive in time. The Ionian Islands represent a strategic point, beyond which news communication became unreliable and journeys so much longer and more hazardous that solutions had to be found. Pontifical troops, Maltese and Venetians continued to communicate and exchange news about the different fleets and the places where the conflict was still raging. And when the information transmitted by one command to another was considered important enough, the Pontifical General forwarded it at once to the cardinal. Means of communication were also pooled by the allies: thus, just before leaving St Theodore where he spent almost one month after bombing it at the beginning of July 1668, Rospigliosi, albeit slightly reluctantly, decided to use the *Serenissima*’s communication and resources to send his last letters in Italy.³⁷

From May 1668 on, Iacopo Rospigliosi gained another source on the progress of the siege thanks to “an agent of His Catholic Majesty on duty on this island [of Zante] for the Levantine Intelligence” while the Cretan news reaching Rome through normal channels of communication, that is to say mostly through agents in Venice and Napoli, was still received by the Secretariat of State, and processed by its agents.³⁸ Thus, the nature of the data does not help us to understand how tasks were divided between the two main associates of Pope Clement IX. The nephew and the Secretary both received dispatches and letters of *avvisi* dealing with the war, processed the main information with

Vittorio Capponi ‘Rospigliosi, famiglia’, ‘Rospigliosi Giulio’ and ‘Rospigliosi Iacopo’, in *Biografia pistoiese, o Notizie della vita e delle opere dei pistoiesi* (Bologna: tip. Rossetti, 1878; Bologna, 1972), pp. 336–41; Raoul Meloncelli, ‘Clemente IX’, *DBI*, 26 (1982), pp. 282–93.

36 Franco Ballerini, ‘Lettere di Vincenzo Rospigliosi cavaliere gerosolimitano e capitano generale dell’armata nella guerra di Candia’, *Il Muratori. Raccolta di documenti storici inediti o rari tratti dagli archivi italiani pubblici o privati*, 3 vols. (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1892–5), 1 (1892), 181–4, and 2 (1893), 167–70; ASV, Segr. Stato, Soldati, 30, 155, 167.

37 ASV, Segr. Stato, Soldati, 127–8.

38 ASV, Segr. Stato, Particolari, 47–8.

their own staff and then informed the pope of the things that they judged most reliable and relevant. However, the former seems to be more in charge of extraordinary affairs and special services, while the latter is more responsible for handling information circulating through the normal channels of the Curia—a division that hardly matches up with the conventional but often improper distinction between official and informal information sources. Cesare Latino was in charge of the mail service between Istanbul, Naples and Madrid for the Spaniards, and probably managed information too, which explains his offer: keeping the cardinal-nephew informed of the progress of the siege of Candia. In respect of the data transmitted, as well as of the means of communication, and even if Latino made his move as a ‘private individual’, it is highly probable that the Viceroy of Naples himself had authorised it, tacitly or not. There is another indication that the move may have been at least tolerated by the authorities in Naples or even in Madrid, by virtue of the joint effort in the Eastern Mediterranean and on the service of Christianity: in May 1669, Cesare Latino “begs” the cardinal Rospigliosi to share the news sent to him with the Marquis of Astorga, Spain’s ambassador in Rome at the time.³⁹ The private “particular devotion” Latino shows to the Rospigliosis in the name of his family actually reflects that owed by the King of Spain, the regent Maria Anna of Austria and the Viceroy of Naples to the Supreme Pontiff.⁴⁰ His correspondence is entirely devoted to the subsequent operations, and sounds like the letters and reports by the Venetian officers on duty in the Three Islands. The data Latino provides the Curia happens to fill the blanks in the news disseminated by the Venetian government to its allies, which, because they were the more institutional, are the primary sources. Therefore, the way secondary data produced by a valued but always extra source was used appears quite similar to the handling of the newsletters from Ragusa, and to the role assigned to *avvisi pubblici*, in a way that is comparable to how present-day intelligence services work with both ‘joint’ and ‘open-source intelligence’ (OSINT).

Studying the Secretariat of State of the Holy See’s archives clearly shows that the institutional appetite for the handwritten or printed newssheets compiled weekly in Italy grew continuously during the seventeenth century. It can even be suggested that open-source intelligence was invented during the middle decades of the century while chancelleries, after the early sentences against the dissemination of the news and state secrets, and a long period of mistrust towards the *novellisti*, those Italian newsmen who, at the beginning, were not always differentiated by the authorities from spies or pamphleteers, begin

39 ASV, Segr. Stato, Particolari, 48, 300.

40 ASV, Segr. Stato, Particolari, 47, 196, 13 May 1668.

consistently to use the media to put to use the data they got from confidential channels.⁴¹

Given the implication of the *Serenissima* in the Cretan war, and its resources and contacts in south-eastern Europe and the Levant, it is no surprise that the only newssheet entirely devoted to the operations appeared in Venice during the last phase of the conflict. It is a handwritten periodical dedicated to one and only one matter. Its continuous publication between 1666 and 1669 fed the nuncios, the Secretary of State and the cardinal-nephew's interest.⁴² Moreover, the newssheet strikes surprisingly aggressive, belligerent notes, notes that were till then unknown in Italian media, and exclusively used for the occasional *avvisi* or printed reports published to relate and celebrate some great event, as for example the victory of Lepanto, almost a century before. The issue of 17 August 1668 begins, for instance, with a very unusual metaphor: "Quanto più il serpe d'Oriente tanta uomitare i suoi toshi sopra la Città di Candia, tanto magg[o]ri incontra gl'ostacoli, ne ad altro seruono le sue stricie, e ritorte, che p[er] isquamarsi, e restar lordato nel proprio sangue", that is: "The more the Oriental snake tries to vomit his poison on the City of Candia, the higher the obstacles he meets become".⁴³ Thus, from a technological point of view, this handwritten newssheet is archaic, while also being in some sense backward-looking in the way it deals with war, events and the Ottoman Empire. The siege of Candia is epically reported. Therefore, the content of public news was still not completely dissimilar to that of the news exchanged between the pope and the *Serenissima*. The war *foglietto* was in harmony with the official discourse, news and ideology and thus appeared as another tool of Venetian persuasive force, if not propaganda.

Originally, it was probably an appendix to one of the main periodicals assembled in Venice. When the war began, as 60 years previously, the *Avvisi di Venetia* still presented the news fresh from Milan, Genoa, Turin, Vienna or France. In May and August 1646, a sort of supplement giving original information about the war was issued, initially on the same day as the main sheet, then a day after. On 4 August, for example, a separate sheet details the seizure of Novigrad by the Ottomans and the projects of general Capello, who had left for Souda on 6 July, at the head of the fleet.⁴⁴ The same newsman undoubtedly

41 See Johann Petitjean, 'Mots et pratiques de l'information: ce que *aviser* veut dire (xvi^e–xvii^e siècles)', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome (Italie-Méditerranée)*, 122.1 (2010), pp. 107–21.

42 BAV, Barb. Lat., 6369–6370, 6401–6403; ASV, Segr. Stato, Avvisi, 39; ASV, Segr. Stato, Venezia, 106–8; and, in Venice: Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Inquisitori di Stato, 704.

43 BAV, Barb. Lat., 6369, 382.

44 ASV, Segr. Stato, Avvisi, 19, 136–7.

wrote the two sheets, but the phraseology is different. If the original newspaper strictly followed the enunciative model established in the past century, which was based on the standards of data transmission among the different organs of the Venetian government and systems for processing information, that is reporting the facts in the shortest and most neutral way possible, the supplement offered a more heroic tale, which did not refrain from judgement or exhortation, the compiler appealing for instance in February 1647 to “suppress” the Ottoman’s “insolence”.⁴⁵

Between the war of Cyprus and the war of Crete, the European media landscape changed deeply, notably because of the circulation of the *Avvisi* and gazettes. When the Ottoman troops landed in Crete and the Sultan’s armies marched on to the Balkans, the actors of news promotion adapted their production to the specific conditions of the new Ottoman-Venetian war, and to the new Italian and European media context, partly inherited from the Thirty Years War. The content of some media was profoundly modified: the *Avvisi di Malta* or *di Venetia*, for instance, gradually became real war newsheets. Pre-existing functions and uses may have changed too. Both the structural plurality of nodes and the ductility of the networks in the specific context of the Cretan war not only reflect in the architecture and contents of the Vatican archive, but also integrate and institutionalise new media. Network functions, operation and management contributed to design early modern information. The Papal network differentiation and hierarchies depended less on the type or geographical location of the data than on the circuit’s institutionality. The specific case developed here proves how important it is to illuminate empirically these configurations in their various facets, that is to say not forgetting to interrogate the media, its reception and uses, and to consider the institutions dynamically through the complementarities and/or antagonisms their information policy may reveal. The Rospigliosis’ year, for instance, show that some institutional general evolutions, like the growing autonomy of the Secretary of State within the Curia and his strengthening towards the cardinal-nephew, are anything but linear and may be contrasted according to the sphere of activity or the context. Paradoxically, it is when Decio Azzolino, whose faction influenced the Conclave of 1655 that elected Fabio Chigi against the Barberini, supervises an institution previously ruled by Giulio Rospigliosi himself, that the cardinal-nephew’s news networks in south-eastern Europe and the Mediterranean are substantially mobilised to verify, complete or even replace the Secretariat’s official web, revealing a centralised competitive and profitably flexible dual information system at the Curia.

45 Johann Petitjean, ‘Compilation des nouvelles et écriture de l’actualité à Venise au xvii^e siècle’, *Hypothèses*, 13 (2010), pp. 73–82; ASV, *Segr. Stato, Avvisi*, 20, 40, 14 February 1647.

The Iberian Position in European News Networks: A Methodological Approach

Javier Díaz Noci

In terms of geography, Spain occupies a position on Europe's periphery. This is a position that it shares with the other country of the Iberian Peninsula, Portugal, a country that, incidentally, began to publish a significant amount of periodical newssheets from the time of its independence from the kingdom of Philip IV of Spain in 1640. With respect to the production of printed and handwritten news stories, Spain was long thought not to have had a regular production of weekly miscellaneous gazettes until the publication of the Madrid-based (later printed in Saragossa) *Gazeta Nueva*, from 1661 onwards, which was regarded as having a monopoly over the development of commercial news in the Peninsula. Such beliefs have, however, been profoundly revised in recent years, with the emergence of a picture of the news trade in the Peninsula that is far richer, more varied, plural and complex than what had been accepted by Spanish scholars for over a century—since the original publication of Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch's *Apuntes para un catálogo de periódicos madrileños (1661–1870)* in 1873, and, almost a century later, of a facsimile with a good historical introduction to the newspaper itself by Eugenio Varela Hervías.¹

At the very least, this picture, which was closely followed by the first foreign researchers interested in this specific aspect of Spanish history, was in need of revision.² First, some periodical newspapers can be found prior to 1661, as Carmen Espejo's recent research has highlighted; at least as early as 1619 there was a periodical newssheet in Spain, published not in Madrid, but in Valencia.³

1 A facsimile of Hartzenbusch's work, prepared on the basis of the records of the National Library of Madrid—ignoring all other libraries and private collections in Spain and abroad, and all the titles other than those published in Madrid—was published in 1993: Juan E. Hartzenbusch, *Apuntes para un catálogo de periódicos madrileños* (Madrid: Ollero y Ramos, 1993). Eugenio Varela Hervías, *Gazeta Nueva, 1661–1663. Notas sobre la historia del periodismo español en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: CSIC, 1960).

2 See, e.g., Henry F. Schulte, *The Spanish Press, 1470–1966: Print, Power, Politics* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1968).

3 Carmen Espejo, 'El primer periódico de la península Ibérica: la *Gazeta de Valencia* (1619)', *Obra Periodística*, 2 (2012), <www.upf.edu/obraperiodistica/_pdf/El_primer_perixdico_de

Secondly, other newspapers were published in Madrid during the last decades of the century; in fact, the *Gazeta Nueva* was initially published in the capital of Spain, though later it was published for some years in Saragossa, under different titles, following the movements of its creators, Juan José de Austria—illegitimate son of Philip IV and half-brother of the king, Charles II, the last of the Spanish Habsburgs, at the time still a minor—and his secretary Francisco Fabro Bremundán.⁴ Some periodical newspapers, weekly or bi-weekly, were published in Seville, Valencia, Saragossa, Barcelona and San Sebastián. Thirdly, some periodicals in Spanish were published outside Spain: for instance in Brussels (*Noticias Principales y Verdaderas*) and in Amsterdam (*Gazeta de Amsterdam*, published by the Sephardic community of the town and with no relation to the Spanish monarchy but to the Republic of the House of Orange). Finally, we now have a little knowledge about the mechanisms of information flows with Spanish America, about how news came and went from one continent to the other.⁵ All of which, needless to say, leads us to reconsider the position of Spanish-language news flows in relation to the Western world: i.e. to what extent news was translated, adapted, copied, and finally disseminated to or from other countries; and what the importance of the aforementioned publishing places was as nodes of the information trade with Europe and America.

It was not until almost the end of the last century that some scholars in the country's newly created communication faculties focused on the information market and practices in the early centuries of the modern era and revised some commonly held notions on the emergence of periodical news in the Iberian peninsula. This paper—since its author is one of those scholars who are trying to explain the position of the Spanish-language, and not merely the Spanish-based, newssheets during the seventeenth century within the international networks, from a transnational point of view—is logically a continuation of those efforts. There has thus been a renewal of the Spanish bibliography

[_la_peninsula_ibérica_la_gazeta_de_Valencia_x1619x_-_Obra_Periodística.pdf](#) > [20/09/13]. For a more complete and up-to-date statement on this specific topic, see Carmen Espejo, 'Gacetas y relaciones de sucesos en la segunda mitad del XVII: una comparativa europea', in *Géneros editoriales y relaciones de sucesos en la Edad Moderna*, ed. María E. Díaz Tena (Salamanca: SIERS, 2013).

- 4 This period of the publication of the *Gazeta* in Saragossa is relatively well documented: see María Pilar Lamarque, 'Cartas de Francisco Fabro Bremundán al Dr. Diego J. Dormer', *CHJZ*, 23-4 (1970), pp. 191-201.
- 5 For a model, see Antonio Hohlfeldt, *et al.*, 'Imprensa das colônias de expressão portuguesa: Visão de conjunto', *Curitiba*, 22.2 (2011), pp. 1-15; Jorge P. Sousa and Maria É. Lima, 'O Brasil no Mercúrio Português (1663-1667): entre a esperança e o empolgação', *Curitiba*, 2.2 (2011), pp. 1-14.

on the topic, but, at the same time, much work remains to be done to reorientate or redirect our research and our focus, which ranges from a national or even local point of view to a transnational approach.

Since, for example, the Spanish-language press was not solely produced in Spain, nor only for Spaniards—the case of the Sephardic *Gazeta de Amsterdam* is the clearest example—we can gain no more than a limited knowledge by investigating only the titles published within the borders of Spain. In short, we are dealing with shifting frontiers: the newspapers published in Brussels were republished in San Sebastián or Barcelona, so it is debateable whether or not these were Spanish publications. Catalonia, on the other hand, was not Spanish during the period 1641 to 1652. During these years the territory was independent for some months and belonged to the kingdom of France for more than ten years. This had a great influence on the journalistic models adopted by the Catalonian printers: Jaume Romeu's *Gazeta*, 1641, is thought to have been a translation, or at least an adaptation, of Théophraste Renaudot's *Gazette de France*. Printer-syndication was a common practice—and a topic requiring further research in our case—in both England and Catalonia, and probably elsewhere. Finally, we need to investigate not just the news published by those newspapers, whose origin was not Spain for the most part, but the news from Spain, or (re)elaborated in Spain, that was published in several other languages, countries and newspapers all over Europe—and perhaps in some parts of America as well. It is from this perspective, which requires a dialogue with other researchers in order to form a stable network with continuous interchange and standard protocols, that it will be possible to pursue the research lines we set out in the following pages. This is more than just wishful thinking, it is a work plan for coming years.⁶

A Typology of Documents to Be Studied

A first requirement, a first decision to take in relation to this topic, is to define the object of our research interest. Generally speaking, one could say that we are dealing with papers of news (and not merely, or solely, with *newspapers* in the modern sense of the word, meaning a periodical publication with several news stories from different parts of the world ordered in sections) and, more generally, with the dissemination of news in written form in the modern Western world. We would probably benefit from considering news production *outside* the Western world, for instance in Asia, and, more concretely and for

⁶ This is the subject of ongoing research by the group IBEMNEWS, headed by Carmen Espejo.

the specific period we are dealing with, in Japan.⁷ At least, the image of the Western world, in civil, political, commercial or religious terms—if it was possible to clearly distinguish amongst those spheres at that time—projected in the Japanese newsheets before contact with Europe was closed until the nineteenth century, deserves better treatment than it has received to date.⁸ The

7 Probably the best work on the Japanese press, or at least the best prepared for Western eyes, is Christiane Séguy's *Histoire de la presse japonaise. Le développement de la presse à l'époque Meiji et son rôle dans la modernisation du Japon* (Paris: Publications Orientalistes de France, 1993). In Seguy's opinion, newsheets appeared in Europe for economic reasons, and due to both economic and social problems in a fragmented Japan, at that time under the dominion of the *shoguns* or, to put this in Western terms, feudal lords. Hideo Ono, one of the first Japanese scholars on this question, who published a book on the history of the press in his country in 1922, is also of the opinion that European culture had economic roots while Japanese culture had a more political origin, and that it is interesting to compare them for this reason: Hideo Ono, *Nihon Shinbun Hattatsu-shi (History of the development of the Japanese Press)* (Osaka: Osaka Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1922), pp. 5–6. In fact, the motto of the Edo period is 'Tami wo shite kore ni yorahimu beki, kore wo shirashimu bekarazu' (The people must be given shape, not information). During the first years of the seventeenth century and of the so-called Edo period, newsheets with no periodicity (an idea that was to be 'imported' from the Western world only in the nineteenth century), called *yomi-uri kawaraban* (読売瓦版), printed off wooden plates, were very popular since they were sold in theatres and other entertainment establishments in the new capital of the country, Edo (now Tokyo). The first of these newsheets, printed in Kyoto, were *Ôsaka Abe no gassen no zu* and *Ôsaka natsu no jin*, a couple of accounts of the battles which gave victory to Tokugawa Ieyasu over the followers of Hideyoshi in 1615. There are some parallels, first of all in the production data, that can be drawn between the Japanese *yomi-uri kawaraban* and the European *avvisi*, *relaciones de noticia*, *Neuzeitungen* or *corantos*. As in Europe—at least, in Spain—this kind of printed material flourished especially in the decade of 1680, during the Genroku era (1688–1703), when more than 3,000 different titles—approximately one thousand of which are still extant in Japanese libraries, most of them at the Dieta Library of Tokyo—were published. As in several parts of Europe, they were (unsuccessfully) prohibited in 1648, 1713, 1718, 1721 and 1722, allegedly because of the immorality they showed. Unlike the European news-sheet, usually of at least four to eight pages, the Japanese ones were just a single sheet, with a wooden engraving on the verso and some text on the back. A facsimile reproduction of the most popular ones can be found in *Kawaraban / shinbun—Edo / Meiji sanbyaku jiken (Newsprints / Newspapers—Three hundred relevant events from Edo to Meiji)*, Heibon-shi, Taiyô collection, 4 vols. (Tokyo, 1978). See also Gerald Groemer, 'Singing the News: Yomiuri in Japan During the Edo and Meiji Periods', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 54.1 (1994), pp. 233–61.

8 With some exceptions, since some Dutch traders were allowed to continue doing business in Japan. As a consequence, a special kind of writing appeared in the country, the so-called [*Oranda*] *fûsetsu-gaki*, confidential reports translated from Dutch to Japanese, written by the captains of the ships that were allowed to have commercial relations with Japan.

difficulties of language and culture—the question of access to the papers themselves is less problematic in this time of increasing digitisation—are of course obstacles to focusing on this concrete topic, but nevertheless it is one for consideration in the future, and a gateway to greater collaboration beyond the frontiers of Europe—and of the European-language speaking countries of North and South America.⁹

During the seventeenth century we find a confusing lexicon used throughout Europe—and of course in Spain—to refer to the great variety of printed and handwritten newsheets (a question highlighted recently by two of the most important scholars involved in studying and researching those forms of information in the Iberian Peninsula, Henry Ettinghausen and Carmen Espejo), an inconsistency in the terms (*gazeta*, *aviso*, *relación de noticias*, *nuevas*—in English, *gazettes*, *avvisi*, *corantos*, *news[sheets]*) and a lack of univocal correspondence with some other names given to such products in other countries of Europe and America.¹⁰ In our opinion, what is required is a typology of newsheets before we can design a consistent database—and a catalogue—of these items and their content to be further analysed from a transnational (or, using Henry Ettinghausen's phrase, *pan-European*) perspective.¹¹ Our

9 Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725), a well-known Japanese statesman, wrote in his *Seiyō kibun* (*Notes on the Western World*), in the section devoted to Brazil: “It seems that in the secret files of our government there are some *kuranto* from Europe. One can read there about the wars and the victories of Holland. In European language (sic), *kuranto* means the events that have happened and that are explained, illustrated, commented on, and printed for the general knowledge of every man”. See Elias Antunes, ‘Arai Hakuseki—Um literato e pensador do período Edo’ (2004), II Jornada de Estudos Japoneses 2004–Literatura <estudosjaponeses.com.br/downloads/arai_hakuseki.pdf> [2/08/13].

10 For handwritten newsletters as a form of communication, see Zsuzsa Barbarics and Renate Pieper, ‘Handwritten newsletters as a means of communication in early modern Europe’, in ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 53–79; Henry Ettinghausen, ‘The news in Spain: *Relaciones de sucesos* in the reigns of Philip III and IV’, *European History Quarterly*, 14 (1984), pp. 1–20; Ettinghausen, ‘Politics and the press in Spain’, in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London, 2001); and especially Ettinghausen, ‘Los *avvisi a stampa*: las relaciones de sucesos italianas, en relación con las españolas’, and Carmen Espejo, ‘El Mercado de las noticias en España: *La Gazeta de Roma*’, both in *Proto-giornalismo e letteratura. Avisi a stampa, relaciones de sucesos*, ed. Gabriel Andrés (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2013), pp. 13–24 and 25–53. See also Ch. 3, above.

11 See Ettinghausen, ‘Los *avvisi a stampa*’, p. 13. In this paper, Ettinghausen underlines the importance of the *relación de noticias* or newsheet dealing with just one event as one of the main forms of communication in Spain. This vision needs to be completed with the

proposal is to consider the criteria that should be employed in classifying all of this immense mass of handwritten and printed items.

The first criterion, in our opinion, is whether they are handwritten or printed matter.¹² Needless to say, handwritten news is extremely important in the panorama of news production and dissemination in Europe, especially in countries like France and Italy, where it went under the usual names of *nouvelles à la main* and *avvisi* (it is discussed under these names by François Moureau and Mario Infelise).¹³ In the Spanish case it is clear that there was some circulation of such manuscripts. An Italian student in Salamanca at the beginning of the seventeenth

recent contributions on the field of periodical newssheets by, amongst others, the author of these lines (see Díaz Noci, 'The Dissemination of News in the Spanish Baroque', *Media History*, 18.3–4 [2012], pp. 409–21) and, especially, Espejo (see her chapter in Andrés, ed., *Proto-giornalismo*).

- 12 For methodological purposes, we should not overlook these references: Heiko Droste, 'Degrees of Publicity: Handwritten Newspapers in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *LIR Journal*, 1.11 (2011), pp. 67–83, <ojs.uib.se/ojs/index.php/LIRJ/article/view/1011/882> [25/09/14]; André Belo, 'Notícias impressas e manuscritas em Portugal no século XVIII: Horizontes de leitura da *Gazeta de Lisboa*', *Horizontes Antropológicos*, 10.22 (2004), pp. 15–35; André Belo, 'Between History and Periodicity: Printed and Hand-Written News in 18th-Century Portugal', *e-JPH*, 2.2 (2004), pp. 1–11.
- 13 François Moureau, ed., *Répertoire des nouvelles à la main: dictionnaire de la presse manuscrite clandestine, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1999). See also Brendan Dooley, 'De Bonne Main: les pourvoyeurs de nouvelles à Rome au XVII^e siècle', *Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales*, 54.6 (1999), pp. 1317–44; and Mario Infelise, *Prima dei Giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002). In English, see Mario Infelise, 'Roman Avvisi: Information and Politics in the Seventeenth Century', in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 212–28, and 'From merchants' letters to handwritten political *avvisi*: notes on the origins of public information', in Bethencourt and Egmond, eds., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 33–52. Infelise's view has been published in several other European languages, and the influence of his work widely recognised. See, for example, 'Los orígenes de las gacetas. Sistemas y prácticas de la información entre los siglos XVI y XVII', *Manuscrits*, 23 (2005), pp. 31–44; 'Gazettes imprimées et information politique dans l'Italie du XVII^e Siècle', *Des moulins à papier aux bibliothèques* (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry de Montpellier III, 2003), pp. 463–77. The handwritten newssheets were not just brought out during the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries, but also during the eighteenth century: Mario Infelise, 'Europa. Una gazzetta manoscritta del '700' in *Non uno itinere. Studi storici offerti dagli allievi a Federico Seneca* (Venezia: Stamperia di Venezia, 1993), pp. 221–39. Some other Italian scholars have done some work on the topic: Filippo de Vivo, 'Paolo Sarpi and the Uses of Information in Seventeenth-Century Venice', in *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 35–49.

century, Girolamo di Sommaia, makes no less than seventy references to the loan, copying and translation from Spanish to Italian, and vice versa, of the following titles, given here as recorded by Di Sommaia: *Gaceta de Roma*, *Gaceta de Italia*, *Gazzetta*, *et Relatione*, *Gazeta Spagnuola* and *Nuoue di Valladolid e di Salamanca* (*News from Valladolid and Salamanca*).¹⁴ The latter title is of greater importance to us since it seems to have been a paper published (or hand copied) originally in Spanish, containing local news, which was unusual at the time in Spain.¹⁵

We should also consider the possibility that Di Sommaia refers to news relayed by private correspondence, not intended in principle for publication but somehow permitting circulation in the form of (semi) private lending amongst a reduced circle of trustworthy people (just five friends, or clients, in Sommaia's case), as seems to have been the case here.¹⁶ None of these titles, as far as we are aware, is known to be extant today in any public library in Spain, but it seems probable that more such papers existed during this period. The discovery of this *Gazeta Spagnuola* would be extremely important, since it would help us to determine whether this was a serial or periodical title published in Italy, or one published in Spanish, or, more probably, a set of newsheets containing news on Spain proceeding from Italy. We have some other traces and testimonies of publishing activity concerning news, for example a couple of mentions of how in 1655 two French travellers met a rich local banker in Saragossa—his name is not given—who had a subscription to the *Gazette de France* and to some other handwritten *avvisi* from Europe, probably Italy.¹⁷ Such indications of news consumption, although undoubtedly very important,

14 This last title was lent to him by one don Ambrosio; all these titles seem to us to indicate a common origin; they were probably sent to Girolamo di Sommaia regularly; we do not know whether they were several handwritten *avvisi*, most of them from Rome, or several *avvisi a stampa*, or whether they were printed.

15 Girolamo di Sommaia, *Diario de un estudiante de Salamanca*, ed. George Haley (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1977). There is information about a news account concerning Valladolid translated into Italian from a text (*Relación de lo sucedido en la ciudad de Valladolid*) attributed to Miguel de Cervantes, see Frederick de Armas, and Armando Maggi, 'An Early Translation of a Text Attributed to Cervantes: Cesare Parona's *Relatione di quanto è successo nella città di Vagliadolid*', in *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 25.2 (2005–6), pp. 303–6. The *relación* is accessible through Europeana: <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k51486w.r=.langES> [3/10/13].

16 See Irene Baldriga, 'The Role of Correspondence in the Transmission of Collecting Patterns in Seventeenth-Century Europe', in ed. Bethencourt and Egmond, *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange*, pp. 187–217.

17 Mentioned in José Altabella, *Fuentes crítico-bibliográficas para la historia de la prensa provincial española* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1983), p. 27.

are extremely difficult to round out because of the paucity of such references, but we need to continue with the search.¹⁸

We need further and deeper knowledge about the nature of handwritten news in Spain. However, some work has been done in this respect. The handwritten (which is in no sense synonymous with unpublished) news of three *avisadores*, or ‘newsmongers’, is well known. Andrés de Almansa published some ‘letters’ or ‘newsletters’, some of them handwritten, some of them finally printed, from 1621 to 1627, whose corpus has been excellently edited by Henry Ettinghausen and Manuel Cordero.¹⁹ José Pellicer de Tovar wrote a series of *avisos* from 1639 to 1644.²⁰ It is known that there was great rivalry and competition between the latter and Almansa, since one of the major poets of the time in Spain, Francisco de Quevedo, mentions Pellicer as being a superior couranteer to Almansa—who was incidentally also a minor poet.²¹ Quevedo mentions how he receives and reads several news items proceeding from letters, from Lisbon for example, or in printed forms from France and Germany (in Latin). Jerónimo de Barrionuevo published (by which we mean that he circulated) news from 1654 to 1658, allegedly addressed to “a dean in Saragossa”. We cannot rule out that this was a subterfuge to present his news on the Spanish Court as being addressed to a real individual as such correspondence had more credibility.²²

What is absolutely certain is that most of these handwritten news-letters, and most of the single-event newsheets, *avisos* or *relaciones* in Spain, were presented in the form of a letter, either a real, private one addressed to a flesh and blood person, or one addressed privately and subsequently published (usually amongst a group of people on whom the newsmonger could rely), or one addressed to a fictitious character.²³ Let us consider some other recorded

18 Like the ones that can be found for the following century, see Elisabel Larriba, *Le public de la presse en Espagne à la fin du XVIII^e siècle (1781–1808)* (Paris: H. Champion, 1998).

19 Henry Ettinghausen and Manuel Cordero, eds., *Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza. Obra periodística* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 2002).

20 See Henry Ettinghausen, ‘Pellicer y la prensa de su tiempo’, *Janus*, 1 (2012) <www.janusdigital.es/articulo.htm?id=9> [3/10/13].

21 A lot of reference to the news and the circulation of newsletters can be found in F. de Quevedo’s correspondence, in *Obras Completas* (both the Castalia and Aguilar editions). Quevedo himself used this genre on at least one occasion, in 1638. The complete newsletters by José Pellicer de Tovar were published in the early twenty-first century: Jean-Claude Chevalier and Lucien Clare, eds., *Avisos*, 2 vols. (Paris: Editions Hispaniques, 2002).

22 Jerónimo de Barrionuevo, *Avisos del Madrid de los Austrias y otras noticias*, ed. José María Díez Borque (Madrid: Castalia, 1996).

23 Fernando Bouza, ‘Letters and Portraits: Economy of Time and Chivalrous Service in Courtly Culture’, in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange*, ed. Bethencourt and Egmond,

examples of handwritten news in Spain; there are probably many others. From 1617 onwards, Luis de Góngora, another great Spanish poet of the period, maintained a supposedly private correspondence, consisting mainly of news from the Court of Madrid, with people of his birthplace, Cordoba, in the south of the Peninsula. In some of those letters, Góngora complains about the dissemination of some news items in printed form. This is why this kind of printed newsheets were sometimes called *relaciones particulares*, or private news. This origin supposedly guaranteed a more reliable information source, and it was a well-known phenomenon all over Europe: for instance, Peter Topsen, a newsmonger from Hamburg who regularly provided Axel Oxenstierna with news from 1606 onwards, informed his client that “henceforth, the ordinary newspapers [will be] printed”.²⁴ Góngora was informed of this by Almansa, his usual newsmonger, and this is the reason why Quevedo—his literary enemy—preferred Pellicer as a source of news.

Handwritten and printed newsheets coexisted throughout the seventeenth century in Spain, as is demonstrated by a couple of examples we will briefly mention. The secretary of King Philip IV, Gerónimo Gascón de Torquemada—a professional courtier and a supporter, as was Quevedo, of the *valido* of the monarch, the Count-Duke of Olivares—wrote a set of handwritten news items, probably commissioned by the guild of blind men, a mighty lobby which held a quasi-monopoly on the commercialisation of news in Madrid from 1605 to 1637. Most of these were gathered with some other news covering five decades (1600–1649) and bound in a book, a sort of chronicle, significantly titled *Gaçeta y Nuevas de la Corte de España* (*Gazette and News from the Spanish Court*).²⁵ The simultaneous existence of handwritten and printed newsheets is even more intense at the end of the century. In 1941 a Spanish researcher, Joaquín Espín, discovered a collection of handwritten newsletters of weekly periodicity then in a private family archive of Lorca. It is a large set of news stories about the affairs of the Court addressed to people outside Madrid, covering the years 1670, 1671 and 1672. Today 26 of those manuscript sheets are extant.²⁶ We should recall that in those years in Spain it was very common for weekly printed gazettes to have a regular periodicity, and that the most important title

pp. 145–62, and *Corre manuscrito. Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2001).

24 Mentioned in Droste, ‘Degrees of Publicity’.

25 Published by Alfonso A. de Ceballos: Gerónimo Gascón de Torquemada, *Gaçeta y Nuevas de la Corte de España desde el año 1600 en adelante* (Madrid: RAMHG, 1991).

26 Joaquín Espín, ‘Publicación periódica manuscrita del siglo XVII’, *Correo Erudito*, 2 (1941), pp. 31–2.

of the period, the *Gazeta Nueva*, had begun appearing in Madrid in 1661. By the decades between 1660 and 1680, there were many centres of news gathering and production in the Peninsula, including Lisbon, Seville, Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona and San Sebastián—not counting the Spanish-language weekly or bi-weekly gazettes printed in Amsterdam and Brussels.²⁷ Two bi-weekly gazettes, on alternate weeks, were published in San Sebastián, a small town near the border with France, and another handwritten gazette, called *Novedades de la Europa* (1690) is known to have circulated there.

In order to make a complete catalogue of newssheets in Spain, then, the first criterion to be considered is whether they were handwritten or printed newssheets and what communication was maintained between the two. The second of the formal criteria is to focus on whether they were newssheets containing just one or several news stories, or, more concretely, whether they were individual or miscellaneous-event newssheets. Usually, the first type were called *relaciones* or even ‘news’, usually similar to the so-called *avvisi* (handwritten or *a stampa*) from Italy, a region that had a good relationship with Spanish newsmongers.²⁸ Terminology can be confusing here: *gazeta* is most commonly used to refer to the miscellaneous printed products and *relaciones* to single-event newssheets, but, especially at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the first term is found in any kind of printed item considered newsworthy. Another very common term, *aviso* (taken undoubtedly from the Italian *avviso*) is used, alongside some other kinds of titles (*carta*, *carta de nuevas*, *relación de avisos*) for both forms. Even so, contemporary writers seem to distinguish both genres clearly. Baltasar Gracián, a best-selling writer of the time, said in the third part of his *El Criticón*: “Lo venidero, lo venidero querría yo ver, que esso de lo presente y lo pasado cualquiera se lo sabe; hartos estamos

27 See Díaz Noci, ‘Dissemination of News’.

28 The first printed newssheets were called *nuevas* (‘news’): *Carta de las nuevas grandes buenas y ciertas embiada a nuestro. S. padre león. x.* (*Letter of great, good and truly News sent to our saintly father Leon x*) (Valencia, 1517), USTC 344377; *Relación de las nuevas de Italia: sacadas de las cartas que los capitanes y comisarios del Emperador y Rey han escrito a su magestad* (*News from Italy: Taken from the letters sent by our Emperor and King’s captains and commissioners*), 1525, USTC 346926. The first printed newssheet in Latin America was *Relacion del espantable terremoto ... en una ciudad llamada Guatimala* (*Story of the Awful Earthquake ... in a town called Guatelama*) (Mexico, 1541), USTC 344171. In Catalan, one of the first known newssheets is a couple of printed sheets titled *Còpia de les noves de Itàlia* (*Copy of the news from Italy*), in 1557, USTC 351566. See Frederick John Norton, ‘Las primeras manifestaciones periodísticas en España: Una carta de noticias originales impresa en Valencia (1517)’, in *Libro homenaje a la memoria de Antonio Pérez Gómez*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1979), pp. 107–12. On the differences and similarities of Spanish *relaciones* and Italian *avvisi*, see Ettinghausen, ‘Los *avvisi a stampa*’.

de oírlo, cuando una victoria, un buen suceso lo repiten y lo vuelve a cacarear los franceses en sus gacetas, los españoles en sus relaciones, que matan y enfadan". ("I wish to know about the future, because about past and present anyone knows well; we are sick of hearing about victories and good events, which French people in their gazettes and Spanish people in their *relaciones* repeat and boast about".)²⁹ According to Gracián, gazettes or periodical news-sheets were more a French genre, differing from the one preferred in Spain, the individual newsletter (*cartas novas*). Even the first periodical newspaper, the *Gazeta Nueva* published by Francisco Fabro Bremundán on behalf of Juan José de Austria, was called *Gazeta Nueva y Relación* in its first number, probably because periodicity was unclear at that moment.

Periodicity is, therefore, another criterion to be considered in building a proper typology of news-sheets. The aforementioned example clarifies the extent to which it is not always easy to determine whether a specific title was periodical or not. Seriality is another criterion. There were occasional and periodical publications (most of them, but not necessarily all, miscellaneous or containing several news stories from different parts of the continent), but there is another kind of news-sheet to be considered: those that were linked to a concrete event (e.g., the siege and liberation of Hondarribia on the frontier with France in 1638), which resulted in the publication of two, three or more individual news-sheets (usually called *Primera relación*, *Segunda relación*, etc.) Examples of this were *Relación de los sucesos de Inglaterra, y Escocia* (*News of the events from England and Scotland*; 1685), and *Nuevas Extraordinarias del Norte* (*Extraordinary News from the North*; 1684), both published in Madrid by Sebastián de Armendáriz; the latter contained news about the wars in the North of the Continent,³⁰ and its publication ceased once the conflicts were over. It complemented the regular *Nuevas Ordinarias del Norte, Italia y España*, published from 1684 to 1695. We find, on the other hand, surprises. The *Gazeta de Roma*, receiving no more than a mention in most bibliographies on the topic, was considered until recently an occasional news-sheet, but further research conducted by Carmen Espejo has shed some more light on it, and she concludes—having identified eleven consecutive issues—that it was a periodical miscellaneous news-sheet, or what we usually consider a gazette.³¹ So it is clear that much more research and library-based searches are needed if we are to produce a good map of news dissemination in Spain.

29 Baltasar Gracián, *El Criticón*, Part III (Madrid, 1657), Ch. 10.

30 See Grezegorz Bak, 'Noticias del Norte: La Polonia de los años 1683–1703 en la prensa española de la época', *Eslavística Complutense*, 1 (2001), pp. 371–9.

31 See the references to Carmen Espejo, n. 10, above.

Catalogues

In our opinion, the combination of these three criteria will shed further light on the ways news was disseminated in Spain, and ultimately on the reasons why some specific news stories were communicated through letters, private, semi-private or public; or given to the press; or accompanied by another set of weekly news items proceeding from different parts of the Continent on different topics. These news stories could be published in periodical or occasional newsheets, using the same title or not, depending on the case; or serialised when it was considered that they could be better sold by inviting the reader to learn more about an up-to-the-minute topic (or, at that time, at its best 'up-to-the-day' or 'up-to-the-week'), usually concerning war or religion.

Next, we need catalogues or dictionaries. We have some partial ones, but none that covers all the typology of newsheets mentioned, not even the periodical ones. There are also models available to us. The first great model is Folke Dahl's seminal work, *The Birth of the European Press* (1960).³² Mention should be made of a couple of Italian catalogues by Sandro and Tullio Bulgarelli: *Gli avvisi a stampa in Roma nel Cinquecento. Bibliografia, Antologia* (1967) and the more modern and updated *Il giornalismo di Roma nel Seicento. Avvisi a stampa e periodici italiani conservati nelle biblioteche romane* (1988). Both are about printed newsheets extant in the Roman libraries, giving us not a catalogue of such printed products of Rome or Italy, but just the ones currently conserved in Rome. Incidentally, we must mention that in the latter catalogue an example appears of the kind of issues we need to solve in a transnational way: there is a newsheet titled, *Relazione della pressa fatta dale Galere del serenissimo gran Duca di Toscana*, printed in Barcelona in the Italian language for export to Italy.³³ Together with a plethora of newsheets which indicate that they have been translated from one language to another, we face the problem of it being quite impossible to determine the state of the art of the news trade in a particular language or country without considering the news *on* this country published in other languages and countries of Europe, the news *proceeding from* that country and the news *written in or translated to and from* that language. So, unquestionably in our opinion, we need to build on standards that are agreed upon with other scholars and groups in Europe and that employ a transnational point of view; otherwise any attempt will not only be partial, or national, but *incomplete*.

32 Folke Dahl, ed., *The Birth of the European Press* (Stockholm: The Royal Library, 1960).

33 Mentioned by Ettinghausen, 'Los avvisi a stampa', p. 21.

For the Spanish case, we have some models, but nothing definitive and nothing—for the seventeenth century—like the catalogues of English periodicals by Ronald Salmon Crane and F.B. Kaye of 1927 and the more up-to-date information of Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe's catalogue, of sixty years later.³⁴ In a certain way, the only catalogue on the early periodical press of Spain, that of Francisco Aguilar Piñal, is similar, but it is confined to the periodical press of the eighteenth century. We have partial Spanish catalogues for the seventeenth century, which concentrate more on the main foci of news production than on giving a general vision of what the Spanish press was. We will discuss Jaume Guillamet's book on the early Catalanian press later. Seville was another important focus, so it has merited a couple of partial catalogues.³⁵

These provide us with a good model of how the fields of our database and catalogue ought to be.³⁶ Needless to say, those fields should include identification references, such as title (and variations on it), relations with other titles, in the case of serial publications especially, place of publication (and, if there is any false indication, both the indicated place of publication—i.e. Antwerp—and the real one—i.e., Amsterdam), year, language(s), publishers, editors, authors—if known—and libraries, public and private, in which items can be found, in order to complete the collections.³⁷ The latter is an absolutely essential field, and one of the most difficult ones, if we intend to complete, and even digitise and transcribe, the whole set of stories of a specific newspaper. In any case, we have enough models to consider, as well as a further development of the straightforward catalogue: a dictionary of newspapers and periodicals, a

34 Ronald S. Crane and F.B. Kaye, *Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals 1620–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1927) and Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1641–1700: A Short-Title Catalogue* (New York: PMLA, 1987).

35 Aurora Domínguez Guzmán, *La imprenta en Sevilla en el siglo XVII. 1601–1650 (Catálogo y análisis de su producción)* (Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1992), and Carmen Espejo, *Relaciones de sucesos en la BUS, antes de que existiera la prensa* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2008), which concentrate on the issues extant in the library of the University of Seville.

36 Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *La prensa española en el siglo XVIII. Diarios, revistas y pronósticos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978).

37 For examples from the Low Countries, see Folke Dahl, 'Amsterdam: Earliest Newspaper Centre of Western Europe. New Contributions to the History of the First Dutch and French Corantos', *Het Boek*, 25.3 (1939), pp. 161–98; Otto Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', and Paul Arblaster, 'Policy and publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1585–1690', in *Politics of Information*, ed. Dooley and Baron, pp. 151–9, 179–98.

model which usually includes, in addition to the catalogue record, a short history of the birth, evolution and characteristics of the periodicals included in it.³⁸ There is an extraordinary example in Europe: the *Dictionnaire de Journaux* under the direction of Jean Sgard.³⁹ Much more difficult, owing to the lack of information on the authors—meaning the writers and translators of the news items—is a dictionary like the other published under Prof. Sgard's direction, the *Dictionnaire des Journalistes* for the same period, 1600–1789.⁴⁰ In our opinion, prosopography is a relevant discipline here.⁴¹ It would be possible, in the light of the knowledge we have of Spanish-language newspaper production for the seventeenth century, to prepare a dictionary of publishers—this would not be in any sense a minor effort—that could be presented, like Sgard's, both in a printed (and thus, more 'definitive') version and online (an on-going work to be updated as more light is shed on those names). In fact, in spite of having available several very good monographs on some aspects, periods and places of seventeenth century journalism in Spain (or in Spanish), we lack a general vision of professional news communication in the Spanish-language territories, and how news stories from Spain were disseminated in Europe and America during that time.⁴² Why not a history of the first (or, if preferred, and to employ a term that is fashionable in some other areas of knowledge like music, *ancient*) Spanish-language journalism?

38 See also, for the Portuguese case, the research done by Jorge de Sousa's team: *A Gazeta da Restauração*, 2 vols. (Covilhã: LabCom, 2011) and *Estudos sobre o Mercúrio Português* (Covilhã: LabCom, 2012). For the Catalan case, see Jaume Guillamet, *Els orígens de la premsa a Catalunya. Catàleg de periòdics antics (1641–1833)* (Barcelona: Arxiu Municipal de Barcelona, 2003); this latter is based on an adaptation of Jacques Kayser's catalogue proposed in his *Le Quotidien Français* (Paris: A. Colin, 1963), a model that has mainly been followed by Spanish researchers.

39 Jean Sgard, ed., *Dictionnaire des Journaux (1600–1789)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Universitatis, 1991). Jaume Guillamet's aforementioned book of 2003 is a dictionary of periodicals as well.

40 Jean Sgard, ed., *Dictionnaire des Journalistes (1600–1789)* (Paris: Universitatis, 1992). See also the website of the same name: <dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/auteur/jean-sgard> [3/10/13].

41 We have a basis for such kind of biographies, see Carmen Espejo, and Antonio Alias, 'Juan Serrano de Vargas, impresor y mercader de noticias', in *Las noticias en los siglos de la imprenta manual*, ed. Sagrario López Poza (A Coruña: SIELAE, 2006), pp. 233–55.

42 For the Catalan case, see Guillamet, *Orígens de la premsa*, and the several works by Henry Ettinghausen referring to individual newsheets or *relaciones de noticias*. For the case of Seville, the works of Carmen Espejo are the final word on this question. On the Basque Country, and concretely San Sebastián, see Javier Díaz Noci and Mercedes del Hoyo, *El nacimiento del periodismo vasco. Gacetas donostiarras de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (San Sebastián: Eusko Ikaskuntza - Basque Studies Society, 2003).

In the Spanish case, we have detailed information about the individual newsheets owing to the extraordinary work done by a research group on the so-called *relaciones de sucesos* (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries), under the direction of Sagrario López Poza and accessible through a website which includes both the catalogue and the digitisation of many items.⁴³ Henry Ettinghausen has published in facsimile a great number of individual newsheets from Barcelona (1612–28) and those related to the pre-independence period of Catalonia.⁴⁴

There are some other Spanish and European collections and repositories we can work on. Where they are online and publicly accessible they are most useful, but these kind of digital repositories are far from being either entirely reliable or complete. Let us consider a couple of examples: *Europeana*, the huge virtual repository created in 2008, gathers the digitised collections of most of the European public libraries. This is, beyond any doubt, a major effort and a great cause for hope amongst researchers. One can find many items there—the surviving examples of a single newspaper are not usually found in just one library, but dispersed over many places—but the collection of any one of the national libraries and, more disappointingly, its digitisation, is far from complete. It is sometimes possible to learn through (online) catalogues which titles and numbers any library has, but this does not necessarily mean that those titles are digitised and, when they are, they are not necessarily *completely* digitised. A clear example of this is the case of the National Library of Spain. They are in the process of digitising all their newspaper collections. They have begun, however, from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, without following any chronological order. When asked about the reasons for this, the answer is clear: the paper of those last two centuries is of considerably worse quality than the cloth-made paper of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, prior to when cellulose became the main raw material in printing paper. The later paper is more fragile and breakable than that produced in the old paper mills of Europe. Most of the digitisation projects follow the same consideration, and have begun converting the more recent newspaper production into digital form. Fortunately enough, on its website the National Library of Spain makes available to us some of the seventeenth century newspapers, for example the *Gazeta General* and the *Nuevas Ordinarias de los Sucessos del Norte*. Nevertheless, similar approaches are needed in some other libraries, like the so-called Hemeroteca

43 <www.bidiso.es/relaciones/> [3/10/13].

44 Henry Ettinghausen, *Notícies del segle XVII: La premsa a Barcelona entre 1612 i 1628* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2000); and *La Guerra dels segadors a través de la premsa de l'època*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Curial, 1993).

Municipal (City Council Newspaper Library) de Madrid. They have a couple of catalogues which cover their whole collection, but as far as we know none of those titles has yet been digitised.⁴⁵ And most of the Spanish newspapers, those that were sent to the public libraries because of the legal requirement of depositing a copy there, ended up not in the National Library, but in the Hemeroteca Municipal instead. The same situation we describe is also happening in the case of some autonomous communities in Spain, like Catalonia: the National Library of Catalonia has decided to begin with the most modern newspapers, and the City Council Archive of Barcelona has a website where one can check their availability, but not consult digitised documents, except for the shared collection ARCA (Arxiu de Revistes Catalanes Antiques, or Archive of Ancient Catalan Newspapers), which includes titles from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Digitisation and, moreover, digital preservation is important, since it places in our hands (or, more literally speaking, before our eyes) a digital facsimile of the material we need, and saves us time by making those documents available to us without our having to go to the place where they are physically found.⁴⁶ The facsimile alone, as an image (in tiff or compressed jpeg format, for instance) or a PDF document, is not enough however. Needless to say, meta-data is required, which can be accumulative and used for both cataloguing and content descriptions.

While we avail ourselves of the facilities of having instantaneous access to digital copies of the documents we simultaneously face several problems deriving from the unequal development of the projects: fragmented, dispersed or incomplete collections; lost references and lost issues; and lack of meta-data.⁴⁷

45 Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid, *Publicaciones periódicas y relaciones de noticias de los siglos XVI a XVIII*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2000).

46 See D. Cohen and R. Rosenzweig, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), and its website: <chnm.gmu.edu/digitalhistory/> [3/10/13]; Edward Higgs, ed., *History and electronic artefacts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Marilyn Deegan and Simon Tanner, eds., *Digital Preservation* (London: Facet, 2006); Ross Harvey, *Preserving Digital Materials* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

47 Sometimes, due to the lack of digitisation of the issues we need, we decided to proceed with this task ourselves. We did this on a couple of occasions, which at the same time presented us with new problems—and solutions. For example, we had to digitise the three gazettes of San Sebastián (1688–1728), which we afterwards published as a facsimile with an introductory study in our aforementioned book co-authored with Mercedes del Hoyo. All of them are to be found in the archives of the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid. This centre generously provided us with a microfilm of those issues, whose original was sometimes not in the best possible condition due to the usual problems of ancient documents: ink bleeding, washed-out parts, spots of different sizes, paper transparency, etc. We had to deal with all of

When meta-data is available, it is without following the usual standards of digital preservation: OAI-PMH (Open Archive Initiative-Protocol for Metadata Harvesting) protocol, ALTO, an extension of METS, which keeps the facsimile and indicates the coordinates of the page elements, and SKOS (Simple Knowledge Organization System).

Transcription of Documents and Preparation of *Corpora* for Corpus-Driven Analysis

When we confront the need to construct the corpora, it would be extremely useful for us to have not just a simple image of the document, but a searchable and reliable transcription of it. These digitised collections do not have this kind of searchable documents, so we need to develop our own transcription strategies for them, or projects for transcribing the original copies consulted in their place of conservation. This is the central part of our proposal: if we intend to carry out a discourse or content analysis based on the news published in Spanish (from Spain or from other publishing centres in Europe, like Brussels and Amsterdam, or America, especially Mexico) or about Spain, we need a systematic and complete database with every single news item we are able to find, digitise, transcribe, treat, translate and finally analyse.⁴⁸ If we are

these problems after digitising the microfilms, so we could obtain a clean copy—carefully avoiding any mistakes that might lead to a misreading of the documents—for printing. This was done with the permission of the archive, considering that, quite literally, we were using a transformative right protected under the copyright legislation and then the right of publication, since we were not merely publishing the content of those gazettes, which entered the public domain centuries ago, but a modified (and improved) version of the physical property of which the archive is custodian and owner. It is, of course, a different question to publish it on the Internet, which involves a different right—the right of public communication and the disposal right—which obviously corresponds to the institution. The second case was the digitisation of some of the newsheets from our own personal collection, now accessible through Archive.org at the address <<http://web.archive.org/web/20070821231215/http://www.ehu.es/diaz-noci/hemeroteca/>> [3/10/13]. The technical aspects of the digitisation project—which was needless to say a very limited and rudimentary effort, but one intended to serve the scholarly community and to set out some of the problems and needs considered in this paper—were explained in J. Díaz Noci, 'La noticia individual (relación) entre los siglos XVII y XVIII: Tres tipologías, tres textos recuperados', in *IC. Revista Científica de Información y Comunicación*, 3 (2006), pp. 169–87 <[institucional.us.es/revistas/comunicacion/3/art%2010.pdf](http://www.institucional.us.es/revistas/comunicacion/3/art%2010.pdf)> [3/10/13].

48 The first content analysis on news was conducted in the nineteenth century: Randall S. Sumpter, 'News about News. John G. Speed and the First Newspaper Content Analysis',

considering conducting quantitative research, and we have excellent models of this in the works by Stéphane Haffemayer in France and the group led by Jorge Pedro Sousa in Portugal, to mention only two examples, or carrying out an analysis of word or sentence frequencies or concordances, or we are thinking about a more qualitative analysis, in our opinion we are headed towards an analysis that is corpus-driven rather than corpus-based.⁴⁹ Following Elena Tognini-Bonelli,

In a *corpus-driven* approach the commitment of the linguist is to the integrity of the data as a whole, and descriptions aim to be comprehensive with respect to corpus evidence. The corpus, therefore, is seen as more than a repository of examples to back pre-existing theories or a probabilistic extension to an already well defined system.... Examples are normally taken verbatim, in other words they are not adjusted in any way to fit the predefined categories of the analyst; recurrent patterns and frequency distributions are expected to form the basic evidence for linguistic categories; the absence of a pattern is considered potentially meaningful.⁵⁰

So, if we accept that we have to take some firm steps towards a corpus-driven analysis, and not merely use “the corpus mainly to expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study”, then we must determine which publications and which news items will be classified and treated for their proper

Journalism History, 27.2 (2001), pp. 64–72; for content analysis of Spanish-language news from the Low Countries, see Theo Luykx, ‘The First Amsterdam and Antwerp Newspapers’, in *International Communication Gazette*, 10 (1964), pp. 230–6. For Latin America there is a seven-volume reference work: Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed., *Documentos para la Historia de México* (Mexico, 1853). The three first volumes contain many of the news-sheets published in Mexico from 1648 onwards. For the Peruvian case, María Mendoza Michilot, *Inicios del periodismo en el Perú. Relaciones y noticieros* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1997), who refers (p. 24) to how the first individual news-sheet was published in Lima in 1594, which was about the attack on the town by captain Hawkins (called ‘Juan de Aquines’ in the Spanish text): *Relacion de lo que hizo don Beltran de Castro y de la Cueva en la entrada de Juan de Aquines ingles por el estrecho de Magallanes y mar del Sur*, USTC 344112.

49 Stéphane Haffemayer, *L’information dans la France du XVII^e siècle. La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002); for Sousa’s work see n. 38, above.

50 Elena Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus linguistics at work* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2001), p. 84.

incorporation into a database. We need, to quote E. Tognini-Bonelli once again, “a large and structured set of text that can be stored and analysed electronically”.⁵¹ In short, we need machine-readable texts.

Once again, we are fortunate in having models. Just to mention a couple, there is the Zurich English Newspaper Corpus (ZEN) by Fries and Schneider, which covers the period from 1661 to 1791, and the Florence Early English Newspapers (FEEN) and Lancaster Newsbook Corpus, by Nicholas Brownlees.⁵² In any case, the process for producing the machine-readable texts is not such an easy one. First, we have to copy them either manually from the original, or from hard copies or digital copies, a process that can be performed with a scanner and Optical Character Recognition software. OCR is generally adapted to modern typography and can give rise to problems when faced with early texts—not to mention handwritten documents—and will at least require further manual revision and correction. We will also require a modernisation of the text, so we have a common and uniform spelling of the words, if we intend to use some kind of content-analysis software based on frequencies and concordances. Secondly, we need further conversion protocols, from image to PDF, and to text, and then to XML text, incorporating tags that signal the different categories of the textual and paratextual elements (e.g. headlines, data, etc.), and metadata, containing information about the document itself. Finally, if we want to compare and analyse our texts in relation to other texts published elsewhere, we need to translate them consistently into a common language that could be shared by a network of international researchers. Today, this language is English. To that general *corpus*, composed of several *corpora* nourished by the text of the news of a concrete publication or period, for instance, we can apply any kind of methodology, from a rhetorical analysis to, say, a narratological one, with, it is to be hoped, highly satisfactory results.

For the time being, I am completing the database of the news published in the *Gazeta de Amsterdam*, especially the issues for the year 1675 (the only near complete set of the extant numbers), and analysing it for the date and place of the events, date and place of delivery, date of publication (so as to determine the time it took for a news item to arrive from one point of Europe to another), the places, events and personae mentioned, and other related things that help us to sketch a better panorama of the dissemination of news all over the Continent—and from beyond, since there is news proceeding from the Dutch colonies overseas, from Brazil and from China.

51 Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus linguistics*, p. 65.

52 ZEN is accessible at <www.es.uzh.ch/Subsites/Projects/zencorpus.html> [5/04/15]; both FEEN and the Lancaster Corpus are accessible at <cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk> [5/04/15].

Some dedicated software can be used to analyse the resultant corpora, for instance WMatrix; but also some other kinds of programs, such as those used by forensic linguistics and to detect plagiarism, like CopyCatch, based on a comparison of the recurrences and of the style of a set of texts.⁵³ All the aforementioned software applications, and many others, could shed some light on the authorship of news published, republished, adapted and translated all over Europe. We have some *corpora* on which we can immediately work: for example, the abovementioned news by Pellicer, Barrionuevo and Almansa; or the gazettes published in San Sebastián (although, we need to be cautious, as we still do not have complete knowledge of entire publications, years and issues, both because we do not know whether more issues could be discovered in public or private archives, and because in some of the extant collections some issues, even though complete years, are lacking); or the complete collection of the *Gazeta Nueva*, published electronically (but not, unfortunately, as a searchable text) by the Official Gazette of Spain, the so-called *Boletín Oficial del Estado* (simply because the *Gazeta Nueva* was, over the years, converted into an official newspaper by the Spanish kingdom); but many other publications need to be completed (if not detected, so once again, we need an exhaustive catalogue of publications) and treated before we can perform these text-conversion protocols.

It is only in this way, in our opinion, that we can hope to shed some light on the topics treated, the style used, the rhetorical, argumentative and narrative strategies employed by our first journalists. We have few references in Spain like those detailed English ones.⁵⁴ We do not know to what extent the description of a newsroom given by Ben Jonson in his *Staple of News* of 1626 is fictional or realistic.⁵⁵ But we do have a satirical description of the work done by those first newsmongers provided by another Spanish writer, a contemporary of Quevedo and Góngora, Baltasar Gracián. In his *Criticón*, he said that

53 One of the qualitative models of such an integral approach should be Paul-Jacques Guinard, *La presse espagnole de 1737 a 1791. Formation et signification d'un genre* (Paris: Institut d'Etudes Hispaniques, 1973). See also Pierre Rétat, 'Bilan et perspectives des recherches sur les gazettes', in *L'information à l'époque moderne* (Paris: Association des Historiens modernistes des Universités, 2001), pp. 5–24.

54 Though see Dr Mercedes del Hoyo's chapter in *El nacimiento del periodismo vasco*. Amongst other findings, she concluded that the text of the gazettes was not a translation from French, a language that the printers (Pedro and Bernardo de Huarte) must have known well, since they studied the profession in Bordeaux.

55 Jonson's play has been translated into Spanish, with an introduction, by the author of this paper: Ben Jonson, ed. and trans. Javier Díaz Noci, *El comercio de noticias y Noticias del Nuevo Mundo descubierto en la Luna* (Bilbao: University of the Basque Country, 2000).

newsheets have nothing to do with history (“not all nations have an inspiration for history”) and judged all Spanish newsmongers (“antiquarian and coranto-makers”) as producing “material and mechanical” news, “with no trace of good judgement nor wit”, coranto-coiners who, producing periodical gazettes or individual newsheets, are no more than liars; a very similar assessment to the ones made some years earlier by James Shirley in his *Schoole of Complement* (1637) or by Richard Brathwaite.⁵⁶ We have some other testimonies, for example a manuscript note by an anonymous contemporary of Francisco Fabro Bremundán, who was granted the exclusive privilege by the crown of printing gazettes in 1677.⁵⁷ It is a mocking and contemptuous opinion:

The new job of newsmonger has been today the general target of laughter. It is rather remarkable how there is someone who wants to spend his money on this kind of nonsense ... It would be a great job if, as the privilege forbids the printing of news, it were also to prevent private newsletters so no one could advise his friends about the news of the court and outside it, so this new job was of no value under these circumstances!⁵⁸

Other references to the activity of news workers themselves would allow us to attempt a social history of news reporting in this period.⁵⁹ One can be found in a Spanish-language gazette of Brussels, *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas*. Owing to an accident suffered by the person who was supposedly the only writer in charge or ‘journalist’ of this bi-weekly gazette, a note is included in the issue of 1691:

Por el grave accidente que sobrevino al Autor el dia 11. de Junio, no se dieron las Noticias de 15. dias el correo passado, que agora se resumen brevemente, con las que después se han adquirido. Y para el 15. del corriente, ô poco mas adelante, se promete la primera parte de la Historia

56 ‘Mienten las relaciones y mucho más las gacetas’, in Baltasar Gracián, *El Criticón*, Part II (Madrid, 1653), ch. 4; James Shirley, *The Schoole of Complement, as it was acted by her Majesties Servants at the Private house in Drury Lane* (London, 1637); Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies: Or, A New Cast of Characters* (London, 1631). A critical edition exists by Allen H. Lanner, *A Critical Edition of Richard Brathwaite’s Whimzies* (New York: Garland, 1991).

57 On Francisco Fabro Bremundán, see Eulogio Varela Hervías, ‘Francisco Fabro de Bremundans (1621–1698)’, in *Cincuentenario de la Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1968).

58 Quoted in Altabella, *Fuentes crítico-bibliográficas*, p. 29.

59 David Paul Nord, ‘Intellectual History, Social History, Cultural History ... and Our History’, *Journalism History*, 67.4 (1990), pp. 645–8.

abreviada de este primer año de la ultima Decada del siglo de hierro, con distinción y brevedad, que se proseguira si fuera bien recibida.⁶⁰

(Due to the serious accident that befell the Author on 11th June, the news for the fortnight was not given in the last letter, which is now briefly summarised, together with those acquired subsequently. And for the 15th of the current month, or a little earlier, the first part of the abbreviated History of this year of the last Decade of the iron century is promised, with distinction and brevity, which will continue if it is well received.)

Furthermore, we have more evidence on the hard conditions of this trade. In an issue in 1686, it is stated that:

El limitado despacho de estas Noticias, y las pocas assistencias de quien las recoge, sufocan los grandes desseos que tiene de satisfacer à la curiosidad publica, como tambien le impossibilitan à sacar a luz muchas obras, en que incessantemente se fatiga, no obstante sus achaques, y edad, entre ellas la Recopilacion historica de los sucessos y guerras de Ungria, desde su principio, hasta el año presente.⁶¹

(the limited dispatch of these News Stories, and the scant assistance provided to he who gathers them, smother the great desire to satisfy public curiosity, and also make it impossible to publish many works, on which fatiguing labor is incessantly done, despite ailments and age, amongst them the historical compilation of the events and wars of Hungary, from their start until the current year.)

We wish more ‘accidents’ of this kind would appear, enabling us to learn more about the conditions those newsmongers worked in. Although they are scarce today, we cannot rule out the discovery of further witnesses like this one. First, however, we need a complete knowledge of all the texts published in the Spanish-language gazettes, and further research must be done on the literature and in the archives in search of more contemporary evidence on this question.

In the absence of more of such kind of documents that could allow us to do some ethnographic-historical research on news, like that which is fashionable for today’s media organisations and that was attempted for the nineteenth century Parisian newspaper by Michael Palmer, we have nothing but texts—or “words, words, words, they’re all we have to go on”, as Tom Stoppard writes in

60 *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas* (16 January 1691).

61 *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas* (2 April 1686). See also Díaz Noci, ‘Dissemination of News’.

Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead, 1966.⁶² So it is probably a good idea to work on this foundation to try to make progress, and to develop a detailed plan for the coming years with the idea of encouraging young researchers to join in this effort. Only a coordinated programme, using well-known and significantly improved methods and models, like the ones we have mentioned in this paper, and longitudinal-based systematic research, can provide us with more evidence of the production, reproduction and dissemination strategies, news focus, relations and networks used by newsmongers across Europe and America, and how news items moved and were modified as they travelled through the continent.⁶³

62 Michael Palmer, 'Parisian Newsrooms in the Late Nineteenth Century: How to Enter from the Agency Back Office, or Inventing News Journalism in France', *Journalism Studies*, 4.4 (2003), pp. 479–87.

63 On the networks, see Carmen Espejo, 'European Communication Networks in the Early Modern Age', *Media History*, 17.2 (2011), pp. 189–202.

Mapping the *Fuggerzeitungen*: The Geographical Issues of an Information Network

Nikolaus Schobesberger

Introduction

The sixteenth century was characterised by the unprecedentedly rapid acceleration and standardisation of the information and communication system, to an extent that would remain unparalleled until the nineteenth century and the invention of the electric telegraph.¹ The Imperial postal system and the development of written media, available to the public at large for the first time, both have their origin in the century or so between 1490 and 1605 and were an important factor in the development of a bourgeois information society during the following centuries.² Elites became more and more interested in events taking place all over Europe. Politically as well as economically, it is possible to discern an early form of globalisation.³ Based on the new confessional divides of the Reformation, new alliances were formed and boundaries drawn across the continent. Reporting of war and conflict, such as the Dutch War of Independence, suddenly acquired new interest for a pan-European audience because of its frequently confessional character. At the same time this early capitalist society, which was beginning to view markets and economic processes in global terms, developed a need for information that could only be

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- 1 Michael North, ed., *Kommunikationsrevolutionen—Die neuen Medien des 16. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2001), pp. ix–x; Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur—Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), pp. 14–15.
 - 2 In 1490 Kaiser Maximilian I instructed the Taxis family to establish a post route between Innsbruck and Brussels; see Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, p. 59. In 1605 the first printed, periodic newspaper was issued by Johann Carolus in Strasbourg. See Johannes Weber, ‘Straßburg 1605—Die Geburt der Zeitung’, *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, 7 (2005), pp. 3–27.
 - 3 Thomas Schröder, *Die ersten Zeitungen—Textgestaltung und Nachrichtenauswahl* (Tübingen: Narr, 1995), pp. 1–7. Johannes Arndt, Esther-Beate Körber, eds., *Das Mediensystem im Alten Reich der Frühen Neuzeit (1600–1750)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp. 9–10.

satisfied by new media.⁴ One such development is the emergence of handwritten newsletters ('Zeitungen'), including the Viennese *Fuggerzeitungen*.⁵

Because historical research had long considered the invention of printing as the driving force behind the development of the modern periodical printed newspapers, other media, particularly handwritten newsletters, largely went unregarded.⁶ In Italy handwritten newsletters, called *avvisi*, began to appear from the fifteenth century onwards, as a development of the diplomatic dispatch system.⁷ Initially they took the form of attachments to letters, spreading news and satisfying the growing demand for information. During the sixteenth century, those newsletters developed into an independent form of news media which, in contrast to the printed broadsheets of the time, arrived with regular or semi-regular periodicity and dealt with serious topics. Recent findings show that the modern press is a further development of handwritten newsletters, arising from the invention of cheaper and quicker printing processes.⁸ The Viennese *Fuggerzeitungen* are among the best-known collections of these handwritten newsletters.

The Fuggerzeitungen

The term *Fuggerzeitung* appears frequently in studies on the history of media and communication. Originally it was used for all kinds of letters containing news and handwritten newsletters collected and shared amongst the Fugger

4 Oswald Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung—Die Fuggerzeitungen (1568–1605) und das frühmoderne Nachrichtensystem* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), p. 32.

5 For more information on the development of handwritten newspapers, see Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 31–42.

6 Jürgen Wilke, *Grundzüge der Medien- und Kommunikationsgeschichte* (Cologne & Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), pp. 13–14.

7 See esp. Cornel Zwielerlein, 'Fuggerzeitungen als Ergebnis von italienisch-deutschem Kulturtransfer 1552–1570', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 90 (2010), pp. 176–7; see also Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, p. 33.

8 Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 40–2; Weber, 'Straßburg 1605', pp. 3–26; Johannes Weber: "'Unterthenige Supplication Johann Caroli/Buchtrickers'"—Der Beginn gedruckter politischer Wochenzeitungen im Jahr 1605', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 38 (1992), pp. 257–65. Schröder, *Die Ersten Zeitungen*, pp. 10–13; Holger Böning: "'Gewiss ist es/dass alle gedruckten Zeitungen erst geschrieben seyn müssen'"—Handgeschriebene und gedruckte Zeitung im Spannungsfeld von Abhängigkeit, Koexistenz und Konkurrenz', *Daphnis*, 37 (2008), pp. 203–42.

family between the middle of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century.⁹ In a narrower sense, the term *Fuggerzeitungen* means the corpus of handwritten newsletters assembled by the brothers Octavian Secundus (1549–1600) and Philipp Eduard Fugger (1546–1618). The collection has formed part of the Imperial Court library since 1656 and is now to be found in the collection of manuscripts and early prints of the Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, hereafter ÖNB). It contains a total of 27 folio volumes (Cod. 8949 to 8975), amounting to approximately 16,000 newsletters from 1568 to 1605.¹⁰ The collected newsletters are reports, usually with a dateline for a title, and varying in length from a few lines to six pages in total. Each newsletter consists of one or more news items, each of which is typically accorded its own separate paragraph. Around 82% of the newsletters are written in German, with 17% in Italian; French, Spanish and Latin each represent less than 1% of the total.¹¹

Previous research has strongly insisted on seeing the Fugger newsletters in an economic context, and consequently tended to assume that the *Fuggerzeitungen* were strictly an internal information service for the Fugger family business, used mainly to inform and support financial decisions.¹² More recent work

9 For a definition of the *Fuggerzeitungen* and the history of research see Katrin Keller, 'Die Fuggerzeitungen—Ein Literaturbericht', *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, 14 (2012), pp. 186–204; Cornel Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Die—Die Entstehung neuer Denkrahmen im 16. Jahrhundert und die Wahrnehmung der französischen Religionskriege in Italien und Deutschland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), p. 577; Kaspar Kempster, *Die wirtschaftliche Berichterstattung in den sogenannten Fuggerzeitungen* (Munich: Zeitungswissenschaftliche Vereinigung, 1936), pp. 6–7.

10 Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 59–60.

11 For the quantities of the *Fuggerzeitungen* see also Anita Hipfinger and Josef Löffler, *Fuggerzeitungen—Digitales Bestandsverzeichnis*, <www.univie.ac.at/Geschichtsforschung/ressourcen/die-fuggerzeitungen> [8/04/15]; a quantitative analysis of the *Fuggerzeitungen* is also available in Anita Hipfinger and Josef Löffler, 'Die Wiener Fugger-Zeitungen—Eine Bestandsaufnahme', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 117 (2009), pp. 379–98.

12 For the history of research on the *Fuggerzeitungen* see Keller, 'Fuggerzeitungen'; early researches on the *Fuggerzeitungen*; Johannes Kleinpaul, *Die Fuggerzeitungen 1568–1605* (Leipzig, 1921); Victor Klarwill, *Fugger-Zeitungen—Ungedruckte Briefe an das Haus Fugger aus den Jahren 1568–1605* (Vienna, Leipzig, Munich: Nikola Verlag, 1923); Kempster, *wirtschaftliche Berichterstattung*; Mathilde Fitzler, *Die Entstehung der sogenannten Fuggerzeitungen in der Wiener Nationalbibliothek* (Baden bei Wien: Rohrer Verlag, 1937); Theodor Gustav Werner, 'Regesten und Texte von Fuggerzeitungen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien', *Scripta Mercaturae*, 1 (1967), pp. 57–68; Theodor Gustav Werner, 'Das kaufmännische Nachrichtenwesen im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit und sein

shows this hypothesis to be untenable.¹³ The proportion of economic reports in the *Wiener Fuggerzeitungen* is by no means large enough to constitute an adequate economic information service, making it impossible to maintain the notion that the family's economic decision-making could have been based solely or even principally on the *Fuggerzeitungen*. The *Fuggerzeitungen* cover a multitude of topics. One focal point is their political and military reporting, but besides these topics they range across such diverse events as social occasions, celebrations, court ceremonial, religious and confessional matters, and criminal cases.¹⁴

Another basic assumption common to much early work on the *Fuggerzeitungen* is that those newsletters were a private information medium intended only for the use of the Fugger family. This assumption must also be revised in the light of recent research on the origin and development of handwritten newsletters.¹⁵

It is certain that the Fugger trading house was to some extent involved in the distribution of the newsletters, but their role in this should not be overestimated. The *Fuggerzeitungen* are a detail of the sixteenth century media landscape, a detail that happens to have been preserved by Octavian Secundus Fugger's passion as a collector. Contrary to what has previously been supposed, it appears that not all of the writers of these newsletters were employees of the Fugger family business. In fact most of them were professional *novellisti*, or even private individuals, who came from the Imperial Court or marched with European armies and reported on the sixteenth century campaigns for newsletters like those of the Fugger family.

Supported by the Austrian Fund for Science and Research (österreichischen Wissenschaftsfond, or FWF), the project 'The *Fuggerzeitungen*: An early modern

Einfluss auf die Entstehung der handschriftlichen Zeitung', *Scripta Mercaturae* 2 (1975), pp. 3–52.

13 Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Die*; Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 18–26.

14 For a statistical evaluation of the topics in the *Fuggerzeitungen* see Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 189–201, at 197.

15 Zdeněk Šimeček, 'Geschriebene Zeitungen in den böhmischen Ländern um 1600 und ihr Entstehungs- und Rezeptionszusammenhang mit den gedruckten Zeitungen', in *Presse und Geschichte II—Neue Beiträge zur historischen Kommunikationsforschung*, ed. Elger Blühm, Hartwig Gebhardt (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1987), pp. 71–82; Zwierlein, 'Fuggerzeitungen als Ergebnis', pp. 169–224; Zsuzsa Barbarics, 'Tinte und Politik in der Frühen Neuzeit—Handschriftliche Zeitungen als überregionale Nachrichtenquellen für die Machthaber', PhD thesis (University of Graz, 2006); Böning, 'Gewiss ist es'; Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Die*; Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, p. 33.

informative medium and its indexing' ('Die Fuggerzeitungen. Ein frühneuzeitliches Information medium und seine Erschließung') was started in March 2011, overseen by Dr Katrin Keller.¹⁶ During this, we have been able to create a database containing all the writings from the *Fuggerzeitungen*, including the place and date of dispatch, the signature, and the people and locations mentioned in each article. This index of over 16,000 handwritten newsletters, letters, and other attachments will be added to the HANNA-catalogue of the National Library. Additionally, digital reproductions of the *Fuggerzeitungen* will be provided by the ÖNB.

The aggregation of all the *Zeitungen* into a single database for the first time allows more detailed statistical evaluation and geographical analysis of an early modern news medium, which will provide an overview of spatial structures, the European communications network in the early modern period, and their geographically differentiated development

Essentials of a Geographic Analysis of the *Fuggerzeitungen*

Reflections upon the spatial structures of the *Fuggerzeitungen* can already be found in some of the earliest research on this material. Johannes Kleinpaul and Victor Klarwill discovered and described the spatial structure of the *Fuggerzeitungen* in their breakdown of the archive by place of dispatch.¹⁷ Thus the most important cities—Antwerp, Cologne, Venice and Rome—were listed, and the *Fuggerzeitungen* perceived and characterised as encompassing the whole of Europe.

The first complete statistical evaluation of the places in the *Fuggerzeitungen* was not undertaken until 2009, when Anita Hipfinger and Joseph Löffler completed an inventory of all *Fuggerzeitungen* and when, following them, Oswald Bauer gave a more detailed overview of the textual records from the more important places and their catchment areas, as well as the most important lines of communication.¹⁸

A geographical survey of the *Fuggerzeitungen* immediately hints at the structure of the corpus. It can be asserted in general that each newsletter has

16 Website of the project: <www.univie.ac.at/fuggerzeitungen/en/> [8/04/15].

17 Kleinpaul, *Die Fuggerzeitungen*, 15–16; Klarwill, *Fugger-Zeitungen*; for Klarwill the most important information centres are Antwerp, Middelburg, Cologne, Lisbon and Madrid (p. 18).

18 Hipfinger and Löffler, *Digitales Bestandsverzeichnis* (2007), p. 5; Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 63–70.

a place of dispatch, from which the writer reports about a certain region, or catchment area. The newsletters were then sent to Augsburg by post or courier and collected there. This transport structure suggests three categories of spatial questions arising from the *Fuggerzeitungen*.

1 *By Place of Dispatch*

Usually each newsletter has a dateline for a title. At the place of dispatch, the newsletter was compiled and sent. Looking at the frequency with which the various points of dispatch occur within the corpus, we see the relative importance of specific cities within the European news network in general and the Fuggers' information network in particular. Based on changes in the frequency of the news received from various places across the whole period covered by the corpus, we can distinguish the most important places at which news was gathered and transmitted. In addition, these changes can be used to track changes in the structure of the news itself, influenced by events.

2 *By Catchment Area*

'Catchment area' is used here to describe the area covered by news reports from a given point of dispatch. Investigating the catchment areas of the most important news-gathering centres in the Fugger network demonstrates the regional importance of the various centres of information. Only in a very few cases do the reports of the *Fuggerzeitungen* cover one place only. More commonly they embrace a wider area, more or less clearly defined, and news from this area was collected and written down at the same place from which the newsletter or was eventually sent. Catchment areas thus show the spatial structure of the early modern news network.

3 *The Early Modern Information Network*

By reference to the routes news travelled and the time it took to do so we can establish a spatial and temporal information network across Europe. The routes the newsletters took can be defined based on the *Fuggerzeitungen* insofar as sometimes several newsletters from different places along one route are written on the same sheet of paper in consecutive order of the places passed. Using the sequence of places the newsletters passed through en route and the time taken for each stage, we can reconstruct this network fairly accurately.¹⁹ Additionally, the structure of each newsletter shows that there were other centres of information besides the places of dispatch. These centres seldom appear

19 For the analysis of the duration of the *Fuggerzeitungen* see Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 178–9.

as places of dispatch, but were collection points for news that was then passed on to the places of dispatch recorded in the newsletter's dateline. For example, *avvisi* from Milan were very often included in newsletters from Venice. Similarly, news from Brussels might be included in Antwerp newsletters. It is thus apparent that the Fugger network made extensive use of the post routes already established in the mid-sixteenth century.

The content and structure of the *Fuggerzeitungen* are also in some respects geographically. Due to different traditions in the sophistication of the language used by the newswriters, in the levels of professionalism displayed in the writing, and in complexity of themes treated there are, for example, notable differences between Italian newsletters and those from north-western Europe.

Generally speaking, among the German-language newsletters in the collection those originating from cities on the main postal routes acquire a higher level of professional polish sooner than those from places further off the beaten track.

Places of Issue

As shown in the statistical evaluations of the *Fuggerzeitungen* by Hipfinger/Löffler and Oswald Bauer, and mapped in Figure 9.1, the most frequent places of issue are Antwerp, Cologne, Rome and Venice with around 2,100 to 2,300 newsletters each, which amounts to approximately 13–16% of the total.²⁰ Vienna, Prague and Lyon follow with around 6% apiece; Constantinople trails with 304 (1.8%). Frankfurt, Gran/Esztergom, Paris, Kaschau/Košice, Strasbourg and Middelburg each account for a little over 1%. There are more than 450 distinct places of dispatch from all over Europe, Asia (for example Goa/India or Japan) and America (for example Santo Domingo, Mexico and Lima). About half of all places of dispatch occur only once in the index.

The places that appear frequently are either international centres of commerce, such as Venice and Antwerp, Cologne and Lyon, or places of political importance, like Rome (the home of the papacy), or Vienna and Prague (Imperial centres of the Habsburg monarchy).

A closer look shows that the transmission of the newsletters was by no means continuous. While the four principal centres forwarded an average of 1–2 newsletters each week, a closer look shows discontinuities in the flow of information.²¹

20 Hipfinger and Löffler, *Digitales Bestandsverzeichnis* (2007), p. 5; also Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, p. 63.

21 For the development of the main information centres of the *Fuggerzeitungen* see Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 63–9.

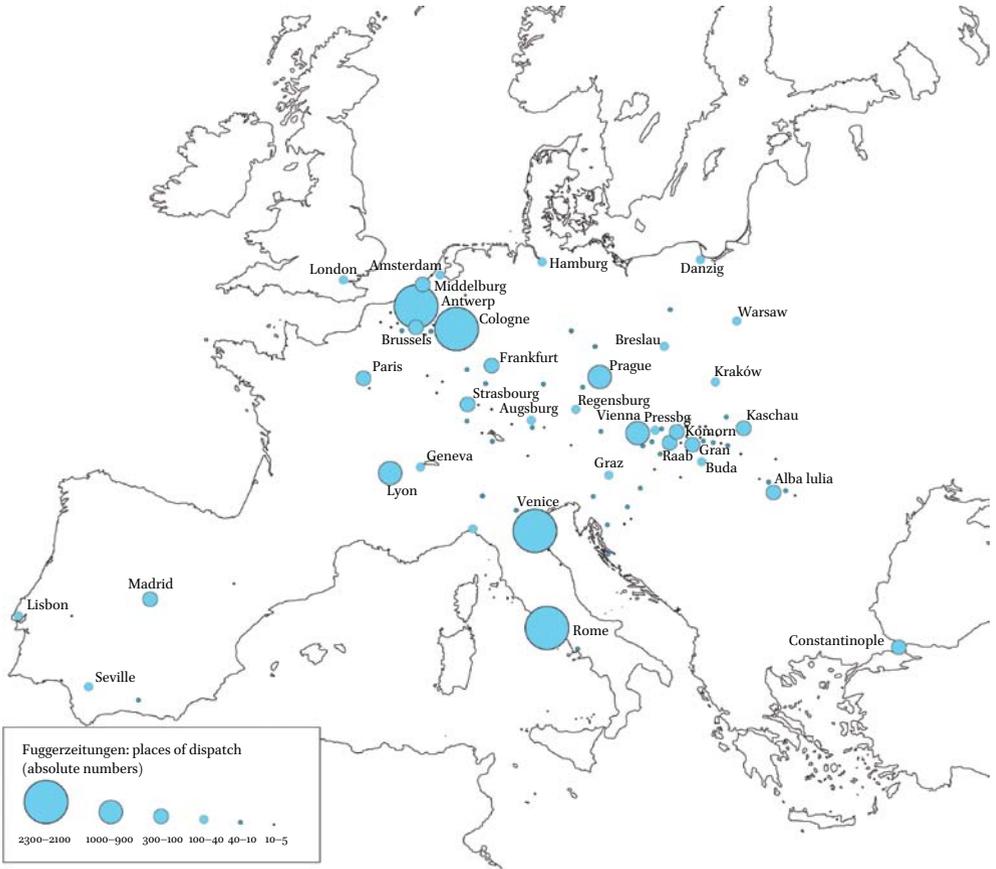


FIGURE 9.1 Distribution map of places of dispatch (1568–1605)

The first two volumes of the *Wiener Fuggerzeitungen* are not representative due to the manner of their compilation. In contrast to all other volumes, volume 8949 (1569–72) does not consist of original newsletters; all the texts in it were retrospectively compiled and copied. Volume 8959 only contains only newsletters written in Italian. Only from 1578 onwards we find a certain standardisation in the sequence of the *Fuggerzeitungen*.

That year, nearly one third of the newsletters came from Antwerp, followed by Rome and Venice with about 13–14% each (see Figure 9.2). The large number of newsletters from Antwerp is a consequence of the political situation of the Spanish Netherlands, as the Dutch War of Independence escalated. In general reports of the Eighty Years War were given particular prominence in the *Fuggerzeitungen*.



FIGURE 9.2 Distribution map of places of dispatch for *Fuggerzeitungen* (1578) Cod. 8951

In this volume the newsletters from Rome and Venice are written entirely in Italian. Compared to other volumes, Cologne does not occur very frequently as a place of dispatch. There is also a continuous sequence from France (via Paris and Lyon) and from the Habsburg territories (via Prague and Vienna). At the same time there are reports from Spain and Portugal, mainly because of Portugal's war against the Sultan of Morocco, which started in 1578 and took a decisive turn with the defeat of the Portuguese at Alcácer-Quibir and the death of King Sebastian.

Around 1588 Cologne is on a par with Antwerp as a news centre in Western Europe. The Cologne War (1583–8) tremendously increased the output of newsletters from the metropolis by the Rhine.²² Cologne's output had already begun to surpass Antwerp's by 1582. In 1588 the reporting from the Netherlands

22 Concerning the Cologne war in the *Fuggerzeitungen* see also Oswald Bauer, 'Reichspolitik in den *Fuggerzeitungen* (1568–1605)—Der Kölner Krieg (1583–1589) als Medienereignis mit reichspolitischer Relevanz', in *Die Fugger und das Reich—Eine neue Forschungsperspektive*

and the Lower Rhine dominates, mainly because of the Spanish Armada. Between May and August 1588 reports on Spanish activity left Antwerp up to three times a week.²³ Figure 9.3 shows yet another trend in the *Fuggerzeitungen* at the end of the 1580s, namely the decline in the proportion of Italian newsletters. Rome and Venice make up only 5% of all reports. Between 1587 and June 1588 there is no news from Venice or Rome at all. Previously these reports were written in Italian, added separately at the beginning or end of each volume, as sealed and addressed sheets. By the middle of the year 1588 the reports from Venice and Rome resume, but are given in German from that point on.

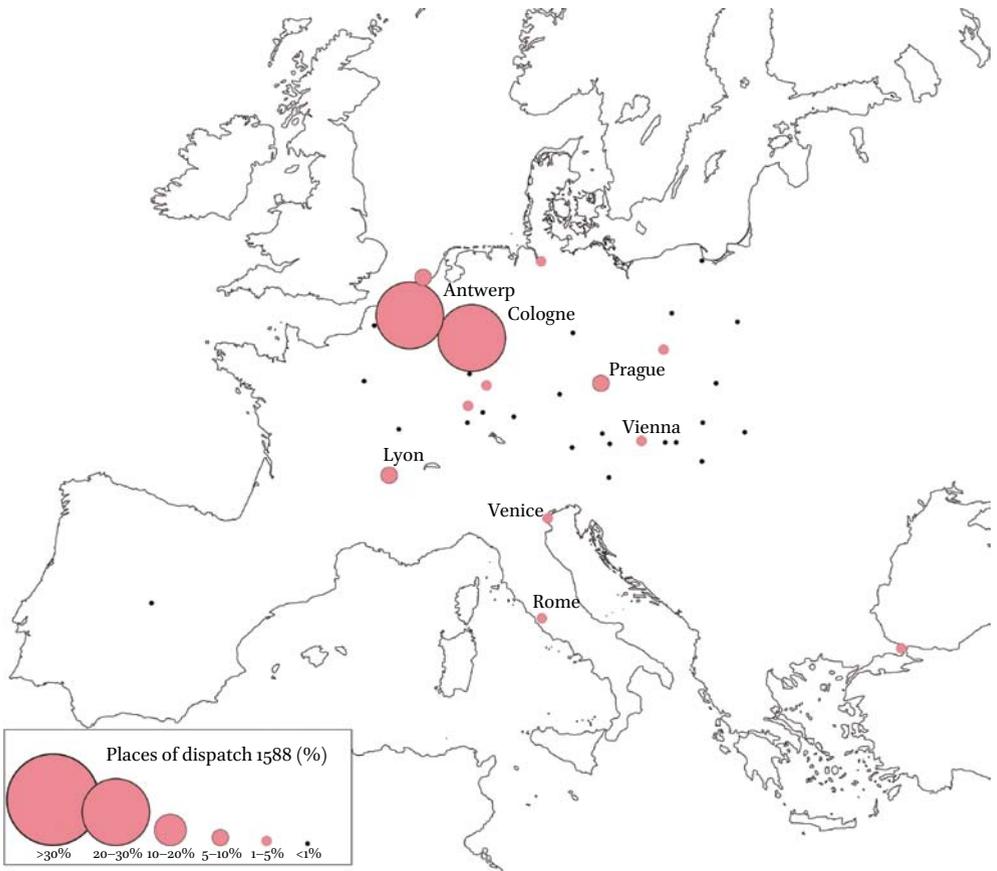


FIGURE 9.3 Distribution map of places of dispatch for *Fuggerzeitungen* (1588) Cod.8961

zum 500jährigen Jubiläum der ersten Fuggerherrschaft Kirchberg-Weißenhorn, ed. Johannes Burkhardt (Augsburg: Wissner-verlag, 2008), pp. 269–88.

23 Concerning the reports on the Spanish Armada in the *Fuggerzeitungen* see also Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 301–9.

There is also continuous reporting from Constantinople between 1582 and 1592, with an average of one newsletter coming from Constantinople to Augsburg every two weeks. The reporting from the Ottoman Empire ends 1592 with the beginning of the Turkish War.

By the end of the 1590s the composition of the *Fuggerzeitungen* volumes looks very different, as shown in Figure 9.4. There is a diversification of the places of dispatch. The 'big four' (Antwerp, Cologne, Rome and Venice) remain, even though they make up only 10–13% each, while by this time Vienna, Prague, Lyon and Gran each account for 5–8%. Gran's greater significance can be attributed to the Turkish War (1592/3–1606). Reporting from the border towns of Croatia and Hungary increases notably after the beginning of this conflict. If the newsletters from the fortified towns (Gran/Esztergom, Kaschau/Košice, Komorn/Komárno, Pressburg/Bratislava, Neuhäusl/Nové Zámky, Raab/Győr und Tokaj) were added to those from Hungary they would equal those from Rome and Venice (12%).



FIGURE 9.4 Distribution map of places of dispatch for *Fuggerzeitungen* (1598) Cod.8971

The maps show two main trends in the geographical structures of news transmission: first, the reporting was closely related to political and military events. This is evident in the cases of the abovementioned conflicts (the Dutch Revolt, the Spanish Armada or the Turkish War, occurring at opposite ends of Europe). In contrast to the Dutch and Spanish conflicts, the Turkish War causes an upsurge of reports directly from the war zone, not only an increase of reports from the usual centres of information, for instance Vienna or Prague. Second, there is a significant diversification in the newsletters' places of dispatch. By the end of the 1570s there were only a few important places for the dispatch of newsletters, accounting for up to 30% of all *Fuggerzeitungen* collected during a year: Antwerp in 1578, for instance. By the end of the 1590s there was a multitude of places from which they might originate.

Additionally there are certain places of dispatch—Lyon, Vienna or Prague, for instance—which make up a remarkably consistent proportion of the Fugger newsletters from year to year. This shows that apart from the interest in news from the four principal centres there was a continuous interest in what was going on in France and in the Habsburg monarchy, even though the statistics show some discontinuity in the tradition.²⁴ Despite this, Lyon, Vienna and Prague remained cities of interest over several decades, whilst other politically important places (Paris, London, Madrid) were only covered by reports collected in other cities.

Environs

As already indicated, only a small percentage of reports in the *Fuggerzeitungen* deal with events specific to the places of dispatch. A large percentage of the news comes from the regions served by those centres. The place of dispatch is a central point in those regions, collecting information from all quarters.

We can visualise the catchment areas by researching and indexing the places mentioned in the newsletters. In most cases this gives us a core area and a surrounding region covered by the reports. One problem when mapping catchment areas is that merely mentioning ethnic groups or countries does not necessarily mean that a given newsletter actually reports on them. Thus it was decided to list all ethnic groups or nationalities under the name of their country—for example *Spaniard* is listed under *Spain*—including all subgroups.

The problem is illustrated in Figure 9.5, using the example of the Ottomans in newsletters from Vienna. In the 916 newsletters originating from Vienna we find the word 'Ottomans' 516 times ('Turks/Türken' in the original text). This is

24 Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 66–8.

by far the highest number of any nationality mentioned, and it is mainly used for the Ottoman troops, usually located in Hungary or Croatia. Very occasionally the term refers to the Ottoman Empire itself, which also appears under this name. The map below may serve as a sample of a visualisation of the catchment area for places of dispatch. Newsletters have been excluded from the sample if they contain the words 'Ottomans' (in the case of the Viennese newsletters) or 'Spain' (in newsletters from Lyon), as the inclusion of these terms would have strongly skewed the data.

In Figure 9.5 I have tried to present the catchment areas of Vienna and Lyon. The circles indicate how often a place was mentioned in the Viennese and Lyonnais *Fuggerzeitungen*. It shows very clearly that newsletters from Lyon are dominated by news from France, especially from Paris and the Royal Court. Paris is mentioned in 600 out of the 900 newsletters from Lyon; Paris's surroundings are also much mentioned, extending as far as the Dutch border.

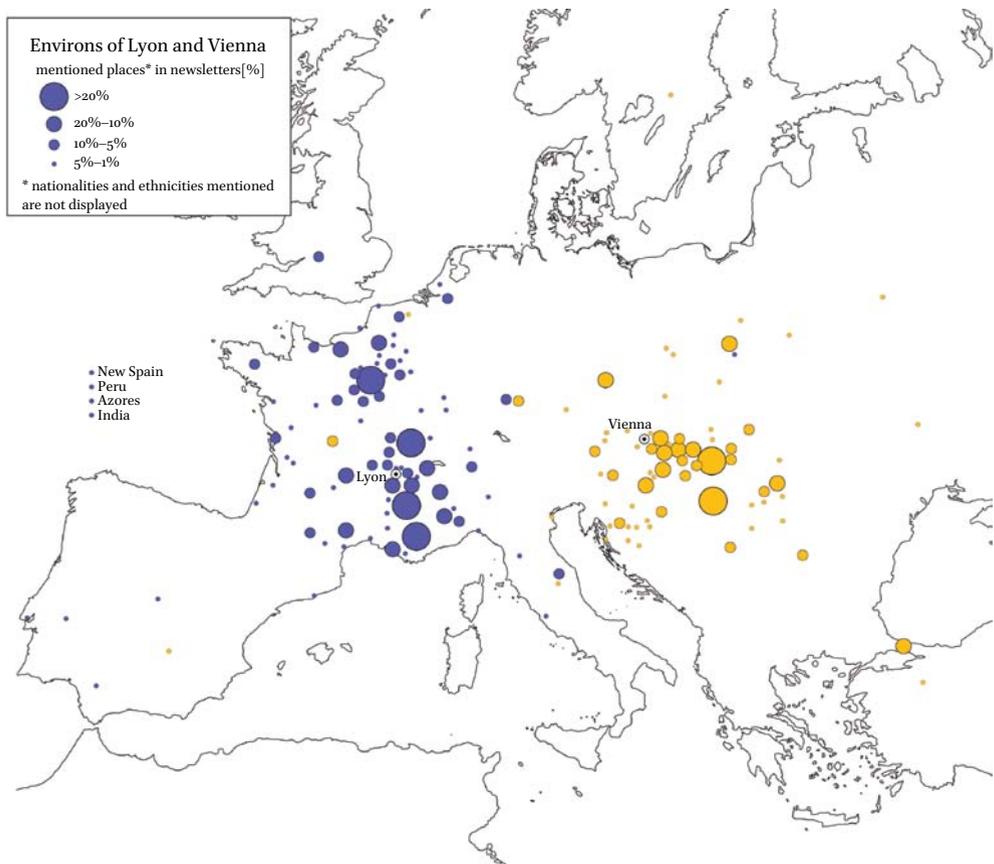


FIGURE 9.5 Catchment area of information for *Fuggerzeitungen* from Vienna and Lyon

Furthermore, we find numerous reports from the environs of Lyon (Dauphiné and Provence) as well as news about Savoy and Switzerland, as Duke Karl Emanuel of Savoy was at war with Geneva. At the periphery of the region we find Northern Italy and the southwest of France. These areas are mentioned in the newsletters, but only sporadically. Compared to Lyon the map of the Viennese environs shows us a large number of reports on Hungary. Hungary and Ofen/Buda are the most frequently-occurring places, followed by Transylvania, Poland, Walachia and Tartary. Reports from the Habsburg territories are comparatively rare. This is mainly due to the large number of Viennese newsletters following the outbreak of the Turkish War. The newsletters from Vienna and Prague deal with a wide variety of topics before the war, but after 1592 the war and related events predominate. During the war these newsletters are often connected to newsletters from border towns, as they were often sent together, or refer to each other.

The Figures 9.6 and 9.7 show the catchment areas of the chief *Fuggerzeitungen* centres:



FIGURE 9.6 Catchment area of information for *Fuggerzeitungen* from Antwerp

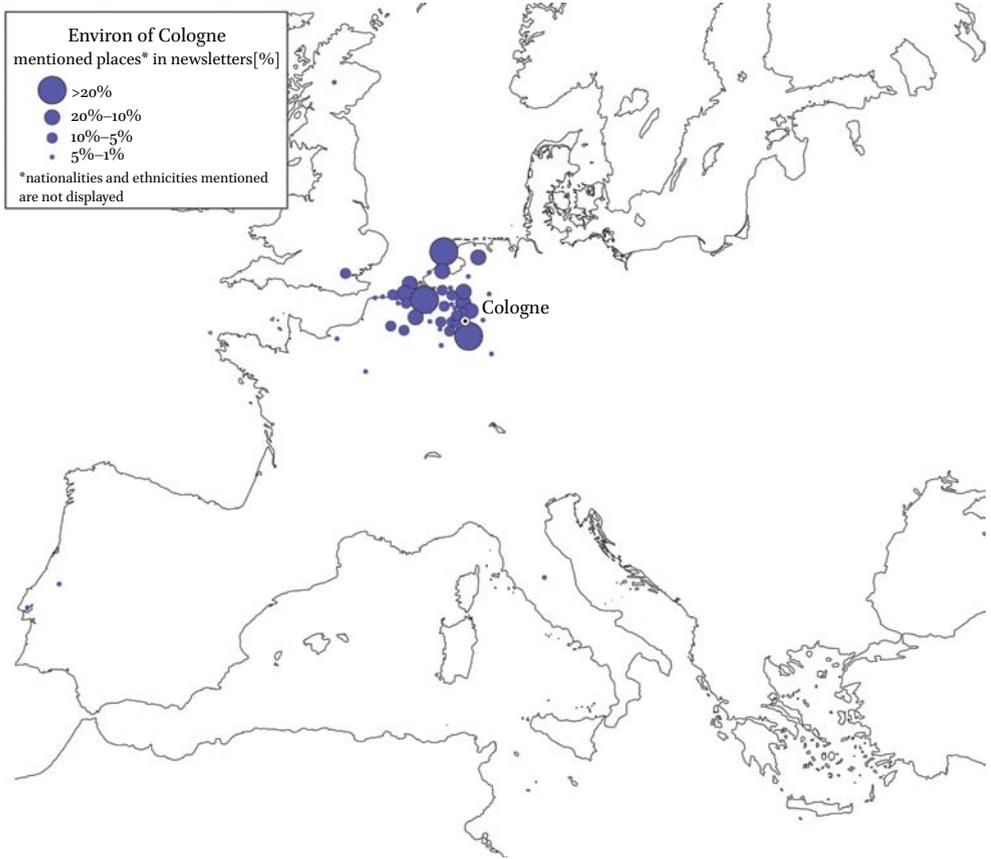


FIGURE 9.7 *Catchment area of information for Fuggerzeitungen from Cologne*

It is apparent from this map that Antwerp was primarily the collecting point for news from the northern and southern Netherlands, coming in from Brussels, Tournai, Middelburg, Dunkirk, The Hague, and so on. It also processed some news from northern France, with reports from Dieppe, Rouen and Paris. News from England, arriving via London, features regularly in newsletters from Antwerp; news from Spain and the New World, from Lisbon, Sanlúcar de Barameda or Madrid, for instance, is less common. Cologne, connected to Antwerp by a postal route, similarly covered the news from the Netherlands—usually based on newsletters, *avvisi* and other information channels from Antwerp—and from north-western Germany. News from the southwest, from Speyer or Strasbourg, appears less regularly, and is usually based on news from Antwerp too.

The newsletters from Antwerp and Cologne report mainly on the war-related events in the Netherlands, the Cologne War (1583–8), the Anglo-Spanish wars (especially the Armada) and the wars of religion in France. These accounts focus

mainly on troop movements, travels of military leaders, sieges and battles. They seldom come directly from the eventual point of dispatch, unless the city was directly involved in a military conflict. In the case of Antwerp, these include the Spanish and the French Furies (1576 and 1584 respectively), the entry into the city and the triumphal procession of the Duke of Alençon (1584), the siege of Antwerp (1585), and the religious conflicts within the city (1580–1).

As seen in figure 9.8, newsletters from Rome focus mainly on the activity of the Roman Curia and events in the Papal States. News from Spain and the Spanish territories in Italy are to be found quite regularly, along with occasional news from Lyon and Tuscany, or about the battles between the Venetians and the Ottomans in the Mediterranean. Reports of events in the city itself occur remarkably often, focusing on the curia, the appointments of cardinals, or detailed reports on conclaves.

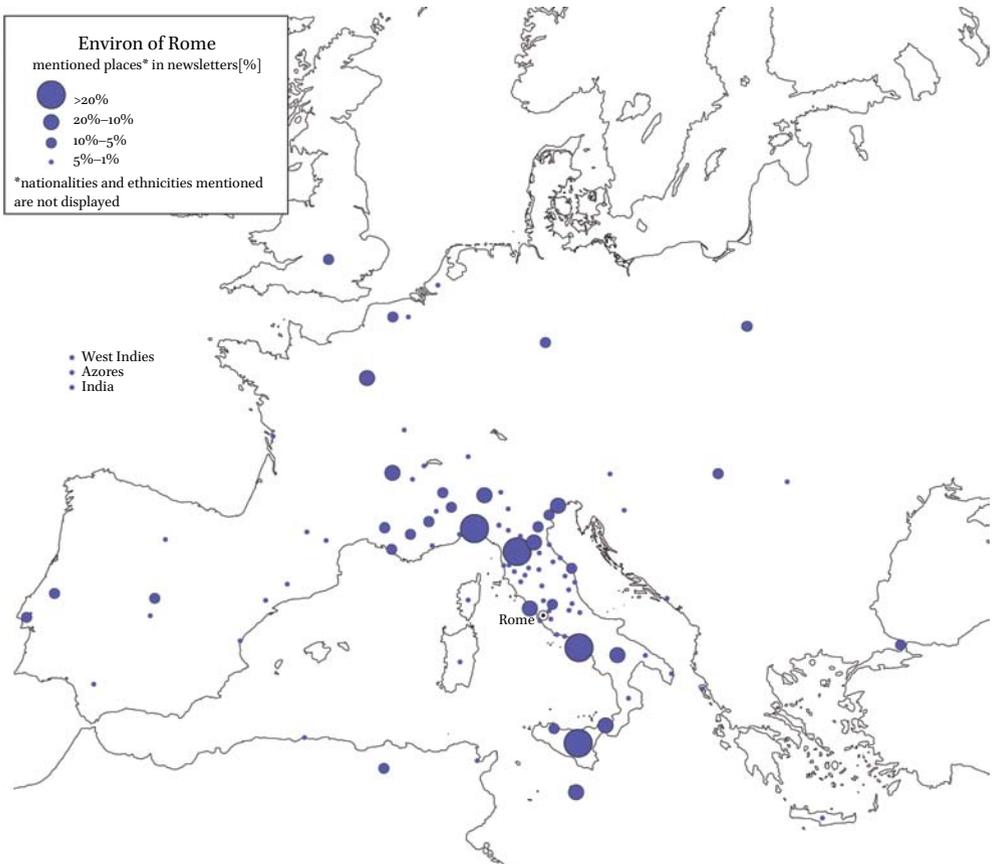


FIGURE 9.8 *Catchment area of information for Fuggerzeitungen from Rome*

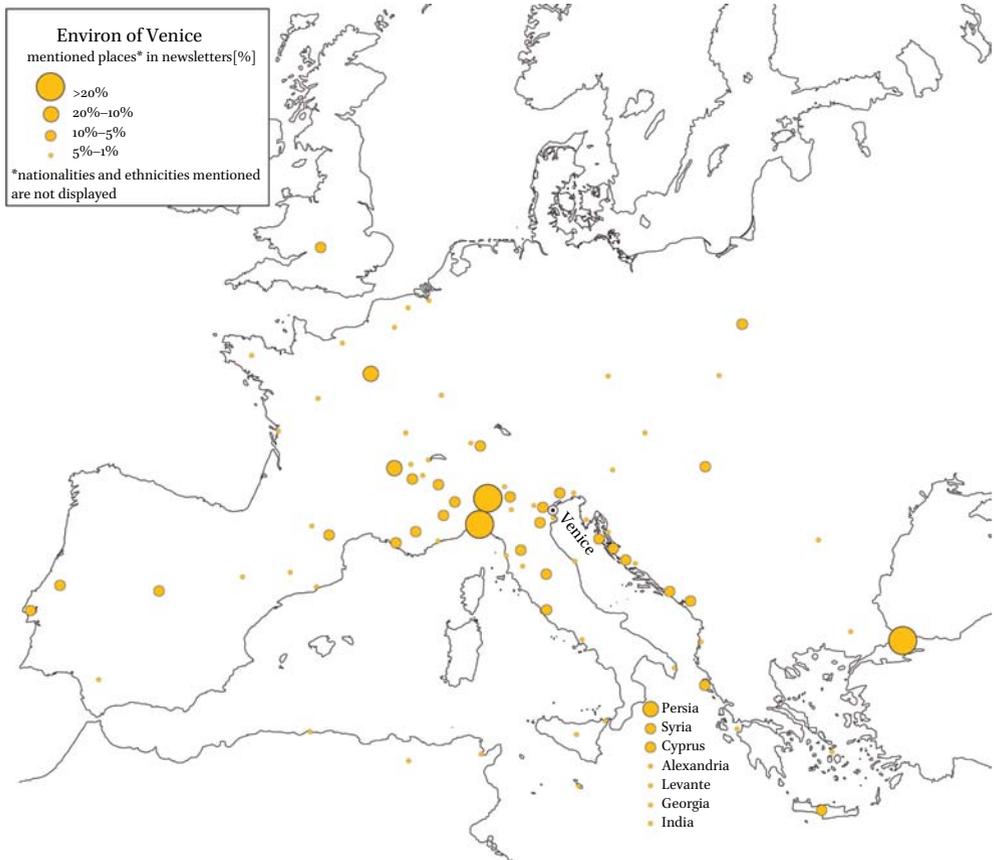


FIGURE 9.9 *Catchment area of information for Fuggerzeitungen from Venice*

As seen in figure 9.9, the Venetian newsletters focus on Northern Italy, especially Milan, Genoa and Turin, as well as the Adriatic coast, including Ragusa or Corfu, and the Ottoman Empire. There are fewer reports from France, Tuscany, Rome, Northern Africa, Poland or the Imperial Court. Until 1586 Venice played an important role as an entrepôt for news from the German-speaking regions, when the network between Prague and Vienna began to improve. Newsletters from Venice are very similar to those from Antwerp or Cologne in the structure of their content. They report little about Venice itself and more about events in the city's surroundings, which extend from Southern France and Northern Italy down to Constantinople and the Levant. They mainly cover acts of war, for example in France, but also events at the Sultan's court. The most frequently reported topics are the war in the Mediterranean and the battles between the Ottomans and the Persians.

Constantinople becomes a more important place of dispatch in the 1580s and early 1590s, supplying reports on the Ottoman Empire and Persia. News

from Georgia, Northern Africa and vassal states like Moldavia, Walachia and the Crimea occurs less frequently.

The Early Modern Information Network

The basis of the *Fuggerzeitungen* is the network of postal routes established from the early sixteenth century onwards (see Chapter 2, above). The influence of the postal system on the dispatch of newsletters can be seen in the pattern of distribution from Cologne. The first two volumes of the *Fuggerzeitungen* contain no newsletters from Cologne at all. Only after the opening of a post office in Cologne in 1577—unfortunately there are no surviving *Fuggerzeitungen* for that year—the city becomes a major site of information-gathering and distribution point for the *Fuggerzeitungen* from 1578 onwards. In general the period of the *Fuggerzeitungen* coincides with the crisis of the Taxis postal service, the predecessor of the later *Reichspost*. To some extent, however, this crisis precipitated the development of municipal and private courier and postal services, ultimately extending the communication system and making the exchange of information easier and more efficient.²⁵

Besides the catchment areas from which they draw information around each major dispatch centre, we can also distinguish communication channels or axes of information. These axes correlate closely with the routes of the postal and courier systems and can be discerned in the structure of the news in the *Fuggerzeitungen* themselves. Thus an Antwerp newsletter can usually be found on the same physical sheet of paper as one from Cologne, sometimes accompanied by newsletters from Frankfurt or Middelburg as well.²⁶ *Fuggerzeitungen* from Italy usually have reports from Rome and Venice on the same sheet.²⁷ The newsletters compiled in this fashion sometimes refer to

25 Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, p. 165.

26 For example, we find the following compilation of related newsletters in ÖNB Cod. 8968, fos. 573r–4v, which were sent together: newsletter from Antwerp dated 15 July 1595; newsletter from The Hague 13 July 1595; newsletter from Amsterdam 15 July 1595; newsletter from Middelburg 13 July 1595 and newsletter from Cologne of 20 July 1595; another example is the bundle of newsletters ÖNB Cod. 8968, fos. 577r–8v. It contains the following newsletters: Antwerp 8 July 1595, Cologne 13 July 1595 and Frankfurt 16 July 1595. Here we can observe the running times between the information centres. From Antwerp to Cologne usually took five days, from Cologne to Frankfurt three.

27 Newsletters from Rome and Venice are usually together in one bundle. For example ÖNB Cod. 8969, fo. 823r–v, newsletter from Rome dated from 17 February 1596 and newsletter from Venice 23 February 1596. The running times between Rome and Venice are (except very few exceptions) six days.

one another; a report from Cologne, for example, might refer to a newsletter from Antwerp written directly above it.

The map in Figure 9.10 outlines the information channels, defined by the connections between related newsletters and by the places mentioned in them. This outline visualises the structure of the information network based on four main axes converging in Augsburg. The places along the axes are interconnected by subsidiary information routes.

We may also note that the communication channels of the *Fuggerzeitungen* are almost identical with the existing postal routes. As well as showing the principal ways along which information travelled, these also show that information can follow more than one route, as in the case of the false report of the triumph of the Spanish Armada, coming from Spain in the summer of 1588 and making its way across Europe via Rome and Venice to Prague. At the same time



FIGURE 9.10 *The information network of the Fuggerzeitungen*

TABLE 9.1 *News centres on the four axes of news, as revealed in the Fuggerzeitungen.*

Axis	Primary centre	Secondary centre
North-west (Antwerp-Cologne-Frankfurt-Augsburg)	Antwerp, Cologne	Frankfurt, London, Middelburg
South (Rome-Venice-Augsburg)	Rome, Venice	Florence, Milan
East (Vienna-Prague-Augsburg)	Vienna, Prague	Košice, Kraków, Graz, Leipzig, Buda
West (Lyon-Augsburg)	Lyon	Geneva, Turin, Paris

there were reports from northwestern Europe announcing the Armada's defeat.²⁸

Table 9.1 shows the four main axes of news in the *Fuggerzeitungen*, including primary and secondary centres of information. Certain regions lying outside these four main axes could be connected to the network through a number of routes. For instance, reports from Scandinavia and the north-eastern Baltic area—an important subject in the *Fuggerzeitungen* especially during the Livonian War (1558–83)—came via Danzig/Gdańsk. From there the letters were passed on south to Hamburg or to Poland (Warschau/Warszawa and Krakau/Kraków) to the south-eastern axis that ended in Prague. From Hamburg there were connections to Antwerp, so sometimes news on the Baltic trade came to Augsburg via the north-western axis.

News from Spain and the New World came to Augsburg in one of three principal ways.²⁹ First, along the Atlantic coast, the so-called Biscaya route,³⁰

28 Concerning the false reports on the victory of the Spanish Armada see ÖNB Cod. 8961, fo. 549v, resp. *ibid.* fos. 551r–v (Prague, 30 August 1588), *ibid.* fos. 575v–6r (Prague, 6 September 1588). All these newsletters report on a victory of the Armada and the beginning Spanish invasion of England. See also Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 318–9.

29 Concerning the postal connections between Spain and the Holy Roman Empire see Arno Strohmeier, 'Kommunikation und die Formierung internationaler Beziehungen—Das österreichisch-spanische Nachrichtenwesen im Zeitalter Philipps II', *Hispania—Austria II—Die Epoche Philipps II. (1556–1598)*, ed. Friedrich Edelmayr (Vienna, Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 1999), pp. 129–38; on reporting from America, see Renate Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer Neuen Welt—Amerika im Nachrichtennetz des Habsburgischen Imperiums 1493–1598* (Mainz: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 272–3, and 'Die Berichterstattung aus der Neuen Welt im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Fuggerzeitungen', *Die Neue Welt im Bewußtsein der Italiener und Deutschen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Adriano Prosperi, Wolfgang Reinhard (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1993), pp. 157–73.

30 Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, p. 48 n. 86.

whereby newsletters from Spain came in via Antwerp (north-western axis). Alternatively, news from Spain might be passed on via Rome along the southern axis, either through diplomatic relations between the Spanish king and the curia or through Southern Italy, which was under Spanish rule. The third and most common route for Spanish newsletters was via Lyon, the trading centre on the Rhône right along the road from Spain to Southern Germany.

Most French news was filtered through Lyon, which included reports on the court and the French Wars of Religion. Newsletters from Antwerp supply additional information on military events in Northern France. Newsletters from Paris are comparatively rare, usually coming together with newsletters from Lyon. These mainly cover events at the royal court and in the city.

The sequence of reports from Constantinople begins around 1584, with a newsletter from Constantinople arriving roughly every two weeks. This stops altogether with the outbreak of the Turkish War of 1592/93. There are no newsletters from Constantinople between 1593 and 1605, the final period covered by the *Fuggerzeitungen*.³¹ News from Constantinople travelled to Augsburg on two routes. It either came by sea and was forwarded via Venice—most likely the correspondents were Venetian and Italian merchants in Constantinople, a theory backed by reports on movements of the Ottoman fleet in the Aegean and occasional quotation of prices.³² Alternatively, they came to Vienna by land. The writers of these newsletters are to be found among the entourage of the Imperial Orator at the ‘Hohen Pforte’, which is why this route ends with the beginning of the Turkish war. In early newsletters from Constantinople (until the mid-1580s) Vienna is often given as the place of dispatch, even though the content is from Constantinople. The content of these letters consists mainly of information on events at the Sultan’s court, the arrival of ambassadors, the political attitude towards vassal states, and the election of pashas and viziers, but also on the Ottoman Empire’s war against Persia and Georgia.

Spatial Structure of the Reporting

During the peak years of the *Fuggerzeitungen* (1580–1600), we can see three levels of reporting, dependent on the origin of the newsletters and resulting from

31 Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, p. 67. Exceptions are two newsletters from Constantinople in ÖNB Cod. 8975.

32 Reports on Constantinople from Venice contain a wide spectre of topics, for example reports on the court of the Sultan, ÖNB Cod. 8965, fos. 707r–8r (Venice, 11 September 1592), plague in the city, ÖNB Cod. 8950, fos. 163r–4r (Venice, 18 November 1575), or trade and maritime traffic, ÖNB Cod. 8972, fos. 653v–4r (Venice, 5 February 1599).

the attempt to keep the flow of news continuous and up to date. First we see a near-continuous weekly—and sometimes even more frequent—transmission of newsletters from the four main centres of information: Rome, Venice, Antwerp and Cologne. This basic level of reporting, as we might call it includes the more or less regular incoming newsletters from Lyon, Vienna, Prague, and Constantinople (between 1584 and 1593) as well as Frankfurt (especially before and during the Cologne War between 1584 and 1588) and Middelburg (between 1586 and 1588, focusing on the Spanish Armada, English politics, and the war in the Low Countries). These reports cover the main political and military events in Europe. Newsletters from the four main centres are transmitted regardless of whether there was anything important to report that week.

This 'basic level' is supplemented by reports on major events, which are brought into special focus for a certain period. Examples include the Spanish Armada, the Cologne War, the Long War between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottomans (mentioned above) as well as the siege of Geneva, the Strasbourg Bishops' War, the Treaty of Vervins (1598), the pope's claim to the duchy of Ferrara (1598), and the Livonian War (1558–83), but also non-military events such as the royal election in Poland (1587). These events lead to an increase in the number of newsletters dispatched from places related to the events themselves, in addition to the basic reporting from the major centres of information. During the Long War (1593–1606) newsletters from the Hungarian, Transylvanian and Wallachian war zones are transmitted periodically. When Geneva was besieged in 1589 by the Duke of Savoy the city became one of the major centres of reporting, with newsletters arriving almost weekly.³³ Antwerp and Middelburg doubled their output of newsletters during the Spanish Armada. Once the event was over, the volume of news transmitted from these semi-peripheral (excepting Antwerp), irregular sites of reporting returns to a lower, more normal level.

The third observable dimension of reporting in the *Fuggerzeitungen* is reports on minor single events, which are of interest for a short period of time. These include battles in the various wars of the period, as well as assassinations, spectacular criminal cases, and natural phenomena. They are of interest for some days and are recorded in a few newsletters, sometimes just the one.³⁴ This phenomenon is at the root of the large number of places of dispatch appearing only once or perhaps a couple of times in the corpus of the *Fuggerzeitungen*.

33 Concerning Geneva see Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 331–42.

34 Examples are the raid on Santo Domingo by Francis Drake in 1586, ÖNB Cod. 8959, fos. 271r–4v (Santo Domingo, 11 January 1586); reports on an earthquake in Vienna in 1590, ÖNB Cod. 8963, fo. 670r–v (Vienna, 24 September 1590) and *ibid.* fos. 668r–v (Vienna, 23 September 1590), and reports on attempted assassinations on monarchs, for example the assassination attempt on Henri IV of France 1594, Cod. 8967, fos. 776r–v and *ibid.* fos. 773r–4r (both dated 14 April 1594).

The *Fuggerzeitungen* therefore report constantly on different levels on the prominent political and military events of the time. Over the timespan of the *Fuggerzeitungen* the four main centres in particular, Rome, Venice, Antwerp and Cologne, develop a specific style of writing, marked by neutrality, objectivity and concision. It is noticeable that this style was imitated at some of the less frequently occurring places of dispatch, such as Lyon, Middelburg or Frankfurt. Newsletters from Vienna and Prague seem less professional, tending to be more straightforwardly pro-Habsburg and written less objectively, and often giving an impression of the political opinion of the writer. This kind of obvious editorial bias is intensified in the occasional newsletters from some of the important points in the network. The style of many of the newsletters coming in from the periphery seems not to have been influenced by the specific style of the professional writers. Small events are described in detail, and subjective statements representing the personal opinion of the writer are common.

The emerging professionalism of the newswriters is apparent not just in linguistic style but in content. Professional newswriters mainly wrote about serious topics, chiefly politics and warfare; by contrast, writers who do not adhere to the specific style of the professional *Fuggerzeitungen* often reported on more sensational events, such as criminal cases or natural catastrophes, and they often give vivid descriptions of bloody battles, perhaps trying to attract a broader audience.³⁵ These newsletters are in fact very similar to the *Neue Zeytungen*. This specifically German, non-periodical form of printed news describes singular events such as battles, curious happenings, or reports on newly discovered lands. Those *Zeytungen* focused on reporting the sensational, and were primarily printed for profit. It is reasonable to suppose, on the basis of the style as well as the quality of news, that some of the *Fuggerzeitungen* might be transcribed *Neue Zeytungen*.³⁶

Summary

A geographical analysis of the *Fuggerzeitungen* gives us a good overview of the spatial structures of early modern information society. We can observe a

35 An exception are the newsletters from Venice between 1582 and 1586. During this period we can observe a provincialisation of the newsletters from Venice. The political and military reports, which normally dominated the newsletters, get less important, while gossip reports on murder and crime stories become rampant.

36 Examples are two copies of *Neue Zeytungen* on two spectacular criminal cases, ÖNB Cod. 8959, fos. 247r–8r (Padua, 22 December 1585), and ÖNB Cod. 8967, fos. 509v–10r (Bavaria, no date, 1594).

direct relationship between the developing postal routes and the emergence of news networks, apparent from the spatial, and temporal overlap between the newsletters and the postal routes.³⁷ This supports the contention that the *Fuggerzeitungen* were not a private service for the Fugger family and company, written by an employee, but a commercial 'public' medium, which already had established a certain regularity and periodicity.

Secondly, this geographical analysis shows that we have very few newsletters from Augsburg and its immediate neighbourhood. We also find only a few *Fuggerzeitungen* from the southern parts of the Holy Roman Empire, such as Bavaria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Franconia and Württemberg, and other parts of the Empire are notably underrepresented, for instance northern Germany (the Hanse area, Luneburg, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania).³⁸ The rare newsletters we have from these regions report mainly on curiosities, like the burning of witches, spectacular criminal cases or tournaments. One significant exception is the newsletters from Regensburg, written during the Imperial Diets. In this case we can observe that the writer of those newsletters travelled from Prague to Regensburg—probably accompanying the Imperial Court. For the time of the Imperial Diets in Regensburg we have no newsletters transmitted from Prague, so we can assume Regensburg replaced Prague within the network during this time.³⁹ Therefore we can describe the writers—who normally write from Prague—as news correspondents from the Imperial Court who are consequently not bound to one place.

Our overview shows that the *Fuggerzeitungen* were primarily a transregional informative medium which provided mainly political news from more distant places all over Europe, while news from the Fuggers' more immediate neighbourhoods—mainly the German countries—were covered by other information paths. This is also shown by Oswald Bauer in his study.⁴⁰ He describes the *Fuggerzeitungen* as one of three pillars of the informative network of the Fuggers' company. While the handwritten newsletters covered mainly recent events from various European centres, Philipp Eduard and Octavian Secundus Fugger also received more general information on history,

37 Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur*, pp. 358–65.

38 This as distinct from the *Bullingerzeitungen*: Barbarics, 'Tinte und Politik', pp. 239–40.

39 For example during the Imperial Diet 1594, see ÖNB Cod. 8967, fo. 719v (Regensburg, 20 May 1594), or *ibid.* fo. 695r–v (Regensburg, 5 June 1594); altogether between 20 May and 25 August 1594 we find 22 newsletters and related texts sent from Regensburg, but no single one from Prague; the transmission from Prague ends on 6 May and again sets in on 4 September. The newsletters from Regensburg stand, as those from Prague, in context to newsletters from Vienna and places from the Hungarian border.

40 Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 130–1.

geography and politics from books bought for their library. Further commercial communication happened through personal contact with the company's employees, so newsletters and business correspondence complement each other.⁴¹

It is striking that events at the places of dispatch do not always play a role in the newsletters. Our focus on the places where news was actually collected, as well as on the content of the information dispatched shows that the main aim was not to inform readers about what was going on at the 'publishing places'. Commercial and residential cities become important as marketplaces of information. Of course there is also news from the places of dispatch, but in general most of the information written down comes from a broader catchment area, as defined above. At the same time it is crucial to note that the importance of the major centres for the collection and dispatch of news fluctuates. Cologne, for example, functions as a relay point for news from the Netherlands and the Lower Rhine around 1580; by 1600 the Cologne newsletters have dwindled significantly. Whether this was due to the writer, to the nature of events, or to competition from Antwerp, we cannot tell.

41 Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung*, pp. 130–2.

PART 2

Modes



The History of a Word: *Gazzetta* / *Gazette*

Mario Infelise

The term *gazette* and its variants in some of the European languages—*gazzetta* in Italian, *gazette* in French and English, *gaceta* in Spanish, *gazetten* in German, though this is less common—defined a new medium of information which developed in Europe between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The goal of this chapter is to try and reconstruct the history of this word until 1631, when it became the title of the most important printed news-sheet of the Kingdom of France and assumed its current meaning. This could offer a different approach to the evolution of the phenomenon of public information in the early modern age, able to explain some interesting aspects of its development.

My aims are as follows: first, to deconstruct the etymological history of the term *gazzetta*, beginning with contemporary dictionaries; and second, to establish the differences between the respective systems of the *gazzetta* and the *avviso*. It should be remembered that the system of *avvisi* existed from at least the fifteenth century, but was mostly the concern of courts and princes, and political and religious circles more generally. On the other hand, the gazettes, as we will see, bring about the emergence of a new public. My examinations of both terms exclusively concern only handwritten newsletters which supplied news on a regular basis. As is well known, the printing of gazettes is a phenomenon that began in the first decades of the seventeenth century, but was not in itself particularly innovative. At that time, there was already an intense circulation of handwritten newsheets in Europe.

Etymological History

The entries in all of the most important dictionaries of European languages of the twentieth century give the same etymology. For example, the entry *gazette* in the French dictionary *Grand Larousse* suggests the following origin:

GAZETTE: ital. *gazzetta*, *gazette* empr. du vénitien *gazeta*, feuille périodique donnant des informations sur les affaires commerciales de Venise, ainsi que sur les événements du temps, et coutant une *gazeta*, c'est-à-dire environ trois liards, le nom de la pièce de la monnaie [dimin. de *gazza*,

'monnaie' term de meme racine que le franç. *geai* ...] ayant été donné à objet qu'elle permettait d'acheter ...¹

([Gazette; ital. *gazzetta*, gazette, borrowed from Venetian *gazeta*, periodical sheet giving news of commercial affairs in Venice, as well as current events, and costing one *gazeta*, (which is to say about three *liards*) the name of the coin itself [diminutive of *gazza*, 'coin', with the same root as the French 'geai'] being given to the object it allows one buy.)

In the foremost Italian language dictionary—that of Salvatore Battaglia—the term *gazzetta* derives from: “*Gazzetta* in quanto la *Gazeta de le novità* costava a Venezia una *gazzetta*” (“*Gazzetta* [*in the sense of the coin*] in that the *Gazeta de le novità* cost a *gazzetta* in Venice”).² The Venetian origin of the word is confirmed in the Oxford English Dictionary, which draws on the sixteenth-century linguist and lexicographer John Florio, who will be discussed in more detail below:

The *gazzetta* was first published in Venice about the middle of the sixteenth century, and similar news-sheets appeared in France and England in the seventeenth. The untrustworthy nature of their reports is often alluded to by writers of that period; thus Florio explains *gazzette* as “running reports, daily newes, idle intelligences, or flim flam tales that are daily written from Italie, namely from Rome and Venice”.³

Going back further in time, the information furnished by nineteenth-century dictionaries tells a similar story. See, for example, the etymology supplied by the French dictionary of Emile Littré, published between 1872 and 1877:

GAZETTE: espagn. *gazeta*; ital. *gazzetta*; d'après Ménage et Ferrari, du vénitien *gazzetta*, nom d'une petite monnaie que coûtait le papier-nouvelle vendu à Venise; le nom de la pièce de monnaie passa au journal. D'autres ont dit que *gazzetta* était le diminutif de *gazza*, pie. M. Garcin de Tassy le tire de l'indo-persan *kâged* ou *kâgiz*, papier. Mais c'est l'opinion de Ménage

1 *Grand Larousse de la langue française* (Paris: Larousse 1986), vol. 3, p. 2174.

2 See the item *Gazzetta* in Salvatore Battaglia, ed., *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, 21 vols. (Turin: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1961–2002), 6: 624.

3 *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner (2nd ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

et de Ferrari qui doit prévaloir; du moins un des exemples de d'Aubigné prouve que gazette était alors le nom d'une monnaie.⁴

([Gazette: espagn. *gazeta*; ital. *Gazzetta*: according Ménage and Ferrari, from the Venetian *gazzetta*, the name of a small coin which was also the price of a paper of news sold at Venice; the name of the coin transferring to the newspaper. Others suggest that *gazzetta* was the diminutive of *gazza*, pie. Mr Garcin de Tassy derives this from the Indo-persian *kâged* or *kâgiz*, meaning paper. But it is the opinion of Ménage and Ferrari that ought to prevail; at least one of the examples supplied by D'Aubigné proves that *gazette* was indeed the name of a coin.)

Gazette would therefore seem to be a word of Venetian origin, used to indicate a newsheet, and its name to derive from a coin that was equivalent to the cost of the newsheet. Is this a plausible explanation? And what are the sources of these modern dictionaries?

I will begin with the second question. Probably the most important source for all contemporary dictionaries is Voltaire's article '*Gazette*' in Denis Diderot and Jean D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*:

GAZETTE, s. f. (*Hist. mod.*) relation des affaires publiques. Ce fut au commencement du XVII^e siècle que cet usage utile fut inventé à Venise, dans le tems que l'Italie étoit encore le centre des négociations de l'Europe, & que Venise étoit toujours l'asyle de la liberté. On appella ces feuilles qu'on donnoit une fois par semaine, *gazettes*, du nom de *gazetta*, petite monnoie revenante à un de nos demisous, qui avoit cours alors à Venise. Cet exemple fut ensuite imité dans toutes les grandes villes de l'Europe.⁵

(*Gazette* ... an account of public affairs. This useful custom was invented at Venice in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Italy was still the centre of European commerce and Venice still the refuge of freedom. These sheets, issued once a week, were known by the name of *gazettes*,

4 Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, 4 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1874), 2: 1847. The citation of Theodore d'Aubigné to which Littré refers is from *Histoire universelle depuis 1550 jusqu'en 1601* (Amsterdam, 1626), vol. 3, p. 51: "Il se retira en cette ville (qui estoit Venize) au mois de juin an susdit [1598], n'ayant avec lui qu'une seule gazette, piece de monnoie valant trois liards de France".

5 *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et de metiers*, 28 vols. (Paris: André le Breton, Michel-Antoine David, Laurent Durand, Antoine-Claude Briasson, 1757), 7: 534–5.

from the word *gazetta*, a small coin equivalent to one of our *demisous*, then current at Venice. This example was then imitated in all the great cities of Europe.)

Voltaire's main source of information was Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*, published in London in 1728, which added other hypotheses to the usual etymologies which the compiler considered quite improbable:

GAZETTE, a *News Paper*, or printed account of the transactions of divers countries, in a loose sheet. Thus we say, the *London Gazette*, *Paris Gazette*, *Gazette a la main*, &c.

Gazettes, which most people look on as trifles, are really the most difficult kind of compositions that have appear'd. They require a very extensive acquaintance with the languages, and all the terms thereof; a great easiness and command of writing, and relating, things cleanly, and in a few words.

To write a *gazette*, a man should be able to speak of war both by land and sea; be thoroughly acquainted with every thing relating to geography, the history of the time, and that of the noble families; with the several interests of princes, the secrets of courts, and the manners and customs of all nations.

Vigneul de Marville recommends a set of *gazettes* well wrote, as the fittest books for the instruction of young persons, coming into the world.

The word is form'd of *Gazetta*, a kind of coin, formerly currant at Venice; which was the ordinary price of the first news papers printed there: tho' others derive it by corruption from the hebrew *Izgad*, which signifies *Nuntius*, a messenger; but this etymology is too much forced, and the former ought to be preferred.

The first *Gazette* publish'd in these parts, is said to be that of Paris, begun in the year 1631 by Theophrast Renaudot, a physician of Montpellier, in his office of intelligence. See INTELLIGENCE.⁶

One must go back to the 1670s to finally track down the origin of this etymology. Two frequently quoted histories of the Italian tongue explain the relationship between the coin and the printed newsheet. In 1676, the Italian scholar Ottavio Ferrari wrote that *gazetta* was the name of a Venetian coin and that this name had subsequently been adopted for the newsheets.⁷ A few years

6 Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopaedia, or, An universal dictionary of arts and sciences* (London, 1728), entry *Gazette*.

7 Ottavio Ferrari, *Origines linguae italicae* (Padova: Pietro Maria Frambotti, 1676), p. 156.

later a Frenchman, Gilles Ménage took up this definition and added yet another curious detail: “that he had often heard said by a gentleman that these sheets had taken the name of this coin because in the past this had been the price demanded from those who bought gazettes”.⁸

We do not know anything about this ‘gentleman’, but it is possible that the relationship between the coin and the newsletters was introduced, as we shall later see, by the second edition of John Florio’s Italian-English dictionary in 1611 in which we find two distinct entries: *gazzetta*, in the singular for coins; and *gazette* in the plural for newsheets. It is also apparent in the contemporaneous English-French dictionary by Randle Cotgrave, whose entry for *Gazette* reads as follows:

GAZETTE: A certaine Venetian coyne scarce worth our farthing; also a bill of newes or a short relation of the generall occurrences of the time, forged most commonly at Venice and thence dispersed every month into most parts of Christendome.⁹

It is interesting to note that these articles of 1611 record for the first time the existence of a Venetian coin called *gazzetta*, even if it does not establish a direct connection between the coin and the newsletters.

I will now proceed to verify if a coin called *gazzetta* / *gazetta* really existed and if this relationship between the coin and the newsletters can be dated with any precision.

The Coin

It has been substantiated that, at least after 1515, a low-denomination coin was in circulation both in Venice and Cyprus, and that after 1550 this coin was referred to as a *gazzetta* in official documents. This use continued for some time. In the first half of the twentieth century, the name was still in use in the Greek dialect of the sometime Venetian Ionian isles, to indicate a coin of

8 Gilles Ménage (Egidio Menagio), *Le origini della lingua italiana* (Geneva, 1685), p. 247. Years before in his *Origines de la langue française* (Paris, 1650), p. 345; for the entry *Gazette*, Ménage was limited to writing: “De l’Italien *Gazetta* qui signifie proprement une espece de monnoye de Venise et pour laquelle on avoit le cahier des nouvelles courantes. Depuis on a transporté ce nom au cahier mesme”.

9 Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of French and English Tongues* (London, 1611).

10 λεπτά, the lowest amount in circulation.¹⁰ Less easy to establish is the exact meaning and origin of this word. It has been written that it could derive from medieval Latin because in the dictionaries we find the word *Gazetum* with the meaning of *Gazarum repositorium*, a place designed to hold treasure.¹¹ It derives from the greek term *gaza* γάζα, which means treasure, treasury, wealth.¹² In turn, γάζα derives from the Persian *gazna-*, *ganža-*, *ganja*, which have the same meaning.¹³ Ancient history is not clear. The word would have been diffused, probably via Middle Iranian sources, into various languages by means of other Iranian languages through the settling of Achaemenid officials in Semitic, Greek and Indian territories.

This explanation, however, is unlikely in this context. In any case, the most probable origin has a closer link to the Venetian currency. It is certain that on 14 October 1515, a decree by the Venetian Council of Ten arranged for the manufacturing of 1,000 *carzie*—coins of little value—to be sent to the island of Cyprus, where there was already a coin of the same name in circulation. The diarist Marin Sanudo called the same coin a *garzia* in 1518.¹⁴ The *gazzetta* would therefore be a diminutive of the Venetian variation of the word, further legitimised by the low value of a coin which contained more copper than silver. In addition, Greek etymology makes specific reference to this particularity: χαρξία, derives in turn from χαλκός (copper). There is one more hypothesis: the Greek word was imported to the East by the Franks and derived from the German *Kreuzer*; since one of the coin's faces bore an image of a cross.¹⁵

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- 10 Nicolò Papadopoli Aldobrandini, *Le monete di Venezia* (Venice, 1893–1919), vols. 2–3 *ad indices*. Paulos Lampros, *Coins and medals of the Ionian Islands* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1968), p. 16.
- 11 Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Basel, 1752), vol. 2, part 1, p. 467.
- 12 Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968–80), p. 206: “tresor royal, tresor. (OGI 54,22, IIIe s. av., Thphr., LXX, NT, etc.) employé par Plb. pour une grosse somme d'argent. Comme premier terme dans les composes: γαζοφύλαξ « gardien du tresor » (LXX, Str., etc.), -φυλακίω (D.S.), -φυλάκιον « tresor » (OGI 225,16, IIIe s. av., LXX, NT, Str.). Et: D'apres Pom Mela 1,64, emprunt au perse; on rapproche m. perse ganj, etc.; le lat. gaza est emprunte au grec de meme que, probablement, syr. Gazā”.
- 13 D.N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (London: Routledge, 1971), p. 35; V.S. Rastorgueva—D.I. Èdel'man, *Ètimologičeskij slovar' iranskich jazykov* (Moscow: Vostočnaja Literatura, 2007), vol. 3, pp. 258–9. Many thanks to my colleague Riccardo Zipoli for his suggestions on Persian dictionaries.
- 14 Even Sanudo recounts that on the 29 October, 1518, the Council of Ten had decided that “in Cypro si bati certa moneda ditta *Garzia*”. Marin Sanudo, *I diari*, 58 vols. ed. Federico Stefani *et al.* (Venice: F. Visentini, 1889), 26: 152.
- 15 Edoardo Martinori, *La moneta. Vocabolario generale* (Roma: Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, 1915), p. 60; Raffaele Paolucci, *La zecca di Venezia II* (Padua, 1991), p. 192.

In any case, this remote origin does not help us to comprehend any better how the meaning of the term shifted from something related to a system of value or a coin, to a newsheet of events.

The Newsheet

For now, let us return to the newsletter and examine how the term began to propagate and with what meanings, and finally, consider if there is any means of distinguishing between *avviso* and *gazetta*, often considered to be synonyms. In Italian, between the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, the term *avviso* was that most commonly used when referring to current events and to the sheets which reported them.¹⁶ During the same period, other words or expressions were used, such as *nova/nuova* (news), *reporto* (report), *lettere* (letters), *sommario* (summary), *capitolo di nova* (chapter of news). In all these cases, however, the same terms were used indiscriminately, each being used both in the general sense of ‘news’ and the specific sense of newsheet. It was almost impossible to distinguish between the object and its content. In the early 1500s, when Marin Sanudo, in his very detailed diary covering events in Venice between the years 1496 and 1533, wrote about the *avisi* that arrived in the city from all over the Mediterranean, he was referring to the news sent as part of normal correspondence or to specialised newsheets, which only contained specific types of information. The same was true for the works of other writers in the first half of the 1500s, such as Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini, Pietro Aretino and many others, all of whom used the term *avviso* in both its senses. Halfway through the century, the term *avviso* was still being used in related documents, such as ambassadorial dispatches and in the collections of newsletters, such as those of the Duke of Urbino or the *Fuggerzeitungen*, which began to be kept from around this time. Furthermore, the first descriptions of the profession of

This origin is also suggested by G. Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano* (Venice, 1856), p. 302, entry *gazeta*. I owe the information gathered on the numismatic bibliography to Michele Asolati and Marco Callegari. The correspondence to the German Kreutzer is presumed by Justus Lipsius, *Della grandezza di Roma et del suo imperio* (Rome, 1600), p. 262.

16 On the word *avviso* and his derivations in the language of information see. Johann Petitjean, ‘Mots et pratiques de l’information. Ce que *aviser* veut dire (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)’, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome—Italie et Méditerranée*, 122.1 (2010), pp. 107–21. On the use of the German *Avisen* interesting notes in the dissertation of Samuel Fridericus Hagen, *De jure novellarum. Von Neuen Zeitungen* (Kilonii [Kiel], 1697), p. 6.

newswriting introduced no new terminology, any more than did the first pontifical acts against writers of defamatory libels or *avvisi*. The Constitution of 1572 “contra scribentes, dictantes ... libellos famosos et literas noncupatas de Avisi” (against those who write and dictate ... infamous libels and letters of *avvisi*) called the newsheets *Litterae monitorum vulgo appellatae lettere d'avisi* (letters of warning, called by people *avvisi*).¹⁷

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the taking root and growth of the new profession of compiling handwritten newsletters also led to the fixing of names for the folios containing news. At the end of the 1560s the word *gazetta* began to be recorded, but it continued for some decades to be primarily a term belonging to the spoken language, referring specifically to newsheets which lacked credibility which might circulate in the city. It is certain that the term began to be used in writing with the clear meaning of ‘newsheet’ towards the end of the 1570s. A document survives that may indicate an earlier usage of the term around 1568, when it seemed to appear in the title of a mock-heroic poem written and printed in the franco-provenzal dialect of Geneva, *La gazeta de la guerra de zay, zay su zay, zay la vella et zay la Comba*.¹⁸ However, this date is uncertain; the only existing specimen of this booklet is without a title page and bears a date which may refer to the period of the events it relates rather than its publication. This booklet refers to the fights between the French soldiers and the inhabitants of the small town of Gex, close to Geneva, in September 1568. It is therefore possible that the booklet was printed with the cited title years later, by which time the term had become widespread in Europe.

Instead, as previously mentioned, the word began to appear more and more frequently in Italy as of 1577. In that year the illustrious Florentine philologist Vincenzo Borghini used the term in his private correspondence, referring to an untrustworthy historian who recklessly used the text of a *gazette* as a source of information to reconstruct an incident in the life of the Cardinal Giovanni de’ Medici.¹⁹

From the 1580s the term began to appear more and more often in Italian documents, in Rome, Florence, and Venice, invariably signifying a serial manuscript

17 *Magnum Bullarium Romanum a Pio Quarto usque ad Innocentium* (Lyon, 1673), vol. 9: 356–7, 17 March 1572; 363–4, 1 September 1572. On such constitutions Cornel Zwielerin, *Discorso und Lex Dei, Die Entstehung neuer Denkrahen im 16. Jahrhundert und die Wahrnehmung der französischen Religionskriege in Italien und Deutschland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), pp. 268–70.

18 This newsheet, lacking frontispiece, is in the British Library, shelfmark: T. 1589.

19 The letters of Vincenzo Borghini are in the *Raccolta di prose fiorentine* (Florence, 1745), vol. 4, p. 317.

containing political news. It can be found in some Roman newsheets, in the dispatches of Venetian ambassadors, and in documents in the Medici's archive where there are references to *avvisi* sent from Venice.²⁰ The context is always very similar. It speaks of *avvisi* and news within the *gazzetta*, of the authors of the *gazette* and of payments made for the sheets of information. It seems evident that the handwritten *gazzetta* had by that time become a public instrument of up-to-date information which the courts could not forgo, but which was also becoming more widespread within society. For the Tuscan poet, Giovan Maria Cecchi (1518–87), it is “a wicked witch, that goes around chatting on and on, and disrespectfully deceives all”.²¹ Even at the time, the *gazzetta* had its professionals: those who did the writing, and those who took care of distribution and sales (not in the form of single copies, but in yearly or biannual series). Moreover, documents referring to the *gazzetta* make frequent mention of the fact that the information it contains is never completely reliable and never touches upon government affairs. It is important to note the capacity of the *gazzetta*, even at the time, to raise interest and attention among a growing urban audience.

On 21 July 1586 Francesco Vendramin, Venetian ambassador in Turin, wrote to the Venetian *Inquisitori di Stato*:

In proposito de i secreti di stato che sono palesati io le dirò per hora come ragionando qui col baron Sfondrato, ambasciator del re di Spagna, di diverse cose in certo proposito è trascorso a dirmi liberamente che dal Salazar agente di Sua Maestà Cattolica in quella città gli era ordinariamente assai ben avvisato di tutte le cose soggiogendo che non sono così da *reporti della gazetta*, ma molte volte de più importanti che si trattano ...²²

(In respect of the secrets of state that have appeared, I will tell you for now with reasoning that baron Sfondrato, ambassador of the king of Spain, sends me diverse things to certain purpose, freely telling me that Salazar, the agent of His Catholic Majesty in that city, was ordinarily

20 Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Fondo Magliabechi, cl. XXIV, cod. 16, Rome 17 December 1588, also quoted in Enrico Stumpo, ed., *La gazzetta de l'anno 1588* (Florence: Giunti editore, 1988), p. 171: “reporti della gazetta”; Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Mediceo del Principato*, 2940, references to the “gazzetta di Venezia” in a letter from Marcello Donati to Pietro Usimbardi, 19 March 1588.

21 “La gazzetta è la mala strega/che va ciaramelando tanto tanto,/e che senza rispetto a ognun la frega”. G.M. Cecchi, *Poesie pubblicate per la prima volta da Michele dello Russo* (Naples: Francesco Ferrante, 1866), p. 32.

22 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 488, 21 July 1586.

well-informed of all the things, adding that they are not *reporti della gazetta*, but many times more important things that you treat ...)

On that occasion, Vendramin was explaining that the information supplied by a Spanish agent in his court was news containing state secrets, very different from what was to be found in 'gazzetta reports'.

The diffusion of the term outside Italy must have been fairly rapid, being presumably contemporary with the diffusion of the information sheets themselves. Between the last decade of the sixteenth century and the first of the seventeenth the word *gazzetta*, in its local variations became common in England, France and Spain. In May 1596 Francis Bacon writes to his brother Anthony sending him a gazette:

15 May 1596

My very good Brother,

I have remembered your salutations to Sir Jh. Fortescue and delivered him the *gazetta*, desiring him to reserve it to read in his barge.

He acknowledged it to be of another sort than the common. I delivered him also so much of Dr. Hawkins letter as contained advertisements copied out, which is the reason I return the letter to you now; the *gazetta* being gone with him to the Court.

The refiner's conclusion I have not acquainted him with, meaning to keep it for more apt time.

So in haste I wish you comfort of Twicknam ague this 15th of May, 1596

Your entire loving brother

Fr. Bacon ²³

And some days later:

My very Good Brother,

I send you the *gazetta* returned from Sir Jh. Fortescue with his loving commendations ...

In this case it must be of further significance that Bacon still uses the Italian term *gazzetta* rather than a matching English term or the anglicised word *gazette*. It is also interesting that the Henry Hawkins quoted in the letter was an

²³ Francis Bacon, *The Letters and the Life*, ed. James Spedding, 7 vols. (London: Longman et al., 1862) 2: 32, letters to Antony Bacon 15 and 20 May 1596.

English intelligencer employed in Venice who had sent secret information about the political situation.²⁴

In the following years the term is also recorded in printed works of English writers, but consistently with reference to newsheets. In 1607 Ben Johnson writes in *Volpone*:

O, I shall be the fable of all feasts,
The freight of the *gazetti*; ship-boy's tale;
And, which is worst, even talk for ordinaries.

And in 1611, Thomas Coryat documents in *Crudities*, an account of his journey through France, Italy and Germany in the year 1608: "For sure that Jew from Venice came, we finde it so recorded. In late *Gazettas*: which or lies, or trifles ne'er afforded".²⁵

In those same years the word was also known and diffused in Spain. In 1606 the Spanish historian and bishop of Tui Prudencio de Sandoval writes in his biography of the emperor Charles v about 'noveleros' and 'gazeteros' that "escriven y venden sin orden ni verdad, que tales son sus *gazetas*" ("they write and sell without order and truth, such are their gazettes").²⁶ From that moment onwards, the use of the word becomes increasingly frequent in the hispani-cised form *gaceta*.

The French situation is more complex. In 1603, a diplomat named Jean Hotman in the service of Henri IV writes of *gazettes* (in the French form of the word) that refer to affairs in Rome in his book *L'ambassadeur*.²⁷ Some years later, Pierre de Rosteguy de Lancre, a magistrate of Bordeaux who was well acquainted with Italy, while speaking of talking statues in Rome and Venice, describes the very Italian habit of affixing pasquinades and satirical writings whose contents were spread "par le moyen de la gazette" ("by means of the gazette") "par tous les quatre coings de l'Europe" ("across all four quarters of Europe").²⁸ Another contemporary writer, Antoine de Laval, makes similar

24 On Henry Hawkins see Gustav Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England. The correspondence of Antonio Perez's exile* (London: Tamesis Books, 1976), vol. 2.

25 Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's crudities: hastily gobled up in five moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia* (Glasgow: J. MacLehose & sons, 1905), p. 52.

26 Prudencio de Sandoval, *Segunda parte de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos Quinto* (Valladolid, 1606), p. 679.

27 Jean Hotman, *L'ambassadeur* (n. p., 1603), p. 41.

28 "Quelle folie en quel lieu que ce soit, de tenir ces statues de Bartholomeo Cogliani, di Marforio, de Pasquin et autres semblables, comme perrons de proclamations d'iniures, en une ville si sainte, ou en cest autre si réglée, où il y a des Sages de terre, et des Sages de

remarks regarding the *novellanti* of Rome, Venice and the Place du Change in Paris, using the same language found in the gazette.²⁹

At the same time, the title *Gazette* reappeared in many other types of compositions, mostly satirical or comic collections of stories, in verse or in prose, usually making some vague reference to the current political situation. Take, for example, the case of Marcelin Allard, merchant of Saint-Etienne, who in 1605 published a book written some years previously entitled *La gazette française* where he collected in a haphazard manner, stories of various genres and assembled in random order. He defined his *Gazette* as:

une forme de saugrenée ou pot pourri, contenant toutes sortes d'instructions et de discours agréables en leur diverses variétés, et riches en leur recherche curieuse: l'histoire admirable d'une guerre faite à tout rompre ...³⁰

(a sort of stew or pot pourri, containing all sorts of instruction and pleasant accounts in all their different varieties, rich in carefully gathered information: the admirable history of a war to make all split ...)

This personal definition, adapted to his particular composition, does not indicate that he lacked a clear idea of what was intended by the term *gazetta* in the French province between the end of the 1500s and the beginning of the 1600s. Allard and his readers knew perfectly well what they were dealing with. In fact, the book begins with a clear, though satiric, description of its normal functions:

Le Courier ordinaire de la Gazette Française, voulant partir de ceste bonne ville de France, pour porter à Rome (en contre-escange de celles qu'il nous envoient) des nouvelles toutes nouvelles, toutes fraîchement escloses: nouvelles nouvellement nées et nouvellement tombées des nues ...³¹

mer, pour pallier et couvrir une mesdisance secrete? Pasquin couvre tousiours son auteur; mais il descouvre et publie l'iniure; et si elle est de bon rencontré par le moyen de la gazette, il la proclame par tous les quatre coings de l'Europe". Pierre de Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance et instabilité de toutes choses ... Augmenté avec un livre nouveau de l'inconstance de toutes les nations* (1607; Paris, 1610), p. 447.

29 Antoine de Laval, *Desseins de professions nobles et publiques, contenans plusieurs traictés divers & rares: avec l'histoire de la maison de Bourbon* (1605; Paris, 1613), p. 338.

30 Marcelin Allard, *La Gazette française* (Paris, 1605), p. 3. On Allard see Gerard Blanchard, 'La première gazette française', *Communication et langagues*, 17 (1973), pp. 66–81.

31 Allard, *La Gazette française*, p. 1.

(The ordinary courier of the French Gazette, wishing to leave this fair French town, in order to bring to Rome (in exchange for what they send us) of the newest of the new, freshly disclosed; news newly born and newly dropped from the clouds ...)

Other works produced during those years presented similar characteristics. In 1609 in Rouen, a short poem about the gazette was published, in which the anonymous author referred satirically to the characteristics and the functions of these kinds of newsletters. It described the various groups like magistrates, prelates and other office-holders who were the target public of the newsheets and underlined the rapidity with which the gazettes were able to gather information on various aspects of life and present them to this public, satisfying everybody's curiosity.³² From that time onward, the word became a current element of political language and European information, able to clearly define a written document with particular characteristics.

For now, we will return to the question posed beforehand as to whether or not there was, during those years, a difference between *avviso* and *gazzetta* or whether it really was, from the outset, a true synonym for *avviso*. Based on what little evidence is available and the way in which the term was habitually used, it would seem that at least until the early part of the seventeenth century the two words were not always used as synonyms. While *avviso* continued to be used in its traditional sense—that is to say, a regularly-published newsheet or the news which it contained—the meaning of *gazzetta* remained unclear. It could mean a newsletter, but it could also be any writing on vaguely newsworthy themes, not necessarily appearing at regular intervals. This is the case of the *gazzetta* of Geneva mentioned above, but also of other publications. The *Gazette des estats et de ce temps*, which was printed and published in France in 1614 and presented in the guise of a translation from the Italian, was not a periodical but rather a pamphlet dealing with important questions of the time, such as France's possible adoption of the Tridentine decrees.³³

32 "La gazette en ces vers/contente les cervelles/car de tout l'universe/elle reçoit nouvelles .../Gazette aymée des prélats,/des princes et des magistrats:/gazette en vogue incomparable/gazette en science admirable:/Car rien ne se fait, ne se dit,/rien ne va, ne vient par escrit,/en poste, en relaiz, en mazette,/qui ne passe par la gazette .../La gazette a mille courriers,/qui logent par-tout sans fouriers,/et faut que chacun luy responde,/selon sa course vagabonde,/De ça de là diversement/De l'orient, en Occident,/et de toutes pars de la sphère,/sans laisser une seule affaire,/soit edicts, des commissions". Louis Loviot, ed., *La Gazette de 1609* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1914).

33 *Gazette des estats & de ce temps. Du Seigneur servitour de Piera Grosa gio: Traduite d'Italien en François le premier janvier 1614.*

More generally, the term *gazetta*, in all its variations in the many different European languages remained a term more in use in spoken than in written language, used in conversation and in correspondence and less often in formal or official documents. In 1602, the Italian writer Tommaso Costo wrote about *avvisi*, which he said are commonly called *gazette*³⁴ and in 1636 the historian Agostino Mascardi reiterated the concept and wrote “*avvisi* or should we use the more vernacular term *gazetta*”.³⁵ This is probably why it did not appear in any monolingual dictionary of the first decades of the seventeenth century, which were apt to record entries with an elevated register with the aim of establishing a vernacular language with the same dignity as Latin. For this reason it does not appear in the *Thrésor de la langue française* by Jean Nicot (Paris, 1606), nor in other French language dictionaries until the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* published in 1694 where we can find the following definition:

GAZETTE. sub. f. Cahier, feüille volante qu'on donne au public toutes les semaines, & qui contient des nouvelles de divers pays. *Gazette de France, de Hollande. Gazette imprimée. Gazette à la main.*

On appelle fig. *Gazette*, une personne qui est curieuse d'apprendre des nouvelles, & qui les va publier par tout. *Cette femme est dangereuse, c'est la gazette du quartier, c'est une vraye gazette.*

(GAZETTE, sub. f. Booklet, flying sheet published weekly, and which contains news of various countries. *Gazette of France, of Holland. Printed Gazette. Handwritten Gazette.*

One refers figuratively to someone who is eager to learn news, and who spreads it around everywhere, as a *Gazette*. *That woman is dangerous, she is the gazette of the neighbourhood, she is a true gazette.*)

The same is true for the Italian. It is not mentioned in the first two editions of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Alberti 1612 and Sarzina 1623). Not until the third edition (1691) does the entry *gazetta* appear where it is defined as a ‘Foglio d’avvisi’ with the now common explanation that the name was derived from “a certain type of coin which was used to buy avvisi”. Similarly

34 “Lettere d’avvisi, chiamate volgarmente gazette”. Tommaso Costo, *Lettere* (Venice, 1602), pp. 359–87.

35 Agostino Mascardi, *Dell'arte istorica* (1636; Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1859), p. 225.

in Spanish, where the term is not found in the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, of Sebastián de Covarrubias (Madrid, 1611).³⁶

Bilingual dictionaries are a different matter, since these were works more sensitive to common usage and dialect expressions than to educated usage. Thus it is not surprising that the only sixteenth century dictionary that actually contained the word and its derivations was the Italian-English *A Worlde of Wordes* by John Florio (1598), the son of an exiled Protestant from Florence who translated both Giordano Bruno and Montaigne into English, and was much more aware of the spoken language and of the words that came from dialect than of those that were part of formal, learned Italian. He offered a brief but precise definition of the plural form of the Italian words *gazzette* and of other related terms, *gazzetta*, *gazzettare*, *gazzettiere*:

GAZZETTA, a young pie or piot

GAZZETTE: the daily newes or intelligence written from Italie, tales, running newes.

GAZZETTARE: to write or report daily occurrences one to another, to tell flying tales

GAZZETTIERE: an intelligencer or such as have daily occurrences³⁷

Florio's definition is very interesting because it was completely original compared to those which appeared years later in other dictionaries which we have cited, and it was able to show, very concisely and effectively, the status of the term at a time when both the term and the object itself were being established. In this case the as yet ill-defined relation between espionage and information was explicitly mentioned, as was the Italian origins of the news. Substantially the same meaning was attributed to the term *gazzettiere*, while the meaning of the singular form of the word *gazzetta* was given as a young magpie. The fact that Florio was well aware of the way in which the meaning of words could evolve is clear from the way he added further detail to the entry *gazzette* in the second edition of the dictionary published in 1611. However, it was evidently in those very years that the use of such sheets began to spread beyond court circles, so that Florio added to his previous definition the words "flim flam tales that are daily written from Italie, namely from Rome and Venice". The role of the *gazzettiere* himself was also

36 For the consultation of the various dictionaries, I used mostly on-line data: for the French: <artfl-project.uchicago.edu/node/17>; for the Italian: <vocabolario.sns.it/html/_s_index2.html>; for the Spanish: <www.rae.es/recursos/diccionarios> [8/04/15].

37 John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes* (London, 1598), p. 145, USTC 513650.

changing. He ceased to be an “intelligencer” and became simply a “writer or reporter of *gazette*”. Florio also made slight corrections to two other entries: *Gazzettare* became “to chat as a magot a pie. Also to write or report *Gazette*” and to the entry *Gazzetta*, he added “also a coine in Italie”.³⁸

John Florio’s definitions illustrate well the ambiguities surrounding the newsheets, which evolved from being documents of secret information read in seats of power into news-letters specially written for a public readership. The *gazetteer*, originally part copyist and part spy and in any case dealing only with court circles, ambassadors’ chancelleries and prominent figures in European capitals, increasingly managed to forge new relationships with a widening readership, allowing for the formation of a veritable market for information.

In the following years other bilingual European dictionaries also began to record the definition. It was found in Florio’s Italian-English dictionary and Cotgrave’s French-English dictionary. It was the same for Franciosini’s Italian-Spanish dictionary in 1620 and in various others.³⁹

Conclusion

In principle, the way in which the two terms—*avviso* and *gazetta*—developed reflects the evolution of the media. One can clearly state that the sixteenth century was the age in which the *avviso* underwent its most significant transformation. It evolved from a generic report on a fact or an event, into a well-defined product designed to satisfy the growing demand for specific information emerging in certain circles in the more important political and commercial centres of the time. This growing demand for news hastened the development of a ‘market’ for news and information that could be supplied on a regular basis for more general consumption and that was no longer reserved for specific spheres. Even though a *gazette* continued to be a handwritten document for a long time, it was the *avviso* that was able to enlarge its sphere of

38 *Queen Anna’s New World of Words or dictionarie of the Italian and English tongue* (London, 1611), p. 205. About the dictionary of John Florio, see Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: The life of an Italian in Shakespeare’s England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), pp. 188–212, and Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

39 “Gazzetta o avviso che si manda da un luogo ad un altro, che tratta il più delle volte di quello che ha sognato colui che lo scrive o di quello che fanno o pensan di fare i principi”. Lorenzo Franciosini, *Vocabolario italiano, e spagnolo non più dato in luce* (Rome: Gio. Angelo Ruffinelli & Angelo Mann, 1620).

readers and arouse interest in political events in the new urban setting of the time. Moreover, the growing good fortune of the printed *gazette* throughout Europe during the seventeenth century did not put an end to the issuing of manuscript *avvisi*, which retained their designation and which, up until the end of the 1700s, continued to carry out their function as an instrument of information reserved especially for those in power.

There remains only to clarify the semantic shift which led the newsheet to assume the name of a low valued coin within a well-defined span of time, sometime between 1560 and 1570. Due to a lack of direct documentation of this change, our only remaining option is to introduce a hypothesis that recalls what was previously said: more precisely, the capacity of the *gazzetta* to involve a wider audience and become an object of market value compared to the *avviso*—although both continued to be handwritten. This capacity for public involvement was obviously frowned upon and became a frequent motive for criticism. A satirical booklet written in Rome around 1550 stated plainly that “news are things for ambassadors, great men and government men” and not for the general public or “foolish plebians” and continued to rant about the impropriety of its diffusion.⁴⁰

Obviously the mistrust towards works and texts which were subject to ample public consumption was not strictly limited to newsheets. Something similar happened each time a cultural product conceived for use by the higher levels of society began to broaden its audience. Such was the case in the world of theatre: one who was attached to the idea of the cultured, noble and courtly profession of acting did not appreciate the ‘actor for sale’ who offered his services to the public in the town squares. In this context, in 1585, Tommaso Garzoni’s extraordinary catalogue of all the professions of his age (*La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo*) offered an elaborate description of the various activities linked to the theatre. There is no lack of characterization of charlatans and street histrions who frequently populated the urban scene in Italy at the time. In such depictions, the word *gazzetta* appears often, in the monetary sense but in particular expressions that merit special attention: the public had to pay a few *gazzette* to see the shows; at the end of each show, there were those who were responsible for collecting the *gazzette*; if the show was well-received, the actors were rewarded with *gazzette*. The payment in *gazzette* thus seems to be a characteristic of street performers, to the point where it became a disparaging connotation of the profession. This affirmation is confirmed by another declaration a few years later. In 1592 Battista Guarini,

40 Mattio Franzesi, *Capitolo sopra le nuove a M. Benedetto Busini*, in Francesco Berni, *Il secondo libro delle opere burlesche* (Florence, 1555), pp. 58–9, USTC 814148.

famous author of the poem *Il pastor fido* (*The Faithful Shepherd*) published the *Verato*, a book against the detractors of his poem, in which the word *gazzetta* is present repeatedly, but always in expressions like “istrioni della gazzetta”, “commedianti della gazzetta”, “commedia della gazzetta” (historians of the gazette, third-rate actors of the gazette, comedy of the gazette).⁴¹

The cross-reference to the theatre is interesting and may be able to explain how the meaning of the word *gazzetta* evolved from a coin to a newsheet or at least offer some hypothesis on the subject. In the sixteenth century the Italian piazzas were animated by charlatans, ballad singers, buffoons, who on the occasions of fairs entertained the public “improvising and singing of battles and romance, reciting dialogues and comedies, narrating novella”. Very frequently these street performers sold booklets and broadsheets concerning their performances, as can be found in various engravings of the era.⁴²

We are in the same era in which the handwritten newsletters were propagating in the most important cities, such as Venice, Florence and Rome. It is plausible that the two products with similar features were assimilated and that the *gazzetta*, then a current coin of low value, tended to identify them—at least that was the intention of many who were inclined to discredit the sheets which reported notorious and unsubstantiated news.

This could explain the poor reputation that characterises all the early attempts to define the new object, as we read in Florio’s dictionary and in many other cited documents. The negative connotations for the term *gazzetta* and its various derivations, strongly linked to its origins, still remains in many European languages.

41 Battista Guarini, *Il Verato secondo, ovvero Replica dell' Attizzato* (Florence: F. Giunti, 1593), pp. 733–44, USTC 834905. A riguardo see Laura Riccò, *La miniera accademica. Pedagogia, editoria, palcoscenico nella Siena del Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002), pp. 129–30; Lisa Sampson, *Pastoral Drama in Early Modern Italy: The Making of a New Genre* (London: Legenda, 2006), p. 132. Many thanks to Franco Vazzoler for the details provided regarding the profession of acting.

42 Rosa Salzberg, ‘The Lyre, the Pen and the Press: Performers and Cheap Print in Cinquecento Venice’, in *The Books of Venice*, ed. Craig Kallendorf and Lisa Pon Pon (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2008), p. 251, and ‘In the Mouth of Charlatans: Street Performers and the Dissemination of Pamphlets in Renaissance Italy’, in *Renaissance Studies*, 24 (2010), pp. 638–53; Laura Carmelos, *Con libri alla mano: L'editoria di larga diffusione a Venezia tra Sei e Settecento* (Milan: Unicopli, 2012).

International Relations: Spanish, Italian, French, English and German Printed Single Event Newsletters Prior to Renaudot's *Gazette*

Henry Ettinghausen

The work done on the early periodical press by the 'News Networks in Early Modern Europe' project is extremely important.¹ After all, from its first appearance, early in the seventeenth century, the gazette-type periodical was quite rapidly to become the dominant model of printed news, and it has remained so ever since. However, news in print did not begin with the periodical press. From the end of the fifteenth century until the beginning of the seventeenth, the press had consisted entirely of non-periodical news pamphlets, often drafted in the form of letters and nearly always treating a single event.²

It is no doubt, at least in part, precisely because the non-periodical single event newsletters did not give birth to the modern press that, in general, relatively little attention has been paid to them.³ In Spain, however, where they remained the predominant news medium until way beyond the middle of the seventeenth century, the *relaciones de sucesos* (reports of events), as those non-periodical single event newsletters are known, have received a great deal of attention. Indeed, in the 1990s scholarly interest in them led to the creation

1 This chapter forms part of the Project HUM-2005-02482-FILO, located at the University of Girona. It was written as a preview of Henry Ettinghausen, *How the Press Began. The Pre-Periodical Printed News in Early Modern Europe*, SIELAE, 2015, available free online at <<http://www.janusdigital.es/anexos.htm>> [23/3/16].

2 In the course of the sixteenth century, a very small minority of news pamphlets combined two or three news stories, and, before the end of the century, a few news pamphlets were published as series. Carmen Espejo refers, very pertinently, to the at times indeterminate distinction between what is periodical, and what is pre-periodical, noting that this involves sometimes including in histories of journalism, and at others excluding from them, English newsletters or Spanish *relaciones de sucesos*, or else consigning them to an initial chapter on 'precedents', even in the specialist literature (see Carmen Espejo, 'Un marco de interpretación para el periodismo europeo en la primera Edad Moderna', in *La aparición del periodismo en Europa. Comunicación y propaganda en el Barroco*, ed. Roger Chartier and Carmen Espejo [Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2012], pp. 103–26, at 104).

3 As Carmen Espejo rightly says, the *relaciones de sucesos* lie at the origin, but are not themselves the origin, of modern journalism (see 'Un marco de interpretación', p. 107).

of the SIERS, the ‘Sociedad Internacional para el Estudio de las Relaciones de Sucesos’, the only scholarly association, it would seem, entirely dedicated to the study of the genre. However, neither in Spain nor elsewhere, as far as I know, has much thought been given to the fact that the single event non-periodical newsletter had become an international phenomenon, based on—and doubtless further developing—Europe-wide news networks, long before the birth of the periodical press.

What I propose doing here is to exploit several studies, nearly all of them published in the 1960s, which unknowingly showed that those early printed single event newsletters ought to be formally recognised as constituting a pan-European phenomenon. For the sake of clarity, I shall call non-periodical single event pamphlets *newsletters*, and I shall refer to gazette-type multiple event serial periodicals as *newspapers*. And I shall take as my end point the launch of Théophraste Renaudot’s *Gazette* in 1631, the moment when the newspaper first becomes established as an official, government supported, news medium.

The Printed Newsletter in Europe

Spain

In 1966 Mercedes Agulló y Cobo published a bibliography of nearly 800 *relaciones de sucesos* printed between 1477 and 1619.⁴ It was prefaced by an introductory note, just over one page long, in which she stated—with just a little exaggeration—that the *relaciones de sucesos* cover all the topics to be found in a modern newspaper, namely: international politics, war, social affairs (such as royal weddings, royal births and official celebrations), fires, miracles, bloody crimes and the weather (by which, no doubt, she meant hurricanes, floods, and so on).⁵ She could, however, have added that they also include other kinds of court news (such as royal journeys, royal deaths and triumphal entries) and

4 Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos I: Años 1477–1619* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966). Agulló takes her bibliography up to 1626 in ‘Relaciones de sucesos (1620–1626)’, in *Homenaje a Don Agustín Millares Carló* (Gran Canaria: Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorros, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 349–80. Earlier pioneering works on *relaciones de sucesos* include Jenaro Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones de solemnidades y fiestas públicas de España* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1903); *Relaciones de los reinados de Carlos V y Felipe II*, prologue by Amalio Huarte, 2 vols. (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1941); José Simón Díaz, ‘Algunas relaciones de sucesos de los años 1540–1650’, *Biblioteca Hispana*, 15 (1957), pp. 506–23.

5 Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos I*, p. 3.

Church news (such as conversions, beatifications, canonisations, martyrdoms and *autos de fé*), other types of natural disaster (such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions), other kinds of sensational news (such as the birth of conjoined twins and other malformed humans, the appearance of monsters or dire doings of the devil), as well as sports (such as tournaments, quintain and bullfights).

In addition, she could have mentioned the following essential features of the *relaciones de sucesos*: first, they derived from a long tradition of letters and reports written by hand—especially by diplomats, missionaries, soldiers, spies and businessmen—a practice which continued long after news started going into print; secondly, many of them were written in verse and were designed to be recited in public; thirdly, the opinions they expressed represented what we would call ‘the Establishment’, or established authority and institutions; fourthly, they did not just pretend to provide information, but ‘structured’ reality, whilst amazing, sermonising or shocking their readers and listeners; and finally, in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, they were doubtless the most widely read form of printed matter in Spain. Much of the important work done on the *relaciones de sucesos* in the past couple of decades may be found in the published proceedings of the six conferences held, to date, by the SIERS.⁶

Italy

As far as Italy and France are concerned, one could almost be tempted to suspect the presence of a conspiracy to cover up the existence of single subject printed newsletters there. In both countries, although isolated attempts were made in the 1960s at least to list them, those attempts fizzled out like damp squibs. In Italy, a great deal of work has been done, most especially by Mario Infelise, on manuscript newsletters and newspapers produced in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, but next to nothing has been written about printed single subject Italian newsletters, which is not to say that they did not exist. In fact, in 1967, Tullio Bulgarelli published *Gli avvisi a stampa in Roma nel cinquecento*, the only important follow-up to which that I am aware of is its sequel, *Il giornalismo a Roma nel seicento*, by Sandro and Tullio Bulgarelli.⁷ Both bibliographies are based solely on the holdings of libraries in Rome.

6 The website <www.bidiso.es/boresu/>, located at the Universidade da Coruña, contains up-to-date information about the SIERS, including its proceedings, as well as invaluable primary and secondary bibliography on *relaciones de sucesos*.

7 Tullio Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa in Roma nel cinquecento. Bibliografia, antología* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1967); Sandro and Tullio Bulgarelli, *Il giornalismo a Roma nel seicento. Avvisi a stampa e periodici italiani conservati nelle biblioteche romane* (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1988).

Avvisi a stampa does not sound very much like *relaciones de sucesos*, but the two are very similar indeed, for the *avvisi*, too, nearly always contain news concerning single events. For the sixteenth century, Tullio Bulgarelli lists 354 *avvisi*, printed in 24 Italian cities; and, for the seventeenth, he and Sandro Bulgarelli list over twice as many: 723 items printed in 55 cities. To judge by the data they provide, the production of *avvisi a stampa* reached a peak between 1620 and 1640, a feature that coincides closely with what we know about the *relaciones de sucesos*.⁸

As for the reasons why the *avvisi a stampa* have been virtually ignored, Tullio Bulgarelli noted the widespread assumption amongst Italian historians that manuscript *avvisi*, rather than printed ones, lay at the origins of the modern newspaper.⁹ It is an assumption that still persists. Mario Infelise, who regards the periodicity of the manuscript *avvisi* as the defining feature of the press, dismisses the newsletters printed in Italy since at least the beginning of the sixteenth century on the grounds that the latter did not establish contact with what he calls “the authentic public” which, according to him, only fixed periodicity was capable of promoting.¹⁰

As regards the content of the printed *avvisi*, which, as Tullio Bulgarelli notes, generally (like the *relaciones de sucesos*) took the form of letters, he makes it clear that in the sixteenth century they provided news from the entire known world and covered the same types of news as the *relaciones*, notably battles, conspiracies, festivities, royal weddings, treaties, trials, geographical discovery,

8 For an attempt to trace the development in the production of the *relaciones de sucesos* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Henry Ettinghausen ‘La prensa preperiódica española y el Barroco’, in *Géneros editoriales y relaciones de sucesos en la Edad Moderna*, ed. María Eugenia Díaz Tena (Salamanca: SIERs, 2013), pp. 89–102.

9 See Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa*, pp. 13–14.

10 “Al principio, durante el siglo XVI, se sabe que ocasionalmente se habían estampado hojas volantes que tuvieron una gran difusión popular porque narraban batallas, ceremonias públicas y otros hechos capaces de estimular el interés común, pero que no establecían aquel contacto con el auténtico público que únicamente una periodicidad fija era capaz de alimentar” (Mario Infelise, ‘Los orígenes de las gacetas. Sistemas y prácticas de la información entre los siglos XVI y XVII’, *Manuscripts, Revista d’Història Moderna*, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 23 [2005], pp. 31–44, at 40). For her part, Carmen Espejo holds that “the somewhat mechanical and simplistic explanation that journalism was born with and through printing cannot be maintained” (‘European Communication Networks in the Early Modern Age: A New Framework of Interpretation for the Birth of Journalism’, *Media History*, 17 [2011], pp. 189–202, at 192). Indeed, journalism—depending on how one defines it—may be thought to have begun long before the printing revolution, or else a century or more afterwards, but it still seems to be reasonable, and true, to say that the press begins with the establishment of printing.

natural events and miracles.¹¹ In addition to these, however, the items he catalogues also include coronations, royal journeys or progresses and triumphal entries; the deaths of kings, princes, popes and cardinals; the reception of ambassadors; and tournaments, martyrdoms and murders. War looms very large in the *avvisi a stampa*, as in the *relaciones de sucesos*, in particular the Turkish threat to Christendom, the struggle between Spain and France for supremacy in Europe, and the wars between Catholics and Protestants, the many reports of battles almost invariably being accounts of victories.

As for the seventeenth century, Sandro Bulgarelli shows that the *avvisi a stampa* continued to cover much the same range of topics as the *relaciones de sucesos*: events to do with European politics; battles against the Turks and the Barbary pirates; the birth and death of sovereigns and popes; ceremonies and celebrations; natural disasters, portents and miracles.¹² His bibliography also contains, amongst *avvisi* published before 1631, news of coronations; journeys by monarchs, princes and popes; the persecution of Protestants; conversions, beatifications, canonisations and martyrdoms; fires, murders, monsters, and spectacular supernatural events.¹³

France

In France and in England a lot of work has been done on pamphlets, propaganda, popular prints, gazettes and corantos, but a great deal less on early single subject printed newsletters. Eugène Hatin's eight-volume *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse en France* does not mention a single news publication prior to Renaudot.¹⁴ However, in the case of France, too, we find once again that pioneering works were published in the 1960s: notably, two books by Jean-Pierre Seguin. His *L'information en France, de Louis XII à Henri II* describes and catalogues a total of 365 *occasionnels* (the French equivalent for *relaciones de sucesos* and *avvisi a stampa*) published up to 1559.¹⁵ He notes that roughly a third deal with the doings of the monarchy and the aristocracy, particularly

11 See Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa*, pp. 18–19, 21. To be sure, very few *relaciones de sucesos* deal with conspiracies or lawsuits, and most of the Spanish accounts of voyages of discovery—like most of those published elsewhere—are book-length, rather than newsletters.

12 See Bulgarelli and Bulgarelli, *Il giornalismo*, p. xviii.

13 Like Mercedes Agulló y Cobo with *relaciones de sucesos*, the Bulgarellis deliberately leave out of account *avvisi a stampa* written in verse.

14 See Eugène Hatin, *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse en France: avec une introduction historique sur les origines du journal et la bibliographie générale des journaux*, 8 vols. (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1859–61).

15 Jean-Pierre Seguin, *L'information en France, de Louis XII à Henri II* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1961).

royal births, journeys, festivities, marriages and deaths.¹⁶ However, like their equivalents in Spain and in Italy, the majority of them cover military affairs, with some victories giving rise to numerous reports, often published in several different towns. Seguin lists eight *occasionnels* on the French conquest of Genoa in 1507, ten on battles with the Venetians in 1509, eleven on military operations in Italy in 1544, eleven more on the capture of Thionville in 1558, and ten on the taking of Calais from the English that same year.¹⁷ He also points to the frequent reprinting of *occasionnels* by different printers, a feature of newsletters also to be found elsewhere.¹⁸

Seguin's other outstanding book, his study and bibliography of over 500 *canards*, covers the century from 1529 to 1631.¹⁹ The *canards*—printed newsletters reporting sensational or sensationalist news—correspond to one variety of Spanish *relaciones de sucesos* and Italian *avvisi a stampa* that includes accounts of such items as murder, adultery, incest, rape, the birth of conjoined twins, natural disasters, monsters, comets, wizards, ghosts, and evils inflicted by the devil. Like newsletters printed elsewhere in Europe, the *canards* insist almost unanimously on the idea that disasters and portents are providential warnings and/or divine punishments for human sins and signify the need for mass penitence.²⁰

England

In England the breakthrough in the study of newsletters was, likewise, made known in the 1960s, when Matthias A. Shaaber's PhD thesis *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England* (published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 1929) was reissued in London.²¹ Although it is a study, rather than a bibliography, Shaaber's book provides ample documentation. Like the Bulgarellis and Seguin, Shaaber is quite clear that "news (plus the printing press) created the newspaper", and he highlights the originality of his enterprise when he states that earlier histories of the English press had ignored the 150 years preceding

16 See Seguin, *L'information en France* p. 29.

17 See Seguin, *L'information en France*, p. 30.

18 See Seguin, *L'information en France*, p. 25.

19 Jean-Pierre Seguin, *L'information en France avant le périodique: 517 canards imprimés entre 1529 et 1631* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1964). Far more recently, the texts of 63 *canards* have been published in Maurice Lever, *Canards sanglants. Naissance du fait divers* (Paris: Fayard, 1993).

20 See Seguin, *L'information en France avant le périodique*, pp. 53–64.

21 Matthias A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476–1622* (1929; London: Frank Cass, 1966).

the first periodical press.²² In his words, the earlier news is “a record of affairs of state, of war and battle at sea and on land, of the conduct of the great magnates, the heroes, and the personalities of the age, of murders, deeds of violence, and acts of God”.²³ More specifically, he documents royal births, visits, festivities, marriages and deaths; foreign embassies; and the trials and executions of noblemen and women accused of treason or rebellion, and of heretics and common criminals. He also notes that news of war predominates and “is one of the first kinds to appear at the beginning of the sixteenth century”.²⁴ In England—more so, no doubt, than in Spain, Italy or even France—a great deal of the news in the sixteenth century was inextricably intertwined with political and religious propaganda.²⁵

Shaaber stresses the unspoken requirement that in England—as, in general, elsewhere—“as far as matters touching the credit of the state were concerned, the only kind of news fit to print was good news”.²⁶ Observing that news had to be “extraordinary, sensational, prodigious”, he gives a detailed account of what he calls popular news: “murders and other crimes; miracles, prodigies, and wonders; monstrous births and strange beasts; witchcraft; the plague; acts of God, such as flood and fire, and the weather; and sporting events”.²⁷ The coincidence of these topics with those of the French *canards*, and their equivalents in Spain and Italy, is striking indeed.²⁸

Some newsletters seem to be out to win the prize for the most outlandish story. To take just three examples, whilst a *relación* printed in Cadiz in 1622 relates the case of a man in the East Indies who was 380 years old, had been married eight times and had grown a third set of teeth, and one published in Seville in 1633 tells of a well-born Irish woman who delivered 370 children at one sitting into a silver dish, an English broadside published in about 1620 tells how a rich woman who mocked her poorer sister for bearing twins was punished by giving birth, at one go, to 365 children.²⁹ Again, as elsewhere, the wonders and

22 See Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 3.

23 Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 8.

24 Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 121.

25 See Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, pp. 65–105.

26 Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 123.

27 Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, pp. 9, 138.

28 Douglas C. Collins, *A Handlist of News Pamphlets, 1590–1610* (London: South-West Essex Technical College, 1943) lists over thirty extant printed newsletters on murders just for the two decades 1590–1610.

29 The first example is described in the BDRS (‘Catálogo y Biblioteca Digital de Relaciones de Sucesos [siglos XVI–XVIII]’), accessible via <<http://www.bidiso.es/Relaciones/>> [9/9/15], no. 4912. The title of the second example (BDRS no. 5347), a newsletter written in verse by

horrors highlighted in the English popular news were almost invariably portrayed as signs of “God’s mercy or wrath, as warnings of the Day of Judgement, or as summons to repentance”.³⁰

Germany

Research on German newsletters began long before the 1960s. Published fifty years earlier, Paul Roth’s short study of *Flugschriften* includes a score of extant items printed before 1500.³¹ Stressing the genre’s epistolary format, Roth names the main topics covered by it as battles, embassies, treaties, coronations, triumphal entries and significant funerals, as well as accidents, storms, portents, murders, executions, freaks, ghosts and witches.³² In an essay on ‘The Origins of the German Press’, Thomas Schröder notes the existence, in the course of the sixteenth century, of two basic types of printed news, which clearly also existed elsewhere: *Flugschriften* (i.e. news pamphlets, often entitled *Neue Zeitungen*) and *Flugblätter* (i.e. single sheet broadsides).³³ Whilst the latter frequently covered the more sensational news and were often written in verse, amongst the topics covered by the former were, Schröder says, “religion and confessional disputes, and politics, as well as news about miracles, catastrophes, and crimes”.³⁴ He also makes the important point, which clearly applies no less to newsletters printed elsewhere, that, in the sense that they tested out various forms of news coverage and presentation, they “can be described as the root of the modern press”.³⁵

one Fernando Álvarez, begins: *Relacion muy verdadera en que se da cuenta de vna muger natural de Seuilla, que en tiempo de doze años que es casada ha parido cincuenta y dos hijos y oy en dia esta viua. Cuentase de vna señora muy principal de irlanda que pario trezientos y sesenta hijos en vna fuente de plata y los bautizaron.* For the last example, see Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 150.

30 Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 148.

31 Paul Roth, *Die neuen Zeitungen in Deutschland im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1914), p. 11.

32 See Roth, *Die neuen Zeitungen in Deutschland*, pp. 13–17.

33 Schröder, ‘The Origins of the German Press’, in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 123–50, at 128–9. Numerous early *Neue Zeitungen* are described and transcribed in Emil Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen herausgegeben mit einer Bibliographie (1505–1599)* (Tübingen: H. Lämp, 1872).

34 Schröder, ‘Origins of the German Press’, p. 129.

35 Schröder, ‘Origins of the German Press’, p. 130.

Physical Characteristics

Mercedes Agulló y Cobo implicitly defines *relaciones de sucesos*, not just by their being printed newsletters, but also by their length, limiting them to pamphlets of up to roughly 40 pages.³⁶ In fact, the majority of them were either four or eight pages long. *Relaciones de sucesos*, like newsletters elsewhere, had circulated in manuscript prior to the introduction of the press, and many continued to do so, alongside (and often scarcely distinguishable from) private correspondence.

As regards their physical qualities, the first pages of newsletters normally stated not just the title of the piece, but also the place of printing, the name of the printer and the date of publication. They used different sizes of type to highlight the key terms in their titles, and they often exploited recycled generic illustrative woodcuts, though in Germany, especially in the *Flugblätter*, the illustrations were generally made to order and were of very high quality.³⁷ However, their format in Italy and France was generally smaller than the quarto commonly used in Germany or the quarto or folio used in Spain, the *avvisi* usually being printed in octavo, 16mo or 32mo pamphlets (and only occasionally in quarto), two or four folios in length, whilst the *occasionnels* were mostly small quartos or octavos, either four or eight folios long. As for England, newsletters generally ran to four to twelve folios, or else—in the form of proclamations or ballads—appeared as single sheet broadsides.³⁸ Especially from the end of the sixteenth century, some printers and publishers throughout Europe devoted substantial resources to news publication. To cite just one example, in the course of the second half of the century, one provincial French printer, Benoist Rigaud in Lyon, produced over a thousand editions.³⁹

In nearly all of the countries we have been looking at, we find that the beginnings of the news publishing industry go back to the end of the fifteenth century, with a gradual increase in the first half of the sixteenth, a greater impetus in the second half and then, for the most part, a much greater output from the final decade of the century. From what we have seen, it would appear to be rash to claim that the development of the printed newsletter was “very much a phenomenon of northern Europe”, although it would seem to be true that a

36 See Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos I*, p. 3.

37 See Hermann Wäscher, *Das deutsche illustrierte Flugblatt* (Dresden: De Gruyter, 1955). In general, the only newsletters that commonly carried specially made illustrations were those that described monsters.

38 See Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 294.

39 See Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale University Press 2010), p. 149.

larger number of sixteenth-century newsletters printed in Germany survive, compared with those printed elsewhere.⁴⁰

The Name of the Genre

One reason why it has taken so long fully to realise that the early printed single subject newsletters were a pan-European phenomenon is, no doubt, the disparity of their nomenclatures—being known, as they are, in Spanish as *relaciones de sucesos*; in Italian, as *avvisi a stampa*; in French, as *occasionnels* or *canards*; in English, as newsletters or broadsides; in German, as *Flugschriften*, *Neue Zeitungen* or *Flugblätter*; and so on. However, they were not born with those names.

The titles of most of the earliest examples of single event newsletters avoid generic terms altogether, and just use headlines instead. Thus, in Spain, we find titles that begin: *Eclipse del sol ...* (1485), *La dolorosa muerte del Principe Don Juan ...* (1497), etc.⁴¹ And the same practice applied in Italy, France and England.⁴² From very early on, though, some newsletter titles begin with generic names. In Spain, the following are amongst the earliest: *Tractado ...* from around 1477; *Coplas ...* (couplets) from 1496; *Romance ...* (ballad) from around 1525; *Discurso ...* from 1529; *Descripción ...* from 1533; and so on.⁴³ A similar variety occurs elsewhere.

Nouvelles/News, etc.

At the end of the fifteenth century, a common generic term used in France in the titles of *occasionnels* is *Nouvelles ...*, with *Discours ...* becoming frequent after the middle of the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ Agulló y Cobo dates the earliest Spanish *relación de sucesos* entitled *Nuevas ...* (news) to around 1536, but she tentatively dates as printed eleven years earlier a pamphlet entitled *Relacion de*

40 Pettegree, *Book in the Renaissance*, p. 9.

41 See Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos I*, nos. 2, 6.

42 E.g. in Italy, *La triomphale Entrata di Carlo* (1535), USTC 854190; *Li horrendi, & spaventosi prodigij, & fuochi* (1536), USTC 802758, (see Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa*, nos. 27, 34); in France: *Le sacre du Roy trescrestien Loys douziesme* (1498), USTC 53865; *La prise du Royaume de Naples* (1501), USTC 53870; or *Lassault bataille et conquest sur les Genevoys* (1507), USTC 30897, (see Seguin, *L'information en France, de Louis XII à Henri II* nos. 3, 13, 21); in England: *The Confession and ende of Thomas Norton* (1570), USTC 516709; or *The Scottish queens Burial at Peterborough* (1587), USTC 511107. See Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, pp. 116, 120.

43 See Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos I*, nos. 1, 3, 14, 27, 33, 41.

44 See Seguin, *L'information en France*, p. 21.

las nuevas de Italia.⁴⁵ English pamphlets with titles that begin with the word *Newes* date back at least as far as the 1540s.⁴⁶

Letter/Copy of a Letter, etc.

The epistolary origin of the newsletters is also reflected in many titles. In sixteenth-century Italy, 17.5% of the 354 *avvisi a stampa* listed by Tullio Bulgarelli start with *Lettera ...*, *Copia di una lettera ...*, or similar. Seguin states that one of the most frequent terms in the titles of *occasionnels* is *Lettre*—the most commonly used variations being *Copie d'une lettre ...*, *La coppie des lettres ...* etc.—with the earliest instances dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ In Spain we find printed newsletters entitled *Traslado de la carta ...* at just the same time, and one of the first of very many entitled *Copia de una carta ...* occurs in the mid-1530s.⁴⁸ According to David Randall, it is only at the end of the sixteenth century that English newsletters “began to acquire titles such as ‘The Copy of a Letter’, ‘This Is a True Copy’, etc.,” though Shaaber quotes a title beginning *An Epistle ...* that dates from 1538.⁴⁹ And in Germany some titles begin *Brief ...*, *Sendbrief ...*, *Missive ...*, *Copie ...* or *Abschrift ...*⁵⁰

Avviso

Over 21% of the *avvisi a stampa* listed by Tullio Bulgarelli for the sixteenth century have titles that begin *Avviso ...* or *Avvisi ...*, *Novi avvisi ...* or *Ultimi avvisi...* However, like the Italian term *gazzetta*, *avviso* became one of the names used on occasion elsewhere to designate a type of news report, in particular in Spain and in France. In Spain the term *aviso* is rare before the very end of the sixteenth century, when at least some of the examples occur in newsletters translated from Italian. In France in the 1580s we find at least two *Advis* that may well be translations from Italian: *Nouveaux advis de l'estat du Christianisme des pays et royaumes des Indes Orientales et Jappon* (Paris, 1582), and *Advis de Rome tiré des lettres de l'évesque du Mans* (Paris, 1589). *Avviso* seems, however, to have been uncommon in Germany or England.

45 See Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos I*, nos. 59, 31.

46 E.g. *Hevy newes of an horryble earth quake whiche was in the cytie of Scharbaria in this present yeare of Xlii* (London, 1542), USTC 503284; *Newes from Rome concerning the blasphemous sacrifice of the papisticall Masse* (Canterbury, 1550), USTC 504453.

47 See Seguin, *L'information en France*, p. 21.

48 See Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos I*, nos. 16, 19 and 45.

49 See David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News (Political and Popular Culture in the Early Modern Period)* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), p. 21; Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 42.

50 See Roth, *Die neuen Zeitungen in Deutschland*, p. 13.

Relation

Relación de sucesos is the modern Spanish term for a single event newsletter. It is based on the term *relación* (report, account), whose earliest appearance in Agulló's bibliography occurs in a newsletter printed in about 1517, entitled: *Esta es una relacion de dos casos nuevamente acaescidos ...*⁵¹ In 1525 we see the word standing on its own at the beginning of the title of Alfonso de Valdés's *Relacion de las nuevas de Italia ...*, a practice that was to become very common indeed.⁵² Then we find elaborations on the term that stress the truth (rather than the recentness), of the news, such as: *Verdadera relación ...* (1534), *Relación muy verdadera ...* (1538?), *Relación cierta y verdadera ...* (1542?), etc. From the middle, and especially from the last third, of the sixteenth century, the most common terms used in Spanish titles are *Relación ...* (with or without adjectives) and *Carta ...* or *Copia de una carta ...*, with *Relación ...* predominating from roughly the 1590s. *Relación's* spectacular success may be gauged from a collection of single subject newsletters published in Barcelona in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, in which only 9% of the items are entitled *Carta ...*, *Copia de una carta ...* or *Traslado de una carta ...*, whereas the titles of an overwhelming 75% of them contain the term *Relación*.⁵³ And—something which does not appear to have been fully realised up to now—the term was not confined to Spain.

Out of Tullio Bulgarelli's 354 sixteenth-century *avvisi a stampa*, 32 begin with *Relatione ...*, five with *Vera relatione ...*, two with *Relatione vera ...*, one with *Piena relatione ...* and one with *Breve relatione ...*— in all, over 11% of the total. In the seventeenth century, however, the picture in Italy, too, changes dramatically.⁵⁴ Out of the 716 seventeenth-century items catalogued by Sandro and Tullio Bulgarelli, only a dozen have *avviso* or *avvisi* in their titles, thirty or so begin with *Lettera ...* or *Copia d'una lettera ...*, and another thirty use *Ragguaglio ...*. But what predominates absolutely is titles beginning *Relatione ...*, in all, around 392, which represents 55% of the total.⁵⁵

Only one of the 365 pre-1560 *occasionnels* catalogued by Seguin contains *Relation* in its title: *Relation de la journee excellente tenue par la majeste de lempereur* (1530?), and I know of only two other *occasionnels* prior to the end of the sixteenth century that do so: *Briefve relation de la guerre d'Irlande*

51 See Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos 1*, no. 22.

52 See Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos 1*, no. 31.

53 See *Notícies del segle XVII: La Premsa a Barcelona entre 1612 i 1628*, ed. Henry Ettinghausen (Barcelona: Arxiu Municipal de Barcelona, 2000).

54 See Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa*.

55 See Bulgarelli and Bulgarelli, *Il giornalismo*.

(Brussels, 1596) and *Translat de la relation faicte en langue espaignole ... de la forme de la derniere maladie & mort de Sa dicte Maté* (Antwerp, 1599).⁵⁶ Thereafter, though, in France, too, the designation *Relation ...* becomes very common indeed.

As Shaaber states in respect of England, whilst newsletter titles often used such terms as *Discourse ...*, *Report ...*, *Declaration ...*, *Description ...* or *Narration ...*, “the word *relation* occurs most frequently in titles and even more often in the accounts themselves”.⁵⁷ Indeed, Shaaber cites eleven titles beginning *A relation ...*, fourteen beginning *A true relation ...*, two beginning *A most true relation ...*, and one beginning *A true and perfect relation ...*⁵⁸ The earliest of them was printed in 1592, but the term appears to become quite common from the very beginning of the seventeenth century.

As for Germany, Shaaber argues that, “from the fact that early seventeenth-century German books of news were sometimes headed “*Aviso* [or *Avisa*], *Relation oder Zeitung*”, it would appear that the term had some international currency”.⁵⁹ In fact, however, we know of German newsletters entitled *Relation ...* printed as early as the 1560s, and the practice becomes very common from the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁶⁰

From the end of the sixteenth century, then, national variations of the term *Relation* (*relación*, *relazione*, *relació*, etc.) had taken off as the common—though not exclusive—generic name used in the titles of printed newsletters in all those countries we have been looking at—and doubtless, too, in others.⁶¹

56 See Seguin, *L'information en France*, p. 89.

57 Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 12.

58 See Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, pp. 359–60, 365, 354.

59 Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 12. The *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* began printing in Wolfenbüttel from 1609.

60 E.g. *Relation und Extract von aussagen und besonderen Kundtschafften des Türckens ...* (?1566); *Warhaftige Relation vn[d] Bericht, Was massen die gewaltig Statt vnnnd Beuestigung Famağusta, in Cipro* (?1572), USTC 690554. Nearly a century and a half ago, Richard Grasshoff was already using the term *Relationen* as synonymous with *Flugschriften*: see Richard Grasshoff, *Newen Zeytungen (Die briefliche Zeitung des XVI. Jahrhunderts)* (Leipzig: C.W. Vollrath, 1877), p. 4.

61 It should, however, be noted that the term *Relation* did not refer exclusively to newsletters. It could, amongst other things, denote a list, or book-length accounts of voyages, missionary reports or autobiographies. The single event newsletter is not even mentioned in a recent volume of essays devoted to works entitled *Relation* (see *Things Not Easily Believed: Introducing the Early Modern Relation*, ed. Thomas V. Cohen, and Germaine Warkentin, special Issue of *Renaissance and Reformation*, 34.1–2 [2011]).

International Relations

Printed non-periodical single event newsletters became, then, an ever more important fact of life in Western Europe from the end of the fifteenth century until well into the seventeenth. Their remarkably wide diffusion is attested, practically from the beginning, by their being reprinted in numerous different locations within several countries, most notably in Germany, Italy and France. Even more remarkably, though, they very soon began to cross national frontiers, transmitted along trade and postal routes that had been developed since well before the fifteenth century and which, from early in the seventeenth century, would start carrying the news that made up the new periodical newspapers.⁶² Ample evidence for the early recognition and organisation of European postal routes is contained in such works of the period as Giovanni da l'Herba's *Itinerario delle poste per diuerse parti del mondo opera piaceuole, et vtile* (Rome, 1563).

As we have seen, many (if not a majority of) printed newsletters brought news from abroad and actually advertised themselves in their titles as translations from foreign originals. To give just one instance, amongst a collection of 126 *relaciones de sucesos* published in Barcelona between 1612 and 1628, an overwhelming 76% give news of events that supposedly occurred either abroad or at sea, and as many as 10% of them actually state that they are translations.⁶³ In England, too, news from abroad was far more abundant than home news, with at least three-quarters of foreign news coming from and concerning France and the Netherlands.⁶⁴ Shaaber cites the case of John Wolfe who entered in the Register of the Stationers' Company, or actually published, some 150 newsletters before the end of the sixteenth century, two-thirds of them being translations of foreign originals; and he lists nearly forty English items published or entered in the Stationers' Register in 1590 on Henri IV's successes against the League.⁶⁵ News from abroad—not least, wars, natural disasters, miracles, monsters and murders—was, clearly, lapped up by the English

62 For the development of the postal routes, see E. John B. Allen, *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972); Paul Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European system of communications', in *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 19–34 and Ch. 2, above.

63 See *Notícies del segle XVII*.

64 See Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, pp. 168–9.

65 See Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, pp. 286–7, 169–72.

public.⁶⁶ In France and Germany, as well, many of the *occasionnels* and *Flugschriften* are translations. To give just one early instance, a *Flugschrift* on an earthquake near the Canaries that was felt in Andalusia, Morocco and the Azores was published in Cologne in 1523, translated from Portuguese—a French edition, also translated from Portuguese, having appeared in Antwerp the previous year.⁶⁷ In fact, so successfully networked were centres of production of printed single event newsletters that they were perfectly capable of creating what amounted to Europe-wide news stories.

The most emblematic early instance of the internationally transmitted press is doubtless the news of the ‘discovery’ of the New World. In 1493, Pere Posa printed in Barcelona, in a two-folio newsletter in folio, the account written by Columbus of his first transatlantic voyage. Columbus’ letter was rapidly translated and was printed in over twenty editions in Seville, Rome, Florence, Pavia, Paris, Antwerp, Basel, Leipzig and Nuremberg—i.e. in half a dozen different countries—by the end of the fifteenth century.⁶⁸ Then, between 1503 and 1506, the letter attributed to Amerigo Vespucci, containing a description of the reconnaissance of the Brazilian coast by the Portuguese, came out in over thirty editions in France, Italy, the Netherlands and the German-speaking countries, where it was printed in Augsburg, Basel, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Munich, Nuremberg, Rostock and Strasbourg.⁶⁹

The wars in Italy in the 1520s between the Emperor Charles V and Francis I of France were covered in French, Italian, Spanish and German newsletters.⁷⁰ Charles’s victory over the French at Pavia in 1525 was celebrated in Dutch, German, Spanish and Italian, the Antwerp publisher Willem Vorsterman producing his news pamphlet within three weeks of the event.⁷¹ Charles’s conquest

66 See Sara Barker, ‘Strange News: Translations of European Sensational News Pamphlets and their Place in Early Modern English Culture’, in *The Book Trade in Early Modern England: Practices, Perceptions, Connections* ed. John Hinks and Victoria Gardner (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press and The British Library, 2013), pp. 161–86.

67 See Eulogio Varela Hervias and Gottfried Von Waldheim, *Una relación alemana sobre el terremoto de Andalucía, Marruecos y Azores del año 1522* (Madrid: Comisión de Cultura e Información, 1948).

68 See Renate Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer neuen Welt. Amerika im Kommunikationsnetz des habsburgischen Imperiums (1493–1598)* (Mainz: Philipp van Zabern, 2000).

69 See Pettegree, *Book in the Renaissance*, p. 132.

70 See Katrin Hirt, *Die italienischen Kriege zwischen Karl V. und Franz I. in den Jahren 1521–1530: Medienereignisse in zeitgenössischen deutschen, italienischen und französischen Flugschriften*, Dissertation zur Erlangung des wissenschaftlichen Grades eines Doktors der Philosophie im Fachbereich Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, 2010.

71 See Pettegree, *Book in the Renaissance*, p. 139.

of Tunis ten years later inspired numerous newsletters in Spain, Italy and France. News of England in the mid-sixteenth century—not least Henry VIII's break with Rome, and Philip II of Spain's marriage to Mary I—was amply recorded in the press in Italy and Spain.⁷² The execution of the Duke of Northumberland in 1553 made the news in English, German, Dutch and Italian. The defeat of the Turkish siege of Malta in 1565 was related in newsletters in Spanish, Italian, French, German and Dutch. In 1571 and 1572, over three hundred pamphlets reporting and celebrating the news of the Turkish defeat at Lepanto were published across Europe.⁷³ Spaniards and Italians read accounts printed in their languages of the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572; and Spaniards, Italians and Englishmen were shocked to read of the assassination of Henri IV in 1610.⁷⁴ The Japanese diplomatic legation to Rome, begun in 1585, made the news in Italy, France, Germany and Spain. News of the beheading of Mary Stuart in 1587 spread, with horror, throughout Catholic Europe.⁷⁵ Plenty of newsletters were published in Italy, Germany and Spain in the 1590s on the war in Transylvania against the Turks.⁷⁶ The taking of Calais by the Spanish in 1596 was publicised in newsletters printed in Spanish, Italian, French, Dutch and English. The Gowrie conspiracy, involving a supposed attempt to assassinate James VI of Scotland in 1600, was the news in a pamphlet printed at Edinburgh and is reported in an *avviso* published the same year in Venice and in two *occasionnels*.⁷⁷

72 See José Solís de los Santos, 'Relaciones de Sucesos de Inglaterra en el Reinado de Carlos v', in *Testigo del Tiempo, Memoria del Universo. Cultura Escrita y Sociedad en el Mundo Ibérico (Siglos XV–XVIII)*, ed. Manuel F. Fernández, Carlos Alberto González, y Natalia Mallaird (Barcelona: Rubeo, 2009), pp. 640–98.

73 See Pettegree, *Book in the Renaissance*, p. 145.

74 For St. Bartholomew's Day, see M. Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos 1*, no. 171; Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa*, nos. 133, 135, 140, 141; for Henri IV, see M. Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos 1*: nos. 480, 491; Bulgarelli and Bulgarelli, *Il giornalismo a Roma*, nos. 46–50, 55; Collins, *Handlist of News Pamphlets*, nos. CCLIX–CCLXI, CCLXVI, CCLXVII.

75 Alexander S. Wilkinson studies the impact in France of Mary's execution, using over 400 contemporary reports, sermons, etc. See *Mary Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion, 1542–1600* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

76 See Ch. 22, below; Rubén González Cuerva, "'El prodigioso príncipe transilvano': la larga guerra contra los turcos (1596–1606) a través de las relaciones de sucesos", *Studia Historica: Historia Moderna*, 28 (2006), pp. 177–299. In Rome, Bernardino Beccari and others published *avvisi* on the same campaigns (Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa*, nos. 242, 243, 246, 248, 250, 252–7, 261, 263, 264, 266–8, 270–4, 276, 277, 279, 280, 289–91, 293, 294). For Germany, see Roth, *Die neuen Zeitungen*, p. 36.

77 For the English and Italian newsletters, see Collins, *Handlist of News Pamphlets*, p. 45; Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa*, p. 352.

One of the most spectacular news stories in early seventeenth-century Europe was the Prince of Wales' surprise six-month visit to Madrid in 1623 in his bid to marry Philip IV's sister. That it was the scoop of the decade is shown by the fact that it inspired a superb German print of his official entry into the Spanish capital, as well as over two dozen printed newsletters in Spain, at least five in England, three in France, two each in Italy and the Netherlands, and one in Ireland.⁷⁸ The anonymous contemporaneous French painting *Le Colporteur* shows a travelling bookseller with copies of reports in French on Prince Charles' Spanish trip tucked into his hatband.

It is perhaps not excessively surprising that events such as geographical discovery, battles, embassies, royal visits and the execution of public figures should have become international news in the course of the sixteenth century. However, the same was also true of other types of news. The severe flooding in Rome in 1530 made the news not only in Venice, but also in two *Neue Zeitungen*—with four known editions each—that both describe the floods in their titles as “erschrecklich” (terrifying).⁷⁹ Another German newsletter on the same floods was printed at Augsburg, Munich and Strasbourg, entitled: *Warhafftige anzeigung. Des grossen erschrecklichen gewessers so sich zu Rom ... begeben*; and several *occasionnels* and *canards* recorded the same “terrible deluge”.⁸⁰ An eruption of Etna in 1536 was reported in an Italian *avviso*, a German *Flugschrift* and a Spanish *relación*. The earthquake that destroyed half of the city of Ferrara in 1570 is the news in various *canards*, in three *Flugschriften*, and in *A coppie of the letter sent from Ferrara the xxii. of November. 1570*, printed in London by Thomas Purfoot the following year.⁸¹ An *Erschröckliche neue Zeytung*, published in three editions in 1581, recounts the crimes committed by one Christman, who is said to have had 964 murders to his name, a sensational item that appeared in at least three *canards* in 1581, 1582 and 1590.⁸² The same gory story, attributed to George Pen, was published in London in 1584 under a long title that begins: *Newes out of Germanie. A most wonderfull and true discourse of a cruell murderer*;

78 See Henry Ettinghausen, *Prince Charles and the King of Spain's Sister—What the Papers Said* (Southampton: University of Southampton, 1985). One item not mentioned there is: *A Relation of the Departure of the ... Prince of Wales, from Madrid, the ninth of September ... 1623* (?London, 1623).

79 See Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen*, nos. 53, 54.

80 See Seguin, *L'information en France, de Louis XII à Henri II*, nos. 101, 102; Seguin, *L'information en France avant le périodique*, nos. 123–7.

81 See Seguin, *L'information en France avant le périodique*, nos. 193–7; Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen*, nos. 364, 365, 367; USTC 507238.

82 See Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen*, no. 543; USTC 750156, 3472, 53001.

who had kylled in his life tyme, nine hundred, threescore and odde persons.⁸³ The story of the conjoined twins born in the Oxfordshire village of Middleton Stoney that was told in a pamphlet printed in London in 1552 was also published in Dutch that same year in Antwerp.⁸⁴

International media fame was also achieved by some monsters. The huge fish that appeared in an English newsletter in 1566 is almost certainly the same as the one described that same year in a *Flugschrift* printed at Augsburg. The monster engendered by witchcraft in a Spaniard near Granada, to which he gave anal birth, hit the news in a *relación* published in Barcelona in 1606 and in *canards* that came out in Rouen and then in Paris.⁸⁵ And a “Horibile et maraviglioso mostro”, born in Lombardy in 1578, came to readers of the news in an illustrated Italian broadsheet, which displayed his seven heads and arms, ox’s feet, and the single eye in the middle of his central head. In 1578 the same story was told in a sheet printed at Chambéry and in two German printings. And a Spanish version of the story, which set the event in the Pyrenees, was published in Madrid 76 years later, an example of the ingenious and unscrupulous recycling of old news.⁸⁶

Should anyone be tempted to imagine that Renaudot’s *Gazette* sounded the death knell for single event newsletters, it is perhaps worth recalling something that is rarely referred to: he did not just publish a weekly gazette (i.e. a digest of news items sent from various different geographical sources), but that he interspersed it, almost every week, with two other series of news pamphlets—*Nouvelles ordinaires* and *Extraordinaires*, some of the latter actually entitled *Relation*—that told in detail of single events, such as his account of the Catalan victory over Spain in the Battle of Montjuïc on 26 January 1641.⁸⁷ Joad Raymond comments thus on the connections between what we have been referring to as newsletters and newspapers:

Though imitating Dutch models, the first newspapers emerged out of the trade in pamphlets. They were printed, published, and distributed in the same way as pamphlets, and it was not until the later seventeenth century

83 USTC 510114.

84 USTC 516524, 404192.

85 See Pierre Cordoba, ‘L’Homme enceint de Grenade. Contribution à un dossier d’histoire culturelle’, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 23 (1987), pp. 307–30.

86 See Folke Genert, ‘Relaciones de sucesos monstruosos y las *Histoires prodigieuses* de Pierre de Boaistuau’, in Diaz Tena, ed., *Géneros editoriales y relaciones de sucesos*, pp. 191–209.

87 See *Relation de ce qui s’est nagveres passé en Catalogne & ici pour les affaires de cette Principauté*.

that their ways and means of production became distinct from the pamphlet trade.⁸⁸

And, just in case anyone was to suppose that modern newspapers—just because their multi-event format developed out of the seventeenth-century periodical newspaper—owe nothing to the non-periodical single event newsletters, it is worth taking note of the fact that the main news articles in this morning's paper are far more like the accounts given in single event newsletters than the little snippets of news that made up the gazettes.

88 Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 101. As Thomas Schröder makes clear, the same applied in Germany, where single event newsletters “were neither thrust aside nor replaced by the newly emerging weekly press: *Neue Zeitungen* appeared throughout the seventeenth century”; ‘Origins of the German Press’, p. 130.

War News in Early Modern Milan: The Birth and the Shaping of Printed News Pamphlets

Massimo Petta

The Rise of Printed News: Negroponte and *Ottava Rima* Poems

The Milanese printing press made very early forays into the dissemination of news: one of the earliest printed texts in Milan was *Lamento di Negroponte*, a poem that narrated the siege and fall of the Venetian possessions in Greece some months after the event (12 July 1470).¹ Though it was not the first to break the news to the Milanese public, this text continued to spread, after and alongside other oral and written media; a broad-range dissemination made possible by the advent of the printing press in particular.² From this point of view, it was similar to other contemporary wide-circulation poems, but the few cheap printed papers of the *Lamento di Negroponte* reported a fact that had happened recently: narrating an actual event, it merged entertainment and information.³ As for the narrative, this pamphlet did not launch a brand new textual typology, but rather followed an established genre, the chivalric poem, which was then about to experience an expansion thanks to the printing press. It provided the most suitable textual typology to spread accounts of events, giving them a collocation in an asymmetric intersection between oral and written

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- 1 *Lamento di Negroponte* (Milan, 1471), USTC 999502. It is a *ottava rima* poem made of 46 stanzas distributed in 12 leaves in quarto and printed with roman letters. It was published by Antonio Zarotto on the behalf of Panfilo Castaldi between 15 March 1471 and 19 February 1472, that is 8–19 months after Negroponte had fallen (12 July 1470).
 - 2 “Catastrophes gave rise to an enormous and enormously varied body of texts. These included hastily composed eyewitness reports; poetic laments for the cities and their dead; humanist orations bewailing the barbarity of the Turks; learned tracts debating their origins and character.... Such texts both reflected and perpetuated the fevered contemporary debate over the problem of the terrible Turk. But the fall of Negroponte—or rather, public reaction to it—differed from any previous event in Italian history in one crucial way: it coincided almost exactly with the spread of printing through the major cities of the peninsula”. Margaret Meserve, ‘News from Negroponte: Politics, Popular Opinion, and Information Exchange in the First Decade of the Italian Press’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59.2 (2006), pp. 440–80.
 - 3 On this topic Lauro Martines, *Strong Words: Writing and Social Strain in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 167–81.

transmission, manuscript and print culture, between the 'great' and the 'little tradition'.⁴

As for its reception, this pamphlet had a double appeal, thanks basically to its generally informative aspect on the one hand and its literary one on the other, which gave it the circulation and durability characteristic of a work of fiction. During the 1470s it was soon reprinted in Milan by Filippo da Lavagna (with the addition of a single stanza), then in Florence (more or less doubled in length to 95 stanzas) and in Naples (enlarged once more, to 105 stanzas); years later, in 1512 it reappeared in Milan, when Giovanni Castiglione reprinted the Florentine edition.⁵ This release was the forefather of a series of editions across Italy, which lasted until the 1620s. Obviously, 150 years after the fall of Negroponte these later editions no longer had an informative function, but in the meantime war poems had achieved a large success. While its function as entertainment clearly emerged from the longevity of the text, its informative purpose was only germinal and would develop in the following publications over the years, especially in certain features which will become apparent below, such as the speed with which news spread and the paratextual marks of reliability. Both aspects of the text and its printed form would instead have concurred in favouring the integrity and especially the 'persistence' of the information among large publics, providing the necessary conditions for the news account to acquire a status autonomous from that of a generic account.

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- 4 Borrowing the conceptual framework from anthropologist Robert Redfield, Peter Burke proposed the existence, at the beginning of the Early modern era, of a dual culture, in which coexisted and interacted a great tradition and a little one, of which the former belonged to the educated few ("transmitted formally at grammar school and at universities ... a closed tradition in the sense that people who had not attended these institutions, which were not open to all, were excluded") and the latter to the whole population, from the illiterate to the educated classes ("It was transmitted informally. It was open to all, like the church, the tavern and the market-place, where so many of the performances occurred"). Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate 2009), p. 55. Marina Beer described chivalric poems as "Genere di lunga durata e diffusione europea ... all'incrocio tra diffusione/ esecuzione orale-musicale e composizione scritta, tra destinazione popolare (per un pubblico non alfabetizzato ...) e destinazione colta (per un pubblico alfabetizzato ...)" ("an enduring and Europe-wide genre ... at the intersection between oral-musical dissemination/ performance and written composition, between popular targets (for an illiterate public ...) and cultivated targets (for a literate public ...)"): Marina Beer, *Romanzi di cavalleria* (Rome: Bulzoni 1987), p. 17. On this topic also Marina Roggiere, 'I libri di cavalleria', in *I libri per tutti: Generi editoriali di larga circolazione tra antico regime ed età contemporanea*, ed. Lodovica Braida and Mario Infelise (Turin: UTET, 2010), pp. 23–41.
- 5 *Lamento di Negroponte* (Milan, c. 1472), USTC 999501; (Naples, c. 1480), USTC 999503?; (Florence, c. 1477), USTC 999504; and (Milan, 1512), USTC 800347.

In any event, while war poems had a circulation comparable to a ‘common-place’ fictional text, it was accepted that they were not original products of imagination, since they spread news about a real event, and printers consequently deployed specific paratexts aimed at emphasising their reliability. So in 1490 *Lamento di Costantinopoli* only provided information about the path of the news on which the poetic text was based:

Erano in quel tempo collegati
 insieme li Sanesi e Vinitiani
 equali mandaron messer Vital donate
 a siena imbasciatore & nelle mani
 lettere vennon pe corrier mandate
 rachontando lemorte de christiani.⁶

(By that time, were allied
 Siene and Venetians
 the latter sent mister Vitale Donati
 as ambassador to Siena
 and there came to hand
 letters sent by courier
 accounting Christians’ deaths.)

In contrast, two poems in 1515 provided lists of casualties as a paratextual apparatus, “non poetiche rassegne” (non-poetical parades), as Novati called them.⁷

In the meantime, from the late fifteenth century—coinciding with the Italian Wars—the release of this kind of narrative had become more frequent: around 1495 and once again in 1501 poems were published about the

6 Maffeo Pisano, *Lamento di Costantinopoli* (Florence, 1487, reprinted c. 1490), USTC 999513, 999512, fo. 6v. The poem was composed short after the event, on 30 July 1453: “Et nel tempo che disopra harai lecto | atrenta di di luglio raccontamo | dal principio alla fine come ho docto”, fo. 6v (“And in the meantime of the facts above | I tell on the thirtieth of July | from the beginning to the end, as I said”).

7 Simone Litta, *La rotta de’ Suizer facta in mezo Meregnano* (Mondovì, 1515), USTC 800161, and Teodoro Barbieri, *El fatto darne del christianissimo re* (Venice, 1515), USTC 870192. Litta in Milan had published *Opera nuovamente composta* (Milan, c. 1501) about the Italian campaign of the King of France and had financed the florentine edition of a *lamento* (“ad petitione [on request by] di Simone da Milano”) which dealt with “tucte le guerre state dalla edificazione di Roma sino al di presente”: Giacomo Rossetto, *Lamento de Italia diviso in capitoli septe* (Florence, n.d.), USTC 853520. Francesco Novati, ‘Poemetti volgari ignoti sulla calata di Carlo VIII in Italia’, *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 15 (1901), p. 423.

campaign of Charles VIII of France and, a few years later, a six-part saga about the early battles of the League of Cambrai (1509), which had diversified the landscape of printed wars.⁸ In particular, the poems of 1509 met the requirements of both the 'great tradition' and the 'little' one, since, on the one hand, proceeding from a humanist circle, they were aimed at cultivated audiences and, on the other, they introduced into battle poems a feature of the chivalry poem in general, namely a cyclic and serial nature. As for their material production, the first was composed and printed in the few days immediately after the battle of Agnadello, and the second introduced an innovative typographical element for this kind of narrative: an explanatory title, which explicitly enforces the informational function of the text ("cum tutti li successi & accidenti varii de battaglie de giorni in giorni occorsi dopo la rotta de Agnadello, data a venetiani. Dove anchora se narra la destruction de li medesmi cum la perdita de tutto il gia lor stato ..."; "with all the events and various battle accidents, which happened day by day after Venetians' defeat in Agnadello. Moreover, is narrated their destruction, with the loss of the entire State").⁹

Later, in conjunction with other pitched battles, new poems were released: a Venetian poem about Marignano was revisited and reprinted in Milan in 1515 and two poems were published a few years later, in 1522, about the battle of

8 *Larmata del re di Francia* (Milan, c. 1495), USTC 996264, and *Lamento di Roma fatto novamente* (Milan, c. 1501), USTC 762717. Two other pamphlets are doubtfully Milanese: Ercole C. Rinuccini, *Istoria nova de la rotta e presa del Moro* (Milan, c. 1500) and *La guerra del Turco e presa di Modone* (Milan, c. 1500) according respectively to Ennio Sandal, *L'arte della stampa a Milano nell'età di Carlo V* (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1988), n. 669, and Caterina Santoro, *Stampe popolari della Biblioteca Trivulziana* (Milan: Castello sforzco, 1964), n.148. As for the six poems of 1509, they were attributable to a circle ("Ex Cripta Palladia Belloniana et Bielliana Claricianaque") whose identified members were Palladius Bellon and Girolamo Claricio: see Carlo Dionisotti, *Scritti di storia della letteratura italiana* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2009), vol. 2, pp. 145–7. The first—*La miseranda rotta de venetiani* (Milan, 1509), USTC 801781—was written 'Die xxii Maii M.D.IX' (*explicit*), while the battle took place on 14 May. Probably in the same year, it was reprinted in blackletter in Milan or in Rome by Eucario Sielber: see respectively Ennio Sandal, *Editori e tipografi a Milano nel Cinquecento* (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1977–81), n. 678, and Alberto Tinto, *Gli annali tipografici di Eucario e Marcello Silber* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1968), n. 63. It was continued in *La memoranda presa de Peschera* (Milan, c. 1509), USTC 801783, reprinted probably in Bologna by Giustiniano da Rubiera in 1510 (USTC 801837). Then we have the 'canto quinto' (as the *incipit* states): *La prexa de Lignago* (Milan, 1510), USTC 801838. The third, fourth and sixth cantos are missing.

9 *La memoranda presa de Peschera cum tutti li successi & accidenti varii de battaglie de giorni in giorni occorsi dopo la rotta de Agnadello, data a venetiani. Dove anchora se narra la destruction de li medesmi cum la perdita de tutto il gia lor stato* (Milan, c. 1509), USTC 801783.

Bicocca.¹⁰ In particular, the latter, Francesco Mantovano's *Lautrec*, showed more sophisticated editorial planning, since it was a four-part work, complete with title pages, which partook more of the nature of small books than contemporary pamphlets. It was also more markedly literary, since it was a dramatic text in the form of a dialogue, and, being an invective against Odet de Foix, its purpose was to take a political stand, rather than to recount an event.

In the second half of the 1520s, Milanese printing suffered a deep crisis, connected both with the general crisis of incunabula and the devastation the city suffered during that phase of the Italian Wars.¹¹ After normal production resumed, new *ottava rima* pamphlets concerning military events in the Mediterranean appeared, marking the continuity with previous publications but also introducing small updates and innovations. Firstly, a poem by Alessandro Verini narrating the events in the Mediterranean, especially the rescue of Corone (18 August 1533), was published a few weeks after the event: this was traceable news, as the pamphlet had a colophon and title page with author's name and places and dates of the events; moreover, the text began on the following page, indicating the fully paratextual nature of the title page (the colophon too was separated from the text).¹² Two years later, in 1535, when the army of Charles V conquered Tunis, the printer Vincenzo Meda released a booklet (48 leaves in octavo) and Verini published other serial poems in *ottava rima*, this time by himself.¹³ While several pioneering publications appeared in Rome in the meantime—such as newsletters from Tunis—Milanese printers followed the customary trend, producing 'traditional' pieces of print.¹⁴

10 *El fatto darne del duca de Milano* (Milan, c. 1515), USTC 802038, a revised edition—missing two octaves—of Barbieri, *El fatto darne*. About Bicocca: *Historia de la victoria hauta novamente contra francesi suizeri e venetiani* (Milan, c. 1522), USTC 802311; Francesco Mantovano, *Nova inventione* (Milan, c. 1522).

11 Simone Albonico, 'Recensione a Ennio Sandal', *Rivista di letteratura italiana*, 7 (1989), pp. 189–210.

12 News arrived in Genoa on 4 September and the pamphlet was printed in Milan by Gottardo Da Ponte on 12 September. Alessandro Verini, *La crudelissima rotta che ha dato Andrea Doria* (Milan, 1533), USTC 862907.

13 Guglielmo Pansa, *Historia nuova della guerra di Tunigi di Barberia* (Milan, 1535), USTC 846507; Alessandro Verini, *La gran rotta che ha dato la cesarea maestà, a Barbarossa* (Milan, 1535), USTC 802705, is declared to be 'canto primo'. Gottardo Da Ponte published a booklet in octavo: Giulio Cesare Ripamonti, *La vera guerra di Tunigi* (Milan, 1535), USTC 852686; Sandal, *L'arte*, n. 50.

14 In Rome Francesco Minizio Calvo and Antonio Blado had published pamphlets with letters about military events already in 1526 (2), 1529 and 1532. In 1534 Blado printed a letter accounting the conquest of Tunis by Barbarossa. See Tullio Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa in Roma nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1967), nn. 7–8, 10, 12, 14.

The Coming of Pamphlets in Prose and the Standardisation of Layout

In 1544 Francesco Minizio Calvo, who had moved from Rome to Milan, published an unprecedented account of the battle of Ceresole: it was a prose text written by Francesco Spina, a fiscal commissioner of the Empire, who joined the campaign of Alfonso d'Avalos, then Governor of Milan. Spina was a witness to the events and was well informed of the movements of the soldiers and their tactics, since he received punctual correspondence from many sites affected by the war. In fact, his goal was to demonstrate that criticism of Avalos' leadership was misplaced and the primary recipients of the text were clearly detractors who openly complained about the unfruitful outcome of the campaign. For his part, the printer tried to make the text appealing for a public larger than the one strictly involved in the debate: thus he added two woodcuts of the battle, even if these were not strictly necessary, in order to reinforce the communicative potential of the account. The resulting booklet was a very different product from previous examples of the genre: there was no entertainment, but pure detailed information, designed to sweep away any wrong idea about the campaign; in some respects it was akin to memorials, aiming at readers interested in politics rather than in amusement-information.

Although the *Ceresole* booklet was created with a specific intention, nonetheless it may have revealed the commercial potential of a battle account, especially a prose report. Three years later, in 1547, a Milanese printer published a purely informative, detailed eyewitness report of the battle of Mühlberg, a letter whose recipient was Ferrante Gonzaga, then governor of the State.¹⁵ Its title page can be considered a prototype of the crucial news genre of the *avvisi* that was consolidated over the following years: at the top it bore a precise title declaring its source ("Copy of a letter from Cesar camp translated from Spanish") and the event ("the very happy victory against the Duke of Saxony"), and a woodcut representing the ensign of the authority involved, in this case the imperial eagle between two columns.

Towards the middle of the century, then, different actors concurred in playing a role in the dissemination of news and in broadening the audience for it. The same printing presses multiplied both the informative correspondence and the verses of mountebanks and charlatans, who used to support their performances

15 *Copia di una lettera venuta allo illustrissimo signor don Ferrante dal campo cesareo* (Milan, 1547), USTC 803228. See Silvio Leydi, *Sub umbra imperialis aquilae* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1999), p. 87.

with printed pamphlets.¹⁶ The work of Paride Mantovano, a roaming mountebank active in Milan around 1551, testifies to the contamination between the genres: he published at his own expense verse pamphlets narrating battles, entertaining narratives based upon sources he claimed were reliable, 'guaranteed' by lists of casualties and prisoners, and in the meantime, he did not hesitate to publish a fictional text with a news-like title as well as a real prose news pamphlet.¹⁷ As further evidence of the mingling of genres, in 1559, after the battle of St. Quentin, an established printer like Francesco Moscheni released both an *ottava rima* poem by Frediano Lucchese (dedicated to Juan de Figueroa, the Governor of the State of Milan) and a Latin prose account aimed at a more specific audience, containing a list of people.¹⁸

In the second half of the century Milanese news production changed suddenly, and in a manner which it is not immediately easy to account for. According to *Guerre in ottava rima* (1988–9), a census of war poems in octaves, Milan saw 31 releases before 1566: after the unassailable Venice (leading, with 120), it was the second most significant Italian printing place for works in this genre, ahead of Florence (26), Bologna (26) and Rome (16); while elsewhere 'news poems' lasted a century longer, in Milan they disappeared as a genre from that year on.¹⁹ Around mid-century different actors began to play on the printed news stage: in just a few years, soldiers and ambassadors, occasional and professional writers, replaced mountebanks and *poligrafi* (authors who wrote in multiple genres).

In the second half of the sixteenth century, besides unknown or ephemeral operators, important printers began to work in the field of printed news, such

16 "A focus on performers who published or sold oral dissemination of texts in tandem with their printed the diffusion-suggests how broader publics, of every shade from illiterate to literate, were becoming acculturated to an expanding print culture": Rosa Salzberg, 'From Printshop to Piazza: The Dissemination of Cheap Print in Sixteenth-Century Venice', PhD thesis (University of London, 2008). Also Massimo Rospocher and Rosa Salzberg, 'Street Singers in Italian Renaissance Urban Culture and Communication', *Cultural and Social History*, 9.1 (2012), pp. 9–26.

17 On his behalf were printed, in verse: *La felicissima vittoria aut dal s. principe d'Oria* (Venice or Bologna, 1551), USTC 803413, *Lamento che fa Piero Strozzi sopra della rotta* (Bologna, 1554), USTC 803661. In prose he published a tale, *Copia de una littera venuta novamente dalla citta de Milano* (Milan, c. 1551), USTC 803514, and a news pamphlet, *L'ordine della festa con la felice entrata* (Rome, 1551), USTC 803531.

18 Frediano Lucchese, *La guerra di Picardia* (Milan, 1557), USTC 830967, and *Progresso della guerra di Picardia* (Milan, 1557), USTC 803863. The latter booklet, rather atypical, contains two prose reports and also an index, two dedicatory poems, a list, an excerpt of Nostradamus' prophecy (bearing publishing data) in French, its translation and two celebrative sonnets.

19 *Guerre in ottava rima* (Modena: Panini, 1988–9). Actually the limit could be 1557, as thenceforth appeared only late reprints of *Guerre orrende d'Italia* (Venice, 1522).

as Giovanni Battista Da Ponte, then co-owner of the oldest typographic enterprise in the city, who later—printing decrees and edicts—enjoyed the title of Royal Chamber Printer. Within a few years, following the trend, he had changed his mode of news production: while in 1554 he had published a poem about the conquest of Tunis,²⁰ in 1558 he released a different kind of text, neither fictional nor literary but the transcript of a capitulation and a list of the forces fielded by the king of England (then Phillip II of Spain).²¹ The consolidation of the prose news pamphlets, so-called *avvisi a stampa* or *relazioni*, did not mark a sudden discontinuity with the previous production, but, on the contrary, several of its features lasted for long time. An early *avviso* of 1563 by Da Ponte concerning the battle of Dreux presented the events emphatically, in a fashion similar to the previous *ottava rima* poems, even if it bore an updated title page and was based on detailed and rapidly-dispatched report letters.²² Similarly, in 1564 the *avviso* of the Spanish capture of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera published by Moscheni, despite being a detailed and updated-format report from an eyewitness, bore a title page underlining “la quantità delle galere, & il numero dei soldati, con il nome, & cognome delli Capitani” (“the quantity of the galleys and the number of the soldiers, with the names and the family names of the captains”) in very similar fashion to the earlier battle poems.²³ Moreover, the pamphlet contained an echo of fictional elements, in the form of a purported letter filled with threats from the emperor to the sultan. Along similar lines, in the same year of 1564 a booklet was published with news from the eastern Mediterranean, which nonchalantly mixed plausible information and fictional topics (for example the quarrel between two captains who met in the very same house to harass a woman—a literary *topos*—which caused 15,000 casualties).²⁴ It is remarkable that its title page followed the emergent and recognisable pattern: at the top, an eloquent and catchy title declaring the

20 Vittorio Baldini, *Il primo canto della guerra di Tunis* (Milan, 1554), USTC 812056.

21 *Il vero avviso del numero delle genti da piedi et da cauallo, delle artiglierie della armata* (Milan, 1558), USTC 803965.

22 *La gran vittoria di monsign. di Guisa, capitan generale dell'essercito catolico nel regno di Francia contra luterani; dove si vedrà distintamente la presa, & morte de capi dell'una, & l'altra parte; col numero de' morti dell'uno, & dell'altro essercito* (*The great victory of Monseigneur of Guise, General Captain of the Catholic Army in the Kingdom of France against Lutherans; where it will be clearly shown the capture and the death of the leaders both ranks, with the number of the casualties of both armies*; Milan, 1563), USTC 801189.

23 *La presa del Pignone et l'ordine che ha tenuto la maestà del re Filippo a prenderla, & la quantità delle galere, & il numero dei soldati, con il nome, & cognome delli Capitani* (Milan, 1564), USTC 804357.

24 Flaminio Aspri, *Copia d'una lettera venuta, dove si narra l'assedio* (Milan, 1564), USTC 811345.

source, in the centre a xylographic vignette and the publishing data at the bottom. The publisher undoubtedly meant to offer this *avviso* as a reliable account of true facts (which it partly was), and therefore, since he had only old and very vague sources available, he released it in a “reliable form”, trusting to the paratextual marks of reliability of the title page. As a matter of fact, the use of a recognisable *avviso* layout presented the text as the vehicle for a trustworthy message, an account of *truly* occurring facts, whose main source of interest for readers lay in its reporting of real events far more than in its literary quality, which was in fact fairly poor.²⁵

In those years, the fight for supremacy in the Mediterranean provided materials for the growing niche market in printed news. The relative abundance of production favoured the standardisation of layout, which operated essentially in two directions: on the one hand, every printer’s news and news-related production tended to grow ever more homogeneous and, on the other, *avvisi* printed in different cities became increasingly alike.

The need to reproduce an *avviso* as accurately as possible often pushed many printers in different cities to reproduce not only the text but the layout as well. So, when letters from Malta were published in all the major Italian cities, the printers sometimes maintained an identical title page too, even down to the xylographic vignette (the coat of arms of the Cavaliers).²⁶ In Milan, Valerio Meda kept the same *mise en page* but used a different woodcut, a large one with an undefined battle engraved on it, very much in the style of an *ottava rima* poem, even if the text was a reliable daily account compiled from letters from Malta.²⁷ As for the following events, in late October, Da Ponte spread the breaking news from Lepanto (via Venice) by an unusual broadside manifesto, suitable for placarding and very similar to the edicts he printed by appointment to the Governor.²⁸ At all events, he had already released two ‘regular’ *avvisi a stampa*, one compiled from many short news items, the other proceeding from a letter, both of them with an up-to-date title page provided with the

25 Massimo Petta, ‘Printed Funerals in 16th- and 17th Century Milan’, in *Routines of Existence: Time, Life and After Life in Society and Religion*, ed. Elena Brambilla, et al. (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2009), pp. 106–37.

26 *Copia d’una lettera venuta ultimamente di Malta* (n.p., n.d.), USTC 836987; *Copia de una lettera* (Bologna, 1565), USTC 801168; *Avvisi della levata de Turchi dall’assedio* (Naples, 1565), USTC 804373; *Breve naratione di tutto il successo* (n.p., n.d.).

27 *Breve narratione di tutto il successo dell’assedio di Malta* (Milan, 1565).

28 *La stupendissima vittoria dell’armata christiana* (Milan, 1571), USTC 804940. The text is the same reported in a manuscript *avviso* arrived to Rome published in Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984), p. 1060.

imperial eagle and the second with complete publishing data.²⁹ This title page represented the final step in the standardisation process: the eloquent title, xylography and publishing data became its unfailing indispensable elements. All of them guaranteed reliability, providing information on the news: its source (eventually proclaimed as 'true'), the authority involved and the final producer of the text. Moreover, the standardised and repetitive title page became a benchmark for readers too: from that they learned to immediately recognise the news as such and more easily trust to its reliability.

Thus, a few years later, the Meda brothers' news title pages became strictly standardised and repetitive, even if they retained a hint of old-fashioned chivalry poems about them.³⁰ The production of the Tinis also clearly moved towards uniformity. In 1571 Pietro reprinted an account of the fall of Famagusta in a somewhat naïve fashion: he changed the title into a long one inflected with the terms of the earlier chivalric poems, emphasising the "cruel" nature of the siege, and the "new" capture; he also presented the protagonists as literary characters ("il Magnifico Bragadino") and used a generic woodcut of an unspecified battle by way of illustration.³¹ Instead, some years later, in 1585,

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- 29 The treaty between Louis, Prince of Condé, and Henri II of France: *Capitoli della pace tra la christianissima maestà del re di Francia & il principe di Condè* (Milan, 1558), USTC 830787; the forces of the English army: *Il vero aviso del numero delle genti da piedi et da cavallo, delle artiglierie* (Milan, 1558), USTC 803965; from Malta: *Diversi avisi con li giorni distinti di molti assalti* (Milan, 1565), USTC 801178; *La presa di santo Ermo, estratto d'una littera scritta da Roma* (Milan, 1565), USTC 804425.
- 30 *Dechiaratione de tutti li successi et combattimenti, fatti tra il turco et il populo christiano* (Milan, 1570), USTC 804719; *Dechiaratione de tutti li avisi mandati di Spagna da la corte del re catholico* (Milan, 1570), USTC 804718.
- 31 Nestore Martinengo, *Il crudelissimo assedio et nova presa della famosissima fortezza di Famagosta* (Milan, 1571), USTC 841197. It was the reprint of a very popular account, *L'assedio, et presa di Famagosta* (Brescia, 1571), USTC 841194, whose releases across Northern Italy and Europe offer a clear image of the different usages of news-matter. The original report delivered by the captain Nestore Martinengo at his arrival in Venice was firstly published two times in Brescia (then under the rule of the *Serenissima*) and in Fano; it was also published as *L'intero ragguaglio del successo di Famagosta* (n.p., n.d.). In 1572 Brescia edition was reprinted in Verona (S. and G. Dalle Donne, 2 editions) and Venice, with a more precise title: *Relatione di tutto il successo di Famagosta* (4 editions). In 1572, it was reprinted in London too (J. Daye), dedicated to Earl of Leicester; so far, it had lost its news format: actually, the addition of several paratexts (dedication, preface, description of the island, a poem in Latin and several notes) had converted it into a product different from pure news, aiming at a different, educated readership. It was also reprinted in Augsburg (M. Kriegstein, 1572) and in Paris (A. Wechel, 1572 and S. Nivelles, 1573). The German print was an exact translation (without either vignette or publishing

Michele adopted an updated standardised pattern for his news publications: in the title page he used a concise and denotative title, which declared the source, the illustration and the imprint in full. Further circulation enforced the spread of the standard layout: his pamphlets were reprinted in other northern Italian cities, where this pattern was largely replicated.³² Conversely, the process of standardisation, by making printed news easily recognisable, favoured the wider circulation of this new genre. From about this time, the standardisation process was consolidated and further news pamphlets followed the established pattern. The normalisation of the title page proceeded hand in hand with that of the title itself. In the last quarter of the century it finally arrived at its durable form; it was not a generic title but rather a precise indicator of news-text with three basic distinctive elements: first, the source (*avviso, relatione, copia di lettera* etc.), then the event, and finally the original source and its author, omitted only if it was unknown or unavailable. Moreover, in cases of reprinting—often if a result of agreements between printers—the title page usually bore the indication of the first release.³³

The Seventeenth Century: Consolidation of the Standard and Proliferation of Variants

In Milan, the emergence of Paolo Gottardo Da Ponte, official printer to the Royal Chamber Printer, in the field of news established a peculiarly close tie between ‘official printing’ (i.e. the printers entrusted to produce bans and edicts for the authorities) and news. From 1598, Pandolfo and Marco Tullio Malatesta—typographers specialising in popular literature—replaced the deceased Da Ponte, adopting the same semi-official title: they ran the enterprise along the lines laid out by their forerunner³⁴ but developed the Royal

data in the title page); the French pamphlet, instead, was lightly edited: the list of casualties was replaced by two short *advis*, from Famagusta and Constantinople (via Vienna) aiming to enrich the text.

- 32 *Nuovo avviso, e particolare discorso, della mirabile espugnatione d'Anversa* (Milan, 1585), USTC 806036, reprinted in Verona (S. Delle Donne) and Bologna (A. Benacci); *Copia dell'articoli, overo capitoli stabiliti, & conclusi per la resa della città d'Anversa* (Milan, 1585), USTC 805984, reprinted in Brescia (V. Sabbio), Bologna (A. Benacci), Genoa, Reggio Emilia (E. Bartoli) and Piacenza (G. Bazachi).
- 33 Massimo Petta, *Networks of Printers and the Dissemination of News, in Specialist Markets in the Early Modern Book World*, ed. Richard Kirwan and Sophie Mullins (Leiden: Brill, 2015) pp. 64-84.
- 34 In the late sixteenth century Pandolfo also reprinted a 1523 *ottava rima lamento: Lachrimoso lamento, che fa il gran mastro di Rodi* (Milan, n.d.), USTC 802343.

Chamber press specialisation in news matter, earning a high degree of trust from the Governors of the State over several decades.

For their news pamphlets, they did not introduce any significant innovations in layout, but fine-tuned existing norms, increasingly using the coats of arms instead of generic woodcuts in their *avvisi* title pages; they were also particularly concerned with the standardisation of their products, in order to make them easily recognisable as news, and specifically as *reliable* news: their news pamphlets, bearing a circumstantial explanatory title, a coat of arms (similar to the edicts) and their imprint in full, inspired confidence in their reliability on the part of both readers and the authorities. In other words, they offered a recognisable and reliable product, supported by the addition, on the printers' own initiative, the marks of the public authorities: that is, the caption of 'Royal Chamber' and the coats of arms, which unfailingly stood out on the title pages of news pamphlets. So, in 1613 Giacomo Ivagnes, Secretary of the Senate of Milan,³⁵ addressed a newsletter to the printer:

M. Marco Tullio Malatesta. Essendo venuto alle mie mani l'inclusa lettera del successo felicissimo.... *Ho voluto raguagliarvi subito, accioché possiate dare alla stampa qualche utile, et alla Christianità questa allegrezza, particolarmente in questo Stato, dove per quanto è amata S.M. nostro commun Patrone, et conosciuto questo Cavalliero [Ottavio d'Aragona Tagliavia, son of the ex-Governor Carlo] ... spero che doverà riceversi tal avviso con cordial affetto....*³⁶

(Mr. Marco Tullio Malatesta. Since I received the attached letter of the very happy success.... *I intended to inform you soon, so you can give the press some usefulness, and this exhilaration to Christendom, especially in this State, where, since His Majesty our common lord is loved and this knight is well known ... I hope this avviso will be received with cordial love....*)

Relying on the market (which meant in practice conforming to the general trend and forming networks with other printers in several cities) and backed by the government, the Malatestas were able to increase their news production rapidly. Moreover, in addition to news they also released pamphlets containing the texts of treaties and settlements according to the standardised layout.

35 Ivagnes was grandson and great-grandson respectively of the secretaries of the Senate Iacopo and Giovanni Maria Cattaneo. Annamaria Monti, *I formulari del Senato di Milano* (Milan: Giuffrè, 2001), pp. 139–43.

36 *Avvisi della vittoria hauuta da don Ottavio de Aragona* (Milan, 1613), fo. 2v. Italics mine.

The prominent feature of their output of printed news was the quantity and the longevity of their production: they maintained their news publishing activity according to established patterns through several generations, and became a cornerstone of Milanese printed news over almost two centuries. Pursuing long-term familiar strategies and sticking to the norms they had helped to establish, the Malatesta family conferred continuity upon the Milanese pattern of printed news during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁷

Also partly thanks to the Malatestas, the consolidated layout of *avvisi* was maintained over the decades, even as the output increased enormously. During the seventeenth century increasingly efficient news networks granted the printers access to the abundant war news provided by the perpetual state of conflict; the growth of the output stimulated a differentiation of printed news matter, however, which took advantage of the fact that the process of standardisation had not erased all the textual variety of the first half of the sixteenth century, and finally enabled news to reach increasingly broad publics.³⁸ This differentiation followed two basic patterns: the first aimed at keeping the consolidated format in order to convey different typologies of information texts; the second, by contrast, meant to introduce or resume variations to the *avviso* format.

Different Texts, Same Layout: A Wide Range of Texts Set Up as News

Following the first pattern, printers increased the production of settlements, short treatises, letters and all news-related texts that had occasionally been printed since the sixteenth century and published them according to the same layout as the *avviso* (to the extent of being almost indistinguishable at first glance). Soon a varied set of complementary news publications arose, presented as apparently homogeneous (in the sense of adopting the standardised layout of *avvisi*), a corpus which enriched the information and considerably extended the coverage of war events. The *avviso* format also applied to celebratory poems for victories and, sometimes, fictional stories about fantastic battles. As for the latter, usually printed by printers on the fringes of the trade and formally set up as reliable *avvisi*, they proposed the old-fashioned mix of imagination and reliability and thus revealed the capacity of the standardised layout to include different kinds of texts and to reformat them in the guise of “reliable news”.

37 For this aspect, in 1621 and 1624 Giovanni Battista published news about the campaign of the King of Poland using a perfectly identical title-page layout: same woodcut and matching *mise en page* (‘Nova, et Vera | Relatione’ and ‘Veridica | Relatione’ were respectively the first two lines of the titles). *Nova, et vera relatione della guerra tra il potentissimo re di Polonia, & il Gran Soldano* (Milan, 1621) and *Veridica relatione della miraculosa vittoria* (Milan, 1624).

38 Brendan Dooley, ed., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

A sophisticated 1636 pamphlet about the “battle of the wasps” lay on the border between fiction and news.³⁹ It took its cue from an episode after the battle of Tornavento: tormented by horseflies attracted by the decomposition of casualties, the French army had to abandon its position, not without a touch of sarcasm (they left the inscription “Quel che non hanno potuto gl’Ispani, lo hanno potuto i Tafani”; “what the Spaniards could not achieve, horsefly could”).⁴⁰ In fact the text was simply a satirical pro-Spanish reply to the ‘ridiculous trophy’, a cultivated invective against the French army, and did not relate any particular event: even the editor declared it to be merely a “Bassa Diceria di Vespe, o Moschoni” (“lowly chat about wasps or blue bottle flies”), indicating that it was essentially an entertaining text, the only mark of reliability being its *avviso* format.⁴¹

In 1676, the heirs of Antonio Malatesta—members of a collateral branch of the family and not Royal Chamber Printers—reprinted an account of an amazing battle of birds published in Venice and originally in L’Isle-sur-le-Doubs (Franche-Comté). They used the standard *avviso* format, in order to underline its nature as an account of a battle, and proclaiming its truthfulness (“Nuova, et verissima Relatione”, as the title has it). Nonetheless, despite its apparent claim to reliability, the last words of the text vaguely reveal its fictional nature:

Sarei troppo lungo se volessi raccontare qui tutte le interpretationi, che si danno a un sì strano cuento, ma essendoli morti di tutte le spetie la più parte convengono che sia presaggio infallibile di guerre funeste, & egualmente a tutte le Nationi. Iddio se ne preservi.⁴²

39 Guglielmo Plati, *Le Vespeide dell’Academico Caliginoso* (Milan, 1636), reprinted in Cremona: *Biblioteca volante di Gio. Cinelli Calvoli*, vol. 4 (2nd edition; Venice, 1747), p. 539. Also Gregory Hanlon, ‘Sources for a battle: Tornavento (22 June 1636)’, in *Battaglie. Levento, l’individuo, la memoria*, ed. Alessandro Buono and Gianclaudio Civalè (Palermo: Associazione Mediterranea, 2014).

40 Girolamo Brusoni, *Dell’Historia d’Italia* (Venice: F. Storti, 1661), p. 135.

41 The pamphlet was commissioned by the Milanese bookseller Carlo Ferrandi, who dedicated it to Antonio Briceño Ronquillo, lord Chancellor of the State of Milan. He was a Spanish partisan: that same year, 1635, he financed Carlos García, *Antipatia de’ francesi, e spagnuoli* (Milan, 1635), then reprinted several times in Italy, in Bologna, Venice and Macerata, before 1702. Originally written in order to enforce the Franco-Spanish détente that followed the marriage of Anne of Austria and Louis XIII [La *oposición y conjunción de los dos grandes luminares de la tierra* (Paris, 1617; then Cambrai, 1622)], once the political atmosphere had changed, it was reprinted with merely the title modified and anti-French intention [La *Antipatia de Franceses y Espanoles* (Rouen, 1627 and 1630)]; Ferrandi in the dedication: Plati, *Le Vespeide*, fo. 2r.

42 *Nuova, et verissima relatione della battaglia delli uccelli* (Milan, 1676), fo. 4r.

(It would be too long to recount all the interpretations given to such a strange account here, but, since there are casualties of every species, most people agree that it is an infallible omen of dreadful wars, affecting every nation equally. God spare us.)

Besides Milan, the French pamphlet reached England, where it was translated and published in Oxford. The presentation of detail this pamphlet is even more scrupulous: in the title page dates, places and sources are meticulously indicated.⁴³ This account subsequently gave birth to a ballad, published on a London broadside, abandoning, in this case, any shade of reliability.⁴⁴

Beyond fictional matter, one element in particular testified to continuity with the very early phase of printing news through the centuries: the lists of forces deployed and casualties sustained. Such paratextual additions appeared in *ottava rima* poems as early as the late fifteenth century and became increasingly common over time.⁴⁵ In 1558 and 1571 pamphlets entirely dedicated to lists were published and, towards the last quarter of the century, it was not unusual to find them at the bottom of *avvisi*.⁴⁶ There are numerous examples throughout the seventeenth century, but especially during the siege of Vienna this paratext reached its climax.⁴⁷ Besides ordinary lists, when available, printers published detailed lists and even tables of every sort of goods,

43 *A true relation of the prodigious battle of birds, fought in the lower region of the air, between the cities of Dole and Salinas, the 26th of February last 1675/6. According to the letters from Besanson, of the first of this instant March, 1676* (Oxford, 1676). The date '1675/6' is a function of the Julian calendar, which remained in use in England until 1752.

44 *The Frenchmens wonder, or, The battle of the birds* (London, 1674–9). In England, another ballad concerning a battle of birds had already been published many years before, in 1621: see Hyder E. Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland. Black-letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595–1639* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), pp. 150–4.

45 The title page of Pansa, *Historia nuoua* (1535) indicated that “si contiene ... il Numero delle Navi & delle Galee & parimente dell'essercito Christiano” (“it contains ... the Number of the Ships and the Galleys, as well as the one of the Christian army”) even if actually there was no list in the booklet.

46 *Il vero aviso del numero* (Milan, 1558), USTC 803965; *Dechiaratione de tutti li successi* (Milan, 1570), USTC 804719; and Giovanni Battista Da Ponte's *Il Bellissimo ordine dell'armata della Santa Lega* (Milan, 1571), were essentially lists; those appeared, among the others, also in *Breve narratione di tutto il successo* (n.p., 1565); *Il crudelissimo assedio* (Milan, 1571), USTC 841197; *Aviso della presa di Strigonia* (Milan, 1595), USTC 819228; and Pandolfo Malatesta's *Relatione nel seguito dell'impresa* (Milan, 1598), USTC 807259.

47 Among the others, *Narratione dell'essercito che di presente si trova in essere* (Milan, 1632) has a particular arrangement, presenting a 'traditional' list followed by gazette news (i.e. synthetic dated paragraphs taken from a gazette) with a design that recalls *Breve narratione di tutto il successo* (1565).

resources, forces and casualties.⁴⁸ It is evidence of the strong consideration given to this kind of paratext that Marco Antonio Pandolfo Malatesta even apologised for not being able to publish a list, offering at least one ‘sure’ number:

Qui non s’include la Nota di tutte le robbe lasciate da’ Turchi sotto Vienna, per non esser’ ancora comparsa la veridica, e giusta, ma solamente vi è certezza, che il denaro trouato nel Padiglione del Gran Visir ascendi a due million di Reali da otto in tante Monete d’Oro.⁴⁹

(The note of all the goods left by Turks under Vienna is not included here, since the true and correct one is not appeared yet, while is certain only that the money found in the pavillion of the Great Visir amounts to two millions of eight-Real pieces in golden coins.)

Beyond the maintenance of traditional elements, the most remarkable feature of the *avviso* format was its capacity to incorporate innovative elements, a versatility which was one of the main reasons of its success. During the sixteenth century, the *avviso* format was successfully applied to different kind of texts, especially pacts and treaties, which thereby achieved a format often identical to conventional reporting, despite not being reports in the strict sense: they did not bear news of the pact, but rather the text of the pact itself. On the theoretical level, they were of course deeply intertwined with politics and war, since without warfare they would not exist. In fact battle as such was not conceived of as a decisive event that could annihilate the opponent, but was rather an occasion to change the balance of the subsequent—often permanent—peace negotiations: armed struggle and negotiation were two inseparable aspects of a perpetual condition of conflict.⁵⁰ Thus, given the indivisibility of

48 *Relazione compendiosa, ma veridica, di quanto è passato nel famoso assedio* (Vienna, 1683).

49 *Sincero, e distinto racconto de’ consigli, & operationi* (Milan, 1683), p. 14. The promised list was published *Distinta relatione della rassegna dell’essercito del gran turcho* (Milan, 1683).

50 “War in ... in early modern Europe meant skirmishes and surprises far more than it meant full-scale sieges and battles, and the verdict of the latter could swiftly be offset by the debilitating drain of the former, prolonging the conflict.... But politics proved equally important in eternalising war. Above all, many of the issues for which early modern wars were fought defied an easy solution”, Geoffrey Parker, ‘Dynastic War 1494–1660’, in *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Warfare*, ed. Geoffrey Parker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 159–60. In 1636 Cardinal-Infante affirmed that “habbiamo risoluto di far entrare le loro Armi [of the Emperor and of the King of Spain] nel Regno di Francia non per altro, che per obbligare il suo Re a una vera, & sicura Pace” (“we decided

battle and negotiation, the layout of diplomatic information was often identical to that of generic news.

From the 1520s, before the consolidation of the *avviso* standard, presses began to publish the texts of diplomatic negotiations, which cluttered the early modern printed information landscape without cease. The earliest printed treaty in Milan was probably the Treaty of Madrid between Charles v and François I of 1526 and during the sixteenth century, the normal trajectory of treaty publication was analogous to that for news.⁵¹ In the first decades of the century their publication depended on occasional sources such as sovereigns' letters (and thus the texts were reported in letters or even, if in extracted form, in poems). By the second half of the century, however, the pact-text had gained autonomous status, its spread had become largely independent from direct dissemination by rulers' chanceries, and its publication increasingly punctual.⁵² In 1538, in Milan, Gottardo Da Ponte published a pamphlet containing the essential text of the Truce of Nice and, many years later, in 1558, his heir Giovanni Battista published the agreements between Henri II of France and the Prince of Condé.⁵³ In the crucial mid-century period, the increased diffusion of this kind of text and the direct involvement of Milan in European-scale events (such as the wars waged by the Spanish monarchy) concurred in stimulating the demand for punctual and detailed information, leading to the obsolescence of war-news poems and the quick decline of their production in

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- to drive the Armies in the Kingdom of France for no other reason but to force its King to a real and firm Peace"): *Ferdinando per gratia di Dio Infante di Spagna* (Milan, 1636), fo. 2r.
- 51 *Littera mandata dalla Cesarea Maestà alla Republica et popolo de Milano* (Milan, 1526), USTC 836998, written by Albertus Valdesius. The capitulations also arrived to Roman presses through several letters sent from Toledo and Madrid between 8 January and 11 February. *Pace & capituli fatte infra la C.M. & lo christianissimo Re* (Rome, 1526), USTC 836190; *Abocamento della maestà cesarea* (Rome, 1526), USTC 802427; *Lettere dela cesarea & catholica maestà* (Rome, 1526), USTC 836997, in Latin, and its translation into Italian *Capitoli della santissima pace celebrata in Toledo* (n.p., 1526), USTC 836188. They appeared one year after the earliest printed pact: *La pace e liga perpetua tra li principi re de Francia et re d'Inghilterra* (Bologna, 1525), USTC 830783. Years before a poem pamphlet about a peace had been published: *Questa sie la tregua fata con limperatore* (Venice, 1517), USTC 802182; Giancarlo Petrella, *Fra testo e immagine. Edizioni popolari del Rinascimento in una miscellanea ottocentesca* (Udine: Forum, 2009), pp. 161–3.
- 52 In 1530 in Bologna was printed a war poem in octaves regarding the seizure of Florence with the respective pacts: Ippolito da Ferrara, *La guerra di Firenze & quando si rese con gli patti e conventioni con la santita di nostro signor & maesta cesarea*. (Bologna, 1530), USTC 836565.
- 53 *Questi sono li capitoli de la tregua de dece anni* (Milan, 1538), USTC 836193; *Capitoli della pace* (see n. 29, above).

Milan.⁵⁴ In the last quarter of the century the production of diplomatic news pamphlets became more and more regular: in the 1570s and 1580s, printers published letters containing pacts from the Flemish theatre, adopting *avvisi* standards. In particular, in 1585 the Tinis published the capitulation of Antwerp using a layout identical to that used for the *avviso* announcing its fall (a title page bearing a framed lily woodcut bought from Pacifico Da Ponte).⁵⁵ The Malatestas followed the same trend and, in 1598, they published the text of the peace of Vervins in the form of news.⁵⁶ Besides war news and pacts, the *avviso* format was also used to spread 'declarations' and other statements to enforce claims over territories, aiming at creating a legal background to wars. In 1585, for instance, the pope's pronouncement against the legitimacy of Henri IV of France was soon published in Milan.⁵⁷ The production of 'diplomatic matter' soon went far beyond the mere dissemination of pacts: since legitimacy was not a straightforward matter, especially during the war, contrary interests triggered cuts and thrusts about the legality of the various pretensions and the actual reasons for the campaigns, and skirmishes between cross-referenced royal declarations, manifestos and a wide range of pamphlets. In 1614–15 the Malatestas' presses kept up with the quarrels between the crown of France and Henri II, Prince of Condé, releasing five pamphlets of declarations, letters and replies.⁵⁸ Then, in 1621 the heir of Da Ponte in Milan published an exhortation to the king of Spain to intervene in Valtellina, which Giovanni Battista Malatesta followed up with congratulations to the Governor Duke of Feria for his successful intervention and accounts of his specific victories; later another anonymous pamphlet begged the King of France to intervene in turn.⁵⁹ Actually, as the

54 On the trajectory of the war poem production: Wilhelm Raymund, *Italianische Flugschriften des Cinquecento* (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 1996).

55 *Editto perpetuo, qual viene a trattare dell'accordio, patto et conventionione* (Milan, 1577), USTC 857152. Alessandro Farnese, *Copia d'una lettera scritta dal sig. principe di Parma generale in Fiandra* (Milan, 1585), USTC 828815; Tinis' publications were *Nuovo avviso, e particolar discorso* and *Copia delli articoli* (see n. 31, above).

56 *Capitoli, et conditioni della pace, et perpetua amicitia* (Milan, 1598), USTC 830815.

57 *Dichiaratione del santiss. N.S. Sisto papa V contra Henrico di Borbone* (Milan, 1585), USTC 856606.

58 *Lettera del prencipe di Condè, scritta al rè christianissimo* (Milan, 1614), *Dichiaratione del rè christianissimo contra il prencipe di Condè* (Milan, 1615), *Manifesto del re christi.mo di Francia, sopra la detentione* (Milan, 1615), *Risposta della reina christianissima, reggente, madre del re di Francia* (Milan, 1615), *Lettera del Re mandata al Parlamento di Parigi sopra la causa della ritentione* (Milan, 1615).

59 Alberto Pecorelli, *Deploratione della Valtellina a' i prencipi catholici* (Milan, 1621); Cherubino Ferrari, *Elogio a perpetua memoria et a gloria immortale* (Milan, 1621); *Descrittione generale del lamentabile stato nel quale si trovano al presente* (1622).

speech of Phillip IV to the Great Council of Mechelen proved, the dissemination of printed texts could be the first step of political-military plans:

Essendosi [count Hendrik van den Bergh] portato così avanti nelli suoi pernitiosi, e cattivi consigli con havere ... pubblicato un numero grandissimo de biglietti, e manifesti, fatti spargere in molti luoghi, così fuori, come dentro di questo paese....⁶⁰

(Since count Hendrik van den Bergh drove forward his harmful and evil plans as far as ... he published a great amount of flyers and manifestoes, disseminated in many place, both out and in this country....)

In general, the medium of print was very well suited to staking claims to authority or rule, but the *avviso* layout in particular was often used since it enabled the shading of 'pretension' into 'fact': doubly so if it bore the stamp of authority in the form of the mark of the Royal Chamber press.

Besides news and diplomacy, the constant growth in the output of war-related texts stimulated a varied production aiming at different publics, including cultivated ones. Thus a diverse corpus of pamphlets and booklets flourished, offering information about everything that was 'complementary' to the event. In spite of being presented as apparently homogeneous—i.e. adopting the standardised layout of *avvisi*—this was actually a heterogeneous set of publications calibrated to reach specialist publics. Thus, in 1620 Marco Tullio Malatesta published a "Description of the Alps and the passes suitable for armies", which was formally identical to an *avviso*, even if it provided neither news nor further elaboration of particular events but simply described passes suitable for the passage of armies: the printer adopted a standard that was amenable to soldiers, who were the intended readers.⁶¹ In some cases, under a standard title page, the pamphlets had a larger-than-usual number of pages, which allowed the publishers to put forward, instead of information in the usual sense, in-depth dissertations about the events or collateral information fit for specialist readers. Melchiorre Malatesta in 1625 put the point clearly in introducing the *avviso*-like description of the site of Breda, titled 'Ragguaglio':

Uscì dalla mia Stampa pochi giorni sono la copia d'una lettera, con la quale scrivendo uno dal campo sotto Breda ad uno suo amico l'avvisava, come s'era resa quella piazza. *Soddisfece questo ragguaglio in qualche*

60 *Parte presa nel Gran Consiglio de Malines* (Milan, 1632), fo. 1r.

61 Giovanni Giacomo Conturbi, *Breve descrizione dell'Alpi* (Milan, 1620).

*parte, ma non in tutto alla ragionevole curiosità non tanto del popolo, quanto delle persone amiche delle storie, sperimentate nell'arte militare, e pratiche de' Paesi di Fiandra, perché desideravano havere minuta convezza del sito di questa Villa....*⁶²

(A few days ago there went forth from my printing press the copy of a letter from someone writing from the camp near Breda to a friend of his, advising him about the surrender of that place. *This account satisfied partially, but not totally, the sensible curiosity, not of the people, but rather of the 'friends of histories'; skilled in military art, and conversant with Flanders, because they wanted to have a precise account of the situation of this town, of the way the earls of Nassau gained it....*)

Besides specialists, war information also targeted educated readers: in 1637 a Malatesta *avviso*, after the text taken from a gazette, contained a paragraph in Latin (“Extractus litterarum ex Cancilleria Magontinensi”, or “Excerpt from the letters from Mainz’s Chancery”).⁶³ From the same publisher, an account of 1648 events in Bohemia was a little longer than usual (it ran to 20 pages), since it did not aim at offering the news of a single fact, but rather an ample and precise description of all the events that occurred from 26 July to 26 August. Moreover, it was dedicated to an eminent personality (the dedication replaced the coat of arms in the title page), since it could boast a superior complexity, containing several paragraphs in Latin.⁶⁴

The wider public was not neglected by these ‘news complements’, as we might call them, particularly when they had a celebratory character. Not limiting themselves to specialised publics, they tried rather to involve the largest audience possible: some were even composed in dialect, such as the *Bradaineida* and *Navarrineida*, whose mock-heroic titles recalled epics. Printed by the Royal Chamber Press, these two mountebank poems, early examples of *bosinate*, were composed respectively to celebrate the capture of Breda and to make a fool of the pro-French faction (“navarrini”).⁶⁵ Years later a prose work in dialect was composed to celebrate a Spanish victory in Lerida: even if it was

62 *Breve ragguaglio del sito, e positura della villa di Bredà* (Milan, 1625), p. 3; italics mine.

63 *Prosperi successi dell'arme austriache* (Milan, 1637) by Giovanni Battista Malatesta.

64 *Breve ragguaglio della sorpresa di Praga; et altre cose accadute* (Milan, 1649).

65 This genre came to be appreciated in cultivated environments too: Dante Isella, ‘Un accademico della Valle di Blenio: Bernardo Rainoldi’ in *Forme e vicende*, ed. O. Besomi *et al.* (Padua, 1988), pp. 195–209. Andrea da Milano, *Raggionamento fatto in lode di Bredà di Porta Noua. Bradaineida* (Milan, 1625) and *Descors intorna a la resa de Brada, Navarineida* (Milan, 1625).

in Milanese dialect, it was a dialogue between Roman talking statues, Marforio and Pasquino, evidently familiar figures among the Milanese public.⁶⁶

In some cases of partisan publications, it is worth noting that printers sometimes preferred anonymity, which was mainly achieved in two ways: first, and most obviously, by omitting imprints, and secondly by avoiding recognisable layouts, and so releasing pamphlets similar to *avvisi* but without the title pages that were perceived as the recognisable element of the genre.

Same Texts, Different Layouts: Variations of the Formats of News Matter

The broadening of the output of printed news during the seventeenth century did not consist only of offering different products with identical layout. Following a different pattern, printers widened the supply of printed news by introducing variations to the *avviso* layout. These variously fulfilled the need to mark the difference of those texts from standard *avvisi*, or to vary the output in order to provide more appealing products.

So far we have seen the first pattern of differentiation of printed news matter stimulated by the growth in production: that is to say, the conservation of one consolidated format while conveying different typologies of information; the second, by contrast, called for variations to the *avviso* format to broaden the types of printed news output. As a result, while the trend from the mid-sixteenth century was towards standardisation of format, nevertheless the production of non-standard texts continued, in some cases following and updating the patterns that emerged during the sixteenth century, and, in several cases, introducing new kinds of products. Moreover, the increase of news circulation stimulated the production of different kinds of reports that were not reducible to *avviso* format.

In some cases technical constraints contributed to the variations. A title page in folio format takes more space than it does in quarto: this, together with broad margins, was suitable for publishing short sources, which had to be released quickly because of growing competition, without waiting for further news.⁶⁷ In many other cases, however, the reason for adopting the folio format

66 *Discors faa da Marfori e Pasquin sora l'asseddi de Lerida* (Milan, 1647). See Francesco Predari, *Bibliografia enciclopedica Milanese* (Milan, 1857), p. 380.

67 *Relacione della rotta data all'essercito del marescial di Sciatillon* (Alessandria, 1641), reprint of a Milanese edition, bore few lines of text and then only a list of casualties: it was followed by a detailed *Nuova, e piu distinta relatione della vittoria* (Milan, 1641) by the Malatestas. Their *Copia di lettera scritta da Venetia il 19 corrente* (Milan, 1649), in folio, narrates events that followed the battle of Fochies (12 May 1649). The note "19 of this

seems to lie in the will to differentiate the output, introducing catchy title pages to attract attention.⁶⁸ Moreover, the numerous Spanish news pamphlets circulating in Milan, which were typically laid out in folio format with no title page, may have had some influence.

As for the first case, the apparition of serial news may have suggested the need to mark a difference from standard *avvisi*. In Milan this first appeared in the 1630s: in military matters, even without a planned periodical release, the rapid succession of the events of the Thirty Years War and the growing regularity of the reports often made it highly desirable, if not always necessary, to know the previous news: such a situation had paved the way for an explicit seriality of news. The earliest specimen of this kind of *avviso*, published in 1635 by Giovanni Battista Malatesta, was entitled *First account (Prima relatione)*, promptly followed by the *Second*: they adopted an unusual four-pages-in-folio format without title page, probably to emphasise the difference between this text and ordinary *avvisi*, and they adopted the same layout in both issues.⁶⁹ A few months later they also published a *Continuation*, which confirmed its serial nature since the first words of the text: “Doppo l’avisato acquisto fatto da Spagnuoli della piazza di Corbey ...” (“After the already accounted conquest of the stronghold of Corbey by Spaniards ...”).⁷⁰ Later, in 1650, the Malatestas released two pamphlets concerning the capture of the Porto Longone fortress: the first was an *avviso* published in folio reporting the events and the second—having the same format, without title pages—contained the capitulation pacts: in this way they underlined the continuity between the two releases.⁷¹

Sometimes *avvisi* replicated the format of gazettes: although there is no shortage of evidence testifying to mistrust towards gazetteers (“Tutti quelli c’hanno senso commune giudicano, che se quel scritto viene à notitia de superiori del Gazzettiero, non possono di manco, che confinarlo in casa de Pazzi ... e questo si deue alla riputatione de Scrittori publichi”; “Anybody who has common sense consider that, if gazetteer superiors become acquainted with that paper, they cannot help but put him away in a madhouse ... and it is due

month” (probably June) indicates that the pamphlet was conceived for an immediate consumption (within the month).

68 *Relatione breve, e verdadiera de i felici progressi* (Milan, 1636).

69 *Prima- and Seconda relatione del seguito di Fiandra* (Milan, 1635).

70 1636. Adì 24. Settembre. *Continuatione de i felici progressi* (Milan, 1636), fo. iv.

71 *Relatione dell’uscita francesi Porto Longone* (Milan, 1650) and *Capitolatione per la resa di Portolongone* (Milan, 1650). In 1662 in Naples news from Spain had several ‘serial issues’: *Terza relatione diaria del progresso* (Naples, 1662) and *Quarta, e quinta relatione diaria de’ progressi* (Naples, 1662).

to the reputation of public writers") in fact gazettes were occasionally used as sources.⁷² Sometimes the news was incorporated in *avviso* format, but often the printed sheets imitated the layout of the original gazette (no title page, and short paragraphs bearing the place and the date of the original news).⁷³ It seems no coincidence that the earliest Italian printed gazettes appeared around this time: in Milan they were printed by the Malatestas from 28 November 1640 at latest.⁷⁴

If the news was not to appear quickly, it was important that the text should have different appealing features.⁷⁵ Thus, after the siege of Cremona was over, it was reported in a news text of an unusual kind, a synthetic day-by-day account with a few lines dedicated to it each day, which provided a global reconstruction of events. As the author remarked in the preface, the underground manoeuvres did not only make this task very difficult, but also left space for imprecise and unreliable news, which by then were considered fit matter for poetry: "Per essersi lavorato sotto terra ad usanza de topi, pare data più materia a versificatori de poemi, che certezza ad storici di penetrar il vero" ("Since they worked underground, like mice do, it seems that versifiers obtained more material for poems, than historians certainty for penetrating the truth").⁷⁶

The Siege of Vienna and the Explosion of Printed News

In the last decades of the seventeenth century, the siege of Vienna triggered the flourishing of printed news: in that instance printers did not introduce

72 *Relatione delle allegrezze fatte all'Haya in Olanda* (n.p., 1598), fo. 2r.

73 *Relatione della resa di Ruremonda* (Milan, 1637) by G.B. Malatesta, for an example in *avviso* form; for the latter case see for example *Avisi sicuri da piu parti* (Milan, 1635), *Breve racconto di quanto è successo nell'aggiustamento di Napoli* (Milan, 1648), *Dal campo Regio sopra Beresteczko* (Milan, 1651), all by the Malatestas; a couple of Spanish pamphlets by the same printers stand out: *Relacion de varias cosas sucedidas* (Milan, 1632) and *Relacion de lo sucedido Biernes* (Milan, 1650).

74 This gazette, printed by the Malatestas, was released weekly on Wednesdays at least until 28 December 1644. Pierangelo Bellettini, 'Le più antiche gazzette a stampa di Milano (1640) e di Bologna (1642)', *Bibliofilia*, 100.2–3 (1998), pp. 465–94.

75 *La più diffusa, e vera relatione dogn'altra; hauuta di Londra per mezzo di soggetto molto qualificato* (Bologna: C. Zenero, 1649) consisted of 32 pages that accurately described the trial and the execution of Charles Stuart.

76 *Relatione sommaria di quanto è successo sotto Cremona* (Cremona, 1648), fo. iv. It was soon reprinted by the Malatestas (Milan, 1648).

novelties in the patterns of publishing, but rather followed the lines traced during the preceding decades, taking the volume of printed information to an unprecedented level.⁷⁷

Among standardised uniform publications, printers sometimes introduced variations to the layout of the *avviso* to vary the output, probably to extend the appeal to broader audiences. In 1683 the letter by Carlo Mattesilani was published in Milan and several Italian cities respecting the standardised format: eight pages in quarto and a title page with a woodcut (the imperial eagle) and imprint. Instead, in Florence the same text was published in folio with no title page and with the editorial data at the end.⁷⁸ In Mantua the layout of the list of the forces of the Ottoman army was changed.⁷⁹

In 1683, besides numerous eight-page *avvisi*, Marco Antonio Pandolfo Malatesta released a 'daily account' somewhat longer than usual (28 pages).⁸⁰ Later, the abundance of news allowed the Viennese printer Johann van Ghelen to release, in addition to the 'ordinary' *avviso*, a 24-page booklet with accurate first-hand descriptions of the manoeuvres of the defenders. While apologising for the necessary delay to compose and then print the booklet, the printer explained that his work belonged to another category of news, whose chief selling point was not timeliness of publication, but accuracy and detail. Far from being a small-scale experiment, Van Ghelen's publication was quickly reprinted in several Italian cities: since it was not 'breaking news' in Milan it was released folded in small format and even enhanced with "Aggiunta de' felici progressi dell'armi Christiane" ("The addition of the merry progress of the Christian armies"), thus becoming a book of 186 pages.⁸¹

Beyond news, the liberation of Vienna stimulated celebratory publications: in 1683 Malatesta published poems, notable among which was a long one with

77 Mario Infelise, 'The War, the News and the Curious: Military gazettes in Italy', in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabina Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 216–36.

78 *Copia di lettera scritta dal campo sotto Vienna* (Milan, 1683) was printed by Marco Antonio Pandolfo Malatesta; originally published in Bologna (G. Monti), then reprinted in Rome, Milan, Lucca (S. Marescandoli), Forlì (C. Zampa), Piacenza (G. Bazachi), Genoa (G.B. Franchelli) and Florence (alla Condotta).

79 *Distinta relatione della rassegna* was reprinted in Modena, Mantua, Genoa and, without title page, in Bologna (1683).

80 *Relatione diaria di quanto è seguito nell'assedio della città di Vienna* (Milan, 1683).

81 *Relazione compendiosa* (Vienna, 1683), *Relazione compendiosa, e veridica* (Venice, 1684), *Relazione compendiosa, ma veridica* (Bologna, 1684), *Vera relazione del combattimento* (Macerata, 1684), *Narrazione compendiosa, ma veridica* (Milan, 1684).

an *avviso* layout; and since they were released in the same format, the letters of the King of Poland also became “news matter”.⁸²

Then, following the counter-offensive of the Imperial armies after the siege, the regularity of the information stream enabled serial news to flourish and to acquire periodicity as well. In 1684, in Milan Malatesta published a *Giornale dal campo cesareo* (*Journal from Cesar’s Camp*), in a regular *avviso* format (a quarto with title page): though this may have been begun with no fixed seriality in mind, nonetheless it was regularly (re)printed from 10 July to 2 August (at least eight issues were printed, of which three survive).⁸³ The following year, Malatesta released another publication with the same name and format (16 known releases, from 30 June to 15 October); then he repeated the publication of *Giornali* and also of a *Ragguaglio* in 1686 and 1687, without disdaining to reprint a single-sheet *lamento* in verse.⁸⁴ Apart from the numbering, which was reset to one with each new series, those *giornali* can be considered as a continuous exceptional stream of news, which simply paused during winter-time, following the rhythm of the campaigns themselves. Milanese *giornali* suddenly disappeared in 1688, two years before the Venetian prohibition that decreed the eclipse of this kind of news.⁸⁵ By that time, however, the phenomenon of printed information was definitively consolidated and its patterns established.

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- 82 *Vienna assediata dall’armi ottomane* (Milan, 1683); it had been already published in Rome, by Michele Ercole (1683). Malatesta’s *Applauso alla maesta del re di Polonia* (Milan, 1683) was a small manifesto with a sonnet. For the King of Poland’s letters, see *Lettera scritta dalla Sacra Maesta del Re di Polonia alla regina sua consorte* (Milan, 1683), *Copia di lettera scritta dalla maesta del re di Polonia al padre Marco d’Aviano capuccino* (Milan, 1683).
- 83 *Giornale dal campo cesareo sotto Grana li 19. giugno 1684* (Milan, 1684). The title lacked an issue number and declared that it was published as a reply: “Ristampato fedelmente in Milano, con il quale si vede quanto false siano state le notizie disseminate quà il prossimo venerdì scorso, capitate per il Corriere di Bergamo” (“Reprinted accurately in Milan, it shows that the news disseminated here last Friday carried by the Courier of Bergamo is false”).
- 84 *Giornale primo [- decimosesto] dal campo cesareo* (Milan, 1685); *Giornale dal Campo Cesareo* (Milan, 1687), 19 unnumbered issues (11 June–10 November); *Giornale primo [-trigesimonono] dal campo cesareo* (Milan, 1687), 39 issues, 30 March–18 December; *Ragguaglio num. 23 dal campo cesareo* (Milan, 1687) is uncertain, since only one issue is extant (4 November); *Lamento che fa Emerigo Tekeli per esser stato imprigionato in Varadino* (Milan, 1685), already printed in Venice, it was published also in Rome.
- 85 Infelise, ‘War, the News and the Curious’, p. 232.

Elizabethan Diplomatic Networks and the Spread of News

Tracey A. Sowerby

Sir Thomas Smith, Elizabeth I's ambassador in France, wrote to her longest serving secretary, Sir William Cecil, in 1563 that "yf ye did understand and feele the peyne that Ambassadors be in when thei can have no aunswer to ther *lettres* nor intilligence from ther prince, nor hir counsell, ye wold pitie them I assure yow". This pain was particularly acute, Smith went on to explain, when there were worrying rumours, such as those circulating at the French court that Queen Elizabeth was dead or very ill.¹ Smith was far from the only Elizabethan ambassador to highlight the importance of regular news from home. Almost every resident ambassador Elizabeth sent abroad did so at some point during his mission. Practical and financial considerations meant that English ambassadors often had to wait longer than was desirable for domestic news; it was not unusual for ambassadors to go for one or two months without any news from the Queen or her Privy Council. For logistical reasons diplomats posted at courts relatively close to London were more likely to receive more regular information from court than those in more distant courts such as those of the Spanish king or Ottoman Emperor, or who were attached to semi-peripatetic courts. There were financial reasons too: sending a special post from Paris to London and back cost at least £20 in 1566.² But sending news through established postal routes or with other ambassadors' packets, while considerably cheaper, was also much less secure and took longer.³

A lack of news could hinder a diplomat's ability to operate effectively. A letter or news from his own Queen was an excuse to ask for an audience; without either an ambassador might not be able to argue for access to his host monarch and would consequently lose opportunities to assess foreign politicians before

1 TNA, SP 70/64, fo. 40r [J. Stevenson, A.J. Butler and S.C. Lomas, eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth* (London, 1863–1950; 23 vols. in 26) (hereafter *CSPF*), 6: 1292]. All references to *Calendars* are to document, not page numbers.

2 British Library, Additional MS 18764, fo. 1v.

3 On the European postal system in the sixteenth century see E. John B. Allen, *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972); see also Ch. 2, above.

controversial issues arose.⁴ As Sir Thomas Chaloner commented, it was an “advancement to thambassadors reputacion when he hearith often from home, not to sem ignorant in charges that others of the cort shall talke and discourse upon”.⁵ He claimed that not being able to discuss recent English affairs authoritatively with foreign courtiers “gevith cause of despayre” and insisted that “whither it be ought or naught, it is no reason I shuld here thereof at other folkes, and be axed the question of that, that I thincke” and be unable to answer. Not knowing the latest English news, Chaloner opined, undermined his status and raised questions about how much Elizabeth valued her ambassador: he wrote that foreign courtiers believed, as he did, that “I owght partely to understand” domestic news “by expresse letters unlesse I be sent hither rather as an hostage then for an Ambassador”.⁶ Moreover, when an ambassador did receive news, it needed to be current in order to be useful. Chaloner, like other Elizabethan diplomats, was often disappointed with the frequency and quality of information he received from home, complaining that it sometimes arrived in Spain “no lesse stale, then out of Season”.⁷ The need for intelligence from home was particularly acute at moments of political crisis, when any uncertainty over England’s position might encourage interference from overseas powers or suggest that Elizabeth did not trust her proxy. Moreover, as the possession of current information was a sign of political connections and even alliances, an ambassador’s lack of news might signal that his master was politically isolated.

News was essential to the conduct of early modern diplomacy. Yet the role that diplomatic actors and networks played in the spread of news has received surprisingly little scholarly attention. This essay will first use the experiences of Sir Thomas Chaloner, who served as Elizabeth’s ambassador in the Netherlands and Spain during the early years of her reign, to explore the nature and extent of diplomatic information networks, before turning to the role that Chaloner and other Elizabethan ambassadors played in the transnational dissemination of newsletters and news pamphlets.

The personal and professional networks that a diplomat maintained were essential to his access to news and to the role that he played in dispersing it. Chaloner’s networks while ambassador to the court of Philip II between November 1561 and May 1565 are an instructive case study. An ambassador

4 *CSPF*, 5: 435.

5 TNA, SP 70/8, fo. 131v [*CSPF*, 2: 240].

6 TNA, SP 70/40, fo. 259r [*CSPF*, 5: 557].

7 Samuel Haynes, ed., *A Collection of State Papers, Relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1740), p. 383.

could expect to receive news of domestic and international affairs from the Queen and her Council. Chaloner's main sources of official information while on embassy were the letters he received from Cecil, the Queen or the Privy Council. These served both as letters of instruction and as overviews of important domestic and international developments.⁸ Crucially, they were supplemented by letters and news from individual councillors, particularly John Mason, a "frende whom neither troble of writing ne other busyness stayeth from consideraunce of pore mens cases abroad", who wrote to him on a fairly regular basis.⁹

Chaloner relied on Elizabeth's ambassador in France for English and foreign news throughout his mission. Letters from the Privy Council and news from England were sometimes sent via Nicholas Throckmorton, Elizabeth's first resident ambassador in France, giving Throckmorton an opportunity to add his own missives.¹⁰ Most importantly, Throckmorton updated Chaloner on French politics and the volatile religious situation in France.¹¹ Certainly Chaloner felt that he was sufficiently acquainted with French affairs to write an epic poem about the religious struggles in France.¹² As he received regular news from Thomas Randolph, Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland, Throckmorton was often able to inform Chaloner of developments there too.¹³ On several occasions he included information about mercantile matters that Chaloner might encounter.¹⁴ Moreover, when Chaloner was travelling to Spain, he stopped at the French court, which gave him the opportunity to debrief with Throckmorton in person.¹⁵ This was not a one-way flow of information. Chaloner in turn informed Throckmorton of developments in Spain.¹⁶ Just as Chaloner received several packets of letters that had been routed via Throckmorton at the French court, he sent letters to the Queen and

8 *CSPF*, 7: 304, 461.

9 TNA, SP 70/40, fo. 259r [*CPSF*, 5: 557]; BL Cotton MS Vespasian VII, fos. 220r–1r; *CSPF*, 5: 277, 827; 6: 420, 1027, 1098, 1122; 7: 220, 265.

10 *CSPF*, 4: 804, 847.

11 BL Cotton MS Caligula EV, fos. 164r–5r; BL Add Ms 35830, fos. 226r–7r; *CSPF*, 4: 735, 804, 847, 1076; 5: 188, 333, 413, 1466; Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 153/102.

12 *CSPF*, 5: 1309; 6: 545, 547.

13 *CSPF*, 4: 455, 986; Joseph Bain, William K. Boyd, Annie Dunlop, and M.S. Giuseppe, eds., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1603*, 13 vols. in 14 (1898–1969), 2: 15, 23.

14 *CSPF*, 4: 847.

15 *CSPF*, 4: 684, 682, 804, 961, 988.

16 *CSPF*, 4: 678, 708; 804, 847, 1028; 5: 58, 88, 138, 139, 171, 215, 248, 266, 527, 528, 1466; 6: 415; BL Additional MS 35831, fos. 24r–26r; Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 153/99, 201/141.

the Council via Throckmorton.¹⁷ At other times Chaloner sent Throckmorton duplicate copies of his letters, which he expected to be forwarded to Cecil or the Queen, sending another copy by a different postal route, often that through Flanders, giving Throckmorton an opportunity to read the letters before he passed them on.¹⁸ In these instances, sending two copies by different routes served the dual purpose of providing an update to the ambassador at the French court and giving the letters a better chance of arriving at their intended final destination. This correspondence between diplomats ensured that Elizabeth's ambassadors in Spain and France were kept relatively well informed of developments in the other country that might impact on the political situation in that to which they were posted.

All of Chaloner's official sources of news were, however, interrupted by the religious wars in France at one point or another, meaning that some letters took months longer than usual to arrive.¹⁹ As a result, Chaloner frequently complained of a lack of news. When a letter from arrived Peter Osborne, a prominent administrator and old associate of Chaloner's, in March 1562, Chaloner claimed that it was the first letter he had received from England since his arrival at the Spanish court in January from someone other than his servants or family.²⁰ On another occasion he complained that he had not heard any official news from Elizabeth's court for over five months.²¹ He hoped that letters from friends at court might compensate but even Osborne, who was an experienced administrator with court connections, was not viewed by Chaloner as a courtly source of information.²² The lack of news no doubt contrasted with the more frequent updates Chaloner had received on his previous mission to the Netherlands. Another reason he felt the inadequacy so keenly was Philip 11's increasingly expansive news network.²³ This had caused Chaloner some anxiety during his earlier mission to the Netherlands, as Philip's ambassador in England had sent weekly reports to Philip's regent, in contrast to Chaloner's less frequent communications from the English Privy Council.²⁴

17 *CSPF*, 4: 1028; 5: 172, 436.

18 *CSPF*, 4: 1028; 5: 139, 172, 188, 248, 333.

19 On problems with the post see *CSPF*, 5: 46, 58, 336, 433.

20 *CSPF*, 4: 961.

21 *CSPF*, 5: 482. See also *CSPF*, 4: 961, 1018, 1028; 5: 46, 234, 435, 859.

22 *CSPF*, 4: 1028.

23 On Philip's news network see Cristina Borreguero Beltrànin, 'Philip of Spain: The Spider's Web of News and Information', in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 23–50.

24 *CSPF*, 2: 240.

Moreover, Chaloner was acutely aware that some members of Philip's council received regular newsletters from across Europe and that he did not have the resources to compete.²⁵ During Chaloner's embassy in Spain, the situation was worse still. He even commented that he would be like Edmund Bonner, one of Henry VIII's diplomats, who Chaloner claimed had been forced to rely on the Holy Roman Emperor's minister for news from England.²⁶

Chaloner's network of official contacts was supplemented by professional and personal networks. Chaloner communicated with his predecessor in Spain, Thomas Chamberlain, giving him a further source of French and then English news as Chamberlain slowly made his way back to the English court.²⁷ Family, servants, and friends from outside the council and court were useful sources of information, albeit he does not appear to have been in regular contact with many them. His younger brothers John and Francis wrote occasionally, as did his sister Ellen.²⁸ His servant Robert Farnham acted as Chaloner's agent in England, sometimes providing information about domestic developments too.²⁹ William Honnyng, one of the clerks of the signet, was a source of court news and Peter Osborne similarly provided useful information about English politics.³⁰ Chaloner also corresponded with his old friend Henry Killigrew, Nicholas Throckmorton's former secretary and one of Robert Dudley's clients, who was a useful, if infrequent, source of court gossip and rumours about Scottish politics.³¹ Meanwhile, another contact sent Chaloner news of the Queen's progress in 1564.³² Chaloner received letters from such correspondents on an infrequent basis, meaning that they too did not provide him with reliable access to the latest news from home.

Chaloner also relied upon the mercantile community to provide him with information about political, religious and economic developments at home, in Spanish territories, and in the wider world. In some cases, his initial correspondence with merchants was about practicalities such as dealing with the

25 *CPSF*, 2: 385.

26 *CSPF*, 5: 557.

27 *CSPF*, 4: 988, 1076; 5: 154, 221, 278, 436, 508, 1107, 1455.

28 *CSPF*, 4: 961; 5: 257, 392, 706, 1320; 6: 1126, 1138, 1139, 1500.

29 *CSPF*, 5: 154, 172, 189, 273, 460, 721, 1052; 6: 187, 407, 1043, 1071, 1122, 1156. Farnham appears to have been less effective at conveying domestic news than Richard Scudamore, who performed a similar service for Philip Hoby in the reign of Edward VI. On Scudamore see Susan Brigden, 'The Letters of Richard Scudamore to Philip Hoby, September 1549–March 1555', in *Camden Miscellany*, 30 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990), pp. 67–148.

30 *CSPF*, 4: 961, 1008; 5: 829, 1321, 1464; 6: 97; TNA, SP 12/21, fo. 105r.

31 *CSPF*, 5: 539; 6: 871, 1215; 7: 799.

32 *CSPF*, 5: 224.

Spanish Inquisition or how to acquire imported food.³³ Such relationships based on brokerage could turn into more substantive sources of information, as was the case with Chaloner's relationship with John Cuerton, an English merchant based in Spain, who soon became a regular correspondent. In his letters, Cuerton relayed news about England, France, the Netherlands and Spain that he had heard from his mercantile contacts.³⁴ As he had previously been posted in the Netherlands, Chaloner had another potential source of news: the English merchants he had worked alongside or befriended while there. These included Elizabeth's financial agent, Thomas Gresham, and Richard Clough, Gresham's factor in Antwerp. Clough, who had access to *avvisi*, sent news of France, Scotland, the Netherlands, and Italy and even made provision for one of his servants to write to Chaloner when he was unable.³⁵ Stephen Becon, a London merchant who traded in Bilboa and who acted as a courier for Chaloner on several occasions, provided further access to merchants' news.³⁶ In other cases, the merchants who approached the ambassador for help redressing what they perceived to be wrongs done to them by foreign nationals offered information, perhaps envisioning this as a *quid pro quo* for Chaloner's efforts on their behalf.³⁷ Chaloner's position also gave him contacts with English merchants in various Spanish ports which held the potential to turn into hubs in his information network and even provide him with news of extra-European occurrences.³⁸ Their utility in this regard was twofold: they provided intelligence that Chaloner could use at Philip's court and news that he could include in his diplomatic reports.

While news was essential to a diplomat's ability to operate abroad, the acquisition and reporting of foreign news was one of his key functions. Even the rumours he encountered at court might be included in his regular missives home. Ambassadors were, however, keen to give some indication of the quality of the information they provided. Sir Edward Stafford, Elizabeth's ambassador in France for much of the 1580s, for instance, placed marks in the margins of

33 See for example *CSPF*, 4: 963; 5: 155, 180, 196, 200, 234.

34 *CSPF*, 5: 249, 342, 392, 394, 448, 455, 553, 564, 577, 651, 758, 806, 807, 815, 921, 931, 988, 1054, 1075, 1322.

35 *CSPF*, 5: 172, 189, 273, 378, 518, 601, 715, 721, 816, 845, 971, 1192; 6: 182, 183, 249, 420, 669, 673, 1000, 1127, 1189, 1208, 1296, 1331, 1395; 7: 1435. This relationship also had a practical component as Gresham and Clough were often involved in transferring funds to Chaloner.

36 John Roche Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, 46 vols. (London, 1890–1964), 7: 122; *CSPF*, 5: 171, 248, 257, 333, 895, 1311, 1320.

37 *CSPF*, 4: 960; 5: 1456; 6: 1543.

38 *CSPF*, 4: 808, 899, 960, 983; 5: 140, 147, 279; 6: 254, 944, 1465; 7: 86, 499, 630, 649.

some of his letters to indicate which information he had been able to verify.³⁹ Chaloner regularly reported on Spanish affairs to Cecil and the Privy Council, making efforts to highlight which information was considered merely rumour and which he believed was more credible.⁴⁰ Although Chaloner predominantly reported to Cecil, Elizabeth, or the Council, he also wrote to individual councillors, most notably Sir John Mason.⁴¹ Francis Russell, earl of Bedford, Robert Dudley and Nicholas Wotton also received reports and reciprocated.⁴² For Chaloner, as for most Elizabethan ambassadors, it was essential to maintain relationships with individual councillors via individual letters that complemented those sent to Cecil or the Council. These often combined intelligence of foreign affairs with personal business. Chaloner may have sometimes misjudged the balance between information and supplication in his letters to “privat consellers”, as one friend believed that they were not always sufficiently engaged with political developments, advising the ambassador to “inlarge more graver matters ... and let hyt appeare unto them what a minister you be to preserve ye to augmente k[ing] P[hilip’s] amytye”.⁴³

Many of those who wrote about the role of an ambassador, such as Étienne Dolet, recommended that diplomats should have a man who would collect local information for them.⁴⁴ Chaloner had William Phayre, who provided practical services such as arranging for Chaloner’s interviews with the Spanish king and appropriate accommodation during his stays at court.⁴⁵ Phayre also sent Chaloner intelligence from the Spanish court when Chaloner was lodged elsewhere, assuring the ambassador that he wrote “everye daye suche opinions as here are amongst the best sort of embassadoris and such as theye wryte home to ther masters” and so ensured that Chaloner was as apprised of the latest news as his peers.⁴⁶ Phayre was keen to stress that he was not indiscriminately passing on rumours, but was only forwarding news that the other ambassadors believed. Members of Chaloner’s household would have been expected to keep their ears to the ground and to inform the ambassador of any

39 BL, Additional MS 35841, fo. 48r.

40 See for example *CSPF*, 4: 877, 1028; 5: 52, 58, 138, 171, 333, 473, 1307; 6: 553; 7: 831; Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council*, 7: 122, 132–3.

41 *CSPF*, 4: 878, 959, 1018; 5: 262, 406, 557, 827, 1332; 6: 187, 365, 406, 547, 1136, 1332; 7: 463, 596, 833.

42 *CSPF*, 5: 1053, 1308; 6: 248, 554, 1137; 7: 508, 568, 986; BL, Cotton MS Vespasian C VII, fo. 227r.

43 TNA, SP 70/63, fo. 44r [*CSPF*, 6: 1215].

44 James E. Dunlap, trans., ‘Étienne Dolet of Orleans, France’, *American Journal of International Law*, 27 (1933), p. 87.

45 *CSPF*, 5: 1509, 1510, 1511, 1521, 1526, 1528, 1532, 1537; 6: 31, 37, 41, 72, 87, 95; 7: 1028, 1122, 1169.

46 TNA, SP 70/78, fo. 43 [*CSPF*, 7: 1169]. See also *CSPF*, 6: 1511, 1521, 1527, 1536; 6: 31; 7: 344, 1169.

credible news they heard. Several did not stay for the duration of Chaloner's mission; some of these men corresponded with Chaloner after their departure from Spain. For instance Henry Cobham, who had accompanied Chaloner to the Spanish court, became a correspondent after he left Spain in 1562.⁴⁷ In doing so, he was effectively continuing his role as a gatherer of information for the use of the ambassador, but this time as part of the ambassador's wider international network.

All Elizabethan ambassadors had one further key potential source of news: members of their host court. It was widely acknowledged that hospitality obliged guests to share information, something that later diplomatic theorists suggested ambassadors exploit.⁴⁸ Chaloner cultivated links with other ambassadors at Philip's court, particularly his French equivalents. It is clear that he often extracted important tidbits from his peers.⁴⁹ His ability to do so was, however, hampered by the infrequency with which updates from Elizabeth's court arrived, for the importance of domestic news partly lay in the ability it gave an ambassador to exchange information with his peers. When it came to other diplomats' news "he that will know of theirs, must partly commicat his"; it therefore hurt an ambassador's ability to operate effectively when he was "hable to saye leest, by meanes whereof I have the lesse countenance through conference to demande at them of theirre Nouvelles, seinge I cann so smally requite them withe any of owrs".⁵⁰ The same was true with courtiers. Chaloner compared news to financial security, explaining to Cecil that "like as a merchaunt keeping his credite may borowe thrise more then he is wourth, So farith it with an Ambassador who through frequent avises from home, seeming to know somewhat, shall often upon credit come by knowledge of x tymes more then his owne".⁵¹ This was an astute point. If Elizabethan diplomats had no news to trade, their standing at court would soon decline.

Through his official duties Chaloner had fairly regular access to Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, count of Feria, one of Philip's councillors and the king's secretary, Francisco de Erasso, who provided official news.⁵² Chaloner had occasional access to the king's physician Andreas Vesalius and met a range of people at court, such as the banker Meliadus Spinola, who were potential

47 *CSPF*, 5: 884, 923, 986, 1018, 1055; 6: 743, 1071, 1211, 1524.

48 Jean Hotman, *The Ambassador* (London, 1604), sig. G3r-v.

49 See for example *CSPF*, 5: 46, 88, 266, 435, 514; 6: 708, 722, 735, 901, 903, 1034; 7: 93, 494.

50 TNA, SP 70/6, fo.139r; 70/36, fo. 70r [*CSPF*, 1: 1258; 4: 1018].

51 TNA, SP 70/43, fo. 36r [*CSPF*, 5: 859].

52 *CSPF*, 5: 907; 6: 568; 7: 466, 856.

sources of information.⁵³ He also appears to have fostered links with English Catholics in Spain, such as Jane Dormer, countess of Feria, and her ladies.⁵⁴ Other English exiles were part of Chaloner's information network, such as Richard Shelley, a knight of St John and former English diplomat, who was initially a supplicant to Chaloner and a person of interest the ambassador felt obliged to watch but later became an associate and correspondent.⁵⁵

Chaloner complained that "this denne or deserte of Spaine is so farre out of the common trade of avises from all partes, as almost all other ambassadors fynde them selves in my case touching newes from abrode".⁵⁶ *Avvisi* took longer to reach Madrid and were often delayed by the wars in France. Consequently, when newsletters did arrive Chaloner was particularly keen to access them.⁵⁷ Madrid compared poorly to Brussels, an important node in the north European postal network and centre of news, where Chaloner had had frequent access to *avvisi*, which he had included in his reports.⁵⁸ The large number of *avvisi* in the Elizabethan state papers attest to the important role they came to play in English diplomacy.⁵⁹ Other Elizabethan ambassadors similarly acquired *avvisi* for inclusion in their letters home and those stationed in the Netherlands and France were most likely to do so.⁶⁰ Sometimes the embassy secretary copied out or even translated the *avvisi*, on other occasions printed copies were included in the diplomatic packets.⁶¹ Forwarding bought *avvisi* was the most efficient practice as it saved the secretary time and even when the ambassador's budget was tightly stretched, *avvisi* were a relatively affordable commodity. In operating in this way, English ambassadors were acting comparably to their Imperial counterparts who were also important intermediaries in the spread of newsletters across Europe.⁶²

53 *CSPF*, 5: 46, 93; 7: 37.

54 A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II* (London: Burns & Oates, 1963), pp. 99–100; *CSPF*, 4: 877, 960, 988, 1029, 1056; 5: 278, 866, 921, 1455; 6: 517, 749, 925, 1213; 7: 526, 676, 748, 749.

55 BL Harley MS 6990, fo. 7r; *CSPF*, 5: 859, 884, 1097; 6: 1132; 7: 213, 1122.

56 TNA SP 70/37, fo. 137v [*CSPF*, 5: 88].

57 *CPSF*, 5: 413, 557, 1152.

58 *CSPF*, 2: 279, 354, 516, 550, 588, 640, 673, 694. Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 18, 37, 54.

59 See for example *CSPF*, 4: 118, 119, 203, 228, 248, 256, 300, 327, 327, 372, 393, 394, 465, 470, 526, 602, 669, 693, 694, 702, 737, 738, 758, 778, 779, 783, 792, 793, 836, 980, 981.

60 See for example *CSPF*, 12: 199, 396; 13: 535; 14: 157, 494; 16: 179; 17: 93; 18: 20, 122.

61 *CSPF*, 7: 1887, 1897. The majority of newsletters in the State Papers are handwritten.

62 Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik, 'Handwritten Newsletters as Interregional Information Sources in Central and Southeastern Europe', in Dooley, ed., *Dissemination of News*,

Chaloner appears to have appreciated the importance of news to ambassadors long before his Elizabethan embassies, for he requested information to pass on to foreign ambassadors while a clerk of the Privy Council in Edward VI's reign.⁶³ His experience of diplomatic service led him to make several recommendations about Elizabeth's own news network and what he perceived to be "This only error of ours (I meane want of comely advertysementes)". As Elizabeth's religious settlement severed relations with Rome, Chaloner proposed that a trusted man be posted there as a diplomatic agent who could inform the Privy Council of Roman news. He also suggested that Elizabeth invest three hundred pounds per year buying news from abroad as "No prince canne make accompt what to spende or what to spare if he here not how his Neybours procede". This modest investment, he went on to claim, might save Elizabeth one hundred thousand pounds a year on unnecessary military campaigns.⁶⁴

Chaloner believed that ambassadors alone were unlikely to be able to convey news to the Privy Council regularly enough to keep them apprised of developments abroad and his experience highlights that this was, in fact, the case. Consequently, Elizabeth's Privy Council supplemented their network of diplomats with links to agents in a number of cities. John Mason, for instance, received regular newsletters in the 1560s from Niccolò Stopio, a professional newsgatherer in Venice with links to the Venetian chancellery.⁶⁵ Stopio wrote with a clear expectation that his letters would be reciprocated, no doubt hoping for English news that he could include in his newsletters to potentates on the continent.⁶⁶ After Mason's death, Stopio wrote to Cecil instead. Stopio's base in an important news hub gave Mason and then Cecil regular access to the latest information and he often tried to indicate what he thought of the quality of the news he was passing on.⁶⁷ Cecil meanwhile, received weekly

pp. 161, 173; *idem*, 'The Coexistence of Manuscript and Print: Handwritten Newsletters in the Second Century of Print, 1540–1640', in *The Book Triumphant: Print in Translation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*, ed. Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 363, 365.

63 Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1955), p. 56.

64 TNA, SP 70/45, fos. 85v–86r [CSPF, 5: 1097].

65 See CSPF, 4: 392, 464, 484, 501, 545, 675, 701, 913, 973, 890, 927, 1027, 1049; 5: 53, 186, 227, 301, 405, 1442, 1468.

66 CSPF, 4: 701. On Stopio see Mario Infelise, 'From Merchants' Letters to Handwritten Political avvisi: Notes on the Origins of Public Information', in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 41–2.

67 CSPF, 4: 890.

newsletters from John Shers in Italy,⁶⁸ who was himself the recipient of numerous newsletters from another newsgatherer, Marsilio della Croce, when he was not based in Venice.⁶⁹ Shers continued to send Cecil newsletters even when in England or northern Europe.⁷⁰ Such links to professional newsgatherers prefigured, and were not superseded by, key privy councillors such as Cecil and Francis Walsingham establishing links with intelligencers and effectively building overseas spy networks.⁷¹ Contemporaries were keen to distinguish between the honourable gathering of news by ambassadors and their households and the illicit, disruptive activities of intelligencers.⁷² Although Elizabethan ambassadors increasingly had recourse to expend money on “spalls”, they were careful not to be seen engaging spies as this would damage their credit and potentially damage relations with the prince to whom they had been sent.

An individual ambassador’s network was contingent upon several factors, notably where he was posted, his family, his previous professional connections, and his circle of friends.⁷³ Ambassadors benefitted from having highly placed friends and family at home who were well placed to supplement the news being sent by official means with rumours, gossip, and inside information. Contact with the English diaspora was advantageous too, whether that involved links to the mercantile community, scholars studying at foreign universities, religious exiles or a mixture of the three. Where an ambassador was stationed also impacted upon his information network. For most of Elizabeth’s

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- 68 *CSPF*, 4: 202. See for example *CSPF*, 3: 349, 417, 449, 496, 525, 630, 694, 729, 783, 799, 816, 822, 864, 865, 877, 878, 893, 894, 934, 955, 1000, 1023.
- 69 See for example Robert Lemon, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic of the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547–1580*, 7 vols. (London, 1856–71), I Eliz XXIV 46, 49, 52; *CSPF*, 7: 1128, 1840, 1841.
- 70 See for example *CSPF*, 4: 225, 287, 365, 433, 499, 525.
- 71 On Elizabethan spy networks see Alan Haynes, *The Elizabethan Secret Services* (Stroud: The History Press, 2000); Robyn Adams, ‘A Most Secret Service: William Herle and the Circulation of Intelligence’, in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 63–81; Stephen Alford, ‘Some Elizabethan Spies in the Office of Francis Walsingham’, in *ibid.*, pp. 46–62. On the development of European spy networks see Daniel Szechi, ed., *The Dangerous Trade: Spies, Spymasters and the Making of Europe* (Dundee: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).
- 72 Hotman, *Ambassadour*, sig. I4r–v; Thomas Palmer, *An essay of the meanes how to make our traavailes, into forraigne countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606), sigs. B2r–B3v.
- 73 On the importance of personal networks to early modern ambassadors see Christian Windler and Hillard von Thiesen, eds., *Akteure der Aussenbeziehungen: Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2010).

reign, a posting to France necessitated cooperation with diplomats in the Netherlands, Spain, and Scotland, while for a mission to Scotland contact with English ambassadors posted in countries other than France was less crucial. Consequently, while all English diplomatic networks shared some common features they also varied from ambassador to ambassador, even among those posted to the same court. These differences were magnified by the fact that diplomats posted in Brussels or at the French court had access to more active centralised print industries as well as thriving local presses, while those in Scandinavia or Scotland could not utilise the press in the same way. Moreover, as hubs in the European postal network Brussels and Paris were centres of the nascent news industry.⁷⁴

An increasingly important source of news was the foreign press. English ambassadors kept a keen eye on the published works circulating in the countries to which they were posted, not least those works that redounded to the honour or dishonour of their own monarchs. Hence Nicholas Throckmorton was keen to suppress an edition of Henry VIII's *Assertio septem sacramentorum* printed at Lyon in 1561 which had defamatory material about Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, added in a preface written by Gabriel de Sacconaye.⁷⁵ Equally, when tracts were published that derided the English church, Elizabeth's diplomats were keen to argue that they should be suppressed and, if that were not possible, that the English should be allowed to publish their answers to such tracts without hindrance.⁷⁶ Many such books were lengthy polemical and theological works.⁷⁷ But as Elizabeth's reign progressed, her diplomats found that they needed to be increasingly aware of libels and other cheap printed or manuscript material that denigrated the queen, her councillors or her church. Stafford, for instance, was faced with satirical defamatory images of Elizabeth while in France in the 1580s.⁷⁸ Other diplomats had to deal with printed libels and placards aimed at the queen and her military commanders. These were

74 On the comparative size of the printed output of European countries and their book markets see Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 249–69, 357.

75 *CSPF*, 4: 496, 516, 591. *Regis Angliæ Henrici hujus nominis octavi assertio septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum* (Lyon, 1561). The preface was transcribed and sent as a separate document: *CSPF*, 4: 498.

76 See, for example, Thomas Smith's efforts to get Walter Haddon's answer to Hieronymus Orosius printed: *CSPF*, 6: 1463, 1517; 7: 99, 229, 388, or the efforts to suppress Patrick Adamson's *Serenissimi ac Nobilissimi Scotiae, Angliæ, Hyberniæ Principis, Henrici Stuardi invictissimi herois, ac Mariae Reginae amplissimæ filii Genethliacum* (Paris, 1566), *USTC* 158178; *CSPF*, 8: 798.

77 See for example *CSPF*, 4: 833; 15: 670.

78 *CSPF*, 18: 246, 486.

routinely sent to the secretary or council, often with whatever information the ambassador had been able to gather about their circulation.⁷⁹ Diplomats could, in turn, expect to be updated on the Council's efforts against seditious and libellous foreign print.⁸⁰ This meant that the diplomats and the Privy Council often coordinated their efforts against problematic print.

Ambassadors considered much of what was being printed abroad news. Information about the sorts of publications that were available, the contents of particular types of works, and the dissemination of specific items were all deemed sufficiently important to be included in diplomatic reports. Much of the effort of English diplomats to monitor foreign presses, however, focussed on official pronouncements, statements issued by those in opposition to the government, and cheap print and pamphlets about religious and political controversies. The range of works as ambassador might consider newsworthy is illustrated by a packet Thomas Smith relayed to Cecil in October 1563. This included the French ambassador's protestation at the Council of Trent; a book declaring Charles IX's majority, with the remonstrance and accord of the Parlement of Paris on the subject; the 'supplication' of the Guise; a French book on Newhaven; and the Admiral's further answer about the death of the Duke of Guise.⁸¹ So Smith believed that official pronouncements, religious polemics, and news pamphlets would all be of interest to the English government. He was, however, careful to give some sense of the priority Cecil should accord them, indicating that only one was "worth the reading".⁸² For a diplomat, whether a particular publication counted as news depended on the context, usually fitting into one of four categories: items that related to any developments (whether political, religious, economic or social) in the country in which he was stationed that might improve the English privy council's understand of how to conduct their diplomacy with it; items that impacted upon Englishmen who travelled to the country; items that helped the Privy Council understand popular sentiment in the country; and items that might be useful for English domestic purposes.

79 See for example *CSPF*, 23: 485; BL, Cotton MS Galba D X, fo. 49r.

80 BL, Cotton MS Galba D VIII fo. 218r; BL, Cotton MS Galba D IV, fo. 175v.

81 *CSPF*, 6: 1292. The pamphlets were possibly (in order) *La harenque des ambassadeurs du roy de France Charles IX prononcée en Latin au concile general de Trente* (Paris, 1563), USTC 60170; Jean du Tillet, *L'entiere majoritè du tres-chrestien roy Charles IX* (Paris, 1563), USTC 89551; *Response aux presidens et conseillers de sa cour de Parlement de Paris sur la remonstrance faicte à sadicte majesté, concernant la declaration de sa majoritè* (Lyon, 1563), USTC 3859; TNA, SP 70/53, fo. 24r-v (a manuscript); *Discours au vray de la reuction du havre de grace en lobeissance du Roy* (Paris, 1563), USTC 10259; Gaspard de Coligny, *Response a l'interrogatoire qu'on dit avoir este faite a un nommé Jean de Poltrot* (several editions in 1563).

82 TNA, SP 70/64, fo. 40v [*CSPF*, 6: 1292].

Official proclamations, edicts, and ordinances were prominent among the types of news Elizabethan diplomats gathered and relayed. Indeed, Cecil explicitly asked ambassadors to send him official pronouncements and most English ambassadors believed that it was part of their job to procure this information.⁸³ Smith, for instance directly charged members of his household with finding new printed pronouncements.⁸⁴ Perhaps unsurprisingly, his secretary, Henry Middlemore, also forwarded edicts to Cecil.⁸⁵ At times ambassadors were eager to convey official news before a royal edict had been printed. For instance Smith sent a transcript of the declaration of Charles IX's majority from the Register of Rouen as there were not yet any printed copies.⁸⁶ But they were careful to explain the exact status of the items included in their reports. Hence in January 1562, Throckmorton cautioned that the edict he was sending should not be taken as an authorised ordinance, as the Paris Parlement had rejected it.⁸⁷ While such material was predominantly sent to the principal secretary or the Queen, ambassadors often sent duplicate items to other members of Elizabeth's Privy Council.⁸⁸ Ambassadors also often indicated who they believed should be given copies of the texts they procured. Throckmorton, for one, was not shy of instructing Cecil that imprints needed to be brought directly to Elizabeth's attention.⁸⁹

The papers of representative assemblies and councils were of equal interest to those issued solely by royal authority. Ambassadors stationed in Scotland sent copies of bills from the Scottish Parliament in their despatches while those in France often included the edicts of the Paris Parlement and the laws passed by the Estates General.⁹⁰ Throckmorton was so eager to keep his queen informed of developments that he acquired scribal publications issued by groups trying to influence the Paris Parlement.⁹¹ Meanwhile Chaloner passed on copies of propositions made by Philip II to the lords of Aragon in October

83 *Scrinia Ceciliana mysteries of state & government: in letters of the late famous Lord Burghley, and other grand ministers of state, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James, being a further additional supplement of the Cabala* (London, 1663), 127; *CSPF*, 5: 1013; 6: 223, 424, 561, 781; 17: 167, 286.

84 *CSPF*, 5: 1274.

85 *CSPF*, 6: 617.

86 *CSPF*, 6: 1463.

87 *CSPF*, 4: 849.

88 *CSPF*, 6: 561; TNA, SP 70/66, fo. 35v [*CSPF*, 6: 1463].

89 *CSPF*, 5: 67.

90 *CSPF*, 3: 434.; 4: 592; 17: 167.

91 *CSPF*, 4: 374.

1563, allowing Elizabeth and her council to see the process of political negotiation the Spanish king undertook.⁹²

Elizabethan ambassadors included a wide range of printed proclamations and ordinances in their dispatches. Those stationed in France, which had a thriving print industry, sent back larger numbers of official imprints than those based in areas with a less developed print culture. In the second half of the sixteenth century, a large proportion of French royal edicts were printed in Paris and by the provincial presses.⁹³ The edicts sent from France included pronouncements that helped to clarify matters of importance when conveying money to ambassadors or that might be of concern to the English mercantile community such as proclamations that regulated French coinage.⁹⁴ On occasion, they also included public health announcements such as the proclamation setting out how Lyon was to be managed during an outbreak of plague in the city in 1564.⁹⁵ Ordinances of foreign royal households were also considered important, no doubt because they had implications for which courtiers English ambassadors needed to cultivate and because they might contain changes that would impact on court ceremonial.⁹⁶ There is some evidence that newsgatherers also believed that monitoring official print was within their purview. Among the printed pamphlets in the State Papers at The National Archives at Kew is a copy of the printed regulations of the Council of Ten for the government of Venice, which was probably included in the packets of one of William Cecil's regular informants.⁹⁷

Official print that dealt with battles and diplomacy was understandably of considerable interest to English politicians. Many of these concerned military matters, ranging from ordinances about the refortification of border towns to proclamations concerning the musters.⁹⁸ Such information was vital to the English government's own strategic reasoning about any military intervention and the preparedness of any forces they might meet should they do so.

92 *CSPF*, 6: 1337.

93 Andrew Pettegree, *Growth of a Provincial Press in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Reading: University of Reading, 2006), pp. 25–6.

94 *CSPF*, 8: 591. *De par le Roy et les Generaulx des ses monnoyes* (Paris, 1566).

95 *CSPF*, 7: 544. *L'Ordonnance de messieurs les Commissaires depputez par le Roy, pour le faict de la police et santé de la ville de Lyon* (Lyon, 1564), USTC 24403.

96 R. Cecil et al., eds., *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury*, 24 vols. (London 1883–1976), 3: 123.

97 *CSPF*, 13: 975. *Parte presa nell'Eccellentiss-conseglio di X et giunta* (Venice, 1567), USTC 823718.

98 *CSPF*, 8: 891, 797. On the broader interest in military news in Elizabethan England see David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008).

Elizabeth's ambassadors in France forwarded publications detailing the French crown's military victories, such as that at the battle of Dreux in December 1562.⁹⁹ Even more crucial were texts that dealt with military campaigns in which the English were involved. Hence Smith was eager to send proclamations about the French attempts to remove the Huguenots and the English from Le Havre in 1563.¹⁰⁰ Diplomatic events such as declarations of peace or the meeting of the French and Spanish courts at Bayonne in 1565 were also considered newsworthy.¹⁰¹

Official pronouncements concerning heresy and prohibited books were of considerable interest because they indicated the religious tenor of a country. It was important for English merchants and diplomats to know the latest religious regulations in those countries which adhered to a different confession to England if they were to safeguard against accusations of heresy. When Chaloner included the reissue of a 1556 Dutch ordinance against heresy and prohibited books in a letter to the Queen in November 1559, he no doubt did so because it was to have almost immediate effect and because it affirmed the powers of the Spanish Inquisition in the Netherlands.¹⁰² Elizabethan ambassadors in France similarly passed on the various royal edicts that outlined the extent of toleration afforded to the Huguenots.¹⁰³ Accuracy and credibility were key concerns motivating Elizabethan diplomats' mediation of religious news. When the scribally published texts Throckmorton had procured were different from their printed versions, he was eager to send the latest version.¹⁰⁴

Elizabeth's ambassadors reported on the topical news pamphlets available in the cities where they were posted and included such pamphlets in their despatches. Even those posted in countries with a comparatively nascent print industry purchased topical print for the Privy Council. Randolph, for instance, sent Cecil and the Privy Council a range of works from Scotland.¹⁰⁵ Often ambassadors did not specify the exact nature of the print they forwarded the

99 *CSPF*, 5: 1282. *Brief Discours de ce qui est advenu en la bataille donne pres la ville de Dreux* ([Orléans], 1562), USTC 27036.

100 *CSPF*, 6: 720, 753. *Lettres patentes du roy par lesquelles est permis de porter viures au camp & armée* (Paris, 1563), USTC 56335.

101 *CSPF*, 7: 309, 310, 1277. *Brief Discours de la joyeuse entreveve de treshaute & tres excellente Elizabeth de France Roynne Catholique d'Espagne, es environs de la ville de Bayonne* (Paris, 1565), USTC 16236.

102 TNA, SP 70/8, fo. 118v [*CSPF*, 2: 220].

103 See for example *CSPF*, 4: 357; 6: 473; 7: 516; 8: 818, 1878.

104 *CSPF*, 4: 930.

105 *CSPF*, 6: 558; W.K. Boyd, ed., *A Calendar of Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1604* (Edinburgh, 1903), 2: 343; 4: 237.

Cecil and the Council, merely indicating that they were recent imprints.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, they often included such material in the same packets that contained *avvisi* and edicts, suggesting that they did now draw a clear distinction between newsletters and other media that contained information with contemporary resonance.¹⁰⁷ The decision to send topical print was motivated by the need to gather as much information as possible about events and how they were perceived, not the intrinsic quality of the work, as Smith's sending of a book on the troubles in Languedoc, Montpellier, and Nîmes to Cecil demonstrates. Smith believed that "if yt had not a few faultes I would saye yt were worth the reading. Yt lacketh but wit, good order, and truth, nor yt ys not in deede verie good french".¹⁰⁸ Yet Smith sent it anyway. Some ambassadors even forwarded books that they had not read, but believed to have some currency.¹⁰⁹

Printed works that offered insights into political relationships and the status of individual members of the elite were also considered newsworthy by Elizabeth's ambassadors. Hence in 1559 Chaloner sent Cecil a pamphlet which detailed the current Knights and the history of the Burgundian chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece.¹¹⁰ This was no doubt motivated, in part, by Chaloner's knowledge that Cecil was interested in such matters. But the practical information it gave about the membership of the Order was also pertinent. Throckmorton too, believed that new tracts detailing political connections should be brought to the attention of Elizabeth's councillors, sending a book detailing the heraldry and genealogy of the French elite in 1561.¹¹¹ Genealogical works could have broader political resonance, such as the work Henry Cobham included in a packet from France in March 1582, which also detailed Don Antonio's claim to the Portuguese crown.¹¹² Unofficial pamphlets which conveyed military news, understandably, featured prominently among the works brought to the Council's attention. Indicative of the ambitions of ambassadors was a list of books that Smith had instructed his courier to procure for Cecil if they were available: a discourse of the recent wars in Hungary, the history of the wars in Malta, and 'La Guerre Cardinale', a pamphlet about the Cardinal of Lorraine's campaigns.¹¹³ Tracts about the French religious wars could be found

106 See for example *CSPF*, 4: 1044; 5: 735; 6: 169; 18: 20; 122.

107 See for example *CSPF*, 1: 1392; 2: 297, 550.

108 TNA, SP 70/74, fo. 186r-v [*CSPF*, 7: 755].

109 Boyd, ed., *Calendar of Papers Relating to Scotland*, 3: 242; *CSPF*, 19: 930.

110 *CSPF*, 2: 225.

111 This was probably *Alliances genealogiques des rois et princes de Gaule* (Lyon, 1561).

112 *CSPF*, 15: 616.

113 *CSPF*, 7: 1512.

in the packets of every Elizabethan ambassador to France.¹¹⁴ In addition, ambassadors sent cartographic news—maps of sieges, battles and towns where military action was occurring—some of which were printed and others hand drawn.¹¹⁵

Religious controversies and pamphlets detailing the progress of Protestants on the continent featured heavily among the ‘news’ pamphlets Elizabeth’s ambassadors procured. The volatile religious situation in France was of particular interest to English politicians. Throckmorton, for instance, sent Cecil and the Council a range of Huguenot literature including petitions and placards, polemical tracts, and proclamations by the king of Navarre.¹¹⁶ He also sent several anti-Guise tracts, such as the pamphlets published condemning the Guise for the massacre at Vassy.¹¹⁷ As the Guise were a favourite target of Huguenot controversialists, anti-Guise works continued to feature in Elizabethan diplomatic packets.¹¹⁸ For Throckmorton, the value of such pamphlets was the reassurance they gave that the Guise were too preoccupied with their own troubles in France to represent a real threat to Elizabeth.¹¹⁹ Catholic controversial literature, including speeches and pro-Guise tracts, were also considered noteworthy.¹²⁰

Elizabethan ambassadors also sent home short pamphlets of a more sensationalist nature. Several conveyed news of unusual events that contemporaries might be inclined to interpret as signs of god’s providence. Hence in November 1562 Chaloner enclosed a copy of an advice to Philip II in his despatch to Cecil. This told of a fire in the Azores that had devastated one of the islands. Chaloner’s report linked this to a recent earthquake in Madrid that had scared the Franciscans out of their monastery, and a recent monstrous birth.¹²¹ Similarly, in June 1561 Nicholas Throckmorton included a cheap French ‘paper’

114 See for example *CSPF*, 14: 447; 18: 205; Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 162/122.

115 *CSPF*, 2: 550, 5: 841, 842; 6: 131, 223, 225, 239, 1009; 8: 801, 1369. On the importance placed on cartographic news see Peter Barber, “Procure as many as you can and send them over”: Cartographic Espionage and Cartographic Gifts in International Relations, 1460–1760, in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Adams and Cox, pp. 13–29.

116 *CSPF*, 4: 237, 395; 5: 100, 174, 596.

117 See for example *CSPF*, 2: 1082; 3: 34, 67, 234; 4: 1013.

118 Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity During the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 72–6.

119 *CSPF*, 2: 116, 317.

120 *CSPF*, 3: 516, 616; 7: 1108, 1512.

121 TNA, SP 70/45, fos. 82v–3r [*CSPF*, 5: 1097]. The advice was probably *Relacion muy verdadera trayda por Diego Die y Juan Rodriguez y Pedro Morzillo viniendo de sancto Domingo, en la qual se trata del gran fuego y encendio que a avido en una isla llamada el Pico* (Seville, 1562), USTC 346404.

about recent unusual events in Provence in one of his despatches to Cecil.¹²² For Throckmorton, the significance of the work lay not in its sensationalism, but in its potential to affect interpretations of English events. He viewed the strange sights in the context of the destruction of the steeple and roof of St Paul's in London on Corpus Christi eve. In England, this calamity was interpreted in providential terms either as proof that God disfavoured Elizabeth's religious settlement, or as evidence that Englishmen and women were not embracing the settlement and its doctrines with sufficient zeal.¹²³ At the French court and in the paratextual material of one of the French pamphlets on the event it was seen as a providential punishment for Elizabeth's rejection of the papacy and had provoked comparisons between England and Sodom.¹²⁴ But equally strange occurrences in France demonstrated that God was not singling out England.

In many European countries, songs were a means by which news was orally transmitted, while ballads were often reworked to bring them in line with current events. No wonder, then, that some Elizabethan diplomats considered ballads news.¹²⁵ Just as English ambassadors reported libellous pamphlets and satires on English political figures, they appreciated that such defamatory material aimed at foreign politicians was also newsworthy. Pasquils conferred information about the reputation of foreign potentates that might prove useful and to demonstrate the state of popular opinion.¹²⁶ Pasquils had a further advantage: they could become a coded way of referring to actual political developments. Hence in December 1563 Chaloner referred Elizabeth to an Italian pasquinade about Don Luis de Avila that he had included in an earlier missive, suggesting that she infer from this what was occurring in secret.¹²⁷ This concern with popular opinion in other polities explains why some of Elizabeth's ambassadors also believed that prophecies were worth forwarding to the Queen's council.¹²⁸

The Elizabethan regime was not only interested in foreign print for its value as news. It was also keen to know what political and religious print was being produced in case it was in its interests to respond. For instance when

122 TNA, SP 70/27, fo. 61v [CSPF, 4: 267].

123 Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 232–4.

124 *Recit véritable du grand temple et clocher de la cité de Londres, en Angleterre, nommé saint Paul, ruiné et détruit par la foudre du tonnerre* (Lyon, 1561), USTC 37109, suggested that readers should remember Sodom and Gomora when reading about the events in London.

125 Bain *et al.*, eds., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland*, 3: 370.

126 CSPF, 1: 581, 1392; 2: 104, 220, 554, 768; 4: 873; 15: 371, 553.

127 CSPF, 6: 772, 1508.

128 CSPF, 9: 355; 19: 636.

Throckmorton sent Cecil the protestation of Michel de Sèvre, the French ambassador in England, which had been recently printed at Tours, he recommended that Elizabeth's answer should be printed in Latin and French and published in a composite volume with the ambassador's protestation. But, he suggested, the material should be rearranged so that the infractions were placed most prominently in the volume and a preface added to frame the material. Throckmorton paid close attention to the material he was sent, giving Cecil his opinion of Cecil's translations.¹²⁹ His advice appears to have been followed.¹³⁰

Foreign news was also assessed for its potential to shape opinion at home. Lisa Parmelee has demonstrated how Stafford was "the single most demonstrably active supplier of French political propaganda to his government in the 1580s". From his position in Paris, Stafford provided the English government with a steady stream of French imprints, many of which the government found it beneficial to publish in English translation. Parmelee dates the English interest in French print to the wake of the St Bartholomew's Day massacre, meaning that these translations found a ready audience. Pointing to roughly 130 works on the French wars and French pamphlets in English translation that were printed between 1585 and 1595, Parmelee rightly suggests that their appeal was that they were predominantly anti-Guise, anti-Spanish, and anti-Jesuit.¹³¹

An examination of the activities of Elizabethan ambassadors to France reveals that they all performed this very same duty: they all regularly sent back tracts containing news of political and religious events and they often highlighted the political or religious utility that the publication of such works in English might have to the English government. English renderings of many of these works were then printed by presses associated with links to privy councillors. Throckmorton enclosed dozens of topical French imprints in his reports, largely ones that were concerned with the tumultuous religious and political situation in France, several of which were subsequently printed in English translation. Throckmorton played an important role in the decision to translate and publish several of the tracts he procured. In the autumn of 1561

129 *CSPF*, 3: 116.

130 *Response a la protestation faicte par l'ambassadeur du roy tres chrestien de la part du roy son maistre à la royne d'Angleterre* (London, 1560), USTC 76587. This was in response to de Sèvre's *Protestation faicte de la part du Roy Treschrestien: par son ambassadeur resident pres la Royne d'Angletere a sa Majesté, & aux seigneurs de son Conseil. xx. April* (London, 1560), USTC 21645, which was also printed in Orleans, Lyon, and Tours.

131 Lisa Parmelee, 'Printers, Patrons, Readers and Spies: Importation of French Propaganda into Elizabethan England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25 (1994), pp. 853–72, at 857, 863.

Throckmorton explicitly recommended the translation and publication of several printed works arising from the discussions at the Colloquy of Poissy. Throckmorton believed that it would be beneficial to publish a speech delivered by Theodore Beza, a copy of which he included in his despatch of 20 September.¹³² Within a week, Throckmorton was assured that the translation was being undertaken by John Mason, a former English ambassador to France, “who wold needes do it him self”. Throckmorton had recommended its publication not only in England, but also in Scotland, something which was seemingly achieved.¹³³ In November, Throckmorton urged the publication in England of a second oration by Beza, this time his answer to the Cardinal of Lorraine’s speech, in a composite volume with both Beza’s earlier speech and the Cardinal’s “and some of them so pryntyd to be sent into Scotland”.¹³⁴ Not insignificantly, given Throckmorton’s insistence that Beza’s orations should be sent to Scotland, the printer of the Protestant faction in Edinburgh, Robert Lekprevik, printed both Beza’s oration of 26 September, and a compilation tract of Beza’s first oration and declaration.¹³⁵ In his orations, Beza explained his position on the Eucharist and sought to come to an agreement with the Catholics without compromising on doctrine. Such books were useful in demonstrating the potential for religious compromise. Some members of the English embassy in France turned to the translation of contemporary religious-political texts during their service. For instance Jerome Bowes translated Innocent Gentillet’s *An apology or defence for the Christians in France which are of the evangelicall or reformed religion* (1579); it was printed by John Day who had strong links to Cecil.¹³⁶

English ambassadors were instrumental in the wider dissemination of topical pamphlets and political tracts. They frequently circulated works at the

132 CSPF, 4: 518.

133 TNA, SP 70/30, fo. 109v [CSPF, 4: 540]; CSPF, 4: 518. *An oration made by Master Theodore de Beze, minister of the word of God, accompanied with. xi. other ministers and. xx. deputies of the reformed churches of the realme of Fraunce, in the presence of the king* (London, 1562), USTC 505939. *Ane oration made by Master Theodore de Beze, minister of the word of God, accompanied with. xi. other ministers and. xx. deputies of the reformed churches of the realme of Fraunce, in the presence of the king* (Edinburgh, 1562).

134 TNA, SP 70/32, fo. 58v [CSPF, 4: 684]. Throckmorton had sent the cardinal’s oration in an earlier despatch: CSPF, 4: 624.

135 *Ane answer made the fourth day of Septembre* (Edinburgh 1562), USTC 505950; *Ane oration made by Master Theodore de Beze* (Edinburgh, 1561), USTC 505834.

136 On Day’s relationship with Cecil see Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

courts to which they were posted, giving copies to courtiers and potentates.¹³⁷ Moreover, ambassadors were instrumental in the publication of such works overseas. For instance, while serving as Elizabeth's ambassador in France Henry Cobham oversaw the translation into French or Latin of several works and their publication. Among them was a Scottish complaint against Esme Stewart.¹³⁸ English diplomats were also instrumental in encouraging other potentates to spread English propaganda produced to resemble 'news' pamphlets and encouraging foreign rulers to print translations of such works. For instance in September 1585 after Thomas Bodley presented the king of Denmark with a pamphlet about the Parry plot against Elizabeth, the king commissioned the publication of a German translation of the work.¹³⁹ On some occasions, the English government did not want to be directly associated with such texts. So in the case of the pamphlet against Stewart, Cobham distributed the translation to contacts in Paris, Venice, Geneva, and Germany "as pamphlets sent to me out of Flanders".¹⁴⁰ Other ambassadors were equally involved in the surreptitious translation and dissemination of texts that the English government considered useful but from which they publicly wished to retain a degree of distance. In some cases, however, the primary reason for secrecy was a concern for the diplomat's safety. In January 1584, for instance, the diplomatic agent Horatio Pallavicino facilitated an Italian version of a tract that he then helped to disseminate in Italy. But Edward Stafford, who reported to the Privy Council on Pallavicino's progress, stressed that "it must not be known who is the doer" or Pallavicino's life would be in danger.¹⁴¹

Several recent studies have explored various aspects of the intelligence gathering of the Elizabethan state.¹⁴² These have tended to focus on espionage and intelligencers. In other words, they have privileged what contemporaries would have considered dishonourable means of information gathering. While Elizabethan ambassadors increasingly turned to illicit intelligence to supplement their legitimately acquired news in the light of confessional wars, the vast majority of the information they gathered was acquired through open means and formed a core diplomatic activity. At the same time, news provided ambassadors with political currency. They traded it with other diplomats and

137 See for example *Calendar of Papers Relating to Scotland*, 2: 3; *CSPF*, 7: 1030; 9: 2196; 10: 27, 79.

138 *CSPF*, 14: 424.

139 *CSPF*, 20: 14. *Bericht von der Verräterei Willem Parrys* (Copenhagen, 1585), USTC 302803.

140 *CSPF*, 14: 424.

141 *CSPF*, 18: 393.

142 See Stephen Alford, *The Watchers: A Secret History of the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen Lane, 2012); and n. 71 above.

foreign courtiers for political credit. Possessing more recent and more reliable information than other politicians gave them a strategic advantage. Ambassadors were therefore key intermediaries in the transmission of news across Europe. Their letters, while by no means pure newsletters, predominantly recounted recent developments. The other texts that often accompanied diplomatic letters included news pamphlets, *avvisi* and other publications that were considered news. There is a tendency to see diplomats who sent books home as cultural agents engaged in brokerage and patronage, and to some extent this was so.¹⁴³ But we should not forget that forwarding books home was simply part of a diplomat's job. With their privileged access to foreign imprints, they played a fundamental role in the transnational circulation of topical and official print. Moreover, they offered advice on which material should be further disseminated, in what form and to whom. As such, they helped to shape the news, broadly defined, not only in England, but also on the continent.

143 See for example Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Vera Noldus, eds., *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

Time in English Translations of Continental News

Sara Barker

News tells us many things. It tells us what has happened, when and where it happened, and who was involved. It might even try to tell us why particular things have happened. Understanding what news is considered important within a society, what news is allowed, and how that news is exchanged, gets us closer to understanding those societies, both contemporary and historical. Investigations into early modern news also underscore how connected early modern communities were. Complementing traditional oral exchanges and established manuscript networks, stories about events both significant and trivial were written up, printed, read and exchanged across Europe, with hundreds of stories travelling hundreds of miles, crossing territories and language barriers. That people were concerned about how events happening in the wider world would affect them is to be expected. Recent and ongoing research projects have tackled the idea of early modern exchange in various forms, and show that people were highly aware of the shifting nature of their world.¹ More specifically, pamphlets from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries confirm the existence of transnational concerns, particularly about the spiritual fallout of the fragmentation of Christianity. By sharing details of unfolding events and providing a common narrative in which people across a wide geographical area could share, these works gave a sense of collective European identity at a time when earlier shared ideals based around the idea of common faith were disintegrating. Yet international stories were framed in ways that suggest a strong, if not paramount, prioritisation of local and national concerns alongside interest in the international, through the ways in which these narratives were presented to their reading public, such as title-page formatting and selective use of supportive

1 For example 'Sailing into Modernity: Comparative Perspectives on the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century European Economic Transition', <humanities.exeter.ac.uk/history/research/centres/maritime/research/modernity/> [14/2/14], based at the University of Exeter; the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* <www.ustc.ac.uk/> [15/2/14], based at the University of St Andrews; the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue* <www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/culturalcrossroads/> [14/2/14], based at the University of Warwick; and of course, the network from which the present volume derives, the *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* network. <newscom.english.qmul.ac.uk/index.html> [13/2/14].

reading apparatus, including prefaces, notes to the original text as well as interjections in it.

The practical challenges faced by print producers, and how these were presented to the reader, also need to be taken into account when considering the ideological imperatives behind information exchange in the early modern world. International exchange was crucial in early modern news printing, but it was logistically complex. Several elements combined to complicate early modern news exchange, some more intractable than others. English readers received news from all over Europe, at a time when travel was not always simple. It took eight to ten days for a rider to get from Lyon to Paris: the emerging postal services might be able to move a little more quickly, if not dramatically so.² Services between Antwerp and Amsterdam might take three to nine days, depending on the weather, an ambiguity that only became more pronounced when longer distances were involved. Travel was expected to slow down during the winter months, with English postal rates being set at seven miles an hour in summer, but six miles an hour in winter, with any kind of notably bad weather significantly increasing those times.³ Once news had travelled, news producers needed to select and package suitable stories into a sellable product, using the methods discussed throughout this chapter. And of course official regulations about what could and could not be printed as news needed to be adhered to. These practical issues could be dealt with by experienced practitioners with relative ease. Other problems required more imaginative solutions.

The overriding feature of news, both early modern and contemporary, is that it relates to information about current events, events happening now or in the very recent past. News is also expected to be new, to bring in previously unknown details to the consumer. In this respect, it is widely understood that early modern printed news lagged behind its oral and manuscript counterparts in its ability to cover distances at a swift enough pace to remain competitive. Of course, printed news worked with oral and manuscript news and is an excellent example of how early modern print culture did not exist hermetically sealed off from other forms of cultural exchange. Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that the emergent appetite for news in its various forms went hand in hand with a growing awareness of events happening within a universal timeframe in which those concerned—the people reading the stories and the people they were reading about—were common participants, leading

2 Arlette Jouanna, *La France du XVI^e siècle*, 2nd edn (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997), p. 11.

3 These rates seem to have proved to be somewhat ambitious. Henry Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 4.

to an increased awareness of ‘contemporaneity’ within early modern European society.⁴ It is of course useful to know how long it took for an event to become a printed news story, and how quickly news passed between different communities. Such instances as the rapidity with which provincial towns heard of the massacres in Paris in August 1572 or the three days it took Sir Robert Carey to ride the four hundred miles from London to Edinburgh to inform James VI of the death of Elizabeth I are more than interesting anecdotes in an age of rapid transit travel, as such information exchanges had wide-ranging political and social consequences.⁵ Comparing dates and working out rates of travel does not explain where news producers thought their product fitted in amongst the other kinds of news available to consumers, or how it was to remain distinctive yet indispensable to consumers, particularly in the pre-periodical era. If we are to understand the technicalities of early modern news production, we need to consider how duration and chronology were explained to readers, in order to understand how the barriers between news and history developed.

This chapter explores both the shared understandings and the cultural and functional differences that international news accentuated by examining one particular factor: the representation of time from the mid sixteenth century to the 1620s in English occasional news pamphlets about events on the continent, primarily translations of pre-existing foreign pamphlets.⁶ Whilst time was a universal experience, how it was experienced was highly individual. Trying to capture time in a news pamphlet only served to demonstrate how much of European society was in a state of flux.

4 Brendan Dooley, ed., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

5 The evidence from the various letters sent by Charles IX to his provincial lieutenants shows the king reacting to news coming back him about actions taken in response to his previous letters, all over a matter of a few days. Genevans first heard about the massacre on the evening of 29 August, with the first refugees appearing soon after. Antoine de Chandieu, for example, reached Geneva on 5 September, having heard the news in Lyon, and travelling over the Alps, presumably taking precautions to avoid detection. Philip Benedict, ‘The Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre in the Provinces’, *Historical Journal*, 21.2 (1978), pp. 205–25. Auguste Bernus, ‘Le Ministre Antoine de Chandieu d’après son journal autographe (1534–1591)’, *Bulletin de la société d’histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 38 (1888), pp. 393–5. On Sir Robert Carey, see Daniel Woolf, ‘News, History and the Construction of the Present in Early Modern England’, in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 80–118, at 84–5.

6 The research discussed here is based on data gathered initially as part of the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* Project, which identified several hundred translations of news and current events related printing in early modern England.

Understanding Time in Early Modern Europe

Early modern people were living in a clash of times. They enjoyed a complex inheritance which blended classical models, in which time was understood as cyclical, and traditional Christian conceptualisations, by which time was both identified with human history and limited by God's great acts on earth—notably the Creation, the Incarnation, and (finally) the Last Judgement—and with the infinite time connected to God's being, stretching beyond the End of Days into eternity. People were expected to shift between these two modes of thinking relatively seamlessly, as well as taking into account their own quotidian experiences. Further conceptual developments had emerged over the course of the medieval period. Where once Time had mainly been measured in terms of the dictates of the natural world—day turning to night, the changing seasons, the demands of the agricultural year—increasing emphasis was put upon time as a measurable commodity.⁷ This was borne out by the era's technical developments. Bells which had chimed the hours of prayer increasingly told listeners the timetables of work and trade, as well as reminding them of their religious obligations, with people became more accustomed to dividing up the day in terms of hours.⁸ These kinds of notations are visible in the various genres of news accounts available in the early modern period. Describing the bombardment of a church during Henri IV's siege of Noyon, it was noted that the canon "played upon it from morning untill three of the clocke in the after noone".⁹ Reporting the taking of Steenwijk in 1592, clock time was used to note the siege's start, the duration of a bombardment "beginning at foure of the clocke in the morning and continuing till nine" and a night-time sortie launched against the besiegers.¹⁰ When the usurer George Rolet was eaten

7 Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), particularly 'Merchant's Time and Church's Time in the Middle Ages'. See also Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) and Anthony F. Aveni, *Empires of Time: Calendars, Clocks and Cultures* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1990).

8 Robert Mandrou, *Introduction à la France moderne (1500–1640): Essai de Psychologie historique* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1961), pp. 95–8. Carlo M. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture 1300–1700*, new edition with introduction by Anthony Grafton (London & New York: Norton, 2003). David S. Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press, 1983).

9 *A True Declaration of the Honorable Victorie obtained by the French King in winning of Noyan* (London, 1591), sig. B1r–v, USTC 511743.

10 *A True declaration of the straight sledge laide to the Cytty of Steenwich* (London, 1592), sigs. A2v, B1r, B1v, USTC 512256.

alive by rats near Aix-en-Provence in 1606, it was noted that “he died the second of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1606, about foure of the clocke in the afternoon”.¹¹ One account of the assassination of Henri IV told readers that Henri set out on his fateful journey at “about three of the clocke in the after noone”.¹² In *The True Description of the Execution of Justice, done in the Gravenhage, by the Counsell of the Generall States holden for the same purpose, upon Sir John van Olden Barnavelt*, not only did the title page carry the information that the execution was carried out “at ten of the Clocke in the morning”, but the account itself noted that Van Oldenbarnevelt delivered a scaffold-side speech to at least two thousand people “after hee had prayed upon his knees for the space of one quarter of an houre”.¹³ In including these kinds of details, news writers followed precedents laid down by medieval chroniclers, who began to note the hours of events in their narratives around the time that public clocks began to be seen in European cities. Important happenings such as births and deaths of notable people, natural phenomena, battles and political events were all increasingly noted in chronicles in terms of hours of the day by the fourteenth century, a fashion that continued into the printed news era.¹⁴

The early modern era had to deal with the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar, correcting a drift from ‘real time’. The original roman computations had rendered the year eleven minutes and fourteen seconds too long, which had a significant impact of the celebration of Easter. Several attempts to correct the discrepancy failed, before Pope Gregory XIII put in motion a conclusive plan for calendar reform in 1582.¹⁵ This was implemented in different countries at different times, guided largely by local religious sensibilities: Italy, Spain, France and Portugal made the switch in 1582, with other territories following suit throughout the 1580s (Prussia and Flanders in 1583, Poland in 1586 and Hungary in 1587). Protestant territories did not change their calendars until much later, often not until the eighteenth century, so for

11 *A Spectacle for Usurers* (London, 1606), sig. A4r.

12 *A Lamentable Discourse, upon The paricide and bloody assassination: committed on the Person of Henry the Fourth (of famous memory) King of France and Navarre* (London, 1610), sig. A3v.

13 *The True Description of the Execution of Justice, Done in the Gravenhage, by the Counsell of the Generall States holden for the same purpose, upon Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* (London, 1619), sig. A2r.

14 Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 220.

15 Jennifer Powell McNutt, ‘Hesitant Steps: Acceptance of the Gregorian Calendar in Eighteenth Century Geneva’, *Church History*, 75:3 (2006), pp. 544–64.

over a century, people were living not simply in different time zones, but at different points in Christian history.¹⁶ The switch was not simple. There were debates over the mathematical reasoning behind the calendar change, and discussions over the Catholic Church's authority and motivation for leading the change. Several commentators even argued that given the imminence of the Apocalypse, such modifications were really little more than window-dressing. Where Catholics and Protestants lived in close proximity, as they did in parts of Germany and Austria, the calendar change was yet another example of how Protestants and Catholics lived their lives according to different rules and priorities, and, as it turned out, on different days. All levels of daily life became highly confessionalised, from whether or not one observed dietary regulation on Fridays, to when Friday really was, to when Christmas actually fell.¹⁷ Such time differences might even have been a factor in winning or losing on the battlefield.¹⁸ The calendar change also caused confusion for people corresponding with, and reading news about, people operating in different 'time zones'. Generations of students and scholars have been faced by the English reply to a continental letter seemingly responding before the initial letter could possibly have been delivered. Further dating confusion is caused by the tradition in some parts of Europe of dating the year from Easter, a practice that began to shift in the sixteenth century, while the English New Year fell on Lady Day (25 March).¹⁹ What for the modern reader is a potential pitfall carried

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- 16 A helpful guide to the various calendar changes can be found at: <www.nottingham.ac.uk/ManuscriptsandSpecialCollections/researchguidance/datingdocuments/juliangregorian.aspx> [9/04/15].
- 17 Rona Johnston Gordon, 'Controlling Time in the Hapsburg Lands: The Introduction of the Gregorian Calendar in Austria below the Enns', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 40 (2009), pp. 28–36.
- 18 Hiram Morgan has suggested that the outcome of the Battle of Kinsale at the end of the Nine Years War was in fact down to the fact that the opposing armies were, to all intents and purposes, fighting on different days. The Spanish and Irish contingents were fighting in the new year, on 3 January 1602, after the celebrations for Christmas and New Year. The opposing English, however, were fighting on 24 December of the previous year, and as such were anticipating their Christmas dinner, rather than experiencing a January slump. Hiram Morgan, 'The Pope's new invention: the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in Ireland, 1583–1782', unpublished paper cited by Brendan Dooley, 'Introduction', in *Dissemination of News*, pp. 1–19, at 6.
- 19 For example, in France the year began on Easter Sunday. Events happening in January 1563 would still carry the year 1562 until Easter. 1 January became the starting point of the year in 1564. The ensuing complications are frequently addressed by historians in the preliminary materials to monographs.

serious ideological weight at the time of composition, something of which news producers were well aware.²⁰

Representing Time in News

Readers' chronological impressions of the news were formed from the first moments of their engagement with a pamphlet. Chronological pointers about the content and the production of the pamphlet were customarily addressed on the title page, directly in that they often featured dates, indirectly through other qualifiers. The complexity of title page design suggests that producers were highly aware of the power that these spaces had over potential purchasers and readers. Whilst this consideration was important for all kinds of books, in the context of news production, the delicate balance needed to achieve a desirable product is even more evident. The inclusion of the year of publication on the title page, typically included alongside the details of the printer and their location, automatically gave readers a temporal grounding. Whilst the inclusion of these details undoubtedly owed much to stylistic convention, in the context of international news publication, the relatively prominent position of the year as the final detail on the title page—often the only numerical element in this highly visible section and conventionally found at the end of a line—served as an extra clarification that the news was not outdated. So established as to be almost ubiquitous, the effectiveness of this temporal signifier becomes readily apparent when the numbers appear not to add up, as in *Newes out of Germanie*, printed in London in 1612, but noted on the title page as having its origins in a French pamphlet of the previous year.²¹ In the case of *Good Newes from Florence: Of a Famous Victorie Obtained against the Turkes in May last 1613. by both Sea and Land*, additional information on the title page suggests why that version took so long to be produced, as it had been 'Translated faithfully into English out of the French copie, printed with priviledge at Paris and taken out of the Italian discourse printed at Florence'.²²

20 Changing the calendar was also of course an act of control over multiple facets of people's lives, something which has been explored in the modern colonial context. Giordano Nanni, *The Colonisation of Time: Ritual, Routine and Resistance in the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

21 *Newes out of Germanie. Or The surprizing of the Citie of Prage by the Arch-duke Leopold, and what there passed in the moneths of February and March last* (London, 1612).

22 *Good Newes from Florence: Of a Famous Victorie Obtained against the Turkes in May last 1613. by both Sea and Land* (London, 1614).

That such discrepancies are so distinct results from another commonplace of news printing, the inclusion of dating materials within the extended title. Dates of some form routinely appear within the titles of news works, either giving a clear reference to the date of one specific event, placing an event within a wider ongoing situation in which the occurrence under discussion is only one element, or by introducing multiple events together as part of an ongoing narrative. The vast majority of these indicators replicate the date given with the imprint. The frequency with which such details are clarified, by referring to “May last 1613” and underscoring that particular story’s long journey to the present copy in the example cited above, or by reminding the reader that these events had occurred in “this present year” or the like, suggests that this was more than a simple reportage of information.²³ Titles were deliberately constructed to make readers think about exactly when events had happened or to make them recognise that they were still happening. Partly this can be explained by the bookseller’s wish to reiterate how current the news was. In the account of the Archbishop of Cologne’s proclamation and edict, the date for the initial event, the proclamation, is given as 1583, halfway down the title page, in a separate paragraph, and clarified within the pamphlet as happening on 16 January. This is swiftly followed in the next paragraph by a reference to the original pamphlet from which this translation was made; a version printed in Antwerp, with the year repeated, 1583. Finally, the reader is given a date for the printing of the English translation, 18 March 1583. The sense that this is up to date is clear. The timing of the event was made to work with the usual apparatus of the pamphlet’s publication in order to convey a sense of the present.²⁴

Unsurprisingly, the most common form of time notation within titles was in the form of a reference to the date of the event being reported. At the most basic level, this could simply record the year of the event in question, as in *Letters sent from Venice. ANNO. 1571*, which gives an account of the battle of Lepanto or in *A Discourse of that which happened in the battell fought betweene the two Navies of Spaine and Portugall, at the Ilands of the Azores. Anno Dom. 1582.*, which outlined the events of the Battle of Ponta Delgarda during the Portuguese succession crisis of the early 1580s.²⁵ Accounts of

23 As in *Newes from France. Or A relation of a marvellous and fearfull accident of a disaster, which happened at Paris the seventh day of March, this present yeare of 1618, where by meanes of a terrible fire, all the Pallace was burnt and consumed* (London, 1618).

24 *The Proclamation and Edict of the Archbyshop, and Prince Elector of Culleyn* (London, 1583), USTC 509756.

25 *Letters sent from Venice. Anno. 1571* (London, 1571?), USTC 507369; *A Discourse of that which happened in the battell fought betweene the two Navies of Spaine and Portugall, at the Ilands of the Azores. Anno Dom. 1582* (London, 1583?), USTC 509676.

military encounters, a news mainstay, were typically introduced with a clear indication of the date:

A True Report of the yeelding up of the Cittie of Antwarpe, unto the Prince of Parma, which was on the seaventeenth day of August last past. 1585.²⁶

A Briefe discourse of the merveyulous victorie gotten by the King of Navarre, against those of the holy League, on the twentieth of October. 1587.²⁷

The Overthrow of the most part of the Prince of Parma his forces, both horse and foote. Performed on the twelfth and fifteenth of July last, by the Grave Maurice his Excellencie, Generall of the Armies in the Lowe Countries.²⁸

The honorable Victorie obtained by Grave Maurice his Excellencie, against the Cittie of Rhyne-berg, the 20. of August. 1597.²⁹

In other examples, a date is included as part of the general information given on the title page, but not as part of the initial title. The reasons for deferring the date inclusion tend to relate to practical issues about constructing the pamphlet, rather than any ideological issues. Thus, on the title page of the clearly detail-focused *A Large and True Discourse, wherein in set fourth all the circumstances, in what manner all the sixe great Gallies (sent out of Spayne into the Low Countries) are destroyed, forced, and runne on ground, how they were called, what Captaines and Gouvernours commaunded, the number of Souldiers, Ordnance and Slaves: what ships of warre of ours did stemme and sailed over them, and also what number of their people were saved*, it is only in the next paragraph that a date is given, and that relates to the production of the account, rather than the events being discussed: "All written aboard the ship of Captaine Gerrit Evertson, in the presence of Captaine Jacob Micheelson, Captaine Corneles Veytson, Captaine Cleinsorghe and others, the seventh day of October 1602".³⁰

26 *A True Report of the yeelding up of the Cittie of Antwarpe, unto the Prince of Parma, which was on the seaventeenth day of August last past. 1585* (Amsterdam, [1585?]), USTC 426484.

27 *A Briefe discourse of the merveyulous victorie gotten by the King of Navarre, against those of the holy League, on the twentieth of October. 1587* (London, 1587), USTC 510795.

28 *The Ouerthrow of the most part of the Prince of Parma his forces, both horse and foote. Performed on the twelfth and fifteenth of July last, by the Grave Maurice his Excellencie, Generall of the Armies in the Lowe Countries* (London, 1591), USTC 511746.

29 *The honorable Victorie obtained by Grave Maurice his Excellencie, against the Cittie of Rhyne-berg, the 20. of August. 1597* (London, 1597), USTC 513431.

30 *A Large and True Discourse, wherein in set fourth all the circumstances, in what manner all the sixe great Gallies (sent out of Spayne into the Low Countries) are destroyed, forced, and runne on ground* (London, [1602]).

In *A Most Excellent exploit performed by Monsieur de Diguieres, the French Kinges Lieutenant, upon the Popes Armie which was under the conduct of Earle Hercules the Popes Nephew*, the title page's chronological explanations match the format of the text. The reader is told that the "exploit" in question—Lesdiguière's encounter with Ercole Sfondrati, Duke of Montemarçiano near Grenoble in September 1591—will be accompanied with "A Discourse of the overthrow of the Duke of Savoyes army defeated by the Lord de Diguieres, in the plaine of Pont-Charra, near to Castle Bayard, in the vale of Guesiuodan the eighteenth of September 1591". The clash between Lesdiguière and Montemarçiano is dealt with swiftly, before a second section addresses the actions of the King's own army, "A discovery uppon such accidents as have happened in the French King his army, sithence the first day of October, untill the fifte of the same moneth" (sigs. A2v–4v). The account of Lesdiguière's victory over the Duke of Savoy has its own title page at B1r, which reiterates the dating information given on A1r.³¹ *Newes from France*, a letter-based pamphlet describing the same events, is even more direct in its approach:

Newes from France. Where Monsieur de Signiers in the Kings behalfe, most bravely discomfited the Armie of the King of Spaine, and the Pope, consisting of ten thousand strong, being Neapolitans, Spaniards, Savoians and Burgonians. With the taking of fifteene Ensignes, the number that were slaine, and how many were taken prisoners, which Armie was sent to surprize Languedock and Grenoble. This happened the 18. of September. 1591.³²

These examples suggest that if a date was not immediately forthcoming for the title of this kind of pamphlet, book producers would happily appropriate dating apparatus from other parts of the work.

Of course, determining the date of a given event could be quite tricky, given the continuing ambiguities over the start of the year and the calendar. In fact, given the drama of the calendar change, it is perhaps surprising pamphlet producers managed to deal with this relatively painlessly. This was mainly a concern when news crossed between cultures operating in the different calendars—after 1583, news from France and the Catholic Low Countries in England would be

31 *A Most Excellent exploit performed by Monsieur de Diguieres, the French Kinges Lieutenant, upon the Popes Armie which was under the conduct of Earle Hercules the Popes Nephew* (London, 1591), USTC 511715. See also Jean-Denis Long, *La Reforme et les guerres de religion en Dauphiné de 1560 à l'edit de Nantes* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1970).

32 *Newes from France* (London, [1591]), USTC 511740.

coming from the future, so to speak. The simplest way of addressing the issue was to note that the date of the original event or work was being given in the new style, using the term *Stilo Nuovo* or an equivalent:

A Short and True Discourse for satisfying all those who not knowing the truth, speake indiscreetly of hir most excellent Majestie, of the Lord Willughby Governour of hir Majesties succours in the united Provinces of the Low countries, and of all the English nation: by occasion of a strange placcat [sic] of the 17. of April 1589. the new stile, put forth by certaine persons (as is said) under the name of the Generall States of those united Provinces.³³

The French Kings declaration against the Dukes of Vendosme and Mayenne, The Marschall of Bouillon, the Marques of Coeurre, the President le Jay, and all who assist them. Verified in the Court of Parlement the 13. of February. 1617. Stilo Novo.³⁴

The True description of the Execution of Justice, done in the Gravenhage, by the Counsell of the Generall States holden for the same purpose, upon Sir John van Olden Barnavelt. Against whom the said states purposely thereunto appointed, did worthily pronounce sentence of death according to his deserts: which was executed upon the third day of May, 1619. Stilo Novo. at ten of the Clocke in the morning ...³⁵

A rather more loaded alternative was to underscore the difference by drawing attention to the reason why there were different calendars in operation, or at least to highlight the authority behind the recent shift:

A letter sent by the French King unto Monsieur de la Verune Liefetenant for his Majestie at Caen in Normandie, concerning the most happy victory which he obtained against the Leaguers and Rebels in his Kingdome, upon the 14. daie of March last past, according to the Romane computation.³⁶

33 *A Short and True Discourse for satisfying all those who not knowing the truth, speake indiscreetly of hir most excellent Majestie* ([London], 1589), USTC 511366.

34 *The French Kings declaration against the Dukes of Vendosme and Mayenne, The Marschall of Bouillon, the Marques of Coeurre, the President le Jay, and all who assist them* (London, 1617).

35 *The True Description of the Execution of Justice*.

36 *A letter sent by the French King unto Monsieur de la Verune Liefetenant for his Majestie at Caen in Normandie* (London, 1590), USTC 511436.

The True Coppie of a Letter, written from the Leager by Arnham, the 27. day of July, according to the Computation of the Church of Rome.³⁷

The True Coppy of a certaine Letter written from Sluce the 12. of June 1606. (according to theyr Computation) ...³⁸

This last case is relatively ambiguous, simply acknowledging the differences, rather than attributing responsibility to the Catholic Church, as the previous examples do. Some pamphlets demonstrate a more direct recognition of the difference according to country. The following examples from 1592, a particularly fruitful year for English translations and accounts of French news, show the subtle differences:

A Discourse of that which is past, since the kings departure from Gouy, to pursue the prince of Parma: even til the first of May. 1592. The last letters therof came on the fourth of the same month according to the English computation.³⁹

A Journall, wherein is truely sette downe from day to day, what was doone, and worthy of noting in both the Armies, from the last coming of the D. of Parma into Fraunce, untill the eighteenth of May 1592, according to the French computation.⁴⁰

These pamphlets essentially mirror each other, with the *Journall's* scope noted as being up to 18 May "according to the French computation", and the *Discourse* giving the date of the last letters "according to the English computation". These are both from the presses of John Wolfe, an experienced printer of this kind of material, and given that these two pamphlets would have been produced very close together, the distinction is all the more intriguing. The reason for the differentiation is not immediately clear, although the *Journall* announced itself as a translation on the title page, whereas the *Discourse* did not. Wolfe's customers presumably expected translated materials to come with their dates 'translated' as well, whereas English works about France could use English dating, but were expected to clarify the discrepancies. Nonetheless,

37 *The True Coppie of a Letter, written from the Leager by Arnham, the 27. day of July* (London, 1591), USTC 511735.

38 *The True Coppy of a certaine Letter written from Sluce the 12. of June 1606* (London, 1606).

39 *A Discourse of that which is past, since the kings departure from Gouy, to pursue the prince of Parma: even til the first of May. 1592* (London, 1592), USTC 512027.

40 *A Journall, wherein is truely sette downe from day to day, what was doone, and worthy of noting in both the Armies* (London, 1592), USTC 512032.

date differentiation was clearly needed, and catered to. The distinction could also be made within the text. *The Overthrow of the most part of the Prince of Parma his forces*, describes one of the Prince's attacks happening "upon Monday being the 12 day of July last past after our English computation".⁴¹ The exact differences might also be laid out, as when announcing Ambrogio Spinola's arrival at Aachen in 1614, noted as being on "twentyth of *August* last, in this present yere, 1614. according to the *Romain* computation, and the fifteenth of *August* in our account".⁴²

Attributing a date to the events being discussed was therefore an integral expectation of such publications. It could testify to the pamphlet's relevance, as well as highlighting the factual content contained within its pages. However, immediacy was but one factor in understanding a given event's relevance to an audience. Longer divisions of time are also referred to in news pamphlets. There is much evidence to suggest that readers were understood to see individual events as bring part of an ongoing story, and other instances of title page dating were designed to position the news within this broader history. In *The Kinges Edict or decree upon the pacification of the troubles of his Realme* of 1568, the edict of the title is noted as "conteyning also the confirmation of another like Edict", that of Amboise which had ended the first active phase of the French religious wars in 1563.⁴³ The brief aside to the former date quickly and neatly establishes this current edict's context, before the reader is pulled back to the present with the advertisement of extra material in the pamphlet, the requests made by the protestants, and reminded that this has been "nowe translated" out of the French. More typically, the title made reference to a range of dates or indicated an ongoing situation, either one that had passed or one that was still ongoing. In *A True Report of all the proceedings of Grave Mauris before the Towne of Bercke*, the reader is given a time range for the siege, from 12 June 1601 to the town's surrender on 30 July, and a hint of subsequent actions, the conditions agreed upon by the governor and Maurice. Pinning the ongoing situation to one or more stated dates was a particularly common approach:

41 *The Overthrow of the most part of the Prince of Parma his forces*, sig. A4v.

42 *The Wars in Germany, With the taking of the severall townes by the Marquesse Spynola* (London, 1614), sig. A3v.

43 *The Kinges Edict or decree upon the pacification of the troubles of his Realme* ([London], 1568), USTC 506783. The Edict of Amboise is dated to "the xix. day of March 1562" because of the change in when the year was understood to start. The text of the 1563 edict is included in the edition.

A letter written by the King of Navarr, to the three estates of Fraunce: Containing a most lively description of the discommodities and dangers of civill warre: and a very forcible perswasion to obedience, unitie, and peace. Together with a breefe declaration upon the matters happened in Fraunce sithence the 23. day of December, 1588.⁴⁴

A Journall, wherein is truely sette downe from day to day, what was doone, and worthy of noting in both the Armies, from the last coming of the D. of Parma into Fraunce, untill the eighteenth of May 1592, according to the French computation.⁴⁵

A True Discourse of the most happy victories obtayned by the French King, against the Rebels and enemies of his Majesty. With a particular declaration of all that hath beene done betweene the two Armies, during the monthes of September and October, and part of November. 1589.⁴⁶

A Dialogue and complaint made upon the siegde of Oastend ... Also a true discourse of that which is hapned in the same towne of Oastend, from the fourth day of the moneth of February 1602.⁴⁷

A Wonderfull and most Lamentable Declaration of the great hurt done, and mighty losse sustained by Fire that hapned: and mighty stormes of Winde, Thunder, Lightning, Haile, and Raine, with Inundations of Water, that fell in the Towne of Errford and Weinmar ... In the Month of May, but much more in the month of June last past, Anno, 1613.⁴⁸

Other stories might be a little less definite in terms of precision dating, but they still managed to strike a balance between event and ongoing situation:

A Recitall of that which hath happened in the Kings Armie, since the taking of the Suburbes of Paris, untill the taking of the Towne of Humflet.⁴⁹

44 *A letter written by the King of Navarr, to the three estates of Fraunce* (London, 1589), USTC 511307.

45 *A Journall, wherein is truely sette downe from day to day, what was doone, and worthy of noting in both the Armies.*

46 *A True Discourse of the most happy victories obtayned by the French King, against the Rebels and enemies of his Majesty* (London, 1589), USTC 511370.

47 *A Dialogue and complaint made upon the siegde of Oastend, made by the King of Spaine, the Archduke, the Infanta, the Pope, the Prince Morrice, and the eldest sonne of Savoye* (London, 1602).

48 *A Wonderfull and most Lamentable Declaration of the great hurt done, and mighty losse sustained by Fire that hapned* (London, 1613).

49 *A Recitall of that which hath happened in the Kings Armie, since the taking of the Suburbes of Paris, untill the taking of the Towne of Humflet* (London, 1590), USTC 511431.

Newes out of Cleave-land: Being the true relation of the taking in of the towne and castle of Gulicke in Germanie, with the articles of peace there concluded and agreed upon. As also the services and fights, performed while the siege lasted.⁵⁰

A True Recital of those things that have been done in the Court of Fraunce, since the death of the Marshall d'Ancre, untill the departure of the Queene mother from the King.⁵¹

The title page typically displays time in terms of a single dated event, or episodically, as a series of events, possibly ongoing. Many of the pamphlets include postscripts or hastily added-in material from letters just received. *A Discourse of that which is past, since the kings departure from Gouy, to pursue the prince of Parma: even til the first of May. 1592* gives a remarkably full title-page description of this process: “The last letters thereof came on the fourth of the same month according to the English computation. with new additions by later letters”.⁵² Additional material could arrive after the first version of a pamphlet had been printed. *The Oppugnation, and fierce siege of Ostend* was updated to become *Newes from Ostend, of The Oppugnation, and fierce siege of Ostend*, noting that it was “Now newly imprinted; whereunto are added such other Newes and Accidents as have lately hapned at Ostend, as we have bin certainly informed”.⁵³ This “other Newes” is a side and a half of details gathered from various sources arriving in London. These are dated in relation to the writing of the postscript. Information from the Antwerp post came “three dayes past (namely the thirteenth day of this moneth of August)”, with more updates arriving by sea “on friday last being the fourteenth day of this present moneth of August”.⁵⁴ As well as stressing how up to date the information was, this

50 *Newes out of Cleave-land: Being the true relation of the taking in of the towne and castle of Gulicke in Germanie, with the articles of peace there concluded and agreed upon* (London, 1611).

51 *A True Recital of those things that have been done in the Court of Fraunce, since the death of the Marshall d'Ancre, untill the departure of the Queene mother from the King* (London, 1617).

52 *A Discourse of that which is past, since the kings departure from Gouy* (London, 1592), USTC 517259.

53 *The Oppugnation, and fierce siege of Ostend* (London, 1601) and *Newes from Ostend, of The Oppugnation, and fierce siege of Ostend* (London, 1601). Interestingly, the earlier version states on the title page and at sig. A3r that the Duke of Osuna came before Ostend on 5 June, whereas the later version makes this 5 July on the title page and sig. Aiv, with both giving the date as “fifth day of June (after the new stile)” within the text, on sigs. Biv and A3v respectively. The reason for this discrepancy is unclear.

54 *Newes from Ostend*, sig. B4r.

approach underscores how seemingly straightforward translations were in fact complex hybrids of pamphlet, oral rumour and material from letters, where the reader was made to feel as if they were learning the latest along with the book producer.

Beyond the immediacy of the title page, more complex evidence of people's understandings and concerns about time emerges. Paratexts discuss time largely in one of two ways: the paratext's author, usually the translator, discusses the time line of the production of the work, or they situate the pamphlet subject matter as part of a historical narrative. *True Newes Of a notable victorie obtayned against the Turkes* noted that "a fewe yeeres past" the Turkes had taken Raab and that this loss was "well knowne unto many", before outlining how the city had been retaken by Adolf von Schwarzenberg.⁵⁵ Pamphlets recounting the execution of François Ravailac, Henri IV's assassin, prefaced the account by acknowledging that France had been left in a state of turmoil since the murder, thereby justifying the publication of information about Ravailac's death, implying a sense of overall resolution.⁵⁶ The aforementioned accounts of the siege of Ostend started with a full description of the town, its port and its role in the previous conflict, before coming on to the details of the current situation of the town.⁵⁷ Other accounts would open almost *in media res*, or assuming prior knowledge of the situation. *A Discourse of that which is past, since the kings departure from Gouy, to pursue the prince of Parma* apparently picks up where a previous pamphlet left off:

The King continuing hys enterprize to fight with the duke of *Parma*, and of the *Mayne*, and to give them battell according to the last order of his departure from Gouy: to the end nothing were forgotten that might draw and force the enemy to come to a battel: the king without any sojourning, came in great hast to lodge in *Netiville* a league, & one halfe distant from *Ivetot*, where part of the forces of the said dukes was quartered, & intrenched.⁵⁸

Similarly, *Articles of Agreement, Concerning the Cessation of War*, describing the negotiation of the 1607 ceasefire between the United Provinces and the

55 Raab is Győr in northwest Hungary. *True Newes Of a notable victorie obtayned against the Turkes* (London, 1598), sig. A3r, USTC 513804.

56 See for example *The Terrible and deserved death of Francis Ravilliack* (London, 1610).

57 *The Oppugnation, and fierce siege of Ostend* and *Newes from Ostend, of The Oppugnation, and fierce siege of Ostend*.

58 *A Discourse of that which is past, since the kings departure from Gouy*, sig. A2r.

Habsburgs, opens “You have heard howe a Fryar, the Confessor to the *Infanta*, hath brought about a Cessation of Armes for 8. Moneths”.⁵⁹ The ‘you’ is somewhat ambiguous. It could be a general reference to the imagined reader. But the translator W.BB notes (on A3r) that the accounts had “lately come to my handes from a worthy friend out of Holland”, so it could also refer to a direct translation of personal correspondence, a well-established approach in early news.⁶⁰ Reproducing letters to convey news provided an immediate temporal framework within which the information being conveyed became tied to personal experiences. This became even more pronounced when multiple letters or letter exchanges were included in the same pamphlet. In *Articles of Agreement*, this is clearly one single episode in an ongoing narrative with which the writer either knows or assumes the reader is already familiar. The news did not and should not stand alone.

As noted earlier, Christian worldviews blended Time and History. The individual events described in pamphlets were part of an ongoing story with a known end—the Day of Judgement. In the pamphlet form, where there was room for editorialising and framing, such stories bridged the gap between the quotidian and the eternal. In *A true rehearsall of the Honorable & Tryumphant Victory: which the defenders of the Trueth have had againste the tyranical and bloodthirsty heape of ye Albanists*, the direct title is backed up by the text:

Althoughe all thynges (welbeloved and christian Reader) whiche by the grace of God, are come to passe *within* the renommed Citie of Harlam in Holand, are worthye, not by peeces, but from the beginning unto the end to bee rehearsed, and set before the eyes of all men: that the wonderful and worthy works of God thereby may bee knowen, and his name for ever magnified & praised.⁶¹

All forms of news contributed to this Christian worldview, with some particularly noteworthy for their “heavy-handed providentialism”.⁶² Readers were left in no doubt as to how they were meant to interpret individual events as part of a longer pattern, that these happenings were not random but rather

59 *Articles of Agreement, Concerning the Cessation of War* (London, 1607), sig. A4r.

60 As outlined by David Randall in *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2008).

61 *A true rehearsall of the Honorable & Tryumphant Victory* ([London], 1573), sig. A3r, USTC 507595.

62 Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 118.

God-given indications that the inhabitants of early modern Europe stood at a dangerous point in time. The letter to the reader in a monstrous birth case states this clearly:

Dearly beloved Bretheran like as daily wee see the wunderous woorks of GOD, to advertise us to the amendment of our sinful wicked & detestable lives, before hee dooth plague us, like as alwise hee is good and merciful and doth not punish us according unto our deserts, but sendeth us first Signes and tokens to admonish us of his ire ... but wee daily neglecting and not regarding the same.... Wherefore wee have to give the greater account of the time which wee have spent, when we shall come and appear before the Judgement seat of GOD.⁶³

This easy switching between the quotidian experience as imagined by the writer and the eternal experience of the day of judgement is seen elsewhere. The unambiguously titled *Strange Newes* of 1606, recounting events of the previous year in Carlstadt, moves seamlessly between a practical discussion outlining the processes by which the translation was made and an intellectual exploration of the implications of these events on the wider age.⁶⁴ Unsurprisingly, natural disasters were frequently explained in terms of punishment for sin, with evidence from overseas being brought into play alongside home-grown evidence. An account of strange happenings near Frankfurt in 1606 reminded readers that “It is not longe since hee afflicted us here in England. First, with pestilence and mortalitie, and now last by death and famine”, lamenting the continually high levels of sin within England, before outlining the events in Germany.⁶⁵ *Newes from Italie* reminded readers of events in France and Spain that should have been taken seriously, before turning to the account of the landslide in Piuro that took two thousand lives.⁶⁶ One of the previous events mentioned was a fire which engulfed much of the Palais de Justice in Paris in March 1618, described as “descended from Heaven, about midnight in the forme and fashion of a terrible great flaming starre”, demonstrating God’s anger. The same pamphlet also noted that “God hath preserved the Chappell called the Holy shewing to his people that he desires to be honored

63 *An example of Gods judgement shew[n] upon two children borne in high Dutch la[nd] in the Citie of Lutssolof* (London, 1582), sig. A3r, USTC 509603.

64 *Strange Newes* (London, 1606).

65 *A most straunge and wounderfull accident, happened at Weersburch by Franckford* (London, 1600), A3v, USTC 517589.

66 *Newes from Italie* (London, 1619).

and glorified".⁶⁷ Individual events were part of a wider European pattern, one in which fear of the individual events needed to be considered alongside long-term recognition of God's plans for the world. By bringing English readers closer to the continent, news pamphlets also connected the individually noteworthy moments of peoples' lives with the ultimate story, that of Christian Salvation. However, these tales tend to end rather ambiguously, as they depend upon the reader understanding the message and making sure that henceforth their behaviour will be beyond reproach. Lacking the evidence that this will happen, the stories fail to achieve final resolution and remain dangerously ambiguous.

In a similar vein, the significance of when events happened was never overlooked. This could be relatively prosaic, as when a pamphlet noted that the Elector Palatine was chosen as king by the States of Bohemia in a public assembly on 16 August, which happened to be his birthday.⁶⁸ Sometimes the timings of events within the story could make the events all the more impressive. Military accounts structured themselves in terms of the actions of the opposing sides—one commander launches an attack, the other side responds and so on—resulting in a broadly naturalistic rhythm. Other story types could be more dramatic. In an account of three monsters born in Namen in December 1608, readers learned that “at the same instant time as this poor woman was delivered”, the wicked sister whose deeds had provoked the crisis was killed in a different part of the town when the ground swallowed her up as she fled her house that had been struck by lightning.⁶⁹ The title page image, showing the woman fleeing the burning house in the middle of the page, and the three monsters in a row at the bottom, helps convey the simultaneous nature of the action. In the chilling story of George Rolet, the power of the story hangs on two dramatic exchanges, where the immediacy of the events is crucial. Rolet has just announced that he would rather be eaten by rats than sell his corn for less than five schillings a bushel, when “therewithall, at the same instant”, a poor woman to whom he had lent money appears. When she pays back her debt, there is a disagreement over how many rings Rolet took from her as surety for the loan, and he again makes a sweeping statement about being eaten by rats if he is not telling the truth, only this time “She had scarce

67 *Newes from Fraunce* (London, 1618), sigs. A3v and A4v.

68 *The Reasons which compelled the States of Bohemia to reject the Archiduke Ferdinand &c. & enforced them to elect a new King* (Dort, [1619]).

69 *A True Relation of the birth of three Monsters in the City of Namen in Flanders* (London, 1609).

made an ende of her prayer, but immediatly there came (a wonderfull thing to tel) an innumerable sort of Rats, which set upon this Usurer".⁷⁰ Divine retribution should be expected to be immediate, it would seem.

Frequently the passage of time was integral to the story itself. In the case of Peter Stumpp, the Werewolf of Bedburg, the fact that his crimes took place over the course of 25 years was central to the story. Not only was the duration noted prominently on the title page, but the author makes several references within the text to Stumpp's crimes being horrific in themselves but also in their duration, discussing "the cruelties committed and the long time therin continued" and that the pamphlet outlines the "life and death and most bloody practices" of a man who "was a murderer from the beginning", noting in particular the misdeeds of his adolescence.⁷¹ The pamphlet telling the story of the serial killer Christman Genipperteinga announced on the title page that he held a woman captive for seven years in a cave, fathering multiple children with her, in addition to noting his 960-plus victims.⁷² The story of Katerin Cooper who did not eat, drink or sleep for seven years not only announces the duration of her fast on the title page, but goes on to break down the period into smaller chunks as part of the investigation.⁷³ In the story of Eve Flingen, another fasting 'miracle maiden', the process by which she cut food out of her life is carefully measured out in terms of days and years.⁷⁴ In all of these stories, the extended duration of the events under discussion is integral to understanding their intended appeal to the reading public.

70 *A Spectacle for Usurers*, sigs. A3r, A4r.

71 *A true Discourse. Declaring the damnable life and death of one Stubbe Peeter, a most wicked sorcerer, who in the likenes of a Woolfe, committed many murders, continuing this divelish practise 25. yeeres, killing and devouring Men, Woomen, and Children* (London, 1590), sigs. A2r–3r, USTC 511409.

72 *Newes out of Germanie. A most wonderfull and true discouse of a cruell murderer, who had kylled in his life tyme, nine hundred, threescore and odde persons among which six of them were his owne children, begotten on a young woman which he forceable kept in a Cave seven yeeres, with the manner how he was taken, and the aboundaunce of wealth that was found in the said Cave* (London, 1584), USTC 510114.

73 *A notable and prodigious Historie of a Mayden, who for sundry yeeres neither eateth, drinketh, nor sleepeth, neyther avoydeth any excrements, and yet liveth* (London, 1589), USTC 51154.

74 *The Protestants and Jesuites up in Armes in Gulicke-land* (London, 1611). See also Nancy A. Gutierrez, 'Shall She Famish Then?: Female Food Refusal in Early Modern England' (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 79–102.

Conclusion

By the late sixteenth century, current events were increasingly likely to be reported in print, in the form of pamphlets and treatises inspired by particular events. This set up a potential tension with the other event-focused form of factual writing popular with early modern readers, History. As Daniel Woolf has noted, history deals with events that have finished and can be reflected upon, where news combines observation of the past with meditation upon potential futures.⁷⁵ Woolf argued that the news of the later seventeenth century stepped back from the perceived overlap between early printed news and traditional history, leading to a more distinct understanding of the present. The sense of being active within a longer history is certainly very noticeable in news works of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. At the same time, the content and format of these earlier pamphlets, particularly those dealing with international events, demonstrate that more was at stake than a simple transition from history to current affairs within the public consumption of information, and that was bound up with understandings of time that went beyond past, present and future.

The items examined here show that considerations of time were ever-present in early modern news pamphlets. Indeed, it worked on different levels, often within the same pamphlet, thus reflecting the complicated relationship early modern people had with time. It had considerable value when establishing the pertinent details of a given story, given the frequency with which time-related particulars appeared prominently on title pages. Time could be used both directly and implicitly to give a sense of narrative within a story; it could also be integral to the story itself, the passage of time within an account contributing directly to its relevance to the reading public, and it could be and often was linked to ongoing considerations about the likelihood that the readers, as well as the protagonists of news, were living at the end of days. News producers had a difficult balance to strike between scaring their readers into an interest in any given story, thus spurring them to buy the news pamphlet, and reassuring them about the veracity of the claims made in their pamphlets, equally important for making a sale. Exploiting the various confusions over time, the quasi-scientific precision of clock-time which was included wherever possible, and the even more pronounced implications of the calendar change fitted neatly with this agenda. A number of news producers of the period were willing to tap into these concerns in order to promote their wares, layering this with a visible presentation of more tangible, one might say more quotidian,

75 Woolf, 'News, History and the Construction of the Present', esp. pp. 80–3 and 98–100.

expressions of time in the form of dates and numbers, conforming with the stylistic and formatting conventions of print in general.

Early modern society was based around ideas of order and stability, and change was almost exclusively understood as being something to be suspected and feared. News was therefore a potentially dangerous genre, as it was an ongoing catalogue of change over time. It brought discord and fear into people's lives, recording the events of the very recent past which had caused and were still causing the tectonic plates of society to shift, without offering an end. Even when readers were assured that the events discussed showed that God was on their side and their cause would eventually be victorious, the very fact that the disturbing events were being recounted in the first place must have been disconcerting to early modern readers, and these final few examples show that these fears were being used to urge readers to change their ways. The same kind of tension between present suffering and eventual reward is seen in Protestant martyrologies, where the godly deaths of co-religionists were not mourned but celebrated, as proof that God supported the church, and was testing it to find it worthy.⁷⁶ From military accounts to monstrous birth pamphlets, the ultimate backdrop to international news around the turn of the century was the possibility that readers were witnessing the End of Days. This was not so much a case of events mattering because the End of Days was considered to be nigh, but the day to day events demonstrating the imminence of the End of Days. The event narrative mattered because it gave a level of precision and clarity to the coming Apocalypse. In this context, news and news print in particular was unsettlingly 'still in progress', an unstable state made all the more obvious by the various techniques producers used to highlight the current validity of their material.

76 S.K. Barker, *Protestantism, Poetry and Protest: The Vernacular Writings of Antoine de Chandieu (c.1534–1591)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 161–85. Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), esp. pp. 139–96.

Cartography, War Correspondence and News Publishing: The Early Career of Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1610–1630*

Helmer Helmers

In the first decades of the seventeenth century, Amsterdam quickly developed into the main centre of the European book trade.¹ “The miracle of the world”, according to some, the growth was indeed remarkable. When Cornelis Claesz opened his shop in 1578, competition was insignificant. When he died, in 1609, thirty booksellers populated the city. In 1621, the number had grown to fifty.² By the middle of the century, the book trade had expanded to such an extent that, according to the famous estimate by De la Fontaine-Verweij, about thirty per cent of all the books published in Europe were produced in the once insignificant backwater where Claesz had begun his career.³ And as they developed into both the staple market and the bookshop of the world, Amsterdam and the dense network of Dutch cities surrounding it also became the prime information hub of Europe, where continental, British, Atlantic and oriental networks met.⁴

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- 1 Paul Hoftijzer, ‘Metropolis of Print. The Amsterdam Book Trade in the Seventeenth Century’, in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe. Golden Ages in London, Antwerp, and Amsterdam*, ed. Patrick O’Brian (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 249–63; Lotte Hellinga, ed., *The Bookshop of the World. The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-trade, 1473–1941* (Utrecht: Hes & De Graff, 2001).
- 2 Claartje Rasterhoff, ‘Carrière en concurrentie in een culturele sector. De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1580–1800’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 27.2 (2011), pp. 162–79, at 162.
- 3 Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, ‘Het Hollandse wonder’, in *Boeken in Nederland. Vijfhonderd jaar schrijven, drukken en uitgeven*, ed. P.F.J. Obbema (Amsterdam: Koninklijk Verbond van Grafische Ondernemingen, 1979), pp. 46–64.
- 4 Siegfried Huigen and Jan de Jong, eds., *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Clé Lesger, *Handel in Amsterdam ten tijde van de Opstand. Kooplieden, commerciële expansie en verandering in de ruimtelijke economie van de Nederlanden ca. 1550–ca. 1630* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2001), pp. 209–49.

In this fertile, but extremely competitive environment, the careers of various prominent news publishers took shape. The Truce Period of 1609–21 was especially crucial for the development of a stable news market. Already before the armistice various booksellers moved to Amsterdam from exile elsewhere in Europe, and after 1609 others followed.⁵ Prominent news publishers to be, such as Claes Jansz Visscher, carved out their place in the market of topical print in this period.⁶ The Truce also brought fundamental changes to the kind of news that was published. In the preceding decades, Dutch news publishing had been dominated and structured by the war against Spain: major news houses, such as the Hogenberg firm in Cologne, had developed as part of the Orange war propaganda machine.⁷ Peace now threatened this war trade. The army correspondent Broer Jansz complained in 1609 that he had to “stay home because of the Treves” (i.e. the armistice between Spain and the United Provinces). Luckily for Jansz, growing tensions in Germany created new opportunities. He was delighted that the “brave preparations for battle” in Jülich allowed him to go the front again, and report war news to the undefined “masters” whom he had served as an informer before.⁸ Throughout the Truce, the widening conflict in Germany provided Dutch newsmakers with an alternative, steady supply of news, which was eagerly exploited. The temporary public sphere created by the Truce conflicts in the late 1610s would give another major boost to the market for topical print, leading to “a tidal wave of pamphlets” in 1616–19.⁹ But it was largely German news, often translated from German sources, that enabled newsmakers to engage in consistent news production,

5 For example Francois van der Hoeye (1610) and Crispijn van de Passe (1611). Cf. Rasterhoff, ‘Carrière en concurrentie’.

6 Nadine Orenstein, Huigen Leeftang, Ger Luijten and Christiaan Schuckman, ‘Print Publishers in the Netherlands 1580–1620’, in *Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish Art 1580–1620*, ed. Ger Luijten *et al.* (Zwolle: Rijksmuseum with Waanders publishing, 1993), pp. 167–200, at 194.

7 Christi Klinkert, *Nassau in het Nieuws. Nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassau's militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590–1600* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2005). On the earlier Nassau propaganda, see e.g. René van Stipriaan, ‘Words at War. The Early Years of William of Orange's Propaganda’, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 11.4–5 (2007), pp. 331–49.

8 Henk Borst, ‘Broer Jansz in Antwerpse ogen. De Amsterdamse Courantier na de slag bij Kallo in 1638 neergezet als propagandist’, *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 25.1 (2009), pp. 55–89, at 79.

9 Craig E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1987), p. 9. See also Roeland Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011); Marika Keblusek, *Boeken in de Hofstad. Haagse boekcultuur in de Gouden Eeuw* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1997), p. 38.

and which allowed Broer Jansz and Caspar van Hilten to establish their corantos in 1618/19.¹⁰

It is remarkable that we know relatively little about this formative period, when several publishers laid the foundations for famous publishing houses that would come to dominate the European news market. These were the people who actually made the Dutch news *entrepôt*, but their lists, their sources, their networks and their marketing strategies remain largely unstudied. Unlike newsmakers such as Abraham Verhoeven, Richard Verstegan, and Théophraste Renaudot, whose lives and work have been well studied, we know relatively little about their influential Dutch competitors or predecessors such as Jansz, Van Hilten, Visscher, and the many enterprising, but largely forgotten minor news publishers and authors who contributed to the Dutch news boom of the first decades of the seventeenth century.¹¹

The main reason for this lacuna is the fact that scholarship on early seventeenth-century Dutch publishers has traditionally been fragmented along disciplinary lines that obscure our understanding of their businesses and careers.¹² The early *courantiers* Broer Jansz, Caspar van Hilten and Jan Jansz sr. appear in histories and bibliographies of the newspaper not as the versatile all-rounders that they were, but as the publishers of the earliest Dutch newspapers only—as if their corantos appeared in a different universe from their non-periodical publications.¹³ Other publishers, such as Visscher and Johannes Janssonius have been studied predominantly for their most famous, and qualitatively superior work: news and art engravings in the case of the former, and maps in the case of the latter. Although these approaches have great value for the subject specialist, they are of limited use to the historian of seventeenth-century news or print. The more recent trend to study news

10 Annie Stolp, *De eerste couranten in Holland* (Haarlem: J. Enschedé en zonen, 1938), p. 73.

11 On Renaudot, see Howard M. Solomon, *Public Welfare, Science and Propaganda in Seventeenth Century France: The Innovations of Théophraste Renaudot* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), and Stéphane Haffemayer, *L'information dans la France du XVIIe siècle: la Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002). On Verstegan, Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World. Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004). On Verhoeven: Paul Arblaster, *From Ghent to Aix: How They Brought the News in the Habsburg Netherlands 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

12 Cf. Djoeke van Netten, 'Een boek als carrièrevehikel. De zeemansgidsen van Blaeu', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 27.2 (2011), pp. 214–231.

13 Folke Dahl, *Dutch Corantos 1618–1650. A Bibliography. Illustrated with 334 Facsimile Reproductions of Corantos Printed 1618–1625 and an Introductory Essay on 17th Century Stop Press News* (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1946).

sources as part of heterogeneric politico-religious discourses and debates has mended the fragmented image of the sources, but likewise kept the newsmakers and their lists largely out of view.¹⁴

Important questions therefore remain unanswered. What did the early careers of the people that actually made the Dutch Republic into the information capital of early modern Europe look like? What was the role of news within publishers' wider lists, and how did they market the news? In which networks did they participate? Only once we understand the ways in which individual publishers handled the news and how they responded to the opportunities and demands of local, national and international markets, can we start to compare careers and strategies, both nationally and internationally. It is partly through case studies, then, that we can gain insight into the development of the Dutch news industry in the 1610s and 1620s.

In order to study the careers of early seventeenth-century publishers and printers, we need to chart and analyse their lists, combine the expertise from various disciplines, and trace the scarce archival material available. For the bigger and long-lived publishing houses such as Visscher's, this would require long-term research projects, like Paul Arblaster's work on Richard Verstegan, or Ilja Veldman's on the De Passe family.¹⁵ But it is instructive as well to focus on smaller cases: on the minor, largely forgotten publishers, who also took their chances on the news market, but were less successful in the long run. Among this large group of minor news entrepreneurs we find the experimenters and the occasional radicals that provided the market with the dynamism required for the ultimate success of others.

This chapter focuses on one of those lesser-known characters in the news trade, Nicolaes van Geelkercken (1585–1656). Trained as a cartographer and an engraver, Van Geelkercken specialized in maps. Because of the quality of his maps, and his later career as a surveyor of the province of Guelders, his work has been studied exclusively by historians of cartography, who have focused on his later work for reasons of quality or an interest in local history.¹⁶ Like so

14 Elmer Kolfin, 'Amsterdam: Stad van prenten. Amsterdamse prentuitgevers in de 17de eeuw', in *Gedrukt tot Amsterdam. Amsterdamse Prentmakers en-Uitgevers in de Gouden Eeuw*, ed. Elmer Kolfin and Jaap van der Veen (Zwolle: Uitgeverij WBOOKS, 2011), pp. 10–57; Ad Leerintveld, 'Politiek, religie en literatuur. Het fonds van de Haagse drukker en uitgever Aert van Meurs en de familie Huygens', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 8.2 (1992), pp. 139–47.

15 Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World*; Ilja Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny (1564–1670). A Century of Print Production* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision, 2001). See also Van Netten, 'Een boek als carrièrevehikel'.

16 See: J. Keuning, 'Nicolaas Geelkercken', *Imago Mundi* 11.1 (1954), pp. 174–7; M.M. Doornink-Hoogenraad, et al., *Nicolaes van Geelkercken. Een Gelders cartograaf uit de zeventiende*

many of his fellow-newsmakers, then, Van Geelkercken is known for only one aspect of his professional life.¹⁷ Yet before he settled in Guelders, Van Geelkercken had been a versatile book professional, an all-round newsman who not only illustrated, but also wrote, translated, printed, and published the news, especially news maps. Little is known about the practice of seventeenth-century news cartographers, especially in this early period.¹⁸ Van Geelkercken's case offers a unique possibility to gain insight into the genesis of this prominent genre. His case is instructive, moreover, because for all his idiosyncrasies, he is also a typical example of the enterprising, experimenting pioneers who transformed the industry in this period.

An Incidental Beginning: From Cartography to War News

Van Geelkercken was born near Geilenkirchen, a town in the strategically important duchy of Jülich, or Juliers, just across the Dutch border.¹⁹ Before he started his career as a news publisher, he had worked for several years as a cartographer, engraver and colourer of maps ('af-setter') in Amsterdam, presumably in the shop of Jodocus Hondius. His career as a news publisher began by accident. In 1610, just when he was setting up his business in Amsterdam, Jülich became the subject of a succession conflict that turned into a confessional struggle involving all the major European powers.²⁰ With all the eyes of Europe aimed at his fatherland, Nicolaes was suddenly in the perfect position to provide information that a wide European audience now craved. He was not a man to ruin such a chance.

eeuw (Zutphen, 1972); Peter H. Meurer, 'De jonge Nicolaes van Geelkercken', *Caert-thresoor*, 20.2 (2001), pp. 41–7. In this aspect, his case is similar to that of Willem Jansz Blaeu. Cf. Van Netten, 'Een boek als carrièrevehikel'.

- 17 Cf. M.E. van der Meulen, 'Nicolaes Geijlkerck', *Oud Holland*, 18 (1900), pp. 45–68, at 45–7.
- 18 Cf. Ruben van Luijk, 'Maps of Battles, Battle of Maps: News Cartography of the Battle at Neerwinden, Flanders, 1693', *Imago Mundi*, 60.2 (2008), pp. 211–20, at 211, 218.
- 19 Various scholars have supposed that Van Geelkercken was born in Scherpenzeel, in Guelders. See e.g. Doornink-Hoogenraad, *Nicolaes van Geelkercken*, pp. 7–9 and Eddy K. Grootes, ed., *Wonderlicke avontuer van twee goelieven* (Muiderberg, 1988), p. 54. Hollstein has Zutphen as the town of his birth: Friedrich Wilhelm Hollstein, *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, vol. 7 (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1953), p. 91. Meurer, 'De jonge Nicolaes van Geelkercken', has shown conclusively that he was actually born in the village of Geilenkirchen near Jülich.
- 20 Alison D. Anderson, *On the Verge of War, International Relations and the Jülich-Kleve Succession Crises (1609–1614)* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

With its Latin title, *Ducatus Iuliacensis, Clivensis et Bergensis*, and bilingual captions in Dutch and French, his 1610 news map of Jülich, printed by David de Meine in Amsterdam, was obviously meant for the international market (Figure 15.1). Van Geelkercken probably made this particular map in Amsterdam, since it was based not on fieldwork, but on existing examples by Mercator. Done in the decorative style introduced by Hondius, with portraits of the main contestants in the Jülich crisis in the border, this map was unlike every other news map Van Geelkercken later made. Another 1610 map of the region, however, was original and 'to the life': this was a real news map that represented the actual situation with a high degree of accuracy (Figure 15.2). This map and later ones, as we shall see below, were in all likelihood based on his own fieldwork.

The first Jülich crisis was short-lived, and although Van Geelkercken published another map of Jülich with Dutch texts in 1610, he did not live off his news publications. More important, financially, was the commission for a town

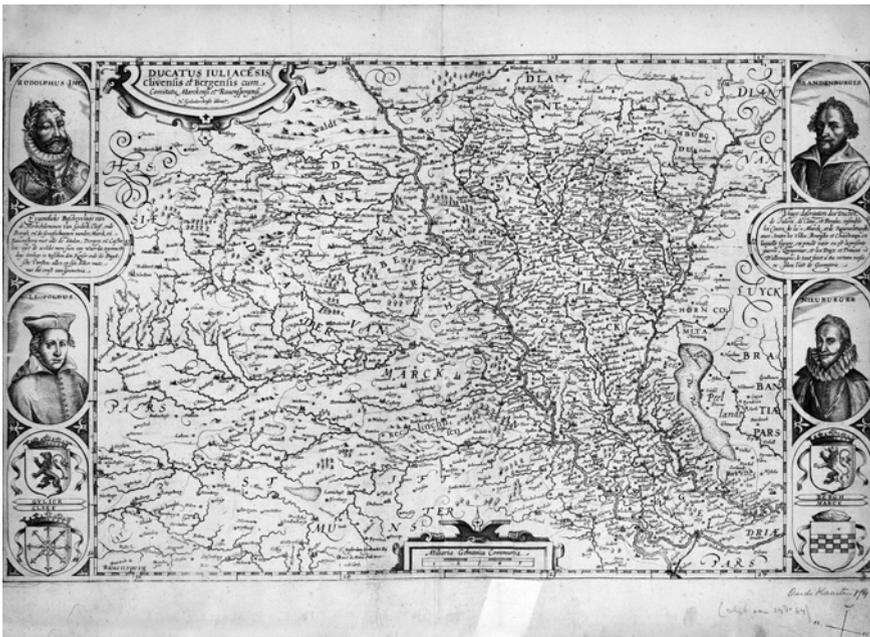


FIGURE 15.1 *Nicolaes van Geelkercken. Ducatus Iuliacensis, Clivensis en Bergensis cum Comitatu Marckensi et Ravenspergensi (Amsterdam: David de Meine, 1610). The duchies of Julich, Cleves, and Berg, with portrait cartouches showing the main contenders in the Julich-Cleves controversy: Rudolph II, Archduke Leopold, Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg and Elector Wolfgang Wilhelm von Pfalz Neuburg. Permission Amsterdam University Library*



FIGURE 15.2 FM 1283: Nicolaes van Geelkercken. *Afbeelding van Gulik naer't leven geconterfeyt* (Amsterdam, 1610). Specifying all kinds of details, including particular trees and bridges, this 1610 print of the siege of Julich was based on fieldwork. Permission Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

plan of Aachen, for which he received 300 guilders from the Aachen magistrate in December 1610.²¹ Since Aachen was only a day's travel removed from Jülich, Van Geelkercken probably secured the commission while returning from the warzone in the German borderland. For Van Geelkercken, work on civic projects and news publications would continue to infuse each other. This appeared again in 1611, when Van Geelkercken, having returned to Amsterdam, used his fresh knowledge of Aachen for a news print depicting the Protestant revolt that had erupted there after he left.²²

Throughout his Amsterdam years, Van Geelkercken seems to have taken on every job he could, making the most of coincidental meetings and

21 Meurer, 'De jonge Nicolaes van Geelkercken', p. 44.

22 *Warachtige afbeeldinghe van de nieuwe oorloghe binnen der stadt Aken tegen de Magistraet en de Jesuwijten geschiet den 5. Julius 1611* (Amsterdam: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1611), in: Meurer, 'De jonge Nicolaes van Geelkercken', p. 44.

circumstances. When an unknown German customer entered Van Geelkercken's Amsterdam shop with the request to engrave a drawing he had brought, Van Geelkercken did not feel the job was beneath him, taking it on for 12 guilders.²³ Yet behind such chance encounters, a pattern emerges of a man with a keen eye to combine cartographical commissions with the short-term opportunities provided by circumstance. Thus, while working on a series of maps for Ubbo Emmius' history of Frisia, in 1614–15, he also engraved a number of portraits of Frisians, which he later sold in his shop.²⁴ News prints, including maps, but also portraits and allegories, were one consistent and prominent element on his list from 1610 onwards, and would remain so until 1624.

Van Geelkercken was not the only cartographer who developed an interest in the news in this period. The fields of cartography and news publishing were overlapping to a considerable extent in the early seventeenth century. Both Pieter van den Keere, who translated Broer Jansz' Dutch corantos into English in the early 1620s, and Claes Jansz Visscher were trained mapmakers who matured into all-round (news) publishers. Jan Jansz sr., who established the first coranto in Arnhem in 1620, was also a noted cartographer. The father of the famous cartographer known by his Latinized name, Johannes Janssonius, Jansz sr. cooperated with Jodocus Hondius on the *Atlas Minor*. It is important to stress that in all these cases, the interest in cartography preceded the interest in news. As in Van Geelkercken's case their news publications were spin-offs of cartography rather than the other way around.

Cartographers, then, were well placed to become news publishers. They owed this in the first place to the versatility and profitability of their trade. Cartography was all the rage in the early seventeenth-century Republic, especially in Amsterdam. Pieter van den Keere's 1623 inventory shows that maps were the bulk of his produce and that he expected to sell more maps than other kinds of prints.²⁵ Thriving shops appeared in the 1610s that similarly focused on mapmaking—Blaeu, Visscher, Hondius/Janssonius—which laid the foundations for enduring publishing dynasties. Cartographers had the advantage of being able to supply a variety of clientele. While the naval industry and military and civic authorities had obvious practical needs for maps, cartography also attracted a wider public interested in maps for their newsworthiness, their

23 Orenstein, 'Print Publishers', p. 167.

24 Ubbo Emmius, *De Frisia et Frisiorum Republica* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1616); Hollstein, *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish etchings*.

25 Kolfin, 'Amsterdam', p. 44.

adding an original news bulletin recounting the latest affairs. Speed was of the essence. One English pamphlet was “Translated out of a Dutch coppie printed at Amsterdam by Nicholas van Gelkerken, a few daies sithence, together with a bewtiful mappe [of] the Townes, Marches, Armies and Camps, *even as at this instant they remaine*” (emphasis added).²⁸ This suggests that it was the map’s topicality that constituted part of its attraction. In a static siege, a map depicting the positions of armies could indeed remain accurate for a relatively long period. In the case of the manoeuvring armies of Maurice and Spinola in Jülich, however, this emphasis on the ‘instantaneity’ of the maps was obviously an overstatement. Yet we should not discard the remark too easily. The wider public’s ability to witness army movements at a distance was relatively new in early modern Europe, certainly in the quality provided by Van Geelkercken’s generation of mapmakers. Accurate, up-to-date maps simply were the most sensational form of war news available, and the quickest ones to appear were sure to be distributed widely.

In his titles, Van Geelkercken therefore frequently emphasized both the accuracy and actuality of his maps, using words such as ‘warachtig’ (truthful) and ‘teghenwoordigh’ (present). In one of his maps of Jülich he remarked that it was “waarin de leser groot vermaeck vinden sall, end’ ‘t gelt dat Ul. Besteden sal u niet berouwen, want gy cont het leger seen, sonder prikkel geschoten te worden” (“drawn after life, in which the reader will find great entertainment. And you will not repent the money you’ll spend, because you can see the army without danger of being shot”).²⁹ This might be a joke, but still it accurately catches the sense that it was the compression of space and time that was the news cartographer’s main selling point, allowing his customers to see the war from a distance.³⁰ At the same time, this is the tart comment of the war

28 Carolus Demetrius, *Neves from Gulick and Cleue. A true and faithfull relation of the late affaires in the countries of Gulicke, Cleue and Bergh, and what townes have certainly been taken aswell by Marquesse Spinola, as by Graue Maurice* (London, 1615). The translator was Carolus Van Meteren, whose father, the famous historian, had moved to London in the sixteenth century, but who evidently maintained contacts in the Dutch Republic. Van Geelkercken had engraved a map of the Netherlands (*Nova Germaniae Inferioris descriptio ... sculpente Nicolao Geilkerckio*) for the 1614 edition of Van Meteren’s *History of the Netherlands*. See: Emanuel van Meeteren, *Historie der Neder-landscher ende haerder naburen oorloghen ende geschiedenissen, tot den iare M.VI.XII* (The Hague: Jacobsz van der Wouw, 1614).

29 FM 1283. *Afbeelding van Gulik naer’t leven geconterfeyt* (Amsterdam: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1610).

30 Cf. Brendan Dooley, ‘Introduction’, in Brendan Dooley, ed., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 1–20.

correspondent who, unlike his clients, knows the danger of travelling with the army first-hand.

To ensure reliable and up-to-date maps, Van Geelkercken accompanied the army during its summer campaigns. In one of his later lawsuits—he contested a number of them—witnesses told the court that Van Geelkercken’s son Jacob had travelled with them to the siege of Breda “to draw it”.³¹ Jacob continued his father’s practices. According to Van Geelkercken himself, one of his pamphlets was written from the back of a cart in the army.³²

As he did in 1614, Van Geelkercken at least occasionally profited from his position in the army by doubling as an army correspondent. In 1622, for the siege of Bergen op Zoom, he had a full-blown media strategy. First, he published a newsletter from the army reporting the surprising beginning of the siege.³³ As the siege developed he published two news maps, one during the siege, another directly after Maurice had liberated the town.³⁴ He followed up with an army journal describing the events that had taken place in the past weeks. Since this *Journal* was written for the Leiden secretary, it is tempting to conclude that Van Geelkercken had also provided the Leiden magistrate with handwritten newsletters during the siege.³⁵ We know that various civilians travelling with the army worked as paid informers. The well-known poet and Shakespeare adapter Jan Starter, with whom Van Geelkercken cooperated early in his career, signed a contract with the Amsterdam courantier Broer Jansz when he entered Mansfeld’s army as a chronicler in 1625, promising that he would send Jansz the latest news from the army every week for two years.³⁶ Van Geelkercken’s connection with the Leiden magistrate and his published newsletter suggests a similar sort of agreement, but in the absence of archival proof this remains speculation. Whether or not he made the same arrangements as

31 Van der Meulen, ‘Nicolaas Geylkerck’, p. 64.

32 Kn. 3304, *Optocht der Princen, alles voorseyt inden Italiaenschen waersegger* (1622).

33 *Der princen post ruyter, advertiert het innemen van Steen-berghen, met het beleg van Berghen op Soom* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1622).

34 The newsmaps are: FM 1465. *Belegeringe van Bergen op zoom* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1622) and FM 1469. *Afbeeldinghe Vande Belegeringe ende 't Ontzet van de Stadt van Berghen op Zoom, noyt subyter, noch wonderlijcker veranderinghe gheschiet, op den tweeden October des Jaers A. 1622* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1622).

35 Kn. 3340. *Journael ofte dagh-register, waer in vertoon werdt des vyandts scherm-slagh voor Berghen op zoom: met het dapper verset ofte ontset, der selver stee* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1622), sig. A4v.

36 They worked together when Van Geelkercken was in Friesland in the 1610s. J.H. Brouwer, *Jan Jansz Starter* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp, 1939), p. 45.

Starter, however, the siege shows that Van Geelkercken's main interest was always to make drawings, while news reporting was a spin-off.

Van Geelkercken was a private entrepreneur, who was not on the army's payroll. The only map which was certainly commissioned by the army was his map of the siege of Breda (Figure 15.4). Like other official military maps, this was a collaborative project. Van Geelkercken and his fellow-cartographer Van Bergen produced the original drawing, now in the National Archive in The Hague, as an ordnance map for the Prince of Orange.³⁷ It was printed for the general public, while retaining all the original detailed information for military use. Although the map is rather large for a news map, Van Geelkercken and Van Berghen nevertheless emphasize its topicality and newsworthiness, and provided colourful details on the "present" situation (the village of Rozendaal,

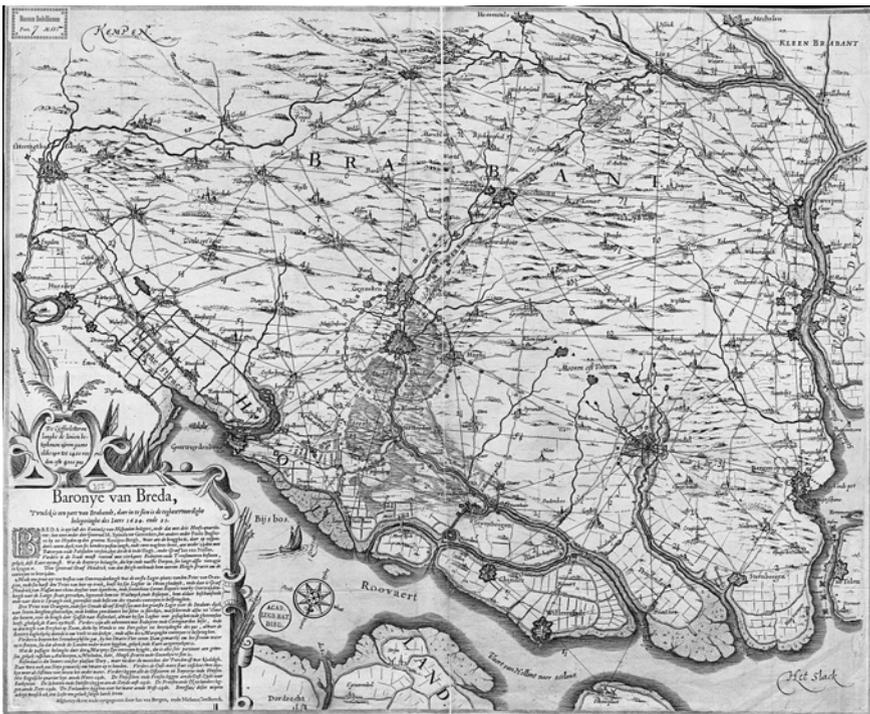


FIGURE 15.4 *FM 1520. Barony van Breda, 't welck is een part van Brabant, daer in te sien is de teghenwoordighe belegheringhe des Iaers 1624 ende 25. (Nicolaes van Geelkercken en Jan van Bergen, 1625). An accurate ordnance map produced during the siege of Breda. Permission Leiden University Library*

37 Kees Zandvliet, ed., *Maurits. Prins van Oranje* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), pp. 413–4.

for instance, was described as a beautiful village, “though currently a bit messy” because of the many horses).³⁸

Army cartographers such as Van Geelkercken worked on a freelance basis without a fixed salary. Rather, the government or the army would guarantee to buy a number of prints at a good price. Balthasar Florisz van Berckenrode, the only Dutch army cartographer whose case has been studied, “got 336 gulden for twenty-eight copies of his Breda map from the authorities”, that is, twelve guilders for each print. And surely that was not all. Berckenrode made many official memorial maps for the Prince’s campaigns until his death in 1616. Often dedicated to the Prince, these must have earned him generous rewards. Moreover, the Prince of Orange probably encouraged the dissemination of the maps of his victories. Despite his privileged position Berckenrode suffered from financial problems.³⁹ Van Geelkercken, less privileged, but also less invested in the genre, never seems to have had such problems.⁴⁰ Although lacking Van Berckenrode’s privileges, Van Geelkercken did receive money for his maps from officials. It is clear that he regularly sent his work to lower magistrates, with at least occasional success. He received 48 guilders from the city council of Bergen op Zoom, in 1619, and a two-pound gratuity from the Middelburg magistrate, in 1622, for his map of the siege of Bergen op Zoom.⁴¹ Yet unlike Berckenrode, Van Geelkercken could rely on a broad range of publications to supplement his income.

In the first place, he sold town plans, maps, and news maps in his shop, where he employed a young colourer, Pieter, for customers who desired a more decorative copy.⁴² Although the borders between the categories are not perfectly clear, there are differences between Van Geelkercken’s news maps and Berckenrode’s memorial maps. This can be illustrated by comparing Van Geelkercken’s 1610 map of Jülich with the official siege map that Berckenrode made of the city in 1611. The date itself is the first major difference: whereas Van Geelkercken published his maps during the siege, Berckenrode produced

38 FM 1520. *Barony van Breda, 't welck is een part van Brabant, daer in te sien is de teghenwoordighe belegheringhe des Iaers 1624 ende 25.*

39 Kees Zandvliet, ‘Kartografie, Prins Maurits en de Van Berckenrodes’, in *Prins Maurits’ kaart van Rijnland en omliggend gebied door Floris Balthasar en zijn zoon Balthasar Florisz van Berckenrode in 1614 getekend*, ed. Kees Zandvliet (Alphen aan de Rijn: Canaletto, 1989), pp. 17–50.

40 Cf. the amounts of 1,000 and 1,400 guilders he paid for his house(s) in Th. H. Lungsing Scheurleer, et al., *Het Rapenburg. Geschiedenis van een Leidse Gracht*, vol. 5 (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1990), pp. 447, 454. I am grateful to Paul Hoftijzer for this reference.

41 Van der Meulen, ‘Nicolaas Geijlkerck’, p. 63; Van Maanen, ‘Nicolaas van Geelkercken’, p. 245.

42 Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Het Rapenburg*, p. 458.

his after it had been won. Moreover, unlike Van Geelkercken's maps, Van Berckenrode's is large and expensive, with captions in French, the language of diplomats and army officers. These differences are typical for seventeenth-century practice: news maps were made by various printers competing to be first during a war or siege. The official memorial engraving printed after the battle had been lost and won was bigger and designed to impress both contemporaries and posterity.⁴³

During and immediately after campaign season, Van Geelkercken depended on his civic and military cartographical projects, and his occasional army news. Winter was silly season, however. Surveying projects were impossible, and the seasonal nature of early modern warfare dictated that there was no war news to be had. Van Geelkercken therefore sought other ways to capitalize on the news. As we shall see, his list contains various winter spin-offs of his summer work, some of which were tremendously successful.

A New Town, New Genres: Chronicles and Almanacs

After Van Geelkercken had had his own press in Amsterdam for a couple of years, he moved to Leiden, where he hired a house on the Rapenburg, in 1616.⁴⁴ The move was probably related to his working relationship with the historian and cartographer Petrus Bertius, and his subsequent cooperation with Philippus Cluverius, a German geographer, who was appointed to the chair of geography in the same year.⁴⁵ Van Geelkercken worked with Cluverius on his *Germaniae antiquae libri tres* (1616), for which he engraved a series of pictures of warriors and maps, and might have expected more assignments from the new professor (which did indeed arrive).⁴⁶ In any case it is clear that Van Geelkercken saw healthy business opportunities. Owing to its flourishing university, Leiden offered a great market for all kinds of books, including news.⁴⁷ Scholars like Cluverius wanted their books illustrated, and students from all over Protestant Europe thirsted for information on the beginning of the Thirty Years War.

43 See, for example: David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art, 1550–1672* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 453.

44 Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Het Rapenburg*, p. 447.

45 On Cluverius: Peter Fuchs, 'Clüver, Philipp', in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 3 (1957), p. 295.

46 Philippus Cluverius, *Germaniae antiquae libri tres* (Leiden, 1616). It is striking that Van Geelkercken's Leiden activities come to a halt soon after Cluverius' death, in 1623.

47 Cf. Benjamin Roberts, *Sex and Drugs before Rock 'n' Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity During Holland's Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), pp. 130–1.

Van Geelkercken was more than willing to cater for them. In Leiden he experimented with various new genres that allowed him to make the most of the war news he gathered. He thrived: in 1621, he bought part of the house he had rented, and rented another.⁴⁸

The first by-products of the news, of course, were chronicles offering an overview of the year's news, or newsbooks. This genre, based on the German *Messrelationen*, was far from new, but Van Geelkercken was one of the first Dutch publishers to capitalize on the interest in the Thirty Years War by publishing newsbooks focused on the upheavals in the Holy Roman Empire. Possibly inspired by the success of Wassenaer's *Historisch Verhael* ("Historical Narrative", 1622–35), Van Geelkercken published his first newsbook, on the risings in the Veltolin, in 1621.⁴⁹ A map of the region, made by Cluverius and engraved by Van Geelkercken himself, could be bought in his shop separately.⁵⁰ It was probably successful, for Van Geelkercken repeated the format. On the title page of his 1623 *War Memorial*, Pope and Emperor literally open up the stage of Germany, showing all the "new wars" that had been reported in the past year. The main text provided a month-by-month overview of events, illustrated by crude versions of Van Geelkercken's larger maps. And although the title page also advertised news from France and England, they received only very brief mention on the final page, where Van Geelkercken wrote that: "we have said on the title page [that we would report] on France. To do so is unnecessary, however, for peace has been concluded in the past year".⁵¹ Van Geelkercken traded in war, and the most memorable war, in the early 1620s, occurred in Germany. But there was another reason to focus on the Holy Roman Empire. In both cases, the newsbook seems to have functioned as a by-product of his summer maps. As a born German and a partner of Cluverius, Van Geelkercken sold maps of the Holy Roman Empire and The Netherlands, not of France and England, on which he probably had little information.

Another obvious genre to which the printer of war news might turn in silly season was the almanac, traditionally published in December and January.⁵² I have found previously unknown evidence that Van Geelkercken introduced

48 Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Het Rapenburg*, p. 447.

49 *Rhaetiae dat is: 'tlant vande Grisons ende Veltolijn* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1621).

50 Philippus Cluverius and Nicolaes van Geelkercken (engr.) *Alpinae seu foederatae Rhaetiae Subditarumque ei terrarum nova descriptio* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1621). This map was later reproduced in Janssonius' *Theatrum Imperii Germanici* (1632).

51 [Van Geelkercken], *Ghedenckwaerdige Historie ende Krijghs-Memorie* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1623), p. 56.

52 On Dutch almanacs, see Jeroen Salman, *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999).

one of the most successful formats of the century, *The Italian Prophet* (*De Italiaense Waersegger*). He published the first edition of this title in 1621, and continued it at least until 1624.⁵³ However, since the successful title was soon imitated by other Dutch publishers, new editions appeared throughout the seventeenth and even well into the eighteenth century.⁵⁴ Van Geelkercken's initial editions were also translated into English, at least in 1622 and 1624.⁵⁵ An ephemeral trifle compared to his cartographical work, the *Italian Prophet* ironically was Van Geelkercken's most lasting contribution to Dutch print culture.

The series claimed to be based on the papers of the Bolognese mathematician and cartographer Giovanni Antonio Magini. Today, Magini is mainly remembered for his magisterial atlas *Italia* (1620), as well as for the fact that he beat Galileo to the chair of mathematics at the University of Bologna. In his time, however, Magini was also a noted astrologer, and although it is clear that not a word of the *Prophet* was actually translated out of Italian, his name alone sufficed to provide the almanac with an air of authority and exoticism.

There are two main reasons to suppose that the Leiden almanacs, hitherto catalogued as anonymous, were both published and written by Van Geelkercken himself. In the first place, there are cross-references with his other works. Van Geelkercken asserted the accuracy of the *Prophet's* prognostications in one pamphlet in which he compared what had happened with what had been prognosticated in the *Prophet*.⁵⁶ The *Prophet* in turn advertised histories that bear Van Geelkercken's name on the title page. This clearly suggests that he was involved in publishing the work, but one might still have doubts as to his authorship.

The strongest indication that Van Geelkercken was also involved in writing the almanacs occurs in the preface to the 1622 edition, where the anonymous

53 The only surviving copy of the 1621 edition is kept in the Leiden University Library, THYSPF 2759. *Den Italiaenschen vwaerseggher, dat is een prognosticatie, op het iaer onses Heeren 1621* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1621). Kn. 3303, *Den Italiaenschen vwaerseggher, dat is een prognosticatie, op het iaer onses Heeren 1622*. After 1624, the booklets change their title and appearance, and probably move to other printers.

54 On the (influence of) *Den Italiaenschen waerseggher*, see Salman, *Populair drukwerk*, pp. 222–3, 242–3. Salman discusses the text as anonymous.

55 STC 17182. *The Italian prophesier. That is, A prognostication made for the yeere of our Lord God 1622 ... Faithfully translated out of Italian into Dutch, and now into English* (London, 1622); STC 17183. *A strange and wonderfull prognostication* (London, 1624).

56 Salman, *Populair drukwerk*, p. 223n. states that Kn. 3304, *Optocht der Princen, alles voorseyt inden Italiaenschen waersegger* (1622) was critical of the *Prophesier*. Yet although the pamphlet begins listing the things that have not come to pass, the author discovers the truth of the prognostications at the end of the pamphlet.

author claimed to have been taught by the great Magini, learning “various things which I daily find to be in accordance with the truth”.⁵⁷ This assertion can only refer to Van Geelkercken’s own biography. Recent work in the history of cartography has shown that Van Geelkercken was a brother to Arnaldo di Arnoldi, a cartographer and engraver who made many maps for Magini in Bologna.⁵⁸ From 1599 onwards, Arnaldo was assisted by his brothers Jacob and Nicolaes.⁵⁹ Before he arrived in Amsterdam in 1604, then, Van Geelkercken received his training as a cartographer, and probably also as an astrologer, in Magini’s workshop. Van Geelkercken might therefore have introduced Magini’s magnum opus *Italia* to the Amsterdam booksellers. It is unknown to whom he was apprenticed during his early years in Amsterdam, but the most likely candidates, Blaeu and Hondius, also happen to be the earliest reproducers of Magini’s maps of Italy.⁶⁰

Van Geelkercken’s strong connections with Magini explain why various details given in the preface of his almanac are actually true. For example, the author of the almanac says that Magini’s papers were given to him by his son Fabio.⁶¹ The statement is probably a ruse, meant to provide his text with an aura of authenticity. The son’s name, however, is correct. Rather than copying Magini’s astrological works, then, Van Geelkercken copied his business model, using the affinities between cartography and astrology to deploy his skills and knowledge in the winter, and to widen his clientele. The seasonal nature of (war) cartography led him, like Magini, to dabble in other genres.

57 Kn. 3303. *Den Italiaenschen waersegher* (1622), sig. A1v.

58 Henk van der Heijden, ‘Wie was Arnaldo di Arnoldi?’, *Caert-thresoor*, 18.2 (1999), pp. 37–40.

59 Meurer, ‘De jonge Nicolaes van Geelkercken’, 43. See also: Roberto Almagia, *L’Italia’ di Giovanni Antonio Magini e la cartographia dell’Italia nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Naples: Perrella, 1922), pp. 17–18, 162–7. Almagia shows that Jacob and Nicholas, the youngest brother, were in Bologna until 1603, when their brother Arnaldo died in Rome. After their departure, another Dutch engraver, ‘Amadeo Giovanni di Amsterdam’ took their place. The information derives from Magini’s preface to his *Tavole del Primo Mobile*.

60 Magini’s cartographical work was reproduced by various Amsterdam workshops in the seventeenth century. Blaeu (1614, 1616) and Hondius (1617, 1620, 1632) were the first, Claes Jansz Visscher (1650) followed later. See: Orietta Lago Selva, ‘Giovanni Antonio Magini’s *Italia*’, in *Imago Italiae. Fabrica dell’Italia nella storia della cartografia tra medioevo ed eta moderna: realtà, immagine ed immaginazione dai codici di Claudio Tolomeo all’atlante di Giovanni Antonio Magini*, ed. Luciano Lago (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2002), pp. 675, 737.

61 Kn. 3303. *Den Italiaenschen waersegher* (1622), sig. A1v.

Infotainment: The News Novel

Both the almanac and the yearly newsbooks were obvious and profitable by-products for those involved in war publication: they provided them with work in the winter, while stimulating the news hunger of their clients. At the same time, these winter fruits show that Van Geelkercken approached news as a form of entertainment. To him, the almanac was a kind of puzzle, and figuring out its relation with the unfolding news story a game that could be played throughout the year. The lines quoted above, in which he emphasized not only the topicality of one of his maps, but also the enjoyment it provided, show his desire to entertain, and to blend literary and non-literary forms.

For Van Geelkercken, news, like literature, could cause terror and delight in his audience. Even in one of his dedicated news pamphlets, the *Journal of the siege of Bergen op Zoom*, he combined information and entertainment. Starting with a poem, and a short historical introduction, he quickly proceeded to the news, observing that “the reader desires the present more than the past”.⁶² Illustrated with his own engravings of the siege, the pamphlet ended, characteristically, with a series of “farcical observations”, funny short stories about the soldiers’ lives in the camps. Fusing the categories of history, news and farce, Van Geelkercken here went through a well-deliberated sequence. Starting with the most serious genre, he ended with comic relief to restore the humoral balance of his readers.

The fictionalizing twist to the news given in the *Journal* was followed by another original enterprise. The *Wonderful Adventure of Two Beloved*, which Van Geelkercken published together with an edition of the *Italian Propheesie* in January 1624, is unique in its kind.⁶³ Besides being the first original novella in the Dutch language, it is also a fictionalized news story, in which Van Geelkercken reflected on recent events in the Thirty Years War by describing in simple prose the journey of two lovers, the soldier Waterburn and the young girl Wintergreen.

Barred from marriage by Wintergreen’s parents, Waterburn enlists in an army raised by Colonel Frenck, a Bohemian envoy who had indeed raised an Dutch

62 Kn. 3340, *Journael ofte dagh-register, waer in vertoont werdt des vyandts scherm-slagh voor Berghen op zoom: met het dapper verset ofte ontset, der selver stee* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1622), sig. A4v. ‘den Leser [verlangt] meer nae het teghentwoordighe, als na het ghepasseerde’.

63 Grootes, *Wonderlicke avontuer*, edited the pamphlet (without the almanac) because it is the first original novella in the Dutch language.

army for Frederick v in 1619.⁶⁴ Soon after Waterburn has departed, Wintergreen—desperate without her lover—cross-dresses and also enlists. After much ado, she finds him in an army bed: they have been assigned to the same house. Waterburn does not recognize her—and falls asleep. Chastity, Geelkercken tells us, does not allow him to convey her thoughts at that moment. Her moaning wakes Waterburn up, though, and once he knows the truth, “Cupid’s bow stood ready with an arrow”. She soon gets pregnant, and then sees him die in the battle at White Mountain. Of course he is not dead—he even manages to save Frederick v—but they do become separated again. Waterburn then fights at Bergen op Zoom (where Van Geelkercken, as we have seen, had been present himself), and she, in mourning, travels to the West. It is there, a shipwreck or two later, that they meet again, make their fortune, and live happily ever after.

Resembling the French sentimental novellas of the period, the story is rather unremarkable.⁶⁵ But the novella is important because it shows how van Geelkercken both repackaged and marketed the news. It fits Van Geelkercken’s strategy to reuse the news of the Thirty Years War, some of it only weeks old, to entertain and instruct his readers. Instruct, because the story is also an allegory of Dutch Protestantism. The Dutch, like Waterburn and Wintergreen, had wandered into the terrible German wars to help the Winter King, Frederick v. After the devastating defeats of the Protestants in Germany, hope seemed bleak, but God, *The Wonderful Adventure* implies, has predestined the Dutch to glory in the West Indies. Such an allegorical reading is suggested by the way in which Van Geelkercken advertised his novella: “With this”, he wrote, “comes a miraculous adventure of Mr Waterburn and Winter-Green, and I hope that as all *their* sorrows and torments have now turned into happiness and prosperity, the next year, too, will turn from sadness into joy” (emphasis added).⁶⁶

Like his chronicles, Van Geelkercken’s novel was recounting the recent history of the Thirty Years War. Like his almanacs, it anticipated the news of the coming year, in this case the arrival of good news from America. Of course, Van Geelkercken’s readers could rely on him for coverage of the projected recovery of the Protestant cause. Later in the year, news arrived that the Dutch had conquered Salvador de Bahia in Brazil. Sadness now indeed seemed to have turned into joy, and Van Geelkercken responded by publishing *Reys-boeck van het rijke Brasilien* (“Travelbook of Rich Brazil”) in which he offered not only a short summary of the news of the conquest, but also a description of the

64 Joseph Polisensky, *Tragic Triangle: The Netherlands, Spain and Bohemia, 1617–1621* (Prague: Charles University, 1991), pp. 109–29, 198–238.

65 Grootes, *Wonderlicke avontuer*, pp. 16–17.

66 *Italian Prophecier* (1624), sig. A1r.

conquered land illustrated with his own maps.⁶⁷ Again, he blended news with history and cartography so as not to be dependent on topicality alone.

Van Geelkercken in Protestant Print Networks

The book market in which Van Geelkercken operated was highly competitive. In the absence of a guild, publishers and booksellers pirated each others work, and new successes were quickly imitated. But even competitors often cooperated, and Van Geelkercken seems to have had a solid network of colleagues, especially in Friesland and Amsterdam, with whom he frequently cooperated.⁶⁸

In Friesland, where Van Geelkercken worked on the Ubbo Emmius maps, he befriended the engraver Pieter Feddes, and cooperated with the bookseller Jan Jansz Starter. Back in Amsterdam, he was particularly close to Jodocus Hondius, with whom he cooperated on various occasions and who might have become his tutor when he arrived in the city in 1604. In 1614–15, when Van Geelkercken owned his own bookshop in Amsterdam, Hondius' son Henricus hired Nicolaes to map the Veluwe region in Guelders for his wealthy client Jan van Wely, Maurice of Orange's ill-fated jeweller.⁶⁹ Other projects, too, were done in cooperation with Hondius' circle. Van Geelkercken's map of the world, *Orbis terrarum descriptio duobis planis hemisphaeriis comprehensa* was engraved in 1617 by Johannes Janssonius, Hondius' son-in-law. It was an enduring connection. In 1632, Janssonius reproduced several of Van Geelkercken's news maps in his *Theatrum Imperii Germanici*.⁷⁰ But it was not only the Hondius family with whom he worked. Petrus Bertius, with whom Geelkercken worked on his *Nova Germaniae Inferioris* (1614), was originally a Flemish refugee related to Hondius. One of his engravings was published by Claes Jansz Visscher during his Amsterdam period.⁷¹

67 See Michiel van Groesen, 'A Week to Remember. Dutch Publishers and the Competition for News from Brazil, 26 August–2 September 1624,' *Quaerendo*, 40.1 (2010), pp. 26–49, at 45–6. See also: Kn. 3540, *Reys-boeck van het rijke Brasilien, Rio de la Plata ende Magallanes, daer in te sien is, de gheleghentheynt van hare landen ende steden* (Dordrecht: printed by J. Canin for Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1624).

68 On the cooperation between printers, see Kolfin, 'Amsterdam' and Henk Borst, 'Van Hilten, Broers en Claessen: Handel in boeken en actueel drukwerk tussen Amsterdam en Leeuwarden rond 1639,' *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 8.2 (1992), pp. 131–6.

69 Doornink-Hoogenraad, *Nicolaes van Geelkercken*, p. 27, no. 57.

70 For example his map of Rhaetia (1621) and Jülich (1610).

71 Hollstein, 7: 92. Nicolaes van Geelkercken (engr.), *Portrait of William I, Prince of Nassau-Orange* (Amsterdam: Claes Jansz Visscher, 1615).

When Van Geelkercken moved to Leiden, he continued to profit from his Amsterdam connections. Within cities, competition and cooperation went hand in hand. Between different cities, however, cooperation between booksellers and publishers was the rule. An intricate network of exchange between booksellers took shape in the seventeenth century, in which news, too, was frequently exchanged.⁷² One of the rare surviving correspondences between printers in this period shows that Van Hilten sent copies of his coranto to the Leeuwarden bookseller Tjerck Claessen every week.⁷³ Although such archival proof is lacking in Van Geelkercken's case, it is clear that he frequently exchanged material with his Amsterdam colleagues. Thus one of his 1620 Leiden news maps could be bought in Van Hilten's shop, 'The Crowned Hat', for instance, which indicates a cooperative venture.⁷⁴ In the same year, Joris Veselaer printed another of Van Geelkercken's news maps for him, which could also be bought in his shop.⁷⁵

It may have been Van Geelkercken's Amsterdam colleagues who distributed his maps and almanacs to England. Veselaer, after all, was the 'George Veseler' who printed the first English corantos, translated from the Dutch by Van der Keere (Hondius' brother-in-law), in the 1620s. Hondius himself, moreover, had lived in exile in London before he settled in Amsterdam in 1595.⁷⁶ There may also have been other intermediaries, as Hondius had many ties with Flemish exiles and Englishmen in the booktrade such as the print dealer Hans Woutneel.⁷⁷ Possibly through Hondius, Van Geelkercken also had his own contacts in England. His 1614 London map of Jülich was printed by Carolus Demetrius, the son of Emmanuel van Meteren, for whose history of the Low Countries Van Geelkercken had engraved a map two years earlier.⁷⁸ In a trial of 1641, Van Geelkercken claimed that his son Jacob had trained as a geographer in England,

72 See e.g. Harline, *Pamphlets*, pp. 82–91.

73 Borst, 'Van Hilten, Broersz en Claessen'.

74 Jacob van Lennep and J. ter Gouw, *De uithangteekens, in verband met geschiedenis en volksleven beschouwd*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Kraay, 1868), p. 215.

75 FM 1429. *Afbeeldinghe van de Berchemer-waert, ofte Papen-Bril schants, met het innemen van Bacharach, ende een bewijs hoe Spinola met water ende sweert gheslaghen is gheweest* (Amsterdam: Joris Veselaar, voor Nicolaes Geelkercken, 1621).

76 Peter H. Meurer, 'The Cologne Map Publisher Peter Overadt (fl. 1590–1652)', *Imago Mundi*, 53.1 (2001), pp. 28–45, at 40n.

77 R.A. Gerard, 'Woutneel, de Passe and the Anglo-Netherlandish Print Trade', *Print Quarterly*, 13 (1996), pp. 363–76; Ilja Veldman, *Images for the Eye and Soul: Function and Meaning of Netherlandish Prints (1450–1650)* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2006), p. 280.

78 Van der Meulen, 'Nicolaas Geijlkerck', p. 55. Van Meteren probably knew Hondius when both them were in exile in London.

which also suggests a direct connection.⁷⁹ Whether Van Geelkercken traded with English booksellers directly or through intermediaries, however, his work was sold in England because of the Protestant diaspora of booksellers set in motion by the Revolt.⁸⁰

The overriding correspondence between Van Geelkercken's contacts, and indeed between most news publishers during the years of his activity, is that they were all solidly Orangist, and dedicated supporters of the contraremonstrant cause. Claes Jansz Visscher was a contraremonstrant, and so were the army dependents Broer Jansz and Caspar van Hilten.⁸¹ Hondius, an Antwerp refugee, was even a contraremonstrant ringleader.⁸² Even Van Geelkercken's German customers and collaborators such as Emmius and Cluverius were staunch supporters of militant Calvinism. Van Geelkercken himself, both immigrant and army dependent, was no exception.

Like most news printers in this period, Van Geelkercken therefore exclusively printed news from a contraremonstrant and Orangist perspective. Besides reporting Maurice's exploits in the Lower Rhine region, he engraved and printed portraits of the princes of Orange in the 1610s, celebrated their main victories, and engraved prints that were vehemently against the Truce with Spain (see Figure 15.5). He reported triumphantly on the Synod of Dordt, in 1618, and after Maurice's purge of town magistrates (*'wetsverzetting'*), in the same year, Van Geelkercken published an official Leiden 'coranto' listing the city's new council members.⁸³ Relishing the demise of the remonstrants, he also published copies of similar corantos from other cities.⁸⁴

Various scholars of seventeenth century print culture have warned against supposing a too narrow relationship between the personal views of the publisher

79 Doornink-Hoogenraad, *Nicolaes van Geelkercken*, p. 12.

80 Ole Peter Grell, 'The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network and its Significance for Calvinist Identity and Interaction in Early Modern Europe', *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, 16 (2009), pp. 619–36; Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 54.

81 On the Protestantism of the early Dutch and English courantiers, see Göran Leth, 'A Protestant Public Sphere: The Early Modern Newspaper Press', *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History*, 1.1–2 (1993), pp. 67–90.

82 Orenstein, 'Print Publishers', pp. 186–7, 195.

83 Kn. 2701. *Courante der stadt Leyden also vande publicatie ende verkiesinghe des raets aldaer gheschiet* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1618).

84 *Authentyke copie van de verkiesinghe des magistraets persooone tot Rotterdam, met der zelve namen* (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1618); *Publicatie ende verkiesinghe des raets tot Haerlem* (Haarlem: Adriaen Roman for Nicolaes van Geelkercken, 1618).



FIGURE 15.5 *Geelkercken, Nicolaes van. Tot lof zynder Prinslycke(r) eer Diens deughd Fama doet blycke(n) zeer (Leiden: Nicolaes van Geelkerck, 1612[?]). Portrait of Maurice of Orange with allegorical figures and depictions of his major victories. The date is doubtful because it is associated with Maurice rather than the print. Permission Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*

and his output,⁸⁵ and rightly so: few publishers scorned a quick profit even if that meant that the text published went against their political or religious conscience. The fierce contraremonstrant Hondius on one occasion even published a print of Rome with texts praising the Pope.⁸⁶ Yet news, especially war news, should be seen as a separate category of print during the Truce. Hondius may have printed an occasional Catholic religious print, but he would never have printed a news print of a Catholic victory. Van Geelkercken's case illustrates that unlike the print market in general, the news business in the 1610s and 1620s was highly confessionalized and structured to a considerable extent by ideology. Shaped during the Dutch Revolt and dependent on army networks for both the all-important war news and commissions, the networks responsible for non-periodical news by necessity printed partisan news strongly biased towards Protestant internationalism. Considering the popularity of the Orangist and contraremonstrant cause, this was also a wise business choice.

Conclusions

Versatile, opportunistic, focused on the army, and unfailingly contraremonstrant and Orangist in his ideological outlook, Van Geelkercken was a typical news bringer, whose early career is not unlike those of the army courantiers Broer Jansz and Casper van Hilten. These army men, too, had access to valuable army news, and both their careers took off during the Truce with Spain. In the 1610s, this generation of printers started to transform a market dominated by news of the Revolt into a market for international, and especially German tidings.

Van Geelkercken's career shows that the seasonal nature of war news made special demands on newsmakers, and stimulated them to creatively recycle their news through genre diversification. It was by blending the categories of cartography, history, news and literary entertainment that Van Geelkercken showed his inventiveness and individuality. Despite the contingencies apparent in his list, there is a clear strategy underlying Van Geelkercken's news publications, especially in his Leiden period. While pursuing his mainly cartographical commissions he attempted to profit from the information that came his way. He increasingly experimented with remediation, publishing the same material on the same subject in different genres and formats, presumably to appeal to distinct audiences.

85 See e.g. Veldman, *Images*, p. 273.

86 Orenstein, 'Print Publishers', p. 195.

Van Geelkercken's case illustrates the open and experimental character of the Dutch news market in its decades of expansion, when publishers could do news on the side, and try their luck in a variety of news genres. For Van Geelkercken and many others, news publishing started out as a profitable by-product of his main trade, which he and they marketed in a wide range of genres. As the century progressed, and the market became parcelled up, however, there was an increasing need for specialization. Jansz and Van Hilten found their niche with the printed coranto, Visscher excelled in the newsprint, and Blaeu focused on the atlases. Van Geelkercken could or would not compete. In 1628, he became master surveyor for the province of Guelders, which offered a much more secure, stable and, presumably, comfortable life. In this too, he resembled many young men in the print business, for whom news was often a passing concern.

News Exchange and Social Distinction

André Belo

In the past two decades the phenomenon that Harold Love called “scribal publication”—meaning the circulation of handwritten texts in a wider or narrower public form—has become visible in early modern European social and cultural history.¹ This is also true in the particular field of the history of news. Handwritten newsletters were one of the types of the “scribally published texts” identified by Love, alongside a wide array of political documents, music and poetry. Although Love’s study was centred on seventeenth century England, scribal publication existed all over early modern Europe. Moreover, in recent years a new awareness of the social function of handwritten newsletters has been fostered in studies of various parts of Europe. To mention just two of the most relevant: Mario Infelise’s research has shown in detail how Venetian and other Italian handwritten newsletters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, called *avvisi*, were at the origins of public information.² Their circulation, following diplomatic and merchants’ networks, was European in scale, and the appearance of weekly printed periodicals in the beginning of the seventeenth century did not fundamentally change, for several decades if not more, the importance of the circulation of handwritten news. For the Iberian world, Fernando Bouza has clearly identified the phenomenon, and analyzed it with his vast knowledge of archival sources.³

Such considerations have the potential to displace printed periodicals from what we can call their historiographical “splendid isolation”. Printed gazettes, corantos, mercuries, *courriers*, posts and *postillons* ought to be studied and understood in relation to manuscript news of different kinds, on which, as Infelise has also pointed out, they continued to depend in structure and content well into the eighteenth century. The much discussed “question of the origins” (an idol of the historian’s tribe, according to Marc Bloch) that haunted

1 Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1993).

2 Mario Infelise, *Prima dei Giornali. Alle Origini della Pubblica Informazione* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002).

3 Fernando Bouza, *Corre manuscrito. Una Historia Cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2001). Ch. 4 is particularly concerned with newsletters (*cartas de nuevas*).

national histories of the newspaper can thus be put in perspective, losing much of its relevance.⁴ The same relativisation, I think, applies to the question of the appearance of periodicity, which should be displaced from print alone to the wider picture of the periodical circulation of messages via the post, handwritten or printed.

The purpose of the first part of this chapter is to present a number of methodological arguments that demonstrate that the nexus between handwritten and printed news—corresponding, in general, to perceived degrees of publicity in the circulation of news—is fundamental to any understanding of the mechanics of news circulation and exchange in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe. I will also argue that social status and social distinction had a crucial role in such mechanics. In the second part I will try to present these methodological arguments at work, drawing on case studies from seventeenth century France and eighteenth century Portugal. While I focus on those parts of Europe with which I am best acquainted, I am nonetheless convinced that these arguments could provide the basis for methodological generalisation about a coherent system of information that spread all over early modern Europe. I am also aware of the bias created by a perspective that concentrates essentially on the relationship between manuscript and print, and does not consider the specific importance of oral messages or of iconography and images in the exchange of information; the same, of course, applies to other non periodical printed and handwritten objects which were also important to the culture of news in this period. If I do so, it is to maintain my analysis within a scope—two different textual news media circulating and often read alongside each other—that allows for systematic comparisons.

A System of Information

In the first place, printed and handwritten news were structurally connected all over Europe for sociological reasons: the connection was made by the social agents dealing with the news, who worked and published in both media. In fact, periodical newspapers can be conceived of as commercial initiatives destined to amplify a small part of the information that was also available by other, more discreet, means of circulation, as was the case of newsletters. We have several examples of the participation of publishers of printed gazettes in the distribution—commercial or otherwise—of handwritten news. The nature and extension of this association could certainly vary, but socio-professional

4 Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'Histoire ou Métier d'historien* (1949; Paris: Armand Colin, 1993), p. 85.

contiguity between the two forms of reproduction of news was the rule. One such publisher was Johann Carolus, the editor of what has been identified as the first printed periodical—the *Relation* (1605) printed in Strasbourg—and who was also a seller of handwritten news.⁵ Several Italian gazetteers in Genoa, Milan or Torino likewise extended their activity as news gatherers and publishers from manuscript to print without stopping their previous activity.⁶ For early seventeenth century England, we can cite the example of Nathaniel Butter and his collaborator John Pory, active in the development of news business in both manuscript and print.⁷ In France, even though I have found no direct evidence of Théophraste Renaudot's activity as a producer of handwritten news, we do know the names of several contributors to his printed gazette who were engaged in the regular production of newsletters. In Portugal, as we shall see, the editor of the Lisbon gazette in the first half of the eighteenth century was a regular purveyor of handwritten news to correspondents that were themselves editors of handwritten periodicals.

A second and very concrete reason not to study printed periodicals isolated from other media is the fact that early modern readers did not read printed news without comparing it with a number of heterogeneous sources of information that were far from limited to print or to periodicals. Because of the structural difficulty of ascertaining the accuracy of circulating news, but also of their unequal political and social relevance, written reports on current events were the object of an extensive reading intended to multiply the sources of information.⁸ News readers read both handwritten and printed news in complementary ways, which, of course, added to the ongoing stream of information and commentary that could be obtained visually and orally, and exchanged face to face.

A last general reason why the heterogeneity of news media was fundamental to the early modern system of news is because such heterogeneity was adapted to the multiplicity of social conditions and values that was seen as intrinsic to the social world itself. Different degrees of publicity allowed the re-establishing of social distinctions that printed news tended to erase. They also permitted

5 See Thomas Schröder, 'The Origins of the German Press', in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 128.

6 Infelise, *Prima dei Giornali*, p. 97.

7 See Sabrina A. Baron, 'The Guises of Dissemination in Early Seventeenth Century England: News in Manuscript and Print', in *Politics of Information*, ed. Dooley and Baron, pp. 45–6.

8 See Ian Atherton, "'The Itch Grown a Disease': Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century', in *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 45.

news writers and readers to solve potential contradictions between different worlds of action, allowing the expression of opinions and the sharing of information in certain social spaces—in contrast with others spaces where the same messages should not or could not be diffused. The activity of spreading the news to an audience was thus mediated by a series of forms of distinction and fragmentation of such an audience, according to perceptions of specific social ties and values. The careful consideration of the audience's differences was a fundamental aptitude to be learned in the social world, leading to the adjustment of one's speech—and the news it conveyed—according to the addressee.

The Added Value of Handwritten News

The reasons for the social importance of handwritten news have been underlined by different authors and I will briefly now present my own typology. They all are, in one way or another, connected to the added value handwritten news could have in the social world in relation to printed news. This added value of handwritten news derives from four different, albeit interconnected, characteristics:

- a) Higher speed of publication and greater openness to the inclusion of last minute news.
- b) Personalised content, potentially adapted to addressee.
- c) Political discretion.
- d) (Self-regulated) social control over the circulation of texts.

Before proceeding, some important qualifications have to be made. The features presented above are not static; are not intended as an absolute rule; and did not depend solely on the form of reproduction of the texts, but rather on a set of interconnected social circumstances that influenced the circulation of news. The characteristics assigned here to handwritten news formed a potential added value that nonetheless needed to be *activated* on specific occasions. Nevertheless, my hypothesis is that this added value could be confirmed on a sufficient number of occasions as to be considered structural, understood and adapted by social agents to their own goals of news exchange and publication.

Another qualification concerns the risk of reifying the differences between news media, in particular manuscript and print. As suggested above, the distinction between them is relevant only to the extent that it was associated with

a perception of the different degrees of publicity in the circulation of news. In seventeenth and eighteenth century French and Portuguese sources the distinction between printed and handwritten news is usually crossed by the distinction between 'public' and 'particular' news. Although these distinctions did not align perfectly, we can say that in this period handwritten newsletters were the privileged media, conveying 'particular' news or discrete comments on news within socially restricted networks. In contrast printed news was, by definition, considered public. This does not mean, to be sure, that there was no public news flowing in manuscript—the distinction between Venetian *avvisi pubblici* and *avvisi secreti* is sufficient to remind us of this.⁹ When news was public, confirmed or not, it could flow in different media, and by word of mouth. Even though one of the roles of news networks was to limit the diffusion of news in order to maintain its added value, news could escape such social control.

Still, from a political point of view, social self-regulation seems to have been the reason why political authorities tolerated, to a limited extent, the exchange of otherwise potentially dangerous content about current events. This does not mean, once again, that there was no porousness in the circulation of handwritten information; rather that it was easier to control or to react to unintended appropriations of such information within socially selected networks. Apart from the political ones, a number of reasons have been pointed out, by Sabrina A. Baron for instance, to explain this (relative) social self-control of handwritten information: namely economic (when they were sold, the high price of newsletter's subscriptions) and cultural ones (the ability to read and write).¹⁰ To these reasons I think that we should also add the non-monetary value that handwritten news could have in the social market when its circulation was restricted. Handwritten news included a good share of rumours, unconfirmed news and speculation over upcoming events. News networks had an interest in not making entirely public part of the information they exchanged because such news could be used in the evaluation of court politics and rival factions, the matrimonial politics of the nobility, the royal nominations for offices, or anecdotes and rumours concerning the ruling families' reputations and health.

Because of its social value, handwritten news could be used in many different ways. Not only commercially, by the selling of newsletters, but also as a gift, a mark of distinction offered by ambassadors, secretaries, soldiers and all those engaged in the dispatching of news, within relations marked by the values of

9 Infelise, *Prima dei Giornali*, p. 31.

10 Baron, 'The Guises of Dissemination', pp. 48–50.

service and deference. As correspondence reproduced at distance social hierarchies of rank and privilege, letters multiplied occasions for rendering favours and receiving some form of benefit in return. Depending on the nature of the relationship between correspondents, there were vertical logics at work (of service and patronage) and horizontal ones (where an idea of equality by friendship prevailed). The exchange of news participated in this extensive social traffic. In order to have success in this game, a judicious evaluation of media and, more generally, of the expected audience of news, was fundamental.

In order to keep handwritten news as news and preserve its political and social value, limitation of access to the network from the outside was fundamental. To publish information within a restricted audience was also to hide it from a wider audience. This delimitation of the audience of news operated also inside the networks. Researchers who have studied early modern correspondence exchanging political and social information are familiar with the reiterated requests to keep discretion about particular news, not to publish it to other people who could potentially also have access to such information. This restriction of the audience of handwritten or particular news was not only conducted by a political evaluation of the risks of publishing—the risks of causing problems with authority or the risks to one's reputation; there were also criteria of social distinction at work, with a persistent distinction between a scholarly perception of news and a 'vulgar' one, between good curiosity and 'popular' curiosity and opinions, the latter often associated with an immoderate passion for news. Enlarging the audience—in a model of news as a social merchandise such as the one I am presenting—was equivalent to a depreciation of its value.

No source to my knowledge expresses this added value of handwritten news more simply and effectively than the well-known, often quoted, lines of the play *The Staple of News* (1626), by Ben Jonson. Cymbal, the Master of the news shop, and Fitton, one of his emissaries, explain to Penyboy Junior why they prefer newsletters to printed news:

Fitton. O sir, it is the printing [of news] we oppose.
 Cymbal. We not forbid that any news be made
 But that't be printed; for when news is printed,
 It leaves, sir, to be news. While 'tis but written –
 Fitton. Though it be ne'er so false, it runs news still.¹¹

11 Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, ed. Anthony Parr (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 96 (ll. 46–50).

Ben Jonson—even though this was not his direct purpose in the play—gives us here a powerful insight on the social function of handwritten as distinct from printed news. His is a definition of news based precisely on its value. From the perspective of the newsletters sellers of Jonson's play, it is the fact that news were not printed, that is, the fact that they circulated among a socially more selected audience than printed news, that made them worthwhile—with wealthy customers willing to give good money for them. If and when news reached the printing press, information became more public and its added value disappeared. As Fitton explains in the last line quoted, in the world of handwritten news the distinction between true and false information existed but was less important than the awareness that both true and false news circulated. This awareness was political in a broad sense.

The use of Ben Jonson's play as a transparent historical source could certainly be contested. However, to the purpose of this chapter, more important than the 'realism' of its plot and characters, is its significant criticism of the development of the social commerce of news. Several other seventeenth century writers reacted to this development with ridicule.¹² In a way, the same criticism was offered by the Italian engraver Giuseppe Maria Mitelli in his well-known drawings satirising passionate news hearers and readers. In the perspective of this chapter, such literary and iconographic sources can be interpreted as symptoms of an existing social phenomenon, the extension of the audience for news at various moments. They are markers, albeit not necessarily objective ones, of the 'vulgarisation' of news and the momentary disruption of social control over its circulation. We shall see another example of this in the last section of this chapter.

Social Control and Social Use of News in Seventeenth Century France: The Dupuy Cabinet

Correspondence between French men of letters in the decades from 1620 to 1640 leads us to an elite place of literary and political sociability in Paris: the Dupuy academy (or 'cabinet', as it was named afterwards) of the two brothers Pierre and Jacques Dupuy.¹³ Meeting in the library of a high magistrate,

¹² Further references in Atherton, "Itch grown a disease", p. 43 and n. 32.

¹³ On the composition of this network, see Jérôme Delatour, 'Les frères Dupuy et leurs correspondances', in *Les Grands Intermédiaires Culturels de la République des Lettres*, ed. Christianne Berkvens-Stevelinck, Hans Bots and Jens Häselser (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005), pp. 61–101.

Jacques-Auguste de Thou, who was their cousin and whose network of correspondence they partly inherited, these two magistrates animated an assembly of scholars that exchanged all sorts of information over several decades, on erudite matters and on current events. Saturated with news in a variety of media, the Dupuy assembly dealt with oral, handwritten and printed information that could arrive at a daily rhythm. News was local, from Paris and the Court, and from distant regions, conveyed in letters sent regularly by correspondents from different parts of France and Europe; the content of these letters was often read aloud in the assembly. The sources of information of the Dupuy brothers included foreign printed periodicals; they were also in contact with Théophraste Renaudot, the administrator and writer of the *Paris Gazette*, first published in May 1631.

This gives a perhaps idealised impression of a seventeenth century academy; it is therefore important to note that the abundance of information that reached the Dupuy brothers does not mean that all the persons that were in contact with them, by letter or in the meetings of their assembly, had transparent access to the same information, at the same time or on equal terms. In the letters they sent to the Dupuy brothers correspondents were well aware of the habit of reading aloud the content of their messages in the academy. When necessary, they attached prescriptions that particular information not be communicated to the whole of the audience. Here is a quotation from a letter by Philippe Fortin de la Hoguette, a military man and also a relatively successful writer, who regularly sent news from southwest France to the Dupuy brothers. Concerning the important conflict between the Duke of Epernon and the archbishop of Bordeaux in the year 1633, he wrote: “Lisés bas maintenant si vous voulés que je vous die des nouvelles de ces quartiers car encor que je sois toujours plus veritable que partial, je pourois estre estimé tel de quelques uns de ceux qui hantent chés vous par l’interest de leurs maistres” (“Read silently now if you want me to give you news from these quarters, for although I am always more truthful than partial, those who frequent your assembly by interest of their masters could think of it differently”).¹⁴ La Hoguette was making a request to restrict the audience for his letter, based on a political calculation of the different factions existing in the Dupuy circle. Political discretion could be requested from the addressee in order for the sender to maintain a reputation for impartiality.

A good example of the social use of news among writers is the case of Jean Chapelain, a French man of letters whose social identity has been brilliantly

14 Letter sent from Blaye, 23/11/1633; *Lettres aux Frères Dupuy et à leur Entourage*, ed. Giuliano Ferretti (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1997), p. 337.

analyzed by Christian Jouhaud.¹⁵ Jean Chapelain used his literary and political skills to be promoted into the academic circles of the Court of France between the Reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV. The writing of news in letters and in ‘relations’ to be published in the printed gazette were among the ways by which he served his patrons, securing protection and favours in exchange. From Paris, he sent courtly news to members of the high nobility engaged in the wars of the kingdom of France, like the Duke of Longueville or the Marquis of Montausier. In exchange, he published in Paris, by different means and to different audiences, the feats of arms of his patrons: he sent articles to the printed gazette, wrote larger narratives of the same battles to be printed as pamphlets, but also diffused his news orally in the meetings of the hotel de Rambouillet, news that arrived from there to the nearest circles of the Duke of Richelieu.¹⁶ The publication of news in high places was thus a means of serving the reputation of members of the high nobility; this logic of service extended to people collaborating with Chapelain in collecting and sending news. These included Jean Epstein, a German news collector and a Calvinist, very active in Paris in those years, and associated with Renaudot in the translation and printing of German news for the *Gazette* from the summer of 1631. At the request of Chapelain, Epstein started sending in 1639 German and Dutch news to the Marquis of Montausier who was in Alsace. In exchange for this Epstein obtained, at the beginning of 1640, a letter of naturalisation as a French citizen from the Chancellor. The intervention of Chapelain seems to have been decisive in this. The naturalisation was probably Epstein’s payment for the services he was providing.

How Peiresc Read his Gazette

One more detailed point of view on the circulation of news in this same period may be constructed out of the correspondence sent from 1617 to 1637 by Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, the famous French scholar of Aix-en-Provence, to the Dupuy brothers in Paris. Jacques and Pierre Dupuy provided Peiresc with “la communication des choses du temps”, that is to say, current news—not necessarily political—from the French court and other places.¹⁷ From Aix, Peiresc sent the Dupuy brothers exclusive information from his vast network

15 Christian Jouhaud, ‘Une identité d’homme de lettres: Jean Chapelain (1595–1674)’, in *Les Pouvoirs de la Littérature. Histoire d’un Paradoxe* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), pp. 97–150.

16 Jouhaud, ‘Une identité d’homme de lettres’, pp. 118–19.

17 *Lettres de Peiresc publiées par Philippe Tamizey de Larroque*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1890), p. 282.

of correspondence which included an important Mediterranean dimension. For the purpose of this article, I have examined this correspondence for references to the circulation of the *Gazette de France* and to its first administrator and writer, Théophraste Renaudot.

From September 1631 Peiresc began to receive the recently created Parisian gazette dispatched by the Dupuys. In 1633, Renaudot, who was also in correspondence with the Dupuy brothers but wanted to have direct access to Peiresc's valuable information and network, requested them to convince Peiresc to correspond with him directly. Peiresc refused emphatically, in spite of the flattering remarks made by Renaudot and his attempts to send Peiresc small gifts as signs of distinction. The same kind of refusal occurred in the case of Ismaël Boulliau, according to Stéphane Haffemayer.¹⁸ Boulliau refused to become a correspondent of Renaudot's and to share with him the particular news he had from Poland on more or less the same grounds as Peiresc.

The refusal to correspond directly with Renaudot, by Peiresc, Boulliau and probably other members of the Dupuy network, is significant. Peiresc justifies this refusal by a set of socio-cultural oppositions, implicit and explicit. In a letter dated from 18 April 1633 Peiresc explains to Dupuy the reasons for such a denial:

... je n'abhorre rien tant que de passer pour un donneur d'avis, car j'aymerois bien mieux n'en recevoir jamais, et m'en passer tout à fait comme j'ay fait durant mon sesjours de campagne assez longuement. Je voudroys mesme esviter (et me rançonnerois volontiers pour cela) de passer pour un homme trop curieux de sçavoir les nouvelles du monde, s'il estoit possible, car l'importunité y est aulcunes foys bien grande, de la part de ceux qui en viennent demander, et qui s'imaginent qu'on soit non seulement obligé de leur en dire quand on en a, mais d'en avoir quand on n'en a point, au moins de celles qu'ils cherchent....¹⁹

(There is nothing I despise more than being taken for a giver of *avis*. I would rather not receive any news at all, as I did for long during my sojourns in the country. I would even like, if possible, to avoid ... being known as a man too curious of the news of the world. It is sometimes a great inconvenience to be asked for such news, and those who send for it think that we are obliged to give it not only when we have it but also when we don't....)

18 Stéphane Haffemayer, 'Théophraste Renaudot (1586–1653): les Idées Humanitaires d'un Homme de Communication' [2011] <hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/63/73/14/PDF/RenaudotColloqueNV.pdf>, 2 [03/03/16].

19 *Lettres de Peiresc*, 2: 498–9.

Peiresc seeks here to distinguish himself from correspondents who dedicate exclusively to giving news in the model of the *avvisi* (“donneur d’avis”). Implicit is the nobler activity of gratuitously exchanging literary and antiquarian news between fellow scholars. Clearly, Peiresc places Renaudot on the side of the “donneur d’avis”, as opposed to men of letters of good curiosity that were part of the Dupuy and Peiresc’s more exclusive circle. Excessive curiosity for current events is condemned and considered to be in contradiction with an ideal of sane curiosity. The ideal opposition between the disorderly world of the court and the peaceful man of letters retired in the country is also latent.

There is here an implicit contempt—sometimes explicit as he often avoids naming him directly, initially calling him *gazetan* and later *gazetier*—for Renaudot as a man of letters, consumed by a false, ‘mundane’ curiosity, the obligation of collecting news from current events to insert in the gazette. In one letter of march 1634 Peiresc insinuates that Renaudot’s main motivation with his periodical is profit—neglecting honest correspondence for the sake of his business.

By his refusal, then, Peiresc recreates a moral and social hierarchy involved in intellectual commerce. For Peiresc, it is a question of defining a legitimate circle of curiosity and not enlarging it. Reputation is also the issue: he doesn’t want to be a correspondent to Renaudot, not so much because of the content of the exchange, from which he could possibly obtain useful information, but because of the possibility of “passer par un donneur d’avis”, of being confused with a simple news reporter. The establishment of a moral and social hierarchy allows Peiresc to distinguish between good and bad curiosity and ultimately to justify to Dupuy his refusal to act in that capacity.

There emerges a contradiction worthy of exploration—one I would call ‘Peiresc’s blind spot’. Far from the ideal image of the retired man of letters, Peiresc was at the centre of one of the largest networks of his time, nourishing a circulation of information of all kind and very distant parts of the world, from Asia to Northern Europe.²⁰ Peiresc devoted a great deal of his time to maintaining his network. Such activity demanded weekly information received by letter, including “la communication des choses du temps” by Dupuy. To be

20 For a cartographic sketch of Peiresc’s network, see Robert Mandrou, *Histoire de la pensée Européenne*, vol. 3: *Des Humanistes aux Hommes de Science. XVI^e–XVII^e siècles* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973), pp. 248–9. See also the introduction to the third volume of the series *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, where Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond describe Peiresc’s profile as a man of letters and correspondent, with an ethos of intellectual detachment. The authors identify him as an icon of the ‘republic of letters’ of early modern Europe: *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 4.

sure, Peiresc's curiosity for current events included those published in Renaudot's paper. After having received for the first time an issue of the *Gazette*, in the beginning of September 1631, Peiresc not only asked Dupuy to repeat the action but begged him to send to Aix-en-Provence two copies of the periodical per week, in order to keep one copy for himself and to satisfy other readers' curiosity with the other one.

But perhaps the most interesting thing about Peiresc's remarks concerning the *Gazette* does not relate to its content, but to the speed of its distribution. In fact, from November 1632 onwards, Peiresc complains regularly in his letters to Dupuy about the slowness of the gazette. He was receiving it with a delay of 10 to 14 days in respect to the date of publication, whereas other readers in Aix, like the Maréchal of Vitry and the President of the Parliament, were receiving the *Gazette* with a lag of one week only. Making his own calculations about the time necessary for letters to arrive from Paris to Aix (which included a relay in Lyons), Peiresc concluded that the only possibility for the periodical to get to Aix in one week was by the dispatching of some copies by Friday's post, one day earlier than the printed date of publication, which was by that time a Saturday, in order for the letters to arrive at Lyons before the departure of the Tuesday ordinary. The goal of the operation was to satisfy the curiosity for a *fraîche* gazette by a few high-ranking readers in Provence. From this conclusion he accuses Renaudot of deception (*supercherie*), both of Dupuy and of the readers who believed the true date of publication of the *Gazette* to be a Saturday.

A few months later, Peiresc did start to receive a *fraîche* gazette directly from Renaudot, within eight days of publication. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that such a change occurred precisely at the moment when Renaudot formally asked Peiresc, via Dupuy, to be his correspondent. By honouring Peiresc with a more up to date gazette, Renaudot was expecting, in return, an affirmative answer to his request, which, as I have mentioned, never arrived: by the end of 1633 Renaudot was still trying to secure Peiresc's direct correspondence, receiving as an answer, via Dupuy, that if he wanted some of Peiresc's news he might as well look for them in the letters to Dupuy.

It is not necessary to go into more detail about the routes and times of the ordinary mail from Paris to Aix via Lyons in the 1630s. It is worth underlining once more the contrast between what Peiresc wrote in letters about his own lack of curiosity for current events and his concern with the speed of the circulation of printed news. Peiresc, like any other reader eager for the news, not only saw no interest in an 'old', no longer current, *Gazette*, but he could see far beyond that; he was an expert in the knowledge of the different mechanisms involved in the circulation of letters and periodicals at distance: the various routes and timings of the post, the carriers, the procedures of surveillance, etc.

Not only was he curious about the content of the *Gazette*, but also about the small social hints, only understandable by experts in curiosity like himself, that could be deciphered in the paper's circulation. In these mechanisms we must include aspects that had a moral component: for instance, the creation of small distinctions between readers by sending the gazette earlier to those who were considered of a higher rank, *hors pair*. To be sure, Peiresc respected this logic of honouring social precedence in readership. What he could not understand was why other readers not that much 'hors du pair' were receiving the *Gazette* before him.²¹ In his eyes such a way of proceeding—giving *Gazettes* early to those who did not merit this distinction, and deceiving readers about the true date of the *Gazette*—lowered Renaudot's credit among honourable people (*gens d'honneur*).

The particularity of Peiresc's reaction to the circulation of the *Gazette de France* allows us to sketch one model of a reader: that of the well-connected scholar, who not only reads but contributes to the ongoing edition of circulating news; has access to different layers of information, public and 'particular', within a network; has the capability to read critically through these different layers. His position, shared by other well informed readers of his time, can be defined as that of someone who could produce news about the news. Not only did he have access to particular sources of information who made him a very reliable source of information in a network—someone a gazetteer was eager to have as a correspondent—but he was capable also of understanding the circulation of the network from within, scrutinising the contrast between public and less public information, observing the circulation of the new printed periodical and reader's response to this circulation. This ability was, to be sure, a result of Peiresc's particular skills in building his own network of information, but it was also a result of the relation between handwritten and printed news as I have tried to define it. Differences of speed and the irreplaceable social functions of handwritten correspondence gave added value to news exchanged within networks. A broad perspective on and close observation of news circulation itself was one of the consequences of such added value.

Eighteenth-Century Portuguese News Networks in their Relation to the Lisbon Gazette

From a European perspective, the Portuguese case may startle us by the scarcity of press initiatives during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

²¹ *Lettres de Peiresc*, 2: 408–9.

Whilst in these same decades in central and northern Europe printed periodicals multiplied in a variety of titles and genres, in Portugal there was no such development. If the long war against Spain after the 'restoration' of 1640 was at the origin of printed monthly newspapers, first the *Gazeta* (1641–7) and then the *Mercúrio* (1663–7), no license or privilege to print a periodical was conceded by the Crown for almost four decades thereafter. The *Gazeta de Lisboa*, the first weekly Portuguese newspaper, was published for the first time in 1715, nearly a century after the first examples in central and northern Europe. Such a peripheral position in the European map of printed newspapers, both in space and in time, probably correlated to Portugal's peripheral position in the general economy of the production and commerce of printed objects, an economy in which Portugal depended on the importation of specialised—religious and scholarly—books printed in cities like Amsterdam, Leiden, Antwerp, Frankfurt or Paris and redistributed first via Lyons and then Geneva.²² The small internal market probably dissuaded printers from trying new, risky, ventures, which included periodicals.

If we displace our perspective from the observation exclusively of printed periodicals to the circulation of news more broadly, it becomes apparent that the absence of gazettes in Portuguese was by no means synonymous with a lack of information on current affairs. Scholarly networks, connecting diplomatic circles, literary academies or religious orders, were well informed of European military and political news, which arrived via different media, printed and handwritten, in periodicals or in separates, following the regular rhythm of international postal connections. Knowledge of the content of the printed European gazettes and pamphlets—read in their original language or translated—was thus part of the Portuguese networks' reception of news.

When the *Gazeta de Lisboa* was first published, in August 1715, it entered a system of news exchange where printed and handwritten news already had complementary roles. By printing periodical news in Portuguese on a weekly basis, the *Gazeta* contributed to the reshaping of this system. Newsletters contemporary to the periodical reacted to the novelty of the weekly printed sheet of news by integrating it in their own horizon of news writing. One such newsletter was the 'Gazeta em forma de carta' ('Gazette in the form of letter') attributed to José Soares da Silva, a manuscript compilation of news existing from (at the latest) December 1701 that explicitly signals the incorporation of the European model and vocabulary of news. Although we are ignorant of the details of its circu-

22 For a preliminary presentation of this question, with specific bibliography, see André Belo, *As Gazetas e os livros. A Gazeta de Lisboa e a Vulgarização do Impresso, 1715–1760* (Lisbon: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 2001), pp. 28–33.

lation, the content of the text clearly testifies to the circulation of news in periodical form.²³ And as far as we can deduce from this compilation, the appearance of a new gazette in Portuguese in the summer of 1715 was rapidly noticed among newsletter writers, and its visibility became central to patterns of consumption. From the beginning, Soares da Silva assumed that the reader of his own newsletter also read the new printed gazette and abstained from redundancy by referring only to the news that the printed gazette did not include. From this moment on, Soares da Silva's newsletter was displaced, and developed a more specialised function: delivering news not included in the printed periodical.

The audience for handwritten news thus adapts to the existence of the printed gazette. The phenomenon is also apparent in the other compilations of handwritten news that are known for this period, of which the most important seems to be the 'diário' ('journal') of the fourth count of Ericeira, Francisco Xavier de Meneses. Recent research on news and networks in eighteenth century Portugal has shown the important role of this member of the Portuguese high nobility and academic patron in the configuration of news networks starting, possibly, in the war of the succession of Spain and until the end of the 1730s. Ericeira seems to have been a key figure in the diffusion of handwritten news to a group of selected correspondents.²⁴ He used his political position in the court, in the Portuguese nobility and in the most important academies of his time to disseminate news and thus exert a form of control over social reputation and political alignments. He had a close relationship with the editor of the gazette, Montarroio Mascarenhas, whose (frustrated) candidature to the new Royal Academy he supported (1721). Ericeira was himself a regular supplier of courtly and academic news to the gazette and, in exchange, Montarroio Mascarenhas kept the count up to date to his own news. This probably included giving the count access to the content of the printed periodical prior to its publication, allowing the count to reflect this knowledge in the writing of his own news.

This helps to understand why, as also happened with the 'Gazeta em forma de carta', the printed gazette was implicitly, and often also explicitly, present in Ericeira's news. This presence was not merely a matter of quotation or a testimony of reading: Ericeira was one of those expert readers who, in the way of Peiresc a century earlier, produced "news about the news" of the gazette (and other sources) in the discreet world of handwritten information.

23 The idea is expressed by João Luís Lisboa: 'Gazetas feitas à mão', in *Gazetas Manuscritas da Biblioteca Pública de Évora*, 3 vols., ed. João Luís Lisboa, Tiago C.P. dos Reis Miranda and Fernanda Olival (Lisbon: Colibri, 2002–12), 1: 16.

24 See Tiago C.P. dos Reis Miranda, 'Proveniência, Autoria e Difusão', in *Gazetas Manuscritas da Biblioteca Pública de Évora*, ed. Luís Lisboa *et. al.*, 2: 13–42.

In 1734, unhappy with the comments and rumours that he noticed were being added to his news, and also with its circulation beyond the limited social circle that he expected to influence—distorted news and rumours arrived at the royal palace—the count, in his own words, “left the business of gazetteer”, reduced the number of addressees of his news and continued to send them only to a very restricted noble audience.²⁵ In spite of this, it is likely that, during this period, the news produced by the count of Ericeira, either via the gazette’s editor or directly, reached other correspondents. Among these were the members of the academy of Santarém (*Academia Escalabitana*), a town not far from Lisbon, and rapidly accessible via the Tagus river, thus possessing a good position as a relay of courtly news in the direction of northern Portugal. From 1740 onwards, two men of letters from Santarém, Montês Matoso and Pereira de Faria, both notaries, created a formalised series of handwritten periodicals, relying on correspondents in different points of central and northern Portugal (Coimbra and Oporto, several monasteries) and also in Lisbon, including the editor of the gazette. Surviving correspondence shows the regular exchange of information between the offices of Montarroio and Santarém. From Lisbon, Montarroio sent the latest news from abroad and from the court; in Santarém, the two scholars edited a handwritten periodical entitled ‘Folheto’ or ‘Mercúrio’, dated from Lisbon, and emulating in form and anticipating in content the printed courtly gazette. In exchange, they would send to Lisbon the news they could gather from central and northern regions of Portugal. There was also an important exchange of genealogical information between them—a knowledge that was used in services for the nobility and various institutions and also in news writing; a good part of such information was not considered worthy of the gazette, but it was relevant to Montarroio’s labour in genealogical research and to enrich his collection of archives. In recompense, aside from sending them his own fresh handwritten news, Montarroio published the activities of the academy of Santarém in the gazette whenever it was possible. The fact that this publishing of academic accomplishments in the gazette extended to several other academies suggests that this form of exchange was common.

The Dynamics of Change

Ericeira, Montarroio and the provincial academics from Santarém passed much of their time writing and dispatching news to their correspondents.

²⁵ *Gazetas Manuscritas*, 2: 321, 317.

News of current affairs satisfied their curiosity, but it also had a social value and enriched their personal and familiar archives. Nonetheless, their activity as both news readers and writers was also marked, whether consciously or not, by what I have called above 'Peiresc's blind spot': from their point of view, curiosity for current events was only acceptable within restricted social circles, and the expansion of such curiosity to a wider public dimension was morally reprehensible. If seen through the point of view of news networks, the history of news circulation in Portugal in the first half of the eighteenth century is in a good part the history of this tension between the growth of a public eager for news on the one hand, and on the other the reluctance of established networks to relinquish social control over news. Available sources allow us to observe these dynamics, and significant critical reactions to the loss of such social control. I will mention two significant moments of this tension, as symptoms of change in the world of news circulation, and then conclude.

In the same year that the count of Ericeira decided to restrict the circulation of his news, a small Portuguese play, an intermezzo, took the reading of the gazette as dramatic subject.²⁶ Like Mitelli's drawings, it denounces in its own way—fairly limited from an artistic point of view—the passion in the reading of news by social groups considered unfit to do it. It stages a student and a shoemaker reading a gazette and taking sides on its news about the war (it was performed during the war of the Polish Succession). The student and the shoemaker are represented as pro-French and pro-German, respectively, and these identities are not only 'national' ones, but also moral, being associated with particular vices. Both characters start arguing over the correct interpretation of the gazette's text and in the end the argument turns physical. At that point, a verger intervenes and vigorously brings concord to the scene, by sending each of the contenders to their own duties—away from gazettes and from impertinent readings.

Félix da Silva Freire, the author of the intermezzo, was a member of the aforementioned academy of Santarém. In spite of his apprehensions concerning the social effects of reading, he was himself a conspicuous consumer of news, in every available medium. His acquaintance with the circulation of current news is beyond doubt, through his academic connections, and can also be deduced from the details of the intermezzo concerning the contents of news and the practices of reading the gazette. As in the case of Ben Jonson, in my view it is less important to know whether his dramatic text reflects a given social reality—we know, in fact, that it does not, and that Freire's characters

26 'Notícias da Gazeta do Mundo da Guerra da Europa do Ano de 1734', Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, sig. 50-I-18, 137-71.

are highly stereotyped—than to understand his text for what it does: it fights a perceived threat, the social widening of the readership for news, triggered by international wars. Through the characters of the student and the shoemaker, Silva Freire re-enacts the old scholarly topic of the passionate love of novelties as a failing of the vulgar.

This same potential of a growing readership was also sensed, not as menace to a form of communication *inter pares*, but as a commercial opportunity by the administrators of the *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Eight years after Freire's intermezzo, in 1742, the family of printers and booksellers who held the privilege to print the newspaper developed a new editorial strategy in order to enlarge their audience and sales, by an increase in both periodicity and the number of copies. The handwritten periodicals edited in Santarém inform us of this growth. They also inform us of the moderate circulation of the periodical at the time, and of the progressive augmentation of its circulation in the spring of 1742: from 450 to 650 copies—far from the hyperbolic image of a whole society turning into a gazetteer, presented in the intermezzo.²⁷ A different copy of the same issue does not mention figures but offers a qualitative description of this enlargement, where a form of social contempt of the same kind as in the intermezzo is expressed: the new consumption of the periodical was such that every shoemaker was buying it.²⁸ We have here an additional confirmation of the ideological contiguity between the dramatic text and the handwritten news. Several testimonies, elaborated by the same group of social actors, even though in a stereotyped way, point at the same sociological phenomenon.

A few months later, in July 1742, the periodicity of the paper was doubled and the gazette began to be published twice a week, with a supplement. The reason for this innovation, as stated in an editorial, was the increasing demand of the public concerning news from the war of Austrian Succession.²⁹ The supplements were published for a decade, and we also know, by a rare document containing financial information on the administration of the gazette, that the number of the copies significantly increased in this period, almost tripling (to 1,500 copies) in the case of the ordinary issue.³⁰ The aged editor of the *Gazeta*, Montarroio Mascarenhas, was opposed to this commercial strategy

27 'Folheto de Lisboa', no. 6 (21/4/1742), Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, Reservados, cod. 8065.

28 'Folheto de Lisboa', no. 16 (21/4/1742), Biblioteca Pública de Évora, cod. CIV/1–10.

29 *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 1 (13/9/1742).

30 'Mapa da despeza, que se fazia annualm.te com a impressão da Gazeta, e Suplemento; como tambem os lucros que destes exemplares se percebiam sendo Administrador Jozé Roiz Roles desde o anno de 1740, té 1748', *Biblioteca Pública de Évora*, CXXVIII/2–16, 58a.

which had the consequence of diminishing his own income and of impoverishing the quality of the printing paper of the periodical. This opposition was in fact part of the scholarly ethos that we have identified in other examples mentioned above: considering himself as a member of a commonwealth of the letters, preferring the status of the historian and the academic rather than the socially diminishing status of gazetteer, he was against the popularisation of a printed object which he considered, in the proper sense, a form of vulgarity. The difficulty with his position was the blatant contradiction between the ethos of the erudite integrating well informed news networks, and his professional subordination to a family of printers whom he considered socially inferior. The disagreement within the periodical business about the new course of the administration, of which we have further evidence in Montarrio's letters and critical responses from readers, ended up with a suit in court. In 1752 the privilege came to its term and the editor finally obtained the exclusive ownership of the gazette. Weekly periodicity and a substantial reduction of the number of printed text followed. Under Pombal, a decade later, political regalism led, not to a development of the so-called 'official press', but to almost two decades of absence of gazettes (1762–78).

‘Newes also came by Letters’: Functions and Features of Epistolary News in English News Publications of the Seventeenth Century

Nicholas Brownlees

I

From Upsall in Sweden, March 10.

This Post brought no Letters to us from England; so that we are still in the dark, as to the success of the Treaty between England and the United Provinces.¹

These first lines of a news dispatch that was published in the weekly news pamphlet *Mercurius Politicus* in 1654 illustrate the fundamental importance of correspondence in the transmission of news in seventeenth-century Europe. With no letters arriving from England, the news writer in Uppsala did not know how treaty negotiations between England and the United Provinces were developing. Without letters the news writer was indeed ‘in the dark’. In the correspondent’s quest for information as to how events in Europe were unfolding, no mention is made of other possible news sources such as print or oral news: all that counts are the letters.

However, the lines from *Mercurius Politicus* not only exemplify the importance of epistolary news for an individual’s understanding of seventeenth-century European affairs and politics; the dispatch also alludes to the use of epistolary news as a source for print news. The news from Uppsala is based on a letter sent by someone from that town. Thus, the published information from Sweden refers to correspondence which had not arrived from England: a news item which in turn is sent back by letter to England, and then subsequently published in *Mercurius Politicus*. Like all seventeenth-century news publications, *Mercurius Politicus*, England’s foremost weekly newsbook of the 1650s, relied extensively on letters for its own news.² The letters could be either

1 *Mercurius Politicus*, 13 April 1654 (*Lancaster Newsbooks Corpus*; hereafter *LNC*).

2 For information about *Mercurius Politicus* and its editor, Marchamont Nedham, see Joad Raymond, “A Mercury with a Winged Conscience”: Marchamont Nedham, monopoly and censorship’, *Media History*, 4.1 (1998), pp. 7–18. For monographs on the press in seventeenth

domestic or foreign, of an official nature or private, sometimes arriving directly at the publisher's desk or more probably amounting to the final stage of a much more circuitous route. Whatever their origin and background, and whichever network they belonged to, they could provide a very important source of news for seventeenth-century news editors. It is this interrelationship between correspondence and published news that I shall examine in the present chapter.³

century Britain see, Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and their Monopoly of Licensed News 1660–1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); Joseph Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper, 1620–1660* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961); James Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); C. John Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Jason McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2007); Jayne Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011); and Nicholas Brownlees, *The Language of Periodical News in Seventeenth-Century England* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2014 [2011]).

- 3 Although the role of letters in the dissemination of news has received attention in recent years, little research has been carried out on the focus of the present chapter, that is, the explicit referencing in English periodical news publications to letters as sources of news reports. For this latter aspect, see Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England 1500–1700* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2005), p. 207; Nicholas Brownlees, 'Capt. Badiley's answer unto Capt. Appleton's remonstrance (1653): The recontextualisation in print of private correspondence', in *The Language of Public and Private Communication in a Historical Perspective*, eds. Nicholas Brownlees, Gabriella Del Lungo and John Denton (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2010), pp. 194–215; Brownlees, *Language of Periodical News*, pp. 12–24, 125–31; Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 316–8. For more general analyses on the kinds of letters that were published in news publications and how the epistolary form rendered the content more direct, authentic or simply interesting, see Ian Atherton, "'The itch grown a disease': Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century', in *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 39–65; Cecile Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999), pp. 74–93; Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, pp. 214–18; Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity*, pp. 143–82, 201–21; David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), pp. 121–50.

II

The role of letters in the transmission of news will be examined by means of a corpus-based analysis of electronically-readable corpora of seventeenth-century English print news. Through an examination of concordance lines containing the search terms 'letter{s}', it is possible to gain insight into, first, the networks through which domestic and foreign epistolary news reached the English publisher, secondly, the added value epistolary news could give to the reliability and authenticity of the published news content, and, thirdly, the manner in which news in epistolary form could impact on the readers' understanding of Europe. My analysis of these topics will also involve consideration of general methodological issues regarding the compilation and use of machine-readable news corpora in the study of news networks in Early Modern Europe.

The three corpora consulted are the *Florence Early English Newspapers Corpus* (*FEEN*), the *Lancaster Newsbooks Corpus* (*LNC*), and the *Zurich English Newspaper Corpus* (*ZEN*). In total, they contain more than 1.3 million words of digitised news texts, comprising foreign news corantos of 1620–41, Civil War and Interregnum newsbooks of the 1640s and 1650s, and the *London Gazette* and other periodical newspapers from 1671–91.

The *FEEN* corpus covers the period from 1620–49. Consisting of 256,000 words, the collection of print news texts is divided into subcorpora, including the first corantos of 1620–1, which were more or less literal translations of previously published Dutch newssheets; the serialised corantos between 1622–41; five well-known newsbooks spanning 1642–9; and the adversarial Civil War newsbooks *Mercurius Aulicus* and *Mercurius Britannicus* in 1643–4.⁴

The *Lancaster Newsbooks Corpus* is very different in size and focus from the *FEEN* corpus. Rather than including selected texts over an extended period of time, it includes a very large collection of news and spoof news texts over a short time span. The period in question is December 1653 until the end of May 1654, and the part of the corpus containing the mainstream news publications amounts to 870,000 words. The newsbooks included in the corpus are *A Perfect Account*, *A Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages and Proceedings*, *Certaine Passages of Every Dayes Intelligence*, *Mercurius Aulicus*, *Mercurius Politicus*, *Perfect Diurnall*

4 For a description of the *FEEN* corpus, see Nicholas Brownlees, 'The beginnings of periodical news (1620–1665)', in *News as Changing Texts: Corpora, Methodologies and Analysis*, ed. Roberta Facchinetti, Nicholas Brownlees, Birte Bös and Udo Fries (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2012), pp. 5–48. In its extended form the *FEEN* corpus covers the period 1620–53, but the version which is used for the present analysis includes the years 1620–49.

*Occurrences, Several Proceedings of State Affairs, The Faithful Scout, The True and Perfect Dutch Diurnall, The Weekly Intelligencer and The Weekly Post.*⁵

The third corpus that I have consulted, the *ZEN* corpus, comprises a selection of periodical English newspapers from 1671 until the end of the eighteenth century. Numbers from the years 1671, 1681 and 1691, amounting in all to 184,000 words, were examined for the analysis.⁶ Most of the corpus is made up of the *London Gazette*, but other numbers include *The Currant Intelligence, The Domestick Intelligence, The Impartial Protestant Mercury, The Pacquet of Advice from France* and *The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence*.

Both the *FEEN* and *Lancaster Newsbooks* corpora have the same URL and can be analysed with the same corpus analysis tool, *Corpus Query Processor (CQPweb)*.⁷ The fact that the *ZEN* corpus is not online, and requires a different corpus analysis tool, exemplifies a methodological difficulty that sometimes arises in corpus-based diachronic analysis. Although an increasing number of digitised historical corpora is becoming available, such corpora are often accessed in different ways and require a variety of analytical tools. Thus, in this analysis, while *FEEN* and *LNC* were analysed by CQPweb, Corpus Presenter was used for the examination of *ZEN*.⁸

In the examination of 'letter{s}' in *FEEN*, *LNC* and *ZEN*, the concordance line can be expanded to incorporate more than the standard few words to the left and right of the search term. In *FEEN* and *LNC* the surrounding text can run

5 For further information on the *LNC* corpus, and how it can be used for discourse analyses of news reporting in the 1650s, see Sheryl Prentice and Andrew Hardie, 'Empowerment and disempowerment in the Glencairn Uprising: A corpus-based critical analysis of early modern English news discourse', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, 10.1 (2009), pp. 23–55; Andrew Hardie, Tony McEnery and Scott Songlin Piao, 'Historical text mining and corpus-based approaches to the newsbooks of the Commonwealth', in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 251–86.

6 For a description of the *ZEN* corpus, see Udo Fries, 'Newspapers from 1665 to 1765' in Facchinetti et al, *News as Changing Texts*, pp. 49–90.

7 *FEEN* and *LNC* are found at <cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk> [18/11/15]. For a description of CQPweb, see Andrew Hardie, 'CQPweb—combining power, flexibility and usability in a corpus analysis tool', *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 17.3 (2012), pp. 380–409.

8 Raymond Hickey, *Corpus Presenter Software for Language Analysis* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003). The use of different software for different corpora often becomes increasingly tricky the more complex the research question. All corpus analysis tools can provide straightforward concordances but not all of them offer similarly-designed resources for analysing more complex lexical and syntactic issues.

to 400 words, while with *ZEN* the possibilities of opening up the text are even greater. *ZEN* is not a web-based corpus and, therefore, the copyright restrictions are less stringent.

The possibility provided by all three corpora to look beyond the single concordance line was crucial in this analysis, since the additional contextual information was sometimes necessary to disambiguate the semantic field of 'letter{s}'. For example, as my research question involved the examination of the interrelationship between epistolary and print news I did not want my analysis to be skewed by references to 'letter{s}' where the search term had no relation to published news. Thus, the extraneity of the following occurrence of 'letter' to my analysis only became clear by reference to the entire sentence in which it was found:

1. Don Descant presently rode to the Prince to Wurtzburch, to show him the {Letter}, and on Saturday last came hither again⁹

Had the concordance been restricted to the standard four or five words to the left and right of the search word it would have been frequently impossible to determine the full semantic scope of 'letter{s}'.

In concluding this methodological overview, it is necessary to underline that, as with much diachronic corpora-based research, this study does not presume to provide an exhaustive analysis of the research question. The conclusions are based on a selected number of corpora, which by their very nature provide only a partial view of the millions of words found in seventeenth-century periodical news. Apart from this, I am also aware that in basing my study of print epistolary news on an examination of the search words 'letter{s}', I am leaving out of consideration textual references to printed correspondence which are lexicalised in different ways. Thus, this analysis does not incorporate possible references to correspondence in such expressions as 'From Warsaw they write', 'We have advice that', 'From Spain we have an account that'. However, this focus on the terms 'letter{s}' can be justified on both theoretical and practical grounds. First, the number of occurrences of the search term in the corpora is high enough to accommodate a detailed, wide-ranging analysis. Secondly, on a practical level, the examination of a simple search word in a concordance is much less labour-intensive than a full examination of all possible references to epistolary news in the various corpora. One of the most invaluable benefits of the growing accessibility of historical news electronic

⁹ *Corante, or, newes from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Bohemia, Spaine and Dutchland*, 2 August 1621 (*FEEN* corpus).

corpora and archives is that it allows researchers to identify quickly and efficiently general traits and features of historical news discourse, and how such discourse changed over time. This overview can then, if desired, be supplemented by more specific textual studies of particular news publications and chronological periods.

III

Taken as a whole, the *FEEN*, *LNC* and *ZEN* corpora contain 1,860 occurrences of 'letter{s}'. Out of this total figure, 'letter{s}' is associated with published news in 75–80% of the occurrences, where the range reflects occasional difficulty in deciding whether or not the epistolary correspondence can be classified as an editorial news source.

Typical examples of the referencing to 'letter{s}' as an editorial news source include:

2. An Extract of a {letter} from Brunswick the 24. of Iuly, the 3. of August¹⁰
3. From Venice the 6. of Iuly 1621. {letters} from Millane certifie, that¹¹
4. By {letters} from Holland we are advised, That Eight great Fly-Boats laden with Salt¹²
5. By {Letters} not received till then, but dated on the second of this Moneth¹³

The typicality of these extracts, which will be discussed in more detail later in the section, is seen in referencing to the place and date of the original correspondence. Sometimes both features would be supplied in the print news, as in (2) and (3), while in other instances either one or the other would be given. Thus in (4) we find a reference to where the letters had come from, while in (5) it is the date that is supplied.

Table 17.1 shows the frequency of the occurrence of the terms 'letter{s}' between 1620–91. The higher frequency of 'letters' as opposed to 'letter' in all four periods is significant. The use of the plural form indicates that when news writers referred to correspondence as a source of news they were more frequently basing their information not on just a single letter but on multiple epistolary

¹⁰ *Cent. 4. Numb. 30, 4 August 1641 (FEEN).*

¹¹ *Corante, or, newes from Italy, 2 August 1621 (FEEN).*

¹² *The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence, 1 March 1681 (ZEN corpus).*

¹³ *Mercurius Aulicus, 7 January 1643 (FEEN).*

TABLE 17.1 *Occurrences of 'letter' and 'letters' (1620–91). The figures are measured pm (per million words).*¹⁴

Time	Letter	Letters
1620–41	450 pm	900 pm
1642–49	450 pm	550 pm
1653–54	300 pm	750 pm
1671–91	300 pm	700 pm

texts. Of course, it is not possible to know whether or not this was true in practice, but the fact that it was written is nevertheless significant. Reference to multiple letters as a news source gave credibility both to the news writer and to the news itself. The news writer is presented as someone whose seriousness and professionalism is seen in the practice of sifting through the various letters arriving from a particular place and recounting, or at least relaying, the news on the basis of these multiple sources. As a result, the published news is presented as not the account of one personal viewpoint but instead as a composite picture of assorted epistolary news. Unless a single epistolary source carried particular weight or prestige, a dispatch or report based on multiple epistolary sources could be preferred since partiality was less likely.¹⁵

The information relating to 'letter{s}' in the concordances falls into nine broad categories. The categories are as follows: provenance of letter ("From Berlin", "From Norimberg"), date of letter ("from Reading Ian. 19", "yesterday", "lately"), communicative function of letter ("The letters from Silesia certifie", "Our Dutch letters of the 30 instant say"), contents of letter ("From Berlin letters affirme that part of the Duke of Saxons Army is going"), author of letter ("The Gentlemans letter begins thus"), addressee of letter ("In this letter there was a paper writ by a great Papist in Ireland to his friend"), mode of arrival ("express", "enclosed in another Merchants letter", "intercepted"), reproduction of letter ("copie", "extract"), and private/public nature of letter ("private letters from Amsterdam").¹⁶

14 The figures are measured in 100s and 50s since any more precise calculation would be unjustified given the occasional difficulty in determining whether the presence of 'letter{s}' represented an editorial news source.

15 For further discussion of this, see pp. 403–4.

16 I use the term 'author' rather than 'writer' since with much official correspondence of the time it is probable that the physical act of letter writing was carried out by an amanuensis.

The first three fields (provenance of letter, date of letter, communicative function of letter) occur very frequently and the fourth field (letter contents) almost always, whilst information relating to the last five categories is only occasionally found. Given restrictions of space, it is not possible in the present chapter to analyse the myriad themes making up letter contents, but the other eight fields are examined below, with particular attention given to the first three most frequently occurring categories.

(i) *Provenance of Letter*

Information regarding the provenance of epistolary news is given throughout the period under review. Between 1620–54, details regarding place are often coupled with information as to when the correspondence was sent. In the *FEEN* corpus for the years 1620–41, the spatial information usually precedes temporal details, while in the *FEEN* and *LNC* corpora of the 1640s and 1650s there is no typical order of information.

6. By {letters} from Breslaw in Silesia, dated Octob. 13, the Imperialists thus write¹⁷
7. in the {letters} from the Hage, Octob. 21. which say, That¹⁸
8. Munday Ian. 12. By {letters} out of Ireland we had the confirmation of a late great defeat¹⁹
9. By {letters} from the North, dated at the Leaguer before Yorke, the 12. of July²⁰
10. Last Wednesday here arrived {letters} from the Lords Ambassadors in England, being dated the 20 of this month²¹

In the *ZEN* corpus for the years 1671–91, the provenance of the letters is very frequently given; much less common is for this to be coupled with information regarding the date.

11. There are {letters} from Copenhagen, which tell us that the King of Danemarke had expected his Brother the King of Sweden ...²²
12. {letters} from France do continually repeat the lamentable Pressures²³

17 *A Continuation of the Newes of this Present Weeke*, 16 November 1622 (*FEEN*).

18 *A Continuation of the Newes of this Present Weeke*, 16 November 1622 (*FEEN*).

19 *Mercurius Civicus*, 15 January 1645 (*FEEN*).

20 *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, 16 July 1644 (*FEEN*).

21 *Mercurius Politicus*, 6 April 1654 (*LNC*).

22 *The London Gazette*, 8 December 1681 (*ZEN*).

23 *The Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence*, 8 February 1681 (*ZEN*).

In Table 17.2 we see the places which are most frequently cited as being the geographical source of epistolary news. The broad classification is ordered alphabetically, since any attempt to establish a strict numerical order of the most frequently cited places is beset by various methodological issues, the most significant being difficulties in determining whether each time a place is cited that occurrence amounts to a new news story (or at least a development of the same story). For example, the town 'Lime' is not included in the *LNC* classification since, although numerically it occurs frequently, each of the occurrences refers to just one specific news story.²⁴

It is interesting that between 1620 and 1641 one of the most cited geographical locations is Vienna, the capital of the Habsburg empire, which throughout the period was enmeshed in the struggle against Protestant forces in the Thirty Years War. These references to Vienna show that during 1620–41 English news readers—the vast majority of whom supported the Protestant cause—were being informed of epistolary news originating not just from Protestant centres

TABLE 17.2 *Ten most frequently cited source locations of epistolary news in FEEN, LNC and ZEN corpora.*

1620–41	1642–49	1653–54	1671–91
Amsterdam	Bristol	Amsterdam	Brussels
Brussels	Holland	Dover	Constantinople
Genoa	Ireland ²⁵	Edinburgh	Dublin
Hague	London	Harwich	France
Leipzig	Newark	Holland	Poland
Nuremberg	Northampton	Ireland	Riga
Prague	out of/from the North	Paris	Rome
Regensburg	out of/from the West	Plymouth	Spain
Venice	Reading	Scotland	Transylvania
Vienna	York	Sweden	Upper Hungary

24 The story, involving the attack on a Dutch ship by an English frigate in January 1654, was reported in seven different publications in the *LNC* corpus.

25 This only refers to the single word 'Ireland', and does not take into consideration multi-word references like 'Dublin in Ireland'.

in northern Europe, such as Amsterdam and the Hague, but also from the imperial capital.²⁶ Although English coranto publishers were convinced supporters of the Protestant cause, they provided their readers with news from opposing political camps. For much of the seventeenth century, English readers' understanding of Europe was based on their ability to assimilate and interpret information coming in from different locations and written by multiple correspondents, not infrequently presenting contrasting facts and points of view. Indicating the provenance of epistolary news was not just important in that it provided the seventeenth-century reader with initial information about where the news story originated, but more importantly—at least for the knowledgeable reader—the ideological slant that the story might contain. News readers were often given a composite, even contradictory picture of an event and it was their task—or their right—to interpret for themselves what they read. This is recognised by the editor of a coranto of 31 January 1623:

13. Gentle Reader, we must aduertise you that in our Newes we deliuered some things in seuerall places as wee get the tidings in seuerall parts, to shew you how the parties agree in their relations, seeing it is knowne that many write partially, and the one addes some circumstances more then the other; and hereafter we will put down very exactly from whence euery thing cometh. For you must conceiue we set downe some things as we receiue them from the High Dutch Copies, and some from the Low Dutch, printed at Antwerpe which peradventure may speake partially, which I desire you to take notice of, and to iudge accordingly: and so farewell.²⁷

In complete contrast to corantos from 1620–41, in the *FEEN* corpus of news-books from 1642–9 the provenance of epistolary news is almost exclusively British. The most frequently cited British location is London, but it is only indicated as a news source in the Oxford-printed royalist pamphlet *Mercurius Aulicus*. The other news publications in the corpus are all published in London, and would therefore have no reason to refer to the town as an epistolary source. Apart from the towns indicated in Table 17.1, the place names also include

²⁶ Editorial recognition that some coranto readers supported the imperial cause is seen in the following editorial notice: 'Gentle Readers: for there are two sorts of you I know: the one wishing well to the Emperor and his proceedings: the other, murmuring and repining that the *Palatines* cause and *Bohemias* businesse thrives no better', *The Affaires and Generall Businesse of Europe* (24 February 1624).

²⁷ *Weekely Newes*, 31 January 1623. See also *The Continuation of Our Weekely Newes* (28 June 1625), where the editor writes: "For I translate onely the Newes verbatim out of the

some smaller locations caught up in the Civil Wars (Litchfield, Abington, Banbury Castle and Tickhill Castle). The 1640s corpus also provides several examples of generically defined geographical areas such as 'from the West', 'from the North', as well as non-specific references like 'from divers places' and 'from other parts'.

The provenance of epistolary news in the *LNC* corpus of 1653–4 contrasts with both the findings of the 1640s and the two earlier decades. Whereas provenance in 1620–41 is restricted to continental Europe, and in the 1640s is focused on the British Isles, in 1653–4 we see numerous references to epistolary news originating from both these areas. Readers were receiving a more wide-ranging account of contemporary events. The British sources of epistolary news include not only large towns such as Edinburgh, Newcastle and Bristol but also ports such as Dover, Plymouth, Falmouth and Lime. The ports provided correspondence about the naval conflict involving the English, French and Dutch:

14. By {Letters} of this Day from Dover it was advertised, that two of our Frigates met with two Merchants Men of France²⁸
15. The last {Letters} from Falmouth say, that two Dutch Prizes, and one French Prize are brought in thither²⁹

In the European letters we frequently find examples of an embedded epistolary network whereby English readers receive epistolary news from a foreign-based correspondent, who in turn refers to newsletters arriving from somewhere else.

16. By {Letters} from Frankfort thus ... Our last {Letters} from Poland advise us that as yet they have not any tidings³⁰

Tongues or Languages in which they are written, and hauing no skill in Prognostication, leaue therefore the judgement to the Reader, & that especially when there are tidings which contradict one another". The same viewpoint is also expressed in the editorial of the first issue of the *Daily Courant*, England's first daily newspaper, where the editor writes that he will "give his Extracts fairly and Impartially; at the beginning of each Article he will quote the Foreign Paper from whence 'tis taken, that the Publick, seeing from what Country a piece of News comes with the Allowance of that Government, may be better able to Judge of the Credibility and Fairness of the Relation" (11 March 1702).

28 *Certaine Passages of Every Dayes Intelligence*, 10 February 1654 (*LNC*).

29 *Certaine Passages of Every Dayes Intelligence*, 3 February 1654 (*LNC*).

30 *Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages and Proceedings*, 3 April 1654 (*LNC*).

Therefore, in this particular case the English news buyer is reading news based on letters from Frankfurt, which in turn include information found in letters from Poland. Epistolary news is travelling across Europe and eventually reaching the English reader, but, as will be examined in more detail in the following section, the time involved in the transmission of the news may impact on how the news is received by the English audience.

Foreign correspondents occasionally refer to letters sent by their own countrymen from England, thereby giving English readers a foreign perspective on their own affairs. For example, the passage below reports on letters that Dutch ambassadors in England sent back to the Hague regarding the peace treaty between England and the United Provinces.

17. From Rotterdam, April 24. stilo novo.

On the 14 of this Month arrived an Express at the Hague, with {Letters} from our Lords Ambassadors in England to the States General, wherein they advise that the Peace was wholly finished and concluded³¹

However, foreign-based correspondents referring to English epistolary news could also be part of the English diplomatic network. Marchamont Nedham, the editor of the state newsbook *Mercurius Politicus*, had access to some of the English diplomatic correspondence sent back to the Secretary of State in London, and would include extracts of such correspondence in his weekly newsbook.³² The extract below is part of a letter that an English Hamburg-based diplomat sent back to his superior in London. As was common in diplomatic correspondence, the letter begins by first referring to what letters had arrived from England and then provides a brief update on the news contained in the diplomat's last letter. As epistolary transmission was at the mercy of not just natural hazards, which could at any moment prevent letters from concluding their journey across land and sea, but also interception and theft, the diplomat had to provide details about what correspondence he had both recently received and sent.³³

31 *Mercurius Politicus*, 27 April 1654 (*LNC*).

32 Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State*, 39; Joad Raymond, 'Marchamont Nedham', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19847> [18/11/13]; Brownlees, 'Capt. Badiley's answer', pp. 157–61.

33 Nicholas Brownlees, 'Reporting the news in English and Italian personal newsletters', in *Letter Writing in Late Modern Europe*, eds. Marina Dossena and Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2012), pp. 121–38.

18. From Hamburg May 12. Stilo novo.

We had no {Letter} last week from England; the Parquet was Robbed about Brussels, and most Letters opened: Some State-Thieves (I believe) met with it. As I wrote in my last, my Lord Ambassador Whitlock hath now finished the Affair at Upsall.³⁴

Apart from geographical provenance, the 1653–4 corpus also provides the first examples of epistolary ship news, which over the next decades was to become an important source of information about distant lands and seas. Sometimes readers are told from which ship the letter was written, in other cases the reference is more generic.

19. By {Letters} from on board the Swift-Sure, dated the 13 of January 1653 was certified the Examinations of some foreign Ships that came in to find Market for Deals, Pitch ...³⁵
20. A {Letter} from the Squadron in the West. Sir, About four days since two ships belonging to the Dutch sailing from Holland towards France passed by us³⁶

What stands out in the analysis of the provenance of 'letter{s}' in the 1653–4 corpus is the diversity of source locations. The epistolary network appears to be expanding exponentially and news readers are tapping into correspondence arriving from an ever-widening geographical area. This ever-greater diffusion of epistolary news is reflected in the print advertisements in the 1653–4 corpus that promote competitive postal rates and services throughout the British Isles. In the newsbook extract below, John Manley, the Protectorate's officer in charge of the 'Posts of this Nation', provides the rates for correspondence from London to 'Oxford, Cambridg, Southampton, Winchester, Lye, Yarmouth, Norwich, and the places upon those Roads, as to any of the other Roads of England, Scotland and Ireland'.

21. The Rates of Letters.

To any place within 80 miles distance, 2d. a single Letter, 4d. a double Letter. To a further distance 3d a single Letter, 6d. a double Letter. To Scotland 4d. a single Letter, 8d. a double Letter. To Ireland 6d. a single Letter, 12d. a double Letter.³⁷

34 *Mercurius Politicus*, 18 May 1654 (LNC).

35 *The True and Perfect Dutch Diurnall*, 24 January 1654 (LNC).

36 *Perfect Diurnall Occurrences*, 29 May 1654 (LNC).

37 *Weekly Intelligencer of the Common-wealth*, 10 January 1654 (LNC).

In the 1671–91 ZEN corpus, the geographical provenance of print letters is further extended. We find references not only to the more distant regions of Europe but also beyond. Towns, regions and countries include Aliant, Barbados, Cadiz, Chavenny on the borders of the Valtoline, Confines of Transylvania, Constantinople, Copenhagen, Corfu, Levant, Leeward Isles, Lisbon, Malaga, Malta, Moscow, Riga, Stockholm, Tunis, Ukrania, Upper Hungary. Since newspapers of the period focused on foreign news there are fewer British and Irish locations, but the few that are found include towns and places such as Exon, Thirsk and Lewis, which previously had not been mentioned in the epistolary network.

If we now look back over the seventy years separating the first publications in the 1620s from those in the 1671–91 corpus, we can see four broad patterns. In the 1620s and 1630s the letters arrive from the United Provinces, the Habsburg Netherlands, Paris, Germany, Italy, and central Europe, with much of the news relating to matters concerning the Thirty Years War. In contrast, in the 1640s not only do readers find fewer references to letters as a source of news, but when they are found they refer almost exclusively to English locations, in particular those involved in the Civil Wars. In the 1653–4 corpus we find a greater use of letters as a news source than in the previous decade, with correspondence arriving in broadly equal measure from the British Isles (in particular Scotland) and abroad (especially the United Provinces). The 1653–4 corpus also illustrates how by this stage the epistolary news network incorporated not only domestic ports but ship news too. What is evident in the 1671–91 corpus is the degree to which news publishers tapped into a network of news stretching right across Europe. In these decades English news readers receive epistolary news not just from the main postal hubs of previous decades but also from the most distant reaches of continental Europe. The newspapers provide a much more panoramic view of events occurring throughout the European continent than in previous years, as well as more regular mention of events from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

(ii) *Date of Letter*

This section focuses on the information that news publications provide as to when letters were sent. Most frequently we find the precise day of the month, but in other instances either a time reference or the expression 'last letters' is given.

22. And by {letters} from the Hage the 20. of May, it appeares he was since againe at Hildeshem³⁸
23. It was also certified this day from Newarke, by {letters} of the 6 of June³⁹

38 *A Continuation of More Newes From The Palatinate*, 13 June 1622 (FEEN).

39 *Mercurius Aulicus*, 15 June 1644 (FEEN).

24. It was advertised by {letters} late this Evening, that the Scots ... should come in to hinder it⁴⁰
25. Our last {letters} from Poland give an Account, that the Negotiation ... advanced not⁴¹

From a quantitative point of view, seventeenth-century news readers receive less information about when the letters were sent than about their provenance. The two periods in the three corpora when they are given most details about time are between 1622–4, when the weekly news was being edited and written up by Thomas Gainsford, and between 1643–4 in the royalist *Mercurius Aulicus* publications.

Possible explanations for this include the desire on the part of both editors to emphasise by means of this additional temporal information the professionalism of their work and the reliability of their news. This is certainly what is implied in this editorial notice of June 1622:

26. Wee write a continuation, that you may see by the proceedings, that there is good dependency between the relations, wherein we purpose to keepe nere to the Lawes of Historie, to guesse at the reasons of the actions by the most apparant presumptions, and to set downe the true names and distances of places, and times, that you may perceiue, there is probability in the seuerall Atchieuements.⁴²

As epistolary news in *Mercurius Aulicus* was limited to letters travelling within the British Isles, the time lapse between the sending of the letters and their arrival at the editor's desk was considerably less than was the case with the 1622–4 corantos, where the letters arrived from continental Europe.⁴³ In *Mercurius Aulicus* the time between the dispatch and arrival of the letter is usually given as between three to six days (though we are not told from where the letters were sent), whereas in the 1620s publications the time range was much greater. As exemplification of this, in the concordance lines (27) and (28) the time lapse between the dispatch of the letter and its reporting in *Mercurius Aulicus* is three and six days respectively, while in (29) the intervening time

40 *Mercurius Aulicus*, 15 June 1644 (FEEN).

41 *The London Gazette*, 12 May 1681 (ZEN).

42 *A Continuation of More Newes*, 13 June 1622 (FEEN).

43 Censorship restrictions prevented corantos from publishing news relating to domestic affairs.

between the sending of the letter on 8 October and its publication in the coranto of 16 November is over 5 weeks.

27. TUESDAY. Jan. 17. By {letters} dated Jan. 14. it was this day certified⁴⁴
28. TUESDAY. Jan. 3. This day by {letters} sent from Colonell Hastings, bearing date the 28. of December⁴⁵
29. yet nevertheless the {letters} from Vienna, Octob. 8 relate, that after the Emperour ...⁴⁶

Unsurprisingly, the further away from England, the longer the letters took to reach the London editor, though it would be rash to attempt to calculate exact times of transmission of epistolary news from continental Europe to London on the basis of references in the corantos. First, the editor makes no mention as to when the letters actually arrived in London, and, secondly, the concurrent use of both the Julian and Gregorian calendars in Europe often distorts calculations, since there is frequently no certainty as to which of the calendars was being adopted by the correspondent in question.

In the 1653–4 and 1671–91 corpora we find numerous instances of news reports referring to letters which in turn refer to news contained in other letters. These embedded levels of epistolary news, which have already been considered in relation to provenance, impact on the time separating the original event from its reporting in the English press. For example, in the *Mercurius Politicus* dated 22 December 1653, there is a dispatch from “Gottenburgh, Novemb. 21. s.v.” that contains the lines: “By Letters from Stockholm I have, that there were 3 Hollands Flyboats lading with great Guns for Holland. I have acquainted his Excellency with it, and doubt not but some course will be taken for the interception of the same”. The original event—the lading of “3 Hollands Flyboats”—has no specific time reference other than the fact that it must have occurred at some time before the sending of the letters from Stockholm, which were then referred to in the dispatch from Gottenburg, in turn printed at a later date in *Mercurius Politicus*. As this very circuitous transmission of the original news extended the temporal distance separating the reading of the event from its occurrence, it is worth considering whether the issue of time plays a role in a reader’s understanding and reception of news. Where the time lapse is extensive, does the reader interact with what is being reported in the same way as when the time lapse is much shorter?

44 *Mercurius Aulicus*, 21 January 1643 (*FEEN*).

45 *Mercurius Aulicus*, 7 January 1643 (*FEEN*).

46 *A continuation of the newes*, 16 November 1622 (*FEEN*).

Recent research in construal level theory (CLT) would suggest that this is the case. Liberman *et al.* have demonstrated that distance, including temporal distance, affects the way in which we construe an event.⁴⁷ In particular, CLT argues that the ‘more distant events are represented on a higher-level, that is, more abstractly, with less concrete, contextual details.’⁴⁸ This results in a less nuanced, more extreme view of events, activities and behavior situated in the past. Studies have yet to be carried out on how temporal distance affects the reception of news, but given the likelihood of such an interrelationship we need to bear in mind that English readers were sometimes reading of European events that temporally belonged to a past that was both distant and vague. This might well have influenced their understanding of European news.

(iii) *Communicative Function of Letter*

The communicative function of epistolary news is most directly expressed by the verbs writers use to explain what it is that letters do. In many instances these are common communicating verbs such as ‘say’, ‘tell’, ‘inform’, ‘speak of’, ‘make mention’. Another verb that is frequently found is ‘advertise’, which in early modern usage had the meaning of ‘inform’.

30. The English Post is newly come, and our {letters} tell us, that all hopes of an accommodation are laid aside⁴⁹
31. The {letters} which came the same day from Bordeaux, inform us that⁵⁰
32. And it was further advertised in the said {letters}, that notwithstanding they had sent Propositions⁵¹

The predictability of such verbs in relation to ‘letter{s}’ explains why in the cases where there is no verb there are no problems of comprehension. In the lexical gap created by the absence of the verb, the reader mentally inserts one of the common communicating verbs that frequently occur with ‘letter{s}’.

47 Nira Liberman, Yaacov Trope and Elena Stephan, ‘Psychological distance’, in *Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles* (2nd ed.), ed. Arie Kruglanski and Edward Higgins (New York: The Guilford Press, 2007), pp. 353–81.

48 Tal Eyal, Nira Liberman and Yaacov Trope, ‘Judging near and distant virtue and vice’, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 44 (2008), p. 1205. See also Nira Liberman, Michael Sagristano and Yaacov Trope, ‘The effect of temporal distance on level of mental construal’, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 38 (2002), pp. 523–34.

49 *Mercurius Politicus*, 29 December 1653 (LNC).

50 *Mercurius Politicus*, 6 April 1654 (LNC).

51 *Mercurius Aulicus*, 11 February 1643 (FEEN).

33. Concerning our Fleet by {Letters} from Portsmouth thus, General Blake and General Monk being now at London⁵²
34. By {Letters} from Holland as follows, Here hath again been a great loss to this Country, both by fire and water⁵³

Apart from the above-mentioned communicating verbs, we also find the use of verbs such as 'confirm', 'affirm' and 'certify' in relation to epistolary news.⁵⁴

35. From Berlin {Letters} affirm that part of the Duke of Saxons Army is going with the Generall Bannier⁵⁵
36. The last {Letters} from Lyons do confirm unto us the great division happened lately in Avignon⁵⁶
37. {letters} this day from the North certifie, that the Garisons of Carlisle ...⁵⁷
38. By {letters} of the 21. from Genua it is certified, that Petro de Liena is arrived there with two galleys⁵⁸

These verbs are not merely simply communicating news but attesting its truth. 'Certify', in particular, underlines the truth value of the epistolary information. Defined in the *OED* as "to make (a thing) certain; to guarantee as certain, attest in an authoritative manner; to give certain information of", 'certify' emphasises the difference between epistolary news and other forms of news.⁵⁹ A letter could indeed 'certify' news contained within it since, as a genre, epistolary news was recognised as being capable of transmitting news of the highest reliability.⁶⁰ The same could not be said for ordinary spoken news or for much of

52 *The True and Perfect Dutch Diurnall*, 17 January 1654 (*LNC*).

53 *The True and Perfect Dutch Diurnall*, 24 January 1654 (*LNC*).

54 The use of the single quotation mark indicates all possible forms of the base form of the verb (e.g. 'confirm', 'confirms', 'confirmed').

55 *The Continuation of Our Weekeley Intelligence*, 29 November 1631 (*FEEN*).

56 *Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages and Proceedings*, 26 December 1653 (*LNC*).

57 *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 26 September 1648 (*FEEN*).

58 *Corante, or, Newes from, Italy, Germany, Hungarie, Spaine and France*, 24 September 1621 (*FEEN*).

59 *Oxford English Dictionary* <www.oed.com> [10/11/15]. As an early seventeenth-century example of this definition of 'certify', the *OED* gives '1603 P. Holland tr. Plutarch *Morals* 282 (R.) [To] certify that Arion was alive and safe'.

60 Atherton, 'The Itch Grown a Disease', pp. 46–7; Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity*, pp. 146–7; Joad Raymond, 'News', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, ed. Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 396; Pettegree, *Invention of News*, pp. 316–8.

print news, and it is no coincidence that in all three corpora (*FEEN*, *LNC* and *ZEN*) ‘certify’ collocates with ‘letter{s}’ much more often than with other modes of news transmission.

The subcorpus in which the collocation of ‘letter{s}’ and ‘certify’ is most evident is in the *Mercurius Aulicus* newsbooks of 1643–4.

39. By {letters} also of the same date, it was certified, that on Munday the 16 of Jan.⁶¹
40. It is further certified in the said {letters}, that some Constables of that County had beene imprisoned⁶²

A possible explanation for this foregrounded collocation of ‘letter{s}’ and ‘certify’ in *Mercurius Aulicus* lies in the newsbook’s role during those years. Between 1643–4 the Oxford-based newsbook had to form, develop and consolidate public opinion around the king’s standpoint, and to do so it needed to convince its readers that what they read of Royalist successes and Parliamentarian defeats and outrages corresponded to the truth. The use of ‘certify’ therefore had the function of both guaranteeing and reinforcing the pro-Royalist news arriving in Oxford from correspondents around the country.⁶³

The role of epistolary news in corroborating information is further seen in the two quotations below, where the writers candidly admit that the information is currently only rumour, which can only be corroborated by epistolary confirmation.

41. to wisse the truth of this, we have not as yet received any {letters} which every hour are expected⁶⁴
42. but whether it be true, and who these murderers may be is, yet unknown: The English {letters}, by whom the confirmation thereof was expected, being neither on Saturday last, nor to day come on⁶⁵

61 *Mercurius Aulicus*, 28 January 1643 (*FEEN*).

62 *Mercurius Aulicus*, 28 January 1643 (*FEEN*).

63 As well as ‘certify’, in *Mercurius Aulicus* we also find numerous instances of ‘signify’ collocating with ‘letter’, for example: “And it is signified in the same {letters} also, that the Earle of Northumberland ...” The editor—who makes very little use of standard communicative verbs such as ‘say’ and ‘tell’ in relation to epistolary news—may have felt that ‘signify’, like ‘certify’, helped to underline the reliability of the pro-royalist news.

64 *Mercurius Britanicus*, 7 October 1644 (*FEEN*).

65 *Mercurius Politicus*, 12 January 1654 (*LNC*).

However, despite the high esteem in which epistolary news was held, there were occasions when it too was no guarantee of truth.

43. News is come, and probablie true, by {letters} directed to some Members of Parliament⁶⁶

(iv) *Author of Letter*

Only occasionally is information given about the letter's author, but when mentioned in the corpora, authors fall into six main categories. The three with the highest number of occurrences are political figures and diplomats, merchants, and soldiers of varying ranks. Examples include:

44. Here is arrived a Turkish Messenger with {letters} from the Grand Visier⁶⁷
 45. The last Sunday arrived here an express from London, with {Letters} from the Lord Beverling⁶⁸
 46. Concerning the {letter} from the Marchants factor of London⁶⁹
 47. We haue since preremptorie heard, by {letters} written from a Dutch Merchant resident in Vienna⁷⁰
 48. The Copie of a {Letter} which Count Henry vanden Bergh, Generall of his Majesties Army, wrote⁷¹
 49. In the end is added a comparison of two souldiers {letters} concerning former occurrences⁷²

Politicians (including heads of state), diplomats and generals are usually named whereas merchants and common soldiers are not. What gave importance to the latter two groups was not who they were but what they did. As both had important roles in the reporting of news, their correspondence was considered valuable. A soldier could provide an eye-witness appraisal of a military situation while the merchants' many contacts, both domestic and foreign, allowed them access to wide-ranging, often privileged information.

The fourth and fifth categories of authors are made up of ship captains and gentlemen. As said in section III (i) ship news first appears in the *LNC* corpus

66 *Mercurius Britannicus*, 17 June 1644 (*FEEN*).

67 *The London Gazette*, 20 February 1671 (*ZEN*).

68 *The Faithful Scout*, 24 February 1654 (*FEEN*).

69 *News of Europe*, 12 March 1624 (*FEEN*).

70 *A Continuation of the Newes*, 16 November 1622 (*FEEN*).

71 *The Continuation of our Weekely Avisoes*, 6 July 1632 (*FEEN*).

72 *A Continuation of More Newes*, 13 June 1622 (*FEEN*).

(1653–4), where details in the news item can include not only the name of the ship but also sometimes its captain.

50. By Letters from Captain Foster, Commander of the Phoenix Frigate⁷³

Letters are come from Capt. Potter, Commander of the Constant Warwick, that he hath with the loss of three men, after seven hours fight⁷⁴

The two examples of ‘gentlemen’ as authors are found in corantos from 1622–4. This is no coincidence since in the sixteenth and first part of the seventeenth century an author’s social standing could alone endow the reported news with significance.⁷⁵ As a ‘gentleman’ was recognised as having social prestige, his correspondence was deemed of value.

51. The Gentlemans {letter} begins thus: The King crossed the Rhine at Gernsheim⁷⁶
 52. which is two {letters}, one from an Ancient, and another from a Gentleman of a Company⁷⁷

In the sixth category we find the metonymic use of ‘hand’ as substitute for the author of the correspondence.

53. Tuesday March 28. By Letters from a good hand thus. Sir, The sad spectacle, which I have generally beheld throughout most parts of Ireland⁷⁸
 54. From Constantinople our {letters} from all hands tell us⁷⁹

In 53, the ‘good’ in “good hand” alludes to the author’s acknowledged understanding of the facts and subject matter contained in the letters. The reasons for such knowledge are not specified but given the news item in question the reader is led to infer that the author was a person whose professional role or social status ensured an insightful analysis of the topic of the letter.

73 *The True and Perfect Dutch Diurnall*, 17 January 1654 (LNC).

74 *Several Proceedings of State Affairs*, 16 March 1654 (LNC).

75 Pettegree, *Invention of News*, p. 317; Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News*, pp. 49–75.

76 *A Continuation of More Newes from the Palatinate*, 13 June 1622 (FEEN).

77 *A Continuation of More Newes from the Palatinate*, 13 June 1622 (FEEN).

78 *Mercurius Aulicus*, 3 April 1654 (LNC).

79 *The London Gazette*, 16 February 1671 (ZEN).

Where no details are given as to the authors' identity, it is probable they would have belonged to one of three further groups of people. Many of them would have been intelligence gatherers who, for payment or otherwise, passed information to diplomats who then used this information in their own reports back to their respective Secretaries of State, who in turn passed some parts of the reports to the press for publication. This is particularly true from the 1650s onwards, when English Secretaries of State started receiving foreign diplomatic correspondence on a more regular, professional basis.⁸⁰ The second category of authors comprised the news editors' own contacts. In one of the illuminating editorial notices to readers in the early 1620s, the editor refers to such correspondents:

55. The daily Letters afford matters sufficient both of pleasure and varietie ... As for such as are written to the Marchants in London from foreine Parts, according to their mixture of Businesse and Newes, I haue contracted them, as you see, and culled them out, to giue you notice of the affaires of Europe, and what is likely to be the issue of these troubles.⁸¹

Aside from diplomatic correspondence and personal contacts, the editor's other main source of epistolary news lies in the foreign news texts which were so frequently translated over the period, and especially between 1620–41. As these were translations of previously published news, the English editor would have had little or no idea as to the original source of information unless it was specified in the text itself.

(v) *Addressee of Letter*

In the corpora we find numerous references to news writers having received letters themselves. In the following examples, the reference to 'we' and 'received' would suggest that the letters had been sent directly to the news writer, though in practice this may not always have been the case.

56. By Letters from Litchfield we received intelligence⁸²
 57. We received last Post a {letter} from Exon⁸³

80 See Raymond, "Mercury with a Winged Conscience", for the 1650s, and Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State*, for the post-Restoration period.

81 *A True, Plaine, and Compendious Discourse*, 26 July 1622.

82 *Mercurius Civicus*, 15 January 1645 (*FEEN*).

83 *The Impartial Protestant Mercury*, 1 July 1681 (*ZEN*).

As stated above, the news writer may have received the correspondence through a third party. Where an addressee other than the news writer is indicated, it is usually either a political or military figure, or a 'friend' (as in 58 and 59). Where it is an important political figure (for example, in 60), the news writer sometimes states the letter is a 'copy', thereby emphasising the accuracy of the wording in the published version.

58. I have one {Letter} more, and that comes from Paris ... and it is written to a friend in London⁸⁴
59. Mr: Feaks and Mr: Sympson are yet as highly resolved in their former ways as ever, say some of their {Letters} to their friends in London⁸⁵
60. The Copie of the Earl of Mansfields {Letter} sent to Don Descant to Bamberch⁸⁶

Referring to the addressee as 'friend' has an added value since in epistolary news the word had a marked positive connotation. The fact that the addressee was a 'friend' implied that what was found in the letter conformed to the author's true opinion and state of knowledge.⁸⁷

(vi) *Mode of Transmission of Letter*

This category refers to information on how the letter was originally sent and how it ultimately arrived. Regarding the former, there are references in all three corpora to letters being sent by an 'express'. This term had multiple meanings, referring not only to the fast delivery of a single letter, or the package in which various letters were contained, but to the person entrusted with quickly delivering the letter. The third meaning is illustrated by the following introduction to a dispatch in the 1653–4 corpus: "From Genoa thus: We hear from Madrid, that an Express was come to the Court to inform his Majesty that there was landed at Coronna in Galazia".⁸⁸

However, when co-occurring with 'letter{s}', express would seem to refer to an 'express' package containing multiple letters:

61. The last Sunday arrived here an express from London, with {Letters} from the Lord Beverling to the Lords States General⁸⁹

84 *Newes of Europe*, 12 March 1624 (*FEEN*).

85 *Certain Passages of Every Dayes Intelligence*, 7 April 1654 (*LNC*).

86 *Corante, or, Newes from Italy*, 2 August 1621 (*FEEN*).

87 Brownlees, *The Language of Periodical News*, pp. 16–20.

88 *The True and Perfect Dutch Diurnall*, 17 January 1654 (*LNC*).

89 *The Faithful Scout*, 24 February 1654 (*LNC*).

In addition to speed of delivery, information is also provided as to how the letter was packaged.

62. I haue a {letter} from Amsterdam which was enclosed in another Merchants {Letter}⁹⁰

Another aspect of transmission that is sometimes mentioned in the letters is interception. In both the 1640s and the 1653–4 corpora, the news writer does not hesitate to admit to receiving and publishing the enemy's intercepted letters. In times of crisis, the interception of correspondence was considered invaluable since it could give the interceptor direct knowledge of the adversary's designs.

63. But that some mischief has befallen them, was found more then probable, by one of the intercepted {Letters} sent from Essex's Soldiers; who gives this touch unto his friend, that he was sorry to hear the bad news out of Lancashire⁹¹
64. By a {Letter} intercepted from one of their own party thus. All our Commissioned Officers are going now to their several Localities for Levies⁹²

Interception was by no means confined to British shores, as can be seen in the following news dispatch where the interception is presumed to have occurred in or around Brussels.

65. We had no {Letter} last week from England; the Pacquet was Robbed about Brussels, and most {Letters} opened: Some State-Thieves (I believe) met with it⁹³

(vii) *Reproduction of Letter*

News writers sometimes inform readers as to whether they are providing a 'copy' or 'extract' of the letter. In both cases a conscious editorial decision is taken on how to present the information. With a 'copy', the writer is merely acting as purveyor of news in that what is being presented to the reader are the

90 *Newes of Europe*, 12 March 1624 (*FEEN*).

91 *Mercurius Aulicus*, 15 June 1644 (*FEEN*).

92 In the 1654 corpus the London newsbooks published the intercepted correspondence of pro-Royalist forces in Scotland.

93 *Mercurius Politicus*, 18 May 1654 (*LNC*).

correspondents' exact words. In contrast, when an 'extract' is provided the news writer is implicitly indicating that an editorial decision has been made regarding what to select from the letter. Given the news writers' general reluctance to assert their editorial role in the relation of important news, 'extract' is most often found with relatively unimportant news stories.

66. The Copie of the Earl of Mansfields {Letter} sent to Don Descant to Bamberch⁹⁴
67. Produced the Copy of a Letter from Haerlem in Holland, which gives a punctual relation of the late sad disasters which have happened in those parts⁹⁵
68. An Extract, or brief transcription of a {Letter} written from the Rip; Amstoldam, the 8. of January, 1654. Most worthy, loving Friend⁹⁶

(viii) *Private Correspondence*

When news writers refer to their letters as being 'private', they are underlining the high quality of their news. Private, personal correspondence was the channel most commonly adopted for the expression of one's innermost, most firmly held views, which perhaps could not be revealed to the public at large. Through the publication of what was termed 'private' correspondence readers could be let into secrets which were not otherwise known.

69. and by several private {Letters} to Merchants, they all concur that the States of Holland have fully ratified the Agreement⁹⁷
70. If it be true, what some Private {letters} give us an account of, That the French King⁹⁸

IV

The last few years have seen the creation of three important machine-readable corpora of seventeenth-century English news. Covering the period from 1620–91 the three corpora in question—*Florence Early English Newspapers Corpus* (1620–49), *Lancaster Newsbooks Corpus* (1653–4) and *Zurich English*

94 *Corante, or, Newes from Italy*, 2 August 1621 (*FEEN*).

95 *The Faithful Scout*, 13 January 1654 (*LNC*).

96 *Mercurius Politicus*, 12 January 1654 (*LNC*).

97 *Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages and Proceedings*, 17 April 1654 (*LNC*).

98 *The Pacquet of Advice from France*, 20 April 1691 (*ZEN*).

Newspaper Corpus (1671–91)—provide the historical news analyst with digitised news texts totalling more than 1,300,000 words. Although such a figure would be considered small if measured against electronic corpora containing modern-day newspapers, it is nevertheless significant in the context of early modern news print. The corpora immeasurably facilitate broad-based research relating to the discourse and contents of English print news during its formative decades. A research topic that might previously have involved months of study and bibliographical research, if it had been taken up at all, can now be investigated much more easily, quickly, and ultimately profitably.

In this present chapter I made use of these three corpora to investigate the interrelationship between correspondence and published news in English *corantos*, newsbooks and post-Restoration gazettes. Through an examination of concordance lines containing 'letter{s}' in each of the three corpora it was possible to identify nine broad categories of information relating to the presence of 'letter{s}' in print news from 1620–91. These categories, and their examination, have provided both details of and insight into the origin, transmission, reception and communicative importance of epistolary news and its networks (both domestic and foreign) in the seventeenth-century English press.

‘My Friend the Gazetier’: Diplomacy and News in Seventeenth-Century Europe

Jason Peacey

In February 1681, the English government was hunting for information about European newspapers. Its new envoy at The Hague, Thomas Plott, duly obliged by writing that “The printed paper of Leyden ... I have never seen”, although he had heard that “such a paper had appeared”, and that “it had been suppressed”. That he knew this much reflected the fact that he had already made a point of getting to know “the French gazetier, who is my friend”, and who had previously been a “pensionary” of the English ambassador, Henry Sidney. Indeed, Plott also added that “what news he has he always communicates to me in a manuscript, but when there is nothing worth writing he only supplies me with his gazettes, so that what intelligence he had, I can always furnish you with”. Plott concluded by adding that

I have likewise another intelligencer here who is paid for it, that gives me twice a week what comes to his hands, whose original papers and likewise those of the French gazetier I shall hereafter send you, and when I return for England I shall settle a correspondence between you and them, that you may have a continuance of their news.¹

That Plott’s first tasks upon reaching The Hague had included familiarising himself with European print culture, its gazetteers and its intelligencers is highly revealing, and the aim of this piece is explore the significance of this letter, and of the practices to which it alludes. My goal is to suggest that Plott alerts us to the fact that there was a diplomacy of printed news and printed gazettes in the seventeenth century, in terms of the role that ambassadors and their agents played in acquiring and circulating, as well as in manipulating, printed gazettes. It is also to argue that Plott was merely perfecting techniques that had been pioneered by English diplomats from the early decades of the Stuart period, and most obviously from the civil war period in the middle of the seventeenth century. My purpose, in other words, is to explore such

¹ *The Dispatches of Thomas Plott (1681–2), and Thomas Chudleigh (1682–5), English Envoys at the Hague*, ed. Frederick Arnold Middlebush (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1926), p. 1.

diplomatic practices, largely although not exclusively in an Anglo-Dutch context, and to suggest that by doing so it is possible to supplement national and comparative histories of news in the early modern period with something more obviously international and transnational. In doing so, this chapter seeks to contribute to recent attempts to develop new ways of studying European diplomatic culture, and to bring to this field an interest in print culture, and questions relating to the 'public sphere'.² This involves being alert to the ways in which specific regimes tackled transnational phenomena such as the circulation of news and movement of texts, and to the ways in which their responses revealed entanglement, interaction and exchange within a multi-dimensional European public sphere.

I Consuming European News

In part, of course, Plott's evidence is indicative of English demand for, and consumption of, European corantos and gazettes. This interest in printed news, which had been evident for a long time, can be shown to have developed long before the rapid development of the news industry—and its first emergence in England—with the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. This is something that can be documented repeatedly from gentry archives, from the availability of translated versions of European gazettes, and from the integration of their material into commercial scribal newsletters.³ The advantage of exploring diplomatic correspondence, however, lies in what else can be shown to have been at stake, and by tracing the history of diplomatic fascination with European newspapers and gazettes back into the early seventeenth century it becomes clear how reading printed news became integral not just to the lives of individual citizens, but also to official duties. From an early stage, therefore, it seems clear that English diplomats read European gazettes in order to keep themselves apprised of developments across the Continent. During 1616, therefore, the English ambassador at the Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton, certainly relied to a certain degree on scribal news writers like John Pory for his news, but he also referred to "my gazetta", who related news from Venice (either in print or manuscript), and very soon he began to acquire gazettes from cities

² See for example: Helen Jacobson, *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010).

³ See for example: *The Court and Times of James I*, ed. Thomas Birch, 2 vols. (London, 1849), 2: 276, 390, 421; BL, Harleian MS 389.

like Prague as well.⁴ He thus set a pattern that would be followed by other English diplomats, both in the Low Countries and beyond. By the 1630s, therefore, Carleton's successors at The Hague—such as his nephew Sir Dudley Carleton junior and Sir William Boswell—were regularly receiving and reading Dutch texts, including the Amsterdam gazette.⁵ Another contemporary diplomat, Sir Thomas Roe, acquired no fewer than twenty volumes of French mercuries, which were duly preserved within his library, and included in his library catalogue.⁶ During the 1640s and 1650s, meanwhile, the royalist ambassador in Paris, Sir Richard Browne, displayed a similar determination to obtain such material, and evidently received regular supplies of Dutch newsbooks and French *Gazettes*, his substantial expenditure on which was recorded in his invaluable financial accounts.⁷

In the very early part of the century, however, it is not entirely clear how such material was being used, or to what extent it was being circulated as part of official duties. In the case of Sir Dudley Carleton, for example, it is striking that, during the late 1610s and early 1620s, such material was almost never discussed with his superiors in London, and that its circulation merely seems to have involved the practices associated with sociable networks and news-hungry friends, such as John Chamberlain. At this stage, therefore, Carleton fairly regularly sent copies of European corantos to Chamberlain in London, referring repeatedly to “your gazettas” and “my freshest gazettas”, normally in order to relate events from other parts of Europe, and to convey “the affairs on the other side of the mountains”.⁸ On one occasion, therefore, he noted having sent “freshest letters from Venice, besides your gazettas”. This is perhaps suggestive of a less than entirely serious engagement with the early gazettes, and while Carleton merely loaned scribal newsletters to Chamberlain, he evidently did not expect to get his gazettes back, and he sometimes made clear that such material was not to be taken too seriously.⁹ In September 1618, for example, he explained that “for your entertainment (as I think you have good leisure in the country) I send you your gazettas”.¹⁰

4 TNA, SP 84/76, fo. 59v; SP 84/77, fo. 254v; SP 84/75, fos. 79–80; SP 84/84, fo. 117.

5 TNA, SP 84/144, fo. 250; SP 84/151, fo. 346.

6 Badminton House, FmS/D3/2/7.

7 BL, Add[itional MS]. 78194, fos. 69, 99, 182; Add. 78225, fos. 14–66.

8 TNA, SP 84/75, fos. 79–80; SP 84/76, fo. 59v; SP 84/76, fos. 128–9; SP 84/77, fos. 208–9; SP 84/78, fos. 26–8; SP 84/79, fos. 39–42; SP 84/79, fo. 168; SP 84/81, fo. 118; SP 84/83, fo. 75; SP 84/84, fo. 24; SP 84/86, fo. 231; SP 84/94, fos. 5–6; SP 84/95, fos. 207–8; SP 84/100, fos. 70–1; SP 84/101, fos. 244–7; SP 84/105, fos. 221–3.

9 TNA, SP 84/77, fo. 253v.

10 TNA, SP 84/86, fo. 107–8.

Fairly quickly, however, this somewhat relaxed, or even dismissive, attitude towards the gazettes gave way to much more serious interest in their contents and their value, and to an approach that involved rather careful thought about their potential utility. On one occasion in 1618, for example, Carleton paid a back-handed compliment to the Venetian gazettes, by noting that his scribal letters from the English ambassador there, Sir Henry Wotton, "have nothing more than the gazettes pricked to a new tune". As time passed, indeed, Carleton more regularly referred to having used these early gazettes to acquire information that was not available elsewhere, and to his attempts to verify the news that they contained.¹¹ Thus, while such texts were not always thought to be trustworthy, Carleton occasionally felt able to conclude that they were useful for getting "all foreign news" and "all ... things which are stirring". On one occasion he noted that, although one of the gazettes he forwarded "be of a stale date, yet I send it with the rest that you may see whether more be to be picked out of them than out of Fabrizio's [Sir Henry Wootton's] conceits".¹²

Such evidence provides early evidence of a broader trend, which involved contemporaries adapting to, and learning how to cope with, the new medium, and the natural upshot of this growing interest in the early 'gazettas' was that English diplomats began to forward such material to, and discuss its contents with, superiors in London.¹³ Carleton's comments about the gazettes in official correspondence were rare, although he would occasionally intimate to men like Sir Robert Naunton (secretary of state) that stories from the Cologne gazette had proved to be inaccurate.¹⁴ By the 1630s, however, such material was clearly being sent to the secretaries of state on a regular basis, and one of these, Sir John Coke, evidently developed an interest in such material which lasted well into his retirement, during which he relied upon his son to satisfy his appetite for such texts.¹⁵ Likewise, during the 1640s and 1650s, Sir Richard

11 TNA, SP 84/83, fo. 165v; SP 84/76, fos. 59v, 128–9; SP 84/86, fos. 107–8.

12 TNA, SP 84/95, fos. 207–8; SP 84/101, fos. 244–7; SP 84/77, fos. 208–9. See also: SP 84/144, fo. 250.

13 Joad Raymond, 'Irrational, impractical and unprofitable: reading the news in seventeenth century Britain', in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 185–212; Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 92–124.

14 TNA, SP 84/97, fo. 82.

15 BL, Add. 64923, fos. 57, 65, 80, 87, 89; *The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper* (3 vols., London, 1888–9), 2: 291–4, 313–14, 317, 329, 331, 336–8. For a collection—perhaps a fragment of Coke's collection—of French gazettes during the late 1630s and early 1640s, see: BL, Add. 69922.

Browne sent copies of French and Dutch texts to members of the royalist court, which were then dispersed across Europe.¹⁶ In the Dutch context, of course, this professional fascination with printed gazettes became much more important with the development of newspapers like the *Haarlem Courant*, and after the Restoration diplomats like Sir George Downing clearly read and relayed stories from such texts to their superiors in Whitehall, with or without comments which indicated scepticism about their reliability.¹⁷ Indeed, it was during this period that it became standard practice for diplomats at The Hague to send regular supplies of various different Dutch gazettes back to England, and although the *Haarlem Courant* became the most important of these, others were also sent from The Hague, Rotterdam and Amsterdam.¹⁸ In June 1668, William Davidson explained to the secretary of state, Sir Joseph Williamson, that the Dutch gazettes were being sent “constantly”, while two years later Sir William Temple indicated that such things were sent “weekly”. Both Davidson and Sir Richard Bulstrode demonstrated a willingness to continue sending their bundles of gazettes so long as these were required.¹⁹ In 1668, Temple not only indicated to Williamson that he had been continuing to send “the papers which come weekly to my hands, both [from] here and from France”, but also wondered whether Williamson still wanted the French “gazettes a la main”—which were scribal newsletters—which cost a hefty £15 per year. And in 1680 Henry Sidney explained that “I here send you a printed paper; if I have not done well, if you please to let me know it, I will henceforward only send you the Gazettes”.²⁰

From such correspondence, indeed, it is possible to develop a sense of the extent to which diplomats relied upon such material for their information, and of the way in which such material was treated. Writing from Nijmegen in December 1676, for example, Charles Davenant made clear that his attempts to supply Williamson with accurate reports on current affairs led to his reading extensively across a range of titles, including gazettes from Haarlem, Amsterdam and Cologne. In the same year, Sir Leoline Jenkins demonstrated to Williamson that he sought to check, and if necessary correct, stories from

16 BL, Add. 78194, fos. 69, 99, 182.

17 TNA, SP 84/168, fo. 104r–v; SP 84/173, fo. 50; SP 84/175, fo. 98; SP 84/176, fo. 77v; SP 84/199, fo. 11.

18 TNA, SP 84/171, fo. 14; SP 84/183, fos. 15, 66v; SP 84/184, fo. 18. For the issue of European news during the Restoration, see: James Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 123–45.

19 TNA, SP 84/183, fo. 214; SP 84/186, fo. 104; SP 84/193, fo. 177v. See also: TNA, SP 84/186, fo. 11.

20 TNA, SP 84/184, fo. 77; SP 84/216, fo. 87. See also: TNA, SP 84/215, fos. 122v, 179v, 183v, 200v, 204v; BL, Add. 37981, fos. 6, 30v, 37, 50, 57; Add. 41809, fos. 70v, 82.

Dutch gazettes, and also that he read with care "the Latin gazette at Cologne", in order to sift worthwhile intelligence from worthless news.²¹ The end result, however, was a fairly considerable reliance upon European gazettes. During the late 1670s, therefore, Roger Meredith clearly assumed that his superiors in London were reading the *Haarlem Courant* as a matter of course, and as such he knew that it was not always necessary to write at length about news stories that had been covered by its editor. In other words, while Meredith made sure to check its stories against other sources of news, he often concluded that it was fairly reliable. More than once, therefore, he indicated that it was his "first informer" on many episodes, and that he found it difficult to add to its account.²² Similar conclusions were also reached by William Blathwayt, who reflected in June 1671 that "the ordinary Dutch gazettes" gave "so good an account" of key topics that he was unable to relate a different or more detailed story, and in 1675 William Carr apologised for being able to add little to "common news, such as stands this day in the Gazette".²³

This increasingly serious approach to European gazettes can be demonstrated not merely through the comments made by English diplomats, but also through other kinds of evidence. These include sources which reveal willingness to pay substantial sums for the acquisition of such material, and during the Restoration it was clearly possible for diplomats to include the cost of purchasing newsbooks amongst the expenses that they expected to be able to recoup. Sir William Temple's 1667–8 accounts included considerable sums for gazettes from Brussels, Paris and the United Provinces, while in the 1670s William Carr sought to recoup £100 "laid out in Gazettes and letters from all parts and paid for setting forth letters". For 1681–2, meanwhile, Thomas Chudleigh's accounts reveal payments of 250 guilders "to a stationer and to a bookbinder for paper, wax, etc., gazettes and other prints".²⁴ Beyond this, the importance and utility of European gazettes to the process of intelligence gathering is also clear from the substantial collection of Dutch texts that was amassed during the final decades of the seventeenth century, and from the fact that gazettes were not merely filed away, in what is now the National Archives, but also read fairly assiduously by men like Sir Joseph Williamson.²⁵ Finally, as was made clear at the outset, the second half of the seventeenth century witnessed fairly consistent attempts by English diplomats to develop working

21 TNA, SP 84/200, fos. 158, 176, 271.

22 TNA, SP 84/203, fos. 149, 177; SP 84/205, fos. 52, 121, 129v; SP 84/206, fos. 44v, 107.

23 TNA, SP 84/187, fo. 77; SP 84/199, fo. 6.

24 TNA, SP 84/183, fo. 215v; TNA, SP 84/216, fo. 162; *Dispatches of Thomas Plott*, pp. 133, 224.

25 TNA, SP 119/2–97; SP 9/151.

relationships with gazetteers and intelligencers. From Sir Richard Browne's accounts, therefore, it is possible to conclude that the sizeable payments that were made to the "gazetier" (Théophraste Renaudot)—ranging from £6 to £23 per month—must have involved more than merely the purchase of newsbooks.²⁶ Browne was almost certainly paying Renaudot for privileged information, and such practices were certainly evident later in the century. In 1680, for example, Henry Sidney explained that "there is a man here that makes it his business to furnish everybody with news, and sometimes he does it very well", while Thomas Chudleigh's accounts included an entry of over 120 guilders to "a man at Leyden for the gazette a la main".²⁷

II Circulating English News

The archives of English diplomats in the seventeenth century thus contain rich evidence relating to the process by which contemporaries became acculturated to novel kinds of printed news, and suggestive hints about the increasingly important role that continental gazettes played in intelligence gathering. Diplomatic correspondence, in other words, attests not just to contemporary fascination with the early newsbooks, but also to their perceived utility. However, it is also possible to suggest that there is more to such evidence than merely a desire to monitor events in mainland Europe, and to exploit the information that European gazettes provided. Much less obviously appreciated is the fact that this interest in continental news reflected official concern about, and involvement in, the wider circulation of material relating to contemporary affairs on the Continent, and a preoccupation with the audiences for news across Europe. The fascination with gazettes, in other words, reveals a concern about European 'publics'.

What seems perfectly clear, therefore, is that English diplomats and politicians became concerned about the ways in which English news was being reported abroad. In January 1639, for example, Secretary of State Sir John Coke explained to Sir William Boswell—English ambassador at The Hague—that

there is advertisement given (though not from yourself) that in a gazette printed at Amsterdam and published everywhere it is noised that the Lord Deputy of Ireland [the earl of Strafford] is recalled, and that thirty Irish lords are come over to charge him with exactions upon the Irish.

²⁶ BL, Add. 78225, fos. 14–66.

²⁷ TNA, SP 84/216, fo. 54; *Dispatches of Thomas Plott*, pp. 134, 224.

Coke also explained that the like "false report is there published and sent to the Gazette of France that the lord Marquis Hamilton is returned out of Scotland where he was implored to quiet the subjects there, but hath therein done no good but rather hurt". In the tense closing months of Charles I's 'personal rule', therefore, as war loomed across the British archipelago, Coke made clear his concern regarding a situation in which "such notoriously false and slanderous rumours should be put in print by the permission of any state". This was something that he considered to be "prejudicial to good government, and of ill consequence", and something that "agreeth not with the correspondence betwixt friends and good neighbours". This was clearly not an isolated incident, moreover, and Coke continued by saying that "you have been often troubled with like complaints".²⁸

Similar concerns would continue to be raised in the decades that followed, not least by men like Sir George Downing. During the early 1660s, therefore, Downing clearly read the *Haarlem Courant* in no small part for its coverage of English events. On one occasion he reported a story "that His Majesty was about selling Jamaica to the Spaniard for a sum of money", while in March 1663 he relayed a story from the same gazette about the capture of English ships off Algiers. In November 1663, meanwhile, he reported reading in the same source "that 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse were up in arms in Scotland against the bishops", adding that this particular gazette "always prints all vile news against His Majesty".²⁹ In November 1664, moreover, Downing noted that "The Haarlem gazetteer very often takes the liberty of decrying very infamously His Majesty and his affairs", adding that "the last week he printed that, whereas Cromwell could in a week have gotten 1,200 seamen in the town of Yarmouth, that His Majesty could not in much more time get above 200".³⁰ And in December 1664, Downing reported that "the Harlomer hath it in his gazette of Monsieur Rivigny his business at London was to follow a negotiation about putting Tangier into the hands of the French".³¹

Such comments raise questions about the precise source of Downing's concern, and about the audiences he had it in mind to protect from malicious and erroneous stories. In part, of course, Downing was almost certainly worried about the possibility that such stories would reach English readers *in England*.

28 TNA, SP 84/155, fo. 22.

29 TNA, SP 84/168, fos. 51, 86v; SP 84/169, fo. 233.

30 TNA, SP 84/173, fo. 34v.

31 TNA, SP 84/173, fo. 72. In July 1665, Downing explained to Arlington that 'The gazettes of this country are every week stuffed with news of prizes taken by their capers': TNA, SP 84/177, fo. 12.

By the Restoration, therefore, the authorities in London were clearly aware that Dutch gazettes were being read “at several coffeehouses” in London, alongside “all manner of Dutch pamphlets”, and that these were “discoursed of at a strange kind of rate”.³² Although Downing did not make the point explicit, he was clearly concerned that efforts to control the domestic news sphere—through the *London Gazette*—might be undermined by an influx of European newspapers. Beyond this, however, it seems clear that the concern also extended to audiences for news in mainland Europe.

Here too, it is evident that the fears which English politicians and diplomats expressed about European gazettes involved English ex-patriots and exiles, and as such it is possible to observe evidence of a desire to influence what news such people received from the old country. This can be observed fairly clearly, for example, from the work of Sir Richard Browne in the 1640s and 1650s, who provides vivid testimony regarding the appetite for news among Englishmen overseas. Browne himself, of course, was an avid reader of English news, substantial supplies of which he acquired from his father, many of whose letters were constructed from “fragments” out of English diurnalls, or else enclosed printed newsbooks.³³ In addition, Browne also received substantial parcels of printed texts, more or less carefully selected from the vast swathe of “factious and frivolous pamphlets” that was beginning to appear, and one letter in December 1642 referred to “a collection ... of the choicest of a few days pamphlets which are here daily cried about the streets”.³⁴ Subsequently, Browne received supplies from any number of other “intelligent friends”.³⁵ More importantly, however, Browne also played a vital role in supplying news-hungry exiles across the Continent with printed material, and became a significant conduit for English printed news. Such activity is intriguing, in part, because so much of this printed material was parliamentary, rather than royalist, which seems to indicate just how reliant royalist exiles were upon printed news, and perhaps also that they were more or less comfortable with handling such texts. More important for our purposes, however, is the possibility of observing the energy with which Browne circulated such material—including the official republican newspaper, *Mercurius Politicus*—across France and Spain.³⁶ In May 1659, for

32 TNA, SP 84/195, fo. 218.

33 BL, Add. 78220, fos. 1, 3, 13, 23.

34 BL, Add. 78220, fos. 14, 38.

35 BL, Add. 78191, fo. 139; Add. 78220, fos. 11, 62; Add. 78223, fo. 9; Add. 78197, fos. 72, 141, 207r–v; Add. 78198, fos. 21, 24.

36 BL, Eg[erton MS] 2536, fos. 344v, 363; Add. 78192, fos. 2, 84, 95; Add. 78193, fos. 25, 31v, 53v; Add. 78194, fos. 44, 56, 66, 67, 70, 71, 119v, 121, 131, 133, 135, 147v, 149–50, 151, 153, 159v, 163v, 165,

example, Browne wrote to Sir Edward Nicholas to say that "I hope your honour hath amongst other pieces lately printed at London a sheet of paper said to be written by Mr Prynne". This circulation of texts within the exiled community is also evident from a December 1647 letter from Nicholas, in which he enclosed "the copy of a paper whereof many were delivered to godly preachers in their pulpits in London the last month". And in June 1650, Richard Steward referred to Browne's circulation of printed material to "the ladies at Caen".³⁷ Similar motivations may also have underpinned the work of Sir Joseph Williamson after the Restoration. In the late 1660s, therefore, he sent copies of the *London Gazette* "constantly" to men like Thomas Higgons and Sir William Temple in The Hague, and in doing so he was clearly responding to local demand. Having received copies of the Gazette in 1672, therefore, Downing asked Williamson to "let me constantly have them from you".³⁸

Beyond the provision of texts for English agents, expatriates and exiles, however, a second and much more intriguing aspect of diplomatic interest in the circulation of printed texts involved concerns regarding the kind of English news that reached a much broader European public. This can be demonstrated very clearly through the papers of Cromwell's secretary of state, John Thurloe, and English diplomats during the Interregnum. Here the logic was made perfectly clear by John Pell, ambassador in Switzerland, who complained about the prevalence of false news on the Continent, and who explained that "if His Highness [Cromwell] do now send forth any public ministers, the greatest part of their time and endeavours must be spent in discrediting the false reports of English news abroad".³⁹ Later, moreover, Pell's reasoning was even more explicit, as diplomats like Downing feared the impact that Dutch newspaper reports of English affairs would have upon a *Dutch* audience, not least because of his suspicions regarding the ways in which Dutch gazettes were getting information from, and being used by, the Dutch government. In July 1665, therefore, he expressed concern to Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, that "All manner of devices are still used to make the people believe that the Dutch prisoners in England are ill-used, to irritate the spirits of the generality of the people, whereby to make them the more willing to serve and contribute in

168v, 171; Add. 78195, fos. 39, 75, 93, 99, 101, 102, 103, 105v, 110, 111, 116, 137v; Add. 78196, fo. 31, 32, 42; 93; Add. 78191, fo. 133; Add. 78197, fo. 98; Add. 78197, fo. 66; Add. 78198, fos. 12, 15, 19, 21, 24, 86; Add. 15858, fo. 13; Eg. 2534, fo. 58.

37 BL, Eg. 2536, fo. 413; Add. 78194, fo. 66; Add. 78199, fo. 17.

38 TNA, SP 84/185, fos. 31, 87, 142; SP 84/188, fo. 6.

39 *The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. Robert Vaughan, 2 vols. (London, 1839), 1: 96, 159–60.

person and purse". He also reflected on how information from the Dutch ambassador in London, Van Gogh, was making its way into the Dutch press, saying that "from thence all the Gazettes of the country speak the same language".⁴⁰ In March 1665, moreover, he blamed men like Van Gogh for having "animated their people by their gazettes and libels concerning the cruelty of the English to their people". There was clear concern, in other words, about the ways in which Dutch gazettes were being used "to keep up the hearts of the people".⁴¹

As such, the question arose of how to counter such problems, not least by circulating different texts containing a different version of recent events. In no small part this meant the circulation of English texts on the Continent. Thurloe, for example, was heavily involved in organising the Europe-wide distribution of printed literature, including not just official declarations and protectoral speeches, much of which was translated into different languages and printed abroad in order to "undeceive and disabuse" local governors, but also newspapers like *Politicus*.⁴² And here the aim was not just to supply ambassadors like Pell and Samuel Morland with news from England. It was also to ensure that such material was dispersed more widely. Thurloe once told Pell, therefore, that he would "do well to disperse it [news] as much as may be, and in the language of the country", and Pell both circulated Latin texts and translated material into Dutch, in order to be "sent ... to the burgomaster and others to read".⁴³

This is where things got tricky, however, and where English ambassadors and their superiors in London faced considerable challenges, and successive regimes in London encountered a serious problem in relation to the distribution and dispersal of English texts across mainland Europe. To the extent that the audience for English material involved princes and magistrates, the challenge was to ensure that a text like *Politicus* could be used to address different audiences, in terms of serving the government's needs in England without offending European governments. As overseer of *Politicus*, therefore, Thurloe certainly received complaints from English diplomats about its content. In March 1655, for example, the English ambassador in Sweden, Bulstrode Whitelocke, explained that he was "sorry that so much of our letters from

40 TNA, SP 84/177, fo. 27.

41 TNA, SP 84/179, fo. 34; SP 84/195, fo. 63v.

42 CSPD 1651–2, p. 350; Philip Aubrey, *Mr Secretary Thurloe: Oliver Cromwell's Secretary of State 1552–1660* (London: Athlone Press, 1989), p. 58; *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, 1: 62, 103, 324, 2: 47; BL, Add 4365, fo. 179v; Add. 4364, fos. 145, 145v, 146, 152v.

43 *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, 1: 36, 44–5, 217, 259, 265, 295, 319, 320, 380; 2: 45, 56, 254, 258, 306.

Uppsala are printed, especially of discourse between the Queen and me", adding that "they have here the weekly diurnalls, and are not well pleased with them".⁴⁴ In November 1655, meanwhile, John Dury provided chapter and verse about the passages in a recent issue of *Politicus* which he thought undermined his irenicist mission on the Continent. Dury explained to Thurloe, therefore, that

I desire that *Mercurius Politicus* may not characterise me when he makes extracts, as he hath done in his news on Thursday October 11th to Thursday October 18th 1655 in his pages 5689, 5690, and 5691, where the circumstantial matters point me so out, as that I may suffer thereby hereafter.⁴⁵

Similarly, in August 1656, John Pell explained that the Protestant cantons in Switzerland desired that their news should not be publicised, and asked "that nothing of them might be put into English courants and mercuries, as being not yet ripe for the public view". Indeed, Pell was forthright in suggesting that *Politicus* "deserved to be thoroughly sifted and well circumstantiated, before it be printed by public authority".⁴⁶

In other words, there was a potential downside to the availability of English texts on the Continent, particularly in terms of the response from European regimes. During the Restoration, therefore, English diplomats occasionally expressed concern about the way in which intelligence which they had sent to London was being used in English newspapers. In June 1670, for example, Sir William Temple told Sir Joseph Williamson that he "must once more desire of you that they may not fall into the hands of the ordinary intelligencer, to use [at] his own discretion in drawing what he will out of them for furnishing his gazette". Temple explained, therefore, that a recent edition of the *London Gazette* had "set down the particular business and instruction of Monsieur Van der Tockt upon his return to Brussels", adding that

some such particulars before in your gazette had very near broke off my intelligence, and I should be very sorry to lose it, because he gives me what passes in the states of Holland as well as [the States] General, which

44 *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, 1: 320; Bodl[eian Library, Oxford], MS Rawl. A.24, p. 61.

45 BL, Add. 4365, fo. 339v; *Mercurius Politicus*, 279 (11–18 October 1655), pp. 5689–91. There was no direct evidence about Dury in this edition of *Politicus*, although readers may well have been able to make the connection.

46 *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, 2: 10, 47–8.

is not usual, and besides it would be very hard getting another at this time, upon the late rout among the clerks.⁴⁷

The same problem plagued William Blathwayt, who explained his inability to send intelligence from the Low Countries in July 1671 by saying that this was caused by the fact that “several things have been lately printed in the English diurnall”. Blathwayt singled out the issue of the *London Gazette* for 18–22 May 1671, which reported domestic machinations between various provinces over the status of the Prince of Orange, and which, he said, “have so highly offended the States General, in whose assembly that Gazette was read”. His fear, moreover, was that “the person that furnishes us with the intelligence has declared that he dares not venture any further, especially now [that] his quarter [i.e. quarterly pay] is at an end”. Blathwayt concluded that he would only be able to mollify his intelligencer, and thus retain his well-paid services, “with an assurance of a better management for the future of his advices”.⁴⁸

One potential solution to this problem—the problem of how to use one text to address multiple audiences—was to produce foreign language newspapers, and during the 1650s the English government evidently backed—or indeed ran—a French language newsbook—*Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*—which was designed for European consumption. Even here, however, problems could arise. In July 1656, for example, Samuel Morland asked that this particular “gazetteer” should be “admonished to write with more civility, and in terms better befitting so great a prince as his royal highness of Savoy”. Later, John Pell expressed similar concern about the risk that *Nouvelles Ordinaires* would offend the Duke of Savoy and Piedmontese grandees—who were known to be following press coverage of the sufferings of Waldensians—and complained about specific issues of the paper which he believed might cause “some great mischief” to be done to “that poor people”.⁴⁹

Beyond this, however, concerns regarding the continental impact of a variety of different texts—from republican newspapers like *Politicus* to Scottish covenanter propaganda and foreign language pamphlets—also provoked

47 TNA, SP 84/186, fo. 104.

48 TNA, SP 84/187, fo. 79; *London Gazette*, 575 (18–22 May 1671). Later, another complaint was made from Rotterdam about impact of passages in the *Gazette*: TNA, SP 84/195, fos. 123v–4. For the management of the *London Gazette*, see: Alan Marshall, *Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign of Charles II, 1660–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and Alan Marshall, ‘Sir Joseph Williamson and the conduct of administration in Restoration England’, *Historical Research*, 69 [168] (1996), pp. 18–41.

49 *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, 1: 441; 2: 285–7, 301–2, 323, 333.

attempts to adopt rather different tactics for manipulating the European public sphere.⁵⁰ And while historians have long been aware that English diplomats sought to suppress various texts that emerged from European presses, attention has focused almost exclusively upon works that were being produced by English exiles in order to be imported into England, rather than upon neutralising the impact of texts that were printed in Europe and aimed at European audiences.

That European rather than domestic audiences became an increasingly important part of English diplomatic endeavours in relation to print culture is evident from the work of Sir Richard Browne in the 1640s and 1650s, at least in relation to topical pamphlets, if not necessarily to newsbooks. Browne's papers reveal that he became immersed in the business of suppressing unfavourable books, as well as in the business of translating, printing and dispersing more desirable works, and such activities clearly involved considerable expense.⁵¹ He seems to have been involved, therefore, in translating and publishing *History of the Kings Majesties Affairs in Scotland* (1648), by James Graham, marquis of Montrose, and the secretary of state in exile, Sir Edward Nicholas, certainly thanked Browne for sending him a copy of the book in April 1648, saying that he hoped to find more truth in it "than we are usually meet with in the relations of the feuds and factions of that nation, for certainly the author of it is a person of much honour and nobleness".⁵² Most importantly, Browne also became involved in the European audience for *Eikon Basilike*. In part, he sought to suppress unwelcome, unauthorised and unfavourable French translations of the "king's book", notably the one by Francois de Marsys, whose determination to rally French support for the royalist cause led to the unfortunate portrayal of Charles I as a Catholic. Browne thus oversaw the preparation of an account of "scandalous passages, false traductions, and contradictions in Marsys book styled *Les Memoires*", and was instructed to publish a censure of such books, but he also supported attempts to ensure that the original text could be "delivered to the world in a language common to the most part of the world". As such, he became involved with the work of a rival translator, Monsieur Testard; he was charged with "avowing and approving" Testard's books in public, and he was told to show "respect and kindness" to Testard himself, and indeed to "any other whom he shall employ for the publishing

50 BL, Eg. 2534, fo. 34; Add. 78198, fo. 89; Add. 78195, fo. 137.

51 BL, Add. 78225, fos. 13v, 19, 21v, 22, 24v, 31, 32, 35v, 44v, 57v, 60v.

52 BL, Add. 78194, fos. 69, 70. See: I[acobi] G[reaemi] *De rebus auspiciis* (Amsterdam, 1647), and edition published by J. Bessin in Paris, 1648; *The History of the King's Majesties Affaires in Scotland* (trans. G. Wishart, Amsterdam, 1649).

thereof, as may agree with his and their just desires, or your careful and reasonable performance".⁵³ Most intriguing of all, perhaps, are Browne's activities in response to a "villainous false" parliamentary declaration from January 1648, which involved a highly personal attack upon Charles I. Here, Nicholas's letters reveal a determination to issue a reply, and the hope that this should be "translated and published", and Browne certainly received copies of an English edition for dispersal in Paris.⁵⁴

Such efforts by Browne notwithstanding, this kind of concern becomes much more readily apparent from the Anglo-Dutch context in the early 1680s. Here, the problem faced by Charles II's government involved the zeal with which English Whigs circulated news (and other texts) in the Low Countries, not least through "phanatick" booksellers like Stephen Swart and widow Browning (or Brouning), whose shops were frequented by "all the phanatick English and Dutch merchants, and there for a stiver apiece read the news, which afterwards is spread upon the Exchange", or in the coffeehouse. And key here was Benjamin Harris's Whig newspaper, the *Domestick Intelligence*, new supplies of which were said to arrive at the shops of Swart and Browning "every post".⁵⁵ From there, of course, such texts could circulate much more widely, and from Amsterdam—a well-known hub for printed texts and news—William Carr reported that texts like these made their way to places like Heidelberg, and did "great hurt" across northern Europe. His determination to remedy this situation, however, was clear from his promise that "I shall not be silent so long as I see them here".⁵⁶

What Charles II's government faced, therefore, was the prospect of undesirable texts being used by English and Scottish Whigs—either in English, French or Dutch—to address not just English audiences at home and abroad, but also native audiences in the Low Countries and beyond. As such, attempts were fairly frequently made to prevent these texts from appearing and circulating. And in this battle for public opinion on the continental mainland it became perfectly clear that English diplomats could not necessarily rely on the Dutch

53 BL, Eg. 2547, fos. 1, 5, 7r–v, 9–10v, 11–13. See: *Les Memoires de Feu Roy de la Grand Bretagne*, trans. Marsys (Paris, 1649). See also: *Le Proces, l'adiournement personel, l'interrogatoire, et l'arrest de mort du roy d'Angleterre* (Paris, 1649); *Eikon Basilike. Le Pourtraict du Roy* (Paris, 1649).

54 BL, Add. 78194, fos. 67–8, 69, 72, 75. Nicholas also referred to a 'journal of the business of [La] Rochelle'—the abortive English attempt to raise Louis XIII's siege of La Rochelle in 1628—which was 'printed lately in French', and which 'doth sufficiently vindicate His Majesty for doing the best he could for their relief': BL, Add. 78194, fo. 75.

55 BL, Add. 37981, fos. 2v, 6, 10v, 12v, 35v, 58; TNA, SP 84/216, fo. 160.

56 BL, Add. 37981, fos. 10v, 12v, 35v.

authorities to take action in response to official complaints, and that as a result they tended to resort to more pro-active measures.⁵⁷ In December 1663, for example, Sir George Downing reported that "so gross and filthy a mistake" had been made in a recent issue of the Haarlem gazette, according to which "the Duke of York had been at the sessions in the Old Baily and was there found guilty [of Catholicism], but had since conformed himself to the church". Downing explained that he had duly "complained thereof to De Witt" [Johan de Witt, grand pensionary of the States of Holland], adding that "thereupon the said Gazetier hath in this last Tuesday's book printed that it was a mistake and that it ought to have been the Earl of Bristol". However, Downing also noted that "this gazetier still puts in one thing or another to the disreputation of His Majesty and his affairs and in this very last Tuesday's book wherein he made this recantation he put that the phanaticks had another design on foot in the north".⁵⁸

Faced with such difficulties, men like William Carr sought to pursue a more proactive and positive approach to the task of managing news and opinion in Europe. Carr, therefore, provided local burgomasters with his own version of the news, as supplied from Whitehall, "which doth much in taking off the belief of those phanatick papers".⁵⁹ His task, in other words, was to "undeceive" the Dutch, and it seems clear from his expenses that this involved translating English texts into both French and Dutch, getting them "printed and published at Amsterdam" and given "to the boys to cry on the Dam", and indeed produced in sufficient quantities to be dispersed across northern Europe. Both Carr and Thomas Chudleigh claimed that such tactics were "extremely necessary", in order to the "settling a good and right understanding" in the Dutch republic. The result was that they increasingly found themselves engaged in a paper war on Dutch soil, between different English factions, and in relation to English affairs, and they both professed that, as a result, "His Majesty's interest doth daily increase", not just amongst the magistrates, but also "amongst the people".⁶⁰ Indeed, Carr became somewhat boastful about the impact of his work. On one occasion, therefore, he reflected on how people in the Hague

formerly were possessed with a very bad opinion of our king, and the affairs of England, and were always mutinous against our king and court,

57 BL, Add. 37981, fo. 6.

58 TNA, SP 84/168, fo. 181.

59 BL, Add. 37981, fos. 3, 12r-v.

60 TNA, SP 84/217, fo. 80v; SP 84/216, fo. 161; BL, Add. 41809, fo. 100r-v; Add. 35104, fo. 11v; Add. 37981, fos. 27, 32, 36, 42, 68.

crying up as an idol the Parliament, declaring it not safe to make any alliances with the king, except the Parliament were therein joined, and printed arguments to engage the states rather to make alliances with France unless the Parliament were concerned, etc.

He felt able to conclude, however, that as a result of his efforts “this city is wholly changed”:

they now admire the king for both a wise and a just prince, and are convinced that the Parliament have been too hot and indiscrete in their votes and other things. They much applause the unanswerable declaration of His Majesty which plainly showed to the world that His Majesty rules by law, and desireth so to do, and on the contrary the Parliament who pretendeth much to observe the law yet broke through all and acted more like a number of Marcenelles met together, who was for altering the fundamental laws, right or wrong, therefore our magistrates say that they admire the long patience of our king in letting them sit so long as they did.⁶¹

III Manipulating the European Public Sphere

Such evidence suggests that English diplomatic efforts to engage with European publics involved not merely the distribution of texts to news-hungry English men and women, but also attempts to reach wider audiences and local communities. And while this could be done in any number of ways, it became increasingly clear that the circulation and even translation of texts that had initially been intended for an English audience might not prove adequate, and that it was necessary to respond to the kinds of texts that were being produced across Europe for a continental readership, either by trying to ensure that such works were suppressed, or by endeavouring to secure the publication of more satisfactory texts. Indeed, the evidence from diplomatic papers indicates that English officials were particularly exercised by European gazettes, and by the need to ‘undeceive’ their readers. Ultimately, the logic behind such concerns and practices led English diplomats to become concerned about, and involved in, much more subtle attempts to manipulate European newspapers, in a variety of different ways.

61 TNA, SP 84/216, fo. 159r–v. The precise allusion here is unclear, but seems to involve a reference to disorderly subjects from Marcinelle, near Charleroi during the early phase of the Dutch revolt.

In part, this involved observing, and learning from, the example set by others, in terms of how political pressure could be exerted to control or silence European newspapers. In February 1645, for example, Sir Richard Browne noted having learned about the creation of a new Italian gazette in Turin, and about how this was immediately "suppressed by the French ambassador's order ... to show his authority, and that nothing of that nature shall be published here without his participation".⁶² In 1671, William Blathwayt monitored the appearance of "a scandalous French gazette" in the Low Countries, especially because of its claims that "His Majesty [Charles II] was sending an embassy to the Pope, to declare himself a Catholic". He was doubtless pleased to be able to report, therefore, that this particular gazette had quickly been "suppressed by the magistrates of Amsterdam, and the author forbidden to write any more".⁶³ And in June 1677, Roger Meredith noted the suppression of "the French gazeteer of Amsterdam", upon a complaint from the city of Groningen, "of his having in one of his late gazettes written very scandalous things of that city upon occasion of the differences between them and the Ommelands" (the areas around the city within the province of Groningen).⁶⁴

Ultimately, however, the attempt to use diplomatic means to manipulate the Dutch public sphere also meant trying to mimic such tactics, and to do so in ways that might be more subtle. This was first recommended to Sir William Boswell by Sir John Coke in 1639, in response to the unfavourable accounts of English news in continental newspapers that have already been mentioned. Coke explained, therefore, that "I am well assured you have done your best in protesting against this licentious writing", and he added that "All therefore that can now [be] expected from you is that you would use some diligence to find out from what kind of people these malicious lies do proceed, that we may the better discover their practices which are fomented by these arts".⁶⁵ In the late 1640s and 1650s such attempts to can be shown to have been made episodically by both royalists and republicans. In March 1648, for example, Royalists who were fearful about the impact of old stories that Charles I had been complicit in the murder of his father, James I, prepared a "true relation" of the incident, and Sir Richard Browne was ordered to "procure the said answer to be with all diligence and care translated into French and put into the next [French] Gazette".⁶⁶ This had apparently already been done in the Dutch republic,

62 BL, Add. 78193, fo. 133v.

63 TNA, SP 84/187, fo. 67r-v.

64 TNA, SP 84/205, fo. 3v.

65 TNA, SP 84/155, fo. 22.

66 BL, Add. 78194, fos. 73, 75.

“where it hath given great satisfaction”, and Secretary Nicholas worried that parliamentary diplomats were hard at work in Paris “to put many things in print in French to the disadvantage of the king”. Nicholas added, therefore, that “lately (I am told) there is printed in French the four Articles or Acts, and propositions sent by the rebels to the king to the Isle of Wight; but not the king’s pious, just and magnanimous answer to the same”. He concluded by wondering “how this comes to pass I cannot imagine, or by whose procurement”, although he suspected the involvement of the parliamentary ambassador in Paris, René Augier.⁶⁷ Eventually, in mid-May 1648, Browne succeeded in meeting these demands, and Nicholas thanked him for “procuring the true relation of King James his death to be put into this week’s gazette”. Pleased with this success, indeed, copies were evidently sent to other diplomats across Europe, “that they may within their circles make use of it”, and also despatched to Denmark and Hamburg, “and all parts where you hold correspondence”.⁶⁸ Others too recognised that it was possible to influence the content—rather than merely the survival—of European newsbooks. In October 1654, for example, John Pell explained to John Thurloe that, having complained about press stories relating to England which had emerged from Cologne, he had persuaded the authorities in the Swiss cantons that he would provide “the printer of news” with “truer intelligence” every week, “by London letters”.⁶⁹ Similar concerns also seem to be evident during the Restoration. Writing from Nijmegen in March 1676, therefore, Sir Leoline Jenkins sought evidence with which to refute stories in a local gazette about English soldiers serving in the French army, and worried that the story also appeared “in the Nuremberg gazette”.⁷⁰

During the Restoration, indeed, links between English officials and European gazettes occasionally became much more systematic, as information was exchanged between Whitehall and men like Abraham Casteleyn of the *Haarlem Courant* on a regular basis.⁷¹ This was not entirely free from risk, of course, and in the early 1660s, ambassador Downing seems not just to have been kept in the dark about the feeding of intelligence to Casteleyn, but also to have been fearful of its consequences. In November 1663, therefore, he wrote:

67 BL, Add. 78194, fos. 74, 76, 77.

68 BL, Add. 78194, fos. 75, 77, 79.

69 BL, Add 4365, fo. 140; *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, 1: 65–6.

70 TNA, SP 84/200, fo. 420.

71 Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and their Monopoly of Licensed News* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), pp. 43–6, 54n, 84, 90–1, 102–3; TNA, SP 101/51.

"pray tell Mr Williamson that always, word for word, I find in this gazette the same news he sends me". Having apparently been unaware that stories were being fed to the Dutch newsbooks, Downing also urged caution, noting that "several church matters" in such papers

were very fit to be known, yet by no means fit to be published in this Presbyterian country, as for example that concerning ministers in Scotland their preaching against order, and being proceeded against for it.⁷²

Subsequently, in November 1664, Downing felt compelled once again to express concern about how English officials were distributing to Dutch journalists material that ought to have been dispersed discretely to diplomats like himself, noting that "what was written to me by my lord chancellor the week before he had the same in his book".⁷³

Beyond the potential problems involved in gauging which stories to feed, surreptitiously, to Dutch journalists, it also became clear that English governments faced the problem that they were not alone in trying to influence the Dutch gazettes. Here, the challenge faced by English diplomats became particularly acute during, and after, the Exclusion Crisis, as English 'phanaticks' likewise sought to manipulate Dutch newspapers, in order to serve their own political interests. In October 1680, therefore, Thomas Plott explained that "the scum of the fanatics of England and Scotland" had "vented their malice in print", by "getting it inserted" in the Rotterdam gazette "that the affairs of England were in such confusion that a revolt was daily expected".⁷⁴ Similar letters were sent on other occasions, and in December 1683 Sir Roger L'Estrange—the Restoration government's press mastermind—expressed concern that a paper which the republican author and plotter, Algernon Sidney, had delivered from the scaffold had been printed in the "*Harlem Courant* ... at length".⁷⁵ Here too, the English government faced a severe problem. Thus, although the Dutch ambassadors in London promised that action would be taken against their gazetteers, they also warned that such men "take a liberty to revile their own state as well as foreign nations", and there is some evidence

72 TNA, SP 84/168, fo. 86v.

73 TNA, SP 84/173, fo. 34v. See also: Fraser, *Intelligence*, p. 73.

74 TNA, SP 84/216, fos. 52–3.

75 TNA, SP 84/217, fo. 39; *Dispatches of Thomas Plott*, p. 95; TNA, SP 29/435, fo. 98. See: *The Very Copy of a Paper Delivered to the Sheriffs upon the Scaffold ... on Friday Decemb. 7. 1683* (London, 1683, Wing S3766).

that the complaints made to local magistrates fell on deaf ears, or else resulted in only half-hearted responses.⁷⁶

Another option was to make approaches—perhaps even threatening approaches—to particular editors. William Carr certainly made a personal visit to Casteleyn in March 1681, following some undesirable coverage that the latter had given to English affairs, and Casteleyn apparently “promised never to commit such a fault more”.⁷⁷ And such tactics were clearly not uncommon.⁷⁸ However, the processes involved in monitoring the Dutch press and making such interventions would obviously have been painful and time-consuming, not least because so many editors were shady figures who were hard to identify and locate, and they also might not even work. Having assumed that Casteleyn would become “one of the kindest relators of our affairs”, by means of such a “sharp rebuke”, therefore, Thomas Chudleigh soon discovered that the editor of the *Haarlem Courant* had fallen back into his old ways, thereby making in necessary to “observe the gazettes” with more care.⁷⁹ Observing the gazettes, in other words, could involve not just acquiring information, but also ensuring that they stayed on-message. Alternatively, the English could try to “furnish the gazette on that side with news that might be for your service”, and the Dutch ambassadors in London seemed confident that such offers would be fairly readily accepted.⁸⁰

IV Conclusion

Such evidence regarding attempts to manipulate the content of European gazettes brings us, as it did English diplomats, to the logical conclusion of the story of the diplomacy of news in the seventeenth century, in terms of the kinds of practices that were devised to engage with continental news culture. This engagement involved consuming, reading and thinking about European texts, as well as attempts to influence the flows of texts across state borders, and the circulation of information around mainland Europe. But it also involved attempts to influence the European public sphere, and its more or less discrete component parts, through censorship, translation and localised

76 BL, Add. 35104, fo. 59; TNA, SP 84/216, fos. 52–3; SP 84/217, fo. 39; SP 104/68, fos. 27v–8; *Dispatches of Thomas Plott*, pp. 95, 140–1.

77 BL, Add. 37981, fo. 9; TNA, SP 84/216, fo. 150v.

78 BL, Add. 41823, fo. 22.

79 TNA, SP 84/217, fo. 84r–v; *Dispatches of Thomas Plott*, p. 142.

80 TNA, SP 104/68, fos. 27v–28; *Dispatches of Thomas Plott*, pp. 140–1.

printing, all of which involved a considerable investment of time and money on the part of English diplomats. At their most subtle, indeed, these diplomats sought to wield power in the softest of possible ways, by influencing not merely magistrates and officials, but also the editors of particular gazettes. The more subtle they became, of course, the greater are the challenges involved in tracing their practices and tactics, and establishing the degree of success that they (or indeed their Whig opponents) achieved. Equally difficult is the task of fathoming the political strategies that underpinned contemporary attempts to manipulate European publics, although there are at least occasions when diplomatic reasoning becomes clear. Thomas Plott and William Carr, for example, can be shown to have been concerned about the impact on both the Dutch government and people of reports—not least that were being spread by English Whigs—about the state of affairs in England, and about the instability of Charles II's regime. It was thought to matter, therefore, not just that "a good union" between the king and his people should be maintained, but also that such a 'union' should be perceived to exist amongst citizens of the United Provinces, in order that Charles might become "master of all the affairs of Europe". And it was also recognised that a watchful eye needed to be kept on the diplomatic machinations of the French, who would seek to capitalise on any evidence—perceived or real—regarding the king's weakness, in order to renew their own pressure on the Dutch. And at the same time concerns were also expressed about stories in the Dutch media that Charles might seek to unite his people by pursuing a war strategy, perhaps even by renewing hostilities in the Low Countries. Indeed, it was a report to this effect in the *Haarlem Courant* that prompted Carr to pay his visit to Casteleyn.⁸¹ As such, and as Carr himself explained, the goal was not just to "undeceive the Amsterdammers from believing our English phanaticks", but also to undo damage that was being done to Charles II's interests in the Dutch public sphere by "the French emissary's designs in this country". His aim, in short, was to ensure that the mood in the Dutch republic continued to favour an alliance with England, rather than with Louis XIV.⁸² It was precisely these concerns which help to explain why Carr spent so much government money on "printing and composing several small books and letters in French and Dutch to disperse amongst the states and cities", on "Gazettes and Letters from all parts", on "travelling to ... several cities and places, and employing people to disperse papers", and on getting

81 TNA, SP 84/216, fos. 52–3, 150v; BL, Add. 37981, fo. 9.

82 BL, Add. 37981, fo. 68; TNA, SP 84/216, fo. 161.

“news and intelligence how the French ambassador and his emisaries did proceed”.⁸³

Thus, however difficult it might be to fathom English diplomatic tactics and strategies, it also seems clear that doing so forms an essential part of understanding the relationship between news and the shape of Europe in the seventeenth century. This is because contemporaries were aware that news—and the texts by which it was carried—travelled across the Continent; aware that it was important to influence a variety of European publics; and aware that there were various ways for states to influence transnational phenomena. Not the least of the tasks which the seventeenth century diplomat sought to undertake, in other words, was to grapple with the existence of overlapping and interlocking communities of opinion, not least by making intelligencers and gazetteers their ‘friends’ and ‘pensioners’.

83 TNA, SP 84/216, fo. 162.

Intelligence Offices in the Habsburg Monarchy*

Anton Tantner

Introduction

In the seventeenth century, the great European metropolises of Paris and London saw the establishment of so-called intelligence offices, which served as places of institutionalised information brokerage and were to promote the exchange of goods, real estate and work opportunities.¹ The first known institution of this kind, the *Bureau d'adresse*, was established near Notre-Dame in Paris in 1630; it was created on the initiative of the physician Théophraste Renaudot (1586–1653), a native of Montpellier, and undertook a number of different tasks: it acted not only as a sales agency and brokered real estate and work, but beyond that it served as a pawnbroker, a place of medical care for the poor, and as a venue for academic lectures, the *conférences du Bureau d'adresse*. All those who presented a request there could have it entered into a register for a fee of three sous; for the same sum, information was provided from the register. From time to time, excerpts from the register were published in the form of advertisements in its own advertising paper, the *Feuille du Bureau d'adresse*; from 1631, the information expert Renaudot published articles on political events in his newspaper, the *Gazette*.² In London, on the other hand, comparable

* Translated by Brita Pohl; www.bricolangue.at.

- 1 On information offices in general, see Astrid Blome, 'Offices of Intelligence and Expanding Social Spaces', in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 207–22 and Anton Tantner, *Adressbüros im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, Habilitation thesis (University of Vienna, 2011) <<http://phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:128115>> [8/1/15]; the present text resulted from two projects funded by the Austrian Science Fund (P19826–Go8, Europäische Adressbüros in der Frühen Neuzeit) and the Jubiläumssfonds of the Austrian National Bank (no. 15275, Auskunftskomptoire und Adressbüros in der Habsburgermonarchie, 1750–1850).
- 2 Howard M. Solomon, *Public Welfare, Science and Propaganda in Seventeenth Century France: The Innovations of Théophraste Renaudot* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Gilles Feyel, *L'Annonce et la nouvelle. La presse d'information en France sous l'ancien régime (1630–1788)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 11–308; Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 134–47; Gérard Jubert, ed., *Père des Journalistes et Médecin des Pauvres. Théophraste Renaudot (1586–1653)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005).

institutions were founded from the mid-seventeenth century onward, which were known as 'intelligence' or 'registry' offices and mainly served to broker goods and domestic servants. They published advertisement papers and often established themselves near the Royal Exchange.³

These intelligence offices raise a number of questions, which, due to the scarcity of the sources identified so far, cannot yet be answered satisfactorily: what were the relations between information offices and traditional information brokers? Amongst the latter, especially concerning the placement of domestic servants, were the so-called servant agents, mostly elderly women who had specialist knowledge about domestic positions available in individual households, who were often accused of poaching domestics after having placed them in order to pocket a second brokering fee. How were the offices organised, were they state, city or—as was usually the case—privately administered, if licensed, institutions? Who frequented the information offices? Women, for example, were not accepted as customers in every case, as it seems on the whole that the institution of information offices in general was accompanied by a masculinisation of information brokerage, i.e. a squeezing out of women from this area of activity, which may already be identified during the seventeenth century. How did the interplay between information offices, and the brokering activities accomplished there, and other media in the urban area, work? Namely, what was the relationship between the advertisement papers sometimes published by the information offices and the institution of the penny post?

All these questions will stay relevant for future research; here, using archival and printed sources, I would like to attempt a description of the activities of largely unnoticed information offices in the example of the Habsburg Monarchy.

3 W.H. Beveridge, 'A Seventeenth-Century Labour Exchange', *Economic Journal*, 24 (1914), pp. 371–6; M. Dorothy George, 'The Early History of Registry Offices. The Beginnings of Advertisement', *Economic Journal Economic History Supplement*, 1 (1926–9), [January 1929], pp. 570–90; Michael Harris, 'Exchanging Information: Print and Business at the Royal Exchange in the Late Seventeenth Century', in *The Royal Exchange*, ed. Ann Saunders (London: London Topographical Society, 1997), pp. 188–97; Michael Harris, 'Timely Notices: The Use of Advertising and its Relationship to News during the Late Seventeenth Century', in *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 141–56; Karl Tilman Winkler, 'Die Zeitung und die Anfänge der Informationsgesellschaft. Wirtschaft, Technologie und publizistischer Markt in London 1665–1740', in *400 Jahre Zeitung. Die Entwicklung der Tagespresse im internationalen Kontext*, ed. Martin Welke and Jürgen Wilke (Bremen: edition lumière, 2008), pp. 139–75.

Seventeenth Century Projects

The Viennese Fragstuben Project of Johannes Angelus de Sumaran

In Vienna, the opportunity to establish a comparable institution arose only a few years after the opening of the Paris *Bureau d'adresse*. The initiative came from a certain Johannes Angelus de Sumaran (also Juan Àngel de Zumaran), a language teacher who had been born in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa at the end of the sixteenth century, and about whom we have only scant biographical details.⁴ He came from a noble family and, after spells in Brussels, Ingolstadt and Munich, surfaced in Vienna in 1622, where he was listed in the university's register as "*prof. linguarum*".⁵ From about 1610, he had taught Spanish, Italian and French as well as dancing; in the autumn of 1636, he petitioned to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm for the privilege, for himself and his family, for an *öffentliche fragstuben* (public inquiry room).⁶ In his petition, which he signed as *Professor Linguarum dieser Universitet in Wienn*, he first pointed out that in many foreign countries and cities, there already were "certain taverns or public rooms".⁷ Anyone who wanted to buy or sell anything was able

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- 4 For material on his biography, see Konrad Schröder, *Biographisches und bibliographisches Lexikon der Fremdsprachenlehrer des deutschsprachigen Raumes, Spätmittelalter bis 1800*, vol. 4 (Augsburg: Universität Augsburg, 1995), pp. 190–2; vol. 6 (Augsburg: Universität Augsburg, 1999), pp. 268–9; Katrin Wippich-Roháčková, "*Der Spanisch Liebende Hochdeutscher*". *Spanischgrammatiken in Deutschland im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Buske Verlag, 2000), p. 85.
- 5 Götz Pölnitz, ed., *Die Matrikel der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Ingolstadt-Landshut-München*, part 1, vol. 2: *Ingolstadt 1600–1650* (Munich: Lindauer, 1939), p. 238; Franz Gall and Hermine Paulhart, eds., *Die Matrikel der Universität Wien*, vol. 4: *1579/11–1658/59* (Vienna, Cologne, Graz, Böhlau in Komm., 1974), p. 115.
- 6 Barbara Bruzzone, 'Fremdsprachen in der Adelserziehung des 17. Jahrhunderts: Die Sprachbücher von Juan Angel de Sumarán', in *Die Volkssprachen als Lerngegenstand im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Akten des Bamberger Symposions am 18. und 19. Mai 2001* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), pp. 37–45, at 37; [Anonymous], 'Zur Geschichte des Wiener Fragamtes', in *Wiener Communal-Kalender und städtisches Jahrbuch*, 31 (1893), pp. 419–26. The documents quoted in this essay, which Karl Schrauf, an employee of the Haus-Hof und Staatsarchiv, had found at the Vienna University archive, were untraceable in the 1980s according to Manfred Bobrowsky: Manfred Bobrowsky, *Das Wiener Intelligenzwesen und die Lesegewohnheiten im 18. Jahrhundert*, PhD thesis (University of Vienna, 1982), v. Thanks to Thomas Maisel (UAW), they were located again: UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae, IV 1567–1666, fos. 289r–291a; fos. 291b^v–292b^v, entries of 27 October 1636 and 23 November 1636. The text passed down as a copy slightly deviates from the one printed in the *Wiener Communal-Kalender*, so Schrauf might have had the original documents at his disposal.
- 7 UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae IV 1567–1666, fos. 291a^r.

to register there and “ask for any things”. In no more than “a quarter of an hour”, they were able to learn whether their demand could be fulfilled. As Sumaran mentioned that he was “well experienced” in the use of such institutions, it may be assumed that he used them, among other things, to offer his services as a language teacher; as an explicit model he quoted Paris, where a *Doctor Medicinae*—i.e. Renaudot—“has lately invented this”.⁸

The inquiry room was to serve first and foremost as a sales agency for movables and real estate. Six kreutzer were to be asked of each individual willing to buy or sell as a registration fee; women, too, were explicitly envisaged as users. Sumaran also suggested that the new institution might be used as a kind of registration office or information bureau about the residence and reputation of the city’s inhabitants: by this means, one might get to know what kind of people were in the city, where they came from, “what their doings were, where they lived, and who they consorted with”, and what brush they were tarred with. Also, work placements were to be brokered: people who wanted to be “promoted” would be able to have their names including their residence and skills registered, while the names and locations of “such gentlemen or ladies who desire such people” would also be registered. Other services included the brokering of lodgings: “When strangers arrive and need board or a furnished room for a time”, it would be possible to allocate those to them.⁹

In addition, Sumaran suggested that this *Fragstube* might assume the function of a debating club, if not an academy: “all sorts of languages and free Arts” were to be practiced there, and a weekly discussion about some piece of news was to be held. Everybody—especially “skilful, well-travelled and well-read people”—should be able to have their say and not be laughed at by anyone. The ‘discourse’ was to be recorded and to appear in print afterwards. Also, the *Fragstube* might be regarded as a news exchange, where “all sorts of news were to be found and learned, as correspondence and particularities” from all sorts of places would be received there.¹⁰ The listed offers did not cover all services Sumaran thought to provide; “many other such useful services” would “benefit

8 UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae IV 1567–1666, fos. 289v–290r: “*gewisse tabernen oder öffentliche stuben; nach allen sachen fragen; in einer viertl stundt; woll erfahren*”; “*ein Doctor Medicinae dises neulich inventiret*”.

9 UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae IV 1567–1666, fo. 290v: “*was ihr thuen und lassen sey, wo sie wohnen, undt mit wem sie sich aufhalten*”; “*promoviert*”; “*Herrn oder Frauen, die solliche leith begehren*”; “*Wan frembde leuth herkhomen undt wollten gern auf ein Zeit ein khost oder mobilirtes Zimmer haben*”.

10 UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae IV 1567–1666, fo. 290r: “[A]llerley sprachen und freye künsten”; “*geschikte, wollgeraiste undt belesene leüth*”; “*allerley Zeitungen zu erfinden und zu erfahren*”; “*correspondenzen und particularien*”.

the common wealth”, Sumaran explained; he only lacked the space to explain them all in detail.¹¹

Invectives against traditional service brokers, however, take up a fair amount of space in Sumaran’s proposal: his institution would enable the authorities to suppress “harmful profiteers” as well as “all sorts of wandering Jews and landlopers [vagabonds] who do not have a trade or are settled here”; in his information office, usury, as practiced otherwise by “Jews and Christians”, was to have no place.¹² In addition, his offer would eliminate intermediate trade and be directed against ‘middlemen’ and ‘cheats’.¹³ Sumaran especially had it in for the harmful servant brokers—“a cover for all Evil”—at whose places all sorts of ‘rabble’ hung about and who came and went in the houses, enticing women, daughters and maids to accept a position and then quickly abandon it again. Their activities would be controlled, since the protocols Sumaran envisaged for those seeking employment left no place for the middleman, with “only a slip of paper”, as he said, deposited at the bureau, serving as broker between the prospective employer and employee.¹⁴

Sumaran’s proposal was refused because the Theological Faculty at the University of Vienna gave a negative verdict. It first questioned Sumaran’s academic status as a language professor, as only those who taught Hebrew and Greek were allowed to claim it; and secondly, it claimed that disputes and disagreements were to be expected between members of the university and the superintendent of the *Fragstube*, and that the income generated from brokering would not benefit the state, but the superintendent. Another argument brought forward by the Faculty was that the agents traditionally engaged in brokerage would lose their income, which would lead to hatred and envy. Another concern was that the activity of the sales agency would lead to fraud, as potential sellers would be able to register under a false name. In any case, it was improbable that one single institution would be able to offer such a range of services; an office of inquiry like the one proposed was merely a chimera.

11 UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae IV 1567–1666, fo. 291a^r: “*vill anderer dergleichen nutzbarkeiten*”; “*Fragstuben dem gemainen Wesen zu guetten khommen*”.

12 UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae IV 1567–1666, fo. 289v: “*schedlich Partitamacher*”; UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae IV 1567–1666, fo. 290v: “*allerley herumbstertzende Juden, undt Landtlauffer, die khein Gewerb treiben oder alhie hausgesessen sein, abges[c]haft*”; UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae IV 1567–1666, fo. 290r.

13 UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae IV 1567–1666, fo. 291a^r: “*Unterhandler and leitbetrieger*”.

14 UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae IV 1567–1666, fo. 290v–291a^r: “*ein dekhmantl alles Übels*”; “*gesindl*”; “*ein Zetl*”.

And finally, the office of inquiry presented a danger to the soul, by the mere fact that in its rooms, servants would come into frequent contact with masters and ladies. In its refusal, the Faculty even went so far as to call the office of inquiry a ‘breeding place of sin’ (*seminarium peccatorum*).¹⁵ Its hostile stance shows how offensive the Faculty found the prospective institution of a brokering place in which different classes of society would meet. In spite of complaints about traditional brokers, these were insufficient to establish the *Fragstube* as a desirable alternative; furthermore, and perhaps not least among the faculty’s considerations, its ambition to adopt the tasks of an academy was perceived as a competition to the university.¹⁶

Wilhelm von Schröder’s Intelligenz-Werck

50 years after Sumaran, in 1686, the cameralist Wilhelm von Schröder (1640–99) published the project of a so-called *Intelligenz-Werck* in his *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Cammer*.¹⁷ Schröder knew the office of intelligence established at the London Exchange from his journeys to England (1660 and 1678–81), and also referred to it; the *Intelligenzwerk*, however, was conceived to be much more comprehensive, as it was to help establish “a general market” in all hereditary lands of the Habsburg monarchy, “where everyone, within a quarter of an hour, could learn about everything that was on sale in all these lands, and where it was to be found, without travelling or sending messengers”. Thus it would be possible to establish “good order in trade”, which consisted in craftsmen finding traders to buy their products without having to carry them from

15 UAW, Kodex Th 16: Acta Facultatis Theologicae IV 1567–1666, fo. 292a^r v.

16 Cf. Blome, ‘Offices of Intelligence’ pp. 207–22, at 215–17.

17 On Schröder, see amongst others H.v. Srbik, ‘Wilhelm von Schröder. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Staatswissenschaften’, *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 164.1 (1910); W. Halder, ‘Schröder, Johann Wilhelm Freiherr v.’, *NDB*, vol. 23 (2007), pp. 577–8; Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien in fünf Bänden* (Vienna: Kreymayr & Scheriau, 1992–7), vol. 5, p. 147, lemma ‘Schröder (Schroeder) Wilhelm Frh. v.’; cf. also the following accounts of the *Intelligenzwerk* project: Bobrowsky, *Intelligenzwesen*, pp. 22–7 and Friedrich Huneke, ‘Sozialdisziplinierung, Lektüre und gesellschaftliche Erfahrung im Vergleich. Das Intelligenzblatt und die “Lippischen Intelligenzblätter” (1767–1799)’, in *Pressewesen der Aufklärung. Periodische Schriften im alten Reich*, ed. Sabine Doering-Manteuffel, Josef Mancal and Wolfgang Wüst (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001), pp. 210–44, at 214–5; Martin Gierl, ‘Zeitschriften—Stadt—Information—London—Göttingen—Aufklärung’, in *Jenseits der Diskurse. Aufklärungspraxis und Institutionenwelt in europäisch komparativer Perspektive*, ed. Hans E. Bödeker and Martin Gierl (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), pp. 243–64, at 247–8.

door to door, and “lose time with walking”.¹⁸ The present state of things was far from this ideal, as it often happened that a craftsman finished a piece of work which was precisely what a potential client needed, but which he did not know how to find and therefore had to expend time searching for it. Also, many people in the country did not know that there was a demand for their products in the city, which is why they gave their wares to middlemen—*Vorkäuffer*—who contributed to price increases: “Sending messengers, item commissioning ... makes a thing expensive”. “Newly-arrived strangers”, too, suffered from their lack of knowledge, as they often looked for accommodation or services in vain, and were, if at all, referred to middlemen who brought them “more harm and mischief than good”.¹⁹

The new institution was to address another shortcoming, namely the lack of suitable servants, which was said to lead to masters having to pay them too high a wage; instead of the brokers who were tolerated without supervision, the *Intelligenzwerk* was to take over the placement of servants and would, in addition, install a separate court for them, where they would have to register.²⁰ Once again, the delivery of police services was contemplated in connection with an intelligence office.

Schröder wanted to organise his *Intelligenzwerk* along the lines of the postal services: in all the hereditary lands, or at least in Austria, Moravia, Styria and Bohemia, “a public locus” was to be established in all suitable cities and towns, intelligence points which were to be under the direction of a “directorio or superior intelligence house” at the Imperial Court. In these institutions, anyone might register and have his needs entered into a “protocol or Journal”. In addition to the scribes necessary for this, some “intelligence clerks” would have to be employed, “who could be used for sending out, inquiries, negotiations and the like”.²¹

There were five different media—so-called *intelligentien*—for the publication of demands submitted to an *intelligent-Hauß*: 1. The “Journal or Protocol” kept at the intelligence house, which interested parties would be able to

18 W.v. Schröder, *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Cammer* (Leipzig, 1686), pp. 495–8: “*alwo ein jeder ohne Reisen oder, Botenschicken in einer Viertelstund alles wissen könne, was in allen diesen Ländern zu verkauffen, und wo ein jedes zu finden sey; gute Ordnung im Handel; die zeit mit lauffen zu verlieren*”.

19 Schröder, *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Cammer*, pp. 503–4: “*Das Bothen schicken, item das in commission geben ... macht eine sache theuer; fremde Ankömpling; mehr Schaden und Unheil als Nutzen*”.

20 Schröder, *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Cammer*, pp. 155–8.

21 Schröder, *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Cammer*, pp. 505–7: “*intelligentz-Bediente, welche man zum Ausschicken, nachfragen, unterhandeln und dergleichen gebrauchen*”.

inspect; 2. a 'board' outside the intelligence house; 3. a public proclamation "*per proclamationem vocalem*"; 4. communications to other intelligence houses; 5. "*per charta publicam*", a weekly intelligence paper, which would advertise the information, services or goods offered or demanded in the whole of the country, and which was to be published weekly or bi-weekly, "just like the newspapers". Schröder listed different examples for its use: a master looking for a trumpeter would be able to notify the intelligence house of his need. Likewise, a bargeman departing for Bratislava (*Pressburg*) might publish the fact in order to recruit passengers, or a bargeman arriving whose cargo consisted of lard might have it proclaimed and find buyers. And whenever the army stood in need of oats, wine or horseshoes, it would be able to place this information in the intelligence paper.²²

The proposed *Intelligenzwerk* thus was to use a mix of media in order to achieve its brokering function. No private person would be excluded from creating such an institution; it was, however, to be placed under public supervision like the postal services in order to prevent fraud.²³ Schröder's conclusion: the *Intelligenzwerk* was "simply and ill made, but full of advantages"; it would facilitate doings and dealings, alleviate poverty and, last but not least, increase His Majesty's income.²⁴ His proposal of a communication network transcending borders was not put into practice; later authors took it up and some future implementations of intelligence offices would be based on it.²⁵

Leibniz's Plans

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz was one of the seventeenth-century scholars whose imagination was captivated by the idea of intelligence offices.²⁶ He knew the lectures published by the Paris *Bureau d'adresse* and the London offices of intelligence and over several decades, he proposed plans for similar institutions, which sometimes tended in the direction of a comprehensive agency of education and brokerage, sometimes more towards an intelligence office mostly

22 Schröder, *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Cammer*, pp. 508–11.

23 Schröder, *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Cammer*, pp. 507–8.

24 Schröder, *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rent-Cammer*, p. 511: "*einfältig und schlecht beschaffen, aber so voller nutzbarkeit*".

25 E.g. H. Bode, *Fürstliche Macht-Kunst oder unerschöpfliche Gold-Grube, Wordurch ein Fürst sich kan mächtig und seine Unterthanen reich machen* (Vienna, 1703), pp. 130–3; J.B.v. Rohr, *Einleitung zur Staats-Klugheit, Oder: Vorstellung Wie Christliche und weise Regenten zur Beförderung ihrer eigenen und ihres Landes Glückseligkeit Ihre Unterthanen Zu beherrschen pflegen* (Leipzig, 1718), pp. 935–6; Astride Blome, 'Das Intelligenzwesen in Hamburg und Altona', in Doering-Manteuffel et al., *Pressewesen der Aufklärung*, pp. 183–207, at 188.

26 On Leibniz' intelligence office plans, see Blome, 'Offices of Intelligence', pp. 215–19.

concentrated on commercial purposes with a focus on the services of a sales and employment agency.²⁷

Thus, in his *Drôle de pensée* of 1675, Leibniz sketched an educational and recreational institution that went beyond Renaudot and was to be, amongst others, a “*bureau general d'adresse pour tous les inventeurs*”, a general intelligence office for inventors:

All those who had an invention or an ingenious idea to offer would be welcome; here they would find the occasion to earn their living, to publicise their invention, and profit from it ... Soon, there would be a theatre of all imaginable things: a menagerie, a garden of medicinal herbs, a laboratory, an anatomical theatre, a cabinet of curiosities. All those eager for knowledge would be able to turn to it ... And academies, colleges, tennis courts and more would be incorporated; concerts and picture galleries, colloquies and conferences.²⁸

In connection with his proposed journal *Semestria Literaria*—it was to be published in two to three volumes coinciding with the Frankfurt Fair, and contain inventions and new ideas as well as reports of recently published books, with an ‘excerpt of the quintessence’—Leibniz developed plans for a general information office for writers, which was to support scholars who wanted to take up useful works, but had no access to a publisher.²⁹

The draft on the *Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes* (establishment of an office of notices) that may have been written in the years 1712–13 was elaborately developed; this time, the institution was to fund the Imperial Society of Science. Through it, “people who are in need of each other would be able to become

27 Gottfried W. Leibniz, ‘Bedenken von Aufrichtung einer Akademie oder Societät’ (1671?), in Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, series 4, political writings, vol. 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1983), pp. 543–52, at 548; Gottfried W. Leibniz, letters to Gilles Filleau des Billelles, Hannover 3 and 13 July 1692 and 8 December 1692, in Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe*, series 1, general political and historical correspondence, vol. 8 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1970), pp. 332–4, 567–70, at 333 and 568.

28 Gottfried W. Leibniz, ‘Drôle de pensée’ [September 1675], in Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften* series 4, political writings, 1: 562–8, at 565; German translation in Horst Bredekamp, *Die Fenster der Monade. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz’ Theater der Natur und Kunst* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004), pp. 237–46, at 42; see 43–80 for an analysis of the Leibnizian *Gedankenscherz*.

29 Gottfried W. Leibniz, ‘Semestria Literaria’ [autumn 1679], in Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften* series 4, political writings, 3: 775–86, at 782: *Auszug des kerns*.

aware of each other".³⁰ Until now, the meeting of buyers and sellers, workers and publishers, carters and bargemen with their cargos etc. depended solely on chance, and not a few had "fallen prey to debt, harm and disaster" because no-one knew of them, while others had "risen up", because they had been lucky enough to find a patron; by means of the *Notiz-Amt*, "chance" would "turn into certitude".³¹ The society Leibniz thus wanted to create with this institution was one in which exchange processes would not proceed in a chaotic but in a regulated way, an argument which Renaudot had already used to justify his *Bureau d'adresse*. Leibniz did not, however, aim to completely exclude chance, but to build it into the process of information brokerage in a planned way: when consulting the *Notiz-Amt*, "people often find something they do not look for, and often they have occasion to find and ask for something which they would not otherwise have thought of".³² Serendipity is the art of finding something one has not initially been looking for; Leibniz was familiar with this phenomenon and worked it into his conception.

Another benefit of the information office Leibniz cited was that people would become better linked through it: as opposed to the countryside, where they lived "far spread out from each other", the "main advantage" of cities was that people lived closer together and were "more easily able to find each other". The *Notizamt* would add to this trend, even make it complete:³³

... people will be even more united and so to say concentrated, so that one *morally* approaches the other and comes into virtual contact with him, even if they are not physically [brought] together and do not live in the one house; they will approach each other, get to know one another and be more strongly bound to each other.³⁴

30 Gottfried W. Leibniz, 'Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes/Création d'un bureau d'adresse', in Leibniz, *Oeuvres*, vol. 7: *Leibniz et les Académies. Leibniz et Pierre le Grand*, ed. Alexandre Foucher de Carail (Paris: F. Didot, 1875), pp. 358–66, at 358: "leute, die einander von nöthen haben, von einander kundschaft bekommen können".

31 Leibniz, 'Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes', pp. 359–60: "in schulden, schaden und verderben gerathen; auß einem zufälligen etwas gewißes".

32 Leibniz, 'Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes', p. 359: "findet oft einer was er suchet, bekommt auch oft gelegenheit etwas zu suchen und zu verlangen, darauff er sonst nicht gedacht hätte".

33 Leibniz, 'Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes', p. 366: "weit von einander zerstreuet; hauptvortheil".

34 Leibniz, 'Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes', p. 366: "[D]ie menschen werden noch mehr vereiniget und so zu sagen concentrirt, also daß sich einer dem andern moraliter nähert und gleichsam ad contactum komt, da sie doch physice nicht beysammen und nicht in einem hause wohnen; they would sich einander nähern, sich kennen lernen und fester mit einander verknüpfet werden".

Leibniz's conclusion: "police and order, doings and dealings, trades and manufactures, studies and arts" would therefore be "exceedingly stimulated".³⁵

In a similar manner to his predecessor Wilhelm von Schröder, Leibniz wanted to cover the whole of the German Empire, and also Italy, in a network of *Notizämter*; they were not only to be established in cities but also in towns.³⁶ A number of services were to be provided, which went over and above the usual brokering services—and which, incidentally, were also open to anonymous use.³⁷ The *Notiz-Amt* was to serve as a store for valuables, as a venue for auctions and lotteries, it was to publicly document contracts and administer pious endowments; in addition, it might be joined to a "work or poor house or orphanage" as well as an office of weights and measures. Finally, it might also be used to supervise the Jews—Leibniz seizes on an ancient prejudice here—whose "whole sustenance in general" consisted of "felonies".³⁸ This enlistment by the authorities was even emphasised by Leibniz's suggestion of using the *Notiz-Amt*, according to the Venetian example, as a receiving office for anonymous reports. Here, Leibniz felt it necessary to stress that this function should not be abused.³⁹

Finally, in Leibniz's vision, the *Notiz-Amt* would also publish a printed medium, namely a weekly or monthly "*diarium* of useful matters occurring", providing information to those living in the country. It was to publicise those matters which would otherwise be posted on placards, and promote recently published books, medicines and inventions, curiosities and sights. The advantage of such a *diarium* connected to the registry of the *Notiz-Amt* would be that "such often useful matters (might) be preserved for the information of posterity"; the same applied to decrees by the authorities, which were to be printed in the *diarium*.⁴⁰ Even more than the French and English models, the information offices conceived by Leibniz assume some of the function of police institutions: they were not only to facilitate brokerage, but also to take on surveillance tasks.

35 Leibniz, 'Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes', p. 366: "*polizey und ordnung, handel und wandel, commercien und manufactures, studien und künste überauß befördert werden*".

36 Leibniz, 'Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes', p. 363.

37 Leibniz, 'Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes', p. 360.

38 Leibniz, 'Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes', pp. 364–5: "*ganze nahrung insgemein in schacherey*".

39 Leibniz, 'Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes', pp. 360–1.

40 Leibniz, 'Errichtung eines Notiz-Amtes', pp. 361–2: "*diarium der dienlichen fürgefalle-
nen dinge; solche oft nützliche sachen ... der nachwelt zur nachricht in gedächtniß erhalten
werden*".

Frag- und Kundschaftsämter in the Habsburg Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century

The Vienna Frag- und Kundschaftsamt

In 1707, an information office called *Fragamt* (inquiries office) was founded in Vienna; originally, it was closely connected to a pawn office (*Versatzamt*) established at the same time, and was to finance the Great Poorhouse, which had been in existence since 1693.⁴¹ The *Versatz- und Fragamt* founding patent dates from 14 March 1707 and defined the activities of the *Fragamt* as those of a sales agency; there was no mention of additional brokering activities or the publication of an advertising paper.⁴² Possibly the latter was dropped out of respect for the *Wienerisches Diarium*, a printed newspaper published since 1703, which continues to this day under the name *Wiener Zeitung* (since 1781); there is, however, no clear evidence for this assumption.

More extensive activities of the *Fragamt* are documented only from 1721; at this time, the *Fragamt* was installed in a separate venue from the *Versatzamt* and it began its cooperation with the *Wienerisches Diarium* by publishing the

41 For literature on the Vienna *Fragamt*, see e.g. [Anonymous], 'Zur Geschichte des Wiener *Fragamtes*,' *Wiener Communal-Kalender und städtisches Jahrbuch*, 31 (1893), pp. 419–26; Hans Hülber, *Arbeitsnachweise, Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitsmarktgeschehen in Österreich in vorindustrieller Zeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Wiens. Eine sozial- und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Studie* (Vienna: Verien für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1975), pp. 22–30; Wolfgang Duchkowitz, *Absolutismus und Zeitung. Die Strategie der absolutistischen Kommunikationspolitik und ihre Wirkung auf die Wiener Zeitung 1621–1757*, PhD thesis (University of Vienna, 1978), pp. 311–57; Bobrowsky, *Wiener Intelligenzwesen; Tantner, Adressbüros*, pp. 95–118; and Tantner, 'Das Wiener Frag- und Kundschaftsamt. Informationsvermittlung im Wien der Frühen Neuzeit,' *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 66.4 (2011), pp. 313–42. <phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:105527> [8/1/15]. For accounts of the foundation of the pawn office and *Fragamt*, cf. especially Karl Weiss, *Geschichte der öffentlichen Anstalten, Fonde und Stiftungen für die Armenversorgung in Wien* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1867), p. 123; Albert Starzer, *Das k.k. Versatzamt in Wien von 1707 bis 1900* (Vienna: Direction des k.k. Versatzamtes 1901), pp. 9–10; Bobrowsky, *Intelligenzwesen*, pp. 29–30; on the Great Poorhouse, see also the chronicle in the Niederösterreichische Landesarchiv: Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv, St. Pölten (NÖLA), NÖ Regierung, *Diverse Protokollbücher—Protokolle in Großen Armenhaus-Sachen, Versatzamts-Sachen 1626–1808*, Nr. 64/8: Gedenkprotokoll über Merkwürdigkeiten im Großen Armenhaus, undated.

42 *Codex Austriacus IIII: Supplementum Codicis Austriaci* (Leipzig, 1748), pp. 531–5, citations at 534–5; cf. also Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (WStLA), Patente, series 1, no. 1011, 14 March 1707.

so-called '*Negotienlisten*' there, which consisted of registry excerpts of the entries listed in the *Fragamt* protocol.⁴³ Most of these notices concerned the sale of movables and real estate and the loaning of money; the *Fragamt* sometimes also served as an exhibition venue for goods on sale. A novelty was that the *Fragamt* offered a placement service; this service was mainly directed at servants, and the *Fragamt* attempted to take over police functions by prompting individuals looking for a position as a servant to submit details on their age, place of birth, parentage, financial circumstances and skills, as well as to provide certificates of conduct and letters of recommendation.⁴⁴

The protocol at the *Fragamt* and the '*Kundschaftsblätter*' (information sheets), which in part were a supplement to the *Wiener Diarium*, but which could also sometimes be bought separately for the price of one kreutzer were not the only medium the *Fragamt* used for the registration and publication of submitted demands: there was also a posting board on display in front of the office, on which 'all submitted requests and inquiries (were) posted daily, omitting names'.⁴⁵ In addition to the *Kundschaftsblatt*, lists were printed, which were available on demand at the office, containing lodgings for rent and available servants.⁴⁶

In the same year of 1721, the printer Johann Peter van Ghelen (1673–1754) took over the *Diarium*, so the printing of the '*Negotienlisten*' also devolved on

43 Codex Austriacus IV: *Supplementum Codicis Austriaci, Pars II* (Vienna, 1752), pp. 7–8. The following prints kept at the WStLA, Hauptarchiv, Akten, series B, no. 1117/1710 served further publication: *Richt-Schnur/So bey Ihro Römisch-Kayslerlich- und Königlich-Catholischen Majestät Frag-Ambt/Die Universal-Kundschaft/ja fast eines jedwedern Negotii einzuführen und zu remonstriren zu jedermanns Nutzen und Beförderung entspringet*, n.d. (1721); *Auß dem Der Röm. Kays. Und Königl. Cath. Majestät Neu-auffgerichten Frag- und Kundschafts-Ambt Wird hiemit Jedermänniglichen zu wissen/und kund gethan*, n.d. (1721); *Kurtzer Inhalt und Unterrichtung Auß dem neu aufgerichteten Universal-Kundschaft- und schriftl. Niederlags-Ambt/worinnen auß folgenden absonderlich allhier inserirten Puncten/zuerschen/was Massen zu Nutzen und Frommen des gemeinen Wesen/die sonst zu machen habende schwere Unkosten/grosse Speesen und langwierige Zeit-Trainirung aufgehoben; hingegen die erspießliche Leichtigkeit des Handel- und Wandels allen Hoch- und Niedern Stands-Persohnen zu schleunigerer Beförderung hergestellt werden könne*, n.d. (1725). The first of the *Negotienlisten* was published on 4 June 1721: *Wienerisches Diarium* (WD), no. 1862, 4–6 June 1721; see Bobrowsky, *Intelligenzwesen*, pp. 38–9.

44 WD, no. 2, 7 January 1722.

45 WD, no. 31, 15 April 1724; WD, no. 85, 23 October 1723; WD, no. 31, 15 April 1724: *alle eingehende Begehren und Anfragen mit verschwiegenen Namen ... täglich angeheftet*.

46 WD, no. 31, 15 April 1724.

him, which later appeared separately and were called *Kundschaftsblatt*.⁴⁷ In April 1728 at the latest, the *Fragamt* moved to the premises of the *Wienerisches Diarium*, Ghelen launched a regular advertisement campaign for the *Kundschaftsblatt* and, besides sales advertisements for movables and real estate, free positions and travel opportunities, also published arrest warrants, missing persons reports and announcements of recently published books; at times there were reports on scientific phenomena or spectacular crimes; until the 1770s, it also included announcements of religious services.⁴⁸

47 Anton Mayer, *Wiens Buchdrucker-Geschichte 1482–1882*, 2 vols. (Vienna: W. Frick, 1887), 2: 14–15, note 58; E.V. Zenker, 'Die Geschichte der Wiener Zeitung in ihrem Verhältnisse zur Staatsverwaltung auf Grund archivalischer Forschungen dargestellt', *Wiener Zeitung*, supplement (Jubiläums-Festnummer der kaiserlichen Wiener Zeitung 8 August 1703–1903), 8 August 1903 <anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=wzj> [8/1/15], pp. 1–12, at 2–3; Duchkowitsch, *Absolutismus*, pp. 265–88; Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Reichshofrat (RHR), Gratialia et Feudalia (Grat. Feud.), Impressorien (Impr.), cart. 63, at bundle 1, no. 18: Resolution of Karl VI to Johann Baptist Schönwetter, 22 October 1721. On Ghelen see e.g. Peter R. Frank and Johannes Frimmel, eds., *Buchwesen in Wien 1750–1850. Kommentiertes Verzeichnis der Buchdrucker, Buchhändler und Verleger* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz Verlag, 2008), pp. 77–8.

48 *WD*, no. 27, 3 April 1728. The title of this paper was to undergo slight changes over the following decades of its existence, its original title was *Post-tägliche Frag und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten/des Kaiserl. Frag- und Kundschafts-Amt in Wien* (PFAN), from 3. 11. 173, the title was *Wienerische Post-tägliche Anzeigung und Nachricht von allerhand Licitationen: Citationen: Besetzungen deren Grund-büchern: Convocationen und Tag-satzungen wegen Verlassenschaften und Anforderungen. verschiedene Notificationen: item von gestohlenen/verlorenen/und gefundenen Sachen: Andachten in und vor der Stadt: von gelehrten Leuten und Sachen/neu auskommenden Büchern/Naturalien/Maschinen/und dergleichen Erfindungen: wie auch besonderen Begebenheiten und seltsamen Zufällen. Und letztlichen die Nachrichtliche Anzeigungen des Kaiserl. Frag- und Kundschaft-Amts in Wien/von allerhand inner und ausserhalb der Stadt täglich zu kauffen/und verkauffen oder zu vertauschen/zu verleihen und leihen vorkommenden/Sachen/sodann Personen/welche leihen und ausleihen wollen/Bedienungen oder Arbeit suchen oder zu vergeben haben/auch von Fuhr-leuten/Schif-leuten/Reisenden/etc.* (WPAN); later, there were some smaller changes to the title: from 1747 until at least 1765 the paper was called *Post-tägliche Anzeigung/und Nachricht aus dem Kaiserl. Frag- und Kundschaft-Amt in Wien* (PAN), from at the latest 1773 *Posttägliche Anzeige aus dem k.k. Frag- und Kundschaftsamte in Wien* (PA).

For 1728 and 1730–54 and 1763–65, 1779, 1794–1805, 1807 and 1809–13, volumes bound per year are in the Wienbibliothek at the Rathaus (sig F 19.111, supplement volume); in addition, the Austrian National Library has the years 1772–75, 1780–83 and 1785–88 (signature 1,005.524–D, supplement) and 1794–99 (signature 393.052–D.Alt, supplement); cf. Helmut W. Lang (ed.), *Österreichische Retrospektive Bibliographie* (ORBI). Reihe 3: Österreichische Zeitschriften 1704–1945, vol. 1 (Munich: Saur 2006), pp. 414–16, 437–8 (no. 3.1: 686–9, 731).

Comparatively rarely, the *Fragamt* served as a vending venue for some of the advertised goods or as a collection point for lost articles: in 1731, lutes, Neapolitan soap, and a tincture against warts were on sale there, and a lost silver stamp awaited collection.⁴⁹ In 1762, the *Fragamt*, the privilege of which was now in the possession of Ghelen's successors, was jeopardised by the printer Johann Thomas Trattner. He planned to establish a network of Intelligence Offices spanning the whole of the Habsburg monarchy, with similar functions to the *Fragamt*; in addition, he wanted to publish a so-called *Intelligenzblatt* (intelligence paper) twice a week, which was to publish mainly commercial news. Trattner's idea finally failed because the *Fragamt* privilege was ruled to be untouchable.⁵⁰ Over the following decades, the *Fragamt* continued its activities without causing any sensation; nor did the Josephine reforms bring many innovations; plans to merge the *Fragamt* with the Viennese city post, the *Kleine Post*, which had been nationalised in 1785 were not pursued in the end.⁵¹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, during the years 1801 to 1814, the *Fragamt* slowly ceased to exist; the last edition of the *Kundschaftsblatt* was probably published on 30 December 1813; its contents formed part of the reformed *Wiener Zeitung* after that.

How significant was the *Fragamt*? Voices conceding it little importance predominate in answers to this question. Thus, the *Kundschaftsblatt* published by the *Fragamt* was little appreciated by the authorities, as its readership was too limited and brought few benefits.⁵² The assessment of the work placements achieved by the *Fragamt* was similarly negative: in 1764, the Chancellery mentioned in a lecture that the institution had "not achieved its purpose" in this area.⁵³

49 *PFAN*, no. 36, 5 May 1731; *PFAN*, no. 47, 13 June 1731.

50 ÖStA, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (FHKA), Neue Hofkammer (NHK), Kommerz Ober- und Niederösterreich, cart 85 (formerly red number 86), fasc. 35, fos. 4–9, 32–108, 143; cf. also WStLA, Alte Registratur, A2, 107/1763 IV 11 and Moravský zemský archiv, Brno (MZA), B1 Gubernium, cart. 51, B6/55, fos. 908–10.

51 ÖStA, FHKA, NHK, Österreichisches Kameraler, Akten, red number 412, fasc. 9/11, 32 ex March 1785, fos. 168–179, at 170v, 179r: presentation of Hofkanzlei, Hofkammer and Bankodeputation, 20 February 1785; cf. Eduard Effenberger, *Aus alten Postakten. Quellen zur Geschichte der österreichischen Post, ihrer Einrichtungen und Entwicklung* (Vienna: Verlag d. "Zeitschrift für Post u. Telegraphie" Spies 1918), p. 257.

52 ÖStA, FHKA, Kommerz Ober- und Niederösterreich, cart 85 (formerly red number 86), fasc. 35: Vienna Council to Lower Austrian government, pr. 12 April 1763, fos. 55, 78–82, draft at WStLA, Alte Registratur, A2, 107/1763 IV 11, exp. 11 April 1763.

53 *Die Arbeitsvermittlung in Österreich*. Edited by the Department of Statistics at the I. R. Handelsministerium (Vienna, 1898), p. 30, note 1: *Endzweck nicht erreicht*; this presentation, dated 15 December 1764, does not seem to exist any more.

The *Fragamt* seems to have played a certain role in brokering real estate. The number of available lodgings was so great that there was insufficient space in the *Kundschaftsblatt*: In 1780, the *Wienerisches Diarium* announced to its readership that on the occasion of the customary change of lodgings at the coming Candlemas feast, the *Fragamt* would offer a special protocol for available lodgings. The fee for registering an empty apartment was 14 kreutzer, with lodging seekers paying seven kreutzer for information.⁵⁴ Nicolai, a visitor to Vienna, also mentions this service in his travel report and calls it ‘a very useful institution’.⁵⁵

The question remains why this institution, given that it had so little importance and was relevant at most in procuring or renting out lodgings, was able to exist for decades. One possible, rather open-hearted explanation was given by Johann Peter van Ghelen’s successor, Johann Leopold van Ghelen, as early as 1758: if someone else were to take over the *Kundschaftsblatt*, they might enhance it with editorial content and thus compromise the *Diarium*’s privilege, which would lead to “manifold vexations”. Ghelen was anxious to avoid possible legal disputes, and he was prepared to “buy his peace” for the price of a financial loss generated by the *Kundschaftsblatt*.⁵⁶ Ghelen also wanted to secure the monopoly of the *Wiener Diarium* as the only German newspaper in Vienna, and to eliminate potential competition from the outset, a scheme that became obsolete with the reorganization of the Viennese press around 1810: as in other cities, the information office dissolved into the advertisement department of the newspaper it was connected to.

The Prague and Brno Fragämter

After its creation, the Vienna *Fragamt* became a matter of interest in other lands of the Monarchy, too. Nonetheless, it took until the mid eighteenth century to establish *Fragämter* in Prague and Brno.⁵⁷ In Prague, the establishment

54 *WD*, no. 4, 12 January 1780.

55 F. Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz, im Jahre 1781* (Berlin/Stettin, 1783, reprint Hildesheim et al., 1994) (*Gesammelte Werke*; 16, ed. Bernard Fabian and Marie-Luise Spieckermann), vol. 3, p. 270: *sehr nützliche Anstalt*.

56 NÖLA, NÖ Regierung, Maria Theresianische Verwaltung, Hofresolutionen in publicis, cart 155 (June 1774): Johann Leopold Edler von Ghelen to Lower Austrian Repräsentation and Kammer, pr. 6 November 1758: *vielfältige Verdrüßlichkeiten*; cf also the account in Duhkowitzsch, *Absolutismus*, pp. 348–57.

57 For a more detailed account, see Tantner, *Adressbüros*, pp. 118–39 and Anton Tantner, ‘Die Frag- und Kundschaftsämtler in Prag und Brünn. Informationsvermittlung im frühneuzeitlichen Böhmen und Mähren’, *Folia Historica Bohemica*, 26.2 (2011), pp. 479–506. <phaidra.univie.ac.at/o:105529> [8/1/15]. For a general history of the newspaper business

of a *Versatz- und Fragamt* was granted in 1747; it was to fund the penitentiary and workhouse, and largely followed the Viennese example of 1707.⁵⁸ The Prague *Fragamt* started its operations in 1752; initially it was directed by the later Bohemian *Kommerzieninspektor* and Lower Austrian government councillor Joseph Ferdinand Bock (von Pollach) and published a weekly *Kundschaftsblatt* with a print run of 350 copies, which at first was titled *In [sic] Königreich Böhheim. Wochentliche Frags- und Anzeigs-Nachrichten*.⁵⁹ The sale of this *Kundschaftsblatt* was the main source of income for the *Fragamt*; proceeds from registration fees for the *Fragamt* protocol were comparatively unimportant. At least during the early years, the Prague population seems to have been little disposed to use the *Fragamt*; it was mostly used for looking for work.

Later, the Prague *Fragamt* changed its ownership several times: in April 1756, Bock ceded its direction to the Prussian native Carl Ernst von der Groeben, who, as early as September 1756, transferred its management to Anton Hillgartner, who was the manufactures commissioner for the Kaurzim district.⁶⁰ As its debts with the printer Ignaz Pruscha continued to increase, it was

in the Bohemian lands, see Zdeněk Šimeček, *Počátky novinového zpravodajství a novin v českých zemích (do devadesátých let 18. století)* (Brno: Matice moravská, 2011).

- 58 Národní Archiv, Prague (NA), Patenty, 1747 září 4: Versatzamtspatent, 4 September 1747; patent draft in NA, Staré české místodržitelství (SČM) 1747/VI/ch/57, cart 651; NA, SČM 1747 x ch KK 1182, cart 655; Bohemian government to Kreisämter, 3 October 1747; for general information on the Prague Versatzamt, see Jindřich Frohmann, *O pražské zastavárně, době a lidech kolem ní. (Dějiny státního zástavního a půjčovního úřadu v Praze). Význam vývoje hospodářského a vývoje sociálních tříd v našem národním obrození* (Prague: Vydavatelské, nakladatelské a tiskařské družstvo Obnova, 1947).
- 59 NA, Česke Gubernium, Publicum (ČG-Publ.), 1748–1755, O 3, cart 130: memorandum, 19 January 1763; NA, ČG-Publ. 1748–1755, O 3, cart 130: 'Berechnung Über den a 1ma Aprilis Anno 1753 intuito des Neuerrichteten Frag-Ambts für die gewöhl: Wochenblätter a Nro 13 bis ad Nro 52 inclusive dann an Einschreibgebühnrüssen, Eingekommenen Geld Empfang, und respective Ausgaab, n.d. Copies of this *Kundschaftsblatt*, which during the period 1755 to 1771 mostly bore the title *In/Im Königreich Böhheim* (IKB), originally were stored at the Knihovna Novinářského studijního ústavu v Praze (currently: Knihovna Fakulty sociálních věd UK, Prag). According to information from Dagmar Kulhánková (email 15/1/08), the originals were restituted to the Lobkowitz family in Krimnice; at the Knihovna Fakulty sociálních věd UK, there are microfiches of these originals for the (partly incomplete) volumes 1754–55 and 1757–69. On Bock: Petr Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knižní a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století* (Prague: LIBRI, 2006), pp. 126–7, sv "Bock von Pollach Josef Ferdinand".
- 60 NA, ČG-Publ. 1756–1763, N 2 cart 215: Cession Bock to Groeben, 22 April 1756; Groeben to Bohemian Repräsentation und Kammer, ps. 26 April 1756; NA, ČG-Publ. 1756–63, N 2 cart 215: Bohemian Repräsentation und Kammer to Otto Ludwig von Loscani, 27 September 1756.

only logical that Hillgartner ceded it to him as of 19 September 1757.⁶¹ Pruscha was also unable to generate much income from the *Fragamt*, for which he had to pay an annual lease of 50 guilders to the workhouse. During the early years of his administration, the *Kundschaftsblatt* had as few as 90 subscribers.⁶² After his death in 1762, the *Fragamt* fell to his widow, Johanna Pruschin, and under her direction it continued to be a money-losing proposition.⁶³ In 1774, she left the lease to her son Vincenz Victorin Pruscha.⁶⁴ From 1777, he developed the *Kundschaftsblatt* into a full-blown political newspaper, which is also evident in several changes to its title. The *Prager Intelligenzblatt* (*Prague intelligence paper*, 1777) in 1779 became the *Prager (außerlesene und) interessante Nachrichten* (*Prague select and interesting news*) and finally the *Prager Staats- und gelehrte Nachrichten* (*Prague state and learned news*, 1789–95).⁶⁵

At the time of the Pruscha family's direction, the Prague *Fragamt* was mainly frequented for work placements, but also for real estate brokerage. For the latter, the supply of rental apartments was so considerable that it was impossible to describe all of them in detail in the *Kundschaftsblatt*, and interested parties were asked to refer to the *Fragamt*.⁶⁶ During the last years of Pruscha's

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- 61 NA, ČG-Publ. 1756–63, N 2 cart 215: Cession Hillgarten to Pruscha, 19 September 1757.
- 62 NA, ČG-Publ. 1756–63, N 3 cart 215: Pruscha, Ignaz: 'Vorschlag durch was Mittel ... das ... Prager Frag- und Kundschaft-Amt ... empor gebracht werden könnte.', n.d. (received 11 April 1761).
- 63 Voit, *Encyklopedie Knihy*, 721–2, sv 'Pruša Ignác František'.
- 64 NA, ČG-Publ. 1764–73, N 2/1 (folder Poptavkový úřad), carton 445: 'Gewißenhaftes und ausführliches Verzeichniß aller und jeder bey dem Prager Frag- und Kundschaftsamte seyenden Einnahmen und Ausgaben', 12 September 1770; on the journal edited by Johanna Pruschin in 1770–71, *Die Sichtbare*, see H. Meise, 'Morality, fiction and manners in the moral weeklies in Prague', in *The Enlightenment in Bohemia. Religion, Morality and Multiculturalism* (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 7), ed. Ivo Cerman, Rita Krueger and Susan Reynolds (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2011), pp. 89–110.
- 65 Title 1777: *Prager Intelligenzblatt aus dem k.k. privilegirten Frag- und Kundschaftsamte*; 1778: *Neu verbessertes Prager Real Conversations Intelligenzblatt aus dem k.k. privilegirten Frag- und Kundschaftsamte*; 1779–1780: *Prager außerlesene und interessante Nachrichten, nebst der eigentlichen Intelligenz, aus dem k.k. privil. Frag- und Kundschaftsamte*; 1781–1788: *Prager interessante Nachrichten, aus dem k.k. priv. Frag- und Kundschaftsamte* (PIN); 1789–1795: *Prager Staats- und gelehrte Nachrichten, nebst dem eigentlichen Intelligenzblatte aus dem k.k. Frag- u. Kundschaftsamte* (PSGN); 1796–1811: *Kaiserlich Königlich priv. Prager Intelligenz-Blatt* (PI). Surviving volumes can be found amongst others at the Strahovská knihovna, signatures AT XVIII 1–8 (1764–1772, 1779, 1780, 1787), A V XVIII 24–5 (1786, 1788); A V XVIII 12–21 (1790–1795) and at the Národní knihovna České republiky (NKP), Signaturen 52 D 85 (1777, 1778, 1796–1803, 1805–1811), 65 D 397 (1781–1795).
- 66 PIN, 3 February 1781, no 5, similarly PSGN 9 August 1789, no 32, supplement.

direction, the *Fragamt* got competition from an information office founded by the publisher Johann Nepomuk Ferdinand Schönfeld (1750–1821).⁶⁷ He was the editor of the *von Schönfeldsche k.k. Prager Oberpostamtszeitung*, and in 1789 at the latest, he opened his own shop for goods of all kinds, which he complemented with an *Adreß- und Zeitungskomtoir*.⁶⁸ It offered clerical services and also aimed to provide information services.⁶⁹

Thus, from the beginning of the 1790s, there were two information offices in Prague, i.e. the *Fragamt* owned by Vincenz Victorin Pruscha, and Johann Ferdinand Schönfeld's *Adresskomptoir*: however, this redundancy existed for a short time only, as Pruscha died on 9 October 1793 and his successors were no longer willing to continue the *Fragamt*.⁷⁰ The privilege for the *Fragamt* as well as the associated advertising paper were subsequently sold at auction in January 1794, and Schönfeld himself made the successful bid.⁷¹ After Johann Ferdinand Schönfeld's death—he died in Vienna on 15 October 1821, where he had lived since the 1790s—his heirs did not continue the newspaper and *Fragamt* for long, but sold both to the printing business Gottlieb Haase (Söhne) in 1824.⁷² Until the 1830s, the *Fragamt* continued to exist as an appendage to the advertisement paper of the Prague newspaper.⁷³

In the Moravian capital Brno, the establishment of a *Fragamt* was initiated in 1751; there, it was established in connection with the *Mährische Lehenbank*

67 On Schönfeld cf. Michael Wögerbauer, 'Johann Nepomuk Ferdinand Schönfeld. Ein Buchdrucker und Sammler im josephinischen Zeitalter', in *PORTHEIM. Sammeln & verzetteln. Die Bibliothek und der Zettelkatalog des Sammlers Max von Portheim in der Wienbibliothek*, ed Reinhard Buchberger, Gerhard Renner and Isabella Wasner-Peter (Vienna: Sonerzahl Verlagsges, 2007), pp. 180–201; Voit, *Encyklopedie Knihy*, pp. 795–6, sv 'Schönfeld z Schönfeldu Jan Nepomuk Ferdinand'; Margarethe Egger, *Die Familie Schönfeld und ihre kulturelle Bedeutung für Wien*, PhD thesis (University of Vienna, 1951). For general information on literature, printing and the book trade in Prague, see Michael Wögerbauer, *Die Ausdifferenzierung des Sozialsystems Literatur in Prag von 1760 bis 1820*, PhD thesis (University of Vienna, 2006).

68 *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung* (POPAZ), supplement, 1 piece, 2 January 1790, 1.

69 POPAZ, supplement, 1 piece, 1 January 1791, 1.

70 *PSGN*, 12 October 1793, no. 41, supplement.

71 Przedak, *Intelligenzblatt*, 75–82; NA, ČG-Publ. 1796–1805, 102/24–163, cart 4052: Contract Schönfeld with Kammerprokuratur, 31 March 1794.

72 Egger, *Schönfeld*, p. 74; Wögerbauer, *Schönfeld*, pp. 188, 192; Przedak, *Intelligenzblatt*, p. 123.

73 Sebastian W. Schiessler, *Neues Gemälde der königlichen Hauptstadt Prag und ihrer Umgebungen. Ein Taschenbuch für Fremde und Einheimische* (Prague: Enders, 1834), pp. 152–3; cf. also A.A. Glückselig (pseud. Gustav Thormond Legis), *Topographischer Grundriss von Prag und dessen Umgebungen* (Prague, 'Gottlieb Hasse Sohne', 1835), pp. 206, 209.

(Moravian loans bank) founded that same year.⁷⁴ The initiative came from its director Johann Anton Ke(h)rnhofer;⁷⁵ the *Fragamt* he proposed was to serve as a sales agency, a lost property office, an employment agency and as an information service in commercial matters.⁷⁶ In 1755, the *Fragamt* started its operations and announced in a printed *Avertissement* that it not only intended to publish an intelligence paper, but aimed to be a comprehensive information centre as well.⁷⁷

Over the following decades, the *Mährische Lehenbank* and the *Fragamt* changed ownership several times. Both institutions were taken over by the Jewish entrepreneur Hönig in 1764, two years before Kernhofer's death on 11 May 1766. When Hönig died in 1767, they passed to his sons, the Hönig brothers.⁷⁸ After an auction in 1792, the license went to a consortium of three

74 On the *Lehenbank*, see e.g. Adolf Beer, 'Die österreichische Handelspolitik unter Maria Theresia und Josef II', *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 86 (1899), pp. 1–204, at 146–51; Jindřich Chylík, 'První obchodní banka u nás', *Časopis Matice moravské*, 69 (1950), pp. 261–82; Herman Freudenberger, *The Industrialization of a Central European City: Brno and the Fine Woollen Industry in the 18th Century* (Edington: Selvedge, 1977), pp. 55–62.

75 MZA, B10 Kommerzienkonsess, cart 110, sig L2/1770: Kernhofer to Moravian Gubernium, 23 September 1751, fos. 59–63, at 61v.

76 MZA, B1, cart 2249, sig L160, dodatky 60: Nachtrags-Patent, in Betref, der zu Brünn aufgerichteten Lehen-Bank, 25 October 1751, fos. 54–7, at 56v–57r.

77 Zdeněk Šimeček, 'Časopisy a jejich rozšiřování na Moravě do počátku 19. Století', in *Sborník k 80. narozeninám Mürjam Bohatcové* (Prague: Knihovna Akademie ved České republiky, 1999), pp. 333–46, at 335; MZA, B1, cart 2249, sig L160, dodatky 61: Avertissement, fo. 44; the Avertissement can be found in the first volume of the Brno *Kundschaftsblatt—Wochentlicher Intelligenz-Zettel aus dem Frag-Amt der Kayserlich-Königlichen privilegierten Lehen-Bank zu unser lieben Frauen in Brünn (WIZ)*, Archive Města Brna, Brno (AMB), V13 Knihovna Mitrovského-116—bound at the front.

78 MZA, B10 Kommerzienkonsess, K6/1766: Report of the Moravian Kommerzienkonsess to the Kommerzienrat, 13 May 1766, fo. 104r; MZA, B14 st Moravské místodržitelství (starší), cart 2410: Adam von Henikstein to Moravian Gubernium, Lviv, 8 June 1791, fos. 971–84, at 971v.

On the Hönig family, see e.g. Leopold Kompert, 'Israel Hönig Edler von Hönigsberg. Biographie', in *Kalender und Jahrbuch für Israeliten auf das Schaltjahr (1848) 5608* (Vienna, 1847), pp. 117–44; Ingrid Mittenzwei, *Zwischen Gestern und Morgen. Wiens frühe Bourgeoisie an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie, 7) (Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau 1998), pp. 72, 170–80, 257; F. Bernd, *Die Familien Hönig, Henikstein, Hönigsberg, Hönigshof, "v." Bienenfeld, Bienenfeld und Cappe in genealogischer und historischer Betrachtungsweise*, PhD thesis (University of Vienna, 2002); Christian Hlavac, 'Die Henikstein-Villa und ihr Park in Ober-Döbling', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 64.1 (2009), pp. 38–56.

Brno tradesmen—Abraham Greisinger, Johann Herring and Joseph Vinzenz Müller; they held the privilege until 1811, when the Moravian Estates took over the direction of both institutions.⁷⁹

In the early years, the *Kundschaftsblatt* was published under the title *Wochentlicher Intelligenz-Zettel aus dem Fragamt der Kayserlich-Königlichen privilegirten Lehen-Bank zu unser lieben Frauen in Brünn* (Weekly intelligence sheet from the *Fragamt* of the I. R. privileged *Lehen-Bank* ...). Its headings initially conformed to the customs of intelligence papers at the time, but starting with the Seven Years' War, reports on the course of the war were printed as a supplement: the intelligence paper became a regular political newspaper, which in 1778 became the *Brünner Zeitung*, published twice weekly and praised for its quality by the authorities.⁸⁰

Very little is known about the brokerage activities that actually took place at the Brno *Fragamt*. There is reliable evidence that during the first years, its premises as well as those of the *Lehenbank* were used as an outlet for goods; the *Fragamt* also taught agricultural knowledge and made silkworm seeds available for free.⁸¹ Employment agency activities were rare, and thus the main activity of the Brno *Fragamt* was the publication of the *Brünner Zeitung*. A project submitted to the Habsburg authorities by a certain Friedrich August Freiherr von Locella in 1815–16, an “*AddressComtoir* for all products of the mind, the Arts and the efforts of the industries”, was not realised.⁸²

79 MZA, B14 st, cart 2410: Hofdekret, 30 March 1793, fo. 740; Patent, 5 October 1793, fo. 581–7; MZA, A8, cart. 643, sig. L12: protocol, 22 January 1811, fo. 30r.

80 On this publication, see Jaromír Zeman, ‘Zu sprachlichen Entwicklungstendenzen in den Brünner Regionalzeitungen’, in *Deutschsprachige Zeitungen in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, ed. Jörg Riecke and Britt M. Schuster (Berlin: Weidler Verlag 2005), pp. 311–28; Jaromír Zeman, ‘Zur Textsorte “Suchanzeige” im Brünner “Wochentlichen Intelligenz-Zettel” vom Jahre 1755’, in Iva Kratochvilová, *Germanistik im Spiegel der Generationen* (Opava: Slezská University, 2004), pp. 45–58; Zdeněk Šimeček, ‘Zeitungen in den böhmischen Städten im 18. Jahrhundert’, in *Städtische Kultur in der Barockzeit*, ed. Wilhelm Rausch (Linz: Der Arbeitskreis, 1982), pp. 263–76; praise of its quality: MZA, B14 st, cart 2410: Moravian Gubernium to Hofkammer, 21 July 1791, fo. 951v.

81 Cf. e.g. WIZ 27 March 1756, no. 13; 3 April 1756, no. 14; 6 May 1762, no. 18; 24 March 1763, no. 12; 31 March 1763, no. 13; 7 April 1763, no. 14.

82 ÖStA, FHKa, NHK, Kommerzkammer, red no. 1144, 49 ex Jan 1815; 63 ex July 1815; 20 ex January 1816; AMB, A1/13 Stará Spisovna Politico-publica, Stara sign. 4199, kr 232: Report of the Brno Magistrate to the Moravian Kreisamt, 10 May 1815: *AddresComtoir für alle Erzeugnisse des Geistes, der Kunst und des Gewerbfleißes*.

Conclusion

Another wave of newly established *Fragämter* in the Habsburg monarchy followed in the 1780s. Thus, in 1781, Anton Martin started a *Fragamt* in Bratislava, as did Johann Friedrich Schütz in Lviv in 1782 and Kaspar Heindl in Graz in 1783; in 1788, the Pest *Fragamt* opened for business, and in Innsbruck, the *Fragamt* founded by the journalist Michael Hermann Ambros started operations in 1799. With these institutions, the publication of an advertisement paper or a newspaper was usually the main activity, while local brokerage activities at the premises of the *Fragamt* remained marginal—with the notable exception of Bratislava.⁸³

These intelligence offices may perhaps be regarded as a transitional phenomenon between feudal and capitalist conditions: the sales contracts brokered by them were no longer based on a personal relationship between buyers and sellers, but, at the same time, they were not yet activities in a ‘supra-local, time-independent, supra-personal permanent marketplace’.⁸⁴

With the rise of the popular press, many of their functions which formerly took place locally, at the premises of the offices themselves, were taken over by the advertising sections of daily newspapers. The universal pretence of offering information brokerage services for all fields of human life was to yield, by the mid-nineteenth century at the latest, to specialised institutions like servant and tourism agencies, and information offices were forgotten. Only in the most recent present time, these institutions have resurfaced as part of a history of searching and finding, and may be understood as part of the prehistory of search engines like Google.⁸⁵

83 Tantner, *Adressbüros*, 139–65; Tantner, ‘Das Pressburger Frag- und Kundschaftsamt des Anton Martin, 1781–1783’, *Hungarian Studies*, 25.1 (2011), pp. 127–42 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1556/HStud.25.2011.1.11>> [8/1/15].

84 See e.g. the account in Laurence Fontaine, ‘Bemerkungen zum Kaufen als soziale Praxis. Feilschen, Preise festlegen und Güter ersteigern im frühneuzeitlichen Europa’, *Historische Anthropologie* 14 (2006), pp. 334–48; quotation: Heidrun Homburg, ‘Werbung—“eine Kunst, die gelernt sein will”. Aufbrüche in eine neue Warenwelt 1750–1850’, *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1 (1997), pp. 11–52, at 41.

85 As a first approach to such a prehistory, see Tantner, ‘Before Google: A Pre-History of Search Engines in Analogous Times’, in *Society of the Query Reader: Reflections on Web Search*, ed. René König and Miriam Rasch (Amsterdam: Institute of Network Cultures, 2014), pp. 121–38; Thomas Brandstetter, Thomas Hübel and Anton Tantner, eds., *Vor Google. Eine Mediengeschichte der Suchmaschine im analogen Zeitalter* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012).

Authors, Editors and Newsmongers: Form and Genre in the *Philosophical Transactions* under Henry Oldenburg

Noah Moxham

Introduction

The official history of the scientific serial begins in 1665. In January, Denis de Sallo, with a license from Jean-Baptiste Colbert, began publishing the *Journal des Scavans* at Paris; while in London Henry Oldenburg, the Secretary of the Royal Society since the grant of its first Charter in 1662, published the first issue of his *Philosophical Transactions* in late February.¹ These two publications have honourably divided most of the available laurels in the history of scholarly communication between them, with the *Journal* and *Philosophical Transactions* customarily referred to as the world's oldest learned and scientific periodicals respectively.

Historians of science, despite the increasing sophistication with which they delineate and analyse processes of knowledge-making in natural philosophy, tend to treat early scientific periodicals as repositories of source material. Historians of science communication more specifically have tended to work within two principal frameworks which have perhaps overemphasised the significance of these earliest exemplars of the scientific periodical while isolating them from their context: bibliographical and bibliometric approaches on the one hand, which, needing to count from somewhere, presume too far upon the generic coherence of early scientific periodicals; and rhetorical and stylistic approaches on the other, seeking to trace the evolution of modern scientific discourse from its origins.

Such methods have proved very useful, and have much to tell us about the spread and development of new modes of scientific writing and rhetorics of science. What they do not do, however, is tell us very much about what the innovators of the genre, the first founders of scientific journals, hoped to

1 *Journal des Scavans*, 1 (Paris, 5 January 1665); the date on the first issue of *Transactions* is 6 March, but there is evidence in the correspondence of Christiaan Huygens for its having been printed before that. See Robert Moray to Christiaan Huygens, 13 February 1665 n.s., in *Oeuvres Complètes de Christiaan Huygens* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1908) pp. 234–5.

accomplish, and what models they drew upon. Even historians who have addressed the earliest scientific periodicals directly have tended to elide discussions and experiments over the forms in which contemporary actors thought natural-philosophical research should be presented, and to take for granted the fully-fledged birth and immediate hegemony of the scientific article in something like its modern guise as soon as the first scientific periodicals emerged. David Kronick in his survey of early scientific and technical periodicals simply opines that the article was the natural unit of scientific communication and implies that this was immediately recognised; Alan Gross, Joseph Harmon and Michael Reidy, in a cross-period analysis of scientific rhetoric, despite taking the article as their sample and the subject of their enquiry, simply assert that it was born with the emergence of the *Journal des Sçavans* and the *Philosophical Transactions*.² Other scholars, such as Charles Bazerman in a book-length study, and Rob Iliffe in an important essay, have produced excellent analyses of particular papers by Isaac Newton in the *Philosophical Transactions*, though neither author considers how far Newton's mode of writing and Oldenburg's editorial approach to it were in fact representative of the early journal. Each draws particular attention to Oldenburg's editorial self-effacement—Iliffe in order to show how Oldenburg retreats from the published text of Newton's first papers on light and colours in the *Philosophical Transactions* in order to help create an identity for a relative unknown, Bazerman in a more general sense to credit Oldenburg with the invention of the persona of the scientific editor.³

This chapter challenges the supposition that Oldenburg's scientific editorship was in fact anything like the modern understanding of the role, proposes an answer to the question of what models lay behind the first scientific journal, and argues that the *Philosophical Transactions*, in particular, though widely acknowledged as the earliest scientific periodical, was intended by its founder as a commercial enterprise predicated on his privileged access to the latest natural-philosophical goings-on rather than an editorially neutral vehicle for presenting research in finished form.

2 David Kronick, *A History of Scientific and Technical Periodicals: The Origins and Development of the Scientific and Technical Press* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1962), p. 45; Alan Gross, Joseph Harmon and Michael Reidy, *Communicating Science: The Scientific Article from the 17th Century to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. vii.

3 Rob Iliffe, 'Author-mongering—the "editor" between producer and consumer', in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: image, object, text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1995), 166–92; Charles Bazerman, *Shaping Written Knowledge: The Genre and Activity of the Experimental Article* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), esp. ch. 4.

The Origins and Sources of the *Transactions*

What models was Oldenburg drawing upon? He was preceded in his enterprise by the *Journal des Sçavans*, a state-sponsored organ first published by royal privilege by Denis de Sallo, under the supervision and at the initiative of Colbert, a weekly journal intended to give short critical accounts of the latest books in all spheres of learning.⁴ The *Journal* featured original contributions in mathematics and science as well as accounts of the latest scientific books, but this material seldom amounted to more than 40% of its content in a given year, with theology typically attracting more coverage than the natural sciences. It seems certain that the *Journal* was in Oldenburg's mind when he founded the *Transactions* in 1665. He had been aware of the French venture since at least late November 1664, when he wrote to Robert Boyle at Oxford mentioning that he had been solicited as the English correspondent for the *Journal* and wondering where he was going to find the time to do it:

My New correspondent, I hope, will be more punctuall, if I can but be so to him. He hath given me notice by his last, yt they have a dessein in France to publish from time to time a Journall of all what passeth in Europe in matter of knowledge both Philosophicall and Politicall: in order to wch they will print, as he saith, (to give it you in his owne words).

...

In order to ye execution of wch dessein I am solicited to contribute what I can concerning England, and what is found there, as to excellent persons, things books, being promised to be paid in the like coyne from France of what passeth there and in Italy etc. concerning those particulars. I am very unwilling to decline this taske but yet how to undertake it, being so very single, and having so much already charged upon me, I doe not yet know. But I must remember my Motto, Providebit Dominus.⁵

In this letter Oldenburg quotes, word for word, the text that would later appear as the preface to the first published issue of the *Journal*. Clearly the remit and function of the *Journal des Sçavans* were understood and discussed before there was a copy to see.

4 For the origins and early editorship of the *Journal*, see Jean-Pierre Vittu, 'La formation d'une institution scientifique: le Journal des Savants de 1664 à 1714', in *Journal des Savants*, 2 (2002), pp. 179–203, at 181–3.

5 Henry Oldenburg to Robert Boyle, 24 November 1664, Royal Society Archives EL/OB/26.

Oldenburg, for his part, had been contemplating an entirely different sort of editorial project—he asked Boyle, as far back as August, to come up with potential subscribers for a manuscript newsletter service, “both of state and literary news”.⁶ It is not difficult to see what put the idea in Oldenburg’s head. His letters to Boyle show that he was already providing exactly that service, as well as acting as his translator and publishing agent. The letters to Boyle have a predictable structure from the early- to mid-1660s, beginning with news of the progress of Boyle’s works through the press, followed by reports on the activity of the Royal Society and of scientific news from overseas; then domestic and foreign political news, usually in that order.⁷

The manuscript service Oldenburg contemplated was plainly to be an extension of the service he provided to Boyle, and was to be aimed at wealthy clients who, like Boyle, had a distinct interest in the world of learning. The special emphasis on natural philosophy was an obvious move. As well as his responsibilities to Boyle, Oldenburg kept up correspondences with natural philosophers in Britain and Europe as part of his secretarial work for the Royal Society. It was thus scientific news (especially from the continent) that Oldenburg was in a unique position to supply. He proposed to charge eight to ten pounds a year for the service; a tidy addition to his income for what would presumably have cost him relatively little extra effort.⁸ Having identified a commodity to supply, however, Oldenburg found he had overestimated the demand for it. Nothing came of the proposed service. It was mooted during the period when Henry Muddiman’s manuscript newsletter service was circulating widely in London and the provinces, and it is perhaps worth noting that the *Philosophical Transactions* as it eventually emerged from Oldenburg’s projected news service was careful to carve out its own terrain, not encroaching on the political ground of Muddiman’s newsletter, and confining itself more narrowly to the new natural philosophical learning than the *Journal des Sçavans*. It is also worth noting that Oldenburg’s venture was launched at a time and place in which independent political periodicals were proscribed, and if, as seems likely, he originally had a more straightforwardly political news venture in mind, it is important to note the combination of competitive pressure and legal restrictions upon it.

If the manuscript newsletter service proved abortive, however, *Philosophical Transactions* was much more of an immediate success. Oldenburg was

6 A.R. Hall and M.B. Hall, eds., *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, 13 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 2: 210, Oldenburg to Boyle (22 August 1664).

7 See for example Oldenburg to Boyle, RS EL/OB/8, 22 June 1663.

8 Hall and Hall, eds., *Oldenburg Correspondence*, 2: 210 (22 August 1664).

apparently unable to find a worthwhile number of subscribers willing to pay eight to ten pounds per annum for a personalised service, but he found over 300 buyers willing to pay ten or eleven shillings a year for a printed one.⁹ This is worth lingering briefly over, since it may indicate that the wealthy and curious only valued the new learning at a certain rate, or held a different view of the relative importance of print and manuscript in the Republic of Letters than is sometimes thought. Either Oldenburg misread the demand, or he read the demand correctly but misjudged his sales pitch. In the first case, that could indicate that the readers he targeted felt they had sufficient personal access to the world of learning not to need an introduction to it; or that they were unwilling to pay at the rate demanded but would be happy to at a lower rate; or even moral disapproval (a dislike of the attempt to commodify the personal and intellectual relations that constituted the Republic of Letters in forms—i.e. manuscript letters—that too nearly embodied the forms of those relations freely undertaken). If this was so, there was no corresponding objection to those relations being exploited in print, perhaps because it was sufficiently unlike those relations in being general, mechanical, a trade. Or it might be that the literary element of Oldenburg's project was not enough of a distinguishing feature to give it an edge over existing manuscript news from better-established sources—Muddiman, for instance. At all events the much greater appetite for a printed than a manuscript service implies limits to the value added by manuscript communication within the Republic of Letters. This stands in contrast to much of what we know of the history of news, where manuscript communication is widely supposed to add value to print. Where this holds in Oldenburg's case, it holds insofar as his journal is a mixed medium—a printed periodical depending on and embedded in a radial network of manuscript communications.

It was also undoubtedly the case that Oldenburg chose his title with an eye to the connotations of news then attached to the word 'transactions'. A search of the English Short Title Catalogue for publications with 'transactions' in the title between 1640 and 1700 yields 449 results, of which the large majority are news pamphlets of three sheets or fewer, or serials.¹⁰ The term typically refers either to institutional proceedings (as of Parliament), to the acts of a corporate body (such as the Army), or to international relations. The title does not straightforwardly announce the periodical nature of Oldenburg's project,

9 This calculation is based on Oldenburg's estimate of 300 copies as the break-even figure for sales of the *Transactions* in summer 1665. See Hall and Hall, eds., *Oldenburg Correspondence*, 2: 646.

10 See *English Short Title Catalogue* <<http://estc.bl.uk/>> [10.03.15].

but it does deliberately play upon the term's association with news in the minds of readers. Among the antecedents for the *Philosophical Transactions*, then, were the projected *Journal des Sçavans*, the culture of circulating political news in manuscript during the Restoration and in print before it, and Oldenburg's own failed attempt at a mixed natural-philosophical and political newsletter. It is reasonable to suppose, and what we know of the evolution of Oldenburg's project further suggests, that these represented limiting conditions as well as models for the enterprise. Besides these factors, Oldenburg's venture was launched at a time and place where periodical publishing had shrunk dramatically in comparison with the preceding twenty years and where press censorship was become perhaps as severe as it had ever been in England.¹¹ *Philosophical Transactions* stood a little outside these conditions. It appeared under the imprimatur of the Royal Society itself, which was permitted by its charter of incorporation of 1662 to appoint printers and to licence books for printing on its own authority.¹² Exemption from the existing oversight structures of the book trade was a rare privilege. The price of this exemption from religious and political censorship was to become part of the mechanism of state control, responsible for the religious and political acceptability of what was issued under the Society's imprimatur.¹³ Furthermore, like many innovators in early news and periodical publishing, including Théophraste Renaudot and Denis de Sallo in France and Henry Muddiman, Roger L'Estrange and Marchamont Nedham in England, Oldenburg himself worked within the structures of state authority, acting as a licenser for a brief period and later an occasional translator of intercepted diplomatic dispatches for the Secretary of State (and prominent early Fellow of the Royal Society), Sir Joseph Williamson.¹⁴

The decision to award the imprimatur rested with the Society's Council, and a minute of 1 March 1665 records that the *Philosophical Transactions* was supposed to be looked over by the Council and approved prior to licensing. Whether or not this actually happened is a nice question. The first issue certainly was licensed in this fashion, but of the 136 monthly issues put out under

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- 11 On Restoration censorship, see Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 13; Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch, eds., *Roger L'Estrange and the making of Restoration Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 'Introduction', pp. 1–7.
 - 12 [Royal Society], *Charters and Statutes of the Royal Society* (London, 1752), p. 19.
 - 13 Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 493.
 - 14 Marie Boas Hall, *Henry Oldenburg: Shaping the Royal Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 289–90.

Oldenburg's direction by no means all rate a mention in the minutes of the Council; by contrast, when other books were printed under the Society's licence the fact is invariably officially recorded. The evidence of the Society's minutes is not entirely reliable—independent witnesses, such as John Evelyn's diary, occasionally point to events not recorded in the minute-books—but the surviving record points to a lack of systematic oversight, and Oldenburg's own personal and printed declarations make it clear that ultimate editorial and financial responsibility for the journal was his alone.¹⁵

Oldenburg went to some lengths to emphasise this in the early issues of the *Transactions*. The first issue, for March 1665, is quite heavily dependent on French reports and activity for its contents—about seven of the fourteen pages of natural-philosophical material in Issue 1 are French-derived. Two articles are lifted directly out of the first few numbers of the *Journal des Sçavans*. The very first article in the journal, a brief summary of Giuseppe Campani's *Ragguaglio di nuove Osservazioni* entitled 'An Account of the Improvement of Optick Glasses', is borrowed from the French periodical.¹⁶ The original—as is typical of the *Journal*—takes as its heading the title of the book to which it refers. Oldenburg, equally typically, puts it under a subject heading. Oldenburg's opening paragraph is a complex digest of the origins and transmission of what he intends to convey, but does not acknowledge the form in which he received it. Neither does he make clear (although it is not precisely dissimulated) that this is direct translation. Instead of the rapid summary of Campani's claims provided in the last paragraph of the French version, Oldenburg shifts instead into a discussion—under a separate heading—of a similar set of remarkable observations by an English astronomer (Robert Hooke). More generally, De Sallo indicates where a book was printed, and whether and where it was for sale in Paris; Oldenburg usually gives the place of publication, but unsystematically, until he settles into the practice of putting the review sections at the back of the journal. This is an important general distinction between the *Journal* and the *Transactions*—the former takes the Paris book trade as its underlying structural principle, the latter a complex network of private and semi-public correspondence.

15 See for instance E.S. de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London: Everyman, 2006), p. 419—entry for 5 October 1664, in which Evelyn reports some experiments on the descent of bodies in water which are reported in the minutes, and the demonstration of a newly invented musical instrument, which is not. Cf. Thomas Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, 4 vols. (London: A. Millar, 1756–7), 1: 472 for the same date.

16 *Philosophical Transactions* (hereafter *PT*), 1: 1 (1665), pp. 2–3.

The second piece in issue one of *Philosophical Transactions* to be borrowed from *Journal des Sçavans* is the obituary for Pierre de Fermat.¹⁷ This was acknowledged as having been “lately published beyond the seas” but, again, neglects to explicitly refer to its source. Once again there are some omissions in the English version—the *Journal’s* explanation of the logic of posting obituary notices in the first place, a practice never adopted in the *Transactions*, and the enumeration of the eminent mathematicians with whom Fermat corresponded, probably for reasons of space. Any reference the *Journal* makes to itself—explaining that it proposes to give a catalogue of Fermat’s best works rather than a full-blown elegy, for instance—is quietly dropped in Oldenburg’s version. But there is also an apparent effort to make the obituary seem as though it has been communicated to Oldenburg personally. Oldenburg frames the account as reported speech—“saith the author of the letter”—whereas De Sallo acknowledges having received the news of Fermat’s death but the remainder of the piece reads as if written in his own words.¹⁸ Oldenburg evidently had a copy of the *Journal*, and there is no evidence of personal communication from De Sallo in the surviving correspondence.

The importance of the letter as a framing device for Oldenburg, one that pointed up his personal position in a European network of scholarly communication, was a vital part of his strategy for promoting the early *Transactions*. Oldenburg eventually settled into a practice of collating those sections of his periodical which function as book reviews into a single section in the back of each issue; thus, that part of his publication which most obviously imitated the function of the *Journal des Sçavans* was very visibly, and I suggest deliberately, circumscribed.

The practice of recopying from overseas printed sources without attribution was also typical of printed news in Europe; the mutual borrowings of the *Journal des Sçavans* and the *Philosophical Transactions* in subsequent years were sometimes signalled, sometimes not. It is possible that these first instances point to Oldenburg’s concern about appearing too obviously indebted to the *Journal*, or to a competitive anxiety that prevailed in his first issue but settled down subsequently—Oldenburg enjoyed a clear field for the next nine months in any event, when the editors of the *Journal* incurred the displeasure of the Papal Nuncio in Paris with an enthusiastic review of a

17 *PT* 1: 1 (6 March 1665), ‘The Character, Lately Published beyond the Seas, of an Eminent Person, not Long Since Dead at Tholose, where he was a Councillor of Parliament’, pp. 15–16; appearing in *JDS* 1 (9 February 1665) as ‘Eloge de Monsieur de Fermat, Conseiller au Parlement de Toulouse’, pp. 69–72.

18 *JDS* 1: 1 (5 January 1665), p. 3.

notably Gallican theological work; his complaint effectually compelled Colbert to order publication suspended.¹⁹ I have drawn attention to these instances, however, to show Oldenburg's practice—especially early on—of deliberately concealing his source material and privileging his own status in the circuit of natural-philosophical exchange. In what follows I draw attention to two broad strategies on Oldenburg's part: on the one hand the positioning of the *Transactions* as a news publication, filled with direct appeals to its public in the form of advertisements and solicitations; the partial or fragmentary nature of much of what he published, including pieces of simple rumour and hearsay; the reconfiguration of discrete scraps of information or news on related topics into items under a single heading; and within all this Oldenburg's own visibility as editor and compiler. The second concerns Oldenburg's positioning of his journal between two broad groups of readers, as manifested in the selection of material, as well as the surprising lack of direct experimental reporting. Rather than a full-fledged experimental report in the words of the experimenter, an item in the early *Transactions* under Oldenburg often consisted of the editor taking brief notice of something—which might well be an experiment, whether projected or already performed, or else a book, an event, or an observation.

The Content

What follows is a detailed description of some early issues of the journal, intended to draw out the formal variety and the often fragmentary, patched-together nature of its contents, as well as the importance and *visibility* of Oldenburg's position as editor. The first issue of volume two, from the third year of the journal's publication (1667), to take an example at random, is twenty-four pages long and features seven items, including—as is usual with the first issue of a new volume—an author's preface (Oldenburg most frequently refers to himself as the author or publisher of the journal). The substantive articles are as follows:

- 1) a list of "Inquiries for Suratte and other parts of the East Indies" a set of requests for information and observations in natural history (*PT* 2: 23 [1667], pp. 415–22);

19 Jean-Pierre Vittu, 'La formation d'une Institution Scientifique: Le *Journal des Savants* de 1665 à 1714', *Journal des Savants* (2002), pp. 179–203, at 183.

- 2) a one-paragraph notice of a large lodestone given to the Society by Edward Cotton. The announcement is given the billing of a separate item, despite its brevity (*PT* 2: 23 [1667], p. 423);
- 3) a confection of magnetical titbits of information, queries, and desiderata, under the title “Some Observables about Loadstones, and Sea-Compasses” (*PT* 2: 23 [1667], pp. 423–4).

Oldenburg draws here upon a query of Ismaël Boulliau’s and recent proceedings of the Royal Society, an observation from William, Lord Brereton, and another by an unidentified “honourable person”, and some suggestions for experiments to be performed.²⁰ The entry *reports* very little, but draws together elements from Oldenburg’s correspondence and recent proceedings of Royal Society meetings to eke out a little item on magnetism, and to try to generate and publicise an exchange between French and English natural philosophers on the subject.²¹ The two short pieces on magnetism serve multiple functions, then. Cotton’s gift is publicly acknowledged in a form that also acts as an announcement of the Society’s experimental capabilities, drawing attention rather to the promise of future experiments than to reports of ones already performed, as well as promoting an international exchange.

- 4) recommendations for experiments on plant respiration, again compiled by Oldenburg, out of a query from John Beale, the Somerset clergyman and writer on agriculture, with some reflections by Boyle (*PT* 2: 23 [1667], pp. 424–5).

These refer back to experiments already proposed two years previously, in May 1665; there is no record of these discussions either in the Royal Society’s journals or in Oldenburg’s correspondence.²² Oldenburg appears to have pieced this together himself, and draws upon old material to galvanise interest in future experiments. There were instances in the early *Transactions* where

20 Probably Boyle, who was frequently given that epithet in the *Transactions*.

21 See Birch, *History*, 2: 152. The ‘note’ to which Oldenburg refers as the origin of the query has not survived.

22 Though there are three extant letters between Boyle and Beale for January 1666/7, and although Oldenburg sometimes served as an intermediary in the correspondence between them (see for instance the references to Beale in Oldenburg’s letters to Boyle of July 1665), there are no remaining traces of these discussions anywhere but in Birch and the *Transactions*, at an interval of almost two years. For the correspondences between Beale and Boyle and Oldenburg, see Boyle, *Correspondence*, ed. Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio & Lawrence M. Principe, 6 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2001), 3: 275–9, 2: 490.

Oldenburg drew attention to areas of investigation or fields of knowledge that the Society had only touched upon, apparently with a view to enlisting other researchers and virtuosi into acquiring and passing on information.

- 5) Edmund King's observations on ants, including their generation and behaviour, is a much more straightforward and unmediated report, delivered in the investigator's own voice (*PT* 2: 23 [1667], pp. 425–8).

Again, however, Oldenburg has contrived to insinuate himself into the production of the piece. It is described as having been "Communicated by Doctor Edmund King ... at the instance of the Publisher, as followeth".²³ There is no surviving evidence that Oldenburg originally solicited the paper, which King had already read out to a meeting of the Royal Society six months previously, in September, and which had subsequently been added to the Society's register book. Oldenburg's 'instance' presumably consisted either of an exhortation to produce the paper in the first place, or to publish it once produced; the announcing of it here draws attention to the fact of Oldenburg's influence in natural philosophical circles, and its effect on his role as a purveyor of natural philosophical news.

Finally, Oldenburg contributes an account of Samuel Chappuzeau's history of gemstones.²⁴ He is thus instrumentally involved in the production or compilation of six out of the seven pieces appearing in number 23 of the journal, though only the preface is actually signed by him as an author. A number of points arise: first, by no means all the content is particularly recent. Oldenburg reaches back two years or more in the search for useful material. Second, there is as much emphasis on projected experiments as on ones actually completed. Third, the issue is not much indebted to the Royal Society's current activity for its content. Fourth, Oldenburg's representation of other men's material or intended research is notably dialogical in character. Without making the claim explicit, he appears to conceive of his journal as an agent in the discourse of natural philosophy, not as merely a passive reflection of it.

There is considerable epistemic complexity to such a position. T.H. Huxley's famous remark in the late nineteenth century that if all books were deleted from existence except the *Transactions* it would serve as an adequate record of humanity's intellectual achievement implies a straightforward identification of scientific knowledge with the scientific journal in its periodical form that few of his seventeenth or eighteenth century predecessors shared—a point

²³ *PT* 2: 23 (1667), p. 425.

²⁴ *Histoire des Joyaux et des principales richesses de l'Orient*, Geneva 1665, in *PT* 2: 23 (1667), pp. 429–32.

amply demonstrated by the proliferation, and in a few cases the runaway successes, of eighteenth-century encyclopedia projects and digests and abridgements of existing journals.²⁵ Furthermore, even at the time of Huxley's writing the volume of non-periodical publishing in the sciences remained very high, as it had been for the preceding two hundred years. Other scholars of the scientific periodical have noted the fact that the early journals were primarily instruments "for communicating scientific information, not repositories of scientific knowledge".²⁶ Neither of these accounts is entirely adequate to describe the position of Oldenburg's periodical, since its purpose is at least partly to help shape the endeavour of natural philosophy, to create relations that had not previously existed, to cajole and encourage participation, and to corral in one place data that otherwise lay disparate. It is the case that *Transactions* more closely resembles, in its early years and in its execution, an instrument of communication than a repository; yet this was evidently not the whole story. The form of agency intended by Oldenburg for *Transactions* was not critical or evaluative—he was careful, except in instances where the Royal Society's claim to a discovery or innovation was challenged or ignored, not to pass critical comment upon what he reported, and his accounts of books, in particular, were scrupulously neutral. The other exception was for attacks upon or presumptions against Robert Boyle, whose treatment in the journal may be understood as a special case.²⁷ Conversely, the *Journal des Sçavans* freely adopted pronounced critical positions in relation to the books and pamphlets in its pages, yet understood its primary purpose much more than Oldenburg did his as the straightforward holding up of a mirror to the Republic of Letters.

25 "If all the books in the world, except the Philosophical Transactions, were destroyed, it is safe to say that the foundations of physical science would remain unshaken, and the vast intellectual progress of the last two centuries would be largely, though incompletely recorded". Huxley, 1866, quoted in Dwight Atkinson, *Scientific Discourse in Sociohistorical Context: The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, 1675–1975* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 17.

26 Kronick, *History of Scientific Periodicals*, p. 67.

27 For an example of Oldenburg's defence of the Royal Society's claims against the challenges of natural philosophers overseas, see his preface to issue 27, in which he repudiated an issue put out by persons unknown during his imprisonment in the Tower of London in summer 1667, in terms that rejected, not the theft of his intellectual property, but the apparent endorsement in the pirate issue of French claims to priority in human blood transfusion. For Oldenburg's defence of Boyle, see the case of George Sinclair, in *PT* 4 (1669), pp. 1017–18; or his critique of a partial Latin edition of Boyle's works, printed at Geneva, which failed to attach the dates of the vernacular editions or to acknowledge the prior existence of Latin editions of parts of Boyle's works *PT* 11 (1676), p. 767.

The next issue consisted mainly of experiments, discoveries and inventions—some directly and some indirectly reported. Few of these had been primarily communicated to Oldenburg—pieces about blood transfusion by Jean Denis and anatomical work by Jean Pequet were translated by him out of the *Journal des Sçavans*, for instance—and others were drawn from papers given before the Royal Society, such as Edmund King's accounts of transfusion experiments and Christopher Merret's work on plant grafting. This issue was closely based on Royal Society activity and most of it was recent; Oldenburg reached back as far as January for a couple of items (the issue was published in May), but no further, and those pieces are included because of their relevance to current debates.²⁸ The only piece derived directly from a letter to Oldenburg in this issue is Boulliau's observation of a new star.²⁹ Oldenburg's visible involvement is confined to selection and arrangement, and some translation. It is notable, once again, that the emphasis is on some idea of dialogue in natural philosophy; individual reports and research results are juxtaposed with related investigations by others, and Boulliau's letter does double duty by including a letter from the Danzig astronomer, Johannes Hevelius. The published journal creates a virtual and visible communication between natural philosophers who might previously have had no contact with one another, as well as reporting the communications of those who already did.

The notion that Oldenburg actively promoted debate and even controversy between natural philosophers is familiar—when Adrien Auzout questioned the performance of some of Robert Hooke's instrument designs, Oldenburg annotated the French astronomer's letters to him before showing them to Hooke in the evident hope of urging Hooke to a forceful refutation, and those annotations are much cited.³⁰ They show a straightforward promotion of communication between natural philosophers as well as Oldenburg's sense that well-managed controversy would make for good copy in the journal.

28 See, for instance, the notice that Hooke had been working on ways of measuring stellar distances and planetary diameters: *PT* 2 (1667), p. 459. This was dredged up in relation to Towneley's letter contesting Adrien Auzout's priority in the invention of the filar micrometer. That letter was produced at a meeting of 4 April (See Birch, *History* 2: 164), and Hooke's techniques are mentioned and then deferred, in order to generate further interest in a debate with the intimation that it would be ongoing. The original references by Hooke to his work on this appear in the minutes for the Society's meeting of January 9 1666/7 (Birch, *History* 2: 139).

29 'Observations of the Star, called Nebulosa, in the Girdle of Andromeda', *PT* 2 (1667), pp. 459–60.

30 See for example Marie Boas Hall, *Henry Oldenburg*, p. 141; and Lisa Jardine, *The Man who Measured London: The Curious Life of Robert Hooke* (London: HarperCollins, 2003), p. 200.

The examples discussed above, of Oldenburg generating the *appearance* of philosophers' being in communication with one another through juxtaposition of their work in his journal discussed above are less obtrusive ways of achieving a similar end. Such a valorisation of philosophical dialogue, whether it was real or implied by editorial artifice, has an important consequence. It creates the impression in the reader that the *Transactions* represented a unique public space in which ideas and knowledge-claims were introduced to those of others (though Oldenburg puts no mechanism for appraising rival knowledge-claims in place, and explicitly disclaims the authority to do so). The journal itself then becomes a form of advocacy for a way of proceeding in natural philosophy, but it is not an evaluative tool *per se*. By bringing disparate communications on related subjects into one place Oldenburg helped to create, for highly interested commercial reasons, an ideal of disinterested communication.

Transactions number 26 once again consists of a mixture of items communicated to Oldenburg, some of them derived from recent Society activity, most of them not. The three letters, from Thomas Sherley, Nathaniel Fairfax and Samuel Colepresse that make up a good part of the issue were not shown to the Society prior to their appearance in the journal.³¹ All three are edited down to the details Oldenburg wants, and Colepresse's letter, which contains accounts of two spectacular birth defects, is put alongside a translation of part of a French letter which mentions transfusion experiments as well as short accounts of two birth defects observed in Paris.³² There are no experimental reports, although the first item is a list of experiments in gunnery designed by Moray, together with a request to readers to perform them and to report the results back to Oldenburg. The most substantial piece in the issue is a review of Athanasius Kircher's recently published *China Illustrata*. Again, neither the review nor the book itself was communicated to the Society. Number 26 is a fairly desultory issue, with little of note reported; the only piece avowedly communicated to Oldenburg for use in the journal is Moray's, and it suggests, along with other recent examples such as the enquiries for Hungary and Transylvania and the 'Directions for Seamen', that the Royal Society as a corporate body understood the journal's utility to lie in co-ordinating a disparate group of researchers in the gathering of data. Crucially, however, the notion of the journal as a place in which to publish finished research seems not to have taken root in the early years. Concern on this point seems to have been displaced

31 *PT 2* (1667), pp. 480–4, under four separate headings.

32 'Extract of a Letter written from Paris, Containing an Account of Some Effects of the Transfusion of the Blood; & of Two Monstrous Births, &c', *PT 2* (1667), pp. 479–80.

onto Thomas Sprat's apologia for the early Royal Society, with senior Fellows being instructed to cull material from the Society's registers to flesh out the journal and deflect accusations of unproductivity.³³

It is a moot point, therefore, whether the word 'contribution' is really appropriate to many of the pieces printed in the earliest issues, since the manner in which a text is presented has often undergone substantial changes from that in which the experimenter or observer, and nominal author of the piece, communicated it to Oldenburg. There are grounds for confusion, too, over whether pieces were being sent to Oldenburg either in his capacity as representative of the Royal Society or as the compiler of *Transactions*, or indeed whether any such distinction was really observed. The origins of the practice of knowingly submitting pieces to the *Transactions* are consequently hard to trace with any precision. Sometimes letters and papers were inserted with negligible or no alteration, sometimes they were extensively pruned and commented upon, sometimes they were simply rewritten.

In addition to frequent, complex and deliberately visible editorial mediation, Oldenburg's *Transactions* are by no means a straightforward record of Royal Society activity. Consider the following table (Table 20.1, below), comparing the provenance and placement of substantive articles—i.e. discounting errata, accounts of books, and advertisements to the reader or prefaces, virtually all of which were composed by Oldenburg himself. (The sample covers the first three complete years of Oldenburg's editorship as well as the last three.)

There is an ever more pronounced tendency over the period of Oldenburg's editorship to differentiate the content of the journal from the Society's activity. It is important to note that these figures are based on the Royal Society's minutes, and there is occasional evidence from the diaries of Robert Hooke and Evelyn of reports heard and matters discussed in meetings not mentioned in the official record. Nevertheless, the figures we have point to a striking conclusion; that the early *Transactions* is an even-handed mix of foreign and domestic material, and that a Fellow of the Society leafing through a copy would encounter a significant proportion of natural-philosophical news that he would not have previously met with even if he attended Society meetings with religious regularity. It is also reasonable to assume that the domestic Fellowship represented a significant proportion of the periodical's natural market.

33 Cf. Birch, *History*, 2: 176, 23 May 1667: "It being moved again, that such instances, as are to be inserted in the History of the Society, might be resolved upon, it was ordered, that it should be left to the president and Dr Wilkins to agree upon such, as they should think fit for the purpose". Sprat's apologetic *History of the Royal Society* was published in 1667.

TABLE 20.1 *Statistical breakdown of substantive articles in the Philosophical Transactions during the first and last three completed years of Oldenburg's editorship.*³⁴

Year	Volume number	Articles of foreign origin	Articles not featured in RS minutes	Total no. of substantive articles	Average length of substantive articles (pages per article)
1665/6	1 (covers two years)	61 (51%)	62 (53%)	118	2.55
1667	2	18 (32%)	26 (46%)	56	2.8
1674	9	17 (50%)	18 (53%)	34	3.76
1675	10	22 (50%)	29 (65%)	44	4.54
1676	11	16	21	34	5.11

The conspicuously outlying figure for the proportion of material originating outside the British Isles—volume two, for 1667—can perhaps be explained with reference to Oldenburg's imprisonment during the summer months on suspicion of passing information to the enemy during the second Anglo-Dutch war (almost exactly co-extensive with the Transactions).³⁵ The figures for 1665–6, though apparently of a piece with the later volumes, mask some interesting fluctuations within the period actually covered by volume one, again probably caused by external factors—the first two issues are very strongly dependent on material reported inside the Royal Society at some stage, followed by a period of two months in which Oldenburg drew heavily upon external sources without communicating them to the Society, until late June 1665 when the Court, and many leading Fellows of the Society with

34 'Substantive', for the present purpose, means an individually-titled item in the *Transactions* that is neither an editorial note, advertisement, table of contents, or errata section. Accounts of books, typically grouped together under that heading at the back of the periodical, have also not been considered. In the category of 'Articles of foreign origin', 'foreign' means articles that are identified as being by a correspondent who was not a subject of the English monarch (thus, a letter originating in Constantinople, about Constantinople, from an English, Scottish or Irish subject resident in or travelling through Constantinople, is not considered to be of foreign origin).

35 Oldenburg's imprisonment was for suspect sentiments in a letter to one of his Parisian correspondents, according to Samuel Pepys, in the aftermath of the successful Dutch raid on the Medway in June 1667. See Hall, *Henry Oldenburg*, pp. 115–18.

them, decamped to Oxford during the plague.³⁶ The Society did not meet for several months, reconvening in February 1666, but during that time Oldenburg remained in London, maintained correspondence with the Continent, and sent copy for the journal to be printed at Oxford under the supervision of Boyle and Sir Robert Moray. The fact that the Society was neither in a position to generate natural-philosophical news, nor really to receive it, for a period of over six months worked a conspicuous change in the vectors of information-gathering and dissemination in the *Transactions*, at a time when the direction of Oldenburg's enterprise was not fixed and he himself still casting about for a viable pattern to follow. The enforced reorientation of the periodical's content, towards news from overseas and news not reported in the record of the Society, introduced an emphasis to the journal and a way of managing information and readership that Oldenburg never abandoned.

Other attempts to classify articles in the early *Transactions* according to formal or genre attributes reveal similar divisions. Twenty-six pieces out of 44 in Volume 10 (1675), for example, are in epistolary form (59%). Among those, 12 go unreported in the Society (46%). The same figures in 1667 are 24 articles in the form of letters out of 55 (43%), of which 9 were not communicated to the Society (38%). Only in the overall length of a substantive article, and the proportion of direct experimental reporting in the *Transactions* communicated to or performed in the Society's meetings—where experiment is defined in the strict sense that the experimenter creates the conditions that produce the phenomenon under observation—do we find really distinct upward or downward trends during the period of Oldenburg's editorship. Substantive articles increase in average length from 2.5–2.8 quarto pages per article during the first three years to about 4.5 pages per article during the last three; experimental articles reported in the Society, meanwhile, remain fairly consistent during the same period (19% of total substantive articles in 1667 versus 19.6% in 1675). Again, then, the hegemony of the experimental journal article over early scientific communication that many historians anticipate and some actually find simply does not materialise during the lifetime of its founder, nor does it confine itself to channelling the activity of the institution with which he was closely associated. More generally, if Ellen Valle is right in her emphasis upon the distinction between the decline in apparent editorial mediation—by which she means an editorial position that increasingly confined itself to a paratextual frame—we can also infer that the words of the actual observer in the reporting of natural and experimental phenomena began to be more

36 Birch, *History*, 2: 60 (28 June 1665).

highly valued during the first decade of the journal's existence, but that this had not translated into a greater emphasis on the reporting of experiment nor in a straightforward merging of the journal with the Society, as is shown by the profusion of material in it that was never reported in meetings.³⁷

What did all this enable Oldenburg to do? It allowed him to dole out prestige through publication, to create dialogue, to propose research agendas, to generate results by juxtaposing discrete observations from different locations, and to mediate between the Society and the rest of the learned world (and vice versa). He deployed many of the techniques of contemporary news writing to persuade his readers of the credibility of his sources (because he often gets to name his source a good deal of the work is done for him, but where his witness to an event is unlikely to be widely known to his readers he sometimes conceals the witness's name and makes a point of vouching for his veracity in the article heading); he reports some things that are simple hearsay; and there is a strong degree of emphasis on the extraordinary and the monstrous. There are exchanges between natural philosophers that take place entirely within its pages, as in the exchanges between Robert Hooke and Adrien Auzout in 1665, or the challenge of the Jesuits of Liège to Isaac Newton's optical theories in the mid-1670s; others where two sides of a dialogue appear in different printed titles (as in successive issues in 1668, for instance, when an initial critique by Christiaan Huygens of a book by the Scottish mathematician James Gregory in the *Journal des Sçavans* was met by Gregory's rejoinders in the *Transactions*, with the exchange proliferating between the two journals over several months.)³⁸

37 Ellen Valle, 'Reporting the Doings of the Curious: Authors and Editors in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London', in *News Discourse in Early Modern Britain: Selected Papers of CHINED 2004*, ed. Nicholas Brownlees (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 71–90. It should also be noted that it would frequently happen, particularly where Oldenburg's correspondents in the English provinces were concerned, that the reporter's purpose was *not* to act as a direct witness to the phenomenon reported but rather to vouch for the general veracity of the person who could. (See for example the letters from Samuel Colepresse and Nathaniel Fairfax, *Oldenburg Correspondence*, 2: 386–8 and 392–5.) Provincial virtuosi came to act partly as information gathering agents for Oldenburg and the *Transactions*.

38 For Hooke's exchanges with Auzout, see *PT* 1 (1665), 'Considerations of M. Auzout on Mr. Hook's new Instrument for Grinding Optick-Glasses', pp. 57–63; and *PT* 1 (1665), 'Mr. Hook's answer to Monsieur Auzout's Considerations, in a Letter to the Publisher of these Transactions', pp. 64–9. Newton's with the Jesuits at Liège, *PT* 10 (1675), 'A Letter of Mr. Franc. Linus, Written to the Publisher from Liege the 25th of Febr. 1675. st. n. being a Reply to the Letter Printed in Numb. 110. by Way of Answer to a Former Letter of the Same Mr. Linus, Concerning Mr. Isaac Newton's Theory of Light and Colours', pp. 499–501; and for Gregory's responses to Huygens, see *PT* 3 (1668), p. 732, and *PT* 3 (1668), p. 882.

The question of where the journal stood in relation to the Royal Society has long been a vexed issue.³⁹ The numbers above show no very certain relation between the material presented in the *Transactions* and that originating in or shown to the Society, though each body is significantly represented in the other. There are obvious respects in which they are closely associated. But the *Transactions* under Oldenburg is not merely a digest of recent Society activity, and therefore cannot be understood as simply having the job of representing the Society to the rest of the world. Oldenburg did have that job—his role as secretary carried exactly such a responsibility—but he refrained from entirely fusing his duties with the production of the journal. May Katzen hears in Oldenburg's preface to the first volume the "first sound, as it were, of a scientific editor's voice".⁴⁰ Certainly that preface is the closest thing we have to a foundational document for the *Transactions*, and helps to answer the question of what Oldenburg intended for a vernacular journal that apparently shared the aims of but was to be carefully distinguished from the Royal Society he also represented. But Katzen's statement is problematic without a definition of "scientific editor", or a more concrete investigation of Oldenburg's editorial practice of the kind I have outlined. The introduction reads as follows:

Whereas there is nothing more necessary for promoting the improvement of Philosophical Matters, than the communicating to such, as apply their Studies and Endeavours that way, such things as are discovered or put in practise by others; it is therefore thought fit to employ the Press, as the most proper way to gratifie those, whose engagement in such Studies, and delight in the advancement of Learning and profitable Discoveries, doth entitle them to the knowledge of what this Kingdom, or other parts of the World, do, from time to time, afford, as well of the progress of the Studies, Labours, and attempts of the Curious and learned in things of this kind, as of their compleat Discoveries and performances: To the end, that such Productions being clearly and truly communicated, desires after solid and usefull knowledge may be further entertained, ingenious Endeavours and Undertakings cherished, and those, addicted to and conversant in such matters, may be invited and encouraged to search, try,

39 Oldenburg's own protestations about the independence of the early journal from the Royal Society are recorded in an editorial note to *PT* 1 (1666), pp. 213–14, as well as in his correspondence.

40 May F. Katzen, 'The Changing Appearance of Research Journals in Science and Technology', in *Development of Science Publishing in Europe*, ed. A.J. Meadows (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1980), p. 193.

and find out new things, impart their knowledge to one another, and contribute what they can to the Grand design of improving Natural knowledge, and perfecting all Philosophical Arts, and Sciences, All for the Glory of God, the Honour and Advantage of these Kingdoms, and the Universal Good of Mankind.⁴¹

Oldenburg casts the journal as a facilitator for the free exchange of knowledge, working within a select community (the sense of entitlement to participation that he evokes represents the world of natural philosophers as a closed system, with its own obligations, courtesies and privileges, properly understood by and accessible to initiates only). He gives his journal, which “it is thought fit to employ the press” upon producing, the status of an agreed-upon necessity, something called into being by the demands of the learned world and deriving from that larger authority rather than from his own initiative. He also insists on the value of process, as well as results, in natural philosophy, when he refers to the necessity of keeping up to date with “the progress of the Studies, Labours, and attempts of the curious and learned” as distinct from “their complete Discoveries and performances”. This is what really stakes out the territory which Oldenburg intends to claim for the *Transactions* and which is to consist, at least in part, of reporting on a culture of research as much as on its specific outcomes. Natural philosophers could be relied upon to publish and to publicise their own capital works and grand courses of investigation, but the everyday detail, the who-was-working-on-what, the review of the latest book, had no established outlet, and Oldenburg was partly engaged in creating a market for this.

Another way to describe this phenomenon would be to say that Oldenburg sought to capitalise on the emergent sense of a culture that constantly produced news, even if in any given week it was perhaps news of a fairly minor sort. The early *Transactions* is more aptly described as a newsletter than as a learned journal, and recognising this is essential to an understanding of its conception and organisation. This indicates an important respect in which the emergence of natural-philosophical institutions *did* influence the creation of natural-philosophical periodicals, because learned societies and scientific academies adopted a periodical structure of their own. It was not merely the prestige of his position or the privilege of access to the Royal Society’s meetings and records that ensured Oldenburg’s supply of material; the notion on which the journal initially thrived, the appetite for reports on the culture and daily workings of natural philosophy itself, depended upon the Royal Society,

41 PT 1: 1–2.

which by its very existence imposed a rhythm, a periodic taking of stock, on the activities of the natural philosophical community. Weekly meetings of the Society helped to create an expectation of weekly developments, and if there were no breakthroughs to be reported in a given week there would at least be goings-on. The Society's voluntary structure and amateur organisation may have disclaimed regulatory authority over the practice and culture of natural philosophy but it certainly had a regularising effect upon it, helping to create a demand which Oldenburg's journal worked to supplement and exploit. In this respect the emergence of the scientific periodical parallels the development of the English newsbook, whose dependence on the weekly supply of information from parliamentary proceedings for its content, and on the rhythms of the postal network for its specific periodicity and the day of its actual appearance Joad Raymond has demonstrated elsewhere.⁴²

The periodicity of Oldenburg's journal is perhaps its most distinguishing formal characteristic. Samuel Hartlib and his collaborators had preceded Oldenburg in publishing works of natural philosophy by compiling and editing discrete treatises on given subjects from various sources into single works.⁴³ Oldenburg was on good terms with members of the Hartlib circle, including Hartlib himself, and the Hartlibian project for the reform of learning and for gathering and disseminating knowledge is one of the acknowledged antecedents both of the Royal Society and of the *Transactions*. The prominence of information-gathering schemes in the early journal—questionnaires for dispatching to specific parts of the world, general heads of enquiries for seamen bound for far voyages, and lists of experimental desiderata all feature regularly—are perhaps the most obvious instances of Hartlibian schemes made manifest in the *Transactions*. It is true that Oldenburg's case is stripped of the explicitly Utopian and irenic content of Hartlib's designs, but it should not be assumed that he had simply imbibed this from the Royal Society, whose aversion to political and theological dissensions was early inscribed into its proceedings. Oldenburg's own religious sympathies, and his close affiliation with the work and family of Robert Boyle, point to an alternative set of formative influences. Monthly periodicals were an innovation; vanishingly rare if not actually unknown among mid-seventeenth-century printed newsbooks, and

42 See Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 104; and Paul Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European system of communications', *Media History*, 11 (2005), pp. 21–36.

43 Mark Greengrass, 'Hartlib, Samuel (c. 1600–1662)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., Oct 2007 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12500>> [14 March 2015].

uncommon in any other form.⁴⁴ It is important, therefore, to assess what Oldenburg intended by settling upon it for the *Transactions*. After all, the proximate models for his project, including English newsbooks, his own newsletter project, and the *Journal des Sçavans*, adopted weekly periodicity; and its extreme rarity among political news publications surely stems from the perception that to appear any less frequently than weekly was commercial suicide, and that readers had come to view weekly (or better) publication as an indispensable characteristic of periodical news. That competitive pressure may have had its origins in other constraints, but by the 1660s it seems plain that monthly news was by definition old news—although this was not necessarily true of month-old news appearing in a weekly news periodical. By deciding not to conform to a weekly publication schedule Oldenburg was making a commercial calculation that also had a bearing on the specific networks he wished to exploit.

The commercial calculation was that his readers would tolerate a monthly periodical treating recent events if it were tailored to a specific set of interests. Oldenburg typically produced less monthly copy than the newsbook editors of the 1640s and 50s, but not invariably so; the usual length of early issues of *Transactions* was two sheets, increasing to three or more by the 1670s, compared to four weekly issues of one sheet each per month for newsbooks. To recap—Oldenburg was resisting both the periodicity imposed by the meetings of the Royal Society on the London natural-philosophical community and much the most common model of periodical publication then current, including that adopted by the *Journal des Sçavans*. (In fact the *Journal's* periodicity would fluctuate a good deal over the next two decades, sometimes appearing weekly, sometimes monthly, sometimes fortnightly. *Transactions* looks stable and Oldenburg's decision canny by comparison, although he could not have known this in advance.) What were the possible advantages of monthly publication from Oldenburg's point of view? Several possibilities can be envisaged; first, it enforced the distinction between the activity of the Royal Society and the *Transactions*, and between the *Transactions* and the *Journal des Sçavans*. Oldenburg was careful to ensure that the content of the *Transactions* did not simply match what went on in the Society, and it is therefore likely that he also wished to avoid too simple a formal identification between institution and journal. Second, monthly publication afforded him greater flexibility with regard to what the journal might contain. Third, dividing a month's worth of material into four weekly parts might run the risk of diluting sales, as readers

44 The notable exception was *The Present State of Europe*, published in London from 1689. See Charles E. Clark, *The Public Prints: The Newspaper in Anglo-American Culture, 1665–1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 56n.

with more particular natural-philosophical interests would buy a given issue but not others. Fourth, the journal continued to be enmeshed in Oldenburg's correspondence which was the source of much of the *Transactions* and would have risked either tying his epistolary exchanges, many of which were international, to a punishing weekly schedule or, more probably, compelled him to send out issues of the journal in batches of several at a time, so that his correspondents would scarcely benefit from the more rapid tempo of publication.

The *Transactions*, even if under Oldenburg's editorial regime it was better adapted in some respects to the formal requirements of periodical news than to the definitive presentation of natural-philosophical research, nevertheless inscribed a different relationship between periodical and reader than was typical of periodical news. For one thing, the reader was often also a contributor; or might expect to see his own work referred to, and be moved to respond. More generally, the early journal was frequently used to propagate research agendas or data-gathering schemes about far-flung places that sailors, travelers or merchant adventurers were best placed to answer, and abounded in invitations to the reader to participate in, replicate or extend the research presented or proposed in it. The notion of collective enterprise in the journal's writing was not simply essential, it was championed—though at the same time Oldenburg was careful not to let the impression develop that the journal could easily sustain itself without his input.

David Kronick has argued that once experiments came to be regarded as the basic common units of scientific investigation, the proliferation of journals to accommodate reports of them followed naturally, since the ordinary course of research tended to produce accounts that needed to be published but might not be long enough for a book.⁴⁵ This process occurred much later than he apparently realised and entirely disregards the social relations and institutional structures that governed the vectors of pre-modern natural-philosophical communication, gathering momentum in parallel with the increasing degrees of specialisation in research and differentiation between disciplines in the nineteenth century. The work of subsequent historians has problematised the extent to which the status of experiment could be said to have been secured in the years immediately following the Restoration, and emphasis has been laid here upon the need to handle the journal's early development with similar caution.⁴⁶ Oldenburg launched it with a view to making a living, and what he

45 Kronick, *History of Scientific and Technical Periodicals*, p. 45.

46 The crucial study of the establishment of experiment as the irreducible basis of claims to scientific knowledge is Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

was selling was not only knowledge but a sense of participation in a culture—and using his innovation to foster a culture of actual participation. The journal sought to broaden the community of natural philosophers by forging relations between individuals and groups. Names and knowledge-claims were juxtaposed in print that might in practice have very little to do with one another, extending, into a virtual realm, the forums for discussion provided by the Royal Society. Oldenburg's enforcement of the distinction between his journal and the Society was, I suggest, part of the same impulse, intended to give the *Transactions* an agent's role in the constitution of natural philosophical discourse and communities. It was also a canny commercial move on the publisher's part, since the Society was the most easily accessible part of the natural market for the journal and Oldenburg stood to lose considerably if what he printed was simply a digest of the Society's weekly activity, since there would then be no compelling reason for the Fellows to buy it.

Oldenburg's death did not, as might have been expected given the journal's strong dependence upon his networks of correspondents, lead immediately to the collapse of the *Transactions*, but it did lead to its immediate, if discreet, reinvention. The six issues put out by Nehemiah Grew between September 1677 and March 1678 conspicuously do nothing to draw attention to the change of editorship, a continuation, for more than a year after Oldenburg's death, frequently overlooked by historians.⁴⁷ These issues were not simply a stopgap—they drew far back into the archives of the Society for the bulk of their contents and reflect a notably different conception of the journal, one that matches the Society's intention to bring to light material languishing in their archives. A minute of the Society's Council from January 1678 further reinforces the distinction between the *Transactions* as conceived by Oldenburg and the work of publishing finished research, since it envisaged an entirely new publications regime:

That there be prepared once a year a collection of all such matters, as have been handled that year, concerning four, five or more subjects, which have been well prosecuted, and completed; which may be printed in the name of the Society against the anniversary election-day:

That the Register-books of the Society be perused; and that what shall be thought fit by the council to be published, be drawn out and printed accordingly.⁴⁸

47 *PT* 12 (1677–8), issues 137–42.

48 Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, 3: 369–70.

The issues are handled separately, one proposing an annual round-up of programmatically-completed research carried out under the Royal Society's direction, the other, the back-dated publishing, in a form not specified, of material from the Society's archives. Decisions concerning what is fit to be published are put into the hands of the Society. These proposals would have brought the Royal Society's publications under the direct control and oversight of the Council as never before, in effect proposing a system of peer review of a kind that had not existed under Oldenburg's editorship. The first project never materialised (under the Royal Society's name, at least; but the series of works put out by Robert Hooke in 1678 under the title *Lectures and Collections* bear considerable similarity, consisting mainly of discrete researches gathered by topic, with Hooke's own work interspersed with related material from other natural philosophers and correspondents of the Society). There is a striking similarity, however, between the second proposal and what actually appeared under the name of the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1677–8. This is not to say that the journal as it had come to be recognised disappeared entirely—within this period numbers 139–41 have a sizeable proportion of recent material originally communicated directly to the Society—but there is a palpable change of direction, with a great deal more material drawn from the archives or excerpted out of the *Journal des Sçavans* than had been Oldenburg's usual practice. The notion of separating the Society's programme of experimental publication from the storehouse of information that had gradually accumulated in its registers, and publishing the experimental work in clumps four or five times a year, would enable the Society to conduct more detailed investigations without the pressure of monthly deadlines, and this at the very moment at which Hooke, with a renewed access of energy, was staging experiments and demonstrations in the Society that were spread out over the course of several weeks or more. This represented in practice a pretty sharp break with Oldenburg's handling of the journal, effectively making it much more of a Society concern, Grew being entitled to mine the archives for publishable material in accordance with Council directives and by their authority, and thus slackening its dependence upon Oldenburg's network of correspondents. The period of publication became much longer, issues appearing every two to three months. In short, the issues put out by Grew represent not a stop-gap measure so much as a new conception of the journal, itself the outcome of an attempt by the Society to re-energise its experimental work and to tie its publications more closely to that endeavour.

There were objections from within the Society over attempts to continue the enterprise of the *Transactions*—particularly from Robert Hooke, the Society's curator of experiments since 1664, who had not been induced by

Oldenburg's death to forgive what he considered Oldenburg's carelessness at best, treachery at worst, in communicating Hooke's ideas for balance-spring watches to the Continent and then using the resulting claim to priority in the invention by Christiaan Huygens to try and secure an English patent on it. Hooke prevailed on the Council to permit him to replace the journal with his own *Philosophical Collections*, of which seven issues appeared erratically between 1679 and 1682. On 7 August 1679 the Council again ordered Hooke to proceed with the publishing of his experimental work for the Society and of the *Transactions*, as separate enterprises. This refers to an evident dissatisfaction with the state of the Society's publications—the *Transactions* had not appeared since January.⁴⁹ The order was reissued in December, together with a reiteration of the plans for a more systematic experimental programme to be organised by the Society with publication not just as its eventual goal but inscribed into the project from the beginning.⁵⁰

These plans would effectively have made of the *Transactions* an institutional newsletter, giving a sample of the Royal Society's activity, the odds and ends that passed through its meetings but would not form part of its directed researches, and its connections with natural philosophers outside London. The frequency with which they ought to appear was debated—between August and December of 1679 the Council made various suggestions about the periodicity of the new *Transactions*, ranging from once a week to once a quarter—but the surrounding projects indicate plainly enough that to the very limited extent that the *Transactions* had previously functioned as a research journal, such was no longer to be their purpose.⁵¹ Once it had become clear that Hooke's *Philosophical Collections* would not meet the Society's wishes, orders were issued to resurrect the *Transactions* under the same name—presumably with a view to inheriting the brand, so to speak, that Oldenburg had created, and this eventually happened once Hooke was pushed out of the Secretaryship in 1682 and replaced with Francis Aston and the Oxford-based natural historian and antiquarian Robert Plot.

49 Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, 3: 501. It seems evident from the handling of the case that both parties felt a degree of proprietorial interest in Hooke's experimental contributions to the Society; Hooke was continually urged to attempt this or something like it by the Society, though he was told, presumably because he held out for it, that he would retain control over the presentation and organisation of the material. Part of the point of publishing Hooke's work was also to fill up gaps in the Society's registers, which the Council remarked upon from time to time.

50 Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, 3: 510–1.

51 Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, 3: 501, 504, 513–4.

Conclusion

The foregoing rapid overview of the range of alternatives contemplated for replacing or reconfiguring the *Transactions* after Oldenburg's death conveys not just the fluidity of the form of early scientific periodicals, even within a single title, but the distinct sense that Oldenburg's model for it did not straightforwardly address what the Royal Society ideally wished. It suggests the epistemic limitations of that model: namely, that while Oldenburg sought to encourage particular strands of research and to shape natural philosophical communities to his own and the Royal Society's ends, the experimental journal article was by no means securely established as a normative mode of scientific communication by the time of his death. It is also important to note that Oldenburg's distinctive concern for the commercial viability of his journal—a concern that was crucial to its form, periodicity, editorial stance and even its geographical orientation—was not shared by his successors, and that the journal, from which he managed to eke out a small annual profit during his lifetime, made considerable losses for the next 250 years.⁵²

The European orientation of *Philosophical Transactions* and the profit motive are the two most conspicuous attributes of Oldenburg's innovation not to be continued by future natural-philosophical journals, or indeed by the *Transactions* itself, and these are also the two attributes it notably shares with early modern periodical printed news. But although Oldenburg drew extensively upon models of news communication for his journal, although he relied, like many prominent news-writers, upon a privileged position within the apparatus of state for his capacity to gather, publish and distribute natural-philosophical intelligence (in his use of the Royal Society's unique printing privilege, his right, briefly abrogated in summer 1667, to correspond freely with the Continent, and his access to the diplomatic bag for transmitting and receiving letters), and although the *Transactions* became part of a European circuit of communication that included numerous other printed periodicals borrowing from one another as they found convenient, the most important aspect of his innovation—periodicity—would come to signify very differently in the natural-philosophical world than in the realm of political news. What the scientific periodical came to embody, denuded of Oldenburg's editorial strategies, his networks of correspondents and his commercial preoccupations, was an open-ended collectivity in the enterprise of natural philosophy. It was this, I suggest, that led to the continual increase in the number of scientific

52 See Aileen Fyfe, 'Journals, Learned Societies and Money', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society*, 69 (2015), pp. 277–99 (esp. Figures 1, 2 and 3).

periodicals over the next century—albeit usually with much less frequent periodicity than Oldenburg had plumped for. During that time scientific periodicals were often slow to appear, distinctively institutional in character, and many of them ran at significant losses. It would take two centuries for scientific knowledge, as such, to come to be identified with the specialist periodical literature; but the periodical could and did usefully stand for collective enterprise, as a way of representing the activity of learned societies and national academies, and to gradually assume the outlines of the system of registration and accreditation that it would become.

PART 3

Studies



News from the New World: Spain's Monopoly in the European Network of Handwritten Newsletters during the Sixteenth Century

Renate Pieper

The first handwritten newsletter concerning the New World was an *avviso* from Milan to the Duke of Ferrara in 1496.¹ It announced the return of Columbus from his second voyage and the arrival of bullion from the Antilles.² One hundred years later, in 1596, the Fugger merchants in Augsburg received two handwritten newsletters announcing the amount of silver to be expected from the Americas that year. Both newsletters referred to information coming from Seville, despite increasing competition amongst European powers in the Atlantic. The first had been written in Madrid, the second had been submitted via Lyon and Madrid.³ The trajectory of these newsletters suggests that European transatlantic rivalries notwithstanding, the Spanish Empire held a monopoly on handwritten media disseminating news from its Atlantic realms over the period of a hundred years.⁴ This key position might have been due to the monopoly Castile claimed for legal trade and migration to its American territories. This claim was secured through formal institutions. The first one was the Casa de la Contratación founded in 1503.⁵

The impact and long-lasting effects of formal and informal institutions were analysed by Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson in their most recent work on economic theory in 2012 using the concept of path dependency.⁶

1 All dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar.

2 Reale Commissione Colombiana pel quarto centenario della scoperta dell'America. *Raccolta di documenti e studi*, part 3, ed. Guglielmo Berchet, vol. 1.2 (Rome: Roma Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1892), p. 148.

3 ÖNB (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), Cod. 8969, fos. 799–801, 177–8.

4 Although Spain did not exist as a political entity in the sixteenth century, for practical reasons, this name will be used for the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón in this text.

5 Guiomar de Carlos Boutet, *España y América. Un océano de negocios. Quinto centenario de la Casa de la Contratación, 1503–2003* (Seville: Sociedad estatal de conmemoraciones culturales, 2003).

6 Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty* (London: Profile Books, 2012).

This concept was adopted from physics and introduced into economic theory in the 1980s. Path dependency refers to the influence of initial conditions in the long run, even if the situation has changed in the meantime. Another theoretical model from 1967, christened the “sailing ship effect” by W. Ward, describes the persistence of old technologies and their improvement even as new technologies become available. As S. Mendonça has shown recently, the improvement of sailing ships was an intrinsic process of this old technology and happened before steam ships had become serious competitors.⁷ Thus the focus of recent economic theory has shifted from change to tradition.

In contrast to this development in economic theory, in 1979 Elizabeth Eisenstein praised the emergence of the printing press as an “agent of change”.⁸ From the end of the fifteenth century printing businesses began to spread all over Europe; the earliest printed news periodicals were published in upper Germany every six months at the end of the sixteenth century.⁹ Together with printed books and broadsheets, these should have influenced the advent of modernity. The search for the origins of printed newspapers has therefore received renewed interest recently.¹⁰ However, considering the path dependency of institutions described in the economic theories of Acemoglu and Robinson and allowing for the “sailing ship effect” as an intrinsic process, historical studies might be well advised to deal not only with the occurrence of printed news periodicals, but to study information media based on older technologies such as handwritten newsletters. At the end of the fifteenth century, handwritten newsletters were already well established in Italy, with the diaries of the Venetian Marino Sanudo, which made use of newsletters, among the

7 Sandro Mendonça, “The “sailing ship effect”: Reassessing history as a source of insight on technical change”, *Research Policy*, 42 (2013), pp. 1724–38.

8 Elizabeth L. Eisenstein. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

9 Karl Schottenloher, *Flugblatt und Zeitung. Ein Wegweiser durch das gedruckte Tagesschrifttum*, 2 vols., ed. Johannes Blindowski (Munich: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1985).

10 Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Gerhild Scholz Williams and William Layher, eds., *Consuming News: Newspapers and Print Culture in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008); Johannes Arndt and Esther-Beate Körber, eds., *Das Mediensystem im Alten Reich der Frühen Neuzeit (1600–1750)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2010).

best-known examples.¹¹ *Avvisi* became widespread all over Europe in the last decades of the sixteenth century, and they remained an important part of the information economy until the end of the eighteenth century.¹² For two hundred years both handwritten newsletters and printed news periodicals distributed current news to the learned public, who read them aloud and disseminated them further to friends and relatives.

The sixteenth century will be at the centre of the present analysis of handwritten *avvisi*, since the expansion of the printing press and the development of the handwritten newsletters as a regular medium of information occurred parallel to the first expeditions and permanent settlements of Europeans in the Americas. Due to its outstanding position in organising the conquest and colonisation of ancient American societies, the nascent 'Spanish' Empire and its centre on the Iberian Peninsula will be the starting point for the analysis of newsletters that conveyed news from the New World in the sixteenth century. The recipients of these newsletters will be selected according to their residence. The basis of this selection is that the recipients should reside outside the Iberian Peninsula but within the European areas of influence of the Spanish Habsburg monarchy, i.e. in central Europe or northern and central Italy. By selecting recipients from outside of the Iberian Peninsula, where intermediaries had to intervene in the distribution of news, the network through which information was transferred within Europe can be reconstructed. The choice of European areas attached to the Habsburg monarchies guarantees that the sample will contain (at least) a minimum of information exchange on Hispanic America. Thus handwritten newsletters will be studied to analyse the distribution of news from the New World to central Europe, and northern and central Italy during the sixteenth century.

There has been a recent flurry of historiographical interest in handwritten newsletters, analysing specific collections like the *Fuggerzeitungen* or those of specific cities like Venice.¹³ This has uncovered the main internal

11 Marino Sanudo, *I Diarii*, 58 vols., ed. Federico Stefani *et al.* (Venice: F. Visentini, 1879–1903).

12 André Belo, 'Between history and periodicity: printed and handwritten news in xviiith century Portugal', *E-Journal of Portuguese History*, 2:2 (Winter 2004) <www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue4/html/belo_main.html> [1/8/14].

13 Oswald Bauer, *Zeitungen vor der Zeitung. Die Fuggerzeitungen (1568–1605) und das frühmoderne Nachrichtensystem* (Berlin: Oldenbourg Akademieverlag, 2011); Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, eds., *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

characteristics of the medium. However, external conditions have received less attention. In order to remedy this, this chapter will compare different collections from different places dealing with the single topic of news from the Americas.

Unlike most studies of newsletters, which deal with their specific content, this study will consider the geography of information flows in order to track the diffusion and control of information.¹⁴ Newsletters offer various relevant data on these questions. First, their paragraph headings order information according to time and space. In addition, there are frequent references to the origin of news. From these data geographical networks can be reconstructed. Subsequent network analysis offers an insight into the general structure of information flow and the hubs which controlled these networks.

Historiographical analysis of printed information concerning the early Americas has frequently stressed the important role of German printing houses and imprints in Germany in disseminating news from the New World.¹⁵ By contrast, the purpose of the present chapter is to assess the position of the Spanish Empire and the Iberian Peninsula in the information business of handwritten newsletters. Castile, by 1500 considered to be the centre of the incipient Spanish monarchy, claimed a monopoly over contact, commerce and migration with its transatlantic realms. The Casa de la Contratación was established in Seville in order to enforce this monopoly. The present analysis aims to reveal whether this institutional monopoly could control information flows within Europe as well, and if institutional path dependency had influence on the networks through which information for handwritten newsletters was channelled until the end of the sixteenth century. Was there an intrinsic 'sailing ship effect' in the case of networks for handwritten newsletters?

In order to assess the impact of monopolistic institutions through path dependency, and the extent of the persistence of old technologies in a period of innovation, it is necessary to use a chronological approach to information flows from the Americas through the Iberian monarchies. Thus, for various periods different networks through which handwritten *avvisi* obtained and distributed their information have to be reconstructed. The first period runs

2007); Fernando Bouza, *Corre manuscrito. Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2001); François Moureau, ed., *De bonne main. La communication manuscrite au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Voltaire Foundation, 1993).

14 Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002).

15 Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

from the earliest contacts between Europeans and the Americas until the first years of the reign of Philip II, i.e. up to 1560. The second period witnessed the consolidation of colonial rule in Spanish America and the increasing presence of seafarers from rival European monarchies either through privateering or trying to establish settlements of their own. The third period starts with the integration of Portugal into the Iberian Habsburg monarchy and the growing antagonism between Catholic and Protestant powers in north-western Europe in 1581 and ends with the death of Philip II in 1598. Comparing these three different periods will enable us to determine if the position of the Spanish Monarchy in the network of European newsletters did change or if it remained largely constant. In the case of the latter, this would suggest a strong path dependency through thoroughly founded institutions, and that traditional information media experienced a “sailing ship effect”.

The newsletters collections of the sixteenth century to be analysed are those of the Fugger merchants, the counts of Pfalz-Neuburg, and the dukes of Bavaria and Urbino. These newsletters are bound together as special collections of up to four hundred newsletters per year. Furthermore, newsletters received by the dukes of Florence, the German Emperor and the Papal court are considered as well. These last are not as numerous and are mostly preserved as attachments to diplomatic correspondence. In addition, scattered historiographical references to handwritten newsletters dealing with the New World are included. The newsletters kept in collections are available at least for several subsequent years during the second half of the sixteenth century. Those newsletters that are accessible only by dispersed references or through diplomatic correspondence cover the whole of the sixteenth century. In order to handle the large number of newsletters the following three very specific topics were searched for: first, the amount of gold and silver arriving in Europe from the New World, a recurring subject throughout the century. The other topics involve conflict over the settlement of European rivals in American territories claimed by Castile. The second is the Spanish destruction of a French Huguenot colony in Florida in September 1565, spread through various media including newsletters; and the third topic concerns an event generating substantial media coverage, which happened twenty years later: the attacks of Francis Drake on Santo Domingo and Cartagena from January to April 1586, which were reported in handwritten newsletters and provoked much fear and expectation in Europe. References to these three topics are the basis of the following network analysis.

Before the reconstruction of the various networks through which handwritten *avvisi* were distributed in Europe, a short summary of the contents of the news is in order. In descriptions of the first contacts of Europeans with the

islands in the Western Atlantic, economic considerations played a major role. Experiences from the Portuguese voyages to Africa raised high expectations of the quest for spices and gold, and this featured prominently in Columbus's first manuscript reports as a consequence.¹⁶ In 1496, when Columbus returned from his second voyage, he brought the first samples of precious metals from the Caribbean and this news spread immediately in Europe. Antonio Costabili, member of the court of Hercules of Ferrara received the information in a newsletter from Milan dated 23 June to 9 July 1496: "Avvisi venuti di Hyspania. Che Colonna, capitaneo del armata hispana ... era arrivato a Cales, e ha portato gran quantitate de oro" ("Avvisi received from Spain: Columbus, the captain of the Spanish fleet has arrived in Cádiz, and he imported a large quantity of gold").¹⁷ This information formed a model for years to come. Almost a century later, an *avviso* of 28 August 1584 from San Lúcar de Barrameda, the Andalusian port where the fleets from Hispanic America arrived, mentioned that the last incoming fleet had brought for the crown 600,000 ducats in gold and silver, and for private merchants 1,400,000 ducats in precious metals. According to the tax declarations copied in part in the newsletter the fleet also delivered considerable quantities of pearls, indigo, cochineal, sarsaparilla, guaiac wood, sugar, ginger and hides.¹⁸ The money for the Castilian crown proceeded from taxes, mainly mining taxes, levied in Spanish America. Precious metals and the wares of private merchants were the payment for European exports to Spanish America. By the early 1580s silver production in Potosí in Upper Peru (now Bolivia) increased dramatically. Accordingly, the newsletters were very much interested in the yearly deliveries of precious metals reaching the Andalusian ports. Thus a newsletter from Venice dated 20 December 1586 informed the Duke of Urbino that the fleet from New Spain (Mexico) had arrived at San Lúcar on 2 November. The cargo consisted of 800,000 ducats for the crown, 1,200,000 ducats for private merchants, and the deliveries of cochineal had a value of more than one million ducats.¹⁹ The Fugger merchants were notified likewise. They received a newsletter from Madrid on 15 November 1586. It mentioned that the fleet from New Spain had arrived safely and that the fleet from Peru was expected to bring a cargo worth seven million ducats.²⁰ When the

16 Juan Gil Fernández and Consuelo Varela, *Cristóbal Colón. Textos y documentos completos: Relaciones de viajes, cartas y memoriales* (Madrid: Alianza, 1992).

17 Raccolta III, 1.2, 148.

18 OeStA, HHSTA (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv), Spanien, Varia 2/3, Relationen 1583–85, fos. 32–3.

19 BAV (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), Cod. Urb. lat. 1045, fos. 595–7.

20 ÖNB, Cod. 8959, fos. 647–8.

silver fleet from Peru really arrived the next year on 25 September 1587, the Duke of Bavaria received a newsletter which informed him that the value of the whole cargo of the fleet amounted to 17,000,000 (though without indicating in what currency). This newsletter had been sent from Antwerp on 24 October and it referred to information coming from Madrid on 4 October 1587.²¹ The Fugger merchants got the same information from a similar newsletter directly from Madrid with the same date.²² The accuracy of the handwritten newsletters varied considerably. In some cases copies from official tax records were included, in other approximations were distributed that mentioned a general amount without indicating any monetary unit, and the sum may have even included the value of wares like hides or cocoa. This was probably the case with the newsletter of October 1587.²³

A comparison between handwritten and printed newsletter reveals considerable differences. On 26 July 1529 a handwritten newsletter was dispatched at Antwerp and sent to Helmstedt in Saxony. It referred to a letter sent by Giovanni Battista Grimaldi to Ansaldo Grimaldi, both members of the famous Genoese family of bankers attached to Charles v. The original information was sent from Spain to Genoa on 14 February 1529. The handwritten newsletter from Antwerp mentioned that two ships had brought gold with a value of 100,000 ducats and pearls worth 50,000 ducats from the Americas to Seville.²⁴ These newsletters or similar ones formed the basis for a broadsheet printed in Speyer the same year. The printed version mentioned only the pearls with their respective value and omitted the amount of precious metals.²⁵ The difference between handwritten and printed *avvisi* remained the same at the end of the sixteenth century. The Fuggers received a newsletter from Antwerp written on 4 April 1598. It referred to news brought by a courier from Madrid to Brussels. It reported that the American silver fleet had arrived at Seville with a cargo of 7,000,000. The text does not mention any details of whether the sum included goods as well as precious metals, nor did it specify the monetary unit. Similar information was printed in one of the first regular German news periodicals, the *Frankfurter Messrelation* which was published in September the same year.

21 BayerStaBi (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), Cod. germ. 5864/3, fos. 161–2.

22 ÖNB, Cod. 8960, fos. 414–15.

23 Renate Pieper, *Die Vermittlung einer neuen Welt. Amerika im Kommunikationsnetz des habsburgischen Imperiums (1493–1598)* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2000), ch. 4.1.

24 Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 130 Helmst., fos. 191–2.

25 John Alden and Dennis C. Landis, eds., *European Americana. A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493–1600*, vol. 1 (New York: The John Carter Brown Library, 1980), p. 32: “Copey eynes brieffes ... Ansaldo de Grimaldo und andern Edllen von Genua auss Hispanien zugeschrieben”.

The printed periodical mentioned that the silver fleet from New Spain (Mexico) had arrived at Seville in April 1598, and that its cargo was about seven millions of gold. Like the handwritten newsletter, the printed periodical did not mention any monetary units, but it transformed the American bullion which by that time consisted mainly of silver into a stream of gold, making the enormous sum of precious metals even more impressive. Comparison of the contents of handwritten newsletters and printed news periodicals shows that even if the new medium of printed news periodicals might have reached a broader learned public, the old medium of handwritten newsletters was more precise and much faster in informing European merchants and elites. Thus it might have been important for the Spanish Empire to supervise the contents of handwritten newsletters through the control of its distribution channels.

The command of information was crucial too in the case of armed conflicts. Two of them, which happened in Florida and the Caribbean, left a considerable echo in European newsletters. The first one occurred in Florida.²⁶ In 1564 French Huguenots had founded the colony Fort de la Caroline, today Jacksonville. Due to a lack of resources some of the French settlers began to plunder in the Spanish Caribbean. Therefore in June 1565 Spanish troops under the command of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés were sent to Florida, which had been claimed by the Spanish crown. In September 1565, Pedro Menéndez founded St. Augustin and attacked the French fort, killing almost all of its defenders and putting to death a group of French soldiers who had surrendered after their intended assault on St. Augustin had failed. Three ships were able to escape, one of them under the command of René Ladonnière. His vessel was the only one to reach Europe in January 1565. The bloody events in Florida happened during a short period of peace in the midst of the French wars of religion, and during a period of growing antagonism between Catholic and Protestant powers in Flanders and in Europe in general. When in January 1566 notices about the fate of the Huguenot fort arrived in Europe the Spanish side initially proclaimed their victory against the Protestant intruders into their realms. In the French fortress, the Spanish troops had found letters of patent and settlement signed by the Huguenot Admiral Coligny. This was the proof that Coligny had openly disregarded Spanish territorial claims in the Americas. But when French survivors of the slaughter in Florida arrived in Europe different reports circulated, and the French king sent a severe protest to the Spanish court asking for apologies. Since each side had committed serious aggressions against the other the affair was settled rather swiftly.

26 Carlos Fernández Shaw, *Presencia española en los Estados Unidos* (Madrid: Cultura Hispanica, 1987).

The contents of the newsletters reflected the changing attitudes and debates in Europe. A newsletter from Seville mentioned on 26 March 1565 that a ship had arrived from Havana with the news that the French had built a fortress at the coast of Florida and some of these Frenchmen were plundering Spanish possessions in the Caribbean. This newsletter was sent by the Imperial ambassador from Madrid to the court of Vienna.²⁷ On 13 April 1565 another newsletter was sent from Madrid to the Duke of Urbino. This *avviso* mentioned that the Spaniards were trying to recover the “island of Florida in the Indies” (America) which had been captured by French corsairs.²⁸ In June 1565, when Mendéz de Avilés had set sail from Andalusia to Florida, newsletters were sent from Madrid to Vienna and Florence on 30 June 1565, referring to information from Seville from six days before, 24 June 1565. The Madrid newsletters reported that the governor of Cuba had already expelled the French from Florida. Only three ships escaped, but one had sunk, another had disappeared, and the third had fallen into the hands of indigenous tribes who devoured the French in a solemn banquet.²⁹ It is unclear to which event in Florida these newsletters refer, but it was probably a mutiny within the French colony. At the end of the Florida affair, a newsletter was edited in Madrid between 12 February and 15 March and sent to the Emperor in Vienna. The text reported that the Spanish crown feared a French counter-attack and would probably dispatch 2,000 soldiers to Florida in order to reinforce the troops of Pedro Méndez.³⁰ Similar information was transmitted in a newsletter received by the Duke of Urbino. This newsletter sent from Brussels on 29 April 1566 remarked that the Spanish King Philip II would send a navy of 30 ships in order to reconquer Florida and expel the French.³¹ The contents of the newsletters about Florida reveal that very similar texts were sent to different places in Europe, and that by the 1560s *avvisi* written in Spanish were received in Florence and Vienna alike without being translated. All newsletters relayed on information originating in the Iberian Peninsula, and they interpreted the events in Florida from a Spanish

27 HHStA, Spanien, Varia 2/15, fo. 1: ‘Copia de una carta de Sevilla’, Sevilla, 26 March 1565.

28 BAV, Cod. Urb. lat. 1040, fo. 10.

29 HHStA, Spanien, Varia 2/15, fos. 16–19: ‘Avvisos de la Corte de España’ from 7–30 June 1565, herein: newsletters from Seville 24 June 1565. The text says: ‘el terzero topo con los Indios de la tierra, que tomaron a todos ellos, y se los comieron en un su banquete solemne’. ASF (Archivio di Stato Firenze), Mediceo del Principato 5037, fo. 167: ‘Avisos de la Florida por avisos de Sevilla’, Sevilla, 24 June 1565: ‘y benidos a sus manos se los comieron todos en un solene vanquete’.

30 HHStA, Spanien, Varia 2/17, fos. 9–11: ‘De la corte de España’, 12 February–15 March 1566.

31 BAV, Cod. Urb. lat. 1040, fo. 220.

point of view. Furthermore, newsletters reported both rumours and established facts, often without distinction.

The third event to be considered is the attack of Francis Drake of the city of Santo Domingo, the oldest Spanish settlement in the Caribbean and the Americas.³² In 1585, after the fall of Antwerp into the hands of Spanish troops, open warfare broke out between Spain and England. Francis Drake was sent with a fleet of 30 vessels and 2,000 men to the Caribbean. After plundering in Galicia, Spain and Portugal, the Canary Islands, Cape Verde and finally Puerto Rico were ransacked as well. On 10 January 1586, Drake's fleet appeared before Santo Domingo on the island of Hispaniola. The next day he met little defence when he attacked the already-evacuated city. By that time, the zenith of Santo Domingo had passed: in the 1580s it was only an administrative centre without any major economic functions. Therefore, Drake and his men could obtain only a ransom of 25,000 ducats which did not fulfil their expectations. On 9 February, the English left Santo Domingo and turned on Cartagena, on the Atlantic coast of modern-day Colombia. Here they stayed almost two months. Due to the spread of tropical diseases amongst the crew the English turned northwards in April 1586 and sailed back to England, sacking Honduras and St. Augustin but without daring to attack Havana. Upon their return to Portsmouth on 7 August 1586, they delivered booty with an estimated value of 200,000 ducats, consisting of precious metals, weapons, church bells of copper, and ships. Three months after the arrival of Drake, the silver fleet from Mexico arrived at Seville and delivered 3,000,000 ducats, and the fleet from Peru brought 7,000,000 ducats in 1587. Thus, from an economic point of view, the expedition of Drake had been a failure, and more so if the death of a third of the crew is taken into consideration. Nonetheless, the outcry in Europe was enormous, as fears based on his circumnavigation of the world and the booty he had obtained on the West coast of Spanish America in 1577–80 found voice.

Drake's expedition was referred to in numerous newsletters. The present analysis deals with 57 *avvisi* that spread the news between late February and September 1586. Rumours and fantastical assumptions appear in many of them. Immediately after the arrival in Spain of the first official reports from the Caribbean, a handwritten newsletter from Madrid informed the Fugger merchants in Augsburg. The *avviso* of 5 April 1586 mentioned that news had come

32 Simon Adams, 'The outbreak of the Elizabethan naval war against the Spanish Empire: The embargo of May 1585 and Sir Francis Drake's West-Indies voyage', in *England, Spain and the Gran Armada, 1585–1604: Essays from the Anglo-Spanish Conferences, London and Madrid, 1988*, ed. M. Rodríguez-Salgado and Simon Adams (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), pp. 45–69.

from Seville on 24 and 28 March. The newsletter reported the assaults on Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo, claiming that 2,000,000 ducats had been obtained as booty by Drake and that all Catholic priests and monks had been murdered in Santo Domingo. Furthermore the newsletter spread fears that the English were building a new fortress in the latter city and that there existed considerable danger of an attack on Havana.³³ The amount of the booty, the death of clerics and the fortification were only rumours, and a sign of the fears then current in Spain. From Barcelona news about the attack spread from 9 April. The Duke of Urbino obtained a newsletter from Venice referring to information from Barcelona dated 9 April 1586. This newsletter mentioned that a courier from Madrid had been sent to Barcelona. The information it purveyed was that the English had attacked Puerto Rico and ransacked Santo Domingo. They had obtained two million ducats and freed African slaves. The same news was sent to northern Europe without mentioning the Africans. The count of Pfalz-Neuburg received this newsletter on 7 May 1586. The *avviso* had been edited in Cologne on 3 May 1586 and it referred to information coming from Barcelona on 9 April 1586.³⁴ Previously, a newsletter written in Cologne on 26 April 1586 had reached Pfalz-Neuburg. Its text, based on information coming from Lisbon, differed from the information distributed from Madrid. It mentioned that in Lisbon news had come from England that 'Admiral Draco' had been supported by the Indians from the Island of Santo Domingo, who had rebelled against the Spaniards, and that now Santo Domingo was fortified by the English and their indigenous allies. The amount of the booty obtained was not mentioned.³⁵ The fortification of Santo Domingo which had frightened the authors in Madrid and Barcelona was interpreted as a positive sign in London and Lisbon. Whereas newsletters from Barcelona had spread fears of a slave rebellion, in the information from Lisbon Drake was presented as an Admiral who supported an indigenous rebellion against Spain. The idea behind this newsletter must have been that the Englishmen behaved in the Caribbean in the same way as in the Netherlands. In both cases an oppressed population was freed from the Spaniards. None of the news was correct. Drake had freed French war prisoners from a ship in the harbour of Santo Domingo.

The news of the return of Drake to England was distributed at first by newsletters from London. On 6 September 1586 a newsletter was sent from Venice to Urbino, reporting that Drake had landed with 80 ships and with a rich booty in England. This *avviso* referred to news from London dated 5 August which had

33 ÖNB, Cod. 8959, fos. 363–4.

34 BayerHStA, Pfalz-Neuburg 920, fo. 38.

35 BayerHStA, Pfalz-Neuburg 920, fo. 62.

been sent from Antwerp 16 August 1586.³⁶ On 17 September a newsletter from Rome mentioned that after the return of Drake to England there was no more use for the fleet which had been prepared in Naples in order to expel Drake and his men from the Caribbean.³⁷ Due to the relative sparseness of the booty and the high death toll among his men, the reports of Drake's return were less exciting than the information about his attacks in the Caribbean. European newsletters returned to European themes. In the case of Drake's expedition, information was spread via Spain and England likewise, and according to the origin of the news the contents varied considerably. Thus, the control of the network through which newsletters were disseminated must have been important.

Network analysis will be applied to determine the position of Spain in the geographical network of handwritten newsletters, an old medium and institution used for contemporary political communication. From network analysis different centrality indices are available. One of the most important is 'betweenness' centrality. This measures the control of a node on the communication between other nodes. This index is employed generally in social network analysis especially for undirected networks. Its widespread use notwithstanding, this index does not measure appropriately the influence of the sender of information in a directed network. The contents analysis of the newsletters has shown the relevance of the origin of news. Therefore, for the present purpose the centrality of the cities in the newsletter networks will be calculated according to the weighted 'outdegree' centrality. The outdegree measures the relative importance of each city in the network by the number of direct links originating in that city. The outdegree centrality is weighted according to the number of messages sent through the links.³⁸

The network for the first half of the sixteenth century (1496–1560), is based only on ten newsletters as no larger collections are available for this period (see Figure 21.1). The place with the highest weighted outdegree centrality was Madrid, i.e. the city with the highest number of direct outgoing connections to other cities, taking into consideration the number of messages sent. For practical reasons Madrid stands for the Spanish court, which was itinerant between various royal cities until 1560, when Philip II fixed Madrid as the capital. The Catholic kings, Ferdinand II of Aragón and Isabella of Castile, as well as their grandson Emperor Charles V often stayed in Valladolid, Toledo, Seville and Barcelona, but visited also many other cities in Castile and Aragón. Thus, if

36 BAV, Cod. Urb. lat. 1054, fos. 428–31.

37 BAV, Cod. Urb. lat 1054, fos. 454–6.

38 For network analysis the open source program Gephi 0.8.2 201210100934 has been used.

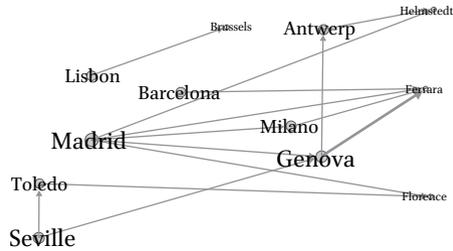


FIGURE 21.1 *Network of handwritten newsletters on Spanish America (1496–1560)*

SOURCE: PIEPER, VERMITTLUNG, ANNEX IV.

newsletters mentioned Spain or the Spanish court, for the purpose of this network analysis this information was identified with Madrid. If a specific Spanish city was indicated, its name was not conflated in this way. Thus the analysis reveals that the *avvisi* network concerning the news from the New World was centred on the Spanish court.

The destination of most newsletters was Italy. Genoa was second in importance to the Spanish court with respect to its outgoing degree centrality. Genoa redistributed information coming from the Spanish court to Ferrara and Antwerp. Other places such as Seville, Toledo and Barcelona also sent news to Italy, and Milan distributed a newsletter within Italy. Nonetheless, all these cities were less important than the Spanish court (or Madrid) and Genoa. In north-western Europe, newsletters are preserved in Saxony. In the library of the Duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel there is a manuscript series containing two newsletters which were sent to Helmstedt, a small city in Saxony, at the border between Catholic and Protestant interests in the early sixteenth century. These newsletters obtained their information either directly from the Spanish court or from Antwerp which redistributed an incoming message from Genoa. Thus the earliest network was completely controlled by the Spanish court and most of the newsletters were sent to Italy, where it was Genoa that mainly distributed them further. There is one exception, a newsletter which reached Brussels and referred to information coming from Lisbon. The direct connection between Portugal and Flanders without any interference of Spain is noteworthy and seems to be a singularity at first sight.

During the second period from 1561 until 1580, i.e. during the reign of Philip II before his accession to the Portuguese crown, the number of *avvisi* that have been analysed doubled: 13 *avvisi* dealt with the import of precious metals and ten *avvisi* mentioned the events in Florida (see Figure 21.2). In this second network the outdegree centrality of Madrid was overwhelming. Madrid collected news coming from Florida and Havana, or Seville and San Lúcar, the harbour of the mercantile city. Madrid distributed this news to Italy and north-western

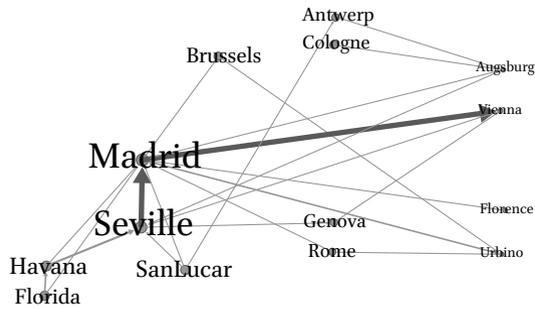


FIGURE 21.2 *Network of handwritten newsletters on Spanish America (1561–80)*
SOURCE: PIEPER, VERMITTLUNG, ANNEX II AND IV.

Europe. Almost all information was directed through the Spanish capital. Only a handful of newsletters did not mention the intervention of Madrid but referred directly to news obtained from Seville and in one case from San Lúcar. In Italy, Genoa still transmitted newsletters, but now it sent the information to the Imperial Court at Vienna. In this second period, Rome served as an intermediary for newsletters received in Urbino. During the first period, Brussels had had a link to Lisbon. The situation changed in the second period, when Brussels acted as an intermediary between Madrid and Urbino. Antwerp appeared again as a distributor of news in north-western Europe, but now it received its information directly from Spain and sent it to Augsburg. A similar position was held by Cologne even if in this case the newsletter sent from Cologne to Augsburg did not mention its sources. Between 1561 and 1580 the network of the handwritten *avvisi* concerning information on Spanish America was completely controlled by the Spanish court. Spain, i.e. Madrid, Seville and San Lúcar, exercised its undisputed monopoly over the connection between the Americas and Europe. In addition, the first signs of institutional intermediaries in Antwerp and Cologne in north-western Europe and Rome and Genoa in Italy appeared. Obviously, the venerable medium of handwritten newsletters was reorganised and improved as the emerging structure of the network and the increasing number of newsletters suggests.

In the last decades of the sixteenth century (1580–98), handwritten newsletters became a regular information medium (see Figure 21.3). Information was collected and distributed through a well-established network with central places in Italy and north-western Europe. For this period, 41 *avvisi* were selected that mentioned the arrival of precious metals in Europe, and 57 that informed about the deeds of Francis Drake. For news proceeding from Spanish America, the control of Madrid remained. Madrid informed 13 cities directly and was referred to as the origin of a message in every second newsletter. No other city of the network had such a presence. The handwritten newsletters were transferred regularly through

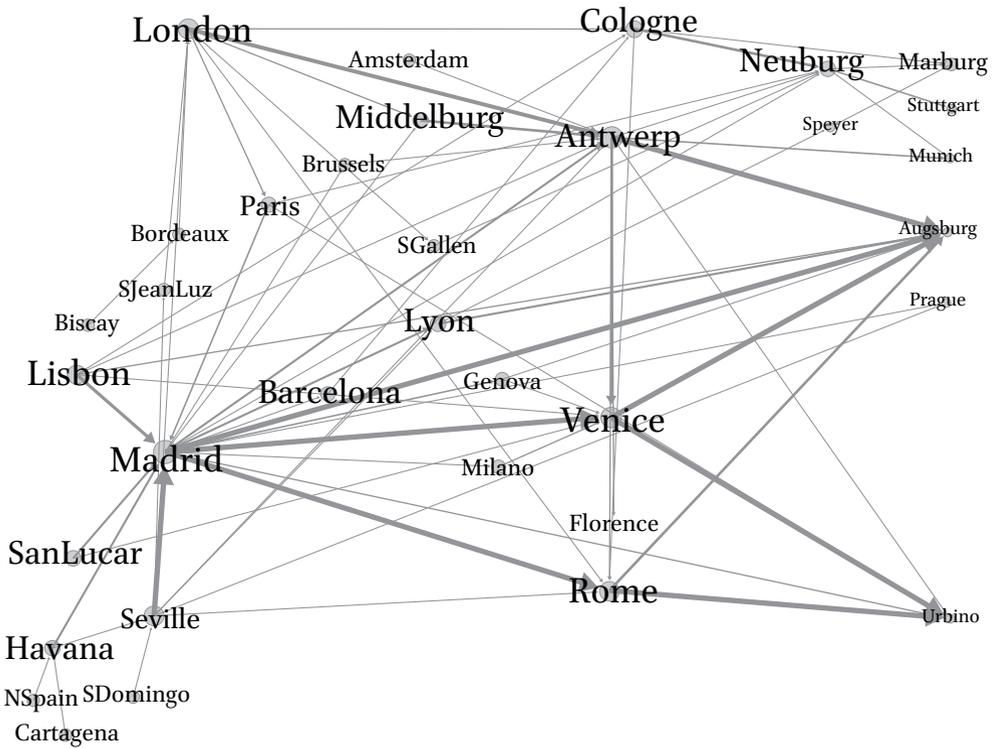


FIGURE 21.3 *Network of handwritten newsletters on Spanish America (1581–98)*

SOURCE: PIEPER, VERMITTLUNG, ANNEX III AND IV.

specialised central places. In north-western-Europe Antwerp was able to maintain its position despite continuous warfare. In Italy, Genoa was replaced by Venice. Rome and Cologne were second to Venice and Antwerp respectively. Venice and Antwerp held a comparable position with respect to the transmission of information (weighted outdegree centrality), but there was a considerable difference in their distribution patterns. Antwerp informed directly seven places north and south of the Alps. Venice, on the contrary, had only two direct outgoing links, its customers in Urbino and Augsburg. Therefore the betweenness centrality of Venice was rather low. There was a second distinction between Antwerp and Venice. Antwerp collected its news from sources both inside and outside of the Iberian Peninsula: only 20% of these messages came directly from there.

Venice was connected to a great variety of senders as well, but received more than half of its information directly from Iberia. Content analysis has shown that the messages from the Iberian Peninsula were more reliable than those coming from north-western Europe, therefore newsletters from Venice were in general more accurate than those from Antwerp, which tended to contain

many rumours. For the distribution of news about the New World, Venice was more reliable than Antwerp but the betweenness centrality of Venice was lower, i.e. the news distributed through Venice spread only to a specific geographical area. Other cities, such as London, Lisbon, Paris and Lyon had a rather low weighted outgoing degree centrality and their influence on European images of the Americas in the network of the handwritten *avvisi* was relatively small at the end of the sixteenth century.

The analysis of handwritten newsletters referring to the Americas has shown that parallel to the spread of the printing press the old medium of handwritten newsletters was transformed into a new communication medium during the sixteenth century. This was mainly due to the organisation of central places for collecting, editing and distributing newsletters. During the first half of the sixteenth century the first hints appeared when Genoa transmitted news from Spain to Italy and north-western Europe. In the north, Antwerp distributed the information to its own customers. The second period, from 1561 to 1580, was characterised by an increasing number of handwritten newsletters and further reorganisation. Antwerp maintained its position in the north, but Genoa now shared its role with Rome. During the third period, from 1581 to the end of the century, the network of handwritten newsletters developed fully. The number of newsletters increased enormously and four cities could secure a position as main hubs for this business. Measuring their importance with the weighted outgoing degree centrality, Venice and Rome controlled the network in southern Europe. Antwerp and, to a lesser extent, Cologne collected and transmitted news in north-western and central Europe. London and Lisbon participated likewise but their positions in the network were less important than those of Antwerp and Venice. In the French area of influence Lyon and Paris also dealt with *avvisi*, but to a lesser extent than even London or Lisbon.

With respect to news coming from the New World the analysis shows that the Spanish court could maintain its monopoly from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. Even in the case of serious encounters with its French and English adversaries in the Americas, the opinion of Madrid was dominant in the handwritten newsletters sent across Antwerp, Venice and Rome and through many other cities of the network. From 1503 on, the establishment of a formal institution—the Casa de la Contratación—for the control of the commerce and migration between Spanish America and Europe secured the control of Spain over the information about Spanish America within Europe in the *avvisi* as well. The position of the Spanish monarchy in the network of European handwritten newsletters was maintained. It was backed by the path dependency of thoroughly founded and constantly adjusted institutions and traditional information media which experienced a ‘sailing

ship effect' as an intrinsic process of modernisation. In the seventeenth century, especially during the Thirty Years War, this situation came to an end. The declining political power of Spain weakened the institutional framework. In contrast to the theory of Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, in the case of handwritten *avvisi* concerning Spanish America path dependency could no longer guarantee a significant Spanish influence in the European information media. However, the sailing ship effect, considered as an intrinsic improvement of old technologies, guaranteed that the handwritten newsletters remained an important news medium for another two hundred years.³⁹

39 See ch. 4, above.

The Prince of Transylvania: Spanish News of the War against the Turks, 1595–1600*

Carmen Espejo

Introduction

Among the most important news events in Europe in the early days of the Modern Age was the war against the Turks in the east. In Spain in particular, a set of news pamphlets addressing this topic is considered to be the first example of journalism in the full sense of the word.¹ These were the news pamphlets published by the Sevillian printer Rodrigo de Cabrera between 1595 and 1600 about the exploits against the infidels of the Prince of Transylvania, Sigismund Báthory, along with other Christian knights.² This is the first set of news pamphlets in which, although they had no fixed periodicity, each of the numbers was plainly part of a semi-regular series. In some of them, this is apparent in the titles, in which the pamphlets refer to themselves as the second, third, or fourth instalment of a numbered series relating to the same news.

After an extensive review of this corpus in collaboration with the project ‘*Biblioteca digital Siglo de Oro IV*’ I have managed to add to the number of news

* This paper is part of the Project *Biblioteca digital Siglo de Oro IV* (código FFI2012–3436), Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad del Gobierno de España, VI Plan Nacional de I + D + i 2008–2011. All translations are our own.

1 Sáiz emphasises the importance of this collection, but she describes it as “a series of annual news pamphlets named *avisos*”, M^a Dolores Sáiz, *Historia del periodismo en España. Los orígenes. El siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Alianza, 1987), p. 35. Recently Domínguez has referred to Cabrera as a key figure for the beginning of Spanish journalism, Aurora Domínguez Guzmán, ‘El preperiodismo en España a finales del Quinientos: las relaciones de sucesos impresas por Rodrigo de Cabrera’, in *De libros, lecturas y fiestas en la Sevilla áurea* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2012), pp. 173–212.

2 News pamphlets on this war were not only published in Seville nor just by Cabrera. News about the conflicts between Christians and Turks in the Eastern frontier motivated numerous printed sheets in the latest years of sixteenth century in Spain, in cities like Valencia, Mallorca, and, to a lesser extent Granada and Saragossa, besides Seville.

pamphlets included.³ Thanks to the finding of hitherto little-known collections, we have been able to conclude that there are 30 news pamphlets surviving from those which Rodrigo de Cabrera published in Seville on the Turkish war.⁴ (This has allowed us definitively to add a small biographical detail to Cabrera's career, which is the fact that the Sevillian printer, whom most monographs suggest died in 1599, should be considered active until at least 1600, the date of his last surviving news pamphlet).⁵

However, the objectives of our work go further and seek to determine the channels through which information flowed in these first moments of modernity. We will use Cabrera as a case study for enquiring into the forms or formats (printed, handwritten, etc.) in which the news circulated, into the speed (frequency, the lapse of time between when events actually occurred and when they were reported, etc.) with which they were produced, and into the infrastructure that carried them (the postal service, and, principally, the agents who took on the task of reporting the news in a professional or semi-professional

3 The most important set of prints by Rodrigo de Cabrera about the Turkish wars is kept in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. Another important set is kept in Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla. These collections and other minor ones have been described in repertoires and catalogues from the beginning of the 20th century onwards: Uriarte describes 16 prints in the series; Agulló describes 20 and Domínguez 24; P.J.E. de Uriarte, *Catálogo razonado de obras anónimas y seudónimas de autores de la Compañía de Jesús pertenecientes a la antigua asistencia española con un apéndice de obras de los mismos, dignas de especial estudio bibliográfico* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1906); Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, *Relaciones de sucesos I: Años 1477–1619* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966); Domínguez, 'El periodismo'. Of late, Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español (CCPB) has included a few more records, belonging to the same series about war in the Turkish frontier and not previously noticed. These records list the prints kept in Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas de Madrid, donated as part of the legacy of D. Francisco de Cárdenas y Espejo. Cárdenas was the President of the Academia and passed away in 1989, and a famous Sevillian politician and scholar. He donated his rich library to the Academia. Our prints are to be found in a volume including 253 printed and handwritten documents, all of them from Seville, with a generic title "Relaciones históricas originales desde 1588 hasta 1631". I want to acknowledge the support and advice of D. Pablo Ramírez, librarian at Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas.

4 We have included an inventory of the series as an Appendix: *Relaciones de Sucesos de Rodrigo de Cabrera sobre la guerra contra los turcos (1595–1600)*. A more exhaustive list is included in Domínguez, 'El preperiodismo', but she does not include some of the news pamphlets mentioned here.

5 The date of his death, 1600, is correctly pointed out in Domínguez, 'El preperiodismo', p. 175. See also Carmen Álvarez Márquez, *La impresión y el comercio de libros en la Sevilla del Quinientos* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2007).

manner). Our starting hypothesis is that the European news system in the last decade of the sixteenth century was already sufficiently sophisticated for the catalysis of the dispersed practices of previous years into a solid business that definitely managed to captivate its readership. This system was sufficiently effective and flexible to transmit the news from one end of Europe, Transylvania, to the other, Seville in southern Spain, and even to the distant Americas. Thus, we affirm the claim of Arblaster:

The fact that all the newspapers studied adapted their news networks to these temporary developments in political affairs demonstrates both the effectiveness and flexibility of the postal-based news-writing system, and the extent to which all the editors shared common perceptions of what news was important.

Another aspect of the system's adaptability was the way that news-writers in the major centres passed on news not only from their own local contacts, but from all parts of the greater network to which they had access. The interlocking of information networks meant that public events in one part of Western Europe rapidly became public knowledge in all the others.⁶

Therefore our work offers to make a small contribution to the history of the earliest journalism of the modern age in Spain and Europe. We recognise two important limitations: the impossibility of retrieving the entire corpus of what was published, bearing in mind that much of the printed material must have been lost, and the difficulty of accessing some of those things that have been preserved, which we have been unable to study with our own eyes. This means that everything which follows has a provisional character and should therefore be treated more as a working hypothesis than as a definitive conclusion.

Transylvania in the Spotlight of the First European Journalism

Our microhistory of journalism begins in Seville in 1595 when Rodrigo de Cabrera published the first news pamphlet in the war against the Turks.⁷ This

6 Paul Arblaster, 'Post, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European System of Communications', *Media History*, 11: 1 (2005), p. 26.

7 A couple of news pamphlets devoted totally or partially to the conflict with the Turks were published in Valencia and Mallorca that same year of 1595: *Copia de tres cartas venidas de Roma, del progreso de las cosas del Príncipe de Trásilvania. Donde se vee lo que ha hecho en*

was a *Carta de Mahomet Tercer Emperador de los Turcos, escripta al Serenissimo Segismundo Batori, Principe de Transilvania, Moldavia, Valachia, &c. Traducida de lengua Turquesca en Lengua Italiana en Roma, en la Estampa del Gabia, en el Año de Mil y quinientos y noventa y cinco*, in a pamphlet. If indeed this was the first printed news pamphlet to appear in the Sevillian market, it must have been quite surprising for its readers, because the letter had no introduction or other paratextual elements that let the reader know who were the correspondents, the sender or receiver of the letter, or the relationship between them. However, it must have been a success, because in the following year of 1596 the same printer published at least six more news pamphlets on the subject, in addition to republishing the letter. The licences at the end of each of these publications indicate that the licence was granted in the form of privilege for an increasing duration: one month for the first and second issues in the series; two months for the third; three months for the fourth, and so on. So the printer must have been afraid that, in those times of easy piracy, his successful venture would be infringed upon.

We know why that part of Europe monopolised the news of the time. Transylvania, the epicentre of most of the news, formed part of the kingdom of Hungary in the late sixteenth century. It was a principality of the Habsburg-ruled Holy Roman Empire, the same dynasty that reigned in Spain, and the Prince of Transylvania was married to Maria Cristina of Habsburg. In 1526, when the story begins, Transylvania was partially occupied by the Turks in one of their many attacks against Christian lands. From 1538, the Turks had also occupied Moldavia, and in 1541 they also took Buda and Pest. From 1591, the Prince of Transylvania, Sigismund Báthory, was part of a Holy League, led by

Moldavia, Valachia, y Bulgaria, contra el Gran Turco. Y de la grande hambre de Costantinopla. Y de dos embaxadas que el Turco embio al Principe de Transilvania. Cò; una victoria que el Principe ha alcanzado de los Turcos. Y una relacion sacada de las cartas que han venido de Paris (Valencia, Juan Navarro, 1595), USTC 351906; Copia de una carta del Conde de Fuentes Governador General de los estados de Flandes: embiada a los del Consejo destado de Bruselas, de la victoria que ha sido Dios servido de dalle contra el duque de Bullon y el conde de San Paulo, y monsieur de Villars, almirante de Francia. La qual sucedio a 24 de julio, vispera del glorioso Santiago patron de España. Juntamente con otro aviso de Ungria de otra victoria que se ha tenido contra el turco. Copia de carta del conde de Fuentes a los del consejo destado de Bruselas. Copia de carta de Oliver Pamiensaco, para D. Juan de Tarsis correo mayor. Hecha en Milan, 16 de Agosto (Mallorca, Gabriel Guasp, 1595). The first, as can be deduced from the similarity of their titles, may have been based on the translation of *avvisi* published in Rome by Bernardino Beccari. In this paper we will focus on the circulation of Beccari's and others' *avvisi* to the Sevillian presses, but, if our hypothesis is right, it appears that Italian *avvisi* also circulated in Spain in other parallel ways, arriving at Valencia, for instance, through other correspondence networks.

the Habsburgs, against the Turks, and which aimed to recover those territories in the so-called 'Long War', also called the "fifteen (1591–1606) or thirteen (1593–1606) years war". In January 1595, the year that interest in the subject was aroused in Spain, Sigismund signed a new treaty of cooperation with Vienna. Therefore, and although the land to be freed by the conflict was far away, this war had ingredients that brought it close to the interests of the Western Europeans: a dynastic solidarity and a religious background.⁸

To the natural public interest in this news should be added the propaganda effort of the authorities. Habsburg monarchs were certainly interested in publicising these campaigns as parallels to those waged against the same Turks in the Mediterranean a couple of decades earlier. Between 1570 and 1573, a Holy League was formed in Venice and, combined with the Papal States, Spain, and Portugal, defeated the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto, an immense victory for Christendom and the spur to a huge propaganda campaign. Moreover, a parallel conflict developed much closer to home as Spain confronted France (1590–98). The French conflict did not progress favourably for Spain, which was perhaps why it seemed doubly opportune to disseminate news of Habsburg victories in other conflicts. It is also likely that Báthory was interested in leaking news that was favourable to his reputation, given the internal problems he faced from the local nobility (which forced him to renounce the throne on three occasions).⁹

However, the information strategy could not have materialised at that time had there not been sufficient infrastructure in Europe to enable the movement of news from the eastern front to the cities of the West, even the most distant such as Seville. The 1590s have been identified as the starting point of a robust communication network covering Europe, due to the establishment of international postal relays.¹⁰ In 1580, this network was established in the territories of the Spanish Habsburgs, with Seville as its most southerly point. Consequently, the 1590s was a good decade for the development of journalism, not only in Spain but also in other places and probably for the same reasons. For example, it was the period in which the publication of *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* started in

8 See Virginia Dillon, 'Transylvania in German Newspapers: Systems of Reporting and the News Stories of György II Rákóczi, 1657–58', in *News in Early Modern Europe: Currents and Connections*, ed. Simon Davies and Puck Fletcher (Brill: Leiden, 2014), pp. 58–79.

9 In one of the Spanish news pamphlets, based on an Italian *aviso*, a note apparently written by the Prince's secretary is transcribed, hence disseminating news of his own military campaigns: *Segunda Relacion De los hechos y Victorias del Serenissimo Principe de Transilvania* (see Appendix), pp. 58–80. USTC 352692.

10 See Arblaster, 'Post, Newsletters'.

Cologne, and in England the printer John Wolfe published a series of semi-regular news sheets, *Chiefe Occurrences*. This has been identified by Raymond as “the first British periodical newspaper”, on the basis of the same attribute of seriality that we have highlighted in the work of Rodrigo de Cabrera.¹¹

However, these are still very general reasons to explain how it was possible that a modest printer in Seville had enough information to sell printed news on the subject to the public, with some regularity, for five consecutive years.¹² Therefore we will now focus on the small network in which our printer moved and which enabled the appearance of journalism in Seville.

The Italian Connection

The first of the questions raised by this collection concerns the sources of information that the humble Sevillian printer had with which to devise his journalistic series. Our research has enabled us to discover that the core material of the accounts of Cabrera is an extensive series of Italian publications, published by at least two Italian *novellanti*, or newsmen. In fact Cabrera’s texts indicate as much: the title of the *Carta de Mahomet* indicates that it is “Translated from Turkish language into Italian language in Rome” (“Traducida de lengua Turquesca en Lengua Italiana en Roma”) and the *Qvarta parte dela relación* indicates in the colophon that it is “Printed in Rome with license from the Superiors. And now in Seville with license” (“Impresso en Roma con licencia de los Superiores. Y ahora en Sevilla con Licencia”). Moreover, the names of those *reportisti* serving as a source are declared in the headings of three of Cabrera’s accounts:

Aviso del Aparato de la pompa y del numero de soldados con que Mehemet Rey de Turcos partio de Constantinopla para yr a la guerra de Vngria a los 20 de Junio de 1596. Publicado por Bernardino Becheri, de Savile, a la Minerva, con licencia de los superiores en Roma, por Nic. Mutio, 1596.

Octava relacion y nuevos avisos de Alvaivlia, De primero de Mayo, deste Año de 1597. Por los quales se sabe, como la gente del Serenissimo Principe

11 Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 104–8.

12 Biographical and bibliographical information about Rodrigo de Cabrera is scarce. See, besides Domínguez ‘El preperiodismo’, Álvarez, *La impresión y el comercio*.

de Transilvania tomò dos fuerças muy grandes e importâtes, a los Turcos. Y de otras cosas particulares. Publicadas en Roma por Bernardino Becari a la Minerva. E impressas en Roma en la imprenta de Nicolas Mucio. En el dicho Año. Y por el mismo original sacadas de Italiano, en nuestro vulgar Castellano, en este mes de Julio a veinte días del, y del dicho año.

La prometida de la vitoria que los capitanes del Emperador uvieron de los Turcos en el Danubio a los Veinte y uno de junio, deste presente Año de Noventa y nueve: Otros Avisos Nuevos, del dicho Año de Novêta y nueve, a los seys del mes de julio, venidos de la ciudad de Estrigonia a Viena, de otra Rota muy notable, que los Ayducos dieron a los Turcos, con la presa de Sacharet, y otros Castillos, dando libertad a quatrocientos y diez y siete Cautiuos, y el despojo que vuieron, de mas de un Millon de oro. Publicados en Roma por Geronimo Acolto con licêcia de los Superiores en casa de Nicolas Mucio. En este Año de 1599. Trasladado de Italiano bien y fielmente en nuestro vulgar Castellano.

The two named Italian reporters are, respectively, Bernardino Beccari and Gieronimo Accolti.¹³ Furthermore, because there are no surviving specimens of one of these news pamphlets and the other two are among those hitherto virtually unknown, becoming accessible only recently, no researcher has noticed the fact that the texts of Cabrera translated previous Italian texts of Beccari or Accolti.¹⁴

To date, we have been able to read only a very few Italian originals, so we have not been able to make a thorough textual collation. Even so, and based simply on the almost literal translations of the Italian titles into the Spanish texts, we can say that most of Rodrigo de Cabrera's news pamphlets appear to be based on translations of the *avvisi* of Bernardino Beccari and, to a lesser extent, on the translations of Accolti's *avvisi*. A few examples will suffice to prove the close relationship between these titles: the *Quarta parte dela relacion nueva, De Transilvania y Valachia, Por la qual se avisan los prosperos sucessos del Serenissimo Principe de Transilvania contra los Turcos, assi enel un Reyno, como enel otro despues de la venida de la Corte del Emperador; desde primero de Mayo de 96* (USTC 351921) seems to derive its title from Beccari's publication *Avvisi nuovi di Transilvania et di Vallachia per li quali s'intendono li prosperi successi del sereniss. principe contra turchi*, printed in the same year, 1596 (USTC 812792).

13 The last one can be cited as Girolamo or Gieronimo Accolti.

14 See note 3, above.

This account also contains a story which is given a different heading, *Nueva de la Rota hecha, de la gente de el Serenissimo principe de Transilvania a los Turcos y Tartaros junto a la Lippa con muerte de ocho mil de los Turcos y presa de tres Uchies, y toma de la Artillería y Vagajes, y de aver alçado el cerco*; the title of which suggests it is based on Beccari's original *Avvisi della rotta data dalle genti del sereniss. principe di Transilvania ai turchi, & tartari a Lippa, con morte di ottomila di essi, presa di tre Behi, & acquisto d'artiglierie, stendardi, bagaglie, & leuata dell'assedio. Con altri avvisi nuovi di Valacchia* (USTC 812971).

The *Relacion de todo el cerco de Temesuar, hasta q el Principe de Transilvania alço el Campo, por la qual se da cuenta de tres notables hazañas, que el mismo Principe hizo contra los Turcos y Tartaros. Y en particular la muerte del Tartaro Can, por mano de su Alteza del Principe, y del despojo del Campo, y toma de lo que avia robado. Lo qual passo a 19. de Iunio de 1596* (USTC 351913), is another possible translation, this time of Beccari's title: *Ragguaglio di tutto l'assedio di Temesuar. Fino alla levata del sereniss. principe di Transilvania da quella piazza, dove s'intendono tre notabili fattioni di sua altezza contra i Turchi, et Tartari, et in particolare la morte del tartaro cane per mano dell'altezza sua, & l'acquisto delle sue bagaglie, & della preda che haueua fatta. Seguita a dì 19 di giugno 1596* (USTC 813209).

These Italian journalists thus had a surprising international reach, and the stories they reported were translated or copied many miles away. We know little of Gieronimo Accolti: only that he was a schoolteacher and author of printed *avvisi* published in Rome. The repertoire of his *avvisi* about the Turkish war that we know of, and which starts in 1593, is probably very incomplete. One of his *avvisi* has found new publishing fortune today through several reprints, the *Avviso nuovo di Transilvania: Nel quale S'Intende la Rotta di Venticinque mila Turchi, data dal Serenissimo & Invittissimo Principe di Transilvania*.¹⁵

We know a little more of Bernardino Beccari. Beccari was an Italian bookseller, publisher and journalist in the second half of the sixteenth century. The known biographical data has him born in Sacile, in what was then the March of Treviso, and therefore very close to Venice, a key connection between West and East. In 1575, he was authorised to open a bookstore in the Piazza della Minerva in Rome. As Bulgarelli indicates, Beccari is best

15 See for instance, Gieronimo Accolti, *Avviso Nuovo Di Transilvania: Nel Quale S'Intende La Rotta Di Venticinque Mila Turchi* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2009).

remembered as the author of numerous news pamphlets, i.e., as a writer of printed *avvisi*, mostly published in the press of Nicolò Muzi in Rome.¹⁶ Bulgarelli also notes that despite an eighteenth century historian recording him as the author of eleven *avvisi* between 1595 and 1599, the data is incorrect as there are over fifty copies of Beccari *avvisi* in the libraries of Rome alone. We ourselves, after a quick search, have located up to 49 *avvisi* solely among those dedicated to the Christian-Turkish wars of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Bulgarelli considers him “the precursor of the Italian journalist”, and says of him:

L'opera del B., come redattore di avvisi, ha un'importanza veramente notevole dal punto di vista della storia del giornalismo. Prima di lui gli avvisi a stampa avevano un carattere del tutto occasionale: si trattava quasi sempre di lettere private, scritte da diversi, e spesso anonimi autori, le quali—non sappiamo ancora bene attraverso quali vie ed accordi—venivano diffuse per mezzo della stampa. Il B. raccoglie invece le notizie—che a lui dovevano pervenire da varie fonti, ma soprattutto attraverso la rete dei corrieri postali—e le elabora in veri e propri articoli che hanno già uno spiccato sapore giornalistico.¹⁷

(The work of B., as an editor of *avvisi*, has a remarkable importance from the point of view of the history of journalism. Before his printed *avvisi* they were always occasional in character: they were almost always from private letters, written by different, and often anonymous authors, which—we do not yet know by what means and arrangements—were widespread in the press. B. instead collects news items—that he had received from various sources, but mainly through the network of the post carriers—and combines them into real products that have a strong journalistic flavor.)

16 Bulgarelli mentions that he is mainly known as an editor for *Il Prencipe* by Fracastoro, but we think this may be an error; Bulgarelli probably refers to the edition of *Il Prencipe* by Frachetta, about which we will talk below. Tullio Bulgarelli, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 7 [1970], <www.treccani.it/enciclopedia> [21/9/12]. See also Tullio Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa in Roma nel Cinquecento. Bibliografia, antologia* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1967) and Tullio Bulgarelli, ‘Bernardino Beccari da Sacile antesignano dei giornalisti italiani’, *Accademie e Biblioteche*, 34 (1966), pp. 123–35.

17 ‘L'antesignano dei giornalisti italiani’. Bulgarelli, *Dizionario Biografico*.

Although he wrote *avvisi* on various international news topics of the day, his speciality was without doubt the news of the conflict with the Turks in the Balkans.¹⁸ He began to be interested in the subject in 1593, just as the Thirteen Years War broke out; or at least his oldest printed *avvisi* that we know of, on any subject, are from that date. In that year he wrote at least two printed *avvisi*: a copy of one was printed in Rome (from the press of Luigi Zannetti) and copies of the other in Rome and Naples. One of them is called *Auiso d'una rotta data dalle genti di sua maestà cesarea*, so this early instantiation of the first journalistic genre of the Modern Age used in its title the name by which it would be recognised across Europe.¹⁹ Although it is not the only name with which his pamphlets were titled, it is the most frequent in his production.

The following year, 1594, we know of two Beccari *avvisi* on the same conflict in the Balkans and also published by Zanetti's press in Rome. A version of one of them, *Auisi nuoui della rotta data dal general superiore al beglierbei della Grecia*, was published in Verona, and the imprint of this, in turn, indicates that it was also a reprint of the same in Bologna. There can be no doubt then that Beccari's *avvisi* had immediate success and circulated widely in Italy.

Furthermore, the information explosion arrived the following year, 1595, the year in which Báthory signed a treaty with the Holy League, and when Beccari issued at least thirteen publications about the news that concerns us. Of these, two publications reproduce *orationes*, or speeches, written by Girolamo Frachetta and addressed to the Christian Prince of Transylvania, Sigismund Báthory, urging him to continue the war against the infidel Turks. We should remember that these *orationes* were a popular genre in the political writing of the first modern age.

Although in this case it is not news as currently conceived, these letters are of interest to our research because they can help us reconstruct the client-based network through which developments on the eastern front were able to reach Beccari, and from thence, as discussed below, to other European enclaves. We have indicated that the letters or *orationes* are the work of Girolamo Frachetta da Rovigo: he was a philosopher, political writer and member of the *Accademia degli Incitati* of Rome. The journalist, Bernardino Beccari, was editor of at least three of Frachetta's works, two of which were published in the

18 Beccari, like Accolti, has had a renewed editorial success lately: see for instance Bernardino Beccari, *La Solenne Entrata Che Ha Fatto Il Signor Conte Di Lemos, Vicer Di Napoli, in Roma Alli 20. Marzo 1600: Con La Caualcata Di S. Eccel. Al Concistoro Publico, Che Fu Alli 22. Dell'istesso Mese* (Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2010).

19 Most of the *avvisi* of Beccari and Accolti are registered in EDIT 16 *Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo*, <editi6.iccu.sbn.it>[21/9/12].

press of Nicoló Muzi in Rome. They are *Il prencipe di Girolamo Frachetta nel quale si considera il prencipe & quanto al governo dello stato, & quanto al maneggio della guerra. Distinto in due libri, en 1597* (USTC 803483); *Il primo libro de i discorsi di stato & di guerra. Di Girolamo Frachetta ... Con tre orationi nel genere deliberativo del medesimo autore, in 1600* (USTC 830487); and, more interesting to us, *Il primo libro delle orationi nel genere deliberativo di Girolamo Frachetta scritte da lui a diversi prencipi per la guerra contra il Turco. Con gli argomenti a ciascuna oratione, del medesimo autore* (USTC 830485), in 1598, a work in which Frachetta probably collected his speeches, some of which, as we have seen, had been previously published as pamphlets by Beccari.

Frachetta, a writer of some repute therefore, was in the service of Cardinal Luigi d'Este, and later of Scipione Gonzaga, Cardinal and Patriarch of Jerusalem. It is plausible that the two dignitaries, and also Frachetta on their behalf, correspond to the type of regular clients of the handwritten newsletter networks described by Mario Infelise.²⁰ In our hypothesis, these could have been the final recipients of the handwritten *avvisi* that came to Beccari from the front. The *reportista* Beccari, related to that circle because, as we have seen, he edited the *orationes* from Frachetta, also edited and printed the news of Transylvanian wars to which that circle had access, probably with its consent.

Whether or not that was the network through which news came to him, in addition to these two "speeches", Beccari issued at least eleven more publications on the Turkish wars throughout 1595. Of these, nine are titled *avvisi* or *avviso* and only one *relatione*. We found that most of them had reissues or reprints in Italian cities other than Rome, confirming the commercial success of the series. The thirst for information about the adventures of the Prince of Transylvania and other Christian military leaders appears to have erupted in the summer of 1595. According to information provided by their titles, most of these publications were issued between late June and mid-November. The fact that some *avvisi* reporting a victory on 15 August were sent to Rome on the sixteenth provides an idea of this fervour for topicality, and this point is reflected in the title: *Avisi di Alba Giulia delli 16 d'agosto 1595 Dove s'intende le nozze del serenissimo prencipe di Transilvania fatte a di 6 d'agosto, & una segnalata vittoria di S.A. contra Turchi ottenuta alli 15 dell'istesso mese* (USTC 852257).

In the following years Beccari would continue publishing *avvisi* on the same subject: we know of 14 from 1596, four from 1597, six from 1598, six from 1599 and two from 1600, the year of the author's disappearance.

20 Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornale. Alle origine della pubblica informazione* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002).

Juan de Mosquera: The Network's Reporter

Having located some of the agents of the micro-network that supplied Rodrigo de Cabrera, the question now is how these Italian *avvisi* arrived at the presses of the Sevillian typographer. Careful reading of the Spanish texts allows us to conclude that the next element in the network that brought news from Transylvania to Seville was Juan de Mosquera, a Spanish reporter who, while temporarily resident in Rome,²¹ received regular Italian printed *avvisi*, translated them, and used them to construct his own stories. In fact Mosquera's name is also mentioned by Cabrera himself, but only in one of the stories, the third, which indicates in its header: *Tercera Relacion de lo sucedido al Principe de Transylvania desde catorze de Março de noventa y seys hasta. 27, de Abril del dicho año, con los de mas sucessos que al Emperador de Alemania an sucedido, y las Ciudades que a ganado al gran Turco, assi en la Dalmacia, como la tierra adentro de Turquía. Embiada por el hermano Juan Mosquera para el padre Provincial del Peru, su fecha en seys de Mayo de, 1596.* (USTC 531922).

Who was Juan de Mosquera? In all likelihood he was a Jesuit, coadjutor of the order, known in Spanish literature for an extensive work, *Historia de este Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Madrid, dividida en 11 libros en los cuales se contienen las cosas memorables que han sucedido en él desde el año 1547 ... hasta el de 1600*, which was commissioned by the Vice-Chancellor of the College of Alcalá de Henares.²² According to Domínguez, he became copyist to the Superior General of the Society, Claudio Acquaviva.²³ Thus he was both

21 The location of Mosquera in Rome was already mentioned by Uriarte, in his comment to *Segunda relación*: “es posible que existan más [relaciones] de las que allí se apuntan, dado que realmente se imprimieron todas las que enviaba de Roma el H. Mosquera” (“it is possible that there are more *relaciones* than the ones mentioned there, given the fact that all the ones that Brother Mosquera sent from Rome were published”). Uriarte, *Catálogo razonado*, p. 172. He borrowed this idea from a handwritten note in one of the copies kept in Real Academia de la Historia de Madrid: “avisa el P. Rafael Pereyra que este h^o. Mosquera imbiò de R^a. Asta una dozena de relaciones de las cosas del Turco, con la carta de Mahometh al principe de Transylvania, y otros avisos muy curiosos, que todos se imprimieron aquí en Sev^a”. (“Father Rafael Pereyra highlights that this Brother Mosquera sent from Rome until a dozen of news pamphlets about the matters of the Turk, with the letter of Mahometh to the Prince of Transylvania, and other very interesting news, an all of them were printed here in Seville”). Uriarte, *Catálogo razonado*, p. 202.

22 See José Simón Díaz, *Bibliografía de la Literatura Hispánica*, xv (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992), p. 5235.

23 Domínguez, ‘El preperiodismo’, p. 183.

chronicler and copyist, and we know that both offices were very close to that of a journalist or reporter in the early days of European journalism.

The bibliographical reference works weigh this information differently. For Uriarte, Mosquera was a “translator” of Cabrera’s publications, although he does not identify the original works that were translated.²⁴ In the rest of the bibliographies or catalogues this attribution is repeated, and habitually, Mosquera is mentioned as either a “translator” or an “author”.²⁵ Nevertheless, it is still necessary to clarify the role of Mosquera in the production of the Spanish news pamphlets about the Turkish war to determine whether he was merely translating the texts of Beccari, Accolti and perhaps others, or whether he became a more complex figure, that of journalist or journalistic editor. From a careful reading of the texts we have deduced that the second option is more likely.

The journalistic series, whether its first number was *Carta de Mahomet* or the *Relacion de lo sucedido al Serenissimo Principe Sigismundo Batori*, begins *in medias res*, without any introduction or prologue.²⁶ In this latter news pamphlet, an unnamed writer presents a series of *avvisi* about the conflict with the Turks, saying “Ase dicho aquí en Praga ...” (“as was said here in Prague”). It therefore appears that Mosquera begins his story translating the Italian pieces with little intervention; but for the subsequent news pamphlet, entitled *Segunda Relacion De los hechos y Vitorias del Serenissimo Principe de Transilvania*, he prefaces the story with a long prologue which, though unsigned, clarifies the context in which this correspondence is produced:

Pax Christi. Dende el Março pasado de Noventa y cinco comencé a tomar por assunto el escrevir a V.R. cada mes, las Proezas, Hazañas, y cosas milagrosas, que el Christianissimo Principe de Trâsilvania, assi por sus capitanes, como por su persona avia hecho è iva continuando contra los Turcos ... Pero porque entiendo q se an perdido algunos Correos, maxime el de Noviembre y Diziembre, con quien enbiava la ultima de sus victorias, cô la tornada a Transilvania, con otras cosas memorables, dignas de saberse, y de alabar a Dios nuestro Señor, q tal animo y victoria le á dado; me à parecido no defraudara vras Reverencias el consuelo q de semejantes cosas se recibirá de tanta gloria de Dios y augmêto de su Santa Fè Catolica. Y assi en esta (sucintamente) aclararé parte de lo q iva con estos Correos, y proseguiré adelante con lo q a hecho después q entro y torno a

24 Uriarte, *Catálogo razonado*.

25 See for instance databases CCPB (Catalogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español) and BDRS (Biblioteca Digital Relaciones de Sucesos).

26 See note 7, above.

Alvajulia hasta, ahora, con los últimos avisos, q esta semana vinieron de Praga, de su llegada a aqlla ciudad a visitar al Emperador, y lo demás q a sucedido, porq entiendo será de mucho consuelo a todos.

(*Pax Christi*. As of last March 1595 I took the habit of writing to Your Highness every month and narrate the events, deeds and miracles that the Christian Prince of Transylvania had accomplished against the Turks, either by himself or with his captains ... But as it is my understanding that some messages have been lost, mainly those of November and December, where I gave an account about his last victories, with the conquest of Transylvania, with some other memorable things, well worthy to be known, and praising God our Lord, who such a courage and victory has given to him; It seemed to me that the relief that came from such things, such glory and augmentation of Catholic Faith, is not going to be disappointing for Your Highness. And so in this [letter] I will comment partly on the news of those messages, and I will proceed with what he has done since he entered Alvajulia and then came back, until now, with the last news, that came from Prague this week, about his arrival to this city to visit the Emperor, and the rest of things happened, because I guess it will be a great relief for everyone.)

The allusion to the recipient, identified as “vr” or “vras Reverencias” specifies the religious context in which the deeds of Báthory will be read; the choice of the protagonist is justified in the interests of the Society of Jesus:

estimando en mas la gloria y servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y la anplificacion de su Santa Iglesia, de q da muchas señales cada dia, y no fue pequeña la q dio entrando el Lipa, en ordenar q lo primero q se hiziesse en aqlla ciudad, fuesse un Colegio de la Còpañia ...

(better preferring the glory and service to God our Lord and the augmentation of his Holy Church, of which he gives many signs every day, not the least of which he gave upon entering Lippa, ordering that the first thing to be made in that city was a College of the Society ...)

The rest of the series fluctuates between the two possibilities already outlined: zero intervention by Mosquera, who in some numbers appears to simply translate the Italian originals; and full re-editing of the original accounts, summarising, interpreting, always accentuating a providential reading which was, in any case, already in the originals of Bernardino Beccari. In the *Tercera Relacion de lo sucedido al Principe de Transilvania*, Juan de Mosquera clarifies the terms of

the commitment he has made with his correspondent: “Con el ordinario de Março escreui a V.R. y embiè los ultimos avisos que vinieron de Transilvania, agora no sabemos nada de alla, de que poder hazer larga relación. Pero dire en esta lo que uviere por no perder el curso de hazer esto cô todos los Correos” (“Last May I sent Your Highness the last avissi with news on Transylvania. We have no further news now but let me at least cover the issue, in order to comply with the habit of doing it with every mail”). It is precisely in the heading of this third news pamphlet that names of sender and recipient are given for the first and only time, “Embiada por el hermano Juan Mosquera para el padre Prouincial del Peru” (“Sent by Brother Juan Mosquera to the Provincial Father of Peru”). Therefore, this commitment could be understood as a gesture of respect or loyalty, and the information itself, the quantity or quality of information delivered almost as secondary issues. This series of texts is therefore framed within the usual practice of social and work relations in the early modern age, and has little to do with the passion for journalism that appears to have been aroused in Europe at the same time.

However, in this same third letter of Mosquera, and considering the probable delay in the arrival of the Italian *avvisi*, which until now had served as the vital source, the reporter intensifies his efforts to obtain any relevant information:

Con el Correo de Viena desta semana escriue el Agente del Archiduque Maximiliano que por allí acabaua de passar una estafeta de Principe de Transilvania con nueva de que ... (The Agent of Archduke Maximiliano informs us in the mail from Vienna this week that a post of Prince of Transylvania has just gone past with news of ...)

Por cartas de los nuestros de. 22. de Abril se tiene aviso ... (From letters of our people 22th April we know of ...)

In the numbers that follow, the writer continues to collect various sources and compare them to ensure their accuracy, as in the *Sexta relación*:

Vino esta nueva a Madrid por via de Venecia por muchas Cartas, y mexorose por via de Leon de Francia que dize lo mismo. Despues se ha confirmado esta nueva y mejorado por que escribe al Rey el Embaxador de Venecia, que es Don Ynigo de Mendoça, hermano del Marques de Mondejar, que tuvo Carta de Graz de la Serenissima Archiduquesa, que es la que a de ser suegra de nuestro Principe.

(News came from Madrid through Venice in many letters and it was further confirmed with letters from Lyon in France that report the same.

Afterwards, the news item was confirmed again as the Ambassador of Venice, Don Ynigo de Mendoca, brother to the Marquis of Mondejar, writes to the King and he states that he received a letter from Graz sent by Archduchess, future mother-in-law to our Prince.)

The writer seeks to arrange his story, and the intervals between its delivery, so that the reader does not lose interest in the subject: “Despues de la Famosa, y memorable batalla de Agria, que fue a los 16. de Otubre, las cosas de la guerra, en Ungria, an estado muy quietas hasta agora” (“After the Famous, and memorable battle of Agria, which happened on 16 October, war’s matters, in Hungary, have been very quiet until now”); so begins the *Octava relación*.

Thus, it appears that the chronicler Mosquera became a self-conscious journalist, and even sensed the future possibilities of periodic information when he entitled his letters with ordinals: “segunda relación”, “tercera relación”, “cuarta parte de la relación”, “quinta relación”, “sexta relación”, “relación séptima”, “octava relación”.²⁷ One wonders why he stopped numbering his communications at this point, when he would still continue to write letters with news on the Turks for another two or three years. Perhaps it was because from then, in mid-1597, Mosquera started to alternate accounts of the Transylvanian conflict with stories constructed according to a new pattern. This developed the capacity for news of varying length, and concerning various international conflicts from various sources. In addition to the war against the Turks, Mosquera mainly introduces information about diplomatic conflicts between small Italian states and the wars against the French and the Flemish. This emergent genre, which was common in the Spanish press throughout the seventeenth century, was a prelude to the development of the gazette across the whole of Europe a few decades later.

The first printed series from Mosquera to fit this new generic mould reflects its heterogeneous content in its title: *Relacion de lo sucedido en Frâcia, y Estados de Flandes, despues de la toma de Amiens: Y de lo que estos meses pasados a sucedido en la corte del Principe de Transilvania, del Emperador, y del grâ Turco. Lo qual se sabe por Cartas de Roma, de tres de Mayo de este presente año de mil y quinientos y noventa y siete*. This shift in his production can be interpreted in two ways. It is possible that Mosquera, from his previous experience as narrator of the Turkish wars, was becoming aware of the value of the information, and thus became a forerunner of the journalist, or perhaps he was

27 Nevertheless, we should remember that the title was often the work of the printer himself at the printing press at the time, so that in this case titles could have been written by Rodrigo de Cabrera—the printer—and not by Juan de Mosquera—the author/translator.

simply urged by correspondents to expand the geographic scope of the news he supplied.

The strong dependence of these Spanish periodical pioneers upon Italian sources also occasioned lexical borrowing. Some of the Sevillian publications from 1597 are entitled "Aviso" or "Avisos"²⁸ and these are some of the first occasions when this term of Italian origin, but perfectly meaningful in Spanish, was used as the name of a journalistic genre in the title of a publication.²⁹

Was Mosquera then the sole author of all of Cabrera's texts? We cannot be sure at this point in our research.³⁰ In fact, in at least two of the news pamphlets the printer indicates new names: Rodrigo Olea de Ossisinaga and Agustino del Olmo.³¹ We failed to find significant data on these two possible

28 Also in 1597 an *Aviso venido de Roma, de la gran batalla auida cerca de Agria, ciudad de la Ungria superior entre los exercitos de la Magestad del Emperador y Serenissimo Principe de Transilvania, y el del gran Turco a Veynte y seys de Octubre de 1596* (Valencia: Herederos de Joan Nauarro, 1597) is published in Valencia.

29 We know of just one previous print headed by the term 'aviso': *Avisos de la China y Iapon del fin del año de 1587, recibidos en octubre de 88, sacados de las cartas de los padres de la Compañia de Iesus que andâ en aquellas partes* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Gómez, 1589), USTC 336979. This header had appeared inside a title at least in a previous occasion: *Carta venida de Pauia, de diversos y varios avisos de Constantinopla de la muerte de Selimo y dela creacion y coronacion de Armorad emperador Ottomanno de los Turchos. Con algunos avisos de la enfermedad que tuuo, y en siendo curado los presentes que mando enviar al santissimo sepulchro de nuestro señor Iesu Christo en Hierusalem. Con otras nueuas de la guerra entre el y el Sophi y de la armada suya, en Constantinopla a los. 26. de Abril de 1575* (Barcelona: Jaume Sendrat y Viuda Monpesada, 1575), USTC 351905. The appearance of the term 'aviso' referring to news arriving from the Turkish frontier allows us to put forward the hypothesis that this header came to Spain from Italy and in the framework of the interest aroused by this war against the Turks.

30 Uriarte provides the data to confirm our hypothesis that Mosquera was the author of all or almost all the news pamphlets in the Turkish war. In his comment on the news pamphlet *Nuevos avisos. Venidos de Roma*, 1599, he points out: "It has to be added to the others by Brother Mosquera, it is said handwritten in one of the copies in Biblioteca de la Historia, in Madrid" ('*Hase de juntar con los demás del H^o. Mosquera, dice de mano uno de los ejemplares de la Biblioteca de la Historia, de Madrid*', Uriarte, *Catálogo razonado*, p. 505).

31 The first of them, who Domínguez calls (with modern spelling) Olía de Osizenaga, is mentioned in the title *Nuevos avisos venidos de Roma en este mes de Octubre a seys días del. Y embiados a diez del mes pasado de Agosto deste año de noventa y siete, por el Licenciado Rodrigo de Olea de Ossisinaga, al Padre Fray Alonso de aguilár, de la Orden de Sancto Domingo, a esta Ciudad de Sevilla. En que se da cuenta de las cosas que passan en Turquía. Y el segundo en Nuevas Que cuentan la Toma de Pappa, Fortaleza de Ungria ... Relacion del numero de los exercitos que se han de hallar en el Capo, en la Ungria, este presente Año en servicio dela Cesarea Magestad. Escrípta por el Agustino del Olmo. Domínguez, 'El preperiodismo'.*

Spanish reporters. However, it is possible that from 1597, the Sevillian printer, after establishing his success in the market, made use of all the possible sources on the subject. It is also possible that there was more than one author whose texts were reproduced in the printed news pamphlets.

Whether Mosquera was the sole or the principal author of these texts, examining them allows us to understand the context in which this collection of information on such a distant war has a specific meaning. We have noted that Juan de Mosquera was a Jesuit: this precisely explains what enabled his correspondence. We know that the order of the Society of Jesus placed a significant emphasis on the importance of correspondence among its members, which was understood as additional proof of the obedience due to those more senior in the hierarchy. The famous “*cartas de jesuitas*” thus constitute a huge corpus of information about contemporary events which is an exceptional source for historians. If indeed Mosquera served as a copyist in Rome in the service of Superior General Acquaviva, he probably had access to letters and other information that came to the General.

However, more particularly, the correspondence between the Brother Coadjutor, Juan de Mosquera, and the Provincial Father of Peru is precisely explained. In 1595, the start date of the correspondence and of the publication of printed accounts, the Society had been re-established in Transylvania, and, judging by what we read in these same accounts, it was thanks to the Catholic zeal of Sigismund Báthory. This was not an easy process. The Jesuits were expelled in 1598, then readmitted in 1599, but they always fought against rejection from the Protestants of the region. In that inflamed religious climate, the news pamphlets of Juan de Mosquera acquired a flavour of religious propaganda to add to the political propaganda already pointed to above.

As already noted, the stories of Mosquera are imbued with providentialism, not unusual in early European news, and they expressly and repeatedly refer to the interests of the Jesuits. Essentially, however, it is one of the accounts which provides the framework of interpretation for the entire series: in *Relacion verdadera del linaje y descendencia del Serenissimo Sigismundo Batorio, Principe de Transilvania, Moldavia y Valachia, sacadas de historias autenticas, y relaciones muy verdaderas, venidas de aquellas partes, con algunas de sus hazañas y proezas dignas de gran memoria*, Mosquera, or whoever the author was, makes use of a lapse in the flow of news to issue a reminder of the exploits and virtues of the Prince, among which he emphasises the establishment of the Jesuit order in the troubled Transylvania: “La primera fue traer a los padres de la Compañía de Jesus a su Reyno” (“The first [deed] was bringing the fathers of the Society of Jesus to his kingdom”).

Juan de Mosquera could have been urged by his correspondent, the Provincial Father of Peru, to report regularly on events in Transylvania and other parts of the world, as he had been requested to write the history of the Society around the same time; though it may simply have been a gesture of allegiance or friendship, which, as we know, was very common at the time. Nevertheless, this does not preclude us from attributing a clear journalistic vocation to Juan de Mosquera. As we have seen before, and if indeed he is the author of all or most of the texts, Mosquera often allows himself to be driven by informative zeal and the stamp of the epistolary genre disappears from his account. The first journalism was born of tentative attempts and made, as we know, by modifying prior textual assets. Moreover, the involvement of Mosquera with the subject, and his task as a reporter, did not end with the termination of the connection with Seville and the printer Rodrigo de Cabrera. Palau (1948–77) lists at least one other publication from to his pen about the Turkish wars, but published this time in Valladolid and Lisbon a few years later, in 1606, and again declaring the Italian source in its title: *Relacion de la señalada y como milagrosa conquista del paterno imperio conseguida del serenissimo príncipe Ivan Demetrio, Gran Duque de Moscouia en el año de 1605 ... traducido de Lengua Italiana*.³²

Therefore, we are almost at the end of the micro-network which connected Transylvania with Seville. We believe that it is perfectly possible that a Jesuit, seasoned in historical writing, resident in Rome, was dedicated to maintaining correspondence on the Turkish wars with a superior. Basing his stories on the printed Italian accounts that arrived by post, in addition to many other *avvisi* coming through this regular post or through special envoys, his position in the order would have allowed him access to these sources.

We must still ask ourselves what was the original format of Mosquera's letters or news pamphlets. As private correspondence, irrespective of whether Mosquera had the possibility of printing in mind or not, it is inevitable that they were initially circulated by post and in handwritten form. This raises a further question: how is it possible that, with only a few weeks delay, we know of them through printed versions, the work of a typographer who worked in distant Seville?³³

32 Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispano-americano: inventario bibliográfico de la producción científica y literaria de España y de la América Latina desde la invención de la imprenta hasta nuestros días, con el valor comercial de todos los artículos descritos* (Madrid: Palacete Palau Dulcet, Empuries 1948–77).

33 This data is deduced from the lapse of time between the ending of the letters and the date in which the license for publishing was granted. It was usual to proceed with printing directly after this legal requirement was obtained.

From Transylvania to Peru

Perhaps the explanation for this last point of our inquiry is at the other end of the postal correspondence, its recipient: the Provincial Father of Peru. For the dates of the published documents which concern us, this was Juan Sebastián de la Parra, who was born in Spain and died in Lima. He arrived in Peru in 1581 and was Provincial of the order there between 1592 and 1599, and later between 1609 and 1616. Among his achievements was the introduction of the Society of Jesus into Chile. At first it was Juan Sebastián de la Parra to whom these stories were addressed. As he resided in Peru at this time, letters sent from Madrid would have had to pass through Seville, where correspondence was gathered for transport to the Americas, the only Spanish port authorised for such traffic. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Rodrigo de Cabrera had someone close to the Jesuits among his contacts. In fact, his connection with them has been pointed out by scholars, which would have given him access to that correspondence and implied permission to print it.³⁴ We must recall that this type of communication about contemporary politics had a semi-public character and the printing of the letters was not only common but also foreseen by the correspondents.

It is a little more difficult for us to understand why a member of a religious order, who was established in the distant lands of Peru, required such continuous and detailed information about a war that was going on at the other end of the earth, even if we accept that epistolary accounts were a hallmark of the Society of Jesus. What little we know of Juan de la Parra does not allow us to see him as an intellectual with deep humanistic concerns. Indeed, his fame among the Provincials of the order was due to his having promoted a statute of purity of blood to discriminate against new entrants into the order in Peru, because of his misgivings on seeing that Indians and persons of mixed race were ascending in the hierarchy.³⁵ Of course, this gesture had little to do with the earlier Provincial in Peru, the celebrated Padre Acosta, author of the *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, who, although he flatly asserted the superiority of the white race, at least showed some anthropological curiosity about the indigenous population.

34 Domínguez comments that his arrival to Seville, most likely from Madrid, is due to the call of the Jesuits, who asked him to produce some typefaces, and also points out that at least two prints, among the few large ones published by the printer, were the work of a Jesuit, Domínguez, 'El preperiodismo', p. 176.

35 See Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, 'De mestizos y criollos en la Compañía de Jesús (Perú, siglos XVI–XVII)', *Revista de Indias*, LXVIII, 243 (2008), pp. 37–66.

It is also possible that the vision of a global world, which we believe a distinctive feature of our times, was already present or developing in the early modern period, and that contemporaries read accounts of distant wars with the same concern with which we read the international pages of newspapers today.

In any case, the Sevillian printer, Rodrigo de Cabrera, had access to a prodigiously detailed, accurate and important collection of information about the Thirteen Years War. The last element in this micro-network that we are describing concerns him. In this last stage of the analysis, we attempt to determine the degree of involvement of the printer in the final printed version.

In the first news publication of the series, the *Relacion de lo sucedido al Serenissimo Principe Sigismundo Batori*, he concludes with a colophon that already shows his advertising skills: “Lo que sucedio después desto, y los Genizaros que le a muerto al Turco, y fortalezas que a ganado, se queda imprimiendo, que es cosa digna de saberse” (“What happened after this, as well as all the Turk’s Janissaries killed by him and all the garrisons he has won is in print now, which is a thing well worth knowing”). From there on, numerous annotations, included in the colophons of the documents, allow us to believe that the printer, if indeed he was their editor, controlled from beginning to end the flow of information and the speed with which it reached the Sevillian market.

Between June and October 1596, and according to the dates of the licences, he printed at least seven news pamphlets on the subject. However, it is possible that the extent and chronological period covered by his stories do not correspond with those of the information that came to him from Rome by letter. The colophon of the *Tercera relación* states: “Lo de Iunio y Iulio de 96. q prosigue tras esto se imprimirá luego, Fin” (“The events of June and July that follows this will be printed now. The end”), and is followed in chronological order by two more documents covering the events of those months. The first, the *Quarta parte dela relacion nueva*, actually contains two stories, judging by their titles translated from Beccari’s *avvisi*, each with its own heading, compressed into one document. The second is a brief account that barely covers a sheet and which tells of only one battle, again, we believe, based on a translation of Beccari.³⁶ Our hypothesis is that all this information, corresponding to the months of June and July 1596, came in one shipment to Cabrera, in one of the letters from Juan de Mosquera, and that it was the printer who divided

36 Italian and Spanish titles, above, can be compared.

up the news for a series, surely quasi-periodic, by which means he kept his public waiting.³⁷

One of the numbers of the series holds a surprise: the story is printed in two different versions or editions, with identical text, colophon and footnote, but different title pages. The text contains two main news items: a rebellion of Irish nobles in England, and the advances of Miguel de Bayboda against the Turks. In one of the title pages, the first report is highlighted in large characters, and in the other, the second report is similarly highlighted. Compare the two lengthy titles:

Avisos de Fuenterrabia. En q se da quêta muy por estêso de cómo dos Côdes Yrlandeses, Catolicos, está reuelados côtra la Reyna de Inglaterra, y le an cercado la Ciudad de Catafurda, y le an muerto ocho mil soldados, y diez y ocho Capitanes. Escritos a cinco días de Abril deste año de 1599. Traslado de una carta del Señor Miguel Bayboda de Balachia, en la qual se da cuenta muy por estenso de todas las empresas, que a hecho contra el gran Turco en la Tracia y Bulgaria, desde que començo la guerra côtra los Turcos hasta que bolvio a Valachia. Y assi mismo se cuenta la destruicion de seys Ciudades, con otras muchas Aldeas, en la Tracia y Bulgaria, que este dicho Baiboda a hecho. La copia de la qual carta vino con el ordinario de Viena de los cinco de Diziembre, del año pasado de. 1598.

Traslado de una carta del Señor Miguel Bayboda de Balachia, que embio al Serenissimo Archiduque Maximiliano, en la qual da cuenta muy por estenso de todas las empressas, que a hecho contra el gran turco en la Tracia y Bulgaria, desde que començo la guerra côtra los Turcos hasta que bolvio a Valachia. Y assi mismo se cuenta la destruicion de seys Ciudades, con otras muchas Aldeas, en la Tracia y Bulgaria, que este dicho Baiboda a hecho. La copia de la qual carta vino con el ordinario de Viena de los cinco de Diziembre del año passado de 1598. Por Cartas de Fuenterrabia se sabe como dos Codes Yrlandeses Catolicos, esta revelados cotra la Reyna de Inglaterra, y le an cercado la Ciudad de Catafurda, y le an muerto ocho mil soldados, y diez y ocho Capitanes. Y otros avisos dignos de saberse.

Since the date of the licence is the same for both documents, it follows that the twin publication could have been part of Cabrera's publishing strategy, who

37 Correspondence left Seville for America in an annual postal shipment which departed in July. Our correspondence may have followed this timing. Letters to America reached Seville mainly at the beginning of the summer.

thus offered the same news with different emphases to two groups of readers in order to maximise sales. Moreover, this news pamphlet begins with a prologue in which an editor, perhaps Juan de Mosquera, the reporter, or Rodrigo de Cabrera, the printer, demonstrates his complicity with readers who already know the journalistic series: “Aunque se a escrito y impresso la mayor parte de las hazañas, que con tan felice y dichoso curso de fortuna a hecho y haze cada dia el señor Miguel Bayboda de Valachia en las tierras y estados del Turco con todo ello me a parecido sacar a luz una Carta que el dicho Bayboda escrivio al serenissimo Archiduque Maximiliano” (“Although the deeds have been mostly narrated and printed, those which Sir Miguel Bayboda makes every day with such a happy and joyful fortune in the lands and states of the Turk, it occurred to me to bring to light a Letter which this Bayboda wrote to the Most Serene Archiduke Maximiliano”).

Finally, how can the market success of this extensive series be explained? The insistence with which Cabrera boasted of the privilege obtained, advised his public of future issues coming up, and generally advertised his stories, allows us to imagine a public hungry for news, and perhaps pleasantly surprised by the new periodical form of publishing. Years before, the vicissitudes on the Turkish front had been the object of a large volume, the *Commentarii della guerra di Transilvania* (1563) by Ascanio Centorio de gli Hortensii, which we know was distributed in Seville through the city’s bookshops.³⁸ In any case, the Turks were already part of the popular imagination in Spain, thanks to a renewed interest in the topic through literature and the arts, especially after the Battle of Lepanto.

Conclusions

The handwritten letters from Mosquera in Madrid, constructed from Italian *avvisi*, printed in Rome and obtained from the battle-front of the Hungarian Empire, passed through Seville where they were converted into new stories printed in Castilian, and presumably then continued their journey to the Americas in their handwritten versions. This shift from manuscript to print is one of the constants of early European journalism, as is the interaction between agents with very different professional identities: the *novellante* in the

38 See Carlos Alberto González Sánchez and Natalia Maillard Álvarez, *Orbe tipográfico. El mercado del libro en la Sevilla de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI* (Gijón: Trea Editores, 2003).

pay of the powerful; the writer embedded in networks of patronage who writes to his superiors as a sign of servitude; the pioneer printer who glimpsed the possibilities of the news business; and, in the background of everything, the religious and political powers that made use of the public's eagerness for news to maintain their own reputations.

Bernardino Beccari, in Italy, and Juan de Mosquera, in Spain, can be considered pioneers of journalism in their respective nations. These two pioneers were working at almost the same time and pace; the Italian had a couple of years' head start in product conception, while the Spaniard contributed ordinal numbering in the titles which confirms the emergence of a new written discourse in writing, the journalistic. From the start, the Italian used in almost all his publications the term '*avvisi*', while the Spaniard called them '*relaciones*' in the first year of production, and did not introduce the term '*avisos*' until 1597. From then on this term was used in publications that related to news from other geographical areas.

The Italian notices are always headed by the word *Aviso* or *Avviso*, in upper-case, and a smaller font size than the second line. This foreshadows a more journalistic presentation, in the style of current headlines, while the Sevillian publications reiterate more obsolete presentations, close to those of the news pamphlets of the start of the century. Beccari's *avvisi* often carry the imperial shield with the double-headed eagle, which also appears on some Sevillian publications, although the Cabrera's series is not consistent in that respect. Some news pamphlets do not feature any engraving and those which do occasionally used different shields, others an allusive engraving, etc. Perhaps the conclusion we can draw from this point is that the Italian series was closer to officialdom than the Spanish, hence the most common appearance of the engraving of the Habsburgs arms.

Finally, in 1600, with the advent of the new century, both Italian and Sevillian journalistic series, closely related and both pioneers in the history of European journalism, ceased publication. Public attention to the Turkish wars declined (before returning to the foreground of topicality in the 1680s, when the Second Siege of Vienna resurrected the fear of the age-old enemy of the Christians).

The microhistoric approach has allowed us to reveal an international news network that worked effectively and quickly in the last decade of the sixteenth century. From this network, and many others working in unison throughout Europe, there soon appeared a landscape in which the emergence of regular reporting was possible, and this continued throughout the seventeenth century with a pan-European character, whose scope we have seen through our example here.

Appendix: News Pamphlets of Rodrigo de Cabrera on the War against the Turks (1595–1600)

This includes all the news pamphlets by Cabrera concerning the war against the Turk in Spanish catalogues. Also those whose records are confused or refer to no longer extant prints.

1595

1. *Carta de Mahomet Tercer Emperador de los Turcos, escripta al Serenissimo Segismundo Batori, Principe de Transilvania, Moldavia, Valachia, &c. Traducida de lengua Turquesca en Lengua Italiana en Roma, en la Estampa del Gabia, en el Año de Mil y quinientos y noventa y cinco.* Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera [1595?, 1596?].

1596

2. *Quarta parte dela relacion nueva, De Transilvania y Valachia, Por la qual se avisan los prosperos sucessos del Serenissimo Principe de Transilvania contra los Turcos, assi enel un Reyno, como enel otro despues de la venida de la Corte del Emperador; desde primero de Mayo de 96. Impresso en Roma con licencia de los Superiores. Y ahora en Sevilla con Licencia.* Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera [1596]. USTC 351921.

This includes: *Nueva de la Rota hecha, de la gente de el Serenissimo principe de Transilvania a los Turcos y Tartaros junto a la Lippa con muerte de ocho mil de los Turcos y presa de tres Uchies, y toma de la Artillería y Vagajes, y de aver alçado el cerco. En este dicho año de noventa y seys, en el dicho mes de Mayo.* Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera [1596].

3. *Quinta relacion de los prosperos sucessos: ansi del serenissimo Principe de Transilvania, como del exercito Imperial contra el gran Turco.* Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera [1596]. USTC 340199.

4. *Relacion de lo sucedido al Serenissimo Principe Sigismundo Batori, Principe de Transilvania, Moldavia, y Valaquia, desde el principio del año passado de Noventa y quatro hasta ultimo de Otubre del dicho año.* Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera [1596]. USTC 351912.

5. *Relacion de todo el cerco De Temesuar, hasta q el Principe de Transilvania alço el Campo, por la qual se da cuenta de tres notables hazañas, que el mismo Principe hizo contra los Turcos y Tartaros. Y en particular la muerte del Tartaro*

Can, por mano de su Alteza del Principe, y del despojo del Campo, y toma de lo que avia robado. Lo qual passo a 19. de Junio de 1596. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera [1596]. USTC 352746.

6. *Segunda Relacion De los hechos y Vitorias del Serenissimo Principe de Transilvania, que a tenido contra el Gran Turco. Donde se da cuenta de las grandes guerras que à tenido desde el principio del Año passado de Noventa y cinco, hasta fin de el mes de Março, deste Año de Noventa y seys. Con la declaracion de las Ciudades Castillos y Fortalezas que a ganado, en offensa del dicho gran Turco. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera [1596]. USTC 352692.*

7. *Tercera Relacion de lo sucedido al Principe de Transilvania desde catorze de Março de noventa y seys hasta. 27, de Abril del dicho año, con los de mas sucessos que al Emperador de Alemania an sucedido, y las Ciudades que a ganado al gran Turco, assi en la Dalmacia, como la tierra adentro de Turquía. Embiada por el hermano Iuan Mosquera para el padre Prouincial del Peru, su fecha en seys de Mayo de, 1596. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera [1596]. USTC 351922.*

1597

8. *Aviso del Aparato de la pompa y del numero de soldados con que Mehemet Rey de Turcos partio de Constantinopla para yr a la guerra de Ungria a los 20 de Junio de 1596. Publicado por Bernardino Becheri, de Savile, a la Minerva, con licencia de los superiores en Roma, por Nic. Mutio, 1596. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1597.*

9. *Nuevos Avisos venidos de Roma en este mes de Octubre, a seys días del. Y embiados a diez del mes passado de Agosto deste año de noventa y siete, por el Licenciado Rodrigo de Olea de Ossisinaga, al Padre Fray Alonso de aguilar, de la Orden de Sancto Domingo, a esta Ciudad de Sevilla. En que se da cuenta de las cosas que passan en Turquía. Y del Principe Cardenal, en Francia y otras partes. Y de un presente que le embio el Biarnes Vandoma, al dicho principe y el principe Cardenal a el un muy buen cavallo. Ay aviso de cómo a salido el gran Turco con ciento y veinte mil soldados. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1597. USTC 340333.*

10. *Nueva relacion venida de Roma este mes de Septiembre, deste año de 1597 de las grandes victorias que a tenido el Emperador contra el gran Turco, entre las quales le tomo una plaça de grande importancia, y de como murio el primogenito suyo, y otras desgracias que le an sucedido en daño suyo y provecho nuestro. Todo guiado por mano de Dios nuestro señor. Tambien ay avisos de Francia, y otras partes. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1597. USTC 345285.*

11. *Octava relacion y nuevos avisos de Alvavlia, De primero de Mayo, deste Año de 1597. Por los quales se sabe, como la gente del Serenissimo Principe de Transilvania tomò dos fuerças muy grandes e importâtes, a los Turcos. Y de otras*

cosas particulares. Publicadas en Roma por Bernardino Becari a la Minerva. E impressas en Roma en la imprenta de Nicolas Mucio. En el dicho Año. Y por el mismo original sacadas de Italiano, en nuestro vulgar Castellano, en este mes de Julio a veinte días del, y del dicho año. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1597. USTC 338487.

12. *Relacion de lo sucedido en Frâcia, y Estados de Flandes, despues de la toma de Amiens: Y de lo que estos meses passados a sucedido en la corte del Principe de Transilvania, del Emperador, y del grâ Turco. Lo qual se sabe por Cartas de Roma, de tres de Mayo de este presente año de mil y quiniêtos y noventa y siete. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1597.*

13. *Relacion Septima de la gran batalla que uvieron iunto a Agria ciudad de la Ungria Superior, los Exercitos de la Magestad del Emperador, y el Serenissimo Principe de la Transilvania, con el del gran Turco. En donde se avisa aver muerto setenta mil Turcos, y el saco de sus alojamientos, y los bagajes, con sola perdida de cinco mil Infantes y quinientos cavallos de los nuestros. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1597. USTC 340201.*

14. *Relacion verdadera del linaje y descendencia del Serenissimo Sigismundo Batorio, Principe de Transilvania, Moldavia y Valachia, sacadas de historias autenticas, y relaciones muy verdaderas, venidas de aquellas partes, con algunas de sus hazañas y proezas dignas de gran memoria. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1597. USTC 340202.*

15. *Sexta relacion de los prosperos sucesos y vitoria que agora nuevamente an alcançado el Serenissimo Principe de Transilvania, y el Exercito Imperial contra el gran Turco y su potencia, auida esta victoria dia de san Simon y Iudas en. 28. de Octubre de noventa y seys años. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1597. USTC 351915.*

1598

16. *Avisos de Roma. De los sucessos del Ducado de Ferrara, desde la muerte del Duque Alfonso, hasta los partidos hechos entre su Santidad y don Cesar Deste, pretensor del dicho estado. Desde el mes de Noviembre passado, hasta diez y seys de Enero deste Año de 1598. Y la toma de la Ciudad de Temesuar, por el Principe de Transilvania, cô muerte de doze mil Turcos, y Vitorias alcançadas del Emperador de Alemania cõtra el turco y sus Baxaes. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1598. USTC 351262.*

17. *Avisos de Ungria y de otras partes, por lo quales se sabe la Embaxada, que embiò el Rey de Persia, y de Sinan Can, Principe de Gorgiani, a su Cesarea Magestad. Con la Rota y estrago que los Polacos, y Valachios hizieron en los Tartaros, matando treinta y seys mil dellos. Y el aparato q se haze para yr a la conquista de Giavarino, y otros lugares. Traduzido fielmente de Lengua Tudesca*

en Italiana, en Milan, por Pandolfo Matatesta, con licêcia de los Superiores. Y agora en Sevilla impressa, con licencia de su Señoria y del Conde Assistente, en este mes de Febrero de Mil y quiniêtos y noventa y ocho. Por Rodrigo de Cabrera a la Magdalena, En la casa que era Espital del Rosario. Alli las venden. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1598.

18. *Avisos nuevos De la Victoria que agora de nuevo en este Año de Mil y quinientos y novêta y ocho, en el mes de Febrero a tenido Andrea Barchiasio, General del Serenissimo Sigismundo Batorio, Principe de Transilvania, en la ribera del Danubio, Contra el Sanjaco de Belgrado, en q le mataron mas de dozientos Turcos rôpiêdo a los demás. Y el gran despojo q tomarô de Cauillos enjaezados, y piedras preciosas. Y diez y ocho Estandartes. Y otras cosas de gran valor. Y la toma de la ciudad de Giavarino por su Magestad del Emperador. Impresso en Italiano en Roma, con licencia de los Superiores. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1598.*

19. *Nuevas Que cuentan la Toma de Pappa, Fortaleza de Ungria. Con el numero de los Turcos que fueron muertos. Y otros successos de importancia. Y la gran rota, y desbarato, que los Cossaquios hizieron en los Tartaros. Y el apercibimiento del Exercito Imperial, para yr a cercar a Alva Real. Impresa en Milan por Pandolfo Mala testa, con licêcia de los Superiores. Y agora, en Sevilla impressa, con licencia de su Señoria el Conde Assistente, en este mes de Enero de Mil y quiniêtos y noventa y ocho. Por Rodrigo Cabrera, a la Magdalena, En la casa que era Espital del Rosario. Alli las venden.*

This includes: *Relacion del numero de los exercitos que se han de hallar en el Capo, en la Ungria, este presente Año, en servicio dela Cesarea Magestad. Escripta por el Agustino del Olmo, por la qual se sabra el numero y cantidad, no sola mente de la Cavalleria, sino tabiê de la Infanteria. Impresa en Ferrara, y en Verona, y en Milan Con licencia de los Superiores. Y ahora de nuevo impressa en Sevilla Con Licencia del Conde Assisetente En este mes de Enero, de 1598. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1598. USTC 340198.*

1599

20. *Avisos de Fuenterrabia. En q se da quêta muy por estêso de cómo dos Côdes Yrlandeses, Catolicos, estâ revelados côtra la Reyna de Inglaterra, y le an cercado la Ciudad de Catafurda, y le an muerto ocho mil soldados, y diez y ocho Capitanes. Escritos a cinco días de Abril deste año de 1599. Traslado de una carta del Señor Miguel Bayboda de Balachia, en la qual se da cuenta muy por estenso de todas las empresas, que a hecho contra el gran Turco en la Tracia y Bulgaria, desde que començo la guerra côtra los Turcos hasta que bolvio a Valachia. Y assi mismo se cuenta la destruicion de seys Ciudades, con otras muchas Aldeas, en la Tracia y*

Bulgaria, que este dicho Baiboda a hecho. La copia de la qual carta vino con el ordinario de Viena de los cinco de Diziembre, del año pasado de. 1598. USTC 345001.

21. *Avisos venidos de Roma a los veynte y nueve de mayo deste presente año de. 1599. En que se escriven las nuevas que en aquella Corte avia avido en el dicho mes de Mayo, assi del Transilvano como del Bayboda de la Balachia, y de otros muchos Reynos y provincias. Con licencia impressos. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1599.*

22. *La prometida de la vitoria que los capitanes del Emperador uvieron de los Turcos en el Danubio a los Veinte y vno de junio, deste presente Año de Noventa y nueve: Otros Avisos Nuevos, del dicho Año de Novêta y nueve, a los seys del mes de julio, venidos de la ciudad de Estrigonia a Viena, de otra Rota muy notable, que los Ayducos dieron a los Turcos, con la presa de Sacharet, y otros Castillos, dando libertad a quatrocientos y diez y siete Cautivos, y el despojo que uvieron, de mas de vn Millon de oro. Publicados en Roma por Geronymo Acolto con licêcia de los Superiores en casa de Nicolas Mucio. En este Año de 1599. Traslado de Italiano bien y fielmente en nuestro vulgar Castellano. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1599.*

23. *La solene entrada que sus magestades del Rey y la Reyna nuestros Señores hizieron en la muy nombrada ciudad de çaragoça, Cabeça y Metropoli del Reyno de Aragon, a los doze deste presente mes de Septiembre, de este Año de Mil y quinientos noventa y nueve. Y el Recebimiento que se le hizo. Y los sumptuosos Arcos triunfales que uvo, y fiestas que se aprestavan. Y assimismo las nuevas que ay de Constantinopla, del Levantamiento de los Arabes contra el Turco. Y de la perdida que à hecho de la Arabia felice y de las Islas del Rio Eufrates. Y de la guerra que le an movido los Georgianos. Impresso en Sevilla en el dicho Año, por Rodrigo de Cabrera Impressor de Libros a la Madalena, en la casa q era Espital del Rosario, junto a Don jorge de Portugal. Alli las ay. Impressa con Licencia. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1599.*

24. *La Vitoria que los capitanes del Emperador uvieron de los Turcos en el Danubio a los 21 de junio de 99. Otros Avisos Nuevos del dicho Año, venidos de Estrigonia de otra Rota, que los Ayducos dieron a los Turcos, con la presa de Sacharat y otros Castillos. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1599.*

25. *Nuevos avisos, Venidos de Roma, de lo sucedido enel Exercito imperial, y lo que agora de nuevo à hecho el Serenissimo Segismundo Batorio, Principe de la Transilvania, y de otros avisos de diversas partes. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1599. USTC 338479.*

26. *Relacion de el fenecimiento de las Cortes de Barcelona, que su Magestad de el Rey nuestro Señor celebros a los Estados de Cataluña en este presente año, y de su partida para nuestra Señora de Monserrate, y despues para la ciudad de Tarragona, y de allí por La Mar a Valencia, con otras cosas. Y de una insigne vitoria que ha tenido contra los Turcos el Bayboda de la Valachia. Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1599. USTC 352704.*

27. *Relacion de las insignes victorias que han tenido los Exercitos Imperiales contra Turcos en Hungria, sucedidas en estos meses pasados de julio y agosto deste año de 1599.* Sevilla, s.i., 1599.

28. *Traslado de una carta del Señor Migvel Bayboda de Balachia, que embio al Serenissimo Archiduque Maximiliano, en la qual da cuenta muy por estenso de todas las empressas, que a hecho contra el gran turco en la Tracia y Bulgaria, desde que començo la guerra côtra los Turcos hasta que bobio a Valachia. Y assi mismo se cuenta la destruicion de seys Ciudades, con otras muchas Aldeas, en la Tracia y Bulgaria, que este dicho Baiboda a hecho. La copia de la qual carta vino con el ordinario de Viena de los cinco de Diziembre del año passado de 1598.* Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1598.

29. *Verdadera relacion de la insigne victoria que Michael Bayboda (de la Balachia,) Capita general del Serenissimo Principe de Transilvania a alcançado contra el Gran Turco, en la toma dela ciudad de Nicopoli, cabeça del Reyno de Vulgaria, con la muerte de quinze mil Turcos, y presa de ciento y quarenta pieças de Artilleria. Succedido todo en el mes de Setiembre, y Octubre del año passado de mil y quinientos y noventa y ocho, y otros avisos de diversas partes dignos de saber, como por ellos se vera.* Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1599. USTC 340203.

1600

30. *Relación de la Gran Batalla y Rota, que el Señor Miguel, Príncipe de la Valachia, a dado a Geremias, Príncipe y Vaivoda de la Moldavia. Amigo y aliado del Gran Turco. Y el numero desoldados Turcos y de otras Naciones, que fueron degollados y presos. Y otros ahogados y muertos en el rio Nesta; a donde también se ahogo el Vaivoda Geremias, y los otros Capitanes de su Exercito. Succedido en el mes de Mayo de este Año de Mil y seis cientos.* Sevilla, Rodrigo de Cabrera, 1600.

‘Fishing after News’ and the *Ars Apodemica*: The Intelligencing Role of the Educational Traveller in the Late Sixteenth Century

Elizabeth Williamson

The subject of this chapter is the sending of news and information from English travellers abroad to the governing circles of late Elizabethan England. A stay abroad carried with it an expectation that casual travellers, to protect and evidence their moral, spiritual and physical health, would make themselves useful, and thus loyal, servants of their domestic government: I will argue that one key method of doing so was by transmitting news and information. Immediately, this invites questions regarding what and who exactly is being discussed. Although I will not fully explore here the complexities of what is meant by ‘news’, ‘knowledge’ and (political) ‘intelligence’, rough distinctions between these terms are implicated in the primary focus of this chapter. These distinctions and the associations they carry bear directly on how we and contemporaries regard the individual who gathers information. This is because the intention and motivation for travel define and justify the traveller: the inflection of their information-gathering activity matters.¹ The crux is that there is an indistinctness surrounding who the traveller is and what they are travelling for; a blurred status or lack of definition that means that the traveller provides a valuable opportunity for access (to news, to people, to places), but also that they are at risk of suspicion and the accusation of immorality, whether they present as the nobleman or gentleman, the ambitious scholar or the employed agent, the youth or the tutor. I would argue that this ambiguity pivots on the kind of information the individual is expected or is seen to gather: in reductive terms, whether it is perceived as defensible learning, infective intelligence or common news.

In an activity where even the humanist traveller or the accredited diplomat could be branded with ‘the hellish Judas name of an Intelligencer’, role, intention and perception are as important as action.²

1 That this can be difficult to ascertain, uncertain or obscured, both then and now, does not negate the point.

2 Thomas Nashe, *Have With you to Saffron-Walden. Or, Gabriell Harveys hunt is up Containing a full answere to the eldest sonne of the halter-maker. Or, Nashe his confutation of the sinfull*

To begin with the contemporary literature, the many didactic treatises in the humanist tradition of the *ars apodemica*—a genre that grew rapidly in popularity in the late sixteenth century—all lay emphasis on travel's educative function, and on how knowledge gained by it should be put towards the good of the common weal. Beyond the rhetoric, however, travel could be about more than civic or humanistic virtue and self-improvement; the traveller could be a valuable node in the news-gathering network, able to send information back to patrons or potential patrons in domestic government. The literary tradition is composed of original, copied and circulated manuscript letters and, from the 1570s, of printed pamphlets, essays and treatises offering travel advice and guidance, adjoined to which is a counter-current of warning and chastisement by critics including Roger Ascham, Joseph Hall and Richard Mulcaster.³ There is a self-conscious balance maintained in travel advice texts between practical dealing and moral display; a focus on method, on civic duty, and on absorbing and recording information, employing a rhetoric of usefulness for both individual and state that acts as a counter to the critics of leisurely travelling for its own sake. I contend that this more moral and literary edge to the genre can mask—or protect—travellers' involvement in news and intelligence gathering.

William Bourne's *A booke called the Treasure for Traueilers* (1578) is one of the first printed expressions in English of the humanist ideal of aiding the country through self-development as a reason for travel:

they are very necessary members in the common weale in diuers respectes, that are travaylers into other Countries, and they are able to profyte theyr owne Countrie in diuers respectes: for that hee is able to geve judgement by his owne Countrie of other, whether it bee as touching the government of the common weale, in the executing of their lawes of the manner of traffick, and in the usage and nature of the people, bothe

doctor (London, 1596), sig. Q3v, USTC 513218. The subject of the line, ambassador to the Low Countries Thomas Bodley, is comically defended against this accusation, and so insulted in the process.

3 See Roger Ascham, *The scholemaster or plaine and perfite way of teaching children, to understand, write, and speake, the Latin tong but specially purposed for the private bringing up of youth in jentlemen and noble mens houses, and commodious also for all such, as have forgot the Latin tonge* (London, 1570), and Richard Mulcaster, *Positions wherin those primitive circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the training up of children either for skill in their booke, or health in their bodie* (London, 1581), USTC 507247 and 509387. In the seventeenth century, Bishop Joseph Hall is another vocal critic, from a strongly anti-Catholic perspective. For literature relating to a later proto-Grand Tour tradition, see Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance, 1545–1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

in their Cities and Townes, and in their Countrey, and what manner of commodities they have, and of the situation of their Townes, and in their fortification, and also of what strength and force other Princes and states are of, and of the order and manner of usyng them selves in martiall affayres in the warres, and what their Artillerie is, and how they are weap-
oned and armed, and furnished in every respect ... for that they may provide them selves, and their Countrey for their better safetie ...⁴

This introduces a common reason for and recommended style of knowledge gathering: the only way to truly comprehend (and appreciate) one's own country is by comparing it to others. A lengthy enumeration of what to observe, covering topographical, anthropological, legal, financial, mercantile and military matters, is typical of the *ars apodemica* and is repeated time and time again. Yet this list, heavily weighted towards matters of defence, suggests the collection of information of a much more practical value than that cultivated solely for personal enlightenment. Before the emergence of regular newspapers, and with a geographically and financially limited diplomatic network, letters from travellers in the right place at the right time conveying information of the kinds listed above would be a valuable resource for those constructing foreign policy.

For people of both higher and more middling status, travel was increasingly seen as preparatory for crown service. For those in need of external support, perhaps second sons or ambitious gentlemen, it could be a way to demonstrate skills and please patrons, and in the literature is often directly framed as a method by which to gain employment in the work of state, on the level of clerkships, secretaryships or diplomatic appointments. Thomas Palmer gives an overview of the subject in *The Travailler, or An essay of the meanes how to make our travailes, into forraine countries, the more profitable and honourable*, printed in 1606.⁵ Details on the subjects listed by the *ars apodemica*, Palmer says,

are the utensils, and materials of States men, concerning forraine matters: the which many active mindes though sitting at home are well read in: and except it bee for the secrets and other occurrences, alterations &

4 William Bourne, *A booke called the Treasure for Traveilers, divided into five Bookes or partes, contayning very necessary matters, for all sortes of Traveilers, eyther by Sea or by Lande, written by William Bourne* (London, 1578), USTC 508489, sig. **iiir-v; see also Sara Warneke, *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), p. 45.

5 Thomas Palmer, *The Travailler, or An essay of the meanes how to make our travailes, into forraine countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606).

changes, the difference is not much between the home States man, not having spent some time in travaile, & the compleate Travailer, for forraine matters.⁶

Accordingly, some of the kind of information they are expected to gather can also be gained by reading; this knowledge of foreign lands is the material of government, and also relates travel to the kinds of research skills (of the assimilation and presentation of information) that are frequently emphasised as preparatory for the work of government. The particular advantage of the traveller is their access to “secrets and other occurrences, alterations & changes”.⁷ Essentially, the difference is first-hand, updated information on recent happenings: news, in other words.

Palmer’s is an important distinction, and a clue as to the various kinds of information people could gather, which in turn speaks to a potential linguistic difference between information and intelligence, and perhaps between intelligence and news. Information and knowledge are associated with scholarship and learning, and stable fact. Intelligence and news contain more of a sense of updated, event-based, and privileged information to which not everyone has access, and which, being liable to change, can thus be false. There is anxiety here: intelligence and news require the individual to be at less of a remove from the world than the relatively safer activities of reading and scholarship; they risk involvement with the wrong kind of people, with gossip and with rumour. Information one sees oneself is the freshest and least adulterated kind, but it is also that which most implicates the individual: personal agency is foregrounded, which both risks moral health and, depending on the level of trust already enjoyed, could lead either to reportage being valued as uncontaminated or questioned as uncorroborated. Palmer elaborates on the positives of the traveller’s personal access: “herein hath a Travailer the start of a home States man, which is fed by advertisements only, and is ledde by other mens eyes”.⁸ The traveller has the advantage of undiluted experience—direct sight—and as well as the (supposed) increased accuracy of that which is seen and heard over that which is read, the traveller is consequently able to ‘feed’ and thus ‘lead’ the statesman himself. He can turn his experience into advertisement: he can make news. As well as that of travel providing training for future government service, Palmer articulates a key reason for travel as

6 Palmer, *The Travailer*, sig. H3r.

7 Palmer, *The Travailer*, sig. H3r.

8 Palmer, *The Travailer*, sig. H3r.

providing an opportunity to attract new patrons or please existing ones with the delivery of news—exhibiting as well as refining these skills of information assimilation and presentation. Palmer directly instructs the traveller and would-be crown servant to secure themselves future preferment by “advertising, from time to time by Letters during their travaile, some one of the privie Councell, and none other of the Countrie to which they belong, of such occurrences and things as chance worthie to be sent and committed to consultation and viewe”.⁹

Instruction by a printed pamphlet and direct invitation by a figure at court are obviously and importantly different matters. One can question whether such bonding and preferment would have worked in reality, outside of conduct books, especially if unsolicited and especially as the genre became more widespread in print. Though there is explicit encouragement to gather news in Palmer, such texts (particularly circulated manuscript letters) also had the very real rhetorical function of defending the morality of travel and thus of the traveller. Further, the instruction they provided on method and knowledge of foreign lands could be seen as being applicable to stationary scholarship as well as to educational wandering: after all, much information on a country could also be gained by reading. One has to be aware therefore that travel advice texts do not necessarily require one to travel.

However, the literary and academic context does not mean that these texts were not also read as practical instruction, and as well as printed pamphlets, manuscript letters of advice were sent and used. By the late sixteenth century, sending and copying ‘heads’ of information detailing what to gather to best please one’s contacts or sponsors was a secure epistolary genre, with well-known letters circulating in manuscript. Many of the earliest surviving letters of this kind are from prominent statesmen and privy councillors, revealing an origin in practical politics, before the tradition became established and spread into the realm of print. Some of those still extant include William Cecil, Lord Burghley writing to the third earl of Rutland, to Lord Zouche, and to his own sons Thomas and Robert; Secretary of State Francis Walsingham to an unnamed nephew; and later Robert Devereux, earl of Essex to the fifth earl of Rutland and to many others of a less exalted status.¹⁰ Such texts can inhabit several

9 Palmer, *The Travailer*, sig. R4r.

10 William Cecil, Lord Burghley to Edward Manners, third earl of Rutland, 20 January 1571: Warneke, *Educational Traveller*, Appendix B, pp. 295–8; TNA, SP 12/77/10. Burghley to Edward la Zouche, eleventh Baron Zouche, 1587: mentioned in Warneke, *Educational Traveller*, p. 47 n.26; Bodleian Library, Tanner 103/230–2. Burghley to Thomas Cecil, 1561: ‘A Memorial for Thomas Cecil’ in Louis Wright, *Advice to a Son: Precepts of Lord*

contexts: either they are read and copied as literary prose, attracting interest by their substance and style, or as pieces of advice to be applied and followed.¹¹ Some letters present themselves as more one than the other; for example, in the trio of advice letters from Essex to Roger Manners, fifth earl of Rutland, one letter's focus is clearly oratorical display, and it is accordingly circulated widely as political propaganda, whereas the third letter is written very differently and is much more practical and direct in style, composed of a central paragraph

Burghley, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Francis Osborne (New York: Cornell University Press, 1962). Walsingham to an unnamed nephew, undated but suggested by Conyers Read to have been written during Walsingham's secretaryship, so between 1573–90: Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 1: 18–20. Robert Devereux, earl of Essex to Roger Manners, fifth earl of Rutland, printed as 4 January 1596: Robert Devereux et al., *Profitable instructions describing what speciall observations are to be taken by travellers in all nations, states and countries; pleasant and profitable. By the three much admired, Robert, late Earle of Essex. Sir Philip Sidney. And, Secretary Davison* (London, 1633), pp. 27–73, sigs. C6r–2Ar; see also Paul Hammer, 'Letters of Travel Advice from the Earl of Essex to the Earl of Rutland: Some Comments', *Philological Quarterly*, 74:3 (1995), pp. 320–1 for a discussion of these letters and their dating. Another letter giving advice on his travels was apparently sent from Burghley to Edward Manners, dated 2 March 1570/1, though it is possible that this is the date of reception of the earlier letter: *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, 4 vols., HMC, Twelfth Report, Appendix IV (London: HMSO, 1888), 1: 91. Additionally, a letter from Edward's uncle, Roger Manners (not the recipient of Essex's letters), reassures Edward that he is doing well and should continue as he is, and that 'Lord Sussex and Lord Burghley will, as occasion serves, send you their opinions', 4 July 1571, *Rutland MSS*, 1: 94. This shows that advisory letters could continue beyond an initial, more formulaic letter on the *ars apodemica* seen above.

- 11 There are many examples of re-copying and re-using travel advice letters, sometimes in different contexts. An example can be found in the multiple extant copies of the advisory text written for the young Francis Davison by his father, offering advice in bracketed diagrams, akin to Ramist tables of dichotomies (a popular format). As well as being printed in Benjamin Fisher's 1633 *Profitable Instructions*, referenced above, copies include an undated manuscript titled "Most brief but excellent Instructions for a Traveller written by Secretary Davison for His Son", and "Short instructions for a Traveller", the latter of which shows evidence of some kind of practical use, with tears and discolouration, and several different fold marks and multiple creases in a pattern that suggests folding and re-folding into a small packet (BL Harley MS 6893, fos. 169r–72v, at fo. 169r, and Harley MS 252, fo. 123r–v, respectively). A wholly different use is seen in the similar copy BL Harley MS 1579, fos. 86r–96r, which is copied directly into a large volume as a polished exposition of political history and logical form, and so likely not meant to advise during travel.

giving an extensive list of what to observe in terms of geography, man-made features (fortification, navy, ports) and mode of governance.¹²

There is an overlap between these active and academic uses, as they are not mutually exclusive. The more famous letters to well-known figures are more likely to survive and circulate, but this bias does not mean that the tradition is limited to these single instances. As well as occasional reference to other letters between less exalted figures, there is a strong tradition of re-use and copying, and of course one does not need to be sent a letter by the secretary of state in order to be aware of the expectations and opportunities of travel.¹³ Indeed, Essex's oratorical 'first' letter to Rutland, though itself a political exercise, spreads the idea of an openness to the transmission of news:

I Hold it for a principle in the course of Intelligence of State, not to discourage men of meane capacity from writing unto mee; though I had at that same time very able aduertisements: for either they sent mee matter which the other omitted, or made it clearer by describing the circumstances, or, if added nothing, yet they confirmed that which comming single I might have doubted.¹⁴

Though this largesse is to be taken with a hefty pinch of salt, such an invitation would clearly appeal to clients and would-be clients—the wording is even referenced directly in a letter by Essex's secretary as justification for his

12 Indeed, Paul Hammer contends that the 'first' Essex-Rutland letter was never sent to Rutland, but rather was inspired by the three that were sent, and written purely as political self-positioning. The 'first' letter is either therefore missing or is this widely-circulated letter, the second letter is missing but referred to, and the third letter is printed in full in *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Beaufort, K.G., the Earl of Donoughmore, and Others*, HMC, Twelfth Report, Appendix IX (London: HMSO, 1891), pp. 172–3, and survives in only two manuscript copies.

13 For another less high-powered example, consider Walsingham's communication with William Stonehouse: Elizabeth Williamson, 'Before "Diplomacy": Travel, Embassy and the Production of Political Information in the Later Sixteenth Century', PhD thesis (Queen Mary University of London, 2012), pp. 38–9. As another example of a copied letter, consider the letter from Philip Sidney to his brother Robert, copied into traveller Stephen Powle's commonplace book, who travelled with Robert for a time in the 1580s and became a client of William Cecil, delivering news and scholarly information. See Williamson, 'Before "Diplomacy"', pp. 53, 55–6. I am grateful to Nicholas Popper for sharing unpublished work on Stephen Powle.

14 Devereux, *Profitable Instructions*, pp. 27–9.

transmitting of news from the court at Greenwich.¹⁵ The claim also suggests something of Essex's current practice regarding news and intelligence: though it is unlikely that he would encourage unfettered communication, it does suggest the plurality of his sources of information, and so how the aforementioned anxious uncertainty of news could be mitigated.

An active epistolary relationship provides evidence that a news-gathering traveller could have a real audience, and so I will now discuss some instances of this kind of communication and exchange. The types of relationships reflected or called into being by such letters—or by the naturalisation of an expectation of news-gathering into the social understanding of the activity of travel—could be between clients and patrons, between those seeking and proffering monetary reward or future preferment, or between people of more equal standing. One important aspect affecting the role of the traveller and how they were perceived was their social status. The earls of Rutland provide several examples of young noblemen going abroad for this kind of educative travel, receiving such letters of advice and sending news and information back in their correspondence. Edward Manners, the third earl of Rutland and the recipient of a letter of travel advice from Lord Burghley in 1571, was 21 years old on his departure for France, his nephew Roger who received the aforementioned advice letters from Essex was just 19 years old, and Francis, younger brother to Roger, was about 20 when he toured France, Italy and the Empire.¹⁶

On first glance, the 1571 letter of advice from Burghley to Edward Manners appears to recommend a personal journal for recording information: he should “make a booke of paper, wherin [he] may dayly or at the lest wekely insert, all thyngs occurrant to [him]”.¹⁷ Though Burghley states that Rutland is not bound

15 “Once again I crave pardon for trobling your lordship with many triviall advertisements. I follow herein your owne precept to the noble earle of Rutland, not to defer any man from writing in this kind, bycause it doth at the least confirme that which yow receive from others” Lambeth Palace Library, MS 657, fo. 108v. Edward Reynoldes to Robert Devereux, May 1596. Quoted in Hammer, ‘Essex to Rutland’, 324, n. 21. See also Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from the Yeare 1581 till Her death*, 2 vols. (London, 1754), 1: 478.

16 Of these three, Francis was the only one to make significant headway in the world of politics after his travels, becoming a privy councillor. Both Roger and Edward seem to have been more focused on their country estates, with Edward plagued by ill health and Roger tarnished by his involvement in the Essex uprising. It should also be stressed that relative youth does not need to mean inexperience; Edward Manners had already served the crown against the northern insurgents in 1569, before travelling in 1571. See respective entries in the *ODNB*.

17 Warneke, *Educational Traveller*, p. 295.

to deliver such an account to anyone else, this is not to say that the letter does not encourage the transmission of information. Burghley carefully enumerates key aspects to observe over several pages, with particular focus on political and military matters, including instruction to determine “Who ar the principall officers of the realmes”.¹⁸ Sara Warneke points out that Burghley sent a very similarly worded letter to Lord Zouche before his travel on the continent in 1587, suggesting that these are not isolated examples.¹⁹ Later that month Rutland drafted a letter of “News from France”, including the names of principal officers in Picardy and sketched plans of two forts.²⁰ He sends Burghley several letters, and repeatedly asks for further advice, indicating that he is keen to act as a loyal servant of the crown.²¹ Though in one letter he references a “want of occurants”, Rutland goes on to detail information on current happenings in France, including mention of a “slaughter” at Rouen and its effect on Protestants, the reception of English travellers, and an account of the coronation of Elisabeth of Austria, complete with a list of the “principall and only officers that did attend”.²² He sends this news despite stating that “this matter wilbe larglyer & planer written unto y^u”, as an explanation as to why he is “y^e brefer” in his report: he transmits news without positioning himself as a key news-gatherer or (heaven forbid) intelligencer.²³ In this high-status relationship, the news exchange and requests flow both ways, since after conveying information on France Rutland discusses his domestic concerns, namely the selling of his woods in Walthamstow, and asks that Burghley take an interest and write letters of support if necessary. In one sense he is seen responding to Burghley’s letter of advice, gathering news and information, but he hints at returning home and asks how to do so without offence: he recognises that he is

18 Warneke, *Educational Traveller*, p. 298.

19 Warneke, *Educational Traveller*, p. 47, n. 26. The original manuscript is in the Bodleian, Tanner MS 103/230–2.

20 “News from France. 1571, January 31 to February.—Notes taken by the Earl of Rutland on his journey from Calais to Amiens, giving the names of the principal officers in Picardy, and rough plans of two forts”, *Rutland MSS*, 1: 91.

21 For example, see the letter dated 28 April 1571, Rutland to Burghley, on response in Paris to the taking of Dumbarton, *Rutland MSS*, 1: 92; and also TNA, SP 70/118, fo. 89r.

22 Rutland to Burghley, March 1571, TNA, SP 70/117 fo. 55r. Elisabeth, Archduchess of Austria, married Charles IX of France in November 1570. Her coronation was on 25 March 1571. The massacre is likely the “massacre of Bondeville” on 18 March 1571, a riot that resulted in the deaths of 40 protestants. See Philip Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 121.

23 SP 70/117 fo. 55r.

obligated in his travels, but more by duty and fear of mis-stepping than by the promise of future patronage or employment.

Often, however, the traveller is more directly bound, and enters into a more transactional relationship with their correspondents: this, in particular, is where greyer areas and greater anxieties creep into the construction of travel and the role of the traveller. There is much to be gained by productive travel, and as further gains are sought more risk—reputational, moral and even physical—may come into play. The further along this road one goes, the more one intersects and overlaps with the world of diplomacy and intelligence gathering. University education, legal training, and foreign travel appear again and again in the biographies of diplomats, clerks and councillors in Elizabethan politics: travel is part of both the training expected and the activity undertaken once a position is attained, and can be a stepping stone to salaried crown service. The status and degree of official commission held by a diplomatic agent can itself be vague or contentious, and, particularly when the figure is some variety of crown agent rather than a resident ambassador, I would argue that we can better understand early modern diplomacy by considering activities undertaken rather than focussing solely on fixed roles and named appointments. In this construction of diplomacy, there is not much to distinguish the traveller from the agent or intelligencer if they supply the same functions, such as gathering news and synthesising intelligence, liaising with useful people, bearing letters and so on. An example can be seen in Henry Wotton's offerings to Lord Zouche when travelling in Europe in the 1590s, about which Lisa Jardine and William Sherman observe "[t]his kind of 'intelligence' plainly embraces both sensitive and innocuous, scholarly and political knowledge, and elides the functions of information gatherer and spy".²⁴ The enhanced intelligence service that the traveller Wotton offers aims at mitigating the recognised fact that he is in competition with others who vie to attract attention with news; he therefore suggests that he couple his "plain kind of service" (i.e. the delivery of news), with a scholarly service, that is, the active gathering and synthesis of in-depth knowledge and the procurement of books and manuscripts, to attempt to secure Zouche's patronage and a more involved relationship.²⁵

24 Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, 'Pragmatic Readers: Knowledge Transactions and Scholarly Services in late Elizabethan England' in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 102–24, at 105.

25 Wotton travelled through Europe for five years from 1589, and at the time he contacted Zouche had procured lodgings with the imperial librarian, Hugo Blotius. He seems to have secured books for Zouche, though his primary patron was later to be none other

Patronage could mean explicit or implicit sponsoring of travel, or it could give a specific role or task to the traveller; obligation could be invoked by assistance in obtaining a passport, by a letter of travel advice, by direct instruction, or by money, but whichever the context there is always an expected return, and for the traveller it is always information (in one form or another). Even if not framed as a directly transactional relationship, there is an ever-present sense of due return in letters of advice, to be discharged in the dutiful action of gathering information, and this obligation is generated in the first instance by the letter itself and secondarily by the frequent implication of future career assistance, and in some cases strengthened by the enclosure or mention of a monetary gift.²⁶ This is the case in a letter of travel advice of uncertain attribution, either from Thomas Bodley to Francis Bacon or from Fulke Greville to a younger relation.²⁷ After obligatory reference to previous correspondence, the printed versions of the letter open with an unceremonious and almost apologetic reference to monies sent: “I have sent you by your Merchant for your present supply 30li, and had sent you a greater summe, but that my extraordinary charges this yeere have utterly unfurnished me”.²⁸ That this mention of money is present in the printed Greville version accords with the fact that he is seen elsewhere actively sponsoring travellers, such as John Coke, for whom he provided as much as £200 per annum and a commission to travel for three years on behalf of the earl of Essex in order to “report to Greville and Essex on matters

than that key patron of travel and intellectual service, the earl of Essex. See Jardine and Sherman, ‘Pragmatic Readers’.

- 26 The subject of money is referred to several times in Philip Sidney’s letters to his brother Robert, see Steuart Pears, *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* (Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1971), pp. 223–4.
- 27 Letter of travel advice, from Bodley to Bacon: *The Life of James Usher, Late Lord Archbishop of Armagh ... With a Collection of Three Hundred Letters* (London, 1686), p. 17, Letter XIII; from Greville to his nephew Varney: *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes of the Right Honourable Fulke, Lord Brooke* (London, 1633), p. 295. For discussion of the authorship claims, see Elizabeth Williamson, ‘A letter of travel advice? Literary rhetoric, scholarly counsel and practical instruction in the *ars apodemica*’, in *Lives and Letters*, 3:1 (2011), <<http://journal.xmerra.org/journalarchive/Williamson.pdf>>[03/03/16], and *The Oxford Francis Bacon, 1: Early Writings 1584–1596*, ed. Alan Stewart with Harriet Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), Appendix C. With thanks to Alan Stewart for allowing me to view the unpublished manuscript.
- 28 *The Life of James Usher*, p. 17; *Workes, Lord Brooke*, p. 295. The version printed in the 1633 *Workes, Lord Brooke* does not include the ‘30li’, but leaves a lacuna. Manuscript and print versions of the letter as attributed to Greville variously include the 30li or a lacuna.

of interest to the English government'.²⁹ The Bodley/Greville letter links financial contribution to a due return, but this is an indirect nudge rather than an explicit demand. By insisting that he “will be no severe exactor of account, either of your money or time”, the writer affirms by negation that he does indeed expect repayment of a kind, passively reminding the reader that both his money and time are indebted.³⁰ While he adheres to the tradition of warning the young traveller to protect his moral virtue and learn all he can, a key function of the letter is detailing the type of information the sender would like relayed. This may, the writer states, “make your life more profitable to your country, and yourself more comfortable to your friends”, which again employs indirect language to couple the dual motivations of information gathering—patriotism and personal advancement.³¹ His closing comments seal the deal more overtly, and stress in a friendly but firm tone the expected response:

If in this time of your liberal traffic, you will give me any advertisement of your commodities in these kinds, I will make you as liberal a return from myself and your friends here, as I shall be able.³²

We can see that within the courtly advice there is practical dealing, where talk of “advertisement” harkens back to the Palmer treatise, and the terms of the trade—“commodities” and “return”—are set out.

This rhetoric blurs what is sought after—the letter appears to request information, listing *ad nauseam* what to gather, yet it states that the writer’s “purpose is not to bring all your observation to heads”.³³ It stresses that, being in France, he must learn of “the Ordinances, Strength, and Progres of each [i.e. Huguenot and Catholic], in Reputation, and Party, and how both are supported, balanced and managed by the State”, while warning against spending all his time “like an Intelligencer, in fishing after the present News, Humours, Graces or Disgraces of court”.³⁴ Again, this divergence is in part a rhetorical function to protect against the immorality of travel, and in part because the

29 See Ronald Rebholz, *The Life of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 96.

30 *Reliquiae Bodleianae: Or some Genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley. Containing his Life, the first Draught of the Statutes of the Publick Library at Oxford, (in English) and a Collection of Letters to Dr James &c.* (London, 1706), p. 364.

31 *Reliquiae Bodleianae*, p. 369.

32 *Reliquiae Bodleianae*, p. 369.

33 *Reliquiae Bodleianae*, p. 368.

34 *Reliquiae Bodleianae*, pp. 365, 367.

prioritisation of scholarship over gossip, and of knowledge over news, was considered valid. There is a thirst for both reliable news and more digested accounts (especially of the political situation), but an anxiety over anything potentially immoral or risky. Alongside the Polonius-style rhetoric, one finds advice to gather military and/or secret information, such as when Essex suggests that Rutland get assistance uncovering matters that are “martiall, and others points of State”, and advice by Palmer to buy and even bribe when necessary; “to procure with their purse, what by discretion, observation, and friends, cannot be attained unto”.³⁵ Much of this advice does therefore appear to encourage “fishing after News”.³⁶ There is a conflict between what is stated and what is implied here and elsewhere, and room for individuals to slip between the gap, and into perhaps unanticipated expectations. This can be seen in further examples of the various men who travelled under the advice, assistance or influence of the earl of Essex.

Essex involved himself heavily in foreign intelligencing activities, building an intelligence network of his own to transmit information from the continent, which incorporated both independent travellers and employed agents.³⁷ The distinction as well as the proximity between different types of traveller and agent emerges in Paul Hammer’s discussion of the interaction between Henry Hawkins, Essex’s agent in a “semi-official English diplomatic and intelligence-gathering station in Venice”, and Francis Davison, the young traveller more indirectly encouraged by Essex, and who was sent a letter of travel advice by his father.³⁸ Both men’s travels were “largely facilitated and paid for by Essex”, and both appeared in Venice at the same time, prompting a clash between them that points to an overlap in their activity and its desired results, with Hawkins viewing Davison “as a potential competitor for the Earl’s favour”.³⁹ Despite this, their circumstances were different and the line between the two men can be seen as being grounded in the control and the notion of overt employment, which is implicitly recognised in Hammer’s differentiation: “Essex’s hunger for knowledge and belief in the educative effects of European

35 Palmer, *The Travailer*, p. 127.

36 *Reliquiae Bodleianae*, p. 367.

37 See especially Paul Hammer, “The Use of Scholarship: The Secretariat of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, c. 1585–1601”, *The English Historical Review*, 109 [430] (1994), pp. 26–51; “Essex sought to buttress his claims to be a budding statesman by cultivating a leading role in diplomacy and the gathering of foreign intelligence”, p. 30.

38 Hammer, Paul, ‘Essex and Europe: Evidence from Confidential Instructions by the Earl of Essex 1595–6’, *The English Historical Review*, 111 [441] (1996), pp. 357–81, at 362.

39 Hammer, ‘Essex and Europe’, p. 364.

travel apparently extended to the encouragement of gentleman travellers, as well as the employment of salaried agents".⁴⁰ These are subtle but important distinctions that define Hawkins as Essex's diplomatic agent and client, and Davison first and foremost as an educational traveller but one owing a return on the earl's investment, and who, though not explicitly employed, is still instructed in the form of gentlemanly advice both from his father and from Essex himself.⁴¹ Unfortunately, Davison's travel was not considered a great success: he ran into debt with expensive living and was criticised by his father, though he did send a treatise on Saxony to Essex through Anthony Bacon.⁴²

Sliding even more finely between the examples of Davison and Hawkins is Robert Naunton, a scholar who approached Essex for assistance in obtaining a travel licence for his own educational tour in 1595, but who ended up being transformed from a sponsored and guided but essentially independent traveller into a paid agent. Essex decided that instead of undertaking his own expedition, Naunton should become a mediator between the earl and Antonio Perez in France.⁴³ That the situation was not Naunton's preferred outcome is evident from a letter two years into his travel, clearly illustrating his dilemma of wanting unrestricted travel and freedom to pursue the self-improvement of the *ars apodemica* but being inextricably bound to Essex's command:

I desire to goe hence & be no more seen here. But whether to goe, I dare not desire of myse[lf] without yo^r Lp approbacion ... Y^r Lps former directions have so inured m[e] as I cannot now promise myselfe in any sort to improv[e] my travail without y^r Lp prscription & allowance of my

40 Hammer, 'Essex and Europe', p. 364.

41 Devereux, *Profitable Instructions*, pp. 1–24. See Hammer for evidence that Essex sent Davison a letter of advice, 'Essex and Europe', p. 364, n. 4.

42 See John Considine, 'Davison, Francis (1573/4–1613x19)', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7300> [29/06/14].

43 See Hammer, 'Essex and Europe', pp. 365–6. See also Gustav Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: the Correspondence of Antonio Pérez's Exile* (London: Tamesis Books, 1975–6), vol. 2, for transcripts of several of Naunton's letters during this time, esp. p. 97 for Essex promising further employment for Naunton once these duties with Perez have been dispatched. A letter of 20 January 1597 (n.s.) from Naunton to Essex sees him thanking Essex for obtaining his passport, and giving an account of being back in England with Perez in April–May 1586. In it, he states that he was unable to bow completely to Perez's wishes since they conflicted with his duty owed to Essex; "my devotion to himself had deflected me thus farre out of my course entred as to return with him thither at his spetiall instance for the time of his employment, yet I might not so abuse her Ma^{ty}s & yo^r Lops favoures as not to employ my time as I had pretended to yow" (2: 109).

course ... I am ashamed of myselfe to thinck how farre I have strayed from the first intent & drift of my travaile, which was only to have prepared & inhabited myselfe so as I might have done yo^r Lps service at my returne.⁴⁴

Naunton manifests the distinction between traveller and commissioned agent when he became wholly subject to Essex and his commands in his travels. As part of his new role as agent mediating with Perez, Naunton was also clearly expected to keep Essex updated with the latest news and reports on the political climate. In a long letter detailing current political affairs in France, Naunton opens by stressing how much he has already been writing to Essex.⁴⁵ He states that “Though I have wrote soe much allreddie in div^rs of my last letters, & speciallye in my last of the 7 hereof”, he is duty-bound to write again on the same matter, “to adv^rtise all the alteracions & motives y^t fall out here touching that affaire”.⁴⁶ That this letter of news is of value to the governing circles is demonstrated by the fact that it survives as a contemporary copy in the Harley collection of the British Library, and also because one of its readers has underlined sentences of particular importance.

There is considerable overlap between the categories of employment, sponsorship, patronage and friendship, and these ambiguities oblige educational travellers to attend carefully to how they place and conduct themselves. The situation is doubly problematic because the attributes that could be used now to identify someone as a diplomatic or intelligencing agent—clear instructions, direct pay or subsequent recompense—may not actually exist, even if the individual self-identified as such. Additionally, as Robyn Adams points out, there is a very blurred line between a private and a crown intelligencer.⁴⁷ The guise under which one travels can be confused and unclear to contemporaries, and even to the travellers themselves, as with the frustrated Naunton. One might be nearer to being an agent than a client, a diplomat than an intelligencer, or actually be employed in crown service already but travelling seemingly without specific commission. This latter appears to be Henry Cheke's case, an Elizabethan gentleman who involved himself in transmitting news whilst travelling. Cheke was well connected by family, but needed an income

44 Robert Naunton to Essex, Paris, 10 December 1597 (n.s.), Ungerer, *Antonio Perez*, pp. 144–5.

45 ‘Copie of a Letter from Mr Robert Naunton’, BL Harley MS 288, fos. 245r–8v.

46 BL Harley MS 288, fo. 245r.

47 See Robyn Adams, ‘A Most Secret Service: William Herle and the Circulation of Intelligence’, in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), pp. 63–81.

due to his father's debts and loss of familial lands during Mary I's reign. Letters survive from 1573–4 that see him petitioning Lord Burghley, his uncle through Burghley's first marriage, for governmental office, and in 1575 he was made a clerk of the Privy Council.⁴⁸ For the first years of the clerkship at least this position seems to have been a sinecure, granted by Burghley in response to Cheke's financial problems.⁴⁹ Unlike all the other clerks, both at this time and throughout Elizabeth's reign, Cheke had no previous experience in government office and had not travelled abroad; his family connections, Jacqueline Vaughan argues, meant that he "was virtually guaranteed an office at court, regardless of his ability".⁵⁰ However, this lack of experience, European languages and training could not hold for long, and he spent the next three years touring Italy and France. I would suggest that this foreign travel was specifically intended to develop Cheke personally for the government positions he sought (and had attained in name), through both training in foreign languages and in the gathering and transmission of information, rather than being an official diplomatic commission as part of his clerky duties.⁵¹

This training can be traced in the extant letters sent to Burghley during his travel.⁵² Dated 24 October 1576, a lengthy letter from Cheke in Genoa reflects Burghley's (as yet unfulfilled) expectation of advertisements, and explains why thus far he has had little to offer.⁵³ He apologises that he has not "learned any good intelligence" and states that the reasons for this were his being persuaded to travel a particular route, and a lack of languages (especially French) that has hindered his access to information.⁵⁴ He has learned the hard way that few locals were able to converse with him in Latin, meaning that "Such knowledg as I have gotten in travayle, I have atcheeved ether by mine eye, or by discretion".⁵⁵ In excusatory style, Cheke recounts that by this time he has been threatened and his servant arrested, his travelling companion has

48 John Roche Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council 1575–77*, vol. 9 (London: HMSO, 1894), p. 166. He is sworn in on 19 July 1575, along with Thomas Wilkes.

49 Jacqueline Vaughan refers to Cheke's appointment as "a reward or gift" and expresses surprise at his lack of qualifications: 'Secretaries, Statesmen, and Spies: The Clerks of the Tudor Privy Council, c.1540—c.1603', PhD thesis (University of St. Andrews, 2006), esp. pp. 36–7, 48.

50 Vaughan, 'Secretaries, Statesmen', p. 36.

51 For the relationship of diplomatic work overseas with the clerkship, see Williamson, 'Before "Diplomacy"', pp. 101–5.

52 A sample of these letters is provided in Williamson, 'Before "Diplomacy"', appendix two.

53 24 October 1576, Cheke to Burghley, BL Lansdowne MS 23, fos. 186r–7r.

54 Lansdowne MS 23, fo. 186r.

55 Lansdowne MS 23, fo. 186r.

abandoned him, and he has seen his letters “opened & redd before o^r faces”.⁵⁶ What he does convey is his own travel experience, rumours of discontented marauders, and details of the plague (where it is bad, numbers of dead, difficulties for travellers). Despite this information, he states that the only real “newes” he can offer is that the emperor Maximilian II has recently died, but he accepts that this will be common knowledge by the time his letter reaches Burghley (his letter is dated twelve days after the emperor’s death).⁵⁷ The next surviving letter shows a notable improvement: it contains points of political news and significantly is written in Italian, boasting in content and form that Cheke has been using his travel to good effect.⁵⁸ By his letter of 19 August 1577, Cheke is evidently in frequent contact with Burghley (he refers to a previous letter), and offers substantial news, which is the primary purpose of this brief and direct missive.⁵⁹ He writes of the “bruit come wthin thes 3 dayes to Paris, and advertised out of y^e low countries to o^r Englishmen here” that the Queen of Scots had been executed, of rumours concerning the English ambassador in Paris, and of the activities and possible motives of the Duke of Guise.⁶⁰ He is back in France by May 1578, again writing to Burghley and mentioning, perhaps not inconsequentially, his lack of money.⁶¹ He has clearly become a valuable source of information, and importantly a trained and trusted loyal civilian: in October of that year, he carries letters home from the resident ambassador Sir Amias Paulet. This is an important commission from an important diplomatic figure that could lead to personal interviews with the highest political circles back in England.⁶² Three months following this, Cheke was called to the Privy Council to sign up to a rota spreading the work of the clerkship evenly amongst the clerks of the council.⁶³ It would seem that the other clerks wanted him, now that he had

56 Lansdowne MS 23, fo. 186r.

57 Lansdowne MS 23, fo. 186v.

58 23 January 1576/7, Lansdowne MS 24, fos. 58r–9v.

59 19 August 1577, Cheke to Burghley, TNA, SP 78/1, fos. 21r–2v.

60 SP 78/1, fo. 21r. For a transcription, see Williamson, “Before ‘Diplomacy’”, Appendix 2.2.

61 20 May 1578, Cheke to Burghley, TNA, SP 15/25, fos. 177r–8v.

62 Consider the example of legation secretary and later ambassador Thomas Edmondes bearing letters for Henry Unton, in which he is praised and recommended. Edmondes returned to France, arriving on 24 March 1592, with letters that reference personal interview from Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon, Lord Admiral Charles Howard, Vice Chamberlain Thomas Heneage, Robert Devereux and Robert Cecil, who writes “this bearer can certifie you of all o^r occurments”, BL Add. MS 38137, fos. 137r–8v.

63 Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council 1578–80*, 9: 4–5: “3 Januarij, 1578 [NS 1579] The same daye, Mr Henry Cheek, heretofore sworn one of the Clerkes of her Majesties most

enjoyed similar training to that they had gained in their youth, to fulfil the duties of the position as well as benefitting from its perks.

There is another important point to make here: that travellers do not just transmit news back home independently but can also be an unofficial part of an existing embassy, often used to bear messages and deliver post, and could be used to source news and intelligence for the ambassador. Palmer instructs the traveller to “make oft repaire to the Ambassadors of his Prince (in case there remaine any there) advertising him of such importances as shall chaunce unto him in that Countrey”.⁶⁴ If avoiding stepping on the ambassador’s toes is a concern, then it follows that the news-gathering activity of the traveller can be related to that of the diplomat. We have seen that during his time in France, Cheke is connected to the ambassador in Paris: he reports on rumours circulating about him, and is employed by him to bear letters—this association makes it not unlikely that he was involved in other tasks.

Travel gave a useful freedom of movement to Anthony Bacon, brother to Francis and later close associate of the earl of Essex, who provides an example of a traveller who is directly called upon by the resident ambassador to involve himself in secret diplomatic and intelligencing activity. Bacon travelled throughout the 1580s in France and Geneva, and can be seen following the ideals of the *ars apodemica*: he writes a discourse entitled ‘Notes on the present state of Christendom’, and forwards information on the politics of many European countries to Burghley through his friend Nicholas Faunt, secretary to Walsingham.⁶⁵ However, this scholarly information-gathering veered into

honourable Privey Counsell, being returned home out of the partes of beyond the seas, appon an agreement and order taken by Edmond Tremayn, Robert Beale, Thomas Wilkes and the said Henry Cheeke among them selves for the time and terms of their severall waitinges as is conteyned in the note folowing, the same note was exhibited and shewed unto the Lords then present, and being by them liked of and allowed, it was by their Lordships ordered that the same shold be entred into the Counsell Booke, there to remain of record and be observed by them accordingly”. That Cheke surrendered the office of the clerkship less than two years later (again unusual in a post often held for decades) suggests that this was never a role he was particularly interested in; he instead joined the Council of the North as secretary in 1581, where he was also made JP for an extraordinary five counties, see Vaughan, ‘Secretaries, Statesmen’, pp. 66, 119.

64 Palmer, *The Travailer*, p. 128.

65 See David Potter, *Foreign Intelligence and Information in Elizabethan England: Two English Treatises on the State of France, 1580–1584* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 7. He may also be involved in transferring money to diplomats abroad, as suggested by a letter from Anthony Bacon to Francis Bacon on paying Master Bodley “by one warrant

activity that was both more secretive and more involved with the English diplomatic presence abroad. In May 1584, ambassador Edward Stafford wrote to Walsingham to suggest that Bacon be used to reassure Henri of Navarre of the Queen's continued but somewhat covert friendship, and this "under couller of traveling the Countreye ... wthout being knowen".⁶⁶ Stafford asserts that "in my opinion yf her Ma^{tie} doe determyne to do ytt there is none properer for that pourpose, then *Master* [cipher] ^{^Bacon^} being there allredie wth littell charge or none, onlie of the sending of her ma^{tes} letters to him ..."⁶⁷ This illustrates that Bacon and his whereabouts are already known to the ambassador. The sense is that as a traveller he is available to the embassy and the crown, free to deliver letters or gather information, as implied by the off-hand differentiation between 'littell charge or none'; this activity is liminal insofar as it is not officially commissioned or instructed. The covert nature of this arrangement is underscored by Stafford's use of cipher for Bacon's name.⁶⁸ Bacon here begins to bridge the gap between the traveller for education who conveys useful news home and someone who is employed more directly—following this arrangement he will cease to be engaged in neutral travel and will rather be "under couller of traveling".

Bacon himself manifests everything that parents and patrons feared of travel, and also demonstrates its benefits. His mother, Anne Bacon, was vocally angry over Bacon's lack of contact and refusal to return to England. Walsingham chided him over his extensive use of self-medication or "physic". At times he fought accusation that his lodging was a nest for 'rebellious Huguenots', and during his stay at Henri of Navarre's court at Montauban he got in trouble for debt and was arrested for sodomy. Charges of sexual immorality, drugs, debt and religious extremism are all levied at Bacon during his time abroad, yet the flexibility that accompanied relatively unencumbered travel meant that Bacon was able to deliver information, please patrons, and form a network of

by a bill of exchange to Lyons £155 4s 2d". However, the letter is not dated so the context remains unclear. See Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998), p. 84.

66 Stafford to Walsingham, 2 May 1584, TNA, SP 78/11, fo. 86v. Stafford's embassy has been the subject of much critical debate, with some suggestion that he acted as a double-agent as a way of paying his gambling debts. See Mitchell Leimon and Geoffrey Parker, "Treason and Plot in Elizabethan Diplomacy: The "Fame of Sir Edward Stafford" Reconsidered," *English Historical Review*, 111 [444] (1996), pp. 1134–58.

67 TNA, SP 78/11, fo. 86v.

68 A later hand adds "Bacon" as a supralinear annotation. On Bacon's activity as an un- or semi-official diplomatic agent in this mission, see Williamson, "Before "Diplomacy"", p. 116.

contacts that would serve him very well when he did eventually return to England. Travel allowed him to rub shoulders with people such as Théodore Beza and Michel de Montaigne, and, once he was introduced into Essex's circle, helped him to build the intelligence network that supported Essex in his bid to become a leading statesman:

Anthony Bacon soon enhanced Essex's remarkable secretariat by coordinating (unpaid) a massive foreign intelligence operation with contacts across Europe, including Thomas Bodley, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Dr Henry Hawkins, John Napier, Sir Anthony Sherley, and [Anthony] Standen. A good quantity of his correspondence is extant at Lambeth Palace Library and formed the basis of Thomas Birch's once standard history of Elizabeth's reign.⁶⁹

I have argued here that travellers were part of the system by which international political information was gathered and conveyed, and that educational travel could blur into diplomatic business. Further, the motivation for this was often to advance a traveller's career within this system (loosely-conceived), with travel and reportage being essential training for higher-status positions in diplomatic and governmental spheres. The aim is not to conclude that all travellers were asked to be spies or newsmongers, but that one of the reasons for the constant repetition of the importance of observation for the good of the common weal was that this activity can be one way for those in governing circles (or out of them) to inform themselves of the happenings in Europe. The pamphlets of travel advice and letters of scholarly counsel, as well as being a literary tradition enjoyed for its academic value or intended to encourage learning for one's own self, can be read as instructions for gathering information, as a corollary to the official instructions of ambassadors and negotiators. Since this activity is several things at once, namely travel for experience, travel for personal knowledge, travel for information, and travel for career development, it depends on the individual travellers as to where they place themselves and what, if any, news they gather in their time abroad.

The above examples are certainly not equivalent or uniform: they display the variety of people who followed this model of educative travel and crown service, and the different ways they made use of it. One could even suggest that it is the travel advice genre itself that does the real fishing for news, with authors and senders encouraging their clients to make use of their privileged

69 Alan Stewart, 'Bacon, Anthony (1558–1601)', *ODNB* <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/988> [29/06/14].

access. This frames the travellers themselves as the bait, speculatively cast to catch news in dangerous waters. However, just as much as the leading elite would not want all and sundry sending them their travel woes, neither would they want their own sons and relations putting themselves in real reputational or physical danger. Perhaps there is a twin audience here, then: the addressed nobleman who is urged to source information but to do so safely, and the wider ranks among whom the request percolated, who could take greater risks, perhaps thereby making their way in the world. As with most things, this comes down to a distinction of status and intention. For those whose position (social, geographical and political) allowed them, delivering information and news was both an expectation and an opportunity; what use they made of this was down to them.

'It is No Time Now to Enquire of Forraine Occurrents': Plague, War, and Rumour in the Letters of Joseph Mead, 1625

Kirsty Rolfe

In early September 1625, in a letter to his friend Sir Martin Stuteville, the Cambridge scholar Joseph Mead described women in Essex “crying & howling as if Tilbury camp were to come againe”.¹ Mead’s words hark back to an old danger: that of August 1588, when troops gathered at Tilbury in order to repulse attack by Philip II of Spain’s Armada. The women in Essex wailed, Mead writes, as if they feared a return to an event, 37 years earlier, that had become synonymous with national peril and Spanish threat.

Their fears were not abstract: the long peace between England and Spain, which had endured since the Treaty of London in 1604, had finally been broken. Under the new King Charles, who had acceded at the end of March, England was about to embark upon a naval war with Spain on behalf of Charles’s sister Elizabeth and her husband Frederick of the Palatinate, who were living in exile in The Hague following Frederick’s unsuccessful bid for the Bohemian crown.² Meanwhile, British troops were already fighting on the continent, under the mercenary commander Ernst von Mansfeld; in February they attacked the Spanish Army of Flanders, which was besieging the town of Breda in the Low Countries. Fears of Spanish retaliation were rife, and rumours of a large Spanish fleet preparing to attack the English coast had been current for much of the summer.

In 1588, the Spanish threat had been destroyed by storms, a clear sign, in the eyes of many, of divine assistance: “God blew and they were scattered”.³

1 Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, 10 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 487–9, at fo. 487v. For the spelling of Mead’s name (variants of which include Mede and Meade), I follow the spelling used by D.A.J. Cockburn (see n. 5), which is the one Mead uses most frequently in his letters to Stuteville.

2 See Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621–1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

3 A medal struck in Middelburg, the Netherlands, to commemorate the defeat of the Armada in 1588 famously featured the words ‘*Flavit Jehovah*’ [‘Jehovah’ is in Hebrew] *et Dissipati Sunt*—‘God blew and they were scattered’. See the medal held in the Coins and Medals Department of the British Museum, London, museum number M.6898.

However, in the late summer of 1625, such heavenly assistance may have seemed very far away. The country was gripped by one of the most destructive outbreaks of bubonic plague in living memory, and the women in Essex wailed because they had heard “that our King (whom God blesse) was dead”.⁴

Mead did not “cry and howl”—as far as we know—but he did write. He had been writing weekly letters of news to Stuteville from around 1619, drawing both on the oral news he heard in Cambridge and on news gazettes and printed pamphlets received from London, England’s primary hub for news. However, what with fear of infection and prohibitions on travel and trade, it became difficult, if not impossible, for Mead to obtain these dispatches. Though he continued to write to Stuteville, his letters from the summer of 1625 contain information about the plague, and rumours such as those he heard from Essex, in the place of reports gleaned from professional newsmongers. In particular, Mead was cut off from his usual sources of foreign news, thus making it difficult for him to assess the truth of rumours regarding Spain’s preparations for war.

In early September, as the trained bands gathered and the plague raged, a perfect storm of rumour centred on two unknowable threats: an invasion fleet lying off the coast of England, and plague bacteria multiplying in the body of the king. Cut off from his usual sources of news, even the self-styled “Novellante” Mead could only observe preparations for war, quiz his colleagues, and speculate darkly.

The wailing women in the streets of Essex—and the provincial letter-writer who reported their cries—demonstrate both the practical fragility of local news networks in seventeenth-century England, and their psychological durability. Although news about ‘*forraïne occurents*’ was scarce, people continued to feel connected to—and threatened by—events on the continent. The rumours of September 1625 demonstrate that moments of crisis or dysfunction in a network such as Mead’s can give us crucial insights both into how these networks functioned, and into the mindsets of people involved in them.

Mead’s News Network

The friendship between Mead and Stuteville was well-established by the time Mead began his letters of news in around 1619.⁵ D.A.J. Cockburn and Brian W. Ball

4 Mead to Stuteville, 10 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 487–9, at fo. 487v.

5 D.A.J. Cockburn, ‘A critical edition of the letters of the reverend Joseph Mead, 1626–1627, contained in British Library Harleian MS 390’, 2 vols., PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 1994), 1: 35.

both suggest that Mead's connection to Stuteville was a major factor in Mead's appointment to the King Edward VI fellowship at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1613. Valentine Cary, master of the college, had opposed Mead's candidacy, but "may eventually have been disposed to view him more favourably" because he was himself friendly with Stuteville.⁶ Mead visited Dalham regularly, and tutored two of Stuteville's sons in Cambridge: the eldest, Thomas, between 1615 and 1618, and John from 1625 until 1628.⁷ John arrived in Cambridge in April 1625, and Mead's letters during the spring and summer contain details of his progress in his studies and the provision of "stuffe for a gowne" alongside items of news.⁸ The progress of the plague, and the protective measures taken in Cambridge, were presumably of especial interest for a father with a son residing in the city.

This relationship was preserved and cultivated through letters. Mead wrote to Stuteville almost every week until Stuteville's death in 1631, keeping his friend up to date with both domestic news from London and Cambridge, and foreign news from all over Europe and beyond. Although Stuteville's home in Dalham was under twenty miles from Cambridge, it was isolated: as Cockburn writes, "it did not lie on any major carriage routes and the difficulty of getting letters there meant that Sir Martin was in no position to receive the detailed reports available to Mead in Cambridge".⁹

On Mead's part, the letters enabled him to maintain a relationship that had proved, and continued to prove, financially and professionally beneficial. His unpaid newsgathering was both a form of sociability—his tone is frequently humorous and fairly informal—and a form of service to a social superior. Mead's subscriptions give a sense both of how he valued his role as Stuteville's news-gatherer, and of the way in which this service took place within an established relationship of patronage. He signed himself "your faithfull Novellante" twice—on 3 March 1621, and 4 May 1622—but generally used some variation on "yours most ready to be commanded".¹⁰

The packages that travelled from Christ's College to Dalham were made up of at least two documents, drawn from a range of sources. First, Mead sent Stuteville a personal letter containing news from Cambridge (including, from

6 Cockburn, 'Critical edition', 1: 29–30; Bryan W. Ball, 'Mede, Joseph (1586–1638)', *ODNB*, ed. by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18465> [24/06/14].

7 Cockburn, 'Critical edition', 1: 32.

8 Mead to Stuteville, 25 April 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 429–31, at fo. 429r.

9 Cockburn, 'Critical edition', 1: 35–6.

10 Mead to Stuteville, 3 March 1620/1, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 30–1, at fo. 31r, Mead to Stuteville, 4 May 1622, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 184–5, at fo. 184r.

April onwards, news about John), local rumours, accounts of texts he had seen in others' possession, and his own thoughts on events. Secondly, enclosed within these personal letters were usually separate transcripts of news taken mostly from manuscript newsletters, sometimes supplemented with reports from printed sources. At times, Mead also sent Stuteville his own copies of print or manuscript texts: news, prophecies, verse and libels. These parcels demonstrate that news could change once it entered local news networks. The news that passed through Mead's hands was reframed and recontextualised, glossed with his own interpretations of events and his own assessment of the accuracy of the letters, manuscript gazettes, printed news, and oral rumours he received.

Most of Mead's transcribed enclosures of foreign news have the distinctive format of the professional anonymous newsletters, known as *avvisi* or gazettes, which had developed in the sixteenth century.¹¹ News was collated in centres of news exchange, and presented in successive short paragraphs, headed with titles like 'News from Frankfurt': Frankfurt being the centre from which the news was sourced, rather than the place where events took place. As Paul Arblaster writes:

The trade in [gazettes] was enormous, with professional news-writers in all the major cities copying them out in whole or in part, collating them, commenting on their reliability in the light of other news, and passing them on to their subscribers and colleagues. Any competent merchant or statesman would soon be aware of what they contained.¹²

Mead may not have been a merchant or a statesman, but he was well-connected. He received much of his foreign news from three London correspondents: William Boswell, one of the Clerks of the Privy Counsel, the professional newsletter writer John Pory, and the clergyman James Meddus, the rector of St Gabriel Fenchurch. Pory charged his client Viscount Scudamore an annual fee of £20 for weekly letters of news.¹³ However, Cockburn suggests that all

11 For more on the development and form of these texts, see Paul Arblaster, 'Posts, newsletters, newspapers: England in a European system of communications', in *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 19–34, and Mario Infelise, 'From merchants' letters to handwritten political *avvisi*: notes on the origins of public information', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, 111: *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 33–52.

12 Arblaster, 'Posts, newsletters, newspapers', p. 20.

13 William S. Powell, *John Pory 1572–1636: The Life and Letters of a Man of Many Parts* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), p. 55.

three men may have “provided [Mead] with news without expecting payment”, as they were all close acquaintances.¹⁴ Meddus appears to have provided much of Mead’s foreign news; he lived near the Royal Exchange, where gazettes and other sources of foreign news were sent.¹⁵

As well as these sociable links, Mead made increasing use of commercial relationships when, as he put it in a letter of January 1623, “purveying for newes”.¹⁶ Mead was writing during a period in which Europe’s news economy was changing rapidly; printed news in particular was being produced and marketed in increasingly innovative ways. In response to the worsening conflict on the continent, stationers in the Netherlands began printing serialised broadsheets of news in English, which they exported to London. Mead included several in his letters to Stuteville during 1621, complete with explanatory annotations. He later makes one of the earliest and most quoted references to serialised news printing in England, in a postscript to a letter dated 22 September 1621. Mead wrote “My Corrantoer Archer [the stationer Thomas Archer] was layd by the heeles for making or adding to Corrantoes &c as they say: But now there is another who hath gott license to print them & sell them honestly translated out of Dutch”.¹⁷ This stationer was ‘one “N.B.”, almost certainly Nathaniel Butter, an experienced publisher who began to produce news broadsheets soon after Archer’s arrest, “at irregular intervals [of] between two and eleven days”.¹⁸ Another candidate for “N.B.” is Nicholas Bourne, who also began to publish quarto pamphlets of continental news around this time. Both men became key members of what Folke Dahl terms “a news syndicate” publishing numbered pamphlets of serialised news.¹⁹ By 1625, Butter and Bourne were publishing news pamphlets together, under the collaborative pseudonym ‘Mercurius Britannicus’.²⁰

Mead appears to have maintained a standing commercial relationship with the London stationers selling printed foreign news during the 1620s, although he repeatedly complains of the freshness and accuracy of these texts. He frequently

14 Cockburn, ‘Critical edition’, 1: 38.

15 See Cockburn, ‘Critical edition’, 1: 37–41.

16 Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, 18 January 1622/3, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 272–3, at fo. 272r.

17 Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, 22 September 1621, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 121–2, at fo. 122r.

18 Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 132.

19 Folke Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks 1620–1642* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1952), p. 19.

20 Dahl, *Bibliography of English Corantos*, p. 133.

includes news from printed texts in his enclosures, often marking it as such.²¹ In March 1623 he sent Stuteville a coranto that he described as worthless and, worse, out-of-date: “nothing but an old repetition of the Holland conspiracie”; but he added that “because I am a customer I must refuse nothing they send me”.²² Two months later he sent Stuteville another “2 bookes”, along with a similar complaint: “there is not so much newes in them both as is worth the money I payd for carriage. But being a customer, I must take one with another & rest contented”.²³

In order to receive manuscript gazettes and personal letters of news from Meddus, Pory and Boswell, and printed news from London stationers, Mead relied on carriers travelling between London and Cambridge.²⁴ Such men were a crucial part of sociable networks: John Earle describes “A Carrier” in *Micro-Cosmographie*, his 1628 book of ‘characters’, as “the ordinarie Embassadour betweene Friend and Friend” who enabled the dynamics of face-to-face interaction to be stretched over wide distances: the carrier resembles “the Vault in Gloster Church, that conveyes Whispers at a distance; for hee takes the sound out of your mouth at Yorke, and makes it bee heard as farre as London”.²⁵

According to John Taylor in *The Carriers Cosmographie* (1637), carriers to Cambridge operated out of two London coaching inns: “The Waggons or Coaches from Cambridge” came to the Bell “every Thursday and Friday”, while “the Carriers of Cambridge” came to the Black Bull on Bishopsgate Street “every Thursday”.²⁶ Both of these inns were a short walking distance from both Meddus’s lodgings and the Royal Exchange: the Black Bull was close to St Gabriel Fenchurch, while the Bell was slightly further away, towards St Paul’s Cathedral. Taylor’s assertions should be treated with caution: Michael Frearson warns that “the *Carriers cosmographie* was without doubt an understatement of the scale of the trade in our period”.²⁷ Whether Meddus took his packages to

21 See, for example, Mead’s transcribed newsletter dated 19 July 1622 (BL Harley MS fos. 218–19), which contains headings reading “Out of Printed newes” (fo. 218v) and “Partly out of Printed newes partly *lettres*” (fo. 219r).

22 Mead to Stuteville, 15 March 1623, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 298–9, at fo. 298r.

23 Mead to Stuteville, 17 May 1623, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 326–7, at fo. 326r.

24 See Michael Frearson, ‘The distribution and readership of London corantos in the 1620s’, in *Serials and Their Readers*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul’s Bibliographies, 1993), pp. 1–25. See also Alan Stewart, *Shakespeare’s Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 122.

25 John Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie, or, a Peece of the World Discovered in Essayes and Characters* (London, 1628), sigs. D4v–D5r. Quoted in Stewart, *Shakespeare’s Letters*, p. 122.

26 John Taylor, *The Carriers Cosmographie* (London, 1637), sigs. Bv–B2r.

27 Frearson, ‘London corantos’, p. 10.

the Black Bull, the Bell, or elsewhere, however, they appear to have regularly left London on Fridays, and travelled to Cambridge overnight. The news did not then go straight on to Stuteville, however. Meddus's letter usually arrived after the Saturday carrier to Dalham had departed, taking Mead's letter to Stuteville with him.²⁸ Consequently, Mead usually sent the news from Meddus with the following week's letter to Stuteville. Even though the journey from Cambridge to Dalham was a short one, it introduced a week's time-lag.

The carriers travelling between Cambridge and Dalham also seem to have been less reliable than those from London: Mead frequently complains about delays, and occasionally letters got lost or temporarily misplaced. In February 1621 he writes that his previous dispatch, which contained "a great packet of reports" had been "carried farre about by reason of Parkers mans incorrigible stubbornesse".²⁹ The report of a letter's late arrival in November 1622 left Mead scrambling to excuse himself:

It was no fault of mine I am sure, who wrot, sealed & sent the *lettre* before dinner; & I use now & have of long used to make my *lettre* ready before I dine, least the messenger should be gone by twelve.³⁰

There appears to have been a particular breakdown in communication in June 1622, when Mead discovered that the carriers had not been treating his letters with the appropriate "hast":

Because I heare not what becomes of my *lettres*: I find too late, that those I betrust with the deliverie of them make bold to keep them sometimes a week after, they are out of my hands. How often I have bin served so I know not but of late I had given my Sizer a *lettre* to *Master Warner* to leave at *Jeffery Finches*, as I do yours; It concerned some speciall busines that required hast. But speaking with *Master Warner* & finding it & one more never came to his hand, by examination I found both how I had bin abused my selfe & you deprived, as I feare, not that time onely, but divers others, notwithstanding the care I alwaies took not to misse. I pray send me word how often you have wanted my *lettres*. For I am sure that I never missed to write so much as one week since Christmas, & had my *lettres* alwaies ready in time.³¹

28 Cockburn, 'Critical edition', 1: 50–4.

29 Mead to Stuteville, 3 February 1620/1, BL MS Harley 389, fos. 9–10, at fo. 9r.

30 Mead to Stuteville, 9 November 1622, BL MS Harley 389, fos. 254–5, at fo. 254r.

31 Mead to Stuteville, 22 June 1622, BL MS Harley 389, fos. 206–7, at fo. 206r.

Through the carriers, Mead and Stuteville were each connected into a network that linked them all the way to Amsterdam and Venice and Constantinople, and beyond. But this individual epistolary link altered the nature of the news: it made it older. The link could also be fragile. If the carter was ill, or dishonest, or was robbed, or if Mead did not get to the coaching inn before he left, the weekly communication was disrupted.

The Plague

This kind of fragility is demonstrated by what happened to Mead's news network during the summer of 1625. As early as April 5, instructions issued by John Gore, Lord Mayor of London, indicate that the plague had taken hold in the capital and that measures put in place to contain it were proving ineffective. Although "the infection of the Plague is daily dispersed more & more in divers parts of this City and the Liberties therof", Gore writes, "the houses infected have not been, nor yet are kept shut up", despite a "Proclamation, and many Precepts and Orders in that behalfe made and taken, aswell by the Kings most excellent Majestie, as by mee and my Brethren the Aldermen". Gore instructed Londoners to avoid leaving their houses, and not to "come into, or frequent any publike assemblies".³² One of Mead's transcribed enclosures of news, dated 15 April, comments on the precautions taken after this:

Our King is very carefull for the whole Citty against plague, which in one week is started up from 4 to 10 parishes & most in the heart of the Citty; the last Billes were 24. The order taken by proclamation is very good & seasonable & may have successe, unlesse the wrath of God do hinder our prevention.³³

Gore's instructions were issued three days after Charles summoned MPs for the first parliament of his reign. The predicted effect of the plague on the parliament is explained in a letter of news dated 22 April, most of which is foreign, presumably sent by Mead to Stuteville but signed "Your Observant Pupill J.S.". It is possible that J.S. was Stuteville's son John, recently arrived in Cambridge,

³² John Goare, Mayor of London, *By the Major. Whereas the Infection of the Plague is Daily Dispersed More & More in Divers Parts of This City* (London, 1625).

³³ Transcribed enclosure of news dated 13 and 15 April 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 422–3, at fo. 422v. Presumably enclosed in Mead to Stuteville, 26 April 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 424–5, which does not mention the plague.

and that the letter was a composition or transcription exercise. “Of the Plague”, J.S. writes, “there dyed this weeke 25; the number of infected Parishes is Eleven, and the Citizens hope that yt will cease, otherwise they loose both tearme & Parliament”.³⁴ The parliament was eventually adjourned on 12 July, less than a month after first meeting, because “the infection of the Plague” put members in “manifest perill”.³⁵

Despite the attempts of officials to limit the spread of infection, it didn't abate. London's population density and centrality in trade and social networks ensured that, like in previous epidemics, the city was hit particularly badly. Paul Slack has estimated that 26,350 people died in the city itself: over 20% of the city's population.³⁶ The official bill of mortality for the period December 1624 to December 1625 issued by the Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks lists total deaths in London, Westminster and the surrounding villages as 63,001, of whom 41,313 had died of the plague.³⁷ The plague was not confined to the capital. J.F.D. Shrewsbury notes that “Most of the counties bordering on the English Channel seem to have been more or less extensively involved in this outburst of plague”: a particularly problematic situation for a country preparing to embark upon a European war.³⁸ The economic effects of the plague were severe: Charles Creighton writes that it “stopped all trade in the City for a season and left great confusion and impoverishment behind it”.³⁹

The disastrous effects of the plague in London are illustrated by the startling woodcut from the title page of Thomas Dekker's *A Rod for Run-Awayes* (London, 1625).⁴⁰ The image is dominated by a skeleton, dancing on a pile of coffins and holding an arrow in each hand. One arrow points at a group of people—a man, a woman, and a small child—lying crumpled against a haystack in the lower left-hand corner, with the words “Wee dye” over their heads. The skeleton's face and its other arrow point to the right, where men level pikes and halberds at a fleeing band of Londoners—men, women, and children—ordering them to “Keepe out”. Their attempt to escape the plague is in vain: “I follow”, the skeleton

34 J.S. [John Stuteville] to [Sir Martin Stuteville], 22 April 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fo. 426v.

35 Charles I, *A Proclamation Concerning the Adiournement of the Parliament*, 12 July 1625 (London, 1625).

36 Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (1985; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 7–17, 145–51.

37 Worshipful Company of Parish Clerks, *A Generall or Great Bill for This Yeere* (London, 1625).

38 J.F.D. Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 338.

39 Charles Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, vol.1, rev. edn. with additional material by D.E.C. Eversley and others (London, Frank Cass, 1965), p. 511.

40 Thomas Dekker, *A Rod for Run-Awayes* (London, 1625), title page.

says to them. Elsewhere in the image, dogs feed on corpses, and bones and human skulls lie unregarded on the ground. Behind it all, the words of a prayer—"Lord, have mercy on London"—flank a cloud from which lightning strikes the city. Inside, Dekker's text paints a doleful picture of a "desolate and forsaken" London.⁴¹ The trades that had sustained the city now figured its ruin: "Few woollen Drapers sel any Cloth, but every Church-yard is every day full of linnen Drapers: and the Earth is the great Warehouse, which is piled up with winding-sheetes".⁴²

Mead wrote to Stuteville on 9 July 1625 informing him that Meddus—as of a week previously, presumably—could no longer supply foreign news:

Henceforth you must not look to be supplied as you were wont. The plague is in the Doctors parish & the rest of our intelligence is fled, & it growes very dangerous on both sides to continue an intercourse of lettres, not knowing what hands they passe through before they come to those to whom they are sent.⁴³

It appears from this that both Pory and Boswell had left the city. Meddus remained behind, but he was no longer able to send Mead his weekly letters of foreign news. The plague had infected his parish, and it was no longer safe for him either to gather news from the Royal Exchange or to send it on. The short walk from St Gabriel Fenchurch to the Royal Exchange was now unsafe for a man whose duty it was to stay away from places where people congregated, and instead to minister to his sick parishioners.

Meanwhile, even if Meddus had made it to a coaching inn with a letter to send, it is unlikely after this point that he would have found somebody to carry it. Mead also reports in this letter that the carriers from London were to be stopped from travelling to Cambridge: "Our Hobson & the rest should have bin forbidden this week, but that the message came too late, howsoever it is his last".⁴⁴ The next week Mead did receive a letter from Meddus—but it "contained nothing almost but lamentation and desire of our prayers". It was "no time now to enquire of forraine occurents".⁴⁵

And after this "forraine occurents" did more or less cease to feature in Mead's letters to Stuteville. There are no separate enclosures of news in the British

41 Dekker, *Rod for Run-Awayes*, sig. D3r.

42 Dekker, *Rod for Run-Awayes*, sig. A2v.

43 Mead to Stuteville, 9 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 472–3, at fo. 472r.

44 Mead to Stuteville, 9 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 472–3, at fo. 472r.

45 Mead to Stuteville, 17 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 476–7, at fo. 476r.

Library volume between one containing news dated 30 June and 1 July (presumably enclosed in Mead's letter of 2 July) and one dated 8 September (presumably enclosed in Mead's letter of 10 September).⁴⁶ Mead does transcribe some foreign news in his letter of 17 July. Immediately following his assertion that it is "no time now to enquire of forraine occurents", he adds a snippet of news about events in Todos los Santos in Brazil, and then proceeds to transcribe another newsletter he has seen into the body of his letter.⁴⁷ However, from this time forward foreign news becomes much less frequent in Mead's letters, and phrased much more in terms of rumour and uncertainty.

It is also clear that printed news texts did not usually reach Cambridge during the epidemic. An unexpected arrival is recorded in Mead's letter dated 30 July, in which he told Stuteville "I send you a Corranto brought me besides expectation & almost against my will", and excused his decision to forward it by explaining that "it was well aired, & smok't before I received it, as our lettres all use to be. nor was the plague then in Paules Church yard, whence it came".⁴⁸ Cockburn suggests that this text was part of a haul of books—as well as oranges and raisins—illicitly imported by the carriers Hobson and Cutchie, who had apparently continued to operate a service from London. The carriers were punished by Cambridge's Plague Court, which dictated measures to prevent and control infection, to "air the books, one by one, 3 times over, in a barn specially provided for the purpose".⁴⁹

This anecdote does, however, demonstrate that printed news texts were still available in London. There is a notable gap in the Stationers' Register over the summer: no publications are registered between 20 July (when Miles Flesher registered Thomas Hastler's sermon *An Antidote Against the Plague*) and 8 November (when Nicholas Bourne registered Daniel Featley's *Ancilla Pietatis*).⁵⁰ However, the fact that stationers did not trouble, or were not able, to register publications does not mean that they did not produce them. In fact,

46 Transcribed enclosure of news dated 30 June and 1 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 468–9. Presumably enclosed in Mead to Stuteville, 2 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 470–1. Transcribed enclosure of news dated 8 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 485–6, at fo. 485r. Presumably enclosed in Mead to Stuteville, 10 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 487–9.

47 Mead to Stuteville, 17 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 476–7, at fo. 476r.

48 Mead to Stuteville, 30 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 478–80, at fo. 478r.

49 Cockburn, 'Critical edition', 1: 71.

50 Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640*, 5 vols. (London: privately printed, 1875–94), 4: 107. Thomas Hastler, *An Antidote Against the Plague* (London, 1625; erroneously dated 1615 in the online ESTC). Daniel Featley, *Ancilla Pietatis: or, The Hand-Maid to Priuate Devotion* (London, 1625).

printed news appear to have been among a wide range of texts produced during the epidemic. In Thomas Cogswell's words, "as the populace fled the city, the printers grimly stuck to their printing presses in a feverish attempt to gain market share".⁵¹ The promise of profit—whether financial, civic, or spiritual—was enough to keep London's presses running, turning out government orders, instructions and recipes to preserve the reader from infection, and lamentations over the city's sufferings and the sins that God must be chastising. The utter desolation that Dekker stresses in *A Rod for Run-Awayes* is belied by the fact that it was amongst the texts published during this time.

Notably, it appears that Nicholas Bourne and Nathaniel Butter continued to sell serialised pamphlets of foreign news (in their usual irregular fashion) throughout the summer, reporting news from all over Europe and as far away as Brazil and Baghdad. The title page of a pamphlet dated 28 June 1625 gives a sense of the geographical scope:

The continuation of our weekely newes, from the 21. of *June*, unto the 28. of the same.

Containing a discourse concerning the fleetes of Spaine, and Portugal, and the present state of the Bay of Todos los Santos, which was rumoured to be recovered by the Spanish.

The victorie of the Venetians against the Spanish in Italie.

The great warlike preparations both of the French and Spanish with their severall confederates.

The overthrow given to the Grand Signeur by the King of Persia.

The forces which the Emperour and the King of Spaine have in Germanie, and in the Emperours dominions.

The taking of divers Dunkerkeres by the Hollanders.⁵²

Two more of Butter and Bourne's news pamphlets from the summer of 1625 are extant: number 31, dated 22 July, and number 32, dated 4 August.⁵³ The next extant publication in the series is number 40, an undated pamphlet covering

51 Thomas Cogswell, '1625', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1: *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 589–98, at 595.

52 *June 28. Numb. 28. The Continuation of Our Weekely Newes, 28 June 1625* (London, 1625), title page.

53 *The Continuation of Our Weekely Newes, from the 14. of July, to the 22. of July*, no. 31 (London, 1625; STC 2nd ed., 18507.174); *The Continuation of Our Weekely Newes, from the 22. of Julie, to the 4. of August*, no. 32 (London, 1625; STC, 2nd ed., 18507.175).

the period from 4–26 October, which Folke Dahl dates to the beginning of November.⁵⁴ It is, of course, possible that Butter and Bourne did not publish pamphlets numbered 33–39, and that the numbering of no. 40 is intended to disguise a gap in publication. However, extant copies of the pamphlets preceding and following the gap in the summer of 1625 are extremely scarce, which suggests that the missing seven pamphlets are more likely to have been lost or destroyed than never to have been printed.⁵⁵

Despite the fact that Mead did not usually receive printed news or letters from Meddus, Cambridge was not cut off from textual networks during the epidemic. Mead's letters to Stuteville are themselves clear testimony to the continued movement of people and texts around East Anglia. In addition, although Mead's observation that Paul's churchyard was free from plague may repeat an excuse offered by Hobson and Cutchie, it may also testify to his consumption and dissemination of the weekly bills of mortality from London. Mead frequently transcribed the weekly figures from bills into his letters to Stuteville in various levels of detail, sometimes only giving the total number of burials and the number of these due to the plague, but often giving separate figures for different areas of London: "all the 97 Parishes within the walles", "the 16 Parishes without the walles part within part without liberties &c", and "the 9 Out Parishes".⁵⁶

His letter of 30 July gives an insight into the precautions he took when acquiring this information. Enclosed within the letter was a small printed sheet, which survives in the first volume of Mead's letters at the British Library. This sheet has a long list of London parishes, both inside and outside of the city walls, with blank columns to the right of the names, each headed by the word "Plag". At the top of the sheet there are spaces for a date range, which Mead has filled in ("From the [21 of July] to the [28] 1625"). In the columns, and in the margins, Mead has added figures of plague mortality, with those for "the Totall of all the Buryals this Weeke" and "Whereof of the Plague" (3,583 and 2,471 respectively) highlighted in red ink.⁵⁷ Mead explains his process in the body of his letter:

54 *Number 40. The Continuation of Our Newes* (undated, containing news reports for 4–26 Oct.; London, 1625; STC 2nd ed., 18507.176).

55 There is only one known copy apiece of STC 18507.174, STC 18507.175 (both held at the British Library) and STC 18507.176 (held in Trinity College library).

56 Mead to Stuteville, 4 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 483–4, at fo. 483r.

57 'Clerks Bill', BL Harley MS 389, fo. 479. Enclosed in Mead to Stuteville, 30 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 478–80.

I send you the Clerks Bill. You shall not need be afraid of it, It hath layne by me this 3 weeks, I had a sheet of them, this is the last whereinto. I transcribed with mine owne hand the numbers out of the Kings Bill at the Bookbinders.⁵⁸

At other times Mead refers to enclosed bills of mortality that are no longer in the volume: it is unclear whether these documents were also printed forms in which figures had been added by hand, or the printed bills themselves.⁵⁹

The presence of the bills of mortality in Cambridge demonstrates that texts did continue to move around the south-east of England during the epidemic, and various techniques—airing and fumigation—were employed in order to keep important texts circulating. The plague did not break the domestic news networks in which Mead took part. It did, however, prompt both authorities and individuals to alter their priorities: the movement of texts during infection was a matter of managing risk. The London Bills of Mortality entered Cambridge not because receiving them was not dangerous, but because mortality figures were considered necessary information. Meanwhile, Mead continued to write to Stuteville, and Stuteville to Mead, via known carriers and over a space that was not badly affected by plague. Both men clearly felt that their continued correspondence was worth whatever risk this movement posed, and both knew each other well enough to trust that, should the situation get worse, their correspondent would not risk his friend's life by continuing to write. It is likely that Mead was Stuteville's main source for the plague figures from London; he also sent news of plague mortality in places closer to Cambridge, acquired by word of mouth. Mead thus supplied Stuteville with information that had not only a practical use—tracking the movements of the plague might allow one to avoid it—but a spiritual one. Mead also enclosed a bill of mortality with his letter of 17 July “the more to kindle your devotions on Wednesday”.⁶⁰ Like many of his contemporaries, Mead appears to have seen the plague as a divine punishment, prompting the faithful to repentance.

58 Mead to Stuteville, 30 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 478–80, at fo. 478r.

59 For example, Mead sent a bill of mortality to Stuteville around the end of May, with an explanation: “I send you the wofull Bill of London. It is the generall or the Kings Bill, that you may see the fashion of both, if you knew it not before” (Mead to Stuteville, undated [note at the top of document lists it as “about *the* end of May 1625”], BL Harley MS 389, fo. 450r). See also Mead to Stuteville, 16 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 474–5, at fo. 474r, discussed below.

60 Mead to Stuteville, 16 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 474–5, at fo. 474r.

Spinola's Fleet

The difficulty of obtaining news from London opened up a space for rumour, speculation, and uncertainty, regarding “forraine occurents”. In a letter dated 27 August—about a month after Meddus’s letters stopped—Mead reported a worrying rumour about Ambrogio Spinola, the commander of the Spanish Army of Flanders. Mead wrote, “Tis generall talk here that Spinola lyes at Dunkirk & marvailles wherefore. Some imagine a designe upon Callice, others a feare our Fleet will not go farre from home”.⁶¹

In his next letter, dated 4 September, Mead gives further information, both about Spinola’s forces and about his rumoured intentions:

It holds, that Spinola is at Dunkirk with an Army, & a Fleet of 50 sayle made ready & riding before it. which makes our vulgar maritime people afrayd he entends (if our Fleet goes out of these Seas) to transport his Army into England.⁶²

Mead dismisses this rumour, opining that the “vulgar maritime people ... are more afrayd then hurt”. He does, however, conjecture that Spinola’s move to Dunkirk may be in response to English preparations for war with Spain: “It may be he is somewhat jealous of our Fleet”. “And”, Mead adds darkly, “I could wish he might have just cause”.⁶³ Mead dismisses the idea that Spinola intends to invade England, but he does give some credence to the idea that the Spanish fleet might frustrate the British naval force preparing to depart for Spain.

Between this and his letter of 10 September, however, Mead heard two further pieces of news—domestic, this time—which made the rumours of Spinola’s fleet rather more concerning. The first was of a muster in key coastal defensive positions. Mead wrote, “I shall not need tell you of the suddaine march of our train-men in Essex on munday morning to Harwich & Tilbury ... We heare the like was done in Suffolk at least about Ipswich”. Meanwhile, the trained bands in Cambridge were inspected, and their supplies found wanting:

On tuesday the Justices came hither to see our provision here. & of 90 barrells of powder found never a graine of armes for a 100 men scarce for twenty, & that altogether unserviceable, The pikes all without heads. & the Keeper one Day run away against their coming & is not heard of yet ...

61 Mead to Stuteville, 27 August 1625, BL Harley MSS 389, fos. 481–2, at fo. 481r.

62 Mead to Stuteville, 4 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 483–4, at fo. 483r.

63 Mead to Stuteville, 4 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 483–4, at fo. 483r.

Rumour was quick to connect this increase in military activity to the threat from Spinola. Observable events were interpreted in the light of rumours about the international situation:

What the reason of this hurleburly was, they talked diversly, most agreed upon feare of an Invasion by Spinola. 40 ships (some say 25 & 60 Frigats) being discovered neere our shore to whom a pinnace or 2 being sent to know what they intended, returned not againe.

Meanwhile, word came from Essex, where “it was added, all the Country over, that our King (whom God blesse) was dead, the women crying & howling as if Tilbury camp were to come againe”. Although Mead seems to dismiss this rumour, he gives more credence to a report current in Cambridge:

With us it hath bin a wondrous rumour all this week that His Matie was sick of the Plague, has a sore but by the ... mercifull favour of God & the diligence of his Chirurgions & Physitions was now past danger. & well recovered.

“Till yesterday”, Mead writes, “I thought it a thing in credible & laught at it as an idle rumour”. However, “Master Crane, Reading, Tabor, Dr Ward by name, & other of our heads averred it as true. which made me stagger in my unbileefe”.⁶⁴ This rumour had credible sources on its side.

If the reports of Charles’s sickness were true, this gave a precise and disturbing reason why a Spanish fleet might be present off the coast of England:

It is added that when he first began to be sick (which they say was 3 w since) Spinola had notice given of his danger by some ill Patriots, & thereupon was encouraged to adventure our shoares if it were but to intercept the Successor.⁶⁵

Charles was without an heir, so next in line to the English throne were Elizabeth and her children, who would need to travel by sea from The Hague to take up the throne. In this version of events, Charles was dangerously ill, and Spinola had been tipped off about this by British traitors and was loitering off the coast, waiting to intercept the ship carrying Charles’s successor. This would fatally weaken the already suffering country, and allow the Spanish to succeed where

64 Mead to Stuteville, 10 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 487–9, at fo. 487v.

65 Mead to Stuteville, 10 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 487–9, at fo. 487v.

they had failed in 1588. Trained bands had therefore mustered at Harwich and Tilbury because an invasion was imminent.

Dramatic as this rumour might be, it is not an inconceivable state of affairs. The king's health was a matter of national concern: Mead had sent Stuteville a transcribed newsletter in March reporting that Charles was suffering from a tertian ague.⁶⁶ As the plague spread, Mead conveyed a number of reports that the infection had struck members of the royal household. On 9 July he wrote "Tis true that the Plague was broken out in the Pastry the Kings Bakers Son dying thereof on Sunday & another (a woman) then sick & sent away dyed next day. The bread was all given away".⁶⁷ On 30 July he reported that "One of the Kings Guard died of the plague at Windsore about last Saturday. Whereupon the King, being not farre thence returned no more thither as he was purposed".⁶⁸ The presence of plague amongst the people who guarded the king or prepared his food compromised his safety, which in turn compromised the safety of the nation.

The idea that the trained bands were preparing for Spanish invasion may also have seemed well within the realms of possibility. Tilbury had, famously, been the site of the English muster against the Spanish Armada in 1588. The return of a large number of troops there may indeed have seemed, quite literally, to be "Tilbury camp ... come againe". Reports of imminent Spanish attacks against England—and, crucially, of armed support for such action by domestic recusants—were common throughout the 1620s. Such rumours intensified following Charles's declaration of war against Spain in April 1625.

Dunkirk was the obvious place from which such an attack would be launched. It was close to the English coast, and had been recently remodelled in order to take advantage of a new, heavily protected, approach to the port discovered in 1621; "[a] fort was quickly thrown up to provide artillery cover at the entrance to this channel, near Mardyck".⁶⁹ Along with these strengthened fortifications, "The Armada of Flanders was given additional strength in 1624 when Spain decided to reduce the Army of Flanders in order to concentrate offensive operations at sea".⁷⁰ During the spring of 1625, "Prospecting ventures into the fishing

66 Transcribed enclosure of news dated 18 March 1624/5, BL Harley MS 389, fo. 417. Presumably enclosed in Mead to Stuteville, 19 March 1624/5, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 415–16.

67 Mead to Stuteville, 9 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 472–3, at fo. 472r.

68 Mead to Stuteville, 30 July 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 478–80, at fo. 478r.

69 R.A. Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders: Spanish Maritime Policy and European War, 1588–1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 35.

70 Jan Glete, *Warfare at Sea, 1500–1650: Maritime Conflicts and the Transformation of Europe* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 177.

grounds had begun to yield sufficient information to permit the planning of a major attack".⁷¹ After the surrender of Breda in June 1625 Spinola made Dunkirk his headquarters, and at the time of this rumour he and the Archduchess Isabella were indeed conducting a review of the Spanish fleet at the port ahead of action against the Dutch and English alliance.⁷² There was ample reason to believe that the presence of the Spanish fleet in Dunkirk indicated an imminent attack on England—after all, an English fleet was readying to attack Spain.

Most notable when considering Mead's "stagger in unbileefe" is the fact that the letter of 10 September that carried the rumours of Charles's illness and the imminent invasion was also the first in several months to contain a separate enclosure of foreign news. This short newsletter, dated 8 September, both corroborated the presence of the fleet and connected it to the muster in English port towns:

Upon the long lying of the Infanta & Marq. Spinola at Dunkirk with a great Army, 20 good ships of warre with many other Flatbottomes & Sloupes; our trayned men in the Counties all along the coast are gone to secure the port Townes: Although we hope the Narrow Seas be by gods help well guarded; 25 Holland men of warre lying before Dunkirk to wait on the Spanish Ships there, besides there are 12 of our Soveraignes navy & 8 good Marchants Ships in the Downes, to meet with any Enimie, that shall assaile us.⁷³

The rumour of "ill Patriots" prepared to aid Spinola tapped into fears that were not confined to the ordinary people of East Anglia. Thomas Cogswell describes the actions taken in Leicestershire in 1625 under Henry Hastings, the fifth earl of Huntingdon, in response to rumours "of the local Catholics stockpiling arms, tales of midnight musters in Charnwood Forest, and whispers of a larger Catholic plot across the entire Midlands". Huntingdon "set a watch on the county's powder magazines, while loudly proclaiming it part of a broader scheme to intercept plague-ridden Londoners in order not to tip off the Catholic conspirators".⁷⁴ Following instructions from the Privy Council, Huntingdon

⁷¹ Stradling, *Armada of Flanders*, p. 43.

⁷² I am grateful to Paul Arblaster for alerting me to this. See Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: the Making of a World Power, 1492–1763* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Press, 2002), pp. 325–6.

⁷³ Transcribed enclosure of news dated 8 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 485–6, at fo. 485r. Presumably enclosed in Mead to Stuteville, 10 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 487–9.

⁷⁴ Thomas Cogswell, *Home Divisions: Aristocracy, the State and Provincial Conflict* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 53.

ordered co-ordinated raids on Catholic households in October. This well-executed operation did not turn up the suspected stashes of arms, but it does demonstrate both that the authorities were not immune to rumours of insurrection, and that many believed they could not afford to ignore such rumours.

The strength of the fleet at Dunkirk, and its scouting ventures into Dutch fishing grounds, would also be a very real threat to members of the Palatine royal family travelling from The Hague to claim the English throne in the event of Charles's death. Charles himself had experienced the risks of crossing such fraught waters in September 1623, during his return journey from Santander following his unsuccessful bid to accelerate his marriage to the Spanish Infanta Maria at the court in Madrid. "In the open sea of the Channel approaches", R.A. Stradling writes, "[Charles's] squadron sailed directly into a battle in which 'certain Dunkirkers [Belgian and Spanish privateers, operating out of Dunkirk with Spanish support] and Hollanders were at it pell-mell'".⁷⁵ Charles managed to make peace between the opposing commanders in 1623, but by 1625 England had declared war on Spain, while those next in line to the throne had been opposing Spanish forces and their allies since 1620. Such an encounter would be unlikely to have a peaceful outcome.

These rumours appear to have been particularly troublesome to Mead because he was not in a position to confirm or deny them through his usual sources. His implicit disapproval of the "crying & howling" women is undercut by the fact that he was, at least initially, unable to demonstrate greater knowledge or understanding of events than they had. With access to his usual means of acquiring foreign news, Mead would be in a more privileged position than these women, able to judge the situation more clearly by comparing his sources or, if this failed, at least waiting for the next week's news. Cut off from his usual network, he knew no more than anyone else did, and can only demonstrate his skills as a "Novellante" by expressing worry through measured, doubting explanations rather than through wailing in the street. However, he was in luck: his letter includes a slip of paper added after the main letter was written, with a postscript noting that "a gentleman came to Towne last night ... affirming he had bin at Court within this week, & was sure that for 3 weekes before, the King went almost every day on hunting". Tabor, one of the men who had initially "averred" the news of Charles's illness "as true", "now confesseth he receiued a *lettre* newly, That the King was never sick". Lastly, "a Post came to Towne" from Charles himself, "for 10 Ministers for the Navy".⁷⁶

75 Stradling, *Armada of Flanders*, p. 41, quoting F. Fox, ed., *Adams's Chronicle of Bristol* (Bristol, J.W. Arrowsmith, 1910), p. 208.

76 Mead to Stuteville, 10 September 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 487–9, at fo. 488r.

This postscript conveys a sense of relief: both that the king, and therefore the country, was more safe than previously feared, and that domestic news networks had, to a degree, reasserted themselves. With the arrival of the “gentleman”, the letter received by Tabor, and the “Post from the K.,” Mead was able to employ his skills in “purveying for newes”, comparing reports received at different times and from different sources in order to arrive at the most accurate information.

In the next letter in the British Library volume, dated 3 October, Mead reports that “There are brought into Plymouth 3 great long boats full of Dunkirks who were upon the coasts of Suffolk found sounding the depth of our Channell”. The Dunkirkers “would excuse it by saying they were chased by Hollanders & fled thither for releife. But they are all in prison & lye at the Kings mercy”. “Is not this a strange piece?” Mead adds, underlined.⁷⁷ The rumour of a fleet from Dunkirk in English waters had been proved, it appeared, to have some truth to it. Perhaps most worryingly, those waters were close to where both Mead and Stuteville lived. The capture of the ‘Dunkirkers’ demonstrated the danger that the men could be in from foreign attack: that enemy ships could be a few miles from them, and without reliable news they might never know of it until it was too late.

The rumours of Charles’s death and of imminent invasion proved to be untrue, but the version of events spun out from them through rumour does have a sort of logic. The women that wailed at reports of the king’s death in September 1625 were precipitate, but they were not illogical. After all, there *was* a camp at Tilbury again, and there was a large fleet at Dunkirk under Spinola’s command, from which ships had been sent to assess the feasibility of attacks on Protestant interests. In addition, the plague increased the likelihood of the king’s premature death, and this in turn left the country vulnerable to foreign harassment or even invasion: something against which the troops, in Essex at least, were unprepared to defend.

These rumours demonstrate that, for Mead—and the people he got the rumours from, and presumably plenty of other people around the country—having their connection to international news networks disrupted or even broken did not necessarily mean that they stopped thinking internationally. Networks might be fragile, but a sense of connection was not. The rumour of the king’s death was interpreted in the light of observable military activity, memories of past threats to the nation’s security, and knowledge about recent events on the continent. Mead, and for that matter the assorted rumour-mongers of East Anglia, may have been cut off from news about continental events, but they remained acutely conscious that events in England had international ramifications.

77 Mead to Stuteville, 3 October 1625, BL Harley MS 389, fos. 490–1, at fo. 490r.

‘Our Valiant Dunkirk Romans’: Glorifying the Habsburg War at Sea, 1622–1629

*Paul Arblaster**

There is a natural tendency to think of civilian morale as an issue little influencing policy-makers before the Revolutionary wars of the late eighteenth century. But even in the age of mercenaries and military contractors, governments were well aware that success in war to some extent depended on the willingness of ordinary folk to bear the burdens it entailed. Public opinion might be little considered when deciding whether or not to go to war, but once the decision to fight had been taken every effort was made to convince tax-payers, in particular, that it was in their interest to see it through. This was true as much of monarchical governments now often thought of as ‘absolutist’ as of republican regimes or limited monarchies. Indeed, a work that resolutely disdained the many-headed mob could still insist that the prince or his ministers should “le manier et persuader par belles paroles, le séduire et tromper par les apparences ... ou par le moyen de bonnes plumes, en leur faisant faire des livrets clandestins, des manifestes, apologies et déclarations artistement composées, pour le mener par le nez” (“manipulate and persuade [the multitude] with fine words, seduce and deceive it with appearances ... or by means of skilled pens, having them write clandestine pamphlets, manifestos, artfully composed apologies and declarations in order to lead it by the nose”).¹

In our own dark days of spin and PR it is tempting to consider all communication a species of propaganda, rather than *vice versa*, just as in the broad sunlit uplands of liberalism there was a tendency to see newspapers somewhat naively as reflections of public opinion.² When I began my own research on

* I would like to thank Margit Thøfner for her comments on an earlier version of this article.

1 G.N.P. [Gabriel Naudé, Parisien], *Considérations politiques sur les coups d’État* (Rome, 1639), p. 158. Translation derived in part from that of Joseph Klaitz, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV: Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 8.

2 With regard to the early-modern Flemish press the two extremes are best exemplified on the one hand by K. Van Damme with J. Deploige, ‘Slecht nieuws geen nieuws. Abraham Verhoeven (1575–1652) en de “Nieuwe Tijdinghen”: periodieke pers en propaganda in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de vroege zeventiende eeuw’, *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 113:1 (1998), pp. 1–22, and Vincent van Zuilen, ‘The Politics of Dividing the Nation? News Pamphlets as a Vehicle of Ideology and National Consciousness in the Habsburg

the Flemish press during the Eighty Years War, my working assumption was that the press would reveal what those in power wanted the populace to think was happening: that I could provide an account of the government's propaganda war to set beside accounts of policy-making, diplomacy, the army and the fleet.³ By the time I read in Habermas that before the 1690s public communication was a question of governmental display *to* the people rather than rational interaction *by* the people, exposure to sixteenth and seventeenth-century pamphlets, newspapers, almanacs, and (above all) state papers had already convinced me that this was much too facile.⁴

The relationship between propaganda and information was far more intricate, and both these sides of news publishing have to be given their due. With these caveats in mind, I would now like to look at a more obviously propagandistic aspect of one early seventeenth-century newspaper, namely the coverage of maritime warfare in Antwerp's *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* during the opening decade of the second half of the Eighty Years War. In doing so, it will become apparent that the newspaper did not follow an overall propaganda 'line', but provided a forum for two distinct, and not fully compatible, views of the heroism of those Flemings who served the Habsburgs at sea.

The long and inconclusive war between the revolted provinces of the Netherlands and their repudiated sovereign, the king of Spain, was brought to a temporary halt by the Twelve Years Truce of 1609. When the Truce lapsed, at the end of April 1621, the strategic circumstances were quite altered. The biggest difference was that Habsburg forces were already heavily committed in the Thirty Years War, in Bohemia and the Palatinate, while the Dutch were particularly interested in creating a south-eastwards buffer and source of supply in the Rhineland and Westphalia. Although neither side had found acceptable terms on which to prolong the Truce, it was only with misgivings that they armed for war. There was no great desire on either part to go on to the offensive, and secret talks to find an acceptable basis for a new truce continued until

Netherlands (1585–1609); in *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Joop W. Koopmans (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 61–78; and on the other by Maurits Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer. Bijdrage tot de studie der Zuid-Nederlandsche strijdliteratuur in de eerste helft der 17de eeuw* (Antwerp: V. Ressler, 1933).

3 Just such an account is now available in Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012).

4 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989); for a more developed statement of my own views on the interaction of public communication and reason of state see Paul Arblaster, 'Dat de boecken vrij sullen wesen: Private Profit, Public Utility and Secrets of State in the Seventeenth-Century Habsburg Netherlands', in *News and Politics*, ed. Koopmans, pp. 79–95.

August. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that both sides wanted war, but neither found the timing convenient.

At first it looked as though, by unspoken agreement, the Habsburgs and the Dutch would fight their conflict out in Germany. The opening move of the commander in chief of the Habsburg Army of Flanders, Ambrogio Spinola, was to lay siege to Dutch-garrisoned Jülich. It was only in May 1622, after a year of mutual confrontation on German soil, that hostilities resumed within the Low Countries, with Frederick Henry of Nassau, the younger half-brother of Maurice, leading a *chevauchée* through Brabant.⁵ This *brandschatting* specifically targeted undefended villages and homesteads, and the Dutch withdrew when forces were mustered against them. Orders had already gone out to recall Walloon, Flemish and Burgundian troops from Bohemia, but they were still a long way off, and the bulk of the Army of Flanders was engaged in the Rhineland against the forces of Ernest, count of Mansfeld. Once Spinola had concentrated his forces in the Low Countries, in the summer of 1622, he laid siege to Bergen op Zoom. It was not long before disease in the ranks, and the reprovioning of the town by sea, forced Spinola to raise the siege. In 1623 there was a lull in operations, as both sides awaited the outcome of Spain's marriage negotiations with England, and of the preliminary negotiations (ultimately fruitless) to hold an international peace conference at Brussels that would settle the affairs of the Low Countries and the Rhineland.

Although the first decade of the Revolt had seen atrocities committed by both sides, the removal of the Duke of Alva, and the professionalisation of Dutch forces, had led to a somewhat more gentlemanly war from the mid-1580s onwards. Large-scale contribution raids such as Frederick Henry's expedition of May 1622 were not unknown in the second phase of the Eighty Years War, on both sides, but were far from being the norm. The most enduring image of this conflict is *Las Lanzas*, Velázquez's portrayal of Spinola accepting the surrender of Breda after a siege lasting almost a year.⁶ It is a fitting image for the ideals of a war in which commanders on both sides aspired to live up to the canons of Christian chivalry, however wretched and rapacious their foot soldiers might be. It also conveys something of the leisurely pace of a war of protracted sieges, and of small-scale, localised skirmishing over forage. Seventeenth-century paintings of military life produced

5 Despite contemporary Dutch celebration of this incident, it is one on which Frederick Henry's modern biographer is strangely silent. See J.J. Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik, Prins van Oranje. Een biografisch drieluik* (Zutphen: Wahlburg, 1978), p. 71.

6 The painting can be viewed on-line at the website of the Prado, <www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/online-gallery/on-line-gallery/obra/the-surrender-of-breda-or-the-lances/> [03/05/15].

in the Low Countries are as likely to show soldiers singing, drinking, playing cards or brawling as fighting the enemy.

It was the expense of such protracted sieges—and, as Bergen op Zoom had shown, their uncertainty—that made the Habsburgs reconsider their strategy. On 1 November 1624, and again on 21 November, Philip IV wrote to his aunt, the Infanta Isabella, governess general of the Habsburg Netherlands, that the siege of Breda was an expensive and uncertain undertaking, but that he left it to her judgement whether it was worth the risk. His advisers had come to see commercial warfare as a surer means of bringing the Dutch to accept a Spanish peace, and in the same missives he insisted that with regard to the war at sea she follow his instructions to the letter.⁷

The wealth of the Dutch derived from their ability to exploit a geographical position at the intersection of Baltic and Atlantic maritime trade, and continental trade by road and river. Their diet relied on control of the Baltic grain trade, and a high-protein combination of cheese and herrings. With courage and ruthless determination they had muscled in on the trade in West Indian sugar and East Indian spices. The Habsburgs were now determined to choke all this off. They were already in control of the Rhineland, and had access to the sea through a few ports on the Flemish coast—Ostend, Nieuwpoort, and most importantly Dunkirk. In the early 1620s, as Olivares came into the ascendant as the chief minister of Philip IV of Spain, a grand strategy was conceived to deal with the Dutch.⁸ A river blockade on the Rhine and Maas would considerably impede Dutch continental trade. The building of forts in the East and West Indies would hamper their interloping there. A Flemish-Spanish trading company, to be established in Seville, would compete with the Dutch in the Baltic. A squadron of royal warships based on the Flemish coast would target the Dutch merchant and fishing fleets. Taken all together, and combined with some vigorous privateering, this strategy would, it was thought, leave the rebels with nothing but cheese on their plates. That such a campaign would also, if prolonged, be detrimental to the wealth of the Habsburgs' own subjects in the Low Countries was clear. The hope was that the Dunkirkers could force the Dutch to agree to a peace compatible with Spanish interests and the king's

7 Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre, reg. 191, fos. 221, 271. Calendared in *Correspondance de la Cour d'Espagne sur les affaires des Pays-Bas au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Henri Lonchay, Joseph Cuvelier and Joseph Lefèvre, vol. 3 (Brussels: Kiessling, 1927), p. 187. See too Miguel Ángel Echevarría, *Flandes y la monarquía hispánica 1500–1713* (Madrid: Silex Ediciones, 1998), p. 223.

8 J.H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 78–80, 214–20.

honour more quickly, and much more cheaply, than Spinola's regiments could hope to do.

Even in the seventeenth century it was desirable for such a change in strategy to be presented to the public in such a way as to gain their approval—in this case above all to the wealthy loyalists of Antwerp, the largest mercantile city in the Habsburg Netherlands. They, after all, contributed to the war treasury through their taxes (subject to unanimous approval by the States of Brabant, in which the city's patricians and guilds were represented), and also through their close involvement in the commercial and financial networks that sustained the paying and provisioning of a large number of soldiers.⁹ They had most to lose from a prolonged period of commercial blockade and prize-taking, but they also included many of those best placed to gain from investment in privateering.¹⁰

In 1622 Antwerp's newspaper, the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, in a report dated Ostend, 24 February, presented the new strategy for success against the Dutch in culinary terms: "Profound brains firmly trust that this is the only means to make the Watersnails of Holland pull their Horns into their Shells, whence they will be pricked with a pin". The same edition of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* contained a letter from The Hague, dated 20 February, complaining that "The Ships of the Flemish Coast harm us in the Apple of our Eye. If this continues our nails will be clipped to the flesh". Furthermore, it carried a report from Dunkirk, also dated 20 February, with the morale-boosting claim that "some Seamen have become so rich with Booty that they can henceforth live as hearty and wealthy as Lords. So that the arrival of stout Fellows daily increases". This broadside opens the propaganda campaign for acceptance of the strategy and to encourage investment in privateering.¹¹

For the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was both an organ of information and an instrument of propaganda. The publisher, Abraham Verhoeven, had sold the idea of a licensed newspaper to the authorities on the grounds that it could enhance

9 Hans Pohl, 'Zur Bedeutung Antwerpens als Kreditplatz im beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert', in Werner Besch *et al.*, eds., *Die Stadt in der europäischen Geschichte: Festschrift Edith Ennen* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1972), pp. 667–86; E. Rooms, 'Organisatie van de bevoorrading en de bezoldiging der troepen in dienst van de Spaanse monarchie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1567–1713)', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 63.1–4 (1980): *Liber Alumnorum Karel van Isacker S.J.*, pp. 121–47.

10 R.A. Stradling, 'The Spanish Dunkirkers, 1621–48: A Record of Plunder and Destruction', in *Spain's Struggle for Europe, 1598–1668* (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1994), pp. 213–33.

11 *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 33 (Antwerp: Abraham Verhoeven, 9 March 1622).

the military reputation of the dynasty, and as a result he had obtained a licence in the names of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella,

to print and to cut in wood or copper plates, and to sell, in all the Lands of their obedience, all the News Reports, Victories, Sieges, and taking of Cities which the same Princes should undertake or achieve, both in Friesland or along the Rhine: [... or those] which should occur for the Imperial Majesty in Germany, in Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Silesia, Hungary, and other provinces lying in the Empire, carried out by the Count of Bucquoy, and Dampierre, or any other Catholic Princes, as well as all the News Reports of Holland, Brabant, and coming from other Provinces over the Maas etc. Forbidding all Printers, Booksellers, Pedlars, and others to reprint or Counterfeit the same in any way.¹²

As far as the authorities were concerned, the purpose of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was to publicise victories. But there is no simple sense in which this was merely a government mouthpiece. Verhoeven received no subsidies, no official encouragement beyond the granting of a licence, and only indirect support.¹³ Unlike in Richelieu's France, there was no direct patronage or oversight of the press, the Infanta's councillors being happy to rely on the self-censorship of somebody who could always have his licence revoked, or in the worst case be prosecuted for libel or sedition. Those who fed stories to the press seem largely to have been middle-ranking administrative, clerical and military figures with connections to the circle around Spinola.¹⁴ When Spinola's clique fell from favour in the later 1620s, Verhoeven for a few brief years maintained publication despite central government opposition, but in the early 1630s he was forced into bankruptcy.

The inside pages of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* unobtrusively carried much news that was irrelevant to Habsburg war aims, and some that reported on Habsburg failings, losses, and mistakes, or enemy strengths and victories, but the reader

12 Printed as an appendix to several issues of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*; Privy Council original in Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Geheime Raad Spaanse Periode 1277/70.

13 Paul Arblaster, 'Policy and Publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1585–1690', in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 185–8.

14 Paul Arblaster, 'Abraham Verhoeven and the Brussels Court: Isabel Clara Eugenia's Staple of News', in *Isabel Clara Eugenia: Female Sovereignty in the Courts of Madrid and Brussels*, ed. Cordula van Wyhe (Madrid and London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2011), pp. 280–311.

is left in no doubt about who should be winning the war.¹⁵ Verhoeven used the innovation of front-page headlines to draw attention to particularly noteworthy events, and these are mostly Habsburg victories. He made such stories all the more memorable by adding illustrative woodcuts. Whatever his unobtrusive content, Abraham Verhoeven's most obviously visible activity was publicising Habsburg victories, and in this regard the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* was much more Fox News than *Newsnight*.

The maritime theatre was crucial to the war on which Verhoeven was reporting, and accordingly he covered victories in the war at sea in some detail. But unlike the war on land, it was a war in which there was little room for courtesies. With superior naval might, the Dutch blockaded the Flemish ports as best they could, but an artillery fortress at Mardyck kept them away from the immediate approaches to Dunkirk, and privateers often slipped past the blockaders, or in a few notable instances fought their way in or out of port.¹⁶ The Dutch were sometimes willing to treat officers and crews of the royal squadron as prisoners of war, but refused to recognise letters of marque issued by the Brussels admiralty, and gave no quarter to privateers. The Dunkirkers gave no more quarter than they received. In 1621, with the war on land still in its 'phoney' stage, and unreported by Verhoeven, they had sent a herring fleet to the bottom with the crews battened below decks. In 1624 the statutes of the admiralty established at Bergues-Saint-Winoc specified that captives should be treated with "courtoisie & humanité Chrestienne" ("Christian courtesy and humanity"), but the letter of the law was not always applied.¹⁷

Even if captives were treated humanely, the circumstances of their capture were sometimes dubious. One near-windless day in May 1623, fourteen long-boats manned by mariners and marines made their way from the Flemish coast to the islands of Zeeland, arriving after dark and spreading panic on Walcheren and Goes. They landed at Terveer and, finding the booty rather more meagre than expected, seized thirty respectable-looking citizens as hostages and made their way by the Scheldt to the city of Antwerp, where the hostages were held for ransom.¹⁸ It is unclear what possible interpretation of the rules of naval

15 See Arblaster, 'Policy and Publishing', p. 185.

16 For an overview of the war at sea, see R.A. Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders. Spanish Maritime Policy and European War, 1568–1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

17 *Placcart et Ordonnance de Roy nostre Sire, sur le faicte de l'Admirauté établie a Bergues St. Winocq* (Brussels, 1624), article 41.

18 Report from Flanders, undated, in *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 60 (19 May 1623), pp. 4–5. I am grateful to Arthur Der Weduwen for drawing my attention to a proclamation issued by the Dutch States General on 8 August 1625 offering rewards for any who intercepted enemy

engagement make this a legitimate action, but it was commented in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* that “some” saw it as a fitting response to Frederick Henry’s ravaging of Brabant the previous year—answering fire with water.¹⁹

Other events reported by Verhoeven in celebratory tones were no more edifying. At the beginning of October 1622, the thirty-three year-old Jan Jacobsen, son of Admiral Michiel Jacobsen, had put out from Ostend on his first expedition as a captain of one of the king’s frigates. He failed to elude the patrolling blockaders, and was soon in a running battle with nine Dutch warships, which was to last for thirteen hours. He disabled two of them before finally being fought to a standstill, his mast and banks of oars shot away. The Dutch called upon Jacobsen to surrender, and offered quarter, but rather than let one of the king’s ships fall into the hands of the enemy he defiantly exploded his powder store.²⁰ In doing so he disabled the Dutch ships alongside and caused considerable loss of life on board them, but at the cost of destroying himself, his ship, and much of what remained of his crew.

Clearly this is not an action that Christian moralists would consider exemplary, so the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* celebrated it in an alternative ethical register, that of Roman martial valour. The report concludes with the reflection: “the Brethren will make no song of this. Some speak of Scaevolus, Curtios, Romans; in truth our Dunkirkers follow them”.²¹ The Romans referred to were classic exemplars of self-sacrificing valour, in the case of Mucius Scaevola quite literally: having been captured while trying to assassinate the Etruscan king at prayer, he thrust his right hand into the sacrificial temple fire, not wanting it to serve for anything else when it had failed in its most important duty of saving Rome.²² Marcus Curtius is the man who galloped in armour into a deep hole that had opened up in the middle of the Roman Forum. An oracle had said the

longboats on Dutch waterways: *Praemium voor deghene die eenige Chaloupen vanden Vyandt veroveren opte Binnen-stroomen, ofte Rivieren* (The Hague, 1625). The existence of this proclamation suggests that such raids may have become more widespread.

- 19 “sommighe hun laten voorstaen datmen met de Zeeusche wateren de erloosche Brabansche brantstichterije wel eens soude connen bluschen”, p. 5.
- 20 Although Verhoeven’s initial report has Jacobsen setting the match to the powder himself, a later published account had him disabled by a shot through the thigh, and assenting when one of his men asked whether he should explode the powder store: Adriaan van Meerbeeck, *Nederlandschen Mercurius* (Brussels, 1625), pp. 107–8.
- 21 Report dated Calais, 11 October, in *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 157 (22 October 1622), pp. 3–5. “The Brethren” was one term that Verhoeven used for Calvinists; it might also allude to one of his main rivals in the Dutch-language newspaper industry, Broer Jansz. of Amsterdam.
- 22 Valerius Maximus III.3. English translation in Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, ed. and trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey (Loeb Classical Library 492; Cambridge, MA,

hole could only be filled with the Roman people's greatest strength. Curtius, described by Valerius Maximus as "a young man of the noblest spirit and lineage", interpreted this to mean valour and arms, and acted accordingly to save his city.²³ Both stories are family legends of two lineages—the Scaevolae and the Curtii—important in the later history of the Roman Republic. They are mentioned by Livy, and in turn by Valerius Maximus, two of the mainstays of seventeenth-century Latinity, but in different books and different contexts. The most obvious place where Scaevola and Curtius are mentioned together, in one breath (as in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*), is in Augustine's *City of God*, where they serve as examples of non-Christian heroism in the service of the earthly city, the reward for which is merely human glory.²⁴ The Christian martyrs, says Augustine, "did not inflict suffering on themselves, but they endured what was inflicted on them; and in so doing they surpassed the Scaevolae, the Curtii, and the Decii".²⁵

An educated contemporary reader of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* would have been expected to pick up the allusions at once, and here there is an interesting duality in the report. For those with only a hazy notion of *romanitas* the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* seems straightforwardly to celebrate Jacobsen as a hero in the Roman mould. For those with a rather deeper humanistic background, the report celebrating Jacobsen's self-immolation contains an allusive undertone distancing it from anything that deserves the name of martyrdom.²⁶ As with so many other stories, the attentive and informed reader gets a much more nuanced picture from the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* than the casual or less well-informed reader. One of

and London: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 271, 273. The source of the story is Livy II.12.

23 Valerius Maximus V.6. English translation in Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, pp. 513, 515. The source of the story is Livy VII.6.

24 See Maria Berbara, 'Civic Self-Offering: Some Renaissance Representations of Marcus Curtius', in *Recreating Ancient History: Episodes from the Greek & Roman Past in the Arts & Literature of the Early Modern Period*, ed. K.A.E. Enekel, Jan L. de Jong and Jeanine De Landtsheer (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 147–65. I am grateful to Jeanine De Landtsheer for this reference.

25 Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, V.14. English version in St Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 204.

26 In 1624, when the *Nuestra Señora* blew up taking the Dutch ship grappled alongside with it, this was not reported in the same terms, only that "it happened that the powder of the Spanish Admiral went off and the ships were both blown into the air"; 'Tijdinghe wt der Zee', *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* 107 (29 October 1624), pp. 5–6. It had earlier been reported that the marines and mariners on board the *Nuestra Señora* had sworn to fight to the last man, in 'Waerachtich verhael van den Bloedighen slach ter zee', letter dated from the Downs, 22 May, in *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* 58 (31 May 1624), pp. 3–7. Internal evidence in this last report suggests that the writer of the letter may himself have been a marine.

the newswriters associated with Verhoeven's venture, the English Catholic exile Richard Verstegan, wrote of the "wise man" that "From everything he sees and hears he draws conclusions, with which to instruct first himself, and then others ... He judges nothing by its outward appearance, but by its qualities".²⁷ Those of Verhoeven's readers who were schooled in this Renaissance ideal of personal wisdom would have known how best to read his newspaper.

The report of the explosive death of Captain Jacobsen is not a lone example of the language of Roman valour serving to mask the distance between Christian concepts of just warfare and a brutal campaign of destruction and personal enrichment. Months earlier, on 25 June, the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* had run another story from Calais according to which:

The 14th of this month Captain Wittebol came to Calais at eleven o'clock in the morning, with the Burgundian Flag above, without knowing what Warships were here off the Flemish Coast, and since he came too early to run up to Dunkirk on the tide he tacked about by the town here with his Prize for two hours, with all flags out, showing a Roman courage worthy to be noted or recorded in the Chronicles, for never before has a lone ship dared do or attempt this.²⁸

The later report that links Jan Jacobsen to Scaevola and Curtius contains a second item that refers to the rather more successful Admiral Wittebol as "onsen Cloecken Helt Wittebol" ("our Bold Hero Wittebol", p. 5), and "desen kloecken Romeyn Wittebol" ("this bold Roman Wittebol", p.5). It was reported that Wittebol and his companion Andres Sanchez were not far from shore, their ships laden down with goods and prisoners, "datse daer mede beladen zijn want sy hebben ordre datse gheen meer en moghen laten gaen, moeten allen de Hollanders Ghevanghen op brenghe" ("a burden to them, for they have been ordered not to let any more go, and have to deliver all the Hollanders captive", p. 5). Just what it would mean for a Dunkirker at sea to let prisoners go is not explained.

The *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* contains a number of passing references to "Roman courage", "Roman deeds", and "Dunkirk Romans", but only on one occasion did the alleged *romanitas* of Dunkirkers make it into the front-page headline. This

27 Richard Verstegan, *Scherp-sinnighe Characteren* (Antwerp, 1622), no. 10, 'Character van eenen Wijsen Man'. On Verstegan see Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004).

28 Undated report from Calais in *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 92 (25 June 1622), p. 3.

was in an issue devoted to the story of the “Roman deed of Jan Broncast”.²⁹ A twenty-six year-old native of Dunkirk, Broncast had led six companions, each armed with two pistols, in the capture of a Dutch vessel with a crew of twenty-six, armed with eight cannons and eight swivel-guns. Their ability, lightly armed and heavily outnumbered, to overpower the crew and take the ship, which was sailing from North Africa to Holland, relied on surprise. Far from coming alongside with the Burgundian flag flying above, or even (as was more usual for Dunkirkers) a foreign flag that would enable them to get in close, Broncast and his companions, all of them Christian captives ransomed by the Spaniards and waiting for passage home, had enlisted on the Dutch ship before it set sail from Barbary, and smuggled fourteen pistols aboard. Once on the high seas, at seven o’clock one morning they held the crew at gun-point. Broncast made a speech about how nobody would get hurt if they all cooperated, and how the king of Spain was not the enemy of Dutch mariners, but only of the rebel states that falsely claimed sovereignty in part of his patrimony and misled honest men into suffering in their service—an interesting inversion of the Dutch East India Company’s justification for effectively waging a private war against Spaniards and Portuguese in the Indies. The crewmen were then searched for sharp objects, locked in the poop cabin, and Broncast and his companions spent six sleepless days and nights getting the ship to Sanlúcar de Barrameda, where they arrived without further incident on 20 January 1626. Apart from the ship and its guns they had captured a cargo of sugar, honey, aniseed, wool, and various other merchandise. The Seville Admiralty adjudged it good prize, and further rewarded Broncast with a naval commission of his own. Broncast’s actions are, like Jan Jacobsen’s, difficult to condone within traditional Just War thinking; those who would not only condone but praise them would again have to find a non-Christian moral register.

The ambivalence of praising suicidal, deceitful, brutal and merciless behaviour as ‘Roman’ is highlighted by another letter printed in the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, this time written “from the Ships of Dunkirk”. Here there is no mention of “Dunkirk Romans”, but rather of “Genevan Romans”, in a closing exhortation to the Prince of Orange to realise that it is in the nature of the Dutch rebels to treat him and other great lords “like Tarquin’s and Brutus’s children, and choose

29 ‘Een Romeyns stuck van Jan Broncast, gheboren Schipper van Duynkercken, den welcken met ses zijne medegesellen heeft veroverd een Hollandts schip met ses en twintich Bootgesellen, acht stucken geschuts, ende 8. Steen-stucken inde Spaensche Zee’, *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 33 (28 March 1626).

new Cincinnatos from the plough, or the cheese dairy”.³⁰ This letter strikes a very different tone about the Dunkirkers themselves, as do other letters written at sea. It may even be intended as a riposte to what had already appeared about them in the pages of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*. Before going into battle they received absolution, “as is wonted”, and then “cried with one voice, let us die for God and for our King of Spain, but not unavenged”.³¹ A few days earlier a Captain Clement Menny (*sc.* Menin?) had been shot through the head in an exchange of fire with Dutch blockaders. This was reported in a letter from the sea, which stated that “he held himself bold as a Lion to the last, as we also do for God and our King”.³² Yet another letter from a member of the fleet—perhaps one of the Jesuit chaplains who sailed on board—is headed with the words “God before all”.³³ It recounts how the *Sint Carel*, commanded by Vice-admiral Collart, had been one of four ships holed up in English waters under the watchful eye of Dutch blockaders, but managed to elude them despite a lack of wind, the Burgundian colours flying in full view, and being outnumbered and outgunned. Once back under the guns of their home fort, the crew let off three celebratory musket rounds, “to the Honour of God and his Dear Mother, Saint Charles, and the valiant King of Spain”.³⁴

Outside the pages of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, a broadside ballad about the death of Jan Jacobsen went even further, to the point of suggesting that he could be considered a martyr. He not only shed his blood “for God and the king”, he fought to the death “to rejoice with God above”, and chapter 16 of the Book of Judges was explicitly cited, giving Samson’s example as biblical warrant for self-destruction to destroy God’s enemies.³⁵

All this indicates that the Dunkirkers themselves saw their efforts as something along the lines of a crusade, and indeed many of their foremost commanders and admiralty officials were, in a strictly technical sense, crusaders, in that they were admitted to the Spanish Order of Santiago or the Portuguese Knights of Christ, two orders of chivalry founded for the purpose of crusading.

30 ‘Met noch andere Brieven Wordt gheschreven uut de Schepen van Duynkercken’, Undated, *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 67 (21 June 1624), p. 6.

31 “Tijdinghe vande Duynkercksche schepen. Wt het schip van S. Ignatius, by Duynst in Enghelant”, dated 3 June, *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 67 (21 June 1624), p. 4.

32 Letter dated “from the Downs on the 22nd May 1624”, *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 58 (31 May 1624), p. 4.

33 On these chaplains, see E. Hambye, *L’Aumônerie de la flotte de Flandre au XVIIe siècle, 1623–1662* (Leuven: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1967).

34 Letter dated Dunkirk, 13 October 1624, *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 105 (17 October 1624), pp. 4–7.

35 *Kapiteyn Jacobus. Van den kloekmoedigen kapiteyn Jan Jacobsen, die alleen met zijn volk vogte tegen zeven Hollandsche schepen*, reproduced in Sabbe, *Brabant in’t verweer*, pp. 433–7.

By honouring them in this way the monarchy was assimilating them to Spain's previous experience of waging irregular sea warfare: the raids and counter-raids of Barbary corsairs and Christendom's military orders. But the ambivalence about seeing the Dunkirkers in these terms went to the very heart of the Spanish monarchy's decision-making apparatus. Within the Spanish Council of State there was never full acceptance of prize-taking as a military end in itself.³⁶ Certain strategists and policy-makers saw targeting Dutch commerce as the cheapest and quickest way to curb the bellicosity of the less war-weary seaward provinces of the Republic. The figures show beyond doubt that the destruction of the herring fleet was achieved on a tiny fraction of the time, men and money that besieging Breda was to cost. But there was constant pressure from within the Spanish Council of State to use the royal squadron at Dunkirk for defensive operations, such as the convoying of merchantmen, to which they were ill suited. The strength of the Dunkirkers lay in surprise, manoeuvrability, ferocity, and an ability to out-sail enemies they could not out-gun. None of these fitted them for convoying duties.³⁷

If there were doubts about the use to which royal ships were put, these were even greater when it came to private investment in prize-taking as a profit-making venture. Privateering was the weapon of choice of the Dutch, English and French Protestants who sought to weaken the hold of the Iberian crowns in the West Indies, and Spaniards had never considered these privateers to be anything other than pirates, to be dealt with accordingly. Unusually, the controversial Jesuit thinker Juan de Mariana, rehabilitated by the Olivares regime, had argued that war should be made to pay for itself, through plunder and private investment, burdening the tax-payer as little as possible. He seems to have considered privateering the moral equivalent of citizens' militia duty.³⁸ But to accept the validity of privateering was to risk having to regard interlopers in the

36 Stradling, *Armada of Flanders*, pp. 160–61; see too 173–5.

37 R. Baetens, 'An Essay on Dunkirk Merchants and Capital Growth during the Spanish Period', in *From Dunkirk to Danzig: Shipping and Trade in the North Sea and the Baltic, 1350–1850. Essays in Honour of J.A. Faber*, ed. W.G. Heeres *et al.* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1988), pp. 117–43, esp. 117–18.

38 Juan de Mariana, *De rege et regis institutione libri III. ad Philippum III. Hispaniae Regem Catholicum* (Toledo, 1599; facsimile reprint Aalen: Scientia, 1969), USTC 339782, III, 5, 'De re militari' (301–11). This reading of Mariana's significance derives from Stradling, *Armada of Flanders*, pp. 22, citing Alan Soons, *Juan de Mariana* (Boston: Twayne, 1979), p. 65, which in turn relies upon Pierre Mesnard, *L'Essor de la philosophie politique au XVIIe siècle*, revised ed. (Paris: J. Vrin, 1952), pp. 562, 566. On Mariana more generally, see Harald E. Braun, *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Indies as subject to the laws of war. It was natural that the Flemish admiralty should adopt the view that was prevalent, indeed customary, in northern waters. It was only with misgivings and debate, and the theoretical justifications offered by writers such as Mariana, that Spanish policy-makers followed them.

The ambivalence of those in power is shared in the pages of the *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*. There is considerable emphasis on the profitability of privateering and the damage done to Dutch trade and fisheries, and the newspaper also highlights the courage of those who took the considerable risks involved.³⁹ But even so, those writers not embedded in the fleet failed to endorse the Dunkirkers' view of the war at sea as a crusade, and chose instead to celebrate it in the language of Roman valour. In doing so they perhaps reflect the ambivalence with which their primary intended readership, the urban middle classes (and in particular the merchants and guild masters of Antwerp) must have regarded a large-scale campaign of prize-taking attended by notorious atrocities. After all, no interpretation of the centuries-old moral teachings of Christianity provides grounds for the glorification of events that include the targeting of non-combatants, the taking of civilian hostages, self-immolation, and hijacking.

39 See e.g. the undated report from Dunkirk in *Nieuwe Tijdinghen*, 31 (18 April 1625), listing the prizes of three recently returned privateers. A dozen more examples could be given.

A Sense of Europe: The Making of this Continent in Early Modern Dutch News Media

*Joop W. Koopmans**

During the Middle Ages many European authors employed the word *Christianitas*—or vernacular synonyms such as, in English, Christianity or Christendom—instead of the geographical notion ‘Europe’ to identify their continent. Although medieval geographers continued to use the word ‘Europe’, an essentially neutral term at the time, the Roman Catholic Church was particularly influential in promoting the word *Christianitas*. The Catholic clergy hoped to make clear that Europe was a Christian world and Europeans were Christians. As Denys Hay concluded in his pioneering introduction to Europe as an idea, in this era the term Europe was “devoid of sentiment”, while Christendom was “a word with profound emotional overtones”. Christianity was the bulwark against the threatening world of Muslims who had conquered the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but it also represented the comfort and familiarity of home, far removed from the exotic, alien and largely unknown regions of Asia and Africa. This helps to explain why *Christianitas* and Christendom came into common use, while the term Europe remained comparatively rare.¹

However, during the Renaissance the meaning and idea of Europe changed. Humanists made synonyms of the words *Christianitas* and Europe by granting an emotional content to the latter. Gradually Europe became a more popular word than Christendom as a name for the European continent. A variety of reasons may explain this change, three of which will be briefly touched on here. In the first place, since the Late Middle Ages Christianity was no longer a unified entity, ruled by the pope in spiritual matters and the Emperor in the secular sphere. Europe consisted by this time of several important states, and their princes challenged the papal and imperial authorities. Secondly, in 1453 the Ottomans conquered the Byzantine capital of Constantinople, and occupied an important part of the Christian world. Although this area was Greek Orthodox, and regarded as very different from the Latin version of Christianity,

* I wish to thank my colleague Anjana Singh for her stimulating remarks.

1 Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957), pp. 22–3, 27–30, 58 (quote); Heikki Mikkeli, *Europe as an Idea and an Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1998), pp. 22–31.

it was considered as an essential part of Europe because of its Greek heritage. In the third place, Martin Luther's Reformation ended the unity of the Latin Christian world. Something new was needed to mobilise the people of Europe and unite them, for instance, in their struggle against the advancing Ottomans. In this conflict, which did not end until the eighteenth century, the concept of Europe fitted better than the idea of a single *Christianitas*.

The Italian humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini was already strongly aware of this need for a new unity. He became pope in 1458, only five years after the fall of Constantinople. As Pope Pius III he wished to reconquer the former Byzantine capital and he felt that he had to use a new ideology to create unity among the inhabitants of his continent. According to him Europe had to become the new word for 'our homes'. Yet in Pius's eyes, Europeans were still Christians, and most people would stick to this view during the next centuries. However, the words 'Europeans' and 'Christians' did not remain synonyms, mainly because of European interaction with other continents, which led to the spread of Christianity worldwide. As a result of this development we can discern another process. The so-called 'Age of Discovery' led to the controversial idea that Europeans inhabited a civilised world, in contrast with the 'despotic' world of Asians and the 'barbarian' world of Africans and Native Americans. According to this mindset Europe was synonymous with civilisation, and the European elites esteemed their own society as the summit of human achievement.

As is well known, the printing press was one of the most important tools to disseminate and propagate ideas of 'us' and 'them' to a wide and growing audience across Europe. Most early modern Europeans would never travel outside their own region. Nevertheless, they could obtain a better understanding of their continent through a variety of printed media which kept them increasingly informed about what happened in their own continent, as well as other parts of the world visited by a small group of fellow Europeans. Several European news networks emerged to supply this information, and those networks were linked by improving postal systems, as well as by trade and diplomatic contacts.² Printed news media induced curiosity, spread knowledge in wider circles than before, and elicited specific responses to the news topics on which they reported. It seems clear that printed news media contributed to the construction of a European identity during the period in which other continents came increasingly into the consciousness of Europe's citizens. The issue is how this happened, and whether and to what extent it was intentional.

² Peter Rietbergen, *Europe: A Cultural History* (1998; London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 190–91, 208–36; Jacques le Goff, *The Birth of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 1–5, 177–86.

This chapter reflects on the European character of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch news media. It will function as a case study in the emergence of the concept of Europe and address the following questions: how might the content and layout of printed newspapers and news periodicals (here defined as those with less than weekly frequency) have affected the idea and construction of Europe among Dutch readers, and how did those media mirror or stimulate a sense of Europe? I will answer these questions by discussing several arguments, first by concentrating on the visible presence of the words ‘Europe’ and ‘European’ in the titles and contents of Dutch news media, where news items from other European countries predominated and relatively little attention was paid to domestic affairs. Furthermore, the European character of those media will be demonstrated through their layout, which was a vital element in shaping readers’ perceptions, drawing their attention to reports published under the headings of European state names and cities. Finally, the allegorical presence of Europe in news prints—as Princess Europa—will be discussed, to show that these fashioning processes were not simply textual.

Argument One: Europe in Dutch News Media Titles

The publishers of the first printed European news media did not give very imaginative titles to their issues. Yet most titles would reveal their place of origin or give an idea of their content. The first printed Dutch newspaper, for example, was Caspar van Hilten’s 1618 *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt &c*, a title that suggested paragraphs of news from Italy, Germany and other European countries. The habit of naming a newspaper or periodical after the city where it was published became very widespread, such as the *Gazzetta di Mantova*, printed in the Italian city of Mantua from 1664, the *London Gazette*, an official newspaper launched in 1665 as the *Oxford Gazette*, or the *Wiener Zeitung*, the newspaper of the Austrian capital that began life as the *Wienerisches Diarium*.

However, several publishers or editors contrived titles in which the noun ‘Europe’ or the adjective ‘European’ was included. A few early English examples are *A true relation of the affaires of Europe* (1622) and *The newes and affaires of Europe* (1624), both published in London.³ By choosing such titles the editors

3 The rest of this title, printed for Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, revealed more about the content: *especially, France, Flanders, and the Palatinate. Whereby you may see the Present Estate of her Provinces, and Conjecture what these Troubles and Wars may Produce etc.* These

probably tried to reach an audience and create a market that extended beyond the local citizens. In any case they indicated that news from different European corners would be presented in the columns. Only the title words' language made clear for which group these media were meant. This was not the case with linguistic regions, as newspapermen could and did publish their wares in different languages. Around 1700, for example, the French newspaper *Histoire journalière de ce qui se passe de plus considerable en Europe* was published in The Hague, thus not in France or another French-speaking region.⁴

One of the first Dutch news prints with 'Europe' or 'European' in the title was the *Europische Courant*, an Amsterdam newspaper of which copies survive for the period 1642–1646.⁵ Mathijs van Meininga published this coranto three times a week, an unusual periodicity for the time as most Dutch newspapers appeared weekly or twice a week at most. In 1645 Van Meininga's Amsterdam competitor Jan Jacobsz Bouman published the *Extra Europische tijdingen uyt verscheijde Quartieren* (*Extra European tidings from various Quarters*), twice a week.⁶ Another example is the *Wekelycke Mercurius van alle het gedenckwaerdigste dat door geheel Europa passeert* (*Weekly Mercury of all the most noteworthy things happening throughout the whole of Europe*), a newspaper published in The Hague in 1654 by Johannes Rammazeyn, but suppressed after only thirteen issues, perhaps because of the editor's political position.⁷ Another attempt to establish a newspaper in The Hague was the *Haegsche Weeckelicke Mercurius, vervattende alle gedenckweerdigste advysen van geheel Europa* (*The Hague Mercury, including complete and most noteworthy accounts of all Europe*), printed by Christianus Calaminus in 1656–1658. This newspaper too had a rather short

and other examples are discussed in, e.g., Nicholas Brownlees, 'Narrating Contemporaneity: Text and Structure in English News' in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 225–50, at 231–41.

- 4 Ingrid Maier and René Vos, 'Van oude couranten de dingen die opduiken: Nieuw licht op de Haagse pers in de zeventiende eeuw', in *Jaarboek Die Haghe* (The Hague: Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe, 2004), pp. 10–35, at 28.
- 5 'Europisch' and 'Europische' are old Dutch adjectives for European; the modern Dutch variants are 'Europees' and 'Europese'.
- 6 Otto Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century' in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 151–9, at 152.
- 7 Rammazeyn was an Orangist while the anti-Orangist regents were in power at the time. I am grateful to Rietje van Vliet for inspection in several entries of the *Encyclopedie Nederlandstalige tijdschriften (ENT)*—forthcoming: see <enti815.wordpress.com/>[03/05/15]—in this case her entry 'Wekelycke Mercurius (1654)'.

life. It was suppressed after its editor, Gerard Lodewijk van der Maght, had published false news. For this he was banished from Holland for ten years.⁸

During the next decade Van der Maght continued his editorial activities in the city of Utrecht, composing the columns of the *Ordinaire Donderdaeghe Europische Courant* (*Ordinary Thursday European Coranto*) between 1660 and 1667 under a false name. This was not much help to him, as his Utrecht title was also censored for reporting erroneous news.⁹ Meanwhile, in 1656, the Haarlem editor Abraham Casteleyn had started the *Weekelycke* (weekly) *courante van Europa*. After a few years, however, he had to change the title when he began putting out a second number each week. Casteleyn's new titles included the name of his city, becoming *Haerlemse Dingsdaegse* (Tuesday) *Courant* and *Haerlemse Saterdagse* (Saturday) *Courant*. This newspaper became one of the leading titles in the Dutch Republic and was read all over Europe, in Dutch as well as in several translations.¹⁰

All the above-mentioned Dutch newspapers with the words 'Europe' or 'European' in their titles were either relatively short-lived, or shed them after a short period. Nonetheless, they demonstrate that Dutch publishers expected titles including the words 'Europe' and 'European' to be commercially attractive. Otherwise they would not have copied earlier titles or made variations, as in the 1690 case of the Amsterdam *Europische Mercurius*. This long-running news periodical, which existed until 1756, putting out about 300 pages in quarto every six months, probably derived its title from the German magazine *Europäischer Mercurius, oder Götterboth* of 1689. The Amsterdam publisher Timotheus ten Hoorn started his Dutch *Europische Mercurius* in the same year as the English author John Philips began his monthly review *The Present State of Europe, or a Historical and Political Mercury*.¹¹ We may thus conclude that

8 Van der Maght (or Macht) was probably also involved in the *Weekelycke Mercurius etc.* Maier and Vos, 'Van oude couranten', 25–7; Ingrid Maier, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der Haager Zeitungen', *Quaerendo*, 34 (2004), pp. 87–133, at 113–29.

9 From the last mentioned title only a few copies have survived. Gerrit Albert Evers, 'De Utrechtse "Nieuwstijding" "Mercurius" en "Europische Courant"', *De Tampon* 20 (1940), pp. 1–17, at 5–12.

10 From 1662 the word 'Oprechte' (sincere) preceded these titles, which meant that this was the only officially excepted newspaper from the city of Haarlem. Ingrid Maier and René Vos, 'Gelezen van Londen tot Moskou: Internationale dimensies van de *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant* in de zeventiende eeuw', in: *Haerlem Jaarboek 2005* (Haarlem: Historische Vereniging Haerlem, 2006), pp. 9–33, at 10, 14–16.

11 About the *Europische Mercurius*, see, e.g., the literature mentioned in my article "Storehouses of news": The Meaning of Early Modern News Periodicals in Western Europe', in *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales*,

Europe was in the publishers' and editors' minds towards the end of the century. In 1692–1702 'Europe' was also part of the title of Pieter Rabus' scholarly periodical *De boekzaal* (library) *van Europe*, further evidence that publishers presumed that the continent's name represented a strong selling point.¹²

At the end of the seventeenth century the use of 'Europe' or 'European' seems to have become more common in news periodicals' titles than in newspapers' titles. This is not surprising when we consider that far more newspapers than news periodicals existed. Thus greater variety was needed in the first category's titles to distinguish them from each other. During the next century 'Europe(an)' would be mainly included in new Dutch news periodicals' titles, such as *'t Ontroerd' Europa* (Disturbed Europe). According to the only surviving issue of this periodical, predominantly containing war news from Italy, France, England, Poland and the Netherlands, it would become a weekly that would have been bound every month.¹³ Examples of long-running eighteenth-century titles are the monthly news periodicals *De Europische staats-secretaris* (state secretary) (1741–c. 1784), its successor *De nieuwe Europische staats-secretaris* (c. 1785–1806),¹⁴ and *Het verward* (confused) *Europa* (1742–45), which appeared every two months. The main topic of this last was the War of the Austrian Succession, an international conflict in which the most important European countries were involved.¹⁵ A final interesting example is the anti-Orangist *Courier van Europa* (1783–5), which appeared during the struggle between Orangists and their opponents who were called Patriots. This magazine was filled with observations

Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820, ed. Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen Salman (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 253–73, at 262 and 268; about the *Europäischer Mercurius*: Johannes Weber, *Götter-Both Mercurius: die Urgeschichte der politischen Zeitschrift in Deutschland* (Bremen: Temen 1994), pp. 125–39.

- 12 Peter Rietbergen, 'Pieter Rabus en de Boekzaal van Europe' in *Pieter Rabus en de Boekzaal van Europe 1692–1702*, ed. Hans Bots (Amsterdam: Holland University Press, 1974), pp. 1–109; J.J.V.M. de Vet, *Pieter Rabus (1660–1702)* (Amsterdam and Maarssen: Holland University Press, 1980), pp. 122–144 and *passim*. See also the site 'Early Enlightenment in a Rotterdam Periodical 1692–1704', <www.eerp.nl/> [03/05/15]. An eighteenth century scholarly periodical with 'Europe' in the title was *Uitgezogte verhandelingen uit de nieuwste werken van de Societeiten der Weetenschappen in Europa en van andere geleerde mannen* (*Selected treatises from the latest works of the Academic Societies in Europe and other scholars*; 1755–1765). R. van Vliet's entry 'Uitgezogte verhandelingen (1755–1765)', to be published in ENT.
- 13 A. Hanou's entry 't Ontroerd Europa (1701)', to be published in ENT.
- 14 The first was printed in Haarlem, by Izaak and Johannes Enschedé who also printed the *Oprechte Haerlems[che] Courant* from 1737; the second in Amsterdam by Dirk Swart and Isaak Scholten.
- 15 Published in Haarlem by Jan van Lee. Only the short title is given here. See A. Hanou's entry 'Verward Europa (1742–1745)', to be published in ENT.

about domestic and international politics of the time, written by Willem van Irhoven van Dam, an anti-Orangist. Thus this was not so much a news periodical as a periodical series of personal reflections on the news.¹⁶

The early modern newspapers and periodicals with 'Europe' or 'European' in their titles were only a small part in the long list of early modern Dutch news media. This indicates that they reached a marginal section of the reading public. It would therefore be unwise to over estimate their contribution to the creation of a sense of Europe in the Dutch Republic. Their role in this has to be combined with other considerations relevant to all titles.

Argument Two: Europe in Dutch Newspapers' Content

The words 'Europe' and 'European' could of course also be found in the contents of news media, regardless of whether they featured the terms in their titles. Subsequent questions might be, first how often, and second in which contexts and in what sense news editors used 'Europe(an)' in their news accounts. Unfortunately the first question is impossible to answer satisfactorily. Useful statistical information cannot be easily generated as many early modern Dutch series of news media are incomplete—in particular those of the seventeenth century—and not all available issues have yet been digitised and the numbers of digitised pages or words in those copies that have been is unknown.

Nevertheless, it is tempting to give a rough impression based on the 85,069 individual issues of early newspapers digitised by the Dutch Royal Library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) as of October 2013.¹⁷ A text retrieval with the Dutch designation 'Europa' leads to the conclusion that newspapers' editors rarely used this word in the digitised copies prior to 1660 (see Table 26.1). Yet we have to keep in mind that few newspapers existed in that period, and that the number of newspapers, their printed copies and their issues per week would steadily increase thereafter. Over the next two decades, 1660–1680, the figures increase to several dozen, between 1680 and 1720 to a few hundred and later to

16 Peet Theeuwen, 'Kringen rond een patriots intellectueel: Willem van Irhoven van Dam en zijn 'Courier van Europa' (1783–1785)' in *Periodieken en hun kringen: Een verkenning van tijdschriften en netwerken in de laatste drie eeuwen*, ed. Hans Bots and Sophie Levie (Nijmegen: Van Tilt, 2006), pp. 129–47. Other eighteenth-century examples are: *De Europese reiziger: of de geest der nieuwstydingen* (*The European Traveller: Or the Spirit of News Tidings*; 1777), *De Post van Europa* (1782), *Europa op het einde der agttiende eeuw* (*Europe at the End of the Eighteenth Century*; 1790) and *Dagboek van* (Diary of) *Europa* (1792–1793). See A. Hanou's entries, to be published in ENT.

17 <www.delpher.nl> [31/10/13]. Previously at <kranten.kb.nl>.

TABLE 26.1 *Frequency of the word 'Europa' in the copies of Dutch newspapers digitised by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) in The Hague, The Netherlands, compared with the frequency of the word 'Portugal' (also spelled as 'Portugael' and 'Portugaal'), a country that was far less in the news than all the neighbouring countries of the Dutch Republic.*

Seventeenth Century				Eighteenth Century			
Years	Digitised copies	Europa	Portugal	Years	Digitised copies	Europa	Portugal
<i>Dutch printed newspapers start in 1618</i>				1700–1709	4260	417	2700
1618–1619	11	0	0	1710–1719	2392	248	1238
1620–1629	184	1	2	1720–1729	5583	1083	2578
1630–1639	123	1	0	1730–1739	5931	1598	2670
1640–1649	618	1	2	1740–1749	6536	2780	1517
1650–1659	166	2	0	1750–1759	6362	1860	1910
1660–1669	696	12	273	1760–1769	8936	2308	2363
1670–1679	2112	53	451	1770–1779	9482	2885	1513
1680–1689	1395	212	352	1780–1789	12151	4731	1234
1690–1699	2747	190	836	1790–1799	15384	4862	1192
total	8052	472	1916	total	77017	22772	18915

many thousand. One conclusion that can reliably be derived from these figures is that Dutch newspapers' readers were occasionally confronted with the name of their continent. We should also be aware that as well as featuring the noun 'Europe', these papers also frequently contained the Dutch variants for 'European'. A text search for such adjectives 'Europe(e)s(e)', 'Euroops(e)' and 'Europisch(e)' also results in many hits. Thus Dutch readers were confronted with words denoting or connoting Europe in their newspapers far more often than Table 26.1 suggests. Nevertheless, searches for England or France indicate that 'Europe' appeared in Dutch news media far less than the names of important European powers of the time. Hence the results for 'Europa' are put into perspective in Table 26.1 by comparing them with those of Portugal, a less newsworthy state in Dutch media reports.¹⁸

18 Total figures for the Dutch variants for England, 'Engeland' and 'Engelant', seventeenth century: 4,914; and eighteenth century: 49,002. This text retrieval should be broadened with all Dutch variants of Great Britain. Figures for only the variant 'Groot Brittannien', seventeenth century: 532; and eighteenth century: 25,656. Total figures for the Dutch

Although the above results are not very impressive, they prove that Europe was visibly present in the newspapers. In what context, and with what meaning, was the word used in the news? It is not surprising that the geographical notion of Europe as a continent was the most common meaning.¹⁹ There are many references to Europe in news items about trade and travel between this continent and other parts of the world, or about merchant vessels in European harbours. During the first Anglo-Dutch War, for example, the Dutch States-General ordered all Dutch shippers not to enter ports under English control “in and outside Europe” to avoid their ships’ being confiscated.²⁰

Europe as a geographical entity was even more frequently mentioned in news reports about international politics, in which editors summarised the state of affairs in Europe, its major powers, states, princes, courts, wars, treaties and so on. On 11 October 1672, for instance, an Amsterdam newspaper reported a message from Paris expressing the expectation that if “the troubles of Europe” were to continue, one or more German electors would be deposed and replaced.²¹ The idea of a European balance of power was reflected in an account from Italy, included in the Haarlem newspaper of 5 December 1673, which mentioned the Papal Court’s wish “also gaerne soude sien, dat Spangie den Staet van Europa soude balanceren, ende de grootsheyt van Vrankrijck wat verminderen” (“that Spain would balance the state of Europe, and diminish France’s grandeur a bit”). On the other hand, according to a letter from a French archbishop, sent to the pope and summarised in the Haarlem newspaper on 1 April 1681, the phrase “dat in Europa niet een Prins is, die hem [i.e. ‘den Turck’] kan tegen staen, als alleen de Macht der Franssen” appeared (“only the Power of the French could resist the Turk[s] in Europe”). In August 1684 peace “across

variants for France, ‘Vran(c)kry(c)k’, ‘Vranckrij(c)k’, ‘Frankry(c)k’ and ‘Frankrijk’, seventeenth century: 785; and eighteenth century: 122,034. The results of OCR technique are not 100% trustworthy, therefore all these figures should be considered as approximations. See <www.delpher.nl> [04/11/13].

- 19 For reasons of feasibility the text retrieval is restricted to the noun ‘Europe’ in the digitized seventeenth-century Dutch newspapers. A few samples in eighteenth century copies do not give rise to the idea that ‘Europe’ had developed different meanings from those found in seventeenth century newspapers; in contrast to today when ‘Europe’ has become, e.g., a synonym of the European Union.
- 20 *Ordinaris dinsdaeghse* (Tuesday) *courante*, 6 August 1652. See also, e.g., *Haerlemse Courant*, 26 March 1661; *Ordinarisse middel-weeckse courante*, 5 December 1662; *Amsterdamse Courant* (AC) 18 July 1686. Newspaper editions are not repeated in footnotes when they or the discussed news items are mentioned in the main text.
- 21 In Dutch: “Men seght dat soo de Troebelen van Europa souden mogen continueren, wel eenig Keur-Vorst soude werden ghecasseert, en een ander Prins in sijn plaets werden ghestelt”.

the whole of Europe” was expected in letters summarised by the Amsterdam newspaper editor, as soon as the king of France accepted the same conditions to which his Spanish counterpart had agreed.²²

Furthermore, Europe was considered a unified geographical entity in a handful of news accounts emanating from the continent’s periphery. For instance, an excerpt of a letter from Persia was published on the 4 June 1669 Haarlem newspaper, stating that “Men verwacht hier de voornaemste Tijdinghen uyt Europa” (“the most important tidings from Europe”) were expected. In another example, a message from Smyrna (now Izmir) in Turkey in an Amsterdam newspaper of 1 March 1674 begins with the sentence: “De groote Oorloghen van de Christenvorsten in Europa, veroorsaken hier seer slappe Negotie” (“The great wars of the Christian princes in Europe cause a very weak trade here”).²³ It is interesting to note that the report speaks about Christian European princes, probably in order to draw a contrast with the Islamic Ottoman Sultan, who ranked himself as one of Europe’s princes. The Turkish war declaration against the king of Poland, for instance, published in the 15 March 1621 issue of the *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren* (*Tidings from various quarters*) starts with a list of some of the Sultan’s many titles, one of which in particular must have been rather confronting for the Dutch readers: “Regeerder van ’t gantsche Christenrijk ende Europa” (“Governor of the whole Christian empire and Europe”).

‘Europe’ also appeared in its geographical sense in contexts having to do with persuasion and comparison. A news item of 2 September 1673 in the Haarlem newspaper states that new fortifications would make Turin one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. Such a comparison sounded, of course, more impressive than a comparison limited to other Italian cities. This is also the case with a news report in the Amsterdam newspaper of 27 March 1692 suggesting that the Duke of Savoy would have been Europe’s happiest prince had he not started the war.²⁴

Europe as a geographical entity was also used in a great number of advertisements for books and periodicals about Europe’s history or its state of affairs.

22 In Dutch: “soo dat men niet en twyfelt of den Koninck van Vrankryck sal dese conditien mede accepteeren, en dan staet men door geheel Europa in korte eenen Generaelen vrede te hebben”. *AC*, 3 August 1684. See also, e.g.: *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* (*OHC*), 16 January 1672, 7 April 1672, 28 May 1672, 10 October 1673, 26 September 1675, 7 June 1678 and 3 July 1688; *Utrechtse courant*, 23 April 1691; *AC*, 9 November 1683, 8 June 1690 and 22 November 1692; *Opregte Leydse courant* (*OLeyC*), 25 April 1698.

23 See also, e.g.: *AC*, 14 September 1688; *OLeyC*, 21 March 1698.

24 See also, e.g.: *OHC*, 23 June 1663 and 31 January 1696.

An early example can be found in the 30 March 1630 issue of the *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt &c* in which the seventeenth volume of Nicolaas Jansz van Wassenaer's history of Europe and other parts of the world was announced.²⁵ An advertisement concerning a periodical is Jan Bouman's announcement for *De reysende Mercurius verhandelende de hedendaegsche en onlangs tegenwoordige staet en verrichtingen van Europa* (*The travelling Mercury treating the contemporary and earlier state and activities of Europe*), published on 22 December 1674 in the Amsterdam newspaper.²⁶ Such advertisements remind us that a market existed for publications concerning Europe as a whole.

Finally, a very distinctive—and non-geographical—meaning of Europe in early modern Dutch newspapers concerns reports about ships bearing the name of 'Europa' or 'Nieuw Europa'. Several ships of the Dutch East India Company bore these names, a few Dutch slave ships going to the West Indies were christened 'Europa', and the Haarlem newspaper's issue of 4 December 1677 also mentions a French ship called 'Europa'. All these ships generated many news items about their movements between harbours and sometimes about their cargoes.²⁷ Such ships popularised the idea of Europe as one continent directly through their names and indirectly through their movements both in and outside Europe. As the newspapers included only neutral facts about them, news items about ships called 'Europa' can be considered as an unintended consequence of the popularisation of the idea of Europe.

Argument Three: News about Europe in a Eurocentric Layout

From the beginning Dutch printed news media included information from all corners of Europe. In other words, they created a sense of Europe because most of the news reports dealt with European affairs. Due to distance and the

25 The advertisement in Dutch: "Dese weke is uytghegheven by Ian Iansz het 17. Gedeelte, oft Vervolgh van het historisch Verhael aller Ghedenckwaerdig Gheschiedenissen, soo in Europa, Asia, etc. voorghevalen zijn; Beschreven door Nicolaes à Wassenaer".

26 See also, e.g.: *OHC*, 2 August 1667, 22 January 1675, 23 May 1675, 3 January 1682, 6 January, 13 and 20 April, and 24 February 1688, 1 March 1689; *AC*, 30 December 1677, 29 March 1691, 10 April and 21 October 1692, and 3 May 1698.

27 See, e.g.: *OHC*, 2 August 1667, 22 October 1669, 3 March 1671, 18 April 1673, 4 December 1677; *AC*, 21 October 1673, 1 May 1677, 21 December 1686. See for the voyages of the Dutch East India Company ship Europa the website 'Dutch Asiatic shipping in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', <www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DAS/> and for slave ships with the name Europa the Website <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces?_af03/05/15>.

lack of regular communication, information about other parts of the world would remain scarce until the nineteenth century. Furthermore, news from outside Europe was mainly restricted to areas in which European colonies and trade posts were situated or where Europeans were involved in warfare. Dutch news media had, in addition, a distinctly European character, as domestic news occupied relatively little space in the news columns before the second half of the eighteenth century. Most local news was still orally dispersed, since oral transmission remained more efficient than print publication until the dailies came into existence. Furthermore, domestic news was mostly restricted to government documents, announcements and politically uncontroversial messages, as Dutch news editors tried to avoid censorship. Therefore, news from abroad, from other European countries, dominated the Dutch news media.²⁸ All accounts on foreign topics must have expanded the average Dutch readers' knowledge of their continent immensely.

The layout of most early modern Dutch newspapers and periodicals enhanced the sense of Europe in the news. From around 1650 readers' attention was drawn to reports published under the headings of European state names. In 1656 the Haarlem editor Abraham Casteleyn adopted this practice in his *Weeckelycke courante van Europa*. Other Dutch newspapers began to follow suit from around 1662.²⁹ This also serves to explain why the names of individual countries, such Germany, France and England—or Great Britain from 1707—occurred much more frequently in the news media than the continental name of Europe since the 1660s. Most of the time editors opened their publications with news from the countries geographically furthest from the Dutch Republic, typically moving on to states closer to home and ending with domestic reports under the heading 'Nederlanden' (The Netherlands), very often on the back page. There would be one or more news items under each heading, usually in chronological order and starting with a dateline consisting of the news item's city and date of origin. The Friday 10 April 1750 issue of the *Opregte Groninger Courant* (*Sincere Groningen Newspaper*) can be considered typical of Dutch early modern newspapers (see Figures 26.1

28 Marcel Broersma, 'Constructing public opinion: Dutch newspapers on the eve of a revolution (1780–1795)', in *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Joop W. Koopmans (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 219–35, at 223.

29 Before the 1660s news items mostly appeared under the headings of city names. The 26 August 1656 *Weeckelycke courante van Europa* is the first digitised issue with states as headings. <www.delpher.nl> [05/11/13]. The 1752 starting *Leeuwarder Courant* would be the first Dutch newspaper with a thematic approach, by making sections such as 'state news', 'trade', 'church news' and 'accidents'.



FIGURE 26.1 Front page of the Friday 10 April 1750 issue of the Opregte Groninger Courant, with news under the headings of Turkey, Poland and Prussia, Spain, Italy, Denmark, Great Britain and France UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GRONINGEN.

and 26.2). This issue opens with news from Turkey on 18 February and ends with a message from Groningen of 9 April. The system could be changed, however, to allow for late-breaking news reports. These would be published under the heading 'Netherlands' and with a dateline starting with the name of the newspaper's city.

This model of layout may have stimulated Dutch newspaper readers to start with foreign news, assuming they began with the first or front page (though this remains necessarily uncertain). At all events, readers became gradually more aware of Europe's map, the distances between the Dutch Republic and other European countries, and geographical changes caused by international politics. For example Dutch newspapers began using the heading 'Great Britain' rather than 'England' after the 1707 Act of Union between England and Scotland.³⁰

News periodicals such as the 1690 *Europische Mercurius* and the 1756 *De maandelykse Nederlandsche Mercurius* (*The monthly Dutch Mercury*) intensified the European character of Dutch news media by following a similar form of geographical sequencing of items as the newspapers. Although Europe featured in the latter periodical's subtitle as a news area, it is significant that its first volume's monthly sections began with a few news items under the headings of other continents ('Azia', 'Noord America', 'Africa'), followed by the heading of 'Europa', under which heading, it should be noted, Turkey is the first European country to be mentioned.³¹ The layout of the eighteenth-century periodical confirms the idea that Europe and Christianity could no longer be considered as synonyms by that time.

Argument Four: The Presence of Europe in News Prints

Europe as a continent was not only present in the texts of early modern news media, but could also be found in news prints that referred to European news topics. Such prints could be published and sold separately as well as included in news periodicals or pamphlets with a production schedule that was long enough to accommodate them, thus not in newspapers with a short periodicity. These prints' share of the overall news market was modest; nevertheless, they should not be altogether left out of this discussion of the sense of Europe in

³⁰ See, e.g.: *OHC*, 21 and 23 June 1707; *OLeyC*, 20 and 25 June 1707.

³¹ *De maandelykse Nederlandsche Mercurius, geevende een volledig bericht van alles, wat 'er aanmerkenswaardig ieder maand, in Europa is voorgevallen* (*The Dutch Monthly Mercury Giving a Complete Report of All Important Events in Europe*), no. 1 (1756).

Dutch news media. News prints making reference to European news topics undoubtedly intensified a sense of Europe by making those subjects, such as wars and peace, more concrete or understandable. News engravings had similar functions to today's photographs in news media. They would attract and inform readers by representing people, buildings, statues, events and everything else that could be sketched. They would also reflect contemporary societal ideas and views.

However, in contrast with news photographs, early modern news illustrations—in the form of woodcuts or engravings—were, by definition, artists' impressions, merging facts and fiction.³² This could be the result of ignorance, or a deliberate way of achieving a particular effect: a simplification of the actual circumstances, for instance, or the presentation of a series of news events in a single picture. The use of symbols and allegorical figures derived from Europe's ancient past was very common. In many news prints Mars and Pax figured as simple allegories indicating the state of European or local affairs, or to supply a readily graspable context for peace negotiations. Such allegorical representations may be considered as typical products of European culture, easily understood by an educated contemporary audience. News prints were not subject to language barriers, apart from specific plays upon words. Yet even when vernacular phrases were included, many Europeans got the message. Other artistic forms, such as paintings and sculptures, stimulated this general European understanding, since they used the same visual language.³³

Within the context of this chapter the mythological Princess Europa is the most important such figure, since she gives rise to the continent's name. Her kidnapping by Zeus in the guise of a bull and her removal to Crete inspired artists throughout European history in a variety of genres.³⁴ The frontispieces with Princess Europa and Zeus in the above-mentioned *Europische Mercurius* belong to the most prominent Dutch examples in the field of news prints.

32 A comparison between today's cartoons and early modern news prints is also possible considering the fact that both genres are drawings. In cartoons, however, the role of irony is central.

33 See, e.g., Joop W. Koopmans, 'Politics in title prints: Examples from the Dutch news book *Europische Mercurius* (1690–1756)', in *Selling and Rejecting Politics in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Martin Gosman and Joop W. Koopmans (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), pp. 135–49, at 135–40 (including bibliographical references).

34 Many examples can be found in Michael Wintle, *The Image of Europe: Visualizing Europe in Cartography and Iconography throughout the Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).



FIGURE 26.3 *Frontispiece of the Europische Mercurius from 1713.*
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Princess Europa and also Mercury, the messenger of the gods, are present in most of the periodical's frontispieces, which feature news topics from the corresponding volume.

To exemplify the genre, the anonymous 1713 frontispiece of the *Europische Mercurius* (see Figure 26.3)—probably made by the engraver and author Jan

Goeree³⁵—should suffice here. It refers only to one news item: the Treaty of Utrecht, or, more precisely, the series of peace treaties that ended the War of the Spanish Succession, in which many European countries had been involved since 1701. France would sign separate agreements with, respectively, Great Britain, the Dutch Republic, Savoy, Prussia and Portugal in the Dutch city of Utrecht on 11 April 1713.

The print, however, does not show diplomats who are signing treaties. The central figure is Pax, who treads on the laurels of war heroes. She delivers the horn of plenty to Princess Europa, sitting on a bull whose head is visible. Pax's dress has pegs and eyelets, in reference to the Dutch saying 'haken en ogen', meaning problems; in this case surely a reference to the difficulties of the peace negotiations. The goddess Minerva, still wearing a war helmet, warns Princess Europa that the peace is unstable and may soon be broken. The figure of Time, with the traditional hour-glass on his head and scythe in hand, illustrates the fragility of the situation. Near the sea god Neptune's a nymph floats quietly, symbolising Great Britain. The eagle, on the other hand, holds a military baton, symbolising the German Emperor whose campaigns against France were ongoing.

In the meantime Mercury—the figure with a winged hat and a caduceus—travels to other countries to catch new messages. The rising sun illustrates hope, while the Tower of Babel and Pheme stand for uncertainty about the duration of the peace. Pheme shows her doubts by trumpeting a biblical reference, 1 Thessalonians 5:3 (“For when they are saying, ‘Peace and safety’, then sudden destruction will come on them, like birth pains on a pregnant woman; and they will in no way escape”), in mirror image.³⁶ In front of her two other female figures hold a box that may contain the peace treaties; they support a building inscribed with the Latin words “*pacis alumnia quies populi concordia nutrix*” (rest is the child of peace [and] the population's harmony is its foster mother). The reference to a bible verse and the use of a Latin quote are also characteristic examples of European cultural expressions of the time, next to all mythological figures.

In 1738 the *Europische Mercurius* would include another frontispiece of Pax and the Peace of Utrecht, in celebration of twenty-five years of peace in the Dutch Republic.³⁷ However, the next European war—the War of the Austrian

35 At any case Jan Goeree (1670–1731) wrote the corresponding frontispiece's explanation on rhyme. See further: Joop W. Koopmans, 'Jan Goeree en zijn ontbrekende titelgedichten in de *Europische Mercurius* (1713, 1718, 1719 en 1727)', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 26 (2003), pp. 73–90, at 73–81.

36 Quote from *World English Bible* (2002), <ebible.org/> [03/05/15].

37 See also David Onnekink and Renger de Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht (1713)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), pp. 101–105.

Succession—followed soon after, producing prints of news events that would become the next part of a shared European past.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that early modern printed news media stimulated a sense of Europe in the Dutch Republic, though mostly implicitly and not necessarily on purpose. Nonetheless, news media surely helped to shape Europe as a reality, particularly in the minds of its inhabitants who did not or could not see other parts of the continent with their own eyes. By presenting and structuring European affairs in pieces of news, and positioning or explaining them in a European context they also created a European audience, one admittedly divided by wars, religious controversies and conflicts, yet possessing certain shared interests, aims and expectations. Dutch news editors translated and adapted foreign news letters and newspaper items, presenting Dutch news readers much the same news as was available to people abroad. Furthermore, Dutch media not only affected the Dutch reading population but also other parts of Europe as they were translated and read elsewhere. The need for news stimulated and intensified news networks across Europe, making a European news market.

Four coherent arguments have been discussed to reflect on the questions how early modern Dutch news media may have contributed to the creation of a sense of Europe, and in which ways they made the idea of Europe more familiar to their readers. The first two of them dealt with the use of the words 'Europe' or 'European' in the titles of news media and its contents. They can be considered as indications that the notion of Europe was indeed current. The third argument demonstrated that news media mostly offered European news through particular geographical configurations of layout. This was visible in most issues of most newspapers, as well as in many news periodicals. This last argument is the most important. Finally, I have shown how Europe was also present through visual language, by using European symbols and figures in news prints. Considering all four arguments together adds resonance to Aristotle's phrase, 'the whole is greater than the sum of its parts'. This ancient Greek axiom may be considered as the fifth argument to show how, from news about Europe's internal conflicts, a unified sense of Europe emerged in the early modern period.

The Hinterland of the Newsletter: Handling Information in Space and Time

Mark Greengrass, Thierry Rentet and Stéphane Gal

There is an emerging orthodoxy in our understanding of how early-modern information became news. ‘Information’, in this context, refers to what is learned, processed and stocked from others, and whose worth is related to the rarity value that it possesses.¹ ‘News’ is its subsequent transmission into another, possibly more public, environment. That orthodoxy relies on several elements, which generate, in turn, a chronology of change.² Firstly, there was

1 These definitions are discussed in Michel Serres’ lecture to the University of Paris on 29 January 2013: <www.sorbonne.fr/michel-serres-prononce-en-sorbonne-la-conference-inaugurale-du-programme-paris-nouveaux-mondes/> [20/1/15].

2 See various studies and edited works, referred to elsewhere in this collection, e.g. C. John Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–49* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Bob Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press: Britain and France, 1620–1800* (London: Routledge, 1996); Gilles Feyel, *L’Annonce et la Nouvelle. La Presse de l’information en France sous l’Ancien Régime 1630–1788* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000); C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, H. Bots, Paul G. Hofstijzer, and O.S. Lankhorst, eds., *Le Magasin de l’Univers—The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 1991); Johannes Weber, ‘Avisen, Relationen, Gazetten. Der Beginn des europäischen Zeitungswesen’, in *Bibliotheksgesellschaft Oldenburg. Vorträge—Reden—Berichte*, ed. H. Brandes and W. Kramer, No. 20 (Oldenburg: Bis, 1997); Johannes Weber, ‘Der große Krieg und die frühe Zeitung. Gestalt und Entwicklung der deutschen Nachrichtenpresse in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts’, *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, ed. H. Böning, A. Kutsch and R. Stöber, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1999); Brendan Dooley, ‘De bonne main; les pourvoyeurs de nouvelles à Rome au XVIIe siècle’, *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 54 (1999), 1317–44; Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron, eds, *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2001); Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002); Johannes Weber, ‘Kontrollmechanismen im deutschen Zeitungswesen des 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein kleiner Beitrag zur Geschichte der Zensur’, *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, ed. H. Böning, A. Kutsch and R. Stöber, vol. 6 (2004), pp. 56–73; Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, eds., *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Brendan Dooley, ed., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early-Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010); Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News. How the World Came to Know About Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014).

the emergence of a group of specialists in the gathering of information, its collation, evaluation, filing, and subsequent transmission as news. Secondly, that specialism grew out of an increasing density of information and, with it, a concomitant and inevitable growth in the circulation and credence accorded to rumour and gossip. That density was, in turn, the result of fundamental changes in information dynamics, which were the consequence of the consolidation of print culture, the embedding of letter-circulation and postal communication as a means of exercising power at a distance and as a medium of cultural exchange, changes in Europe's knowledge horizon, and in the power of the state. Thirdly, the sophistication of these information practitioners depended on their ability to sift out personal or private information from matters of public importance, and to evaluate different sources of information in accordance with criteria based on experiential reliability. Their experience taught them how to triangulate between conflicting stories, and to be prudent in drawing conclusions based on only one source. Fourthly, the resulting news was valuable to those whose fortune and position ensured privileged access to it—to governing entities and commercial stakeholders. However, it also had value to those involved in print culture—writers, printers, publishers and distributors—those for whom a market in news had grown up in the course of the sixteenth century. Other emporia emerged for official information (published edicts, municipal ordinances, ecclesiastical placards, etc.), and religious polemic (libels, pamphlets, etc.). Each had its factors. Newsletter-writers and secretaries, printers, publishers, and distributors, pamphleteers and *libellistes* operated in a world in which official censorship was ill defined and irregularly enforced by a patchwork of overseers. The real constraints on what one could disseminate lay in the politics of the information moment. They determined what could be circulated in a particular circumstance, how it should be presented and circulated, by whom, and the reactions of those who received it. These key elements are used to account for the emergence, firstly, of manuscript newsletters (*avvisi*) in the information centres of the Italian peninsula in the sixteenth century and their subsequent migration into manuscript newsletter services in northern Europe. The concomitant growth in printed news pamphlets across a broader European geographical spectrum and over a longer chronology provides a further, linked, component to that of the *avvisi*. The 'invention of news' (in the form of a recognisable periodical press in the first half of the seventeenth century) is, therefore, the outward and visible sign of fundamental changes to the dynamics of information in early modern Europe. These changes had been underway for a long time. They marked a profound shift in the perception of what it was to be 'contemporaneous'.

This paper does not call into question that consensus. It simply suggests that we should not allow commercial logic, or the surviving artefacts of distributed news (in manuscript or printed forms) whose emergence it seeks to explain, to obscure an underlying reality. All correspondence networks were, *ipso facto*, transmitters of information and instruments of cultural exchange. Those who managed the flows of information within them were specialists in the handling of information. Conventions and expectations in the correspondence networks to which they belonged determined their behaviour. That was a market of sorts, albeit a closed one. It dictated what they sent on, or kept to themselves, and how they evaluated and presented the information that came their way. These correspondence networks constitute what we shall describe here as the 'hinterland' of information from which news was fabricated. By concentrating on the information-gatherers and disseminators in a public context—the *avvisi* writers, publicists and polemicists, etc. —we are in danger of ignoring those who were still the overwhelmingly important forces in the handling of information and the dissemination of news. Those preeminent figures were the 'court pieces' on the information 'chess-board'—the senior clerics and grandees, favourites and hangers-on who inhabited princely courts. Manuscript *avvisi* were principally produced by those in the service of princes. The *avvisi* writers frequented grandees in search of information and syndicated the results to diplomats, councillors and advisors in the courts of other princes.

In the sixteenth-century French context, which is where this paper is located, noble correspondence has been utilised heretofore to furnish evidence for the fundamental importance of informal power structures in Renaissance France. It documents the significance of the noble household, the flexible and contingent relationships between grandees and their patrons and clients, and their cultural and artistic *mécénat*.³ These structures were equally determinant, however, as information networks. Through them, prominent

3 Sharon Kettering, 'Clientage during the French Wars of Religion', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 20 (1989), pp. 68–87; Mark Greengrass, 'Functions and Limits of Political Clientelism in France before Cardinal Richelieu', in *L'Etat ou le Roi: fondations de la modernité monarchique (XIVe–XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. Neihard Bulst, Robert Descimon and Alain Guerreau (Paris: Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1996), pp. 69–82; Sharon Kettering, 'Friendship and clientage in early-modern France', *French History*, 6 (1992), pp. 139–58. For particular examples, see (among others), Mark Greengrass, 'Noble Affinities in Early Modern France; the case of Henri de Montmorency-Damville, constable of France', *European Studies Quarterly*, 16 (1986), pp. 275–311; Ariane Boltanski, *Les ducs de Nevers et l'état royal. Genèse d'un compromis (ca. 1550—ca. 1600)* (Geneva: Droz, 2006), esp. part II; Stéphane Gal, *Lesdiguières. Prince des Alpes et connétable de France* (Grenoble : Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2007),

French princes promoted their own lineage and ‘identity capital’.⁴ Operating in a world of intense rivalries, higher nobles in French politics instrumentalised debates in sixteenth-century France in order to discredit their rivals. They conducted campaigns of libels (i.e. ‘pamphlets’) and publicised their lawsuits in ‘factums’.⁵ They chose deliberately whether, when, and how to engage in a libel campaign, such decisions being a determinant in the polemical strategies that accompanied their own political engagements. Their secretaries, lawyers and agents were the information specialists who managed and collated their correspondence networks, acting as their publicists, and deploying news as best served their masters. Others—family members as well as their servants—played a role that involved information gathering, collation, analysis and dissemination. They made use of the royal postal services, whose operation they oversaw as provincial governors and lieutenants. However, they also had their own private couriers and messengers, upon whom the French state also depended. The more developed that state became, the more it drew upon intermediaries—magistrates, specialists of one sort or another, military officers, etc. Those intermediaries constituted an important ‘public’ in the ‘market’ for news. So there was no definable line between what constituted private information and published news because what circulated within the networks of those who were royal servants was also what became diffused as ‘news’ in a more public sense. What passed from one party to another on its way to and from court was rapidly disseminated more broadly. Clienteles within the upper nobility functioned like echoic chambers. News in one quarter was rapidly picked up and relayed to other quarters. The functioning reality of noble clienteles rested upon informal information and communication as well as power structures.

* * * * *

The surviving correspondence of a grandee in sixteenth-century France over a period of six months during the year of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew (1572) furnishes the evidence to substantiate these propositions. The Gordes

esp. part IV; Thierry Rentet, *Anne de Montmorency, grand maître de François Ier* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010).

4 Eric Durot, *François de Lorraine, duc de Guise entre Dieu et le Roi* (Paris: Garnier, 2012), esp. part I.

5 Tatiana Debbagi Baranova, *A coups de libelles. Une culture politique au temps des guerres de religion (1562–1598)* (Geneva: Droz, 2012); Marie Houlemare, *Politiques de la Parole. Le Parlement de Paris au XVIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2011), pp. 331–43.

were an old noble family from southeastern France whose origins lay in the county of Provence. The family was prolific, its branches serving as the major boughs of the Provençal nobility (the Houses of Agoult and Pontevès). Meanwhile, through the line of Simiane de Gordes, they extended their influence and connections into Dauphiné and the Piedmont region of the duchy of Savoy.⁶ Bertrand Raymbaud v de Simiane, Baron de Gordes succeeded to those family connections through his father (Bertrand-Rambaud iv), and his mother (Perette de Pontevès).⁷ Born on 18 November 1513, he became the eldest scion of 18 children. Five brothers became Knights of St John of Jerusalem or of Malta—all of them dying in military service against the Ottomans. A sixth served in the French cavalry and was wounded in the French Civil Wars at the battle of Moncontour (1569). Three further brothers entered the Catholic Church whilst the youngest brother of all (Aymar) settled into the life of a Dauphiné nobleman. The churchmen became (paradoxically) the most susceptible to Protestantism. Two of them openly declared their Calvinist allegiance in the 1560s. By the year of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew (1572), the Simiane de Gordes clan had a foot in both camps. Bertrand-Raymbaud v's enemies criticised him for his divided loyalties. However, such connections and family links to the Protestant noble leadership were a valuable asset to those at the French court who tried to set in place a political reconciliation to the Civil Wars. They were in the ascendant in the wake of the Peace of Saint-Germain (August 1570).

Bertrand-Raymbaud v's career begun with distinguished service on the battlefield, but he owed his political ascension to Anne de Montmorency, *Grand-Maitre* and then (in 1536) Constable of France, who reached the apogee of his influence with the accession of Henri II to the throne in 1547. Montmorency schooled him in a prudential approach to diplomacy and statecraft. No stranger to the Valois court, Gordes' appointment as lieutenant-général in Dauphiné in October 1564 was, nevertheless, contentious. The events of the first Civil War (1562–3) in Dauphiné had been divisive.⁸ The fault lines had long been set in

6 François Alexandre Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse ... de France*, 19 vols. (Paris: Schlesinger frères, 1863–77), 15: 599–621. The great eighteenth-century genealogist rarely admitted defeat, but he met his match with the Simiane: "On ne trouvera point ici l'histoire des maison d'Agoult & de Pontevéz, sorties de la maison DE SIMIANE, l'exécution en seroit trop vaste & demanderoit un volume entier".

7 Paul Prallat, *Bertrand Raimbaud de Simiane, Baron de Gordes, Seigneur de Laval—ou La Balade entre les Croix* (Laval: Editions Horizons. Autrefois pour Tous, 2013), pp. 6–13.

8 The narrative sources for these events include Nicolas Chorier, *Histoire générale du Dauphiné* (Lyon, 1672), books 16–17; H. de Terrebasse, *Histoire et généalogie de la famille de Maugiron* (Lyon: Librairie Ancienne de Louis Brun, 1905); Pierre Cavard, *La Réforme et les guerres de religion à Vienne*

place—geographically between the foothills of ‘lower Dauphiné’ and the mountains of ‘upper Dauphiné’, linguistically (French, francoprovençal, and langue d’oc), and fiscally (part of the province was a zone of ‘taille personnelle’, and part of it ‘taille réelle’—with substantial consequences for how people were taxed). Dauphiné lay wide open to the confessional divisions that characterised the early Civil Wars because it lay on the route-way between Geneva and southern France and because it had the remnants of a mostly-suppressed Vaudois movement that had aligned itself with Geneva. On the eve of the civil wars, 40 or so Protestant churches were established (i.e. had a consistory) in its urban environments.

The politicisation of Dauphiné’s Protestants occurred rapidly in the years from 1560 to 1562. That was in response to unfolding national events. Locally, the pattern of iconoclastic destruction that took place bore the hallmarks of a movement that threatened to spin out of the control of its consistories and synods. The dynamism of Dauphiné Protestantism came partly from its lesser nobility, among whom the new religion had found a hearing, and who proved themselves in due course capable of putting together a regional military organisation. In the first civil war, Dauphiné’s militant Protestants, led by François de Beaumont, Baron des Adrets, captured the towns on the Rhône/Isère arterial axes. They looted church wealth and destroyed ritual objects, aiming to rid the province of papal pollution and instigate a new order, but also to provide the resources for their military campaign. They terrorised Catholics into submission or into exile in nearby Piedmont or the Comtat Avignon. The king’s *lieutenant-général* (Blaise de Pardaillan, sieur de la Motte-Gondrin), a newcomer to the province and without loyalties among its noble clans, was assassinated early on in the hostilities (in Valence on 27 April 1562). His replacement was Laurent de Maugiron, someone whose family, career and aspirations bear comparison with those of Gordes. Maugiron’s instructions from the young King Charles IX included an explicit mandate to apprehend the Protestant leader (des Adrets) held responsible for La Motte-Gondrin’s death, or otherwise avenge it. With royal authority crumbling around him in the face of a determined Protestant opposition, Maugiron had little choice but to make the most of his connections with the governor of Dauphiné at the time of his appointment

(Vienne: Blanchard Frères, 1950); cf Nicolas Danjaume, ‘La ville et la guerre. Valence pendant la première guerre de religion (vers 1560–vers 1563)’ (*Mémoire de maîtrise*, sous la direction de Stéphane Gal, Grenoble II, 2009); Christophe Vyt, ‘L’iconoclasme huguenot à Vienne [Isère] pendant la première guerre de religion’, *Bulletin de la société des amis de Vienne*, 95 (2000), pp. 3–37; and, for Protestant organisation in Dauphiné within the national context, Philip Benedict and Nicolas Formerod, eds., *L’organisation et l’action des églises réformées de France* (Geneva: Droz, 2012).

(François, Duke of Guise), and to rally the province's remaining committed Catholics behind a bruising military campaign in the summer of 1562. The Peace of Amboise (March 1563) ended these first hostilities, but Maugiron's reputation as a Catholic hardliner compromised his efforts to enforce the pacification. The new governor in Dauphiné (the prince of la Roche-sur-Yon, in succession to François, duke of Guise, assassinated in February 1563) persuaded Catherine de Médici that the best way of calming Dauphiné's Protestants was to instigate a shared lieutenancy, putting in place in lower Dauphiné someone who would be more emollient in their eyes. Maugiron rejected that proposal, arguing that he could not serve a governor who had shown no confidence in him, and that "to have two people governing a province was to put disunion among its population".⁹ His disgrace triggered Gordes's appointment. However, the shadow of Catholic resentments pursued Gordes throughout his period of office. Although he remained lieutenant in Dauphiné through to his death in 1578, Maugiron's friends and supporters periodically orchestrated whispering campaigns against him, turning his conciliatory moves towards Dauphiné's Protestants into signs that he had failed to stand up for the royal (and Catholic) interest.

Regional specialists already know this political background. Hardly explored at all, however, are the 31 volumes of Gordes correspondence, covering (with some gaps) his period in office as lieutenant in Dauphiné from 1565 to 1576. The overwhelming majority of the over 7,000 items in it are letters written to Gordes. They are part of the muniments of the Condé family in the manuscript collections of the archives at Chantilly because in the eighteenth century Marie-Thérèse de Pontevès de Simiane, Gordes' descendant, left her inheritance to Charlotte, daughter of Charles de Rohan-Soubise, who married Louis-Joseph, Prince de Condé in 1753. Although Condé subsequently (1787) sold the Gordes-Laval estates, the family papers had already been transferred to Chantilly, which is where they have remained ever since. Even though the survival patterns are quite irregular, indicative of various gaps, this is quite simply the largest surviving letter collection from a provincial lieutenant in France during the sixteenth century (see Figures 27.1–27.4, below).

From this archive, we can study the collection, collation and transfer of news. Dauphiné played a significant role within the information structures of the French state. It was a nodal point for both international and regional information traffic. On the one hand, it was the receptor for news coming from the Italian peninsula and from the Mediterranean to France. Much of the courier traffic between Rome, Venice, Genoa and Turin and France passed through Dauphiné. So, too, did some of that between France and the Swiss cantons.

9 Maugiron to Catherine de Médici, Vienne, 20 December 1566, cited Terrebase, *Histoire et généalogie*, pp. 109–10.

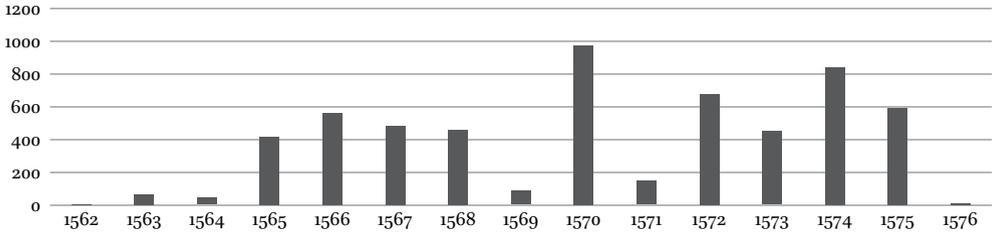


FIGURE 27.1 *Surviving volumes of material in the Gordes Collection, Chantilly (Archives de Chantilly, Series K, vols 1-31)*

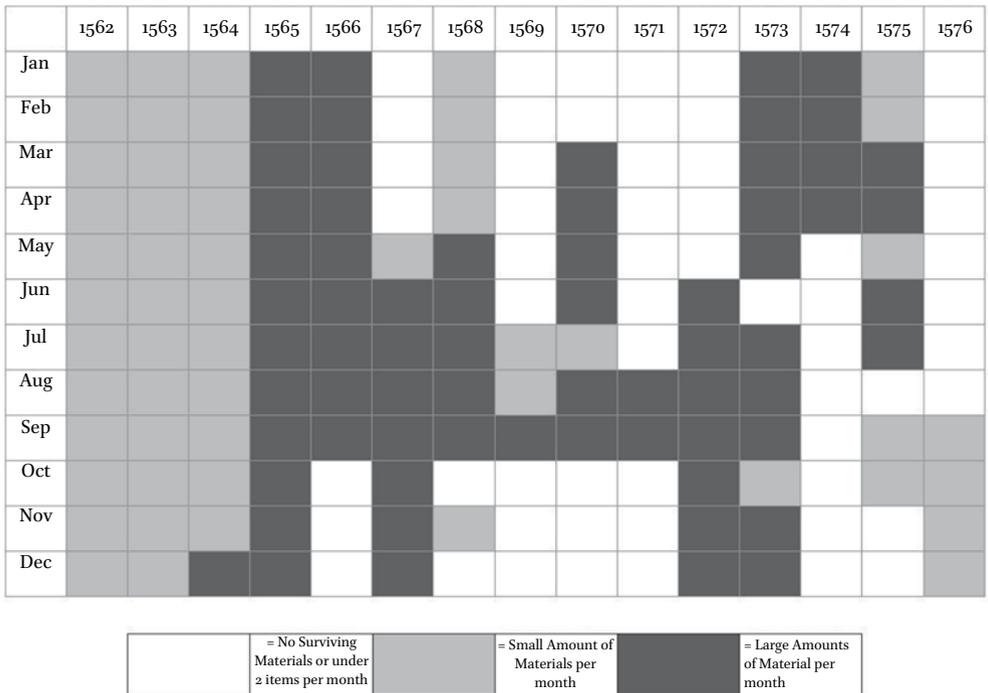


FIGURE 27.2 *Surviving volumes by month*

At the same time, couriers from the Iberian peninsula to the Rhineland and the Netherlands passed up the Rhône valley on their way northwards, except in times of war. Carriers also brought post and news through Dauphiné to and from Rome for the independent Papal enclave of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin, and to and from William and Louis of Nassau to their little principality at Orange. Couriers (*chevaucheurs*) were often stopped and interrogated, and their despatches opened and read. Dauphiné was therefore a listening-post for what happened internationally. That information in turn shaped Gordes' own approach to governing his province whose security depended on what was

happening in the wider world. Gordes received pamphlets (*pasquins*) from Rome and reports (*avis*) from Milan, Genoa, and Turin.¹⁰ With the Protestant politico-military organisation in southern France in contact with the Protestant Swiss cantons and German princes, he was also kept abreast of developments in those parts.¹¹ This was not news from syndicated sources. It simply arrived in the despatches to him. But because there are so many similarities of form and analysis to the way in which his correspondents framed their letters and the way in which newsletters are constructed, we may say that the letters of those in authority like Gordes constitute a kind of ‘hinterland’ to the newsletters with which this volume is mostly concerned.

We have chosen to analyse how information was gathered and circulated in the Gordes network by concentrating on the months from June to December 1572. We have transcribed the 672 despatches and appendages of that year.¹²

The surviving letters are evidently incomplete. The modest number for the month of September—the first full month after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew—is particularly striking. The extreme sensitivity of that moment implies that there was selective removal from his papers at that date.

On the international scene, the members of Gordes’ network monitored three interlinked theatres: the disposition of armed naval fleets in the Mediterranean in the year after the Battle of Lepanto; the despatch of Spanish troops through Milan up the ‘Spanish Road’ to the Netherlands, and the developments in the rebellion of the Dutch. Regionally they focused on the garrisons and strongholds and the implementation of the terms of the latest edict

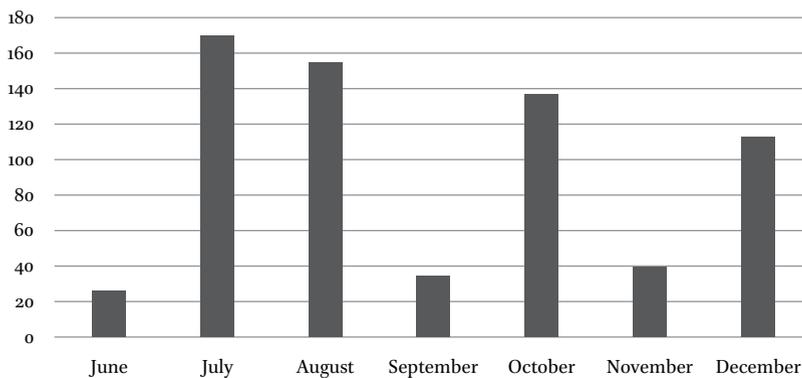


FIGURE 27.3 *Monthly distribution of material in the Gordes Collection, June–December 1572 (ACK XVII–XIX)*

10 Archives de Chantilly Series K [henceforth ACK], VI–343 (pasquins de Rome, n.d.); XVII–222 (Genoa, 4 June 1572); XXII–103 (Milan, [1574]); XXII–16 (Piedmont, [1574]).

11 ACK XXX–228; –229; –298, –299.

12 ACK XVII–XIX.

of pacification (Saint-Germain, August 1570). Those concerns modulated in the wake of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew (24 August 1572) into surveillance of the reactions of Dauphiné's Protestants and their mobilisation in the light of unfolding events in Lower Languedoc, where their co-religionists broke out in revolt in late October 1572. Gordes was mostly in Dauphiné, either in Grenoble or at Laval, where the family had a château, not far from the provincial capital. In October, however, he visited Lyon in order to meet Henri de Montmorency-Damville, bound for Languedoc in anticipation of the coming insurrection. In December, he briefly visited his relatives in Chambéry. We can establish his whereabouts from the endorsements on the incoming correspondence (see Tables 27.1 and 27.2, below).

* * * * *

A great deal of information was communicated orally. What we might regard as a postal system was, in reality, a way of conveying individuals who sometimes

TABLE 27.1 *The movements of the Baron de Gordes (July–December 1572).*

5 Jul 1572	Grenoble
7 Jul 1572	Allières
9 Jul–26 Jul	Grenoble
26 Jul–19 Aug	Laval
19 Aug	Moirans
19 Aug–25 Aug	Laval
26 Aug	Grenoble
27–9 Aug	Moirans
1 Sep–23 Sep	Laval
24 Sep	Grenoble
25–6 Oct	Laval
6–8 Oct	Grenoble
11 Oct	Lyon
15 Oct	Vienna
16 Oct	Tournon
17 Oct	Valence
19–22 Oct	Montélimar
25 Oct–20 Dec	Grenoble
20–22 Dec	Chambéry
22 Dec	Fort Barraux
23 Dec –	Grenoble

relayed information verbally, and at other times carried letters. There were limits to what it would be prudent (or even practical) to say in a letter. Although letters travelled closed and sealed, that was no guarantee that their contents would not be discovered. The second *président* of the Parlement in Grenoble, Guillaume de Portes, opened even closed letters addressed to Gordes. His colleague, Jean Truchon, in receipt of closed letters addressed to him from the Protestant gentry of the Grésivaudan in December 1572 decided he should open them in case they contained “quelque chose de pressé” (“something important”).¹³ Gordes’ correspondents regularly acknowledged the dates of those to which they were replying, so that the sender could make a tally.¹⁴ Even if despatches were not opened, a carrier was often expected to reveal the subscription (or ‘address’) on the despatch.¹⁵ The senior law officers of the Parlement distributed royal letters, intended initially for the lieutenant. In October 1572, the second *président* even suggested to Gordes that he circulate a recent letter from His Majesty around the lesser jurisdictions of the province but with the last paragraph omitted because he felt that it might inflame Protestant sensibilities.¹⁶ Gordes’ correspondents were often concerned to have the latest news. They regarded information as a gift, a sign of loyalty and dedication to the lieutenant’s (and royal) service. What they chose to pass on involved a judgment call as to what was ‘rare’, i.e. worthy of his attention (“dignes de vous”). The postal network was in some ways an extension of Gordes’ own affinity.

The origins of that network lay in the establishment of post-horses at relay stations on the principal highways by Louis XI by an edict of 19 June 1464.¹⁷ Postmasters received a small annual recompense as well as a fee for each relay-horse deployed. Despite its distance from Paris (almost 600 kilometres), Grenoble was well served by the royal posts. The route from Paris to Lyon was “le principal voyage et plus fréquenté” (“the principal and most travelled way”) in the kingdom. Although the cost of sending despatches to Grenoble, involving 38 relay stations and one river crossing (at Roanne), was high, despatches

13 ACK XIX–321 (Jean Truchon—Gordes, Grenoble, 22 December 1572).

14 E.g. “La dernière de mes lettres nestoyt que pour accompagner et, comme disent les Modernes, accuser la reception dun paquet” (“My last letter was only to accompany and, as they say these days, acknowledge receipt of a packet”)—ACK XIX–92 (Guillaume de Portes—Gordes, Grenoble, 13 October 1572).

15 ACK XIX–30 (Guillaume de Portes—Gordes, Grenoble, 3 October 1572).

16 ACK XIX–45 (Guillaume de Portes—Gordes, Grenoble, 5 October 1572).

17 Eugène Vaillé, *Histoire générale des postes françaises*, 6 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1947–55), 2, 24–37; John B. Allen, ‘The Royal Posts of France in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries’, *Postal History Journal*, 15 (1971), pp. 13–17.

were regularly conveyed at an impressive rate.¹⁸ Lyon was an information capital in sixteenth-century France. Its merchant banking communities had regular and excellent connections through their factors to the main commercial centres of the Italian peninsula, Germany and the Swiss cantons. Its bankers served as intermediaries with Rome for the provision of benefices and the payments of annates (*annatae*). Gordes periodically received reports (*avis*) from Lyon on the latest international information.¹⁹ When Antoine Grolier, a member of a prominent Lyon family, replied to a letter from the Dauphiné lieutenant on 11 July 1572, he chose to do so in the form of a *précis* of the information that had arrived into the city over the previous six weeks. It began with a paragraph on the news from Constantinople (in a despatch from the French ambassador, François de Noailles, bishop of Dax), continued from another from Rome (via a nephew of François Rougier, sieur de Malras, the serving French ambassador to the Curia). Others followed with news from Venice, Antwerp and Paris—precisely in the form of a newsletter.²⁰

Charles Estienne's 1553 *Guide des Chemins de France* describes the postroads that went forward from Lyon into Dauphiné.²¹ Despatches to and from the Swiss cantons were served by a relay from Lyon to Soleure and Coyre from at least 1548. Those to Romans also had a relay route (6 relays), whilst a further axis went through to Grenoble with a choice of two routes (8 relays, the more direct including two “dangerous forests” and a “bad road”). From Grenoble, a route carried on to Gap (9 relays, involving a difficult river crossing and a mountain pass), Embrun and Briançon (8 relays). From there, travelling eastwards from Briançon to Montgenèvre there were two routes to Savoy. A northerly one crossed the mountains to join the Dora Riparia and onwards to Turin. The southerly route crossed the mountains via the Pregalato ('Pregalla') pass to Pignerol (Pignerola) and on to Turin or down to Saluces (Saluzzo)—26 relay points from Lyon to Saluzzo. An alternative and shorter route passing across the col de Lauteret to Briançon was also available by 1572.²² That was significant

18 Eugène Vaillé, 'Les maîtres de postes et les routes postales sous l'ancien régime. —1. De l'an 1464 à l'an 1600', *Bulletin d'information ... des P.T.T.* (1937), p. 44 (citing an ordinance of François I of 5 July 1527).

19 Eg. XVIII–202 (*avis*, 12 August 1572).

20 XVII–273–4 ([Antoine] Grolier—Gordes; Lyon, 13 July 1572).

21 Jean Bonnerot, ed., *Charles Estienne. La Guide des Chemins de France au XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1935–6), 1: 167–181; 2: 165–75; cf. Robert Mandrou, 'La France de Charles Estienne', *Annales. E.S.C.*, 16 (1961), pp. 1121–30.

22 ACK XVII–263 (certificate of the provision of post-horses on this route from Crespin Bosc, vi-châtelain of Oysens and the greffier of the châtellenie, Jehan Villar, 12 July 1572).

because dissident Protestants could disrupt the Pregalato.²³ Grenoble was also linked to Chambéry by a relay involving four river crossings and across the St Jean-de-Maurienne pass to Susa and Turin, the principal residence of the dukes of Savoy. That replaced a more direct post route to Chambéry, abandoned when France ceded Piedmont back to Savoy in 1559.²⁴ The most important post road, however, followed the Rhône southwards from Lyon, through Vienne, to Valence (8 relays and the crossing of the Isère and the Durance) and Montélimar (3 relays) before crossing the Rhône to avoid entering the territories of the Papacy at Avignon and carrying on to Nîmes or Aix and Marseille. The post between Lyon and Salon involved 28 relays.²⁵ Letters from the Parlements in Aix-en-Provence and Toulouse, as well as from the governors and lieutenants in the Midi mostly passed up and down this route. The post-relays were expensive, but they worked.²⁶

Gordes' correspondence carries endorsements noting the date when each despatch was received. From these we can calculate the comparative journey times of despatches, bearing in mind that letters often waited around for a courier and that endorsements are only accurate to the day. There was a seasonal variation because of travelling conditions in winter, especially with snow in the Alps. The calculations exclude letters arriving within 24 hours.²⁷ Delivery times to Grenoble from Saluzzo in the eastern side of the Alps were, very surprisingly (given the possibilities of winter snow) the fastest. Those to Paris were close to the average. It was possible, although it did not often happen, for a despatch to take only five days.²⁸ Those between the other southern provinces and Dauphiné were quite speedy, although it could sometimes take a month for despatches to transit from Toulouse, Bordeaux, Aix-en-Provence or Marseille to Grenoble.²⁹ Gordes' correspondents expected the posts to work,

23 ACK XIX-260-1 (Soffrey de Boczosel—Gordes, Paris, 11 December 1572).

24 Vaillé, 'Les maîtres de postes', p. 55; cf. Vaillé, *Histoire générale*, 2: 90.

25 Vaillé, *Histoire générale*, 2: 92.

26 The standard cost was 50 sous per relay—see Bibliothèque municipale de Grenoble, MS 7173, fo. 322v (mandates from Gordes for repayment of postal services in 1574).

27 Distances have been established with the help of Google Maps and the use of an opisometer on the map produced by the Laboratoire de cartographie de l'école pratique des hautes études from Charles Estienne's information (*Annales*, 1961). The latter gives lower readings.

28 ACK XVII-277 (Soffrey de Boczosel—Gordes, Paris, 13 July 1572), received in Grenoble on 18 July.

29 E.g. ACK XVII-178 (Honorat de Savoie, comte de Tende—Gordes, Marseille, 6 June 1572), received in Grenoble on 11 July; XIX-202 (Claude de Simiane—Gordes, Aix-en-Provence, 29 November 1572), received in Grenoble on 27 December; XVIII-60 (M. Blanieu to

however, and complained when they did not.³⁰ The letters that circulated between them governed the way that Gordes and the provincial notables worked. They monitored where other individuals were, and knew whom to trust when they received letters from them. They adjusted their days to expect letters which arrived as evening fell, deciding how much to keep to themselves, and how much to divulge.

Within Dauphiné, most of the letters in Gordes' post bag that were not from members of his own family came from those in authority in the towns. Most, though not all (e.g. Crest; Die), were on a post road. Most places in the province were not more than five days away from Grenoble. Within the province, despatches from Gap and Embrun travelled the slowest.

TABLE 27.2 *Comparative journey times of letters in the Gordes Collection. (a) Extra-Dauphiné*

Trajectory	Average distance travelled by despatches [in kms]	Average distance travelled per day [in kms]	Number of despatches in the sample	</>Variation in the Overall Coefficient [1=38.42 kms/day] of average distance travelled by all endorsed letters
Paris-Dauphiné [Grenoble, Laval, Allières, etc]	614.14	62	78	[>]1.61
Saluzzo-Dauphiné [Grenoble, Laval, etc]	279.88	73	17	[>]1.92
Lyon-Dauphiné [Grenoble, Laval, Allières, etc]	118.45	27.52	33	[>]1.39
Provence and Avignon—Dauphiné [Grenoble, Laval, etc]	251.33	26.18	15	[<].68
Lower Languedoc [Montpellier, Beaucaire]—Dauphiné [Grenoble, Laval, etc]	278.89	18.61	9	[<].48

Gordes, Bordeaux, 22 July 1572) received at Laval on 19 August ; XIX-282 (Pierre Demurs—Gordes, Toulouse, 14 December 1572), received at Grenoble on 10 January 1572.

30 E.g. XVII-228, 6 July 1572; XVII-272, 13 July 1572.

TABLE 27.2 *Comparative journey times of letters in the Gordes Collection. (b) Intra-Dauphiné*

Town [to Grenoble]	Distance [from Grenoble in kms]	No of days	Number of letters in sample	</> Variation in the Overall Coefficient [1=38.42 kms/day] of average distance travelled by all endorsed letters
Vienne	105	5.667	3	.48
Briançon	116	4	1	.75
Romans	80	2.66	3	.78
Montélimar	141	4.5	2	.81
Die	99	3	1	.85
Valence	92	2.4	4	.92
Crest	111	3	1	.96
Gap	124	3	6	1.07
Embrun	134	2.25	4	1.55

Much of the information traffic in the province, however, moved from town to town, and quickly. That is implicit in how news of the Paris massacre reached Gordes, and how it spread thereafter. The story is incomplete, but it is worth examining the surviving evidence because Gordes' modern reputation rests upon it. News of the carnage arrived four days later in Lyon in the early hours of 24 August.³¹ On 28 August, Gordes' regular correspondent from just outside the city at Saint-Symphorien d'Ozon wrote to him urgently with what he knew. That letter arrived the following day at Moirans, where Gordes was staying.³²

As I was on the Rhône bridge at eight o'clock in the morning, I found the gates of the town closed and the drawbridge raised. Some of those leaving town told me that it was because a courier had come arrived from Court bringing news ... that someone had killed the Admiral ... and others of note, and that there had been a great blood-letting, and that Monsieur de Guise was injured, all of which happened in Paris. The news has been cried around the streets of Lyon and those of the Religion [*viz.* Protestants] do not stir from their houses believing that Catholics are taking up arms in large numbers.

31 Antoine Péricaud, *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon* (Lyon: Pélagaud, Letne et Crozet, 1838), pp. 71–5; Alexandre Puyroche, 'La Saint-Barthélemy à Lyon et le gouverneur Mandelot', *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, 38 (1869), pp. 305–23; 353–67.

32 ACK XVIII–282.

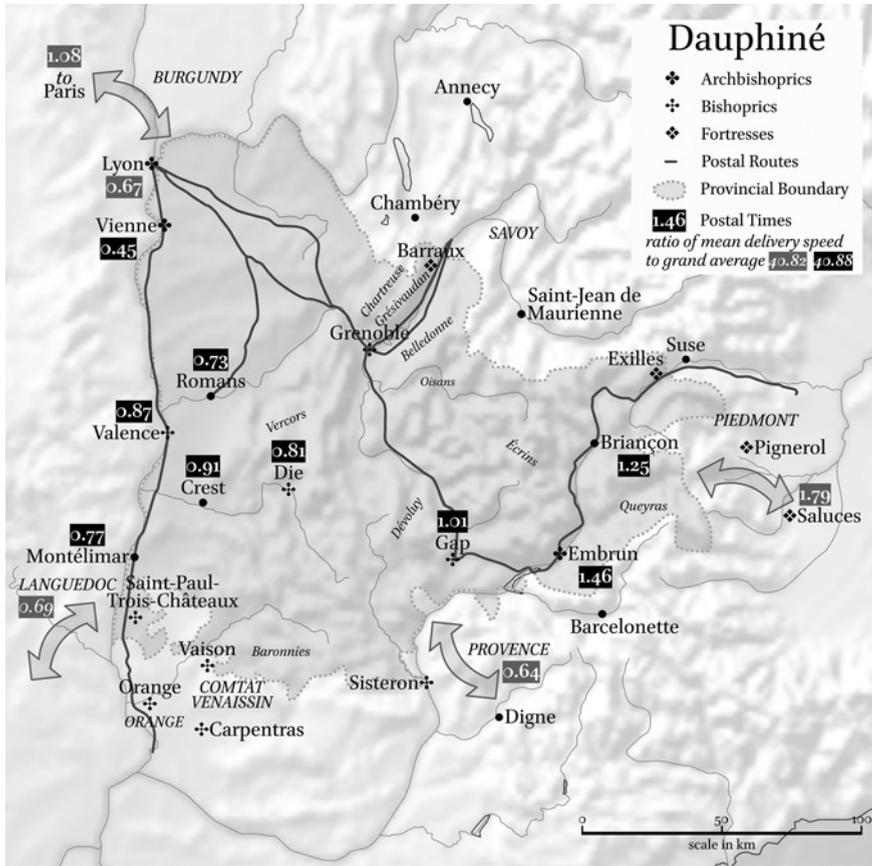


FIGURE 27.4 *Map of Dauphiné. Note that Barraux only became a truly fortified site at a later date, after 1597.*

Later that day, the news also arrived in Vienna, from where Annet de Maugiron, the governor of the town since 1568, wrote to Gordes, giving him an account of the security measures which he had instigated there.³³ He wanted to reassure him that he was protecting Protestants in the town in order to allay any suspicions that Gordes might have. The news reached the second *président* of the Parlement in Grenoble, Guillaume de Portes, via Gordes, whose courier arrived there late on the evening of 28 August.³⁴ Gordes despatched a series of letters throughout the province that evening.³⁵ The following morning, however, and

33 ACK XVIII–284.

34 ACK XVIII–286. For the career of de Portes, see Fleury Vindry, *Les parlementaires français au XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1909–12), 1: 70.

35 E.g. Baron de Coston, *Histoire de Montélimar*, 2 vols. (Montélimar, 1883), 1: 336–7.

before de Portes had a chance to meet the first consul of the city, “rumour was abroad in that town of some stirrings and notably that the Admiral had been injured”.³⁶ They originated from a lackey of Balthasar de Combourcier, sieur du Monestier, a Dauphiné noble, then in Paris. However, they were already embroidered: “By contrast others said that his murder had been instigated by someone from higher up and that they had wanted, but failed, to attack the king”. A Protestant accosted de Portes as he left his house in the morning, wanting to know whether he should pack his bags and seek safety elsewhere. To reassure him, de Portes said that, whilst Catholics were in arms, it was to ensure the safety of everyone.

Meanwhile, that same day, the consuls of Vienna passed the news from Paris down to Valence, whose consuls wrote in haste to Gordes to report on the extra searches at the gates and patrols within its walls. Such measures were necessary because “in this town there are numerous foreigners, which Protestants lodge in their houses as servants or such like, giving them work to do in their chambers”.³⁷ They could not absolutely guarantee, despite their best endeavours, that their city was safe from Protestant reprisals. That same day (29 August) Gordes also received two despatches from the king, dated 22 and 24 August, copies of which he forwarded to de Portes in Grenoble. The content of the second letter is well known since it survives in copies to other governors. Charles IX described the assassination of leading Protestant nobles at Court and blamed it on the rivalry between the Protestants and the house of Guise. He asked local leaders to take all possible measures to have the edict of pacification observed to the letter.³⁸ Gordes ordered copies of the king’s letter, or perhaps an extract of it, to be distributed to local leaders.

Were there, however, other, secret verbal instructions from the king? The possibility cannot be ruled out. In a memorandum by the seigneur de Vaucluse, a nobleman in the entourage of the comte de Tende, governor of Provence, there is an account of how the king despatched Joseph de Boniface de la Molle as a courier to Provence on 24 August. He carried instructions to eliminate all the Protestants in that province. His letters also included, according to Vaucluse, an additional autograph postscript in the king’s hand, countermanding

36 ACK XVIII–287; cf XVIII–286 (Séverin Odoard—Gordes, Grenoble, 29 August 1572).

37 ACK XVIII–289.

38 *Mémoires de l'estat de France sous Charles IX. Contenant les choses plus notables, faites & publiées tant par les Catholiques que par ceux de la Religion* (Heidelberg, 1578), 1, 296–9. Cf. L. Cimber and F. Danjou, *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1834–40), 1st series, vol. 7, pp. 157–8.

all that the letter ordered.³⁹ If true, this reflects the confusion prevailing in and around the king as they assessed the impact of what was happening around them. Charles IX was subjected to contrary pressures from (on the one hand) his younger brother Henri Duke d'Anjou (to whom Boniface de la Molle was beholden) and, on the other hand, his mother, Catherine de Médici. Boniface de la Molle would have carried that letter through Lyon (where the consuls were apparently informed by their syndics in Paris that it was the king's intention that the massacre should be replicated in provincial cities) and then down the Rhône. There, too, its confusing contents may have been revealed. If so, Gordes' correspondence indicates that his efforts to countermand it seem to have worked. A message arrived from Gordes in Romans, for example, on the morning of 29 August at about 8:00 am, brought there in person by the governor of Montélimar, Jean de Dorgeoise, sieur de La Thivolière, one of Gordes' *gens d'armes*.⁴⁰ He was followed very soon afterwards by a "courier coming from the Court". The consuls were anxious for Gordes to understand that they were following his instructions. At Valence, the consuls received the same message at around midday that same day, also from La Thivolière, riding down from Romans.⁴¹ However, the head of the garrison in Valence, Captain Loriant explained that he had already received the news from Vienne and armed "a number of Catholics in the town" as a defensive measure.⁴² In both Valence and Romans the local authorities hesitated as to whether they were supposed to call to arms the Catholic population (and follow the lead of Paris) or do so in order to secure the peace (to forestall what had transpired in the capital). In Montélimar, Rostaing d'Ourches, Gordes' son in law (sent there with the 28 August letters) attended a town council meeting with representatives from both religions. He assured Protestants that Catholic citizens had been authorised to carry arms "not to harm anyone, least of all to discomfort them, but simply to ensure that there was no uprising ..."⁴³

Other copies of the despatches from Gordes went to distant parts of the province. Those for Crest, for example, did not get beyond Valence by 3.00pm on 29 August, and the consuls of the town sent them on "by express courier" whilst a messenger in the service of the vicar-general of the bishop of Grenoble

39 J. de Teil, ed., 'Livre de raison de noble Honoré du Teil (1571–1586)', *Bulletin de la société scientifique et littéraire des Basses-Alpes*, 6 (1893–4), pp. 30–3. See Philip Benedict, 'The St Bartholomew's massacres in the provinces', *Historical Journal*, 21 (1978), pp. 201–5.

40 ACK XVIII–291.

41 ACK XVIII–292.

42 ACK XVIII–293.

43 Coston, *Histoire de Montélimar*, pp. 337–8.

carried them to Gap.⁴⁴ The professor of civil law at the University of Valence at the time was Joseph Justus Scaliger. In a collection of writings attributed to him, compiled in the following century by Pierre Dupuy and published in 1666, Gordes was quoted as replying to orders from the king to eliminate the province's Protestants: "il n'était pas un bourreau; qu'il commandait à d'honnêtes gens et non pas à des assassins" ("that he was no executioner; that he was in charge of honest people, not assassins").⁴⁵ The sentiments may reflect a contemporary assessment of how his command of the information environment, particularly in the Rhône valley, prevented a bloodbath. However there is no evidence that he himself ever received such orders from the king, and no direct proof that they had circulated in the province either.

* * * * *

These days in late August 1572 indicate with what detail one can pursue the flow of information in the Gordes network at a crucial juncture. If we now widen the focus of the lens we can substantiate three general points that emerge from the study of this correspondence, ones which are relevant to the study of newsletters. They may be expressed as truisms. The first is that princely courts were places where 'hard' information was in scarce supply. Its 'rarity' was therefore a function of a state of permanent contingency. The second is that all information was to be regarded as 'soft' until it could be verified by a 'triangulation' of confirmatory elements, coming from different sources. The third is that, when it came to wanting to know what was going on, nothing beat having someone local keeping their ears to the ground.

Gordes' informants at the French court included provincial agents as well as members of his family. No one corresponded with the regularity of his own agent, Soffrey (i.e. 'Geoffrey') Boczozel.⁴⁶ Rarely a week passed without a letter bearing his signature among Gordes' papers. Structured like newsletters, Boczozel's missives worked through issues systematically, dividing family from public information, domestic from foreign news. He had good connections at Court. His letters recount his audiences with the king and queen mother, as

44 ACK XVIII-289 (de Portes—Gordes, Grenoble, 30 August 1572); 292 (consuls de Valence—Gordes, 30 August 1572).

45 *Scaligeriana* (1666), p. 96. De Thou had an echo of the same account, since he reported that Gordes refused to execute the king's orders to eliminate Dauphiné's protestants because it would be too dangerous to do so (Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Histoire universelle*, 16 vols. (Londres, 1743) (book 52), 6: 428). Cf. Jules Taulier, *Notice historique sur Bertrand-Raymbaud Simiane, baron de Gordes* (Grenoble, 1859), pp. 89–93; Comte de Quinsonas, *Le baron de Gordes et la Saint-Barthélemy en Dauphiné* (Grenoble, 1955).

46 Fleury Vindry, p. 92.

well as the secretary of state with responsibility for Dauphiné, Simon de Fizes.⁴⁷ He attended outside the royal council on the appointed days for Dauphiné affairs. Not much happened in the province that escaped his attention.

Despite his connections, Boczosel had difficulty reading the runes about affairs at the French Court. There was a structural difficulty for any observer in his position.⁴⁸ He observed the comings and goings, and the movements of the Court itself. Yet he could read little into such matters, unable to predict what would happen next. On affairs that concerned Gordes, he was frustrated by delays, unfulfilled promises, and unexpected complications. Even the straightforward matter of issuing letters of provision for Gordes to become commander of Grane dragged on. This fortress on the Drôme River had belonged to Diane de Poitiers. Following her disgrace, it served as a Protestant *redoute* until Gordes secured its negotiated surrender in December 1570. He was granted it as a reward, and had already installed a garrison there. Securing the necessary letters of provision was another matter, however, absorbing the energies of Gordes' uncle, Gaspard de Simiane, in the later months of 1572.⁴⁹ On national and international affairs, too, Boczosel tempered his reading of them with contingency and hesitation. That was partly because there was indecision at the French Court itself. The French king hesitated over the summer about whether to back a military intervention in support of the landed invasion of the Netherlands masterminded by William of Orange. After August 1572, the uncertainty turned upon whether France's Protestants would take up arms in response to the massacre of Saint Bartholomew. Gordes' brother, Aimar de Simiane, was resident in Paris and sometimes attended Court. He reckoned (16 June) that war with Spain was on the cards, and warned his brother to prepare for its consequences.⁵⁰ A week later, however, with news of the arrival of Juan de la Cerda, Duke of Medinaceli in Flanders, accompanying large Spanish reinforcements, Boczosel was less sure: "those with the greatest understanding can often be wrong about an event".⁵¹ That same day another Gordes correspondent at Court lamented that "it is the same old uncertainty; today universal

47 E.g. ACK XIX-247 (Simon de Fizes—Gordes, Paris, 8 December 1572).

48 See Denice Fett, 'Information, Gossip and Rumor: The Limits of Intelligence at the Early Modern Court, 1558–1585', in *The Limits of Empire: European Imperial Formations in Early Modern World History*, ed. Tonio Andrade and William Reger (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 79–98.

49 ACK XIX-22 (Gordes—M. de Briançon, Laval, 3 October 1572); XIX-109 (Gaspard de Simiane—Gordes, Paris, 15 October 1572); XIX-172 (*ibid.*, 19 November 1572).

50 ACK XVII-177 (Aimar de Simiane [M. de La Roche]—Gordes, Paris, 16 June 1572).

51 ACK XVII-186 (Soffrey de Boczosel—Gordes, Paris, 22 June 1572) — 'l'événement le plus souvent trompe les plus grandz entendementz'.

peace, tomorrow, general war".⁵² The news of the attack on Medinaceli's forces at Sluys, initially exaggerated among Gordes' correspondents in Paris, did little to change their bafflement as to the direction of French affairs.⁵³ For the reality was that it depended on the outcome of negotiations in England and on a resolution of contradictory pressures around the French council table. For the present, those in authority in France let the issue be vague. Writing from Paris on 24 June 1572, Jean des Aymards expressed his frustrations to Gordes:

I might dare to advertise your lordship of the talk which flies around both from Flanders as well as from the ambassadors based here, or those which have just recently returned from the Turks. Yet since it is talk that seems to have little substance to it, I would be better advised to keep my own counsel and, rather than fill up the paper with palace inventions which have no merit, wait for something more vital and worthy to write to your highness ...⁵⁴

"*Festina lente*" ("make haste slowly") was a catchphrase of royal councillors. Whilst time did its work, however, those in the business of handling news were left swinging in the wind.

One of Boczosel's tasks at court was to protect Gordes' reputation. Partly because of the opacity of Court affairs, he detected the hand of detractors in every setback he encountered. He trusted in the "good opinions" of Charles IX and Catherine de Médici, their willingness to respond favourably to requests, and to protect his patron against these unnamed "enemies". When the queen mother treated Gordes' recently acquired son in law, Rostaing d'Eure, sieur d'Ourche to an audience over supper, Boczosel's agent M. de Taillardet was relieved. A petition from Dauphiné's Protestants at Court in July 1572 offered, however, the possibility for Gordes' detractors to argue that, far from successfully implementing the 1570 edict of pacification, he had acted with partiality.⁵⁵ At the end of July, Boczosel anxiously reported to Gordes that Admiral Coligny had used the petition to call in question Gordes' handling of affairs before the royal council.⁵⁶ Neither Boczosel nor others in Gordes' entourage were convinced that they had put to rest the criticisms of his behaviour. They

52 ACK XVII-187 (M. de Taillardet—Gordes, Paris, 22 June 1572).

53 ACK XVII-191 (M. d'Ourches—Gordes, Paris, 25 June 1572); 192 (Chastellard—Gordes, 26 June 1572).

54 ACK XVII-176.

55 ACK XVIII-39 (Soffrey de Boczosel—Gordes, Paris, 19 July 1572).

56 ACK XVIII-104 (Boczosel—Gordes, Paris, 30 July 1572).

advised him to mount a defence of his actions in the form of a letter to the king, which he should be prepared to spread abroad in due course.⁵⁷ Thanks to his contacts at Court, Gordes knew, as he sought to calm the fears of the province's Protestants in the wake of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew that he might need to justify his conduct by means of a libel, just as other lieutenants and governors in the recent past had also done.

The practice of information 'triangulation' appears at every juncture in Gordes' correspondence. Since we do not have his outgoing correspondence, we can only reconstruct the processes incompletely. They are particularly evident, however, where eyewitnesses were few, and where observation platforms were numerous and indirect. That was the case in respect of naval affairs in the Mediterranean in the summer of 1572. Gordes received intelligence from merchants and seamen in France's Mediterranean ports—especially Marseille, Toulon and Aigues-Mortes. There was also information from Genoa, Florence, Rome and Venice, flowing through Saluzzo. This was supplemented by reports from the French ambassador at Constantinople. News about major Turkish naval manoeuvres in the Aegean was of particular importance to the French Court since its decision about an intervention in the Netherlands hung, to a considerable degree, on an assessment of how much Spain's attentions would be deflected from the rebellion in northern Europe to handle the crisis in the Mediterranean.⁵⁸ Not until early July, however, did accurate figures of the extent of Admiral Aluj Ali's fleet become available to Gordes.⁵⁹ Above all, there was uncertainty about the precise whereabouts of Spain's galley fleet, and whether its leader, Don John of Austria, would be permitted by Philip II to commit his forces to a joint naval campaign with the Venetians and other allies of the Holy League.⁶⁰ That was what had happened the previous year, at Lepanto, the news of which had arrived in Gordes' network as flatly contradictory reports, first of a victory, and then of a defeat. Only by evaluating the various sources did the nature and scale of the victory become evident. By mid-July 1572 it was becoming evident to the seasoned watchers of Mediterranean affairs around Gordes that Philip II's caution was itself a reflection of his assessment of French irresolution in respect of Flanders, each contributing to the intensifying pressure-cooker atmosphere of

57 ACK XVIII-161 (Boczosel—Gordes, Paris, 6 August 1572); cf. XVIII-214 (14 August 1572).

58 See Geoffrey Parker, 'Spain, her enemies and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1559-1628', *Past and Present*, 49 (1970), 72-95; and *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

59 ACK XVII-265 (Mathieu Bovier—Gordes, Saluces, 12 July 1572).

60 ACK XVII-219 (Bellivière—Gordes, Montpellier, 5 July 1572); XVII-227 (Pierre Bon—Gordes, Marseille, 5 July 1572); XVII-228 (Guillaume d'Avançon—Gordes, Embrun, 6 July 1572); XVII-233 (Mathieu Bovier—Gordes, Saluces, 7 July 1572), etc.

international affairs in the summer of 1572. By then, however, the Venetian fleet under Jacopo Foscarini had sailed to the Aegean with a limited contingent of Spanish vessels provided by Don John. How should this be interpreted? Gordes' intelligence pointed in different directions. Some commentators thought the Spanish commander had left for the Aegean in late July, others that he was still in Messina, or en route for Genoa. Only gradually, and by a process that was rather akin to filtering out surplus noise, did it become evident that (although the rumours of his embarkation for Genoa were false) Don John had not left for the Levant but was preparing for an expedition to Tunis. Once the news of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew reached Madrid, however, Don John was given leave by Madrid to join Foscarini's naval forces in Corfu, the evidence for which was monitored by Gordes' agents through the autumn and early winter of 1572.

Gordes' correspondents monitored the tempo in various parts of the province, and especially gauged the dispositions of its Protestants. That was not easy, even for someone like Gordes whose family had connections with the Protestant nobility. Synods and consistories were not supposed to discuss politics, and the pacification of 1570 had outlawed their holding assemblies for other than religious matters. The petition that Protestants presented at Court in July 1572 took Gordes' servants by surprise. The Protestant nobility of the region was scattered and divided—especially after the defection (and subsequent deposition) of their leader in the first civil wars, the Baron des Adrets. His place was taken by Charles Dupuy, sieur de Montbrun, who belonged to the active political wing of French Protestantism. His château at Montbrun was razed to the ground on the eve of the Civil Wars, but he himself escaped to the south of Dauphiné and fortified the castle of La Gabelle at Ferrassières. That place put him close to the Protestant stronghold of Les Baronnies, that part of Provençal Dauphiné east and north of the Mont Ventoux. Gordes' correspondents picked up signals of unusual movements of carriers, horses and belongings around Montbrun. They listened out for meetings and associations, and the circulation of rumours. Much of this intelligence probably did not make it further than Gordes' own secretariat, but it remained essential to the security of the province.

Through the summer of 1572, Gordes' informants monitored those Dauphiné Protestants who joined the expeditionary force of 10,000 soldiers which Louis of Nassau's co-adjutant, Adrien de Hangeot, sieur de Genlis assembled in France, an army that met with disaster at Mons in July 1572. In fact, by the time the contingent led by Montbrun was ready to muster, the disaster at Mons had probably already taken place.⁶¹ From various quarters in the Rhône valley,

61 ACK XVII-268 (Montoison—[Jean] Truchon, Montoison, 13 July 1572). Cf XVIII-20 (Mandelot—Gordes, Lyon, 17 July 1572); XVIII-24 (Suze—Gordes, Suze, 17 July 1572); XVIII-38 ([Jean de] Bellièvre—Gordes, Montpellier, 19 July 1572).

however, came reports of 'secret and public assemblies of those who call themselves God's children, or the Reformed religion'.⁶² Those seemed to be linked to the petition. They heightened alarm among Catholics.

After Saint Bartholomew, the monitoring took on a different dimension. In communities across the province, Protestants surrendered their arms in return for protection and prudently converted back to the Catholic religion. According to the Bishop of Embrun, even some of the elders of the consistory court at Fressinières, Montbrun's own church, expressed a willingness to do so.⁶³ From Exilles in the Susa valley of Piedmont, supplied with pastors and support from Geneva, resistance emerged from the end of September.⁶⁴ The *premier président* reported that Protestants at Saint-Bonnet-en-Champsaur staged a protest against re-Catholicisation.⁶⁵ Would Montbrun chose to mobilise Dauphiné's Protestants in a new war? Gordes relied on the fact that Montbrun was his relative (through Gordes' wife Guyon Alleman). Montbrun assured him of his loyalty, despite solicitations to join the revolt which begun to take shape at La Rochelle and in Lower Languedoc in October.⁶⁶ From Orpierre in Les Baronnies Gordes received intelligence, however, that Montbrun was preparing to attack. He had assembled over 2,000 soldiers and 200 cavalry. The message to rise passed from farmstead to farmstead in the High Alps.⁶⁷ At Crest, Gordes' relative Louis d'Urre reported that the consuls of the town had arrested a messenger from Montbrun carrying "a little book sewn up and disguised as a memory stone". The messenger confessed under interrogation to being about the business of Montbrun. He tried unconvincingly to say that the "little book" (possibly a draft Protestant 'association' of the kind that was being circulated around Lower Languedoc) was something which he had picked up en route.⁶⁸ From Mirabelles-Baronnies came the report of a messenger arrested carrying "a letter folded very small in an extraordinarily intricate way, into a little ball of green wax,

62 ACK XVIII-96 (Clément Faure—Gordes, Valence, 28 July 1572); XVIII-114 (Andrieu de Exea—Gordes, Grenoble, 31 July 1572).

63 ACK XVIII-314 (Consuls of Orpierre—Gordes, 24 September 1572); XVIII-319 (Guillaume d'Avançon—Gordes, Embrun, 25 September 1572); XVIII-321 (Rostain d'Urre—Gordes, Montélimar, 26 September 1572), etc.

64 ACK XVIII-323 (Jean Borel, sieur de La Casette—Gordes, Exilles, 27 September 1572).

65 ACK XIX-30 (Guillaume de Portes—Gordes, Grenoble, 3 October 1572).

66 ACK XIX-92 (*ibid.*, Grenoble, 13 October 1572); XIX-195 (Montbrun—Gordes, Montbrun, 28 November 1572).

67 ACK XIX-54 (M. de Villefranche—Gordes, Orpierre, 6 October 1572); XIX-57 (M. Du Pègue—M. d'Ourches, Le Pègue, 5 October 1572); XIX-69 (La Thivolière—Gordes, Valence, 8 October 1572).

68 ACK XIX-66 ([Louis] d'Urre—Gordes, Crest, 8 October 1572).

shaped like an olive".⁶⁹ On investigation, this disguised missive to Montbrun, sent from Louis de La Marette, sieur de Pierregourde, a militant Protestant noble across the Rhône in the Vivarais, contained a document revealing Protestant military preparations. The governor in Languedoc, Henri de Montmorency-Damville, had received a copy of it too. He was sceptical towards Gordes' willingness to take Montbrun's assurances on trust. The evidence from the ground pointed in another direction.⁷⁰ He was proven right when Montbrun raised the standard of revolt in the spring of 1573.

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This investigation of the surviving correspondence of a royal lieutenant in a frontier province of France during the wars of religion is a reminder of the practicality and significance of letters in the information-flows of a noble clientele that were an essential governing reality to the French state. Gordes' network provided a way of collecting, collating and analysing intelligence on an international as well as a provincial stage. Newsletters were an adjunct to those information flows and, when we compare them with the way that a noble's correspondence was composed, carried, handled and received, cognate to it. Such correspondence continued to be the spinal column of French information networks. Renaudot's published *Gazette* only gradually supplemented these other, tried and tested letter-sources of information, circulating among the clientèles of France's governing élites.⁷¹

Acknowledgements

The authors acknowledge the financial assistance of the P.T.T. towards the research presented in this chapter, and the assistance of Peter Derlien in the preparation of the statistical tables.

69 ACK XIX-183 (The *avocat* and *procureur du roi* of the *bailliage* at Le Buis—Gordes, 26 November 1572).

70 ACK XIX-205 (Damville—Gordes, Beaucaire, 30 November 1572).

71 Stéphane Haffemayer, *L'information dans la France du XVIIe siècle. La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1661* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002); Stéphane Haffemayer, 'Information et espace public: la presse périodique en France au XVIIe siècle', *Revue de synthèse*, 126 (2005), pp. 109–37.

‘We have been Informed that the French are Carrying Desolation Everywhere’: The Desolation of the Palatinate as a European News Event

Emilie Dosquet

After the fall of Philippsburg, the Dauphin went into the Palatinate which he subjugated entirely. He seized by Siege Manheim, Frankenthal & Heidelberg. The towns of Worms, Spire, Oppenheim & many others opened their Doors without resistance. But these towns of Worms, Spire & Oppenheim, which gave themselves up to the French, & prided themselves on being treated according to the common laws of War, experienced a cruel fate, more terrible than that of Heidelberg; because they were not only completely destroyed and consumed with fire, but besides that, the overly credulous Inhabitants, who had taken their main personal effects to put them in a safe place, fell prey to pillage & the fury of the Soldier. Since we have seen the description of it in the public News, I will skip the details of the cruelties & inhumanities which are capable of touching the most insensitive hearts.¹

Borrowed word for word from the eleventh issue of the “historical and political *mercure*” *Lettres sur les matières du temps* dated 15 June 1689, these few lines of Henri de Limiers’ *Histoire de Louis XIV* constitute a narrative of what the author

1 [Henri de Limiers], *Histoire de Louis XIV. Roi de France et de Navarre. Où l'on trouve une Recherche exacte des Intrigues de cette Cour dans les principaux Etats de l'Europe. Par H. P. D. L. D. E. D.* (Amsterdam, 1717), vol. 4, p. 282: “Après la prise de Philipsbourg, le Dauphin entra dans le Palatinat qu’il réduisit entièrement. Il s’empara de Manheim, de Frankenthal & d’Heidelberg par des Sièges formez. Les Villes de Worms, de Spire, d’Oppenheim, & quantité d’autres ouvrirent ensuite leurs Portes, sans faire aucune résistance. Mais ces mêmes Villes de Worms, Spire & Oppenheim, qui s’étoient rendues aux François, & qui s’étoient flatées qu’on ne les traiteroit que selon les Loix ordinaires de la Guerre, éprouvèrent néanmoins une destinée cruelle & plus terrible, que ne fut celle d’Heidelberg; puisque non seulement elles furent entièrement détruites & consumées par le feu; mais qu’outre cela les Habitans trop crédules, qui en avoient emporté leurs principaux effets pour les mettre en sureté, furent la proie du pillage & de la fureur du Soldat. Comme on en a vû la description dans les Nouvelles publiques; je passerai sur ce détail de cruautéz & d’inhumanitéz capables de toucher les cœurs les plus insensibles”.

called “the hostilities of France against the Empire” at the beginning of the Nine Years War (1688–97).² By placing news at the heart of history with a *mise en abyme* between historical writing and periodical writing, this narrative brings the reader, almost 30 years after the fact, from “public News” to history through printed news, into the making of a historical event, namely the desolation of the Palatinate.

Having besieged Philippsburg and taken the principal fortress-cities and walled towns on the Rhine in autumn 1688, the Sun King’s army implemented a large-scale, systematic scorched-earth policy from Cologne to Freiburg, combining three well-known tactics of the time: tax collection, ravages, and the dismantling of fortifications.³ This strategy, ordered by Louis XIV and based on the importance of logistical issues for the European warfare of the time, had a double objective.⁴ The first was fairly standard: to supply his own army while disrupting the enemy’s supplies and communications. But primarily, in the context of a global policy of ‘aggressive defence’

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- 2 *Lettres sur les matières du temps (LMT)*, vol. 2 (15 Juin 1689), pp. 178–9. On this specific editorial object, see Marion Brétéché, *Les Compagnons de Mercure. Journalisme et Politique dans L’Europe de Louis XIV* (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 2015). On this conflict, see: Geoffrey Symcox, ‘Louis XIV and the Outbreak of the Nine Years War’, in *Louis XIV and Europe*, ed. Ragnhild Hatton (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1976), pp. 179–212; Charles Boutant, *L’Europe au grand tournant des années 1680. La succession palatine* (Paris: CDU SEDES, 1985); Karl Otmar von Aretin, *Das alte Reich 1648–1806*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett–Cotta, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 15–51; John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667–1714* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 191–265.
- 3 Camille Rousset, *Histoire de Louvois et de son administration politique et militaire* (Paris: Didier et cie., 1862–3), vol. 4, pp. 58–260; Hans B. Prutz, ‘Louvois und die Verwüstung der Pfalz 1688–1689’, *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 4 (1890), pp. 239–74; Kurt von Raumer, *Die Zerstörung der Pfalz von 1689 im Zusammenhang der französischen Rheinpolitik* (1930; Bad Neustadt: D. Pfaehler 1982); Michèle Fogel, ‘La désolation du Palatinat ou les aléas de la violence réglée (septembre 1688–juin 1689)’, in *Guerre et répression. La Vendée et le Monde* (Nantes : Ouest Éditions, 1993), pp. 111–7; Hermann Weber, ‘La stratégie de la terre brûlée: le cas du Palatinat en 1689’, in *La Vendée dans l’histoire*, ed. Alain Gérard and Thierry Heckmann (Paris: Perrin, 1994), pp. 193–208; John A. Lynn, ‘A Brutal Necessity? The Devastation of the Palatinate, 1688–1689’, in *Civilians in the path of War*, ed. Mark Grimsley and Clifford Rogers (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), pp. 79–110; Jean–Phillipe Cénat, ‘Le ravage du Palatinat: politique de destruction, stratégie de cabinet et propagande au début de la guerre de la Ligue d’Augsbourg’, *Revue historique*, 631 (2005), pp. 97–132.
- 4 Martin van Creveld, *Supplying War: Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997), pp. 5–39; John A. Lynn, ‘Food, Funds, and Fortresses. Resource Mobilization and Positional Warfare in the Wars of Louis XIV’, in *Feeding Mars: Logistics in Western Warfare from the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. John A. Lynn (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 137–59.

since the Dutch War (1672–9) that aimed to protect the French territory by securing its borders, the Sun King wanted to establish a true ‘buffer zone’ to prevent any enemy intrusion into the realm.⁵ As soon as they occupied the main part of the Upper and Middle Rhine territories of the Holy Roman Empire, the French troops levied so-called contributions—namely taxes in cash and in kind—which they enforced with hostages and the threat of burning.⁶ French troops also conducted several raids in unoccupied territories on the right bank of the Rhine, as far away as Swabia and Franconia. From October, Louis XIV and his Secretary of State for War Louvois planned the imminent retreat to the line of French citadels on the Rhine’s left bank. At this point, the officers were ordered to ravage the country and destroy all unused resources to deprive the enemy of any means of subsistence. Above all, Louis went to the extreme of planning and implementing the complete destruction of the main strategic fortress-cities and walled towns, foremost among them Heidelberg, Mannheim, Speyer and Worms. This strategy was implemented from the Electorates of Trier, Cologne and Mainz in the north to the Margraviates of Baden and the Duchy of Württemberg in the south, mostly in the Electoral Palatinate as well as the bishoprics of Worms and Speyer. But a precise geography, as well as an accurate chronology, is hard to establish. This systematic destruction was carried out for nearly a year, between the autumn of 1688 and the autumn of 1689. Nevertheless, small operations were waged occasionally over the next several years, until the invasion of 1693 and the second destruction of Heidelberg.⁷

5 André Corvisier, ‘Louis XIV et la guerre. De la politique de grandeur à la défense nationale’, in *L’État classique, 1652–1715*, ed. Henri Méchoulan and Joël Cornette (Paris: Vrin, 1996), pp. 261–80; Raumer, *Die Zerstörung der Pfalz*, pp. 98–113.

6 Fritz Redlich, *De Praeda Militari. Looting and Booty 1500–1815* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1956); Ronald T. Ferguson, ‘Blood and Fire. Contribution Policy of the French Armies in Germany (1668–1715)’, PhD thesis (University of Minnesota, 1970), pp. 56–122; John A. Lynn, ‘How War Fed War: The Tax of Violence and Contributions during the Grand Siècle’, *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (1993), pp. 286–310.

7 *Der Franzoseneinfall 1693 in Südwestdeutschland. Ursachen, Folgen, Probleme*, ed. Gerhard Fritz and Roland Schurig (Remshalden–Buoch: M. Hennecke, 1994); Gerhard Fritz, ‘Südwestdeutschland und das Franzosenjahr 1693’, *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für das württembergische Franken*, 79 (1995), pp. 117–48; Roland Vetter, *Heidelberga deleta. Heidelbergs zweite Zerstörung im Orléansschen Kriege und die französische Kampagne von 1693* (Heidelberg: B. Guderjahn, 1990); Roland Vetter, ‘“Toute la ville est brûlée”. Heidelbergs Zerstörung 1693. Militärische und politische Ziele Frankreichs im fünften Jahr des Pfälzischen Erbfolgekrieges’, *Badische Heimat*, 76 (1996), pp. 359–75.

This “extreme application of standard military practices” shocked the Sun King’s contemporaries.⁸ Indeed, as soon as they occurred, these military operations were brought to the attention of the European public in various forms of printed news—periodicals, accounts, broadsheets, pamphlets, and so on—mostly in French, English, German and Dutch. Those reports raised a scandal and the facts they described became a meaningful and distinct episode in the war, known today as the devastation or desolation of the Palatinate. These series of French military operations thus constituted an event, i.e. an historical unit, which is detached from the everyday continuity of the war and seen instead as a remarkable discontinuity. The event emerged from a process that united a series of geographically and chronologically scattered military actions under a common name. To understand this event, it is necessary to unpick the process of its construction, in which print plays an essential role. Indeed, the event resulted both from the fact that the French military operations belonged to a coherent strategy and that as soon as they occurred, they became integrated within news networks, which processed them on several scales. In a media landscape characterised by interdependence, intermediality and intertextuality, the work of unpicking this construction rests on a cross-analysis of the shape and spread of printed news on local, national and international scales to highlight the role of the many exchanges, mostly intertextual—both intra- and intermedia—which characterised news networks, and contributed to the making of so-called “European” news. Because of their asserted European nature, the remarkable resonance of the French military operations enables us to examine the impact of a developing information network in Europe and to comprehend the shape of so-called transnational news: that is, news resulting from systemic exchanges on different scales.⁹ This assertion also allows us to assess the European dimension of a gathering opposition to Louis XIV from the 1670s, an opposition in which historians have noted “a remarkably uniform ideology”.¹⁰ This paper offers

8 Lynn, ‘A Brutal Necessity?’, p. 100.

9 Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, ‘Penser l’histoire croisée: entre empirie et réflexivité’, *Annales HSS*, 1 (2003), pp. 7–36, esp. 22–3.

10 On the gathering anti-French opposition during the reign of Louis XIV, and in particular concerning the print production, see, e.g.: Pieter J.W. Van Malssen, *Louis XIV d’après les pamphlets répandus en Hollande* (Paris and Amsterdam: H.J. Paris/A. Nizet and M.Bastard, 1937); Joseph Klaitz, *Printed Propaganda Under Louis XIV: Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (Bath: Bath Press, 1994), 135–49; Steven C.A. Pincus, ‘From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to anti-French in the 1670s’, *The Historical Journal*, 38 (1995), pp. 333–61; Hans

avenues of analysis for an “*histoire croisée*” or “cross-history” of an event within the “media tetrahedron” of early modern Europe—i.e. England, France, the Dutch Republic and the Holy Empire—with the aim both of apprehending the process by which the event was constructed, and of discussing its characterisation as “European”.¹¹

At a time when the flow and density of information were increasing, the periodical nature and text structure of printed news were fundamental to an understanding of the constitution of the French military deprivations as an event.¹² In this regard, weekly periodicals, which were the first printed news publications that reported facts with reasonably high frequency and regularity—once to five times a week, depending on the periodicity of the newspapers—played an essential role in the making of the event. For clarity and representativeness, this study will be based initially on a French-language gazette, the biweekly *Nouveau Journal Universel*—ancestor of the famous *Gazette d'Amsterdam*—published in Amsterdam by two exiled Huguenots,

Bots, ‘L’image de la France dans les Provinces-Unies’, in *L’État classique, 1652–1715*, ed. Méchoulan and Cornette, pp. 341–53; *Krieg der Bilder. Druckgraphik als Medium politischer Auseinandersetzung im Europa des Absolutismus*, ed. Wolfgang Cilleßen (Berlin: DHM, 1997), esp. pp. 95–206, 317–41; Jean Schillinger, *Les pamphlétaires allemands et la France de Louis XIV* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1999); Martin Wrede, *Das Reich und seine Feinde. Politische Feindbilder in der reichspatriotischen Publizistik zwischen Westfälischem Frieden und Siebenjährigem Krieg* (Mainz: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 324–545; Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 152–92; Isaure Boitel, ‘Du barbare à l’oppressé décrié. L’image de Louis XIV guerrier dans les satires anglaises et hollandaises’, *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 83 (2011), pp. 125–34; Charles-Edouard Levillain, *Vaincre Louis XIV. Angleterre—Hollande—France* (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2010); Hendrik Ziegler, *Der Sonnenkönig und seine Feinde. Die Bildpropaganda Ludwigs XIV. in der Kritik* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2010); Donald Haks, *Vaderland en vrede, 1672–1713. Publiciteit over de Nederlandse republiek in oorlog* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), esp. pp. 21–57; Klaitis, *Printed Propaganda*, p. 22.

- 11 Werner and Zimmermann, ‘Penser l’histoire croisée’, pp. 7–36; Johannes Arndt, ‘Die europäische Medienlandschaft im Barockzeitalter’, in *Auf dem Weg nach Europa. Deutungen, Visionen, Wirklichkeiten*, ed. Irene Dingel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 25–40; Thomas Weißbrich and Horst Carl, ‘Präsenz und Information: Frühneuzeitliche Konzeptionen von Medienereignisse’, in *Europäische Wahrnehmungen 1650–1850. Interkulturelle Kommunikation und Medienereignisse*, ed. Horst Carl and Joachim Eibach (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2008), pp. 75–98.
- 12 Daniel Woolf, ‘News, History and the Construction of the Present in Early Modern England’, in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 80–118.

Claude Jordan and Jean Tronchin du Breuil.¹³ The *Nouveau Journal Universel* was one of the most important French-language gazettes regularly published in the Dutch Republic at the beginning of the Nine Years War.¹⁴ These French-language gazettes or “*gazettes de Hollande*” were the most international periodical of the time, emerging from the Dutch book trade’s dynamism in the area of francophone production.¹⁵ This made the Dutch Republic the centre

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- 13 Jean Sgard, ‘Gazette d’Amsterdam 2’, in *Dictionnaire des journaux*, ed. Jean Sgard (Oxford and Paris: Voltaire Foundation, 1991); Hans Bots, ‘La *Gazette d’Amsterdam* entre 1688 et 1689: Titres, éditeurs, privilèges et interdictions’, in *Les gazettes européennes de langue française (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. Henri Duranton, Claude Labrosse and Pierre Réat (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l’Université de Saint-Étienne, 1992), pp. 31–9; *La Gazette d’Amsterdam, miroir de l’Europe au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Pierre Réat (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2001), esp. pp. 15–30; Isabelle H. Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680–1725*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam: Stadsdrukkerij, 1960–78), 5: 14–23 and 2: 26–42; Klaitis, *Printed Propaganda*, pp. 77–85; Marianne Couperus, ‘Claude Jordan’, in *Dictionnaire des journalistes*, ed. Sgard; Brétéché, *Les Compagnons de Mercure*, esp. 63, 75–6, 81–2, 90–91, 187–8, 192–3, 277–87 and 297–8; Jean Sgard, ‘La dynastie des Tronchin–Dubreuil’, in *C’est la faute à Voltaire, c’est la faute à Rousseau. Recueil anniversaire pour Jean–Daniel Candaux*, ed. Roger Durand (Geneva: Droz, 1997), 13–21; Jean Sgard ‘Jean Tronchin du Breuil’, in *Dictionnaire des journalistes*, ed. Sgard; Eric Briggs, ‘La famille Tronchin et Jean Tronchin du Breuil, gazetier’, in *Gazettes et information politique sous l’Ancien Régime*, ed. Henri Duranton and Pierre Réat (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l’Université de Saint-Étienne, 1999), pp. 87–96; Brétéché, *Les Compagnons de Mercure*, esp. pp. 64–5, 75–6, 88–94, 152–67, 185–6, 191–7, 272–3.
- 14 Bots, ‘La *Gazette d’Amsterdam* entre 1688 et 1689’, p. 34. More than 20 years ago, with the information he had at the time, Hans Bots considered that we could assume that the *Nouveau Journal universel* was the only French-language periodical published in the Dutch Republic during the year 1689. Nevertheless it appears that in particular the *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits*—also called *Gazette de Leyde*—was also printed during this time: however, it seems that no issue from this year survives.
- 15 Eugène Hatin, *Les gazettes de Hollande et la presse clandestine aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: R. Pincebourde, 1865); *Les gazettes européennes de langue française (XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles)*; *Gazettes et information politique sous l’Ancien Régime*; *La suite à l’ordinaire prochain. La représentation du monde dans les gazettes*, ed. Denis Reynaud and Chantal Thomas (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999); *La Gazette d’Amsterdam, miroir de l’Europe au XVIII^e siècle*; Graham C. Gibbs, ‘The Role of the Dutch Republic as the Intellectual Entrepôt of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’, *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 86 (1971), pp. 323–49; *Le Magasin de l’Univers. The Dutch Republic as the Center of the European Book Trade*, ed. Christine Berkvens–Stevelinck, Hans Bots, Paul G. Hoftijzer and Otto S. Lankhorst (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Christiane Berkvens–Stevelinck, ‘L’édition française en Hollande’, in *Histoire de l’édition française*, Roger Chartier and Henri–Jean Martin (Paris: Fayard, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 403–17; Laura Cruz, ‘The Geographic Extent of the Dutch Book Trade in the 17th

of European information.¹⁶ These French-language gazettes were, like the English- and German-language weekly newspapers, all made up of seemingly raw information that was juxtaposed to form dated bulletins consisting of a succession of relatively basic utterances, organised in geographical columns with minimal or indeed with no editorial comment. In his work concerning French-language gazettes and the notion of event, in particular in his book on Damiens' attempted assassination of Louis XV in 1757, Pierre Rézat demonstrates that this synchronic and diachronic juxtaposition formed a segmented narrative.¹⁷ Following similar reasoning, from autumn 1688 and for several months, news periodicals formulated a series of narrative utterances or "micro-narratives" which were, in a more or less fragmented manner, sketching, by their very periodical nature, a narrative of the French military violence in the Rhenish territories that was discontinuous but coherent. In order to give an outline of this narrative sketch or "primary narrative", let us follow it in the *Nouveau Journal Universel* over a few days, between Thursday 6 and Monday 13 January 1689.¹⁸

NEWS FROM THE EMPIRE AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

...

Extract from the Letters from Frankfurt of Decemb. 29. 1688.

Rumour has it that the French have mined the doors & fortifications of Heilbron & some other Cities to blow them up before abandoning them; it is more certain that they have burned lots of Villages, & all the hay & straw that they have found in the Fields of the Country of Wirtemberg.... There are once again 4. Companies of Dragoons that entered Heidelberg. The Delegates, whom this City sends to Paris to complain about the abuses that the Troops commit there, were made most welcome by Madame d'Orleans, and the King has advised them that he will have their case to examined. The French are ruining all the fortifications & the walls of Manheim, & getting its ditches filled in: we bring out of it all the cannon & ordnance. They demand 80000. Écus to

Century. An Old Question Revisited', in *Boundaries and their Meanings in the History of the Netherlands*, ed. Benjamin Kaplan, Marybeth Carlson, and Laura Cruz (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 119–38.

16 Hans Bots, 'Provinces–Unies, centre de l'information européenne au XVII^e siècle', *Quaderni del Seicento Francese*, 5 (1983), pp. 283–306.

17 Pierre Rézat, *L'attentat de Damiens. Discours sur l'événement au XVIII^e siècle* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1979), pp. 15–46.

18 Unless otherwise specified in brackets, dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar.

the City of Mainz, besides the Contribution that they claim from the Country.¹⁹

...

NEWS FROM THE EMPIRE AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

...

Extract from the Letters from Frankfurt of January 2. 1689.

All the letters of the surrounding Cities & States say, that the news of the happy success of the undertaking of His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange comfort them a little for the damage that the French are causing in all this Country. The soldiers are always insolent; but there are those who are more than the others: We send from Mainz, that Mr Bertram, Secretary of the Elector being gone, we have ordered him, that if he did not come back to his home, we will pull it down, & hang his son whom we are detaining there: it is easy to judge that these are threats made to attract their host, rather than out of any wish to carry it out. There are 3500. Dragoons who have gone to the County of Ubingen to burn the Country or to claim Contribution.²⁰

...

NEWS FROM THE EMPIRE AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

...

Extract of the Letters from Frankfurt of January 5. 1689.

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- 19 *Nouveau Journal Universel (NJU)*, 15 (6 January 1689): "Nouvelles De l'Empire et Pais Voisins ... Extrait des lettres de Francfort du 29. Decemb. 1688. Il court le bruit que les Français ont miné les portes et les fortifications de Heilbron et de quelques autres Villes pour les faire sauter avant de les abandonner; il est plus assuré qu'ils ont brûlé quantité de Villages, et tout le foin et la paille qu'ils ont trouvé dans les Campagnes du Pays de Wirtemberg ... Il est encore entré 4. Compagnies de Dragons dans Heidelberg. Les Députés que de cette Ville là a envoyé à Paris pour se plaindre des excès que les Troupes y commettent, ont été fort bien reçus de Madame d'Orléans, et le Roi leur a fait dire qu'il donnerait leur affaire à examiner. Les François font ruiner toutes les fortifications et les murailles de Manheim, et en font combler les fossés : l'on en sort tout le canon et les munitions de guerre. Ils demandent 80000. écus à la Ville de Mayence, outre la Contribution qu'ils prétendent du Pays".
- 20 *NJU*, 16 (10 January 1689): "Nouvelles de l'Empire et Pais Voisins ... Extrait des lettres de Francfort du 2. Janvier 1689. Toutes les lettres des Villes et États circonvoisins disent, que la nouvelle de l'heureux succès de l'entreprise de Monseigneur le Prince d'Orange, les consolait un peu du dégât que les François font dans tout ce Pays-là. Les Soldats sont toujours insolents; mais il y en a qui le sont plus les uns que les autres : On mande de Mayence, que le Sieur Bertram, Secrétaire de l'Électeur s'étant absenté, on lui a fait faire commandement, que s'il ne revenait pas dans sa maison, on l'allait mettre bas, & pendre son fils qu'on y détient : il est facile de juger que ce sont des menaces plutôt pour attirer leur Hôte, que pour les vouloir mettre en effet. Il y a 3500. Dragons, qui sont allez dans le Comté d'Ubingen, pour brûler le Pays ou le mettre sous Contribution".

... We have news that as the Saxons approached the French had abandoned Heilbron & all the Country of Wirtemberg; We wait from it for the specifics with the confirmation: however the public voice is, that the French had blown up the doors & parts of fortifications of Heilbron, that they had plundered the City, & set fire to every corner before abandoning it, & there are Passengers who are saying that they have seen the flames of Churches from over than 2 & a half leagues. Mr de Monclar arrived the past 26th in Speyer: He had seized & sold all the wine of the Bishopric: Mr Bel Croy had made an exact account of the incomes of the Lazaret of Speyer: Mr de la Grange had all the papers of the Chamber of Speyer visited which were brought to Strasburg, to see if we could not find anything that concerns the affairs of Burgundy, or other countries, that could be used by the Crown of France on occasion. We made the same search in the Bishopric Archives of the City, & because the Chancellor was an obstacle to this, the French have forbidden him to make any use of his Office as long as this search was not made.... The Troops, which we said in the previous Journal had crossed the Rhine under the command of Mr de la Breteche, have been in the Country of Nassau & Solms, where they have burned & plundered many Villages; & not satisfied with this cruelty, they have taken the foodstuffs of the Peasants, such as their wheat, their flour, their grain, &c. & they have thrown it down pell-mell on the street, & have blended ashes with the flour, for fear that these good people salvage something from it: it is easy to judge the despair, considering that this treatment makes their condition more miserable than that of galley-slaves. The soldiers have brought the cattle, & loaded up the horses even with the salted pigs of these wretches.²¹

21 *NJU*, 17 (13 January 1689): "Nouvelles De l'Empire et Pais Voisins ... Extrait des lettres de Francfort du 5. Janvier 1689 ... On a nouvelle qu'à l'approche des Saxons, les François avoient abandonné Heilbron et tout le Pays de Wirtemberg : On en attend les particularités avec la confirmation : cependant la voix publique est, que les François avoient fait sauter les portes et parties des fortifications de Heilbron, qu'ils avoient pillé la Ville, et mis le feu aux quatre coins avant de l'abandonner, et il y a des Passagers qui disent avoir vu les flammes des Églises de plus de deux lieues et demie ... M. de Montclar arriva le 26. du passé à Spire : Il a fait confisquer & vendre tout le vin de l'Évêché : M. Bel Croy a fait un état exact de tout le revenu du Lazaret de Spire : M. de la Grange fait visiter tous les papiers de la Chambre de Spire qui ont été portez à Strasbourg , pour voir si l'on n'y trouvera rien qui concerne les affaires de Bourgogne, ou autres, qui puissent servir à la Couronne de France dans l'occasion. On fait la même perquisition dans les Archives de l'Évêché de la Ville, & comme le Chancelier y était en obstacle, les François lui ont fait défense de faire aucune fonction de sa Charge, que cette recherche n'ait été faite ... Les Troupes que nous avons dit dans le Journal précédent avoir passé le Rhin sous le

An event being both the elementary component of a continuity of occurrences (everything that occurred and thus in itself insignificant) and the manifestation of a discontinuity in this continuity of occurrences (and thus noteworthy), the weekly newspaper was the privileged medium of this event dualism.²² Indeed, these periodicals continually combine the ordinary and extraordinary. They related facts that were considered noteworthy enough to be printed but at the same time the large majority of them belong to the ordinary political information that constituted the bulk of this type of printed news. Thus alongside accounts of remarkable facts (or facts related as such), weekly newspapers offered a ritualised information, consisting of kings and princes' courts, religious events, aristocratic births and deaths, arrivals and departures of commercial ships and convoys, movements of troops, battles and sieges. War thus belonged to this ordinary political information and accounts of military operations thus constituted an important part of this type of printed news.²³ Besides, from the earliest examples of printed news, war was a major subject and wartime usually led to an increase in news production.²⁴ The ordinary war of the printed news was far from being devoid of violence, and the news also related an ordinary military violence, especially against civilians. As the *Nouveau Journal Universel* reported, this ordinary military violence consisted of forced billeting of soldiers, raids and contributions.

commandement de M. de la Breteche, ont été dans le Pays de Nassau et de Solms, où ils ont brûlé et pillé plusieurs Villages ; et non contents de cette cruauté, ils ont pris les denrées des Paysans, comme leur bled, leur farine, leurs grains, etc. et l'ont jette dans la rue pêle-mêle, et ont mêlé de la cendre avec la farine, de peur que ces bonnes gens n'en réchappassent quelque chose : il est facile de juger du désespoir, vu que ce traitement rend leur condition plus misérable que celle des Galériens. Les Soldats ont amené le bétail, & chargé sur leurs chevaux jusqu'aux cochons salez de ces misérables".

- 22 Pierre Rétat, 'Les gazettes: de l'événement à l'histoire', *Études sur la presse au xviii^e siècle*, 3 (1978), pp. 23–38.
- 23 Pierre Rétat, 'Batailles', in *La suite à l'ordinaire prochain*, pp. 111–22; Stéphane Haffemayer, *L'information dans la France du xvii^e siècle. La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), pp. 56–188; Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2014), esp. pp. 208–28. Sonja Schultheiß-Heinz, *Politik in der europäischen Publizistik. Eine historische Inhaltsanalyse von Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004), pp. 94–6: For the period of the Dutch War, Sonja Schultheiß-Heinz estimates that around 70% of all news of the three major newspapers she analysed—i.e. French *Renaudot's Gazette*, English *London Gazette*, and German *Teutscher Kriegs-Kurier*—are dealing with military operations and diplomatic activities related to conflicts.
- 24 See, e.g.: Mario Infelise, 'The War, the News and the Curious: Military Gazettes in Italy', *Politics of Information*, ed. Dooley and Baron, pp. 216–36.

But alongside this a recognisable extraordinary warfare gradually emerges, consisting of what the printed news suggested, implicitly for the most part, was an extraordinary military violence. The key point is not whether this military violence was in fact exceptional, but to notice that it was reported as such. As a result, and in accordance with the event-nature of periodical printed news, which combines apparently exhaustive banality and selective singularity, the newspapers reported the French military operations as a dialectic of ordinary and extraordinary news of the war. Incidentally, the gazetteer noted in the news from The Hague of 12 January that the ongoing military operations disrupted the seasonality of the news:²⁵

The news has never been more abundant from all sides than it is at present, because instead of the other years the gazetteers could these days only speak about some winter quarters, some preparations which were made for the Campaign: today we only hear tell of movements, armies that comb the countryside, besiege, take, plunder, burn Cities ...²⁶

Although this war-extraordinary was made explicit through the narrative of cities' destructions and the use of a rhetoric of the indescribable, it was the text-structure of printed periodical news which played an essential part in the implicit distinguishing of the French military operations from the ordinary of war. Continuously confronted with the uncertainty of the facts they reported, gazetteers wholly integrated this contingency into their informative function through numerous rhetorical processes.²⁷ As the case of Heilbronn shows, the facts under the newswriter's pens became "hesitating realities".²⁸ And this permanent formulation of uncertainty defined the foundational distinction between history as "the narrative of things that

25 Jean Sgard, 'Les saisons de la politique d'après les gazettes', *Die Vier Jahreszeiten im 18. Jahrhundert* (1986), pp. 89–95.

26 *NJU*, 17 (13 January 1689): "Les nouvelles n'ont jamais été plus abondantes de toutes parts qu'elles le sont présentement, car au lieu que les autres années dans ce temps ici, les nouvelles ne pouvoient parler que de quelques quartiers d'hiver, de quelques préparatifs qui se faisoient pour la Campagne : aujourd'hui on n'entend parler que de mouvements, que d'Armées qui battent la campagne, assiègent, prennent, pillent, brûlent des Villes".

27 Claude Labrosse, 'L'incertain et le virtuel. L'événement en perspective dans les gazettes du 18^e siècle', in *Presse et événement: journaux, gazettes, almanachs (XVIII^e–XIX^e siècles)*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and Jean-Yves Mollier (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 7–25; Charlotte Burel, "Le temps lèvera le voile ...": l'écriture du futur', in *La suite à l'ordinaire prochain*, pp. 53–62.

28 Labrosse, 'L'incertain et le virtuel', p. 10.

happened" ("le recit des choses avenües") and the gazette as "only the rumour coming from it" ("seulement le bruit qui en court").²⁹ The gazette was the place where the rumour of French military violence—past, present, or future—was repeatedly formulated. While Louis XIV hesitated, over the course of several months, to raze Trier and subject it to the same measures as the other destroyed cities, printed news, issue after issue, related the fear of the inhabitants and the rumour of an eventual razing that did not finally occur. Finally, the repetitive nature of the French military operations, as well as the more lasting quality of the dismantlings themselves, reinforced the repetitive structure of the news that resulted from their text-structure and periodicity. This double repetition helped to represent French strategy as a process of never-ending destruction.

Thus, gradually, with the necessary hindsight, an event-unit detached itself from this dialectic, because, as Reinhart Koselleck writes, "a minimum of 'before' and 'after' constitutes the significant unity that makes an event out of incidents".³⁰ Hence, printed news progressively reported the French military actions as part of an ongoing event, which they were shaping by naming it. Thus the news from the Empire of 21 March announced that: "La désolation des Peuples du Palatinat continuë, & on auroit de la peine de donner ici une juste idée de leur misère." ("The desolation of the Palatinate's People continues, and we can hardly give a good idea of their misery").³¹ Because they were published monthly rather than weekly, the "historical and political *mercures*" benefitted even more from this necessary hindsight.³² The seventh issue of the Amsterdam *Lettres sur les matières du temps* of Jean Tronchin du Breuil dated 31 March reads as follows:

Mais je ne puis m'empêcher auparavant de m'arrêter un peu sur un fait des plus remarquables qui vient d'arriver, & qui ne refute que trop solennellement tout ce qu'on peut alléguer en faveur des desseins & des intentions de la France : Je parle de la dernière désolation qui vient d'être exercée dans les Villes du Palatinat, & particulièrement à Heidelberg, lors que les troupes françaises en sortirent le 3 de ce mois, en y laissant des

29 *Gazette, Relation des nouvelles du monde receuës tout le mois de mars 1632* (1 April 1632).

30 Reinhart Koselleck, 'Representation, Event, and Structure', *Future Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press 2004), p. 106.

31 *NJU*, 37 (21 March 1689).

32 Myriam Yardeni, 'Journalisme et histoire contemporaine à l'époque de Bayle', *History and Theory*, 12 (1973), pp. 208–21, esp. 210–20.

monuments de fureur & de barbarie, que les précédentes guerres n'avoient point connu.³³

(I cannot forbear, first of all, dwelling a little upon a very remarkable Thing that has newly happen'd, and which does but too solemnly refute all that can be alleadg'd, in favour of the Designs and Intentions of *France*. I speak of the late Desolation that has been made in the Cities of the *Palatinate*, and particularly at *Heydelburgh*, when that the French Troops departed thence on the 3d. of *March*, leaving there those Monuments of Fury and Barbarity, which former Wars were unacquainted withal.)

In this “historical and political *mercure*” in the form of an epistolary fiction, the author clearly states the event-nature of the French deprivations by asserting their exceptional character and by using the same terminology as previous newspapers to give a name to the facts. Through this act of naming, printed news took part in the crucial process of selection and concentration that progressively made of the facts a whole.³⁴ Here, this process went through a geographical simplification focused on the Palatinate.³⁵ Indeed, although the other territories affected by more or less important French military operations were mentioned several times, the expression “the Palatinate and other countries” came to be employed more and more often. Furthermore, the newspapers started to publish news directly entitled “From the Palatinate”, reinforcing the focus on this geographical space.³⁶ The Palatinate, which was central to the French strategy, overshadowed the other Rhenish territories and so gradually became the reference point.

Above all this “primary narrative” was formulated by the cross-border spread of a news network. The newspapers drew in particular upon

33 Madeleine Fabre, ‘Lettres sur les matières du temps’, in *Dictionnaire des journaux*; and esp. Brétéché, *Les Compagnons de Mercure*, esp. pp. 32–6, 188–9, 243–56, 272–3, 308–9; *LMT*, vol. 2 (31 March 1689), p. 97. See n. 39 below.

34 Jürgen Wilke, ‘Choix et représentation d'événements dans la presse allemande du 18^e siècle’, in *Presse et événement*, ed. Lüsebrink and Mollier, pp. 65–77; Nina Burkhardt, ‘Wie machen Medien ein Ereignis’, in *Unvergessliche Augenblicke. Die Inszenierung von Medienereignissen*, ed. DFG–Graduiertenkolleg ‘Transnationale Medienereignisse’ (Frankfurt: Societäts-Verlag, 2006), pp. 16–21.

35 We should note the ambiguity of the term “Palatinate”, which refers at once to a dynastic space, a territorial space and a geographical space, that are not perfectly equivalent. On this matter, see Hansjörg Probst, *Die Pfalz als historischer Begriff* (Mannheim: Südwestdt. Verlagsanstalt, 1984).

36 See for example the Habsburg Netherlands’ *Relations Véritables (RV)*, but also the Hamburg *Nordischer Mercurius (NM)*.

correspondents' manuscript newsletters from different countries: therefore printed news was structurally transnational. It belonged to an intertextual network, across languages and spaces, within which it sustained itself by numerous combined exchanges—translations, borrowed expressions, quotations, rewriting, etc.³⁷ Thus “the vagaries of news transmission across time and space [were] almost infinite” and so very difficult to identify. Among the multiple mechanisms of news dissemination, which was characterised by varying degrees of rewriting, translation is one of the most important.³⁸ For instance, I established that the briefly-appearing London *mercure* entitled *The Dilucidator* was in fact a word-for-word English translation of the seven issues of the *Lettres sur les matières du temps* published originally between January and April 1689 that mentioned the French military operations several times.³⁹ However, the mechanisms of news dissemination are rarely so easy to identify. So for example, the “micro-narrative” of the destruction of Heidelberg in the February 1689 issue of the German-language *mercure*

37 Due to the poor preservation of the archives of gazetteers, their dispersion, and the difficulty of analysing such sources, we know little about the actual writing of the newspapers, the work of the gazetteers and their sources, especially their informers and correspondence networks. See Peter Fraser, *The Intelligence of the Secretaries of State and their Monopoly of Licensed News, 1660–1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); Jens Gieseler and Thomas Schröder, ‘Bestandsaufnahme zum Untersuchungsbereich “Textstruktur, Darstellungsformen und Nachrichtenauswahl”’, *Die Sprache der ersten deutschen Wochenzeitungen im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gerd Fritz and Erich Straßner (Tübingen: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 29–69; Gilles Feyel, *L’annonce et la nouvelle. La presse d’information en France sous l’Ancien Régime (1630–1788)* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), esp. pp. 172–91; Haffemayer, *L’information dans la France du xvii^e siècle*, esp. pp. 467–99; André Belo, ‘Nouvelles d’Ancien Régime: la Gazette de Lisbonne et l’information manuscrite au Portugal (1715–1760)’, PhD thesis (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 2005); François Moureau, *La plume et le plomb. Espaces de l’imprimé et du manuscrit au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Presses Universitaires Paris–Sorbonne, 2006), pp. 259–76 and 459–76; Brétéché, *Les Compagnons de Mercure*, esp. 152–97. For the exchanges constitutive of intratextual networks, see Dooley, ‘Introduction’, in *Dissemination of News*, pp. 1–19; Stéphane Haffemayer, ‘Transferts culturels dans la presse européenne au xvii^e siècle’, *Le Temps des Médias*, 2.11 (2008), pp. 25–43.

38 Dooley, ‘Introduction’, in *Dissemination of News*, p. 15.

39 Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals (1641–1700). A short-title Catalogue of Serials printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and British America* (New York: PMLA, 1987), no. 95. Consequently in this article, I have used for the quotations from these seven issues of the *Lettres sur les matières du temps* the English translation proposed by *The Dilucidator*. Thus the translation of the previous quotation of the *Lettres sur les matières du temps* (see n. 33 above) came from *The Dilucidator: The Dilucidator, The Sixth Letter* (1689), p. 127.

entitled *Europäischer Mercurius* was very similar to that of the 35th issue of *Nouveau Journal Universel* of 14 March.⁴⁰ Whether this was directly borrowed news, and how many intermediaries it passed through, is impossible to determine. Similarly, there was certainly a link between the Frankfurt news dated 12 December contained in the fourth issue of the *Universal Intelligence* printed by John Wallis in London, in the context of the Glorious Revolution when a press “without allowance” developed beside the official *London Gazette*, and that in the 10th issue of the *Nouveau Journal Universel*.⁴¹ Indeed, the first was a short and synthesised version of the second. Was it from the same correspondent? At the very least it was likely to be borrowed news, because John Wallis had seemingly not previously published newspapers and so most probably did not yet have a network of correspondents. But how many rewriting steps and missing links were there between these two versions of the Frankfurt news? Likewise in the *London Gazette*, the Frankfurt news of 17 March seemed to mix the Frankfurt news of 9 and 17 March from the *Relations Véritables*—the most important French-language gazette of the Habsburg Netherlands, which played the role of an official organ—and that of 13 March from the *Nouveau Journal Universel*.⁴² Once more, printed news was rewritten, selected and concentrated through multiple stages of dissemination whose precise nature was hard to determine. But in any case, this complex compilation of borrowed news on which printed periodicals were based played a major part in the making of a shared “primary narrative” of the

40 *Europäischer Mercurius. Februarius. Anno M. DC. LXXXIX.*, 34 (EM); Johannes Weber, *Götter–Both Mercurius: Die Urgeschichte der Politischen Zeitschrift in Deutschland* (Bremen: Temmen, 1994), pp. 125–33; *NJU*, 35 (14 March 1689).

41 *Universal Intelligence* (18–22 December 1688); Nelson and Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals*, no. 644; James Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 23–4; Robin B. Walker, ‘The Newspaper Press in the Reign of William III’, *The Historical Journal*, 17.4 (1974), pp. 691–709, at 694–5. On the *London Gazette*, see Fraser, *Intelligence of the Secretaries of State*, pp. 46–56; Phyllis M. Handover, *History of the London Gazette, 1665–1965* (London: HMSO, 1965), pp. 9–31; Nelson and Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals*, no. 471; *NJU*, 10 (20 December 1688).

42 *London Gazette* (LG), no. 2437 (18–21 March 1688); *RV* (16 Mars 1689 and 23 March 1689); ‘Relations Véritables’, in *Dictionnaire des journaux*; Jacques Hellemans, ‘L’apparition des gazettes en Belgique: le *Postillon ordinaire*, la *Récite* et le *Cour(r)ier véritables des Pays-Bas*’, in *Les gazettes européennes de langue française (xvii^e–xviii^e siècles)*, pp. 13–21; and especially Paul Arblaster, ‘Policy and Publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1585–1690’, *Politics of Information*, ed. Dooley and Baron, pp. 179–98, and *From Ghent to Aix: How they Brought the News in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 220–55; *NJU*, 37 (21 March 1689).

French military operations. Though irreducible dissimilarities existed in the ways news was processed, according to the different publishing paradigms and ideological commitments of editors, they shared a common interest in contemporary events.⁴³ Therefore, at a time when commonality was increasing, that is to say that “the number of people simultaneously reading or discussing variants of the same news” expanded, and with it the “potential for contemporaneity”, the French military operations, reported by French-, English-, and German-language periodicals, belonged from then on to a kind of cross-boundary ‘shared topicality’, which manifested, besides dissimilarities, important similarities and points of convergence in the processing of this specific news.⁴⁴

In addition, printed news also laid the foundations of the event-structure by defining its elementary sequences: indeed, an event can be comprehended as textually structured according to a referential narrative thread.⁴⁵ In the case of the French military operations, these elementary sequences of which the event was made up took in particular the form of the destruction of cities. So the referential narrative thread focussed on some of the main fortified towns demolished by Louis XIV’s army, namely Heidelberg, Mannheim, Speyer, Worms, and Oppenheim. This “event-sequencing” was also typographically emphasised in the English newspapers, where the names, usually printed in italics, underline this sequencing by cities. Likewise, in the *Europäischer Mercurius*, the news took the form of a narrative punctuated by the bold and centred names of the various cities reported on in turn: in its

43 See, e.g.: Schultheiß–Heinz, *Politik in der europäischen Publizistik*; Sonja Schultheiß–Heinz, ‘Contemporaneity in 1672–1679: the Paris “Gazette”, the “London Gazette”, and the “Teutsche Kriegs–Kurier”’, in *Dissemination of News*, ed. Dooley, pp. 115–35.

44 Woolf, ‘News, History and the Construction of the Present’, p. 83; Dooley, ‘Introduction’, in *Dissemination of News*, p. 2. It is no surprise that Renaudot’s *Gazette*, which played the role of an official organ for the French monarchy, distinguishes itself from the other periodicals by its silences: nevertheless the raids, levies of contributions, military executions, collects of fodder, ravages of the fields, and dismantling of fortifications that are related punctually, here and there in these French printed news, outline the ordinary war (i.e. both the military practices and violence) of the printed news. On Renaudot’s *Gazette*, see Gilles Feyel, ‘Gazette [de France]’, in *Dictionnaire des journaux*, ed. Sgard; Feyel, *L’annonce et la nouvelle*; Haffemayer, *L’information dans la France du XVII^e siècle*.

45 I follow here the remarks of Hans–Jürgen Lüsebrink and Rolf Reichardt on the notion of event based first on their analysis of the storming of the Bastille: *Die Bastille. Zur Symbolgeschichte von Herrschaft und Freiheit* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1990), pp. 59–92; and Hans–Jürgen Lüsebrink, ‘Le tremblement de terre de Lisbonne dans des périodiques français et allemands du XVIII^e siècle’, in *Gazettes et information politique sous l’Ancien Régime*, pp. 302–11.

several 1689 issues, it consecutively related the French military operations to which the Rhenish cities were subjected. Furthermore, in response to the course of French military operations, the printed news reported successively in March the demolition of both Mannheim and Heidelberg, which were linked from the start in the design and implementation of the French strategy, and at the beginning of June the simultaneous destruction of Speyer, Worms and Oppenheim. Hence, the sequencing organised itself also from the start in groups of towns. On 3 June the Marquis de Dangeau, the Sun King's courtier, already noted in his *Journal*: "On a fait brûler Spire, Worms et Oppenheim" ("We had burned Speyer, Worms & Oppenheim").⁴⁶ In his issue dated 30 May (8 June), the important German-language *Nordischer Mercurius*, published in Hamburg by Friedrich Conrad Greflinger, reported that: "Vergangenen Dienstag haben die Frantzosen die Städte Speyer/ Wormbs und Oppenheim angezündet" ("Last Thursday the French have set fire to the cities of Speyer, Wormbs and Oppenheim and laid them in Ashes"). The Frankfurt news of the 8 June issue of the *Relations Véritables* announced that: "Ton a vù en flames Openheim, Vorms, Spire, & autres Places" ("we have seen Oppenheim, Worms, Spire, & other Places in flames"). Likewise the Cologne news in the *London Gazette* related that the French "have now lately reduced to ashes the Cities of *Spire, Worms* and *Oppenheim*, there not being left in these famous Places one House standing".⁴⁷ The section of the 15 June issue of the *Lettres sur les matières du temps* borrowed by De Limiers referred to this same grouped sequence. And while a German relation relates their simultaneous destruction,⁴⁸ the *Europäischer Mercurius* designed a similar news sequence announced with a bold and centred heading of "*Speyer/ Worms und Oppenheim*" to recount it.⁴⁹ Hence this narrative grouping became a typical characteristic of the representation and the narrative of these cities' destruction. In their series of eleven sepia drawings commissioned by the Worms town council to illustrate the account of Worms's demolition, the counsellor Peter Hamman and his son Johann Friedrich chose to

46 Philippe de Courcillon (marquis de Dangeau), *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau. Tome deuxième, 1687—1688—1689*, ed. Eudore Soulié, Louis Dussieux, Charles-Philippe de Chennevières-Pointel, Paul Mantz and Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Fils & Cie, 1854), p. 406.

47 *NM*, 84 (30 May 1689); *RV* (8 June 1689); *LG*, 2458 (30 May–3 June 1689).

48 *Gründliche und eigentliche Beschreibung Derer Weyland schönen Nun aber Durch unerhörte Grausamkeit der überbarbarischen Franzosen gänzlich ruiniert- verbrannts- und desolirten Städten Speyer/ Worms Und Oppenheim* (n.p., 1689).

49 *EM*, *Majus. Anno M. DC. LXXXIX.*, p. 78.

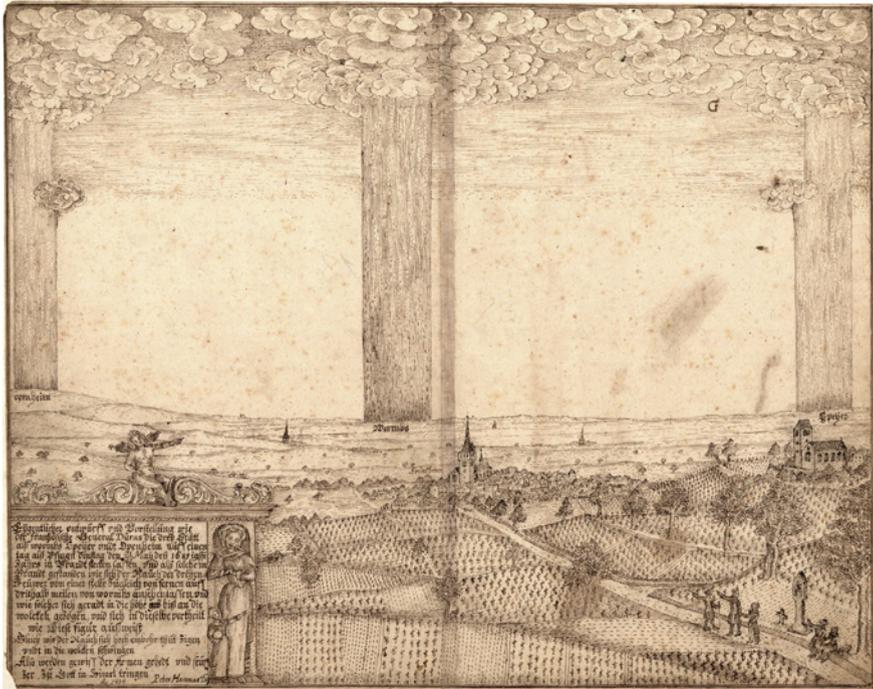


FIGURE 28.1 *Stadtarchiv Worms iB/48 G*

represent the triple destruction as an inseparable whole (see Figure 28.1).⁵⁰ Finally this sequencing by cities became in later accounts and pamphlets the basic referential narrative thread of the event.⁵¹

50 Fritz Reuter, *Peter und Friedrich Hamman. Handzeichnungen von Worms aus der Zeit vor und nach der Stadtzerstörung 1689 im 'Pfälzischen Erbfolgekrieg'* (Worms: Bessler, 1989).

51 See for example the German account: *Die Betrübte und Zerstörte Chur-Pfaltz/ welche Die Barbarischen und Tyrannischen Frantzosen an Heydelberg/ Mannheim/ Speyer/ Worms/ Franckenthal und Landau, Mord-brennerisch und unchristlich in die Asche geleet* (n.p., 1689); among the pamphlets, see for example an important French-language brochure that was published in 1689, probably in Amsterdam, of which we identified at least three different editions. The edition quoted here is: *La Verite Chrestienne a l'audiance de roy tres-Chretien* ([Amsterdam?], 1689), pp. 42ff. This brochure was then respectively translated into Dutch and German: *De Christelyke Waerhey, Getoont ter audientie van den Alder-Christelycksten Koning* (Amsterdam, 1689), pp. 27ff.; *Der Christlichen Warheit gehabte audeins Bey dem Allerchristlichsten König Ludwig dem XIV* (n.p., 1690), pp. 33ff. An English translation also exists that presents very interesting cuts compared to the original version: in particular it mentions Speyer and Worms together but deletes all allusions to Oppenheim: *A New Declaration of the Confederate Princes and States, against Lewis the Fourteenth* (Londres, 1689), pp. 14ff.

“Plurimediality” (*Plurimedialität*) is a fundamental element of the news event.⁵² Here, the making of the event, and especially of the “event-sequencing”, resulted from essential exchanges between media. Although the *mercures* were no simple compilation of the gazettes, they were in line with them.⁵³ Likewise, in the German-language area, the publication of some newspaper extracts in the form of independent accounts, as in the case of Speyer’s demolition, shows the permeability of editorial forms.⁵⁴ Once again, these inter-media exchanges were transnational. In this regard, the printed accounts of the Rhenish cities’ destructions fundamentally influenced the writing of printed news and so contributed to the event-building process on a European scale. Thus the Mannheim town council commissioned an account of the town’s destruction from a Hanau printer to be published in both German and French, with 500 copies in each.⁵⁵ French being probably the closest thing to a common European vernacular, printing as well as translating in French indicates a European horizon for a publication.⁵⁶ The prominent case is that of Heidelberg.

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- 52 Horst Carl and Thomas Weißbrich, ‘Präsenz und Information: Frühneuzeitliche Konzeptionen von Medienereignisse’, in *Europäische Wahrnehmungen 1650–1850. Interkulturelle Kommunikation und Medienereignisse*, ed. Horst Carl and Joachim Eibach (Hanover: Wehrhahn, 2008), p. 96.
- 53 Hans Bots, ‘Quelques gazettes de Hollande en langue française et le *Mercure historique et politique*: une analyse comparative’, in *Gazettes et information politique sous l’Ancien Régime*, pp. 159–68; esp. Brétéché, *Les Compagnons de Mercure*, pp. 190–3—this is the first systematic work on these ‘*mercures historiques et politiques*’, and on the interrelation between *gazettes* and *mercures*.
- 54 See, e.g.: *Extract Aus unterschiedenen Schreiben/ Samt einer Relation, Was die Frantzosen in Speyer verwichenen und May verübet haben* (n.p., [1689]). On the newspaper extracts as a specific editorial form, see: Esther–Beate Körber, *Zeitungsextrakte: Aufgaben und Geschichte einer funktionellen Gruppe frühneuzeitlicher Publizistik* (Bremen: Éditions Lumière, 2009).
- 55 These are very likely the ordered brochures: *Relation Und Gründliche Beschreibung der von denen Frantzosen in der Churfürstlichen Pfaltz schön- vor wenig Jahren neu- und durch-auß regular gebauten Stadt Mannheim verübter un-Christlicher Procedures und erbärmlicher Verwüstung/ im Jahr 1689* (n.p., 1689); *La Desolation de la Ville Electorale de Manheim par les François* (n.p., [1689]). The town’s archive was unfortunately destroyed during the Second World War but this information was (anonymously) published at the beginning of the twentieth century: ‘Berichte über die Zerstörung Mannheims durch die Franzosen’, *Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter*, 2.7 (1901), pp. 165–6.
- 56 Pierre–Yves Beaurepaire, *Le Mythe de l’Europe française au xviii^e siècle: diplomatie, culture et sociabilités au temps des Lumières* (Paris: Autrement, 2007), p. 120; Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de langue française des origines à 1900* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1966), vol. 5, pp. 135–45 and 219–74.

Introducing a description of Heidelberg's destruction, the author of the previously quoted seventh issue of *Lettres sur les matières du temps*, addressing his correspondent, wrote: "Vous aurez vu dans les relations publiques" ("You may have seen in the public Relations").⁵⁷ The author certainly refers here to the anonymously published account of Palatinate councilor Riesman.⁵⁸ Indeed, this account was printed and reprinted multiple times in various forms within the Holy Roman Empire, but above all translated into Dutch and English.⁵⁹ Incidentally, this account may be one of the missing links to understand the abovementioned similarities between the *Nouveau Journal Universel* and the *Europäischer Mercurius*. This high degree of visibility in print partly explains how the Heidelberg destruction became representative of all the Rhenish cities' demolition, and more particularly of the French military operations. The *Lettres sur les matières du temps* presented it in this way, as well the English translation of the original account which was entitled *True Account of the Barbarous Cruelties Committed by the French in the Palatinate in January & February last* even though the account related only the French military operations in Heidelberg and around during a single week. So the English account generalised by adopting the geographical focus of the Palatinate and making Heidelberg, the electoral capital, the representative case.

There were also other *topoi*, besides the destruction of cities, around which the news was sequenced and out of which the destruction of the Palatinate emerged as a distinct event. One example is the plundering of the Speyer imperial graves, which was reported in printed news, and then in a number of

57 *LMT*, vol. 2 (31 March 1689), p.97.

58 *Bericht, was die Königliche französische garnison zu Heildeberg unterm commando des Brigadiers Comte de Melac, in denen umb selbige Churfürstliche Residenzstatt gelegenen Stättlein, Flecken und Dorfschafften vom 28ten Jan. biß 3ten Febr. verübet*, Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe: 77/3701, fos. 94–7.

59 Besides at least three editions under this original title, this account was also published under another title, *Das Ehmahlig Pracht-gezierte/ Nunmehr Elendig-ruinirte Churfürstliche Residenz-Schloß Heidelberg/* (Augsbourg, 1689), and in other forms, such as an illustrated broadsheet (*illustriertes Flugblatt*): *Umständliche Beschreibung Der Französ. Grausamkeit in Heydelberg/* ([Nurnberg], [1689]). Or very often as part of various publications such as accounts and pamphlets, see for example: *Die Waagschale der Frantzosen* (n.p., 1689), pp. 87–9. The Dutch print was *Bericht der Gruweldaden Die door de Besetting, of het Garnisoen van de Keur-Paltse Hofstadt Heydelbergh in dezelve, en de daer onder hoo-rende Vlecken en Dorpen, onder het commando van den Brigadier den Grave van Melac, zedert den 28 January tot den 3 February 1689. is bedreven* (Amsterdam, [1689]), the English one *A True Account of the Barbarous Cruelties Committed by the French in the Palatinate, in January and February last* (London, 1689).

pamphlets, to become in the long term one of the symbolic *topoi* of the French military violence.⁶⁰ Another interesting example is the *topos* of the refugee populations displaced by French military operations. Indeed, besides the people who were spontaneously leaving their home to flee the war and the usual military violence, there were numerous refugees due to the demolition of entire cities, towns, and villages. For example, from January 1689, 6,000 inhabitants of Mannheim were ordered to leave their houses with their goods for Alsace before the city was burned in March.⁶¹ Important refugee communities formed in Strasbourg and Frankfurt in particular.⁶² On 9 June, the Frankfurt news of the *Nouveau Journal Universel* mentioned: “Il est venu quelques passagers de Spire” (“Some passengers came from Speyer”). On 11 June, the *Relations Véritables* related that the Rhenish territories were “remplis des débris des gens, dont les flames ont consumé les habitations” (“full of the remnants of people, whose houses the flames had consumed”). The correspondent then referred to “plusieurs centaines de charrettes & de chariots aiant déjà passé par ces endroits, sans conter plus grand nombre qui passent encore de l’autre côté du Rhin” (“several hundred carts & wagons already going through these places, without counting the much larger number which are still going on the other side of the Rhine”). On 16 June, the Frankfurt news of the *Nouveau Journal Universel* reported that “Ces familles desolées sont déjà répandues dans plusieurs endroits de l’Europe, où elles sont errantes” (“These desolate families are already spread in many places in Europe, where they are wandering”).⁶³ The newspapers give here a hint of the importance of word of

60 For the plunder of the Speyer’s graves in contemporary periodical news, see e.g. *RV* (16 July 1689); *NM*, 88 (6 June 1689) and 97 (21 June 1689). For pamphlet reporting of the event, see e.g. *La Verite Chrestienne*, p. 44; and its translations: *De Christelyke Waerheyt*, p. 28; *Der Christlichen Wahrheit*, p. 35; *A New Declaration*, p. 15. For the longer historical view, see e.g. Victor Hugo, ‘Lettre xxvii’, in *Le Rhin, lettres à un ami* (Paris: Charpentier, 1845), vol. 2, pp. 317–9.

61 Roland Vetter, ‘Kein Stein soll auf dem andern bleiben’. *Mannheims Untergang während des Pfälzischen Erbfolgekrieges im Spiegel französischer Kriegsberichte* (Heidelberg: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2002), pp. 105–20; and ‘1685–1689, Zwischen Krise und Krieg’, in *Geschichte der Stadt Mannheim*, ed. Nieß Ulrich and Caroli Michael, vol. 1 (Mannheim: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2007), pp. 238–66.

62 Karl Zinkgräf, ‘Mannheimer Flüchtlinge in Weinheim während der Jahre 1689 bis 1697’, *Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter*, 26 (1925), pp. 255–9; and *Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter*, 27 (1926), pp. 13–6. Wolfgang Hartwich, ‘Speyer vom 30 jährigen Krieg bis zum Ende der Napoleonischen Zeit (1620 bis 1814)’, in *Geschichte der Stadt Speyer*, ed. Eger Wolfgang (1982; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1983), pp. 1–100, at 30; Fritz Reuter, ‘Der Pfälzische Erbfolgekrieg und die Freie Stadt Worms’, in *Der Franzoseneinfall 1693 in Südwestdeutschland*, ed. Fritz and Schurig, pp. 27–37, here p. 35.

63 *NJU*, 60 (9 June 1689); *RV* (11 June 1689); *NJU*, 62 (16 June 1689).

mouth in the dissemination of news and, in this case, most probably of the crucial contribution of the refugees to the spread of news concerning the French military operations. The “miserable refugees” thus became a central figure of the event: in the polemical literature, these “several thousand souls of all ages and sexes who are running around the world” were henceforth described as “the trumpets which are publishing without concealment or exaggeration, the barbarities, the cruelties, the fires, & the ungodliness that the French committed in the Palatinate” (“Plusieurs milliers d’ames de tout Sexe & âge qui courent par le monde, font des Trompettes qui publient sans deguisement ni exaggeration, les barbaries, les cruautés, les incendies, & les impietés que les François ont commis dans le Palatinat”).⁶⁴

Besides the text-structure, news-writing itself necessarily influenced the event-building process. This news-writing corresponds to a stock of textual and iconographic references made up of stereotypes and interpretative patterns, which were used to represent war and violence in early modern Europe. Here, the argument focuses on French-language printed news, but German- and English-language printed news deployed the same tropes for similar purposes. Among different frames of reference, the biblical was omnipresent: first through the use of the same semantic field as the Old Testament’s relation of destruction by a revengeful God who punished sin with devastation; and second, through an eschatological frame of reference based on the Books of Daniel and Revelation.⁶⁵ This last frame of reference is apparent in typical expressions such as the one used by Christ in his eschatological prediction of the destruction of the Temple: “There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down” (Matthew 24:2).⁶⁶ From the moment the first orders were issued in the French campaigns this expression was linked

64 *La Campagne des Allemans De l’Année 1690* (n.p., 1691), p. 57.

65 Besides episodes from Genesis, such as the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and from Leviticus, the principal biblical references are the Latter Prophets Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel, and the Minor Prophets, Amos and Hosea.

66 We quote here the King James Bible that is the definitive version for seventeenth-century England. The main German-language catholic Bible of the time—i.e. those of Johannes Dietenberger, Johannes Eck and Caspar Ulenberg—use the word-for-word equivalent by adopting the same passive transitive verbal form, i.e. “*kein Stein auf dem andern lassen*”. The German-language protestant Bible, starting with the Luther Bible, prefers the active intransitive verbal form, i.e. “*nicht ein Stein auf dem andern bleiben*” (“not one stone remaining upon another”). The French-language Bibles of the time present the same slightly difference but inversely: indeed, the catholic versions prefer the active intransitive verbal form—i.e. “*ne pas demeurer pierre sur pierre*”—and the protestant version the passive transitive verbal form—i.e. “*ne pas laisser pierre sur pierre*”.

inextricably with the destruction of Mannheim. Indeed, Louvois announced on 17 November 1688 to the Alsace's intendant, La Grange, that Mannheim would certainly be razed "so that there is not left one stone upon another that could tempt an elector" ("de manière qu'il n'y reste pas pierre sur pierre qui puisse tenter un électeur"),⁶⁷ and in February he used the exact same turn of phrase to hurry the demolition.⁶⁸ On 12 March, the Marquis de Dangeau noted in his *Journal* about Mannheim that: "on n'y laissera pas pierre sur pierre non plus qu'à la citadelle" ("we will not leave [in the town] one stone upon another, neither in the citadel").⁶⁹ The expression appeared next in the news report concerning Mannheim's demolition by the French troops. The news "from the Palatinate" of the 8/18 March in *Nordischer Mercurius* related that: "zumahlen sie Befehl haben/ in Mannheim und Friedrichsburg keinen Stein auff den andern zu lassen" ("above all the French are ordered in Mannheim and Friedrichsburg not to leave one stone upon another"). On 2 April, the *Relations Véritables* reported that: "il ne reste pierre sur pierre de tant de belles Eglises & Edifices qu'il y avoit" ("there is not left one stone upon another of so many beautiful Churches & Buildings"). One week later, the *Nouveau Journal Universel* reported that the French returned to Mannheim because: "Ils ont ordre de ne pas laisser pierre sur pierre" ("They are ordered not to leave one stone upon another"). Likewise, the so-called "impartial pen" ("*unpartheyische Feder*") of the *Europäischer Mercurius* related that they aimed "nach kein Stein auf dem andern bleiben" ("not to leave one stone upon another").⁷⁰ So the expression spread, attached to the sequence of Mannheim's destruction.⁷¹

Furthermore, the semantic field of fire—"burn", "reduce to ashes", "consume", and so on—which characterised the French military operations became

67 Defense Historical Service, Vincennes, GR A1 871, 45, Letter of Louvois to La Grange, 17 November 1688.

68 Defense Historical Service, Vincennes, GR A1 871, 344, Letter of Louvois to Montclart, 8 February 1689.

69 Philippe de Courcillon (marquis de Dangeau), *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau*, p. 351.

70 *NM*, 39 (8 March 1689); *RV* (2 April 1689); *NJU*, 42 (7 April 1689); *EM*, *Februarius. Anno M. DC. LXXXIX*, p. 35.

71 *Die Betrübe und Zerstörte Chur-Pfaltz*, p. 8; *La Verite Chrestienne*, p. 38; and its translations: *De Christelyke Waerheyd*, p. 25; *Der Christlichen Warheit*, p. 30. For example, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the French historian Ernest Lavisse wrote about Mannheim's destruction in his *Histoire de France* in the following terms: "On n'y laissa pas pierre sur pierre" ("We left not there one stone upon another"). *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution. Tome huitième: Louis XIV. La fin du règne (1685–1715)*, ed. Ernest Lavisse (Paris: Hachette, 1908), p. 20. More recently, the German historian Roland Vetter used this phrase for the title of his work on the razing of Mannheim (see n. 61 above).

predominant in printed news where “French” became a synonym for “incendiaries” (i.e. in its older sense—from the French—of “arsonists”). In German pamphlets, the brigadier Ézéchiél de Mélaç, one of the French officers who implemented the operations and appeared regularly in printed news, was referred to as the embodiment of “the French murderous incendiary” (“*Frantzösischer Mordbrenner*”). Henceforth he was always represented with a lit torch against a background of buildings in flames (see Figure 28.2).⁷² At the same time, as the two engraved frontispieces of both a German and an English pamphlet published in 1690 to denounce the Sun King’s policy and the French methods of warfare in particular show, representations of Louis XIV brandishing a lit torch began to appear (see Figures 28.3 and 28.4).⁷³ Moreover, in several such references, fire was a diabolical attribute associated with the Antichrist.⁷⁴ In the 28 September 1689 issue of the *Relations Véritables*, the analogy was obvious to the Mainz correspondent:

Jamais on a oüi parler de tant d’incendies & de desolation. Il semble que tous ces boutefeux soient les précurseurs du dernier Jugement, ou qu’ils prennent à tache de faire consommer avant le tems, les matières qui pourront servir d’aliment au feu qui viendra purifier le monde⁷⁵

Huge flames rising up to the sky and visible from afar became one of the textual and iconographic aspects of the event. So the seventeenth issue of the *Nouveau Journal Universel* related that: “il y a des Passagers qui disent avoir vu les flammes des Églises de plus de deux lieues et demie” (“there are Passengers who are saying that they have seen the flames of Churches from further than

72 Sigrid Wechsler, *Flugblätter. Aus der Frühzeit der Zeitung. Gesamtverzeichnis der Flugblatt-Sammlung des Kurpfälzischen Museums der Stadt Heidelberg* (Heidelberg: Kurpfälzisches Museum, 1980), no. 167; Frieder Hepp, “Weh dir Pfalz”. Erfahrungen wiederholter Kriegerzerstörungen an Rhein und Neckar, in *Kurpfalz und Rhein-Neckar. Kollektive Identitäten im Wandel*, ed. Volker Gallé, Jörg Peltzern, Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 2008), pp. 138–7.

73 *Der Frantzösische Attila, Ludovicus XIV* (n.p., 1690), and *The most Christian Turk: Or, a View of the Life and Bloody Reign of Lewis XIV* (London, 1690).

74 This importance of arson in the French military operations was for example also polemically exploited through the image of Phaeton’s fall (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I, 750–779 and II, 1–339) that appeared in the print against Louis XIV during the Dutch War. See for example the quotation of Ovid on the front page of *A New Declaration* (see n. 51 above). See Hendrik Ziegler, *Der Sonnenkönig und seine Feinde*, pp. 30–4.

75 *RV* (28 September 1689).



FIGURE 28.3 *HAB Wolfenbüttel Xb 1743*

desolation—“desolation”, “desolate”, “devastation”, “make a desert”, “reduce to solitude”, and so on. It was certainly no coincidence that the Antichrist is also called “the abomination of desolation” (Daniel 11:31, 12:11; Matthew 24:15). In January, the Frankfurt news in the *Nouveau Journal Universel* announced: “On a jamais vû une plus grande désolation que celle que les François causent dans tout nôtre Voisinage” (“We have never seen a greater desolation such as the one caused by the French in our entire neighbourhood”). In February, the Mannheim news of the *Nordirscher Mercurius* reported: “Das Verwüsten hat leyder hier noch kein Ende” (“The Desolation here has unfortunately still no End”). In August, the Frankfurt news of the *Relations Véritables* related: “On vient de recevoir âvis que les François portent par tout la desolation” (“We have been informed that the French are carrying Desolation everywhere”).⁷⁸ And the same term was used in the previously quoted seventh issue of the *Lettres sur les matières du temps*. Whether the choice of words was deliberate or unconscious is hard to tell. What is certain is that first this vocabulary was employed in all newspapers, protestant as well as catholic, to report war and military violence. It was not a new vocabulary but it gradually came to be attached to the French military operations. Second, this shared vocabulary seemed to make sense for the early modern reader. This news-writing was

78 *NJU*, 19 (20 January 1689); *NM*, 27 (15 February 1689); *RV* (24 August 1689).



FIGURE 28.4 British Library London R216384 / Bodleian Library Oxford Vet. A3f. 1595

consistent with an eschatological interpretative pattern which comprehended the enemy as the Antichrist. This old rhetorical and interpretative pattern was revived during the Sun King's reign and reached its apogee during the Nine Years War. Both in England and in the Holy Roman Empire, Louis XIV was identified with the Antichrist.⁷⁹ But above all, this eschatological interpretative pattern had the advantage of providing a potential non-confessional rhetorical point of agreement for a profoundly heterogeneous rising opposition to Louis XIV and *a fortiori*, in wartime, allies against the Sun King. Primarily defined by his corrupt doctrine, the Antichrist could also be identified by his cruelty and bloodlust. Besides the confessional stakes of the war, which maintained all their importance in the domestic debates, the eschatological frame of reference, thanks to its polemical flexibility, made it possible to overcome doctrinal differences on the international stage and offered a common interpretative pattern to articulate and to denounce the French military operations.⁸⁰

Furthermore, this denunciation mobilised another interpretative pattern, which benefited from the same polemical flexibility and seemed to have become, at the end of the seventeenth century, a shared frame of reference, namely the ideal of *justum bellum* (or just war) and the still imperfectly formalised laws of war.⁸¹ The result of an old theological and juridical debate, the

79 On the English case, see: Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, pp. 152–92. On the German case: Franz Bosbach, 'Der französische Erbfeind. Zu einem deutschen Feindbild im Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV', in *Feindbilder. Die Darstellung des Gegners in der politischen Publizistik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, ed. Franz Bosbach (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1992), pp. 117–39; Wrede, *Das Reich und seine Feinde*, pp. 324–545.

80 Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England*, p. 188.

81 Jean Rouvier, 'Naissance du droit international au XVII^e siècle', *Dix-septième siècle*, 58.9 (1960), pp. 40–56; Maurice H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1965); Frederick Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Philippe Contamine, 'L'idée de guerre à la fin du Moyen Âge: aspects juridiques et éthiques', *AIBC* (1979), pp. 70–86; Peter Haggenmacher, *Grotius et la doctrine de la guerre juste* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983); Peter Haggenmacher, 'Mutations du concept de guerre juste de Grotius à Kant', *Cahiers de philosophie politique et juridique*, 10 (1986), pp. 105–25; Guillaume Bacot, *La doctrine de la guerre juste* (Paris: Economica, 1989); H. Duchhardt, 'La guerre et le droit des gens dans l'Europe du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle', in *Guerre et concurrence entre Etats européens du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Philippe Contamine (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998), pp. 339–64; Heinhard Steiger, '*Ius bändigt Mars*. Das klassische Völkerrecht und seine Wissenschaft als frühneuzeitliche Kulturerrscheinung', in *Krieg und Frieden in der Frühen Neuzeit. Die europäische Staatsordnung und die außereuropäische Welt*, ed. Roland G. Asch, W.E. Voß and Martin Wrede (Munich: Fink, 2001), pp. 59–85; Geoffrey Parker,

ideal just war was based on the principle that war was subject to moral and customary laws (i.e. laws of war), human and Christian, defining a *jus ad bellum* (laws governing the right to make war) and a *jus in bello* (laws in wartime) that Louis XIV's army would have infringed.⁸² From the first printed news of them, the French military operations were denounced—implicitly or explicitly—in these terms. After having related “the late Desolation that has been made in the Cities of the Palatinate”, the fictional correspondent of the *Lettre sur les matières du temps* stated that men were “ever laying a great Stress upon the Right wich Justice gives, whether in Matter of War, or in Matter of Peace”, and “it is also upon this Foundation, that War has its Laws as well as Peace, not only for the undertaking with Justice and Necessity; but also for the Executing it with Religion and Circumspection, with respect of the Bounds prescribed by common Custom”. Before directly commenting on the French military operations, he concluded: “so there is no subverting the Laws established in Military Executions, without making War a perpetual Theatre of Confusion and Horror”.⁸³ Hence the denunciation of the French military violence took the form of a rhetoric of indignation, of a denunciation of an offence to justice, i.e. to the laws of war and the ideal of just war. Moreover, this rhetoric of indignation was also a rhetoric of scandal.⁸⁴ Indeed, it implied a transgression which threatened the established order and therefore (re)instituted the community, specifically by representing this community as united by an

Success is Never Final: Empire, War and Faith in Early Modern Europe (New York: Basic Books, 2002), pp. 143–68; Stephen C. Neff, *War and the Law of Nations: A General History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp. 83–158; Ralf Pröve, ‘Vom *ius ad bellum* zum *ius in bello*. Legitimation militärisches Gewalt in der Frühen Neuzeit’, in *Gewalt in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Claudia Ullbrich, Claudia Jarzebowski and Michaela Hohkamp (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2005), pp. 261–70; Jean–Mathieu Mattei, *Histoire du droit de la guerre. Introduction à l'histoire du droit de la guerre (1700–1819)*, 2 vols. (Aix–en–Provence: Presses Universitaires d'Aix–Marseille, 2006).

82 Solange Rameix, *Justifier la guerre. Censure et propagande dans l'Europe du xvii^e siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014), pp. 184–210; also on the English denunciation of the French military operations, pp. 122–34.

83 *LMT*, vol. 2 (31 March 1689), p. 98. Translation: *The Dilucidator*, The Sixth Letter (1689), pp. 128–9.

84 On this notion, see: Éric de Dampierre, ‘Thèmes pour l'étude du scandale’, *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 9.3 (1954), pp. 328–36; John B. Thompson, *Political Scandal. Power and Visibility in the Media Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000); Damien de Blic and Cyril Lemieux, ‘Le scandale comme épreuve. Éléments de sociologie pragmatique’, *Politix*, 71 (2005), pp. 9–38. On this notion apply to the desolation of the Palatinate, see: Emilie Dosquet, ‘Le ravage du Palatinat au prisme du scandale’, *Hypothèses*, 16 (2013/1), pp. 217–26.

apparently unanimous indignation based on the laws of war and the ideal of just war. And at a time where Europe as an idea was gaining ever more coherence and was more and more frequently invoked, beginning to be used as a legitimating figure, the authors adopted a kind of European posture or literary posture of Europe.⁸⁵ Relating and denouncing the French military operations gave them an opportunity to conceptualise Europe as a whole defined by an attachment to, and a respect for, the laws of war which, they claimed, were held in common. Authors staged and personified Europe as a scandalised—and thus united—community brought together under a shared ideal of just war. Hence the author of the *Vérité chrestienne* described a fictional audience of Truth tasked with pleading Justice's cause in the name of an indignant Europe before the Sun King. In the introduction, Truth declared:

Europe (Sir) asks you the reason why so many Infants crush'd Under the Ruins, or devour'd by the Flames? *She* demands the reasons of many more of your execrable Barbarities, which cannot be express'd, the very thoughts whereof would fill with horror the most Savage Nations, and Sworn Enemies of God Almighty⁸⁶

This generalisation represents a Europe that is shocked, indignant, accusing, and scandalised. In fact, the aversion was at first individual and private, as in the abundant correspondence of the Princess Palatine, sister-in-law of Louis XIV, in whose name he claimed territories in the Palatine Electorate. On 20 March 1689, she wrote to her aunt, Electress of Hanover, of the “horror” (“Abschew”) she felt for “all the desolation” (“alle die Verwüstung”).⁸⁷ The

85 *Europa im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein politischer Mythos und seine Bilder*, ed. Klaus Bußmann und Elke A. Werner (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004); *Studien zur europäischen Identität im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wolfgang Schmale, Rolf Felbinger, Günter Kastner and Josef Köstlbauer (Bochum: Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2004); Olaf Asbach, *Europa—Vom Mythos zur Imagined Community? Zur historischen Semantik “Europa” von der Antike bis in 17. Jahrhundert* (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2011); Heinz Duchhardt, “Europa” als Begründungs—und Legitimationsformel in völkerrechtlichen Verträgen der Frühen Neuzeit, in *Faszinierende Frühneuzeit: Reich, Frieden, Kultur und Kommunikation, 1500–1800. Festschrift für Johannes Burkhardt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Wolfgang E.J. Weber and Regina Dauser (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008), pp. 51–60.

86 We quote here the English translation: *A New Declaration*, p. 2. For the other versions: *La Verite Chrestienne*, pp. 4–5; *De Christelyke Waerheyt*, p. 4; *Der Christlichen Warheit*, p. 2.

87 Elizabeth Charlotte of Orleans, *Aus den Briefen der Herzogin Elisabeth Charlotte von Orléans an die Kurfürstin Sophie von Hannover*, ed. Eduard Bodemann, 2 vols. (Hannover: Hahn, 1891), 1: 102–3.

author of the *Lettres sur les matières du temps* asserted at the same time that “letters from that Country [the Palatinate] tell us, That several of those very Persons that have been the Instruments of this sad Spectacle, have had it in such abhorrence, as to make it plain, that with Regret they executed the Orders of the Court”.⁸⁸ The “impartial pen” of the *Europäischer Mercurius* called for indignation and declared that: “es seynd diese barbarisch- und unmenschliche Proceduren in den Pfaltz/ die billig einen äussersten Eckel und Abscheu wider die Frantzösische Nation bey jederman verursachen sollten” (“the barbaric and inhuman conduct in the Palatinate must reasonably cause everyone an extreme revulsion and horror for the French Nation”).⁸⁹ But the shift towards Europe had already begun and the European posture became a *topos* of the event. One month later, the *Mercure historique et politique*, the most famous “historical and political *mercure*” of the time written by Gatien Courtilz de Sandras, related: “Qu’elle douleur pour [les honêtes gens François] de voir le nom François devenir l’horreur de toute l’Europe” (“What a pain for [the honest French people] to see the name French becoming the horror of all Europe”).⁹⁰ Fifty years later, in a famous turn of phrase, Voltaire wrote that “L’Europe en eut horreur” (“All Europe beheld this action with horror”).⁹¹

Perhaps Voltaire found inspiration for this phrase in the De Limiers’ *Histoire de Louis XIV* to which he referred several times in his marginal notes.⁹² De Limiers in turn borrowed it from the *Mémoires et réflexions sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis XIV* of De La Fare.⁹³ Moreover

88 LMT, vol. 2 (31 March 1689), p. 99. Translation: *The Dilucidator*, The Sixth Letter (1689), p. 129.

89 EM, *Februarius. Anno M. DC. LXXXIX.*, p. 69.

90 Jean Lombard, ‘Mercure historique et politique 1’, in *Dictionnaire des journaux*; and esp. Brétéché, *Les Compagnons de Mercure*, esp. pp. 28–32, 37–8, 50–56, 73–4, 243–260, 297–300, 305–9, 321–2; Jean Lombard, *Courttilz de Sandras et la crise du roman à la fin du Grand Siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980); Jean Lombard, ‘Gatien Courtilz de Sandras’, in *Dictionnaire des journalistes*; Brétéché, *Les Compagnons de Mercure*, esp. pp. 73–5, 243–260 and 310–11; *Mercure historique et politique*, vol. 6 (April 1689), p. 361.

91 Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, in Voltaire, *Œuvres historiques*, ed. René Pomeau (Paris: Gallimard, 1957), p. 772.

92 [De Limiers], *Histoire de Louis XIV*, p. 403: “Cette barbarie inspira de l’horreur à toute l’Europe, contre le Roi, & contre toute la Nation Française”. (“This barbarity inspired all Europe with horror, against the King, & against all the French Nation”).

93 [Charles-Auguste de La Fare], *Mémoires et réflexions sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis XIV, Et sur le caractère de ceux qui y ont eu la principale part. Par Mr. L. M. D. L. F.* (Rotterdam, 1716), p. 246: “Quoi qu’il en soit, cette cruauté inspira de l’horreur à toute l’Europe contre le Roi, & contre toute la Nation”. (“Be that as it may, this cruelty inspired all Europe with horror against the King, & against all the Nation”).

this play of borrowing, typical of the historical writing of the time, originated in printed news.⁹⁴ Indeed, that De Limiers was the biographer of Tronchin du Breuil undoubtedly explains why he used the *Lettres sur les matières du temps* in particular, and not another source, to write his *Histoire de Louis XIV*.⁹⁵ But this use of a periodical as a source for historical writing attests to a fundamental practice of the historical writing of the time. In fact, there was a structural continuum between printed news and history.⁹⁶ Hence in his *Histoire de la guerre de 1741*, Voltaire observed that: “Des compilations de gazettes et des journaux sous cent titres différents forment presque la seule histoire des changements arrivés de nos jours”. (“Compilations of gazettes and periodicals under thousands of different titles make up almost the only history of changes that occur in our time”).⁹⁷ As the continuous pagination of the *Nouveau Journal Universel* indicates, some newspapers were designed to be compiled in volumes. Moreover the founders of the “historical and political *mercures*” grasped and fully assumed their potential historical function. They aimed at going beyond the ephemeral nature of the news to write “a narrative of the ongoing event” that formed a “history of the European present time” (“histoire du temps présent européen”).⁹⁸ So from the beginning, these *mercures* were editorially designed to be ultimately compiled and hence to be read as an historical continuity.⁹⁹ In this regard, the role played by the “primary narrative” of the French military actions that was formed by printed news was all the more essential in their historical inscription as a singular event. The French-language histories of the Sun King’s reign published abroad from the eighteenth century bear witness to this crucial role. The German-language historical writing of the Desolation follows similar mechanisms. A historical calendar published in 1691 included a version of the Heidelberg’s account under the title “Unherhörte

94 Bernard Groperrin, *La représentation de l’histoire de France*, PhD thesis, 2 vols. (Université Paris IV, 1978); *Pratiques et concepts de l’histoire en Europe XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles*, ed. Jean–Michel Dufays and Chantal Grell (Paris: Presses Paris Sorbonne, 1990); Chantal Grell, *L’histoire entre érudition et philosophie. Étude sur la connaissance historique à l’âge des Lumières* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993); Jean–Marie Goulemot, *Le règne de l’histoire. Discours historiques et révolutions, XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1996).

95 See n. 13 above.

96 Rétat, ‘Les gazettes: de l’événement à l’histoire’; Yardeni, ‘Journalisme et histoire contemporaine à l’époque de Bayle’.

97 Quoted by Rétat, ‘Les gazettes: de l’événement à l’histoire’, p. 25.

98 On this concept, see: Brétéché, *Les Compagnons de Mercure*, esp. the introduction.

99 Brétéché, *Les Compagnons de Mercure*, esp. pp. 25–54.

französische Grausamkeit in der Pfaltz” (“Unheard-of French Cruelty in the Palatinate”).¹⁰⁰ Likewise versions of this account were published both in the thirteenth volume of the famous chronicle *Theatri Europei* in 1698—this time under the title “Grausamkeit des Comte de Melac in der Pfalz” (“Cruelty of the *Comte Melac* in the Palatinate”)—and in the second volume of the no less famous *Historischen Labyrinth der Zeit* in 1701—this time under the title “Der in der Pfalz mit Brand und Mord wütende Graf von *Melac*, Frantzösischer *Brigadier*, Anno 1689” (“The Comte of *Melac*, French *Brigadier*, raging with Fire and Death in the Palatinate, Year 1689”).¹⁰¹ All these uses endorse and strengthen the exemplary representativeness of Heidelberg and Mélac, as well as the focus on the Palatinate. Through similar mechanisms, it is no coincidence that the vocabulary of fire and desolation used by printed news to relate the French operations became a component of the event’s name: variously the “Desolation of the Palatinate”, “Verwüstung der Pfalz”, “incendie du Palatinat” or “embrasement du Palatinat”.

As soon as the French strategy was implemented, the question of its historical representation was raised. In a letter to Louvois on 21 May, the Duc de Duras, commander of the French army in the Rhenish territories, had already concerns for: “le mauvais effet qu’une pareille désolation pourroit faire dans le monde pour sa réputation et pour [la] gloire [de sa majesté]” (“the bad effect that such desolation could have in the world on [her Majesty’s] reputation and glory”).¹⁰² And a few months later, in a German brochure called *Concursus creditorum* that represented the trial of Louis XIV before Apollo on Mount Parnassus, the Palatinate’s inhabitants declared that:

Es bleibt uns nicht übrig/ als daß wir zu ewigen Zeiten ein Spectacul seyn der Frantzösischen Brutalität/ und daß wir durch gantz Europa/ wowir auch zertreuet sind/ umb Rache schreyen/ zu dem der da ausdrücklich sagt: Mein ist die Rache.¹⁰³

(All that remains is for us to be for eternity a sight of the French brutality and to scream for revenge everywhere in Europe, wherever we are scattered, to the one who said expressly: Vengeance is mine.)

100 *Alten und Neuen Styli Sonderbahrer Historien-Calender Auff das Jahr Christi/ 1691* (Hamburg, [1690]).

101 *Theatri Europaei Continuati Dreyzehender Theil* (Frankfurt/Main, 1698), pp. 675–7. H.A. von Ziegler und Kliphausen, *Historisches Labyrinth der Zeit* (Leipzig, 1701), vol. 2, pp. 1194–6.

102 Defense Historical Service, Vincennes, GR A1882, 91, Letter of Duras to Louvois, 21 May 1689.

103 *Concursus Creditorum* (n.p., 1689), p. 38.

With this case of the refugees, we see the shift from what happened to what the news reported, and then to what the pamphleteers sought to effect historically by the act of writing. Hence in his last sentence, Apollo orders that French glory should sink into oblivion and that the perpetual narrative of the horrifying and cruel acts committed by France darken her history from that point on.

Although the coherence of the official French propaganda was (ironically, as Peter Burke has underlined) an undeniably crucial factor in the coherence of the printed opposition against Louis XIV, this coherence also resulted, as Joseph Klaitz has suggested, from European news networks.¹⁰⁴ But the event-building process of the French military operations was certainly not uniform. Although it was undoubtedly characterised by a European dimension, this transnational scale was based on and interacted with domestic scales, which were dealing with the military operations in their own terms and influenced in turn the cross-border processing of the event.

From a certain perspective, Apollo's wishes were partly granted. Although the Sun King did not lose all his glory, he also became "celui dont les armées embrasèrent le Palatinat" ("the one whose armies ravaged the Palatinate").¹⁰⁵ In the long term, the event has been (re)appropriated in numerous times and spaces: for instance, these (re)appropriations had a part in constituting the trial of the monarchy during the French Revolution, in Franco-German relations and the building of the German nation state from the Napoleonic wars to the Interwar period, and in debates over the Irish question in the British Empire. As soon as the French military operations occurred, printed news contributed both to their representation and the building of the historical object of the "Desolation of the Palatinate" itself, an object that has become a true "figure of the narrative", epitomising the Sun King's reign and rapidly becoming a signifier of the horror of war.¹⁰⁶

104 Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, p. 149; Klaitz, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV*, p. 22.

105 Joseph de La Vallée, *Tableau philosophique du règne de Louis XIV ou Louis XIV jugé par un François libre* (Strasbourg, 1791), p. 88.

106 Hervé Drévilion, *Batailles* (2007; Paris: Le Seuil, 2009), p. 14.

Promoting the Catholic Cause on the Italian Peninsula: Printed *Avvisi* on the Dutch Revolt and the French Wars of Religion, 1562–1600

Nina Lamal

Henri of Navarre's attempt to seize Paris in 1590 was followed by interested consumers of news throughout early modern Europe; his exploits were published in various news pamphlets in the German lands, England and the Dutch Republic.¹ His assault on Paris failed, because the Spanish-Habsburg army under the command of the governor-general of the Habsburg Netherlands, Alexander Farnese, came to relieve the city. This news was printed on the Italian peninsula in various cities, such as Rome, Milan, Turin and Bologna.²

Andrew Pettegree noted this Italian interest in an article on the print connections between France and the Low Countries, but the Italian peninsula did not feature strongly in his final conclusion, which focussed on the rise of news communities in northern Europe.³ In the German lands, in England, in France and in the Low Countries there existed an audience interested in reading and buying printed news on current foreign events. Pettegree also suggested that the production of news was closely aligned with the local political climate. The present chapter aims to develop and refine this argument by examining the

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- 1 Paul J. Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Marlowe, Shakespeare, Spenser and the Birth of Journalism* (Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, *Good News from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1996); Andrew Pettegree, 'France and the Netherlands: the Interlocking of Two Religious Cultures in Print During the Era of the Religious Wars', in *The French Book and the European Book World*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 109–28.
 - 2 *Avviso della liberatione dell'assedio della città di Parigi. Successo del soccorso datoli. Ritirata dell'essercito di Navarra, entrata delle vettovaglie, presa di molti luoghi che l'impedivano con gran mortalità de nimici* (Rome, 1590), USTC 806519; *Relatione fidelissima dell'assedio di Parigi, & sua liberatione* (Turin, 1590), USTC 806597; *Il vero et compito raguaglio di quanto ha valorosamente fatto il Serenissimo Duca di Parma, & Piacenza, in liberar dall'assedio la gran città di Parigi. Insieme con la minutissima descrizione del suo viaggio* (Milan, 1590), USTC 806622; *Avviso delli grandissimi disaggi, li quali ha patito la città di Parigi. Mentre è stata assediata dal re di Nauarra* (Bologna, 1590), USTC 806521.
 - 3 Pettegree, 'France and the Netherlands', pp. 126–7.

printing of news in Italian cities. More specifically, it studies the Italian printed news on the religious and the civil wars in the Netherlands and in France, in order to discuss the function of printed news on the Italian peninsula. Will we, in the process, discern a north–south divide in Europe’s production of news?

Printed News

The phenomenon of printed news on the Italian peninsula finds very little place in current scholarship on the history of news.⁴ Although the Italian city states were amongst the first places where news was printed at the end of the fifteenth century, scholars have scarcely studied the production of printed news sheets in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁵ Two reasons can be given to explain this lacuna. It tends to be assumed that the Council of Trent (1545–63) ended a flourishing news and print culture.⁶ And it is true that the authorities (be they church or state) started to monitor the world of ephemeral print more closely. This tighter control, however, does not imply the end of printed news. Secondly, there is an increasing focus within historical research on the importance of the manuscript newsheets.⁷ Mario Infelise has studied

4 The exception are the various studies by Sandro and Tullio Bulgarelli; for a bibliographic overview of printed news sheets in Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see, Tullio Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa in Roma nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani 1967); Sandro Bulgarelli, Tullio Bulgarelli, *Il giornalismo a Roma nel Seicento* (Rome: Bulzoni 1988). In more recent scholarship, printed information has received some attention but the *avvisi a stampa* have not been specifically addressed. See Ugo Rozzo, *La strage ignorata. I fogli volanti a stampa nell’Italia dei secoli xv e xvi* (Udine: Forum, 2008); Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice. Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Rosa Salzberg, “‘Selling Stories and Many Other Things in and through the City’: Peddling Print in Renaissance Florence and Venice’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 42 (2011), pp. 737–59.

5 Margaret Meserve, ‘News from Negroponte: Politics, Popular Opinion, and Information Exchange in the First Decade of the Italian Press’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59 (2006), pp. 440–80, and Kate Lowe, ‘Africa in the News in Renaissance Italy: News Extracts from Portugal About Western Africa Circulating in Northern and Central Italy in the 1480s and 1490s’, *Italian Studies*, 65 (2010), pp. 310–28.

6 Ottavia Niccoli, ‘Italy’, in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1: *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 193–4.

7 Brendan Dooley, *The Social History of Skepticism: Experience and Doubt in Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Renate Pieper, *Die Vermittlung*

the emergence of manuscript newsletters or *avvisi*.⁸ From the late fifteenth century onwards, due to an ever-growing demand and appetite for news, a system of handwritten newsletters developed on the Italian peninsula. In Rome and Venice, professional scribes compiled and edited handwritten newsletters, and these manuscript sheets were sent on a weekly basis to various subscribers. Infelise convincingly argued that *avvisi* were a crucial and dominant news medium on the Italian peninsula for the whole of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Yet, alongside manuscript *avvisi*, a considerable number of news reports were printed on the Italian peninsula. New data, accessible via the Universal Short Title Catalogue, reveals that between 1500 and 1600 at least 1,154 news reports were published in Italy.⁹ In the same period, 1,047 news items were printed in France and 1,196 in the Low Countries.¹⁰ The Italian peninsula thus had a lively news market comparable in scale and reach to France and to a lesser extent to the Low Countries (a much smaller vernacular market, and therefore comparatively well-served). The majority of the news printed in Italy was printed in Rome (288 editions) and in Venice (157 editions).¹¹ Peter Burke has emphasised Rome's important position as the centre of the Catholic world, which played a critical role in determining the information that was collected and printed.¹² Venice's position as a gateway to the Ottoman world had an impact on the news that was available in print. Alongside Rome and Venice, Milan (124 editions) and Bologna (117 editions) rank among places where news

Einer Neuen Welt: Amerika Im Nachrichtennetz Des Habsburgischen Imperiums 1493–1598 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000); Cornel Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei. Die Entstehung Neuer Denkrahen im 16. Jahrhundert und die Wahrnehmung der Französischen Religionskriege in Italien und Deutschland, 1559–1598* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

8 Mario Infelise, *Prima dei Giornali: Alle origini della pubblica informazione, secoli XVI e XVII* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002).

9 *Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC)* <<http://www.ustc.ac.uk/>> [28/09/14].

10 Data from USTC using the category “news books” [28/09/14], data for England (1500–1600) 505 printed items and for Spain 369 printed items.

11 Numbers from the USTC for Rome are 282 editions and 148 for Venice, 123 in Milan and 110 in Bologna. [28/09/14].

12 Peter Burke, ‘Rome as Center of Information and Communication for the Catholic World, 1550–1650’, in *From Rome to Eternity: Catholicism and the Arts in Italy, ca. 1550–1650*, ed. Pamela M. Jones and Thomas Worcester (Leiden: Brill, 2002) pp. 253–69; Peter Burke, ‘Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information and Communication’, in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, ed. John Martin (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000) pp. 389–419.

was frequently printed.¹³ At the time, Milan was the centre of Habsburg power on the Italian peninsula and Bologna was part of the Papal States.

This significant level of production of news in several cities on the Italian peninsula raises several questions. Why was news printed when a well-established system and a lively market for handwritten newsletters existed? What kind of news was printed and what was the function of printed news? Studying Italian printed news in detail offers the possibility of gaining more insight into the relationship between manuscript and printed news, and encourages a broader understanding of early modern news and information circuits.

This article studies two categories of printed news. One category consists of edicts, proclamations and peace treaties and the second category covers the commercial printed reports or *avvisi a stampa*. The first group has until very recently not been treated by historians as important in the history of news.¹⁴ In contrast, this essay will argue that these official documents played an important role in the circulation of news on the Italian peninsula. News pamphlets are generally known as *avvisi a stampa*, following the frequent appearance of the word *avvisi* (notices) on the title pages. However, other terms such as *relazione* (report) and *ragguaglio* (report, information) were also very frequently used.¹⁵ I will refer to them as printed news reports or news pamphlets. News pamphlets dealt with a variety of subjects including festivities, processions, murders, strange births, miracles, natural events, battles and sieges. Such news reports mostly described one single event. There are, however, some rare examples of handwritten *avvisi* which were also printed. In Florence in 1570 the following news pamphlet was published: *Copia di avvisi venuti di*

13 For Milan see Massimo Petta, 'Wild Nature and "Religious" Readings of Events: Natural Disasters in Milanese Printed Reports (16th–17th Century)' in *Historicizing Religion: Critical Approaches to Contemporary Concerns*, ed. Bojan Borstner (Pisa: Plus–Pisa University Press, 2010) pp. 199–231; for Bologna, see Pierangelo Bellettini, Rosario Camponi, Zita Zanardi eds., *Una Città in Piazza: Comunicazione e vita quotidiana a Bologna tra cinque e seicento: Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, Sala dello Stabat Mater, 24 Maggio–31 Agosto 2000* (Bologna: Compositori, 2000).

14 Vincent Van Zuilen, 'Les Placards de Philippe II en Flandres et Brabants', in *Les écrits courts à vocation polémique*, eds. Barbara Ertlé and Martin Gosman (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 113–29.

15 For terminology concerning *avvisi* see: Johann Petitjean, 'Mots et Pratiques de l'information. Ce que aviser veut dire (XVI–XVIIe Siècles)', *Mélanges de l'école française* (2010), pp. 107–21.

Anversa, di Spira, di Roma, di Venezia, di Spagna, di Francia, & di Costantinopoli (A Copy of News Coming from Antwerp, Speyer, Rome, Venice, Spain, France and Constantinople).¹⁶ It was a printed copy of handwritten *avvisi* which circulated widely on the peninsula and it included a variety of information from these different locations.

Most of these printed reports during the second half of the sixteenth century described the struggle against the Ottomans. There were surges in news production with the battle of Malta in 1565, the battle of Lepanto in 1571, and there was an almost regular supply of printed news on the long Turkish war between 1591 and 1600.¹⁷ The constant turmoil and the bloody confrontations between Catholics and Protestants in France and the Low Countries also attracted ample attention on the Italian peninsula.¹⁸ For many Italian contemporaries, these two wars appeared connected and during several episodes such as the siege of Paris in 1590 they clearly were. News on both conflicts was sometimes published together in the same report: in 1587, for example, the news of the success of the siege of Sluis by Alexander Farnese was published along with news of the defeat of German troops in France.¹⁹ For an Italian Catholic audience, these events were presented as part of a single struggle against rebels and heretics.

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- 16 *Copia de diversi avvisi de Roma, Napoli e Mesina, Spira, Anversa e Cipro* (Venice, 1570), USTC 762012.
- 17 Data from USTC: 33 ephemera were published on the battle of Lepanto in 1571; see Ugo Rozzo, 'La battaglia di Lepanto nell'editoria dell'epoca e una miscellanea fontaniana', *Rara Volumina*, 1–2 (2000), pp. 41–69; and for the Roman *avvisi* see Tullio Bulgarelli, 'La battaglia di Lepanto e il giornalismo romano del Cinquecento', *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 29 (1961), pp. 231–9.
- 18 Silvia Moretti, 'La trattatistica italiana e la guerra: Il conflitto tra la Spagna e le Fiandre (1566–1609)', *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, 20 (1994), pp. 129–64; Silvia Moretti, 'Da una "allegrezza" all'altra dalla pace di Cateau-Cambrésis alla notte di San Bartolomeo. Le guerre civili in Francia nella trattatistica', *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, 21 (1995), pp. 229–66; Carlos H. Caracciolo, 'Protestantes y disidentes religiosas en la relaciones de sucesos italianas (siglos XVI – XVII)', in *Representaciones de la alteridad, ideológica, religiosa, humana y espacial en las relaciones de sucesos, publicadas en España, Italia y Francia en los siglos XVI–XVIII*, ed. Patrick Bégrand (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2009), pp. 173–85.
- 19 *La terza rotta delli hiretici (sic) in Francia con la presa dell'Escluse del Serenissimo Signor Duca di Parma, & con altri particolari, come leggendo intenderete* (Macerata, 1587), USTC 80627; *Copia di una lettera venuta da Torino. Nella quale si narra la presa di Anclusa fortezza di grandissima importanza, città posta in mare ottenuta dal Serenis. Duca di Parma in Fiandra* (Rimini, 1587), USTC 806194.

Official Documents

The news-bearing potential of official proclamations and edicts has only recently begun to be recognised by historians. Sara Barker has rightly suggested that “the act of translation turned the official publication of the original culture into the news source of a translated culture”.²⁰ Official documents are a particular and important part of the transmission of foreign news. We see this when we investigate which foreign official documents ended up on Italian printing presses.

The edict of the Parliament of Paris against the Huguenots on the 28 of July 1562 was printed both in Milan and in Padua in the same year.²¹ Several other royal edicts, in which the French kings granted rights to the Huguenots, were also published. The edict of Amboise (1563) and the edict of Beaulieu (1576) were published both in Venice and in Milan.²² The Venetian printer of the edict of Amboise added on the title page that it was translated faithfully from French into Italian. Publishers were conscious of the importance of a good translation to make the news trustworthy. The Milanese printer, Pietro Tini, announced proudly he was the first to publish the terms of Antwerp’s surrender to Alexander Farnese in 1585 translated from French into Italian “to add splendour to the clearest light”.²³ This suggests that it was important to be the first to publish these treatises, which were considered to be the latest news. The reference to the clearest light, and thus to Alexander’s victory, further highlights that these kinds of official publications were printed because they were thought to be good news. While it might have been difficult for readers to understand fully the formal language of such official documents, their main

20 Sara Barker, “‘Newes Lately Come’: European News Book in English Translation’, in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640*, ed. Sara Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 227–44, at 230.

21 *Decreti della corte del parlamento di Parigi Di 28 & 30 di luglio prossimo passato, contra li ribelli e seditiosi, quali in modo & forma hostili han preso l’armi contra’l re nel regno suo. Et spogliate, e saccheggiate le chiese, & case de catholici, come legendo intenderete* (Milan, 1562), USTC 830789; *I Decreti della corte del parlamento di Parigi di vinti otto e trenta di luglio prossimo passato contra li ribelli e seditiosi, quali in modo & forma hostili han preso l’armi contra’l re nel regno suo* (Padua, 1562), USTC 830790.

22 *L’Editto et capitoli del re Carlo IX* (Venice, 1563), USTC 830792 or *Editto del re di Francia, sopra la pacificazione de tumulti del suo regno* (Milan, 1576), USTC 830779.

23 *Copia delli articoli overo capitoli stabiliti, & conclusi per la resa della città d’Anversa, mandate dal Sereniss. Principe di Parma all’Eccellentiss. Sign. Duca di Terranova &c. Governatore del Stato di Milano, & capitano general di Sua Maestà in Italia. Tradotta de Francese in Lingua Italiana* (Milan, 1585), USTC 805984, sig. A2.

message was always clear. These publications announced the end of a conflict or at least a way of appeasing that conflict. In 1574, for example, the general pardon granted to the people of the Low Countries by Philip II was published in Bologna, Venice and Milan.²⁴ The peace treaty of Vervins (1598), which ended the conflicts between France and Spain, was published in more than ten Italian cities.²⁵

- 24 *Il perdono generale che il re Filippo concede a tutti paesi, stati, et luochi di Fiandra che voranno ritornare alla solita, & antica obediencia. Con il numero de personaggi che sono esclusi dal sudetto perdono fuori. Et con la restitutione de beni, honori, & gradi, a coloro che lo accetteranno. Publicato dal signor comendator maggiore capitano generale, & luogotenente per detta m. in quelle parti di Fiandra* (Milan, 1574) copy in Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ASF), Mediceo del Principato (MdP), 4254, fos. 484–7; *Il perdono generale che il re Filippo concede a tutti paesi, stati, et luochi di Fiandra che voranno ritornare alla solita, & antica obediencia* (Bologna, 1574), USTC 828980 and *Il perdono generale che il re Filippo concede a tutti paesi, stati, et luochi di Fiandra che voranno ritornare alla solita, & antica obediencia* (Venice, 1574), USTC 828981.
- 25 *Capitoli della pace convenuti, et stabiliti tra le due maestà, christianissima, e catholica. Con l'inclusionone anco del serenissimo di Savoia. Publicati in Brusseles alli xx aprile 1598. Et poi in Lione, et Turino* (Piacenza, 1598), USTC 830825; *Capitoli della pace convenuti et stabiliti tra le due maestà, christianissima e catholica, con l'inclusionone anco del serenissimo Savoia. Publicati in Brusseles, alli xx aprile 1598 et poi in Lione, et Turrino* (Bologna, 1598), USTC 830817; *Capitoli et conditioni della perpetua pace, & confederatione stabilita fra gli altissimi, & potentissimi principi Henrico quarto per la Dio gratia re di Francia, e di Navarra, christianissimo, & Filippo II per Dio gratia re delle Spagne, cattolico. Tradotte fedelmente in italiano dall'original francese stampato in Parigi, dal sig. Camillo Bergameno da Trento* (Ferrara, 1598), USTC 830820; *Capitoli et conditioni della perpetua pace, & confederatione stabilita fra gli altissimi & potentissimi principi Filippo II re delle Spagne & Henrico IIII re di Francia tradotti fidelmente in italiano dall'originale francese stampato in Parigi* (Palermo, 1598), USTC 857160; *Capitoli et conditioni della pace et perpetua amicitia fatta fra Henrico IIII re christianissimo di Franza et Filippo re cattolico di Spagna l'anno 1598* (Brescia, 1598), USTC 830815; *Capitoli et conditioni della perpetua pace, & confederatione stabilita fra gli altissimi, et potentissimi precipi Henrico IIII per la Dio gratia re di Francia, e di Navarra, christianissimo, et Filippo II per Dio gratia (altresi) re delle Spagne cattolico* (Vicenza, 1598), USTC 830816; *Capitoli et conditioni della perpetua pace, & confederatione stabilita fra gli altissimi, & potentissimi principi Henrico quarto per la Dio gratia re di Francia, e di Navarra, christianissimo, & Filippo II per Dio gratia (altresi) re delle Spagne, cattolico. Tradotte fedelmente in italiano dall'original francese stampato in Parigi, dal sig. Camillo Bergameno da Trento* (Modena, 1598), USTC 830818; *Capitoli et conditioni della perpetua pace, & confederatione stabilita fra gli altissimi, et potentissimi precipi Henrico IIII per la Dio gratia re di Francia, e di Navarra, christianissimo, et Filippo II per Dio gratia re delle Spagne cattolico* (Turin, 1598), USTC 830822; *Capitoli et conditioni della perpetua pace, & confederatione stabilita fra gli altissimi, et potentissimi principi Henrico IIII per la Dio gratia re di Francia, e di Navarra, christianissimo, et Filippo II per Dio gratia re delle Spagne cattolico* (Rome, 1598), USTC

The translators of these official documents mostly remain unknown, with only a very few exceptions. Henri III's speech at Blois in 1588 was published in Padua and translated into Italian by Jean Peschant, professor of theology at the Sorbonne in Paris.²⁶ In some cases it was the publisher himself who was responsible for the translations. Giorgio Marescotti, publisher in Florence, sometimes translated from French into "Tuscan".²⁷ He was born in France but started a successful printing firm in Florence. Marescotti stated that he printed the speech of the Cardinal of Bourbon in Peronne in 1585 "to give satisfaction to many individuals, who want to know about the causes of the new turmoil in the kingdom of France".²⁸ Numerous other speeches and edicts during the 1580s and 1590s were published.²⁹ Many of these documents were published in one collection by Comino Ventura in Bergamo in 1593 under the title *Raccolta d'alcune scritture pubblicate in Francia de i moti di quel regno* (Collection of Some

830823; *Capitoli et conditioni della perpetua pace, & confederatione stabilita fra gli altissimi, et potentissimi prencipi Henrico IIII per la Dio gratia re di Francia, e di Navarra, christianissimo, et Filippo II per Dio gratia re delle Spagne cattolico* (Orvieto, 1598), USTC 830824; *Capitoli, et conditioni della pace. Fatta fra Filippo re catholico di Spagna &c. et Henrico IIII. re christianissimo di Franza, &c. L'anno 1598. aggiunti gli capitoli della pace trattata nel Castello in Cambresi; l'anno 1559* (Milan, 1598), USTC 857159; *I capitoli, et le conditioni della pace, & perpetua concordia trattata fra gli altissimi, e potentissimi prencipi, Filippo re catholico di Spagna, & Henrico quarto di questo nome re christianissimo di Francia, l'anno 1598. Aggiuntovi ancora le conditioni della pace trattata al Castello in Cambresi l'anno 1559. frà il detto re catholico di Spagna, & del già Henrico secondo christianissimo re di Francia* (Mantua, 1598), USTC 857161.

- 26 *Ragionamento di Henrico III re di Francia etc. Fatto nel principio de' Tre Stati Generali del suo regno, nella città di Bles, a 16 di ottobre 1588. Tradotto dal francese nell' italiano dal sig. Giovanni Piscante dottore della santa theologia, della Sorbona di Parigi* (Padua, 1589), USTC 835622.
- 27 *Dichiaratione della volonta del Re sopra li nuovi tumulti di questo regno. Tradotta di lingua francese in Toscana da Giorgio Marescotti.* (Florence, 1585), ASF, MdP, 4878 (not foliated); *Dichiarazioni delle cause, che hanno mosso monsignor il cardinale di Borbone ... di opporsi a quelli che vogliono souvertire la religione, e lo stato* (Florence, 1585), USTC 816620. For more information on Marescotti, see Franco Pignatti, 'Marescotti', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (DBI) 70 (2007).
- 28 *Dichiarazioni delle cause, che hanno mosso monsignor il cardinale di Borbone*, sig. A2.
- 29 *Articoli a nome del re di Francia et regina sua madre, per una parte monsignor il cardinale di Borbone, et monsignor de Guisa per l'altra parte, statti ultimamente approntati. Con un editto del re di Franza per confirmatione de detti articoli circa il fatto della religion catholica* (Milan, 1588) USTC 761893; *La curiosa, et grave aringa fatta nel consiglio generale de i tre stati di Francia il 2 d'aprile 1593* (Bologna, 1593), USTC 806803; *Dichiaratione dei signori prencipi pari, ufficiali della Corona, et deputati ne gli Stati Generali della Francia* (Rome, 1593), USTC 830810.

Writings Published in France on the Uprisings in that Kingdom).³⁰ In the preface to the reader Ventura wrote that he had published these documents because “from these writings it was possible to discover the true causes of the discords in the kingdom of France, and to please many, who eagerly desired them”.³¹ It is clear that Ventura knew how to advertise his publications but his explanation might also help us to understand why many of these documents were published together: these edicts and speeches offered an insight into the motivations and the underlying reasons for the past conflict in France.

Printed Letters

Most of the printed news in the early modern period deals with military affairs. Battlefield reports were a fairly standardised genre, describing the troop movements, the tactics, the actual battle and giving figures of how many soldiers of both camps were killed or taken hostage. The majority of news reports were based on private correspondence. The titles frequently referred to letters: a letter written by a Florentine merchant to a friend in Italy related the news on the progress of the French king’s campaign against the Huguenots in 1562.³² David Randall has argued in his work on English military printed news that letters were favoured because they provide a standard of credibility to the reader.³³ A printed copy of a letter by Curtio Lirelli on the military situation in France in 1562 illustrates this.³⁴ The publisher, Pasquato, reproduced this letter verbatim and kept every element in the printed version that could give proof of its authenticity. By publishing these letters, printers reached a broader audience than the restricted circle of influential citizens to whom the letters had been originally addressed.

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- 30 On this collection see Pier Maria Soglian, *Un editore di confine e I troubles de France* [2005] <http://www.bibliotecamai.org/editoria/edizioni/comino_ventura.htm> [3 May 2015].
- 31 *Raccolta d'alcune scritture pubblicate in Francia nel principio degli ultimi moti di quel regno* (Bergamo, 1593), USTC 806832, sig. A2.
- 32 *Lettera che contiene minutamente gli avvisi de i progres, delle pratiche, che sono andate attorno fra la M. del re Christianis. & il Principe di Condè ... Scritta da un mercante fiorentino da Parigi ad un Gentilhuomo amico suo in Italia* (Ferrara, 1562), USTC 804217.
- 33 David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008).
- 34 Curtio Lirelli, *Tutte le battaglie passate nella Francia tra catholici et ugonotti fino a questa hora presente. Con la presa della città di Macone, Tournus, Burges, Villabella, & altre de' principali della Francia, che si erano ribellate alla fede catholica, & a sua maestà christianissima* (Padua, 1562), USTC 838246; Curtio Lirelli, *Tutte le battaglie passate nella Francia tra catholici et ugonotti fino a questa hora presente* (Bologna, 1562), USTC 838247.

In addition to private correspondence, publishers made use of anonymous manuscript *avvisi*. An *avviso* on the battle of Jarnac was written from Metz on 21 March 1569.³⁵ This entire handwritten *avviso* was printed in Venice by Domenico Farri, but he replaced the date and place of the original *avviso* with a heading which referred to the actual date of the battle of Jarnac (13 March 1569).³⁶ Publishers thus started to make small adaptations to assist their readers. Another pamphlet printed in Venice on the battle of Jarnac promised its reader: ‘to narrate also other new and marvellous things’.³⁷ The title-pages offered publishers the necessary means to publicise the events. In a news pamphlet on the decisive battle of Dreux in 1562, during which the Prince of Condé was taken prisoner, it was advertised that it contained “delightful things for the historians and useful things for the teachers of wars”.³⁸ Some of the titles had adjectives such as “true” or “certain” which emphasised the veracity of the events described within the report. News pamphlets claimed to provide their readers with the latest and the most reliable information on a specific battle or siege. New pamphlets first and foremost served to celebrate Catholic victories against the Protestant enemies, who are consistently labelled as “heretics” and “rebels”. Only decisive Catholic victories were celebrated in print, such as the battle of Dreux (1562), Jarnac and Moncontour (1569) in France, the battle of Mook (1574) and the sieges of Maastricht (1579) and Antwerp (1585) in the Low Countries. Some of these events, for instance the battle of Moncontour, were accompanied by other printed material such as illustrated news prints depicting the battle.³⁹

Italian publishers did not publicise Catholic defeats; to this extent they presented their reading public with a distorted picture of reality. For this reason in order to be able to follow the on going events in France and the Netherlands in

35 ASF, MdP 1080, fos. 284–5.

36 *Lettera scritta dalla corte del re christianissimo, nella quale si racconta il successo della giornata seguita a' XIII di marzo, tra i catolici, et gli ugonotti* (Venice, 1569), USTC 804669.

37 *La morte del Principe di Condè, con gli avisi della vittoria, che ha havuto il Fratello del Re Christianissimo contra gli Ugonotti adesso di novo. Ove s'intende di molti gran personaggi, che sono stati presi, & ammazzati, fra i quali di Mons. Di Mongomeri, che già amazzò Re Henrico. Con particolari di grandissima importanza. Et altri avisi dalla cote del Re Catholico, della Rebellion del Regno di Granata, ilqual si è sollevato nuovamente. Appresso si narra altre cose maravigliose, & nove* (Venice, 1569), USTC 804680.

38 *Avisi nouamente venuti de le cose di Francia. Dove s'intende minutamente il principio, & il fine della giornata fatta tra Chiatres, & Ondan con il numero delle genti d'arme, e cavalli de l'uno & l'altro essercito, & anco li strattagemmi usati dal Duca di Ghisa, & del Principe di Conde* (Padua, 1563), USTC 804251.

39 For example: *Vitoria di Catolici contra hugonotti* (1569); for more information on news prints see, Philip Benedict, *Graphic History: The Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Perrissin* (Geneva: Droz, 2007).

all their complexity, Italian readers had to supplement their purchasing of pamphlets with the weekly manuscript *avvisi*. News of a battle was only printed when it was certain the Catholics had defeated the Protestants. From the stream of news in manuscript *avvisi* printers singled out which battles were important and memorable victories. The two media differed in other respects. Manuscript *avvisi* mostly presented the news in short paragraphs and in dispassionate and factual ways. News pamphlets provided a narrative and an interpretative framework to the readers. For instance, according to a pamphlet on the battle of Mook (1574) in the Low Countries, God had intervened to grant the Habsburg army this victory in order to re-establish his church and to confuse his enemies.⁴⁰ In an address to the reader the publisher of *avvisi novamente venuti de le cose di Francia* (*Notices Newly Arrived on the Events in France*) compared the battle of Dreux (1562) to the famous battle of Ravenna in 1512 as it had been described by Francesco Guicciardini, where, despite the death of their commander Gaston de Foix, the French troops defeated the Habsburg army.⁴¹ This comparison thus contextualised the battle of Dreux to an Italian audience by referring to their own recent past.

This attempt to make clear the relevance of events abroad to an Italian readership was not uncommon. A news pamphlet on the sieges of Poitiers and Châtterault in 1569 described the attacks by the Italian troops but gave particular attention to the Tuscan soldiers.⁴² This news was printed in Florence and provided the Florentines with an account of the military valour of their own soldiers who had recently been sent to France by the Grand Duke of Tuscany. In that same year a poem in *ottava rima*, celebrating a victory of “our Italians”, was published in Viterbo and Florence.⁴³ The poem narrated a story of ten Italian soldiers who killed ten Huguenots in a skirmish which allegedly had taken place on 5 September 1569. The Italians, were presented as true Christians and honourable knights. This poem is a late example of contemporary events being

40 *Vera relatione della rotta che e stata data in Fiandra al conte Lodovico di Nasao con molti altri signori che lo seguivano nel giorno 14 d'aprile 1574* (Bologna, 1574), sig. A6.

41 *Avisi nouamente venuti de le cose di Francia* (Padua, 1563), USTC 804251, sig. A1.

42 *Ultimi avisi di Francia et di molti luoghi, per li quali s'intende l'assedio di Pontieri posto dalli Ugonotti & l'assalto dato da nostri Christiani à Scialterion. Et il soccorso dato dalli Italiani in quest'impresa & particolarmente da soldati Thoscani* (Florence, n.d.), only copy in Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze.

43 *Abbatimento fatto di nuovo in Francia fra dieci cavalieri christiani, & dieci heretici, i quali hanno combattuto d'accordo in Steccata di Tolosa, per le differenze che s'intendono. Col nome delli Padrini, che gli condussero in campo chiuso, & d'alcuni Italiani, che hanno havuto l'honore di questo duello, cosa degna d'esser intesa* (Florence, 1569). It was first published in Viterbo according to the title page, but I have not been able to locate a copy.

adapted to *ottava rima*, inspired by Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*; such poems were often sung out loud by pedlars in the cities.⁴⁴ In one of the news-sheets on Moncontour, the military valour of the Italian troops in the battle was also stressed repeatedly.⁴⁵ Instead of singling out the acts of Tuscan soldiers, this news pamphlet portrayed the battle of Moncontour as an Italian victory. The banners conquered by the Count of Santa Fiore's Italian troops during the battle of Moncontour were sent to Rome and put on display in the Basilica of St. John Lateran.⁴⁶ The celebration of Italian military heroes was also prominent in news pamphlets on the successful siege of Antwerp in 1585 by Alexander Farnese.⁴⁷ These news accounts were meant to glorify the Italian nation.⁴⁸ The Italians were valorous Christian soldiers who defended the Catholic Church.

Polemical News

News on military victories was not the only news to be printed in Italy. Some of the murders and massacres in France and the Low Countries received ample

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- 44 Rosa Salzberg, 'In the Mouths of Charlatans: Street Performers and Pamphlets in Renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Studies*, 24 (2010), pp. 638–53.
- 45 *Gli ultimi, et veri avisi secondo le lettere venute dal campo dal signor conte Santa Fiore, & d'altri signori italiani della felicissima vittoria contra gli Ugonotti in Francia, dove si narrano per ordine tutt'i successi, e il numero de morti, & feriti dell'una & l'altra parte. Con un sonetto al re christianissimo* (Viterbo, 1569), USTC 804698.
- 46 For the manuscript avvisi see ASF, Mdp 3080, fos. 626, 634, 641v.
- 47 Lorenzo Pontirolo, *Nuovo avviso, e particolar discorso, della mirabile espugnatione d'Anversa con le capitulationi, & trattati di essa. Ottenuta, dal serenissimo invittissimo & massimo Alessandro Farnese. Con le solennità, e trionfi fatti mentre s.A. Sereniss. prese l'ordine del Tosone, di s.M. Catholica* (Milan, 1585), USTC 806036. This report was reprinted in several cities: Lorenzo Pontirolo, *Nuovo avviso, e particolar discorso, della mirabile espugnatione d'Anversa con le capitulationi, & trattati di essa. Ottenuta, dal serenissimo invittissimo & massimo Alessandro Farnese. Con le solennità, e trionfi fatti mentre s.A. Sereniss. prese l'ordine del Tosone, di s.M. Catholica* (Brescia, 1585), USTC 806038; Lorenzo Pontirolo, *Nuovo avviso, e particolar discorso, della mirabile espugnatione d'Anversa con le capitulationi, & trattati di essa. Ottenuta, dal serenissimo invittissimo & massimo Alessandro Farnese. Con le solennità, e trionfi fatti mentre s.A. Sereniss. prese l'ordine del Tosone, di s.M. Catholica* (Bologna, 1585), USTC 806037; Lorenzo Pontirolo, *Nuovo avviso, e particolar discorso, della mirabile espugnatione d'Anversa con le capitulationi, & trattati di essa. Ottenuta, dal serenissimo invittissimo & massimo Alessandro Farnese. Con le solennità, e trionfi fatti mentre s.A. Sereniss. prese l'ordine del Tosone, di s.M. Catholica* (Verona, 1585), USTC 806039.
- 48 On national identity in early modern Italy see Marco Sciarrini, *'La Italia Natione'. Il sentimento nazionale italiano in età moderna* (Milan, 2004).

attention in news pamphlets. The St Bartholomew's Day massacre on 24 August 1572 was one of the seminal events in the French wars of religion and immediately recognised as an event of European significance.⁴⁹ On 22 August Gaspard de Coligny, leader of the Huguenots, was shot and severely wounded. This attack only further heightened the tensions between Catholics and Huguenots in Paris; within days, following the killing of Coligny on the king's command, the Catholic population started to murder the Huguenots. In Rome, this news was well-received by the pope: it was hoped that this meant the complete destruction of the Huguenot movement.⁵⁰ Celebrations were held in Rome and in Venice to give thanks. Several news pamphlets recounting these events were published in both cities.⁵¹ In *Intiera Relatione della morte dell'ammiraglio* (*Entire Report on the Death of the Admiral*) written by an Italian residing in Lyon, the massacre was presented as a "true judgment by God".⁵² Moreover, according to this anonymous writer, Charles IX had finally become the true Most Christian King because he had shown leadership. Another account entitled *Summario di tutto la note Francesca* (*Summary of all events during the French night*) also rejoiced that the Huguenots, this "plague" and "sect" had been eradicated. This pamphlet is particularly interesting because an anonymous author summarised the events using different reports "for the Brescian".⁵³ It was clearly addressed to a Brescian audience and there were

49 See Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News. How the World Came to Know about Itself* (London: Yale University Press 2014), pp. 145–51.

50 *Ordine della Solennissima Processione fatta dal Sommo Pontifice nell'alma citta di Roma per la felicissima nova della destruttione della setta ugotana. Con la inserittione posta sopra la porta della chiesa S. Luigi in un panno di setta pavonazza a lettere d'oro maiuscole* (Rome, 1572).

51 *Il vero successo occorso nella citta di Parigi contra l'armiraglio, e suoi seguaci ugonotti* (Venice, 1572), USTC 805060; *Ultimo et vero raguaglio di tutto il successo avvenuto in Parigi contra l'armiraglio, et suoi seguaci Ugonotti, dove si ha particolare et vero avviso della morte di detto armiraglio et suoi seguaci, con la tottale ruina di tutti li Ugonotti, con molti altri particolari ultimamente venuti, come leggendo vedrete* (Rome, 1572), USTC 805061. See also T. Bulgarelli, 'Roma e la notte di S. Bartolomeo negli avvisi a stampa dell'epoca', in *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia xxxii* (1964), pp. 339–45.

52 *Intiera relatione della morte dell'ammiraglio, & altri capi suoi complici. Con la mortalita degli ugonotti, per ordine di sua Maesta Christianissima fatta in Parigi, Lione, & altri luoghi del Regno di Francia* (Rome, 1572), USTC 805013. At the end of the report: 'Di Lione il di ultimo di agosto 1572'.

53 *Summario di tutto il successo della notte Francesca, Occorso nel Regno di Franza intorno la grande occisione fatta per sua Maestà Christianissima, ove si vede l'ordine del tradimento, & dell'occisione, con il numero de gli ugonotti occisi, & il nome di principali capi ugonotti morti in quella tremenda notte. Estratto da diversi riporti per il Bresciano* (Brescia, 1572), USTC 805053.

references to fellow Brescians residing in Lyon who had written letters describing the massacres in both Paris and Lyon. The anonymous author described how members of the Italian nations in Lyon had taken part in the killing of the Huguenots in that city, following the orders of the king and the city council. All the reports concluded with the story that a tree had started to blossom after the massacre. This was interpreted by Catholics as a clear sign that heresy had been rooted out.

Other news pamphlets in this category also had a very clear polemical undertone. In July 1584 William of Orange, the leader of the revolt against Philip II, was shot dead in Delft by Balthasar Gérard. Reports of Gérard's execution were published in Rome, Bologna, Milan, Palermo and Carmagnola.⁵⁴ This account was probably based on a handwritten Latin report that originated in Catholic circles in the Low Countries. It was also translated into Dutch, French, German and published in Douai, Cologne and Paris.⁵⁵ The report did not describe the death of Orange in great detail but it gave a detailed description of the torture and subsequent execution of his murderer. Gérard was presented as a Catholic martyr who had died for a higher purpose by killing a tyrant and an enemy of the Catholic faith.

A similar narrative can be observed with the news of the murder of the king of France, Henri III, in 1589. The *Vera Relatione dell'Estrana, et improvviso morte d'Henrico di Valois* (*True Report of the Strange and Sudden Death of Henri of Valois*) justified the murder of Henri III by the Dominican friar Jacques Clément as an act of God. According to the pamphlet, one night an angel had appeared to Clément who had shown him a sword and had told him to deliver France of its tyrant. Following this vision, he went to see a religious friend who convinced him it would be a saintly and laudable act to kill the French king. Clément then decided to give his life for this higher purpose. Just like Gerard,

54 *Avviso dell'aspra et crudel morte data a Baldassare Borgogne in Delfi d'Hollandia & la sua constantia. Per haver ammazato il Principe de Orange inimico della Santa Fede Cattolica* (Rome, 1584), USTC 805865; *Avviso dell'aspra et crudeli morte data a Baldassare Borgognese in Delfi* (Palermo, 1584), USTC 805856; *Avviso dell'aspra et crudel morte datta a Baldassarre Borgognone in Delfi d'Hollandia* (Milan, 1584), USTC 805866; *Avviso dell'aspra et crudel morte* (Carmagnola, 1584), USTC 805867.

55 *Les cruels et horribles tormens de Balthazar Gerard vrai martyr souffertz en l'execution de sa glorieuse & memorable mort. Pour avoir tué Guillaume de Nassau Prince d'Orenges ennemy de son Roy & de l'Eglise Catholique. Mis en françois d'un discours latin envoyé de la ville Delft au Comté de Hollande* (Paris, 1584), USTC 4145; *Le glorieux et triomphante martyre de Balthazar Girard advenu en la ville de Delft* (Douai, 1584), USTC 30819; *Warhafftige und eigentliche Beschreibung, von der Geburt, Leben und Sterben dess Printzen von Orangien, Graff Wilhelm vonn Nassauw, umbkommen ist* (Cologne, 1584), USTC 705560.

Clément was presented as a Catholic martyr. According to the title page of this anonymously printed Italian news pamphlet, it was translated from a French original printed in Lyon.⁵⁶ The printer of this French original was Jean Pillehotte, who also had published an Italian translation in Lyon. Several printers in Turin, Ferrara and other cities in Italy re-issued Pillehotte's Italian edition. Pillehotte was amongst the most prolific of the Lyonese League printers.⁵⁷ He had important contacts with members of the League such as the Duke of Mayenne, the Bishop of Lyon and the Jesuits. This pamphlet on Henri's death is one of the many polemic League news pamphlets which were translated and reprinted on the Italian peninsula.

During the first wars of religion printed reports referred to copies of letters despatched from Lyon, but after 1585, with the rise of the Catholic League, most Italian news pamphlets were translations of French editions which had been printed in Lyon. The city was an important commercial and financial centre in sixteenth century Europe. It was of vital importance for the trade between the Italian peninsula and France and was home to a large community of Italian merchants and bankers from Milan, Lucca, Florence and Genoa.⁵⁸ Scholars have already stressed the importance of these strong links between Lyon and several other Italian cities, such as Turin, Bergamo, Milan, Brescia and Venice, for the circulation of books and commercial goods.⁵⁹ These networks also proved very important for the circulation of news on the French wars of religion. When the Catholic League took hold of the Parisian and Lyonese printing presses, this strongly influenced the nature and tenor of printed news on the Italian peninsula.⁶⁰

56 *Vera Relatione dell'Estrana, et improvviso morte d'Henrico di Valoys. Per permissione di Dio avvenuta in S. Clou all' hora che haveva messo l'assedio alla città di Parigi il martedì primo d'agosto 1589. Per le mani d'un Frate dell'ordine de i Giacopini Estratta dal proprio Originale di Lione, & tradotta dalla lingua Francese nella nostra Italiana* (n. p., n. d.), USTC 763949; and *Vera relatione dell'estranea, & improvvisa morte di Henrico re di Francia. Avvenuta a San Clou vicino a Parigi. Stampata in Lione per Giovan Pilleotta, & ristampata in Turino per Michele Cavaleris, & in Rauenna per Francesco Tebaldini, & di novo in Ferrara* (Ferrara, 1589), USTC 806511.

57 On the career of Pillehotte see, Henri Baudier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs des lettres, Tome II* (Lyon, 1893–6), pp. 224–6.

58 Jacqueline Boucher, *Présence Italienne à Lyon à la Renaissance: du milieu du XVème à la fin du XVIème Siècle* (Lyon: Editions LUGD, 1994).

59 For the importance of Lyon in publishing of books see Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 265–82.

60 On printing by the Catholic league see, Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue: 1585–1594* (Paris: Champion, 1975), and Alexander S. Wilkinson, *Mary*

A large number of pamphlets on the appearances of comets and other miraculous signs in the sky were published in France by League presses. These type of news pamphlets had moral purposes as they illustrated the might of God and the truth of the Catholic Church. In 1591 a pamphlet on the appearance of miraculous crucifixes in Paris and Bourges was printed in Milan, Pavia and Ferrara.⁶¹ The pamphlet was an Italian translation of a French edition published by Jean Pilehotte in Lyon. A few years earlier, in 1588 a pamphlet on the appearance of a comet in the town of Rupelmonde in the Low Countries was published in Venice.⁶² This was not a translation but a report based on a letter sent by Giovanni Euschelf. According to the unknown author, all the heretics were so afraid that afterwards they converted and ‘returned to the flock of the sacred church’.⁶³ During those years, there was an important difference between news on the French wars of religion and news on the Dutch Revolt: while news from the Low Countries was still based upon letters and manuscript reports, news from France was now mostly based upon printed French news pamphlets.

Catholic News Networks

Between 1587 and 1593, reports of the victories of the Catholic League over the Protestant contender to the French crown, Henri of Navarre, were translated into Italian and published in Italian cities, even if the victories were in fact only relatively minor skirmishes.⁶⁴ During the campaign against the German

Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion, 1542–1600 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 103–26.

- 61 *Discorso delle croci miracolosamente apparse nella città di Parigi, Burges Corbia Amiens e Montdidier come leggendo intenderete. Stampate in Lione, in Milano, in Pavia, & ristampata in Ferrara* (Ferrara, 1591), USTC 806652.
- 62 Giovanni Euschelf, *Relatione del gran prodigio apparso nouamente sopra la città di Rupelmonde in Fiandra. Dove s'intende quanto tempo sia durato, il terrore che ha posto a que' popoli, & la conuersion di molti heretici* (Venice, 1588), USTC 828505.
- 63 Euschelf, *Relatione del gran prodigio*, p. 4: “si sono ridotti nel gregge di Santa Chiesa”.
- 64 *Il Rincontro fatto delle genti dell'esercito de'principi catholici, et di quelle del Principe di Bear, detto Rè di Navarra. Con l'auiso della ferita sua, & della presa di Nouocastello* (Turin, 1592), USTC 806763 is a translation of *Discours du rencontre suivy entre l'armee des princes catholiques et celle du Bearnois* (Lyon, 1592), USTC 11192 and *Presa della città di Carcassona, occupata da heretici, et ribelli, fatta per il signor duca di Gioiosa governatore, & luogotenente generale per la corona di Francia nella provincia di Linguadoca* (n.p., 1592), USTC 806763 is a translation of *Discours veritable de la prinse de la ville basse de Carcassonne* (Lyon, 1592), USTC 11178.

reistres in France in 1587 the League fully exploited the potential of printed news pamphlets.⁶⁵ Many of these news pamphlets, celebrating Henri duc de Guise as a Catholic hero, were translated into Italian.⁶⁶ The news on his victory at Vimory in 1587, for example, was translated 'into Tuscan' from the French edition by Pilehotte and printed in Lucca.⁶⁷ The anonymous translator added more background information on some military commanders, so that his Lucchese readers could have a better understanding of the events. At the end of the pamphlet, he explained he had translated it so those who had no knowledge of French could enjoy reading of this successful battle.⁶⁸ This example indicates that local audiences, in this case in the small Republic of Lucca, were interested in hearing and reading news on foreign events.

During the 1590s the same news was printed in several Catholic cities. The news of the successful relief of the siege of Paris in 1590 by Farnese was printed in Paris and also in Lyon by Pillehotte, subsequently in Brussels by the official printer Rutger Velpius, and in Cologne by Lambert, as well as in various Italian cities.⁶⁹ The dissemination of this news pamphlet suggests the existence of Catholic news networks. These Catholic news networks connected several cities including Brussels, Cologne, Paris, Lyon and Rome. In those Catholic cities, printers published the same news accounts in their own vernacular. In the

65 See Pallier, *Recherches imprimerie à Paris pendant la ligue*, p. 65.

66 *Auuisi di piu cose successe in Francia dal mese di agosto in qua. Con la presa di san Massento dal duca di Gioiosa, et noua delle cornette di reistri tagliati à pezzi dal duca di Ghisa* (Rome, 1587), USTC 806170 is an adapted translation of *La prinse de la ville de Saint Maixant par monseigneur le duc de Joyeuse* (Lyon, 1587), USTC 11841.

67 *Largo discorso della rotta di ventuno stendardo, o cornette di ristri. Data a Vimori in Gattinese presso Montargis alli XXVI di ottobre MDLXXXVII. Dalli signori duchi di Guisa & di Meina. Tradotto di lingua francese in toscano* (Lucca, 1587) USTC 806228. It was a translation of *Ample discours de la deffaitte de vingtune Cornettes de Reystres: faicte à Vimory en Gastinois pres Montargis. Par messeigneurs les Ducs de Guyse et du Mayne* (Lyon, 1587), USTC 11870.

68 *Largo discorso della rotta di ventuno stendardo*, sig. A7.

69 For the Italian pamphlets see n. 2, Pedro Cornejo, *Bref discours et veritable des choses plus notables arrivees au siege memorable de la renommee ville de Paris et defence d'icelle par le duc de Nemours, contre le roy de Navarre* (Paris, 1590), USTC 8490 and subsequent editions: Pedro Cornejo, *Bref discours et veritable des choses plus notables arrivees au siege memorable de la renommee ville de Paris et defence d'icelle par le duc de Nemours, contre le roy de Navarre* (Lyon, 1590), USTC 8491 and Pedro Cornejo, *Bref discours et veritable des choses plus notables arrivees au siege memorable de la renommee ville de Paris et defence d'icelle par le duc de Nemours, contre le roy de Navarre* (Brussels, 1590), USTC 13620; *Warhafftiger und eigentlicher bericht auß Franckreich was sich zwischen dem König von Navarra und der herrlichen weitberhümpften statt Pariß zugetragen wie er den achten kay darfur gezogen sie hart beleget mit xl. tausent mann sampt wie der Printz von Parma* (Cologne, 1590), USTC 705907.

circulation and transmission of news, translation thus played an important role. These publishers presented their separate audiences with the same narrative and moral frameworks.

The news of the escape of Charles de Lorraine, Duke of Guise, from Tours in 1591, where he had been jailed in 1588 after the murder of his father Henri and Cardinal of Guise, serves as a case in point. This news was published in several cities in France, such as Lyon again by Pillehotte and in cities in the Low Countries such as Arras by De la Rivière and Brussels by Velpius.⁷⁰ The news was also published in Rome by the Blado firm in an adapted translation of the French original.⁷¹ Charles de Lorraine's escape was attributed to divine intervention. According to the news pamphlet, every good Catholic had to pray to God that this liberation would result in the progress of the Catholic religion and the ruin of the heretics in France. Publishers were crucial in the creation of Catholic news networks and in reaching a wide Catholic audience. In several cities outside France, a Catholic audience was thus encouraged to engage fully in the struggle against heretics. News was mobile and crossed a north–south divide in Europe's news networks. Its mobility was not limited by geographical boundaries but predominantly by confessional ones. This would soon change, and the political realities would create new networks for their distribution. The conversion of Henri IV to Catholicism in 1593 and the subsequent war with the Spanish-Habsburg monarchy are examples of such a change.

Italian printers published the Habsburg victories, but they did not publish Henri IV's victories over the Habsburg army. The Italian news production was strongly influenced by the presence of Habsburg power on the Italian peninsula. News of the victories of the Habsburg army against the French king Henri IV, such as the siege of Calais in 1596 and the siege of Amiens in 1597, were highly publicised in the Netherlands.⁷² The Milanese edition of the

70 *Discours veritable de la delivrance miraculeuse de monseigneur le duc de Guyse naquieres captif au chasteau de Tours* (Lyon, 1591), USTC 29308 and *Discours veritable de la delivrance miraculeuse de monseigneur le duc de Guyse naquieres captif au chasteau de Tours* (Brussels, 1591), USTC 13621.

71 *Relatione vera della prigionia, & liberatione del Duca di Guysa, dal castello, & città di torsi, alli xv d'agosto passato, giorno della festa dell'assontione della gloriosissima Vergine* (Rome, 1591), USTC 806693 and *Relatione vera della prigionia, & liberatione del Duca di Guysa, dal castello, & città di torsi, alli xv d'agosto passato* (Florence, 1591), USTC 806692 and *Relatione vera della prigionia, & liberatione del Duca di Guysa, dal castello, & città di torsi, alli xv d'agosto passato, giorno della festa dell'assontione della gloriosissima Vergine* (Perugia, 1591), USTC 806707.

72 Paul Arblaster, *From Ghent to Aix: How They Brought the News in the Habsburg Netherlands (1550–1700)* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 52–68.

account of the siege of Amiens, was based upon the original French edition published in Arras by De la Rivière.⁷³ Several of these news pamphlets, first published in Arras by Guillaume de la Rivière, were probably written by Leaguers who were in exile in the Habsburg Netherlands.⁷⁴ The strong Catholic language was still present. Many exiled Leaguers still considered Henri IV as a Protestant and presented the battles as an ongoing struggle against heresy. In their eyes, the Habsburg monarchy was the only true representative and defender of the Catholic faith. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Catholic news network had become a Habsburg network. Many of these victories, were now also published in Spanish cities such as Barcelona, Seville and Granada.⁷⁵ News circulated from the Habsburg Netherlands, to Italian cities and Habsburg Spain. This Habsburg network of news celebrated these battles as triumphs of Catholicism and as deliverance from heretics.

Conclusion

The cities of the Italian peninsula sustained a lively market for printed news reports on foreign conflicts. The Italian case offers important clues to the function of printed news. Printed news reports clearly aroused support for the Catholic cause. Publishers singled out specific events from the stream of information present in handwritten *avvisi*. They presented to a broad and local audience those events which they regarded as crucial. In some cases, news was printed because it offered the opportunity to craft a clear sense of identity.

73 *Breve et vero discorso delli particolari successi occorsi sotto la città d'Amiens, tra gli assediati, & gli inimici. Dopo il martedì 15. mercoledì 16 & la giobba 17. di luglio fino il lunedì seguente alli 21* (Milan, 1597), USTC 807118. The title page stated it was printed 'conforme la copia stampata in Aras', see *Discours touchant la prise admirable de la grande et puissante ville d'Amiens* (Arras, 1597), USTC 13462.

74 Robert Descimon and José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, *Les Ligueurs de l'exil: Le refuge Catholique Français après 1594* (Seysse: Champ-Vallon, 2005), pp. 139–41.

75 *Relacion de una felicissima vitoria que ha tenido contra los franceses en Dorlan en Picardia don Pedro Henriquez Conde de Fuentes* (Barcelona, 1595), USTC 352745; *Relacion muy cierta y verdadera, que trata de la iornada que el Serenissimo Principe Cardenal Don Alberto de Austria, que por mandado de su Magestad, fue a entender en las cosas de los estados de Flandes, sobre la toma y sucesso de Cales* (Seville, 1596), USTC 338857; *Relacion nueva y muy verdadera de los sucessos del Archiduque Cardenal Alberto de Austria, en los estados de flandes, en este año de 1596* (Seville, 1596), USTC 338860; *La admirable toma de la ciudad de Amiens, en 11 de março de 1597 años* (Granada, 1597), USTC 338095 and *La admirable toma de la ciudad de Amiens, en 11 de março de 1597 años* (Seville, 1597), USTC 338094.

Sometimes this was a local identity, as was the case with the Tuscan soldiers in 1569, but very often it was about the Italian nation. In those pamphlets, the Italian identity was above all defined by the idea that Italians were valorous and brave Catholic fighters. The news pamphlets provided a narrative for these events and a context in which those events could be interpreted. It must be said, however, that only good news was printed. Both military reports and polemical news celebrated Catholic triumphs. In the case of the Low Countries, the reports were written mostly by high-ranking soldiers and there is a very close association between manuscript and print. In the case of France, with the rise of the League, many reports were translations of French editions published in Lyon. This difference in Italian production may be explained by the established connections between France and Italy and by the close ties Italian printers had with printers in Lyon.

At the end of the sixteenth century, in several Catholic cities, publishers started to publish simultaneously the same news report, which points to the existence of Catholic news networks. The news on the cruel death of Balthasar Gérard, the killing of Henri III, the news on the siege of Paris in 1590, and the news of Guise's escape in 1591 are all examples of news events where the same reports were printed in several Catholic cities each time by the same publishers. In those cities the same news was printed and presented to inform, but most of all to convince Catholic audiences of their common goal of fighting heretics. In this sense a transnational Catholic news network existed which included the Habsburg lands, part of the Holy Roman Empire, France and Italy. At the same time, such networks could change rapidly. All of this serves to demonstrate that we need to study the movement of news in Europe and the significance of translation more closely.

The Acquisition and Handling of News on the French Wars of Religion: The Case of Hermann Weinsberg

Alexandra Schäfer

The Circulation of News on the French Wars of Religion

The French Wars of Religion (1562–98) were one of the central conflicts in Europe in the period of confessionalisation. They received an enormous amount of attention in news media in France as well as in neighbouring countries. News on the wars circulated Europe-wide, orally, in handwritten and in printed form: French prints, translations or compendiums, spread across Europe in the form of polemics, declarations, poems, copies of letters, portraits, allegories and plays, to name only a few genres.¹

In the Holy Roman Empire, there was a vast amount of news available, circulating in letters, handwritten *avvisi*, printed broadsheets and pamphlets, in addition to the oral news brought by travellers, city messengers, private couriers and postal employees at the end of the sixteenth century.² But how was this news received, handled, adopted and reworked?

Sources on these practical aspects of readership in the late sixteenth century are rare, but they do exist.³ One of these exceptional cases is that of the councillor Hermann Weinsberg in Cologne, who eagerly reported on the ongoing contemporary events in his diary-like *Gedenkbücher* (commemorative books). Weinsberg wrote about the process of news acquisition, the reliability of different channels

1 News is here defined as information with a specific quality (up-to-dateness, media transmission, publicity). Cf. Alphons Silbermann, *Handbuch der Massenkommunikation und Medienforschung*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Volker Spiess, 1982), p. 319.

2 There is currently no comprehensive study of the Empire's news on the French Wars of Religion. My PhD thesis on the circulation of printed news publications on the French Wars of Religion in the Empire, with particular focus on 1588–9, is in preparation and will be a first step towards filling this gap.

3 For an overview on this type of sources in the German context: Gabriele Jancke *et al.*, *Selbstzeugnisse im deutschsprachigen Raum. Autobiographien, Tagebücher und andere autobiographische Schriften 1400–1620* [2012], <www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/jancke-quellenkunde/index.html> [18/9/13].

and media, the importance assigned to certain events, their representation in the media, and the reasons for his interest in particular news. Therefore, he is a valuable source concerning the purchase, handling, framing and reworking of news. While Weinsberg's writings have already been examined in various research projects, his relation to news is a subject hitherto neglected.⁴

After a short discussion of Weinsberg and the *Gedenkbücher*, this chapter will examine which different channels of communication Weinsberg used, which characteristics he assigned to them, which news he took note of in his *Gedenkbücher* on the French Wars of Religion and the reasons for the selection he made as he recorded them. On some occasions Weinsberg purchased printed news by the Cologne engraver, printer and publisher Franz Hogenberg, who is the sole example for contemporary, regular visual news publications in the Empire throughout the whole period of the French Wars of Religion. Therefore, in the last part of the chapter, Weinsberg's consumption practices will be treated in regard to Hogenberg's engravings, providing some new information on Hogenberg's production as well.⁵

Biographical Information on Hermann Weinsberg

Hermann Weinsberg was born in Cologne, where he lived and kept his *Gedenkbücher*. At this time, Cologne was a Catholic metropolis and the Empire's

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- 4 Among the most recent studies: *Hermann Weinsberg (1518–1597). Kölner Bürger und Ratsherr. Studien zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Manfred Groten (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), see especially the overview of the current status of research there by Tobias Wulf, 'Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven der Weinsberg-Forschung', pp. 35–57; Matthew Lundin, *Paper Memory: A Sixteenth-Century Townsman Writes his World* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2012). Furthermore, for research on foreign news, see the article by Eva-Maria Schnurr on Weinsberg and the circulation of local news on the Cologne War, "Jedem anbringer gleub ich so balt nit". Informationsbeschaffung und Mediennutzung des Kölner Bürgers Hermann Weinsberg während des Kölner Kriegs (1582 bis 1590); *Geschichte in Köln. Zeitschrift für Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte*, 56 (2009), pp. 171–206. The chapter by Gérald Chaix on religious conflict and Weinsberg does not even touch on the French Wars of Religion at all: Gérald Chaix, 'Paix de religion et concorde civique. Hermann Weinsberg, bourgeois de Cologne (1518–1597), témoin des conflits religieux', in *De Michel de l'Hospital à l'édit de Nantes. Politiques et religion face aux églises*, ed. Thierry Wanegffelen (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2002), pp. 71–84.
- 5 For Franz Hogenberg's news prints consult Alexandra Schäfer, 'Les Guerres de Religion en France dans les Imprimés de l'Atelier Colonnais d'Hogenberg', in Gabriele Haug-Moritz and Lothar Schilling, eds., *Médialité et interprétation contemporaine des premières guerres de Religion* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014), pp. 98–121.

largest city, a mercantile centre with a favourable geostrategic position and well-developed infrastructure; it was embedded in one of the large networks of handwritten news that we see reflected in the *Fuggerzeitungen*, enjoyed relatively lax censorship, and a large community of French- and Dutch-speaking immigrants who possessed language skills, Western connections and, not least, a significant interest in the French and Dutch Wars. All of these factors were favourable to the development of the foreign news market.⁶

In Cologne, Hermann Weinsberg was born in 1518, the oldest of eleven children in a wine trader's family. His grandfather had made an impressive career, from immigrant farmhand to a city councillor. Weinsberg's father tried to cement his family's social advancement through the education of his children, and in 1543 he convinced Weinsberg to complete a law degree. However, the son only practiced the profession within the family circle, earning his living in the wine trade and through pensions instead, after several attempts to secure a steady income by ecclesiastical benefices had failed. However, his marriages to the wealthy widows Weisgin Ripgin (*d.* 1557) and Drutgin Barss (*d.* 1573), for whom he kept accounts, provided financial security. In 1543, when he was still a student, Weinsberg was chosen to be a councillor for the first time, after entering the *gaffel* Schwarzhaus.⁷ He held this office numerous times until his death in 1597, apart from the period 1549–65 when Weinsberg was a burgrave.⁸ After his mother had passed away in 1575, he lived with a brother and a sister. From 1580 onwards, as he became more and more impoverished, he was forced to take work as a night watchman at the city gates and, from 1583–7, as the captain of a patrol of soldiers. In 1597, he died in Cologne.⁹

6 Cf. Wilfried Enderle, 'Die Buchdrucker der Reichsstadt Köln und die katholische Publizistik zwischen 1555 und 1648', in *Der Riss im Himmel. Clemens August und seine Epoche, vol. 4: Köln als Kommunikationszentrum. Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Stadtgeschichte*, ed. Georg Mölich and Gerd Schwerhoff (Cologne: Dumont, 2000), pp. 167–82, at 169, 178; Cornel Zwierlein, *Discorso und Lex Dei. Die Entstehung neuer Denkrahmen im 16. Jahrhundert und die Wahrnehmung der französischen Religionskriege in Italien und Deutschland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), pp. 568, 603; Gerd Schwerhoff, 'Handlungswissen und Wissensräume in der Stadt. Das Beispiel des Kölner Ratsherren Hermann von Weinsberg (1518–1597)', in Jörg Rogge, ed., *Tradieren—Vermitteln—Anwenden. Zum Umgang mit Wissensbeständen in spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Städten* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), pp. 61–102, esp. 65; V[iktor] Muckel, *Die Entwicklung der Zensur in Köln* (Würzburg: Triltsch, 1932), p. 34.

7 The *gaffel* is a special type of guild in Cologne.

8 In this position as a sort of municipal caretaker he received a steady income, but the office was of too low a status to allow its holder to serve as a councillor.

9 Cf. Wolfgang Herborn, 'Biographisches', in *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen Hermann Weinsbergs—Digitale Gesamtausgabe*, <www.weinsberg.uni-bonn.de/Projekt/Weinsberg/

The Source: *Gedenkbücher*

From 1560 onwards, Weinsberg wrote his so-called *Gedenkbücher*,¹⁰ a mixture of reports and comments on incidents in his own life as well as on contemporary events, including foreign politics.¹¹ He began by summarising the time from his birth in 1517 to 1555.¹² Weinsberg then continuously reported in a diary-like style, still drawing from his own almanac notes. These records end on 27 February 1597. As Weinsberg mentioned in the preface, he wrote the commemorative books in the style of a (fictive) confidential conversation with his potential successor as head of the Weinsberg household, in order to provide a book full of references and advice for him.¹³ Furthermore, the writing served as a justification of his own life and his professional decisions. Overall, he left more than 2,500 sheets, which were divided into three books: *Liber iuventutis* (youth: 1518–77), *Liber senectutis* (senior: 1578–87) and *Liber decrepitudinis* (old age: 1588–97).¹⁴

Weinsberg.htm> [18/9/13]; Gabriele Jancke *et al.*, 'Hermann von Weinsberg', in Gabriele Jancke *et al.*, *Selbstzeugnisse*; Wolfgang Herborn, 'Hermann von Weinsberg (1518–1597)', in *Hermann Weinsberg*, pp. 15–33; Hermann Keussen, 'Weinsberg, Hermann von', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 55 (1910), pp. 18–19, <www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118945408.html?anchor=adb> [18/9/13].

- 10 A digital edition of Weinsberg's writings has made the text accessible in its entirety in an edited version for the first time: *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen Hermann Weinsbergs—Digitale Gesamtausgabe*, <www.weinsberg.uni-bonn.de> [18/9/13]; The original manuscripts are kept in the historical municipal archive of Cologne: HASTK, Chroniken und Darstellungen (inv. 7030), Das Buch Weinsberg und Begleitmaterial (c. 1518–97), sigs. 49–51.
- 11 Cf. Manfred Groten, 'Zum Werk Hermann Weinsbergs', in *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen Hermann Weinsbergs—Digitale Gesamtausgabe*, <www.weinsberg.uni-bonn.de/Projekt/Weinsberg/Weinsberg.htm> [18/9/13]; Gabriele Jancke *et al.*, 'Hermann von Weinsberg'.
- 12 For the earlier period Weinsberg based his writings on his own memory as well as on the stories of his relatives and friends, but included source studies and contemporary literature, too. In addition, Weinsberg had kept an almanac starting in 1550 which he used as a pool of material. Particularly for news from outside the city gates of Cologne, Weinsberg included printed historical works as well, among them Heinrich Pantaleon's translation of Johann Sleidan's comments, the *Epitome* published against Sleidan, Carion's chronicle and the 'Geschichtsbibel' of Sebastian Franck (cf. Groten, 'Zum Werk'; Gabriele Jancke *et al.*, 'Hermann von Weinsberg').
- 13 Cf. Gregor Rohmann on the genre of the 'handbook for the head of the household': Gregor Rohmann, 'Der Lügner durchschaut die Wahrheit. Verwandtschaft, Status und historisches Wissen bei Hermann von Weinsberg', in *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 71 (2000), pp. 43–76, esp. 47–50.
- 14 Cf. Groten, 'Zum Werk'; Gabriele Jancke *et al.*, 'Hermann von Weinsberg'; Rohmann, 'Lügner', pp. 53 and 55–6; For details on these three books (*Liber iuventutis*, *Liber senectutis*, *Liber decrepitudinis*), see n. 10 above.

Weinsberg's News Acquisition

On local events, Weinsberg got his information orally, transmitted by a network of acquaintances and family members, whereas he rather infrequently received handwritten news.¹⁵ In contrast, the acquisition of foreign news, the French news, through personal contacts was extremely rare, with one exception being his nephew, Tilmann Ordenbach. Ordenbach got his doctoral degree in Valence in south-eastern France and travelled back home to Cologne via Paris, Antwerp and Maastricht (1 January 1578, ls 41v).¹⁶ From spring 1578 onwards, Tilmann Ordenbach lived in Alsace (Saverne) while he worked as a councillor for the bishop of Strasbourg, but travelled home occasionally, transporting letters between Strasbourg and Cologne (25 March 1578, ls 67r) and sending letters of news about events in France to Weinsberg as well (e.g. 17 August 1587, ls 666v; 26 November 1587, ls 686v). However, in their letters they discussed news only sporadically, writing mostly about business.¹⁷

Occasionally, Weinsberg drew upon the reports of the messengers coming to Cologne. Usually, however, he derived his knowledge of foreign news—for example on the French Wars of Religion—mainly from publicly marketed printed media, mostly pamphlets and broadsheets.¹⁸ While he regularly discussed printed news publications he used in depicting the recent foreign events in the *Gedenkbücher*, Weinsberg did not indicate that he might have used handwritten news publications to gain news from France. He mentions handwritten news publications only *en passant* as a general means for the acquisition of news.¹⁹

15 Weinsberg reported, for example, how he met a member of his *gaffel* who was from Antwerp. The secretary of the Prince of Orange was present, as well as several nobles from Hainault, who discussed the current events in the Netherlands (25 June 1579, ls 130v).

16 Throughout the rest of the chapter, I will refer to the source by referencing the date of the entry in the *Gedenkbücher*, the abbreviation of the book (Liber iuventutis: li; Liber senectutis: ls; Liber decrepitudinis: ld) and the number of the paragraph cited, based on the digital edition: <www.weinsberg.uni-bonn.de/> [18/9/13]. All translations into English are mine.

17 Ordenbach regularly contacted Weinsberg, e.g. 25 March 1578, ls 67r; 22 September 1581, ls 310r; 4 December 1581, ls 320r; 10 January 1582, ls 325r; 11 June 1582, ls 343v; 9 January 1583, ls 387v; 25 March 1583, ls 397r; 27 April 1583, ls 401v; 17 August 1587, ls 666v.

18 By 'public'—in contrast to hidden, secret, and arcane—I mean the possibility in principal for everyone to access news publications (as long as they had the financial means and the ability to understand the publication).

19 Cf. Leonhard Ennen, 'Die Zeitungspresse in der Reichsstadt Köln', in *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere die alte Erzdiözese Köln*, 36 (1881),

Furthermore, Weinsberg, as part of the council, was able to profit from the municipal news network as well, though he only mentioned infrequently how he profited from the municipal network for gaining news. Thanks to the official city messengers he received some news of the Franco-Dutch conflicts faster and in more detail than many other residents of Cologne.²⁰ Finally, in addition to the printed news publications Weinsberg bought himself, oral rumours circulating in Cologne were another source, though these were of much greater importance for local than foreign news.²¹

In his *Gedenkbücher*, Weinsberg repeatedly treated the French Wars of Religion over a long period of time. However, apart from a short remark on the death of Francis II in 1560 (6 December 1560, li 407r), the first news on the wars is not recorded until 1567 (12 October 1567, li 543r). Later on in the *Gedenkbücher* however, Weinsberg addressed the topic frequently.

Usually, Weinsberg started his account in the *Gedenkbücher* with the date of the particular event, without adding when he had received the news or when he had written his record. One exception is the peace in France between the king and the Huguenot party in 1573, of which Weinsberg noted that news had arrived on 10 July, while the peace had been agreed on 2 July.²² This indicates a lapse of eight days from the conclusion of peace at La Rochelle to the news's arrival in Cologne. However, this information is doubtful, because the initial agreement between the beleaguered Huguenots in La Rochelle and the Duke of Anjou had already been accomplished on 24 June, and the lifting of the siege

pp. 12–82, esp. 20; Eva-Maria Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt und Öffentlichkeit. Eine Mediengeschichte des Kölner Kriegs (1582 bis 1590)* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), p. 468.

20 Cf. Schnurr, 'Informationsbeschaffung', p. 181; *Religionskonflikt*, p. 468; Weinsberg named a whole set of different kinds of media, e.g. news criers (1 August 1589, ld 133v), broadsheets (23 December 1588, ld 94v), travelling merchants (11 September 1582, ls 358v), a messenger and a letter to the city council (18 June 1582, ls 344v). Occasionally, Weinsberg purchased news as well by listening to news prints read out aloud (cf. Schnurr, 'Informationsbeschaffung', p. 182).

21 Cf. Schnurr, 'Informationsbeschaffung', p. 180; On rumours see: Ernst Schubert, "bauerngeschrey". Zum Problem der öffentlichen Meinung im spätmittelalterlichen Franken, in *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 34/35 (1975), pp. 883–907, esp. 883–4. Local rumours spread extremely fast in Cologne: it took only about two hours until rumours about events outside the city gates were widely discussed (in the case referenced: a Protestant service in Mechtern in 1582) (cf. Schnurr, 'Informationsbeschaffung', p. 179). On Weinsberg and local news, see the chapter 'Ein Rezipient der Publizistik des Kölner Kriegs: Das Beispiel Hermann Weinsberg', in Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt*, pp. 464–78.

22 "Anno 1573 den 10. jul. ist zeitung komen, das in Frankrich frit tuschen dem konink und den Hugonoten gemacht sei ... Disser frit sult den 2. jul. getroffen sin". (10 July 1573, li 641r).

happened on 6 July, and only then had the the negotiations over the exact terms of the peace begun. Therefore it seems likely that Weinsberg alluded to the agreement made on the battle field. If this was the case, the news had taken 16 days from La Rochelle to Cologne, where Weinsberg heard it on 10 July for the first time.²³ As Weinsberg does not address the point, we can only speculate why he dated the agreement on 2 July.

At a later point, Weinsberg mentions a letter from Nancy addressed to the Bishop of Strasbourg, dated 5 November 1587. From Saverne, Tilmann Ordenbach passed the news of the letter to the bishop on to Weinsberg, who apparently received the news 21 days after the letter was sent. It contained news mainly from the end of October, especially about the glorious victory of Guise in Alsace on 26 October, about which Weinsberg had not yet heard one month later.²⁴ He was already accustomed to and arguably even desperate for a continual flow of news, and was not wondering if, but when news would come.²⁵

The question remains, however, of how Weinsberg handled this news when it became available? What was his selection criterion for the records in his *Gedenkbücher*?

Weinsberg judged accessible news in Cologne by its reliability, for example whether it was the first-hand testimony of eye-witnesses, accredited news reports and fresh news not hitherto confirmed.²⁶ It appears that there were two criteria for this evaluation: firstly, how often the news was repeated (i.e. a quantitative argument), and secondly, whether it was undisputed (a qualitative argument). Following this ranking system, Weinsberg did not simply assign

23 On the postal routes news could travel more than 100 kilometres per day. Cf. Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur. Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), p. 104. If it was copied and translated as it seems the case with this piece of news acquired by Weinsberg, a period of 16 days seems fairly realistic.

24 26 November 1587, ls 686v–687r. Ordenbach reported to his relative in Cologne not only about the French Wars of Religion, but about the confessional struggle in the bishopric of Strasbourg as well (30 May 1579, ls 127v). Weinsberg sent news about the Cologne Wars to his nephew in return (9 January 1583, ls 387v). We cannot be sure whether Weinsberg took note of every piece of information, though this seems to be quite probable considering his vast accounts. Taking this for granted, it is striking how little news about the French Wars of Religion was actually transmitted by Ordenbach to his relative Weinsberg.

25 E.g. on the outcome of a French battle in October 1569, Weinsberg wrote: “Wie das zugegangen, wirt wol in truck zukonftich pracht werden” (3 October 1569, li 575v).

26 22 July 1586, ls 589v; 20 February 1588, ld 4r. Cf. Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt*, p. 473; Schnurr, ‘Informationsbeschaffung’, p. 190.

a different degree of reliability to different media or channels of communication (oral, written/print, performative), but rather judged whether the source was credible and confirmable depending on the individual case.²⁷

The accreditation of news was far from trivial for Weinsberg, but rather was a crucial aspect of the discussion of news. This becomes clear from the way that Weinsberg repeatedly returned to the question. It is very probable that Weinsberg was trying to educate his potential successor, for whom he wrote the *Gedenkbücher*, in a form of media literacy. When examining this source, it is important to keep in mind the particular social motivation that lay behind the production of the *Boich Weinsberg* and the *Gedenkbücher*.²⁸ They provided for the burgher family Weinsberg “an inalienable patrimony, a legendary past, a deeply rooted identity, and an enduring institutional memory” usually reserved to the aristocracy, patricians or the clergy.²⁹ If one understands his writing of the *Boich Weinsberg* and the *Gedenkbücher* as a practice to generate social status and to confirm that his family belonged to a certain social class—the elite of Cologne—it seems appropriate to suggest that being informed and exchanging news more generally were practices for acquiring social capital and thus substantiating one’s belonging to a political elite.³⁰

Weinsberg often wrote initial rumours, i.e. oral as well as printed news not yet confirmed (22 July 1586, ls 589v) into a jotter, and asserted that he transcribed these exactly as heard, seen or otherwise, without adding or omitting anything.³¹ He would then start to ponder the credibility of the news and take its partiality into account. Only when further publications were available which supported this news item did he transfer this piece of news from his jotter into the *Gedenkbücher*, after some delay. In this way, he claimed to be creating a version of the recent past written to the best of his knowledge. However, at least in the *Boich Weinsberg*, he conceded that his knowledge depended on the circumstances and therefore demanded that his successor rewrite his notes, correct, complete,

27 E.g. 22 July 1586, ls 589v. Cf. Schnurr, ‘Informationsbeschaffung’, pp. 183 and 190–1.

28 Cf. Wulf, ‘Bestandsaufnahme’, p. 48; Gabriele Jancke *et al.*, ‘Hermann von Weinsberg’.

29 Cf. Lundin, *Paper Memory*, p. 9.

30 Cf. Glasner, ‘Das erinnernde Ich’; Rohmann, ‘Lügner’; also Joad Raymond’s statement that news communication was a “way of developing and cementing social relationships”, in ‘News’, in Raymond, ed., *The Oxford History of Popular News Culture*, vol. 1: *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 377–97, at 377.

31 Cf. Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt*, p. 473; Schnurr, ‘Informationsbeschaffung’, p. 190; Peter Glasner, “Ein geschrift zu ewiger gedechtnis ...” Das erinnernde Ich bei Hermann von Weinsberg (1518–97) in der Medialität von Schrift und Bild’, in Gerald Kapfhammer, ed., *Autorbilder. Zur Medialität literarischer Kommunikation in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Münster: Rhema, 2007), pp. 285–320, at 293.

shorten and improve them.³² The impermanence of his interpretation of the past was by no means due to the quality of the sources he used: Weinsberg judged that (historical) writings based on the official documents in the chancelleries were not necessarily better informed or more authentic than less official sources, because errors and favouritism were common in both kinds of source material (20 February 1588, ld 4r).

He described the selection of news from the array of available media according to the criteria of plausibility as a person's responsibility in order to create an independent view of his own time on which later generations, especially his prospective heir, could rely (20 February 1588, ld 4r). This comment on how to handle contemporary history and news about it was clearly an allusion to his own undertaking. Weinsberg even claimed that his notes in general were model writings, designed to be imitated.³³

Despite his claims to systematic procedure, Weinsberg's handling of news was rather inconsistent. Though there was a general idea behind the *Gedenkbücher*, Weinsberg did not pursue a writing plan. When writing, he got carried away in the process. It should not be surprising, therefore, that there are contradictions and discrepancies: Weinsberg refers explicitly to the unreliable character of some news by adding qualifying markers such as "it is said", "some people said", "rumours circulated that".³⁴ In some cases he copies some of the news without any reference, and he rarely states from which sources the news on the French Wars of Religion derived at all.³⁵ In contrast, Weinsberg critically noted when there was a gap (24 May 1568, li 552v), he revealed when contradictory news publications circulated in Cologne (18 June 1582, ls 344v; 26 November 1587, ls 687r) and he quoted false information only to comment on the untrustworthy character of those news publications.³⁶ By openly criticising

32 Cf. Glasner, 'Das erinnernde Ich', p. 292; So far, Weinsberg's idea of historical truth as well as authenticity has been discussed above all in the context of autobiographical writing, in the *Gedenkbücher* as well as in the *Boich Weinsberg*, a partly fictional genealogical history by Weinsberg. Cf. Rohmann, 'Lügner', esp. pp. 51 and 65–8; Wulf, 'Bestandsaufnahme', pp. 49–53; on the *Boich Weinsberg*, cf. Birgit Studt, 'Der Hausvater. Haus und Gedächtnis bei Hermann von Weinsberg', in *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 61 (1997), pp. 135–60.

33 Cf. Glasner, 'Das erinnernde Ich', p. 291.

34 Cf. Schnur, 'Informationsbeschaffung', p. 180.

35 One example (24 August 1572, li 621r) is the adoption of the topical argument on the unique nature of recent events (St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre) as a typical line of argumentation in Reformed pamphlets, without Weinsberg naming his model.

36 On 24 April 1574, Weinsberg wrote that a rumour about the murder of the French king had widely circulated, which by then had already proved to be false, as Weinsberg explained (21 April 1574, li 673r).

the unreliable character of the sources, he claimed the authorial position of a trustworthy judge and narrator, and thus enhanced the status of his writings.

On the one hand, Weinsberg clearly, if not consistently, situated himself within the news system of his time, claiming a sophisticated understanding of contemporary news media and sometimes performing critical evaluation of the news, possibly in order to serve as a model for his successor. On the other hand, he did not take up a particular position in relation to the turmoil of his time. Sticking to the news he received, Weinsberg suppressed any urge to make guesses and speculations himself, and thereby avoided expressing a clear position of his own as well.³⁷ His self-conscious character, and an inner quarrel regarding his position as an author, seem to stand in the background.

Weinsberg's Position Regarding the French Wars of Religion

Weinsberg's writings tackle a mixture of very different topics, in which the French Wars of Religion appeared infrequently, but with some regularity. Nevertheless, Weinsberg created a degree of continuity between different pieces on the topic by occasionally referring back to things he had previously written.³⁸ Thus, he insinuated that his interrupted narrative of the French Wars of Religion should be seen, to a certain extent at least, as a cohesive account.

Weinsberg was particularly interested in French events with an impact on his region and therefore with a certain relation to himself.³⁹ Accordingly, the involvement of the French in the Cologne War was of enormous interest to

37 On the Cologne War, Eva-Maria Schnurr perceives similar behaviour: Weinsberg refused to take a position in the ongoing struggle, but he critically discussed the news available on recent events (cf. Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt*, p. 475). Weinsberg's avoidance of a clear political position has been harshly criticised in older research which tends towards a psychological judgement; Joseph Stein, for example, argued that Weinsberg was shying away from responsibility (cf. Joseph Stein, 'Über die Auswahlpublikation', in *Die autobiographischen Aufzeichnungen Hermann Weinsbergs—Digitale Gesamtausgabe*, <www.weinsberg.uni-bonn.de/Projekt/Weinsberg/Weinsberg.htm> [18/9/13]).

38 26 November 1587, ls 687v: "Hie von hab ich oben fol. 666 pag. 2 wieterß gesagt und daselbst in margine".

39 Apparently, motivation for the selection of local news and foreign news did not differ in this respect: as Schnurr states concerning local events, Weinsberg was interested above all in events connected with his personal situation (cf. Schnurr, 'Informationsbeschaffung', pp. 178–9).

Weinsberg, as was the French engagement in the Netherlands, directly across the Rhine.⁴⁰ Though he considered the conditions for French expansionism at the Rhine to be worse during his time than they had been in the wars of King Francis II of France and the Emperor Charles V, Weinsberg was convinced that the French king planned to cross the river (18 June 1582, ls 344v). Consequently, leaving aside his generally moderate attitude and neutral tone, Weinsberg clearly expressed his discontent about the French presence on the banks of the Rhine (18 June 1582, ls 344v).

While military developments and critical observations on them were clearly a significant focus (e.g. the siege of Antwerp: 7 January 1583, ls 385v–386r, or the intervention of the Duke of Parma: 6 May 1584, ls 452v), the news treated by Weinsberg did not exclusively contain war reports, but also concerned political and diplomatic topics, such as the strengthening of the relationship of French and Dutch Protestants through the marriage of the prince of Nassau with the daughter of Coligny (3 April 1583, ls 398r). Apparently, Weinsberg purchased news more eagerly that was connected with him personally. However, this more frequent inclusion is surely also due to the larger quantity of news on regional events that was available in Cologne, including the conflict in the Netherlands.

While Weinsberg included news on Dutch supply shortfalls resulting from the military campaign in the Netherlands (e.g. 7 January 1583, ls 387r), he treated the influence this had on the trading interests of Cologne only as a marginal aspect.⁴¹ The direct impact of the troubles in France on Cologne's long-distance trade were not discussed at all in Weinsberg's notes, possibly because he did not feel that his personal economic interests were affected, though this is speculation. However, it is interesting to observe that trading interests were not a governing influence on Weinsberg's selection of news.

40 Amongst others: the involvement of the French in the skirmish near Unkel (29 August 1583, ls 418v), the hanging of a treacherous French officer cadet in Bonn (30 August 1583, ls 418v), the troubles of German and French farmhands near Bonn (10 September 1583, ls 420v). For instance of the French campaigns in the Netherlands, see for example 23 July 1577, li 738r; 24 October 1577, li 745v–746r; 22 February 1582, ls 329r—or take the references to the Duke of Brabant, Francis of Alençon, the younger brother of the French king, in the *Liber senectutis* alone: ls 87–8, ls 294, ls 302–3, ls 318–19, ls 325–6, ls 329, ls 332, ls 337–9, ls 342–4, ls 349–50, ls 356–8, ls 380–2, ls 385–92, ls 395–9, ls 411, ls 422–6, ls 441, ls 451, ls 463, ls 474–6, ls 487–9, ls 667–8.

41 At the beginning of June 1582, for example, Weinsberg reported that the Duke of Brabant (Alençon) had ordered the blocking of a shipping route, so that land-based detours were necessary. However, according to Weinsberg, this had hardly any effect on the price level (1 June 1582, ls 342v; with a different tone: 12 March 1579, ls 117v).

The involvement of German mercenaries in France was one of the topics given preferential treatment by Weinsberg.⁴² He mentioned that German soldiers fought on both sides (Huguenots and Royals), but gave background information only implicitly: Weinsberg observed that the territorial princes' political objectives had led to a dissociation of the German Protestant party vis-à-vis the confessional conflict in France.⁴³

Weinsberg was not only interested in their military involvement, but also in French and German commentaries on the engagement of German soldiers and therefore—extensively, though sporadically—discussed the news publications. In 1587, for example, he debated a publication by the king of Navarre, in which an answer to the Emperor's address was included, as well as a declaration by the German officers.⁴⁴ Showing critical distance, he rejected all arguments, reasoning that the war of succession was an internal French conflict, and was only entangled with other issues notably religion, inasmuch as the different parties made statements designed to attract partisans and thus to settle the conflict by force (26 November 1587, ls 687v).

42 See for example 12 October 1567, li 543r; 29 September 1575, li 707r; 17 August 1587, ls 666v; 26 November 1587, ls 687r.

43 E.g. 12 October 1567, li 543r: "Die Deutzschen deinten zu beiden seiten, herzoch Hans Wilhem van Saxon uff des koninks seiten, palzgraf Casimirus uff dess von Conde seiten".

44 The pamphlet mentioned must be: *Henri, King of Navarra: Erklaerung/|| Auß was Ursachen der || Durchleuchtigste vnnd Großmaechtigste || Koenig zu Nauarren/ des Koeniglichen Gebluets vnnd || Stammens in Franckreich ... ein außlaendisches Kriegsvolck zu || werben gedrungen worden. || ... Jtem/ kurtze Antwort auff das in Roem. Kays. Mayestat Namen besche-||henes Anbringen/ an Koen. Wuerden zu Nauarren || Gesandten/ etc. Sampt einer andern Erklaerung vnd entschuldigung der Teutschen Obri-||sten ... || M. D. Lxxxvij. ||*; 4°, [16] fos. (= VD16 ZV 11386). Weinsberg paraphrased the publication: Navarre, claiming to be the heir presumptive to the French throne, had been forced into seeking support from the German mercenaries, because the Catholic party, Pope Gregory XIII and the house of Guise opposed him and maltreated the French Reformed. The German officers defended the support troops against the Emperor Rudolph II who declared them to be against the constitution and his will ("widder deß richtz constitution und ordnong sin widder irer keißrmaestat erlaubniß"). Their engagement was meant to prevent the suppression of the German princes, expected to follow the fall of Navarre. They wanted to enforce their claim regarding the open payments from the last military attack. Furthermore, German soldiers were used to working as mercenaries. As the Emperor accepted foreign soldiers in internal conflicts, he was 'advised' not to protest. The fact that Johann Casimir, the count palatine, was able to place Fabian von Dohna as leading officer in the French campaign was an annoyance for the Catholics (26 November 1587, ls 687r–687v).

Besides the French engagement at the Rhine near his hometown, Weinsberg discussed French events rather selectively. Peace treaties, edicts, huge battles, murder, large-scale massacres and the deaths of high-ranking people created a situational interest (e.g. St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre or the assassination of Henri III) (24 August 1572, li 620r; 1 August 1589, ld 133v). While Weinsberg concentrated on all sorts of high-level political matters 'of general interest', further selection seemed to depend on what news was accessible in Cologne rather than on specific criteria.

Weinsberg alluded to the international dimension of the conflict and the involvement of England (9 March 1573, li 629v), Spain (3 August 1586, ls 596v), Savoy (25 July 1587, ls 661r), and the papacy (9 September 1585, ls 523v and 26 November 1587, ls 687r), in addition to the Netherlands and the German princes.⁴⁵

While Weinsberg generally held back personal judgements on news stories, his extensive reporting of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre was an exception. Derogatorily, he noted King Charles' betrayal of his Huguenot subjects: "Das heischt ein Franzosische bruloff gehalten, das heischt sich dem konink widderstreben, das heischt legem oblivionis machen und glaub halten" ("That is what marrying is like in France, that is what it means to oppose the king, that is what it is like to make a law of amnesty and keep one's word") (24 August 1572, li 621r). In his later writings, the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre became a reference point to clarify the relationships between French protagonists and to characterise or judge behaviour.⁴⁶

Weinsberg condemned all sorts of one-sided and excessive violence, no matter which religious party employed it, and discussed peace issues broadly.⁴⁷ His treatment of peace issues ranged from typical rhetorical phrases of his time to a deeper interest in the concrete details of a particular

45 See respectively 9 March 1573, li 629v; 3 August 1586, ls 596v; 25 July 1587, ls 661r; 9 September 1585, ls 523v; 26 November 1587, ls 687r.

46 Alençon's behaviour in the Netherlands more than ten years later was compared to the events in 1572 (7 January 1583, ls 386v). In the context of the assassination of the Prince of Orange, Weinsberg alluded to the massacre (10 July 1584, ls 463r) and he introduced the daughter of Admiral Coligny with a reference to the infamous St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (9 January 1584, ls 441r).

47 Cf. Wolfgang Herborn, 'Die Protestanten in Schilderung und Urteil des Kölner Chronisten Hermann von Weinsberg (1518–1598)', in *Niederlande und Norddeutschland. Studien zur Regional- und Stadtgeschichte Nordwestkontinentaleuropas im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, ed. Winfried Ehbrecht and Heinz Schilling (Cologne and Vienna, 1983), pp. 136–53, at 141.

peace agreement and even to critical reflection on the core of the contemporary struggle.⁴⁸

Weinsberg approached his topics pragmatically, usually basing his writing on events, though adding digressions. He tended towards an authority-friendly, pro-royal position without being openly partial (14 May 1576, li 718r). A moderate Catholic himself, Weinsberg mostly avoided confessional polemics.⁴⁹ He condemned the attempt to preserve the unity of faith by excessive violence.⁵⁰ For the French protestants, Weinsberg used different moderately tendentious labels, from “Huguenots” to “those of the Calvinist or Reformed religion” to “adherer of the new religion” (24 August 1572, li 620v). When he wrote about the excommunication of Navarre and Condé, Weinsberg quoted Pope Sixtus V, but doubted that this step would have the desired results, especially since the leaders of the Reformed party had published an objection (9 September 1585, ls 523v). Besides, Weinsberg classified the participants not only by their religion: belonging to a military-political party, holding an office, being part of a court fraction, or being a partisan of an influential leader were important other strands for groupings. Weinsberg’s use of these different ordering systems, however, does not always appear to be well thought through.⁵¹

48 Concerning the pacification of 1570, for example, Weinsberg was sceptical whether the peace design was likely to guarantee a stable, long lasting peace. Sooner or later, the violent conflict would force the parties to come to a better peace agreement (11 August 1570, li 589r). For the late period of the wars he argued that peace could only be achieved through compromise, as all parties lacked the military capacity to decide the conflict, and so religious unity was no longer a realistic option for France (26 November 1587, ls 687v). Examples of rhetorical phrases used by Weinsberg: “God, give a good treaty” (25 November 1575, li 709v; similarly: 18 July 1585, ls 513r).

49 E.g. 1 January 1578, ls 32r; 25 June 1579, ls 130v; see also: Herborn, ‘Hermann von Weinsberg’, pp. 25–6. Weinsberg was a moderate Catholic and even owned and used books on the Roman index (Georg Witzel) (cf. Stein, ‘Auswahlpublikation’). Weinsberg distanced himself from the traditional lay piety of his mother as well as the eagerly Catholic attitude of his sister-in-law (cf. Gérald Chaix, ‘De la piété à la dévotion. Le conseiller de Cologne Hermann Weinsberg entre mère et belle-sœur (1518–1597)’; in *La religion de ma mère. Les femmes et la transmission de la foi*, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1992), pp. 157–72, esp. 163–4 and 170). For a detailed examination of Weinsberg’s attitude towards Protestantism cf. Herborn, ‘Die Protestanten’, pp. 136–53.

50 Cf. Herborn, ‘Die Protestanten’, p. 141.

51 He often employed a mixture of ordering systems (12 October 1567, li 543r): prince of Condé, i.e. the Duke of Bourbon, the Guise family, the Constable, the king, the clergy, the Italian councillors, the young French aristocracy.

Finally, Weinberg used recent French history as an *exemplum* and as a source for general arguments or wise sayings.⁵² Thus, he implied that recent French history was general knowledge. These allusions have to be interpreted in the light of his general concern in the *Gedenkbücher*: Weinsberg was trying to provide comprehensive factual knowledge for his potential successor from the authoritative position as head of the household.⁵³ By mixing historical data with his family history, Weinsberg also strategically increased the value of his account as well as his family's history and, in passing, guaranteed the continuing interest of readers.⁵⁴

Weinsberg as a Recipient of Hogenberg's Engravings

Weinsberg bought engravings from the Cologne workshop of Franz Hogenberg on various occasions. In 1570, the Dutch exile Franz Hogenberg produced a series of engravings on the first three wars in France as a pirated edition of the 'Quarante Tableaux' by Jacques Tortorel and Jean Perrissin, which was published in various editions. After a long pause between 1573 and 1586, with only one sheet on France produced, the Hogenberg workshop continuously published 40 prints until the end of the French Wars of Religion in 1598.⁵⁵

Weinsberg judged the prints to be trustworthy and haunting accounts of contemporary events and therefore could be used not only to inform contemporaries about the current events but also to be kept for coming generations, to show them a reliable interpretation of recent history (7 January 1585, ls 486v). Once again, it seems the author had in mind a scheme by which history acted as guiding advice for his successor. He compared the news in these publications by Hogenberg with other media; above all, with printed pamphlets and oral news, such as a report by his nephew Dr Johan Muysgin, for example.⁵⁶

52 For example, Weinsberg used the French royal dynasty to clarify his standpoint on the inheritance law (18 July 1578, ls 83v) or—in a nostalgic manner—he discussed the changes the Reformation brought with it, including the example of different territories, among them France (2 March 1584, ls 446v; similar: 29 March 1580, ls 190v).

53 Cf. Rohmann, 'Lügner', p. 56.

54 Cf. Glasner, 'Das erinnernde Ich', p. 292.

55 For a detailed examination of the Hogenberg engravings, see: Schäfer, 'Les Guerres de Religion'.

56 Concerning the military camp of the Duke of Parma, Weinsberg compared the report of his nephew Johann Muysgin, an eyewitness who had been in the camp himself, and the engraving by Hogenberg '26.07.1586 Belagerung von Neuss durch den Herzog von Parma'

Despite his admiration for Hogenberg, Weinsberg treated the engravings critically. Time pressure did not always allow for detailed depictions and verification of all data, but the fact that Weinsberg explicitly mentioned discrepancies in certain cases implied that the majority of the engravings were trustworthy accounts in his eyes.⁵⁷ Apparently he attributed a certain evidentiary value to this visual source (eyewitness-like testimony), which he used because of their graphic quality, reliability and richness of detail.⁵⁸ Weinsberg sometimes trustingly copied the verses on the sheet or other details.⁵⁹

In the *Gedenkbücher*, Weinsberg jotted down on 4 April 1592 his largest purchase of sheets from the Hogenberg workshop, which were on the recent events in France.⁶⁰ He bought six engravings, concerning events from October 1591 to April 1592 (4 April 1592, ld 256v). He stated that there had not been any other publications on the French Wars of Religion in the past months.⁶¹ Apparently, Weinsberg, who was fairly interested in news from France at this

(in *Franz Hogenberg—Abraham Hogenberg. Geschichtsblätter*, ed. Fritz Hellwig (Nördlingen: Uhl, 1983), no. 291; cf. as well: Schnurr, 'Informationsbeschaffung', p. 186). Even though Muysgin's sayings had been confirmed by other oral sources, while the engraving by Hogenberg showed differing details, Weinsberg defended them as an equally apt interpretation of the events (21 July 1586, ls 588v).

- 57 At least in the case of local events, comparative accounts and eyewitness reports were easily accessible. Weinsberg reported on several occasions that discrepancies in the prints by Hogenberg were publicly discussed: 28 February 1585, ls 492r (on the boat bridge of Antwerp): "es sagen aber die Nederlender, es sie vil anders geschaffen, dan gemailt"; 29 December 1587, ls 693r (on the capture of Bonn): "von dem Hoichberger in ein kuffern form gestechen ... Es waren etliche mit dissem gemeils und truck ubel zufriden, sprachen, Schenk het Bonn nit mit stritbar hant, dan mit verretei ingenomen". See also: ls 586v (on the attack at Junkersdorf); 25 July 1586, ls 590r (on the siege of Neuss).
- 58 Cf. Schnurr, *Religionskonflikt*, pp. 471, 473; Schnurr, 'Informationsbeschaffung', p. 188.
- 59 Weinsberg wrote the name of the attacker on the Prince of Orange in the margin (10 July 1584, ls 462v): "Balthasar Serack, einem Burgundier". Following the critical digital edition of the *Gedenkbücher*, Weinsberg had drawn this piece of information from the print of Hogenberg, although Weinsberg only purchased the sheet for himself later.
- 60 Franz Hogenberg had already died in 1590, but the workshop continued publishing with his name, at first. His widow managed the *officina* till the son Abraham was capable to take over (cf. Ilja M. Veldman, 'Protestant emigrants. Artists from the Netherlands in Cologne (1567–1612)', in *Künstlerischer Austausch*, ed. Thomas W. Gaetgens (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), pp. 163–74, here 166; *Franz Hogenberg—Abraham Hogenberg*, p. 13).
- 61 Examining the bibliography of books published in German-speaking countries in the sixteenth century (VD 16) however, one can determine several pamphlets published in 1591 and in the beginning of 1592 in Cologne on the French Wars of Religion, e.g. VD16 E 711; VD16 ZV 24878; VD16 ZV 22396.

point, had tried to purchase news publications, but without success—apart from the engravings from Hogenberg's workshop. One sheet dealt with the marriage of Turenne and the capture of Astenay (27 October 1591, date of event mentioned on the sheet), another the siege of Astenay by the Duke of Lorraine (13 December 1591), the third one the punishment of Brison's treachery in Paris (19 December 1591), the fourth sheet the capture of Valéry by the Duke of Nevers (12 January 1592), the fifth one the attack on the camp of the Duke of Parma near Aumale by Henri IV (6 February 1592), while the last sheet covered the siege of Neuchâtel-en-Bray by the Duke of Parma (16 February 1592).⁶²

Weinsberg tried to relate these six accounts of individual incidents to form a continuous narration of recent historical events (a tendency already mentioned above). Above all, he drew on the short text passages on the sheets, and only afterwards on the image, as a subsidiary source of information.⁶³ Through narration, he constructed a coherent interpretation, reaching beyond the chronological account, using conjunctions (causal, temporal, adversative, conditional: 'here from', 'so that', 'then', 'soon thereafter', 'but') to suggest relationships between the events, based on his own perception. On the level of content, he added information to the engravings by Hogenberg, filling the gaps.⁶⁴ As he had explicitly stated that no other printed news was available, he must have gained news through other media or channels left unspecified. Nevertheless, Weinsberg added a comment on the credibility of those sources used, differentiating between news already verified and circulating rumours not yet proved.⁶⁵ Concluding his description of French events on the basis of the six engravings

62 Compare Weinsberg's description (4 April 1592, Id 256v–257r) and the engravings by Hogenberg (in *Franz Hogenberg—Abraham Hogenberg*, nos. 75–80).

63 Concerning the engraving of the punishment of Brison, for example, Weinsberg used the text, but with different wording: "Wie monsieur Brison ein president im parlament zu Pariß sampt drien rhaidtzerwanten sich deß kreichs gedachten frei zu machen und die stadt zu laissen und die Hispanische wacht und besatzung im gefenckniß erwurgt, daruber der hertzoch von Meine in Pariß komen, die uffrurer gestraft und gefangen, also den rumor gestilt" (26 February 1592, Id 257r). Compare the engraving by Hogenberg, in *Franz Hogenberg—Abraham Hogenberg*, no. 77.

64 Weinsberg added, for example, after describing the sheet on the marriage of Turenne and the capture of Astenay, that Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, the Duke of Bouillon and the count of Turenne, and his soldiers, moved to Astenay with some equipment for a siege (26 February 1592, Id 256v). He described the alternating siege of Astenay (Lorraine—Turenne, Navarra—Lorraine), adding that the Duke of Parma, though he had already departed on 18 November, arrived too late (26 February 1592, Id 257r).

65 "Disse zwae leste zeitung quamen zu Coln, und wart vil gesagt daß sie an einandern gewesen, aber nemanß kan etwaß gewiß sagen" (26 February 1592, Id 257r).

Weinsberg turned from the specific recent events to a general evaluation of the current situation in France: from a military perspective, no side was potent enough to end this war (26 February 1592, ld 257r).

Weinsberg not only discussed the quality of Hogenberg's engravings as sources for recent historical or contemporary events, and based his accounts in the *Gedenkbücher* on those publications, but also discussed the distribution, technique, and price of the prints, as well as censorship. Hogenberg's engravings were sold in the streets of Cologne by *colporteurs* and in other places ("und sunst verkauft")—presumably the workshop and bookstores. They were also sent to his contacts, even in foreign countries, as with Philipp Gallus in Antwerp, in order to sell them to a wider public.⁶⁶ The engravings were sold as single sheets, combined as a series, included in books and traded as albums. At first, the albums were labour-intensive and high-cost individual collections because the customers chose themselves which prints they wanted to include.⁶⁷ Later, the workshop published album sets directly.⁶⁸

For a series of 21 engravings Weinsberg paid "32 a current" (i.e. albus).⁶⁹ One engraving by Hogenberg must therefore have been 1.52 albus, which was about one half or one third of the daily wage of a master craftsman or an assistant at this time in Cologne.⁷⁰ Weinsberg's situation as a merchant of moderate means

66 29 December 1587, ls 693r. Cf. *Franz Hogenberg—Abraham Hogenberg*, p. 12.

67 26 February 1592, ld 257r: "Man weis die abgetruckte breif in boicher zu leimen, darin man die ganze historien und geschichten kan sehen, nimt aber vil arbeitcs und kosten".

68 Cf. *Franz Hogenberg—Abraham Hogenberg*, p. 5.

69 7 January 1585, ls 486v: "21 figuren von deß ertzstifts Coln kreich, und wie der princz van Vranien umbkomen, dar vor 32 a current bezalt". Weinsberg used "a current" usually for either gulden or albus, e.g. 31 December 1582, ls 381v; 4 January 1582, ls 324v; 4 May 1582, ls 339v; 23 June 1583, ls 410v; 6 September 1585, ls 523r; 31 December 1586, ls 543v.

70 Cf. Johann Jakob Merlo, *Kölnische Künstler in alter und neuer Zeit. Johann Jacob Merlos neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken Kölner Künstler*, ed. Eduard Firmenich-Richartz (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1895), col. 375, note 1. In an order of 1561 the regular daily wage of a chiseller or carpenter was fixed: At this point 284 days per year were work days. The master earned 5 *Raderalbus* in summer, 4 ½ in winter and, when the builder-owner paid his living costs, 3 *Raderalbus* in summer and 2 ½ in winter. An assistant earned and 3 *Raderalbus* in summer and 2 ½ in winter when he paid for his living himself (otherwise: 1 ½ *Raderalbus* in summer and 1 ¼ in winter). One gulden was worth 51 *Albus* and one *Raderalbus* 20 *Kurantheller*. As a comparative figure: in 1585 one unit of wheat cost 186,75 *Albus* or 2,59 gulden, whereas rye cost 130,75 *Albus* or 1,82 gulden (cf. Hermann Kellenbenz, 'Wirtschaftsgeschichte Kölns im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert', in *Zwei Jahrtausende Kölner Wirtschaft*, vol. 1, ed. Hermann Kellenbenz (Cologne: De Gruyter, 1975), pp. 321–429, esp. 403 and 417–18; Franz Irsigler, 'Getreide- und

proves that these prints were affordable, though too expensive for a carpenter to regularly purchase, no matter whether master or assistant, and particularly for a day labourer. However, the acquisition of a single sheet was not beyond the reach of these groups. Furthermore, discussion in the streets—above all about local events and publications concerning them—provided an alternative or additional way to receive the latest news. Weinsberg proves that the prints by Hogenberg were publicly discussed in Cologne, in terms of their reliability, for example.⁷¹

Repeatedly, Weinsberg underlined the quality of Hogenberg's publications.⁷² Hogenberg was among the first in Cologne who used the technique of engraving and etching and, according to Weinsberg, was an important figure in the transfer of techniques from Brabant to Cologne, a claim repeated in the chronicle *Teutsche Nation Herrlichkeit* (1609) by Matthias Quad, who had worked in Hogenberg's workshop for some time.⁷³ According to Weinsberg, besides the important aspect of the technical quality of Hogenberg's work and the reliability of the content, their up-to-date nature was another point in favour of the engravings by Hogenberg.⁷⁴

One would perhaps expect Hogenberg, printing as a Protestant about the crucial confessional conflicts in France and the Netherlands, to face censorship in Cologne. However, this was not the case. On both occasions where Hogenberg was confronted with censorship, municipal interests were discussed.⁷⁵ Weinsberg expressed his incomprehension at the suppression of the

Brotpreise, Brotgewichte und Getreideverbrauch in Köln vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Ende des Ancien Régime', in *idem*, pp. 519–39, at 523).

- 71 On the capture of Bonn: 29 December 1587, ls 693r; On the troubles in Antwerp: 28 February 1585, ls 492r.
- 72 E.g. "gar artich stechen"; "ein herliche kunst" (26 February 1592, ld 257r).
- 73 26 February 1592, ld 257r. Cf. Veldman, 'Protestant emigrants', 166; Ingrid von Kamptz, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum. Ein Städtebuch von Georg Braun und Franz Hogenberg* (Cologne, 1953), pp. 24 and 44; Concerning the role of Hogenberg for the establishment of the engraving techniques, confer as well: *Wunderzeichen und Winkeldrucker 1543–1586. Einblattdrucke aus der Sammlung Wikiana in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, ed. Bruno Weber (Zürich: U. Graf, 1972), p. 36.
- 74 On the occasion of the funeral of the prince of Taxis, for example, the Hogenberg workshop was able to publish his print only four days later (26 April 1588, ld 33v). Weinsberg noted furthermore that Hogenberg had published an engraving on the capture of Bonn on the 23rd of December 1587 by the troops of Martin Schenk so quickly, that he had purchased a copy already on 29 December 1587 (29 December 1587, ls 693r).
- 75 This is especially transparent when the conflict of the town's authorities with the archbishop's authorities was taken up by Hogenberg: to prevent any further provocation of the archbishop of Cologne after the execution of his general commissioner Hieronymus

print on the attack at Junkersdorf, in the light of the otherwise laxly practised censorship (15 July 1586, ls 586v). Even though the engraving had been forbidden, Weinsberg tried to view it in a bookseller's store and purchase it, but failed. However, he must have obtained access to it somehow because he quoted the text, which raises the question of efficacy of Cologne's censorship.⁷⁶

Conclusion

Hermann Weinsberg's case is remarkable because he was an average burgher without any immediate, personal interests in France who commented on acquiring and handling news on the French Wars of Religion in his diary-like *Gedenkbücher* for about 30 years. Sources on the audience of printed media in the late sixteenth century are rare, but the case of Hermann Weinsberg can provide some insight into the practical aspects of readership.

Credibility and availability were the two main criteria for Weinsberg when purchasing news. For foreign affairs, he relied above all on printed media (broadsheets and pamphlets), chosen according to the repetitive and undisputed character of news, whereas he gathered other information only unsteadily, depending on situational personal contacts. The Hogenberg engravings which Weinsberg highly valued were both reliable and easily accessible. Accustomed to a steady influx of news already, Weinsberg documented some gaps in the flow of news.

Weinsberg showed an inconsistent handling of news in his *Gedenkbücher*, ranging from a critical, reflective media literacy to simple copying. Generally he provided a neutral and non-polemic account, preferring to rely on the text of the available media, trying to make sense of pieces of information by including them in a narrative framework.

Weinsberg's interest in the French Wars of Religion was triggered by personal involvement and by 'elite' affairs. On the one hand he picked political and military news with impact on his region, on German involvement in the French Wars of Religion or on questions concerning peace and stability in the

Michiels, Hogenberg had to cancel his edition treating the execution and hand in his printing plate (22 August 1587, ls 667r). See also 15 July 1586, ls 586v; and cf. also Merlo, *Kölnische Künstler*, col. 376; *Franz Hogenberg—Abraham Hogenberg*, p. 14.

76 Compare Weinsberg's note (15 July 1586, ls 586v) with the sheet '3.7.1586 Morden bei Junkersdorf' (in *Franz Hogenberg—Abraham Hogenberg*, no. 290): the text corresponds, though some minor changes, especially in spelling, are visible.

confessional struggles, while on the other hand he treated preferentially all sorts of high-level political matters in France.

Two main motivations to include news into the *Gedenkbücher* can be explicated: On one hand he educated his potential successor in a form of media literacy and provided comprehensive factual knowledge, on the other hand he embellished the memory of his house by including noteworthy affairs of great lords and states.

‘Secret and Uncertain’: A History of *Avvisi* at the Court of the Medici Grand Dukes

Sheila Barker*

Avvisi and the Tuscan State

The central role that *avvisi* played in the intelligence gathering of the Medici court was acknowledged in a letter of 4 August 1602 written by Grand Duke Ferdinando I de’ Medici to his Spanish agent in Valladolid. Ferdinando was sending the agent a French newsletter that was to be shared only with the duke of Lerma. In Ferdinando’s words, the newsletter was “of some importance, being so rare both the news from your parts, and the insights into such affairs”.¹

Much of the explanation for why newsletters—or *avvisi* as they were called in Italian—occupied such a fundamental place in the Medici state lies in the fact that the rise of early modern news networks and establishment of the Medici grand duchy in Tuscany were coeval developments.² More than a

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1 Letter of 4 July 1602, Ferdinando I to Rodrigo Alidosi de Mendoza in Valladolid, MdP 4963, fo. 3, MAP doc. ID#17261.

2 For a general orientation to the history and uses of *avvisi* in Italy, see Mario Infelise, ‘News networks between Italy and Europe’, in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 51–67; Mario Infelise, ‘Roman *Avvisi*: Information and Politics in the Seventeenth Century’, in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 212–28; Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali: Alle origini della pubblica informazione* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002); and

merely casual connection, this temporal coincidence signals the deep interdependency of these two systems. On the one hand, Medici court functionaries required regular access to trans-continental news currents to successfully carry out their duties. At the same time, the format and trajectory of that news was evolving partly in response to the Medici court's consumption patterns and its active dissemination of information.

Thanks to this close relationship between the Medici court's operations and its news networks spanning the European panorama, both the circulation and reading of newsletters are referred to often in the court documents kept in the Medici court's epistolary archive.³ This archive, the so-called *Mediceo del Principato*, covers the period from 1532 to 1737 and contains over 100 volumes of *avvisi* from places as distant as London and Constantinople. In addition to the *avvisi* themselves, the Medici grand ducal archive also contains numerous personal missives referring to *avvisi* (or the term's rough cognates, such as 'lettere', 'inserti', 'gazzette', and 'nuove') as well as the postal system that relayed them.⁴ Located by means of the Medici Archive Project's digital database (BIA), these epistolary references in the Medici grand ducal archive constitute the basis of the present study of *avvisi* at the Medici court, particularly in the period 1540–1620.

The interest in *avvisi* at the Medici court began with the founder of the grand ducal dynasty, Cosimo I de' Medici (1519–74), the 17-year-old scion of a secondary branch of the Medici family chosen by Charles V to assume the ducal throne left empty after the assassination of Alessandro de' Medici in January of 1537. At least three more generations of the Medici sustained Cosimo's enthusiasm for *avvisi*. They included Cosimo's sons, namely Grand Duke Francesco, Grand Duke Ferdinando I, don Pietro, and don Giovanni, along with Ferdinando I's consort, Christine de Lorraine.⁵ The next generation

Filipo de Vivo, 'Paolo Sarpi and the Uses of Information in Seventeenth-Century Venice', *Media History*, 11.1 (2005), pp. 37–51.

3 Printed gazettes were published in Florence by the company of Amador Massi e Lorenzo Landi in the year 1641, who used their printing press to publish the handwritten *avvisi* that reached them from other cities, especially Venice and Genoa. These gazettes can be found in MdP 2695.

4 Since 'avvisi' and all the cognates mentioned here were also used in a more generic sense to mean 'updates', even verbal ones, these terms must be interpreted with caution, and in some cases, the precise meaning cannot be determined.

5 While in Madrid in the 1590s, don Pietro received Roman *avvisi*, which on some occasions were read aloud for the benefit of the staff; see the letter of 6 January 1590, Francesco Guidi in Madrid to Ferdinando I, MdP 4920, fo. 398, MAP doc. ID#957. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, don Giovanni de' Medici read *avvisi* sent from the Medici court when he was

of *avviso* readers included Grand Duke Cosimo II's consort Maria Magdalena von Habsburg, and Cosimo II's siblings the duchess of Mantua Caterina de' Medici and cardinal Carlo de' Medici.⁶ This interest was inherited by Cosimo II's son, Mattia de' Medici.⁷

In addition to being an object of ardent interest to the Medici family, *avvisi* were also of central concern to the Medici government's administrators. By integrating *avvisi* with traditional sources of intelligence, the Florentine secretariat and its bebies of ambassadors and agents abroad were kept apprised of current international events. Once the *avvisi* had fulfilled their purpose, the administrators of the court carefully filed them in the same central archive that housed the court's incoming correspondence and the first drafts of outgoing missives.

The Medici Mail

To ensure the safe and efficient circulation of *avvisi* and other time-sensitive documents within his duchy, duke Cosimo's ministers engineered a domestic postal service.⁸ This postal service had figured among his first priorities when he came to power in 1537, and by the early 1540s more than fifteen couriers were in Cosimo's employ, ferrying mail and other objects in and out of Florence, day and night. A letter written on 24 August 1590 by Medici secretary Belisario Vinta to Iacopo Lusardo regarding plans for providing the Florentine court

in Ardennes, France (Letter of 6 April 1606, don Giovanni in Sedan (Fr) to Belisario Vinta, MdP 5157, fo. 447, MAP doc. ID#8818); and when he was in Ostend, Flanders (Letter of 1 October 1603, don Giovanni in Ostend to Belisario Vinta, MdP 5155, fo. 578, MAP doc. ID#17682); and in 1590, Ferdinando I sent Flemish *avvisi* to his wife, Christine; see the letter of 19 March 1590, don Giovanni in Livorno to Chrstine de Lorraine, MdP 5151, ins.2, fo. 3, MAP doc. ID#12128.

6 Maria Magdalena read Spanish *avvisi* in 1619; see the letter of 31 March 1619, Maria Magdalena von Habsburg to Ginevra di Porcia in an unknown location, MdP 6101, fo. 258, MAP doc. ID#15603. Caterina and Carlo exchanged *avvisi* in 1619; see the letter of 6 August 1619, Carlo di Ferdinando de' Medici to Caterina di Ferdinando de' Medici in Matua, MdP 6108, fo.210, MAP doc. ID#6249.

7 Mattia was the recipient of *avvisi* in the late 1650s, as shown by the address information on the *avviso* from Rome dated 9 February 1658, MdP 4027a, fo. 619, MAP doc. ID#21051; and the *avviso* from Rome dated 16 February 1658, MdP 4027a, fo. 621, MAP doc. ID#19961.

8 There is a discreet bibliography on mail delivery systems in early modern Italy. See the general work, John B. Allen, *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972); on Italy specifically, B. Caizzi, *Dalla posta dei re alla posta di tutti* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 1993); and on the Medici, Sergio Chieppi, *I servizi postali dei Medici, 1500-1737* (Fiesole: Servizio editoriale fiesolano, 1997).

with news from Genoa reveals that such a domestic postal service was critical to the delivery of foreign *avvisi* to the Medici court:

The *avvisi* you wish to provide day by day, giving them to that friend in Sestri [a port near Genoa], can indeed be sent to us by that route because at every hour the [Tuscan] couriers pass along that road, unless in the case of an urgent and very time sensitive *avviso*, in which case—using all possible diligence—you can even send it with a special courier.⁹

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Medici court had several postmasters outside of Tuscany. For instance, Agostino and Monanno Monanni managed the Roman operations of the Medici court's private postal routes, which in 1642 ran to Naples, Lyon, Genoa, and Milan.¹⁰ All of the latter postal routes overlapped along the segment that linked Rome to Florence, ensuring a nearly seamless connectivity between these two cities. If the Medici courier going from Naples to Milan was not available to deliver a Roman letter to Florence, the letter was simply sent with the couriers headed to Genoa or Lyon.

The Tuscan roads used by the postal riders were both patrolled and maintained, and any problem that resulted in slow, lost, damaged or stolen mail garnered immediate attention. For mail deliveries beyond the Medici postal routes, foreign postal services were employed, but always with an eye to obtaining the best service in light of various options. In the following letter from a disgruntled Medici court functionary in London, it appears that they chose among foreign postal services according to such pragmatic criteria as cost, reliability, and security, with variation in distance being of only secondary concern:

Ricevei tre giorni sono l'ultimo dispaccio di V.S. Illustrissima de 15 febbraio, accompagnato dai soliti fogli di Roma et Genova, restando nondimeno sempre adietro di quello che ordinariamente si dovrebbe havuto questa settimana che sin a questa hora non è comparso et tutto per difetto et mala diligenza di questo maestro delle poste che è olandese et ci tratta malissimo senza poterne rimediare. Questo Ambasciatore Veneto vedendo la disorbitanza del pagamento de posti de suoi pieghi che manda et riceve da Venezia, il quale senza altra tariffa li fa ad libitum, ha lasciato la strada d'Anversa et mano di questo maestro di poste et

9 Letter of 24 August 1590, Vinta to Lusardo in an unknown location, MdP 208, fo. 2, MAP doc. ID#16582.

10 See MdP 1490, a volume covering the activities of the Medici Roman Post from 1641–4.

manda hora i suoi pieghi per via di Parigi ... et sebene la strada è un poco lunghetta è però per lui sicurissima et di meno spesa.¹¹

(I received three days ago the dispatch of 15 February from Your Most Illustrious Lordship, accompanied by the usual [news] sheets from Rome and Genoa, because [the ordinary post] is always late with respect to the appointed delivery time and this week's still has not arrived at this late hour, and all because of the fault and incompetence of this postmaster who is Dutch and who treats us very badly, leaving us no recourse. The Venetian Ambassador, upon seeing the exorbitance of the expenditures for the delivery of the letters that he sends and receives from Venice, which were not priced according to standard rates but rather by improvised estimates, has relinquished the Antwerp route and the service of that postmaster and now sends his letters by way of Paris ... and even if that route is a bit long, it is nonetheless very secure according to him and less expensive.)

Yet even with this vigilance, the regular circulation of mail was occasionally interrupted. Obstacles to the smooth running of this system were usually banal and weather related. For example, after a mail courier arrived late from Lucca in 1648 and tried to put the blame on the health authorities who fumigated his mail, it emerged that the true cause of delay was the courier's drinking binges.¹² The excuse used by this errant courier brings to mind a far more serious problem for the efficient circulation of *avvisi*: the frequent recurrence of contagious epidemics. As soon as the suspicion of plague had been aroused by *avvisi* and other information sources, Italian cities enacted draconian measures to detect potential carriers of the contagion and block them from entering the urban perimeter. If either *avvisi* or their couriers had passed through plague-infested locales, they were withdrawn from circulation, either to undergo fumigation and quarantine, or to endure graver repercussions.

Due to the prevalence of such precautionary measures, in 1575 the fear of the plague had choked off the supply of news from northern Italy. Whereas the Venice courier had been detained by a quarantine ordinance in Ferrara, his less fortunate colleague, the courier from Milan, was shot to death in Florence at the order of Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici because he was suspected of having the plague (although after his death it was discovered that he was

11 Letter of 21 March 1625, Amerigo Salvetti in London to Curzio Picchena, MdP 4095, unnumbered folio, MAP doc. ID#23170).

12 *Avviso* from Rome dated 15 August 1648, MdP 4027a, ins. 1, fo. 16, MAP doc. ID#19374.

actually free of the disease).¹³ Since shooting the messenger was not considered an irrational action during times of plague, the couriers who carried *avvisi* from plague-ridden cities ran substantial risks at both ends of their delivery routes.

As a curious corollary to this widespread use of sanitary cordons and quarantines to block intercity traffic during plagues, the sudden cessation of the flow of *avvisi* from a particular place was a sort of news item in and of itself. As Grand Duke Francesco pointed out in a letter to a contact in Prague, the lack of French *avvisi* in Florence was due to the unusual lateness of the courier from Lyon, and his absence in turn was caused “perhaps by reason of the plague, which seems to have again touched upon that city”.¹⁴ Such exchanges are suffused with the bitter irony that while plague-stricken couriers were considered public enemies, *avvisi* from places suspected of having the epidemic were highly valued as a means of determining the course of an outbreak and evaluating the need for prophylactic tactics.¹⁵

War similarly intensified the demand for *avvisi* at the same time as it created obstacles to their delivery. Pietro Piccolomini, stationed in Cambrai, wrote to a Medici court official abroad, Girolamo de Rossi in Brussels, on 11 September 1595, during the buildup to the siege of Cambrai that would take place the following month. He exhorted de Rossi to provide newsletters, conveying the urgency of the matter: “Le raccomando di novo le incluse et aspetto le gazzette non accettando scusa alcuna” (“I remind you again about the attachments [of *avvisi*] and I await the gazettes and will accept no excuse”).¹⁶ During another period of aggression in the Netherlands, the supply of Flemish *avvisi* in Paris dried up after the Spanish General Ambrogio Spinola imposed capital punishment on anyone caught sending letters from the region of the battlefield; as a

13 *Avviso* from Rome dated 16 November 1575, MdP 4026, fo. 491, MAP doc. ID#26283.

14 “... bene è vero che questa settimana per ancora non teniamo *avvisi* di Francia, tardando più del solito il corriere di Lione, et forse per conto della peste, che pareva che di nuovo avesse ritocco in quella città” (Letter of 20 July 1581, Francesco de’ Medici to Giovanni Alberti in Prague, MdP 257, fo. 6, MAP doc. ID#13798).

15 For example, in the letter of 31 July 1586 from Francesco de’ Medici to Ambrogio Vignati in Bologna (MdP 269, fo. 108, MAP doc. ID#16350), Francesco notes that news from Lyon about the signs of the epidemic convinced him to keep his own city’s sanitary defenses intact: “Et per conto della Peste è molto ben fatto che costì, et per tutto il contorno si ritorni alle diligentie, et guardie di prima, le quali io non ho voluto mai nelli stati miei rimuovere, poiché da Lione vengono confermate molto cattive nuove”.

16 Letter of 11 September 1595, Piccolomini in Cambrai to Rossi in Brussels, MdP 4255 fo. 274, MAP doc. ID#25760.

result it was hard for the outside world to perceive who had the upper hand during this phase of the Dutch Revolt.¹⁷

Precisely because rapid updates on world events had become so central to rulership, interference with mail routes began to be adopted as a political tactic to weaken one's enemy. This is the underlying purpose of Medici interference with mail delivery in 1575. The Roman *avvisi* of that year reported that the delivery of mail from Milan to Rome had ceased because Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici had detained the courier in order to exact revenge on the Duke of Mantua, who had earlier held up a courier carrying Francesco de' Medici's urgent letter to emperor Maximilian II.¹⁸ These incidents reveal how diplomacy was necessary for efficient mail circulation, and how mail circulation in turn was crucial to early modern statecraft.

The Medici News Networks

Like Cosimo I's Medici state, the Medici news networks had a tenuous start but expanded through the building of alliances and friendships. One of the earliest notices attesting to the circulation of *avvisi* in Cosimo's court dates to 1538, the first year or so of his reign. At this time, Cosimo was receiving *avvisi* from the Spanish Viceroy in Naples, Pedro Álvarez de Toledo, who entrusted them to Cosimo for forwarding to Emperor Charles V.¹⁹ As a link in this chain of news circulation, Cosimo was able to read the Neapolitan *avvisi* and even to make copies, which he distributed to his own contacts. Without a doubt, it was a great privilege and sign of trust for the Imperial Court to share these *avvisi* with the young Tuscan prince. Before another year had passed, Pedro de Toledo consolidated that trust when he gave his daughter to Cosimo in matrimony.

Soon after coming to power, Cosimo reached out to his far-flung confidants to obtain additional news, which came sporadically at first. Cosimo's diplomatic agent in Rome, Agnolo Niccolini, summarised for him the contents of *avvisi* from France that he heard or read in 1539.²⁰ The next year, some *avvisi* from Burgos were sent to Cosimo by Lorenzo Antinori, and in 1542, Milanese

17 Letter of 18 August 1608, Cosimo Baroncelli in Paris to Belisario Vinta, MdP 5157, fo. 505; MdP doc. ID#8835.

18 *Avviso* from Rome dated 11 November 1575, MdP 4026, fo. 472, MAP doc. ID#26277.

19 First draft of a letter dated 1538, probably by Cosimo I and intended for an unknown recipient, MdP 2, fo. 89, MAP doc. ID#7415.

20 Letter of 9 July 1539, Niccolini in Rome to Cosimo I, MdP 3262, ins. 2, fo. 75, MAP doc. ID#18855.

avvisi were sent to him from Carrara (Tuscany), courtesy of Cardinal Cybo.²¹ By 1543, Cosimo was able to follow the movements of the Imperial Court thanks to *avvisi* from Speyer and Mainz that had been copied into Italian and forwarded to him.²² Venetian *avvisi* were obtained in the mid 1540s through the assistance of Donato Bardi in Venice, whom Cosimo compensated by sending him news of a Turkish fleet that he had obtained via special dispatch from Genoa.²³ In the late 1540s, copies of German and even English *avvisi* fell into Cosimo's hands thanks to his agent Pier Filippo Pandolfini in Venice and his secretary Averardo Serristori in Rome, but the news they carried must have been rather dated since the regular mail in 1548 took as many as twelve days just to reach Florence from Rome.²⁴

In the last years of Cosimo's reign, foreign *avvisi* became more abundant. Medici diplomat Fabrizio Ferrari scouted out Flemish, French, Polish, Viennese, English, Scottish and French *avvisi* from his outpost in Milan and sent either complete copies or summaries to Florence.²⁵ Yet more French *avvisi* were sent to Cosimo in 1563 by Sallustio Piccolomini, the Florentine Ambassador in Ferrara, and the simultaneous availability of multiple newsletters dealing with events in France finally permitted Cosimo to compare newsletters in order to evaluate their accuracy.²⁶

Cosimo's eldest son Francesco, who had begun reading *avvisi* even before he ascended to his father's throne, vigorously expanded the Medici news network. The earliest notice of his access to newsletters, dating from 1562, refers to *avvisi*

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- 21 Letter of 24 July 1540, Cosimo I to Antinori, MdP 2, fo. 410, MAP doc. ID#16899. *Avviso* from Milan, undated but probably 28 March 1542, MdP 3717, unnumbered folio, MAP doc. ID#23603.
- 22 *Avvisi* from Speyer dated 2 August 1543, MdP 362, fo. 5, MAP doc. ID#2155.
- 23 Letter of 24 May 1544, Cosimo I to Donato Bardi in Venice, MdP 185, fo. 82, MAP doc. ID#14510.
- 24 Letter of 12 November 1546, Cosimo I to Pier Filippo Pandolfini in Venice, MdP 8, fo. 174, MAP doc. ID#14581. Letter of 19 April 1548, Cosimo to Averardo Serristori in Rome, MdP 11, fo. 53, MAP doc. ID#6949.
- 25 See the letter of 17 October 1560, Fabrizio Ferrari in Milan to Cosimo I, MdP 3108, fo. 124, MAP doc. ID#12312; letter of 1 January 1561, Ferrari in Milan to Bartolomeo Concini, MdP 3108, fo. 147, MAP doc. ID#16767; letter of 25 June 1561, Ferrari to Cosimo I, MdP 3108, fo. 217, MAP doc. ID#16537; and letter of 21 May 1561, Ferrari in Milan to Cosimo, MdP 3108, fo. 20, MAP doc. ID#17338. The delivery of these *avvisi* was relatively efficient, considering that amid winter weather and Christmas holidays the *avvisi* traveled from Milan to Florence in 10 days; see the letter of 2 January 1561, Cosimo I to Ferrari in Milan, MdP 214, fo. 56, MAP doc. ID#22381.
- 26 "Gli *avvisi* che ci mandate di Francia si confrontano con alcuni altri che haviamo". Letter of 4 February 1563, Cosimo I to Piccolomini in Ferrara, MdP 219, fo. 34, MAP doc. ID#16201.

from France and Trent, which Francesco passed to Medici secretary Lorenzo Pagni when he finished with them.²⁷ As Grand Duke, Francesco early on made the steady supply of *avvisi* a priority, setting to this task the secretary of the Medici Legation in Venice, Cosimo Bartoli (1503–72), who compiled weekly news reports for over four years, from 1567 to 1571, at a monthly salary of 30 scudi.²⁸ Meanwhile, the scribes of the Florentine legation in Rome—working from within Palazzo Firenze, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici's first Roman residence—copied *avvisi* for forwarding to Francesco in Florence.²⁹ With the outbreak of the devastating epidemic of bubonic plague in northern Italy in 1577, Francesco resorted to corruption in order to obtain *avvisi*, relying on the Bologna postmaster Ambrogio Vignati to send him surreptitiously made copies of the *avvisi* that passed through his mail channels. These included *avvisi* that had been prepared by the French ambassador to Rome for the benefit of King Henri III, as well as *avvisi* from Ferrara, Venice, and Spain.³⁰

As Francesco gained experience at Tuscany's helm, his avidity for newsletters grew, so that by the 1580s he had a full hand of news sources at his disposal. Letters from the later years of Francesco's reign reveal him to be acutely concerned about the quality of the news content. In 1581, Francesco praised the work of an *avviso* compiler in Milan, Gabriello Verri:

Teniamo l'inserto et il rapporto di avvisi molto copiosi, che ci sono stati sommamente cari, si che seguitate nella medesima diligentia dandoci ragguaglio di quanto pervenga a notitia vostra, che non potete farci piacere più accetto, et massime cercando voi di ritrarre le cose con più di fondamento, et di certezza, che vi sia possibile.³¹

(With your last letter from the 2nd [of August], we received your insert and the report of the very copious *avvisi*, which were very much

27 Letter of 29 April 1562, Francesco de' Medici to Bartolomeo Concini, MdP 215, fo. 46, MAP doc. ID#16975.

28 Bartoli's *avvisi* can be found in MdP 3080 and MdP 238.

29 Letter of 3 July 1570, Pietro Usimbardi in Rome to Antonio Serguidi, MdP 1177, ins.16, fo. 475, MAP doc. ID#5172.

30 Letter of 10 March 1577, Vignati in Bologna to Francesco de' Medici, MdP 695, fo. 280, MAP doc. ID#16074. Letter of 15 March 1577, Vignati in Bologna to Francesco de' Medici, MdP 695, fo. 236, MAP doc. ID#16063; the Ferrara and Venice *avvisi* themselves can be found in MdP 695, fos. 237–8, MAP doc. ID#s16065–6. Letter of 31 January 1578, Vignati in Bologna to Francesco de' Medici, MdP 693, fo. 99, MAP doc. ID# 17326.

31 Letter of 7 August 1581, Francesco to Gabriello Verri in Milan, MdP 257, fo. 15, MAP doc. ID#15399.

appreciated, and if you continue with the same diligence giving us summaries of all that comes to your attention, you would not be able to please us more, particularly if you seek to characterise the news items with greater factual basis and certainty according to your abilities.)

At nearly the same time, he thanked an agent in Genoa for sending him *avvisi* that included information from Paris about the Turkish fleet near Sicily, demonstrating that Francesco's contacts in nearby places were actually furnishing him with *avvisi* compiled from a wide geographical range of sources.³²

Five years later, in 1586, Francesco not only had a southern contact in the Naples Postmaster's Office (Francesco Navarrete) who furnished *avvisi* from the Levant, but he also had three contacts to the north.³³ These northern informants were an agent in Milan named Prospero Visconti who ferreted out German *avvisi*;³⁴ an agent in Prague (Orazio Urbani) who sent *avvisi* with news from places as distant as Constantinople;³⁵ and Antonio Bartolini in Venice, who was paid one scudo monthly for supplying *avvisi* from Venice and other places—a service so secretive that Bartolini was paid through a Venetian middleman.³⁶ Shortly thereafter, in 1587, these important currents of information were supplemented by two agents in Rome. One of them, Giovanni Alberti, provided summaries of *avvisi* from Poland and Germany.³⁷ The other, Francesco

32 Letter of 23 September 1581, Francesco de' Medici to Pedro de Mendoza, MdP 257, fo. 50, MAP doc. ID#16098.

33 Letter of 10 December 1586, Francesco de' Medici to Navarrete in Naples, MdP 270, fo. 3, MAP doc. ID#16407; Letter of 8 January 1587, Francesco to Navarrete in Naples, MdP 270, fo. 18, MAP doc. ID#16417.

34 Letter of 20 February 1586, Francesco de' Medici to Visconti, MdP 270, fo. 48, MAP doc. ID#16463. Letter of 10 July 1586, Francesco to Urbani, MdP 269, fo. 91, MAP doc. ID#16331; and letter of 19 September 1586, Francesco to Urbani, MdP 269, fo. 139, MAP doc. ID#16386.

35 Letter of 20 February 1586, Francesco de' Medici to Visconti, MdP 270, fo. 48, MAP doc. ID#16463. Letter of 10 July 1586, Francesco to Urbani, MdP 269, fo. 91, MAP doc. ID#16331; and letter of 19 September 1586, Francesco to Urbani, MdP 269, fo. 139, MAP doc. ID#16386. Letter of 10 December 1586, Francesco to Navarrete in Naples, MdP 270, fo. 3, MAP doc. ID#16407; Letter of 8 January 1587, Francesco to Navarrete in Naples, MdP 270, fo. 18, MAP doc. ID#16417.

36 Letter of 28 March 1586, Francesco de' Medici to Napoleone Cambi, MdP 269, fo. 12, MAP doc. ID#14198: "mettete a uscita a spese nostre generale scudi otto di moneta, che questo dì n'havete contanti pagati a Michelangelo Stanghetti, a nome di Curtio Granucci di Venetia, et a lui per Antonio Bartolini Venetiano per la sua provisione d'otto mesi decorsi per tutto dicembre prossimo passato, per havere mandato a noi la gazzetta et datoci in quelli tempi diversi avvisi".

37 Letter from 21 August 1587, Francesco de' Medici to Alberti, MdP 270, fo. 158, MAP doc. ID#16562.

Gerini, sent Roman *avvisi* to Francesco with the Lyon courier, who arrived with a delay of only five days.³⁸ In addition to them, the aforementioned Bologna postmaster, Ambrogio Vignati, regularly funneled Flemish *avvisi* to Francesco in these last years of his reign.³⁹

In the seventeenth century, *avvisi* became more available and subscriptions became more prevalent. It was now feasible for *avviso* subscriptions to be arranged without any other recompense except a standardised fee, paid either to couriers or to the middlemen used to shield the identity of information pirates. The responsibility for obtaining *avvisi* was largely delegated to the Medici court's staff abroad, who would routinely collect, read, and forward *avvisi* home to the Florentine court.⁴⁰ At the same time, since they were now handled so openly and by so many functionaries, *avvisi* appear to have lost some of their aura of secrecy.

Particularly during the reign of Cosimo I's grandson, Grand Duke Cosimo II, there are signs of the conversion to long-term subscriptions established in advance from Florence according to standard rates, supplanting the former arrangement in which the sporadic and spontaneous deliveries of *avvisi* either to Florence or to its outposts had been rewarded *ad libidum* and with the Medici grand duke's express gratitude. Just such a long-term subscription was in prospect in 1618, according to this letter between Medici court officials regarding the *avvisi* desired by Cosimo II's consort Maria Magdalena von Habsburg:

Hoggi doppo desinare la Serenissima Arciduchessa nostra Patrona vuole sentire a' leggere quelle nuove venute da Venezia. Et Sua Altezza Serenissima si contenta che Vostra Signoria li faccia venire ogni settimana, s[c]rivendo in questo mentre a quel amico che si dichiari quanto si potrà darli l'anno.⁴¹

38 Letter 18 July 1587, Francesco de' Medici to Gerini, MdP 270, fo. 138, MAP doc. ID#16549.

39 Letter of 20 February 1587, Francesco de' Medici to Vignati, MdP 270, fo. 48, MAP doc. ID#16462.

40 During the reign of Ferdinando I, Medici secretary Curzio Picchena resided in Prague from where he forwarded *avvisi* containing news of Constantinople; see the letter of 25 August 1590, Ferdinando I to Picchena, MdP 280, fo. 3, MAP doc. ID#16584. Later in Ferdinando's reign, Antwerp *avvisi* came from an agent (possibly of French origins) in Antwerp who sent the newsletters to Cosimo Baroncelli in Paris, and who in turn passed the newsletters to Belisario Vinta in Florence; see the letter of 18 August 1606, Baroncelli in Paris to Vinta, MdP 5157, fo. 505, MAP doc. ID#8835.

41 Letter of 29 December 1618, MdP 4634, fo. 242, MAP doc. ID#16177.

(Today after dining, the Most Serene Arch Duchess our Ladyship wants to hear the reading of the newsletter from Venice. And Her Most Serene Highness would be pleased if Your Lordship would secure their delivery every week, writing to this effect to that friend so that he might say how much he is to be given annually.)

As the century wore on, the provision of *avvisi* transpired under ever more impersonal, overt and standardised accords.

Rare or Commonplace, Fresh or Stale

In studying the economics of *avvisi*, it should be kept in mind that news supplies were not undifferentiated commodities in Florence. For instance, some news was considered rare, and this made it valuable. The desire for something other than pedestrian knowledge about current events was summed up succinctly by Grand Duchess Maria Magdalena von Habsburg when asking her contact, Ginevra di Porcia, the Marquesa de Mortara, for Spanish updates: “Gli *avvisi* che Vostra Signoria mi ha scritto delle cose di Spagna, mi hanno apportato contento, e ne gusterei sempre grandemente che Vostra Signoria avesse qualcosa da parteciparmi che non si sappi per ognuno” (“The *avvisi* that Your Ladyship has written me about Spanish events have brought me contentment, and I would always be pleased greatly if your Ladyship should have something to share with me that not everybody knows”).⁴²

Some news was rare because it issued from a place both distant and important about which little was known; rare news of this kind was had at a premium. While *avvisi* from Constantinople and from Rome were both in demand, they were not equally obtainable. This point is illustrated by a letter from 1556 in which Cosimo I de’ Medici advised the Medici envoy in Constantinople, Pietro Gelido, on negotiations with the two unnamed gentlemen who had agreed to leak *avvisi* from Constantinople to the Florentine duke. Cosimo wished to show his gratitude to these two men, and wondered what news he could offer them in exchange. He immediately thought of news from Rome, which in Cosimo’s own words was the place “where all attention is focused, more than anywhere else”. Yet in an afterthought Cosimo realised that this would be an insufficient inducement, given that these savvy Venetians

42 Letter of 31 March 1619, Maria Magdalena to Ginevra di Porcia, MDP 6101, fo. 258, MAP doc. ID#15603.

presumably had better access than he did to “frequent, privileged *avvisi*” from Rome.⁴³

Whenever *avvisi* about Ottoman affairs were available, they generated a stir at the Medici court. In 1551, Medici functionary Francesco Vinta noted the arrival in Milan of Venetian *avvisi* reporting on the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman I Othmanli: “From Venice there are fresh *avvisi* about the Turk ...”⁴⁴ Still with Venice in the backdrop, *avvisi* with news of the Ottoman state reached Florence again in 1608; this time, however, they had taken a more direct route because the Spanish ambassador stationed in Venice had shared them with the Florentine ambassador, Asdrubale Montauto, through a kind of political pact. As Montauto explained to Grand Duke Ferdinando I:

... offertole non solo quel che posso far io a suo servitio ma anche quello che può venir dall'Altezza Vostra per sua sodisfattione, et servitio del suo Re, et egli mostrando aggradirlo infinitamente mi ha dato gli avisi che ha questa settimana di Costantinopoli che sono assai lunghi et mando inclusi.⁴⁵

(Having offered him not only my own efforts for his needs, but also all possible help from Your Highness in the satisfaction and service of his king, he signaled that this pleased him infinitely by giving me the *avvisi* that he received this week from Constantinople, which are rather long, and I send them as attachments.)

For his troubles, the Spanish ambassador was compensated with verdea wine and cookies from Florence.⁴⁶

Another geographical area of deep interest to the Medici from which *avvisi* were comparatively rare was ‘the Indies’, a term which could refer either to the East Indies or the West Indies. Grand Duke Ferdinando I’s secretary Curzio Picchena at Villa Cafaggiolo wrote to Belisario Vinta in Florence in 1604 to

43 “Ringratierete cotesti Signori Illustrissimi per parte nostra della partecipazione delli avvisi, che vi hanno data circa le cose di Levante, de quali male possiamo rendere loro cambio alcuno non si offerendo da queste bande nuova da conto, perché delle cose di Roma (dove hoggi si mira più che in altro) sappiamo non ne mancano a loro Signorie avvisi frequenti, et particolari”. Letter of 27 June 1556, Cosimo I to Gelido in Venice, MdP 639, fo. 302, MAP doc. ID#16873.

44 “Da Venetia ci sono freschi advisi delle cose del Turco che sollecita l’armata e tuttavia la va impressando, come lei vederà per la copia”. Letter of 8 May 1551, Vinta in Milan to Cosimo I, MdP 3102, fo. 397, MAP doc. ID#17863.

45 Letter of 31 May 1608, Montauto in Venice to Ferdinando I, MdP 3000, fo. 380, MAP doc. ID#14969.

46 Letter of 10 January 1608, Montauto in Venice to Vinta, MdP 3000, fo. 261, MAP doc. ID#14683.

clarify the importance of such news, and the passage is cited here at length because of the useful information it also provides about the relative rates of *avviso* circulation by sea and by land:

Mentre si leggevano gl'Inseriti de segretarii di Spagna, in un luogo dove si parla dell'Indie, il Gran Duca disse, che si ricordasse all'Ambasciadore et a' segretarii, che in queste cose facessero particolare studio, per poter sapere, e scriver qua, più minutamente che potranno. Et perché mostravano non haver l'avviso delle flotte arrivate, et S.A. disse esser qua venuto per altra strada, vuole che si scriva loro che ci stiamo più avvertiti. Ma a me non par maraviglia, et lo dissi, che tale avviso possa esser in Italia, nel medesimo tempo che alla Corte di Spagna, poichè da Siviglia a Genova può venir molto presto.⁴⁷

(While the *avvisi* sent by the [Tuscan legation's] secretaries in Spain were being read, during the part that talks about the Indies, the grand duke said that the ambassadors and secretaries were to be reminded that these topics ought to be given particular attention, discovering information and writing about it in the greatest detail possible. And because [these ambassadors and secretaries] obviously had not received the report of the arrival of the fleet, and because His Highness said that this information arrived here through other channels, he wants you to write to them that we are better informed [than they are]. But I am not surprised at this, and I told him that such news could reach Italy and the Spanish court at the same time, since [the news] can move very rapidly between Seville and Genoa.)

Presumably the fleet described in the previous passage hailed from the West Indies, for which Seville was the port of entry for both merchandise and information. For news about the East Indies, *avvisi* from Spain as well as Portugal and the northern European shipping capitals were also very useful to the Medici. For instance, they received a London *avviso* in 1615 that reprinted Spanish news regarding the escalation of confrontations between the Dutch and Portuguese in the East Indies.⁴⁸

As relevant to the value of *avvisi* as their rarity was their expeditious transmission. Recent news was called 'fresh', and old news—usually meaning news received more than three weeks after its byline date—was often characterised as 'stale': in a changeable world, the passage of two weeks could dramatically

47 Letter of 1 October 1604, Picchena at Villa Cafaggiolo to Vinta, MdP 4936, fo. 317, MAP doc. ID#17286.

48 *Avviso* from London, 5 February 1615, MdP 4191, unnumbered folio, MAP doc. ID#22597.

alter the apparent truth of things. The arrival of a fresh *avviso* often revealed the falsehoods contained in its predecessor, further intensifying the Medici court's distinction between 'old' and 'new' as seen in such appraisals as this one from 1605: "Negl'avvisi ch'io mandi di Roma che sono un po' vecchietti vi si contiene che Strigonia si ritrovasse in pericolo, ma con avvisi più freschi come lo ho scritto si afferma che il Turco non habbia seguitata quell'impresa" ("In the *avvisi* that I am sending from Rome which are a little old, it is written that Esztergom is in danger [of attack], but in the fresher *avvisi* as I have written it is affirmed that the Turks did not pursue this road").⁴⁹

Whenever Medici envoys believed that the *avvisi* they were forwarding home would arrive with substantial delay, perhaps even after the arrival of much newer *avvisi* sent along more efficient routes, they did so apologetically, as if the money spent on the postage were being wasted.⁵⁰ From the point of view of Medici functionaries abroad who had few alternative sources of information, the lack of fresh *avvisi* was perceived as a paralyzing situation, termed a 'famine' by Giulio Battaglini while stationed in Naples in 1599.⁵¹ Amid such famines, the old *avvisi* might yet still be read and appreciated, but for other reasons altogether different from intelligence gathering, as indicated by Grand Duke Francesco's reaction to the late *avvisi* sent from his agent in Antwerp in 1581. In his letter to his agent, Francesco graciously conceded that although old, at least the *avvisi* were signs of "the will to serve" and were written in the detailed manner he especially appreciated.⁵²

Appraising *avvisi* at the Medici Court

As avid consumers of *avvisi*, the Medici court regarded their contents with a healthy dose of skepticism. Cosimo Baroncelli complained from Antwerp in 1604 that the news of the war contained in the gazettes and merchant *avvisi*

49 Letter of 26 September 1605, Belisario Vinta to Sallustio Tarugi in Valladolid, MdP 5052, fo. 235, MAP doc. ID#16991.

50 See for example the letter of 20 August 1605, Cosimo Baroncelli in Paris to Belisario Vinta, MdP 5157, fo. 381, MAP doc. ID#8798; also, the letter of 8 August 1606, Baroncelli in Paris to Vinta, MdP 5157, fo. 489, MAP doc. ID#8825.

51 "Qui alle volte si ha carestia di avvisi freschi di Spagna". Letter of 27 September 1599, Battaglini in Naples to Lorenzo Usimbardi, MdP 4087, fo. 237, MAP doc. ID#17485.

52 "Non obstante che li avvisi inuati mi sono stati non dimeno gratissimi, et per l'ossequente volontà con che ella meli ha mandati et per esser descritti molto distintamente". Letter of 14 December 1581, Francesco to Giovanni Battista Del Monte in Antwerp, MdP 257, fo. 88, MAP doc. ID#14046.

amounted only to “lots of chatter and in my opinion [it is] without foundation”.⁵³ Any time contrasting accounts appeared in contemporary *avvisi*—as Grand Duke Francesco noted in 1581—that was proof enough that at least one of the accounts had to be false.⁵⁴

Because the reliability of news reports was quite often held in doubt, the Medici court developed a method for ascertaining their truth through comparative analysis with other news sources, perhaps analogous to the timeworn philological methods of determining the most authoritative version of an ancient literary text, or perhaps to the forensic practices of comparing the testimonies of various eyewitnesses. In 1556, regarding the Constantinople *avvisi* that were mentioned before, Cosimo told his agent in Venice:

L'ultima vostra de ii contiene gl'avisi di Levante conforme apunto a quelli che ci sono stati inviati dal Signor Duca d'Alva et da diverse bande. Tenghiamoli per veri, accompagnandoli con molte vive ragioni che di presente ommettiamo.⁵⁵

(Your recent letter of the second contains reports from Levant that coincide precisely with those sent by lord duke of Álvarez [Cosimo's brother-in-law] and those from various other parts. We feel them to be true, considering them alongside of many strong arguments that we needn't mention here.)

Avvisi were thus cross-checked for consistency, and if they proved credible, then these reports were included in a broader examination of a range of intelligence sources and reasoned arguments in order to reach a conclusion.

For this method to be carried out effectively, multiple *avvisi* reporting on the same events or individuals were needed, which explains why the Medici news network described above demonstrates instances of overlapping coverage and why the resulting archival collection contains duplicate *avvisi* such as the Roman *avviso* of 21 March 1587.⁵⁶ Consistency in this usage of similar or

53 “Di Roma si aspettono le nuove di guerre, d'onde, et avvisi di mercanti e gazzette dicono molte chiacchere al creder mio con poco fondamento”. Letter of 29 October 1604, Baroncelli in Antwerp to Belisario Vinta, MdP 5157, fo. 275, MAP doc. ID#17525.

54 “Li *avvisi* de paesi bassi dativi dal Marescial della Corte sono del tutto contrarii a quelli che habbiamo noi, non essendo altrimenti Alansone condottosi in Inghilterra”. Letter of 20 July 1581, Franceco to Giovanni Alberti in Prague, MdP 257, fo. 6, MAP doc. ID#13798.

55 Cosimo I to Piero Gelido in Venice, MdP 639, fo. 294, MAP doc. ID#16870.

56 See *avviso* from Rome dated 21 March 1587, MdP 3085, fo. 292, MAP doc. ID#11187; and *avviso* from Rome dated 21 March 1587, MdP 3085, fo. 294, MAP doc. ID#11189.

duplicate *avvisi* can be seen by comparing a statement by Cosimo I with one by his son, Ferdinando I. In 1563, Cosimo wrote to his agent in Ferrara: “Gli *avvisi* che ci mandate di Francia si confrontano con alcuni altri che haviamo” (“The *avvisi* from France that you send us are being compared with some others in our possession”).⁵⁷ In a very similar vein, Ferdinando wrote to his secretary in Prague in 1590: “Ci sono stati cari gl’*avvisi* di Constantinopoli che si conformono con quelli che habbiamo ancora noi di là” (“We deeply appreciated the *avvisi* from Constantinople which conform with those we ourselves obtained from there”).⁵⁸ To a casual observer, overlapping *avviso* coverage might appear at first to be wasteful expenditure caused by disorganisation, but in fact the Medici court willfully encouraged redundancy to serve in their strategic practice of reading similar *avvisi* side-by-side to penetrate below the superficial implications of the data, and to appraise its trustworthiness.

The widespread adoption of this practice can be detected in a Medici secretary’s instructions to the court functionary in Madrid in 1607 to read a certain Roman *avviso* and then to “be careful to listen to what they are saying in your parts, and what might be the truth of these matters”.⁵⁹ Similarly, this practice came into play when Asdrubale di Montauto, Ferdinand I’s Ambassador in Venice, reported in 1608 that because the *avvisi* from Constantinople were unclear as to whether Amuraoh Rais had been appointed general, merchants and Jews had been consulted on the point and their conclusions were being sent to the grand duke.⁶⁰ A whole panoply of parallel intelligence sources was collated in 1605 by the Medici agent in Antwerp in an effort to sort out conflicting reports on the possible death of Pope Leo XI: Spanish contacts, Milanese *avvisi*, Venetian *avvisi*, letters, and couriers.⁶¹

It has been shown above that even in the sixteenth century, the Medici court was skeptical in its assessment of the truth-value of newsletters. However,

57 Letter of 4 February 1563, Cosimo I in Pisa to Sallustio Piccolomini in Ferrara, MdP 219, fo. 34, MAP doc. ID#16201.

58 Letter of 25 Aug 1590, Ferdinando I to Curzio Picchena in Prague MdP.280, fo. 3, MAP doc. ID#16584.

59 “V.S. Illustrissima vedrà l’incluso avviso venuto di Roma, per sua intelligenza; et starà a sentire quel che se ne dica costà, et qual sia il vero senso intorno a tal materia de’ Ministri che governano, et di Sua Maestà”. Letter of 21 December 1607, Belisario Vinta to Sallustio Tarugi in Madrid, MdP 5052, fo. 529, MAP doc. ID#17144.

60 Letter of 5 April 1608, Asdrubale Montauto in Venice to Ferdinando I, MdP 3000, fo. 343 MAP doc. ID#14814.

61 Letter of 13 May 1605, Cosimo Baroncelli in Antwerp to Curzio Picchena, MdP 5157, fo. 372, MAP doc. ID#17545. Leo XI had in fact died; his death occurred in Rome on 27 April 1605.

there is also evidence that they were evaluating *avvisi* in an additional and more sophisticated way: not just as a means of obtaining facts about the events described therein, but also as indications of public opinion in the locations where they originated, and as material evidence of the use of *avvisi* to propagate tendentious or even false perceptions of current events. This consciousness that *avvisi* could be catalysts in unfolding political dramas by virtue of their role in influencing public opinion emerges in the commentary of a Medici agent posted in Spain in late August 1588, as Florence waited with bated breath for news of the Spanish Armada's attack on England. Writing to the Medici court from Spain where he was secretary for the Florentine embassy, Camillo Guidi gave an account of the many *avvisi* arriving there concerning the fortunes of the Spanish armada in the English Channel:

Vanno tanto segrete et incerte, come ogni altra cosa, le notizie di questa armata, che pare che nessuno si possa promettere di dirne la verità, se non chi dica di non ne saper verità.... Prima si disse della vittoria per la parte nostra così favorevole et fortunata, come io scrissi con l'ordinario per lettera de' xx. Et fu questa voce fondata su una relazione di Don Bernardo de Mendoza, il quale non solo ne scrisse, ma ne mandò alcune stampe, che sopra ciò haveva fatto imprimere. Poi si pubblicò che l'armata nostra haveva pacificamente passato il Canale et preso porto a Cales con haveve veduto Drach et l'almirante inglese senz'alcun motivo loro, non che contrasto. Et questo presupposto con la verità degli altri scritti da me a Vostra Altezza per lettera de' xxvii et in particolare di quello [in cipher with interlinear transcriptions:] ^oro in Francia^ diede luogo a quelle considerazioni che in essa scrivevo.

Ultimamente per due corrieri ci sono due avvisi, uno del medesimo Don Bernardino, dove si va moderando et limitando. L'altro del Principe d'Ascoli, del quale, sendovi assai male nuove, se ne sono vedute copie difficilmente, et quelle poche con poco gusto di questo Cons.re di Guerra, il quale si dice che per sopirle habbiano immediatamente fatto pubblicare più prosperi avvisi della sconfitta di Drach et dell'armata inglese, che sono più desiderati che creduti per molte ragioni, ch'io reputo superfluo numerare a Vostra Altezza ben informata d'ogni successo. Ben ho voluto mandarle le copie de' detti avvisi, acciò vegga come qua si dicono et variano le cose.⁶²

62 Letter of 31 August 1588, Guidi in Madrid to Ferdinando I, MdP 4919, fo. 465, MAP doc. ID#8356.

(So secret and uncertain, like everything else, is the information about this Armada, such that it seems no one can swear to be telling the truth, and yet no one will admit to knowing nothing. At first it was said that the victory for our side was indeed advantageous and favorable, as I wrote in my letter of the 20th [of July]. This rumor was founded on the account by Don Bernardino de Mendoza, who not only wrote this account, but who also sent with it some engravings he had commissioned of the events. Next, it was announced publicly that our Armada had peacefully passed through the Strait and docked at Calais, having sailed past Drake and the English admiral without incident. And with this assumption I wrote Your Highness the letter of the 27th [of July].

Just now, two couriers have arrived, both with *avvisi*. One *avviso* is from the same Don Bernardino, who is now more moderate and laconic in his reports. The other *avviso*, from the Prince of Ascoli, contains quite bad news, and for this reason it has been very difficult to obtain copies of it, and those few copies that were made have greatly disturbed the Spanish Minister of War, who, they say, has attempted to dilute the impact of the negative news by instigating the immediate publication of more upbeat *avvisi* describing the routing of Drake and the English fleet, news that is more wishful than credible for a number of reasons that I consider unnecessary to list for you as you are well informed of all events. In any case I wished to send you copies of the *avvisi* I have spoken of, so that you might see how here [in Madrid] they speak of and distort these things.)

From the letter of this Florentine ambassador in Madrid, we see that despite the amount of news that reached Spain, there was still no certain knowledge of the outcome of the Armada because the *avvisi* furnished by trusted agents abroad gave contradictory information. It is important to note that Mendoza's erroneous *avvisi*, which he probably composed while in France, were sent along with engravings that he had commissioned to reaffirm the reliability of his verbal report, as if it had the truth-value of an eyewitness account. Back in Spain, once the contradictory reports arrived, it was soon obvious that a public opinion campaign was being mounted: the beliefs of the general populace, whether grounded in reality or not, were the target of these government-sponsored *avvisi*. It seems there may also have been some degree of censorship of the "bad" news.

Guidi's analysis of the intelligence at his disposal serves a very interesting purpose: he does not purport to be able to enlighten the Florentine grand duke about the fate of the Spanish Armada, and moreover he presumes the grand duke to have better knowledge of this than he does. Instead he thinks it will be

valuable to the Florentine court to know that various newsletters are available to Spain, that the Spanish government is trying to manipulate public opinion with contrived *avvisi*, and that as a result he and others are skeptical about any news reports claiming a Spanish triumph.

If the Medici court was also exploiting *avvisi* as evidence of public opinion and of the propaganda campaigns in other states, this circumstance would explain why they read *avvisi* even in those cases when they knew the information they contained to be incorrect. Thus, in 1561, Fabrizio Ferrari in Milan presumed Cosimo I would want to have *avvisi* about Pope Pius v's meddling in Sienese affairs even though the account they gave 'could be a fable'.⁶³ Almost the same language was used by the Florentine Jew Benedetto Blanis when he sent *avvisi* to Don Giovanni de' Medici in Venice: "Poichè Vostra Eccellenza Illustrissima mi scrisse che se bene le passati avisi erano fiabe che era bene non di meno di sentire gli mando le incluse acciò le facci leggere a veglia doppo cena hora che le notte sono cresciute" ("Because Your Illustrious Excellency wrote to me that even though the last *avvisi* were fables it was worthwhile nonetheless to hear them, I send you these *avvisi* so that you can have them read while you're awake after dinner during these longer nights").⁶⁴

Mirrors and Diversions

Somewhat related to the potential utility of late *avvisi*, redundant *avvisi*, and erroneous *avvisi* is the case of autochthonous *avvisi*, i.e. newsletters found in the Medici grand ducal archive that carry reports about the Medici grand dukes. In 1570, the Medici envoy in Venice sent home to the Medici court an *avviso* describing Cosimo I's recent coronation in Rome:

Per altre lettere di Roma de xv di Febraro: Che questa sera alle xxiii hore il Gran Duca è arrivato alla Vigna di Papa Iulio [III], et questo suo arrivo, per essere piovuto et nevicato duoi di continui, è stato molto confuso et disordinato.... Che il Gran Duca haveva oltre alla famiglia ordinaria de

63 "Qui sono *avvisi* che dicono che Sua Santità manda il Cardinale Mulla a Sua Maestà a trattar molte cose d'importanza principalmente sopra le cose di Siena, il che anchora che creda che possi essere una favola non ho però voluto lasciar di dire a Vostra Eccellenza possi essere una favola". Letter of 18 June 1561, Ferrari in Milan to Cosimo I, MdP 3108, fo. 211, MAP doc. ID#16526.

64 Letter of 1 October 1616, Blanis to Don Giovanni in Venice, MdP 5150, fo. 93, MAP doc. ID#16340.

gentil'huomini et cavalieri, 50 cavaleggieri, 50 Todeschi, et xxx paggi a cavallo ... Intanto si intende che Sua Santità ha mandato a chiamare il Gran Duca, che sarà ricevuto nelle stanze di Alessandro [Borgia] questi duoi giorni senza essere visitato da nessuno. Che sabato mattina poi se ne ritornerà alla vigna per fare la entrata sua, la quale se non sarà impedita dalla pioggia si prepara così superba quanto altra che sia mai stata dalla venuta di Carlo Quinto in quà, con tutto che il Gran Duca sia arrivato in questa sera con abito et cavallo ordinarissimo, et che si dice per la Corte che Sua Serenità non desidera queste dimostrazioni, ma la Nazione Fiorentina che si trova in Roma ha fatte spese smisurate in abiti. Et di Castello [Sant'Angelo] si è cavata tutta la artiglieria grossa non più mossa dalla guerra di Paolo Quarto in quà, et si è dato ordine per quello che si dice, che li colpi sieno raddoppiati, et che non si perdoni a spesa nessuna per honorare un tanto Principe.⁶⁵

(From letters of 15th February: this evening at the 23rd hour the grand duke arrived at the villa of Pope Julius [III], but since it had been raining and snowing for two days continuously, his arrival was very chaotic and disorganised ... the grand duke had in addition to his normal escort of gentlemen and knights, 50 light cavalry, 50 Germans and 30 pages on horseback ... In the meantime it is known that His Holiness has ordered that the grand duke stay at the apartments of Alexander [Borgia] for two days without visits from anyone. Saturday morning he will then return to the villa in order to make his formal entry which, if it is not obstructed by rain, is being prepared so as to surpass any other since the arrival of Charles V in Rome, even taking into consideration that the grand duke arrived in Rome with ordinary clothes and an ordinary horse. It is said in the Roman Court that the duke does not desire these ostentations, but rather that it is the Florentine Nation that resides in Rome who has made these enormous expenditures for the formal entry. And from the castle [Castel Sant'Angelo] they have taken out all the heavy artillery, which has not been touched since the war of Paul IV, and orders have been given supposedly that the cannon fire should be redoubled and that no expense will be spared to honor such a Prince.)

This *avviso* could not possibly have helped the Medici court to know what had truly happened in Rome, for on that matter the grand duke was certainly the

65 *Avviso* from Venice, dated 15 February 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I in Florence, MdP 3080, fo. 513, MAP doc. ID#21955.

indisputable authority. Instead, the presence of this *avviso* in the Medici grand ducal archive demonstrates that Cosimo was interested to know how his own actions on an international stage had been perceived within a framework of public opinion and reaction. In the coronation ceremony described in the *avviso* cited above, Cosimo had not wanted to appear either arrogant or presumptuous, and so he dressed with a modesty that was duly noted by the writer; at the same time, his power and the support he enjoyed from the Florentines was conveyed by a contingent so excessively large that it impressed the Roman court. Having undertaken such carefully contrived public gestures, Cosimo would surely have wanted to read the reports of the *avvisi* writers, to discover whether his orchestrated appearances had achieved the intended effect. In this sense, the autochthonous *avviso* served as a mirror for curating his appearance before the world.

Once again the grand duke could read about public reactions to his behavior, this time quite a scandalous situation, when, a month later the same Medici secretary in Venice conveyed this news to him:

Che è venuto nuova che l'Altezza del Gran Duca habbi sposata Madonna Cammilla Martelli senza saputa delli Serenissimi Figliuoli, il che qui [Venezia] ha dato da ragionare un pezzo ancorché da molti venga scusata che ciò habbi fatto per voto, et che havendolo conferito con Sua Santità l'habbi esortata a vivere cristianamente conforme a San Paolo, che dice "melius est nubere quam uri".⁶⁶

(There arrived the report that his Highness the grand duke has apparently married Madonna Camilla Martelli without the knowledge of his children, which has provoked a lot of interest here [in Venice] even though many people excuse it saying that he was obliged to do this by his vow, and that when he discussed it with His Holiness the latter urged him to live as a Christian in accord with Saint Paul who said, "Better to marry than to burn.")

The Medici court's acquisition of *avvisi* reporting on their own affairs, even when these reports cast them in a negative light, suggests strongly that at least

66 *Avviso* from Venice dated 15 April 1570, Cosimo Bartoli to Cosimo I in Florence, MdP 3080, fo. 723, MAP doc. ID#21966. There is also the example of Florence's celebration of the election of the new German emperor being reported in Roman news that was sent back to Florence; see the letter of 27 July 1658, Torquato Montauto in Rome to Giovanni Battista Gondi, MdP 3384, fo. 79, MAP doc. ID#21007.

some of their *avviso* consumption was directed towards gauging the world's perception of them and their state. Moreover, the monitoring of circulated news about their own affairs could potentially help pinpoint double agents, spies, and leaks in the Medicis' own household.

The final facet of news culture that concerns this history of *avvisi* at the Medici court is that of entertainment, which, after all, was a very high-priority pursuit, particularly in the period beginning with the reign of Ferdinando I and lasting throughout the seventeenth century. An initial indication of this very different approach to early modern news reports is found in Grand Duke Francesco's comment to Camillo degli Albizzi in 1586 that "the news item that came to you from the Gazette of Rome is truly ridiculous".⁶⁷ A confirmation that *avvisi* could offer respite from the serious work at court was penned just a year later, when the grand duke's Florentine secretary sent two *avvisi* to a Medici diplomat in Spain with the note that these were "two gazettes to pass the time".⁶⁸ Again this point was made by a Medici court secretary in 1605, as he sent newsletters to his colleague in Spain: "Mando a Vostra Signoria Illustrissima alcuni fogli d'*avvisi*; che mi trovo in segreteria che le serviranno per un poco di passatempo" ("I am sending Your Most Illustrious Lordship some pages of *avvisi* that I found in the office of the secretariat that you will find useful for a bit of recreation").⁶⁹

In this initial assessment of the Medici and their early modern news networks, it is clear that within a relatively short period of time, the members of this court had become cautious, even cynical, readers of *avvisi*. Yet despite their leeriness, they turned to *avvisi* for information on a vast spectrum of topics ranging from the distant Americas to themselves, and for differing purposes that included the monitoring of epidemics in a program of public disease control, keeping tabs on the spread of propaganda in foreign lands, and the detection of moles and spies in their own. Finally, they even found a purpose for the old and obsolete *avvisi*, which provided ridiculous distraction from the troubling concerns of the day. The same texts that had once been read to gain insight into the true state of the world now could be read as contemporary fables in precise and vivid detail to pass the long hours of the night.

67 "L'ultima vostra è de XIII, et la havuto seco l'inserto ... L'avviso portato costi dalla Gazzetta di Roma è veramente redicolo." Letter of 29 July 1586, Francesco de' Medici to Camillo degli Albizzi, MdP 269, fo. 98, MAP doc. ID#16338.

68 "col mandarle due gazzette da passar tempo". Letter of 26 February 1587, Antonio Serguidi to Vincenzo Alamanni in Spain, MdP 5042, unnumbered folio, MAP doc. ID#15402.

69 Letter of 3 April 1605, Curzio Picchena to Tarugi in Valladolid, MdP 5157, fo. 372, MAP doc. ID#16972.

Words on the Street: Selling Small Printed ‘Things’ in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Venice

Laura Carnelos

In early modern Europe books were not only sold inside bookshops. Especially ordinary or everyday editions—those books printed and reprinted without any major changes to text or to typography, and the smallest works, such as histories, miracles, prayer books, news reports and songs—were often brought out on the street and sold around the city at the most populous places, such as squares, bridges and in front of churches.¹ At the root of this strategy, and underpinning the relationship between these editions and the ways they were sold, there were—of course—commercial reasons: “more people, more money” was an obvious connection.

In this chapter I would like to propose a case study of the trade agents and distribution conditions of news and other small printed material within the sixteenth and seventeenth century Venetian Republic. Admittedly, the peculiar urban structure of Venice and the high concentration of printers and booksellers make it an exceptional case, even though it is possible to identify some shared characteristics with other European cities. However, Venice provides a useful example because of the important role it played within the European book market in the early modern age and because of the valuable and copious

1 Concerning London, see Bob Clarke, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street. An Illustrated History of English Newspapers to 1899* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); concerning Madrid, Jean-François Botrel, *Libros, prensa y lectura en la España del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1993), pp. 125–31; Ana Martínez Rus, ‘El libro en la calle. De la venta ambulante a las ferias del libro’, in *Senderos de ilusión. Lecturas populares en Europa y América Latina (del siglo XVI a nuestros días)*, ed. Antonio Castillo Gómez and Verónica Sierra Blas (Somonte-Cenero [Gijón]: Trea, 2007), pp. 171–88; for Paris, Robert Darnton, ‘An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris’, *The American Historical Review*, 105.1 (February 2000), pp. 1–27; Carl Goldstein, *Print Culture in Early Modern France. Abraham Bosse and the Purposes of Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 44. On itinerant distribution networks see Jeroen L. Salman, *Pedlars and the Popular Press. Itinerant Distribution Networks in England and the Netherlands 1600–1850* (Leiden: Brill 2013) and *Not Dead Things. The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500–1820*, ed. Roeland Harms, Joad Raymond and Jeroen L. Salman (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

documentation of the print trade preserved mainly in the State Archive of the city. Furthermore, by focusing on one city and analysing the changes undertaken in the industry over two centuries, we can show the diffusion conditions of printed material, the economic and political implications of the street trade, and the role played in urban life by the humblest figures who traded in books on the street.

Before presenting the Venetian case, a brief introduction is required. The development and diffusion of cheap literary forms between 1500 and 1700 was a European phenomenon. At various points during the sixteenth century each European country saw increasing numbers of imprints, particularly in pamphlet forms: political propaganda, Reformation and Counter-Reformation writings, reports about wars and other small works reflecting contemporary needs and anxieties, such as prophecies and accounts of monstrous births.² If these imprints became a “powerful communicative tool” in early modern age, their success was doubtless due to the system of interconnecting posts and carriers linking the major European cities.³ If this existed on a large scale, the focus here is on the smaller, urban scale, and on the basis of the success of these forms within the confines of a city.

Street commerce played an undeniable role: a variety of mediators brought them directly under readers’ eyes and into their hands by a variety of means. For a more concrete idea of these figures, the list of the usual agents for publishing written in 1663 in England by Roger L’Estrange, then Charles II’s Surveyor of the Press, is useful.⁴ He mentioned printers, stitchers, binders, stationers, hawkers, mercury-women, pedlars ballad-singers, posts, carriers, hackney-coach-men, boat-men and mariners. Local differences excepted, this list can be taken as an example of how many different people were involved in the book trade and particularly in street commerce. To simplify,

2 Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002); Ugo Rozzo, *La strage ignorata. I fogli volanti a stampa nell’Italia dei secoli XV e XVI* (Udine: Forum, 2008).

3 Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 26; Paul Arblaster, ‘Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European system of communications’, in *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 19–34. See also Lodovica Braidà, ‘Le commerce du livre entre Genève et l’Italie au XVIII^e siècle: agents, obstacles, pratiques’, in *L’Europe et le livre. Réseaux et pratiques du négoce de librairie XVI^e–XIX^e siècles*, ed. Frédéric Barbier, Sabine Juratic and Dominique Varry (Paris: Klincksieck, 1996), pp. 279–307.

4 Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 55.

we can distinguish retail booksellers working at stalls or shops from mobile retailers, who carried imprints by hand or in containers such as baskets or bags, moving on foot or on horseback inside and outside cities and villages. We can look at the case of Venice to understand exactly how such an urban network functioned.

The first records describing the relationship between printing and the preferred distribution channels in Venice date back to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the *Senato* (one of the major Venetian institutions which, among other tasks, supervised the book market) took several important decisions in an attempt to control the production and the diffusion of printed material. In 1517 the *Senato* decided that in the interests of a free and competitive market only new works, never printed within the Venetian Republic, could be subject to a privilege.⁵ All other imprints were freely printable by everyone once permission to print or sell them had been obtained from the *Consiglio dei Dieci* (another important institution watching over the security of the State).⁶ Some years later, in 1537, the *Senato* determined that all works printed on less than ten folio sheets, known in Venice as *cose minute* ("small things"), could be printed on the lowest quality paper.⁷ Histories, miracles, prayer books, news reports, letters and songs were included in this category. This was not a minor decision because paper was the largest expense in printing books and, thanks to this law, printers and booksellers could keep the prices of the smallest, shoddiest imprints down. Therefore, as a consequence of less restrictive rules, such as those issued in 1517 and 1537, and because of the relative handiness and cheapness of the printing process, small publications became the most common material published and sold in the city.

A few years later, in the 1540s, two problems arose that became a matter of concern for the Venetian government: the content of these imprints and the people involved in this commerce. Because of the ephemeral nature of such publications, usually consumed within a few days of printing, printers and booksellers often avoided asking for permission or did not wait to obtain it before printing or selling them. Without authorisation, the *Senato* could not

5 'Solum pro libris, et operibus novis, nunquam antea impressis, et non pro aliis': ASV (State Archive of Venice), *Senato Terra*, reg. 20, 1 August 1517, fos. 58v–59r.

6 ASV, *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*, b. 364, 29 January 1527, in print.

7 ASV, *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*, b. 364, 4 June 1537 in Pregadi, in print. Also in BMCV (Museum Correr Library), *Mariiegola* MS IV 119, 4 June 1537 in Pregadi, fos. 20r–21v. In England, 'a pamphlet typically consisted of between one sheet and a maximum of twelve sheets, or between eight and ninety-six pages in quarto': Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 5.

know exactly what circulated in the city and who printed or sold it. For this reason, in 1543 the *Consiglio dei Dieci* established public punishments for anyone caught printing or selling without permission “libri, et opere, pronostichi, historie, canzoni, lettere, et altre simil cose” (“books, and works, forecasts, histories, songs, letters and things like these”) in the city, but especially on Rialto Bridge.⁸ Those guilty were to be whipped from St Mark’s Square to Rialto Bridge and then imprisoned for six months. The punishment was even more severe for anyone discovered printing works with a false imprint on the title page: one year of prison, a fine of one hundred *ducats* and permanent banishment from Venice. Furthermore, on 30 December 1544, the *Consiglio dei Dieci* charged the *Riformatori dello studio di Padova*, the institution that dealt with schools and education in general, with revising all books before publication.⁹ Only with the approval of the *Riformatori* would the Council grant a license for printing. Periodic inspections around the city, above all at St Mark’s Square and on Rialto Bridge, would be carried out by the *Riformatori* to root out illicit behavior.

It is not known if these punishments ever came into effect. However, in 1549 the *Consiglio dei Dieci* decided that the foundation of a guild of printers and booksellers was the solution to the disorder and confusion in the printing trade.¹⁰ The guild of printers and booksellers (also called a ‘school’ or ‘university’) started to meet regularly and became effective after the 1570s, though only from the 1580s did documentation concerning the guild become more systematic. Nevertheless, it is possible to discern something about the relationship between the ‘small things’ and their circulation around the city through some brief notes written in the main book of the guild, the *Mariegola*. Here we read that in 1565 it was decided that the sale of comedies, indecent and profane books was prohibited on holy days and Sundays. On these days only saints’ books, *Epistole et evangeli*, prayer books, the lives of the saints, catechisms and other devotional works, could be sold under the *portico* of Rialto Bridge, the *Drapparia*; whereas small books about the saints, drawing paper and paintings of saints and other honest and religious subjects could

8 ASV, *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*, f. 5, 12 February 1543, fos. 72r–73v. The law was reaffirmed in 1565: BMCV, *Mariegola*, 10 October 1565, fos. 25v–26r. On forecasts see Ottavia Niccoli, *Profeti e popolo nell’Italia del Rinascimento* (Rome and Bari: Laterza 1987), p. 29.

9 BMCV, *Mariegola*, 30 December 1544 in Consiglio dei X, fos. 22v–23r.

10 ASV, *Consiglio dei Dieci*, parti comuni, f. 47, 18 January 1549. ASV, *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*, b. 364, parti dell’Illustrissima Signoria di Venezia in materia delle stampe. Pubblicate sopra le Scale di Rialto, et di San Marco, in print.

be vended along the *Mercerie*, the long route between Rialto Bridge and St Mark's Square.¹¹

Evidently the Venetian government was trying to prevent printers and booksellers from printing and selling entertainments, songs and other non-devotional writings when potential customers would be more numerous. At all events, it is clear that the division between the *Drapparia* and the *Mercerie* was not absolute and that printers and booksellers often broke the law. For this reason, in 1566 more rules were established by the *Consiglio dei Dieci* concerning the licensing of books. Once obtained, every license was to be registered by the institution of the *Esecutori contra la bestemia* and a copy of every work printed was to be given to the *Riformatori allo Studio di Padova*. The reason why more rules were imposed is because many printers were obtaining permission and subsequently altering the text—adding notes, making corrections, even introducing whole pages—before printing and stating *con licenza* (“with permission”) on the title page, when permission for the text as actually printed had not been obtained.¹²

Despite these measures, designed to control short publications in particular, the emergent market of news, which rapidly expanded in printed and manuscript form, could not be suppressed. Two factors in particular may have contributed to the development of this trade: the need for more information, fostered by the sequence of natural disasters and the wars undertaken by Venice; and the great number of the newly unemployed who started dealing in these inexpensive and easy-to-find products.¹³

11 BMCV, *Mariegola*, 1565, fo. 42r. They are pictures of saints, the booklet *Epistole e vangeli* (the most famous version edited by Remigio Nannini came into circulation in 1567, Laura Carnelos, *I libri da risma. Catalogo delle edizioni Remondini a larga diffusione (1650–1850)* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2008), n. 163), holy books, bibles and histories and saints' lives. Somebody selling these histories and almanacs was known in Venice as a 'storiaro': Giuseppe Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano* (Venice: Reale tipografia di G. Cecchini, 1856), *ad vocem* “quel da l'istorie”.

12 ASV, *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*, b. 364, parti dell'Illustrissima Signoria di Venezia in materia delle stampe. Pubblicate sopra le Scale di Rialto, et di San Marco, in print; ASV, *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*, b. 364, 28 June 1569 in Consilium X cum additione.

13 Paolo Preto, 'Le grandi paure di Venezia nel secondo '500: le paure naturali (peste, carestie, incendi, terremoti)' and 'Le grandi paure di Venezia nel secondo '500: la paura del tradimento e delle congiunture', in *Crisi e rinnovamenti nell'autunno del rinascimento a Venezia*, ed. Vittore Branca and Carlo Ossola (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1991), pp. 177–92 and 193–204. Concerning the agricultural crisis and the problem of the poverty in early modern age see Bronisław Geremek, *La pietà e la forca. Storia della miseria e della carità in Europa* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2001).

The sale of written news was repeatedly prohibited by the *Consiglio dei Dieci* at least after 1567, but without much force.¹⁴ Luigi Groto's works show the effect of news echoing around the city, bringing new people into writing and printing.¹⁵ Groto was a blind man from Adria, also called *cieco di Adria* (1541–85), who was appointed as public orator representing his city on official occasions and who was sent for this purpose to Venice to celebrate the elections of the Doge (its highest political office) from 1556 until his death. In 1572 Groto edited the *Trofeo della vittoria sacra, ottenuta dalla Christianissima Lega contra i turchi nell'anno MDLXXI*, a collection of verses about the Venetian victory against the Turks in 1571 dedicated to Monsignor Giambattista Campeggi, the bishop of Majorca. In the advice to the readers he wrote: “mi diedi a raccogliere tutte le rime composte sopra questa celeste vittoria, che di mattino in mattino uscivano a stampa, o di giorno, in giorno ivi erano mandate a penna per formarne uno intero, e ordinato volume” (“I started to gather together all the verses composed about this serene victory which morning by morning were printed or, day by day, were sent in manuscript form to print shops to be included in a whole orderly volume”).¹⁶

The 1571 victory caused a wave of news, letters and verses in Venice, quickly written and quickly spread around the city both in manuscript and in printed form. In fact, Groto's *Trofeo* was not the only collected work. The blind man of Adria probably was inspired by the initiative of the printer Giorgio Angelieri who published four volumes of verses about the 1571 victory between 1571 and 1572, followed by two volumes by the printer Sebastiano Ventura in 1572.¹⁷ Even

14 Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, p. 154, no. 9.

15 See Valentina Gallo, ‘Groto, Luigi’, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 60 (2003).

16 For Mons. Giovanni Battista Campeggi, bishop of Maiorca, see Adriano Prosperi, ‘Campeggi, Giovanni Battista’, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 17 (1974). *Trofeo della vittoria sacra, ottenuta dalla christianissima lega contra i turchi nell'anno MDLXXI ... con diverse rime, raccolte, e tutte insieme disposte da Luigi Groto cieco di Hadria ...* In Venetia, appresso Sigismondo Bordogna et Franc. Patriani, [1572], USTC 834754, fo. †3v. See also Rozzo, *La strage ignorata*, p. 166.

17 *Raccolta di varii poemi latini, e volgari: fatti da diuersi bellissimi ingegni nella felice vittoria reportata da christiani contra [sic] Turchi*. In Venetia, appresso Giorgio Angelieri, 1571, USTC 804919. *Raccolta di varii poemi latini, e volgari: fatti da diversi bellissimi ingegni nella felice vittoria riportata da christiani contra turchi*. Parte prima [-terza]. In Venetia, presso Giorgio Angelieri, 1572. USTC 805038 *Raccolta di varii poemi latini, greci, e volgari. Fatti da diversi bellissimi ingegni nella felice vittoria riportata da Christiani contra Turchi alli vii d'ottobre del MDLXXI*. Parte prima [-seconda]. *Con la relatione di tutto il successo di Famagosta. Et i nomi de i Bassà, et capitani ch'erano nell'armata turchesca*. In Venetia, per Sebastiano Ventura, 1572. USTC 801329

if the circulation of news does not seem to have suffered unduly from the repressive laws, some care was taken, at least by Groto. In 1572 Groto published his public discourse to the doge Luigi Mocenigo with the addition of the news just received from Flanders and elsewhere in Florence.¹⁸ It is possible that a different place of publication (Florence instead of Venice) was used as a strategy to avoid censorship during a very awkward period.

To gain a more concrete idea about how many printers and booksellers were working in Venice at this time, and how the two markets—the bookshop and the street—worked together, it is useful to examine the list of printers and booksellers made in 1567 on behalf of the Holy Office. Here 64 people were mentioned: 47 had a bookshop or printing shop (40 had a bookshop, 37 with a sign and three without, and seven had a printing shop; one of these seven also had a stall at St Mark's Square), and seventeen were pedlars selling books between Rialto and St Mark's Square. Of these seventeen, six were under the Rialto *portico*, three at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, one on holy days along the *Mercerie*, one at San Salvador and six spread around St Mark's Square (on Ponte della Paglia, under the *portici*, near the churches of St Mark and San Basso; see Figures 32.1 and 32.2).¹⁹ This means that, according to the Holy Office's list, in the year 1567 out of a total of 64 people, 47 (73.5%) were fixed in a particular place and seventeen (26.5%) were mobile retailers, but all of them were concentrated inside the areas of St Mark's Square and Rialto Bridge in a sort of overlapping subdivision of the territory. Shops were mostly located along the *Mercerie*, whereas mobile vendors could change their positions according to what and how they were selling.

18 *Orazione di Luigi Groto cieco di Hadria, fatta al serenissimo principe Luigi Mocenigo, et alla Signoria di Vinezia. Con la lettera di monsignor Cornelio vescovo di Bitonto, al signor Marc'Antonio Colonna doppo la vittoria christiana, contra il turcho. Et la partita dell'armata da Messina, con la relazione di quanto è seguito a Castel nuovo, et gli avvisi di Fiandra di nuovo venuti, col numero delle vele che ha il gran turcho in essere quest'anno 1572. Et molti altri bellissimo avvisi d'altri luoghi venuti, come leggendo intenderete.* In Firenze, a stanza di Domenico Celonaio, 1572. USTC 834753. On the Italian news network see *Una città in piazza. Comunicazione e vita quotidiana a Bologna tra Cinque e Seicento*. Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, Sala dello Stabat Mater 24 maggio—31 agosto 2000, ed. Pierangelo Bollettini, Rosaria Campioni and Zita Zanardi (Bologna: Compositori, 2000).

19 ASV, *Santo Uffizio*, b. 156, 13 September 1567, fo. 76r–v. See the maps in Laura Carnelos, *Con libri alla mano: Editoria di larga diffusione a Venezia tra '6 e '700* (Milan: Unicopli, 2012), pp. 290–1, nos. 19–20. The map of Venice drawing by Lodovico Ughi in 1729 and published for the second time by Lodovico Furlanetto in 1739 represents how Venice looks like before the changes made in the nineteenth century, see Giocondo Cassini, *Piante e vedute prospettiche di Venezia* (1479–1855), (Venice: La stamperia di Venezia, [1982]), n. 72.

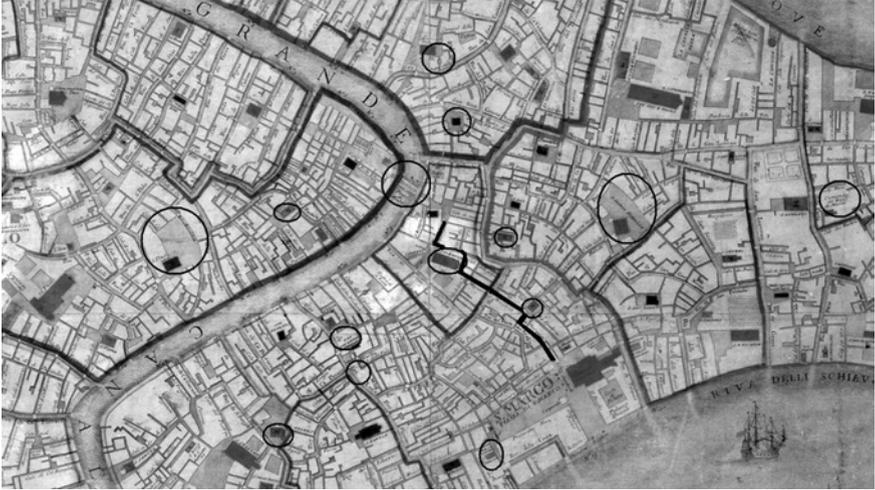


FIGURE 32.1 *Printers and booksellers' shops in 1567*
 ARCHIVIO FOTOGRAFICO, FONDAZIONE MUSEI CIVICI, VENICE.

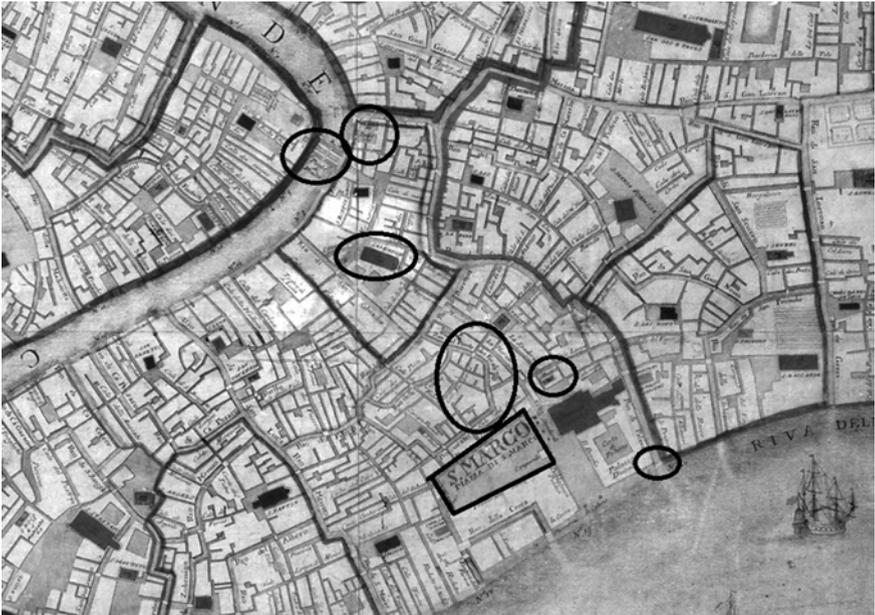


FIGURE 32.2 *Distribution of pedlars in 1567*
 ARCHIVIO FOTOGRAFICO, FONDAZIONE MUSEI CIVICI, VENICE.

In the same list by the Holy Office, two street stalls are mentioned. The centre of this kind of commerce was St Mark's Square, where fish, fruit, textiles and other products had been sold from stalls with the permission of the *Procuratori di San Marco*, the institution that had supervised the Square since the thirteenth century.²⁰ Probably to prevent dirt and untidiness, this institution ordered in 1569 the removal of all the stalls, cases and boxes under the *portico* and the columns of the Ducal Palace and close to the bell tower of the Square. Despite this, some years later, the Holy Office and the guild of printers and booksellers found two booksellers selling on stalls in St Mark's Square. Moreover, one was found at San Moisè, behind the Square, and another under the *portico* of Rialto.²¹

During the first bubonic plague, in 1575–76, 25–30% of the population died, and to re-populate the city the *Senato* invited people from the mainland to work in Venice.²² The consequence of this decision was a dualism: two authorities issuing different permissions for printing and selling news and books within the city. On the one side there was the *Senato*, which granted special licenses to non-guild members, and on the other side there was the guild of printers and booksellers, with its hierarchic structure and its rules.²³

From this moment onwards, and even more after the second plague, in 1628–32, when the *Senato's* action was re-affirmed, the guild never had the monopoly of the Venetian book-market. In fact, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were external workers, not subject to its laws, printing and selling in Venice. This is probably the reason why complete control of the book and news trade was impossible. As the *Esecutori contro la bestemmia* complained in 1596, histories, letters, news reports and other works, printed or falsely claimed to have been printed outside Venice against the law, were sold everyday in the Venetian squares (*campi*) and streets.²⁴

20 ASV, *Procuratori di San Marco. De Supra*, b. P., 1 June 1296. On the management of churches, *porticos* and squares: ASV, *Procuratori di San Marco. De Supra*, b. P., 2 March 1315. Other laws concerning the selling on street stalls during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are written in ASV, *Procuratori di San Marco. De Supra*, b. P. On the management of San Mark's Square between 1293 and 1736: ASV, *Compilazione leggi*, b. 303, *Piazza San Marco*, 8 May 1634.

21 ASV, *Santo Uffizio*, b. 156, 2 October 1571; 1 December 1571.

22 Paolo Preto, *Peste e società a Venezia nel 1576* (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1978).

23 More details in Laura Carmelos, 'La corporazione e gli esterni: stampatori e librai a Venezia tra norma e contraffazione (xvi–xviii)', *Società e storia*, 130 (2010), pp. 657–88.

24 BMCV, *Mariogola*, 19 November 1596, fo. 40r.

What consequences of the Senato's first invitation of 1576 can we highlight in the Venetian market? In St Mark's Square, arranging stalls, cases, boxes and ropes was still forbidden in 1580. So, at the end of the sixteenth century, a retail market was not allowed there; only in 1608 was the law modified.²⁵ That year the *Procuratori* decided that stalls and boxes could be placed inside the main square of the city, just not between the church and the standards.²⁶ After 1608, St Mark's Square became a recognised retail centre for books and other products.²⁷ In contrast, on Rialto Bridge, the poorest members of the guild of printers and booksellers had been allowed since 1598 to sell religious books and pictures of saints on Sundays and on other holy days, when all the other shops should have been closed according to the rules of the Roman Church.²⁸ However, in 1613, the *Esecutori contro la bestemmia* denounced some members of the guild who pretended to sell 'santi' (pictures of saints or small histories of them) while offering other histories and profane books on Sundays and other holy days. These booksellers waited for someone to pass in front of their shops (they were close to Rialto Bridge, so in a well-populated part of the city) strategically leaving the door ajar. Once a potential buyer was found, they would invite him into their shop to offer some small books or images.²⁹

If the consequence of the first invitation of 1576 was making it increasingly difficult for the government to know who was selling and what was being sold around St Mark's Square and Rialto Bridge, after the second plague, in 1628–32, and the second invitation by the *Senato*, the situation did not improve. On the contrary, the concentration of workers, both members and non-members of the guild, on the street likely grew. It was then that a new way of selling 'small printed things' started to be mentioned in the documents: from baskets. Easy

25 ASV, *Procuratori di San Marco. De Supra*, b. P, 9 April 1580. The law was reaffirmed by the *Maggior Consiglio* on 30 May 1582 and by the *Procuratori di San Marco* on 9 April 1584: ASV, *Procuratori di San Marco. De Supra*, b. P, 30 May 1582 and 9 April 1584. It is interesting that ropes are mentioned in the document. It is possible that drawings and paintings were sold hung on them as in Spain, whence the term *literatura de cordel*. On the *literatura de cordel* see, for example: Jean-François Botrel, 'La littérature de cordel en Espagne. Essai de synthèse', in *Colportage et lecture populaire. Imprimés de large circulation en Europe XVI^e–XIX^e siècle*. Actes du colloques des 21–24 avril 1991 Wolfenbüttel, sous la direction de Roger Chartier and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink (Paris: IMEC éditions, 1996), pp. 271–82. See the map of St Mark's Square in Carnelos, 'Con libri alla mano', p. 288, no. 15.

26 ASV, *Procuratori di San Marco. De Supra*, b. P, 9 November 1608.

27 See where were the standards in Carnelos, 'Con libri alla mano', p. 288, no. 16.

28 ASV, *Arti*, b. 163, Atti II, 25 August 1598, fos. 4v–5r.

29 BMCV, *Mariogola*, 19 November 1596, fo. 40r. ASV, *Arti*, b. 163, Atti II, 26 August 1613, fos. 91–2.

to find, handy and above all cheap, baskets could be filled with a good quantity of books and printed matter, more than could be carried by hand. The first reference to a *cestariolo*, as a seller with a basket was called in Venice, appears in a document of the Holy Office in 1535.³⁰ Thereafter more people started to sell with a basket or other container (probably sacks and bundles), so many that it was forbidden in 1658 and restricted only to the poorest guild members.³¹ This sort of commerce was quite easy to pursue. It required no shop, no workers, no expenses, except in acquiring booklets to sell, and called for only limited observance of the law (because hiding everything in case of inspection was not too complicated). It also ensured a good income, because the pedlars sold their wares on the street, right in amongst potential buyers, and they offered the most popular genres and works. Costs and risks were reduced to a minimum. For this reason, the basket (or sack) trade was common not only among non-member workers: many guild members with a shop would send their sons or shop-boys to sell books and news around the city in order to increase their income. Beyond these cases, we can affirm that generally a *cestariolo* was a poor bookseller, a member of the guild, who was suffering from bad economic conditions, or a street vendor selling small printed items with the permission of the *Senato* or other special license.

To discover what those baskets or sacks usually contained, we can usefully examine contemporary illustrations. Probably the most famous image of a *cestariolo* is a French one: *The colporteur*.³² Interestingly this man carries a small underarm drum to draw the attention of the people around, and has some paper sheets on his hat, probably news, reports, histories, miracles (we do not know exactly what) in manuscript and printed form. Another relevant image of a *cestariolo* was engraved by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli who was inspired to a drawing by Annibale Carracci (Figure 32.3).³³ Here small boards hang from the basket. Under the image is written “tavolette e libri per li putti”, meaning tablets (or hornbooks) and books for children. This suggests that there was a relationship between this way of selling on the street and the books for

30 ASV, *Santo Uffizio*, b. 91, 1 March 1635, trial against Antonio Chiriachi. See also ASV, *Inquisitori di Stato*, b. 625, 25 September 1653, Defendi Prudentino. On the *cestariol* see Paolo Preto, *Persona per hora secreta. Accusa e delazione nella Repubblica di Venezia* (Milan: Il saggiatore, 2003), p. 96.

31 ASV, *Arti*, b. 163, Atti IV, 22 January 1658, fo. 89v; ASV, *Arti*, b. 164, Atti VII, 25 May 1682, fo. 13r.

32 Anonymous, *École française*, seventeenth century, oil on canvas, Paris, Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée.

33 Achille Bertarelli, 'I gridi di piazza ed i mestieri ambulanti italiani dal secolo XVI al XX', *Il libro e la stampa*, 1.3 (1907), p. 16.



FIGURE 32.3 Tavolette e libri per li putti. *Rome, 1647*
PRIVATE COLLECTION, MILAN.

children, mainly used inside the school, such as grammars, ABCs, prayer booklets, moral histories, Christian doctrine, spiritual exercises and mirrors, books on how to confess and pray, and leisure books.

If we look to London, and to *The Cryes of the City of London* (1687) by Marcellus Laroon, we find a representation a woman selling gazettes on the street using a sort of sack.³⁴ The importance of this picture is threefold: the street vendor is a woman, she is selling gazettes, still an emerging genre, and she is using a sack instead of a basket. The presence of women selling printed material on the Venetian street is not documented, but their participation to the book and news trade cannot be ruled out.³⁵

As just seen through the last three examples, it is difficult, or probably impossible, to attribute specific goods or selling modes to street vendors because they were extremely changeable. For instance, they could also sell other products together with books and news, such as pins, textiles and necklaces.³⁶ However, it is a fact that these figures of book- and news-sellers appear much more in the documentation as the news market grew during the seventeenth century, and that they were concentrated inside the area extended from Rialto Bridge to St Mark's Square and San Moisè (behind the main square), exactly where hack writers were producing news, letters, and other small writings, more or less legally, on a stall or in a shop.³⁷

Giuseppe Maria Mitelli himself engraved many pictures about the aversion to the mass of imprints and information which harassed people (Figure 32.4).³⁸ Even if it was more rhetorical than real, this means that the news network was rapidly expanding.³⁹ In 1672 the *Esecutori contro la bestemmia* accused Venetian

34 Giles Mandelbrote, 'From the warehouse to the counting-house: booksellers and bookshops in the late 17th century London', in *A Genius for Letters: Booksellers and Bookselling from the 16th to the 20th Century*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1995), pp. 49–84.

35 Some information about women in typography can be read in Tiziana Plebani, *Il 'genere' dei libri. Storie e rappresentazioni della lettura al femminile e al maschile tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2001), pp. 164–85.

36 Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories. Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 116–20. See also *Commercio delle stampe e diffusione delle immagini nei secoli XVIII e XIX. Trade and circulation of popular prints during the XVIII and XIX centuries. Bilderhandel und Bildverbreitung im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alberto Milano (Rovereto: ViaDellaTerra, 2008).

37 Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, pp. 19–35.

38 See the pictures in Infelise, *Prima dei giornali*, pp. 208–11.

39 See also *Venezia e la guerra di Morea. Guerra, politica e cultura alla fine del '600*, ed. Mario Infelise and Anastasia Stouraiti (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2005); Mario Infelise, 'Sistemi di



FIGURE 32.4 Italianisch Savoischer Bieler und Novitäten Kramer. Germany, Augsburg (?), 1706. Rare German engraving inspired by the original *Compra chi vuole avvisi di guerra, carte di guerra a buon mercato, a due bolognini l'una* by G.M. Mitelli (1659?)

PRIVATE COLLECTION, MILAN.

printers of unlicensed selling of “books, songs, histories, laments, reports and other things” printed by them or by outsiders. For the first time, the 1672 accusation specified the involvement of mountebanks in this street commerce.⁴⁰

Mountebanks usually sold printed works and other small items before or after their performances. For example, in 1571 the *Procuratori di San Marco* authorised a mountebank called ‘Zanuol’ to sing upon his stage, to sell histories, songs, perfume and red water (a particular mix) during the whole carnival.⁴¹ But, since the seventeenth century, mountebanks and other people who

comunicazione e informazione manoscritta tra '500 e '700', in *Scripta volant, verba manent: Schriftkulturen in Europa zwischen 1500 und 1900. Les cultures de l'écrit en Europe entre 1500 et 1900*, ed. Alfred Messerli and Roger Chartier (Basel: Schwabe, 2007), pp. 15–35. On the power of these imprints see Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), and Patrizi, *informatori, barbieri. Politica e comunicazione a Venezia nella prima età moderna* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 2012).

40 BMCV, *Donà Dalle Rose*, b. 341, fasc. II, 11 February 1672.

41 The special license was confirmed on 20 April 1571: ASV, *Procuratori di San Marco. Chiesa*, b. 4, reg. II, 14 February 1571, fo. 48; 20 April 1571, fo. 53. This source is mentioned in René Bernard Maria Lenaerts, *La Chapelle de Saint-Marc à Venise sous Adriaen Willaert*

wanted to sell something or to set up a stage or a stall on St Mark's Square had to ask the permission of the bell ringer. This special license, later confirmed by the *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova* (in 1741), allowed mountebanks with or without a stage and other vendors, although they were not members of the guild of printers and booksellers, to deal in pamphlets, prayer books, songs and news and to sell them on St Mark's Square.⁴²

Even if there was a commercial division within St Mark's Square between the Square (Piazza), where booksellers and mountebanks could set up their stalls and stages, and the small Square (Piazzetta), dedicated to all the other figures and sellers, the only image we have representing a book stall at St Mark's Square shows us another reality. In the picture (oil on canvas) entitled *La piazzetta e la libreria* painted by Luca Carlevarijs (1663–1730, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) at the end of seventeenth century, we can see a book stall at the Piazzetta, close to the bell tower. Some small imprints, probably booklets and news reports, are displayed on a sort of covered table. At one side, a man is reading a book seated on a small bench and leaning on a box probably containing other books.

The Carlevarijs painting well represents the strengthening of the news market during the second half of the seventeenth century. This phenomenon is closely connected with the development of the service industry between the 1600s and 1700s. Tourism started to grow and new structures were built: coffee houses, taverns and inns were launched mainly within the Rialto–St Mark's area and become soon part of a tangled web of gossip and news.⁴³

On the subject of street vendors of books and news, another category of sellers needs to be mentioned: the blind men. In order to distinguish themselves from the false mendicants on the street, since the late Middle Ages the most needy blind people gathered together in specific brotherhoods, created by them and for them, in many Italian cities. One of the earliest charitable associations for the blind was established precisely in Venice in 1315 and for

(1527–1562). Documents inédits', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 19 (1938), pp. 205–55.

42 ASV, *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*, f. 18, 27 May 1741, fo. 12 added.

43 On coffee-houses see Filippo Maria Paladini, 'Sociabilità ed economia del *loisir*. Fonti sui caffè veneziani del XVIII secolo', *Storia di Venezia—Rivista*, 1 (2003), pp. 153–281. On Venetian gossip see Alexander Cowan, 'Gossip and Street Culture in Early Modern Venice', in *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets*, ed. Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 119–39. On the circulation of ideas see Federico Barbierato, *Politici e ateisti. Percorsi della miscredenza a Venezia fra Sei e Settecento* (Milan: Unicopli, 2006).

over two centuries it was located in the political centre of the city, at St Mark's church. In 1595, because of the confusion and disorders of the blind brethren inside the church, the Venetian government decided to move its seat to the nearby San Mois . The brotherhood remained there—perhaps it is not a coincidence that they were close to news writer shops and stalls—until the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ The brethren used to beg at the entrances of churches and house-to-house, receive rent from some buildings the company owned in Venice and organise parades around the city to pick up the money collected in specific boxes inside churches. With the diffusion of the printing press, they started offering small ephemeral publications while singing or reciting their usual orations on the street. This small commerce likely expanded in the ensuing centuries. In fact, during 1700, Venetian blind brethren also travelled around the Veneto region bringing small printed works in bags in order to increase the handouts.⁴⁵ Even if the Venetian fraternity was not granted privileges to sell certain types of printed matter, such as news and prayer booklets, as the pious confraternities of blind men in Madrid and Lisbon were,⁴⁶ it is possible that, during their trips around the Veneto region, blind men acted as *colporteurs*, peddling religious pamphlets as well as news.

The link between the blind men and the news trade is made more evident by studying those blind men who did not rely on charity. During the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, although suffering from partial or total blindness, some became famous street singers, others good performers. There was probably at least one blind singer in every city because they were known by their name and that of their home town, such as Bartolomeo *cieco veronese*, Cristoforo Scanello, *il cieco di Forl *, Catullo called 'Il Maritino', *cieco* of Murano (Venice), Giacomo, *cieco* of Verona, and so on. In one way or another they took part in the book and news market, entertaining a wide audience with songs and speeches on the most overcrowded streets and squares and frequently

44 ASV, *Procuratori di San Marco. Chiesa*, b. 4, reg. I, 30 April 1578, fo. 80v.

45 ASV, *Scuole piccole e suffragi*, bb. 155–6.

46 On Madrid: Jean-Fran ois Botrel, 'Les aveugles colporteurs d'imprim s en Espagne', *Melanges de la casa de Velazquez*, 9 (1973), pp. 417–82, and 'Des aveugles consid r s comme mass-media', *Melanges de la casa de Velazquez*, 10 (1974), pp. 233–71; Juan Gomis Coloma, 'Intermediarios entre el texto y su p blico: la confrad a de pobres ciegos oracioneros de Valencia', in *Opini n p blica y espacio urbano en la edad moderna*, ed. Antonio Castillo Gomez, James S. Amelang and Carmen Serrano S nchez (Somonte-Cenero, Gij n: Trea, 2010), pp. 301–17. Concerning Lisbon: Manuela D. Domingos, *Livreiros de Setecentos* (Lisboa, 2000), 55–65; Andr  Belo, *As gazetas e os livros. A Gazeta de Lisboa e a vulgariza o do impresso (1715–1760)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Ci ncias Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 2001), pp. 66–7.

combining their exhibitions with the sale of ephemera publications. They could sing, like Paolo Briti *cieco* of Venice; act a history, like Cristoforo Scanello the blind man of Forlì; or put news in verse form, as has been documented in Florence since the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ However, not all blind men performed on the street. In fact, the case of Luigi Grotto, *cieco* of Adria, is distinctly different. As we have already mentioned, he was a recognised scholar and a political mediator, but he testified as well the relevant role of news in sixteenth-century Venice by including them in some of his works. This was likely part of his strategy to participate in the information network which was gradually broadening inside the Venetian political and academic world.

As sketched in this brief chapter, in the early modern age, the heart of Venice was between St Mark's Square and Rialto Bridge, respectively the political and the economic centres of the city. The highest concentration of shops and workers in the whole of Venice was here, and it was at these two sites that the most important laws were posted and read aloud and that most of the ephemera were published and sold. Therefore, all the news (including new ideas, new books, and new laws) passed through these two areas, distributed by small vendors on shops or stalls, with baskets or sacks, or simply with their voice, gestures and writings, who played an important role in the widespread diffusion of information. Bridges, *portici* and the streets and squares in front of churches were the places usually occupied by the mobile retailers. By taking themselves to their customers, these mediators brought books and news to the street, where people could listen, perhaps learn by heart, or decide to buy and read, act, sing alone or to other people. That is to say that once on the street, and thanks to these smaller vendors, news circulation was barely under control.

47 Francesco Flamini, *La lirica toscana del Rinascimento anteriore ai tempi del Magnifico* (Pisa: T. Nistri, 1891), 159–61. On Paolo Briti and other blind men: Carnelos, '*Con libri alla mano*', pp. 215–25.

Natural Disasters and the European Printed News Network

*Carlos H. Caracciolo**

Introduction

The circulation of news about natural calamities in early modern Europe can be analysed from different points of view. This text will concentrate on the development of the news network about natural disasters in the context of the history of the circulation of news, from its beginning with manuscript news-sheets or *avvisi* through to the complex and more fully articulated network developed throughout Europe in the eighteenth century. In particular, I will focus on the news that crossed political or linguistic borders. It is no easy task to consider this subject exhaustively. One of the crucial points is the quantities to consider: the volume of sources, which is to say handwritten news, news pamphlets (relations, broadsheets) and newspapers (or gazettes) on the one hand; on the other, the number of events. For instance, the European Archive of Historical Earthquakes Data (AHEAD) counts 204 'large' and 'extra large' events in Europe and western Turkey between 1501 and 1750.¹ Digital humanities helps significantly in this area of research through the digitisation and the uploading of more and more documents, but the corpus is not yet large enough to cover the whole mass of news and events. The calamities selected are those caused by geophysical activity like earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, landslides, floods, and storms. Each type of event has different spatiotemporal development and this affects the ways in which they were communicated.

Natural Disasters at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century: Marino Sanudo and the information network

Scholars agree that the origin of the regular circulation of news is found in the commercial correspondence that circulated through a variety of means

* I would like to thank Viviana Castelli and Brendan Dooley, who shared some of the sources with me, my wife, Michela Sandias, and Joad Raymond who patiently read the text.

1 See <www.emidius.eu/AHEAD/main/> [2/5/15].

throughout Europe, as well as in the letters sent by the ambassadors of Italian courts to their princes and to the popes during the Italian Renaissance.²

Giovanni Villani reported, in his well-known *Cronica*, an earthquake that struck the region of the present-day border between Austria, Italy and Slovenia in 1348, some weeks before the Black Death. Villani argued that to report the event accurately and without mistakes, he preferred to copy a letter sent by “our Florentine merchants who deserve truth”. Down to the present, Villani’s copy of the letter has been one of the most important sources for the study of this earthquake, and can be adduced as early evidence of the presence of natural disasters in the history of information and news.³

Another important viewpoint for assessing the relationship between the circulation of news and natural disasters at the beginning of the sixteenth century is represented by Marino Sanudo’s *Diarii*. The Venetian historian, who belonged to the political elite, kept a diary of occurrences in Venice and elsewhere, which he got to know about through the Republic’s diplomatic and administrative network. When an earthquake rocked Bologna on the last day of 1504 (and the tremors continued until the 20 January 1505), Sanudo’s report was based on letters: “From Bologna I saw letters of the 21st of January. [They tell] how earthquakes did tremendous damage there”.⁴ It is not clear whether the letters referred to were *avvisi*—a conventional news medium, in other words—because Sanudo did not mention the author (as he usually did), but probably they were private letters. Three years later, when Crete (then a Venetian dominion) was struck by a series of strong earthquakes, Sanudo reported in his *Diario*, alongside a private letter from a Venetian official, an excerpt from a “very notable chronicle”. It is not clear even in this case what type of text this was: it seems to have been anonymous and directed to a larger public rather than to the authorities.⁵

Marino Sanudo wrote many notes about another earthquake which, on 26 March 1511, struck Carniola (now Slovenia) and Friuli, in north-eastern Italy,

2 Mario Infelise, ‘News Networks between Italy and Europe’, in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 54; see also the references there.

3 Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, 4 vols. (Florence, 1845), 4: 183–5. Christa Hammerl, ‘The earthquake of January 25th, 1348: discussion of sources’, in *Historical Investigation of European Earthquakes*, ed. Paola Albini and Andrea Moroni (Milan: CNR, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 225–40.

4 Marino Sanudo, *Diarii*, 58 vols., ed. Federico Stefani *et al.* (Venice: F. Visentini, 1879–1903), 6: 130.

5 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 7: 570–2. Nicholas Ambraseys, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean and Middle East. A Multidisciplinary Study of Seismicity up to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 417–22.

mainly on the basis of official letters and on his own experience of the earthquake, which was also felt in Venice. Sanudo mentioned only the *avvisi* from Milan, which reported that the earthquake had caused a little damage in Bergamo but that it had not been felt in Milan.⁶ This is the sole trace of news circulating about this event on the southern side of the Alps. On the other side, a verse account of the event was printed in Munich, written in the first person: *About the earthquake that occurred in the eleventh year*.⁷ The text mixed personal experience of the earthquake, spiritual or religious reflections, and factual information about the event. Perhaps this text does not belong to the genre of the typical news pamphlets of the ensuing decades. Yet it can be considered an actual report about what had happened in the lands hit by the earthquake.

In 1522, another strong earthquake struck the kingdom of Granada, Morocco and the Azores Islands. On this occasion Sanudo clearly identified his source: "Through news that Our Lord has from Spain, it is known that in Africa, on 22 September, there was such an earthquake the like of which has have never been heard of, since the world was created".⁸ The account is long and detailed, giving news of the consequences of the earthquake in the cities of Fez, Tlemcen and in the castle of Peñon de Velez, as well as about the impact in the environs. It continued with news about the effects of the earthquake in southern Spain, particularly Almeria.

While in Venice the news about these events came through manuscript newsheets, in northern Europe they were diffused by printed news pamphlets. In Antwerp and in Cologne a letter was published by an official of the Portuguese crown, a certain Manuel Borges, along with another letter received by Borges himself, with news about the effects of the earthquake in northern Africa and Spain.⁹ Seismologists say there were at least two different events.¹⁰ At all events, private letters became news when they were translated into French and German to be sold to a broader public.¹¹ News about this

6 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 12: 109–10.

7 *Vom Erdpidem Anno etc. im ayffften jar beschehn* (München, 1511): two editions are available on <www.zvdd.de/> [2/5/15].

8 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 33: 578.

9 Nancy Joe Dyer, 'La relación del terremoto en el Mediterraneo, 1504–1542', in *España y el mundo mediterráneo a través de las relaciones de sucesos (1500–1750)*, ed. Pierre Civil, Françoise Crémoux and Jacobo Sanz (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2008), pp. 145–6.

10 Cf. José Manuel Martínez Solares, 'Catalogo Sismico', in *Sismicidad histórica del Reino de Granada (1487–1531)* (Madrid: Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 1995), no. 12, pp. 20–6.

11 Dyer, 'La relación del terremoto', pp. 146–7.

earthquake was also printed in Augsburg with a report about a strange phenomenon in Rome, which was religiously interpreted.¹²

Despite the newsheet's role in providing information about the earthquake in Spain and Morocco, private letters still seem to have been the main source of information for the Venetian Great Council. For example, a letter arrived in Venice from the Venetian consul in Naples, Lunardo Anselmi, about a violent storm and flood which caused extensive damage in the city and the surrounding lands in October 1523.¹³ Instead, news about the same event (sent by a certain Jobst Ludwing) was printed and published the same year in German with other news from the Netherlands, Rome and Austria.¹⁴

In 1531, a news pamphlet printed in Valencia (Spain) reported the strong earthquake that struck Lisbon and central Portugal on 26 January that year, causing much damage and many fatalities. Another edition was published, probably in the same year, also in Spanish. We do not know if there was other printed news of the Lisbon earthquake. Yet it seems that this event was little heard of outside the Iberian Peninsula. According to Sanudo, the information reached Venice through Rome: the Venetian ambassador in Rome wrote that the pope had told him that a huge earthquake had occurred in Lisbon.¹⁵

Some months before, during the cold and rainy autumn of 1530, the Tiber River had burst its banks in Rome and the sea had flooded Flanders, both incidents causing huge calamities and many casualties. Information from Rome came to Venice through private letters. Sanudo added to his diary an anonymous letter (likely a manuscript newsheet) received by the Duke of Mantua. Yet in French as well as in German at least four relations were printed about the Tiber floods to inform a large public about what had happened in the papal city. The flood in the Low Countries was reported in at least one news pamphlet printed in French and another in German.¹⁶ Meanwhile in Venice, Marino Sanudo reported news that Pandolfo Cenami had received from Antwerp. Cenami was probably the most important Venetian banker at that time. He received a continuing flow of news from Antwerp, as well as from Lucca, Lyon

12 *Von der Finsternus die zü Rom geschehen ist ... auch in andernkünigreichen / etlich stet durch Erdbidem undergangen / uñ nydgefallen seinnd* (Augsburg, 1522), USTC 703465. Edition available at <www.zvdd.de/> [2/5/15].

13 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 35: 135.

14 *Neue Zeitung aus dem Niderlandt auss Rom auss Neapolis* (n.p., 1523), USTC 677736. See Emil Weller, *Die ersten Deutschen Zeitungen* (Tübingen: H. Laupp, 1872), p. 91, no. 16. Available at <www.archive.org> [2/5/15].

15 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 54: 308–9. See also Dyer, 'La relación del terremoto', pp. 147–8.

16 Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 103, nos. 53–4.

and Paris.¹⁷ It is worth noting also that the sources of the news pamphlets printed in Lyon about the inundation of Rome were letters sent to bankers established in Paris and Lyon.¹⁸

Sanudo's *Diaries* end in September 1533. By that time news pamphlets about political events had circulated in Italy for some years already. However, it seems that printed news about natural disasters circulated mostly in northern Europe, while in Venice (and probably also in Rome) this type of news circulated through *avvisi*, and that they reached a smaller audience than the northern European prints.

Natural Disasters and News Networks in the Sixteenth Century

In March 1536, a few years after the Portugal earthquake, Mount Etna erupted in Sicily. The eruption was accompanied by several strong earthquakes. The Benedictine monastery of San Leone was first destroyed by the quakes and then buried by lava, which also threatened Catania. On this occasion a news pamphlet was published in Italian.¹⁹ This may be the first printed news about a natural phenomenon to have been published in Italy. In German a news pamphlet about the eruption was issued by an unknown printer. Probably it circulated reasonably widely, since Emil Weller has found copies of it in five libraries.²⁰ Two years later, in September 1538, there was an exceptional volcanic eruption in the Phlegraean Fields, near Naples, which destroyed the town Tripergole, seriously damaged Pozzuoli and formed a new peak (Monte Nuovo). Information about the extraordinary phenomenon was disseminated in German by at least two news pamphlets, one of them issued in Augsburg. A French-language print was issued in Lyon.²¹

17 Jean-Pierre Seguin, *L'information en France avant le périodique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), pp. 84–5. About the banker, see: Maria Rosa Pardi Malanima, 'Pandolfo Cenami', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, <www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/pandolfo-cenami_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [25/10/13].

18 Seguin, *L'information*, p. 84, nos. 123–7.

19 *Li horrendi, & spaventosi prodigij, & fuochi aparsi in Sicilia nel Monte de ethna overo Mongibello*. See Tullio Bulgarelli, *Gli avvisi a stampa a Roma nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Istituto di studi romani, 1967), p. 48, no. 34.

20 *Erschröckliche warhafftige neue Zeitung, die sich mit grausamen erbidem un feur in Sicilia*. See Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 117, no. 103. Copy on <www.zvdd.de> [2/5/15].

21 *Copie dune Lettre venue de Naples contenant les terribles et merveilleux Signes et prodiges advenuz au lieu et Ville de Pozzol* (Lyon, 1538), USTC 73644. See Seguin, *L'information*, p. 91, no. 188.

In 1542, the earthquake of the Mugello Valley (Tuscany) reached an even wider European public. There were two or three letters written and printed in Florence giving news of the event. These documents were the sources of different European editions, with translations following in French, English, German and Dutch.²² In one Italian edition, the author finished with a note about another phenomenon and an interesting comment: “About what has been seen in the city of Sebenico, in the Levant, in a Jews’ place and in other parts of the Turk Lord, I think that His Grace was well informed, better than me, considering you are in Rome [...] where all things come soon”.²³ We do not know the subject of this comment. However, in the abovementioned editions published in German and French included news of another catastrophic event in the Turkish lands: “Also news about what happened in Turkey, where a city sank into the earth, so that nobody survived”. In another news pamphlet printed in German in two editions, the order of the news is inverted: the text begins with the news about some miraculous signs that had been seen in Stabonichio, Judea. It continues with the news about a monstrous child that was born in Maremma, in southern Tuscany, and then with the Mugello earthquake.²⁴ In Strasbourg a news pamphlet was printed which reported only on the event in the Levant. In the titles of the editions printed in London and Antwerp the event is referred to only in the following terms: “Also how that a cytie in Turkey sank”. It is not known precisely what that Ottoman event was, nor where it happened: only that it occurred a short time before the Tuscan earthquake. In 1691, Marcello Bonito mentioned an earthquake in Palestine that had occurred in around 1541.²⁵ So far, seismological historiography has not identified this event, pointing only to a well-known earthquake that rocked Palestine in 1546.²⁶ Here the interesting point is that both news events somehow shared the same network over a large part of Western Europe. This is conspicuously not true of another event, news of which apparently circulated only within Spanish-speaking regions. The year of the Mugello earthquake an excerpt of a letter was printed in Seville which reported the flood and landslide that had destroyed

22 Seguin, *L'information*, p. 91, no. 189. Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 117, no. 103.

23 Fillipo Bellandi and Dennis E. Rhodes, eds., *Il terremoto del Mugello del 1542 in un raro opuscolo dell'epoca* (Florence: Comunità Montana zona E, 1987).

24 See Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 133, no. 148.

25 Marcello Bonito, *Terra tremante o vero continuatione de' terremoti dalla creatione del mondo fino al tempo presente* (Naples, 1691), p. 684.

26 See Ambraseys, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean*, p. 440, in which is reproduced the first page of the news pamphlet printed in Strasbourg.

the town of Guatemala the year before.²⁷ The letter had been printed the same year of the event in Mexico: *Relation about the fearful earthquake that recently happened in the West Indies, in a city named Guatimala*.²⁸ Current scholarship suggests that this is the first news pamphlet published in the Americas.²⁹ Yet the main point is that this news seems to have been diffused only in Spain or in the Spanish-speaking territories, without crossing the Pyrenees.

On the other side of the Mediterranean basin, beside the Venetian dominions, there was the vast territory conquered by the Ottoman Empire, which was frequently hit by natural disasters. News of some of these phenomena reached European readers. In 1545 a news pamphlet printed in German but of uncertain typographic origin reported an earthquake that same year on 24 March, in central Greece. According to the title, the content was a translation of a news pamphlet printed in Verona, based on letters that had come to Venice from Corfu. Since the Italian print is not extant, the German rendering of it is one of the few detailed descriptions of this event.³⁰ The next year, another letter reached a nobleman in Venice, probably from the coast of Palestine. This became the source of a news pamphlet published in Wittenberg in German and in Antwerp in French, which described two events: the first, a strong earthquake that hit Palestine in January, and the second, an “unusual” or “horrible” event that caused considerable damage in Famagusta, on the east coast of Cyprus.³¹ Again, the news pamphlet represents an important

27 *Relacion cierta y verdadera sacada y trasladada de una carta que a esta cibdad de sevilla fue enbiada sobre la terrible y tempestosa tempesta que sucedio en la cibdad de Guatimala*. Catalogued by M. Agullo y Cobo and quoted by Carmen Espejo y Cala, ‘El origen epistolar de las relaciones de sucesos de la edad moderna’, in *La correspondencia en la historia*, ed. Carlos Sáez and Antonio Castillo Gómez (Madrid: Calambur, 2002), p. 160.

28 *Relacion del espantable terremoto que agora nuevamente ha acontecido en las yndias en una ciudad llamada Guatimala* (Mexico, 1541), USTC 344171. Quoted by Dyer, ‘La relación del terremoto’, p. 149.

29 See Leonardo Ferreira, *Centuries of Silence: The Story of Latin American Journalism* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), p. 56.

30 Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 137, no. 159. Ambraseys, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean*, pp. 441–4.

31 *Zeittung von einem grossen und erschrecklichen Erdbidem ... dadurch zu Jerusalem un inn vielen umbliegenden Stedten, mercklicher schade geschehen* (Wittenberg, 1546), USTC 707638. *Ung merueilleusement grandt mouvement de terre, et merueilleux signes et domages, maintenant de brief advenus en la ville et toute la province de Jherusalem ... Encoire aussi ineffables et horribles ventz, en lisle de Cypre en la ville appellee Famagosta* (Antwerp, 1546), USTC 38188. See Ambraseys, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean*, p. 444.

source for the study of the event.³² In any case, the salient point is the route taken by the news: the narratives of both of the later news pamphlets were written to some noblemen in Venice, and then translated and printed. In the last case there is no mention of any print in Italian. A news pamphlet printed in two editions in Nuremberg reported two pieces of news: one is the narrative of another Middle Eastern earthquake that had struck the region of the Sea of Marmara.³³ Probably the text of this pamphlet was used also in an illustrated broadsheet with an imaginary Istanbul damaged by the quakes.³⁴ More attention was paid to the earthquake that struck Kotor in 1564, about which a news pamphlet was printed at least in three editions: in Augsburg, Nuremberg, and in another edition of uncertain origin.³⁵ The source of the news was a report written by a Venetian high official to some noblemen in Venice. This letter was similar to those mentioned earlier, and to those copied by Marino Sanudo some decades before, but they became news when they were printed and sold.

Most of the news about Middle Eastern events was printed in German. In contrast, most of the news about the floods in Rome were printed in French. There exists a German news pamphlet, of unknown origin, about the Tiber floods of 1557 (according to a copy printed in Rome).³⁶ Probably it was that printed by Antonio Blado, which also reported the peace between the Pope, Paul IV and King Philip. Meanwhile, two news pamphlets about the Roman flood were printed in Paris and in Rouen.³⁷ The French news pamphlets also reported a simultaneous flood in Florence.

Though not as severe as its Middle Eastern counterparts, the case of the earthquake that rocked the Maritime Alps on 20 July 1564 is worth remarking. Although there is no news pamphlet about it published in French or Italian, Emil Weller collected two very different news pamphlets printed in German. One of them, once again of unknown origin, reports the earthquake that struck the Duchy of Savoy, not far away from Nice. The second was published in Nuremberg and tells of seven cities destroyed “by God” by means of the

32 Yet, the interpretations are different: see Mohammed Reda Sbeinati, Ryad Darawcheh and Mikhail Mouty, ‘The historical earthquakes of Syria: an analysis of large and moderate earthquakes from 1365 B.C. to 1900 A.D.’ *Annals of Geophysics*, 48.3 (2005), pp. 347–435, and Ambraseys, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean*, p. 444–51.

33 Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 154, no. 206.

34 See Ambraseys, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean*, p. 455, fig. 3.25.

35 Weller, *Die ersten*, pp. 178–9, no. 271.

36 Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 156, no. 210.

37 Seguin, *L'information*, p. 85, nos. 130–1.

earthquake.³⁸ The phenomenon was one of the most important of that region. It destroyed at least the towns of La Bollène, Belvedere and Roquebillier, with significant damage recorded in four other towns.³⁹

During the ensuing years the European peoples suffered other natural calamities, as for instance the large floods, according to the news, during the autumn of 1567 along the course of the Adige river, across Trent, Verona, Padua and Vicenza in northern Italy. The narrative also mentions small towns such as Legnano and recalls the flood in the same region in 1512.⁴⁰ During the following year, this news was also printed in two editions in Augsburg, Nuremberg and Berger in Strasbourg. In spite of the interest that this event generated in Germany, there are no news pamphlets about it in any other languages, not even in Italian.

Three years later, in the autumn of 1570, other calamities hit at least three European lands: floods in the Low Countries as well as France, and an earthquake in Ferrara, in northern Italy. Ferrara was struck by the earthquake when the city was enjoying the high cultural prestige given by the House of Este. The quake struck the night of 16/17 November, the first of a swarm that lasted until 1574. The death toll was between 30 and 40 people, yet the damage to buildings and the continuous quakes led to the migration of a significant proportion of the inhabitants, with Duke Alfonso II forced to abandon his castle. Many people and foreign diplomats interpreted the whole situation as a sign of the decadence of the House of Este.⁴¹ The Fugger network of newsletters received information a few days after the main event and went on reporting the succession of quakes over the next few months.⁴² Five news pamphlets were printed in German (in Zurich, Augsburg, Cologne, Erfurt, beside others without typographic indications), four in French (in Lyon and reprinted in Paris, by at least two printers, and in Rouen), one in English (in London), and a verse account was published in Spain.⁴³ No evidence exists of any news pamphlet printed in Italian. Instead, there was an Italian printed

38 Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 181, nos. 275–6.

39 See <www.sisfrance.net/documents.asp> [4/5/15].

40 Weller, *Die ersten*, pp. 199–200, no. 331.

41 Cf. E. Guidoboni, G. Ferrari, D. Mariotti, *Catalogo dei forti terremoti in Italia: <storing.ingv.it/cfti4med/#>* [4/5/15].

42 See for instance the correspondence from Ferrara of 21 and 25 November and 5 and 12 December 1570, available at <anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=fug> [4/5/15].

43 Weller, *Die ersten*, pp. 211–13, nos. 364–7; Seguin, *L'information*, pp. 91–2, nos. 193–7; *A Copie of the letter sent from Ferrara the xxij of Nouember, 1570* (London, 1571?), USTC 507238; B. de Flores, *Relacion del espantable temblor y tempestad de rayos, que ahora ha sucedido en el mes de enero proximo passado deste año de setenta y uno, en la ciudad de*

news pamphlet about the “extensive ruins and damage to goods and other things made by the sea and rivers and large storms, that have occurred in Lyon of France, in Antwerp and in Flanders”.⁴⁴ News about the earthquake in Ferrara earthquake was associated in the same booklet with the news about the floods in the Low Countries. Eight different news pamphlets were printed in German: in Strasbourg, Cologne, Nuremberg, Erfurt, Augsburg and Zurich, and two more of unidentified origin.⁴⁵ The Low Countries experienced another disastrous sea flood in 1582, when many hundreds of people drowned, according to a German news pamphlet.⁴⁶

News about natural catastrophes was frequently published in the same prints as reports of other events: prophecies, battles, journeys of kings or queens, and so on. The war against the Ottoman Empire, the uprising of the protestant provinces of the Low Countries against the Hapsburg sovereignty, the Anglo-Spanish war, all these were all among the most important news topics during the last decades of the century. For example, in a German news pamphlet two items were reported: the first about a flood in the Parisian neighbourhood of Saint Marcel, the second, reported from Utrecht not long after the Treaty that established the Union of Utrecht, about the events related to a battle against the Spanish army.⁴⁷ The bursting of the Bièvre river in Paris left 25 dead and 40 injured, and led to the loss of livestock, trees, houses and mills. The news pamphlet presented itself as the authorised translation of that printed in Paris. In fact, there were at least two news pamphlets published in Paris about this event: one of them reprinted in Orléans and in Lyon, while another pamphlet was printed in Poitiers.⁴⁸

Ten years after the Ferrara earthquake, another, smaller, quake hit both sides of the English Channel. News about this was printed in two editions in Paris and Lyon.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, these news pamphlets gave information only about the impact in France. Meanwhile, many news pamphlets were issued about the event on the English side of the Channel. However, it is difficult to assess

Ferrara e iuntamente como en Flandes se anegaron de una creciente cient villas y lugares (n.p., 1571), USTC 336283 See: <www.bidiso.es/RelacionesSucesosBusqueda/> [4/5/2015].

44 *Avisi venuti nuovamente da diversi paesi della gran rovine & danni de mercantie ... che a fatto il mare*; see Tullio Bulgarelli and Sandro Bulgarelli, *Il giornalismo a Roma nel Seicento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1988), p. 68, no. 107.

45 See above, note 43.

46 Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 277, no. 564.

47 Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 256, no. 502. Available at <www.digitale-sammlungen.de> [4/5/15].

48 Seguin, *L'information*, pp. 85–6, nos. 138–42.

49 Seguin, *L'information*, p. 92, nos. 202–4.

the 'journalistic' character of those texts; they seem rather to be religious reflections about the phenomenon.⁵⁰

In March 1584 another earthquake struck a linguistic boundary region. On one side, a news pamphlet published in Strasbourg reported the earthquake that hit 'in Switzerland in Bern's territory'. On the other side, a French news pamphlet published in Troyes underlined information about French-speaking places among those that the earthquake hit hardest, which since 1536 had been subject to the Bern authorities.⁵¹ Though the earthquake that struck Austria in 1590 was stronger than those in the English Channel, Maritime Alps and Ferrara, the only news to be published about it was in German: in Nuremberg and in Cologne, as well as other unspecified locations.⁵² The last earthquake of the century to be reported in print occurred at the end of March 1598, in the remote province of Amasia, in north-eastern Turkey, where six towns and 60,000 people remained buried, as reported in a news pamphlet published in Augsburg.⁵³

Rome suffered three major floods during the sixteenth century, and all of them were reported by printed news in France: beside the aforementioned events of 1530 and 1557, they also reported an earthquake of 1598.⁵⁴ Nevertheless the case of Rome does not represent the functioning of the entire news network. To evaluate the importance of natural disasters in the news network, it might be useful to compare news and events. For instance, comparison between newsprint reporting the earthquakes of the sixteenth century and the earthquakes catalogued for the same period shows that there is no direct relationship between the severity of a seismic event or other natural catastrophe (whether measured by intensity, magnitude, material and human losses), and their coverage in the press. Many major events were neglected because they happened far from the information network. By contrast, relatively mild earthquakes were reported (such as those in Ferrara or the Dover strait) compared to others that had been stronger but were less interesting, for instance those happened in southern Italy or within the Ottoman borders.⁵⁵ Comparatively few seismic events crossed linguistic borders in their reporting.

50 For instance, Arthur Golding *A discourse upon the earthquake that happned throughe this realme* (London, 1580); see also 'Arthur Golding', in *ODNB*.

51 Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 286, no. 598; Seguin, *L'information*, p. 93, no. 206.

52 Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 326, nos. 726–8.

53 Weller, *Die ersten*, p. 457, no. 854.

54 See Seguin, *L'information*, p. 86, no. 145.

55 The above-mentioned AHEAD counts 303 earthquakes between 1501 and 1600; among them only 46 are catalogued as 'large' or 'extra large', and 79 as 'medium' events. News pamphlets gave information about approximately twenty of them.

As with earthquakes, most of the floods reported by the news involved the same linguistic region the printers. For instance, there was no news printed in the western regions about the Vistula floods at the end of the sixteenth century, when the river actually changed its course.⁵⁶

Natural Disasters between News Pamphlets and Newspapers: The Seventeenth Century

Beside manuscript news and news pamphlets, during the seventeenth century, a third way to disseminate news spread across Europe. First in some German cities, later in the Low Countries and eventually in the rest of Western Europe, by the end of the century at least one newspaper had appeared in each of the most important languages of the continent. The large demand for news was the essential condition for the emergence of periodical printed news. Newspapers' manner of delivering information had more in common with manuscript newsheets than with news pamphlets or broadsheets. Usually the modern *gazettes* consisted of news from a series of recurring datelines, but were flexible enough to include correspondences from other cities or places, such as the scene of a battle or a disaster zone. The long, detailed and even contextualised accounts of events that characterised the news pamphlets was replaced by shorter, concise news.⁵⁷ The loss of detail was compensated with the amount of news, potentially from the full extent the Christian world. As the title of the oldest European newspapers made plain, the modern newspaper featured news from Germany, Italy, Spain, Netherlands, England, France, Hungary, Austria, Sweden, Poland, Transylvania, Turkey and the East and West Indies.⁵⁸ Nevertheless other forms of news communication, including manuscript *avvisi* and news pamphlets, continued and new connections were

56 H. Maruszczak, 'Changes of the Vistula River course and development of the flood plain in the border zone of the South-Polish uplands and middle-Polish lowlands in historical times', *Landform analysis*, 1 (1997), pp. 33–9; Jerzy Cyberski, Marek Grześ, Małgorzata Gutry-Korycka, Elżbieta Nachlik, Zbigniew W. Kundzewicz, 'History of floods on the River Vistula', *Hydrological Sciences – Journal des Sciences Hydrologiques*, 51.5 (2006), pp. 799–817.

57 Nevertheless, it was not rare the case of news pamphlet with more rhetoric than substantial information about the event. For instance, see: *Recit veritable et espouventable du tremblement de terre arrivé à la Pouille ... le 30 juillet de la presente année 1627*, C. Armand (Lyon, 1627). Available at <www.europeana.eu> [4/5/15].

58 See *Relation: aller Fürnemmen und Gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg), available at <digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/relation> [4/5/15]; and *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel): available at <digitale-sammlungen.gwlb.de/index.php> [4/5/15].

established between them and the new gazettes, creating a further layer in the already extended news network. Meanwhile, the natural course of the earth's life continued, including the cycle of catastrophic events, and the new mode of printed news was used to report on them from the very beginning of the newspaper era. At the same time, over the course of seventeenth century news pamphlets about natural disasters became more popular in certain countries, appearing more frequently than in the sixteenth century.⁵⁹

Amongst the natural calamities to strike Europe during the seventeenth century, some resonated beyond the linguistic or national borders within which they occurred. During the first decade, two events in particular drew the attention of news readers: news pamphlets were published about the flooding of the Tiber in Rome (1606), and in the Bristol Channel (1607). Both were reported by French news pamphlets published in Paris.⁶⁰ In the latter event, the sea flooded violently into the coast with a toll of 2,000 dead and huge damage to man-made structures, mainly in Wales and Somerset. The event is remembered as the worst natural disaster in Britain, though its cause remains unknown.⁶¹

The heavy rain and flooding that caused severe damages and many deaths in Barcelona and its surroundings in November 1617 occasioned at least one news pamphlet published in Spanish in Valencia,⁶² then in Italian in Milan (at that time under Spanish domination), and two French editions in Lyon and Paris.⁶³ Nevertheless one of the natural disasters that generated most public interest during this period was an event in Grisons, on the border with Lombardy: on the night of 3 September 1618 a huge landslide buried the town of Piuro and wiped out more than a thousand people. Two Italian news pamphlets were published: in Milan (reprinted in Macerata) and in Viterbo.

59 At least, considering both mentioned Bulgarelli's catalogues, news about natural calamities in the seventeenth century were the 7.9% of all news pamphlets, while for the sixteenth century they represented the 2.27%.

60 Seguin, *L'information*, p. 86, nos. 147–8. At least two news pamphlet were printed in Britain. See British Library Main Catalogue: *Lamentable newes out of Monmouthshire in Wales. Contayning, the wonderfull and most fearefull accidents of the great overflowing of waters in the saide countye* (London, 1607), and *A true report of certaine wonderfull overflowings of waters, now lately in Summerset-shire, Norfolke, and other places of England* (London, 1607).

61 See also the BBC service about this event: <news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/6311527.stm> [9/11/13].

62 *Daños causados por las crecientes de los rios Ebro, Lobregat, Cinca, y Segre: con la grande tempestad que huvo a tres de Noviembre deste presente Año de 1617* (Valencia, 1617).

63 Bulgarelli and Bulgarelli, *Il giornalismo*, p. 25, no. 90. Seguin, *L'information*, p. 87, n.154.

There were also German-language accounts printed in Prague, Lindau, Konstanz and Strasbourg; and Seguin counted four French news pamphlets published in seven editions.⁶⁴ An edition in English was published in London and Edinburgh.⁶⁵

Other events which made a larger impact in the news network were the Apulia earthquake (1627) and the eruptions of Vesuvius (1631) and Etna (1669). The Apulia earthquake killed at least four thousand inhabitants, though some sources put the figure as high as thirty thousand. The town of Apricena lost 45% of its population and Serracapriola and San Paolo di Civitate approximately 35%.⁶⁶ At least two news pamphlets about this event were printed in Naples. The pamphlet printed in Rome and written by Giovanni de Poardi was reprinted in Genoa, and in Augsburg, where it was printed in two German editions.⁶⁷ In France, three different news pamphlets were published: in Paris, Lyon (reprinted in Paris) and in Grenoble.⁶⁸

With regard to the eruption of Mount Etna in 1669, a recent study has identified ten ‘families’ of news pamphlets written in different times and places during its four months’ duration.⁶⁹ Some of them reached an international public: two in France through the news pamphlet edited by the Bureau d’Adresse, as a *Gazette* supplement, and one printed a week earlier in London. This English account was the first of three news pamphlets published by T. Newcomb, the printer of *The London Gazette*. The first two news pamphlets were published as a “particular narrative as it [was] collected out of several relations sent from Catania” by Heneage Finch, third Earl of Winchilsea. He

64 *Erschrockenliche Zeitung wie der schöne Hauptflecken Plurs ... untergangen seye* (Lindau, 1618); *Warhafftige erschreckliche Neue Zeitung von dem plötzlichen Untergang der Stadt Plurs* (Prague, 1618): both available at <www.zvdd.de> [4/5/15]. See also *Von dem erschrocklichen... Untergang dess weiterühmbten Flecken Pluers* (Strasbourg, 1618) and *Warhafftige Erbarmliche und zuvor unerhörte neue Zeitung ... wie Gott der Herr durch ein Sturmwind ein grossen Berg eingesturtzt* (Costantz, 1618); Seguin, *L’information*, p. 93, nos. 209–14.

65 See BL Main Catalogue <www.bl.uk/> [4/5/15]: *Newes from Italy. Or, a prodigious and most lamentable accident lately befallen: Concerning the swallowing vp of the whole City of Pleurs* (London, 1618), reprinted by Andro Hart (Edinburgh, 1619).

66 E. Guidoboni, G. Ferrari, D. Mariotti, *Catalogue of strong earthquakes in Italy 461 B.C.–1997*: <storing.ingv.it/cfti4med/> [9/11/13].

67 One of them as broadside. See the British Museum’s copy at <www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=247406001&objectId=1449976&partId=1> [4/5/15].

68 Seguin, *L’information*, p. 94, nos. 216–19.

69 Raffaele Azzaro and Viviani Castelli, *L’eruzione etnea del 1669 nelle relazioni giornalistiche contemporanee* (Catania: INGV – Le Nuove Muse Editrice, 2013).

was in Catania and Naples in April 1669, on his return journey to London from Istanbul, where he had been England's ambassador. The last is Finch's letter from Naples to the King, and was advertised in *The London Gazette* as a supplementary issue. Its reach was larger than that of the others: through a series of reprintings, it reached Dublin, Edinburgh and even Cambridge, Massachusetts. Another 'family' of news pamphlets was translated and reprinted in Lisbon by Antonio Craesbeek de Mello, the printer of *Mercurio Portugues*. It is worth underlining that these French, English and Portuguese news pamphlets were published by the printers of the respective official newspapers. This seems to indicate that the birth of 'privileged' or official government news periodicals also conditioned the market for news pamphlets.⁷⁰

Natural Catastrophes and the New Style of Information

Despite their wide diffusion, news pamphlets were gradually losing ground. This is particularly noticeable during the eighteenth century. The reason for this decline cannot only be explained by reference to the development of journalism and the growth of periodical newspapers. Probably, the decreasing diffusion of news pamphlets was brought about by the commercial conditions of the *Ancien Régime*, a time when privileges and monopolies were the norm. In any case, the diffusion of newspapers established a different way to be informed about natural events. The main difference is represented by the quantity of information. News pamphlets usually gave detailed information about a single event; by contrast, newspapers usually gave a few lines of information about several. Moreover, if on the one hand the content of a news pamphlet had to be an important event that deserved a title and an issue of its own (or, at least, shared the space with at most one other relevant piece of news), news in newspapers could consist of an account in a few words of one event, which would not necessarily have to be dramatic but would necessarily be significant. For instance, in the pages of both the oldest newspapers we find information of an earthquake felt in Lombardy on 9 July 1609, which cause—according to the

70 On news pamphlets and newspapers, see Carmen Espejo Cala, 'Gacetas y relaciones de sucesos en la segunda mitad del XVII: una comparativa europea', in *Géneros editoriales y relaciones de sucesos en la Edad Moderna*, ed. Pedro M. Cátedra and Maria Eugenia Díaz Tena (Salamanca: SEMYR, 2013), pp. 71–88.

news—considerable fright but relatively little damage.⁷¹ Similarly, a few weeks later, the report of a strong earthquake that caused extensive damage in Calabria occupied a few lines in these newspapers.⁷² More information about the earthquake was published in the following issue, but still with a far less detail than a typical pamphlet. Despite this apparent limitation, the advantage of newspapers is clear: no news pamphlets are known that report this earthquake, let alone the one felt in Lombardy.

Grégory Quenet has underlined some of the limitations of the newspaper established by Théophraste Renaudot in Paris in 1631. According to Quenet, natural catastrophes were not among Renaudot's priorities, and he did not give them much space in the *Gazette's* pages. Although news about natural catastrophes was "rare and uneven", the *Gazette* tended to carry more information about foreign events than about domestic ones.⁷³ Since French readers were better informed about events that happened in foreign lands, even those a long way off, it is useful to take an overview of how the *Gazette*, as well as news pamphlets, disseminated the news of a striking event, such as the eruption of Vesuvius.

After a period of about five centuries of quiescence, Mount Vesuvius started erupting on 16 December 1631. The eruption destroyed many villages and lands around the volcano, and the crater itself collapsed. The death toll was between 6,000 and 10,000 people.⁷⁴ In Italy many news pamphlets were published about it: at least three in Naples and two in Rome, with reprints in Bologna, Florence and Venice.⁷⁵ Abroad, a Neapolitan edition, written by Father Giacomo Milesio, was translated and printed in Munich and Cologne (as a broadside). The report written by Antonio Gerardi, author of other news pamphlets, was first printed in Rome and Bologna, and then in two German editions published in Augsburg,

71 "From Rome, 18 July. In the whole Lombardy it was felt on the 9th of mentioned [July] a rather big earthquake, which caused no little fright amongst the inhabitants": *Aviso, Relation oder zeitung*, no. 29 (2 August 1609); and *Fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien*, no. 31, dateline "Auss Rome, vom 18 Julii", with a little longer correspondence. Both are available at <goo.gl/dgRyxR> and <digi.ub.uniheidelberg.de/diglit/relation> [4/5/15]. See also Johannes Weber, 'The earlier German Newspaper: A Medium of Contemporaneity' in *The Dissemination of News*, ed. Dooley, pp. 69–79.

72 "From Rome, 8 August ... In the Kingdom of Naples, in the city of Piastro had happened a big earthquake, which destroyed many houses, and the people had fled to the open air" *Aviso Relation oder zeitung*, no. 32 (23 August 1609). and *Fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien*, no. 35, dateline: 'Auss Rome, vom 15 August'. See note 75.

73 Grégory Quenet, *Les Tremblements de terre aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Seysssel, 2005), p. 173.

74 See <www.ov.ingv.it/ov/it/vesuvio.html> [2/12/13].

75 Bulgarelli and Bulgarelli, *Il Giornalismo*, pp. 59–65.

one of them as a broadside.⁷⁶ In France, Milesio's text was printed in Lyon.⁷⁷ Strikingly, the printing of Renaudot's *Gazette* had started just a few months before. The first news about the eruption was published a month and a half after it began, through the correspondence from Venice, dated 7 January 1632: "In the mount Somma, in front of Naples, a breach two leagues long opened up, from which there issued a huge quantity of fire and smoke, so that all dwellers nearby escaped".⁷⁸ A few days later further news arrived, without a clear date-line but with more details of the event:

From Italy ... The fire of mount Somma, that is Vesuvius, three leagues from Naples, has been burning since 15 December, and it has already caused damages of two million in gold of damages, and the panic it has caused is like the image of the Last Judgement.⁷⁹

On 6 February 1632 the *Gazette* mentioned the eruption in three correspondences: one in the first part of the issue, with news from Rome, dated 12 January, in which the writer hinted at the eruption in relation to a possible flood in the city. In the second part of the same issue, two other letters were published, from Rome and Venice, also dated 12 January. In the letter from Rome there is a thirteen-line text with details of the situation, describing the effects of the quakes produced by the volcano. Meanwhile the Venetian letter had more of a moral character: according to the correspondent, the penitence of the people of Naples had contributed to the diminution of the damage, citing as proof twenty-five promiscuous girls who had changed their ways.⁸⁰ After two weeks further information arrived from Rome, dated 26 January, with three items of news: the destruction of two towns (probably by

76 *Warhaffte Relation dess erbärmlichen und erschrecklichen Zustands, so sich in der Seyten dess weitberümbten Bergs Vesuvii* (Cologne, 1632). Antonio Gerardi, *Warhaffte Relation, Von dem erschrücklichen Erbidem vnd Fewrsgwalt, so auß dem Berg zu Somma* (Augsburg, 1632?). Available at: <daten.digitalesammlungen.de/bsb00001437/image_6> [4/5/15]; *Eygentlicher Abriß und Beschreibung Deß grossen Erdbebens, und erschrücklichen brennenden Bergs im Königreich Neapolis* <www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1425160&partId=1&searchText=vesuvius+1631&page=1> [4/5/15].

77 Jacques Milesius, *Récit véritable du misérable et mémorable accident arrivé en la descente de la très renommée montagne de Somma, autrement le Vésuve* (Lyon, 1632).

78 *Gazette* (30 January 1632), 34. The *Gazette* is available at <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32780022t/date> [4/5/15].

79 *Gazette* (4 February 1632), 46.

80 *Gazette* (6 February 1632), 56.

the pyroclastic flows), the bankruptcy of the prince of Ottaiano (whose fief was located right at the foot of the volcano), and the changes in the features of the crater.⁸¹ In the next issue of the *Gazette*, the news was no longer from Rome or Venice but from Naples itself. A long letter from Naples dated 4 February 1632 marks the activation of another segment of the news network. From that issue onwards, the reader of the *Gazette* had direct news about the progress of the event and about the social reaction to the disaster. News of the eruption came from Naples almost weekly for two months, at which point the volcano's activity apparently ceased, as well as the news datelined from Naples, which became rare.⁸²

Natural Catastrophes and the Functioning of News Networks

Newspapers incorporated the news pamphlet into their own system and increased the level of sensitivity to natural phenomena. In addition, the European news network operated better where there was an efficient circulation of news at local or national level. Even in the case of a very politically and militarily oriented newspaper, like the Torinese *Successi del Mondo*, when a heavy earthquake rocked Gargano in 1646, the network was able to provide news for a public which was sensitive to this type of information, even if the news item itself was relatively brief.⁸³ In particular, the editor of the *Successi*, Pietro Antonio Socini, was so concerned with supporting the French interest in Piedmont, particularly at that moment, when naval battles were taking place between the French and Spanish navies near the Tuscan coast, that he neglected to write from where the news about the earthquake came and when it had happened. Probably Socini had received the same news the French *Gazette* had issued with the dateline of "Ancona, 13th of June 1646", but before publishing he had cut and synthesised it. This explains why the Parisian newspaper gave considerably more information.⁸⁴ Later, while the French newspaper published a second piece of news received from Naples about the

81 *Gazette* (20 February 1632), 71.

82 In October a letter from Rome (dated 11 September 1632) was published which commented on the reaction of the Neapolitan people in front of new signs of activity of the volcano: "The fire of Mount Vesuvius restarted, but the custom, as usually happens, reduces the surprise" *Gazette* (8 October 1632), p. 401.

83 See *Successi del mondo* (Torino, 19 June 1646). I thank Brendan Dooley, for having kindly shared with me the copies of this newspaper.

84 See *Gazette* (14 July 1646), 562.

earthquake, *Successi del Mondo* had no correspondent there, at least in that period. The functioning of the news network thus depended also on the degree of connection with each 'terminal node'.

The degree of sensitivity to natural calamities depended also on the relationship between centre and periphery. On 4 December 1690, a strong earthquake hit Carinthia, the Austrian Duchy at the border of the Venetian Republic. According to most of the sources, the earthquake caused extensive damage and death at Villach and in the neighbouring villages of Töbrig and Wernbeg, as well as heavy damage at Klagenfurt and other nearby villages. The quake was also strongly felt in Venice, where some chimneys fell, and was perceived throughout Germany, Slovenia and Bohemia. However, news about the most important effects, that is those from the epicentral zone, did not reach readers of the newspapers printed in London and Paris. Instead, information from Villach arrived in Venice and it was from there that it was sent to other gazette editors in Mantua and Bologna.

It is useful at this point to summarise how the network functioned through the four newspapers mentioned above. News about the event was disseminated through the most important capitals of the region: Vienna and Venice. In all four gazettes, the news from Vienna about the earthquake was published with the dateline of 10 December 1690.⁸⁵ The texts published in the English and French newspapers have similar features, and so probably derived from the same source, while those printed in the Italian gazettes are different translations of the same text. In any case, none of them had news from Vienna with information about the aftermath of the earthquake in the epicentral zone. Instead, according to the succeeding issues, damage in Vienna and elsewhere was produced by a violent wind that harmed many buildings.⁸⁶

The news from Venice also apparently drew on two correspondents: the news that had reached the Paris and London gazettes mentioned with similar texts that the earthquake had been felt there.⁸⁷ On the contrary, the Venetian correspondents of 9 December in the gazettes of Bologna and Mantua did not mention the earthquake, even though it had been strongly felt in the city. Yet,

85 See the correspondence from Vienna in: *The London Gazette* (18–22 December 1690); *Gazette*, no. 55 (30 December 1690); *Mantova*, no. 51 (22 December 1690) and *Bologna* (30 December 1690). Except the gazette printed in Mantua, these newspapers are available at <www.thegazette.co.uk/all-notices>, and <badigit.comune.bologna.it/Gazzette/gazzettedefault.asp> [4/5/15]. For the Parisian *Gazette*, see note 80.

86 *Gazette*, no. 1 (6 January 1691).

87 Like in the case of the correspondence from Vienna, the English newspaper gave more details than the French one: see 'Venise, le 8 Decembre 1690' in the *Gazette*, no. 55 (30 December, 1690), and 'Venice, December 8', in *The London Gazette*, 22–24 December 1690.

in the following issues of these Italian gazettes, the Venetian correspondent mentions letters that had come from Villach: "Venice, 16 December [...] By letters from Villach, Austrian State, it is reported that at the same time as the first earthquake was felt here, it was felt also in that city, with heavy damage, and it says that half of that city was destroyed, with 30 dead and many wounded".⁸⁸

Despite its limitations, at the end of the seventeenth century the news network supplied information at least about the most important events within the bounds of Christendom, and about many outside them. Although the prominence accorded to them varied, depending on the interests and stance of each editor, news of natural calamities were widely disseminated at the end of the pre-Enlightenment period. For instance, the news of the great storm that struck southern England and Wales between 7 and 8 December (26–27 November old style) 1703 was received in the Low Countries as well as in northern Italy, but occupied much more space in the fortnightly Amsterdam gazette than in Mantua's weekly newspaper.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, being nearer to the event did not warrant providing good quality information nor news at all. When in 1726 a rather small earthquake caused some damage in Dozza, in the Papal Legation of Bologna, the local as well other Italian gazettes neglected to mention the event. It was, however, reported in a Viennese gazette. The source of the Austrian official newspaper seems to have been the translation of the Bologna's manuscript newssheets, which reported weekly on local events.⁹⁰ In this case editorial conditions, for instance the space available for writing news, could be another key to understand the functioning of news circulation. The Gazette printed in Bologna issued weekly in a four-page edition, amounting to 208 pages of news each year. The *Wienerisches Diarium* appeared twice a week and was at least seven pages long, giving 728 pages of news each year. Renaudot's *Gazette* was a twelve-page weekly, totalling 624 pages annually.

The circulation of news was influenced to some degree by political conditions. For example, when in 1726, while Sicily was under Imperial rule, Palermo was rocked by an earthquake, Mantua's gazette received news from Palermo through correspondents from Naples, Genoa and Livorno: the other important Tyrrhenian ports, in other words. Bologna's gazette received news of the event

88 *Bologna* (19 December 1690), and *Mantova* (22 December 1690).

89 Compare the gazette of Amsterdam (18 and 21 December 1703: datelines London 11 and 14 December) with that of Mantova (9 and 16 January 1703: datelines London 8 and 14 December).

90 See *Wienerisches Diarium*, 20 February 1726. About Bologna's *Avvisi*, see Carlos H. Caracciolo, 'Los avisos secretos de Bolonia: un caso de periodismo de "provincia"', in *Géneros editoriales*, 45–69. See also Romano Camassi, *et al.*, 'Materiali per un catalogo dei terremoti italiani', *Quaderni di Geofisica*, 57 (2008), no. 90, p. 148.

from Rome, while the Gazette of Vienna (and that of Amsterdam) got their news directly from Palermo; it also borrowed from the other Italian gazettes mentioned above and, moreover, published a very detailed news pamphlet and a broadsheet in addition to the periodical gazette.⁹¹

The patterns of reporting of natural disasters can also be shown to be contingent on the geographic characteristics of the events themselves. Floods, for instance, can cause damage across large areas which in some cases may activate different nodes of the information network, as in the instance of the thaw in the cities situated along the Lower Rhine.⁹² In the pages of the gazette printed in Bologna, there would be information practically every year about floods in northern Europe with datelines from Cologne, Frankfurt and London, but also from Paris and Venice. The natural phenomenon might be only a passing detail within a news report carrying more important information, as in the case of a correspondence from Cologne, which reported that the military chief of Bonn continued to reinforce the city defences though 'persistent rain [had] inundated the nearby lands'.⁹³

At the same time it was possible to read news about the Mediterranean earthquakes from the French and Austrian official *Gazettes*. Moreover, news about natural disasters arrived from the frontiers of the Western world, and sometimes even beyond. When Algiers was rocked by an earthquake in 1716, the news published on 29 February by the French gazette arrived directly from the African port, with the information dated 5 February. It recounted the damage to the city as well as to the French Consul's house. Meanwhile, readers of Bologna's gazette first heard about it on the 7 April (datelined Genoa, 29 March), with information from Cagliari (Sardinia), along with an English ship, which had stopped at Algiers and Port Mahon. The next correspondences (Genoa, 5 and 12 April) said nothing about the earthquake. The correspondence from Genoa dated 19 April reported four ships that had arrived with news from western Mediterranean ports; one of them, an English ship arrived from Majorca loaded with oil, confirmed the news about the earthquake in Algiers. One month later, further correspondence from Genoa (19 May) mentioned a 'relation' in which it said the toll of victims caused by the earthquake was 22,000 people, amongst them 800 Christians, "with the destruction of almost the entire city" of Algiers, "except a few houses near the coast". Other

91 See *Wienerisches Diarium*, from 2 October to 13 November 1726. Available on <anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?datum=1726&zoom=33> [4/5/15].

92 See for example the correspondence from Cologne published in the gazette of Bologna on 28 February, 13 and 26 March, 1709.

93 *Bologna* (23 January 1703).

interesting cases were the earthquake that rocked Boston and the east coast of the English colonies in north America, and the eruption of the volcano Krafla, in Iceland, of which news reached the *Paris Gazette* via Copenhagen at the end of 1729 and the Viennese gazette via Hamburg.⁹⁴ In fact news of the eruption arrived only in its final phase, when the lava had already destroyed some farms and menaced a village. News also came from very distant places. The *Wienerisches Diarium*, received news on 9 September 1729 from St Petersburg (6 August) of an earthquake of October 1728 in Peking. Some days earlier, news about this earthquake reached Paris by a different route: via Madrid (9 August), which reported news received from Lisbon. This news accompanied information about an important battle in the Great Tibet, which, according to the correspondents, signalled Chinese dominion over that land.⁹⁵

Conclusions

The events and the news described above should provide some keys for a better understanding of the relationship between natural disasters and the news network. For instance, it is useful to distinguish between two aspects of the news network: the capacity to collect information about natural calamities, and the ability to disseminate them as news. In the middle, the network had two levels: local or national (characterised by linguistic rather than political boundaries), and international or translinguistic. Levels and links between them developed during this period, along with the degree of sensitivity of the network to natural catastrophes.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, printed news about natural calamities was rare. Nevertheless, manuscript newssheets and printed pamphlets created some space for accounts of them in the news market. From the beginning, news about natural catastrophes drew the attention of the foreign public, as in the cases of the earthquakes in northern Africa and Spain (1522) and in Tuscany (1542). Most news of floods and earthquakes during this period came from printers operating in the linguistic region in which the disaster occurred, however. News about natural calamities, when it crossed linguistic borders, usually travelled from south to north, mostly from Italy and the Levant to France and Germany. Moreover, relatively few such events during the sixteenth century were covered by the news network. Coverage depended on where events occurred, and on their position in the news network, rather than

94 *Gazette* (24 and 31 December 1729); *Wienerisches Diarium* (4 January 1730).

95 *Wienerisches Diarium*, no. 72 (7 September 1729), *Gazette*, no. 35 (27 August, 1729).

on the significance of the event in respect of the damage it caused. These assumptions continue to hold during the seventeenth century, especially for news pamphlets. The situation changed radically with the diffusion of newspapers, however. If almost all news pamphlets about natural calamities catalogued by Sandro and Tullio Bulgarelli for the seventeenth century occurred in the Italian peninsula, the news issued in the newspapers dramatically expanded the geographical range over which disasters were reported. For instance, news about the earthquakes that struck southern Spain (1680), Germany (1681), and Turkey (1688) were published in the gazette of Bologna, but passed unnoticed by any Italian pamphlets. Newspapers at once incorporated news pamphlets into their own system, printing them as supplements to the periodical issues, and increased the level of sensitivity to natural phenomena, providing news about minor events that would have been very unlikely to find space in news pamphlets. It is likely that this augmented sensitivity has its origin in the more intensive use of the information networks established by the newspaper editors.

Whether or not translanguistic links were reinforced by newspapers, local networks seem to be underdeveloped, as in the case of the Eastern Alps earthquake in 1690, news of which reached Venice via a surprisingly roundabout route. It is of course possible that the Venetian correspondent had limited interest in natural phenomena, because he neglected to report how the earthquake was felt in the city, although he was able to collect information when the event appeared serious. Informal sources became important means of news-gathering where there was a discernible interest in these types of events and where the network was not yet comprehensive, as in the case of the 1716 Algerian earthquake.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, newspapers had become the principal axis around which the news network pivoted. Beyond political, geographical and editorial conditions, an extended information network enabled the collection and dissemination of news over a large part of the continent during the pre-Enlightenment period. When on 1 November 1755 a very strong earthquake destroyed Lisbon and many other towns and generally affected areas in Portugal, Spain and Morocco, an extended and well consolidated news network existed to report it all over Europe and beyond.

The ‘Trouble of Naples’ in the Political Information Arena of the English Revolution

*Davide Boerio**

... Let Kings beware how they provoke
Their Subjects with too hard a Yoke,
For when all's done, it will not doe,
You see they breake the Yoke in two:
Let Subjects no rebellion move
On such pretences least it prove,
As sad a thing, (which God forbid)
And fatall as to us it did.
Much blood split, great battails won,
Our treasure spent, and nothing done ...¹

This passage is taken from the epilogue of the tragicomedy *The Rebellion of Naples or the Tragedy of Masaniello*, written by the anonymous author T.B. The plot follows the life events of the young Neapolitan Tommaso Aniello d'Amalfi, better known as Masaniello, who became the leader of a popular revolt which broke out on 7 July 1647 in the Piazza Mercato in Naples. Naples was, in the mid-seventeenth century, the second or third most populous city in modern Europe.² The trigger for the uprising was the imposition of a new tax on fruit introduced by the Spanish viceroy, the Duke of Arcos, to cope with the

* I am especially grateful to Joad Raymond for involving me with the News Networks in Early Modern Europe project and to Elizabeth Williamson and Noah Moxham for having carefully edited my text. I am also grateful to Alessio Assonitis, Giovanni Muto, and Anna Maria Rao for their helpful comments and suggestions on this work. I would like to thank Michéle Benaitau, Francesco Benigno, Silvana D'Alessio, Brendan Dooley, Massimo Carlo Giannini, Gennaro Varriale for reading the earlier drafts of this paper, and my colleagues at the Medici Archive Project and at the Università degli studi di Teramo.

- 1 T.B., *The Rebellion of Naples or the Tragedy of Masaniello commonly so called: but rightly Tomaso Aniello di Malfa Generall of the Neapolitans. Written by a Gentlemen who was an eye-witnes where it was really acted upon the bloody Stage, the streets of Naples, Anno Domini 1647* (London, 1649), p. 76.
- 2 Cesare De Seta, *Storia della città di Napoli. Dalle origini al Settecento* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1973).

incessant demands for men and equipment to be sent to the Court of Madrid, which was fighting in various campaigns of the Thirty Years War.³ Masaniello's epic story ends after just ten days, on 16 July 1647, when he was assassinated by gunmen in the Chiesa del Carmine in Naples. After his death, the figure of the barefoot fishmonger became legendary, and his history was used as raw material for the construction of his myth, refashioned periodically into constantly varying shapes, under the incessant action of the historical process.⁴

This tragedy was the first English literary work to have Masaniello's revolt as its central theme.⁵ The historical material essentially sets the stage for a fictional satirical drama, although the title page of the pamphlet explicitly states: "written by a Gentleman who was an eye-witnes where this was really acted upone the bloody Stage the streets of Naples" and the author qualifies the tragedy as "true, and reall". The work was published in London in mid-July 1649, gaining its own momentum and popularity in the political atmosphere that followed the beheading of Charles I at the Banqueting House in Whitehall at the end of January 1649, the abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords three months later, and the proclamation of the Commonwealth the following May.

The *Tragedy of Masaniello* became a potent propaganda tool in loyalist hands and, together with another drama released a few months earlier, *The Famous Tragedy of King Charles I*, it clearly represents a strong warning against rebellion.⁶ Its author did not hesitate, in fact, to use the Neapolitan events among his allusions to the English political situation, as indicated by the introductory note to readers placed at the beginning of the text: "I warrant you this man drives at notable and remarkable passages of State, if we could understand him. And though Naples be the Scene, yet he plasters his will upon the walls and gates of London". The figure of Masaniello was used from very early on as a symbol of the rebel *par excellence*. As a result, his image was compared with that of Oliver Cromwell, as evidenced by the circulation of some medals minted in the Netherlands in the mid-seventeenth century.⁷

3 Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984).

4 Aurelio Musi, 'La rivolta di Masaniello tra mito, ideologia e scienza storica', *Prospettive Settanta*, 2–3 (1983), pp. 271–5; Vittorio Dini, *Masaniello: l'eroe e il mito* (Rome: Newton Compton, 1995); Silvana D'Alessio, *Masaniello: la sua vita e il mito in Europa* (Rome: Salerno, 2007).

5 Roberto De Simone et al., eds., *Masaniello nella drammaturgia europea e nella iconografia del suo secolo* (Naples: G. Macchiaroli 1998).

6 Silvana D'Alessio, *Contagi. La Rivolta napoletana del 1647–48: linguaggio e potere politico* (Florence: Centro editoriale toscano, 2003), pp. 116–31.

7 Edmund Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II* (London: British Museum, 1885), p. 432; Henry W. Henfrey, *Numismata Cromwelliana: or, The Medallic History of Oliver Cromwell Illustrated by his Coins, Medals and Seals* (London: J.R. Smith, 1877), pp. 158–9.

Masaniello's ten days were taken out of their historical context, telling only a small part of an extraordinary experience in the lives of the people of southern Italy. In fact, the rule of the Spanish monarchy over one of its most important and vital kingdoms was jeopardised for nine long months by the extraordinary resistance of the Neapolitan people against the local nobility and the Spaniards. This struggle led to an unprecedented event in the history of the kingdom of Naples: secession from Madrid and the subsequent establishment of a Republic in October 1647. This lasted until 6 April 1648 when the commander of the Fleet, Don John of Austria, a natural son of King Philip IV, together with the new viceroy, the Count of Oñate, former ambassador for the Monarchy of Spain to the Holy See, entered Naples and retook control, first of the capital, and then of the kingdom.⁸

With the return to order came a ruthless Spanish repression. Executions and imprisonments of the rioters accompanied the systematic destruction of Republican pamphlets, documents and other archival papers.⁹ The subsequent lack of this documentation helped to cement, in the long run, the *topos* of a plebeian tumult "without rhyme or reason" and devoid of any political content, as a cultural and historiographical commonplace.¹⁰ This negative judgement has long endured and has left a profound mark on the understanding of Southern Italian history. Born in the wake of a revisionist campaign orchestrated by Spanish governmental authorities after the restoration of Spanish rule, this contention has overshadowed all other events, focusing all responsibility on the figure of Masaniello, who would henceforth become an emblem for the negative traits of an entire people.¹¹

Much time passed before the entire event was considered in all its complexity, towards the end of the second decade of the twentieth century.¹² A complete shift of perspective, however, was not achieved until the end of the Second World War, when the so-called 'Debate without End' on the crisis of the

8 *A true Relation of the reducing of the City of Naples to the obedience of the King of Spain, which happened on the 5 of April 1648* (London, 1648).

9 Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), *Secreteria provinciales, Napoles*, Legajo 218, fo. 2, Gracias y Capítulos al Pueblo de Napoles el S.re D. Juan de Austria como Plenipotenciario de su Mag.d 11 Avril 1648.

10 Benedetto Croce, *Storia del Regno di Napoli* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 1944), p. 36. See Benedetto Croce's criticism of Giuseppe Galasso, 'Prefazione', in Aurelio Musi, *La rivolta di Masaniello nella scena politica barocca* (Naples: Guida Editori, 2003), p. 5.

11 Giuseppe Galasso, 'Lo stereotipo del napoletano e le sue variazioni regionali', in *L'altra Europa: per un'antropologia storica del Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Milan: Mondadori, 1982), pp. 143–90.

12 Michelangelo Schipa, *La così detta rivoluzione di Masaniello: da memorie contemporanee inedite* (Naples: Piero 1918), and *Masaniello* (Rome and Bari: Laterza 1925).

seventeenth century triggered a renewed focus on the revolutions that took place in the middle of this century.¹³

A general reassessment of the Neapolitan revolution developed within this new scholarly climate. Rosario Villari's work, for instance, continues to serve as a milestone for all scholars of these events.¹⁴ Thanks to his research, it is finally possible to insert the Neapolitan revolution into the overall pattern of European history, thereby restoring the vital forces present in that extraordinary series of events:

against the threat of marginalization and of involution, which became very serious in the seventeenth century, the south of Italy responded by engaging live and original resources, developing ideas and aspirations not dissimilar to, although less clear and intense than, those that were developing in the propulsive centres of European life ...¹⁵

A few years earlier Christopher Hill wrote in his work dedicated to the intellectual origins of the English Revolution that "England's intellectual crisis is a part of a wider European movement of thought, which itself bears some relation to an economic and social crisis".¹⁶ The argument of this paper is the outcome of my reflections on these two historians' important work on the ideal and political framing of revolutions in the early modern period.¹⁷

The revolutionary crisis of the mid-seventeenth century was epoch-making, which did not escape the attention of observers at that time.¹⁸ They were

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- 13 J.H. Elliot, 'The General Crisis in Retrospect: A Debate Without End', in *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability*, ed. Phillip Benedict and Myron P. Gutmann (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2005), pp. 31–51. For a summary of the debate see Francesco Benigno, *Specchi della rivoluzione. Conflitto e identità politica nell'Europa Moderna* (Rome: Donzelli, 1999); trans. *Mirrors of Revolution: Conflict and Political Identity in Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).
- 14 Rosario Villari, *The Revolt of Naples* (Cambridge: Polity, 1993). See also Villari *Un sogno di libertà: Napoli nel declino di un Impero, 1585–1648* (Milan: Mondadori, 2012).
- 15 Rosario Villari, *Ribelli e riformatori dal XVI al XVIII secolo* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1983), p. 9.
- 16 Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 4.
- 17 Christopher Hill, 'The English Revolution and the Brotherhood of Man', *Science & Society*, 18.4 (1954), pp. 289–309, also in *Puritanism and Revolution* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958), pp. 123–52; Rosario Villari, 'Corrispondenze ideali e politiche tra le rivoluzioni del Seicento: Napoli e l'Europa', in *Elogio della dissimulazione. La lotta politica nel seicento* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2003), pp. 49–78.
- 18 José Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis:*

conscious that they lived in an exceptional period, as demonstrated by a letter from the Welsh intellectual James Howell, writing in 1648 from the Fleet prison, where he was incarcerated because of his open loyalist sympathies:¹⁹

For foreign News ... The commotions in *Sicily* are quash'd, but those of *Naples* increase; and 'tis like to be a more raging and voracious fire than *Vesuvius*, or any of the sulphureous Mountains about her did ever belch out. The *Catalan* and *Portugez* bait the *Spaniard* on both sides, but the first hath shrewder teeth than the other; and the *French* and *Hollander* find him work in *Flanders*. And now, my Lord, to take all Nations in a lump, I think God Almighty hath a quarrel lately with all Mankind, and given the reins to the ill Spirit to compass the whole earth; for within these twelve years there have the strangest Revolutions and horridest Things happen'd not only in *Europe*, but all the World over, that have befallen mankind, I dare boldly say, since *Adam* fell, in so short a revolution of time. There is a kind of popular Planet reigns everywhere.

In a later passage from the letter, Howell wrote "that it seems the whole Earth is off the hinges: And (which is the more wonderful) all these prodigious passages have fallen out in less than the compass of twelve years".²⁰

Despite his imprisonment, this intellectual seemed to be well informed about European affairs. He relied on a certain degree of freedom, which allowed him to receive and translate, while in prison, Alessandro Giraffi's chronicle manuscript, *Le rivoluzioni di Napoli* (Venice, 1648). This work had appeared just three months after the outbreak of the Neapolitan uprising and was quickly disseminated in numerous editions throughout various parts of Italy between 1647 and 1648, as well as in two English editions by 1650.²¹

It is likely that the opportunity to translate this work was offered to Howell by the English adventurer Sir Kenelm Digby, who was present in Rome at the

War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

- 19 D.R. Woolf, 'Howell, James (1594?–1666)', *ODNB*, <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13974> [11/09/14]; Woolf, 'Conscience, Constancy and Ambition in the Career and Writings of James Howell', in *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. John Morrill, Paul Slack, and Daniel Woolf (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 243–78.
- 20 James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae: the Familiar Letters of James Howell*, ed. Joseph Jacob (London: D. Nutt, 1892), pp. 512, 513.
- 21 *An Exact Historie of the Late Revolutions in Naples; and of Their monstrous Successes, not to be parallel'd by Any Ancient or Modern History. Published by the Lord Alexander Giraffi in Italian and (for the rarenesse of the subject) rendered to English by J.H. Esq.* (London, 1650).

time of the Neapolitan revolt and who had an active part in organising the Duke of Guise's trip to Naples in November 1647.²² Howell, however, had contacts with British merchants in the Italian territories who would quench his thirst for information regarding the Neapolitan revolution.²³ This is apparent in a letter to the merchant Samuel Bonnell, residing between Livorno and Genoa, in which Howell thanked him for having sent "the *Italian Manuscripts* ... of the late Revolutions in Naples, which will infinitely advantage me in exposing to the World that Stupendous piece of Story".²⁴

In 1652, two years after the translation of the Naples chronicle and his release from imprisonment, Howell resumed his work on the subject, publishing the first and most original analysis of the Neapolitan events of 1647–48 written outside of Italy.²⁵ As in the previous paper, he dedicated his work to the Levant Company, offering a specific reason for the gesture: "Gentlemen, there are none so capable to judge of the truth of this *Neapolitan* Story as your selves, who have so frequent Intelligence from that *Countrey* where it was acted". The writer did not conceal the sources from which he drew information: "I receiv'd from some worthy Members of that Society, who favour'd me with sight of divers of their Letters from time to time, and furnish me with other *advantages* towards the compiling of this *Piece*".²⁶

The popularity of the Neapolitan revolution in English public debate was not due only to a simple curiosity on the part of the readers about those extraordinary events. The interest was rooted in the great mass of political information circulating in Europe during the 1640s. The principal means through which this process was manifested and popularised was the European gazettes. In this period they represented the most effective vehicle exploiting the interaction between two information networks which continued to develop in Europe during the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of

22 Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and the 'Voyage of Italy' in the Seventeenth Century* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985), p. 327.

23 H.G. Koenigsberger, 'English Merchants in Naples and Sicily in the Seventeenth Century', *The English Historical Review*, 62 [244] (1947), pp. 304–26; Gigliola Pagano De Divitis, *English Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

24 Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae*, pp. 637–8. On Samuel Bonnell see Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 170–1, 174.

25 Vittorio Conti, 'Introduzione', in James Howell, *A History of the Late Revolutions in the Kingdom of Naples* (Florence: Centro editoriale toscano, 1987), pp. i–xxv.

26 James Howell, *The Second Part of Masaniello, His Body taken out of the Town-Ditch, and solemnly buried* (London, 1652), 'Dedicatory', unpag.

the seventeenth century. On the one hand, there was the production and dissemination of *avvisi* drawn up in the major European capitals; and on the other, the appearance of the first printed newspapers, roughly contemporary with the outbreak of the Thirty Years War.²⁷ The French *Gazette*, for example, released news about Catalonia, England and Naples almost simultaneously with the unfolding of events.²⁸ In 1648 alone, in addition to this incessant flow of news, more than thirty special issues were printed, all dedicated to occurrences across the Channel.²⁹

It appears, therefore, very difficult to assess the effects produced by the spread of news to a popular audience. An interesting view of the matter was offered by Cardinal Jules Mazarin's librarian, Gabriel Naudé, who voiced his complaints about this matter to the editor of the French *Gazette*, Théophraste Renaudot:³⁰

It [*the Gazette*] makes people too aware of their conditions, of their business, and this awareness also applies to the affairs of neighbouring peoples ... it seems to me, however, that the common people do not know much about these new novelties, and it serves no purpose to inform them minutely about the revolts of Naples, the sedition of Turkey and the horrific attack in England.³¹

Yet the following pages tell an unpublished story, which may permanently change the hasty judgement passed on the reciprocal influences and ideal exchanges between the Neapolitan and the English revolutions, according to

27 Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione (secoli XVI e XVII)* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002); Brendan Dooley and Sabina A. Baron, eds. *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2001); Brendan Dooley, ed. *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

28 Roger B. Merriman, *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), p. 97.

29 Philip A. Knachel, *England and the Fronde: The Impact of the English Civil War and Revolution on France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 50–75.

30 Howard M. Solomon, *Public Welfare, Science and Propaganda in Seventeenth Century France. The innovations of Théophraste Renaudot* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

31 Gabriel Naudé, *De tout ce qui a esté imprimé contre le cardinal Mazarin, depuis le sixième janvier jusques à la declaration du 1^{er} avril 1650, dit le Mascurat*, p. 380, cited Hubert Carrier, *Le labyrinthe de l'État. Essai sur le débat politique en France au temps de la Fronde (1648–1653)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004), p. 156.

which “geographically and psychologically speaking, [were] the most remote from themselves”.³²

During the summer of 1647, the news of the Neapolitan revolution reached London in one of its moments of greatest excitement due to the entry into the city, on 7/17 August, of the New Model Army commanded by General Thomas Fairfax, whose aim was to restore the order threatened by the Presbyterian counter-revolutionaries.³³ It was in this turbulent context that news of Naples appeared in the English public sphere, thanks to *The Moderate Intelligencer*, a newsbook written by the tailor-journalist John Dillingham.³⁴ This newsbook, published in the British Isles, told the story of the Neapolitan revolution week by week until its conclusion. The ‘Troubles of Naples’ was inserted into the ongoing struggle between the army, parliament, and the king, which resulted in an unprecedented acceleration of the English revolutionary process, lasting from the summer of 1647 until the Putney Debates the next autumn. Matters settled down with the outbreak of a second civil war in the spring of 1648 and, finally, reached a new pitch with the proceedings for high treason against Charles I, and his execution in January 1649.³⁵

This political radicalisation represented the culmination of a process that began with the Army Revolt of 1647.³⁶ In the spring of that year the infantry and

32 Merriman, *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions*, p. 98.

33 Valerie Pearl, ‘London’s Counter-Revolution’, in *The Interregnum. The Quest for Settlement: 1646–1660*, ed. G.E. Aylmer (London: Macmillan, 1972), pp. 29–36; Jason Eldred, ‘An Army so Provoked? Popular Print and the Language of Radicalization in the New Model Army, 1647’, in *Essays in History* (2011) <www.essaysinhistory.com/articles/2011/8/08/04/13>.

34 The copies of *Moderate Intelligencer* are preserved in the collection of Thomason Tracts at the British Library of London: *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640–1661*, 2 vols., ed. G.K. Fortescue, R.F. Sharp, R.A. Streatfield, and W.A. Marsden (London, 1908). See also Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1641–1700: A Short-Title Catalogue of Serials Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and British America* (New York: MLA, 1987). References to 1640s London newsbooks in this essay include the Nelson and Seccombe number followed by the BL Thomason collection shelfmark.

35 Mark A. Kishlansky, ‘The Army and the Levellers: The Roads to Putney’, *The Historical Journal*, 22.4 (1979), pp. 795–824.

36 Charles H. Firth, *Cromwell’s Army: A History of the English Soldier During the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate* (London: Methuen, 1902), 349–85; John Morrill, ‘The Army Revolt of 1647’, in *Britain and the Netherlands*, vol. 4: *Metropolis, Dominion and Province. Papers delivered to the fourth Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference*, ed. John Selwyn and Ernst Heinrich (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971), pp. 54–78.

cavalry openly challenged their officers and the heads of parliament. They decided to elect their own representatives (the Agitators), who in addition to advancing corporate claims such as the payment of withheld wages and maintaining their opposition to the disbandment of troops and the deployment of those remaining in Ireland, came together with other, more politicised sectors of the civilian population (the Levellers) as the protagonists of a tough political struggle.³⁷

The analysis of information regarding the Neapolitan revolution published by the *Moderate Intelligencer* not only allows us to evaluate the level of integration reached by the European information network in the mid-seventeenth century, but also to read the Neapolitan events in the context of one of the most important revolutionary conjunctures of the early modern age. Its enduring presence in the public arena of the English civil wars, and Dillingham's engagements in the discussions and clashes of English political debate make his newsbook an interesting case study for the circulation and use of political information during the revolutionary crisis of the mid-seventeenth century.

Before continuing the history of the Neapolitan revolution as recounted in the *Moderate Intelligencer*, it is useful to briefly consider the biography and journalistic career of its author, John Dillingham, whose name occupies a prominent position "in the history of English journalism during the seventeenth century".³⁸ Born at the beginning of the seventeenth century from a family with well-established connections with the Montague household, Dillingham began his training as an apprentice of the Drapers' Company, where he learned the fundamentals of a tailor's profession. By 1624 he was running a steady business in the London suburb of Whitefriars.³⁹ Throughout his working life Dillingham enjoyed a measure of success in his trade; he employed thirteen apprentices, five of them during the period between 1625 and 1638.⁴⁰

In 1638, for political reasons, Dillingham fled to Paris, where he took his first steps into the publishing arena, writing newsletters to his patron, Lord Edward Montague.⁴¹ After returning home, he supplemented his old job with his new

37 Henry N. Brailsford, *The Levellers and the English Revolution* (London: Cresset Press, 1961), pp. 166–227; Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 57–72.

38 G.E. Manwaring, 'Journalism in the Days of the Commonwealth', *Edinburgh Review*, 244, 497 (1926), p. 105.

39 A.N.B. Cotton, 'John Dillingham, Journalist of the Middle Group', *The English Historical Review*, 93 [369] (1978), p. 818.

40 A.H. Johnson, *The History of Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London*, vol. 4 (Oxford, 1915), p. 142.

41 *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu* (London: HMSO, 1900), pp. 120–1, 125–6.

activities as an informant, describing the evolution of the English Civil War and the last phase of the Thirty Years War in a series of newsletters.⁴²

During his stay in Paris, Dillingham established useful contacts for his future career as a journalist and gained some familiarity with the French publishing market. His plan to collaborate on *Mercure Anglois* with Nicolas Bourne, one of the major players in the newsheet market in the 1620s, the printer Robert White, and the translator John Cotgrave, probably came from this experience. It was the first newsbook written in a foreign language, in this case French, to be published in England.⁴³

His journalistic debut, however, came with the publication of the *Parliament Scout* in June 1643.⁴⁴ The newsbook devoted much space to military news, relying on information from the internal ranks of the army: “our Scout assures us”, “you shall have the most punctuall Relations that our Scout can make” are typical formulations.⁴⁵ The extraordinary ability to read and, at times, to anticipate the developments of warfare was a distinguishing feature of all Dillingham’s journalistic activity, one which probably derived from his personal relations with senior military officials.⁴⁶

From the pages of the *Parliament Scout*, the author engaged in a political battle in favour of the establishment of the New Model Army.⁴⁷ He was, in fact, politically close to the beliefs of Oliver St. John and the Middle Group, and strongly opposed to a peace agreement with the sovereign.⁴⁸ In February 1645, these positions led to his arrest along with the printer Robert White and the consequent suppression of the newsbook.⁴⁹

After about a month of detention and just five days after their release, Dillingham and White were back in business, publishing another weekly: *The Moderate Intelligencer*.⁵⁰ Unlike the *Parliament Scout*, the editorial line of the new newsbook was carefully attentive to the consequences that could arise from commenting on current domestic politics. Hereafter a less risky

42 *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Montagu*, pp. 139–41, 152–4.

43 Joseph Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper, 1620–1660* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 70.

44 Frank, *Beginnings*, pp. 45–7.

45 *Parliament Scout*, no. 3 (6–13 July 1643), p. 19, 485.03/E.60(8).

46 Cotton, ‘John Dillingham’, p. 821.

47 *Parliament Scout*, no. 7 (3–10 August 1643), pp. 45–9, 485.07/E.64(13); *Parliament Scout*, no. 18 (20–27 October 1643), p. 157, 485.18/E.73(8).

48 Valerie Pearl, ‘Oliver St. John and the “Middle Group” in the Long Parliament: August 1643–May 1644’, *English Historical Review*, 81 [320] (1966), p. 506.

49 *Lords Journals*, vol. 7, p. 164, cited in G.E. Manwaring, ‘Journalism in the Days of the Commonwealth’, p. 110.

50 Cotton, ‘John Dillingham’, p. 825.

presentation of international news, which became the hallmark of his weekly, was preferred.⁵¹ *The Moderate Intelligencer* was, in fact, the only publication in the vast mid-seventeenth century English journalistic landscape to follow closely the negotiations leading to the Peace of Westphalia.⁵²

The attention of English readers was more understandable when seen in the light of a more general involvement of the European public at the conclusion of a thirty-year conflict, which had crippled the forces of the Continent. It has been rightly noted that "at the time of the Peace of Westphalia a broad public interest in political affairs certainly existed, as a printed campaign accompanied the peace negotiations. The text of the peace treaty has been assessed as having from 28,000 to 42,000 copies".⁵³

The journalist had obtained the continental news through French and Dutch postal circuits.⁵⁴ However, due to adverse weather conditions, the links across the English Channel were not always reliable: "The newes from Beyond Seas this weeke, is not so certaine as other weeks, because the windes, and waters did not permit letters from all parts".⁵⁵ From Dutch sources, Dillingham received information regarding Northern Europe: "the Letters from *Amsterdam*, which usually give us the state of *Germany* and parts Northerly, speak thus much"; "We had from the *Hague* concerning the affairs beyond seas, and chiefly *Germany*, as followeth".⁵⁶

The French sources which played a leading role in disseminating information on the Neapolitan revolution across the Channel deserve separate consideration. The *Moderate Intelligencer*, printed on 1/11 July 1647, published a report from Naples, dated 10/20 May 1647, concerning the outbreak of the revolt in

51 Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 144–8.

52 Jayne E.E. Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), p. 9.

53 Wolfgang Reinhard, *Storia del potere politico in Europa* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001), p. 477.

54 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 62 (7–14 May 1646), pp. 435–6, 419.062/E.337(18); *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 63 (14–21 May 1646), p. 448, 419.063/E.337(32); *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 64 (21–28 May 1646), p. 458, 419.064/E.339(3); *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 68 (18–25 June 1646), p. 508, 419.068/E.341(16); *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 71 (9–16 July 1646), p. 540, 419.071/E.344(23); *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 73 (23–30 July 1646), p. 565, 419.073/E.346(7). On the information network between England and the European continent, see: Paul Arblaster, 'Post, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European system of communication', *Media History*, 11.1–2 (2005), pp. 21–36.

55 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 3 (13–20 March 1645), p. 21, 419.003/E.274(9).

56 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 59 (16–23 April 1646), p. 397, 419.059/E.334(2); *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 67 (11–18 June 1646), p. 495, 419.067/E.340(32).

Palermo.⁵⁷ The report described the long-term causes that had sparked the uprising, especially the mandatory conscription of men sent to fight on the various fronts in which the Spanish monarchy was engaged. A comparison of this report with the public account published by the *Nouvelle Extraordinaires* on 18/28 June 1647, *Le soulèvement n'aguères arrivé en Sicilie contre le Roy d'Espagne*, demonstrates, as shown below, that the two articles were identical:

Moderate Intelligencer:

The evill entertainment generally given by the Spaniards unto such people as are subject unto them; and particularly the violence they have used for certaine years by-past in taking away by force out of every place fifth man in each familie, whom they constrain, under the seizure and sale of all their Goods, to present themselves to be inchained, as they are, for divers dayes, and shut upon within the Arsenalls of his Catholicke Majesty: these rude courses, and many others most insupportable ones, as well against their persons as their Estates, have a long while much provoked the most part of this people, and from private murmurings have at the length burst out into publicke Risings, almost throughout all this Island.⁵⁸

Nouvelle Extraordinaires:

Les mauvais traitemens que reçoivent tous les Espagnols, & particulièrement la violence qu'on apporte depuis quelques années à enlever par force la cinquième homme de chacun lieu, que l'on entraine de sa famille épléurée, laquelle on contraint par la saifie & vent de tout les biens à le faire trouver lors qu'il s'absente, sur l'appréhnsion d'estre enchainé, comme ils sont par plusieurs jours de Sa Majesté Catholique: ces rudes procédz, & plusieurs autres non moins insupportables sur leurs personnes & sur leurs bien, avoyaent des longs temps irrité la plupart de ses people: Mais ces mécontentemens qui ne produisoient que des murmures sourds, ont en fin éclaté en un soulèvement presque general dans la Sicilie.⁵⁹

The case cited is just one of many available examples. Dillingham's French sources mostly drew upon the information sheets prepared by Théophraste

57 H.G. Koenigsberger, 'The Revolt of Palermo in 1647', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 8:3 (1946), pp. 129–41; L.A. Ribot Garcia, 'Las Revueltas de Napoles y Sicilia', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 11 (1991), pp. 121–30.

58 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 120 (24 June–1 July 1647), p. 1144, 419.120/E.395(5).

59 'Nouvelles Extraordinaires', no. 67 (28 Juin 1647), in Théophraste Renaudot, *Recueil des Gazettes, Nouvelles ordinaire et extraordinaires. Relation et autre recits des choses avenues toute l'année mil six cens quatante-sept* (Paris, Bureau d'Adresse, 1648), pp. 481–2 <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6375748n/f487.image.r=1647.langEN> [1/5/13].

Renaudot—the *Nouvelles Ordinaires* the *Nouvelles Extraordinaires* and the *Gazette*—which were principally used with regard to the news coming from the Mediterranean area.⁶⁰ These semi-official news publications probably pushed Dillingham to rely completely on their contents which, thanks to John Cotgrave's collaboration, were translated directly from French to English. This opens a window for understanding the editorial line pursued by the journalist and his collaborator. Whenever space was available, the *Moderate Intelligencer* published Cotgrave's translated reports in their entirety. On the other hand, whenever space was limited, Dillingham (as editor) selected only those sections that he considered most interesting for English readers.

Throughout July 1647, the *Moderate Intelligencer* reported the developments of the revolt in Palermo and the extent of the tumults in the kingdom of Sicily.⁶¹ In the meantime the political situation in England deteriorated. At the beginning of August, the newsbook, after two years of continuous presence on the English journalistic scene, skipped an issue for the first and last time, probably for fear of the chaos that might result from the entrance of the New Model Army into the English capital and the likelihood of subsequent clashes with the pro-Presbyterian London militia. This lacuna did not pass unobserved, to the point where an anonymous reader from the American colonies—which moreover demonstrates the breadth of the *Moderate Intelligencer's* diffusion—annotated on a copy: 'Noe more wr[it]ten till Aug. 5'.⁶²

The news of the Neapolitan revolt was published in England on 19/29 August 1647, about forty days after the outbreak of the uprising.⁶³ The report summarised the events of the first five days of the revolt, and it introduced the readers to the main characters: Masaniello and the Neapolitan people.

The great Insurrection begun in this town by ... *Massiniello* ... and continued ever since the other inhabitants, to the number of 60000 which are still in armes, is risen to such an height, as can see but little hope of

60 Stéphane Haffmayer, *L'information dans la France du XVII^e siècle : La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002).

61 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 121 (1–8 July 1647), p. 1156, 419.121/E.397(12); *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 123 (15–22 July 1647), p. 1181, 419.121/E.399(28); *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 124 (22–29 July 1647), pp. 1190–1, 419.124/E.400(19). On the extension of the revolt of Palermo to the entire kingdom of Sicily, see: Daniele Palermo, *Sicilia 1647. Voci, esempi, modelli di rivolta* (Palermo: Associazione no profit Mediterranea, 2009).

62 New York Public Library, *Moderate Intelligencer*, 124, cited in Joad Raymond, *Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 266.

63 For travel times of information between Naples and London see: S. Haffmayer, 'Les gazettes de l'Ancien Régime: Approche quantitative pour l'analyse d'un "espace de l'information"', *Histoire & Mesure*, 12. 1–2 (1997), p. 74.

attonement; the people holding the Viceroy still besieged within *Castel Novo* whereunto he is fled with the royal Visitor, his family and the greatest part of the Ministers and Officers of Spain ...

The report then extended its gaze onto other characters and expanded, in particular, the story of Giulio Genoino, considered responsible for the riots:

'Tis said that the principall Author of this Commotion is a man of 80 years of age, heretofore a favorite and principall Confident, of the Duke of *Ossun*; and, who for that cause, and in hatred unto that Duke had been by the Spaniards condemned unto death. But the Conde *d'Olivares* understanding that he was of a great spirit, stayed his execution, and causing him to be brought into Spain, did only bannish him unto *Orani* in *Affrick*; where having stayed some 20 years: his fraile age having procured him leave to return unto this town, he had requited the Spaniards ill entertainment of him, in raising and fomenting the said Commotion of the townsmen ...

The article then described the actions carried out by the insurgent rebels, including the assault on prisons and fortresses where weapons were stored, and the fires set to the palaces of the nobility and tax contractors. The report then gave the account of the repression orchestrated by the Duke of Maddaloni and his brother Giuseppe Carafa, who “had come privately into this town with 700 Bandits”. The plan failed and the people’s reaction was swift. Giuseppe Carafa was captured and executed by the rebels “who suddenly condemned him, and within three hours after caused his head to be, in the market place, chopt off”. Revenge also extended to their minions: “any Banditi coming into this town, are to be forthwith put to death”. The account ended with the intervention of the Archbishop of Naples, Ascanio Filomarino: “This mischief continually increases, though that the Card[inal]. *Filomarini* our Archbishop do shew himself many times with a Crucifix in his hand, to try if he can procure any respect from these men, his own Diocesans”.⁶⁴

Another report from Naples appeared in the same issue, in which an initial assessment of the revolutionary period was attempted, offering a vivid description of the absolute power attained by the Neapolitan fishmonger:

64 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 126 (12–19 August 1647), p. 1216, 419.126/E.402(26).

During the 10 days that our Citizens stood out in Arms against their Vice-roy, there have been divers Treaties of Accomodation on Foot, but have not been able to appease this great tumult, wherein everyone is compelled for his more security, to make one, and submit himself unto the commands of *Thomaso Aniello*, who they commonly stile *Massaniello*, the Elect of the people, who have ordained him the Major General of all their Militia. And he to make men stand in the more awe of him, hath caused Gibbets and Wheels to be set up in all the Markets, and other publick places, about the Town, and severely chastises all those that transgress his Orders. The Nobility likewise, and all the Gentry are forced to follow him, and take protections of him, ever since the burning of 36. of their principal houses, with all the Moveables which were of most value within them; all the ashes whereof have been thrown in the Sea; the fury of the people having arisen to that excess, that not content to have exposed, for six days together the head of D. *Giosepho Caraffa* upon a long pole in the Market place, they did after that, set it up over the door of the Church of St. *Genaro* our Patron, with an Inscription purporting, that he was a Rebel to the King of Spain, and a Traitor to his Country. (p. 1219)

Finally, a report from Rome disclosed the brutal murder of Masaniello and his majestic funeral, organised the following day by the people of Naples:

we are assured that the Major General *Massaniello* hath been lately massacred by the Neapolitans for his cruelty and other deportments which procured him many enemies; and that his body was dragged all along the streets; after which the people being come again unto themselves, and much ashamed at such a murdering of their General, had yeilded unto his dead body all the honour they could devise, there being about 1000 Torches at the Buriall of it, attended on by all their Soldatesca, with Trumpets dolefully sounding and Drums in like manner beating, and many other Funerall Magnificences. (p. 1220)

On 19/29 August 1647, a new weekly appeared in the streets of London: *The Moderne Intelligencer*. Published by a printer, George Lindsay, whose life is still shrouded in mystery, the new publication helped to spread news of the Neapolitan revolution in the English public sphere. However, the news-book appeared in only seven issues and, after September 1647, ceased publication.

This weekly echoed *The Moderate Intelligencer* in its title, probably intending to take advantage of the growing demand for international news from a market completely dominated by the figure of Dillingham. *The Moderne Intelligencer* reported the immediate spread of the revolution to the other provinces of the kingdom of Naples, where it took a decidedly anti-feudal turn:

We are advised that the 23 instant [July] there happened a new commotion or rising in *Cosenza* a Town in *Calabria*, where one of the Nobility was murdered, together with 40 of the inhabitants that were suspected to favour the *Spanish* party, made prisoners and carries to Naples the Townes of *Salerno* and *Bari* have done the same having burned down in the first 25 houses, and in the second have chosen a chiefe Commander, who makes himselfe to be feared by the often execution which he causeth to bee made of severall persons ...⁶⁵

The geographical expansion of the Neapolitan revolution accompanied an enlargement of its social base. The first September issue of the *Moderne Intelligencer* published the account of the tumult of the university students that took place in early August of 1647.⁶⁶ A week later, Dillingham's newsbook reported the protests of the weavers.⁶⁷ The news of the Neapolitan revolution, published in England in September and October 1647, told of a situation that was substantially favourable to the Neapolitan people.

The arrival of the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Naples, commanded by Don John of Austria, however, marked the beginning of a new phase of events. The *Moderate Intelligencer* published the news for 4/14 November 1647: "The first of this moneth [October] the Spanish Fleet, composed of 44 great ships, appearing within view of this Town".⁶⁸ Meanwhile, the beginning of the Putney Debate was reported on the front page: "A great Assembly this day at Putney Church, where was debated matters of high concernment, viz.... all protest to aym at nothing but the publique good".⁶⁹

Both the quality and the volume of Dillingham's news underwent a transformation in the following week's issue, in which a long account dated "From Naples October 8" appeared. The report occupied approximately four pages of

65 *Moderne Intelligencer*, no. 2 (19–26 August 1647), p. 12, 431.2/E.404(28).

66 *Moderne Intelligencer*, no. 4 (2–9 September 1647), p. 30, 431.4/E.406(11).

67 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 130 (9–16 September 1647), p. 1263, 419.130/E.407(12).

68 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 137 (28 October–4 November 1647), p. 1346, 419.137/E.412(25).

69 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 137 (28 October–4 November 1647), p. 1345.

the newsbook's total of twelve, and recounted with a certain degree of detail the battle between the Spanish and Neapolitan forces. After the refusal of the Neapolitan people to lay down their arms "who cried out they had rather dye with their weapons in their hands, then expect for their reward, Wheels, Gibets and other Engines of punishment which was all they could hope for from their enemies, the Spaniards", Don John of Austria decided on forceful action: "by his order all the Gallies, Gallions and Fortresses shot incessantly ... against the Town, and particularly against the Market-place, *Conchiaria*, *Lavinaro*, and *Porta-Nolana*, and yet to small purpose, so little mischief was done thereby". However, the most eloquent aspect of the report was its account of the courageous and tenacious resistance of the Neapolitan people: "this people shewed it self so full of rage, that when as any of them was observed to be less passionate then others in their Cause (which they tearmed common) they presently killed him, as if he had been a Traitor". The report ended:

In Brief, things are here come to that extremity, that there is no more hope left of any Agreement between these two Parties; these divisions being in the number of those that seldome admit of a closure, and such swords being seldom unsheathed without burning of the scabberds, *viz.* being not often, if at all, are put up unto their scabberds again.⁷⁰

The bombardment of Naples marked a final rupture in the covenant of loyalty between the "Most Faithful People of Naples" and the Spanish Crown, and, at the end of October 1647, opened the way for the proclamation of a Republic. A news item published in the 18/28 November 1647 issue read as follows:

Although the gates of the Town of *Naples* be so close shut, that we understand not all the particulars that pass therin, yet we are told, that the people is still in Armes, and hath recovered the most part of the Posts, which had been gotten from them by the Spaniards; against whom they express so unplaceable a hatred, that some of them have eatend bread dipt in their blood after thay had slain them. And to shew their resolution the more, they have newly stuck up in their several Quarters, red and black standards; and taken all the silver they can get, even out of Holy shrines, thereof to make money, stamped on the one side with the Image of our La: of the *Carmelites*, and on the other with that of Liberty, represented

⁷⁰ *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 138 (4–11 November 1647), p. 1359, the rest unpaginated, 419.138/E.414(1).

by a horse broken loose; having defaced the Armes of the King of *Spain* in every part of their Town, where they formerly stood ...

Another report from Paris confirmed the successful establishment of a republic and conveyed the iconoclastic fury of the people against the old symbols of power:

Letters are come this day, which say the Neapolitans have overcome all the Spaniards in the City of Naples, and with great slaughter ... they have since brake all the Effigies of the Kings of Spain, and put themselves into a Common-wealth ... The presence is oppression, and insolencies of the Spaniard, and that makes wise men mad: let those that have power in other Kingdoms, be warned by this example.⁷¹

Meanwhile in England the political climate reached a new pitch of intensity. A few days after the conclusion of the Putney Debate, an intense propaganda campaign in favour of the Levellers' position spread through the streets of London, where numerous pamphlets were issued, inciting the population to rise up against tyranny: "there were Papers passed up in many Churches, and upon severall Gates and Ports throughout the City, inciting the People to rise as one Man, and free themselves from the Tyranny of their Taske-Master at *Westminster*".⁷²

Several assemblies were organised in taverns in the capital, as in the Mouth near Aldersgate and the Windmill near Coleman Street, places traditionally used by the Levellers as venues for their movement. A newsbook noted one of these meetings: "Thobias Box, (one of the Agitators of the army) going from the *Mouth* at *Alders-gate*, (where they had a meeting) at an unreasonable hour".⁷³ Leveller propaganda, however, had an especially strong hold among the ranks of London craftsmen. About 150 weavers gathered in the Mouth tavern at Aldersgate on 13/23 November 1647, as reported by William Haslope: "for it seems many speechs were made by some Persons of Quality to the Multitude ... but some were upon such Strains and Terms that in the Conclusion theis ensuing Persons deserted the Multitude". The letter reported the names, workplaces and professions of those present, even if the most significant account came from the words of an anonymous speaker in the assembly:

71 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 139 (11–18 November 1647), p. 1372 and unpaginated, 419.139/E.416(8).

72 *Mercurius Elencticus*, no. 3 (12–19 November 1647), p. 20, 312.03/E.416(13).

73 *Perfect Weekly Account*, no. 46 (10–17 November 1647), unpag., 671.446/E.416(2).

"Gentlemen, The same Business we are upon is perfected in *Naples*; for if any Persons stand up for *Monarchie* there, he is immediately hanged at his Doore".⁷⁴ The revolution in Naples thus became an important element in the broader ideological battle that characterised the English Revolution, and an important example in the 'pamphlet wars' fought by the Levellers.⁷⁵

The physical proximity between the haunts of the English radicals and the *Moderate Intelligencer's* sites of production and sale can be better understood from a 1667 map (Figure 34.1). We may remark that the meeting place of the English Radicals (A) was located a short distance from St. Paul's Churchyard and the Royal Exchange (B), which were the country's main centres of production and dissemination of political information.⁷⁶ It was also very close to the workshop of the printer Robert White in Addle Hill (C), where the weekly was likely to have been printed and distributed.⁷⁷

Dillingham, by contrast, lived and worked in the Whitefriars district (D), outside the walls of the City.⁷⁸ Analysis of this data shows, therefore, an area of high information density, strongly characterised by multiple modes of communication.⁷⁹ It involved not only potential readers of the newsbook, who could buy a copy at a relatively low cost, but also those who listened to the news without spending a penny, as would have been the case of the participants in the meeting at Aldersgate.⁸⁰ This communication process therefore amplified

74 The letter was published by Zachary Grey, *An Impartial Examination of the Fourth Volume of Mr. Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans* (London, 1739), Appendix, p. 130, cited in Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution*, p. 135.

75 Joseph Frank, *The Levellers. A History of the Writings of Three Seventeenth-Century Social Democrats: John Lilliburne, Richard Overton, William Walwyn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955); Howard Shaw, *The Levellers* (London: Prentice Hall Press, 1968); Rachel Foxley, *The Levellers: Radical Political Thought in the English Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

76 Walter Thornbury, ed. *Old and New London: A Narrative of its History, its People and its Places*, vol. 1 (London, Paris, New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1873), pp. 494–503; Peter W.M. Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990).

77 *Man in the Moon*, no. 26 (17–24 October 1649), p. 218, 248.26/E.575(32).

78 See the vivid description of the suburb by Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England: From the Accession of James the Second*, ed. C.H. Firth, vol. 1 (London, 1913), pp. 355–6; Mary Bly, 'Playing the Tourist in Early Modern London: Selling the Liberties Onstage', *PMLA*, 122.1 (2007), pp. 61–71.

79 Robert Darnton, 'An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris', *American Historical Review*, 105.1 (2000), pp. 1–35.

80 Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 335–405.



FIGURE 34.1 *An Exact Surveigh of the Street Lanes and Churches Contained within the Ruines of the City of London First Described in Six Plats by John Leake, Johne Lennings, William Marr, Will. Leyburn, Thomas Streete & Richard Shortgrove in December A^o 1666. By Order of the Lord Mayor Aldermen and Common Councell of the Said City PUBLISHED BY THE LONDON TOPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, LONDON, 1908–9. PLAN OF LONDON AFTER THE FIRE ENGRAVED BY WENCESLAS HOLLAR, 1667. MAPS COLLECTION UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.*

the radius of reception for information regarding the Neapolitan revolution in the English public sphere.⁸¹

This type of analysis could also be applied to the study of the pictorial representation of the Neapolitan revolution.⁸² Commissioned by the

81 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, eds., *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007). See also Massimo Rospoche, ed., *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Public, Spaces in Early Modern Europe* (Bologna, Berlin: Il Mulino / Duncker, 2011).

82 W.W. Roworth, 'The Evolution of History Painting: Masaniello's Revolt and Other Disasters in Seventeenth-Century Naples', *The Art Bulletin*, 75.2 (1993), pp. 219–34; C.R. Marshall, 'Cause di Stravaganze: Order and Anarchy in Domenico Gargiulo's Revolt of Masaniello', *The Art Bulletin*, 80.3 (1998), pp. 478–97.



FIGURE 34.2 *Micco Spadaro, Piazza del Mercato during the Revolt of Masaniello, Naples, Museum of San Martino*

PHOTO COURTESY OF SUPERINTENDENCY OF ARTISTIC AND HISTORICAL HERITAGE, NAPLES.

political leaders of the revolution,⁸³ Micco Spadaro's cityscapes underscore how the public space was rapidly occupied by the uprising crowd (see Figure 34.2).

In another canvas (Figure 34.3), the artist focused on the beheading of Don Giuseppe Carafa. This murder had an extraordinary symbolic value, because it sanctioned a definitive division between the people and the nobility. Popular justice thus appropriated a ritual language that was borrowed from the executions that had always been a favoured means of repression by the nobility.⁸⁴ In addition to the ritual degradation of the body of the "traitor to the People", the painting reflects usefully on the communication process during the Neapolitan revolution. In fact, noticeable in the background is the figure of a man—one who may be identified *with*, if not actually *as* Masaniello—in the act of haranguing the crowd from a stage. The presence of this pulpit within a

83 Villari, *Elogio della dissimulazione*, p. 94.

84 Peter Burke, 'The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masaniello', *Past and Present*, 99 (1983), p. 15.



FIGURE 34.3 Micco Spadaro, *Beheading of Don Giuseppe Carafa*. Naples, Museum of S. Martino

PHOTO COURTESY OF SUPERINTENDENCY OF ARTISTIC AND HISTORICAL HERITAGE-NAPLES.

square crowded with people prompts us to consider the orator's critical role in a society of the old regime, composed essentially of an illiterate population.⁸⁵

In particular moments of social disorder—for example, in the course of revolutionary uprising—the gap between the literate, semi-literate and illiterate narrowed. At the same time, this widespread political participation was not a merely momentary phenomenon; the collective political lessons learned in times of crisis were potentially permanent, as crowds were made aware for the first time of information previously accessible only to the political elite. The inability to read and write did not *a priori* exclude the masses from direct political interaction. Through the analysis of a number of chronicles, a recent study has, in fact, highlighted the widespread use of slogans that sometimes preceded the outbreak of insurgencies.⁸⁶

85 Christopher Hill, 'Censorship and English Literature', in *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill*, vol. 1 (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1984), pp. 32–71.

86 Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée, 1647–48. De l'événement à la mémoire* (Rennes: PU Rennes, 2011), pp. 124–8. For slogans see *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 154 (24 February–2 March

The difficulty of establishing rigid barriers of communication between the different social strata was also demonstrated by another event: the posting of political placards inciting the people to rise up.⁸⁷ Their proliferation became so damaging to the maintenance of public order that two different *bandi* (ordinances) published in mid-September 1647—the first printed with the popular mark and signed by the ‘Eletto del Popolo’ (the people’s elected representatives), Francesco Antonio Arpaia, and the second promulgated by the viceregal government and signed by the Viceroy the Duke of Arcos—prescribed severe penalties for the placard-posters and their accomplices.⁸⁸ The placards were the result of a broad propaganda campaign put in place by the different political factions inside the Neapolitan revolutionary front, such as the French party, whose centre of operations was the French Embassy in Rome; and the Roman party, gathered around the figure of Cardinal Filomarino.⁸⁹

Along with the expansion of the public sphere—which was by this time reaching socially marginalised sectors traditionally excluded from political debate—the revolution also produced a transformation in political language: witness a pamphlet, the *Cittadino Fedele* (the ‘Faithful Citizen’), which argued for loyalty towards the country rather than the monarchy.⁹⁰

It may be useful to extend the concept of the ‘short-term public sphere’ on the basis of these considerations.⁹¹ This term has been employed in recent scholarship to describe the development of the mechanisms of communication taking place in Northern European countries, and which established early forms of constitutional government and durable “public spheres”, what has recently been labelled an “open access order”.⁹² In contrast, some scholars

1648), p. 1187, 419.154/E.430(11); *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 156 (9–16 March 1648), p. 1211, 419.156/E.432(17).

87 Giraffi, *Le Rivoluzioni di Napoli*, p. 8. Most accounts refer to the placards.

88 *Cose appartenenti alla città di Napoli*, BL, C55.1.3, 4–5. For ordinances, see Vittoria Conti, *Le leggi di una rivoluzione. I bandi della Repubblica napoletana dall'ottobre 1647 all'aprile 1648* (Napoli: Jovene, 1983).

89 Michèle Benaiteau, ‘Potere politico e informazione nel Seicento. Lineamenti di una ricerca’, in *Filosofia storiografia letteratura. Studi in onore di Mario Agrimi*, ed. Bernardino Razzotti (Lanciano: Editrice Itinerari, 2001), pp. 575–98; Rosario Villari, ‘Il cardinale, la rivoluzione e la fortuna di Machiavelli’, in *Politica barocca: inquietudini, mutamento e prudenza* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2010), pp. 186–201.

90 Rosario Villari, *Per il Re o per la patria: la fedeltà nel Seicento, con “Il Cittadino Fedele” ed altri scritti politici* (Rome, Bari: Laterza, 1994).

91 Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *A Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002).

92 See Jan De Vries's commentary in ‘The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Interdisciplinary Perspectives’, special issue of *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40.2 (2009), pp. 300–1.

have extended this concept to the post-Counter-Reformation Mediterranean societies, traditionally characterised by a systematic repression of all forms of dissent through a widespread secular and ecclesiastical censorship.⁹³

During the Neapolitan revolution, there was an expansion of public debate, distinguishable by its intensity and urgency, which could be defined as a sort of 'emergency public sphere'. It was not dominated by instincts or fear, but fed on historical traditions, idealist aspirations and deep passions, leading to the construction of a new political identity, forged through collective participation in public debate.⁹⁴ Even in the kingdom of Naples, then, there was "an expansion of communication, towards a more rapid circulation of alternative cultural models, and, to the extent permitted by censorship, or through clandestine and unauthorised literature, the diffusion of critical ideas about the political system and social organisation".⁹⁵ Accounts of the Neapolitan revolution in the *Moderate Intelligencer* indirectly testify to the galvanisation of this communication process. From the last issue of December 1647 (no. 144) to the first in May 1648 (no. 163), which reported the surrender of Naples to Spanish forces, a dense flow of news flooded the pages of the *Moderate Intelligencer*.⁹⁶ Considering the nineteen issues published during this period, news of the Neapolitan revolution occupied an average of four pages per copy, in other

93 Ottavia Niccoli, *Rinascimento anticlericale: infamia, propaganda e satira in Italia tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2006); Fernando Bouza, *Papeles y opinion. Políticas de publicación en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008); James Amelang and Antonio Castillo Gomez, eds., *Opinión pública y espacio urbano en la Edad Moderna* (Gijón: Treo, 2010).

94 Vittorio Conti, *La rivoluzione repubblicana a Napoli e le strutture rappresentative, 1647–48* (Florence: Centro editoriale toscano, 1984); Salvo Mastellone, 'I repubblicani del Seicento e il modello politico olandese', *Il pensiero politico*, 28 (1985), pp. 145–63; P. Luigi Rovito, *Respubblica dei Togati. Giuristi e società nella Napoli del Seicento* (Napoli: Jovene, 1982); Rovito, 'La rivoluzione costituzionale di Napoli (1647–48)', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 98 (1986), pp. 367–462; Vittor Ivo Comparato, 'La repubblica napoletana del 1647/48: Partiti, idee, modelli politici', *Il pensiero politico*, 21 (1998), pp. 205–38; Comparato, 'From the Crisis of Civil Culture to the Neapolitan Republic of 1647: Republicanism in Italy between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 1: *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage*, ed. Quentin Skinner and Martin Van Gelderen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 169–93.

95 Benigno, *Specchi della rivoluzione*, p. 101.

96 Daniel Woolf, 'News, History and the Construction of Mid-Seventeenth-Century England', in *Politics of Information*, ed. Dooley and Baron, p. 83.

words almost a third of the entire publication. The Neapolitan people effectively became the protagonist of Dillingham's paper.⁹⁷

The difficulty in finding reliable information about Neapolitan events can be gathered from a report entitled *A Continuation of the Troubles of Naples*:

The judicious and Gentle Reader, will I presume vouchsafe us his pardon, if in this Relation he meet with somewhat he hath seen before, because it is now rectified, or enlarged more than before, upon a more certain Report then hath been hitherunto made us, by a Person of good quality and credit, who was an Exact observer, and eye-witness thereof.⁹⁸

The same uncertainty expressed by the anonymous writer, derived from a series of conflicting reports, was apparent in a letter written by the agent of the British parliament in Paris, René Augier: "We had nothing from Naples this week, though our Gazett doth mention severall circumstances hitherto unknown to us".⁹⁹ In this case, the information obtained from Augier did not come from a direct informant, but was obtained from gazettes—probably the same French publications from which Dillingham drew liberally for the compilation of his weekly.

The conclusion of the Neapolitan revolution coincided with the beginning of the Second Civil War in England and the Fronde in France. In June 1648 John Dillingham broke with his printer Robert White, who produced a new weekly with the complicity of the licenser Gilbert Mabbott: the *Moderate*, the house organ of the Leveller movement.¹⁰⁰ The clash between the author and his former printer, for the rights to the title *Moderate Intelligencer* perhaps testifies to White and Mabbott's desire to take control of a publication that had in previous months been the principal instrument circulating the story of the Neapolitan revolution in the British Isles.¹⁰¹ Most likely they aimed at using the news of European revolutions alongside English radical propaganda, thus creating a "circulation of the experience of insurrection and suggesting a unity of

97 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 147 (6–13 January 1648), p. 1104, 419.147/E.422(30).

98 *Moderate Intelligencer*, no. 153 (17–24 February 1648), p. 1174, 419.153/E.429(1).

99 Loïc Bienassis, 'The Diplomatic Career of Rene Augier', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 28.2 (2004), pp. 199–211; BL, Add MS 4200, fo. 63r. Rene Augier to Giles Green, Paris, 12/22 January 1647/8.

100 Brailsford, *Levellers and the English Revolution*, pp. 401–16; Roger Howell Jr. and David E. Brewster, 'Reconsidering the Levellers: The Evidence of the *Moderate*', *Past and Present*, 46 (1970), pp. 68–86.

101 Manwaring, 'Journalism in the Days of the Commonwealth', pp. 114–16.

class conflicts in a diversity of locations”.¹⁰² In conclusion, the revolutionary crisis of the mid-seventeenth century testified to “a process of expansion and interconnection of national public spheres linked to processes of ideological radicalisation together with the rejection of a certain way of governing through absolute power”.¹⁰³

102 Peter Linebaugh and Markus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (London: Verso, 2000), p. 215.

103 Benigno, *Specchi della rivoluzione*, pp. 289–90.

Public and Secret Networks of News: The Declaration of War of the Turks against the Empire in 1683

Stéphane Haffemayer

Behind the printed piece of news are concealed different networks, usually invisible. The problem of the newswriter's sources and the networks underlying them is one of the most difficult questions in the study of early modern periodicals. The main question this case study addresses is precisely this relation, between the operation of a network and the making of news. I focus on a single event, namely the announcement of the declaration of war of the Turks against the Empire.

Introduction: Three Networks for the Same Piece of News

The map of the ordinary news published in the French *Gazette* in 1683 shows twenty major cities which share and dominate the news market (Figure 35.1); though they are located on key nodes of the network of postal routes, they transmit more or less information depending on the nature and location of events. This is why the network news published in a periodical like the *Gazette* has to be considered as an active quantity, the evidence for which lies in the case study that reveals adaptations or dysfunctions of the network. This latter is a living structure, with a variable geometry, that changes with the news and with foreign policy priorities. As we can see in the next graph (Figure 35.2), the jolts of current affairs generate a very variable flow, which changes the hierarchical order between the cities.

Vienna was the most prolific city in the 1683 *Gazette*; week by week, all European newspapers followed the renewed tension between the Turks and the Empire. In this Viennese news item of 1683, the moment of the announcement of the Turkish declaration of war in March allows us to compare three kinds of sources: scribal news, printed news, and diplomatic letters. The same piece of news may be derived from different sources, spread through different networks and serve different strategies of communication.

The printed news, translated in French, appeared in at least two periodicals:

Provenance of news in the Gazette in 1683

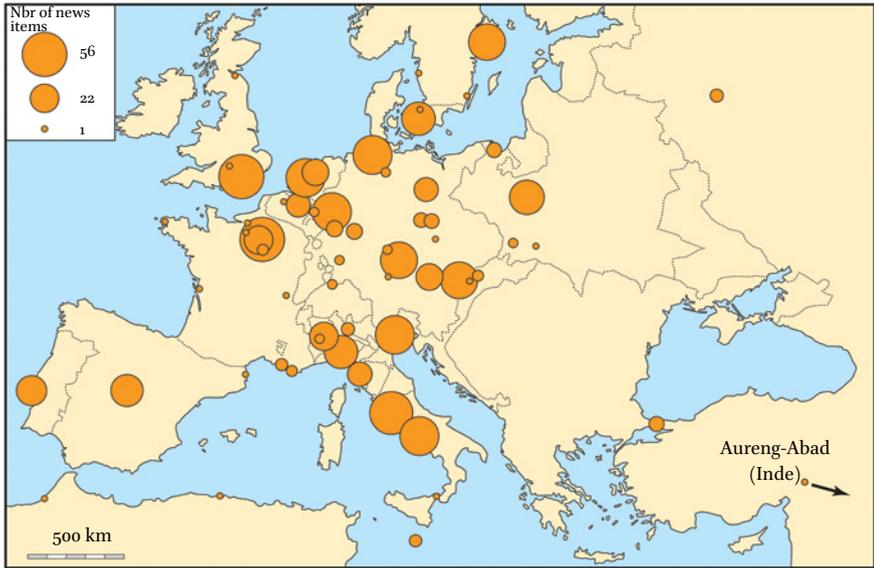


FIGURE 35.1 Information in the Gazette of Paris by city of origin for 1683 (number of news items)¹

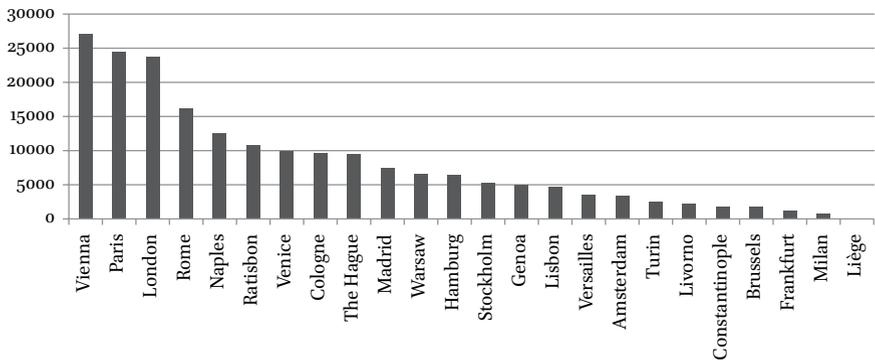


FIGURE 35.2 Volume of news published in the Gazette in 1683 (number of words, by city of origin)

1 The database contains 63 cities providing news in 1683; for an analysis of the electronic instrumentation of the Gazette in 1683, 1685 and 1689, see <www.unicaen.fr/gazette/index.php> [10/5/15].

(1) The *Gazette*, with a piece of news from Vienna, dated 15 March, published in Paris on 3 April:

Gazette du 3 Avril 1683
De Vienne, le 15 Mars 1683

L'Empereur a reçu depuis deux ou trois jours, une nouvelle dépêche du Comte Albert Caprara son Envoyé Extraordinaire à la Porte. Elle contient qu'il a eu quelques conférences avec l'Aga des Janissaires : qu'il luy avoit demandé de la part du Grand Seigneur, si on estoit résolu ici de céder à Sa Hautesse les Isles de Schut, de Raab & de Sérin, avec les Forteresses de Comore, de Raab & d'une autre place : & qu'il l'avoit assuré que ce n'estoit qu'à cette condition qu'on pourroit accorder à Sa Majesté Impériale la prolongation de la Trêve : que le Comte Albert Caprara ayant répondu qu'il n'avoit aucun pouvoir pour accorder des demandes si extraordinaires, l'aga luy avoit répliqué que le Sultan son Masitre estoit assez puissant pour obtenir par les armes tout ce qu'il demandoit : & qu'aussitost, le Grand Visir avoit fait exposer le signal de la guerre. Les mesmes Lettres portent que les Turcs se préparoient à se mettre en campagne le 18 d'Avril, pour agir en plusieurs endroits en mesme temps : &, conjointement avec les Troupes du Comte Thékéli, des Princes de Transilvanie, de Moldavie & de Walachie, se saisir d'abord des Provinces & des Places frontières : qu'à cette fin, le Grand Visir avoit ordonné à l'Aga des Janissaries de marcher le 25 de ce mois, vers Belgrade avec l'avant-garde de l'armée Ottomane : & que le Grand Seigneur & ce Premier Ministre devoient suivre en personne avec le gros de cette armée, que selon le bruit public, sera de plus de cent cinquante mille hommes. On a seu d'ailleurs, que le Grand Visir faisoit depuis quelque temps, garder si étroitement le Comte Albert Caprara & le résident de l'Empereur, qu'ils n'avoient pas la liberté de sortir de leurs maisons, & d'avoir aucune communication avec personne. On a aussi appris que les turcs continuant leurs préparatifs extraordinaires, font encore équiper cent dix bateaux à Belgrade & à Essec, & cinquante à Bude. On a sçu par des lettres de cette dernière place, du 27 Février, que le Bacha y avoit tenu un grand Conseil de guerre avec les plus anciens Officiers des places frontières : & que tous les Bachas voisins s'y devoient trouver le 15 d'Avril. Le 10 de ce mois, on eut avis de Hongrie, que les Infidelles, au nombre de deux mille avoyent surpris un Quartier de Dragons : qu'ils en avoient tûé quarante & fait plusieurs prisonniers. Le sieur Hoffman Auditeur Général de guerre, qui estoit allé vers le Comte Thékéli, est revenu depuis huit jours. Il a

rapporté qu'il n'y avoit aucune apparence que l'Empereur pust rien obtenir de la Porte, par son entremise, ny que Sa Majesté Impériale pust espérer de conclure aucun accommodement avec luy, puis qu'il estoit obligé d'exécuter les ordres qu'il a reçeus du Grand Seigneur. On mande aussi de la Haute Hongrie, que le Comte Thékéli a fait publier qu'il se mettra en campagne le 15 May avec vne puissante armée. Ces nouvelles obligent les Ministres de l'Empereur à redoubler leurs soins pour mettre les chose en état de soustenir une aussi rude guerre que celle qui nous est déclarée par de si puissans & si redoutables ennemis. On fait presser autant qu'il est possible la montre des Régimens qui ont ordre de marcher, pour avoir en Hongrie, dans le mois d'Avril, une armée considérable sur pied, en attendant l'arrivée des Troupes auxiliaires que l'empereur a envoyé demander à plusieurs Princes. La revue générale des Troupes destinées pour la Hongrie, est toujours fixée au 28 de ce mois. L'Empereur y assistera : & ensuite, il se determinera sur le chois du lieu où il séjournera pendant la Campagne. Le Comte de Hohenloë se dispose à partir pour se rendre à Nuremberg : où il va de la part de l'empereur, pour assister à l'Assemblée des Estats de Franconie & du Haut Rhin. Le Sieur Stratman a reçu ordre de partir incessamment pour se rendre à Ratisbone, avec les nouvelles instructions dont il est chargé.²

(From Vienna, 15 March 1683. The Emperor received two or three days ago, a new dispatch from Count Albert Caprara, his Extraordinary Emissary to the Porte. It indicates that he had had consultations with the Aga of the Janissaries; that he had asked, on behalf of the Grand Signior, if he had now decided to cede to His Highness the islands of Schut, Raab and Sérin, as well as the fortresses of Comore, Raab and another place; and that he had declared that only on that condition would he be able to offer His Imperial Majesty a prolongation of the truce: that, Count Albert Caprara having replied that he had no authority to grant such extraordinary demands, the Aga had answered that his Master, the Sultan, was powerful enough to obtain all he demanded by the force of arms; and that the Grand Vizier had immediately displayed the signal for war. The same letters indicate that the Turks were preparing to undertake a campaign on 18 April, in order to attack in several places at once; and, together with the troops of Count Thékeli, the Princes of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, in order to first seize the Provinces and frontier regions; that, to this end, on the 25th of this month, the Great Vizier had ordered the

2 Bibliothèque nationale de France, *Gazette de France*, 4° LC². 1 A, microfilm (M 197), 1683.

Aga of the Janissaries to march towards Belgrade with the vanguard of the Ottoman army; and that the Grand Signior and the Prime Minister were to follow in person, with the main part of this army, which, according to public rumor, will number over 150,000 men. It was learnt, in fact, that the Grand Vizier kept Count Albert Caprara and the Emperor's Resident under such close guard that they were not free to leave their own houses or to communicate with anyone. It has also been learnt that the Turks are continuing their extraordinary preparations, and are equipping 110 ships in Belgrade and Essec, and 50 at Buda. We were informed by letters from Buda, dated 17 February, that the Bacha had held a great Council of War there, with the longest standing officers of the frontier regions; and that all the neighboring Bacha should assemble there on 15 April. On the 10th of this month, we received information from Hungary, that infidels numbering 2,000 had surprised Dragoons' quarters, that they had killed 40 of them and taken several prisoners. Mr Hoffman, the War Auditor General, who had been to see Count Thékeli, returned eight days ago. He reported that there was no indication that the Emperor could obtain anything from the Porte, through his intervention, nor that His Imperial Majesty could hope to conclude any arrangement with him, since he was obliged to execute the orders he had received from the Grand Signior. It is reported from Upper Hungary, that Count Thékeli has announced that he will embark on a campaign on 15 May, with a powerful army. This news obliges the Ministers of the Emperor to redouble their efforts to ensure that everything is made ready to face such a harsh war as that which has been declared on us by such powerful, such formidable enemies. Inspections of the troops who have received marching orders are being speeded up as much as possible, so that, in the month of April, there will be a considerable foot army in Hungary, before the arrival of auxiliary troops that the Emperor has requested several Princes to send. The general inspection of troops to be sent to Hungary is still scheduled for the 28th of this month. The Emperor will be present; then he will decide on the place at which he will stay during the campaign. The Count of Hohenloë is preparing to leave for Nuremberg, where he is going on behalf of the Emperor, to attend the Assembly of the States of Franconia and the Upper Rhine. Mr Stratman has received orders to leave immediately for Ratisbon, with the new instructions he has been given.)

The text explains that the Emperor had received two or three days previously a letter from his ambassador Caprara announcing the failure of the negotiations and the declaration of war. At this time, the privilege of the *Gazette* was held by

Eusèbe Renaudot the third; by 'privilege', we mean an exclusive licence, granted him by the King, to print the news for a limited period.³ This great-grandchild of the founder of the *Gazette* was closely linked to the scholars of the Académie Française and to the staff of the foreign ministry, especially the minister himself, Colbert de Croissy. So he benefited from the resources of the diplomatic network, though he had other resources as well, as we will see below.

(2) The *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits*, also called the *Leiden Gazette*, published twice a week.⁴ The information from Vienna is included in the news from Cologne; it is dated 19 March and published in Leiden on 25 March, thus earlier than in Paris. This extract comes from an editorial forgery. But it is almost the same text:

(From Cologne, 19 March. Communications received from Vienna indicate that other letters from the Count of Caprara, dated 24 January, had been received, declaring that finally he had been given an audience with the Aga of the Janissaries, who had told him that his Master the Emperor could have peace with the Grand Signior if he agreed to cede to His Highness the island of Schut, Cziakatur, and all the region of Raab; and that the Count having replied that he had no authority to agree to that, the Aga had answered that His Highness would try to obtain by the force of his arms what he did not wish to cede by a treaty, and that the next day, the horse's tail had been displayed, which for the Turks is the signal for war, and the signal that troops are on the march; that the Aga had received the order to prepare, and be on the march by 25 March with his troops; and that the Grand Signior and the Grand Vizier were to leave on 1 April and take the road to Griexweissembourg, like him. Besides the 50 ships that the Porte was preparing to use on the Danube, it had ordered the preparation of 100 more at Esegh and Belgrade for the same purpose, and had sent an order to the Cham of Tartary, as well as to the Prince of Transylvania and to the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, to stand ready to embark on a campaign with their troops as soon as the first command was received. The same thing was confirmed of Offen on 27 February, and it was added that the Vizier had held a great Council of War, which all the old officers of the frontier regions had attended; and that according to the conclusions reached there, the troops on the frontiers were to proceed to Offen on 15 April with all the neighboring Bacha;

3 Gilles Feyel, *L'annonce et la nouvelle: la presse d'information en France sous l'Ancien Régime (1630-1788)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 439.

4 Bibliothèque nationale de France, G 4279.

De Cologne le 19 Mars.

L'on écrit de Vienne du 11 que l'on y avoit receu d'autres lettres du Comte de Caprara du 24 Janvier qui donnoit avis, qu'enfin il avoit esté conduit à l'audiance du Aga des Janissaires, qui luy avoit dit que l'Empereur son Maitre pourroit avoir la paix avec le grand Seigneur s'il vouloit ceder à sa Hauteſſe l'Isle de Schut, Cziakaturu, & tout le pais de Raab; & que le Comte luy repondant qu'il n'avoit point d'ordre pour cela, l'Aga luy avoit repliqué que sa Hauteſſe tacherait d'avoir par la force de ses armes ce qu'on ne vouloit pas luy ceder par un traité, & que le lendemain l'on y avoit arboré la queue de cheval, qui est parmi les Turqs le Signal de la guerre & de la marche des troupes; que l'Aga avoit eu ordre de se preparer à se mettre en marche dès le 25 Mars avec ses troupes; & que le grand Seigneur & le premier Vizir devoient partir le 1 Avril & prendre la route de Griexweiffembourg, comme luy. Outre les 50 barques que la Poite faisoit apprester pour s'en servir sur le Danube, elle avoit ordonné d'en preparer encore une centaine à Esseg & à Belgrade dans le même dessein, & envoyé ordre au Cham de Tartarie, demême qu'au Prince de Transilvanie & aux Hospodars de Moldavie & de Valachie de se tenir prêts à se mettre en campagne avec leurs troupes au premier commandement qui leur en seroit fait. On confirmoit la même chose d'Offen du 27 Fevrier; & l'on ajoutoit que le Vizir y avoit tenu grand Conseil de guerre, où tous les vieux Officiers des frontieres avoient assisté; & que selon les conclusions qui s'y estoient prises, les troupes qui estoient sur les frontieres devoient se rendre à Offen le 15 Avril avec tous les Bassas voisins: & l'on avoit avis de Hongrie que le Teckeli, conformement à l'ordre qu'il en avoit receu, se tenoit prest avec autant de troupes, d'armes & de munitions, & une aussi forte artillerie que ses forces pouvoient luy permettre, & pretendoit se mettre en campagne à la mi-May pour le plustard avec une armée de 50000 Hommes. Le Sieur Hofman, Aide Major General, y estoit de retour de Cassovie, où il avoit esté quelque temps prés du Teckeli. Le Comte de Lamberg en devoit partir bientôt avec de nouvelles instructions pour la Cour de Son Altesse Electorale de Brandebourg. Et l'on y avoit encore avis de Hon-

FIGURE 35.3
Nouvelles Extraordinaires de divers
endroits, 25 March 1683

and the opinion was expressed in Hungary that Teckeli, in accordance with the order he had received, was standing ready with as many troops, arms and ammunition and as strong an artillery as his forces could provide, and he planned to embark on a campaign mid-May at the latest, with an army of 50,000 men. Mr Hofman, the Deputy Major-General, had returned from Cassovia, where he had been by the side of Teckeli for some time. The Count of Lamberg was to leave there soon with new instructions for the Court of His Electoral Highness of Brandenburg.)

The scribal news sources called 'News from Vienna' dated 11 and 14 March are among the diplomatic correspondence between France and the Empire.⁵ We find them throughout the diplomatic correspondence for 1683. These consisted essentially of public news of the Imperial Court, of the town, of the Turkish advance, of the negotiations with the Hungarians, and so on.

(News from Vienna
11 March 1683

Mr Pratman was about to leave here in order to return to Ratisbonne, but his return was delayed for important reasons. He must stay here for some time, all the more so because he is one of the major contenders for the post of Chancellor, but it is very doubtful whether His Imperial Majesty will prefer a foreigner to subjects capable of taking on this responsibility.

Negotiations are continuing with the Extraordinary Envoy of Brandenburg.

His Imperial Majesty has decided to recall the Count of Altheim, his Ambassador in Sweden, because the alliance with the Swedish crown is definitely established and determined. We are informed here that Sweden has 24,000 men throughout the Empire and will send a corps of another five or six thousand Swedes.

Three days ago, letters were received here from the Internuncio Caprara datelined Adrianople.)

In fact, Vienna was at the time the most important centre for the transmission of information from the east to the west. Letters from the eastern front were deciphered, and commented on by the members of the Council of State: this inner circle seems to be at the origin of much of the oral information. On precisely

⁵ Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France: Correspondance politique, Autriche, no. 55, microfilm no. P 16761, fos. 96–99.

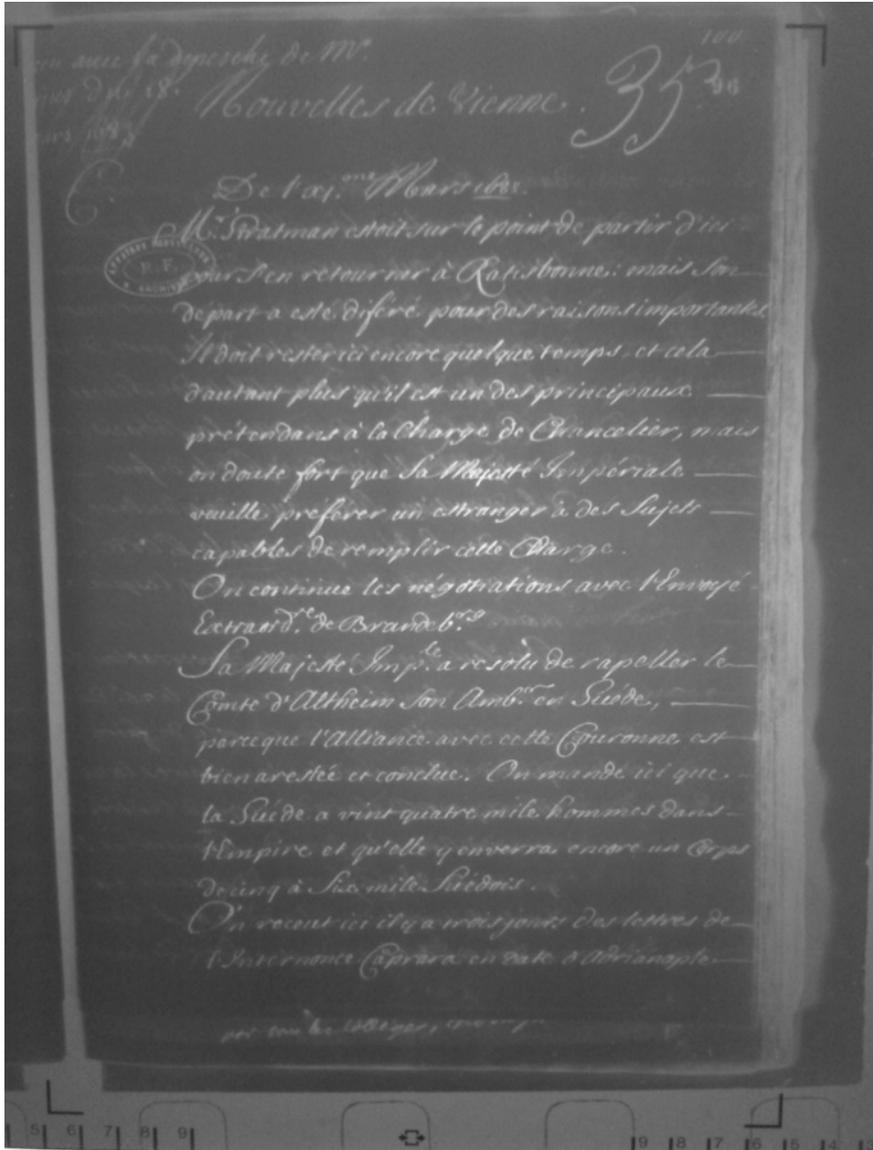


FIGURE 35.4 Microfilm of 'Nouvelles de Vienne' (diplomatic newsletter, 9–14 March 1683)

that subject, in a letter to the king, the French ambassador remarked that the councillors were incapable of holding their tongues about state affairs, and that they were responsible for many indiscretions about matters which were normally the province of the *arcana imperii*. An argument in favour of the diffusion from this inner circle is that the news from Vienna rarely gave the same date for

the arrival of the letter announcing the war. Small differences in the details may indicate an oral source. Copyists never had access to the original of this kind of official letter; thus the source of the information was partly the indiscretion of the councillors who used to communicate news to the copyists.

The news items were sent alongside the diplomatic letters of the French ambassador at Ratisbon, Louis de Verjus, who translated the German news and sent it to Versailles.⁶ We do not know where these pieces of news came from but it is not impossible that they came from the *avvisi* which circulated between the Empire and Italy.

Local items of news from Vienna could also be extracted from the two periodicals printed in Vienna: the Italian *Il Corriere ordinario*, published twice a week since 1671, of which some copies are extant in the UK National Archives; and the Viennese *Ordinari Reichs-Zeitung*.⁷ They also constituted a possible source for the scribal information which was sent beyond Vienna.

Within the letter 'News from Vienna', we can clearly distinguish two different sections. The first is the news sent by the Palatine resident; the second is sent by the resident of Brandenburg. Significantly, the identity of these correspondents is enciphered. Both were France's allies and belonged to the diplomatic circle which acted for the French ambassador in Vienna, sometimes in the role of intermediary, sometimes in the role of informer. It confirms the importance of the role of Resident agents in the spread of the news.

Probably this parallel network of information had been established at Renaudot's own request: he and Verjus belonged to the same set of scholars of the Académie Française. The prevailing problem for a gazetteer was the shortage of information: in a letter in 1680, Renaudot explained that he needed help from his friends in obtaining news, especially from Spain and Portugal.⁸ In this case, the network of the gazetteer lay somewhere between an official and a personal network.

The third network in action was the diplomatic one, as exemplified in a letter dated 11 March 1683, almost entirely in cipher:

(A message arrives from Caprara, coming via Raguze, who is sending Saponara everywhere, with the position of Internuncio at the Porte, and sent by the Porte. I will assure him that Saponara is gone, but I very much

6 Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France: Correspondance politique, Autriche, no. 55, microfilm no. P 16761, fo. 8.

7 TNA: State Papers 118, 'Gazettes, edicts and pamphlets printed in the Holy Roman Empire [1588–1791]'.
 8 Gilles Feyel, *L'annonce et la nouvelle*, p. 450.

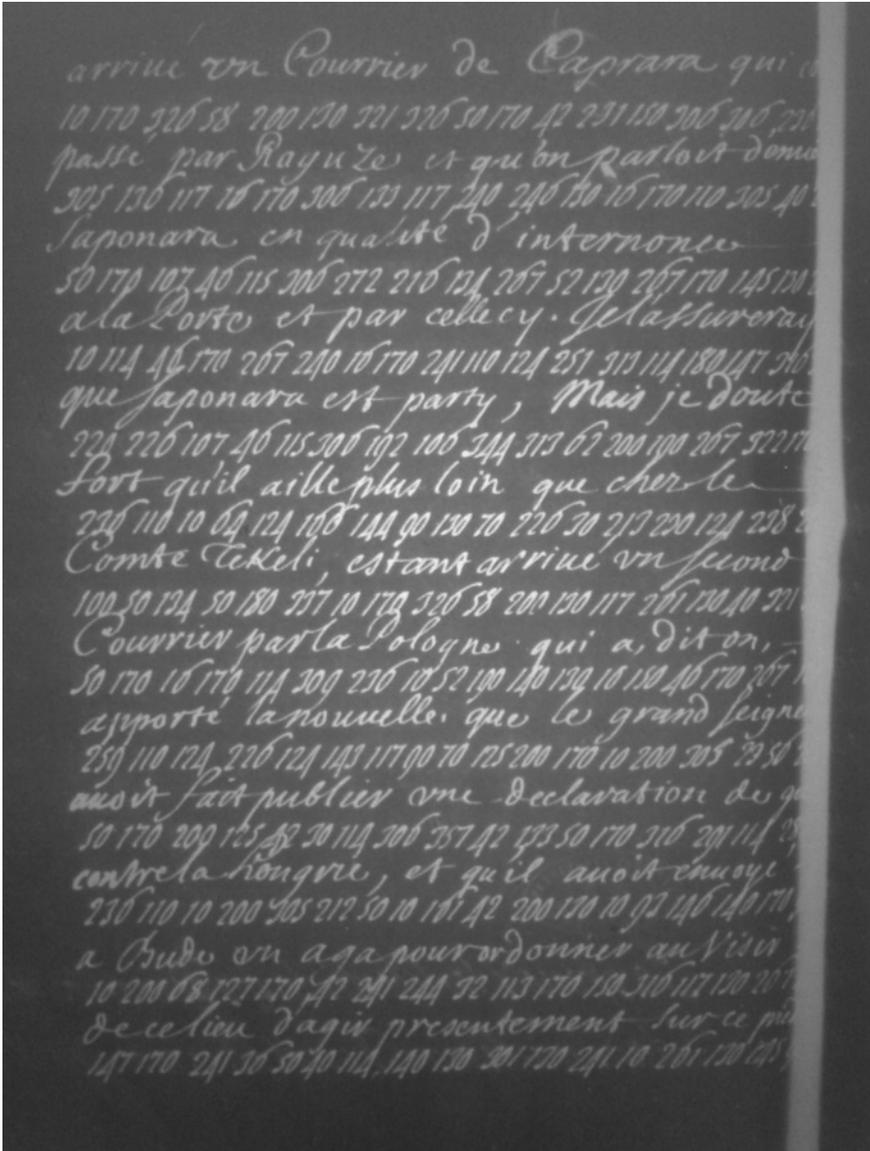


FIGURE 35.5 Manuscript of the Marquis de Sébeville's ciphery letter of 11 March 1683

doubt that he will go further than Count Tekeli, since a second message has arrived via Poland, which is said to have brought the news that the Grand Signior had published a declaration of war against Hungary, and that he had sent an Aga to Bude to order the Vizier there to immediately act in this matter.)

The French ambassador in Vienna, the marquis of Sébeville, wrote twice a week, at each ordinary post. He used two different postal routes, one to the north, running essentially straight and following the Danube to Cologne (by way of Vienna, Lintz, Ratisbon, Nuremberg, Würzburg, and Frankfurt); the other to the south, via Salzburg, Munich, and Augsburg. He always tried to use the faster road. But whatever route he chose for it, the French correspondence was carefully spied upon, as will appear below.

What is the Relation between Handwritten and Printed News?

Logically, the most prolific information came from the scribal news; conversely, the *Gazette* conveyed more carefully controlled and selected information (Figure 35.6).

The second point to expand upon is the transformation of scribal news into printed news. Viennese news from scribal sources was printed in Paris and Leiden with minor transformations and adaptations.

(1) From Scribal News to Printed News

The announcement that the Turks were going to war against the Empire was published on 25 March in Leiden and on 3 April in Paris. Both publications

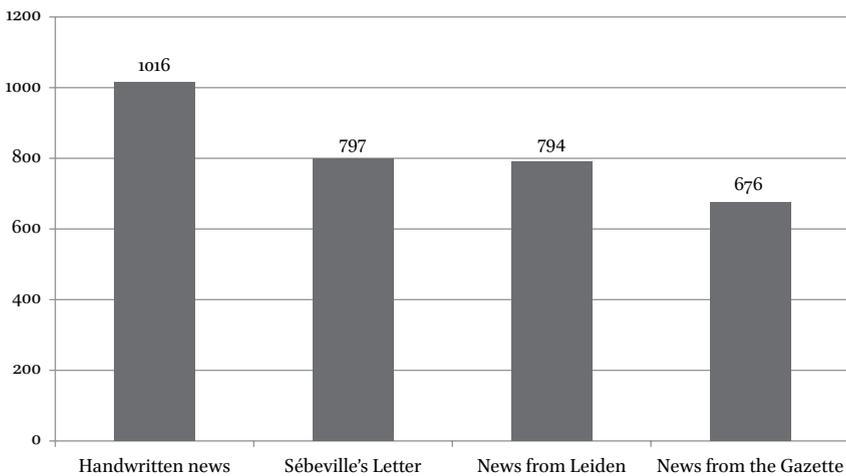


FIGURE 35.6 *Volume (number of words in the different sources described above, 11–14 March 1683)*

relied on the same source, in this case the scribal news from Vienna sent to Ratisbon and Cologne. This is one of the exceptional cases in which it is possible to compare the printed news with its source. As we can see below, the narrative's construction is totally identical in the three extracts:

Nouvelles de Vienne. De l'XIe mars 1683. On receut ici il y a trois jours des lettres de l'Internonce Caprara en date d'Adrianople (sic) du 29^e Janvier, d'où il mande, qu'estant arivé en ce lieu là, l'Aga des Janissaires l'avoit envoyé querir et luy avoit demandé si l'Empereur son maistre vouloit consentir aux propositions faites de la part de Sa Hautesse et luy ceder l'Isle de Schut, la Czia Kathura et toute la Lobaw, et qu'ayant allégué là-dessus le defaut d'Instruction, l'Aga luy avoit déclaré par ordre de sa Hautesse, que la Porte poursuivroit ses prétentions l'espée à la main. On sait que depuis cette conversation la queue de cheval a esté exposée le 25^e du mesme mois ...⁹

(News from Vienna, 11 March 1683. Letters were received here three days ago, from the Internuncio Caprara, dated Adrianople (sic), 29 January, which informed us that when he had arrived there, the Aga of the Janissaries had sent for him and had asked him if his Master, the Emperor, was willing to agree to the proposals made by His Highness and cede to him the island of Schut, Czia Kathura and all Lobaw, and when he underlined that he had no orders on this matter, the Aga had declared, by order of His Highness, that the Porte would pursue its claims, sword in hand. We know that after that conversation, the horse's tail was displayed on the 25th of the same month.)

De Cologne, le 19 Mars. L'on écrit de Viene du 11 que l'on y avoit receu d'autres lettres du Comte de Caprara du 24 janvier qui donnoit avis, qu'enfin il avoit esté conduit à l'audiance du Aga des Janissaires, qui luy avoit dit que l'Empereur son Maitre pourroit avoir la paix avec le grand Seigneur s'il vouloit ceder à sa Hautesse l'Isle de Schut, Cziakaturm, & tout le país de Raab ; & que le Comte luy repondant qu'il n'avoit point d'ordre pour cela, l'Aga luy avoit repliqué que sa Hautesse tacherait d'avoir par la force de ses armes ce qu'on ne vouloit pas luy ceder par un traité, & que le lendemain l'on y avoit arboré la queue de

9 Archives diplomatiques, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France: Correspondance politique, Autriche, no. 55, microfilm no. P 16761, fos. 96–9.

cheval, qui est parmi les Turqs le Signal de la guerre & de la marche des troupes ...¹⁰

(From Cologne, 19 March. Communications received from Vienna indicate that other letters from the Count of Caprara, dated 24 January, had been received, declaring that finally he had been given an audience with the Aga of the Janissaries, who had told him that his Master the Emperor could have peace with the Grand Signior if he agreed to cede to His Highness the island of Schut, Cziakatur, and all the region of Raab; and that the Count having replied that he had no authority to agree to that, the Aga had answered that His Highness would try to obtain by the force of his arms what he did not wish to cede by a treaty, and that the next day, the horse's tail had been displayed, which for the Turks is the signal for war, and the signal that troops are on the march ...)

De Vienne, le 15 Mars 1683. L'Empereur a reçeu depuis deux ou trois jours, une nouvelle dépesche du Comte Albert Caprara son Envoyé Extraordinaire à la Porte. Elle contient qu'il a eu quelques conférences avec l'Aga des Ianissaires : qu'il luy avoit demandé de la part du Grand Seigneur, si on estoit résolu ici de céder à Sa Hautesse les Isles de Schut, de Raab et de Sérin, avec les Forteresses de Comorre, de Raab et d'une autre place: et qu'il l'avoit asseuré que ce n'estoit qu'à cette condition qu'on pourroit accorder à Sa Majesté Impériale la prolongation de la Trêve : que le Comte Albert Caprara ayant répondu qu'il n'avoit aucun pouvoir pour accorder des demandes si extraordinaires, l'Aga luy avoit repliqué que le Sultan son Maistre estoit assez puissant pour obtenir par les armes tout ce qu'il demandoit : et qu'aussitost, le Grand Visir avoit fait exposer le signal de la guerre ...¹¹

(From Vienna, 15 March 1683. The Emperor received two or three days ago, a new dispatch from Count Albert Caprara, his Extraordinary Emissary at the Porte. It indicates that he had had consultations with the Aga of the Janissaries; that he had asked, on behalf of the Grand Signior, if he had now decided to cede to His Highness the islands of Schut, Raab and Sérin, as well as the fortresses of Comorre, Raab and another place; and that he had declared that only on that condition would he be able to

10 *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits du jeudi 25 Mars 1683* (Leiden, 1683), in Bibliothèque nationale de France.

11 *Gazette* (Paris, 3 April 1683).

offer His Imperial Majesty a prolongation of the truce: that, Count Albert Caprara having replied that he had no authority to grant such extraordinary demands, the Aga had answered that his Master, the Sultan, was powerful enough to obtain all he demanded by the force of arms; and that the Grand Vizier had immediately displayed the signal for war.)

Undoubtedly, these texts come from the same source: the manuscript news sent from Vienna and published in two rival periodicals, at Leiden and Paris.

Nevertheless, it was not a simple and slavish copy: the expression varies with the differences of translation and the style of the gazetteer. In the Parisian case, the writer composed his text from a mix of the different sources: the information provided by the residents brings a touch of originality that we do not find in the other reports. The diversity of the sources makes the rewriting necessary and easier. Above all, the writer organised his information according to the priorities of French foreign policy and adapted the information to the culture of his readers.

(i) *Adaptation to Geographical Knowledge*

Each periodical used a specific register of toponyms: this geographical acculturation was necessary to perceive the strategic stakes on the national and European scales. This is why the place names given in the original reports from Vienna were differently rendered in Paris and in Leiden. For example, 'Czia Kathura' in the scribal news became 'Cziakatur' in Leiden's news but disappeared from the *Gazette* of Paris, where the names of the fortresses were commonly used, such as Comorn, and Raab.

(ii) *Adaptation to Foreign Policy*

The purpose of the reports from Vienna in the *Gazette* was to attract the public's attention to the eastern front in Europe, while the main focus of French policy was on the western front, through offensive actions in peacetime. It is well known that Louis XIV aimed to facilitate Turkish attacks against the Empire's border to avoid an imperial military reaction in the West. Since April 1682, French diplomacy had assured the Turks of France's benevolent neutrality in the event of war against the Empire. Thus the information presented in the *Gazette* was intended to fashion opinion on the war through very detailed accounts of the failure of the negotiations with the Turks. The diplomatic correspondence was occasionally used thanks to letters from French residents in Transylvania and the Ottoman Empire. From time to time, the reliability of the intelligence of the diplomatic networks brought an additional precision to public information, as I shall show in my next section.

To return to the *Gazette*, the insistence on the Turkish threat aimed to demonstrate the failure of Imperial foreign policy which wasted time in negotiations at Ratisbon, with a particular concern to restrain French expansionism, and failed to concentrate all its efforts on the mobilisation of troops against the traditional enemy of Christendom. So in this case, news had a plasticity, manifested by its literary construction in the service of foreign policy; this is why the 1683 report consisted of a news item rewritten with some judicious cuts made.

For example, the *Gazette* said absolutely nothing precise about the conduct of the Turkish armies: yet the French ambassador wrote that the heads of Christian prisoners had been cut off and exposed on Neuhausel's ramparts, painting a terrifying picture. But the *Gazette*, which usually relished sensational information, kept silent about this 'signal of war' in order not to demonise a useful diplomatic ally. In the same way, it said nothing about the reversal of alliances when Hanover, Sweden, Brandenburg, Poland, Bavaria, etc., decided to join the Imperial cause (which was reported in close detail in the *London Gazette*).

In brief, the *Gazette* used different and complementary networks of information to support an overall diplomatic strategy. The French were said not to be very aware of the realities of the East, and Dutch periodicals regarded as the most efficient in the transmission of news from east to west. Using the example of the *Gazette of Leiden*, we cannot assert that the Dutch network was more impressive, or more efficient, than the French network of the *Gazette*, but rather that it was a combination of public, diplomatic and secret networks which completed each other.

II The Secrets of the Diplomatic Network: Between Cipher and Spying

Curiously, the letter from the ambassador dated 11 March seems to be the least informed about Caprara's Imperial letter. It only evoked the rumour of a letter arrived by way of Poland and a declaration of war of the Turks against Hungary. In his following letter of 14 March, he only wrote very laconically that 'the last letter of Caprara confirms the war completely'. Why so little detail?

The main reason is that in this case, the diplomatic network was much less effective than the network of manuscript news. From his arrival, the letters of the ambassador were very closely watched, intentionally slowed down, spied on, deciphered and diverted by the Imperial cabinet.

The covert war between France and the Empire was above all an information war. The main task of the French ambassador in Vienna was to organise an

efficient structure of information. He was clearly a kind of spy whose mission defined the contents of his correspondence very exactly: he was to organise and maintain a flow of political information that should “penetrate into all the imperial resolutions” including diplomatic and military news, the progress of negotiations with the Turks and the Hungarians, the mobilisation and movement of troops, the number of soldiers, names of commanders, whether soldiers’ wages were paid or not, affected quarters, and so on.

The French network of information in this era was an espionage network; from 1675, France had a permanent resident in Transylvania, who corresponded secretly with France by way of Poland and supported the Hungarian revolt against the Emperor. So France was relatively well informed about the regional realities, which allowed the *Gazette* to give very precisely the dates of the mobilisation of the Turks and Hungarian—details which we do not find in the handwritten news from Vienna.

The official instructions given to the ambassador insisted on the quality of his information, because that information would determine decision-making: the King expected in particular that his ambassador report word for word all that he heard at Court. Diplomatic correspondence was consequently an almost daily affair, ciphered as fast as it was written. It aimed at giving a personalised answer to the instructions received: consequently, letters were almost entirely coded. The espionage activities of the ambassador had direct consequences: namely relative isolation within the court and very tight controls placed on his correspondence.

At the end of June 1683, Louis XIV complained about the fact that the letters of his ambassador in Vienna were always delayed, and that consequently the information which he received was frequently anticipated by the public news. To try to accelerate the transmission of diplomatic information, the King asked his ambassador to use the post of the merchants of Strasbourg or Cologne. But the ambassador apologetically explained that in the context of the war, there was an Imperial ban on the Viennese merchants receiving the letters of foreign Ministers – especially the French. He added that the particular letters which he succeeded in entrusting to a merchant of Strasbourg were often stopped and opened.

The study of the timings of the post confirms that the delivery times for the diplomatic letters were effectively very elastic (Figure 35.7), yet the same information appeared with great regularity in the *Gazette*.

In fact, the Imperial government tried to prevent communication between France and the Hungarian rebels, as well as between France and the Turks. The objective of this control of their communications was to bring to light the secret policy of France, to drag Poland away from the French alliance and to

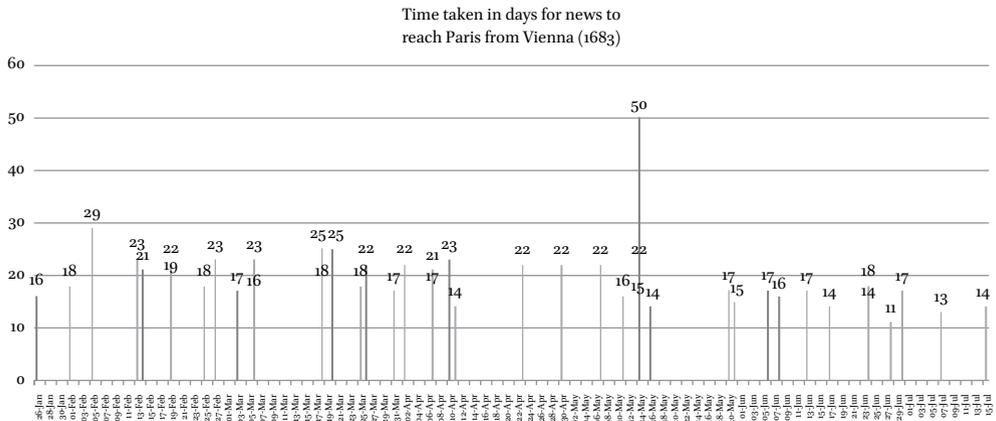


FIGURE 35.7 *Delivery time of the diplomatic letters between Vienna and Versailles in 1683*

obtain Polish military support against the Turks. In December 1682, letters between the French ambassador in Poland and the French resident in Transylvania were intercepted, proving French support for the rebel Hungarians.¹² The French ambassador in Poland had been publicly unmasked in front of the king of Poland by the Imperial resident. The letters were then published in the Italian gazette, probably *Il Corriere ordinario*, which was printed in Vienna (naturally Louis XIV asked his ambassador to send him a copy). The incident brought to light the existence of secret information networks and the workings of French foreign policy, which fascinated the readers.

At the end of April 1683, the ambassador learned that his letters were not only intercepted but also deciphered.¹³ He had the evidence of this in July 1683 and immediately sent a courier to inform the King about it: the courier arrived in five days (much faster than usual).¹⁴ In fact, the French cipher had been revealed to the Venetian ambassador in Poland by a sub-clerk of the French secretariat. We do not have the name of the traitor but we know the reason of the denunciation: the Prince of Schwarzenburg revealed the information in the hope of being spared Louis XIV's annexationist policy. Consequently, during the six months which preceded the siege of Vienna, the Imperial government

12 Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France: Correspondance politique, Autriche, no. 54, microfilm no. P 16760, fos. 13v–14r, 105v–106r.

13 Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance politique, Autriche, no. 54, microfilm no. P 16760, fos. 312–13.

14 *Idem.*, fo. 404.

was well informed about France's strategic intentions. This explains the isolation which surrounded the post of the French ambassador in Vienna and the importance of the existence of parallel networks.

To conclude, this case study on Viennese information in 1683 teaches us several things about the secret and public networks through which it flowed:

- i. First, in the early modern period, the authorities were actively involved in the process of information distribution, and followed the process of democratisation of access to information. The networks of public and private information were not clearly differentiated, however. The published information was a careful elaboration, elements of which issued from very different networks.
- ii. Secondly, the journalist was no mere scribe: he wove together his information from diverse sources, recomposing a text for a national readership that possessed a common culture and common points of reference. In this case, the cultural connections with the orientations of the foreign policy were very strong.
- iii. Thirdly, even in the service of the formation of national opinion, newspapers constitute a remarkable tool for acquiring knowledge of European current events, even for the sovereigns themselves, because they were sometimes more efficient and reliable than diplomatic. Subtle relations of competition and complementarity exist between the official diplomatic networks and the less formal ones exploited by the gazetteers.

From Vienna, Prague or Poland? The Effects of Changing Reporting Patterns on the Ceremonial News of Transylvania, 1619–58

Virginia Dillon

Located in the crook of the Carpathian Mountains, the principality of Transylvania was on the edge of European Christendom, outside of the postal networks through which most news was transmitted, yet still intermittently involved in wider European affairs. After a successful rebellion against the Habsburgs from 1604–6, Transylvania established itself as largely autonomous, though it remained under Ottoman suzerainty, and was governed by a series of martial, Reformed princes elected by a diet. Three of these men conducted military campaigns which were of particular interest to the newspapers of the day. The most famous is Gábor Bethlen who led a series of marches against Emperor Ferdinand II during the Thirty Years War, the first of which, from 1619–21, was the most successful. During these years Bethlen marched as an ally of Frederick, Elector Palatine and king of Bohemia, and was elected king of Hungary and named godfather to Frederick's son. However, after the disaster at White Mountain left Bohemia with little hope, Bethlen made a separate peace with the Emperor, giving up his claim to the title of Hungarian king in exchange for land and recognised freedom of religious practice. This action was mirrored in some ways by a succeeding prince at the end of the Thirty Years War. György I Rákóczi marched into Hungary from 1643–5 as an ally of Sweden and France, and though he was not greeted with as much attention and did not achieve as much success as Bethlen, he did make peace with the Emperor along similar terms. Twelve years later, from 1657–8, his son, György II Rákóczi, attempted an invasion of a different region, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as part of the series of conflicts now known as the Northern Wars. Though his march alongside Charles X Gustav of Sweden achieved success in the first months, the prince could not gain enough Polish support and so retreated by the end of the summer. He was not only unsuccessful in claiming the Polish crown, but provoked the ire of the Ottoman Porte with his ambition, and the Turks marched into Transylvania to reinforce their authority. The following year saw two other men, Ferenc Rhédey and Ákos Barcsai, elected to the position of prince of Transylvania under the persuasion of the Porte.

Instead of attempting to follow the news of this principality over a 40-year period, this chapter offers an analysis of three periods when Transylvania was most involved in wider European affairs, from 1619–21, 1643–5 and 1657–8. For these three periods the news reports from all extant issues of the German-language newspapers are considered. There are few reports from the principality itself, but the military and political manoeuvres of the Transylvanian princes during the Thirty Years War and the Northern Wars were included in reports from Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, Venice, Breslau, Elbing, Thorn and many other locations.¹ Each reporting location included news of Transylvania according to a particular motivation, whether it was to promote an ally, impugn an enemy or reveal an approaching threat. While the reporting location's perspective affected many aspects of what news was included and what language was employed, this chapter looks specifically at the news of ceremonies, i.e., presents, parades, banquets and formal proclamations of praise.

To what measure news of ceremony appeared is a factor not only of what events occurred, whether an election, baptism or the conquest of a city, but also what reporting locations were carrying the news. Each reporting location presented its own agenda in reporting the ceremonial news, whether it was an ally in Prague hoping to aggrandise a new king in a similar political situation, an enemy in Vienna stressing the prestige of its own court, military posts in the Hereditary Lands and Poland presenting the capable leader of a strong army, or a Hungarian diet legitimising a newly elected ruler. Where the news came from affected what news was reported and how it was communicated.

¹ A note on naming: if there is a common English name for a city or region (e.g., Vienna, Prague, Cracow), that will be used. Otherwise, German names and spellings are used within the news analysis in order to be most consistent with the sources. The present day name for each city included is as follows: Breslau (Wrocław, Poland), Brünn (Brno, Czech Republic), Danzig (Gdańsk, Poland), Elbing (Elbląg, Poland), Eperies (Prešov, Slovakia), Fülleck (Fiľakovo, Slovakia), Glatz (Kłodzko, Poland), Glogau (Głogów, Poland), Griechisch-Weißenburg (Belgrade, Serbia), Kaschau (Košice, Slovakia), Klausenburg (Cluj-Napoca, Romania), Komorn (Komárom, Hungary and Komárno, Slovakia), Königsberg (Kaliningrad, Russia), Lemberg (Lviv, Ukraine), Marienburg (Malbork, Poland), Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky, Slovakia), Neusohl (Banská Bystrica, Slovakia), Nikolsburg (Mikulov, Czech Republic), Ofen (Buda in Budapest, Hungary), Petrikau (Piotrków Trybunalski, Poland), Pilsen (Plzeň, Czech Republic), Pressburg (Bratislava, Slovakia), Stettin (Szczecin, Poland), Thorn (Toruń, Poland), Tyrnau (Trnava, Slovakia), Zips (Spiš, Slovakia), Znaim (Znojmo, Czech Republic).

Reporting Patterns in the German Language Newspapers

The first evidence of a German language newspaper is from Strasbourg in 1605, and while the next fourteen years saw six other newspapers founded in the cities of Wolfenbüttel, Frankfurt, Berlin, Hamburg and two unknown locations, the real explosion in German newspaper publishing came with the Thirty Years War.² In the opening years of the war, from 1619–23, at least 13 newspapers were begun in cities such as Vienna, Stuttgart, Cologne, Güstrow, Danzig and Königsberg, inspired not only by the sudden influx of news to report, but also the expansion and improvements made to the postal network.³ Despite the destruction and economic depression which accompanied these decades of European conflict, the postal system continued to improve, in large part due to the efforts of the Swedish military, with the result that the cities of Hamburg and Leipzig became as integral to the communicating of news as the political and economic centres of Vienna, Venice or Cologne.⁴ After the Peace of Westphalia was concluded in 1648, the German princes gained more internal autonomy, and, particularly in Prussia, continued this process of expanding and improving postal communication.⁵

The format of these newspapers makes them particularly suited for an analysis of differing reporting language based on location. First, they include reports from a wide range of locations with no overarching editorial voice, no one in the printing office organising the incoming news into a narrative. Each story retained the perspective of the news writer of the city or town from

2 For more on the Strasbourg newspaper, see Johannes Weber, 'Strassburg 1605: The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe', *German History*, 24.3 (2006), pp. 387–412. The standard bibliography for seventeenth century German newspapers is Else Bogel and Elger Blümm, eds., *Die deutschen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Bremen: Schöningh Universitätsverlag, 1971–85).

3 This expansion is considered in detail in Wolfgang Behringer, *Im Zeichen des Merkur: Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003). Also referenced in Wolfgang Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions: A Historiographical Concept', *German History*, 24.4 (2006), pp. 353–5; Wolfgang Behringer, 'Veränderung der Raum-Zeit-Relation. Zur Bedeutung des Zeitungs- und Nachrichtenwesens während der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs', in *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe. Der Dreißigjährige Krieg aus der Nähe*, ed. Benigna von Krusenstjern and Hans Medick (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), pp. 46–7.

4 Paul Arblaster, 'Current-affairs Publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1620-1660, in Comparative European Perspectives', D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1999), p. 110; Behringer, 'Veränderung der Raum-Zeit-Relation', p. 66.

5 Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', p. 357.

which it was dispatched. Additionally, each of these various reports includes a dateline stating the location and date from which the report was sent, such as "Aus Praag/ vom 22. Martii".⁶ These reporting locations can be used to give a more precise picture of how news communication changed in the periods of 1619–21, 1643–5 and 1657–8. For each of these periods there are only a handful of newspapers which have at least 50 extant issues, but by looking at the ten cities and regions which are the most frequent reporters in each newspaper, a distinct pattern emerges. As infrastructure improved, the newspapers matured and the wars migrated, the cities and regions which reported the news diversified and spread.

For the years 1619–21 there are six newspapers with at least 50 extant issues, from Wolfenbüttel, Frankfurt, Berlin, Hildesheim and Stuttgart, and they demonstrate a standardised pattern of reporting (see Table 36.1).⁷ Eight of the ten top reporting cities are the same across the newspapers, and they are even fairly consistent in the percentage of news reports they contribute: Prague (usually 13–16%), Vienna (10–12.5%), Cologne (7–10%), The Hague (usually 7–9%), Venice (usually 7–8%), Rome (usually 6–7%), Frankfurt (usually 3.5–5.5%) and Breslau (2–4%). Altogether, the cities which make up the top ten reporting locations for each newspaper account for 60–77% of the total news reports: two-thirds of the news printed originated in a small number of news centres.

Just twenty years later, from 1643–5, the reporting patterns for the German newspapers are remarkably different as seen in the five newspapers with at least 50 extant issues from Leipzig, Erfurt, Hamburg and two unknown locations (see Table 36.2).⁸ Not only had the postal system improved, but newspapers had been founded in London and Paris, and the war itself had spread even more extensively throughout Europe. While the cities of Cologne, Prague,

6 From *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620: 13) [citations appear in the format: place, year: issue number]. For publishing information see n. 7, below.

7 *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein); untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt: Johann von den Birghden); untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin: Veit Frischmann); *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim: Joachim Gössel); *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart: Johann Weyrich Rößlin), supplemented by an untitled *Zeitung*.

8 *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig: Timotheus Ritzsch[?]); *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* ([Erfurt]), also appearing under the title *Extraordinari einkommene Zeitungen*; *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg: Ilsabe Meyer & Martin Schumacher), appearing under the names *Wochentliche Zeitung*, *Post-Zeitung*, *Ordentliche Zeitung*; *Post/ Hamburger und Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p.), also appearing under the names *Absonderliche Zeitung*, *Zu Num ... gehörige ...*, *Extra-Ordinary Zeitungen/ uber Berlin und anderwärts einkommen*, *Zu Num ... gehörig*, *Copia Schreibens*; *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p.).

TABLE 36.1 *Most frequently reporting locations in the newspapers of 1619–21 (percentage of total number of reports in each newspaper)**

	Wolfenbüttel <i>Aviso</i>	Frankfurt <i>Postzeitung</i>	Berlin <i>Zeitung</i>	Hamburg <i>Wöchentliche</i>	Hildesheim <i>Zeitung</i>	Stuttgart <i>Zeittungen</i>
Extant issues	54	142	151	99	53	51
Total reports	637	1364	2284	1249	1093	778
<i>Reporting location†</i>						
Alsace	2.04	<i>1.10</i>	<i>1.05</i>	<i>0.48</i>	<i>1.19</i>	–
Amsterdam	<i>0.16</i>	6.89	<i>1.93</i>	<i>1.84</i>	<i>0.18</i>	<i>0.64</i>
Augsburg	<i>0.47</i>	<i>0.66</i>	2.45	2.32	<i>1.10</i>	<i>0.64</i>
Breslau	4.08	2.20	2.15	2.24	3.48	3.47
Brussels	<i>0.63</i>	2.05	<i>0.92</i>	<i>0.24</i>	<i>0.55</i>	<i>0.64</i>
Budweis	–	<i>0.51</i>	<i>0.26</i>	<i>0.48</i>	1.46	<i>0.13</i>
Cologne	8.01	10.04	8.10	7.05	9.06	8.23
Frankfurt	5.18	<i>0.07</i>	3.46	5.12	5.58	3.60
The Hague	8.01	8.87	3.06	7.93	6.09	7.33
Linz	<i>1.73</i>	<i>1.39</i>	2.10	<i>0.80</i>	<i>1.19</i>	<i>0.51</i>
Lyon	3.54	<i>1.76</i>	<i>2.06</i>	<i>1.92</i>	2.29	3.60
Nuremberg	–	<i>0.22</i>	<i>1.53</i>	<i>1.28</i>	–	5.27
The Palatinate	<i>0.31</i>	<i>1.54</i>	<i>1.62</i>	2.08	–	<i>1.80</i>
Prague	13.19	10.26	15.76	14.41	17.20	12.98
Rome	7.22	7.55	4.33	6.65	7.32	7.07
Strasbourg	2.04	<i>0.22</i>	<i>1.23</i>	<i>0.96</i>	1.46	<i>0.51</i>
Venice	7.85	<i>7.77</i>	4.90	<i>7.21</i>	7.87	7.33
Vienna	10.68	11.66	12.48	11.45	12.17	11.95
Wesel	<i>0.16</i>	1.91	<i>0.53</i>	–	–	–

* The ten most frequently contributing cities are in bold, others for comparison in italics.

† The term 'reporting location', in this and other uses, refers to the city or region specified in the dateline of each report.

Vienna, Venice and Lyon are still commonly among the top ten reporting locations, Breslau and The Hague no longer make the list, and Paris, London, Milan, Leipzig and Hamburg are as likely to be among a newspaper's top ten as Frankfurt or Rome. Additionally, the most frequently reporting cities no longer account for the bulk of the news reported. Rarely does one city contribute more than 7% of news reports and, totalled together, the top ten reporting cities make up less than half of the total reports.

TABLE 36.2 *Most frequently reporting locations in the newspapers of 1643–5 (percentage of total number of reports in each newspaper)**

	Leipzig <i>Wöchentliche</i>	<i>Post/</i> <i>Hamburger</i>	<i>Wochentliche</i> <i>Ordinari</i>	Erfurt <i>Ordinari</i>	Hamburg <i>Wöchentliche</i>
Extant issues	157	120	133	62	75
Total reports	1263	1464	1328	565	684
<i>Reporting location</i>					
Amsterdam	3.72	<i>0.14</i>	–	<i>1.24</i>	<i>0.29</i>
Antwerp	5.07	<i>0.48</i>	<i>0.08</i>	<i>2.65</i>	<i>0.44</i>
Cologne	3.72	6.83	9.94	4.25	6.58
Erfurt	–	<i>2.46</i>	6.70	<i>0.18</i>	<i>1.75</i>
Frankfurt	<i>1.98</i>	4.03	7.53	<i>0.35</i>	5.26
Hamburg	2.61	3.55	5.95	<i>1.95</i>	–
Leipzig	–	5.87	9.34	–	3.36
London	5.86	<i>1.50</i>	–	3.72	<i>1.75</i>
Lyon	<i>2.14</i>	3.07	8.43	4.25	5.99
Milan	<i>1.98</i>	<i>1.09</i>	6.70	3.54	3.22
Nuremberg	<i>1.19</i>	<i>1.71</i>	<i>0.60</i>	–	2.92
Osnabrück	<i>1.82</i>	2.60	<i>0.15</i>	<i>1.42</i>	<i>1.02</i>
Paris	4.75	3.89	<i>0.15</i>	5.66	5.26
Prague	2.85	4.30	5.72	3.01	6.58
Rhine River	<i>1.35</i>	<i>2.19</i>	<i>0.83</i>	6.19	<i>2.63</i>
Rome	2.61	<i>2.19</i>	<i>4.59</i>	<i>2.48</i>	<i>1.32</i>
Venice	3.09	3.01	5.72	3.89	3.51
Vienna	<i>2.77</i>	<i>7.17</i>	9.19	4.60	5.56
Wesel	<i>0.40</i>	<i>0.07</i>	–	3.36	<i>0.15</i>

* The ten most frequently contributing cities are in bold, others for comparison in italics.

The exception to this pattern is the *Wochentliche Ordinari* in which three-quarters of the news stories come from the top ten reporting cities, dominated by news from the Habsburg hereditary lands and Germany. Each of the other newspapers has also developed its own habit and character in reporting. The Leipzig *Wöchentliche* is the only one of these newspapers to receive at least 3% of its news from either Amsterdam or Antwerp. The paper from Erfurt has a large number of reports from Wesel, less than 100 miles away along the Rhine River, as well as the Rhine River itself. The Hamburg *Wöchentliche* and the *Post/*

Hamburger und Reichs-Zeitung, somewhat predictably, are similar in the cities which account for their top ten reporting locations. The networks of reporting are diversifying, though most are still concentrated in the north-western corner of the continent.

With the newspapers of 1657–8 the patterns in news reporting shift once again, this time towards the Baltic. Hamburg had become an important reporting centre during the last period, but the Northern Wars and the rise of the Prussian postal network assured its dominant position. The five newspapers from this period with at least 50 extant issues include the Hamburg *Wöchentliche*, which is nearly perfectly preserved, as well as papers from Zurich, Frankfurt and two from Munich, each of which reports at least 14% of its news from Hamburg (see Table 36.3).⁹ In clear contrast to the reporting patterns of 1643–5, all of the newspapers except for the Hamburg paper receive at least three-quarters of their news from their top ten reporting cities, with single locations responsible for 10% or more of the total number of reports.

Though these newspapers often receive a great deal of news from very few locations, which cities and regions account for these few locations alters greatly. Cologne, Hamburg, Paris, Venice and Vienna are often among the top ten, but the percentage of news each city contributes is by no means consistent. Also, there are two distinct characteristics of newspapers developing: those which focus on the new reporting centres along the Baltic coast and those which focus on the older news centres of central and western Europe. The latter category includes the Zurich *Relation* and the Munich *Ordinari*, though the Zurich paper seemingly substitutes France for Paris, and Italy for Rome and Venice. The other Munich paper, the *PostZeitung*, receives more news from the northeastern locations of Berlin, Danzig and Prussia. The Frankfurt *Continuation Deß jüngst zwischen beyde Königliche Schwedischen und Pohnische Armeen zugetragenen Kriegs-verlauffs*, as its name suggests, chiefly reports news of the Northern Wars, and the cities which count as the top ten are exclusively Baltic: Hamburg, Danzig, Elbing, Riga, Stettin, Wismar, Königsberg, Marienburg, Thorn, and the castle Gottorf. The Hamburg *Wöchentliche*, in addition to having the highest survival rate, also demonstrates

9 *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg: Martin Schumacher), also appearing under the names *Ordinari Diengstags Zeitung*, *Wochentliche Donnerstags Zeitung*, APPENDIX *Der Wochentlichen Zeitung Von Numero ...; Neue Vnpartheysche Zeittung und Relation* (Zurich: Offizin Bodmer); *Continuation Deß jüngst zwischen beyde Königliche Schwedischen und Pohnische Armeen zugetragenen Kriegs-verlauffs* (Frankfurt: Johann Philipp Weiß), also appearing under the name *Absonderliche Relation. Ordenliche Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Munich: Lucas Straub); *Ordinari Zeitung* (Munich: Johann Jäcklin).

TABLE 36.3 *Most frequently reporting locations in the newspapers of 1657–8 (percentage of total number of reports in each newspaper)**

	Hamburg <i>Wöchentliche</i>	Munich <i>Ordinari</i>	Munich <i>PostZeitungen</i>	Zurich <i>Relation</i>	Frankfurt <i>Continuation</i>
Extant issues	311	52	50	79	104
Total reports	2780	336	227	664	500
<i>Reporting location</i>					
Antwerp	3.56	<i>1.79</i>	<i>1.44</i>	<i>0.30</i>	–
Berlin	<i>0.29</i>	–	5.05	<i>0.60</i>	<i>1.00</i>
Cologne	<i>2.95</i>	15.18	28.52	11.90	–
Danzig	3.13	<i>0.30</i>	7.94	<i>1.66</i>	5.00
Elbe River	<i>0.58</i>	<i>0.30</i>	7.22	<i>0.30</i>	<i>0.20</i>
Elbing	4.82	–	–	<i>1.66</i>	6.80
France	<i>0.04</i>	<i>0.30</i>	–	7.08	–
Frankfurt	3.27	6.85	–	<i>5.72</i>	–
Gottorf	–	–	<i>1.44</i>	<i>0.45</i>	2.40
Hamburg	–	16.96	14.08	14.01	34.40
Italy	<i>0.07</i>	–	–	8.43	–
Königsberg	<i>1.62</i>	<i>0.60</i>	<i>0.36</i>	<i>1.36</i>	2.60
London	<i>1.91</i>	<i>0.30</i>	–	7.53	<i>0.20</i>
Main River	<i>0.22</i>	–	2.17	<i>0.15</i>	–
Marienburg	5.65	<i>0.60</i>	–	<i>1.05</i>	10.40
Milan	<i>1.83</i>	3.27	–	<i>1.20</i>	–
Oder River	<i>0.07</i>	2.68	<i>0.36</i>	<i>1.20</i>	–
Paris	4.64	2.68	14.08	3.46	–
Prague	<i>2.59</i>	4.46	<i>0.36</i>	<i>2.41</i>	–
Prussia	<i>0.07</i>	–	2.17	–	<i>0.20</i>
Riga	3.24	<i>0.60</i>	–	<i>0.60</i>	3.40
Rome	5.97	7.44	<i>1.08</i>	<i>1.81</i>	–
Silesia	<i>0.68</i>	7.44	<i>0.36</i>	7.23	<i>0.40</i>
Stettin	<i>1.47</i>	–	–	<i>0.15</i>	3.20
Thorn	<i>2.70</i>	–	–	<i>0.60</i>	2.80
Venice	4.35	9.82	2.89	3.92	–
Vienna	5.76	11.31	2.17	6.33	<i>0.20</i>
Wismar	<i>2.09</i>	–	<i>0.72</i>	<i>0.45</i>	3.20

* The ten most frequently contributing cities are in bold, others for comparison in italics.

the most breadth in reporting, with no city contributing more than 6% of the total stories, and both the older and newer reporting centres counting among the most frequently reporting.

Even if only select years are examined, the reporting patterns of the newspapers of these forty years demonstrate clear changes. At the beginning of the Thirty Years War, from 1619–21, the newspapers were consistent both in the matter of which cities contributed the greatest number of reports and how frequently those reports appeared. Towards the end of the war, from 1643–5, after the Swedish army contributed to a great expansion of the postal system, new newspapers were founded in a variety of European cities and the war itself had grown to include nearly all of Europe, the reporting habits of the newspapers had changed. During this period, newspapers reported from a variety of cities and there was little consistency in which cities were most likely to appear as the most frequent reporters of the news. Reporting habits changed once again after the Prussian postal system developed and Poland-Lithuania became the major theatre of war; during the years 1657–8, the cities along the Baltic become increasingly important, led by Hamburg. Newspapers during this period were likely to receive a large portion of their reports from a handful of cities, as in 1619–21, but which reporting locations were most represented was not consistent from publication to publication, as in 1643–5. These changes in the locations favoured by the newspapers in each period affected how the news was reported, even from areas, like Transylvania, which rarely contributed news reports themselves.

Reporting Patterns within the Transylvanian News Stories

Not every newspaper during the three periods considered here is as well-preserved as those described above. In order to better examine all the surviving news of Transylvania, including news within the several newspapers for which few issues survive, this chapter considers individual reports, not entire publications. In addition, news reports which include the same information, using the same language, from the same location, are only counted once, so that particular stories are not given greater weight because they survive in the extant issues of multiple newspapers. When repeating reports are excluded, news from Transylvania is included in 764 distinct news stories from the years 1619–21, 355 stories from 1643–5 and 479 stories from 1657–8.

The datelines of these 1,598 news reports display patterns of reporting that in some ways mirror those of the newspapers more broadly considered. The only city that consistently contributes a large number of news stories on

Transylvania is Vienna, which was not only the nearest major political centre but also the capital of the Habsburg emperors that the Transylvanian prince was frequently acting against. While Vienna offers between 136 and 324 news reports for each period, none of the other cities appearing in the datelines (with the exception of Prague in 1619–21) contributes more than 50 reports. However, if these cities are grouped by political and economic regions, rather than considered individually, these reporting regions can more closely rival the news from Vienna (see Table 36.4).

For the years 1619–21, at the beginning of the Thirty Years War, the stories of Transylvania mostly come from the warring powers of Vienna and Prague, but are supplemented by news from elsewhere in the Habsburg Hereditary Lands (including primarily Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia and Styria) and Hungary (Figure 36.1). For the years 1643–5, at the end of the Thirty Years War, after the Bohemians were defeated and the Swedes had asserted their authority and built their postal system in northern Europe, almost three-fifths of the Transylvanian news came from Vienna, with occasional reports from the Hereditary Lands and the German Lands, primarily from the Swedish postal and military centres at Hamburg and Leipzig (see Figure 36.2). The expansion of the postal network in Prussia meant that news of the Northern Wars in Poland–Lithuania was also carried by the new news centres along the Baltic Sea, including the cities within the Polish, Brandenburg and Swedish lands,

TABLE 36.4 *Number of discrete news stories on Transylvania from each reporting region and period*

Reporting region	1619–21	1643–5	1657–8
Vienna	324	206	136
Prague	235	58	79
Hereditary Lands	75	8	10
Hungary-Transylvania	65	8	10
German Lands	24	65	41
Poland-Lithuania	10	10	38
The Baltic			158
Mediterranean	25	3	14
Other*	6	5	3
Total	764	355	479

* Includes reports without a location included in the dateline, along with those from the Low Countries and France.

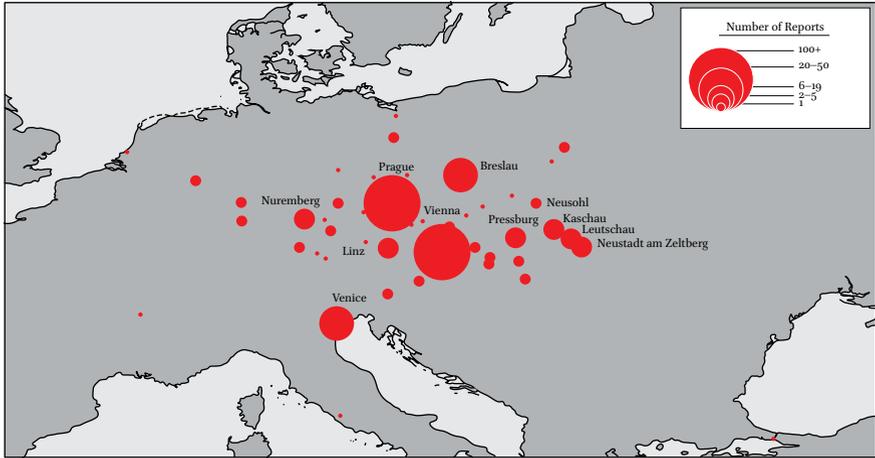


FIGURE 36.1 *Map indicating reporting cities for news stories of Transylvania, 1619–21*

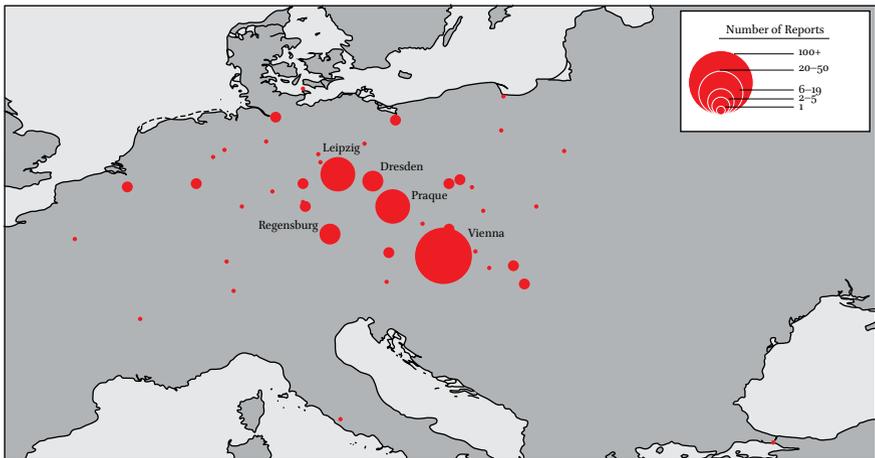


FIGURE 36.2 *Map indicating reporting cities for news stories of Transylvania, 1643–5*

and, for the first time in 1657–8, more of the stories of Transylvania came from a region other than Vienna (see Figure 36.3). This is also the only period when news came directly from Transylvania itself, with four reports from late 1657 and 1658 primarily concerned with the question of deposing one prince and electing a new one, as well as one report from Klausenburg at the start of 1657 giving news of György II starting his march.

Within the text of the news stories, roughly a quarter reference a further source for the news being related, whether a letter, messenger or report. These in-text

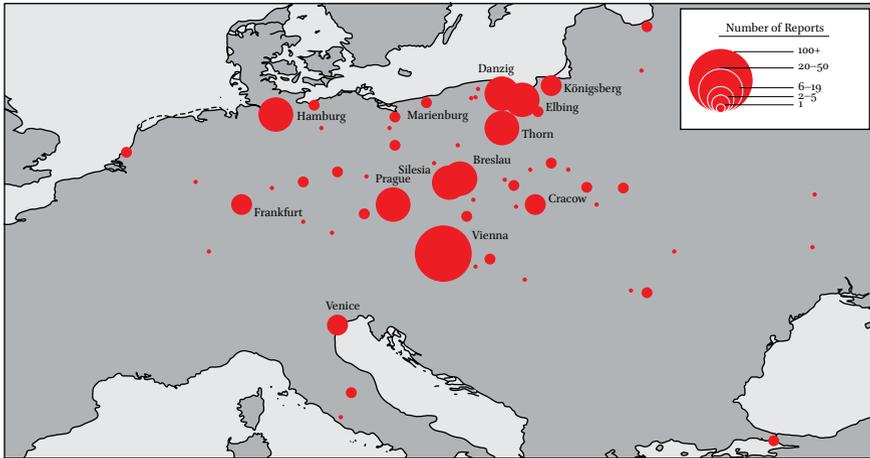


FIGURE 36.3 *Map indicating reporting cities for news stories of Transylvania, 1657-8*

citations may be used to give greater credibility to the news or to pass the blame for potentially false information, but also give further insight to paths of communication. Among the news stories of Transylvania there are four main patterns of news distribution: from Hungary and Transylvania to the Hereditary Lands, including Vienna and Prague; from Poland to the Baltic and Silesia; from Vienna and later Poland to the German Lands; from the Ottoman territories to Venice and later Vienna. In addition, news often travels within reporting regions, particularly the Hereditary Lands and the Baltic. By combining these two levels of reporting, the information in the dateline and the in-text citations, a fuller sense of how the news of Transylvania was communicated can be seen: not only which cities reported the most often on Transylvania, but from where they received their news.

The city of Vienna is the most frequent reporter of the news of Transylvania and acts as a hub which other reporting regions, particularly the Hereditary Lands and German Lands, cite as the source of Transylvanian news. This city, in turn, receives much of its news from Royal Hungary due to significant historical connections. In the sixteenth century, the medieval kingdom of Hungary had been divided into three parts: those lands held directly by the Ottomans, the principality of Transylvania, and the kingdom of Hungary under the control of the Habsburgs. Many noble Magyar families held lands in both Transylvania and Hungary, and throughout the seventeenth century a desire to reunite the regions remained. With the Reformation, the Reformed Church gained strength among Magyars in both countries, and the Habsburgs' Counter-Reformation measures to strengthen the Catholic Church in Hungary provoked the Transylvanians'

desire to seize the crown of St. Stephen in order to best ensure the protection of Protestant rights. However, despite some successful efforts, particularly those of Bethlen, the kingdom of Hungary remained with the Habsburgs and continued to act as an important source of news for Vienna. Therefore, Hungary remained an integral source of Transylvanian news not only due to its geographical proximity, but because of the strong political, economic and cultural ties which led to continued Transylvanian involvement in Hungarian affairs, including the marches of both Bethlen and György I.

Of the Viennese news stories of 1619–21, 26 cite news as coming from Hungary, including references to the city of Neusohl where the election of Bethlen as the king of Hungary took place (2), the Hungarian capital of Pressburg (5) and the sites of early military engagements in Kaschau (4), Neuhäusel (2), Komorn (1) and Tyrnau (1). This number also includes the 11 reports which give little detail in the in-text citation besides stating that the news is 'Aus Ungarn' or 'From Hungary'. This pattern continues during György I's march into Hungary at the end of the Thirty Years War. News comes once more from the cities of Pressburg (1), Kaschau (2) and Tyrnau (1), as well as Eperies (1), Fülleck (1) and Zips (1). Furthermore, the reference to news as simply being 'from Hungary' becomes more common, with 23 citations that give little information besides the name of the kingdom.

The importance of this communication from Hungary to Vienna becomes increasingly clear in the years 1657–8 when György II did not invade Hungary, but rather turned his sights on Poland. Even with no action by the Transylvanian prince taking place within Hungary, there are still 36 in-text citations to the region from Vienna. These citations only reference a particular city four times (Pressburg twice and Neusohl and Eperies once), but communicate that the news is 'Aus Ungarn' on 32 occasions. Throughout these three periods it becomes clear that while news of Transylvania may have been communicated primarily from Hungary initially because it was the region where the political and military actions took place, it eventually became a settled communication route. News of Transylvania travelled via Hungary to Vienna and then to the newspapers as an established branch of the communications network.

While Hungary was the main source of Transylvanian news for Vienna, it is not the only location cited within the Viennese news stories. News also came from the Hereditary Lands, including the cities of Breslau (2), Brünn (1), Nikolsburg (1) and Eggenburg (1), and, more broadly, Silesia (3), Moravia (2), Bohemia (1) and Styria (1). In addition, news travelled from Transylvania itself. News from Transylvania was primarily communicated by messengers, either from the prince or from Imperial envoys returning to court. In the news stories about Bethlen, there are three references to envoys or letters from the prince,

four references to news “from Transylvania” and another five references to news relayed by the Duke d’Angoulême, a French envoy who either travelled between Bethlen and Vienna himself or sent a trumpeter to bear his communications.¹⁰ The news from Transylvania was communicated in a somewhat similar manner in the years 1657–8, with six citations “from Transylvania” and six to messengers sent by György II. However, the communication from Transylvania to Vienna is not always intentional, as is seen in the years 1643–5. Of the six references to news travelling from Transylvania to Vienna during this period, five are messengers from György I and the sixth is a letter sent from the prince to the Swedish army which was intercepted and its contents printed.¹¹

Though there was communication between the Transylvanian princes and their sometimes enemies in Vienna, Bethlen was much more likely to send news to his allies in Prague. The city of Prague supplied a large number of news stories concerning Transylvania at the beginning of the Thirty Years War, nearly matching Vienna in output with 124 stories from Prague and 107 from Vienna in 1619, and 164 and 205 respectively in 1620. However, after Frederick’s defeat at White Mountain in November 1620, Prague’s reporting of Transylvanian news drops off significantly, with only 21 stories in the whole of 1621. While Prague continued to be a centre of news reporting in Europe during the other two periods (see Tables 36.2 and 36.3), it was no longer a frequent reporter of the news of Transylvania.

For the years when Prague did contribute a large number of reports on Transylvania, in-text citations reference many of the same locations and media that are found in the Viennese reports. News travelled from Hungary on 29 occasions, including stories from Pressburg (10), Neusohl (6) and Kaschau (1). Furthermore, there are 17 messengers or letters arriving from Bethlen. In addition to news from Hungary and Transylvania, there are 39 references to incoming information from other locations in the Hereditary Lands. Many of these items report on military efforts and include 13 letters from the Bohemian camps, as well as reports from Vienna (7), Moravia (5), Silesia (4), the Austrian camps (3) and Brünn (2), among others. Because the Bohemian and Transylvanian forces were allied, stories from Prague frequently contain news from the combined military efforts, as armies anticipated support or moved to meet each other.

10 For examples, see “Auß Wien vom 14. Novembris”, *Raporten* (Cologne, 1620: E); “Auß Wien vom 14. Ditto [Oct.]”, untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1620: 55).

11 The intercepted letter: “Auß Wien/ den 2. Dito [Sept.]”, *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1643: 38).

Other reports from the hereditary lands in 1619–21, outside of Prague and Vienna, primarily received news of Bethlen from locations in Hungary and Transylvania. Appearing on just one occasion each are intext citations to news from Pressburg in stories from Znaim, Moravia and Eggenburg; from Bethlen and his commanders in stories from Bohemia and the Bohemian camps; and news travelling from Hungary in stories from the Bohemian camps and Breslau. In addition, there are two references to news traveling from Vienna to Linz and two more to news from Poland to Breslau. For the most part, the news of Transylvania in the stories from the hereditary lands comes from the Transylvanians or Hungary, though there is evidence of other regional branches of communication.

The reports of György I's and György II's marches in some ways follow this same pattern, with news travelling from Hungary, Vienna and the military camps. From 1643–5, news travelled from Kaschau and Hungary to Prague (2), Linz (2), Breslau (2) and Ebersdorf (1); from Vienna to Linz (1), Bohemia (1) and Prague (2); and from the military camps in Brünn and Moravia to Prague (1) and Breslau (2). From 1657–8, this continued with Vienna continuing to act as a source of news for Prague (2), Breslau (1) and Silesia (1); Hungary is cited as a source of news for Prague (2) and Bohemia (1); and the Transylvanians as a source for Breslau (1) and Pilsen (1).

However, for the period 1657–8 there is also a clearly distinct reporting pattern, as stories from the Hereditary Lands not only contain news from Hungary, Transylvania, Bohemia and Moravia, but also frequently from Poland and Prussia. While the news from Poland may appear in stories from Prague (4) and Glatz (1) in Bohemia, the cities of Silesia, situated on Poland's border and sharing economic and cultural ties, are much more likely to cite news from the Northern Wars (see Figure 36.4). Silesia (7), its capital Breslau (10) and Glogau (1) note information coming from Poland and Prussia, the Swedish officers, and the cities along György II's march, such as Cracow and Lemberg. In the year 1657, György II marched into a new reporting region, and while its effects may not be seen in the news gathering habits of Vienna, they are clearly noticeable in the Transylvanian news stories from the hereditary lands.

The communication from Poland to Silesia is part of a larger pattern of news distribution as news travelled from Poland to the hereditary lands and the Baltic. This second major reporting habit only clearly appears in the period of 1657–8, though there are rare news stories from Poland and the Baltic in previous periods. This is because György II's march occurred after the news centres of Danzig, Elbing, Königsberg, Marienburg and Thorn had become more developed (all of which appear among the top overall reporting locations of 1657–8, see Table 36.3). These five cities acted as a hub of news transfer, receiving

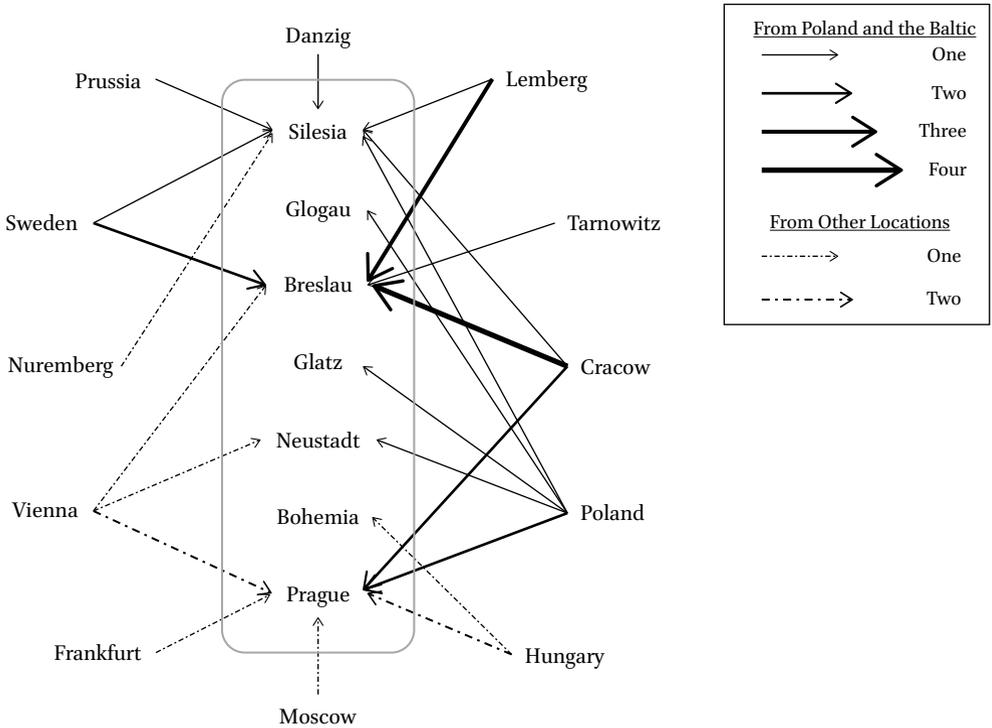


FIGURE 36.4 Locations cited within the text of stories from the Hereditary Lands, 1657–8

reports from Poland-Lithuania (7), as well as the specific cities of Zamość (5), Cracow (1) and Petrikau (1), and the military camps and commanders of the Transylvanian (5) and Swedish (2) armies. In addition, these cities also sent several reports to each other (see Figure 36.5). Thorn, further upstream on the Vistula River and roughly halfway between Warsaw and Danzig, acts as a point through which information is passed. The city never received news of Transylvania from the cities further north and frequently acted as a source of information for the ongoing war in reports from Marienburg (6), Elbing (4) and Königsberg (2). Even when the sample is limited to those reports which reference the actions of György II, a rich and complex network of communication within the Prussian cities is apparent.

These are the main means by which news of Transylvania reached the German newspapers: from Hungary and Transylvania via Vienna and Prague and, from 1657–8, from Poland via Silesia or Prussia. There are other reporting patterns of which less evidence remains in the German language reports. News from the Ottoman Empire travelled primarily from Constantinople to

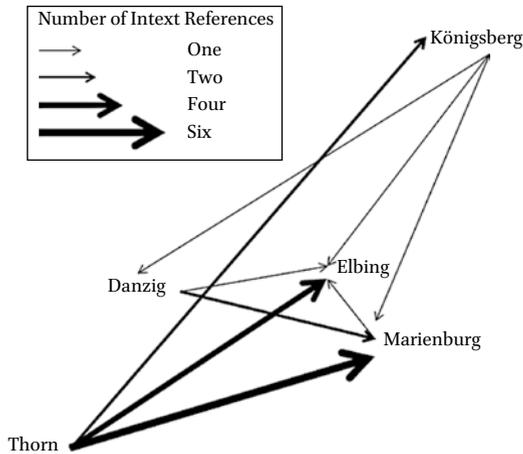


FIGURE 36.5
News transference between the major reporting locations of the Baltic reporting region, 1657–8

Venice in the years 1619–21 (cited in 9 stories), but in the later periods Turkish news travelled through Vienna: there was news from Ofen (3), Constantinople (2), Griechisch-Weißenburg (1) and the Ottoman Empire more broadly (1) in 1643–5 and from Constantinople (3) and the Ottoman Empire (3) in 1657–8. Additionally, stories from the German Lands often cite locations in the Hereditary Lands as a source of Transylvanian news. This is particularly the case for Vienna, which is cited in reports from Frankfurt (5), Dresden (2), Erfurt (2), Augsburg (1) and Nuremberg (1) for all three periods, but also Bohemia, Breslau and Prague, each cited twice as a source of news in reports from the German Lands. News from Hungary is also included in stories from Regensburg (2), Cologne (1) and Nuremberg (1). The interesting exception to this pattern is the Hamburg news stories, which never reference Transylvanian news as coming from the Hereditary Lands or Hungary, but instead cite Warsaw (5), Danzig (1), Elbing (1) and Poland (1).

Each reporting region relied chiefly on regional or established sources for their news. Vienna received most of its Transylvanian news from Hungary, while for the few years that Prague was an active reporter it was more likely to count news from the military camps or the Transylvanian prince as the source of information. The wider Hereditary Lands were fairly uniform in their reporting habits in 1619–21 and 1643–5, primarily reporting news from within the same region, though Silesia's close ties to Poland are evident in 1657–8. The cities along the Baltic received news from each other and within Poland. Each of these patterns of gathering and reporting the news betrays a different perspective on the principality of Transylvania, one that can also be seen in the content of the news stories.

Ceremonies in the News Stories of Transylvania

The ceremonies which appear in the stories of Transylvania are often marked by more colourful and descriptive language than the other content of the news. Accounts of cities besieged, armies on the move and the dispatching of envoys are occasionally interrupted by descriptions of a procession of men dressed in fine liveries or by details of costly gifts presented to a ruler. Within these news stories, ceremony appears in four major forms: presentations of gifts or banners, processions made into courts or camps, the hosting of another as a guest of home or table and the formal language of oaths and proclamations. In each of these cases, the description of ceremony supplements the news not by adding more essential information, but by giving a more nuanced impression of the events taking place. Because ceremony is, in some ways, nonessential, it reveals the underlying perspective of the reporting region.

Ceremony is represented in the news of Transylvania in both the political and military spheres and is concentrated around four primary concerns. First is that of a country choosing its own leader through kingly and princely elections. The most striking instance is in news from Hungary of Bethlen's kingly election in 1620, though it is also apparent in the news from Transylvania in the two instances of a new prince's election in 1657–8. The second category is the reporting of ceremonial matters (as defined in the above paragraph) from Transylvania's allies illustrated by the reports from both Prague in 1619–21 and the Swedish military headquarters in Leipzig in 1643–5. The third category consists of news from the embattled lands themselves, particularly the hereditary lands and Poland, which includes news from conquered cities and military camps containing more martial examples of ceremony. Finally, there is news from Vienna, the headquarters of the power with which the Transylvanian prince was most often at war, which reports ceremonial matters as a way of expressing the political power of the Emperor. However, while each of these four relationships (electing country, ally, invaded country and enemy) recur throughout the three periods, the use of ceremonial description in the news is not consistent. Rather, the relative political strength of Transylvania and the reporting regions affected the degree to which ceremony is a regular fixture of the reports, so that ceremony which is flattering to the Transylvanian prince is evident in Bethlen's Hungarian march, is relatively absent in György I's, but returns when György II invades Poland (see Figure 36.6).

The news stories from 1619–21 contain a great deal of ceremonial news, largely concentrated on Bethlen's greatest political achievement: his election as king of Hungary in 1620. Of the 15 items of ceremonial news from Hungary,

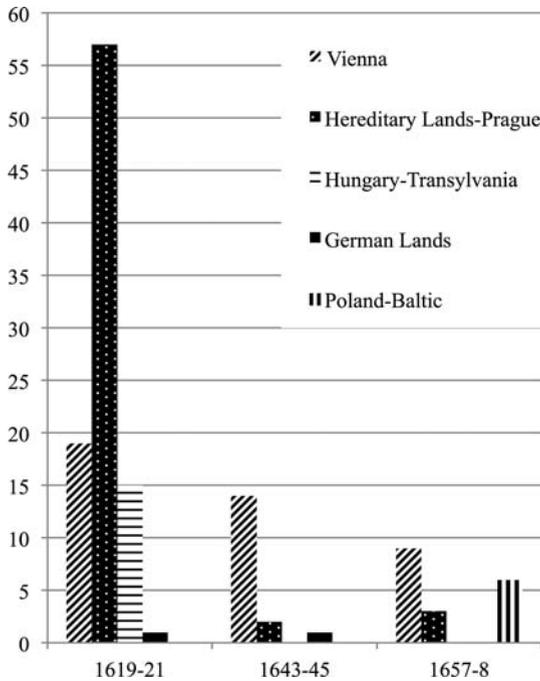


FIGURE 36.6
 Number of items of ceremonial
 news by reporting region and
 period

nine are used to describe the pomp and finery that surround the diet meeting in Neusohl where Bethlen's election took place. This includes the arrival of Bethlen with his wife, her gentlewomen and 12,000 stately men on horse and foot; a banquet where 200 silver dishes were set before Bethlen's guests, including the Imperial and Polish envoys, the Hungarian palatine and other lords; and 20 Turks on horseback bringing wagons of presents with them.¹² All of the wealth displayed by the Transylvanian representatives and the gifts given to Bethlen further supported the legitimacy of his election by presenting him as already possessing the appearance, prestige and situation of a king.

In many ways, this is the role that ceremonial news also plays in the stories from Prague. Great attention is lavished on Bethlen in the weeks surrounding his election. Gifts are presented to him by Frederick on eight occasions, including once when Transylvanian envoys arrived at the Bohemian court and were then dispatched home with many precious gifts, including several pistols and

¹² "Extract auß einem Schreiben von Newensaal/ vom 18. Junii", untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620: 26); "Auß NewenSaal/ vom 18. Julii", untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620: 31); "Auß Leutsch/ vom 6. Augusti, Anno 1620", untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620: 35).

sabres, backswords and maces adorned with jewels. The news of the presentation was then immediately followed by the assurance that Bethlen should already have the Hungarian crown in his hands.¹³ The honour of the gifts accompanied the belief that Bethlen would use his newfound prestige and resources to further aid the Bohemian king, as an earlier report from the city had already conveyed that Bethlen wanted the Hungarian crown not for himself, but in order to help the Elector Palatine.¹⁴ The positions of Frederick and Bethlen were not dissimilar: they are both minor rulers elected by Protestant diets in defiance of Habsburg claims to the kingships. By presenting Bethlen with increased standing, the reports from Prague not only support a close ally but indirectly reassert the legitimacy of their own new ruler.

The desire to promote the diplomatic and political ties between the Bohemian king and the Transylvanian prince are further demonstrated in the reports surrounding the other major event in the Prague news: the baptism of Frederick's son Rupert and Bethlen's position as godfather. Though Bethlen himself was not able to attend the event, he sent his representative Imre Thurzó. There are descriptions of the Transylvanian arrival, the procession into the church, the presents given and the subsequent banquets.¹⁵ In addition to the news of Bethlen's anticipated and actual election and the baptism of Frederick's son, there are items which describe the more quotidian ceremony of the Bohemian court, including the arrival of Transylvanian envoys traveling with many men and horses.¹⁶ The reporting of ceremony in the news from Prague in 1619–21 spends a large number of words to establish the allied Transylvanian and Bohemian leaders as important political and diplomatic figures, and as a result, Bethlen benefits from a flattering portrayal.

13 This news anticipated the actual election by nearly a year. "Auß Prag vom 13. Octobr", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619: Sss).

14 "Auß Prag vom 5. October", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619: Rrr).

15 Thurzó's arrival appears in "Auß Prag vom 15. Martio", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620: 12); "Auß Prag vom 1. April", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620: 15); "Aus Praag/ vom 1. Aprillis", *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:15). The procession into the church appears in "Auß Prag vom 1. April", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620: 15). Presents are described in "Aus Praag/ vom 17. Aprilis", *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620: 17); "Auß Prag/ vom 17. April", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620: 17). Banquets are described in "Prag vom 24. Aprilis", *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620: 19); "Auß Prag vom 27. Ditto [Apr.]", untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1620: 18); "Auß Praga/ vom 28. Aprilis", untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620: 18).

16 Examples of Transylvanian envoys at court include "Auß Praga/ vom 11. October", untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619: 41); "Auß Praga/ vom 29. Junii", untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620: 27).

The news from the other hereditary lands does not employ ceremonial language as frequently as Prague, but presents the Transylvanians primarily as capable leaders deserving of praise and commanding strong armies. As these reports often came from the regions where the armies were marching or directly from the camps themselves, they convey a primarily military sensibility. A letter from Count Thurn describing the arrival of Transylvanian troops led by Ferenc Rhédey is particularly flattering. Rhédey, described as a “free, brave man”, arrives with 12,000 men on horse and Thurn reports that he gave all possible deference.¹⁷ Stories from the hereditary lands testify to the military strength and skill of the Transylvanians rather than championing their political or diplomatic standing.

The ceremonial news from these three reporting regions—Hungary testifying to Bethlen’s legitimacy, Prague to his political and diplomatic strength and the hereditary lands to the Transylvanian military ability—all stand in contrast to the stories from Vienna. The reports from this city, the capital of Transylvania’s adversary in the years 1619–21, show little inclination to increase Bethlen’s prestige. In general, ceremonial news is much less common in these reports, appearing in only 6% of the total stories, as opposed to the 21–23% frequency included from Prague and Hungary. The instances that do occur are much milder: Bethlen holds a banquet for the Elector Palatine and Hungarian lords, the Ottomans offer their congratulations to the Emperor, and Bethlen is presented with gifts, though they are not described in detail.¹⁸ Twice the arrival of Transylvanian envoys in fine carriages adorned in red and gold velvet appear in the reports, but even within the news of Transylvania, the envoys are more likely to be arriving from France, Hungary or the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹ While ceremonial news is not completely absent from the Viennese reports, it is considerably less frequent and as likely to focus on the role of the Viennese court

17 “*Copia Schreibens an die Herrn Directores, de dato Newmühl 13. Octobris*”, untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619: 43).

18 The banquet is mentioned in “Auß Wien vom 27. Octobr” *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zuge-tragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619: 47). Congratulations are offered in “Auß Wien vom 18. Martii”, *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620: 14). “Stately presents” appear in “Aus Wien vom 19. Januarii”, *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:6).

19 “Aus Wien vom 27. Mai”, *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:24); “Auß Wien vom 27. Ditto [May]”, untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1620: 23); “Auß Wien vom 10. Aprill Anno 1619”, untitled *Zeitung* (Stuttgart, 1619: xv1); “Auß Wien/ vom 28 Decembr”, untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:2); “Käyserlich Mayestät Schreiben/ denen so der Augßpurgischen *Confession* zuge than unter Euserischen Landständen zu zustellen”, *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620: 26).

as to relate information which would contribute to the dignity of the Transylvanians.

Unfortunately for György I, the news of his march is told almost entirely through the stories from Vienna, and once again the city was not eager to present the Transylvanian leader as possessing much strength or wealth. Within these stories the Transylvanian prince does not receive a single gift, but rather sends them to the Ottomans, the Emperor and the kings of Sweden and Poland.²⁰ He does successfully host a banquet for the Ottomans and French in Kaschau to celebrate an alliance, but an earlier attempt to celebrate a victory with a feast in Castle Murány ends with a devastating attack by the Imperial forces and the slaying of many Transylvanian men.²¹ When wealth and power are displayed it more likely to compliment the Imperial side, as gifts are exchanged between the Emperor and the Sultan, and the Imperial commander presents captured ensigns at court.²²

The 14 references to ceremony in the Viennese reports are supplemented by only a handful of items from the other reporting regions. The few reports from Hungary offer no examples of ceremonial processions, presents, hosting or address, as in the years since Bethlen's first march many Magyar noble families had reconverted to Catholicism and were not as eager to greet a Transylvanian prince promising increased rights for the Protestants. The hereditary lands offer only two references: one, a description of an Imperial ambassador to the Ottomans and the other, a compliment bestowed on a Transylvanian commander noting that he is a sensible and good soldier.²³ Though there are news reports from the Swedish headquarters in the German Lands, the relationship between the Transylvanian prince and his allies in 1643–5 was significantly different than it was in 1619–21. While Frederick and Bethlen were in similar positions, both trying to gain more political power, the Swedes looked

20 "Aus Wien vom 19. Martii", *Post/ Hamburger und Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644: 13); "Wien/ den 2. Aprilis/ St.N", *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644: 29); "Wien den 16. dito [July]", *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645: 35); "Wien den 20. dito [July]", *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644: 31).

21 "Aus Wien vom 19. 29. Dito [July]", *Post/ Hamburger und Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645: 30); "Wien vom 24. Augusti", *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1644: 165).

22 Presents are exchanged in "Zeitung auß Wien/ vom 27. Aprilis/ 1644", *Relation Aller Fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644: 19); "Aus Wien 21.31. Augusti", *Post/ Hamburger und Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644: 37). Ensigns are presented in "Aus Wien vom 13. 23. Junii", *Post/ Hamburger und Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644: 28); "Ein anders auß Wien/ vom 5. April", untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1645: xvi).

23 "Prag/ den 6. 16. Aprilis", *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644: 33); "Iglaw vom 24. dito [May]", *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645: 107).

to György I as a helpful distraction on their enemy's southern border and did not need him to bolster their political legitimacy in the region. The one item of ceremonial news in these reports, therefore, does nothing to advance the political or diplomatic standing of the Transylvanian, but is merely a reference in a report from Berlin that discussions with György I would be suspended until after a feast.²⁴ As a result, the news of György I contains little reference to the demonstrations of wealth and power that ceremony could offer, and the prince himself seems considerably weaker as a result, more a pawn than a player. Despite how the legacies of Bethlen and György I may appear in the news, the end result of both princes' marches into Hungary were similar: both settled with the Emperor along the terms of the Peace of Nikolsburg, gaining the lands of some counties and concessions for the religious practices of the Protestants. However, because of the particular motivations of the reporting regions, Bethlen was the subject of not only twice as many news stories as György I, but also over five times more items of ceremonial news.

While György II experienced political consequences far more disastrous than the apathy that greeted his father's march on Hungary, he also benefited from ceremonial news from the embattled lands of Poland-Lithuania. Though references to ceremony only occur in 13% of the reports from the region, they nevertheless present the prince as a capable leader, as when he receives Cracow's key to the city and is described as a stately, humble and brave prince.²⁵ Additionally, the Transylvanian-Swedish alliance is highlighted in György II's hosting of the Swedish king at a banquet and the Transylvanian's presentation to his ally of fine horses and saddles.²⁶ News from the Baltic and the hereditary lands continued to emphasise this relationship with more gifts presented and the hosting of officers from both armies in Cracow.²⁷ Though György II's Polish

24 "Aus Berlin vom 3. 13. Januarii. 1645", *Post/ Hamburger und Reichs-Zeitung: Zu Num ... gehörige* (n.p., 1645: 1).

25 "Crakow vom 4. April", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657: 17); "Crakow vom 5. April", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657: 17).

26 "Eigentlicher und glaubwürdiger Bericht/ wann und wo Ihre Königl. Majest. zu Schweden rc. rc. sich mit des Herrn Ragotzi Hochfürstl. Durchl. in Pohlen conjungiret/ und was dabey vorgangen/ *sub dato* in dem Königl. Schwedischen Hauptquartier Zavichost den 6. Aprilis Anno 1657", *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657: 21); "Ein anders [Zawichost] vom 7. Dito [Apr.]", *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657: 21).

27 "Extract Schreibens aus Riga vom 10. 20. Dito [Apr.]", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Appendix* (Hamburg, 1657: 18); "Auß der Schlösien/ vom 24. April", *Relation Aller Fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1657: 18).

incursion would ultimately end in disaster, for a few months in 1657, he was represented as the capable leader of an army with strong allies.

Once again, the ceremony in the news from Vienna continued to concentrate on the diplomatic importance of the city, with general descriptions of ostentatious arrivals of envoys and gifts presented to the Emperor by György II.²⁸ However, there are also two references to a gift made to the prince by the Emperor, a portrait on a gold chain valued at 1,000 ducats, demonstrating a diplomatic relationship not as readily expressed when the Transylvanians were marching into Hungary.²⁹ With György II's return to Transylvania in disgrace, however, the laudatory ceremonies disappear. Though the election of two new princes was reported from Transylvania, these events are not characterised as a cause for celebration, but rather as demonstrations of the increasing weakening of the principality's autonomy. Therefore, no ceremonial occurrences are related with the news.

The German language newspapers offer an opportunity to examine a variety of perspectives on a particular subject, as news was communicated not only from the region where an event took place, but also in stories from the participants' allies and enemies. This diversity of perspective is, on the whole, beneficial for the subject of the news. In the case of the three Transylvanian princes considered here, the greater the breadth of reporting locations, the more likely it was that the prince would be described within the context of ceremonial events, associating him with greater prestige and power. Though the military exploits of György II Rákóczi led to a political nightmare for the principality of Transylvania, during the march into Poland he was still portrayed as a brave prince with strong allies backing him and military conquests under his belt because that is how the story was told by cities in Poland, Silesia and along the Baltic. György I Rákóczi's march into Hungary may have won concessions from the Emperor, but the only location to offer a large quantity of reports was Vienna, a city which was more likely to include ceremonial occurrences which glorified the Emperor than those which celebrated his Transylvanian

28 Envoys arrive in "Aliud ab eodem [Vienna 2 Oct.]", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658: 42); "Wien vom 2. 12. [Apr.]", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657: 17). György II gives the Emperor 12 fine horses in "Auß Wienn/ vom 18. Dito [Sept.]", *Ordinari Zeitung* (Munich, 1658: 39); "Aus Wien vom 17. Septemb", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658: 40); "Wien vom 28. Dito [Aug.]", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658: 37).

29 "Wien vom 20. 30. Jan", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Appendix* (Hamburg, 1657: 5); "Wien vom 8. 28. [sic] Dito [Jan.]", *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657: 5).

antagonist. By far the most celebrated prince of the three, Bethlen Gábor, was dignified with a great deal of ceremonial news not only because of the political and diplomatic successes of being elected king of Hungary and named godfather to the king of Bohemia's son, but also because the reporting regions of Hungary and Prague benefited from portraying each of these events in a grand manner, full of processions, presents and banquets.

Each of these diverse perspectives are displayed within the newspaper reports, and by following a story or subject, rather than a particular publication or city, these variations become more apparent. This method is particularly useful when examining a region, such as Transylvania, that rarely reported news of the adventures of its own princes, but can also lead to fruitful analyses of other, more popular topics. Reporting locations can offer information not only on changing infrastructure of news networks, but also serve as guides to interpreting variations within the content of the news stories.

The Venetian News Network in the Early Sixteenth Century: The Battle of Chaldiran

Chiara Palazzo

On 23 August 1514, after a long march across Turkey, the Ottoman army of Selim I finally encountered the Persian troops of Shah Ismail on the plain of Chaldiran, north-east of Lake Van, in present day northwestern Iran. It was the culmination of a great military campaign, successfully conducted by Selim: in Chaldiran, with the decisive support of the artillery, the Ottomans were able to defeat their enemy, opening their way to Tabriz.¹

Selim took Tabriz, though he later left the city and did not pursue his conquest of the Persian territories further; nevertheless, he prostrated Ismail's military power and established a border between Turkey and Iran that remains almost unchanged to this day.² The celebration of this triumph stands out in the copious poems on the life and deeds of Selim, yet the significance of Chaldiran was not so clear and simple to western observers in 1514.³ For a couple of months nothing was known in the West of what had happened, until, at the end of October, the news began to spread, initially in Venice and Rome, and then across Europe. Reconstructing the complex transit of information (and sometimes misinformation) regarding these events, what was said and unsaid, guessed or invented, divulged or covered up, allows us to investigate

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- 1 On Chaldiran see Michael J. McCaffrey, 'Çalderân' *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, [1990] <www.iranicaonline.org/articles/calderan-battle> [13/10/13]. For a broader background Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, 'L'apogée de l'Empire ottoman: les événements (1512–1606)', in *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed. Robert Mantran (Paris: Fayard, 1989), pp. 141–5. A detailed reconstruction of the battle can also be found in Mirella Galletti, 'Un dipinto della battaglia di Chaldiran in Sicilia', *Rivista Internazionale di studi afroasiatici*, 2 (2005), pp. 23–44.
 - 2 The harsh condition of the region and the rebellion of the Janissaries forced Selim to come back. But, as McCaffrey points out, 'the campaign ... was a success in that it curtailed for the moment the Safavid role in Anatolia and resulted in the Ottoman occupation of Diyarbakır and the subjugation of the Du'l-Qadr principality'. McCaffrey, 'Çalderân'.
 - 3 See Ahmet Uğur, *The Reign of Sultan Selim in the Light of the Selim-nâme Literature* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1985). See also the anonymous Italian poem discovered by Lippi in the Biblioteca Comunale of Treviso: Emilio Lippi, '1517: l'ottava al servizio del sultano', *Quaderni Veneti*, 34 (2001), pp. 49–88, and 'Per dominar il mondo al mondo nato. Vita e gesta di Selim I Sultano', *Quaderni Veneti*, 42 (2006), pp. 37–115.

the workings of the Venetian news network: one of the most complex and sophisticated European networks in the early sixteenth century.

In Rome the pope was certainly concerned about a possible Ottoman victory over Persia; the kingdom of Hungary was an interested observer too, owing to the closeness of its borders to the Turkish territories. But the Republic of Venice, because of its role in the early modern period as a bridge between East and proves to be the most useful observation point when investigating the circulation of this kind of news in the West: in the sixteenth century, information from the Levant coming through Venetian channels was highly regarded and requested by ambassadors and merchants all over Europe, and the diplomats of many courts, in spite of access to their own networks, often turned to Venice to validate news from the East before judging it reliable.⁴

Therefore, looking towards the Levant from the lagoon and starting from the battle of Chaldiran, we can reconstruct how foreign news moved through the Venetian Mediterranean network, how it travelled from the East through alternative routes, and how the information collected was then disseminated within Europe. Moreover, operations within the Venetian network at this time reveal a system where the communications infrastructure was in transit—thanks to the development of the postal network—and the language and practice of diplomacy in all the principal European courts was becoming standardised.⁵

This dynamic leads to further considerations: the circulation of news implies contacts, awareness of different realities, geographical and cultural reference points, the development of the collective imagination. One may wonder what kind of perception the Venetian public had of distant geographical and political realities such as Ismail's Persia, an East that was even more remote than Constantinople, and perceived as even further away than it actually was, due to lack of information. Where and how could news be gathered

4 On Venice as an information centre see Peter Burke, 'Early Modern Venice as a center of Information and Communication', in *Venice Reconsidered. The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, ed. John Martin, Dennis Romano (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 389–419. On Venice's bridging role, see Hans J. Kissling, 'Venezia come centro di informazioni sui Turchi', in *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV–XVI)*, *Aspetti, problemi*, vol. 1, ed. Hans Georg Beck, Manoussos Manoussacas, Agostino Pertusi (Florence: Olschki, 1977), pp. 97–109; R. Mantran, 'Venise centre d'informations sur le Turcs', also in *Venezia centro*, pp. 111–16. For a broader background see Maria Pia Pedani, *Venezia porta d'Oriente* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2010).

5 On mail services see Wolfgang Behringer, 'Communication Revolutions: a Historiographical Concept', *German History*, 24 (2006), pp. 333–74. On the expansion of the network of resident ambassadors see Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1955), pp. 51–76.

about these places? How long did it take to reach its destination? What did the public in squares and marketplaces actually come to know? And through which channels and media? The available sources allow us to observe how an item of Eastern news could circulate widely and how fascinating accounts of distant conflicts could become available, in Venice or in Rome, to anyone who bought a cheap pamphlet or even stopped to listen to verses recited by a *ciarlatano* or charlatan.

In 1514 the Roman diarist Sebastiano di Branca Tedallini wrote “Nello mese di agosto venne la nova in Roma come lo gran Turcho è gito a campo allo granne soffi in Persia e feceno fatto d’arme insieme; lo gran Turco fu rotto et morsero delle persone cento trenta milia et dello detto soffi morsero delle persone trenta ovvero quaranta milia” (“In August we have news in Rome that the Great Turk had declared war on the Great Sofi in Persia and they fought; the Great Turk was routed and 130,000 of his men died as well as 30,000 or even 40,000 of the Sofi’s army”).⁶ At first glance, these lines seem to allude to the battle of Chaldiran, except that they reverse the final outcome, attributing the victory and destruction of the enemy to Ismail (known as ‘the *Sofi*’ in western Europe). Is this a misunderstanding? It would have been impossible for Tedallini in Rome to hear real-time news of something that happened almost at the other end of the world. The combat reported by Tedallini was not that pitched battle and indeed probably never took place. In all likelihood the diarist was reporting an unreliable account that had reached Rome on 3 August, one of many that circulated in the West during the Ottoman advance across Persian territory, announcing what Christian Europe wanted to hear: a great victory over the Turks.⁷

That such an item was recorded, and turned out to be unfounded, is not particularly surprising. It is more significant, however, that Tedallini did not write a word about the later news of Chaldiran, though in Rome the fact did have resonance, eliciting comments, opposing opinions and interpretations. The absence of any reference to Chaldiran and to the actual conclusion of the Ottoman campaign is to some extent owing to the concise form of the diary; nevertheless, we will see that the peculiar routes and channels through which

6 Sebastiano di Branca Tedallini, *Diario Romano*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 23, pt. 3, ed. Paolo Piccolomini (Bologna: S. Lapi, 1911), p. 353.

7 Piccolomini, who edited Tedallini’s diary, relates the Roman record with a passage of Sanudo’s Venetian diary where a letter from Rome, dated 3 August, carried the news of 15,000 Turkish knights killed by the Persian troops, a piece of news that Tedallini reported ‘greatly exaggerated’. See Tedallini, *Diario Romano*, p. 275 and Marin Sanudo, *I diarii*, 58 vols. (Venezia: F. Visentini, 1879–1902), 18: 426.

news of the battle spread to the West managed substantially to complicate the understanding and interpretation of the event for the public in European cities.⁸

While Rome called for the Ottoman defeat, even distorting and exaggerating the successes of the Persian army, another Italian city closely monitored the development of the Ottoman campaign as no other court in Europe could. In the months leading up to Chaldiran, the Republic of Venice regularly received detailed accounts from the *bailo* in Constantinople, Niccolò Giustinian. He transmitted reports from his *dragomanno* Ali Bey, who was following the Turkish army; furthermore, he collected more news conversing with Ottoman pashas and using his network of informers both inside and outside Court.⁹ On several occasions the Republic could also rely on reports from Donado Da Lezze, *podestà* of Rovigo and a great expert on Levantine affairs. Thanks to his correspondence with the Armenian bishop in Cyprus, he was well informed about the developments of the political situation in the East and, with the help of a native of Vicenza, who had great experience of the territories the Ottoman army was now crossing, he was able to comment on the news and predict the Turk's next move.¹⁰

In spite of this complex of information channels, initially Venice could not have anything other than an approximate and contradictory picture of the decisive events in the campaign. A considerable stream of news reached Venice

8 Even in the East, however, the interpretation of this battle was not entirely unambiguous. Until the intervention of the Ottoman artillery the tide seemed to favour the Persians, who defeated the Ottoman left wing and attacked the centre, where Selim and his Janissaries were positioned. This phase of the combat was represented a century later, among the military glories of the Safavid Empire, in the frescoes of the Chehel Sotoun Palace in Isfahan (Iran), the new capital of the Empire. See Ingeborg Lushey-Schmeisser, 'Čehel Sotūn, Isfahan', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, <www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cehel-sotun> [26/10/13].

9 Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASVe), Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci (CCX), Lettere ambasciatori, busta 1, fos. 34–43.

10 See Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 56–61, 118–19, 221–3. Da Lezze's political career in the Venetian *Stato da Mar* and the Levant provided him with a deep knowledge of the Islamic world and an extensive network of relationships. See Giuseppe Gullino, 'Da Lezze, Donato', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* [1985] <[www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/donato-da-lezze_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/donato-da-lezze_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [26/10/13]. The other man, who was in contact with Da Lezze, was Zuan Maria Anzolello. He had been taken captive by the Turks during the siege of Negroponte (1470) and had taken part in Muhammad II's campaign against Uzun Hasan, *shah* of Persia (1472–4). See Franz Babinger, 'Angiolello (Degli Angiolelli), Giovanni Maria', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* [1961] <[www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-maria-angiolello_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-maria-angiolello_(Dizionario-Biografico))> [13/10/13].

during the months following the battle. However, the multiplicity of reports and their conflicting interpretations created an intricate and complicated tangle of rumours and writings spreading from one end of the Mediterranean to the other.

Though Venetian diplomatic documents from the first half of the sixteenth century are incomplete, we do possess consistent documentary evidence regarding Chaldiran.¹¹ Thanks to the diary of the Venetian nobleman Marin Sanudo, we have been able to recover part of the official correspondence between the Venetian representatives and the Senate (often with reports attached) and fill in the large gaps in the Archive. Many dispatches were transcribed either entirely or partially, together with extracts from merchant and private letters. Sanudo noted the arrival and departure date of each letter and sometimes provided some details about its route. His comments also indirectly recorded some oral accounts: conversations and rumours circulating in the city.¹²

This heterogeneous collection of supporting material provides quite a complete picture of the news directed towards Venice, of the speed at which it travelled and the hubs through which it passed. References in the letters allow us to follow the multiple streams of information originating from the event itself and to see how, at each hub, news items were gradually enriched, re-elaborated and channeled on to the next point. By this means we can obtain a schematic map of routes and times. Furthermore we can understand something of the convergence of these information channels and analyse the public's reception and consumption of news, the perception of both the political class and the ordinary people on the street.

Nevertheless, what can be derived from the documents recorded by Sanudo and the few remaining dispatches held in the Archives still raises significant questions. We find many different versions of events which disagree in many respects, and sometimes even on the crucial point of who actually won the battle. Indeed, while some sources report a Turkish triumph, others instead declare the *Sofi* victorious and suggest that Selim was trying to distort the real outcome of the battle by sending out messengers and couriers to celebrate a

11 In 1574 and 1577 extensive fires damaged the Doge's Palace and the chancellery where part of the official documents were stored. The dispatches of the Venetian ambassadors and representatives to the Senate produced in the first half of that century were almost entirely lost. Maria Francesca Tiepolo, 'Venezia' in Guida generale degli Archivi di Stato Italiani [1975] <www.maas.ccr.it/PDF/Venezia.pdf> [26/10/13].

12 On the structure of Sanudo's *Diarii* see Christiane Neerfeld, "*Historia per forma di Diaria*". *La cronachistica veneziana contemporanea a cavallo tra il Quattro e il Cinquecento* (Venice: Istituto Venezia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006), pp. 34–46.

false victory and spread false reports. The uncertainty persisted, in spite of the accumulation of information during the following months, and the impatience of those courts which usually depended on Venice for information regarding the East can clearly be perceived in official correspondence.¹³

Focusing on the documents concerning the last part of Selim's campaign (from July to December 1514) we can see that the news pouring into the network came from more than 30 different and widely dispersed observation points. They make up a branched web that spans across the Mediterranean basin, from the coasts of Syria and Egypt to Sicily, while also encompassing the Dalmatian coast and a few European cities such as Buda and Rome. The distribution and density of these outposts are fundamental: they characterise the network in different ways, enlarging or limiting the range of an item of news, affecting speed, completeness and reliability.

Constantinople played the key role in channelling the principal information flow: 22% of the news we can draw from available documents today come from there, first and foremost the Venetian *bailo's* dispatches.¹⁴ His letters followed three routes, often used concurrently: to ensure that his mail would arrive safely and on time, the *bailo* would entrust copies of the same letter to different couriers who then followed different itineraries.¹⁵

The first of these routes passed through Edirne, the valley of the Maritsa river, touching Filippopoli (Plovdiv) and Skopje, and then crossed the Plain of Kosovo to Pristina. From here the most difficult and impenetrable part of the route started, through Montenegro and the Albanian Alps directed towards Ragusa (Dubrovnik). The second route, to Corfu—another major hub of the Venetian network—passed through Rodosto (Tekirdag), Kavala, Thessaloniki, and Ioannina. The mail then reached Venice by sea, often making one or more stops at Ragusa or another port along the Dalmatian coast. More mail usually arrived at these coastal cities from the inland areas: this sometimes included the correspondence of the Venetian ambassador in Buda. Yet another possibility was to land in Otranto or Trani and follow the route to Venice via Naples

13 See e.g. the dispatches from Rome: ASVe, C CX, Lettere ambasciatori, busta 21, fos. 245, 249, 259, 261.

14 On the diplomatic role of the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople see Eric Dursteler, 'The Bailo in Constantinople: Crisis and Career in Venice's Early Modern Diplomatic Corps', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 16 (2001), pp. 1–25, and Carla Coco and Flora Manzonetto, *Baili Veneziani alla Sublime Porta. Storia e caratteristiche dell'ambasciata veneta a Costantinopoli* (Venice: Stamperia de Venezia, 1985).

15 Luciano De Zanche, 'Tra Costantinopoli e Venezia. Dispacci di Stato e lettere di mercanti dal basso Medioevo alla caduta della Repubblica', *Quaderni di storia postale*, 25 (2000), pp. 21–6.

and Rome. To guarantee a faster delivery of official mail a *brigantino* or a *gripo* often covered the last part of the journey (from Ragusa to Venice or from Corfu to Venice).¹⁶

Though mail services were not yet regular, the Venetians were able to supply their government with quite a systematic stream of news. From the end of the fifteenth century the Republic used the Courier Company of the Serenissima for their European connections; but for land routes to the Ottoman capital specific postal couriers were employed, generally Slavs, often coming from Montenegro.¹⁷ These travelled mainly on foot, covering 40, 50 and even 60 km a day. They were very well paid: in April 1514, for example, a courier received 40 ducats to deliver the *bailo's* letters to Venice, a good sum if you consider that the tariff from Venice to Rome in the 1530s was 10–12 ducats.¹⁸

Correspondence could also be transported on merchant ships and galleys. This third sea route passed through Gallipoli and Chio, then coasted Morea, touched on Zante and Cephalonia and joined the second route at Corfu. Extant documents allow us to track the journey of one of these galleys, loaded with a cargo of cured meats, which also carried correspondence to Venice: it set sail from Constantinople on 17 November and reached Corfu just 20 days later—its arrival was recorded in a Venetian dispatch from the island. It finally reached Venice on 28 December, delivering official and mercantile correspondence, taking 41 days in all.¹⁹ The Venetian *bailo* normally wrote to Venice twice a month. His letters took about 30 days, or a little longer in good weather, but could take over twice as long in winter (40 to 90 days, or even more) when roads became impassible due to snow, and navigation was reduced or stopped altogether.²⁰

But diplomatic correspondence from Constantinople was not the only relevant source for news relating to Selim's campaign. Another important flow originated in Iskenderun, on one of the more commonly used trade routes to Tabriz. From here it reached the Syrian cities of Aleppo and Damascus where large Venetian communities resided. These were usually reliable sources: at that time they were particularly attentive to the situation as they feared that

16 Zanche, 'Tra Costantinopoli'.

17 See Bonaventura Foppolo, 'Introduzione', in *Mariogola della Compagnia dei Corrieri della Serenissima*, ed. Tarcisio Bottani, Wanda Taufer (Bergamo: Corponove editrice, 2001), pp. 13–45.

18 De Zanche, 'Tra Costantinopoli' (2000), pp. 21–6. ASVe, CCX, Lettere ambasciatori, busta 1. fo. 40; ASVe, Compagnia dei Corrieri Veneti, busta 3, fo. 25.

19 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 129, 349, 377.

20 On transit times see De Zanche, 'Tra Costantinopoli', p. 25.

Selim could divert his path and head towards Syria.²¹ From the Syrian coast the information headed to Cyprus, where news collected by Venetian merchant communities in Egypt also converged. Then, en route to Venice, other minor branches joined the main flow from Rhodes and Crete, from Constantinople—by sea—or from Greece and the Ionian Islands. Finally the entire flow reached an intersecting point in Corfu joining the aforementioned current from Constantinople.

Though the network of outposts hosting Venetian diplomatic representatives can be considered the essential architecture of the news flow, the collaboration of merchant networks simultaneously operating within the same territory should not be underestimated. As the documents regarding Chaldiran demonstrate, we have an increasing flow of information from the East thanks to circuits other than those of diplomacy, and a high degree of permeability between diplomatic and mercantile information. Ambassadors and representatives of the Republic often included merchant news in their dispatches and, as we move eastward, these insertions became more frequent. Diplomatic observation points became rarer and rarer and the lack of official and reliable sources led the Venetian authorities to seek additional validations and comparisons, thus involving other observers and other perspectives (the Syrian inland cities, for example), which often reported the same news item, transformed and mutated by its passage through different channels and different opinions. In these cases we have a perceptible fragmentation of sources, which was unlikely to occur in the more consolidated areas of the network, and this affected the quality of information received. During the months after the battle of Chaldiran, practically every ship, mariner or merchant travelling from the East to the Mediterranean could have collected and imparted his version of events, either as an eyewitness or because he had heard rumours or the testimony of witnesses, and many such reports, in the absence of more reliable sources, became part of the information evaluated by the Venetian government.

Venetian dispatches and merchant letters, therefore, abounded in references to oral sources, speeches, conversations, the accounts of witnesses and reports from crews. In a dispatch from Corfu, for example, a crew coming from Cyprus was the source of news reporting the Turkish rout and that crew, in turn, had heard the news from another ship from Rhodes. The other dispatches from the island often mentioned the reports of couriers, opinions of patricians, unspecified voices from Rhodes and Morea, and even what seems to have been a quarrel between a Christian merchant and a Turk, the former convinced that

21 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 64.

the Ottoman victory was a lie and the 'infidel' instead insisting that Selim had certainly won.²²

If we limit ourselves to analysing information concerning the pitched battle, we can briefly reconstruct the circulation of news from the first announcement of a Turkish victory in Venice, at the end of October 1514, to February 1515, when all the principal Venetian outposts in the Mediterranean and across Europe had issued their communications and the Ottoman victory was considered verified.

Selim's letters from the battlefield took 37 days to reach Constantinople where the Venetian *bailo* promptly sent a dispatch on the route to Corfu and a copy on the route to Ragusa.²³ In spite of the letters and the words of the couriers, the *bailo* gave no credit to the news of the victory. Trusting reports provided by his informers in Constantinople, he wrote instead that the Turks were hiding the truth and, consequently, their declaration was not reliable.

Eighteen days later, news of the victory in Chaldiran reached Ragusa, reported by Ottoman couriers bringing letters from the Sultan addressed to the Senate of that city. The Venetian *provveditore*, who commanded the fleet in Ragusa, immediately sent a dispatch to Venice, based on the Ottoman messengers' words alone, as the *bailo's* letter had not yet arrived. Consequently, he reported as "the most certain news" that the Sultan had crushed the Persians in a ferocious battle: "È stà grandissima strage da una parte e l'altra, e morto uno bassà dil signor turcho et altri sanzachi; siché ha auto etiam il turcho una gran streta, ma è restà vincitor unde ha mandato [messeggeri] a tutti quelli lochi soi a far festa" ("It was a terrible massacre for both armies, an Ottoman *bassà* and other *sanzachi* died; thus the Turk suffered a great assault, but at the end he won and sent [messengers] to all his territories to celebrate").²⁴

²² Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 223–5.

²³ A copy of the *bailo's* letter has survived in ASVe, CCX, Lettere ambasciatori, busta 1, fo. 46. Previously, on 14 October, another dispatch, dated 7 September, had arrived in Venice. The *bailo* wrote that the *sofiani* had lured the *bilarbei* of Anatolia into an ambush with part of the Turkish army, and they had defeated him. The bulk of the two armies were, however, to face each other on the banks of a river that is identified as the Euphrates, but is actually the Aras. This story could seem to be a fragment of the battle of Chaldiran, where the *bilarbei* of Anatolia did actually die at the head of the Ottoman army's right wing. Nevertheless, according to the *bailo's* report, the pitched battle, that would decide the fate of the campaign, had not yet occurred. On 13 September indeed, in a subsequent dispatch, the *bailo* wrote that there was nothing to report: the Turkish army remained encamped at the same place and likewise the *Sofi's* troops. Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 129–30, 209.

²⁴ Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 183.

This dispatch reached Venice on 31 October, taking 14 days and was the first piece of news on Chaldiran, arriving 69 days after the event. This same news item was also transmitted from Ragusa to Rome, where the Venetian ambassador could attach a copy of Selim's letter to his dispatch.²⁵ The *bailo's* dispatch from Constantinople, by contrast, which repudiated the Turkish victory, took 24 days to reach Corfu. It was promptly re-addressed to Venice, but the official mail reached the lagoon only 19 days later, noticeably preceded by letters sent the same day by business partners of the Aurami family, a merchant family residing in Venice. The letters reported that Selim had won a great victory and that he had "dressed our *bailo* and other merchants in gold".²⁶ These letters, confirming what the Republic had already learned from Ragusa and Rome, were also read in the Senate.²⁷

Giustinian's letter finally arrived in the lagoon on 12 November. Until that moment the 'most certain news' about Chaldiran was only from Turkish sources, and therefore a skeptical attitude was quite understandable: Selim certainly wanted to convey a triumphant image of his campaign to the West. Venetian skepticism was also justified because of the conflicting news that had been circulating during the previous months. News of a Turkish retreat had been repeatedly reported in June, and again in August and September, in letters from Corfu, Constantinople and Cyprus, with different accounts of a battle fought in the first days of July or in mid-August; one also included the account of an eye witness, a young Ottoman slave.²⁸

The hypothesis that Selim had not won, and that he was only 'acting out' a victory was further strengthened when, on 21 November (90 days after the battle), a ship from Cyprus with a cargo of wheat delivered letters from the Venetian merchant communities in Syria.²⁹ We know of these letters only through Sanudo's brief reference to them, nevertheless it is enough to know that they reported whispers of a Persian, not Ottoman, victory; furthermore they show that some information about Chaldiran had at last reached Syrian outposts. Two days later, a letter from Francesco Foscari, the Venetian captain in Zara, reached Venice, reporting news from a caravel from Parga which had passed through Lepanto: while news of Selim's victory was being publicly

25 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 210.

26 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 212.

27 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 220.

28 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 129–30, 160, 175–6.

29 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 276.

celebrated, rumours were secretly circulating about his defeat.³⁰ More dispatches from Constantinople came at the end of November and, in spite of the reports recently received in the Ottoman capital which confirmed Selim's victory, the *bailo* remained convinced that the Sultan was trying to hide his embarrassing rout from the West, and especially from the neighbouring kingdom of Hungary.³¹ Significantly, it was only on 14 November that the events of Chaldiran were mentioned in the letters of the Venetian ambassador in Buda: however, those letters did not throw any light on the real outcome of the battle.³²

On 3 December more letters from Damascus and Aleppo arrived in Venice on merchant galleys: the Ottoman defeat was reported as certain, though no specific descriptions were given.³³ In a letter from Aleppo dated 7 October, merchant Girolamo Dandolo wrote to the *luogotenente* in Cyprus:

fin qui non habiamo auto nova niuna che i siano stati a le man; ma per quello si dize di qui, per Mori, che loro è stati a le man a dì 30 del pasato, perché in quel zorno di qui fu una gran combustion di tempo e di polvere e di rozesa di ajere, tal che tutti dicono loro esser stati alle man quel zorno; ma per esser zorni 20 de camin de qui dove i sono ancora, non se ha potuto haver la nuova, e poi in quella sera medema fu visto, e mi viti, una cometa levarsi di ajere da la volta di Turchia, e andò cussì caminando per ajere verso el paese del Suffi per mexi tre di longo, dove niun pol pensar altramente salvo el turco li è sta roto.³⁴

(till now we have had no news of combat, but according to the Moors, the battle was last month on the 30th, because on that day a big cloud of red dust was seen in the air, so that everybody said they were fighting, but the place where they were is a twenty-day walk from here, so we could have no news yet. However, that same evening a comet was seen, and I saw it, rising in the air towards Turkey, and coming to the Sofi's reign, so that everybody thinks the Turk had been destroyed.)

Red dust and a comet: these were apparently the best sources of news available at that stage, from a Syrian observatory 45 days after the fact.

30 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 282. The letter transcribed by Sanudo was addressed to the captain's brother, but is highly probable that Foscari sent the same news at the same time to the Republic.

31 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 287.

32 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 320.

33 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 303–5.

34 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 303.

Between January and May 1515 only merchant letters from Iskenderun and Damascus insisted on Ismail's victory as an established fact, but the *luogotenente* in Cyprus, who handled mail from Syria, clearly dissented from this version. By that time almost all other reports confirmed the Ottoman victory, although with attempts to underplay its importance.³⁵ Nonetheless, all doubt was still not completely dispelled because, on 2 June, Sanudo writes in his diary about a report brought on a ship from Corfu telling of a terrible rout suffered by the Ottomans and about 15,000 Turks killed by the Persian troops.³⁶

Therefore, we can identify two principal flows of news from the East to Venice: the first, fed by the words of Ottoman couriers and Selim's letters, travelled from Constantinople towards Ragusa by land, or to Corfu on the route to Joannina; the second came from Syria, by sea, passing through Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete and Morea, and finally joined the first one in Corfu. We must bear in mind that these two channels did not travel separately, but sometimes crossed at various Mediterranean hubs: Crete and Rhodes, for example, not only received news from Syrian sources, the most confused and imaginative, but were also connected to branches of the flow of news from Constantinople by sea, which carried more reliable information. Conflicting interpretations of the facts were channeled into these two currents: essentially the Ottoman defeat was reported by Syrian cities and echoed in some Venetian sea outposts. On the other hand, in land outposts (in spite of the skepticism expressed by the *bailo* in the first months) the version carried by Selim's messengers was given more credit.

Nevertheless, the difficulties in understanding the battle that emerge from these documents do not seem to have been caused by a lack of ability in gathering news (owing to the huge geographical distance between where the facts occurred and where news was collected). Rather, the issue seems to be one of interpretation. In other words, news about Chaldiran channeled through the Venetian network was, on the whole, abundant and detailed, but each person who received and transmitted it added different interpretations and conclusions. The intent was not necessarily manipulative: it rather expressed the intrusion of a desired result introduced into the void in space and time that necessarily existed between the plain of Chaldiran and the lagoon, between single items of news and their deferred receipt.

It was thus possible to deny an outcome which was unfavourable for Europe, and to preserve the idea—deeply rooted in Venice as well as in Rome—of

35 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 349, 376–8, 440–1, 447–50, 463–5; 20: 47–9.

36 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 20: 247–8. Curiously this account seems to be quite similar to the one heard by Tedallini, about a year earlier.

a Christian alliance with Persia against the common Ottoman enemy.³⁷ This project, encouraged by Ismail's almost unbelievable victories in the first years of the sixteenth century, would have certainly faded if it had been confirmed that the "miraculous" *Sofi's* army had been totally destroyed by Selim's artillery. Repeated requests from Pope Leo X for precise information, reported in the Venetian ambassador's dispatches from Rome, reveal the need to answer a crucial question: could Ismail be still considered as a useful ally?³⁸

The kingdom of Hungary also requested clarifications from the Republic: at the end of February King Ladislaus complained that the Serenissima had not informed him about Ismail's victory and had only communicated it to the pope when it had finally been confirmed. This recrimination, first of all, demonstrates that at the end of February the Hungarian Court had no clear idea about what had happened in Chaldiran. But, above all, the Venetian reply to the king's question sounds significant: on 31 March 1515, more than seven months after the battle, the Venetian Senate, writing to its ambassador in Buda, denied transmitting that news to the pope, and furthermore asserted that the outcome of the battle had still to be clarified.³⁹ In other words, at the end of March Venice could not (or did not wish to) express an explicit opinion about the battle.

However, to fully understand this disconcerting and unresolved question—who won at Chaldiran—we must consider the context and the almost mythical image of the *Sofi* that had been created in the West, a vision that Europe was particularly reluctant to abandon. As the antagonist of the Turk, the 'Persian' had gradually assumed positive Christian-like features. Perhaps the most relevant point was the reputation of his army, an ancient mythical cavalry still fighting with swords and scimitars, which by then had been compromised by the widespread use of 'cowardly' fire-arms on battlefields. The Ottomans' use of artillery in Chaldiran was repeatedly mentioned in Venetian letters, pointing out that without it Selim would have not been able to win.⁴⁰

37 See Giorgio Rota, *Under two lions: on the knowledge of Persia in the Republic of Venice* (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2009), pp. 26–38.

38 ASVe, CCX, Lettere ambasciatori, busta 21, fo. 32.

39 ASVe, Senato, Secreta, Registro 46, fos. 107v–108r.

40 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 232–3, 378, 449. See also Giampiero Bellingeri, 'Venezia, uno specchio, la ruggine. Perifrasi repubblicane intorno agli imperi ottomano e safavide', in *Semantiche dell'Impero Atti del Convegno della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere*, ed. Aldo Ferrari (Naples: ScriptaWeb, 2009), pp. 57–83; Bellingeri, 'Il nemico del nemico: gesta turche, conflitti correligionari, spaesati ideali cavallereschi', in *Il nemico necessario. Duelli al sole e in ombra tra le parole e il sangue*, ed. Alberto Camerotto, Riccardo Drusi (Padua: Sargon, 2011), pp. 161–96.

Consequently, it is inevitable that Venetian accounts would conform, more or less consciously, to this deep-rooted and pre-existing collective imagination, whereby the Persians, seen as enemies of the enemy, were almost relieved of the usual epithet of 'infidel' and on the brink of being assimilated to Christians. In this light, the tenacity with which the *Sofi's* defeat was rejected, and even transformed into a victory by some, appears more reasonable; when victory was finally ascribed to the Sultan denial was replaced with a sort of silent assent.

While the Republic was trying to understand what exactly had happened in Chaldiran, and was cautiously weighing the information conveyed to other courts which were waiting for a definitive conclusion, the larger public that crowded the squares, marketplaces and ports of the city was also receiving news of the same events. The documents examined up to now were not completely inaccessible to this wider public: aside from those engaged in politics, a broader portion of the public was able to read many of the letters sent by merchant and private individuals from Constantinople, Cyprus and Syria, and could hear the rumours and reports from mariners circulating in the 'universal' marketplace of Rialto.⁴¹ They could also hear, read or buy a pamphlet: at the beginning of the sixteenth century, hand-written and printed 'copies of letters' circulated widely among people of different social levels, and even an illiterate audience could hear current news in the rhymed compositions of charlatans, often as chivalric poems in *ottava rima*.⁴² In the first years of the war of the League of Cambrai, for example, one Venetian merchant would attach rhymed compositions to letters addressed to his brother in Syria to give him some news ('*nove*') about what was happening in the Venetian *Terraferma*.⁴³ This kind

41 See ch. 32, above.

42 On rhymed compositions see Chiara Palazzo, 'Nuove d'Europa e di Levante. Il network veneziano dell'informazione agli inizi dell'Età Moderna (1490–1520)', PhD thesis (Università Ca' Foscari, Venice, 2012), 297–300; Amedeo Quondam, 'Materiali per un nuovo cantiere documentario e testuale', in *Guerre in ottava rima*, vol. 1, ed. Marina Beer, Donatella Diamanti, Cristina Ivaldi (Modena: F.C. Panini, 1989), pp. 7–16; and Raymund Wilhelm, *Italienische Flugschriften des Cinquecento (1500–1550). Gattungsgeschichte und Sprachgeschichte* (Tübingen: Walter De Gruyter, 1996). On the professional figure of the charlatan see Rosa Salzberg, 'The lyre, the pen and the press: performers and cheap print in Cinquecento Venice', in *The Books of Venice. Il libro Veneziano*, ed. Lisa Pon and Craig Kallendorf (Newcastle, DE, and Venice: Oak Knoll Press, 2008), pp. 251–76; Massimo Rospocher and Rosa Salzberg, 'El vulgo zanza: Voci, spazi, pubblici a Venezia durante le guerre d'Italia', *Storica*, 14.48 (2010), pp. 83–120.

43 Giuseppe Dalla Santa, 'Commerci, vita privata e notizie politiche dei giorni della Lega di Cambrai', *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti*, 76 (1916–17), p. 1597.

of text however was not exclusively appreciated by the common people: patricians often attended charlatan readings and recitals, and read or bought their verses.⁴⁴

Printed news pamphlets were heterogeneous in form but had some recognisable features in common: they were made up of a few leaves (usually no more than eight, but more likely six or four), printed on poor quality paper, the title page was often decorated with a woodcut, and they were conceived for instant and immediate consumption. Moreover, they were very cheap (between two and eight *denari piccoli*): according to Sanudo, in 1518 one *denaro piccolo* (a *bagattin*) was the price of a *traghetto* to cross the *Canal Grande*.⁴⁵ From the second half of the sixteenth century the production of printed letters and newsletters increased, whereas versified accounts of news became rarer. Some rhymed compositions on current events still circulated, but they were elaborated texts for the entertainment of a select cultured audience who were also kept up-to-date by other means.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, when news of Chaldiran arrived, copies of letters and charlatan's rhymes were still considered information media, and if not equivalent, at least comparable.

In 1514, while the *bailo* of Constantinople informed the Republic that Selim had not won and the Ottoman celebrations were to be considered fictitious, in a square, perhaps in Venice or in Rome, the voice of a charlatan announced to his audience that they were about to listen to "*The rout of the Turk by the Great Sofi in Calamania, a province near the Castle of Lepo, and the death of the great Turk, the death of the Sofi, and battles fought by sea and land*".⁴⁷ A little later an

44 In May 1518, for example, Sanudo attended the performance of a charlatan and accurately described it in a passage of his diary. Sanudo, *Diarii*, 25: 391.

45 The approximate cost of a pamphlet can be deduced from the systematic annotations by Herman Colón (son of Christopher Columbus) for the books purchased for his library. Nowadays the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville preserves the largest European collection of this kind of publication dating back to the first half of the sixteenth century. See Palazzo, *Nuove d'Europa*, pp. 313–4 and *Catalogo dei libri a stampa in lingua italiana della Biblioteca Colombina di Siviglia*, ed. Klaus Wagner, Manuel Carrera (Modena: Panini, 1991). For the comparison see Marino Sanudo, *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis Venetae, ovvero La città di Venetia (1493–1530)*, ed. A. Caracciolo Aricò (Venezia, 2011), p. 51.

46 Rospocher and Salzberg, 'El vulgo', pp. 104–5.

47 Perosino della Rotonda, *La Rotta del Turcho Recepta del Gran Sophy in Calamania Prouincia canto a Lepo Castello Et la morte del gran Turcho et del Sophy et le battaglie fatte per mare et per terra Nel M.D.Xiii a di xvii di Junio*. Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina (Seville), 6.3.30.(45), USFC 847553. The output of this charlatan suggests that, in this period, he was active in both cities. See Maria José Bertomeu, 'Una relación en verso de Perosino della Rotonda: la rotta del Turcho recepta del Gran Sophi in Calamania', *Cartaphilus*, 7–8 (2010), pp. 79–80.

unspecified Roman printer published a Latin leaflet, which summarised the Ottoman campaign and the battle of Chaldiran.⁴⁸ These reports, both containing quite extensive narrations of the battle, still survive in two printed pamphlets: the first is a *cantare in ottava*, by a charlatan named Perosino della Rotonda, probably composed when the news first spread in the West.⁴⁹ The second, in contrast, is a humanistic letter sent by 'Henricus Penia', perhaps a member of the Accademia Coryciana in Rome, to cardinal Bandinello Sauli, and probably printed in Rome in January 1515.⁵⁰ These short publications need to be contextualised within a broader output regarding Persia. In the first 20 years of the sixteenth century the catalogue of Italian publications attests to least ten pamphlets regarding the *Sofi*, and considering the perishable nature of such papers there must have been many more.⁵¹ In the majority of these texts information does not seem to be the main purpose. More than current news, they tend to narrate anecdotes about the *Sofi*, his miraculous conquests and his virtues which are likened to the Christian virtues: Ismail is depicted destroying mosques and preserving churches, adoring the Cross, eating pork and drinking wine as Christians do. He is described as liberal, just and also divinely inspired because his soldiers could perform superhuman feats such as digging through a mountain which was blocking their way by sheer strength.⁵²

But, even if events and battles could be coloured with fabulous features, and quite freely adapted to an anti-Ottoman perspective, the narration had to cite

48 *Henricus Penia ad reueren. car. de Saulis De gestis Sophi contra Turcas*, c. 1514, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, PALAT. Misc. 1.D.13.17, USTC 847426.

49 Perosino was a professional charlatan. He wrote many other rhymed texts on current events: military episodes of the war in Italy or against the Turks, the great Rialto fire (1514) or the enthronement ceremony of Pope Leo X. See Bertomeu, 'Una relación', pp. 79–80.

50 We know almost nothing about the author of this *epistola*: 'Penia' is presumably an academic pseudonym and there are no other titles attributed to him. See Palazzo, 'Nuove d'Europa', pp. 133–5. His text, however, was a resounding success: it was reproduced in a pamphlet printed in Basel in 1515 by Johannes Froben, together with other epistles, and dedicated to Leo X: *Iani Damiani ... De expeditione in Turcas Elegeia*. USTC 644881, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (BNM), Misc. 1878. 002. Later it was also included in the *Historia Rerum persicarum* by Pietro Bizzari, published in Frankfurt, in 1601. BNM D 194D 032.

51 'Edit 16 censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo' <editi6.iccu.sbn.it> [25/2/14]. Moreover, we should also consider the production of handwritten material, which probably accounted for a considerable amount. See e.g. the '*Sonetto fatto per Sophi*' transcribed in Sanudo, *Diarii*, 7: 176.

52 See *Ad serenissimum & illustrissimum Venetotum [!] principem dominum d. Leonardum lauredanum Ioannes rota physicus* [after 26 August 1504] BNM Misc. 1096. 009, fos. 1v, 3r, 4v. See also *Copia d'una lettera nuovamente mandata al serenissimo duce di Vinegia della secta del Sophy & de suoi gesti*, c. 1514. Biblioteca Palatina di Parma sbn CNCE013210, USTC 801995.

an authoritative source, a trustworthy author, or at least had to have a realistic form and an abundance of detail. In the majority of these products the marvellous dimension, innate in the collective western image of the Levant, coexists with a strong political message. Consequently depictions of the *Sofi*, whether in pamphlets, dispatches or merchant letters, always tried to narrow the gap between Persians and Christians, legitimising the alliance.

Reading Perosino's pamphlet it seems quite clear that the author knew very little about the facts. He had probably heard a current account of Chaldiran and decided to fill in what he did not know with invention, while being careful to create the impression of a truthful and detailed narration. He devised a mixture of imaginary elements (such as a naval combat that seems to have never occurred during Selim's campaign, and even the death of both the Sultan and the *Sofi*) supported by more realistic descriptions. The geographical coordinates are vague, sometimes fantastic or inconsistent and the date is inaccurate (17 June).⁵³ Nevertheless, the narration of the pitched battle is recognisable even if some crucial details are altered: for example, according to Perosino the Persian artillery launched the first attack, while in actual fact there were no Persian cannons at Chaldiran while the Ottoman artillery was decisive in Selim's victory.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the charlatan's song, even if 'imaginative' in some parts, was not merely a form of entertainment: to an extent it was also a mode of news communication. Perosino was giving *news* to an audience that, first of all, expected to be informed and was growing used to daily contact with fresh news about current events. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the informative function of versified news was still seen as fundamental, and many charlatans like Perosino presented themselves as professionals of information, always on the lookout for news. They attracted their audience by assuring the truth and 'freshness' of their reports and stressing their speed in communicating them.⁵⁵

53 For example a mountain called 'Zolfolonia' is mentioned, located close to the river Euphrates. The name 'Calimania' instead indicates the province of Karamania, but this region is on the southern coast of Anatolia and it has no connection with the area where the events took place. This also applies to 'Lepo', probably Aleppo, in Syria. Bertomeu, 'Una relación', pp. 85, 86.

54 "El gran Sophi non cura de molesti,/comando fe' che tutta se scharchasse/l'artigliaria ch'aveva dal suo lato,/così fu il facto d'arme incominciato". Bertomeu, 'Una relación', p. 86.

55 In *La Rotta dei Franciosi a Terroana* (an anonymous pamphlet about the English siege of Terouanne, in the summer of 1513) the author points out, among the difficulties inherent in his profession, the obligation to pay constant attention to news coming out "by the hour", a necessary task because, if he did not do so, his news would be of no interest to the public and his audience would accuse him of being a "narrator of old things". USTC 800438; see also Palazzo, 'Nuove d'Europa', pp. 338–9.

In Perosino's verses the *Sofi* won at Chaldiran; just as in Venice many people still believed this when the pamphlet was printed. Though doubted, this version of the facts had not yet been disproved, and, moreover, it was the most desirable outcome from a Venetian perspective. It is significant that the charlatan reports, almost literally, the same opinion as the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople regarding the Ottoman manipulation of the news to hide a disastrous defeat: even though the Turks spread the word of their victory across Christendom—writes Perosino—their deceit is not believed, they suffered innumerable casualties and, if Christian kingdoms were to join forces, they would destroy the Ottomans definitively.⁵⁶

It was a particularly appropriate argument at that moment when, in Rome, Pope Leo X was promoting another anti-Ottoman crusade. The charlatan therefore stages a dramatic conversion of the *Sofi* directly on the battlefield. When the Shah realises that his army is losing the battle, he begins to pray to God Father and Saviour, apologises for not having been a good Christian and promises to baptise all his people. Only then, in the name of the "True God", does he win.⁵⁷

While Perosino's audience listened to this account, the more select public which read the printed *epistola* addressed to cardinal Sauli obtained information about the same events and also read a brief reconstruction of the entire military campaign. In the *epistola* the battle of Chaldiran is correctly located, geographically and chronologically: in Persia, at a ford across the Aras river, on the route to Khoy, on August 23.⁵⁸ The deployment of troops and the dynamic of the battle are faithfully described but, even if the Ottoman victory is not denied, the author underlines some details to transform it into a qualified success. First of all, the Turks were badly equipped, so that the Persian cavalry could easily crush them in the first attack and only the artillery obliged the Persians to retreat.⁵⁹ Secondly, Penia, the author of the *epistola*, guaranteed that the Persian army was able to recover. Eight days after the battle Ismail organised a night-time 'raid' on Selim's tent in an attempt to kill him: the raid failed but the Sultan was obliged to beat a hasty retreat.⁶⁰

56 "Per benché loro nelli christian paesi/mandaro a dire che havean la victoria,/ma tal gierrhone [sic] non son da noi intesi/ ... /Se li christiani se unissero infra loro/mo che non anno più forza né ardire/senza operare troppa arme né thesoro/faria li turchi a nostra fe venire". Bertomeu, 'Una relación', p. 88.

57 Bertomeu, 'Una relación', p. 87.

58 *Henricus Penia*, fo. 4r-v.

59 *Henricus Penia*, fo. 5r.

60 *Henricus Penia*, fos. 5v-6r.

Curiously, a report from Iskenderun, dated 12 November and attached to an official dispatch from Cyprus, pointed to a similar episode: during the battle four Turkish soldiers deserted and proposed to kidnap Selim and deliver him to the *Sofi*. When they arrived at the tent however, they found the Sultan guarded by his Janissaries. Aware he was in danger, Selim ordered his men to open fire, although the battle was in full course and he would inevitably also hit some of his own men.⁶¹

Penia was certainly better informed than Perosino, whose partly fictitious narration for street consumption used fragments of information on a clash between Persians and Ottomans recently fought in a distant corner of the world. Penia's account instead draws, as he points out, on a report from one of Selim's messengers sent from the battlefield, and from the letters that he carried, specifically addressed to the Republic.⁶² Penia supplies his readers with a particularly precise account, yet his description is quite different from those letters: it is closer to Venetian sources, and more fitting for an interpretation suited to European readers. Penia's work had a precise first addressee and his message needed to be in tune with the Roman academic context and the papal court. The author of the *epistola* therefore does not deny the Ottoman victory, yet neither does he clearly state the outcome of the battle: at Chaldiran the Persians retreated under Ottoman fire, but he immediately plays down the retreat by referring to the attack on the Sultan's tent which shows Selim in retreat, information probably taken from a source related to the Syrian report from Cyprus.

Two pamphlets therefore, composed in very different *milieux*, in different languages (in the vernacular and Latin), presumably addressed to a different public and published at different times, reported two versions of the same news item and provided information of a different quality. Yet they played a similar role and actually suggested the same political message: the Turks had been defeated or weakened, and it was time for the West to attack.

There was, however, surely more to these reports than political or strategic wish-fulfillment. These accounts of distant peoples and unknown places, whether real or invented, were in any case fascinating and stimulated audiences in European cities to be more aware of those peoples and countries, to

61 Sanudo, *Diarii*, 19: 447. This report seems to merge a story similar to that heard by Penia, with the description of the crucial phase of the battle of Chaldiran, when Ismail's cavalry attacked the Ottoman centre, where the Sultan was protected by a wall of cannons and Janissaries.

62 "... his gestis Selimus nuntios alterum ad filium hadrianopolim alterum ad nostram destinat rempublicam a quo ego omnia superius scripta praesens accepi". *Henricus Penia*, f. 5v.

situate them on a mental map, and to feel those stories as more concrete and contemporary with their own lives. The case of the battle of Chaldiran demonstrates how Persia seems to have moved noticeably closer in the perception of western observers during the second decade of the sixteenth century. In those lands, traditionally the settings for marvellous tales rather than news, something crucial was happening, something that could have serious repercussions for Christian Europe.⁶³

In February 1506, the Venetian merchant and diarist Girolamo Priuli declared, reporting news regarding the *Sofi*, that though it would in fact be necessary it was impossible to know the real truth of those events, “because they had occurred in countries too remote”.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, analysing the spread of news from Chaldiran, we do not have the impression of knowledge clouded by distance; it is rather an over-interpretation of the available data.

Sixty-nine days elapsed before news of the battle fought in Persia reached Venice: not too much time considering, as we have seen, that correspondence from Constantinople seldom took less than a month even during the favourable season. But the point is that more than seven months had passed before the veracity of that news could be unequivocally and definitively determined. An extended network covering the Levant and Mediterranean areas was involved in transmitting news about Selim’s campaign, while European outposts played a marginal role even when they were directly involved (the kingdom of Hungary, for instance). European observers seemed to be waiting for news rather than providing it. Venetian diplomatic and merchant networks cooperated, and indeed merchant news was sometimes faster than diplomatic dispatches and no less reliable. While an abundant and mixed flow of news reached the political centre in a relatively short time, these items produced a clamour of dissonant voices. The substance of the communication was unclear. There were no reliable observers on-site, because the diplomatic network did not stretch beyond Constantinople or Aleppo. Moreover, only voices and accounts of fortuitous witnesses could be gathered alongside Selim’s letters and his messengers’ words. Therefore, the problem was not the lack of news, but an overflow of uncertain reports that were difficult to verify. For this reason Venice released the information it collected with extreme caution: in communications with other courts the Republic neither confirmed nor denied the news of the Ottoman victory, for as long as this reticence was possible.

63 In 1502, the first accounts about Ismail’s conquests had been considered precisely like “fabule et insomnij noturni”: fables and unfounded night dreams. Girolamo Priuli, *Diari*, vol. 2, ed. Roberto Cessi, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1933), p. 226.

64 Priuli, *Diari*, 2: 404.

Certainly, the Venetians were hardly anxious to validate such an unfavourable piece of news: victory implied further enlargement of the Ottoman Empire and greater pressure on the borders of Christendom. Moreover, a Turkish triumph could affect Venetian commerce in the East and, even if the Republic had more pressing military problems in its own territory at that moment, because of the war of the League of Cambrai, the oriental market was still crucial to its economy.

As we have seen, the news of Chaldiran underwent considerable modifications during its journey westward, obscuring the facts to a point where the truth became indistinguishable. Venice was able to control the political information addressed to the European courts, delaying a ratification of Selim's victory. Moreover, by avoiding a clear position on the credibility of the Ottoman news, the Republic allowed doubts and alternative versions to persist, versions better suited to the interests of the pope and Christian Europe. Consequently, in Rialto and in Roman squares people discussed conflicting accounts, grounded mostly on Venetian news; the charlatans enchanted their audience with stories of remote countries, but above all celebrated the desired but unverified outcome of the battle against the Turks. Even the more reliable report of the Latin *epistola* provided a softened version of the information, offering a more favourable interpretation to cater to the wishes of Christianity; to the extent that, as far as the West was concerned, Selim never really won, and Tedallini could quite easily forget to note it in his diary.

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