

THE MEDICI ARCHIVE PROJECT SERIES

Years of News

*Event and Narration
in Early Modern Times*

EDITED BY
BRENDAN DOOLEY
AND PAOLA MOLINO



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Foreword

Years of News: Event and Narration in Early Modern Times—the seventh volume of the Medici Archive Project Series—inaugurates a series of publications that aim to break new ground in early modern scholarship, exploring the often-overlooked interstices within dominant narratives, the global interconnectedness of events, and the long-suppressed agency of minority and heterodox voices across society. It is auspicious that this editorial initiative begins with a comprehensive examination of news-making and circulation across Europe, produced by scholars from diverse national and academic backgrounds. News lies at the heart of the Medici Archive Project’s scholarly mission; over the years, MAP researchers have worked to digitize, catalog, study, and make accessible to both researchers and the public hundreds of manuscript volumes from the Medici archival holdings. This impressive collection—of which only a fraction has been explored—is a treasure trove that holds the potential to offer future generations of scholars fresh insights into the lesser-known dimensions of the early modern world. Indeed, news and media have long been, and continue to be, central to MAP’s research programs, most recently within the Avviso Project, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities (2021-2023). Along with ambassadorial dispatches, ship log entries, reports from travelers, courtiers, merchants and informants, the avvisi constitute a remarkable window onto early modern global history through the diverse lenses of its protagonists.

At a time when instantaneous, ephemeral and often fallacious news-making has become ingrained in our perception of the world, a history of news is both welcome and salutary. Years of News foregrounds the modernity of news as a discourse genre that not only shaped the political and social identity of Europe but also constructs a narrative

that prefigures contemporary mass-media phenomena. In tracing the origins of this new mode of understanding the ever-expanding and increasingly polyphonous early modern world, the scholars contributing to this volume construct a historically situated narrative of news-making, offering a critical lens to reflect on contemporary information culture and speculate on future developments. If news is the connective tissue of the modern Weltanschauung, then the scholarship represented by the editors and contributors to this volume is a fine example of MAP’s commitment to uncovering the inexhaustible potentials that archives hold, especially in areas that have long remained in the shadows.

Years of News brings forth glad tidings and serves as an excellent preamble to forthcoming issues on the Tuscan Jewry, Early Modern Medical Theory and Practice, and the Medici Perception of Africa—each aiming to further MAP’s global and diverse research agenda, firmly grounded in documentary evidence and methodological rigor.

Gaston J. Basile PhD.
The Medici Archive Project
Senior Researcher and Series Editor



1604

*Processing News in Print in the Year before the Newspaper**

Paul Arblaster

28

In December 1603, for the first time since the age of Charlemagne, Jupiter ('fortuna major') and Saturn ('infortuna major') were in conjunction in Sagittarius: a Fiery Trigon that heralded historic change.¹ This can be expected roughly every 800 years, so the Fiery Trigon preceding Charlemagne, depending on one's calculations, could have coincided with the birth of Christ,² or with the destruction of Jerusalem and a terrible slaughter of the Jewish people.³ In the words of the Valencian medical astrologer Francisco Navarro, a conjunction such as this announced a 'change and alteration to the universal complexion of the world, to empires, sects, governments and customs'.⁴ What was more, while both Jupiter and Saturn were still in Sagittarius, Mercury would move into conjunction with each in turn, and in September and October 1604, Mars would do the same. As early as 1597, a 'general catastrophe' was being foretold that would usher in a new age of peace and plenty.⁵ But in the birth pangs of

renewal, what mutinies might overthrow armies, what conspiracies undermine kingdoms, and what plagues and famines depopulate states? Those reading the great cycles of history were looking for signs in the world around them, as well as in the heavens, for hints of the agonies to be endured and the destiny to expect.⁶

Prognostication was one of the lenses through which current affairs were read in the early seventeenth century, but a stronger lens was history. Kings, commanders, saints, and scholars of the past provided the patterns against which contemporary achievements were to be assessed.⁷ This was made explicit for the political sphere in Justus Lipsius's *Monita et exempla politica* (Antwerp: Joannes Moretus, 1605), which provided historical examples illustrating the principles of politics set out more abstractly in the same author's influential *Politiorum sive civilis doctrinae libri Sex*.⁸ Originally published in Leiden in 1589, the final edition of the *Six Books on Politics* overseen by the

*With thanks to Nina Lamal, Charlaine Liu, and Rien Arblaster for their comments on earlier drafts.

1. Patrick J. Boner, *Kepler's Cosmological Synthesis: Astrology, Mechanism and the Soul* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 78-79.
2. W. Burke-Gaffney, 'Kepler and the Star of Bethlehem', *Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada* 31 (1937), pp. 417-424.
3. Bernhard Messing, *Prognosticon astrologicum oder Practica* (Nuremberg: Abraham Wagenmann, [1603]), [p. 7].
4. Francisco Navarro, *Discurso sobre la conjunción máxima que fué en Deziembre del año 1603. En el qual se pronostica los felicissimos sucesos, y vitorias que señala al Rey Don Felipe III* (Valencia: Juan Crisostomo Garriz, 1604), quoted in Tayra M. C. Lanuza Navarro, 'La astrología como explicación científica de la historia: los pronósticos españoles del siglo XVII', in Néstor Herran Corbacho et al., eds, *Synergia: Primer Encuentro de Jóvenes Investigadores en Historia de la Ciencia* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007), pp. 303-323, at p. 312. I am grateful to Tayra Lanuza-Navarro for her advice.
5. Miguel A. Granada, 'Kepler v. Roeslin on the Interpretation of Kepler's Nova: (1) 1604-1606', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 36/3 (2005), pp. 299-319, esp. 302-303.
6. For extremely divergent predictions, compare Messing, *Prognosticon*, [pp. 19, 27], Georg Kresslin, *Prognosticon astrologicum* (Leipzig: Nicol Nerlich, [1603]), [sig. C3v], and Sebastian Koestner, *Prognosticon astrologicum* (Nuremberg: Valentin Fuhrman, [1603]), [sig. B1v-B2r].
7. Categorization following Krzysztof Warszawicki, *Reges, Sancti, Bellatores, Scriptores Poloni* (Rome: Typographus Camerales, 1601); few works dealt with all these categories together.
8. On the *Monita*, see the contributions to Erik De Bom et al., eds, *(Un)masking the Realities of Power: Justus Lipsius and the Dynamics of Political Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), especially Harald E. Braun, 'Justus Lipsius and the Challenge of Historical Exemplarity', pp. 135-162.

author himself came out in Antwerp in 1604.⁹ Spanish and Italian translations appeared the same year.¹⁰

A number of works published in 1604 made clear that history was a continuum leading up to the contemporary.¹¹ But more than this, the catalogs of the biannual Frankfurt book fairs, held over several weeks each spring and autumn, consistently listed new publications on current affairs under the headings 'Historici et geographici libri' or 'Historische und Geographische Bücher'.¹² The overviews of current affairs so listed often had such titles as *Historica Relationis Continuatio*: they functioned as a continuation of the historical record, adding the latest developments to the established narrative.

MERCURY

The Frankfurt fairs were of more than passing relevance to the processing of news: they set the pace at which digests of received reports were compiled and published. No European weekly newspapers in print survive from before 1609, and Johannes Weber has made a good case for the first having been produced in Strasburg in 1605.¹³ Most printed news was occasional, responding to events retrospectively, but major overviews appeared on an approximately six-monthly basis to coincide with the Frankfurt fairs, which were the main international market for disseminating printed matter.

These fairs were frequented not only by booksellers from across Central Europe and beyond, seeking to shift

their wares or expand their catalogs, but also by all sorts of academics, clergymen, archivists, and librarians in search of the latest publications.¹⁴ In 1618 a satirical 'gazette of new reports mixed with old truths' carried the bulletin from Frankfurt: 'That the Market held there twice a year is like the Ark of Noah, which contained all sorts of clean and unclean beasts, which is shown by the Catalog of Lutheran, Catholic and Calvinist books'.¹⁵ In just one transaction in 1587, Christopher Plantin of Antwerp and Giovanni Battista Ciotto of Venice mutually exchanged dozens of books not only from their own stock but also brought from Leiden and Lyons respectively.¹⁶

As a cross-confessional and international market for books, the Frankfurt fairs were a natural market also for printed international news. The biannual compendia of recent events published for them are known as Mercuries, after the messenger of the gods. The first to bear the title, *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*, had come out in Cologne in 1592, with a particular focus on news of the wars in France and the Low Countries (hence *Gallo-Belgicus*). Such digests of news had been appearing in German since 1583, under the misleadingly Latin title *Relatio Historica*.¹⁷ They are known in German as *Meßrelationen*, indicating their link to the fairs (*Messen*). The reading public for German publications extended from Aachen in the Rhineland to Hermannstadt (Sibiu) in Transylvania, and from Reval (Tallinn) on the Baltic to Bozen (Bolzano) in the southern Alps. The Latin Mercuries were also printed in Germany, in a language that would have been familiar to the grammar-school

9. For the publication history, see the introduction to Justus Lipsius, *Politica: Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, ed. and trans. Jan Waszink (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004).
10. *Los seys libros de las Politicas o Doctrina Civil*, trans. Bernardino de Mendoza (Madrid: Imprenta Real for Estevan Bogia, 1604); *Della Politica overo dottrina civile*, trans. Antonio Numai (Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti for Giovanni Martinelli, 1604).
11. For example, Nicolaus Serarius, *Moguntiacarum rerum ab initio usque ad reverendissimum et illustrissimum hodiernum Archiepiscopum [...] D. Ioannem Schwichhardum, libri quinque* (Mainz: apud Balthasarum Lippium, 1604); [Pantaleon Candidus], *Epitome Historiae Gallicae, hoc est, regum & rerum Galliae usque ad annum MDCIII brevis notatio* (Frankfurt: ex Officina Paltheniana, 1604).
12. These catalogs might themselves be regarded as a genre of publishing news. Those relevant here are: *Catalogus novus nundinarum vernalium Francofurti ad Moenum Anno MDCIV* (Augsburg: David Francken, 1604), for the spring fair 1604; *Catalogus novus nundinarum autumnalium Francofurti ad Moenum Anno MDCIV* (Augsburg: David Francken, 1604), for the autumn fair 1604; and *Catalogus novus nundinarum vernalium, Francofurti ad Moenum Anno MDCV* (Augsburg: David Francken, 1605), for the spring fair 1605, which includes works published too late in 1604 to be sold at the previous autumn fair.
13. Johannes Weber, 'Strassburg, 1605: The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe', *German History* 24/3 (2006), pp. 387-412.
14. Peter Weidhaas, *A History of the Frankfurt Book Fair*, trans. and ed. C.M. Gossage and W.A. Wright (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007), pp. 43-46.
15. Richard Verstegan, *De Gazette van nieuwe-maren van de geheele wereldt. Ghemenght met oude waerheden* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1618), p. 67.
16. Ian Maclean, 'Ciotti and Plantin: Italy, Antwerp and the Frankfurt Book Fair', *La Bibliofilia: Rivista di storia del libro e di bibliografia* 115/1 (2013), pp. 135-146. For other exchanges with Italy, see Caroline Durosele-Melish, 'Center and Periphery? Relations between Frankfurt and Bologna in the Transnational Book Trade of the 1600s', in Matthew McLean and Sara K. Barker, eds, *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 31-58.
17. Klaus Bender, *Relationes Historicae: Ein Bestandsverzeichnis der deutschen Meßrelationen von 1583 bis 1648* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. vii-viii, 1.

educated throughout Western Christendom. They are known to have been read in England, Spain, and Poland.

In the historiography of news publishing, Mercuries are often treated as precursors of the weekly press. However, while 1605 may have been the beginning of the newspaper, it was not the end of the Mercury: until late in the seventeenth century, new annual, biannual, or monthly overviews of the news of Europe or of the world continued to be launched not only in Germany but also in Italy, France, and the Netherlands.¹⁸ This was a genre that held its own well into the eighteenth century, and if it is to be considered a precursor of anything, might more usefully be placed alongside the nineteenth-century periodical reviews and digests that sifted the daily flow of news for nuggets of particularly noteworthy reporting. As a distinct genre of current-affairs publishing, it has long been a neglected cousin of the weekly press. Nevertheless, the focus here will be on the landscape of news publishing before the weekly press made its first appearance in Europe, rather than to consider later interactions with other types of news publication.

For coverage of the year 1604, Latin *Mercurii* survive from Cologne and Frankfurt, with German-language counterparts from Cologne, Frankfurt, and Magdeburg. Frankfurt's *Mercurius*, compiled by Gothard Arthus of Danzig and printed by Sigismund Latomus, came out biannually, in time for the fairs. Three regular issues contain news from 1604: one provided the news received between autumn 1603 and spring 1604,¹⁹ another the news from spring to autumn,²⁰ and a third the news from autumn 1604 to spring 1605.²¹ A different *Mercurius*, compiled by Gaspar Ens and published in Cologne by Wilhelm Lützenkirchen, took a longer and more leisurely view, with the 1603 edition providing a digest of news from 1596 to April 1603, and the edition covering

1603-1605 coming out in 1606.²² Yet another Cologne *Mercurius* was published even longer after the facts, by Gerard Grevenburch. This was compiled by P.A. Jansonius, whose work primarily seems to have been to copy his predecessors while eliminating reports that no longer seemed of much consequence.²³ In recounting the negotiations for the 1604 Treaty of London, for example, both Ens and Jansonius reproduce Arthus's account of the facts, but each prefaces it with introductory or interpretative remarks of their own.

Two German-language *Meßrelationen* were published in Cologne in 1604, both under the title *Historicae Relationis Continuatio*, with only initials to identify the different compilers: P.A.E.D. (published by Peter von Brachel) and L.P.L.F.C. (published by Wilhelm Lützenkirchen). The Frankfurt publisher of Arthus's *Mercurius*, Sigismund Latomus, printed two different German Mercuries: *Jacobi Franci Relationis Historicae Continuatio* and *Theodori Meurers Relationis Historicae Continuatio*. Both, contrary to what the title pages at first sight seem to indicate, were compiled by anonymous continuators of the work, respectively, of Jacobus Francus and Theodor Meurer (themselves both pseudonyms). Even so, for ease of reference they will be referred to below as 'Francus' and 'Meurer'.

For spring 1604 they can be referenced together as Francus/Meurer, for the content is essentially identical after the first page, with only headings, subheadings, and pagination showing some variation. This suggests either that the difference in title is effectively a question of branding, or that the contents of one were being copied to the other as a temporary expedient to keep two otherwise distinct serial titles running in tandem.²⁴ 'Jacobus Francus' had been the pen name of Conrad Lautenbach (1534-1595), minister of Frankfurt's Katharinenkirche and former librarian to Prince Ludwig VI of the Rhine.²⁵ A

18. Marion Brétéché and Dinah Ribard, 'Qu'est-ce que les mercures au temps du "Mercure galant"?', *Dix-septième siècle* 270 (2016), pp. 9-22. See also Mario Infelise's contribution to the present volume.
19. *Mercurii Gallobelgici succenturiati, sive rerum [...] à nundinis Francofordiensibus anni 1603 autumnalibus usque ad anni 1604. vernaes potissimum gestarum* (Frankfurt: Sigismund Latomus, 1604). The dedicatory epistle is dated 24 March.
20. *Mercurii Gallobelgici succenturiati, sive rerum [...] à nundinis Francofordiensibus anni 1604 vernalibus usque ad anni eiusdem autumnales potissimum gestarum* (Frankfurt: Sigismund Latomus, 1604). Dedicatory epistle dated 18 March.
21. *Mercurii Gallobelgici succenturiati, sive rerum [...] à nundinis Francofurtensibus anni 1604 autumnalibus, usque ad anni 1605 vernaes potissimum gestarum* (Frankfurt: Sigismund Latomus, 1604). Dedicatory epistle dated 18 March.
22. Gaspar Ens, *Annalium Mercurio Gallobelgico succenturiatorum* (Cologne: Wilhelm Lützenkirchen, 1606).
23. *Mercurii Gallobelgici, sive Rerum In Gallia Et Belgio Potissimum, Hungaria Quoque, Germania, Polonia, Hispania, Italia, Anglia, aliisque Christiani orbis Regnis, & Provinciis [...] gestarum Nuncii, Tomus [...] Auctore P. A. Jansonio [...] ab Anno 1603. usque ad Annum 1605* (Cologne: Grevenbruch, 1608).
24. Only Francus survives from autumn 1604, and only Meurer from spring 1605, making further comparison for this period impossible.
25. R.E. Prutz, *Geschichte des deutschen Journalismus*, vol. 1 (Hannover: C. F. Kius, 1845), pp. 189-190; on Lautenbach, see Jakob Franck, 'Lautenbach, Konrad', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 18 (1883), pp. 71-72, online at <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd122588495.html> (01.11.2020).

**HISTORICAE RELATIONIS
CONTINUATIO,**

Das ist:

Ordentliche vnd ey-

**gentliche Erzehlung aller fürnembsten
sachen vnd handel / so sich von negst verlauffener
Herbstmeseß des 1603. Jahrs / biß auff diese jenige Fastenmeseß/
durch ganz Europam/ als Hispanien/ Frantreich / Italien/
Vngern/ Hoch/ vnd Nider Teutschlandt / sampt den Engels-
ländischen Inseln zugetragen: so viel man dessen auß' glaub-
würdigen geschriebenen vnd getruckten zeitungen
hat zusamen bringen
können.**

**Alles außs fleissigst zusamen getragen
durch P. A. E. D.**



**Gedruckt zu Golln / Bey Peter von Brachel in
der Schmirstrassen/ Anno 1604.**

Digitized by Google

Meßrelation billed as a continuation of his work promised intellectual rigor coupled with a robustly Protestant perspective that had been absent from the very earliest Mercuries. This will probably be why the Magdeburg *Meßrelation*, compiled by Jacobus Frame, was marketed in the same way, as *J. Franci Historicae Relationis Continuatio*.

Finally, spring 1605 saw the appearance of another German-language Mercury, *Historicae Relationis Continuatio. Das ist: Ordentliche und eygentliche Erzehlung aller fürnembsten sachen und händel* (Fig. 2.1), printed without a publisher's address but identifying the compiler as 'C. Kerler' (presumably this too a pen name). This in fact seems to have been a continuation of Brachel's Cologne *Meßrelation*, with Kerler replacing 'P.A.E.D.' as compiler and the publisher omitting his own name, perhaps to evade censorship.²⁶ This gives a total of five printers publishing nine Mercuries, three in Latin and six in German, in three cities—in the course of 1605 to be joined by two more publishers, in Leipzig and Erfurt. The literature sometimes refers to 'Mercurius Gallobelgicus' as though it were the title of a single series, but the reality of the market in news roundups was a lot more complicated.

All of these Mercuries provided overviews of the news of Europe, and of European activities in the wider world. The title page of Arthus's *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* (Fig. 2.2) specified that events covered had taken place not only in France and the Low Countries, but also in Spain, Italy, England, Germany, Hungary, Transylvania, and neighboring lands. Lützenkirchen's *Meßrelation* for spring 1604 similarly specified Spain, France, Italy, England, High and Low Germany, Hungary, Transylvania, 'and elsewhere', within a general 'Christendom'. Rather more ambitiously, their Magdeburg counterpart for spring 1605 listed Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, before particularizing a more Central European focus on High and Low Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia. If the most substantial coverage was of Western and Central Europe, reflecting the extent of the European news community and the direct concerns of most readers, the remit was rather wider,

allowing for much else to be included as and when it became available. For 1604 this included Joris van Spilbergen's return from a voyage to the kingdom of Kandy, on the island of Sri Lanka.²⁷

The sources of the news printed in the Mercuries were often documents that were already circulating in print. These might be news pamphlets based upon newsletters, but could also include royal proclamations, diplomatic correspondence, official reports and dispatches, treaties, petitions, private letters, controversies, satires, elegies, or funeral sermons, all of which could be put into print as 'news', even if this was not how they were originally framed. But the Mercuries did sometimes include stories that seem not to have been printed earlier, presumably taking them directly from the newsletters that circulated in handwritten copies. Very occasionally, a story is stated to be based on rumor.²⁸

Arthus included roughly 350 headings of individual reports in the three relevant volumes of his *Mercurius*, most of them following up on a story already reported rather than being entirely new. Jansonius, with the benefit of hindsight and a delay of three or four years in which to process the material, boiled down the news stories of 1604 to about a dozen: the Siege of Ostend, with sideshows in the Dutch taking of Sluis and the rampages of the mutineers of Hoogstraten; the conclusion of the Treaty of London, ending two decades of war between the crowns of England and Spain; the Anglo-German attempts to broker a peace in the Low Countries—which in 1604 seemed to go nowhere, but by 1608 must have seemed the first step towards the truce then being negotiated; the accession of a new Sultan in Constantinople; a Florentine raid on Algiers, led by the English privateer Richard Gifford; István Bocskai's revolt against Habsburg rule in Transylvania; and the linked Hajduk revolt in Upper Hungary, with Habsburg forces turned out of Kaschau (Košice) but retaining Epperia (Prešov). All this while the Long Turkish War was still in progress in Hungary, the year 1604 seeing a late but eventful campaign after the failure of peace talks. Finally,

26. Esther-Beate Körber, *Messrelationen. Geschichte der deutsch- und lateinisch-sprachigen "messentlichen" Periodika von 1588 bis 1805* (Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2016), pp. 73-75.

27. Ens, *Annalium* (1606), pp. 245-296. Spilbergen's journal was published in March 1605, as *Historiael Journael van tghene ghepasseert is van wegghen drie schepen, ghenaeamt den Ram, Schaep ende t'Lam: ghevaeren wt Zeelant vander stadt Camp-Vere, naer d'Oost-Indien, onder tbeleyt van Joris van Speilberghen generael, anno 1601, den 5. Mey, tot in t'eylant Celon* (Delft: Floris Balthasar, 1605). On the kingdom itself, see Gananath Obeyesekere, 'Between the Portuguese and the Nāyakas: The Many Faces of the Kandyan Kingdom, 1591-1765', in Zoltán Biedermann and Alan Strathern, eds, *Sri Lanka at the Crossroads of History* (London: UCL Press, 2017), pp. 161-177.

28. Tags giving sourcing vary widely even within a single publication, e.g., 'Brieffe aus Franckreich bestetigen', 'Von Genua wird geschrieben', 'Die Kundschaftten lauten', 'viel aber halten', 'man sagt'. Jacobus Frame, *J. Franci Historicae Relationis Continuatio Octava* (Magdeburg: J. Francken, 1605), pp. 4, 20, 21, 26, 81.

in the autumn, there was the unlooked-for appearance of a new star in the firmament (Kepler's Supernova).

In 1604 Mercuries were still appearing exclusively in Germany, but there were contemporary histories that could cover events as recent as anything that the Mercuries contained. In 1605 an overview of recent history, from the beginning of 1598 to the end of 1604, was published in Paris under the title *Chronologie Septenaire de l'Histoire de la Paix entre les Roys de France et d'Espagne*. The dedicatory epistle was dated 24 February 1605, while the most recent event covered in the text had taken place on 11 December of the preceding year, bringing it well within the range of the Mercuries sold at the Frankfurt fair in spring 1605. The compiler was Pierre Cayet, Regius Professor of Hebrew at the Collège Royal—in his youth a student of Ramus. Cayet seems to have had no intention of making this an on-going history of the present, since his subsequent *Chronologie Novenaire* (Paris, 1608) went back to 1589 to cover the nine years of civil war prior to the *Chronologie Septenaire*. However, when a French Mercury was launched in 1611 under the title *Mercurius François*, it explicitly presented itself as a continuation of the *Histoire de la Paix*.²⁹

In 1606, the year after the *Histoire de la Paix* had come out, the well-connected lawyer Pierre Matthieu produced a rival *Histoire de France & des choses memorables advenues aux provinces estrangeres durant sept annees de paix*, covering the same period 1598-1604 in two volumes, again published in Paris. By the following year Henry IV had granted Matthieu the title of historiographer royal.³⁰ Despite the two-year time-lag, Matthieu's *Histoire de France* provides a useful foil to Cayet's coverage—much as the Cologne *Mercurii* do for the Frankfurt *Mercurius*. In terms of content, French writers naturally had a far more Gallocentric approach than the Germans, who did not echo their coverage of such infrastructure works as the Seine-Loire canal, Paris' Pont Neuf, or the Luxembourg Gardens. Despite this focus on Paris, both Cayet and Matthieu included material from across Europe and, when available, around the globe—Cayet, for example, briefly touching on the beginnings of French settlement in Canada.³¹

TABLE 2.1: NEWS IN 1604

Reference	Publications	Publication Date
Arthus 1604A, 1604B, 1605A	Gothard Arthus Dantiscanus, <i>Mercurii Gallobelgici Succenturiati</i> (Frankfurt, Sigismund Latomus)	Spring 1604, Autumn 1604, Spring 1605
Ens	Gaspar Ens, <i>Annalium Mercurio Gallobelgico Succenturiatorum</i> [1603-1605] (Cologne, Wilhelm Lützenkirchen)	1606
Jansonius	P.A. Jansonius, <i>Mercurii Gallobelgici</i> [1603-1605] (Cologne, Gerard Grevenburch)	1608
Francus 1604A, 1604B	Anon., <i>Jacobi Franci Relationis Historicae Continuatio</i> ([Frankfurt], Sigismund Latomus)	Spring 1604, Autumn 1604
Meurer 1604A, 1605A	Anon., <i>Theodori Meurers Relationis Historicae Continuatio</i> (Frankfurt, Sigismund Latomus)	Spring 1604, Spring 1605
PAED	P.A.E.D., <i>Historicae Relationis Continuatio</i> (Cologne, Peter von Brachel)	Spring 1604
LPLFC	L.P.L.F.C., <i>Historicae Relationis Continuatio</i> (Cologne, Wilhelm Lützenkirchen)	Spring 1604



29. *Le Mercure François, ou, La suite de l'Histoire de la Paix* (Paris: Alexandre de la Dorciere, 1611).

30. Louis Lobbes, 'L'oeuvre historiographique de Pierre Matthieu ou la tentative d'embrigader Clio', in Danièle Bohler and Catherine Magnien Simonin, eds, *Écritures de l'histoire (XIVe-XVIIe siècle): Actes du colloque du Center Montaigne Bordeaux, 19-21 septembre 2002* (Geneva: Droz, 2005), pp. 495-513, at p. 498.

31. Cayet, *Chronologie septenaire* (Paris: Jean Richer, 1606), pp. 496-497.

Frame 1604A, 1604B, 1605A	Jacobus Frame, <i>J. Franci Historicae Relationis Continuatio</i> (Magdeburg, Johann Francken)	Spring 1604, Autumn 1604, Spring 1605
Kerler	C. Kerler, <i>Historicae Relationis Continuatio</i> (no location or publisher [Cologne, Peter von Brachel?])	Spring 1605
Cayet	Pierre Cayet, <i>Chronologie septenaire de l'histoire de la paix entre les rois de France et d'Espagne</i> [1598-1604] (Paris, Jean Richer)	1605
Matthieu	Pierre Matthieu, <i>Histoire de France & des choses memorables advenues aux provinces estrangeres durant sept annees de Paix</i> , vol. 2 [1601-1604] (Paris, I. Metayer & M. Guillemot)	1606

The discussion that follows will draw both on *Mercuries* and on the French histories of the present as genres that processed new or recent information about the events of 1604, as well as on more ad hoc publications that presented or grouped particular items of news as they became available. This will give some idea of the type and range of recent reports available to the readers of such publications. It should be borne in mind throughout that

none of these printed sources had the frequency or speed of handwritten gazettes or *Avviso*,³² and that much of what they contained had already appeared in print in other formats. Their purpose was not to break news but to provide digests of news that had broken weeks or months earlier. The news to be considered dealt with the decrees of crowned heads, the movements of armies, diplomatic negotiations, disasters, and the supernatural. The headings under which these will be outlined are drawn from the associated planetary bodies.

JUPITER

The Frankfurt *Mercurius* (Fig. 2.2) prefaced its account of the Anglo-Spanish peace of 1604 with a brief exordium explaining that while a long and vicious war between Christians had raged for many years, God had now brought peace through the conjunction of strong Christian princes.³³ The kings that had moved into alignment to make peace possible were Philip III of Spain, Henry IV of France, and James I of England.³⁴ A key figure facilitating their rapprochement was Albert of Austria, ruler of the Habsburg Netherlands.³⁵ These princes were not only the subjects of journalistic reporting, they were themselves producers of texts: proclamations and decrees issued in their name were part of the fabric of international news. Such edicts were not solely legal instruments, but also public statements of policy, with preambles explaining and justifying the measures taken, sometimes at considerable length. This makes them the period's closest analog to a government press release.

At the very beginning of 1604, the words of James VI and I were being printed as news. In 1603 the authorities in England had foiled a conspiracy to prevent the

32. On which see Mario Infelise, 'From merchants' letters to handwritten political *Avviso*: Notes on the origins of public information', in Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, eds, *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 33-52; in the same volume, see also Zsuzsa Barbarics and Renate Pieper, 'Handwritten newsletters as a means of communication in early modern Europe', pp. 53-79.
33. 'Stabili potentissimorum Christiani imperii Principum coniunctione', Gotthard Arthus, *Mercurii Gallobelgici Succenturiati, Sive, Rerum in Gallia et Belgio potissimum Hispania quoque Italia, Anglia, Germania, Vngaria, Transylvania, vicinisq[ue] locis, à nundinis Francofurtensibus Anni 1604. autumnalibus, usq[ue] ad Anni 1605 vernalis potissimum gestarum, tomi sexti, liber primus* (Frankfurt: Latomi, 1605), p. 49. On the perception of war and peace as the outcome of princely 'constellations', see Steven Vanden Broecke, 'Astrology and Politics in the Renaissance', in Brendan Dooley, ed., *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 193-231, at p. 218.
34. On whom see Paul C. Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598-1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); Vincent J. Pitts, *Henri IV of France: His Reign and Age* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
35. On whom see Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

MERCVRII GALLOBELGICI
 S U C C E N T U R I A T I,
Sive
 R E R V M I N
 GALLIA ET BELGIO PO-
 TISSIMVM ; HISPANIA QVO-
 QUE, ITALIA, ANGLIA, GERMANIA,
 Vngaria, Transylvania, vicinisq; locis, à nundinis Fran-
 cofordiensibus Anni 1604. autumnalibus, usq; ad
 Anni 1605. vernaes potissi-
 mum gestarum,
 HISTORICÆ NARRATIONIS
continuata,
 TOMI SEXTI LIBER
 PRIMUS,
Verè & fideliter conscriptus à
 M. GOTARDO ARTHUS DANTISCANO.



FRANCOFURTI,
 Sumptibus SIGISMUNDI LATOMI, Anno 1605.

accession of a foreign ruler and instead proclaim his half-English cousin Arabella Stuart. The principal participants were condemned to death, but after a first round of executions, in a theatrical display of royal clemency, a stay of execution for three of the plotters was delivered at the scaffold. It was an application of the Lipsian principle that a captured conspirator could no longer harm but could be used to enhance a ruler's reputation.³⁶ The full title of the pamphlet account, *The copie of a letter written from Master T.M.* (London: [Robert Barker], 1603), summarizes its contents:

The copie of a letter written from Master T.M. neere Salisbury, to Master H.A. at London concerning the proceeding at Winchester; where the late L. Cobham, L. Gray, and Sir Griffin Marckham, all attainted of hie treason, were ready to be executed on Friday the 9. of December 1603: at which time his Maiesties warrant, all written with his owne hand, whereof the true copie is here annexed, was delivered to sir Benjamin Tichbourne high Sheriffe of Hampshire, commanding him to suspend their execution till further order.

As the title indicates, the text was in two parts: a narrative account (written in English), and the royal warrant itself (written in Scots). The warrant went far beyond the words needed to suspend punishment, explaining over several pages the reasons that had moved the king to this show of mercy. Early in 1604 this pamphlet was reprinted on the Continent in Dutch and in French.³⁷ A German translation of *The copie of a letter* was included in Lützenkirchen's Cologne *Meßrelation* (LPLFC, pp. 35-41), but Brachel's gave only a bare summary of the event in one short paragraph (PAED, p. 36). For Matthieu, a somewhat longer summary was the prelude to a historical reflection on loyalty,

treason, and conspiracy (pp. 613-617), while Cayet had the story in full (fols 424r-427v). The Mercurialists of Cologne and Frankfurt similarly provided detailed accounts, with both Ens and Jansonius including a full Latin translation of *The copie of a letter*, under the heading 'De conjuratorum supplicio litterae' (Arthus 1604A, pp. 105-114; Ens, pp. 69-78; Jansonius, pp. 41-54).

Two months later, James was again providing copy, with a proclamation banishing Jesuits and seminary priests from the kingdom. Again, this was no briefly worded royal command, but a miniature treatise on religious policy and sovereignty, ending with a call for a general council so that 'a settled amitie might (by an union in Religion) be established among Christian Princes'.³⁸ Translations of this proclamation into Dutch, German, and Latin were printed as separate news pamphlets.³⁹ It was covered at length in the Frankfurt *Mercurius* (Arthus 1604A, pp. 151-157), more briefly by Ens (pp. 116-119), and entirely summarily by LPLFC (p. 61). Jansonius and PAED left it out completely, but German translations of the royal order were printed as early as spring 1604 in Meurer/Francus (pp. 97-101/2) and Frame (pp. 13-18), both letting the document speak for itself. Frame, in Magdeburg, reproduced the German translation printed as a pamphlet in Frankfurt, but the translation used in Meurer/Francus was independent of this. In France, Matthieu summarized the proclamation (pp. 648-651), placing particular emphasis on James's personal good will towards the reigning pontiff and the king's hope for a general council. Cayet, however, like Jansonius, omitted the news entirely.

In contrast, Cayet opened his coverage of 1604 with the readmission of the Jesuits to France. Henry IV's royal order of the previous September had been registered in the Parlement of Paris on 2 January 1604, making it the first news of the year. Cayet not only communicated the decision but went to some lengths to justify it as good for

36. Justus Lipsius, *Politica: Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, ed. and trans. Jan Waszink (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004), book IV, chapter 10, pp. 452-453.

37. *Copie van eenen brief, gheschreven van meester T.M. van Zalisburg, tot meester H.A. tot Londen, aengaende het proces tot Winchester* (Leiden: Jan Theunisz, [1604]); *Copie van eenen brief aengaende den handel tot Winchester* (Arnhem: Jan Janssen, 1604); *Copie d'une lettre traduite de l'anglois en françois, concernant la procedure faite à Winchester* (Rouen: Jean Petit, 1604; reprinted Lyons: Nicolas Jullieron, 1604).

38. *By the King* (London: Robert Barker, 1603 [old style]). Text in James F. Larkin, and Paul L. Hughes, eds, *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 70-73. For a discussion, see Patterson, *King James VI and I*, pp. 49-50.

39. *Placcaet des Coninck van Engelandt, nopende het bannissement der Jesuiten, Priesters, ende alle Pausche Gheestelijcke personen* (n.p.d., after London: Robert Barker, 1604); *Placcaet Waer in gheboden wordt allen Jesuiten, Priesters, Seminarissen ende andere te vertrecken uyt de Coninckrijcken van Engeland, Schotland ende Yreland* (Middelburg: Richard Schilders, 1604); *Mandat Königlicher Majestät in Engelandt, Franckreich, Irrlandt und Schottlandt, wegen Außschaffung aller Jesuiter, Seminarien, Meßpriester, und anderer, auß I.K.M. Landen* (Frankfurt: Wolfgang Richter, 1604); *Edictum Regium, Quo Iniungitur Omnibus Jesuitis, Seminariis, Et Sacrificulis aliis, ut excedant Regnis Angliae, Scotiae, & Hiberniae* (Frankfurt: Wolfgang Richter, 1604).

France and good for religion. Matthieu gave no similar coverage of the readmission of the Jesuits for 1604, but had taken it as a done deal from the king granting two audiences to Jesuits when he was visiting Lorraine at Easter 1603 (pp. 475-486). In Spain, a twelve-page pamphlet was printed at Seville in 1604, recounting the whole story of supplications, promises, and protestations from March 1603 to January 1604 on the basis of a letter written entirely from the Jesuit perspective and dated Bordeaux, 18 March.⁴⁰ In Holland, the only news publication to touch on this story so far identified was a pamphlet account of a sudden storm ruining the school pageant the Jesuits had organized in Lyons to celebrate their readmission, indicative of divine displeasure at such mockeries.⁴¹ Dutch readers will have had to find news of the Jesuits returning to France elsewhere, until it literally rained on their parade.

The news had reached Cologne by spring 1604, with PAED providing a brief paragraph, and LPLFC emphasizing at some length that this was the king's personal policy, in the teeth of opposition from the Parlement and the University, and of the popular displeasure manifested by page boys and footmen—who had not only insulted but even assaulted Fr Cotton, the Society's main representative at court. LPLFC included all of this, and other news from France, under the nondescript heading 'Brief and true account of current conditions and what has happened in France at the beginning of this year 1604'. It suggests a certain reluctance to process the news that Arthus in Frankfurt and Frame in Magdeburg only included it in their autumn issues—a good deal slower than they had been in covering the banishing of Jesuits from England. When he finally did carry the news, Arthus first gave a six-page overview of the reasons for the Jesuits' banishment in 1594 (1604B, pp. 47-53), before going on to emphasize that their readmission was conditional and at the king's pleasure. Frame provided a German

translation of the royal order (1604B, pp. 1-4), with no editorial commentary at all.

A rather different royal order got very different—and much faster—coverage. This was a retaliatory measure in an ongoing trade war triggered by Philip III of Spain's attempts to prevent Dutch rebels from trading with Spain. A general embargo on trade between the Republic and territory loyal to the Habsburgs had been issued in the 1590s, but the Dutch easily circumvented this by trading through French and German partners. To close the loophole, Philip in February 1603 rescinded the embargo and instead instituted a thirty percent tariff on all trade with Spain from territory not recognising Habsburg rule (exempting Mediterranean ports). A few weeks later the archdukes followed suit with edicts incorporating the same tariffs into the law of the Habsburg Netherlands. Henry's response was a series of measures culminating in a proclamation of 8 February 1604 prohibiting all French trade with Spain and the Habsburg Low Countries. The original edict of 8 February was printed in Paris, and then in Rouen and Lyons after its proclamation there (14 February and 5 March respectively).⁴² It was reprinted in Dutch as a pamphlet.⁴³ By the end of March it had been reported fully in the *Mercuries* of Cologne, Frankfurt, and Magdeburg. November's countermanding edict, reallowing trade with Spain and Flanders, was reported in the *Mercuries* the following spring, and was prominent in Cayet's and Matthieu's histories, but was not printed in full the way that the initial proclamation often had been.

Open warfare between France and Spain had ended in 1598, with the Peace of Vervins, but relations were still strained by past hostilities and ongoing rivalries. The peace has accordingly been characterized as a 'cold war'.⁴⁴ France was lending both overt and covert support to Spain's enemies in the Low Countries and the Alps, while Spain had clandestinely encouraged the Biron conspiracy, a secessionist plot for an independent Duchy of Burgundy

40. *Relacion de las cosas mas notables, sucedidas en la restitucion de los Padres de la Compañia de Iesus, en el Reyno de Francia* (Seville: Francisco Perez, 1604). On the history itself, see Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority, 1590-1615* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 57-96.

41. *Verhael betreffende de Comedie ghespeelt door de Jesuwiten ende haere Leer-jonghers binnen de Stadt Lyon* (n.p.d.).

42. *Declaration du roy sur le commerce* (Paris: Pierre L'Huillier, 1604); *Lettres patentes du roy contenant defenses à toutes personnes, de quelque qualité qu'ils soyent, de mener, conduire et transporter cy après au pays de l'obeissance du roy d'Espagne et de l'archiduc de Flandres aucunes marchandises, soit par mer ou par terre* (Rouen: Martin Le Mesgissier, 1604); *Lettres patentes du Roy, sur la défence expresse qu'il fait à tous ses sujets de négocier, & avoir aucun commerce és pais de l'obeissance du Roy d'Espagne & Archiducs de Flandres* (Lyons: Guichard Jullieron, 1604).

43. *Placcaet Van den Coninck van Vranckrijk Henricus, de vierde van den name, Ghepubliceert tot Parijs, den achtsten Februarij des Jaers 1604. Inhoudende die Renonciatie of wederroeping van dertich ten hondert, te betalen op alle Comenschappen, Midts verbiedende, van niet te moghen handelen op die Landen van den Coninck in Hispangien, Als oock op de Landen des Eertz-Hertoghe Alberti* (n.p.d. [1604]), Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague (KHB), Knuttel 1245.

44. Roland Mousnier, *L'Assassinat d'Henri IV: 14 mai 1610* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008), p. 127.

that had led to the Duke of Biron's execution for *lèse majesté* and been the biggest international news story of 1602.⁴⁵ Biron's death had not entirely brought the affair to a close, as the Duke of Bouillon, who was implicated in the affair, was not formally reconciled to the Crown until 1606.⁴⁶ There were real fears (or in some quarters, hopes) that the trade war unleashed in 1603 would in 1604 lead to a renewal of hot war.

On 14 January, the Parisian notary Pierre de L'Estoile, whose friends knew he had a long-standing interest in such things, received a New Year's letter from La Rochelle with a copy of a controversial pamphlet, *Le Soldat français*, denouncing Spain's infringements of the 1598 peace and calling for a renewal of war.⁴⁷ This work would spark a fierce exchange of pamphlets through the first half of 1604, with further rebuttals and replies continuing to appear as late as 1607.⁴⁸ Among these exchanges, a 'plague on both your houses' approach was displayed in the *Response du Roy au soldat français, qui demande la guerre & au soldat espagnol qui demande la paix*, a satire that audaciously puts words into the king of France's own mouth, and implausibly claims to have been printed at Douai in the Habsburg Netherlands. The figure of the king as he appears in this text asserts that he desires neither the war urged by self-interested Gascons, nor the friendship with Spain promoted by writers in the pay of the Spanish ambassador, so, in a recurrent refrain, would 'make neither war nor peace'.⁴⁹ This seems to have been the only contribution to the debate translated for circulation abroad, as *Neutrum Gallicum, das ist, Der königlichen Majestat zu Franckreich Erklärung, auff eines Gasconiers und Spaniers anruffen umb Krieg und Friden* (1604).

Spectacularly, later in the year, a clerk to the French Secretary of State was discovered to be a spy in Spanish

pay. The mole, Nicolas L'Hoste, fled Paris with royal officers in hot pursuit, heading for the Flemish border, but drowned while attempting to cross a river. He was posthumously condemned to have his corpse torn apart by horses (Cayet, fols 464-466v; Frame 1604B, p. 44). Even this revelation failed to lead to a complete breakdown in diplomatic relations.⁵⁰ The exchange of pamphlets by those promoting and opposing the renewal of open warfare does not seem to have elicited news coverage outside France, but Henry's moves to raise troops, inspect fortifications, and garrison the frontiers certainly did (Frame 1604A, p. 93), although these may well have had as much to do with Bouillon's on-going rebellion as with plans for a renewed war with the Habsburgs.

MARS, THE BRINGER OF WAR

The focus of the very first *Mercurius* might have been on France and Belgium, but it rapidly widened, and by 1604 two stories—the wars in Hungary and Flanders—had become so big that they spawned dedicated spin-offs of their own. The Long Turkish War, a three-way conflict between Habsburgs, Ottomans, and Transylvanian aristocrats for dominance in the divided Kingdom of Hungary, had been in progress for a decade, and was, in a sense, global news. Since 1595, Jesuit networks had been transmitting reports of the war in Transylvania from Rome to Peru, en route providing material for a series of pamphlets printed in Seville.⁵¹

By 1603 the amount of news coming out of south-central Europe was such that reports specifically from the Hungarian theatre were being edited into comprehensive overviews under titles such as *Ungarische Chronologia*, *Historia Chronologica Pannoniae*, and *Continuatio defß*

45. On the 'reception' of the Biron conspiracy, see András Kiséry, *Hamlet's Moment: Drama and Political Knowledge in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 184-186.

46. Fanny Giraudier, 'La rébellion du duc de Bouillon, de la querelle nobiliaire à l'affaire d'État (1602-1606)', *Revue d'histoire du protestantisme* 2/3 (2017), pp. 339-356.

47. Pierre de L'Estoile, *Mémoires-journaux*, ed. G. Brunet, A. Champollion, E. Halphen, Paul Lacroix, Charles Read, and Tamizey de Larroque, vol. 8 (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1880), p. 114.

48. J. Mathorez, 'À propos d'une campagne de presse contre l'Espagne', *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire* (1913), pp. 313-329, 365-385.

49. 'je ne ferai ni la guerre ni la paix', *Response du Roy* (Douai [false address?], 1604), pp. 1 and pp. 28-31. Scans of the copy from the Austrian National Library are online at <http://data.onb.ac.at/ABO/%2BZ167418101> (01.11.2020).

50. Alain Hugon, 'L'Affaire L'Hoste ou la tentation espagnole (1604)', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 42/3 (1995), pp. 355-375.

51. Carmen Espejo, 'The Prince of Transylvania: Spanish News of the War against the Turks, 1595-1600', in Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham, eds, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 512-541; Rubén González Cuerva, 'El prodigioso principe transilvano': La larga guerra contra los Turcos (1593-1606) a través de las "Relaciones de sucesos", *Studia historica: Historia moderna* 28 (2006), pp. 277-299. On English coverage, see Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 42-46.



2.3 Gaspar Ens, *Ungarische Chronologia*, 1605, title page, Bavarian State Library, Munich <https://books.google.be/books?id=PuEftOPeQ4C>

Hungerischen und Sibenbürgischen Kriegswesens. The last-named, giving an update from 1 January 1603 'to the current year 1604' ('biß auff jetziges 1604. Jar') was a continuation of Hieronymus Oertel's earlier, three-part *Chronologia oder historische Beschreibung aller Kriegsempörungen unnd Belägerungen der Stätt und Vestungen auch Scharmützel und Schlachten so in Ober und Under Ungern auch Sibenbürgen mit dem Türcken von Ao. 1395 biß auff gegen wertige Zeit* (Nuremberg: Johann Sibmacher, 1603), and was to be followed by a *Viertter Thail Deß Hungerischen unnd Sibenbürgischen Kriegswesens* (Nuremberg: for the author, [1613?]) covering the years 1604-1607, with an appendix extending coverage to Matthias's succession as emperor, 1608-1612. That the final part was published at the author's expense, and so

long after the detail it contained was current, perhaps indicates a falling off of commercial interest, but when the earlier parts had come out this was a market that several publishers wanted a slice of.

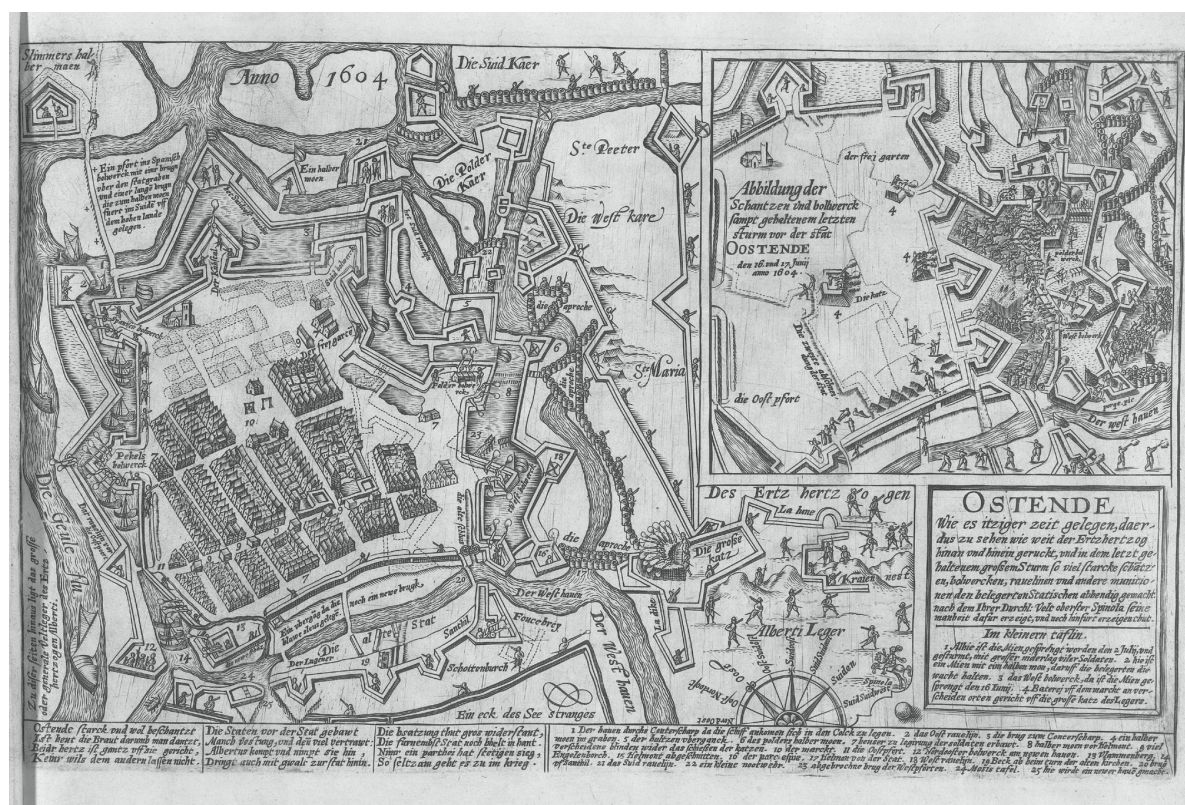
Oertel's initial work was cannibalized by Gaspar Ens, compiler of the Cologne Mercury, in his *Rerum Hungaricum Historia* (Cologne: Wilhelm Lützenkirchen, 1604), which began with the ancient Scythians but passed lightly over centuries to focus on events 'up to the year 1604'.⁵² Ens went on to follow this up with a German-language *Ungarische Chronologia* (Cologne: Wilhelm Lützenkirchen, 1605) (Fig. 2.3), which was bundled with a reprint of Conrad Löw's *Mahometische History* (Cologne: Willhelm Lützenkirchen, 1605) to similar effect. Perhaps this is what crowded Oertel's final volume out of the market. Soon Theodore (II) and Israel de Bry got in on the act, with a *Historia Chronologica Pannoniae: Ungarische und Siebenbürgische Historia* (Frankfurt, 1607) that covered memorable events 'since Noah's Flood [. . .] but primarily in the current wars'.⁵³

Specifically in 1604, news of the war included a new Turkish campaign to retake Pest, which went unexpectedly well: the siege in 1603 had failed, but had left the city unprepared to undergo another, so the Habsburg garrison simply withdrew before the Turkish army arrived. Rather than rest on the laurels of their accomplished mission, the Turkish commanders pressed on to lay siege to Esztergom. The successful defense of Esztergom, in the autumn of 1604, dominated the news at Frankfurt's Easter Fair in 1605 (Arthus 1605A, pp. 102-112; Meurer 1605A, pp. 20-21, 23-27; Frame 1605A, pp. 24, 28, 65, 69-73, 76).

There were also reports of a great victory against the Turk by Giorgio Basta, the Albanian Italian mercenary in command of the imperial forces in Upper Hungary, and of Persian victories against Turkish forces in the Middle East (Arthus 1604B, p. 22; Arthus 1605A, p. 121; Frame 1605A, pp. 5, 103; Matthieu, p. 637). That Persian diplomats were coordinating with the Austrians to maintain pressure on the Turks was itself one of the news stories of the year (Arthus 1604B, pp. 56, 171-172; Arthus 1605A, p. 168; Meurer 1605A, p. 63; Francus 1604B, pp. 87, 105; Frame 1604B, pp. 74-77; Frame 1605A, p. 99; Matthieu, p. 769). An account of both Christian and Persian victories over the Turks was published in Spain under the title *Verissima relacion de las grandes vitorias que*

52. 'ad annum usque M.DC.IV', title page.

53. 'was sich in denen Landen, seyt der Sündflut hero, [. . .] Fürnemblich aber in jetztwerenden Kriegshändeln, denckwürdiges begeben', title page.



2.4 Hogenberg studio, Ostende, 1604, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
(at <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-OB-78.784-320>)

la Magestad Cesarea del emperador ha tenido contra el Gran Turco. Dase cuenta de otras cosas muy notables que han sucedido en aquellas partes en este presente año de mil y seyscientos y quatro (Seville: Bartolomé Gómez, 1604).⁵⁴ No Habsburg victory of the year comes close to the success alleged in the Spanish pamphlet. Cayet initially included news of such a victory in his *Chronologie septenaire*, but removed it from the second edition.

The Spanish and Italian campaigns against the Turks at sea received no such dedicated coverage in serial form, but were included among other news in the *Mercuries*. Within Spain and Italy, these were a frequent source of news pamphlets.⁵⁵ The biggest such story in 1604 was Richard

Gifford's raid on Algiers. Gifford had set sail in 1603 as captain of the *Lyons*, but during his voyage it came to his knowledge that James had ordered an end to the Elizabethan campaign of commerce raiding.⁵⁶ The proclamation to this effect, like that banishing Jesuits and seminary priests, had been publicized across Europe. Putting in at Livorno in February 1604, Gifford offered his services to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and so ended up leading the assault on the harbor of Algiers, burning eight ships but failing to achieve the mission's main purpose, which was to kidnap Murad Rais, the Albanian-born leader of the Barbary Corsairs. Gifford's coup was hailed in pamphlets printed in Italy and Spain,⁵⁷ as well as receiving

54. With gratitude to Carmen Espejo.

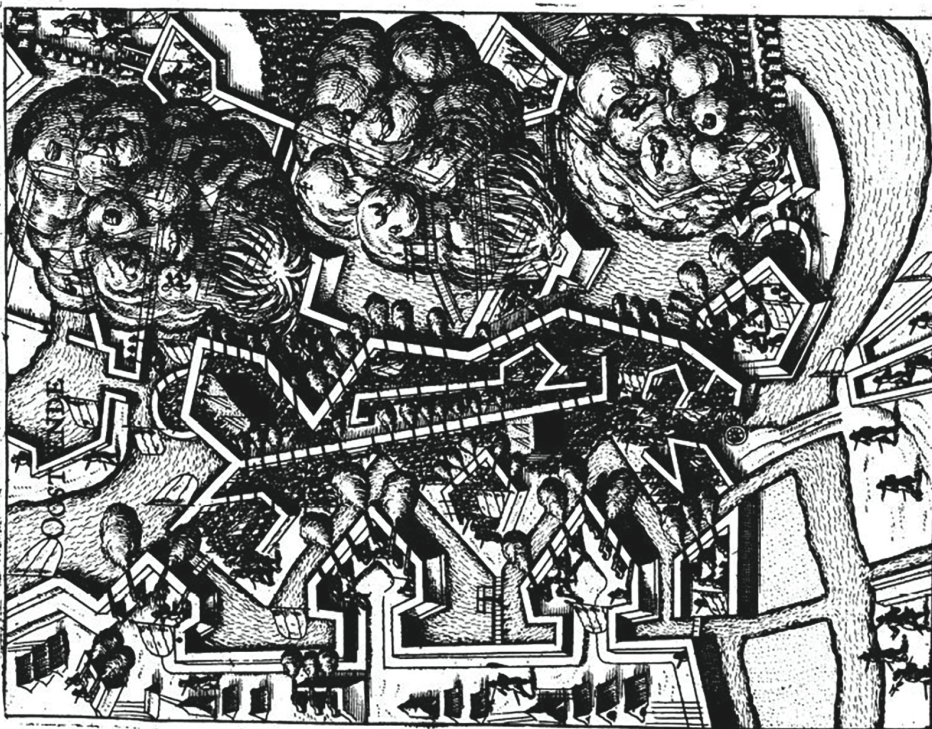
55. Giovanni Ciappelli, 'L'informazione e la propaganda: La guerra di corsa delle galie toscane contro Turchi e Barbareschi nel Seicento, attraverso relazioni e relaciones a stampa', in Giovanni Ciappelli and Valentina Nider, eds, *La invención de las noticias: Las relaciones de sucesos entre la literatura y la información (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (Trent: Università degli Studi di Trento- Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia, 2017), pp. 133-161.

56. Gigliola Pagano de Divitiis, *English Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, trans. Stephen Parkin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 26.

57. *Relatione dell'abbruciamento delle galere nel porto d'Algieri. Fatto dal capitano Riccardo Gifford inglese. La notte del martedì santo. A dì. 13. d'aprile. 1604* (Naples: Giovanni Battista Sottile, 1604, after the copy published in Florence, 'nella stamperia del Sermartelli') and *Muy verdadera relacion de grandissimo contento para la Christiandad, donde se da cuenta de como fue nuestro Señor servido; de que se echasse fuego a las galeras de Argel, que estavan*

Belagerung der Statt Ostende. IOVRNAL:

**Tageregister vnd eigentliche beschreibung aller gedencwurdigsten Sac-
hen/ handlungen vnd geschichten/ so inner vnd aussershalb der weithberumbten vnd fast vns-
überwindlichen Statt Ostende in Flandern defensive bey den Belägen/Offenfive aber durch dem gewaltigen
Läger des Erzherzogs Alberti zu Oosterreich sich zugezogen/welcher massen die Approches oder naherungen/ Anfälle/ Stürme/ auß
vnd einfall der Schiffe durch die Geule vnd neue Haven / allerhand hülffern floß werget vnd gebewde zu verhoffung vnd herrung
der selber Geule. Item mancherley Feuerwerke vnd neue Inventionen zu anwendung sollicher werke / zu vnd ausgericht.
Nach sonst viel vnserforr. Kriegs- beschreibungen vnd Strategemata von beyden theilen geröbet vnd angelegt sind worden/ samt
gantzem begrieffen vnd von Anfang derselben Belagerung nemlich vom 5. July 1601. bis auff diese gegenwertige hefft
nusse Anno 1604. extendirt, vnd in zwey theil vertheilt/ auch mit schönen neuen Kupfer- stücken vnd Wappen
illustriert vnd den augf. furschibet. Alles zum vertruwen vnd den glaubwurdigsten & schiffen verfaßet/
vnd nemlich so zu solchen neuen beschreibungen laß vnd lich haben/ zu dienlichen wolge-
fallen lag hocht gedraht / vnd auß der Tüderendischen in die hochteutsche
Sprach transferirt vnd in Druck verfertigt.**



Nach die glaubwurdigste Schifften vnd Landarten auß Ostende vnd andern Orten
geschriben / in Druck verfertigt. 1604



2.5 Belagerung der Statt Ostende, 1604, title page, Ghent University
(at <https://books.google.be/books?id=gBIGAAAacAAJ>)

coverage not only in the Mercuries of autumn 1604, but even the more selective condensations published in 1606 and 1608.

The only theatre of war to get the same type of dedicated press attention as Hungary was Flanders. There, the Eighty Years' War (with forty-four years left to run) pitched the States of Holland and their allies against the loyal subjects of their Habsburg king. In 1601 the royal Army of Flanders had invested Ostend, a Dutch bridgehead on the Flemish coast, but was unable to cut it off entirely from the sea, so that Dutch supply ships and troop transports continued to brave their artillery (Fig. 2.4). The siege was to drag on for over three years, subject to ever-intensifying foreign interest. The besieging and defending armies were both multinational forces, with Dutchmen, Flemings, Walloons, Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotsmen, Spaniards, Italians, Frenchmen, and Germans taking part. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose half-brother was commanding a contingent of Italian mercenaries at the siege, received weekly updates, and even a scale model of the town.⁵⁸ Others had to content themselves with printed maps and views, a variety of which were in circulation.⁵⁹

Particular engagements around Ostend had already been the subject of occasional publications, but in spring 1604, six months before the siege was to conclude, the demand for information on this epic struggle had reached such a pitch that specialist publications were providing overviews of the story so far. An initial *Belägerung von Ostende: Journal* recounted the siege day by day from its

beginning to spring 1604 (Fig. 2.5).⁶⁰ At the autumn fair there was an update.⁶¹ For those who had not yet bought the first part, a combined edition was also available.⁶² It was in autumn 1604 that Sigismund Latomus, publisher of the Frankfurt Mercury, sought to get on the bandwagon with a special supplement to the *Mercurius*, taking the story of the siege from 5 July 1601 to 5 July 1604,⁶³ while at the same time working on publishing a German account that added another month to the coverage, ending in August.⁶⁴

This was mirrored in France, where an *Histoire remarquable et véritable de ce qui s'est passé par chacun jour au siege de la ville d'Ostende* gave an account of the siege up to mid-June 1604.⁶⁵ This was soon followed with a *Continuation des sieges d'Ostende, et de l'Escluse* (Paris, 1604), bringing coverage up to the end of July. The *Histoire remarquable* and its *Continuation*, themselves based on the German *Journal*, in turn provided the basis for an English account, the title of which is worth giving in full:

A True Historie of the Memorable Siege of Ostend and what passed on either side, from the beginning of the siege, vnto the yeelding up of the towne. Containing the assaults, alarums, defenses, inventions of warre, mines, counter-mines and retrenchments, combats of galleys, and sea-fights, with the portrait of the towne: and also what passed in the Ile of Cadsant, and at the siege of Sluice, after the coming of Count Maurice.⁶⁶

par a salir en coso este verano, que fueron ocho, y cinco Fragatas las quemadas, de que era cabo dellas Morata Raes el mayor cosario que tiene Argel. Cuentase por quien se quemaron, y quien las quemo, que fue Ricardo Giffort Capitan Ingles (Seville: Fernando de Lara, 1604).

58. Brendan Dooley, 'Making it Present', in *Idem*, ed., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 95-114.

59. Many are reproduced in Werner Thomas, ed., *De val van het Nieuwe Troje: Het beleg van Oostende, 1601-1604* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2004).

60. *Belägerung von Ostende: Journal, Oder eigentlich Taglichs Register von alle ghedenckwürdigste Sachen, Handlungen und Gheschichten, so in der weith herumtun unwinlichen Statt und auch aussen da fur in des Ertzhertzogen Alberti von Ostenreich Feld-läger [. . .] von den 5. Julij 1601 bißhero auff diese gegenwertige Ostermisse 1604 sich zu beiden theilen haben zugetragen* (n.p., 1604).

61. *Journal. Ander theil, zusatz und Anhang, des gantzen Journals, uber die treffliche und weitberumte Belägerung der statt und Kriegs Universiteit Ostende in Flandern. Darinnen alles des jenige so sich seith nechtsverschieri Ostermeß des jetzt lauffenden Jars 1604 biß auff die gegenwertige Franckfurter Herbstmiß in Sept.* (n.p., 1604).

62. *Belägerung der Statt Ostende: Journal, Tagregister und eigentliche beschreibung aller gedenckwürdigsten Sachen, handlungen und geschichten [. . .] von 5. July 1601 biß auff diese gegenwertige Herbstemisse Anno 1604 extendirt* (n.p., 1604).

63. Gothardus Arthus Dantiscanus, *Mercurii Gallobelgici succenturiati, sive rerum in Gallia et Belgio, potissimum vero ad Ostendam, integro iam Triennio, à prima nimirum eius obsidione, quae facta est 5. Julii Anno 1601. usque ad 5. Julii Anni currentis 1604. gestarum, historicae narrationis continuatae* (Frankfurt: Sigismund Latomus, 1604).

64. 'biß auff diese gegenwertige Zeit [. . .] continuirt', *Palaestra Ostendana* ([Frankfurt]: Sigismund Latomus, 1604), title page.

65. *Histoire remarquable et véritable de ce qui s'est passé par chacun jour au siege de la ville d'Ostende, de part & d'autre jusques à present. Contenant les assaults, allarmes, deffenses, inventions de guerre, mines, contre-mines, & retranchement, combats des Gallers & rencontres Navalles, avec le portrait de la ville: Et ce qui s'est passé en l'isle de Cadsant & au siege de l'Escluse à l'arrivée du Comte Maurice* (Paris: Jérémie Périer, 1604).

66. Translated from the French by Edward Grimeston (London: George Eld for Edward Blount, 1604). On the relationship between these interna-

In Amsterdam, a *Journal ofte Dach-register van't principaelste in Vlaenderen geschiet, sedert den 25. April tot den 15. September 1604* gave an update of developments since Easter, but stopped a week short of the town's surrender.⁶⁷ From the perspective of Dutch publicity it was convenient that the siege ended just after the autumn fair of 1604, making it old news by the next year's spring fair, when the much shorter, third and final part of *Belägerung der Statt Ostende* finally became available.⁶⁸ This no doubt contributed to the dogged defense being much better remembered than its ultimate defeat.

The summer updates on the siege were necessitated by three key developments, all of which were republicized at Frankfurt's autumn fair: a negotiated return to loyalty for the Hoogstraten mutineers, ending the longest mutiny of the war; a massed assault on Ostend that failed to carry the town but did capture a number of its outworks; and a Dutch counter-attack on the Flemish coast, occupying the island of Cadzand and besieging Sluis. For Dutch propagandists, the taking of Sluis considerably reduced the sting of losing Ostend. A range of pamphlet accounts came out in Dutch,⁶⁹ with the Dutch assessment of their achievement repeated in France, Germany, and England.⁷⁰ Only in Italy was the focus on Ostend rather than Sluis, with a *Relazione dell'assedio della fortezza d'Ostenden posta nella Fiandra* printed in Rome, Bologna, Florence, and Siena.⁷¹

The Dutch talking up of their taking of Sluis was made

all the easier by the publication of what purported to be an intercepted letter written by Justus Lipsius to one of Albert's courtiers, in which the renowned expert on Stoic philosophy and Roman military history had lamented (in Motley's 1867 translation):

How easy it would have been to save Sluis [. . .] had we turned our attention thither in time! But now we have permitted the enemy to entrench and fortify himself, and we are the less excusable because we know to our cost how felicitously he fights with the spade, and that he builds works like an ancient Roman. [. . .] Should we lose Sluis, which God forbid, how much strength and encouragement will be acquired by the foe, and by all who secretly or openly favor him! Our neighbors are all straining their eyes, as from a watch-tower, eager to see the result of all these doings.⁷²

Dated 12 August, a week before Sluis fell, the letter was in print in Frankfurt the following March (Arthus 1605A, p. 29), itself becoming part of the international spectacle on which it was supposedly commenting. Nor was it the only item of correspondence to make its way into the press: the specialist overviews already mentioned contained letters from the archduke's camp, reports from within the besieged town, and papers captured upon the dead in the aftermath of assaults or sorties.

tional publications, see Anna E. C. Simoni, *The Ostend Story: Early Tales of the Great Siege and the Mediating Role of Henrick Haestens* ('t Goy-Houten: HES & De Graaf, 2003), esp. pp. 35-59.

67. *Journal ofte Dach-register van't principaelste in Vlaenderen geschiet, sedert den 25. April tot den 15. September 1604. so vant innemen der Schansen, schermutsingen, als ooc van't geweldich belegh ende overgaen van Sluys midtsgaders alle het gene dat Spinola uytgherecht heeft met syn Legher van die ure aen dat hy aengecomen is tot desen teghenwoordigen dach. Alles soo ick het selve gesien ende van gheloofweerdighe personen ghehoort hebbe* (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz., 1604).
68. *Belägerung der Statt Ostende. Journal Dritter und letzter theill des gantzenn Journals, uber die treffliche und weith berumbte belägerung der Statt und Kriegs-Universiteit Ostende in Flandern, darinnen alles des jenighe so sich von dem 28. Augusti 1604. biß auf die erobierung und aufgebung gemelter statt verlauffen und zu getragen haben* (n.p., 1605).
69. *Poincten ende Artickelen die sijn Exellentie gheaccordeert heeft aen den Gouverneur, Capiteynen, Officiers ende t'krijchsvolk teghewoordich binnen der stadt Sluys* (Delft: Jacob Cornelisz Vennecool, n.d. [1604]); *Artickelen ende contract van 't overgaen der Stadt Sluys* (n.p.d., [1604]); *Articulen besloten tusschen zijne Princelike Excltie, Graeff Mauritz van Nassauwen, ende den Gouverneur, Capiteynen ende Officiers der Stadt Sluys* (Middelburg: Richard Schilders, 1604); *Een cort ende warachtich verhael vande seer groote ende gheluckighe victorie die Godt Almachtich ghelieft heeft te verleenen aen de sijde der vereenichde Landen, int veroveren vande seer stercke ende welgheleghen Stadt Sluys in Vlaenderen* (Delft: Jacob Cornelisz Vennecool, 1604); *Noch Warachtigher Beschryvinghe van het innemen der stercke ende bynae onwinnelijke Stadt Sluys* (Rotterdam: Jan Bus, 1604).
70. *Reduction de la ville de l'Escluse* (Paris: Jeremie Perier, Olivier de Varennes, and Adrien Beys, 1604); *Discours véritable de la réduction de la ville de l'Escluse* (Tours: Widow Griveau, 1604); *Anweysung auff die Belägrung der Statt Schleus in Flandern* (n.p.d.); *Unpartheysche Relation, Was massen der Printz Mauritz, Graff von Nassaw &c. der Staden in Holand General Gubernator, die fürnemme Statt vnnd gewaltige Vestung Schleuß in Flandern, [. . .] erobert* (Cologne: Peter Brachel, [1604]); *Samuel Dilbaum, Eroberung Schleuß* (Augsburg: bey Christoff Mang, [1604]); *Newes from Flanders and Ostend* (London: Arnold Hatfield for John Bill, [1604]).
71. See Nina Lamal, 'Italian Communication on the Revolt in the Low Countries, 1566–1648 (Leiden: Brill, 2023), pp. 76, 159.
72. As quoted in John Lothrop Motley, *History of the United Netherlands from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce, 1609*, vol. 4 (reissued Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 207.

Without going into as much detail as they did for Flanders or Hungary, the Mercuries also touched upon other major conflicts: the beginning of Muscovy's Time of Troubles, and the contest for the Swedish Crown between Sigismund Vasa, King of Poland, and Charles, Duke of Södermanland, who in 1604 had himself proclaimed king at Linköping (Arthus 1605A, pp. 16-18). The strangest war story was that publicized early in 1604 on the civil strife in Bosnia between established power-holders and the new Bey appointed by the Porte. Faced with bandit armies in Anatolia while fighting the Habsburgs in the West and the Safavids in the East, the Ottoman government had pacified one such army by promising its leader, known as Deli Hasan, rule over the Eyalet of Bosnia on condition that he take his followers to Europe to fight in Hungary.⁷³ After losing many men in the unsuccessful Siege of Pest in 1603, Hasan went to take up the promised governorship but found his way blocked by a local army led by the incumbent Bey. At a clear numerical disadvantage, Hasan feigned flight by night, then returned and slaughtered the enemy while they were plundering his camp. After this stunning victory by stratagem, he orchestrated a triumphal entry into Banja Luka to non-stop gun salutes. Summoned to Constantinople on the pretext that the sultan wished to confer further honors for his gallantry in the Siege of Pest, he excused himself as unworthy and stayed put, entering into correspondence with the Ban of Croatia to secure his flank in Bosnia.

There is a pamphlet account, published without address but based on a lost original from the 'Schumannischen Druckerey' in Prague (the shop run by Johann Schumann's widow, Anna): *Von entstandener uneinigkeit unnd darauff erfolgten grossen Blutvergiessen, so sich newlich verschiener tagen im Bosner Landt zwischen den Türcken zugetragen*.⁷⁴ This drew upon letters sent to the imperial court at Prague before 29 January by the Ban of Slavonia, Ivan Drašković, which were confirmed by reports sent from Graz by Archduke Ferdinand.⁷⁵

Internal evidence shows that the pamphlet was printed

after 8 February. The events described had taken place after the end of the 1603 campaigning season, which came relatively late in November; they had been reported to the imperial court from Croatia and Austria before the end of January, and came out in print in Prague in early February. In March 1604, the story was included in the Frankfurt Mercury, under the heading 'Bosnana regio à seditiosorum Asiaticorum duce occupata' (Bosnian region occupied by the leader of the Asian mutineers; Arthus 1604A, pp. 118-120; the same news in Meurer 1604A, pp. 71-72; Frame 1604A, pp. 69-71, 84; PAED, p. 34). Frame also carried a later report that the 'Rebel Scriban' had written to the emperor asking that Catholic missionaries be sent to Bosnia (Frame 1604A, p. 111).

Over the course of 1604, Deli Hasan appeared in the German press under the various names *Zellaly* and *Gielagia* (presumably due to confusion with his leading position in the Celali Revolt), and *Scrivano*, *Scriban*, and *Schreiber* (perhaps taken for a family name, since his brother, whom he had succeeded as leader of the rebels, went by Kara Yazici, 'Black Scribe'). In Brachel's *Meßrelation*, *Gielagia* was misread or typographically garbled to *Giabagia*, giving yet another variant (PAED, p. 34). By autumn 1604, news had come that Zellaly had been ejected from Bosnia, but that to prevent Turkish forces from further splintering into mutually antagonistic factions he had instead been appointed Bey of Temesvar (Timișoara).⁷⁶ From Temesvar he undertook to surprise Lippa (Lipova), but failed in the attempt (Arthus 1604B, pp. 115-116; Francus 1604B, pp. 59-60). He would be killed in Belgrade the following year, on the Sultan's orders, after his correspondence with Christian powers came to the attention of the Porte.⁷⁷ Zellaly's meteoric career left little lasting mark, but was followed throughout 1604 in the German Mercuries. These piecemeal reports were worked into Ens's *Ungarische Chronologia* (pp. 113-115) the following year, and would eventually be scattered across several pages of the second edition of Richard Knolles's *Generall*

73. Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 206-207.

74. Digitized by the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, at <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-603267> (01.11.2020).

75. 'An der Kay. May. unsers allergnedigsten Herrn Hoff, nicht allein vom Obristen Ban aus dem Windischen Landt, Herrn Hansen von Draschkowitz, sondern auch von Ihr Für. Dur. Erzherzog Ferdinanden zu Osterreich, von Graz aus, diß 1604. Jahr vor Pauli bekehrung gewisser schriftlicher bericht', title page.

76. 'Zellalyus ex Bosna ejectus, Temesvariae Bassa constituitur', Arthus 1604B, pp. 59-60.

77. Mustafa Naima, *Annals of the Turkish Empire from 1591 to 1659*, trans. Charles Fraser, vol. 1 (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1832), pp. 315-316.

Historie of the Turkes (London, 1610, pp. 1194-1195, 1211, 1213).⁷⁸

VENUS, THE BRINGER OF PEACE

The Fiery Trigon of December 1603 had heralded the death of the most powerful ruler in the hemisphere: Sultan Mehmed III.⁷⁹ The Caliph of Islam and Emperor of Rum had died on 22 December, but his death was not publicized until his successor's government was in a position to pay the accession bonus customarily due to the troops. On 31 January, the Bey of Buda communicated to the governor of Pest (then garrisoned by Habsburg forces) that every gun in Buda would soon be let off, but that he should not return fire: it would be the customary celebration of a new Sultan's accession, not a prelude to attack. It was on the basis of this communication that letters from Prague of 8 February were reporting the change of ruler, as well as the detail that the new sultan was as keen to end the war in Hungary as his father had been.

Spring 1604 saw extensive coverage of the peace talks that had been taking place on an island in the Danube between Buda and Pest, but were dogged by delays. An initial meeting went nowhere because the Bey of Buda, the leader of the Ottoman delegation, was not yet present (Arthus 1604A, pp. 129-134). Michael Adolf von Althann was appointed to lead the imperial delegation, but further delays arose when the riverboat carrying his interpreter and his cook from Esztergom to Pest went down with all hands in a squall (PAED, p. 34). At Easter 1604 there was already small hope that Hungary would see peace any time soon, with the Turks openly using the ceasefire to reinforce and resupply their garrisons (Arthus 1604A, pp. 157-160; PAED, p. 40). By the autumn fair, the failure of the negotiations and the resumption of hostilities was widely known (Arthus 1604B, pp. 18-21). The following winter,

the whole process was repeated, with conditions and proposals for a settlement exchanged and rejected prior to the beginning of campaigning (Arthus 1605A, pp. 45-48).

Quite a different outcome awaited the negotiations between James I, on the one hand, and Philip III and the archdukes on the other. The first moves towards peace had already been reported in 1603, when extraordinary ambassadors first from the archdukes and then from the king of Spain had traveled to England to congratulate James VI of Scotland on his accession to the English throne. An account of Juan de Tassis's embassy to England appeared in Spain in two parts, but seems not to have been picked up elsewhere.⁸⁰

In spring 1604 there were reports that Juan Velasco, Constable of Castile, had arrived in the Low Countries. His instructions were still secret, but at least one Mercury speculated that he was on his way to England (LPLFC, p. 48). The negotiations themselves lasted from May to August 1604 (Arthus 1604B, pp. 111-114), their conclusion coming just too late to be reported in any detail at the autumn fair, although they were publicized in a number of independent pamphlets.⁸¹ An account of Velasco's embassy was printed as *Relación de la Jornada del Exc. Condestable de Castilla, a las pazes entre Hespaña y Inglaterra, que se concluyeron y juraron en Londres, por el mes de Agosto, Año M.DC.IIIII*. (Antwerp: Joannes Moretus, 1604). After initial publication in Antwerp, this was reprinted in Valladolid, Valencia, and Milan.⁸² A German version was produced as *Warer Dißcurs der Ankunfft Herrn Connestabile von Castille in Engelland, und deß beschloßnen fridens* (Augsburg: Johann Schultes, 1604).

All the Mercuries made a great deal of the Anglo-Spanish peace (Arthus 1605A, pp. 49-90; Cayet, fols 484v-489r; Matthieu, pp. 714-723), but there were differences in editorial emphasis. Ens specified that Velasco had been sent to lead the Spanish delegation after the archduke Albert had pressed the king of Spain to

78. On Knolles, see Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans*, pp. 57-84.

79. Ens, *Annalium* (1606), 'Sultanus moritur', pp. 213-214.

80. *Relacion muy verdadera del recebimiento y fiestas que se le hizieron en Inglaterra a don Juan de Tassis, Conde de Villamediana, Embaxador estraordinario de su Magestad del Rey Don Felipe tercero nuestro Señor, para el nuevo Rey Jacobo de Inglaterra* (Seville: Bartolome Gomez, 1603); *La segunda parte de la embaxada de Don Iuan de Tassis, Conde de Villamediana, y Embaxador de su Magestad del Rey Don Felipe tercero nuestro Señor, para el nuevo Rey Jacobo de Inglaterra* (Seville: Bartolome Gomez, 1604).

81. For example, *Neuwezeitung, Von Eröberung der Stadt und Festung Ostende in Flandern. Benebenst den Friedensartickeln, Zwischen dem Durchlauchtigsten König in Engellandt, Schottland, Irrland, etc. eines Theil, vnd dem Durchlauchtigsten König auß Spanien, beneben dem Ertzhertzogen andern Theils* (n.p., 1604).

82. A.F. Alison and D.M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640*, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), pp. 194-195.

negotiate.⁸³ Jansonius made no mention of Albert having been instrumental in pressing for an end to the war, saying only that peace between the kings of Spain and England and the archduke had come while war still raged in the Low Countries (a segue from his account of the Siege of Ostend).⁸⁴ Both mentioned the published account of Velasco's embassy.⁸⁵ Arthus, writing closer to the events themselves, had not done so, but provided all the factual content that Ens and Jansonius repackaged.

Most striking, in terms of the voices that found their way into the press, was that during the negotiations the merchants of London had petitioned the English delegates to press for a number of points, seventeen relating to free trade and four to freedom of conscience (so that English Protestants could trade in Spanish ports without having to worry about the Spanish Inquisition obliging them to take part in Catholic services). The articles they were proposing were printed in Dutch translation,⁸⁶ and were picked up in the German *Mercuries* (Arthus 1604B, pp. 158-164). Readers could compare what the English merchants had hoped for with what was finally agreed, as both sets of articles were reproduced at length. The European public was informed not only of the final agreement between the crowned heads, but of the hopes—and intervention in the diplomatic process—of at least some of their subjects.

Most of Europe took the final agreement from *Articuli pacis et confederationis perpetuo* (Brussels: Rutger Velpius, 1604), or from a translation based upon it, but the anonymous, undated Dutch version put out for readers in the United Provinces—*Articulen van het contract ende accoord*—was based on the English edition put out by Robert Barker in London.

SATURN, INFORTUNA MAJOR

The year 1604 had no shortage of disasters. Early in the year, a single eight-page pamphlet covered three together under the title *Drey erschrockliche Neue Zeytungen* (Frankfurt an der Oder: Nicolaus Voltzen, 1604): a flood in Seville on 19 December 1603, killing hundreds of people and thousands of livestock; a storm that hit Vienna on 4 February 1604, knocking down towers and chimneys, raining roof tiles on people in the streets, and taking part of the copper roof off the imperial palace; and a house fire in the village of Traben near Magdeburg on 8 January 1604. The last of these may seem comparatively trivial, but it was of singular symbolic importance: out of a clear sky, a fireball had struck the farm of a miserly grain hoarder who had been having a lie in, while his family were at church with the rest of the village. Through the smoke and the flames, some bystanders claimed to have discerned winged beings dragging away what could only have been the unfortunate's soul. Voltzen had already dedicated a separate pamphlet just to this story: *Erschrockliche Neue Zeitung von einem verzweyfelten Geitzhals* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1604).

The grouping of the three misfortunes in a single pamphlet suggests that they were thematically linked: the explicitly 'providentialist' interpretation of the fire implicitly extending to the damage caused by water in Seville and by the wind in Vienna. Other outlets seem not to have picked up on the fate of the miser of Traben, but the disasters in Seville and Vienna were widely reported. There are no known surviving copies of Blas de las Casas Alés, *Quarta Relación de el avenida del Río de Sevilla* (Seville: Francisco Pérez, 1604),⁸⁷ so it is not clear what relation, if any, this might bear to coverage elsewhere (PAED, p. 37; Frame 1604A, p. 90; LPLFC, p. 50; Meurer 1604A, p. 69;

83. Ens, *Annalium* (1606), p. 138: 'Interea tam Hispaniarum regis quam Archiducis Alberti legati pacis tractationem magnopere promovebant & urgebant: quae tandem, ubi Joannes Velascus, Castiliae Comestabilis &c. per Belgium facto itinere in Angliam cum amplissimis mandatis pervenisset, magnificè ubique & regaliter exceptus, felicem exitum est sortita'.

84. Jansonius, *Mercurius* (1608), p. 138: 'Dum in Belgio infestissimis armis atque animis pugnatur; pax iam diu inter Hispaniae & Angliae reges, Archiducesque & Duces Brabantiae &c. tractata, ubi Joannes Velascus [...]'

85. 'libello Bruxellis edito'.

86. *Eenentwintich Artijckelen, waer van de zeventien toucheren de trafijcken, ende de vier de liberteyt der consciencie, overghegheven door de generale Kooplieden van Enghelandt, aen de Ghecommitterde van syne Majesteyt, tracterende met den Ambassadeur van Spaengien, om dezelve artijckelen voor te houden int besprec van vrede* (Rotterdam: Jan van Waesberghe, 1604).

87. Alexander Samuel Wilkinson and Alejandra Ulla Lorenzo, *Iberian Books*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), no. 21474. On the flood, see Rosario Consuelo Gonzalo García, 'Noticias sobre las crecidas del Guadalquivir en Sevilla en la primera década del siglo XVII. Edición de una relación en verso de la «avenida de san Benito» en 1608', *Studia Aurea: Revista de Literatura Española y Teoría Literaria del Renacimiento y Siglo de Oro* 13 (2019), pp. 261-296, at 263-266.

Arthus 1604B, pp. 36-37), including an English pamphlet based on a lost original from Santiago.⁸⁸ Although no explicit link was made between the two stories, some reported the storm in Vienna in the same paragraph as the execution there of an imperial cavalry officer, Rittmeister Asselborn, for having sodomized a subordinate (Arthus 1604A, pp. 134-135; Meurer 1604A, pp. 82-83).

On 27-28 April, the silver-mining town of Annaberg, in the Erz Mountains, was consumed by fire. Native son Paulus Jenisius, preacher to the elector of Saxony's court in Dresden, collected and edited a number of letters and poetic laments to process the disaster and publicize the needs of the survivors, under the title *In subitaneam & luctuosam Annaebergae Deflagrationem* (Dresden: Matthäus Stöckel, 1604). The following year he brought out his *Annabergae Misniae Urbis Historia* (Dresden: Hieronymus Schütz, 1605) to encourage rebuilding.

Just how necessary such efforts at publicity may have been is illustrated by the fact that even for the German 'Mercurialists' this was a surprisingly minor story. The Frankfurt *Mercurius* spread it over a couple of pages (Arthus 1604B, pp. 68-70), but in the same publisher's *Meßrelation* it merited only a brief paragraph before a slightly more circumstantial account of the fire at El Pardo on 13 March (Francus 1604B, p. 22). In Cologne there was no coverage of the Annaberg fire at all. Even the Mercury closest to the disaster—the Magdeburg *Historicae Relationis Continuatio* edited by Jacobus Frame—failed to cover it, instead reporting that on 25 April the village of Grinzing, outside Vienna, had burnt down (Frame 1604B, p. 31), and going on to cover relatively minor house fires in Venice and Rome (Frame 1605A, pp. 10, 106). This suggests that the tendency to see a major fire as a divine punishment inclined editors to emphasize disasters that had befallen the confessional competition, to the neglect of those impacting on their co-religionists.

Another of the year's misfortunes was much more individual, although it was widely reported. The king of France's sister, Catherine of Bourbon, had reconciled with

her husband, the Duke of Lorraine, after a period of estrangement, and had been reported to be with child (PAED, pp. 28-29). Since the duke was Catholic and his duchess a Protestant, this was taken almost as an embodiment of the fruits of peace. When it transpired that the swelling of her abdomen had been caused by a malignant growth rather than by a pregnancy, that too was international news (LPLFC, p. 55; Frame 1604B, p. 20; Arthus, 1604B, p. 55). The medical care that the duchess had received was the focus of Cayet's coverage (pp. 456-457), while Matthieu reported the papal nuncio's undiplomatic remark that he sorrowed more for her soul than for her body (suggesting to the king's face that his unrepentantly Calvinist sister was unlikely to make it to Heaven),⁸⁹ and weighed at some length the likelihood that her disease was caused as much by malefice as by mischance (pp. 640-647).⁹⁰

STELLA MARIS

The year 1604 saw the hopes, fears, and personal calamities of a host of ordinary people brought to European attention: an Albanian cavalryman left for dead in an ambush; an English traveler to Spa beset by freebooters; a merchant shipwrecked on his homeward voyage; a gentleman with suicidal ideation; a child falling from a high window; a ten-year-old whose right leg was developing normally but whose left leg was not; a second-hand clothes dealer with a chronic flux; a teenage girl showing all the symptoms of demonic possession; a nun with migraines. Their plights and those of many more, as well as their miraculous deliveries from them, were the subject of books that were themselves international news.

Pamphlets publicizing miraculous cures at pilgrimage shrines were an established genre across Catholic Europe, but two published in 1604 had far greater cachet than most. One, the work of no less a luminary than Justus Lipsius, recounted the history of the shrine of Our Lady of Halle, in

88. *Sivill in Spaine. Or, A true report of a most strange and wonderfull inundation, or prodigious flood, which hapned at Sivill in Spaine, with the exceeding great overflowings of the river Wadalkier* (London: Simon Stafford, [1604]).

89. There is no sign of these words in the nuncio's own account of the exchange, although—perhaps no more diplomatically—he did insist that he would wear mourning to comply with the king and the court rather than as a sign of respect for the deceased'. See Bernard Barbiche, ed., *Correspondance du nonce en France Innocenzo del Bufalo, évêque de Camerino, 1601-1604* (Rome: Presses de l'Université Grégorienne, 1964), pp. 681-682. With thanks to Danilo Verde.

90. Matthieu was not eccentric in voicing such concerns. In the words of the English ambassador in Paris: 'Here are secret bruyts geven out that would have it conceyved she dyed of poyson. The disease was very strandge. Sum of her physicians affirmed that she was enceincte, others that she was bewitched'. Thomas Parry to Robert Cecil, 13/23 February 1604 (Public Record Office, State Papers 78/51, fol. 42v), quoted in Alfred Soman, 'The Theatre, Diplomacy and Censorship in the Reign of Henri IV', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 35/2 (1973), pp. 273-288, at p. 286.

Hainaut, a medieval place of pilgrimage that had escaped the iconoclastic fury of the Dutch Revolt. The other advertised the fame of a much newer locus of grace, the shrine of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel, in Brabant, and was written by Philip Numan, secretary to the city of Brussels, on the basis of carefully collected and collated affidavits. Lipsius wrote in Latin, Numan in Dutch and in French, but within a year Lipsius had translated Numan's work into Latin, as *Diva Sichemiensis sive Aspricolis*,⁹¹ and it was not much longer before Numan had translated Lipsius's *Diva Virgo Hallensis* into Dutch.⁹² Numan's work was also translated into Spanish and English, the latter translation with a dedication to James I calling upon him to honor his mother's faith by refraining from the persecution of Catholics.⁹³

A measure of advance publicity for the shrine at Scherpenheuvel was provided by a letter written from Antwerp on 30 December 1603 and printed in several Mercuries for spring 1604 (Arthus 1604A, p. 97; Meurer 1604A, p. 68). While primarily concerned with the logistics of the Siege of Ostend, this letter ended with a paragraph about the newly popular pilgrimage to Scherpenheuvel, relating that the Infanta Isabella herself had visited the chapel, walking two miles barefoot on the final stage of her journey.⁹⁴

Forty years after the conclusion of the Council of Trent, the Counter Reformation was no longer an aspiration but an established fact. Europe's leading intellectual was writing Marian pilgrimage reports. France, with the Jesuits readmitted, was taking stock of the range of new religious orders established in the capital (Cayet, fols 456r-458v). The city of Milan was pursuing the canonization of Cardinal Borromeo (Matthieu, p. 762). At a consistory in Rome on 9 June, Pope Clement VIII created eighteen new cardinals

(Frame 1604B, pp. 56-59; Arthus 1605A, p. 5; Cayet, fols 474v-475r; Mathieu, pp. 673-686), an unusually high number, and at another consistory in October, a letter from the Abbot of Fulda was read out boasting of the large numbers of Franconian Protestants who were returning to the Catholic fold (Frame 1605A, p. 83). The year saw publications celebrating missionary endeavors in Peru,⁹⁵ China,⁹⁶ Japan,⁹⁷ Cambodia,⁹⁸ and elsewhere—including the first European book about the Philippines, Pedro Chirino's *Relacion de las islas Filipinas* (Rome: Estevan Paulino, 1604). Cayet drew on several of these works in arguing that the Society of Jesus was a good thing that France should have more of (pp. 433-442). Missionaries were not the only sources of news from outside Europe: lack of space means it is not possible here to discuss accounts of commercial voyages and military confrontations taking place upon the oceans and in the East and West Indies (e.g., PAED, pp. 34, 37; Meurer 1604A, p. 94; Frame 1604B, pp. 24-25, 55, 66-67; Arthus 1604B, pp. 135-136; Frame 1605A, p. 9).

Catholic triumphalism did not go unchallenged. If the main pamphlet controversy in France in 1604 concerned whether the king should keep the peace with Spain or return to war, in Germany it related to whether there really was a marked spate of conversions to Catholicism, and whether such conversions as there had been could be explained by the greater truth, sanctity, unity, or antiquity of the Catholic Church. This debate was triggered by the publication of a work that Protestant polemicists were reluctant to let pass unchallenged: *Gute Neue Zeitung und Ursachen, Warumb viel Tausent guthertziger Lutheraner, Calvinianer, Zwinglianer, unnd andere newer Sectengenossen, sich zur Alten, Christlichen, Catholischen, unnd Apostolischen*

91. Jeanine De Landtsheer, 'From Philip Numan's "Miracles of the Virgin of Montaigu" (1604) towards Justus Lipsius's "Diva Sichemiensis sive Aspricolis" (1605)', in Wout Dillen, Caroline Macé, and Dirk Van Hulle, eds, *Texts beyond Borders: Multilingualism and Textual Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 61-87.
92. Justus Lipsius, *Die Heylighe Maghet van Halle*, trans. Philip Numan (Brussels: Rutger Velpius; Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1607).
93. Philip Numan, *Miracles lately wrought by the intercession of the glorious Virgin Marie, at Mont-aigu* [as in original?], *nere unto Siche in Brabant. Gathered out of the publik instruments, and informations taken thereof*, trans. Robert Chambers (Antwerp: Arnout Coninx, 1606).
94. On archducal involvement in the development of the shrine at Scherpenheuvel, see Luc Duerloo, 'Scherpenheuvel-Montaigu: Un sanctuaire pour une politique emblématique', *Dix-septième siècle* 240/3 (2008), pp. 423-439. On the history of the shrine itself, see Luc Duerloo and Marc Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel: Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2002).
95. Diego de Torres Bollo, *De rebus Peruanis*, trans. John Hay (Antwerp: Martin Nutius, 1604); *Idem*, *Brevis relatio historico rerum in provincia Peruana a Patribus Societatis Jesu gestarum* (Mainz: Balthasar Lippius, 1604); *Idem*, *Kurtzer Bericht was Gott vermittelst der Societet Jesu in den Peruanischen Ländern außgericht* (Wurzburg: Georg Fleischmann, 1604); *Idem*, *La nouvelle histoire du Pérou* (Paris: For Catherine Niverd, widow of Claude de Monstroeil, 1604).
96. *Nouveaux avis du Royaume de la Chine, du Jappon et de l'estat du Roy de Mogor* (Paris: Claude Chappelet, 1604).
97. Luís Fróis, *Récit véritable de la glorieuse mort de vingt et six chrestiens mis en croix, par commandement du roy du Japon, le 5 de février 1597*, trans. Jean de Bordes (Paris: Claude Chappelet, 1604); *Iapponiensis imperii admirabilis commutatio*, trans. John Hay (Antwerp: Widow & heirs of Joannes Bellerus, 1604); Francesco Pasio, *Litterae Annuae Japonicae* (Mainz: Balthazar Lippius, 1604); Fernao Guerreiro, *Relacion anual de las cosas que han hecho los padres de la Compañia de Jesus en la India Oriental y Japon* (Valladolid: Luis Sanchez, 1604).
98. Gabriel de San Antonio, *Breve y verdadera relacion de los sucessos del Reyno de Camboxa* (S. Pablo de Valladolid: Pedro Lasso, 1604).

Kirchen Gottes widerumb begeben (Ingolstadt: Andreas Angermeyer, 1604).⁹⁹ Certainly some of the recatholicization that was undoubtedly under way in Central Europe could be attributed to oppressive policies such as those enforced by Giorgio Basta, which met violent resistance in Bocskai's revolt in Transylvania and the Hajduk revolt in Upper Hungary—foreshadowings of the Bohemian revolt that would drag all of Central Europe into the Thirty Years' War a little over a decade later.¹⁰⁰

STELLA NOVA

Entirely unexpectedly, in October 1604, with Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn forming a triangle in Sagittarius, a new light appeared in the heavens. Some took this celestial apparition for that most terrifying of heavenly bodies: a doom-presaging comet.¹⁰¹ For one or two Dutch printers this was the moment to update and recycle a prophecy of the end times that had been circulating under a variety of names since 1577, and in large part went back to the 1550s.¹⁰² In 1604 it was ascribed to Paulus Secundus,¹⁰³ the following year to Jerassemus van Eydenborch. In the latter version, Eydenborch had been lying in bed when a fair young man took him to a mountaintop and showed him a gathering, from all the points of the compass, of frightful armies led by nightmarish commanders. Tyranny would lead them, a golden chalice brimming with blood in

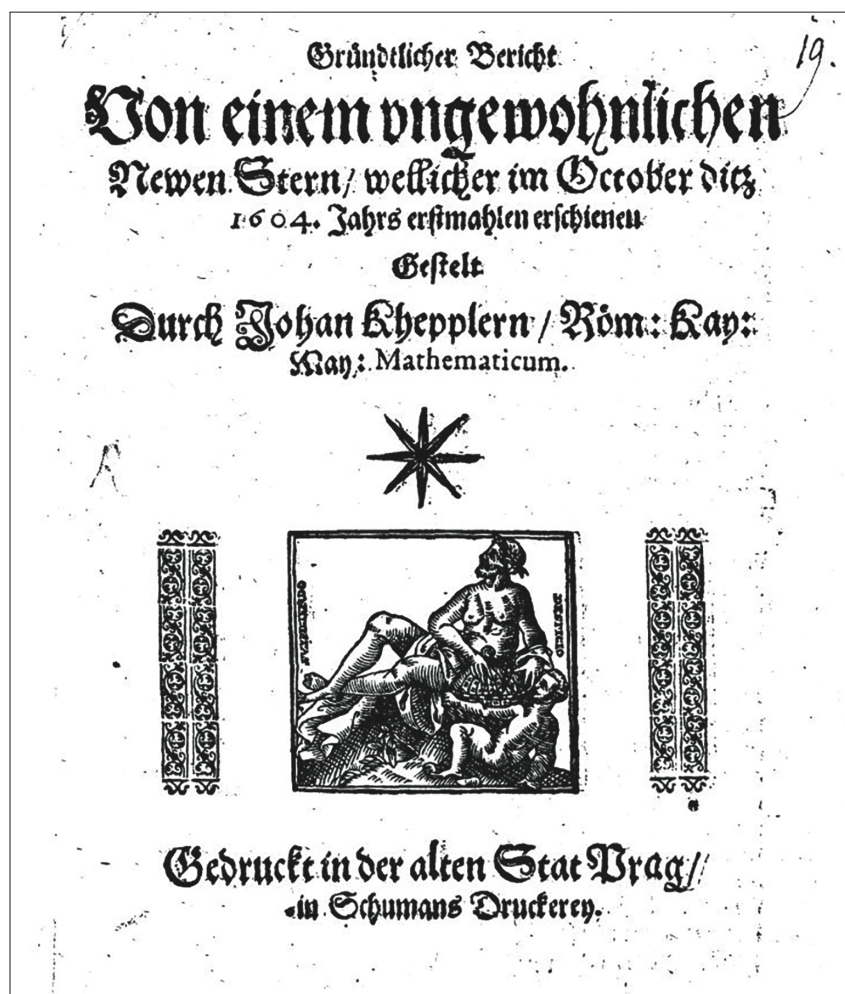
one hand and in the other the head of a child, and only a tiny band of refugees would survive to see the sequel: Spain defeated in 1605, the Turks driven from Hungary in 1606, peace between Christian princes in 1607, truth and justice oppressed in 1608, the pope driven from Rome in 1609, unheard-of wondrous new events in 1610, and the end of the world in 1611.¹⁰⁴

It transpired in fact that no comet had appeared at all, but a much more hopeful sign: a bright new star (what would today be called a supernova), holding out the promise of new birth free of catastrophe.¹⁰⁵ The imperial mathematician, Johannes Kepler, was more skeptical. In his *Gründtlicher Bericht von einem ungewöhnlichen Newen Stern, wellicher im October ditz 1604. Jahrs erstmahlen erschienen* (Fig. 2.6), he set out the observed phenomenon in some detail before going on to consider its possible meaning:

It is difficult to discern what its meaning may be, and only this is certain, that for humanity it will mean nothing at all, or something quite exceeding human understanding. [. . .] In political affairs and human actions I consider this star to be of great significance, not by its own nature, except incidentally, but due to the characteristics of humanity. It will in the first instance mean business and considerable profit for the printers of books.¹⁰⁶

Kepler's eight-page pamphlet first appeared in Prague,

99. Despite the title, this is a piece of religious apologetic, primarily written in lyrical form and by no means a hard news story. A digitized copy from the Bavarian State Library can be read at <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10777462-5> (01.11.2020).
100. See Dénes Harai, 'Les villes luthériennes de Kassa et de Sopron face au soulèvement anti-habsbourgeois d'István Bocskai en Hongrie (1604-1606)', *Revue Historique* 311/2 (2009), pp. 321-343; Meinolf Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen, 1600-1605: Gewaltsame Eingliederungsversuche eines ostmitteleuropäischen Fürstentums in einen frühabsolutistischen Reichsverband* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2011).
101. Johann Krabbe, *Cometa, So Anno 1604. den 3. Tag Octobris, am Himmel erschienen* (Erfurt: Beck, [1604]), sig. [B1v]; Wolfenbütteler Digitale Bibliothek, at <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/52-astron-2s/start.htm> (01.11.2020). See also David Herlitz, *Astronomische und historische Erklärung des neuen Sterns oder ungeschwänzten Cometen* (Alten Stettin: Jochim Rhete, 1604), digitized by the University Library Erlangen-Nueremberg at <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:29-bv008956817-8> (01.11.2020).
102. Jonathan Green, *The Strange and Terrible Visions of Wilhelm Friess: The Paths of Prophecy in Reformation Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), *passim*, esp. pp. 89-90.
103. Paulus Secundus [pseud.], *Een wonderlijcke nieuwe prophecije van de Nederlanden* (Breda: Peeter Gevaerts, 1604).
104. Jerassemus van Eydenborch [pseud.], *Een wonderlicke nieuwe Prophecye vande Nederlanden* (Delft: Bruyn Harmansz., 1605).
105. Wilhelm Eon Neuheuser, *Tractatus de nova stella: Oder Von dem neuen Abent Stern Scheinende* ([Strasbourg], 1604), cited in Robin Bruce Barnes, *Astrology and Reformation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 272. See also Carlos Gilly, 'Las novas de 1572 y 1604 en los manifestos rosacruces y en la literatura teosófica y escatológica alemana anterior a la Guerra de los Treinta Años', in Miguel Á. Granada, ed., *Novas y cometas entre 1572 y 1618: Revolución cosmológica y renovación política y religiosa* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2012), pp. 275-331.
106. 'Was nun sein bedeutung sein werd, ist schwärlich zu ergründen, und diß allein gewiß, das er eintweder uns Menschen gar nichts, oder aber solche hohe wichtige ding zubedeuten habe, die aller Menschen Sinn und vernunft ubertreffen. [. . .] In Politischen sachen und Menschlichen Hendlen acht ich, dieser stern hab trefflich viel zubedeuten, zwar nicht seiner Natur nach, sondern per accidens, wegen der Menschen gemüther. Dann anfänglich bedeutet er den Buchdruckern grosse unruh und zimlichen gewin darbey [. . .]. *Gründtlicher Bericht Von einem ungewöhnlichen Newen Stern, wellicher im October ditz 1604. Jahrs erstmahlen erschienen* (Prague: Schumannischen Druckerey, [1604]). A digitized version from the Bavarian State Library can be read at <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10873841-4> (01.11.2020).



2.6 Johannes Kepler, *Gründtlicher Bericht Von einem ungewöhnlichen Newen Stern, wellicher im October ditz 1604. Jahrs erstmahlen erschienen*, [1604], title page, Bavarian State Library, Munich (at <https://books.google.be/books?id=alxRAAAAcAAJ>)

from Widow Schumann's printing shop, and was reprinted in Strasburg by Johan Carolus, who the next year would print the first newspaper.¹⁰⁷

If the appearance of Europe's first weekly printed newspaper was heralded by a new star, this was not, to adapt Kepler's remarks, due to the nature of the star, but to the nature of the humans beholding it. As the English Jesuit Edmund Campion put it in 1581: 'though the countries do differ, yet the nature of the men remaineth

the same, namely, always desirous and greedy of news'.¹⁰⁸

The level of public demand for news that was apparent in 1604—no longer satisfied with six-monthly general round-ups, but seeing books about the wars in Flanders and Hungary turn into serial publications to keep abreast of what was happening—must have made it seem possible to turn a profit from printing newsletters on a weekly basis.

When newspapers did emerge, they provided overviews

107. A digitized version of the Strasburg edition from the Bavarian State Library can be read at <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsb:12-bsb11218345-1> (01.11.2020). Kepler went on to publish a much fuller Latin treatment of the *nova* and the discussions to which it gave rise in his *De Stella nova* (Prague: Paulus Sessius, 1606). This particular *nova* is now known to astronomers as Kepler's Supernova.

108. William Cobbett, *Complete Collection of State Trials*, vol. 1 (London: R. Bagshaw, 1809), col. 1065.

of the news more immediately, but in a way that relied very heavily on the availability of regular public posts. This had a cost in terms of geographical coverage. Relative to the six-monthly news roundups we have been considering here, the first newspapers carried vastly more news from those parts of Europe networked by the posts, but comparatively little of the news from south-eastern Europe or from North Africa that was so prominent in the *Mercuries* for 1604.¹⁰⁹ The continuing viability of biannual news overviews after the weekly press became established may well in part have been due to their ability to pick out and coherently present stories from outside the Western European newswriting network that would otherwise be submerged in the weekly flow of news.

The geographical range of the *Mercuries* of 1604 is impressive, but so too is the social range of the perspectives that they include, or the voices that they amplify. They reproduced or summarized both manuscript and printed sources that communicated the words of various heads of state but extended much further down the social scale to a corporal serving in the garrison at Ostend. If the reader has found these enumerations of the contents of the *Mercuries* exhausting, they can rest assured that such accounts are nevertheless far from exhaustive.

Finally, as has already been hinted at in the opening paragraphs, those reading the news in 1604 did so with one eye on the past and another eye on the future. The 'Mercurialists' and pamphleteers of the period have to be read alongside the historians and the astrologers if their function within the culture of early modern Europe is to be fully understood, for the events of the present were read not only as the effects of past causes, but also as signs of what was to come.



109. For an analysis of the sources and types of news available in the early newspaper press, see Paul Ries, 'Der Inhalt der Wochenzeitungen von 1609 im Computer', *Presse und Geschichte: Neue Beiträge zur historischen Kommunikationsforschung* 2 (1987), pp. 113-125; Paul Arblaster, *From Ghent to Aix: How They Brought the News in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1550-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), esp. pp. 122-171.