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News of Transylvania in the German Printed Periodicals of the Seventeenth Century, from István Bocskai to György II Rákóczi

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Short Abstract

In the seventeenth century, news of the Transylvanian princes in weekly newspapers and biannual *Messrelationen* rarely comes from the principality itself, but from the cities which are the Transylvanians' allies, enemies and invaded neighbors. This thesis examines the German language periodicals of four periods: István Bocskai's rebellion against the Habsburg Emperor (1604-5), Gábor Bethlen's first march into Hungary (1619-21), György I Rákóczi's Hungarian offensive (1643-5) and György II Rákóczi's incursion into Poland-Lithuania and the subsequent Ottoman invasion of Transylvania (1657-8). Between these periods, political developments and postal improvements shift the reporting networks which carry the news of Transylvania. As a result, each prince is reported on by a different set of reporting regions altering the language of the news. Bocskai's rebellion is presented in the *Messrelationen* as an alliance of the unchristian Protestants and Ottomans, dependent on military success rather than political legitimacy and causing devastation in the region. This perspective continues in later periods in news from Vienna, the most consistent reporter on Transylvania, as the princes are shown to be capable of upsetting the Emperor's position in Hungary, but more feared for their association with the Ottomans. Bethlen's march is also reported on by Transylvania's allies in Prague, who present the prince with greater diplomatic importance, and supporters in Hungary, who detail the diet meetings where he is elected king, proving his legitimacy. György I's march does not benefit from a breadth of perspectives, and Vienna's dominates the news with its concern for quick peace. György II's invasion of Poland is largely reported from the new news centers along the Baltic, presenting him as a

military commander with precedent for his claim to the Polish throne. With the Ottomans' invasion the following year, Vienna's fears for the safety of Christendom once again dictate Transylvania's portrayal in the news.

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News of Transylvania in the German Printed Periodicals of the Seventeenth Century, from István Bocskai to György II Rákóczi

Extended/Long Abstract

German language printed periodicals, both the weekly newspapers and the biannual *Messrelationen*, reported news of the many wars, conflicts and kings of the first half of the seventeenth century. Among these were four Transylvanian princes whose invasions of Hungary and Poland inspired both applause and outrage. István Bocskai led a successful revolt against the Habsburgs and was elected king of Hungary from 1604-5. Gábor Bethlen marched against Emperor Ferdinand II at the start of the Thirty Years War, from 1619-21, as an ally of Frederick, king of Bohemia, and was elected king of Hungary. At the end of the Thirty Years War, from 1643-5, György I Rákóczi, allied with Sweden and France, also marched into Hungary, though this action of was not greeted with as much attention as Bethlen's. From 1657-8, György II Rákóczi attempted an invasion of a different region, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was not only unsuccessful in claiming that crown, but also provoked the ire of the Ottomans who marched into Transylvania to reinforce their authority.

The political and religious conflicts which were often the focus of the news of these four Transylvanian princes were centered around issues common to much of Europe, including the Catholic-Protestant conflict, a concern for the rights of the nobility, the contestation over elected monarchies and the relationship between lord and vassal states. The principality of Transylvania is a useful subject to consider not only for the general applicability of the themes which run throughout the news, but because of its more specific geography—outside of the infrastructure of news reporting. The postal system which acted as the chief means of news communication continued to expand in

the seventeenth century, but did not include Transylvania. As a result, the news of Transylvania is not reported from the region itself, but rather comes from nearby cities and regions, such as Vienna, Prague, Venice, Silesia, Poland and the Baltic. Therefore, the news of princes' actions which circulated through Europe was not from the perspective of the Transylvanian participants, but rather their allies and enemies.

For each of these periods, extant issues of the German language printed periodicals, both weekly newspapers and *Messrelationen*, are considered. The newspapers are particularly suited for the thesis's concentration on reporting, rather than printing or reading, the news because they are numerous, various, and consistently indicate the location from which each news report was sent. Additionally, there is no overarching editorial voice, no person associated with the printing office who collates the incoming news and creates a narrative. Each story remains in the perspective of the news writer of the city or town from which it was dispatched. The biannual *Messrelationen* do have an editor who shapes a cohesive narrative of the news, offering a summation of the events of the previous months in a style very similar to that of the newspaper reports.

Each prince's period of major action falls in a distinct phase in the development of reporting networks. The year 1605 sees not only the final year of István Bocskai's rebellion, but also the first reference to printing weekly news. However, no newspapers survive from this date, so his story is told through the biannual *Messrelationen*. The intervening decade and a half saw improvements in the postal infrastructure which encouraged a boom in newspaper publishing, especially as the events of the Thirty Years War began to unfold. Gábor Bethlen's march into Hungary from 1619-21 was a subject of news in a large number of newspapers which chiefly received reports from the cities of Central Europe. Over the course of the Thirty Years War the postal system was improved, particularly by efforts of the Swedish army as they marched through northern Europe and

established news centers in Leipzig and Hamburg. These cities continued to be of importance in news reporting when György I Rákóczi made his Hungarian advance from 1643-5. Further improvements to the post came after the end of the war when German princes were given greater internal sovereignty and many, particularly in Brandenburg-Prussia, used this opportunity to improve the infrastructure of communication and travel. The new news centers which bloomed along the Baltic as a result would be crucial to the exchange of information of the march of György II Rákóczi into Poland-Lithuania in 1657. Each infrastructural improvement affected how the news of Transylvania was communicated.

Within the formalized network of reporting lie hints of a deeper, more nuanced network of news communication, as within many of the news stories are references to earlier sources of the news often related via letter or messengers. These 'systems of reporting' are particular branches of a wider European news network, and represent common patterns of communication, often closely linked to geography and proximity. Within the news stories of Transylvania there are three main reporting systems exhibited, though they are not entirely distinct and there are commonly points of intersection and overlap. The most frequently employed is within the Austrian Hereditary Lands, where news circulates from Hungary, the Transylvanian princes and the military camps through the cities of Vienna, Prague and later Breslau and then to the German newspapers. While evidence of the Hereditary Lands reporting system is clear in all four periods, even the *Messrelationen* of Bocskai, the reporting system of the German lands becomes more important only in the last two periods. The Swedish military headquarters at Leipzig report on actions from the camps of the allied Swedish and Transylvanian forces in 1643-5, and Hamburg becomes, by 1657-8, the major center of German newspaper reporting, in part due to its connection to the cities of Prussia, particularly Danzig, Elbing, Marienburg,

Stettin and Thorn. These Baltic cities represent a third reporting system, which communicates news from Poland-Lithuania and György II's invasion.

In order to best make comparisons across time, medium and reporting region, this thesis presents a topic-based linguistic analysis focusing on five areas: politics, ceremony, violence, economics and religion. Each topic area is analyzed based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, which are used to varying degrees depending on the topic considered. In some cases, such as violence and religion, a simple count of a particular set of defined vocabulary can offer a clearly perceived change in language usage. Within political news, however, it is more useful to read and analyze entire passages to give a more subtle explanation of the differences in styles or subjects of reporting. In all cases, however, the underlying principle is that counting can guide reading and reading inform counting.

In the *Messrelationen* of 1604-5, István Bocskai's actions are presented as the consequence of an illegitimate claim for authority won only through force of arms and an unchristian alliance. In this narrative, Bocskai does not have legitimate authority, but only promises of homage won through military intimidation. His army is supported financially by Ottomans creating an alliance of two unchristian peoples: the Reformed Transylvanians and the Muslim Turks. He commits acts of violence and destruction against good Christians and the lands of Hungary while the people of Transylvania starve. While his reasons for fighting are expressed, for freedom of religion and the rights of the nobility, they are largely overshadowed by the sense that Bocskai is merely a usurper and instigator of further war, rather than a leader and prince of Transylvania.

Gábor Bethlen's Hungarian march from 1619-21 is reported on by four different reporting locations that are crucial to his representation in the newspapers: Vienna, Prague, the Hereditary Lands and Hungary. Each of the major reporting regions

demonstrates within its news of Transylvania a particular perspective in its use of language and choice of subject matter. From Vienna, comes news of Bethlen's march through Hungary accompanied by destruction to civilian and church property, the persecution of clerics, and finally his election as king of Hungary. Prague presents this election as accompanied by great ceremony and pomp and Transylvania as a supporter of Bohemia, an alliance solidified through Bethlen being named the godfather of Frederick's son. The Hereditary Lands give news of the military actions, violent and filled with prayers to God and the costs of war. Hungary presents the meetings of the diets, Bethlen as a king at the head of grand processions, and concerns for religious freedom and the Ottomans at the borders of Christendom. The *Messrelationen* of the period include characteristics and news items from all four of the major reporting locations, and supplement this narrative with letters from Bethlen, the Emperor and other interested parties.

By the last phase of the Thirty Years War, when György I Rákóczi marches into Hungary from 1643-5, the systems of reporting on Transylvania have shifted. While some reports come from the Hereditary Lands, Hungary and Rákóczi's Swedish allies in the German Lands, the news of this march is reported overwhelmingly from Vienna. With the news communication dominated by an Imperial perspective hostile to the Transylvanian's movements to claim authority in Hungary, the picture of Rákóczi in the newspapers lacks the praise and flattery that Bethlen had received from Prague and Hungary twenty years earlier. The dominance of the reporting voice of Vienna particularly affects how ceremony is represented, or rather neglected, in the news stories and how the Imperial desire for peace changes the ways in which religious language is employed, focusing on the institutional role of the church instead of the articulation of personal beliefs. In addition, there is a focus on the conditions of peace, the possible involvement of the

Ottomans, the need to feed an army and the devastation of the countryside because these are the questions that most concern Vienna. This narrative of Transylvania offered primarily from a single vision continues in the stories of the *Messrelationen*, which include no letters from the prince himself.

György II Rákóczi's foray into Poland-Lithuania had consequences in how Transylvania was reported on in the printed media, as Rákóczi marched north into a new reporting system. With the Swedish alliance and the attempt to gain the Polish royal title, the cities of Poland and the Baltic began frequently distributing and printing the news of the Transylvanian prince. This new major reporting system presents a different view of the actions of Rákóczi than what has traditionally appeared from Vienna. However, this narrative, which is more focused on the military, more violent, more personal and includes the prince's greatest ceremonial successes, lasts less than a year. When Rákóczi's invasion and alliance with Sweden collapses, so too does Rákóczi's political reputation. At the end of 1657 and into 1658, though the prince achieves some military success against the Ottomans, the larger portion of the news is concentrated on the questions of political legitimacy. This news comes from Vienna and, for the first time in these newspapers, Transylvania itself, and is less concerned with the principality and more concentrated on the Ottomans taking control of the region. Both of these narratives of Transylvania, as conqueror and victim, are presented in the *Messrelationen* of 1657-8.

Throughout the news stories of each of these four princes several themes reoccur, including claims for political authority, promises of religious protection and fears of Ottoman influence. What subjects are addressed and language is used depend not only on what events are taking place, but also on how the infrastructure necessary to reporting the news has changed. The cities and regions which contribute news of Transylvania

fluctuate, and as a direct result, the image of Transylvania and its leaders as presented in the printed periodicals is reshaped.

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Conventions

In quotations from the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, spelling has been largely preserved. The exceptions are when characters that are used in the 17th century typeset are unable to be reproduced, such as the ligature of tz or the long ‘s’. Also, for purposes of clarity, the letter ‘j’ has been replaced by the letter ‘i’, and ‘u’ with ‘v’ in those cases when it would be appropriate and when a typeset letter was placed upside down, as when a ‘n’ resembles a ‘u’, the corrected form of the letter is used. In transcriptions, the italic font is used to distinguish those instances when a latin typeface was used (often for emphasis, Latin or Italian based words, or proper nouns) instead of blackletter.

When communicating the results of quantitative analysis within the text, Arabic numerals are commonly used so that comparisons are more apparent.

Place Names

A note on naming in this thesis: if there is a common English name for a city or region (e.g. Vienna, Prague, Cracow, Constance, Copenhagen, Dunkirk), that will be used. Otherwise, German names and spellings are used within the news analysis in order to be most consistent with the sources. Following is a list of those cities for which a German name is used alongside names in the languages most pertinent to this thesis.

German	Hungarian	Slovak/Czech	Romanian	Polish	Other
Breslau	Boroszló	Vratislav		Wrocław	
Brest				Brześć Kujawski	
Brieg				Brzeg	
Brünn		Brno			
Budweis		České Budějovice			
Bütow				Bytów	
Danzig	Dancka			Gdańsk	Gdanskas (Lithuanian)
Dirschau				Tczew	
Eger		Cheb			
Eisenstadt	Kismarton				
Elbing				Elbąg	
Eperies	Eperjes	Prešov			
Fülleck	Fülek	Fiľakovo			Filek (Turkish)
Glatz		Kladsko		Kłodzko	
Glogau		Hlohov		Głogów	
Gran	Esztergom	Ostrihom/Ostřihom	Strigoniu		
Graz	Grác	Štýrský Hradec			
Griechisch-Weißenburg	Nándorfehérvár	Bělehrad/Belehrad			Belgrade (Serbian)
Großwardein	Nagyvárad		Oradea		Varat (Turkish)
Hermannstadt	Nagyszeben	Sibiň	Sibiu		
Iglau		Jihlava			
Jaroslau				Jarosław	
Kaschau	Kassa	Košice	Caşovia		
Kedahnen				Kiejdany	Kėdainiai (Lithuanian)
Königsberg		Královec		Królewiec	Kaliningrad (Russia)
Klausenburg	Kolozsvár		Cluj-Napoca		
Komorn	Komárom	Komárno			
Kronstadt	Brassó		Braşov		
Landshut				Łańcut	
Lauenburg in Pommern				Lębork	
Lemberg				Lwów	Lviv (Ukrainian)
Leutschau	Lőcse	Levoča			
Lippa	Lippa		Lipova		Lipva (Turkish)

German	Hungarian	Slovak/Czech	Romanian	Polish	Other
Marienburg	Máriavár			Malbork	
Netolitz		Netolice			
Neuhäusel	Érsekújvár	Nové Zámky			Uyvar (Turkish)
Neumühl				Namyślin	
Neusohl	Besztercebánya	Banská Bystrica			
Neustadt (am Zeltberg)	Sátoraljaújhely	Nové Mesto pod Šiatrom			
Neutra	Nyitra	Nitra			
Nikolsburg		Mikulov			
Ofen	Buda				Budin (Turkish)
Olmütz		Olomouc			
Petrikau				Piotrków Trybunalski	
Pilsen		Plzeň			
Posen				Poznań	
Premissel				Przemyśl	
Pressburg	Pozsony	Bratislava			
Raab	Győr	Ráb			Yanıkkale (Turkish)
Riga					Rīga (Latvian)
Rokitzan		Rokycany			
Stettin				Szczecin	Štetinas (Lithuanian)
Stroppkau	Sztropkó	Stropkov			
Theiss (river)	Tisza	Tisa	Tisa		
Thorn				Toruń	
Troppau		Opava		Opawa	
Tyrnau	Nagyszomba	Trnava			
Waitzen	Vác	Vacov			
Weißenburg	Gyulafehérvár		Alba Iulia		Erdel Belgradı (Turkish)
Wilda				Wilda, Poznań	
Zips	Szepesség	Spiš		Spisz	
Znaim		Znojmo			

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Introduction

In August 1620, the *Zeitung* of Berlin printed a report from Prague of the election of Gábor Bethlen, prince of Transylvania, as the new king of Hungary. The story proclaimed that the diet in Neusohl had rejected the claims made by the Habsburg Emperor for the position and had instead elected the Transylvanian prince, who would be sending 50,000 men straightaway to assist Bohemia and the Confederated Lands in their efforts against Imperial forces.[1] A week later, the *Zeitung*'s next issue included a report sent from Vienna the day after the Prague dispatch. It stated that the Hungarian Diet in Neusohl had recognized the Emperor as their king—it hoped only that Bethlen would act as governor—and that this resolution wanted only the Emperor's ungiven approval.[2] With each city's communication of the news of Transylvania, the event was placed within the context of the reporting region's overriding interests. Bethlen's actions were shaded by the antagonism between Emperor Ferdinand II in Vienna and Frederick, the new king of Bohemia, in Prague.

The transmission of news in print includes multiple levels of communication, and while there has been a great deal of research on the printing and reading of news, this thesis instead concentrates on the earlier stage of the reporting of news.[3] The German language newspapers are particularly suited for this purpose because they are numerous, various, and consistently indicate the location whence each news report was sent. Additionally, there is no overarching editorial voice; no single person was associated with the printing office who collated the incoming news and created a narrative. Each story remains in the perspective of the news writer of the city or town whence it was

[1] 'Auß Praga/ vom 25. *Augusti*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:35).
[2] 'Auß Wien/ vom 26. *Augusti*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:36).
[3] For a brief review of some of the most important recent work on news printing and reading, see Chapter 1, note 2, page 11-2.

dispatched. Another type of printed periodical, the biannual *Messrelation*, did have an editor who shaped a cohesive narrative of the news. Though this publication predated the newspaper by a couple of decades, it also survived as a contemporary source of news, offering a summation of the events of the previous months in a style very similar to that of the newspaper reports. In order to best have a sense of how the reporting style of both of these periodicals changed over the course of fifty years and from various locations, this thesis does not restrict itself to a particular publication or city and instead includes all extant material, following a single story subject—the principality of Transylvania.

Due to particularities of geography, governance and religion, Transylvania offers a particularly interesting lens through which changes in news reporting can be examined. Located in the crook of the Carpathian Mountains, the principality was on the edge of European Christendom and wedged between the Holy Roman and Ottoman Empires. These two powers fought over the region throughout the sixteenth century; the result of this conflict was that while Transylvania swore fealty to the Ottoman Porte, the Habsburgs still exercised considerable influence, particularly as the kings of the neighboring region of Royal Hungary. The nobility of both Transylvania and Hungary were largely Magyar and many families owned lands in both regions.

In addition to the two major political authorities vying for leverage over regional leaders, the principality also contained a multitude of religious persuasions. Following the Reformation, the Catholics, Jews and Orthodox were joined by the legally recognized practitioners of the Evangelical (Lutheran), Reformed (Calvinist) and Antitrinitarian faiths. By the seventeenth century, the Transylvanian princes were primarily of the Reformed faith and resistant to the Habsburg-guided efforts of the Counter Reformation. This resistance not only manifested itself within the borders of the principality, but also extended to embrace the Reformed Protestants of Royal Hungary. As a result,

Transylvanian princes would attempt to exercise authority within the borders of Royal Hungary, and variously found support and resistance amongst Magyar noble families, both Reformed and Catholic. The Catholic Habsburgs defended their own rule in Hungary, but were often wary of the possible involvement of the Ottoman Turks, the suzerains of Transylvania.

However, Transylvania experienced its own conflicts over princely succession, so that the region was often not stable enough for a ruler to be actively engaged in conflict with another European power. In the first half of the seventeenth century, only four princes were strong enough political leaders that they could launch a military action of a scale worthy of the widespread attention of the printed periodicals of the day. This thesis focuses on these four engagements as they were the most prolific subjects of Transylvanian news.

In the years 1604-5, István Bocskai, supported by the Ottomans, led a successful revolt against the Habsburgs and was elected king of Hungary, though he conceded the crown in exchange for considerable lands, freedom of religious practice for Protestants and official recognition as the prince of Transylvania. His general, Gábor Bethlen, was later named prince of Transylvania and led a series of marches against Emperor Ferdinand II during the Thirty Years War. The first of these, from 1619-21, was the most successful as Bethlen marched as an ally of Frederick, Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, and was elected King of Hungary. However, he, like Bocskai, gave up his claim to the title in exchange for land and recognized freedom of religious practice. At the end of the Thirty Years War, from 1643-5, the prince of Transylvania once again marched into Hungary, though this action on the part of György I Rákóczi was not greeted with as much attention and did not achieve as much success as Bethlen's action did. Twelve years later, from 1657-8, Rákóczi's son, György II, attempted an invasion of a different region,

the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was not only unsuccessful in claiming that crown, but also provoked the ire of the Ottoman Porte with his ambition, and the Turks marched into Transylvania to reinforce their authority.

The political and religious conflicts which were often the focus of the news of these four Transylvanian princes were centered around issues common to much of Europe, including the Catholic-Protestant conflict, a concern for the rights of the nobility, the contests over elected monarchies and the relationship between lord and vassal states. The principality of Transylvania is a useful subject to consider not only for the general applicability of the themes which run through the news, but also because of its more specific geography—outside of the infrastructure of news reporting. The postal system which acted as the chief means of news communication continued to expand in the seventeenth century, but did not include Transylvania. As a result, the news of Transylvania was not reported from the region itself, but rather came from nearby cities and regions, such as Vienna, Prague, Venice and Silesia. Therefore, the news of the princes' actions which circulated throughout Europe was not from the perspective of the Transylvanian participants, but rather from that of their allies and enemies.

In concentrating specifically on the subject of Transylvania during four different two- and three-year periods over the course of half a century, it is possible to conduct an in-depth investigation that spans a broad time range. For each of these periods, extant issues of German-language printed periodicals, both weekly newspapers and the *Messrelationen*, were examined. Comparisons of reporting focus and language usage were therefore possible not only among between reporting regions and mediums within each time period, but also over the course of fifty years, as postal networks developed and cities gained and lost prominence as reporting centers.

In order to best make comparisons across time, medium and reporting regions, this thesis presents a topic-based analysis focusing on five areas: politics, ceremony, violence, economics and religion. While the topics of politics, religion and economics are standard frames through which to classify news content, violence and ceremony are a slight departure proposed by this author. 'Violence' offers a different perspective on how actions of war were included in the news. Instead of noting the number of words which are devoted to military acts, the topic of violence presents the more distinct and forceful vocabulary choices which appear within the reports. Likewise, the topic of ceremony includes unique and descriptive words which are conspicuous in the often repetitive text of the news reports. Acts of ceremony appear not only in the world of the court, but also within the news of the military camps. By treating this topic as separate from the political sphere where it would initially seem the most natural, the rituals of formalized display within a variety of contexts were given a closer examination. No topic excluded the others and the five areas often overlapped, such that a news item could easily be characterized as both political and ceremonial, or violent, economic and religious, or any combination thereof.

Each topic area was also analyzed with a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, which were used to varying degrees depending on the topic considered. In some cases, such as violence and religion, a simple count of a particular set of defined vocabulary could offer a clearly perceived change in language usage. Within political news, however, it was more useful to read and analyze entire passages to give a more subtle explanation of the differences in styles or subjects of reporting. In all cases, however, the underlying principle was that counting can guide reading and reading can inform counting.

The topic areas which primarily benefit from quantitative measurements are violence and religion. In both cases, there are individual words which are distinct and carry a violent or religious meaning in and of themselves, such as ‘slay’ or ‘burn’ in the case of violence, or ‘God’ or ‘Catholic’ for religion. It is possible to count the frequency of these words and gain an understanding of how the reporting of these topics changes over time and location. However, even in these cases, some context is necessary to determine whether the violence described is of a particular act or a general sense of destruction and whether the religious language is concerned with the organization and political strength of the church or the personal faith of the writer or participant.

The topics of ceremony and economics are presented as a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis. For both areas, the words which most frequently appear, such as ‘horse’, ‘gold’ or ‘worth’, are not exclusively related to a particular topic, but occur throughout the news reports. Rather, an understanding had to first be accomplished through the act of reading and noting instances of ceremonial or economic news. Then, subcategories could be assigned, such as the presentation of gifts or entrance of parades in the case of ceremonial news, or providing for an army or promising tribute in economic news. These subcategories could then be counted, and changes in the patterns of usage could be determined.

Political news is by far the largest topic area and includes reoccurring news items, such as envoys arriving at court, and those specific to Transylvania itself, such as alliances made, peace secured and elections that have taken place. This topic was almost exclusively understood in qualitative terms, as an understanding of the tone and composition of the political news was best achieved through personal apprehension and not numerical measurements. Within this topic, comparisons were made based on which events were included and excluded by particular regions and what themes reoccurred or

disappeared over time. There was some quantitative understanding that could be gleaned from the sheer number of words devoted to political events, as well as which countries and rulers most frequently mentioned in the political news of specific regions, giving light to where the political concerns of the reporting location lay.

These topic areas provide much of the internal structure of each chapter, as the news reports of the four periods, both in the *Messrelationen* and newspapers, were considered in terms of both the reporting locations which appear most frequently and the language, subjects and perspectives displayed in the five news topics. The chapters themselves are organized around the four Transylvanian princes and the two- and three-year periods of their most publicized forays into wider European political and military affairs.

Before examining the news of each prince in his turn, an overview of news reporting during the first half of the seventeenth century is presented in the first chapter. A general history of news communication, from manuscript newsletters, pamphlets and broadsheets to the periodical press of the *Messrelationen* and newspapers, is interspersed with a specific look at the publications which form the basis for the subsequent analysis of Transylvanian news. This overview includes not only information on the best preserved publications and their printers, but, more importantly, the changes in the network infrastructure over time. Each prince's period of major action fell in a distinct phase during the development of reporting networks. The year 1605 saw not only the final year of István Bocskai's rebellion, but also the first reference to printing weekly news. However, no newspapers survive from this date, so his story was told through the biannual *Messrelationen*. The intervening decade and a half saw improvements in the postal infrastructure which encouraged a boom in newspaper publishing, especially as the events of the Thirty Years War began to unfold. Gábor Bethlen's march into Hungary

from 1619-21 was a subject of news in a large number of newspapers which chiefly received reports from the cities of Central Europe. Over the course of the Thirty Years War, the postal system improved, particularly thanks to the efforts of the Swedish army as it marched through northern Europe and established news centers in Leipzig and Hamburg. These cities continued to be of importance in news reporting when György I Rákóczi made his Hungarian advance from 1643-5. Further improvements to the post came after the end of the war when German princes were given greater internal sovereignty and many, particularly in Brandenburg-Prussia, used this opportunity to improve the infrastructure of communication and travel. The new news centers which consequently bloomed along the Baltic were crucial to the exchange of information about the march of György II Rákóczi into Poland-Lithuania in 1657. Each infrastructural improvement affected how the news of Transylvania was communicated.

The second chapter examines the reporting on István Bocskai in the *Messrelationen* of 1604-5, wherein a narrative was established about his rebellion being supported by the Ottomans. Within these news stories Bocskai's actions are presented as the consequence of an illegitimate claim for authority won only through force of arms and through an alliance of unchristian peoples: the Reformed Transylvanians and the Muslim Turks. The five topic areas—politics, ceremony, violence, economics and religion—are given further definition in this chapter and coupled with examples from the *Messrelationen* themselves. These publications rarely attributed news stories to a particular reporting region, so a more cohesive view of each topic is presented before competing representations from several locations become the focus of analysis.

The following chapter focuses on Gábor Bethlen's Hungarian march from 1619-21 and defines systems of reporting more fully while noting the four different reporting locations that were crucial to his representation in the newspapers. Stories from Hungary

largely involve news of the political actions of the day, particularly the kingly election, while the Habsburg Hereditary Lands placed a greater focus on military events: marching armies and besieged cities. The two most important reporting locations, the rival cities of Vienna and Prague, each presented a different view of the Transylvanian prince. Vienna painted the image of a military commander, much like Bocskai, who only won authority through intimidation and violence and created unrest in a country where he did not have legitimate power, while Prague offered up a great prince of Europe, accomplished in war, but also worthy of receiving fine gifts from other leaders. Variations in the language used and subjects covered by these four reporting regions in each of the five topics areas are noted, and particular attention is paid to the differences in how political and economic news appeared. The *Messrelationen* of the period include characteristics and news items from all four of the major reporting locations, and supplement this narrative with letters from Bethlen, the Emperor and other interested parties.

Chapter 4 offers a somewhat parallel story as György I Rákóczi's march into Hungary in 1643-5. However, by the end of the Thirty Years War, the systems of reporting on Transylvania had shifted, and this chapter explores the reporting systems' connections to particular mediums and networks of communication. While some reports came from the Hereditary Lands, Hungary and Rákóczi's Swedish allies in the German Lands, the news of this march was reported overwhelmingly from Vienna. Since news communication was dominated by an Imperial perspective hostile to the Transylvanian's claims for authority in Hungary, the picture of Rákóczi painted in the newspapers lacks the praise and flattery that Bethlen had received from Prague and Hungary twenty years earlier. The dominance of the reporting voice of Vienna particularly affected how ceremony was represented, or rather neglected, in the news stories and how the Imperial desire for peace changed the ways in which religious language was employed. This

narrative of Transylvania offered primarily from a single perspective can be seen to continue in the stories of the *Messrelationen*, which include no letters from the prince himself.

The final chapter of this thesis focuses on the disastrous consequences of György II Rákóczi's Polish ambitions from 1657-8 and how the reporting systems changed when the Transylvania prince marched into a new country. In the opening months of the prince's invasion a new system of reporting based on the reporting centers along the Baltic and the cities of Poland-Lithuania presented an image of Rákóczi not unlike that of any other martial prince: filled with violence and destruction, but also political promises and parades into conquered cities. However, with his defeat and ignoble return to Transylvania, Vienna once again became the most important transmitter of Transylvanian news. During these years, the city's concern was not over a rival to Imperial authority in Hungary, but rather a fear of the Ottomans' growing power in Transylvania in the absence of a strong princely government. Once again, the *Messrelationen* portray these two views of Transylvania: a prince strong enough to march into a neighboring land and a principality which, when weak, offered an easy road by which the Ottomans could return to Christendom.

Throughout the news stories dealing with each of these four princes several themes reoccur, including claims for political authority, promises of religious protection and fears of Ottoman influence. What subjects were addressed and what language was used depended not only on what events were taking place, but also on how the infrastructure necessary to reporting the news had changed. The cities and regions which contributed news of Transylvania fluctuated, and as a direct result, the image of Transylvania and its leaders as presented in the printed periodicals was reshaped.

Chapter 1

The Printed Periodicals of the Seventeenth Century

In considering the importance of early modern news transmission, much of the focus of historical analysis has been on the questions of readership and the role of government. Who read and shared the news? Did it affect their understanding of the political world of Europe? Did it incite them to a greater level of domestic political involvement? To what degree could governments control the information that was available? The questions surrounding what can be gained, or even lost, from readers' fascination with news of recent events is certainly not a subject limited to the historiography of the past fifty years. Even in 1695, Kaspar Stieler's *Zeitungs Lust und Nutz* analyzed the news industry, including questions as to the benefits of news reading for the populace and what, in turn, were the responsibilities of the news writer to his readers and sovereigns.[1] More recent histories have broached similar subjects while applying the concepts of public sphere and censorship to the early modern period, creating a rich collection of research and inspiring debate on the very usefulness of these modern terms.[2]

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[1] Discussed in J. Popkin, 'New Perspectives on the Early Modern European Press', in J. W. Koopmans, ed., *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)* (2005), 1-27 and J. Weber, 'Strassburg 1605: The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe', *German History* 24/3 (2006), 387-412. Stieler's views also included the need to see a moral lesson and evidence of God's work in the events unfolding in the newspapers. There is evidence that this was also a view adopted by many English news readers. I. Atherton, '"Itch Grown a Disease": Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century', in J. Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1999), 45-6.

[2] Important works on early modern news communication which consider the political implications of news, some of which use the frameworks of the public sphere, propaganda and censorship, include the following, though this list is by no means exhaustive: J. K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeen-Century France* (1990); R. Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present* 112 (1986), 60-90; D. Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern Europe* (2000); R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (1981); F. de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (2007); G. Leth, 'A Protestant Public Sphere: The Early European Newspaper Press', in M. H. Westport, ed., *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History, 1993 annual* (1994), 67-90; J. Raymond, 'The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century', in Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers, and Society*, 109-41; E. Blühm, 'Deutscher Fürstenstaat und Presse im 17. Jahrhundert', in E. Blühm, ed., *Hof, Staat und Gesellschaft in der Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts* (1982), 287-313; T. Schröder, 'The Origins of the German Press', in B. Dooley, ed., *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (2001), 123-50; R. Darnton, 'An Early

In the past decade or so, a new wave of historical news research has been developed that aims to move beyond the relationship between news, readers and governmental involvement, which is frequently constrained by national context. This research concentrates on the infrastructure required to circulate the news: the personal, postal, diplomatic and religious networks that cross traditional state boundaries, as well as more abstract ideas, such as the role of space and time in the communication of information. A famous proponent of this method is Wolfgang Behringer, who proves that the post played an integral role in the birth and expansion of all forms of news and communication.[3] A pan-European, network and story-based approach has also been demonstrated in recent volumes edited by Brendan Dooley and Joad Raymond.[4] These essays consider the practical hurdles to be overcome in news communication, the role of language and translation, the comparison of news of the same event in a variety of media, as well as techniques of textual analysis and corpus-based research. While some works are more explicit than others in their desire to find a new approach to the history of the news, all demonstrate a new perspective. It is one that, while often acknowledging the importance of the reader and the state, seeks an understanding of news transmission and news-sharing that lies somewhere between the large machinations of the government and the specific reflections of the individual.

Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris', *American Historical Review,* 105, no. 1 (2000), 1-35; N. Z. Davis, 'Printing and the People', in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (1975), 189-226; B. Dooley 'Introduction', in Dooley, ed., *Politics of Information*, 1-16. Debate around these frameworks are also the subject of historiographical reviews including B. Dooley, 'From Literary Criticism to Systems Theory in Early Modern Journalism History', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 51/3 (1990), 461-86; A. Gestrich, 'The Public Sphere and the Habermas Debate', *German History* 24/3 (2006), 413-30; W. Behringer 'Introduction: Communication in Historiography', *German History* 24/ 3 (2006), 325-32.

[3] W. Behringer's chief work on the subject is *Im Zeichen des Merkur: Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit.Göttingen* (2003); but also 'Communications Revolutions: A Historiographical Concept', *German History* 24/4 (2006), 333-74; and 'Veränderung der Raum-Zeit-Relation. Zur Bedeutung des Zeitungs- und Nachrichtenwesens während der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs', in B. von Krusenstjern, ed., *Zwischen Alltag und Katastrophe. Der Dreißigjährigie Krieg aus der Nähe* (1999), 39-81.

[4] Raymond, ed., *News Networks;* B. Dooley, ed., *Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity* (2010).

This thesis is grounded in this developing tradition of historical news research. While the concerns of readership and state involvement in production are not unimportant, they also must not become so dominant as to preclude a careful consideration of the news itself. A new question is asked: where does the news come from and how does the reporting location affect what news is transmitted and how it is related?

1.1 News before the Newspapers and the *Messrelationen* of 1604-5

By no means does the first newspaper mark the beginning of news history, particularly as all aspects of that first publication had direct roots in practices and industries that were already decades, if not centuries, old in 1605. Before considering German-language printed periodicals, attention must be given to other forms of news transmission that were not only its ancestors, but also its contemporaries. These various forms of news-sharing should not be considered to be discrete entities, but instead recognized as closely-linked forms of communication: news traveled between various media, with each acting as a source of information for the others.

The oldest, most common and most transient form of new-sharing is the simple act of talking. One neighbor, traveler, family member or friend told another what event had passed or new understanding had developed. From the grand acts of state to mundane gossip, oral communication was then, as now, the most common way of sharing the news.[5] Though it left no true paper trail for a historian to follow, there are clues as to its importance which can be found in a variety of sources, from references to news heard in diaries, warnings against seeking news in sermons, reenactments of gossipmongers in plays, and forms of dialogue and oral exchange preserved in print.[6] When drowning in

[5] Atherton, 'Itch Grown a Disease', 39-40.
[6] Dr. Thomas Lushington preached a sermon in 1624 opening with the lines 'What's the best News abroad? So we must begin: 'Tis the *Garb* (*les novelles*) the grand Salute, and common *Preface* to all our Talk. And

printed and manuscript sources, the historian must remember that most news travels from mouth to ear.[7] All forms of communication, through word of mouth or words in pen and print, were linked together, and news traveled from lips to ink and back again without much consideration being given to the definitions of media which were imposed upon it by later historians.[8]

There are two particular commercial practices that have the strongest link to the printing of periodical news: manuscript newsletters and printed news pamphlets and broadsheets. While both of these practices predated 1605, they also both continued long after the serialized printing of news had been established. Many of the same news stories appeared in pamphlets, periodicals and letters, and letter writers would also include printed news along with their own correspondence.[9]

The transmission of manuscript news could take on several forms: from the inclusion of news in personal correspondence, the communication of knowledge of potential economic or commercial interest, or the regular correspondence of a

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the News goes not as Things are in themselves, but as Mens Fancies are fashioned, as some lust to Report, and others to Believe', in R. Jones, *The Resurrection Rescued from the Souldier Calumnies, in Two Sermons Preached at St. Maries in Oxon* (1659). This sermon was then remembered in the diary of a Church of England clergyman, John Rous, in 1629. J. Rous, *Diary of John Rous, Incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk from 1625 to 1642* (1856), 44. The most cited play on the news is probably Ben Jonson's *The Staple of News.* A study of dialogue in a series of German pamphlets: J. Schwitalla, 'The Use of Dialogue in Early German Pamphlets: On the Constitution of Public Involvement in the Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn Controversy', in A. H. Jucker, ed., *Historical Dialogue Analysis* (1999), 111-37.

[7] As pointed out in D. F. McKenzie, 'Speech—Manuscript—Print' in D. F. McKenzie, et al, eds., *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and Other Essays* (2002), 237-58, a focus on the importance of oral and manuscript transmission of the news is necessary to balance the desire to connect the communication of news too closely with the idea of a print revolution, such as those inspired by the following works: E. L. Eisenstein, 'Some Conjectures about the Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought: A Preliminary Report', *Journal of Modern History* 40, no. 1 (1968), 1-56; E. L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (1979); M. McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (1962); W. J. Ong, 'Writing is a Technology that Restructures Thought', in G. Baumann, ed., *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition* (1986), 23-50; H. A. Innis, *Empire and Communications* (1950). This shift also articulated in Popkin, 'New Perspectives', 23; R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800* (2002), 178-80.

[8] Houston, *Literacy,* 180.

[9] Atherton, 'Itch Grown a Disease', 40.

professional newsletter writer.[10] The manuscript newsletter had its roots in thirteenth and fourteenth century Italy, when merchants and travelers shared news of events which could affect trade and shipping: wars, storms, social unrest, and disease.[11] What began as the informal sharing of information between business contacts became by the fifteenth century, a business in its own right, and newsletters were written for the primary purpose of informing others about political and military events.[12] The composition of these newsletters soon became a professional occupation, with writers gathering the news from other news-sheets and correspondents, sending it to copyists and then along, anonymously, to subscribed customers.[13] However, merchants and newsletter writers were not the only individuals sharing news, and paid correspondents included members of the court, government officials and scholars.[14]

The practice of professional news communication became even more regular and expedient with the growth of the postal system.[15] The system of communicating across great distances through official, mounted couriers had already been in fairly regular practice since the fourteenth century, but was brought under a greater organizational

[10] The separation of these forms—between the personal and professional—is somewhat artificial, as Atherton notes that even professional correspondence often included personal news. Atherton, 'Itch Grown a Disease', 41. Also noted in P. Arblaster, 'Antwerp and Brussels as Inter-European Spaces in News Exchange', in Dooley, ed., *Dissemination of News*, 200-1; P. Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers: England in a European System of Communications', in Raymond, ed., *News Networks*, 19-20; Schröder, 'Origins of the German Press', 127.

[11] M. Infelise, 'News Networks between Italy and Europe', in Dooley, ed., *Dissemination of News*, 51-2.

[12] Arblaster, 'Posts Newsletters, Newspapers', 20-1. Humanists and scholars also contributed to the distribution of news through manuscript, particularly seen in Southeastern Europe, Z. Barbarics-Hermanik, 'Handwritten Newsletters as Interregional Information Sources in Central and Southeastern Europe', in Dooley, ed., *Dissemination of News*, 165.

[13] This practice in Italy has been well described by Infelise, 'News Networks', 51-3. A similar practice was also established in Germany, where the *Zeitunger* sold news on a subscription basis in the form of a letter with a separate manuscript newspaper supplement which could be separated from the private news and shared. J. Weber, 'Strassburg 1605: The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe', *German History* 24/3 (2006), 388-89. An explanation for why news writers may have remained anonymous is presented in Barbarics-Hermanik, 'Handwritten Newsletters', 164.

[14] Schröder, 'The Origins of the German Press', 127-8; Barbarics-Hermanik 'Handwritten Newsletters', 165.

[15] The use of mounted carriers by no means began with the Imperial postal system, and evidence for of an organized system can be seen in Milan and Northern Italy in the fifteenth century. Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 339.

power when Philip I of Castile contracted the couriers of François de Tassis of Brussels for his communication between Spain and the Low Countries in 1505.[16] Though perhaps the best remembered today, the Tassis post was not the only mail courier, and there were also royal posts associated with the other crowns of Europe and a burgeoning private mail carrying system, known as the ordinary service, which was slower, but less expensive and more flexible.[17] In 1597, the *Reichspost* was established, bringing the more loosely organized post offices of the Tassis under the firmer control of Imperial postmasters.[18] Routes and time tables were regularized, post offices were marked by the Imperial coat of arms, and the system was opened to private individuals.[19] News could be circulated on a schedule, with reports coming in and going out from the corners of Europe on particular days of the week.[20] The professional newsletter writer in Venice, Rome, Paris, Cologne, Frankfurt, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Antwerp or Amsterdam, could communicate news from both his own city and from contacts along the postal system, and his customers could be assured that their letters would arrive with regularity and reasonable security.[21]

These manuscript newsletters were often tailored to their subscribers, including news on the places and interests most desired by the customer, and were often more accurate and less likely to be censored by local authorities than the printed news.[22] However, they were also prohibitively expensive for even small burghers.[23] This audience would receive news through cheap prints, such as pamphlets and broadsheets. These two

[16] Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions,' 339; Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers', 21; C. B. Beltrán, 'Philip of Spain: The Spider's Web of News and Information', in Dooley, ed., *Dissemination of News*, 229; E. J. B. Allen, *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe* (1972), 9.
[17] These private couriers were not allowed to 'ride post' and change horses along the route, so they were necessarily slower, but the fact that they were not then obliged to stop by particular post houses led to increased flexibility. Arblaster, 'Antwerp and Brussels', 201-2.
[18] Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 347-9; Schröder, 'Origins of the German Press', 133.
[19] Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 347-9; Allen, *Post and Courier*, 69.
[20] Infelise, 'News Networks', 53.
[21] Infelise, 'News Networks', 53; Schröder, 'Origins of the German Press', 127-8; Barbarics-Hermanik, 'Handwritten Newsletters', 173-7.
[22] Atherton, 'Itch Grown a Disease', 40; Infelise, 'News Networks', 61.
[23] Intentionally so. Infelise, 'News Networks', 58. Atherton, 'Itch Grown a Disease', 48-9.

formats experienced great success in Germany during the Reformation and contained information on a variety of subjects.[24] As a result, they are generally defined by form rather than by content. The pamphlets, or *Flugschriften*, generally occur in quarto or octavo sizes, are composed of two to sixty-four pages and often include a woodcut.[25] The broadsheets, or *Flugblätter*, are a full single page printed on one side and almost always include a woodcut.[26] Both of these formats could be written in prose, poem, or ballad and cover news of recent events, and they include stories of sensational crimes, monstrous births, polemical religious views or any story or imagining which would entice someone to buy them.[27] They could also refer back to earlier publications, playing out an argument in a dialogue in a series of pamphlets or, in the case of broadsheets, reprinting and altering images to create an ongoing narrative.[28] The price of these prints varied based on size and the number or quality of the illustrations, but they were generally affordable to the average burgher or were bought jointly and shared by a community or workshop.[29]

In recent histories, the term *Neue Zeitungen* has been used to refer to those pamphlets or broadsheets which directly address news of current events. This label

[24] In Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk,* several common images recurring in these broadsheets are described in detail. Also described in Schröder, 'Origins of the German Press', 128.
[25] C. Claridge, 'News Discourse', in A. H. Jucker, ed., *Historical Pragmatics* (2010), 595.
[26] W. Harms, 'Die kommentierende Erschließung des illustrierten Flugblatts der frühen Neuzeit und dessen Zusammenhang mit der weiteren Publizistik im 17. Jahrhundert', in E. Blühm, ed., *Presse und Geschichte II: Neue Beiträge zur historischen Kommunikationsforschung* (1987), 83-111; W. A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century: Historical and Iconographical Studies. I: Text* (1966). The most comprehensive collection of German broadsheets is surely the ongoing effort of J. R. Paas to offer facsimiles of the political broadsheets of the seventeenth century, which at the time of writing stood at eleven volumes including the years 1600-1685. J. R. Paas *The German Political Broadsheet, 1600-1700* (1985-).
[27] On pamphlets' contents on religion and non-political topics such as trials and witchcraft: Claridge, 'News Discourse', 595-8. Broadsheets are also found to be roughly a third on religious topics, a fifth on folklore, a seventh on social comment, and the remaining third on politics, maps, calendars or portraits. Houston, *Literacy,* 198.
[28] On dialogue in pamphlets: Schwitalla, 'The Use of Dialogue'. On images being used by variety of media: Harms, 'Die kommentierende Erschließung', 84-5. Once an image was published it could then be freely reproduced by any other printer. Coupe, *German Illustrated Broadsheet,* 13-5.
[29] One estimate puts a sixteen page pamphlet in the sixteenth century at a cost comparable to a third of a journeyman's daily wage. Claridge, 'News Discourse', 593. Another says 'priced low enough to be afforded by ordinary peasants and laborers or even by servant girls'. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe,* 198.

includes a wide variety of forms written in song, dialogue, prose or the reprinting of manuscript newsletters, depending on the skills and resources of the printer.[30] Though these *Neue Zeitungen* contributed current news, they were generally printed to recount specific, exceptional events, and did not include the more quotidian political and military news which would be recounted in the regular, weekly updates of the newsletters.[31] Their moment of peak popularity was during the Fifteen Years War between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans (1591-1606), but, like the manuscript newsletters, they continued to be an important source of news communication throughout the seventeenth century.[32]

Both the professional manuscript newsletter and the printed news separate inspired professional scribe Johann Carolus in Strasbourg.[33] In 1605, not long after Strasbourg was connected to the Imperial post office near Speyer, he petitioned the city counsel for the privilege, or right of monopoly, on a form of news distribution he had been practicing.[34] He had recently acquired a printing office and had begun printing his newsletters to save time and money, selling the printed news to a larger audience at a cheaper price.[35] Though his petition for a monopoly on this form of news distribution was denied, this document marks the first reference to what modern histories call the newspaper.[36] This news medium has since been defined by its regularity (it appeared at

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[30] H. W. Lang, 'Die Neue Zeitung des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts: Entwicklungsgeschichte und Typologie', in Blühm, ed., *Presse und Geschichte II*, 58; Z. Šimeček, 'Geschreibene Zeitungen in den böhmischen Ländern um 1600 und ihr Enstehungs- und Rezeptions- zusammenhang mit den gedruckten Zeitungen', in Blühm, ed., *Presse und Geschichte II*, 79-80.

[31] Lang, 'Die Newe Zeitung', 59; J. Weber, 'The Early German Newspaper—A Medium of Contemporaneity', in Dooley, ed., *Dissemination of News,* 79.

[32] If the manuscript newspapers occupied the upper end of the news market, the *Neue Zeitungen* offered a cheaper alternative to the printed periodicals to come. Schröder, 'Origins of the German Press', 128-30.

[33] Though earlier histories supposed a newspaper had been printed in Constance in 1600 by Nicolaus Kalt, no evidence of this publication has been found, and recent histories all have newspaper publication beginning in 1605. See note 11, Weber, 'Strassburg 1605', 391.

[34] Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 354. An English translation of this petition is printed in Weber, 'The Early German Newspaper', 70, as well as Weber, 'Strassburg 1605', 391.

[35] Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 353.

[36] Weber, 'The Early German Newspaper', 69-71. Licensing was one way in which governments maintained a level of control on newspaper printing. By granting a monopoly of news production to one individual, they could not only insure the regular payment of a licensing fee, but also that the paper would

fixed intervals), serial nature (each publication was marked as part of a series), universality (it was widely accessible to the public and not prohibitively expensive) and topicality (it brought news of recent events).[37]

Though the newspaper is the printed periodical which has been the subject of the most historical research, it is not the first. Before 1605 there were printed calendars, annual and monthly newsbooks, and the biannual *Messrelationen*.[38] Michael von Aitzing printed the first *Messrelation* in 1583 to be sold at the autumn trade fair in Frankfurt; it described the conflicts surrounding the Archbishop of Cologne and his recognition of religious equality for Protestants.[39] The success of this book led von Aitzing to publish a second one the following spring, also recounting the news of the previous months, and it inspired publications in the cities of Frankfurt, Magdeburg, Leipzig, Strasbourg, Erfurt, Halle, Heidelberg and Aschaffenburg[40] This publication is seen as a near relation to the newspaper because of its periodicity, content and tone: the *Messrelationen* reported news of recent events in a fairly detached and impartial style, particularly when compared to the other pamphlets and broadsheets of the day.[41] Based on the editorial addresses made at the beginning of many volumes, the chiefly political and military news was published for an intended audience of scholars and political figures, as well as merchants who would

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not be vocally opposed to the government that had granted it such a profitable monopoly. Weber, 'Early German Newspaper', 76-7.

[37] Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 349. This is also a central theme of Behringer, *Zeichen des Merkur*. Weber references the characteristics of being 'a bound printed object with a moderate number of pages, which appears at brief periodical intervals, at least once per week. It can bought by anyone for relatively little money and transmits the latest news from around the world and all fields of interest'. Weber, 'Early German Newspaper', 69.

[38] Calendars were popular during the sixteenth century. There was also a monthly news publication printed in 1597 in Rorschach on Lake Constance written by Samuel Dilbaum of Augsburg and printed by Leonhard Staub the Elder known as *Rorschacher Monatsblatt* or *Annus Christi*. There are six surviving copies. Schröder, 'Origins of the German Press', 130-1. There was also, in 1594, the Latin *Mercurius Gallobelgicus* in Cologne, which continued until 1635.

[39] K. Bender, *Relationes Historicae: Ein Bestandverzeichnis der deutschen Meßrelationen von 1583 bis 1648* (1994), viii;

[40] Bender, *Relationes Historicae*, x; K. Bender, 'Die deutschen Meßrelationen von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs, Ein Forschungsvorhaben', in Blühm, ed., *Presse und Geschichte II*, 61-3; Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 350-2.

[41] Behringer, *Zeichen des Merkur*, 310-2.

clearly see an implicit economic importance in knowledge of peace treaties signed and sieges taking place.[42] However, though today it may be easy to relegate the *Messrelation* to the position of the newspaper's forefather, the two media were sold and read side by side, and the *Messrelation* was the more popular of the two throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Since it was printed in the months after the news had taken place, it could offer a more cohesive narrative of events.[43]

For the years of 1604 and 1605, while there are no surviving issues of Carolus's weekly newspaper, there are several extant issues of seven *Messrelationen* from the cities of Cologne, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Magdeburg and Erfurt.[44] These publications are generally consistent in their form, around 50-100 pages in length, with a title page listing the title, publisher, author, a list of countries or topics of the news and at which fair it would be sold.[45] They also often include a register of contents, a forward to the reader, and both decorative images as well as illustrations and maps to expand on the text. News is presented under monthly banners, and there are often indications or glosses summarizing the contents. Stories are either shorter and are presented under explanatory headlines, such as 'Türcken fangen wider an nach geendter Friedstractation zu streiffen', or they are

[42] Stalljohann, 'Der Kaufmann im Fokus', in V. Bauer, ed., *Die Enstehung des Zeitungswesens im 17. Jahrhundert: Ein neues Medium und seine Folgen für das Kommunikationssystem der Frühen Neuzeit* (2011), 132-3; Schröder, 'Origins of the German Press', 130.
[43] H. Droste, 'Degrees of Publicity. Handwritten Newspapers in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *LIR.Journal* (2011), 73; Schröder, 'Origins of the German Press', 130; J. Glüer, *Meßrelationen um 1600– eine neues Medium zwischen aktueller Presse und Geschichtsschreibung. Eine textsortengeschichtliche Untersuchung* (2000), 7.
[44] Bender, *Relationes Historicae,* for all bibliographical information on the *Messrelationen*.
[45] Though it could change for each given publication, the issues for the spring fairs generally contained news from August of the previous year to February or March of the year of printing; autumnal issues then reported news from February or March of the year of printing through to August.

longer with less detailed headlines, 'Weiterer Verlauff in Ungarn durch Martium biß auff den 1. Apr.', but marginalia summarizing the content.[46]

While each of the seven *Messrelationen* is presented as having different authors or printers, there is some overlap in the content of the news reports, and three of the *Messrelationen* are essentially identical: the two Frankfurt *Messrelationen* and the one from Erfurt.[47] The two publications from Frankfurt were published by Sigismund Latomus, although different author pseudonyms were adopted.[48] Theodorus Meurer was named as the author of *Theodori Mevrers Relationis Historicae Continvatio*, while Jacobus Francus was listed as the author of *Iacobi Franci Relationis Historicae Continvatio*.[49] Jacobus Francus was the pseudonym of Conrad Lautenbach (1534-1595), the first editor of the Frankfurt *Relatio Historica* and the name outlived the man himself.[50] Francus was also listed as the author of Erfurt's *Iacobi Franci Relationis Historicae Continuatio*, printed by Johann Beck.[51]

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[46] *Iacobi Franci Relationis Historicae Continvatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1604), 11. *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 5.

[47] The chief difference is in the length of the news reports, as the longer stories from the *Theodori Mevrers Relationis Historicae Continvatio* were split into several stories in the other two *Messrelationen* with the marginal glosses becoming headlines. Also, while the register is in the back of the two Frankfurt publications, it is in the front for the Erfurt publication. The Erfurt *Messrelation* also does not contain maps and has a different image of a dissected body in the issue from autumn 1605.

[48] A common practice for authors and publishers. Bender, *Relationes Historicae,* ix-x.

[49] For full information on the number of surviving issues of all the *Messrelationen*, see the bibliography. Information such as author, publisher and printer is generally listed on the title page of each issue, though confirmed by Bender, *Relationes Historicae.* For both the *Theodori Mevrers* and the *Iacobi Franci,* each issue ran between 94 and 112 pages, opening with a title page and a forward addressed to the reader and closing with maps or plans of cities and a register of contents. Of the four extant issues, only the one from autumn 1605 does not include a forward, register or maps, though it does include other images. There are notes in the margins indicating the month as well as summarizing the contents. Printed images accompanying the news are astrological diagrams, a body cut to pieces, and a four panel illustration of a grisly murder and execution.

[50] The name first appeared as the name of an author of publications in 1591, first under the publisher Paul Brachfeld and then again in 1603 on a publication by Latomus. Brachfeld (as publisher) and Latomus (as printer) worked together on a *Messrelation* authored by Sebastian Brenner called *Continvator Temporis Qvinavennalis*. The name Jacobus Francus was also used in the first issue of the *Calendarii Historici Relatio*, printed by Wolff Dietrich Caesar and published by Christian Egenolff's heirs in 1595, before the author became known as Jacobus Frey on the following issue. Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions*',* 350-2.

[51] Bender is confident that Johann Beck was the printer of the autumn 1605 issue, though he brackets the printer and location for the other two issues. However, all three follow the same pattern in relation to their similarities and differences with the Francus *Messrelation* of Frankfurt.

The other four *Messrelationen* may have some overlapping content with these three, but no more than would be expected from sharing similar sources of information. In Magdeburg, the *Messrelation*, published by Johann Francke with the author named as Jacobus Frame, numbered the issues in addition to listing for which fair each was published, with the titles for the years 1604-05 running from *I. Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio Sexta* to *Nona*.[52] In Cologne, there were two *Messrelationen* both called *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* and both tending to be shorter than the other publications of the period, at a length of only 36-64 pages. One was printed by Wilhelm Lüntzenkirchen and the author named was L.P.L.F.C., while the other was likely printed by Peter von Brachel with the authors listed as P.A.E.D., C. Kerler and Kaspar von Lorch.[53] The final *Messrelation* with surviving issues for the years 1604-5 is the *Historische Relation* of Abraham Lamberg. It appeared for the first time in 1605 in Leipzig and would be, along with *Theodori Mevrers*, one of only two *Messrelationen* to survive the Thirty Years War.[54]

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[52] Though the first publication by this pair was probably in 1599, the title beginning with *Iacobi Franci* or *I. Franci* first appeared in 1601. This *Messrelation* opens with a title page and forward to the reader, and ranges in length from 88 to 152 pages. The table of contents is sometimes in the front, sometimes at the end and sometimes divided and appearing in both locations. There are margin notes which indicate the month in which the news took place, but no other explanatory marginalia, likely because the stories themselves are often quite short, only a half or a third of a page in length. There are no maps, but several prints of a primarily decorative nature, such as a crown and an image of a seal. There is, however, one illustration of a body cut to pieces, similar in subject to that in the other *Messrelationen*, but clearly not the same print.

[53] Wilhelm Lüntzenkirchen, who had been printing *Messrelationen* in Cologne since 1595, also appeared as the author of a *Messrelation* in the spring of 1603. His *Messrelation* from this period is 64 pages in length, opens with a forward and closes with a register of contents. It includes no news-related illustrations and instead of marking the passing months with marginal notes, offers a separate heading in capital Roman letters before the first story of each month. The stories are generally quite short in length, often a half to a third of a page, though there are some which extend for four pages. L.P.L.F.C. also appeared as the author of a *Messrelation* in the spring of 1603. Brachel's name was listed on the title page of the spring 1604 issue of the *Messrelationen* attributed to him, but not the other two, so Bender attributes these issues to him qualified by brackets. He first appeared as a printer of *Messrelationen* in 1601 with Konrad Löw named as the author. Löw also appeared as the author on publications by Lützenkirchen. The names C. Kerler and Kaspar von Lorch both appeared for the first time on their respective publications. Brachel's *Messrelationen* have separate monthly headings but no marginal gloss nor illustrations. They also donot include a forward or register of contents. These *Messrelationen* range from 36 to 56 pages and include news stories that can reach ten pages in length or fit four to a page.

[54] The first issue of this publication is from the spring of 1605 and includes news only from the months of March and April of that year in 43 pages. The autumnal issue is 111 pages and reports from April to July.

1.2 The Rise of the Newspapers and the Periodicals of 1619-21

Though publication of a weekly newspaper in Strasbourg did not begin an immediate flood of similar enterprises, new newspapers were founded in other cities in the decade that followed. The oldest surviving issues of these printed newspapers are from 1609 and include copies of Carolus's *Relation* and an *Aviso* printed in Wolfenbüttel. Both of these newspapers appear to have printed the news coming from professional scribes and agencies established in Augsburg, though the *Aviso*'s title page states that the news is from Nuremberg.[55] However, this is most likely due to a messenger carrying newsletters and passing through Wolfenbüttel on his way from Nuremberg to Hamburg.[56]

One of the two chief factors which contributed to the expansion of newspapers was a fundamental connection between newspapers and the postal system. This is most clearly personified by the figure of Johann van der Birghden, the Imperial postmaster who expanded the postal system from his offices in Frankfurt to Leipzig and Hamburg, while beginning to print his own newspaper in the early 1610s.[57] Postmasters in Berlin and Hamburg would also found newspapers, and even the newspaper publishers without an organizing connection to the postal service still received a great deal of news through its infrastructure.[58] News came not only from political 'informants' connected to lords and courts, but also via postmasters who would add pieces of local news to the contents lists

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Neither issue has news-related illustrations, a marginal gloss, a forward to the reader nor headings indicating which month the news dates from. Both do, however, close with a register of the contents and the autumn issue also includes an appendix with additional reports.

[55] The scribal business in Augsburg was established in the sixteenth century and was in many ways similar to that in Venice and Rome. Behringer determines that the news of these papers was most likely from these offices, based on the use of the word *Aftermontag* for Tuesday, a practice particular to the diocese of Augsburg. Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 353-4.

[56] M. Welke, 'Vom Elend der pressehistorischen Forschung in Deutschland. Dargestellt am Beispiel des Wolfenbütteler Aviso', in Bauer, ed., *Die Entstehung des Zeitungswesens*, 152-6.

[57] Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 355; Behringer, 'Veränderung der Raum-Zeit-Relation', 46-7.

[58] Weber, 'Early German Newspaper', 71-4.

in the mailbag.[59] These *avisi* (from the term for the manuscript newsletters), would then be printed as they arrived, with little change made to the content.[60]

This simple act of collecting and reprinting was not only vastly easier for the newspaper printer, but also provided a degree of security against accusations of falsehood, as the printers could claim the veracity of their publications not necessarily based not on how accurately they described the event, but how truly they reprinted the report.[61] Any political opinions of the printer could be expressed through editorial changes to the text, but were more likely to be indicated by the exclusion of certain reports.[62] However, not every difference between the original sources and the printed texts could be ascribed to an intentional act of manipulation, as often changes were a natural consequence of rewriting and rewriting.[63] By and large, though, the language of the manuscript news and the language of the printed news were remarkably similar: both were relatively dry, dense and disinclined to provide background explanations or narrative flourish.[64]

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[59] Weber, 'Early German Newspaper', 71. However, while the postmaster had a very important role in the distribution, most of the newsletter writers had some other type of background. N. Brownlees, *The Language of Periodical News in Seventeenth-Century England* (2011), 44; and most of the newspaper printers were publishers or merchants, Schröder, 'Origins of the German Press', 133.
[60] Weber, 'Early German Newspaper', 72-3.
[61] Weber, 'Strassburg 1605', 393.
[62] Weber, 'Strassburg 1605', 393. Behringer considers it certain that newspaper publishers altered their stories in more than just a superficial manner. Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 355.
[63] B. Dooley, 'Introduction', in Dooley, ed., *Dissemination of News*, 13. Similar alterations would happen in the multiple copies of manuscript news. Infelise. 'News Networks', 62-4.
[64] The density of the language may be partly due to the fact that many of these newsletters were sent by military, political and diplomatic specialists to their peers, with second copies sent to the news writers in exchange for payment. Weber, 'Strassburg 1605', 400. Another reason given for the particular language style is that many of the manuscript newspapers which were the basis for these printed periodicals would have been influenced by the style of the medieval chronicles. Claridge, 'News Discourse', 604. Aspects of newspaper language also appear in P. Studer, *Historical Corpus Stylistics: Media, Technology and Change* (2008), 26; Brownlees, *Language of Periodical News*, 94-5.

The other major factor which contributed to the growth of the newspapers was simply the sheer quantity of news that came with the beginning of the Thirty Years War.[65] In the fourteen years from 1605 to 1618, six newspapers were founded; in the five years from 1619 to 1623, thirteen newspapers were begun.[66] This was clearly a response to both the greater amount of news warranting weekly coverage and the presence of an audience willing to buy these newspapers on regular basis. The newspapers were not prohibitively expensive for members of the urban middle class, as manuscript newsletters could be; the cost of an annual subscription was roughly equal to a well-paid journeyman's weekly income and individual issues were affordable, particularly to those willing to pool their resources.[67] It is reasonable to assume that one newspaper did not equal one reader, as newspapers could easily be shared among friends, family, neighbors and coworkers. Though the estimate of ten readers per newspaper, which would have meant that nearly a quarter of the literate population of the Holy Roman Empire was reading this medium, has been described as 'particularly generous', it should be assumed that the roughly 250-400 issues produced per week by each newspaper were seen by several eyes.[68] At the beginning of the Thirty Years War, with newspapers being printed in new cities each year,

[65] The Thirty Year's War also contributed to the publication of a great number of *Neue Zeitungen.* H. W. Lang, 'Die Neue Zeitung des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Vorläufer, Konkurrenz, Ergänzung?', in M. Welke, ed., *400 Jahre Zeitung. Die Entwicklung der Tagespresse im internationalen Kontext* (2008), 122.

[66] The standard bibliography for seventeenth century German newspapers is the three volume work by E. Bogel and E. Blühm, eds., *Die deutschen Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (1971-85). The connection between the beginning of the Thirty Years' War and the rise of newspaper publications is also made by Weber, 'Early German Newspaper', 74, and 'Strassburg 1605', 396-7.

[67] Weber, 'Strassburg 1605', 399-400. More on who acted as newspaper buyers in Schröder, 'Origins of the German Press', 133-5.

[68] This estimate comes from Welke and is quoted in Weber, 'Strassburg 1605', 399-400, and 'Early German Newspaper', 75-6, while Schröder, 'Origins of the German Press', 134, states that Blühm estimates readers numbered 24,000 to 60,000 before the war. Weber calls the estimate 'particularly generous' in 'Strassburg 1605'. Behringer also estimates that 300 copies of von den Birghden's *Postzeitung* were printed each week. Behringer, 'Veränderung der Raum-Zeit-Relation', 56; and Weber in 'Early German Newspaper', 75-6, also note that Hamburg's *Wochentliche Zeitung* could have had print runs of possibly up to 1,500.

the business of newspaper publication must have been quite viable and the readership robust enough to support it.[69]

For the period 1619-21, there are twenty-two newspapers which survive to some degree, and they are fairly consistent in format, though ranging from 4-16 pages in length. Though some are without a title, they do all list an issue number. Rarely is there a separate title page for each issue, but annual title pages are found, linking each issue together as part of a whole work.[70] The news reports are listed in the order they were received by the printer, most commonly under a dateline naming from where and on what date the news was sent, such as 'Aus Praag/ vom 22. Martii.'[71] Additionally, treatises, letters, casualty lists and terms of peace would also be reprinted.[72] The only images included are of a decorative, not informational, nature, either appearing near the title or at the end of the issue. These newspapers have varying levels of survival. Though there are less than 25 issues remaining from most publications, six papers have over 50 extant issues.[73]

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[69] Newspaper subscriptions also likely offered financial security to printers waiting for larger, more expensive jobs. P. Stallybrass, '"Little Jobs": Broadsides and the Printing Revolution', in S. A. Baron, ed., *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth Eisenstein* (2007), 322.

[70] Weber, 'Strassburg 1605', 394.

[71] From *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:13). The practice of using datelines to form an idea of reporting networks has been well-established in the works of Paul Arblaster, particularly his thesis 'Current-affairs Publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1620-1660, in Comparative European Perspectives' (1999). The dateline can also indicate whether the newer Gregorian calendar (generally marked by some abbreviation for *stili novi* such as *st.N.*, *S.N.* or *neuen Stils*, *N.S.*) or the older Julian calendar (marked by *stili veteris*, *st.V.*, *S.V.* or *alten Stils*, *a.St.*, *O.S.*) calendar was used by the reporting city. Because each newspaper would print the dateline as was written on the news as it came, which could easily be from a different calendar than the one used in the city where the newspaper was being printed, it can often be quite difficult to determine when, precisely, an event being reported took place and how long after that event the report was sent. Dooley, 'Introduction', in Dooley, ed., *Dissemination of News*, 6.

[72] Claridge, 'News Discourse', 605.

[73] For a full list of which issues are surviving for each newspaper, see the bibliography. The other newspapers from the period 1619-21 with less than 25 extant issues are: *Relations Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdingen Historien* (Strasbourg), *Relation desses/ Waß sich ... begeben* (n.p.), a second *Relation desses/ Waß sich ... begeben* (n.p.), *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Danzig), *Diarium Hebdomadale* (Frankfurt), *Raporten* (Cologne), *Continuat. Relat.* (n.p.), *Zeitungen/ von vnterschiedlichen Orten* (Güstrow), *Aviso Relation/Oder Zeitung* (n.p.), *Aviso Relation, oder Zeitung* (Halberstadt), *Fama Mundi oder WeltTrommeter*

After the Strasbourg *Relation*, still printed at that time by Johann Carolus, the oldest surviving German newspaper is the above-mentioned *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* begun in Wolfenbüttel by Julius Adolph von Söhne in 1609 and taken over after his death in 1616 by Elias Holwein.[74] Two other newspapers with over 50 surviving issues also date from before 1618, and both were founded by postmasters. The oldest issues of the newspaper founded by the famous Imperial postmaster of Frankfurt, von den Birghden, date from 1615. Though the paper was first printed without a title, only a number indicating the issue, in 1621 it was called *Vnvergreiffliche Postzeit(t)ungen.*[75] In Berlin, the Brandenburg postmaster Christoph Frischmann began an untitled *Zeitung*, with issues surviving from 1617. Veit Frischmann, his brother, then continued printing the paper after Christoph's death in 1618.[76]

The other newspapers with at least 50 surviving issues for this period were begun by news writers or printers. In 1618, the freight carrier (*Frachtbestätter*) and newsletter writer Johann Meyer began printing the *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* in Hamburg.[77] The following year, printers began newspapers in Hildesheim and Stuttgart. *Die* [number] *Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* from Hildesheim was likely begun by Joachim Gössel, while in Stuttgart, the printer Johann Weyrich Rößlin, began printing his *Zeittungen* in July of 1619.[78]

(Warburg), *Continuation* (n.p.). All bibliographic information from these newspapers comes from Bogel and Blühm, *Die deutschen Zeitungen*.

[74] The Wolfenbüttel *Aviso* is one of the few newspapers to have a separate title page for each issue, giving the name and number of the paper, along with a list of the many locations from which reports were regularly received above an illustration of Mercury flying over land and sea. Including this title page, the surviving issues of the *Aviso* are each 8 pages in length.

[75] Issues are 4 pages each in length and appeared more often than once a week.

[76] Issues are between 8 and 16 pages.

[77] Weber, 'Strassburg 1605', 399. Issues are 4 pages.

[78] Issues of the Hildesheim *Zeitung* are 8 pages. The 36 issues of the Stuttgart *Zeitung* are usually 8 pages in length, though occasionally issues are up to 12 pages. The first 6 issues include a title page listing all included reports, though this habit was dropped by September 1619. In addition, there are 15 issues of an untitled *Zeitung*, 4 pages each, from the beginning of 1619 which are thought, based on appearance, layout and timing, to be printed by the same hand in Stuttgart.

While these newspapers were founded by men initially engaged in three different aspects of the business of information exchange—postmaster, news writer and printer—they show remarkably consistency as to where their news reports came from and even with what frequency. When examining the ten most frequently occurring reporting cities for each newspaper, there are eight cities which consistently rank in each list and which, together, account for 54-72% of the total news reports for each publication's surviving issues (see Table 1.1). Additionally, the percentage of news reports each city contributes to the newspapers is fairly consistent: Prague (usually 13-17%), Vienna (10-12.5%), Cologne (7-10%), The Hague (usually 7-9%), Venice (usually 7-8%), Rome (usually 6-7%), Frankfurt (usually 3.5-5.5%) and Breslau (2-4%). These news centers often functioned as such because they were already locations of information exchange, due to their important political or economic roles, as well as being particularly important for the news of the years 1619-21.[79] The news centers diversified and expanded both as the war spread and the infrastructure grew.

The increasingly widespread publishing of weekly newspapers did not sound an immediate death knell for the biannual *Messrelationen*, rather the same war news that inspired the growth of one medium also stimulated the other. For the period of 1619-21, the *Messrelationen* printers in Frankfurt, Cologne, Magdeburg and Leipzig continued their work and were joined by new publications in Heidelberg and Frankfurt. The issues were printed in the same form as the 1604-5 issues, though they were often longer, generally 100-150 pages. Additionally, occasionally news was reported under a dateline similar to that of the newspapers. This change could indicate the growing influence of the

[79] For more on the role of cities as the basis of the communication of news, see Arblaster, 'Antwerp and Brussels as Inter-European'; Arblaster, 'Current-affairs Publishing'; Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers'.

medium on stylistic matters or that the *Messrelationen* were willing to adopt the easier formatting of their sources, either the printed newspapers or the manuscript newsletters.

In Frankfurt, Sigismund Latomus stopped using various pseudonyms and printed the *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continvatio*, in much the same form as before, under his own name.[80] Magdeburg's serialized *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continuatio Trigesima Sexta* to *Trigesima Nona*, also continued to be published, presumably by Johann Francke, although authorship was alternatively attributed to Johann Francus and Jacob Frame, and printing duties fell to Joachim Schmidt, Joachim Boel and the heirs of Wilhelm Ross.[81] In Cologne, Brachel continued to print his *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* with the author named as Caspar Caspars.[82] Lamberg changed the name of his *Messrelation* in Leipzig, adopting the serialized name *CONTINUATIO I* [to *VII*] *Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation*, and sharing printing and publishing duties with Kaspar Klosemann and Gottfried Grosse. The author was usually listed as Gregorius Wintermonat, though one issue from the spring of 1620 took on a seasonal quality with Gregorius Sommermonat.[83]

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[80] There is also an issue likely printed by Latomus from New Years 1621, though the author was listed as 'Jacobus Franck'. Latomus's own name was listed as author beginning in the spring of 1616 and then the following autumn; perhaps for clarification, it was further explained as 'Sigismund Latomus alias Meurer, Francus'. The issues from this period are a bit longer than those from 1604-5, ranging from 107-67 pages, and they often contain stories that are several pages long. The only marginalia which survive mark the month of the story. There is also no forward to the reader nor register of the contents. Two issues include maps at the close, and two have an illustration supplementing the news: both of monstrous births.

[81] The name Johann Francus first appeared in the title of this *Messrelation* in 1616, then was listed as author in 1617. This publication is consistently shorter than the one from 1604-5, only 56-64 pages in length, though it still includes a forward, register and marginal month markers. There are no major illustrations. The most significant characteristic of this publication is the dateline headings which are sometimes offered, rather than a brief title indicating the main idea of the story.

[82] Caspar Caspars appeared consistently as an author beginning in 1617. The *Messrelation* is still in a format very similar to the one used in 1604-5: without marginalia, register of contents, forward or significant illustrations and with the month of the news indicated by a heading in the text. It is, however, much longer. Running from 92 to 104 pages in length, it is almost twice as long as earlier issues and more in line with the size of the other *Messrelationen*.

[83] The name Gregorius Wintermonat dates from 1609. The changes in printing and publishing credit play out thusly: Lamberg was initially named as the publisher alongside Klosemann, until the spring of 1620 when Klosemann's name was dropped and Lamberg was called the printer; then, the following autumn, Grosse was named the publisher. Like Lamberg's previous publications, the register comes at the end, and a

In addition to these familiar publications and names there were two new teams presenting *Messrelationen* during this period. In Frankfurt, the *Breviarii Sive Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* and the *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continvatio* both appear to be works of the same three men—the printer Wendelin Meckel in Oberursel, the publisher Johann Theobald Schönwetter and the author Michael Kaspar Lundorp—and had exactly the same content.[84] In Heidelberg, Thomas Gräve printed the *Continuatio Relationis*, naming the author as either Jacobus Faber or Jacobus Francus.[85] There is also a surviving issue from a *Messrelation* titled *Continvatio Historica* with no indication on the title pages as to who published the work or where it may have been printed.[86] While several of these printers and publishers would continue to produce *Messrelationen* for some years, most of these publications would not survive to the end of the war.

1.3 The Effects of the Thirty Years War and the Periodicals of 1643-5

The first decades of the Thirty Years War proved in many ways to be very advantageous to the news industry. Not only did the advancing Swedish army under the command of Gustavus Adolphus provide a ready subject for the newspapers, pamphlets and broadsheets, but this same army required a new postal system to join together the conquered lands in Northern Germany.[87] With Hamburg as the chief post office, Leipzig as the military center and the former Imperial postmaster von den Birghden as the

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picture of a siege often appears on the title page, but a forward to the reader is added as well as monthly markers in the margin. These issues range in size from 96 to 176 pages.

[84] These are the first publications with these names listed together. These two publications run from 112 to 152 pages each, include marginalia noting the months and an overview of the content. Supplementing the news are illustrations of a banquet and an execution and occasionally an address to the reader in either a forward or afterward; however, there is no register of contents.

[85] The first *Messrelation* in Heidelberg was printed in 1618, with Faber listed as the author. The surviving issues from this period are consistently 96 pages long. Months are marked by headings in the text, and there are no forwards, registers of contents, marginalia or illustrations related to the news.

[86] It is 64 pages long, with the months marked in the margins, no forward, register or illustrations.

[87] Arblaster, 'Current-affairs Publishing', 108; Behringer, 'Veränderung', 66, 72-3

architect, the new Swedish postal service provided both an alternative route of news distribution and new reporting centers linked to the already established postal cities of Nuremberg, Frankfurt and Augsburg.[88] Between the construction of new postal routes and the improvement of existing Imperial routes, the communication network across the continent became even more efficient, despite the disruptions of war.[89]

Newspaper publishing was by no means a solely German language endeavor, and at the same time that printed periodicals were developing and expanding in German lands, they were also becoming established in the Low Countries, England and France. In Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven began printing his *Nieuwe Tydinghe* in 1605 and translated it into French starting in 1610.[90] In Amsterdam, Petrus Keerius translated his news into English, and, inspired by these *corantos*, London printers Nathaniel Butter, Nicholas Borne, Thomas Archer and others began their own publications. The real boom in the English newspapers came later with the polemical publications of the 1640s.[91] In France, Théophraste Renaudot, founder of the *Bureau d'Adresse* in Paris, began printing the *Gazette* in 1630, which primarily presented news of France, England and the Mediterranean, while Jean Epstein's *Nouvelles Ordinaires*, first printed in 1631, reported on the rest of the continent, particularly the north and west.[92] The German-language

[88] Von den Birghden had been relieved of the post of Imperial Postmaster in 1627 under accusations of distributing false information with the express purpose of sabotaging the Habsburgs and was replaced by a Catholic. Arblaster, 'Current-affairs Publishing', 110; Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 355; Behringer, 'Veränderung', 57-9, 66, 72-3, also detailed in Blühm, 'Deutscher Fürstenstaat', 291-2.
[89] Behringer, 'Veränderung der Raum-Zeit-Relation', 66.
[90] Antwerp was particularly important in news circulation as it lay at the crossroads of two postal services and connected London to Paris and Holland to Spain. Arblaster, 'Antwerp and Brussels', 199-203; J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641-1649* (1996), 7.
[91] Raymond, *Invention of the Newspaper,* 7. Other sources on early English newspapers and corantos include J. Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper, 1620-1660* (1961); M. Frearson 'London Corantos in the 1620s', in M. Harris, ed., *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History: 1993 Annual* (1994), 3-17.
[92] A. Blome, 'Offices of Intelligence and Expanding Social Spaces', in Dooley, ed., *Dissemination of News,* 210-1; Behringer, 'Veränderung der Raum-Zeit-Relation', 67-8; S. Haffemayer, *L'information dans la France du XVIIe siècle: La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (2002).

papers would often turn to the news of these cities, particularly Paris and London, as the reporting networks expanded and diversified.

War may have brought easy news and new infrastructure, leading to the founding of new newspapers during these thirty years, but many were also abandoned during the economic depression of the late 1630s through the 1640s.[93] Though there are 23 newspapers with issues dating from the period 1643-5, only four are the same publications that had extant issues from 1619-21: the Strasbourg *Relation*, the Frankfurt *Zeitung*, the Hamburg *Wöchentliche* and the Cologne *Raporten*.[94] Despite this turnover, the format of the newspapers is the same as it was in 1619-21, and issues are consistently 4 pages in length. With the improvements in breadth and consistency of the postal networks, many papers also began regularly printing issues more than once a week. Among the newspapers of 1643-5, only five have more than 50 extant issues and another three have between 25 and 50.[95]

Of these eight newspapers with at least 25 extant issues, four of the best preserved have uncertain bibliographic information. The *Wöchentliche Zeitung* was likely printed by Timotheus Ritzsch in Leipzig, and the oldest issues date from 1643.[96] The *Post/Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* also first appeared in 1643, but there is no further information known about the printer. The *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* was

[93] Weber, 'Early German Newspaper', 74.
[94] This does not necessarily mean that the other 18 newspapers folded, merely that they do not have issues dating from this specific period. For example, the untitled Berlin *Zeitung* has no extant issues from 1643-5, but was still being printed and has 10 surviving issues from 1657-8.
[95] The other newspapers from 1643-5 with less than 25 extant issues are: *Newe Vnpartheysche Zeittung vnd Relation* (Zurich), *Ordinari Zeitung* (Vienna), untitled *Zeitung* (Danzig?), *Zeitungen* (n.p.), *Ordinari Postzeitung* (n.p.), *Einkommende Wochentliche Zeitungen* (n.p.), *Particular, Post/ Hambürger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (Danzig?), *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig?), *Ordinari Zeitung* (Munich), *Ordenliche Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Munich), *Wochentliche Ordinari Zeitungen* (Munich), *Extra Ordinari Wochentliche Postzeitungen auß vnterschiedlichen Orthen vnd Landen* (n.p.).
[96] This paper appeared multiple times a week. Ritzsch also ended up publishing the first daily newspaper, the *Einkommende Zeitung* beginning in 1650. Arblaster, 'Current-affairs Publishing', 130. Weber, 'Strassburg 1605', 396-7.

possibly from Lucerne or Constance.[97] Finally, the newspaper which appeared under the names *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* and *Extraordinari einkommene Zeitung* was likely printed in Erfurt.[98]

Each of the four newspapers which were also printed from 1619-21 changed hands at least once in the intervening years, though generally remaining within the family.[99] The Hamburg *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* during this period was published by Ilsabe Meyer, who took over the business from her husband Johann following his death in 1634, along with her second husband Martin Schumacher, a notary public. The paper appeared twice a week, on Tuesdays under the names *Post-Zeitung* or *Ordentliche Zeitung,* and on Thursdays as *Wochentliche Zeitung*.[100] Similarly, the Cologne *Raporten* was first printed by Johann Mertzenich in 1620, though from 1643-5, it was run by the printer Arnold Kempen, the second husband of Mertzenich's widow. It also appeared twice a week, on Tuesday and Friday, under the names *Ordinari Wochentliche Dinstag Postzeit(t)ungen* and *Extraordinari Freytags Postzeit(t)ungen*. In Strasbourg, Moritz Carolus took over the publication of the *Relation* following the death of his brother, Johann, in 1634.[101]

The exception to this rule is the less convivial exchanges surrounding the Frankfurt *Zeitung*. When von den Birghden lost his position as Imperial postmaster, he also lost the newspaper, and from 1627-31 it was printed by Gerhard Vrints, the new postmaster. When Sweden took control of Frankfurt, von den Birghden was made the Royal Swedish postmaster and again printed the newspaper from 1632-5. However, when

[97] Based on Bogel and Blühm, *Die deutschen Zeitungen*, vol 3, 128-9.
[98] There are 29 issues under the name *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* and 33 under the name *Extraordinari einkommene Zeitung*.
[99] If your definition of 'in the family' includes your widow's new husband.
[100] The title *Post Zeitung* was primarily used in 1643. Though there are occasional issues from 1644 and 1645 under that name, *Ordentliche Zeitung* was more commonly employed.
[101] Issues did not appear under a title, but only an issue number and year.

Sweden lost the city, the paper once more reverted to Vrints who published it until 1645. From 1645-8, the printer was Johann Baptist Höswinkel. During the period from 1643-5, the paper was published under the name *Ordentliche Wochentliche Postzeitungen.*

With the expansion of the postal network, the birth of newspapers in France and England and the sheer breadth of conflicts, no longer did the bulk of a newspaper's reports come from a handful of cities. Within the extant issues, on only one occasion does a single city contribute more than 10% of the reports of a newspaper, and rarely do cities contribute more than 7% of the news reports (see Table 1.2). As a consequence, while the top ten reporting cities from the years 1619-21 contribute 60-77% of the news reports, from 1643-5, the top ten reporting cities of five of the eight newspapers contribute less than 50% of the total news reports.[102] In addition, the cities which acted as the centers of news reporting change. Cologne, Prague, Vienna, Venice and Lyon are still frequently found in the top ten reporting locations, but are as likely to be joined by Paris, London, Milan, Leipzig or Hamburg as Rome or Frankfurt, and the cities of Breslau and The Hague no longer appear at all.

Whereas the newspapers from 1619-21 show a fair degree of consistency in the amount of news received from each city, in the 1643-5 newspapers there is much more variation among papers. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the *Post/Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* received news in a similar way to the Hamburg *Wöchentliche*, with reports primarily coming from the cities of Cologne, Vienna, Leipzig, Frankfurt, Lyon, Paris, Prague and Venice, though they were supplemented by news from a wide range of places, with the noted absence of the Low Countries. This stands in contrast to the newspapers of Leipzig and Cologne, which each often received news from Amsterdam and Antwerp. The

[102] These are the Leipzig *Wöchentliche* (37.05%), *Post/Hamburger* (44.33%), Erfurt *Ordinari* (42.48%), Hamburg *Wöchentliche* (48.25%) and Cologne *Raporten* (48.23%).

Leipzig *Zeitung*, in particular, printed significantly more news from the northwest than the southeast of Europe, as reports from London and Paris outnumber those from Vienna and Prague. The *Wochentliche Ordinari*, however, is filled with news from the Holy Roman Empire and Habsburg Hereditary Lands, with the cities of Cologne, Leipzig, Vienna, Frankfurt, Erfurt, Hamburg and Prague accounting for 54% of the total news reports. Not only did the reporting networks diversify, but newspapers developed reporting patterns that were more particular so that readers could distinguish one publication from another in this broadening market.

The economic depression affected the *Messrelationen* to an even greater degree, as these publications were not only more expensive to print, but also had fewer opportunities to make up losses. By 1643-5 only the Leipzig and Frankfurt publications remained. In Frankfurt, the *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* continued to be printed and published by the heirs of Sigismund Latomus, who had passed away in 1628, and a new author, named Johann Georg Schleder, began writing in 1638.[103] Likewise, in Leipzig, the *CONTINUATIO XII* [to *XX*] *Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* was published by the heirs of Gottfried Grosse, printed by Henning Köhler and authored by Gregorius Wintermonat.[104]

1.4 After the Thirty Years War and the Periodicals of 1657-8

Among the terms of the Peace of Westphalia, which formally ended the Thirty Years War in 1648, was a provision for the greater autonomy of the German princes within their own

[103] These issues range in length from 91-116 pages. There are no forwards or illustrations.
[104] Some publications list two numbers in their titles. The heirs of Gottfried Grosse were named as the publishers from 1637 onwards and Henning Köhler as printer from 1635 on. Issues range from 70-152 pages. There are no forwards or illustrations. The Leipzig *CONTINUATIO* lists the months as headings within the text.

borders. This led to the increased development and expansion of the postal system, particularly under the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg.[105] The cities along the Baltic became an important arm of the postal network, especially with the continuing wars between Poland, Sweden, Denmark and Muscovy.[106] The Northern Wars lasted for decades, and the cities of Danzig, Königsberg, Marienburg and Stettin not only sent news reports of these events to the other newspapers, but also, in the case of Danzig, Königsberg, and Stettin, founded newspapers within their own cities.

While there was significant turnover in the newspapers between the beginning and the end of the Thirty Years War, this trend slowed down significantly in the years following the Peace of Westphalia. Of the twenty-one newspapers with extant issues from 1657-8, eleven also have issues surviving from an earlier period.[107] These newspapers include five which have more 50 surviving issues and four which have 25-50 surviving issues.[108] In format, length and publication release, the newspapers are consistent in format to those from 1643-5: they consist of 4 pages of reports, primarily under datelines, and were released 1-3 times a week on a fairly set schedule.

Though several newspapers from the previous decades continued to be printed in 1657-8, the only one which has previously been described in this chapter is Hamburg's

[105] Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions', 357.
[106] Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers', 26; M. Chojnacka, 'Die Danziger Presse im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in A. Blome, ed., *Zeitung, Zeitschrift, Intelligenzblatt und Kalendar. Beiträge zur historischen Presseforschung*, 87-8.
[107] These are *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg), untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt), untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin), *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg), *Raporten* (Cologne), *Newe Vnpartheysche Zeittung vnd Relation* (Zurich), *Ordinari Zeittung* (Vienna), *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p.), *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt?), *Ordinari Zeitung* (Munich), *Ordenliche Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Munich).
[108] The other newspapers from the period 1657-8 with less than 25 extant issues are: *Relations Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdingen Historien* (Strasbourg), untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt), untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin), *Raporten* (Cologne), *Ordinari Zeitung* (Vienna), *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitung* (n.p.), *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt?), *Particular Zeitung* (n.p.), *Dingstags (Freytags) Particular* (Danzig), *Postzeittungen* (Prague), *Particular-Zeitung* (Danzig?)

Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther, which was printed by Martin Schumacher, following Ilsabe Meyer's death in 1656. This paper is remarkably well preserved for this period, with almost every issue from the two-year period surviving. It appeared three times a week: *Ordinari Diengstags Zeitung* on Tuesdays, *Wochentliche Donnerstags Zeitung* on Thursdays and *APPENDIX Der Wochentlichen Zeitung Von Numero...* on Saturdays. A second newspaper was founded in Hamburg during the Thirty Years War. In 1630, the postmaster Jakob Kleinhans founded the *Post Zeitung*, and he was succeeded first by Abdonio Somigliano, then, in 1646, by Johann Baptista Vrints. The paper appeared twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, under the titles *Europaeische Mitwochentlich Zeitung* and *Europaeische Sambstägige Zeitung*.

Hamburg was not the only city with two newspapers surviving in significant numbers during this period: the city of Munich also had two newspapers at this time both of which were begun during the Thirty Years War by printers. The *Ordinari Zeitung* was first printed in 1627 by Nikolaus Heinrich, then after his death in 1654, by Johann Jäcklin, who purchased his print shop. The *Ordenliche Wochentlich PostZeitungen* was begun by a Dutch printer, Cornelius Leysser, in 1631. The printing of the paper continued after his death under his widow's second husband, Lucas Straub. Similarly in Zurich, the *Newe Vnpartheysche Zeittung vnd Relation* was founded by the printer Johannes Wolf in 1623, though it was later bought by the family of goldsmith and moneyer Johan Jakob Bodmer and appeared from 1657-8 under the name *Ordinari Wochenzeitung.*[109]

These Thirty Years War era newspapers were joined by a crop of publications founded in the 1650s either in the Baltic region or expressly focused on news of the Baltic. Falling into this latter category is the *Continuation Deß jüngst zwischen beyde*

[109] The Zurich *Newe Vnpartheysche Zeittung vnd Relation* was seen as an unofficial mouthpiece for the Protestants during the Thirty Years War. The Habsburg paper, also an unofficial mouthpiece, was the *Wienner Blaettl.* of Vienna (naturally), which was printed from 1622-78 but of which there are no surviving copies for the various years considered here. Weber, 'Strassburg 1605', 401-3.

Königliche Schwedische vnd Pohlnische Armeen zugetragenen Kriegs-verlauffs begun in Frankfurt, likely by Johann Philipp Weiß.[110] In addition, newspapers were founded in Stettin, Königsberg and Copenhagen, and all of these publications appeared under a variety of titles. In Stettin, the *Europaeische Zeitung* was likely first published by printer Johann Valentin Rhete in 1655 and usually appeared on Tuesday and Saturday.[111] In 1656, the first issues of the Königsberg newspaper *Europaeische Wochentliche Zeitung*, begun by the printer Johann Reußner, appeared, although, like the Stettin newspaper, it was published multiple times a week under a variety of names.[112] Copenhagen's newspaper was printed by the German Peter Hake and was named *Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Hamburg*, though those four words were by no means the only ones to appear on the masthead.[113]

The effects of the expanding postal infrastructure and changing theaters of war are clearly seen when looking at the top reporting cities for each newspaper (see Table. 1.3). Cities which had been of importance during the previous decades, such as Leipzig, Lyon, Milan and Prague, were replaced by the Baltic ports located near the action of the Northern Wars: Danzig, Elbing and Marienburg. While the news centers of Cologne, Frankfurt, Venice and Vienna continued to have a significant presence, the clear center of

[110] This newspaper does not have its own entry in Bogel and Blühm, *Die deutschen Zeitungen*, but does appear on page 163 of vol I, in the background for Frankfurt's *Continuation Vnterschiedlicher Extract-Schreiben*.

[111] In 1657, the newspaper appeared under the names *Europaeische Zeitũg (Zeitung)* and *APPENDIX Europaeischer Zeitung/ von Num...* There were also *Particular-Schreiben* associated with both the *Europaesiche* and the *APPENDIX*. In 1658, the titles *Europaeische Dingstägl. Zeitũg* and *Europaeische Samstägl. Zeitũg* were adopted, and there were *Particular-Schreiben* for the Tuesday paper surviving.

[112] In 1657, it appeared alternatively under the name *Europaeische Wochentliche Zeitung* and *Europeaische Ordinari Postzeitung*, as well as *Donnerstags PARTICULAR Zeitung Zur Numer ... gehörig* and *Freytags PARTICULAR Zeitung Zur Numer ... gehörig*. The titles were in no way simplified in the year that followed, and there remain extant issues from 1658 of the *Sontags Europaeischer MERCURIUS* with a *Europaeischer APPENDIX*, the *Donnerstags PARTICULAR Zeitung Zu Europaeischen Mercurius gehörig* and the *Sonnabends RELATION, Zum Europaeischen Mercurius Numer ... gehörig.*

[113] In 1657, the titles *Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Hamburg* and *Mitwochentliche Zeitung* were used. In 1658, however, the titles vary considerably more with *Ordinarie Wochentliche Zeitung auß Hamburg*; *Ordinarie Wochentliche Zeitung/ auß Deutschlandt*; *Warhafftige RELATION, Von Unter schiedenen Oerten/ aus Deutschlandt*; *RELATION Aus Unterschiedlichen frembden Örten* and *Europaeische RELATION Auß Unterschiedlichen frembden Oertern* all being used.

the news industry was Hamburg, profiting from its situation at the crossroads of five postal carriers.[114] Even considering that the city's two newspapers never reported news as coming from their own city, Hamburg is the most referenced source of information. In fact, it makes up an average of 18% of the reports of the other seven papers, easily besting any reporting city from all three periods considered here.

Just as these newspapers fell into two distinct categories based on when they were established, for those founded in 1618-31 and those founded in the mid-1650s, a similar division can be seen in the reporting networks. The Zurich *Relation* and the Munich *Ordinari* both received a great deal of news from news centers around the continent, without containing much news from the Baltic. Cologne, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Vienna, and, interestingly, Silesia, all contribute at least 5% for the total news reports of each paper, as well as news from Rome, Venice and Paris (for Munich) or Italy and France (for Zurich). The Munich *PostZeitung*, however, perhaps consciously distinguishing itself from its rival, supplemented the striking number of reports from Cologne with news from the northeast: Berlin, Danzig and Prussia. This makes it, in some ways, more similar to the two Hamburg papers and the Copenhagen *Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Hamburg* which, though they never favor a single city to the extent that the Munich *PostZeitungen* favors Cologne, Hamburg or Paris, do include news from both the older news centers and the Baltic cities. On the other hand, a concentration on news from the Baltic defines the Königsberg *Europaeische* and the Frankfurt *Continuation*, in which the cities of Hamburg, Danzig, Elbing, Riga, Stettin and Wismar rank among the top ten reporting cities of both papers and are joined by Königsberg, Marienburg, Thorn, Lübeck or the castle Gottorf.

[114] Hamburg had the unique advantage of being situated on the postal networks of the Tassis, the royal posts of Denmark and Sweden, the Swedish military news coming from Leipzig, and the Kauffmans-Post-Haus. Arblaster, 'Current-affairs Publishing', 130.

These newspapers continued to develop focus and character which were specific to the reporting networks they had the strongest connection with. The older newspapers continued to draw from many of the same cities as they did decades earlier, while the newer papers gave more attention to the ports of the Baltic, and the newspapers of Hamburg split the difference.

As with many of the newspapers, the *Messrelationen* which were strong enough to survive the Thirty Years War were strong enough to continue publication for several decades. In Frankfurt, the *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* continued to be published by the heirs of Sigismund Latomus and the author continued to be listed as Johann Georg Schleder. In Leipzig, the *CONTINUATIO XVIII* [and *XIX*] *Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* was authored by Gregorius Wintermonat, with the heirs of Gottfried Grosse as the publishers and the heirs of Henning Köhler as the printers.[115]

Over the course of 54 years, even the most cursory look at these newspapers and *Messrelationen* reveals the changing aspects of the printed news. Though the many *Messrelationen* of 1604-5 continued to thrive with the ready news of the Thirty Years War, there were only two publications remaining by the end of the war. The Frankfurt and Leipzig *Messrelationen* continued to be published until 1806 and 1730, respectively, but were not joined by other publications of their type. The newspapers also experienced a boom with the beginning of the Thirty Years War, but while individual papers may have

[115] Kohler passed away in 1656. Bender's bibliography only catalogues the *Messrelationen* through 1648, so this information is gathered from the title pages of these publications.

folded during the economic hardship of war, the medium continued to thrive with new publications continuing to be founded.

Within the newspapers themselves, there is clear evidence of the changing nature of the reporting network.[116] Cities grew and waned in importance due both to infrastructural changes, such as developments in the postal networks, and commercial changes, such as the establishment of printed newspapers in England and France. Regional urban centers, which may have been home to trade and diplomatic networks on a local, but not on a pan-European, level, also became more important as the shifting theaters of the Thirty Years and Northern Wars grew closer. The network of reporting became increasingly complex as the postal system developed, and while some papers continued to receive most of their news from the major political and economic capitals of Europe, others took a slightly more regional focus, receiving most of their news from specific areas, particularly the cities bordering the Baltic.

These changes in reporting locations also affected those regions which did not contain a reporting center or were touched by the expanding postal system.[117] The principality of Transylvania rarely sent news reports directly to the newspapers and was largely outside the reporting network, as demonstrated by the newspaper datelines. Yet, during these four periods, 1604-5, 1619-21, 1643-5 and 1657-8, the German language newspapers and *Messrelationen* contained hundreds of reports which directly addressed Transylvania, and more specifically, the Transylvanian princes. The changes in the reporting network are also reflected by the locations which contributed news on Transylvania, and these different reporting locations told the story of Transylvania in very different ways.

[116] Arblaster, 'Posts, Newsletters, Newspapers', 19.
[117] The infrastructure for travel through southeastern and Ottoman Europe was much less developed than that of Western Europe. Barbarics-Hermanik, 'Handwritten Newsletters', 156.

Table 1.1 Most frequently occurring reporting locations in the newspapers of 1619-21 (percentage of the total number of reports in each newspaper)[*]

	Wolfenbüttel ***Aviso***	**Frankfurt** ***Postzeitung***	**Berlin** ***Zeitung***	**Hamburg** ***Wöchentliche***	**Hildesheim** ***Zeitung***	**Stuttgart** ***Zeittungen***
Extant Issues	54	142	151	99	53	51
Total Reports	637	1364	2284	1249	1093	778
Reporting Location[†]						
Alsace	**2.04**	*1.10*	*1.05*	*0.48*	*1.19*	—
Amsterdam	*0.16*	**6.89**	*1.93*	*1.84*	*0.18*	*0.64*
Augsburg	*0.47*	*0.66*	**2.45**	**2.32**	*1.10*	*0.64*
Breslau	**4.08**	**2.20**	**2.15**	**2.24**	**3.48**	**3.47**
Brussels	*0.63*	**2.05**	*0.92*	*0.24*	*0.55*	*0.64*
Budweis	—	*0.51*	*0.26*	*0.48*	**1.46**	*0.13*
Cologne	**8.01**	**10.04**	**8.10**	**7.05**	**9.06**	**8.23**
Frankfurt	**5.18**	*0.07*	**3.46**	**5.12**	**5.58**	**3.60**
The Hague	**8.01**	**8.87**	**3.06**	**7.93**	**6.09**	**7.33**
Linz	*1.73*	*1.39*	**2.10**	*0.80*	*1.19*	*0.51*
Lyon	**3.54**	*1.76*	*2.06*	*1.92*	**2.29**	**3.60**
Nuremberg	—	*0.22*	*1.53*	*1.28*	—	**5.27**
The Palatinate	*0.31*	*1.54*	*1.62*	**2.08**	—	*1.80*
Prague	**13.19**	**10.26**	**15.76**	**14.41**	**17.20**	**12.98**
Rome	**7.22**	**7.55**	**4.33**	**6.65**	**7.32**	**7.07**
Strasbourg	**2.04**	*0.22*	*1.23*	*0.96*	**1.46**	*0.51*
Venice	**7.85**	**7.77**	**4.90**	**7.21**	**7.87**	**7.33**
Vienna	**10.68**	**11.66**	**12.48**	**11.45**	**12.17**	**11.95**
Wesel	*0.16*	**1.91**	*0.53*	—	—	—

[*]The ten most frequently contributing cities are in bold, others, for comparison's sake, in italics.

[†] Reporting location, here and elsewhere, includes a city or region, however it is specified in a dateline.

Table 1.2 Most frequently occurring reporting locations in the newspapers of 1643-5 (percentage of the total number of reports in each newspaper)*

	Leipzig ***Wöchentliche***	***Post/ Hamburger***	***Wochentliche Ordinari***	**Erfurt** ***Ordinari***	**Hamburg** ***Wöchentliche***	**Cologne** ***Raporten***	**Strasbourg** ***Relation***	**Frankfurt** ***Postzeitung***
Extant Issues	157	120	133	62	75	32	47	42
Total Reports	1263	1464	1328	565	684	423	607	517
Reporting Location								
Amsterdam	**3.72**	*0.14*	—	*1.24*	*0.29*	**6.62**	—	—
Antwerp	**5.07**	*0.48*	*0.08*	*2.65*	*0.44*	**5.20**	*0.33*	*2.13*
Cologne	**3.72**	**6.83**	**9.94**	**4.25**	**6.58**	*0.24*	**9.72**	**4.06**
Dunkirk	*1.03*	*0.34*	—	*1.42*	*0.29*	**2.84**	—	*0.39*
Erfurt	—	*2.46*	**6.70**	*0.18*	*1.75*	**2.84**	**5.77**	*0.19*
Frankfurt	*1.98*	**4.03**	**7.53**	*0.35*	**5.26**	*1.65*	*1.32*	—
Hamburg	**2.61**	**3.55**	**5.95**	*1.95*	—	**2.60**	**10.21**	**7.93**
Leipzig	—	**5.87**	**9.34**	—	**3.36**	**2.60**	**8.07**	*2.71*
London	**5.86**	*1.50*	—	**3.72**	*1.75*	*1.65*	*0.16*	**5.61**
Lyon	*2.14*	**3.07**	**8.43**	**4.25**	**5.99**	**2.84**	**6.10**	**7.16**
Main River	*0.87*	*1.02*	*0.23*	*2.65*	*0.73*	**3.31**	*0.66*	*0.39*
Milan	*1.98*	*1.09*	**6.70**	**3.54**	**3.22**	**2.60**	**5.77**	**6.00**
Nuremberg	*1.19*	*1.71*	*0.60*	—	**2.92**	*0.24*	*0.82*	*0.19*
Osnabrück	*1.82*	**2.60**	*0.15*	*1.42*	*1.02*	*0.24*	*1.98*	—
Paris	**4.75**	**3.89**	*0.15*	**5.66**	**5.26**	**2.84**	**5.44**	**7.54**
Prague	**2.85**	**4.30**	**5.72**	**3.01**	**6.58**	**5.20**	**4.45**	**4.26**
Rhine River	*1.35*	*2.19*	*0.83*	**6.19**	*2.63*	*1.18*	*1.65*	*3.29*
Rome	**2.61**	*2.19*	*4.59*	*2.48*	*1.32*	**2.60**	*3.95*	**4.06**
Thuringia	—	*0.07*	*0.08*	*0.18*	—	*2.36*	*1.15*	**5.61**
Venice	**3.09**	**3.01**	**5.72**	**3.89**	**3.51**	*1.42*	**4.28**	**5.22**
Vienna	**2.77**	**7.17**	**9.19**	**4.60**	**5.56**	**6.15**	**8.24**	**6.19**
Wesel	*0.40*	*0.07*	—	**3.36**	*0.15*	—	*0.16*	—

*The ten most frequently contributing cities are in bold, others, for comparison's sake, in italics.

Table 1.3 Most frequently occurring reporting locations in the newspapers of 1657-8 (percentage of the total number of reports in each newspaper)

	Hamburg *Wöchentliche*	**Hamburg** *Post Zeitung*	**Munich** *Ordinari*	**Munich** *PostZeitungen*	**Zurich** *Relation*	**Frankfurt** *Continuation*	**Stettin** *Europaeische*	**Königsberg** *Europaeische*	**Copenhagen** *Wochentliche*
Extant Issues	311	29	52	50	79	104	32	26	31
Total Reports	2780	335	336	227	664	500	217	210	214
Reporting Location									
Antwerp	**3.56**	**3.88**	*1.79*	*1.44*	*0.30*	—	**3.69**	*0.95*	*1.87*
Berlin	*0.29*	—	—	**5.05**	*0.60*	*1.00*	*0.92*	*1.43*	*0.93*
Breslau	*1.04*	*0.60*	—	—	*0.15*	*0.80*	—	*0.95*	**2.80**
Cologne	*2.95*	**8.66**	**15.18**	**28.52**	**11.90**	—	*2.30*	*1.90*	**3.27**
Danzig	**3.13**	**3.88**	*0.30*	**7.94**	*1.66*	**5.00**	*3.23*	**7.14**	**5.61**
Elbe River	*0.58*	**5.67**	*0.30*	**7.22**	*0.30*	*0.20*	*0.46*	*1.43*	**4.21**
Elbing	**4.82**	**3.88**	—	—	*1.66*	**6.80**	**8.29**	**3.33**	*1.87*
France	*0.04*	—	*0.30*	—	**7.08**	—	—	—	—
Frankfurt	**3.27**	**3.88**	**6.85**	—	**5.72**	—	*2.30*	**3.33**	*1.87*
Gottorf	—	—	—	*1.44*	*0.45*	**2.40**	*0.46*	*0.95*	—
The Hague	*0.86*	**5.07**	*0.89*	—	*0.15*	*0.40*	**4.15**	*0.95*	**7.01**
Hamburg	—	—	**16.96**	**14.08**	**14.01**	**34.40**	**5.07**	**12.38**	*1.40*
Italy	*0.07*	—	—	—	**8.43**	—	*0.46*	—	—
Königsberg	*1.62*	*0.90*	*0.60*	*0.36*	*1.36*	**2.60**	*1.38*	—	*1.87*
London	*1.91*	*1.49*	*0.30*	—	**7.53**	*0.20*	**5.53**	**2.86**	**3.27**
Lübeck	*1.51*	*1.49*	—	*0.36*	*0.75*	*1.40*	—	**2.86**	**2.80**
Main River	*0.22*	—	—	**2.17**	*0.15*	—	—	*0.48*	*0.93*
Marienburg	**5.65**	**5.37**	*0.60*	—	*1.05*	**10.40**	**7.37**	*2.38*	*1.87*
Milan	*1.83*	*1.19*	**3.27**	—	*1.20*	—	*0.92*	—	*0.47*
Oder River	*0.07*	—	**2.68**	*0.36*	*1.20*	—	—	—	—
Paris	**4.64**	**3.88**	**2.68**	**14.08**	**3.46**	—	**5.99**	**2.86**	—
Prague	*2.59*	*3.28*	**4.46**	*0.36*	*2.41*	—	*0.92*	*1.43*	**6.07**
Prussia	*0.07*	—	—	**2.17**	—	*0.20*	—	—	—
Riga	**3.24**	*1.49*	*0.60*	—	*0.60*	**3.40**	*0.92*	**2.86**	—
Rome	**5.97**	*3.28*	**7.44**	*1.08*	*1.81*	—	**4.15**	*1.43*	*0.93*
Silesia	*0.68*	*0.90*	**7.44**	*0.36*	**7.23**	*0.40*	—	*1.43*	—
Stettin	*1.47*	*0.90*	—	—	*0.15*	**3.20**	—	**5.24**	**2.34**
Thorn	*2.70*	*2.99*	—	—	*0.60*	**2.80**	**6.45**	*2.38*	**2.34**
Venice	**4.35**	**5.67**	**9.82**	**2.89**	**3.92**	—	*2.76*	*0.48*	**2.34**
Vienna	**5.76**	**5.97**	**11.31**	**2.17**	**6.33**	*0.20*	**5.53**	*0.48*	**6.07**
Wismar	*2.09*	*0.90*	—	*0.72*	*0.45*	**3.20**	*0.92*	**6.19**	*1.40*

Chapter 2

István Bocskai's Rebellion and the News before the Newspapers, 1604-5

The seventeenth century saw war in every corner of the European continent. In the southeast, the greatest conflict was an ongoing struggle between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans: a struggle which had created the principality of Transylvania and through which that same principality began to assert some autonomy in the years 1604-5. It was during these years that István Bocskai withdrew his support for Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II and, with the backing of the Ottoman Porte, led a rebellion in Transylvania and Hungary against Imperial control.

This rebellion came during the closing years of a fifteen year long war which had been eagerly covered by the biannual *Messrelationen*. Bocskai's march by no means marked the beginning of news reporting on the war, but rather came as a succeeding chapter on the heels of a similar action by Mózes Székely. The news stories of the *Messrelationen* constructed a narrative which may not have been explicitly pro-Habsburg, but clearly did not lend much credence to the claims of the Transylvanian. In this narrative, Bocskai did not have legitimate authority, but only promises of homage won through military intimidation. His army was supported financially by Ottomans creating an alliance of two unchristian peoples: the Muslim Turks and the Protestants. He committed acts of violence and destruction against good Christians and the lands of Hungary while the people of Transylvania starved. While his reasons for fighting were presented as being for freedom of religion and the rights of the nobility, they were largely overshadowed by the sense that Bocskai was merely a usurper and instigator of further war, rather than a leader and prince of Transylvania.

This chapter will explore how this narrative was established in the news stories of the *Messrelationen* of 1604-5 by examining five topics: politics, ceremony, violence, economics and religion. Though the *Messrelationen* often present longer news stories which follow a specific subject through a series of events from a single point of view, this is not the case with the reports which appeared in the newspapers discussed in later chapters. These stories vary in length and focus and provide reports from dozens of different locations. The five topics present broad organizational categories which can be mined for comparisons of value and interest. Each topic offers distinct qualities and challenges and must be analyzed through a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods: the counting guides the reading and the reading offers nuance to the counting. The analysis of political news is best understood through close reading, while violence and religion present patterns which can be explored through the frequency of usage for certain vocabulary. Ceremony and economic news are tackled using both techniques, creating categories based on the content of the stories and then noting how frequently they appear. Before each of these subjects is introduced and defined, a brief history of Transylvania and an exploration of early patterns of news reporting in the *Messrelationen* are considered.

2.1 The Formation of the Principality of Transylvania: 1526-1606

The principality of Transylvania was in many ways defined by divisions. It emerged from the division of the medieval kingdom of Hungary and contained peoples of three different languages and five religions. It was governed by a prince and a diet divided into three *nationes*, each representing a specific cultural and linguistic community. Perhaps because of all of these distinct and often antagonistic communities, it took individuals with both strength of arms and personality to unify the principality, as well as individuals with the

political understanding to know when to negotiate with or even manipulate each group individually.[1]

Transylvania as it stood in the seventeenth century was a product of the devastating war that followed the defeat of the Hungarian forces at Mohács in 1526. The king of Hungary, Louis II, was killed in battle and two men claimed his crown: Archduke Ferdinand of Habsburg and János Zápolyai, voivode of Transylvania. Facing the Habsburg army, Zápolyai soon turned to the Ottomans for military support, and the sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent, was happy to oblige. Fighting continued between these armies until the Ottomans seized the Hungarian capital of Ofen and the kingdom was effectively divided in three. The Ottomans were in the center and south, extending up the Danube to Gran; the Habsburgs retained control of the thin stretch of land which came to be called Royal Hungary, from the Croatian coast to the mountain cities on the border of Poland; the principality of Transylvania largely took up the lands of the earlier voivode ranging from the Carpathian mountains to the counties of the Hungarian plain known as the Partium.[2]

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[1] Much of the research of the past decades on early modern Transylvania has been focused on the dual powers of church and state and the changes which took place in these institutions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Specific questions include the extent of the power of the prince and diet, the role of confessionalization, whether a nation could be recognized and responses to growing Habsburg absolutism. Many of these arguments have been placed within the context of similar developments in Hungary, Bohemia and Poland-Lithuania. While this thesis will not directly address the development of Transylvanian institutions or domestic conflicts and ideology, but will instead focus on the contemporary foreign perceptions of the principality, I do want to acknowledge the rich and growing historiography, including the essays of E. Andor and I. G. Tóth, eds., *Frontiers of Faith: Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities, 1400-1750* (2001); J. Bahlcke and A. Strohmeyer, eds., *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa: Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur* (1999); R. J. W. Evans and T. V. Thomas, eds., *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1991); K. Maag, ed., *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe* (1997); B. Trencśenyi and M. Zászkaliczky, eds., *Whose Love of Which Country?* (2010).

[2] The name 'Partium' comes from its Latin designation as 'parts of' the kingdom of Hungary. It contains: Szatmár, Szabolcs, Ugocsa, Bereg, Zemplén, Borsod and Abaúj. For more on early modern Transylvania, see G. Barta, et al., eds., *History of Transylvania* (1994); L. Makkai and A. Mócsy, eds., *History of Transylvania*, volumes 1 and 2 (2001); M. Molnár, *A Concise History of Hungary* (2001); P. F. Sugar, P. Hának, and T. Frank, eds., *A History of Hungary* (1990); V. Zimányi, *Economy and Society in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Hungary (1526-1650)* (1987).

The status of this new principality throughout the sixteenth century was extremely tenuous: decades of unease were book-ended by wars from 1526-41 and from 1591-1606. János Zápolyai maintained his claim as king of Hungary until his death in 1540. His infant son, János Zsigmond, was chosen to succeed him and did not renounce the title until the Treaty of Speyer in 1570, which legitimized him as the prince of Transylvania, including the counties of the Partium, though he remained a vassal to the king of Hungary, Maximilian II. With János Zsigmond's death a year later, the Transylvanian Diet was in a position to elect their first prince, István Báthori. Báthori proved to be a capable ruler, accepting Ottomans suzerainty while avoiding antagonizing the Habsburgs, and eventually was elected king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, even this successful reign began with war, as Gáspár Bekes contested Báthori's election and rallied the Székelys' support, leading revolts which Báthori suppressed with violence and punished by stripping away the Székely privileges.[3] This action would haunt Báthori's successor and nephew, Zsigmond Báthori, who was named prince in 1586 and saw the beginning of the Fifteen Years' War.

These princes maintained a fairly secure grip on the government of Transylvania, particularly as long as they maintained the support of the Ottoman Porte and did not upset the diet by any perceived infringement on noble or *natio* privileges.[4] The three *nationes* of free peoples, the Magyars, Székelys and Saxons, were first brought together as a formal diet in 1543, though they had existed as distinct linguistic and cultural communities since the medieval period.[5] The Magyars constituted much of the nobility and many still held estates in both Transylvania and Royal Hungary. The Székelys were Hungarian-speakers who resided in the eastern counties and had historically performed

[3] Sugar, et al., eds., *History of Hungary*, 130.
[4] G. Murdock, 'Freely Elected in Fear', *Journal of Early Modern History* 7/3-4 (2003), 223.
[5] L. Makkai, 'The Crown and the Diets of Hungary and Transylvania in the Sixteenth Century', in Evans and Thomas, eds., *Crown, Church and Estates*, 88-9.

military service in lieu of tax payment; however, more and more often, taxes were being demanded of them. The German-speaking Saxons primarily lived in self-governing towns and villages in the south. The largest community in the region were the Romanians, or Vlachs, who did not have the rights of the *natio* to participate in the diet.

The political instability of the sixteenth century in many ways contributed to the success of the Reformation, as neither the kings of Hungary nor the princes of Transylvania had the strength to carry out large scale religious persecutions, and the nobles turned to the humanist ideas brought home from the universities of Wittenberg and Heidelberg in order to support both religious and political independence. Though the seventeenth century saw the increasing political and cultural dominance of the Hungarian Reformed Church, the previous decades included significant advancements of the Evangelical, Reformed and Antitrinitarian teachings into a principality already populated by practitioners of the Catholic, Orthodox, Jewish and Muslim faiths.[6]

In large part, confessional divides were established along the same linguistic and cultural lines as the *natio*. The Saxon towns of Transylvania were the first to accept the new Protestant teachings, largely through the educational and trade connections with towns and universities in Poland and Germany, and so adopted the Evangelical faith.[7] The

[6] Literature on religion includes J. Bahlcke, 'Calvinism and Estate Liberation Movements in Bohemia and Hungary (1570-1620)', in Maag, ed., *Reformation,* 72-91; R. J. W. Evans, 'Calvinism in East Central Europe: Hungary and Her Neighbours', in M. Prestwich, ed., *International Calvinism, 1541-1715* (1985), 167-96; D. P. Daniel, 'Calvinism in Hungary: The Theological and Ecclesiastical Transition to the Reformed Faith', in A. Pettegree, A. Duke and G. Lewis, eds., *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620* (1994), 205-30; M. Crăciun, 'Superstition and Religious Differences in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Transylvania', in Andor and Tóth, eds., *Frontiers of Faith*, 213-31; I. Keul, *Early Modern Religious Communities in East Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality, and Corporative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania (1526-1691)* (2009); G. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600-1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (2000); G. Murdock 'Church Building and Discipline in Early Seventeenth-Century Hungary and Transylvania', in Maag, ed., *Reformation,* 136-54; K. Zach, 'Stände; Grundherrschaft und Konfessionalisierung in Siebenbürgen: Überlegungen zur Socialdisziplinierung (1550-1650)', in Bahlcke and Strohmeyer, *Konfessionalisierung*, 367-91; C. Peters, 'Mural Paintings, Ethnicity and Religious Identity in Transylvania: the Context for Reformation', in Maag, ed., *Reformation*, 92-117.

[7] G. Custred, 'Dual Ethnic Identity of the Transylvanian Saxons', *East European Quarterly* 25/4 (1991), 483.

Protestant Magyars followed the Hungarian Reformed Church which had been active since the 1550s, printing Magyar translations of the Bible and other literature, and establishing the city of Debrecen in the Partium as an eastern center for the faith. Some of these Reformed Protestants, particularly among the Székely community, continued to move further away from Catholicism and followed Ferenc Dávid in his establishment of the Antitrinitarian church.

In 1568, a diet meeting in Torda declared four officially recognized religions: Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism and Antitrinitarianism. The Romanians' Orthodox Church and the Jewish faith were tolerated, meaning they did not have full rights and privileges but would not be actively persecuted.[8] The diet in Torda also specified that each community should be served in the confession of their preference, leaving the Catholic clergy of the newly institutionalized Evangelical, Reformed and Antitrinitarian congregations without a home.

The common response of the Catholic Church to the loss of property and souls—the opening of Jesuit schools and churches—achieved only mild success and great resentment in the sixteenth century Transylvania. Jesuits were first permitted in the principality by the Catholic István Báthori in 1579, but were only given permission to promote education, not carry out mission work. However, their presence provoked unease amongst the Protestant community, and they were expelled then readmitted several times in conjunction with the constant changes in governing authority.

When a strong prince with an army and money, like István Báthori, was in power Transylvania enjoyed some peace. However, in the absence of a centralizing ruler, the in-fighting, changing allegiances and struggles between *nationes* overwhelmed the principality. This was the case during the reign of Zsigmond Báthori and the desperate

[8] Sugar, et al., eds., *History of Hungary*, 126; Makkai, 'Crown and Diets', 90

time of the Fifteen Year's War.[9] Zsigmond was young, weak and did not even have the support of the entire Báthori family. His attempt to fight the Ottomans, though backed by István Bocskai and Emperor Rudolf, met with a series of disasters, in part due to his inability to convince the diet to support his war. He was defeated and abdicated three times, handing over control of the principality to the Habsburg Imperial Commissioners: his cousin, Cardinal András; the Wallachian voivode, Michael the Brave; and Imperial governor, Giorgio Basta. The marching armies from every side stole food from and spread disease throughout the already starving countryside. Zsigmond returned to Transylvania for a fourth time in 1601 with the support of the Ottoman and Tartar forces, but his stay was short-lived and Basta retained control.

Though Zsigmond's last attempt at acting as prince of Transylvania was no more successful than his earlier ones, it did mark a shift in direction for the would-be Transylvanian leaders. No longer fighting to force the Ottomans out to restore the earlier kingdom of Hungary, the most powerful Transylvanian princes of the next fifty years generally accepted the Ottomans' support as necessary for escaping Habsburg influence. In April 1603, Mózes Székely led a revolt against Basta with the support of the Turks and Tartars. Though he was successful and was named prince of Transylvania, his reign was brief. The Habsburgs turned to their allies in Wallachia, and the voivode Radu Şerban attacked the principality, killing Székely at Kronstadt the following July. Basta remained as governor and, with the Imperial general Giacomo Barbiano, Count of Belgioioso, set about persecuting both the Evangelical and Reformed Protestants, confiscating lands and even sentencing some to death.[10]

[9] Over the course of the Fifiteen Years' War Transylvania lost nearly half of its population. K. Péter, 'The Later Ottoman Period and Royal Hungary, 1606-1711', in Sugar, et al., eds., *History of Hungary*, 100.
[10] D. P. Daniel, 'The Fifteen Years' War and the Protestant Response to Habsburg Absolutism in Hungary', *East Central Europe* 8/2 (1981), 38-51.

The anti-Imperial cause was soon picked up by István Bocskai. Though Bocskai had previously fought beside Zsigmond against the Ottomans, the continuing persecutions of Protestants in both Transylvania and Royal Hungary had changed his perspective. He began meeting with the exiled nobleman Gábor Bethlen, an active and vocal supporter of an alliance with the Ottomans. In response, Belgioioso moved his army towards Transylvania and prepared to attack. However, before the assault could take place, Bocskai convinced Belgioioso's hajduck troops to change sides by promising them rights similar to those held by the Székely. The hajducks were armed Hungarian peasants who acted as mercenaries, and with this strong and ruthless force behind him, under the command of Ferenc Rhédey, Bocskai's influence grew.

In November 1604, Bocskai entered Kaschau with the hajducks and was met by Bethlen bearing promises of men and money from the Sultan. The Sultan named him prince of Transylvania and over the next months, Bocskai set about securing the title by winning the acceptance of the three *nationes*. The Magyars quickly rallied behind him, and most of the cities east of the Theiss (except Großwardein) were paying him homage by the end of 1604. He promised the Székelys the restoration of their rights if they simply stayed neutral in the fight. The Saxons, however, had to be more thoroughly convinced: they did not accept Bocskai until forced to do so by military strength. On 20 April 1605, Bocskai called a diet at Szerencs where he was named king of Hungary. By June of 1605, much of Royal Hungary had also paid homage to Bocskai, either through their own willingness or fear of the army of Turks, Tartars and hajducks.

By the autumn of 1605, it was once again evident that neither the Ottomans nor the Habsburgs were strong enough to defeat the other, and a decade and a half of war had devastated the land between them. In the Peace of Vienna of 1606, Bocskai renounced the title of king of Hungary in order to be fully recognized as the prince of Transylvania,

ensure freedom of religious practice in Transylvania and Hungary, and possess the counties of the Partium. Bocskai died the same year but had established a legacy of Reformed leaders, who commanded a strong army and were fighting the Habsburgs for the promise of religious freedom, the counties of the Partium and the crown of Hungary. [11]

2.2 News Stories of the Messrelationen, 1604-5

This story of Bocskai, Basta, the Emperor and the Sultan filled the pages of the *Messrelationen*. There are extant issues of seven of these periodicals surviving from 1604-05, and while they share many common features (see pages 20-2), there still remain some important distinctions in format which affect the conception of the news stories.

The size of the individual reports in the *Messrelationen* of 1604-05 varies wildly. In the *Theodori Meurers Relationis Historicae Continuatio* of Frankfurt the reports often come under broad headings such as 'Weiterer Verlauff in OberUngarn und Siebenbürgen' and can extend for pages, while in the *J. Franci Historicae Relationis Continuatio* of Magdeburg, reports tend to be much more focused and headings more specific, such as 'Botschkay flehet seine besten sachen aus Caschaw' or 'Botschkai begehrt der Türckischen Bassen anzugß'.[12] For this reason, the counting of individual reports containing news on Transylvania was not the most useful way to proceed. Instead, certain sections of a news report, here referred to as 'news stories', were included in the analysis of this thesis when they dealt with the subject of Transylvania or Transylvanians. To further explain, news stories were considered to be discrete passages of information on a

[11] G. Barta, 'The First Period of the Principality of Transylvania (1536-1606)' in Makkai and Mócsy *History of Transylvania*, vol. 1, 743-64; J. Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1273-1700* (1994), 251-3.
[12] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1604), 31-5; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1605), 112; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 93.

particular subject, wholly contained within a single news report. Each news report often contains several news stories commonly differentiated from each other through the use of punctuation, such as the period or semicolon, or transition words, such as *sonst*, *auch* and *dann*. Sometimes, however, the shift in focus is not signaled in an obvious way. Rather, when a new proper noun is introduced, the news which follows changes in focus.

Since much of this analysis rested on the frequency of words or phrases in the news of Transylvania, it was essential that each news story truly be focused on, not merely related to, events in the principality or involve individual Transylvanians who were active in the policies of the principality. Therefore, only those stories which contain a clear stating of the name of a city, person, or *Siebenbürgen* itself were included. It may be more useful to note here which places and people were not explicitly Transylvanian in this context: though they may have often been mentioned in the news of the principality, their reference did not necessitate that a news story be counted. First, were the regions and cities that, though associated with Transylvania and interested in its governance, were not part of the principality: Royal Hungary, Ottoman Hungary and Wallachia. Also included were the contested counties of the Partium, which changed hands on several occasions in the seventeenth century.

Second, there were the individuals who either were not Transylvanian or not active in Transylvanian policies. The individuals whose reference mandated that a news story be included were István Bocskai, Gábor Bethlen, Mózes Székely and Ferenc Rhédey, since all identified strongly with the principality and fought on a common side. The two primary examples of the individuals who were not included, though for different reasons, are General Giorgio Basta and Zsigmond Báthori. Basta, though governor of the principality in 1603-4, was primarily acting in the interest of the Emperor. Zsigmond

Báthori, though a Transylvanian prince for many years, was no longer actively participating in the governance of the principality during the period 1604-5.[13]

Finally, there was a significant group which, though often acting in concert with the Transylvanian army under Bocskai and Rhédey, was not considered to be Transylvanian in this analysis—the hajducks. Though they represented one of the greatest strengths of Bocskai's army, they lived in many ways separate from Transylvanian society and, even more importantly, within the news stories had a mystique of their own. When it was stated that hajducks were fighting under Bocskai or one of his lieutenants, the news of their exploits was included. However, if no Transylvanian was named, news of the hajducks was not considered to be news of Transylvania.

A final aspect of the news stories, and one which continued to be of importance in later newspaper stories, was that they needed to be discrete. This ensured that individual stories did not carry a greater weight in the analysis simply because they survive in several *Messrelationen* or newspapers. A single report appearing in multiple publications was still considered to be a single report.[14] The two *Messrelationen* titled *Jacobi Franci Relationis Historicae Continuatio*, printed in Frankfurt and Erfurt, are not only nearly identical to each other, but also closely resemble Frankfurt's other *Messrelation*, the aforementioned *Theodori Meurers Relationis Historicae Continuatio*. Therefore, none of the reports from the first two were included in this analysis. In addition, occasionally the content of reports of Frankfurt's *Theodori Meurers* and Magdeburg's *J. Franci* appear in duplicate. In this case, the wording of news stories may be slightly different or occur in a different order, but they are in large part the same and thus one was excluded.

[13] Therefore, a story on his arrival in Prague in March 1604 from *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1604), 105, was not included in this analysis.
[14] This did not include reports which appeared in both newspapers and *Messrelationen*: those were counted within the analyses of both mediums.

In contrast, two stories from Magdeburg's *J. Franci* and Leipzig's *Historische Relation* open in a similar way, with Bocskai's call for a diet in Szerencs on 17 April, but they quickly take different directions concerning the presence of the Imperial Commissioners at the diet. From Magdeburg, the news of the diet is followed by the Commissioners' desire for safe conduct: 'Daß er [Bocskai] auff den 17. Dito einen Landtag zu Zerentz angestellet unnd ausgeschrieben/ Dahin sie denn auch/ da sie anders *saluum conductum* begehren'.[15] The story from Leipzig, however, follows the news of the announcement with a question as to whether the Lord Commissioners would appear: 'so er [Bocskai] auff den 17. April. zu Zerent angestellt/ verkündt. Ob sie nun dahin erscheinen/ und ferner mit ihme tractiren werden/ eröffnet die Zeit/ und soll hernach wils Gott vermeldet werden'.[16] Though the stories begin by covering the same news, they continue by expressing different sentiments in different language, so both were included in the analysis.

These news stories from the *Messrelationen* of 1604-05 include news of events from August 1603 to August 1605. There are just over 20,000 words written on the series of events from the chaos following Székely's death, through the establishment of Bocskai as a Transylvanian leader, prince and king, and on to the first stage of peace discussions between the prince and the Emperor. During these two years, Bocskai marched his army through Transylvania, the Partium and Hungary, intimidating and winning over cities. He received promises of money from the Porte and declared his intention to ensure freedom of religion. His envoys were presented in Constantinople and his hajducks pillaged and terrorized. Though there were moments of courtly ceremony, the news stories of

[15] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 67.
[16] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 27.

Transylvania reflect the bleakness of the war which had overtaken the area, because the news came largely from Transylvania and other neighboring regions.

2.3 Systems of Reporting

There are occasional references to sources of the news within the text even though the *Messrelationen* do not have the formalized dateline which reports location and date as the later newspapers do. Generally appearing at the beginning of a story, these in-text citations may make reference to a particular location or medium as the source of the news which follows. They vary in specificity from the general, 'Aus Oberhungern seindt Zeitung kommen', to the precise, 'Den 19. diß ist ein Inwohner von Gendisch nach Preßburg kommen/ mit bericht'.[17] However, in both cases, they do shine a bit of light on what sort of systems of reporting were used during this period.[18]

Of particular interest is how often news of Transylvania in these stories came from the principality itself or neighboring regions. Of the 44 instances when a specific region or city is cited as a source of news, 14 are from Transylvania, 14 from Hungary and 12 from the Ottoman lands (see Table 2.1). There are 8 further citations to news from the Habsburg Hereditary Lands and 1 from Poland. It is most common for specific cities to be named as the source of the incoming news, including news from Klausenburg, Eperies, Pressburg, Griechisch-Weißenburg, Constantinople, Prague, Vienna, Graz, and Cracow. The only times where a region rather than a city is cited as a source of news are in the cases of Transylvania (7) and Royal Hungary (4), the two regions most intimately involved in Bocskai's revolt.

[17] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 98; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1605), 83.
[18] A fuller explanation of systems of reporting is given on page 98, as they take on more importance in the context of the newspapers.

News traveling from these locations was primarily transmitted via letters, as indicated by the inclusion of the words *schreiben* and *Brief*. The 30 references to news transmitted via letter include most of the news from the Hereditary Lands and all of the news from Constantinople, whether from the Ottoman Porte or not: 'Schreiben eines Christen auß Constantinopel vom 22. Feb.'[19] Often the date of the letter is stated, 'Schreiben aus Wien vom 19. Dito melden/ das sie allda gewisse zeitung', and on occasion the sender or intended recipient, 'Den 4. Dito zu 12. uhr mittags ist ein eilender Currier auß Siebenbürgen an Key. Mayest. von Herrn Bassa ankommen mit schreiben'.[20] There are 3 references to letters sent without reference to the place of departure. They contain little more than 'Man schreibt auch'.[21] Letters are the most common source of news cited within the text of the story, whether coming from urban centers, such as Vienna and Prague, or the more remote lands of Transylvania.

The only major exception to this preference for manuscript transmission was the news coming from the Ottoman lands outside of Constantinople. In this case, news is most likely to be attributed to a person or people, generally either messengers or captives. The couriers, referred to as *Kundschaften*, came from Ottoman Hungary, specifically Griechisch-Weißenburg, bearing news of military maneuvers: 'Sonst ist zu Sagkmar auch ein Kundschaffer von Grichischweissenburg ankommen/ der bericht'.[22] The Turkish captives tended to give news of promises of support, both men and money. This includes the captured men of the Pasha of Ofen who stated that Tartar khan's son sent troops to Rhédey, and the four captured Turks who gave word of the Sultan's support sent to Bocskai,

[19] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 5.
[20] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 115; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1605), 97.
[21] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 114.
[22] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1604), 67.

> Vier gefangene Türcken/ welche durch des Herrn Kreißöbersten Leut sind bekommen worden/ den 1. Aprilis/ haben diese Außsag gethan: Daß der Soltan seine beste 4. Leibpferd/[...]/ sampt einer grossen Summa Gelts in Ducaten auff Erla geschickt/ und dem Potschkai zu uberlifern befohlen'.[23]

The Ottomans were not the only ones to communicate news in person. News came via a lord traveling from Neuhäusel to Vienna, a courier from Transylvania, captured rebels at Rosenburg in Austria, and a Tartar *botschaft* in Klausenburg.[24] News of Transylvania traveled from nearly every adjacent region via both person and letter.

There are two other mediums which are cited as news sources and both are limited in the amount of information they impart. The first is the oral transmission of news, offering little detail on how the information was gathered, merely implying that there was a further source with the words 'Man sagt' or 'Sonst vernimpt man'.[25] The second is the use of words that signal the communication of news, but do not specify any particular means: *Zeitung*, *Aviso*, *außgeben*, *melden*, *verlauten* and *berichten*. In 11 of the 23 cases where this form of in-text citation is used, a particular location is specified, as 'Den 8. diß hat man auß Cracaw avisirt', 'Aus Claussenburg wird gemeldet' or 'Aus Oberhungern hat man gewisse zeitung'.[26] However, in the other 12 cases, no information on reporting location is given, and this citation functions in a manner similar to that of the rumor: implying an outside source of information without noting specifics.

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[23] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 92; *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 23. In total, six references are made to information learned from captives, and in four cases the captured men are specifically identified as Turks. There are three *Kundschaften* from the Ottomans lands and four other unidentified individuals.

[24] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 71; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1605), 97; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 28; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1604), 63-4.

[25] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 78; *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 23.

[26] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 48; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1604), 49; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 65.

Stating the source of the printed news could serve two purposes besides merely imparting more information: it could either lend credibility or could act as a finger pointing the blame for bad information. Citing news from people and places near where the action took place, from Transylvania, Hungary and the Ottoman lands, may have served either of these purposes or may simply have been used to communicate where the news stories originated with no other conscious or unconscious motivation. If the in-text citations in the news stories can be considered to be accurate, then they may give some indication as to the system of news-sharing at the time: information printed based on letters carried, messengers sent, captives questioned or rumors heard. Even at that point in time time, some preference for a given medium of news communication can be seen in texts from certain regions. News from Constantinople and the Hereditary Lands was most likely carried in letters, while information from other parts of the Ottoman Empire was imparted by individuals. However, this is only a whisper of the complicated reporting systems which is evidenced in the newspapers, though much of the infrastructure that made that medium possible was already in place.

2.4 Politics

The news stories of the *Messrelationen* primarily focus on the grandest events of the day: rebellions, marching armies, allied governments and negotiated peace. While there are occasionally smaller, more intimate stories of individual tragedies, the machinations of politics and military are the chief topic of the news. Of the 20,105 words of Transylvanian news contained in these *Messrelationen* 48%, cover the military and 42% deal with political news.[27] In the context of these news stories, political news was defined quite

[27] The other 10% of words largely discuss economic and religious news which is not clearly associated with either political or military events.

broadly and included any discussions which took place within a diet meeting or among rulers and envoys, including possible conditions of peace or promises of support or money. The definition also included the reprinting of any peace agreements or demands. Military news was considered to be any discussion of the conditions or movements of troops, the besieging of cities or marauding of the countryside, though even these events are not far removed from the political questions of authority and fealty.[28]

The political news reported on in the news stories is generally in the form of a narrative, whether it is briefly telling of the arrival of an envoy or a more lengthy discussion of peace points. The analysis of this topic, therefore, considers the account as a whole and did not focus on the usage of individual words. While the *Messrelationen* only occasionally relate where news originates, later chapters of this thesis revealthat even the broad political subjects which are covered in the news stories change depending on reporting location. However, quantitative methods were able to be used to some degree. The counting of how often certain words appear in these news stories was most effective when these words represented elements which were clearly definable and distinct from each other. For political news, this was most useful when looking at how often other countries are mentioned within the context of Transylvanian news.

The events related in these stories often involve another government or group outside of Transylvania, either as ally or enemy. The most commonly appearing power in both military and political news is the Holy Roman Empire. References to the Emperor, his appointed governor Giorgio Basta and the adjective *kaiserlich* appear 89 times in the political news of Transylvania and 80 times in the military news, though each is not

[28] This system of dividing news between categories of content or theme has been done before, such as in S. Schultheiß-Heinz, *Politik in der europäischen Publizistik: Eine historische Inhaltsanalyse von Zeitungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (2004), but remains somewhat arbitrary and determined by the understanding of the researcher. Within this paper, the line is drawn chiefly to distinguish how governments interact with each other and Transylvania: whether they appear more often within the sphere of political discussion or military action.

represented in the two fields evenly (see Table 2.2). The Emperor appears nearly three times as often in a political context as in a military one, while Basta is mentioned as a participant in military events twice as often in political news.[29] Not far behind the Emperor and Basta, there are 69 references to the Sultan or the Turks in the political news and 79 in the military news.[30] These are the two governments which had been warring over the region for a century and their continued concern in the events in Transylvania is clear.

Since the kingdom of Hungary and hajducks were both directly involved in events surrounding Bocskai's rebellion, they are also commonly referenced in the Transylvanian news, though in different arenas. Hungary more often appears in the political news, while the hajducks are overwhelmingly mentioned in the military news.[31] The hajducks were noteworthy largely for their military strength and were rarely given much consideration when political events were discussed, with even the question of the hajducks' loyalty being presented more as a question of money than of rights.[32] Hungary, meanwhile, was a political goal, and while Bocskai may have achieved that goal through his army, he sought more than the occupation of fortresses or the seizure of land.

The other peoples who are mentioned in the Transylvanian news are also relegated to particular arenas. In the news stories, the Poles are more likely to be mentioned in the discussions of political alliances, while the Tartars, particularly the Tartar khan's son, are

[29] To be precise, the Emperor is mentioned 65 times in the political news and 23 times in the military news; Basta is mentioned 24 times in the political news and 57 times in the military news.
[30] Not included in either of these numbers are references to particular cities or other individuals acting on behalf of the two governments. For the Ottomans, this means that no references to pashas or viziers are included in the count. Basta is included because he is the Imperial representative in Transylvania itself, not simply an interested third party.
[31] If this count included all the names of the cities in Hungary which appear in these stories the number would triple. However, that would be due in large part to the fact that much of the fighting took place on Hungarian land. The above count more accurately reflects the extent the Hungarian people, representatives, and army were considered as part of the Transylvanian news, rather than the role played by individual cities or geography.
[32] There are several reports on Bocskai's need to pay his hajduck troops, see page 77.

brought up in discussions of soldiers. The Germans also appear most often in the military news, but as victims. Specific regions of the Hereditary lands are mentioned occasionally, particularly Silesia and Moravia, but are rarely given much more attention than 'die Teutsche knecht und Schlesische Reutter uberfallé'.[33]

The descriptions of events in the political stories of Transylvania often express a larger concern for who had authority in the region, though the specifics of how that authority was manifested depend on the particular relationship, whether with the Emperor, Ottomans or Hungary. The expansion of the Ottoman influence in the region, the struggle with the Emperor for the allegiance of the Hungarian cities, the meeting of the Hungarian Diet, and the election of Bocskai as king of Hungary: all of these subjects represent various manifestations of authority through armies, cities, diets and crowns, and all are subjects in the Transylvanian news.

The political news involving the Emperor and Basta concentrates primarily on the Imperial concerns for maintaining the loyalty of the Transylvanian and Hungarian cities in the face of Bocskai's growing authority. The beginnings of this conflict preceded these *Messrelationen*, as one of their earliest stories includes printed assurances that Klausenburg and Hermannstadt had succumbed to the Emperor because of the need for provisions: 'bey höchster Ungnad Keys. May. aufferlegt/ die Notturfft von Profiand zuzuführen'.[34]

This became an even greater concern when Bocskai claimed the Hungarian crown. In February 1605, Bocskai conquered Fülleck and the town called him king.[35] This contradicted the Emperor's own position as king of Hungary, a title he had held for over thirty years: 'denen sie doch nunmehr in das 30. Jahr mit Gottes hülff und Gnad als ihr

[33] *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1605), 19.
[34] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1604), 18.
[35] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1605), 112.

gekrönter und regierender König in schwehren läufften und anstössen glücklich fürgestanden'.[36] Furthermore, the Emperor's authority in Transylvania, as reported, was the result of a battle-won position and financial sacrifices made: 'so dann die freywillige Cession und Ubergabe des Sigismundi Bathori/ desgleichen hetten sie das Land drey mal mit dem Schwerdt wiedergewinnen/ und etliche Million Goldt allbereit darauff wagen müssen'.[37] In contrast, Bocskai and his rebels deserved little attention and were dismissed as perjured knaves: 'man werd ihnen als Meyneidischen buben wenig gehör geben'.[38]

Though the news stories of this period may seem to give greater credence to the Emperor's claims, Bocskai's position is present, particularly in the stories of ongoing peace discussions. Proposed peace articles from Bocskai were first printed in January 1605 and included stipulations that Bocskai remain governor of Transylvania, the Hungarian borders be secured by Hungarian colonels, the Emperor personally appear at the diet in Pressburg and freedom of religion be guaranteed.[39] The following July, the points of discussion were again reprinted and expanded upon, particularly assuring that positions of authority would remain free from Imperial meddling. They included the conditions that Hungarians should remain on the throne of Transylvania even after Bocskai's death and that they shoud serve as bishops and in the general command of Upper Hungary.[40]

In addition to the reprinting of the peace points, Bocskai's own voice is present in these news stories through the inclusion of three of his letters. The first is a pronouncement of his continued resolve against Basta in November 1604. It opens: 'Wir Stephanus Botschkhay von Khißmaria von Gottes Gnaden/ Fürst in Siebenbürgen/ Herr

[36] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 57.
[37] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1605), 13.
[38] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 72.
[39] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1605), 76-7.
[40] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 75-6.

zu Ober Hungarn/ unnd Graff der Zäcklen/ rc. welcher alle Stätt ermanet bey ihm bestendig zu bleiben'.[41] In April 1605, Bocskai became even more direct in two letters stating his claim for preserving the integrity and freedom of Hungary, a diverse nation which had suffered too much war. He wrote to the Imperial Commissioners in Hungary:

> Das ihr ewrem Vaterlande und *Nation* sehr wol gewogen/ welches wir gerne gehöret/ wollen auch mit GOtt bezeugen/ Daß wir umb keiner verenderung/ Halsstarrigkeit oder Rachgirigkeit willen die sachen fürgenommen/ sondern vormeinen es habe dem Allmechtigen also gefallen/ darmit durch dieses mittel unser armes verwüstetes Vaterland bey seinen freyheiten erhalten werde. Das aber die Herrn zu uns kommen wollen/ und geleit von uns begehren/ sollen sie wissen/ Das wir dieselben jederzeit gerne sehen/ allein weil jetziger zeit an unserm hoffe nicht allein allerley *Nationes* seind/ sondern auch andere fürnehme Völker ankommen.[42]

Both the Transylvanian and Imperial positions in this central conflict of the period were printed in the *Messrelationen*. While the Imperial claim may have contained more incendiary and dismissive language, the Transylvanian claim was supported by Bocskai's own words. No letters were printed on the subject of Transylvania from the Emperor, an Imperial agent or Basta in these volumes.

The political news concerning the Ottoman Turks and Transylvania reveals the relationship of vassal state to suzerain to be one characterized by important practical and economic dependencies, with promises of money and men dominating the stories. However, even this strong tie between Transylvania and the Ottomans is expressed in terms of its threat to the Emperor, both militarily and politically. When the Sultan promised Bocskai financial assistance, Bocskai, in turn, promised both his loyalty and access to the fortresses of Hungary.[43] This nourished a growing fear in Vienna, that within the year the Turks would once again be on the city's doorstep:

> Zu Wien ist gros schrecken/ Denn alle kundschafften lauten/ das der Türckische Keyser Persönlich hewer heraus kommen/ unnd solche Stadt belegern werde/

[41] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1605), 50.
[42] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 63-4.
[43] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 23.

> darzu ihme denn Botschkai mit seinem anhang den Paß sein reumen thut/ welcher denen zu Wien zuentbiethen lassen/ sie sollen nur getrost sein.[44]

Access to the easiest path to Vienna would be assured once the Ottomans had Bocskai named king of Hungary, an action which seemed increasingly inevitable. When Bocskai's envoys arrived at Constantinople they were welcomed with a banquet and the Sultan's promise that the Ottomans would support Bocskai financially in his defense of Hungary and claim to the Hungarian crown.[45] There is even news that the Sultan had arranged for the crown itself: 'ihme hierzu eine Güldine Krohne sampt einem Stendarto/ auffs Ehste auff Griechisch Weissenburg zugeschickt werden solle'.[46] The Emperor feared Bocskai's election as Hungarian king not only because he wished to maintain his kingly authority, but also because he wanted to maintain control over the land which offered some protection to Vienna.

This fear was apparently recognized by the Ottomans. Before Bocskai had established himself as a legitimate power in the region, the Porte had attempted to negotiate a peace with the empire wherein they would retake control of Transylvania and Wallachia and offer a series of fortresses along the Royal Hungarian border to the Emperor in exchange:

> der hat Schreiben vom Türckischen Kayser an Kay: Majest: mit sich bracht/ darin der Türck begehren sol/ daß/ wo man ihm Wallachey und Siebenbürgen völlig einreumen wollt/ so wolle er dargegen ihrer Majest: Erlaw/ Stulweissenburg/ Ofen und Canischa geben/ und also einen gewissen standhafftigen frieden zu schliessen.[47]

During this time, Gábor Bethlen was presented as the greatest Ottoman agent in Transylvania. He was seen as positioning himself to seize control, asking the Ottomans

[44] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 51.
[45] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 116.
[46] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 118; also in *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 40.
[47] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1604), 29.

for assistance and trying to marry the widow of Mózes Székely.[48] He was even accused of first introducing Bocskai to the Turks in a detailed retelling of the rebellion at the opening of Leipzig's *Historische Relation*, '*Bethlehem Gabor*, etliche Brieff an Tag kommen/ Inhalts derer er sein gesuchtes und angemastes Fürstenthumb uber Siebenbürgen/ ihme Botschkai angewiesen/ und dasselbe an sich zu bringen/ neben vetrösteter Türckischen *assistenz* ihn embsig ermahnet'.[49] Concern about the Ottoman influence in Transylvania, from the donation of money to the counsel of Bethlen, runs through these news stories,.

The above news subjects include aspects of Hungarian politics within the context of the struggle between the Ottomans, Emperor and Transylvania, especially as this struggle was over the crown of Hungary and the loyalty of the Hungarian cities. However, there is one key step in the process that was largely neglected—the meeting of the Hungarian Diet in Szerencs where Bocskai was elected. This is because the meeting was largely left out of the news stories themselves.

There are four references in the *Messrelationen* to Bocskai proposing a Landtag, with the most detailed account provided in his own words. In the above-mentioned letter from April 1605, he called for 'die trefflichen Abgesandten deß gantzen Königreichs' to fulfill their duty.[50] He charged that the Emperor had determined 'die Vergiessung unsers Bluts/ Außtilgung der Freyheit unnd Religion sampt deroselben endlichen fall und Execution anbefohlen' and 'etlich unserer Schlösser mit gewalt eingenommen', while asserting that he had done his best to protect 'unsern Brüdern der Hungarn': 'wie wir den Feinden mögen Widerstand thun/ damit ewer liebes Vatterland im Frieden unnd Ruh verbleiben/ auch also darinnen mehr zuneme'.[51] With this letter, Bocskai positioned the

[48] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1604), 70.
[49] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 53.
[50] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 10.
[51] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 10-1.

Emperor as the aggressor and violator of Hungarian peace, while affirming his role as its rightful protector.

However, within the *Messrelationen* there is little description of the meeting itself. One story states that the news should be forthcoming, 'Ob sie nun dahin erscheinen/ und ferner mit ihme tractiren werden/ eröffnet die Zeit', but that the desire for more information has not been fulfilled.[52] There are references to the Imperial commissioners receiving invitations and the appearance of the Polish envoys bearing gifts.[53] Though the news stories dated after the close of the meeting state that Bocskai should be king and that the clerics in Kaschau would soon feel the consequences, there is no further description of the meeting itself, the arrival of the lords or the discussions which took place.[54] . Seemingly, there was no news from the perspective of Hungary or Transylvania on the consequences of the diet to match Bocskai's letter proclaiming its necessary assembly.

In the narrative of events established by the news stories of this period, the meeting of the diet was not where Bocskai would have been truly invested with kingly authority. That the diet took place may be crucial: certainly the causes for rebellion and the questioning of Imperial legitimacy presented in his letter to the nobles were deemed of enough interest and importance to be printed in full. However, the process of the meeting itself, any debate, contestation or justification presented, was not provocative news. Rather, contemporary news accounts depict Bocskai's authority as having been gained by word and sword through the swearing of allegiance by individual cities.

[52] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 27.
[53] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 66-7; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 92.
[54] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 57.

2.5 Ceremony

Acts of ceremony and presentations at court served to formalize authority and power dynamics among rulers and vassals. Within the more specific context of the news stories of Bocskai's rebellion, ceremonial descriptions painted a picture the wealth or prestige of a government and reinforced the positions of vassal and lord. This was particularly the case with the descriptions of ceremony surrounding the Ottoman Porte, where rich feasts and grand gifts indicated the extent of the wealth which could be called upon by Bocskai to fund his rebellion.

In the news stories, ceremonial news is primarily presented through the description of processions, feasts and the presentations of gifts. The descriptions of each of these forms of ceremony often contain signal words which represent distinct and definable entities and ideas, such as *Roß* or *Pferd*, *gülden*, *Gesandten*, *präsentieren* or *stattlich*. However, these words do not appear exclusively in news of ceremonial events, but also in general political or military news, or more specific economic descriptions. Therefore, the phrases and news items placed in the ceremony category were not classified as such because of specific vocabulary, but rather because of the occurrence of certain acts: processions, presentations of gifts, hosting of an official personage as a guest of home or table, and the formal language of oaths and proclamations. These ceremonial subcategories could then be counted and compared.

The most common form of ceremonial performance described, occurring in 19 cases, is the presentation of gifts, an action symbolizing both subservience and condescension. Ensigns seized from defeated enemies were presented by lesser princes to the rulers on whose side they had fought, such as when Radu Şerban presented the ensigns of Székely, the Ottomans and the Tartars to the Emperor in the autumn of 1603: 'allzeit drey in einem Glitt/ auff Stangen getragen/ welche denn ihre Majest. selbest

gesehen/ unter diesen sind die wenigsten Fahnen mit Siebenbürgischen/ und darunter eine mit einem Cossackischen/ etliche aber Türckische uñ Tartarische Zeichen'.[55] Similarly, a year later Bocskai presented his captured banners to the pasha in Ofen and the Sultan.[56]

As the rebellion continued, the relationship of gift-giving between Bocskai and the Sultan was reported on in greater detail. The Ottomans promised the prince money in order to support his efforts against the Habsburgs, and this payment was accompanied by gifts of 'etlich Kutschen gar zierlich unnd stattlich' and 'seine beste 4. Leibpferd/ mit Gold/ Edelgestein/ unnd andern Kleinotern'.[57] After Bocskai was named king of Hungary, the Sultan not only promised him a crown, but also sent envoys with additional gifts:

> Sonsten habe Er ihm bey diesen Abgesandten geschickt zwey schöne Pferde/ deß einen Pferdts rüstung von klarem Golde und Edelgesteinen/ wie auch einen köstlichen Sebel/ Spähr und Rock/ alles von Edelgesteinen gezieret/ und eines grossen schatzes werth.[58]

In return, the prince sent the Sultan horses and slaves, with the presentation of forty burghers from Kaschau dressed in German clothing, as a sign of his subservient adoration: 'so hat umb diese zeit Botschkai 40. Bürger aus Caschaw nehmen/ auff Teutsch Kleiden/ Unnd dem Soldano zu anzeigen seines gehorsams verehren lassen'.[59] Dressing the Hungarian townspeople in the same manner as the men under Imperial control seems to convey a promise to the Ottoman Sultan that Bocskai would present him with more opportunities to take Imperial men as his own.

There is one exchange of gifts reported in these news stories that occurred between parties of comparably equal stature—the Emperor and the Sultan: 'als Sultanus

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[55] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1604), 21.
[56] *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1605), 19; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1605), 35.
[57] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 36; *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 23.
[58] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 118.
[59] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 46. Also slaves, horses and other gifts presented in *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 116.

ihre May. mit schönen Türckischen Rossen/ unnd dargegen dieselbig den Sultan mit schönen Uhr werck zu verehren'.[60] Each party presented the other with fine gifts to offer assurances of their intentions, but also to demonstrate their respective status and wealth. As with all aspects of courtly culture, the presentation of gifts could be laden with great symbolic meaning, and even the brief descriptions of these interactions as presented in the news offer a basic understanding of the role of political and military patronage at this time.

Court culture is further described in these news stories through the 6 descriptions of processions and 4 descriptions of banquets. While the arrival of envoys at a Landtag in Hungary and the 'Schlusischen Pferden/ gelb / rot und weiß röcket und andern mehr Compagnien' of Bocskai's Colonel Petz are related, most of the jubilant moments described took place in Constantinople.[61] The Sultan threw banquets and *Freudenfeste* to celebrate the arrival of Bocskai's envoys and the news of the Transylvanian successes: 'deß Botschkhay in Ober Hungarn glücklich vornemmen/ welchs er mit Frewden vernommen/ deßwegen grosse Frewdenfest halten lassen'.[62] The banquets and presentations of gifts were also preceded by processions through the city: 'in welchen Kleidern dieselbe Mamelucken/ durch die gantze Stadt einer zum andern gangen'.[63] The highest court with which Bocskai and the Transylvanians interacted was that of the Sultan, and the few descriptions of this world which are presented in these news stories illustrate the wealth and pomp of the ruler who was giving financial support to the new prince.

[60] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 76.
[61] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 10; *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1605), 19.
[62] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1605), 55.
[63] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 59.

2.6 Violence

If presentations and parades are the most majestic, brightest subjects found in the news, then the descriptions of the horrors of war are the darkest. Violence was not limited to soldiers and armies, but was also perpetrated against civilians and the clergy. When the news stories want to emphasize the brutality of war, they mention the acts committed against women and children 'das er es den Türcken und Tartern preiß geben wolle/ die werdé ihrer unnd ihrer Weib unnd Kinder nicht verschonen'.[64] What is exceptional about these descriptions of violence throughout the news stories is how repetitive they are, using the same words to describe particular acts and creating a vocabulary of violence. It is in the lexicon of violence, words which are repeated consistently throughout fifty years of news coverage, that the most quantitative aspect of this new analysis is presented.

By looking at all the news stories, not only from 1604-05, but also from newspapers and *Messrelationen* of 1619-21, 1643-45 and 1657-58, a lexicon of violence could be gleaned. This lexicon is composed of words which are either direct descriptions of violence, generally in the form of verbs and nouns, or are the modifiers which are often associated with these acts. The scenes of violence described are the death or injury of an individual or the willful destruction of property. Not included in the lexicon are those words which merely imply the mitigation of a violent act, such as *Erbarmen* or *verschonen*; those which describe the acts of war perpetuated between armies, such as *einfallen* or *besetzen*; and those which are such common words that they appear in political news as often as in military news, such as *widerspenstig* or *schlagen*.

This lexicon is divided into five categories based on frequency of usage, with the rarest occurring words appearing in category 1, and the most commonly occurring words appearing in category 5 (see Table 2.3). The 85 words and word roots which are divided

[64] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 114.

between these five categories are used a total of 2,054 times in the news stories considered in the whole of this thesis, both in newspapers and *Messrelationen*.[65]

The stories of Bocskai's rebellion use words from the lexicon of violence on 251 occasions, with 94% of these usages coming from the top three categories. The words of categories 4 and 5 are employed to a nearly equal degree, representing 35% and 34% of the total, with category 3 accounting for 24%. The words of the lower categories occur considerably less frequently: 6% for category 2 and less than 1% for category 1. While these numbers are not necessarily surprising, they do underscore the notion that there is a set vocabulary which is employed by the printed news. Certain words and phrases are repeated over and over to describe the horrors of war.

The most common event described by the vocabulary of violence is death. The killing of an individual during this period is related using the words *niederhauen* (used 26 times), *Tod* (12), *erlegen* (12), *umbringen* (4), *morden* (2) and *hauen* (2). These words are most frequently used to describe the death of an individual or a specific group of people, due to war or religious affiliation. Ferenc Rhédey intercepted a letter stating that all the residents of Neuhäusel have 'sie all zu stücken zerhawen lassen', while in the summer of 1604 in Transylvania 'einem Jesuiten bey Weissenburg todt geschlagen'.[66] While generally the group of people involved is specifically named, whether knights, Christians or even 400 men, in a few instances acts of killing are given as part of a list of violent actions.[67] When 'die Rebellen sampt Türcken und Tartarn' take Neusohl, their entrance into the city is described: 'dieselbe Nacht biß auff den Sontag umb 12. Uhr Mittags mit

[65] Words which are from a common base are grouped together, such as *drohen* and *Bedrohung*; *hauen, verhauen, zerhauen* and *abhauen*, or *Shrecken* and *erschrecklich*. Within the text, each word is referred to by the common root which appears in the lexicon.
[66] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 113; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1604), 61.
[67] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1604), 32; *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1604), 7; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 49.

niederhawen und Plündern also gehauset/ das zu erbarmé gewest'.[68] An even more ambiguous but frightening incident occurred in the spring of 1603: 'In Siebenbürgen hat gleichfals das Rauben/ brennen und Todtschlagen an Mann/ Weib und Kind sehr uberhand genommen'.[69] In these two cases, the phrases 'niederhawen und Plündern' and 'Rauben/ brennen und Todtschlagen' are conveying more of a sense of general destruction and terror than any specific action performed by or against a Transylvanian.

There are also more specific verbs utilized in the expression of death, ones which also relate some information about the weapon used or means of killing. For instance *schießen* is used on 8 occasions, all directly related to the military, particularly the taking of fortresses and castles. Men are *ersoffen* 4 times and *gehängt* 6 times, including Jesuits in their college, Székely's captains in the rebellion and 'den fürnembsten *Bassers Nemeth* genand/ gefangen/ und mit den füssen auffgehenckt'.[70] Hajducks performed grisly amputations on women and children: 'und hinder Caschaw Weib und Kind mit sich hinweg führen/ auch den Heydugken/ so sie bekommen/ Nasen unnd Ohren abgeschnitten haben'.[71] These more precise violence words are for the most part used to tell detailed stories of the atrocities of war. Though they are employed less often than general words for death and killing (28 with instruments to 58 without), their specificity accords them greater impact.

In addition to the loss of life, damage to property and plundering are also frequently mentioned in conjunction with news of roaming armies. *Schaden* (17) and *plündern* (12) are the most frequently employed words in these news stories, as well as *verheeren* (9), *verderben* (5), *verwüsten* (2) and *ruinieren* (1). While *verheeren* is more

[68] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 70.
[69] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1604), 52.
[70] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1604), 19; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1604), 5; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1605), 90.
[71] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1605), 106.

likely to relate to a specific place, whether Styria, the river Theiss, Zips or the country around Gran, Raab and Komorn, *plündern* is often used more generally for spreading troops robbing the countryside.[72] For example, unpaid soldiers in Transylvania 'also gehauset/ mit rauben und plündern/ daß die ubrige Bawersleut die Dörffer wüst und öd verlassen', while the hajduks 'mit streiffen und Blündern unauffhörlichen schaden thun' in the principality.[73] Like the vocabulary used to describe death, while the object which is being destroyed, damaged or plundered is sometimes reported, oftentimes the verb appears in the context of a general sense of violence.

A particular form of destruction which is more specifically addressed is fire. Words rooted in *brennen,* particularly the phrase *in Brand stecken*, appear 13 times and are used in ways similar to other violence vocabulary, sometimes appearing in lists with other verbs and sometimes referring to a particular place, including villages near Eisenstadt and a market burned by Rhédey.[74] In addition, the hajducks burned the villages near Kaschau which are described as 'in die Aschen gelegt', and threatened to do the same to other markets, villages and the mountain cities.[75] Fire also appears in the 'Fewerwerffen' used to attack Kaschau and in a description of the attack against Székely, when the Moldavian voivode and his brother 'dañ hin und wider durch Fewer und Schwert erschrecklinen Schaden gethan'.[76]

These descriptions of violent occurrences are occasionally accompanied by adjectives which, though not exclusively found in stories of fire, death and destruction,

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[72] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 97; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 85; *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 13; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 93.
[73] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1604), 61; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1604), 49.
[74] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1605), 92; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 85.
[75] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 22.
[76] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1605), 86; *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 50.

heighten the sense of struggle and loss. *Ernst* (5), *schlecht* (4), *schwierig* (1) and *erbärmlich* (1) are all used to accentuate the violence which is being described. Transylvania in the summer of 1604 was 'je lenger erbärmlicher und elender worden' due to the robbing, plundering, hunger and death that pervaded the region.[77] A letter came to the Emperor from Basta describing Bocskai's position near Kaschau, 'dermassen so ernstlich in sie gesetzt', as his captain was killed and men were falling.[78] A description of *brennen*, *plündern* and *niederhauen* gains further resonance through references to the emotions of the aggressors or victims, namely fear: *Schrecken* (8) *heimsuchen* (2) and *Furcht* (1). As used in the news stories, this terror and fear are experienced by the civilians being attacked. In Moravia, 'ein grosser schrecken verursacht worden' in the face of Bocskai's hajducks and in Transylvania itself, the rebels take Neusohl 'und dieselbe Stadt an sieben Orten in Brand gesteckt/ und in solchem der Bürgerschafft schrecken angelauffen'.[79]

Descriptions of death and destruction sometimes relate to a very specific incident or use a very specific vocabulary. However, more often when an army moved, the consequences for the countryside were reported using a handful of words which are repeated consistently. The vocabulary of violence that developed seems less to describe particular events and more to convey a sense of devastation, fear and unease. The victims were the churches, women, children and countryside whose ruin served to vilify the aggressing army, placing an implicit blame on the Transylvanian rebels and hajducks who were upsetting the peace.

[77] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1604), 60-1.
[78] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1605), 97.
[79] *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Autumn 1605), 41; *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 70.

2.7 Economics

As has already been seen, economic concerns were expressed through the political and ceremonial context of gifts and promises of support, as well as through the violence of plundering and robbing armies. The costs of war were also conveyed in the descriptions of the starving armies searching for provisions, the civilians whose lands were raided when these provisions could not be found, and the prince who turned to neighbors seeking funds to support his military efforts. These three chief topics of economic news (the military costs of army, the costs to the civilian population and the monetary exchanges made between governments) were identified not through the appearance of certain words, but through general apprehension of the subject. This is since, like the descriptions of ceremony, the economic news commonly contains words which, though distinct and definable, are not specific to the subject itself. However, all three areas do share a common tone, a sense of desperation, as both sides had fought too long and had too few options of recourse.

Much of the economic news in these stories relates to war in some way, but 53 pieces of news deal directly with the costs of maintaining an army. Primarily, this is stated in the context of the difficulty in providing an army with food, clothing and munitions or with the need to give payment. Money received by Bocskai went quickly to providing his hajduck troops with payment to the soldiers: 'der hat seinen Heyducken/ nach dem sie Kriegß leute sein/ einem zu 2. 3. 4. und 5. thalern gereicht und bezahlet'.[80] Basta demanded supplies from the cities of Klausenburg and Hermannstadt so 'ein jeder Soldat die Notturfft Brot/ Bier/ Wein unnd Fleisch bekommen können'.[81] Rhédey also sought food and provisions from the cities. One of the reasons given for his siege of Fülleck was that 'In d'Festung seyn bey 80. Centner Pulffer und noch zimlich Profiand und Getreid

[80] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1605), 104.
[81] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1604), 19.

auff 3. Mond lang gefunden uñ diese Hauptfestung mangel Wassers auffgeben worden'.[82] In the stories, cities and fortress were often the target for moving armies not only for strategic purposes, but for the very real need to pay and feed thousands of men.

The direct consequences of the military on the lives and stomachs of the civilian population can be even more explicitly stated. In the late spring of 1604, many Transylvanians were starving, a state not helped by the needs of the equally hungry armies who plundered the villages, stole animals and resorted to boiling grass and roots:

> auch die Wägen mit dem Getreid sampt in 700. Ochsen davon geführt/ Ihr Hauptmann Horuat Abraham hat sich entschuldigt/ daß ihm unmüglich sie vom rauben abzuhalten/ weil der grosse Mangel unnd Hunger sie darzu treibe. In summa die Noth ist uberall sehr groß darinn gewesen/ daß das arme Volck das Graß unnd Wurtzel gesotten und vor grossem Hunger genossen.[83]

While the armies continued to seize goods, demand payments and worry about provisions through two years' news stories, the worst period was from March through June 1604. The *Messrelationen* reported on the violence done by the armies in order to obtain food from a starving population, and Basta even feared mutiny because he was unable to pay his men.[84]

The suffering of the Transylvanians, however, extended beyond the direct context of the army. The economic concerns of the civilian population are reported on 16 times, but once again, the most devastating news came in early 1604.[85] The high prices of grain, eggs, wine and beer were printed just a few pages before a story on inflation in Constantinople as all the food from Wallachia was sent to Transylvania.[86] The most

[82] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 7.
[83] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1604), 61.
[84] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1604), 5-6.
[85] Other stories on the civilian economy are primarily focused on the loss or sale of goods without explicit connection to an army. These news items are much briefer.
[86] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1604), prices of produce in Transylvania 49-50; inflation in Constantinople 55-6.

shocking story, however, is the description of the lengths people were forced to by hunger in the preceding winter:

> Das gantze Land Siebenbürgen/ ist ausser der Städte gantz öde und wüste/ und ist grosse uñ schreckliche thewrung darin/ sonderlich unter dem Bawers Volck/ welches auß Hunger todte Roß/ Hunde und Katzen fressen/ ja das noch mehr zu erbarmen/ fressen die Eltern ihre eigene Kinder.[87]

Whether or not the men and women of Transylvania resorted to cannibalism in order to survive is less important than the perception that they did. The civilians of the principality were seen to be pushed to the point of the most inhuman behavior, and though no explicit blame was put on either the rebels or Basta, pity was warranted.

The final form of economic news is also related to the costs of war, but, rather than focusing on the need to procure provisions for the soldiers or the inflation and starvation that haunted the civilians, it focuses on the exchange of money between governments. Of particular interest was the money given to Bocskai by the Ottomans. While in 1604 there were references to assistance sent by the Tartars and the mountain cities of Hungary, 16 of the 27 economic news items on governmental payments concern the Turks and Transylvania.[88] The Sultan made promises that Bocskai would not want for money or men and, in return, Bocskai promised the Sultan the fortress of Fülleck and easy passage to Vienna: 'ihn niḿermehr mit Volck und Gelt zu verlassen/ doch wil er/ daß ihme der Potschkai Villegk soll ubergeben/ ob solches geschehé wird/ gibt die Zeit'.[89] The Ottoman involvement in Transylvanian affairs was the greatest cause for concern stated in these news stories. It gave Bocskai not only the strength of political support, but more importantly, the practical means by which to achieve his goals.

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[87] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1604), 102.
[88] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1605), 33-5; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1605), 60
[89] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 23.

2.8 Religion

While the entire content of these news stories, whether political, economic or ceremonial, has some foundation in the war, the deepest antagonism and despair is expressed in the language surrounding religion. This sometimes takes the form of stories told about persecutions committed because of a certain religious belief, as with the Jesuits in the windmill recounted below (see pages 83-4), but is more often expressed through certain words which can be classified as religious. These include words which identify a person or group's religious affiliation (Catholic, Evangelical, Christian), individuals who worked within the church (Jesuits, clerics, priests), the church building itself, days of religious celebration, and the words 'religion' and 'God'.[90] While later newspapers demonstrate distinct differences in how this religious language is used depending on reporting region, there are some set contexts which often reappear. These *Messrelationen* describe prayers offered to God, churches destroyed, priests persecuted and individuals and groups defined by their religious identity.

Religious identifiers are primarily used to distinguish one group from another, almost exclusively in an antagonistic context. By naming a place or group of people as Christian, Catholic or Evangelical, a side in a battle is established. This is particularly the case with the use of *Christen, christlich* or *Christenheit,* accounting for 13 of the 24 usages of religious identifiers and defining the two different religious antagonisms

[90] Within the whole of this thesis, and not just including the *Messrelationen* of 1604-5, the words which were counted in each category are as follows. For religion, only words rooted in *Religion* are included; for God, only those rooted in *Gott*. Religious affiliation includes words which refer to the belief or religious affiliation of the individual or group described: *katholisch*, *christlich*, *evangelisch*, *calvinistisch*, *lutherisch*, *reformierte*, *protestantisch*, *päpstlich*, *Augsburger Konfession*, *Arianer*, *Juden*, *heidnisch*, *Mamluken*, *Mohammed*. Religious buildings include words which refer to the physical structure of the church or other religious building: *Kirchen*, *Kloster*, *Konvent*, *Altar*, *Langhaus*, *Collegium*. Religious days are those words which refer to feasts, celebrations and prayers, including references to participants: *Pfingsten*, *Christtag*, *Weihnacht*, *Buß und Bettag*, *Oration*, *unctionem*, *Te Deum laudamus*, *Vesper*, *Ostern*, *beten*, *Danksagung*, *salvo honore*, *Veni sancti Spiritus*, *Kindtaufe*, *Gevatter*, *Ehe*, *Heirat*, *Kommunion*, and the saints days, *Martini*, *Stephani*, *Michaeli*, *Johannis*, *Dreifaltigkeit*, *Bartholomäus*, *Festtag*. Religious persons are: *Bischof*, *Kardinal*, *Papst*, *Jesuit*, *Pfaffe*, *Klerisei*, *Priester*, *Prälat*, *Rektor*, *Mönch*, *Nonne*, *Abt*, *geistlich*, *Nuncio*, *Patres*, *Thumbherr*, *Prädikant.*

presented in these news stories. The first conflict is that between the *Christen* and the Turks which occurred primarily in the context of military actions. This included both the anticipation of an Ottoman advance in the coming year, 'die Türcken ihr eusserste Macht diß Jahr wider die Christen anwenden', and Ottoman support for Bocskai, 'denn Soldanus willens den Botschkai so wol als die Christen zubekriegen'.[91]

This alliance between the Turks and the Transylvanians reinforced the sense that neither party was Christian, underscoring the second antagonism of the period: the conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants. Within these news stories, it is explicitly stated that Bocskai was not a true Christian because of his beliefs: 'da doch der Potschkai keinem Christliché Glauben zugethan/ sondern von Jugend auff ein vergiffter *Arrianer* gewesen und noch ist'.[92] The Imperial forces and their allies were the only true Christian forces. When they were lacking provisions and starving in Upper Hungary news came that 'Vermerck etlicher Ursachen/ warumb daß Kays. und Christliche Kriegßvolck/[...] auff ihre vollige und gestreckte zahlung nicht zu dringen habe.'[93] In the context of these news stories, the identifier 'Christian' refers both to those people and forces which are not Turkish, but also not Protestant.

The use of other identifiers of religious affiliation underscores this second antagonism, though more often in the context of the expulsion of individuals.[94] After Székely's death, the complaint was made that Basta had banned the practice of all but the Catholic faith in the principality: 'Alle Stätt sollen kein andere Religion haben noch gebrauchen/ dann die Römische Catholische/ und alle andere Secten abgeschafft

[91] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1604), 5; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 92.
[92] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 57.
[93] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 91.
[94] The other religious identifiers used are Catholic (4), Arian (2), Augsburg Confession (2), Papist (1), Evangelical (1) and Lutheran (1).

werden'.[95] As Bocskai's rebellion gained more and more success, news came that he was expelling all Germans from Hungary, both Catholic and Lutheran: 'die Teutsche aus Hungern zuvertreiben/ Päpstische und Lutherische (wie sie es genennet) zuverfolgen'.[96] The Transylvanian assault is described as being unrelenting towards those of any background as Bocskai would not show mercy to any confession. As his army moved through the Partium, he is described as attacking, killing and chasing out all those he found:

> das er zu *Sendreae* und *Kallo* ihr Maj. darinnen gehabte Teutsche Knecht/ sampt denen bey ihnen gewesenen Predigern Augsp. *Confession*, jämmerlich erwürgen/ 1200. die beste Rätzische auch Hungerische und andere Reuter (unangesehen was unterschiedlichen Glaubens sie alle gewesen sein möchten) allein darumb das sie in ihrer pflicht gegen ihr Key. Mai. bestendig verblieben/ bey der *Teissa* angreiffen und erschlagen lassen.[97]

Bocskai's driving out of his opposition is certainly described in more violent terms, but the persecution and expulsion of those of a particular confession is presented as a practice employed by both sides and thus not limited to the purview of only the Catholics or Protestants.

In these news stories there is no reference made to the Reformed or Calvinist confession, which Bocskai personally subscribed to, but rather to Arianism, generally used in reference to the Antitrinitarians. Bocskai was accused of Arianism (see page 81), and when Basta reinstated the Jesuits, he gave them the Arian properties on which to establish themselves: 'Ihnen ist hingegen der Arrianer Hauß/ so ein mechtig schön gebew/ zur Wohnung/ uñ die Thumbkirch zu ihrem Gottesdienst gegeben worden'.[98] While the Reformed faith was a recognized religion in many areas of Europe, Antitrinitarians held rights of assembly in only a few places outside of Transylvania. This association of

[95] *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1604), 25.
[96] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 58.
[97] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 57-8.
[98] For Bocskai as Arian, see note 92 and *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1604), 19

Transylvania with Arianism or Antitrinitarianism once again underscores their unchristianness.

The transfer of church property from one confession to another is one of the milder examples of the persecutions suffered by the ecclesiastical community in these news stories. There are 27 references to ecclesiastical persons and 13 to churches and other buildings. Jesuits were killed in Weißenburg, Moravian abbots fled their cloisters and headed towards Olmütz because of Bocskai's hajduck troops, and monks and nuns were forcibly married by Rhédey in Tyrnau.[99] While most of the acts described in these stories were committed by the Transylvanians and targeted the Catholic community, there is also one example of Basta using church lands for violent purposes: 'Sonst hat Herr Basta 3. fürnehme vom Adel: als Cyser Georgen/ Colmundi Michael/ Panckii Jonas gefenglich einziehen lassen/ und sie in aller still in öde wüste Klöster vermauren lassen/ darin sie auch gestorben'.[100] However, for the most part Bocskai, the rebels and the hajducks are painted as being the worst aggressors.

Religious persecution at the hands of the Transylvanians has its most narrative turn in the story of the Jesuits fleeing Klausenburg and hiding in a windmill in March 1605. The story begins with a reminder to the reader 'Ob wol zuvor im den Relationibus meldung geschehen/ wie mit grosser Pracht die Jesuiter in Claussenburg zum andern mahl seind eingeführet worden'.[101] With Bocskai's growing authority in Transylvania, these same Jesuits were forced to flee, and seven hid in a windmill five miles from town. These same men had been accused previously by a *Weißgerber* of taking 900 gulden from his elderly mother while promising her that this would assure the return of her health and the

[99] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1604), 61; *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Autumn 1605), 41; *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 75.
[100] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1604), 6.
[101] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 42.

forgiveness of her sins. When the son returned from Silesia, his mother had indeed regained her strength, but her money was gone. He sent twelve hajducks after the Jesuits. When the twelve found the seven in the windmill, they took not only the money but all the Jesuits' goods. The hajducks then tied the four youngest Jesuits to the blades of the mill 'und also 6. stunden zwischen Himmel und Erden herummer fliegen lassen' while the three older men prayed.[102] Specific references in the story, such as describing the Jesuits as *ehrbaren* and Hungary as *aufrührerisch*, situate the blame for the most brutal actions at the feet of the rebelling forces, consistent with the other acts of violence and vandalism perpetrated against religious figures and buildings in these stories.

There are, however, a handful of references to churches and clerics that are devoid of violence. A church acted as a place of prayer and celebration when the Emperor heard of a victory in Prague: 'die ist allda wol ankommen/ und hat die Kay: Majest: das *Te Deum Laudamus, &c.* wegen erhaltener Victoria/ in der Schloßkirché zu Prage singé lassen'.[103] The clergy also filled a political role appearing at meetings of the Landtag: 'durch alle Hungerische Geistliche und Weltliche *officier* mit recht zuerkennt/ und zu volziehung darauff ergangené gemeinen Landtages schlusses/ wircklich erfolget ist'.[104] The politics around the clerics was not without contention, as in Bocskai's proposed peace points he insisted that only one bishop be present in the Hungarian council and only Hungarians be appointed to the bishoprics: 'wie auch der general Befehl in Ober Hungarn/ deßgleichen solt nuhr ein Bischoff im Raht sitzen/[…]/ unnd zu allen

[102] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 43-4. This story was printed in a very similar form in a broadsheet and included an illustration of the four men splayed over the blades of the windmill in R. Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet 1600-1700,* Volume 1 *1600-1615* (1985), 165.
[103] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1604), 21.
[104] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 57.

Bistumben allein Herrn Adel Stands deß Ungarischen Geblüts genommen'.[105] Even the news of the church which is not explicitly violent can still be antagonistic.

Though most references to religion in these news stories concern the institution of the church and its clerics, buildings and confessions, this is not the only manifestation of religious belief. The word *Religion* itself appears 18 times, and is occasionally used in conjunction with a specific confession, such as 'wo man sie bey der Evangelischen Religion rühig verbleiben', but more often refers the practice of beliefs.[106] Freedom of religion is cited as a specific concern of Bocskai: 'Erstlich begert der Botschkhay vor allen dingen die Freyheit der Religion'.[107] It must be defended and protected, as Bocskai exclaimed 'wer neben ihm die Religion zu defendiren begere/ soll zu ihm stossen/[…]/ daß er weder wider Keys. May. kriegen/ noch den Türcken favorisiren/ sondern allein die Religion beschützen woll'.[108] However, it may also be manipulated. Just before Bocskai was proclaimed to be an Arian and not a Christian (see page 81), he was also accused of using the cause of religious freedom for his own reasons, 'Ja zu noch mehrer verleitung unerfahrner unwissender Leute/ die *Religion* zum Deckmantel seiner Büberey angezogen'.[109] *Religion* in this sense is an abstract concept and, though the word is occasionally tied to particular confessions, it is more likely to be used with the equally illusive idea of *Freiheit*.

The name of God is invoked on 22 occasions, either when swearing oaths, giving thanks or offering prayers.[110] God is testified to in order to assure the veracity of assertions being made, as when Turkish captives imparted news and also 'schweren bey

[105] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 75.
[106] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1605), 57. Also used with Catholic 'der Römischen Catholischen *Religion*': *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 60.
[107] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1605), 75.
[108] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1605), 34.
[109] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 57.
[110] This number includes one reference to the 'Gottlose *nation* der Heiduggen'. *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1605), 91.

ihren GOtt'.[111] Similarly, in a letter to the Imperial commissioners, Bocskai promised that his acts were not motivated by vindictiveness: 'wollen auch mit GOtt bezeugen'.[112] Prayers were offered after imparting both good news and bad. In August 1603, after Basta was successful against the Transylvanians and Székely was killed in battle, the news closes with 'Gott geb ihnen weiter gnadt'.[113] The following winter, as Transylvania suffered a terrible famine and stories of parents eating their children were reported, the closing prayer is 'Gott schicke alles zum besten'.[114] These supplications offered as part of the news stories create a more personal sense of fear, hope, joy and despair. Whether these emotions were experienced by the writers themselves or whether they were anticipating that their readers would feel these emotions cannot be known.

There are other, less obvious, references to religion in the news stories of this period, such as news of marriages and godfathers, which indicate the pervasive role which Christian devotion played. However, the most common religious language, referring to the church, priests, confessions or God, is often used and underscores the deep divides of the period. Violence against church lands and people, prayers offered for relief or further good news, and above all, the use of Christian to mean either not Turkish or not Protestant—this language was meant to create an association with the Imperial side. While an internal bias was present in the reporting of political news, it is in the religious language that a strong opposition to Bocskai's actions is most clearly conveyed.

[111] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 58.
[112] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1605), 63.
[113] *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1604), 7.
[114] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1604), 102.

Conclusion

The *Messrelationen* were biannuals, printed and distributed months after some of the events reported on had taken place. News of the most important or catastrophic events had likely reached interested individuals through other means, whether by pamphlet, broadsheet, letter or word of mouth. Rather than offering the reader the most current information, the *Messrelationen* presented a narrative of events, often supplementing detailed accounts with an explanatory purpose. This is most explicitly stated in Leipzig's *Historische Relation*, which opens with the story of the rebellion in Hungary and Transylvania, 'Derwegen es rathsam ist dem leser zu gefallen/ die sachen etwas weitleufftiger und von anfang zu widerholen/ daraus gründlich möge vernommen werden/ wie sich warhafftig diese *turbae* erstlich angespunnen/ und hernacher so weit eingerissen sind'.[115] The *Messrelationen* of this period told a story with a particular view. Bocskai was a servant of the Porte, taking money and men to ensure the success of his army. His legitimacy came only on the back of this army, as he won the cities of Transylvania and Hungary. His alliance with the Turks and persecution of the Catholics only confirmed the notion that he was no Christian. While the lords of Transylvania fought and rebelled, the people starved and were reduced to the most inhuman acts of cannibalism. This is not the story of a glorious prince, fairly and freely elected, chosen by God, but a servant of the Turks determined to trouble the rightful Imperial authority in Hungary. While in later periods newspapers reported events from a variety of cities and perspectives, this image of Transylvania continued to persist.

[115] *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1605), 49.

Table 2.1 Number of times each form of media is referenced along with a specific location in in-text citations, 1604-5

	Letter	Person	Rumor	Report	Total
Transylvania	8	2	—	4	14
Hungary	6	3	—	5	14
Ottoman	6	6	—	—	12
Hereditary Lands	6	1	—	1	8
Poland	—	—	—	1	1
Other	1	1	—	—	2
No Location	3	5	6	12	26
Total	30	18	6	23	77

Table 2.2 Number of times national identities are mentioned in political and military news, 1604-5

	Politics	Military
Emperor	89	80
Ottomans	69	79
Hungary	66	46
Hajducks	15	79
Germany	9	19
Wallachia	11	13
Tartars	5	13
Poland	12	5

Table 2.3 Lexicon of violence divided by frequency category based on stories from 1604-58

Category 1 (1-3)	Category 2 (4-10)	Category 3 (12-30)	Category 4 (37-74)	Category 5 (91-148)
entführen (3)	erbärmlich (10)	trennen (30)	erlegen (74)	Schaden (148)
Furie (3)	Asche (9)	verderben (30)	schießen (66)	niederhauen (123)
Sklave (3)	beschädigen (9)	ruinieren (28)	Tod (65)	brennen (107)
abmatten (2)	Gift (9)	Schwert (27)	übel (63)	Gewalt (104)
hinrichten (2)	zerspringen (9)	hauen (26)	Blut (56)	Gefahr (93)
Piquen (2)	sprengen (8)	verwunden (23)	Furcht (53)	plündern (91)
schaben (2)	Verbitterung (8)	krank (22)	niedermachen (52)	
schinden (2)	verwüsten (8)	verheeren (22)	rauben (47)	
stürzen (2)	anzünden (7)	umbringen (20)	verfolgen (47)	
Tummelplatz (2)	beängstigen (7)	Bedrohung (19)	Beute (47)	
vernageln (2)	spoliieren (7)	abschneiden (18)	schwer (46)	
wüten (2)	grausam (6)	ersaufen (18)	ernst (45)	
zertreten (2)	heimsuchen (6)	Verräterei (18)	schlecht (41)	
Zorn (2)	sengen (5)	Tyrannei (16)	Feuer (38)	
beißen (1)	vierteilen (5)	bedrängen (15)	Schrecken (38)	
erstechen (1)	zerstören (6)	morden (14)	jagen (37)	
kastrieren (1)	enthaupten (4)	reißen (13)		
Klingen (1)	kläglich (4)	schwierig (13)		
Lunte (1)	Lärmen (4)	hängen (12)		
spülen (1)	strangulieren (4)	Pest (12)		
torquieren (1)	umkommen (4)			
verletzen (1)				

Chapter 3

Gábor Bethlen's Invasion of Hungary and the Rise of the Printed Newspapers, 1619-21

Of the four Protestant princes covered here, by far the most publicized was Gábor Bethlen. He was one of the many Protestant saviors that arose in the broadsheets and pamphlets of the period, joining Frederick, the Elector Palatine and Bohemian King, Christian, the king of Denmark, and most famously, Gustav Adolf, the great hope from Sweden. During the Thirty Years War, Bethlen marched against the Habsburg Emperor on three separate occasions, but the first, from 1619-21, was accompanied by the greatest hope for success. These years included his election as king of Hungary and his being named the godfather of Frederick's son, but ended in a peace made with the Emperor, the terms of which became the *status quo* which was restored after each additional action on Bethlen's part.

The news of this first march into Hungary was primarily reported on by four reporting regions: Vienna, Prague, the Hereditary Lands and Hungary, with each region reporting the news of Bethlen and Transylvania within a particular context. Vienna was concerned with the legitimacy of the election of a new king to a throne recently held by a Habsburg. Prague wanted a strong Protestant ally in the war against a common, Catholic enemy. The Hereditary Lands reported news from the armies of both camps which marched across the countryside, while Hungary was primarily concerned with the unrest at home and the meetings of the diets which would determine the status of the kingdom.

While the *Messrelationen* of 1604-5 present a common narrative, these four reporting regions allow a more specific analysis of the five topic areas: politics, ceremony, violence, economics and religion. The perspective and concerns of each region

flavored the language used to report on these topics and resulted in differing narratives of the events of 1619-21.

3.1 Gábor Bethlen's March against the Emperor, 1619-21

Though the reign of Gábor Bethlen seemed in many ways to progress naturally from that of István Bocskai, the actual succession of events was not so elegant. Bocskai's unexpected death led to confusion within the principality as several men aspired to fill his place, including Bálint Homonnai, Gábor Báthori and Zsigmond Rákóczi. Though Rákóczi was elected prince by the diet in February 1607, he did not hold the position for long. Báthori formed an alliance with the hajducks the following year, giving him the leverage he needed to take control of the principality. During his reign, Báthori offended the Ottoman Porte, the Emperor, the Saxon towns and the Catholic nobles, and, in response, was removed by the Porte in 1613. Four days later, Bethlen was elected in his place and Báthori was unceremoniously killed and dumped in a river.[1]

The first years of Bethlen's reign were not without controversy, but he was able to reassert the power of the prince and ease some of the distrust for the position which had resulted from Báthori's aggressive internal policies. He appeased the Saxon towns by demonstrating respect for their rights of governance. In order to assert a level of control separate from that of the diet, he limited the number of individuals who participated in the institution and then regulated foreign trade in order to have access to an independent income. Despite the success of his policies and his growing authority within the principality, Bethlen was still subject to the Ottoman Porte and so was not able to escape the necessity of turning the fortress of Lippa over to the Ottomans in 1616. This action

[1] G. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600-1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (2000), 32; K. Péter, 'The Golden Age of the Principality (1606-1660)', in László Makkai and Zoltán Szász, eds., *History of Transylvania,* Volume 2*: From 1606 to 1830* (2001), 35.

reinforced a fear amongst many that he would act as the arm of the Porte. A fear of the Turks also contributed to the election of Ferdinand of Habsburg as king of Hungary in July 1618. Though the Hungarian Diet had hesitated over the precedent of familial hereditariness that could be set if Ferdinand was elected to the throne while his cousin Emperor Matthias was still living, its members were convinced by the Archbishop of Gran, Péter Pázmány, that the power of the Habsburgs was necessary to defend against the Ottomans.[2]

At this same time, the related conflicts in Prague over the role of Ferdinand and the Habsburgs in Bohemia were coming to a head. Following the defenestration of Prague on 23 May 1618, the Bohemian Directors, whose troops were led by Count Heinrich Matthias Thurn and Count Georg Friedrich of Hohenlohe, had been unable to turn their uprising into a strong resistance and very little foreign assistance, either in the form of soldiers or money, was forthcoming. In addition, despite an early success by Bohemia against Imperial Commander Count Bucquoy and Colonel Dampierre in Pilsen, the Bohemian Count Mansfeld suffered a devastating defeat at Netolitz and an attempt to besiege Vienna in June 1619 came to naught.[3]

The Bohemians turned to Hungary for assistance, but the diet, divided between Catholic and Protestant representatives, equivocated. However, with the election of Ferdinand II as Holy Roman Emperor in August 1619, the formal Confederation of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Upper and Lower Lusatia was formed, and Bethlen declared his intention to fight alongside them. The Confederation officially rejected Ferdinand as king and hoped to replace him with a strong Protestant who would give a face to the anti-Habsburg movement. While Bethlen was considered, the favorite potential

[2] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 32; Péter, 'Golden Age', 38-40, 66.
[3] The Directors were elected by the Protestant diet which met on 25 May. These twelve men took over the roles of the ejected Imperial Regents and the Bohemian Chancellory. P. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (2010), 269-81.

candidate was Johann Georg of Saxony. When he refused the nomination, the Elector Palatine, Frederick V, was elected king of Bohemia with the hope that other Protestant rulers, including his father-in-law James I of England, would rally behind him. However, this hope was not realized, and the Transylvanian alliance became even more important.[4]

On 26 August 1619, Bethlen began his march from Klausenburg into Hungary with György Rákóczi leading troops to Kaschau, Ferenc Rhédey heading towards Moravia and György Széchy marching on the Habsburg loyalists in Pressburg. Bethlen gained the loyalty of the economically crucial mining towns, as well as Neuhäusel and Tyrnau. In Kaschau, a meeting of supporters declared Bethlen 'Protector of Hungary' in September, thus legitimizing him as a representative of the kingdom and countering the view of him as an invader. Afterwards, he moved on to the capital of Pressburg, which surrendered to him on 14 October, and called for a diet in November that would depose Ferdinand and elect Bethlen as king of Hungary.[5]

Meanwhile the Confederated troops of Hohenlohe, Thurn and Rhédey were giving chase to Bucquoy and Dampierre, from Moravia to the Danube at Vienna. The Imperial troops burned the bridge there, forcing the Confederates to cross at Pressburg. Though the troops arrived at Vienna's gates in late November, Ferdinand had prepared for this eventuality by storing food within the city and burning the countryside outside of the walls. The unrest which had begun amidst the troops over the lack of payment was worsened by the disease and starvation that were rampant in the camps. Then, the news of Transylvania's invasion by the Cossacks on 27 November prompted all Transylvanian and Hungarian forces to abandon the siege.

[4] Péter, 'Golden Age', 66-67.
[5] Péter, 'Golden Age', 67-72; Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 289-9.

While Bethlen marched on Hungary, Transylvania's other border saw the exacerbation of problems between Moldavia, Poland and the. There was an unease which existed between Poland and the Porte due to the actions of the voivode of Moldavia, Caspar Gratiani, who had turned to Poland for assistance in his attempt to become independent of the Ottomans. This infringement on Turkish authority was again tested when the Cossacks assisted György Homonnai, son of Bálint and no friend of Bethlen, in his third rebellion against the prince. The Ottomans had resisted entering the conflict up until then, despite Bethlen's pleas, hoping to preserve the delicate peace with the Habsburgs. However, these continuing attacks on the lands under their suzerainty finally provoked a response, and Ottoman and Tartar troops were sent to Moldavia. This response was too late for Rákóczi, who had remained in Transylvania to act as governor and whose troops were severely defeated by the Cossacks at Stroppkau. Though Homonnai was victorious, he was unable to gain local support and retreated in early December. Nonetheless, this conflict was enough to disturb Bethlen's advance, and in January, the Hungarian Diet in Pressburg signed a truce with the Emperor.

The Transylvanian and Hungarian conflict with the Emperor was not put to rest, but merely postponed. In May, another diet was convened at Neusohl and included representatives from the Confederates, Poland, the Porte and the Emperor. Though peace was discussed, terms could not be agreed upon, since Bethlen rejected the Imperial offer which did not include the Confederates in the agreement. The Ottomans offered an alternative, promising to support a newly-elected Hungarian king with forces which would assist Bohemia in exchange for a payment made to both the Sultan and Bethlen. Though there were hesitations on the part of both Frederick and the Hungarian Diet, it was deemed necessary to accept the Ottoman offer if resistance to Habsburg authority in Hungary was to continue. Bethlen, with Ottoman support, was elected king of Hungary

on 25 August 1620, but refused to be crowned at that time, either because he feared his kingship would be short lived or because he was confident that his total victory would be secured and that he could participate in the traditional ceremony with the Archbishop of Gran.[6]

In May, Bethlen sent Transylvanian men to meet the Bohemians, Protestant Austrians, Silesians and Moravians under the new command of Prince Christian I of Anhalt. Unfortunately for the Confederates, Ferdinand's forces were now backed by the Catholic League, organized by Maximilian of Bavaria and lead by Jean Tilly, with money from Spain and diplomatic assistance from France in the form of the Duke d'Angoulême. The Habsburg troops made a decisive march on Prague under Tilly, hurried by the coming winter, while the Confederate troops tried to catch up, but were distracted by the divided command of Anhalt, Thurn, Mansfeld and Hohenlohe. Anhalt and Tilly finally met at White Mountain on 8 November, 1620, and within hours the Confederate forces were defeated. Soon after, Prague surrendered.[7]

During these same months, Bethlen continued to secure his position in Pressburg, including making preparations for his crowning as king. Dampierre and his men arrived at the city in early October, burned the bridge over the Danube and delayed the troops Bethlen sent to White Mountain. However, Dampierre was killed in the process, and the French ambassador, d'Angoulême, arrived to discuss the return of his body and encourage Bethlen to enter into peace discussions with the Emperor. This option became even more appealing to the Hungarian nobles after the Ottoman troops, instead of coming to the aid of the Confederates, were led by the Pasha of Ofen in an attack on the Hungarian border town of Waitzen.[8]

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[6] Péter, 'Golden Age', 73-6; Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 294.
[7] Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 294-303.
[8] Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 307-8.

Peace talks began between the Emperor and Bethlen in Hainburg in January 1621, but Bethlen's insistence that he remain king of Hungary and that his allies in Bohemia be included in the peace were not acceptable to Ferdinand, and the talks ended in April. Though Bucquoy quickly seized Pressburg, Tyrnau and Neutra and began a siege on Neuhäusel, the Imperial successes did not last for long. Bethlen's men broke the siege, and Bucquoy was killed while trying to find provisions for his troops. The Transylvanians soon reclaimed Tyrnau and moved on to Pressburg, where they were joined by the margrave of Jägerndorf. However, with other movements taking place in Moravia and Lower and Inner Austria, the Transylvanian and Hungarian force was depleted, broken and exhausted. Bethlen was losing both the support of the people and that of many of his noble allies.[9]

The treaty of Nikolsburg was agreed upon in December 1621. In it, Bethlen gained seven counties which were attached to the Partium and amnesty for his allies in exchange for withdrawing his claim on the Hungarian crown. This peace would not end Bethlen's participation in the Thirty Years War, as he conducted two more campaigns into Royal Hungary in 1623-24 and 1626. Yet, with each campaign, he received less support from the Hungarian nobles and when peace was restored with the Emperor, it was according to the same terms as Nikolsburg.[10]

3.2 News Reports and Stories of the Printed Newspapers

Bethlen's campaign against the Emperor was one of the first major actions of the Thirty Years War and, as a result, Bethlen became one of the first of many stars of the printed media. In broadsheets, he is pictured along with Mansfeld and Jägerndorf as the

[9] Péter, 'Golden Age', 80; Wilson, Europe's Tragedy, 323-4.
[10] Péter, 'Golden Age', 82-6.

supporters of the lion of the Palatinate against the Emperor's eagle.[11] In one particular image, he even takes on the figure of a fox, playing doctor and trying to energize a languid lion.[12] The printed newspapers of 1619-21 were likewise filled with his military exploits, peace discussions and election as king of Hungary. During the months of Bethlen's march into Hungary, August 1619 to December 1621, 15% of all the newspaper reports give news of Bethlen or Transylvania. While many reports came from the embattled cities and towns of Hungary and the Hereditary Lands, the most dominant voices were the two cities at the center of conflict: Vienna and Prague.

In these three years of newspapers, there are 1,090 separate news reports which reference Transylvania or, even more commonly, Gábor Bethlen. These reports range from a few lines to a couple of pages and appear under a dateline which indicates on which day and from what city the report was dispatched.[13] Two cities account for 73% of these reports: the rival powers of Vienna (498) and Prague (302). During the years 1619 and 1620, these two cities contributed a nearly equal number of reports on Transylvania, with Prague sending 282 reports and Vienna 311. However, following the defeat at White Mountain, Prague's reporting attention to Bethlen greatly dropped off, and there are only 19 reports from 1621, while Vienna maintained a reporting interest, contributing 187 reports. In addition to the reports from these two cities, there are also occasional reports from the cities of Venice (37), Breslau (31), Kaschau (29), Neusohl (19), Pressburg (16), Leutschau (10) and others, primarily located in the Habsburg Hereditary Lands and in the contested region of Hungary.

[11] Pamphlets of these men chasing the Imperial eagle while Spinola and the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria chase the Palatine's lion are reprinted in J. R. Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet, 1600-1700,* Volume 3, *1620 and 1621* (1985), 389-91.
[12] Paas, *Broadsheet,* Volume 3, 345-6.
[13] For more on the specifics of the newspapers of this period, including bibliographic information on the best preserved see pages 25-8.

There is a large disparity between the number of reports from Vienna and Prague and the number of reports from other locations. However, this imbalance is minimized if reporting cities are grouped by geographical and political regions. The cities of the Hereditary Lands, outside of Vienna and Prague,[14] and Hungary[15] then each have 80-110 reports; the regions of the Mediterranean[16] and the German Lands[17] are comparable, with around 25-40 reports, which leaves Poland and the cities of the Baltic[18] and of northwest Europe with under 20 (see Table 3.1).[19]

As with the *Messrelationen*, many of these news reports duplicate each other to a large degree and needed to be whittled down to obtain discrete stories.[20] Repeated stories are from the same city, contain the same information with the same wording and references, and often, but not always, the items of news appear in the same order and were sent on the same date. When repeated stories were removed from the analysis, only 764 discrete news stories remained. The proportional distribution of these news stories is almost exactly the same as that of the news reports, except that there are no repeating reports from the German Lands. Therefore, the number of stories from the German Lands is much more similar to the number of stories from the Mediterranean.

Within the printed newspapers, there are four regions which, combined, contribute 91% of the news stories: Vienna, Prague, the Hereditary Lands and Hungary. While the other regions may have offered specific news items or passages of interest, these four reporting regions present the most fruitful soil for examining the patterns of communication and the language of the news stories.

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[14] Includes Breslau, Linz, Neustadt, Brünn, Eger, Graz, Rokitzan, Znaim, Eggenburg, Haimburg and Neumühl.
[15] Includes Kaschau, Neusohl, Pressburg, Leutschau, Neuhäusel, Komorn, Kálló and Tyrnau.
[16] Includes Venice, Rome and Constantinople.
[17] Includes Nuremberg, Cologne, Regensburg, Augsburg, Frankfurt and the Palatinate.
[18] Includes Cracow, Warsaw and Bilicz.
[19] Includes Lyon and The Hague. This section and those reports from an unknown location (7) are grouped together in the charts as 'Other'.
[20] For a further description of the definitions of 'reports' and 'stories', see pages 53-6.

3.3 Systems of Reporting

Within the formalized network of reporting lie hints of a deeper, more nuanced network of news communication, as within many of the news stories there exist references to outside sources for the news being related. These references appear in the same manner as the in-text citations of the *Messrelationen* (see page 57) with a location from which a story is said to originate or a medium by which the news traveled. Within the newspapers, however, these in-text citations gain even greater significance: when seen in conjunction with the reporting location mentioned in the dateline, a more nuanced system of reporting can be determined.[21] These 'systems of reporting' are particular branches of a wider European news network and represent common patterns of communication, often closely linked to geography and proximity. Within the news stories of Transylvania, there are four reporting systems exhibited; however, they are not entirely distinct, and there are commonly points of intersection and overlap. The most frequently employed system existed within the Hereditary Lands, where news went from Hungary, Bethlen and the military camps through the cities of Vienna and Prague and then on to the German newspapers. Additionally, there were stories from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Ottomans via the city of Venice and the German Lands, which often cited Vienna as the source of information.

Of the reporting regions, Prague was the most likely to diffuse news including some reference to information gathered from another location (see Table 3.2). Over a third of the stories from this city include reference to news from an outside source,

[21] Some of the most common words used in citing an in-text source include *erlauten*, *vermelden, melden*, *berichten, einkommen*, *ausgeben, Zeitung*, *Aviso*, and *Nachtricht*. For the manuscript transmission of news the words are *schreiben, schriftlich* and *Brief;* for messengers and envoys: *Kurier, Gesandter, Bote, Botschafter* and *Trompeter*; and for oral transmission of the news: *sagen, hören, vernehmen and mündlich.* However, it is often the case that letters written and envoys sent were, in fact, the subject of the news itself. These instances were not treated as part of the reporting system, but rather as political news.

particularly from the Bohemian forces and their allies in Transylvania and Hungary. There are 33 references to news coming from the Hereditary Lands, 18 of which were from the Bohemian camps and the reports from Count Thurn.[22] This news frequently came in the form of letters, with 9 references to letters sent, including one which was carried by courier.[23] These letters seemly appeared with regularity and were included in the reports from Prague even when they contained little new information: 'Gestern sind von dem Herrn Graffen von Thurn abermal Schreiben einkommen/ so aber von keiner sonderbahren *Importantz*'.[24]

Arriving almost as frequently in Prague as news from the Hereditary Lands was news from Hungary. There are 29 references to news coming from Hungary, 9 of which were from Pressburg, Bethlen's capital in Hungary after October 1619, and another 6 from Neusohl, where the diet was held to discuss a possible peace in May 1620.[25] While the news from Pressburg came by letter on 4 occasions—two times via courier and once '*referiren* mündlich'—the news from Neusohl rarely identified by which medium the news arrived.[26] Once, a counselor returned to Prague from Neusohl with news, but otherwise it was merely noted that 'Auß NewSaal hat man nachrichtung'.[27] The city of Pressburg is just fifty kilometers downstream from Vienna and was one of the political

[22] The others are: Moravia (4) and Silesia (4), as well as the cities of Breslau (1), Pilsen (1), Znaim (1) and Brünn (1).
[23] This includes one reference to a letter from Thurn reporting news which he had received via an envoy from Bethlen, indicating news from a Transylvanian traveling by person, and then being communicated from Thurn to Prague through manuscript, 'Aus Prag vom 23 Octob.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619: 46). Other references to letters are 'Auß Prag den 23. Dito [Oct.].', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIII); 'Auß Prag den 30. Dito [Oct.].', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIV); 'Auß Praga/ vom 13. *Novembr*:', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:46); 'Auß Prag den 27. Novemb.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIX); 'Auß Praga/ vom 3. *Martii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:10); 'Auß Praga/ vom 18. *Augusti.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:34). Also a courier with letters came in: 'Aus Prag/ vom 18. September.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:41); 'Auß Prag vom 27. November.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:52).
[24] 'Auß Praga/ vom 13 *Novembr:*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:46).
[25] All the other references are simply along the lines of *Aus Ungarn* with no specific city or region named.
[26] 'Auß Praga/ vom 13. *Decembr:*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:50).
[27] 'Auß Praga/ vom 27. *Augusti.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:35); 'Auß Praga/ vom 30. *Julii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:31).

and economic centers of Royal Hungary. Neusohl, though an important mining town, is another 150 kilometers farther east and further away from the communications infrastructure of the Imperial capital: letters did not travel as frequently.

In addition to the news from the Hungarian Diet and the Bohemian troops, a significant amount of the news of Transylvania in the Prague reports came from Bethlen himself (17).[28] Though there are 5 references to letters sent from the Transylvanian prince to the Bohemian king, news was more likely to come via messenger. There are 8 total references to individuals carrying the news: 2 to couriers with letters, 2 to couriers without, 3 to *Gesandten* and 1 to an 'ansehenliche Person'.[29] In two cases, the individuals who carried the news also related information orally. A courier brought both a letter and an oral report: 'Es ist auch den 24. diß/ von dem Siebenbürgischen Fürsten Bethlehem Gabor ein *Currier* mit schreiben an Ihr Kön. Mayt. ankommen/ von derer inhalt ist zwar nichts zu vernehmen/ wie man aber vom ihme mündlich vernimbt'.[30] Similarly, an envoy passed along a letter in Latin to the Estates in Bohemia and then orally announced Bethlen's intention of joining the Confederated Lands.[31]

While Prague attributed the bulk of its news stories to letters, couriers and reports coming from Bethlen, Hungary and elsewhere in the Hereditary Lands, it did also note occasional news from Vienna and Germany.[32] Vienna, however, only attributed 15% of its news to an secondary reporting location and never to Prague or Germany. Additionally, it only received occasional reports from the Ottomans, the Hereditary Lands and Poland.[33]

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[28] This includes references to Bethlen, the Prince of Transylvania and *Siebenbürger*.
[29] 'Aus Prag vom 23 Octob.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:46).
[30] 'Auß Praga/ vom 26. *Junii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:26).
[31] 'Auß Praga/ vom 10. *Augusti.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:36).
[32] From the German Lands: 'die Zeitung außm Reich', 'Auß Praga/ vom 10. *Augusti.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:36); and 'ein Curir vom Hertzog in Bäyern', 'Aus Praag/ vom 31. Augusti.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:36).
[33] From Constantinople: 'Auß Wien vom 21. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:18). From Moravia: 'Auß Wien/ vom 17. *Januarii, Anno* 1621.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:5). From Styria: 'Auß Wien/ vom 25. October.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:45).

Vienna does, however, make almost as many references to news from Hungary and Transylvania as Prague does. While the news from Hungary to Prague was either from Pressburg, Neusohl or Hungary more generally, the Hungarian news in the Viennese stories references 6 different cities. The 25 references of news from Hungary include 6 references to the nearby city of Pressburg and 2 to Neusohl, as well as references to the Hungarian cities attacked or won over by Bethlen in his march through Royal Hungary: Kaschau (4), Neuhäusel (2), Komorn (1), and Tyrnau (1).[34] While the in-text citations are more precise regarding the location from which news originated, they are less precise with regards to the medium, with only two letters coming from Pressburg.[35]

Likewise, the news which came from Transylvania to Vienna did not follow the same pattern as the news which went to Prague: Vienna only noted 3 instances of envoys or letters from Bethlen directly.[36] There are then another 4 references to news 'Aus Siebenbürgen'.[37] However, the most frequently cited source of news from Transylvania was the French ambassador, the duke d'Angoulême, who traveled between Bethlen and Vienna and is referenced on 5 occasions as either sending a trumpeter, 'Den 9. diß ist der Trommeter/ welchen der Duco de Angelome/ nacher Preßburg abgefertiget/ wider anhero kommen', or as arriving himself, 'Heut seind der Frantzosischen Bottschafft Abgesandten

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From the Austrian Camps at Eggenburg: 'Auß Wien/ vom 17. *Septembr:*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:39). From Haimburg: 'Auß Wien/ vom 1. *Decembr.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:50). From Nikolsburg, 'Auß Wien/ vom 8. *Decembris.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:51). From Poland: 'Ein andere auß Wien [9 Nov.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1620:72); 'Auß Wien vom 4. Dito [Aug.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Sss); 'Auß Wien/ vom 8. Septemb.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1621:37); 'Auß Wien den 10. Novembris.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1621:XLV).

[34] The other 9 references are to *Ungarn* more broadly.

[35] 'Auß Wien/ vom 18. Augusti.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1621:34); 'Auß Wien/ vom 23. Januarii.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:5).

[36] Envoys from Bethlen appeared in 'Aus Wien vom 19. Januarii.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:6); 'Auß Wien vom 15. April.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1620:17). A letter from Bethlen in 'Auß Wien vom 5. Maio.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:20).

[37] 'Auß Wien/ vom 30. Januarii.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:8); 'Auß Wien vom 9. Januarii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Bb); 'Auß Wien/ vom 5. *Junii*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:24); 'Auß Wien von 5. Junii Anno 1619.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:25).

vom Betlehem Gabor wider zu ruck kommen/ die berichten'.[38] More information was sent directly by Bethlen to his allies in Prague, while Vienna had to receive its news from a third party.

The cities of Vienna and Prague represent the backbone of the reporting system which carried most of the news of Transylvania during the period: news coming from either the Transylvanian prince or Hungary through the cities of the Hereditary Lands and then on to the German-language newspapers. This is further exemplified by the news printed from other cities and camps in Bohemia, Austria, Moravia, Silesia and Styria, where news often traveled via designated persons. When sent by Bethlen, information traveled by courier or envoy 3 times to the Bohemian camps and once to Neumühl.[39] From Hungary, a courier, envoys, a rider and 'eine vertrawte Person' were also used to send news to Znaim, the Bohemian camps, Moravia and Eggenburg.[40] Count Thurn continued to communicate via letters, rather than by envoy, in his messages to Titschein.[41] Letters were also the medium of preference in 2 references to news coming out of Vienna, and in both cases the news was sent along the Danube to Linz.[42]

There is another reporting system which is vaguely alluded to in these stories which gained importance in later years: the reports from Poland. In stories from this period, there are 4 references to news from Poland in the Vienna news and another 2

[38] 'Auß Wien vom 14. Novembris.', *Raporten* (Cologne, 1620:E); 'Auß Wien vom 14. Ditto [Oct.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1620:55).
[39] Envoys to Bohemian Camps in '*Copia*, Eines vertrawten Schreibens. ... *Datum* auß meinem Schloß/ den 23. *Septembris, Anno* 1619.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:40); 'Außm Königlichen Feltlager bey Rockenzahn vom 13 Octob.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:44); 'Aus dem Häubtguardir zu Retschis.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:Rr). Arriving at Neumühl, 'Auß Newmühl/ vom 18. *Octobr:*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:43).
[40] 'Aus Znam/ vom 17. Augusti.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:35); 'Auß dem Böhmischen Haubtläger *Retschiz*, vom 26. Octobr.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:41); 'Auß Mähren/ vom 15. *Septembris*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:39); 'Auß Eggenburg/ vom 4. *Septembr:*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:37).
[41] 'Auß Titschein/ vom 26. *Julii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:32).
[42] '*Extract*, Auß einem vertrawlichen Schreiben auß Lintz/ vom 26. *Novembris*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:51); 'Auß Lintz/ vom 5. *Martii*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:12).

references in the Breslau news.[43] These reports contained news of the Polish-Turkish conflict, and speculated on its effects on Transylvania. During the period examined by this chapter, Poland-Lithuania remained only a minor character in the Transylvanian news; however, the region and its news centers became increasingly important after the end of the Thirty Years War (see pages 230-5).

The final two reporting systems carrying news of Transylvania existed within the Mediterranean and the German Lands. The Ottoman Empire remained concerned about the actions in Transylvania and Hungary even when it was not directly involved in the conflict. Therefore, even though there is only one report directly from Constantinople in the newspapers, news from Venice frequently cited the Ottomans as a source of news on Transylvania. Over a third of the news stories from Venice comment that the news they contain was from Constantinople.[44] A third of the stories from the German Lands also mention a second location, with the most frequently cited city being Vienna. While Nuremberg and Cologne both cited news coming from Hungary, and Dresden received a messenger on horseback from Prague, there are 5 references to news from Vienna: 2 in stories from Regensburg, and 1 each from Frankfurt, the Palatinate and Augsburg.[45]

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[43] 'Ein andere auß Wien [9 Nov.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1620:72); 'Auß Wien vom 4. Ditto [Aug.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Sss); 'Auß Wien/ vom 8. Septemb.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1621:37); 'Auß Wien den 10. Novembris.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XLV). 'Auß Preßlaw/ vom 4. November.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1621:47); 'Auß Preßlau/ vom 12. Ditto [Nov.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Kkkk).

[44] Only 2 note a medium of transmission. In both cases it was letters: 'Auß Venedig den 25. Dito. [Oct.]', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIV); 'Venedig vom 28. Februari.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:11).

[45] From Hungary: 'Auß Nürnberg den 1. Decemb.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIX); 'Auß Cölln vom 4. Ditto [Oct.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1620:49). From Prague: 'Auß Dresten/ vom 2. dito [Nov.].', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:48). From Vienna: 'Auß Augspurg/ vom 18. *Septembr.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:38); 'Auß Regenspurg vom 14. Januario.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:3); 'Auß Franckfurth vom 6. Februario.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:7); 'Ein andere [the Palatinate] vom 22. dito [July].', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg 1621:29); 'Auß Regenspurg/ vom 19. *Augusti.*' , Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:35).

While Prague may have been a second voice reporting on Transylvania in the newspapers, Vienna was still the source of Transylvanian news for cities further west.

Of the four reporting systems which carried news of Transylvania during the period of Bethlen's march to Hungary, the system of the Hereditary Lands was by far the most important. It was the most likely to carry news directly from Hungary, Bethlen and the armies engaged in the conflict. However, there was variability within the reporting system. Prague cited news from the military camps and Bethlen himself, Vienna from the cities of Hungary, while Hungary rarely cited news from another source. There were differences not only in the structures of reporting, but also in the content of the news itself. In the previous examination of the *Messrelationen* of 1604-5, there were five chief areas of news coverage that were examined: politics, ceremony, violence, economics and religion. In the following pages, these areas are once again considered, and variability in language and subjects for each of the major reporting regions are determined, particularly in the areas of political and economic news.

3.4 Politics

Political news is the most comprehensive of the five topics discussed, accounting for roughly one- to two-thirds of the total words from each reporting region across every time period and medium. As such, the differences in how each reporting region approached the political news of Transylvania are best determined through an overview of the constructed narrative rather than a comparison of word usage frequency (see page 61). These narratives frame the news of events in Transylvania in terms of what was of the greatest interest to the reporting region itself, instead of what was of greatest importance to the principality. The prince is presented less as an actor with independent motivations and

more as an instrument which could either help or hinder the interests of the other participants in the conflict.

In many ways, the political news of 1619-21 greatly resembles that of 1604-5, and direct comparisons are made between Bocskai and Bethlen in the reports themselves.[46] Recurring political themes include Ottoman influence in the region, the Habsburg role in Hungary and even the election of a Transylvanian prince as ruler of Hungary. However, overall, political news was given an even greater place in the newspapers of this period than in the *Messrelationen* of Bocskai's time. While the earlier *Messrelationen* gave nearly equal attention to political and military news (see page 60), in the weekly reporting of the newspapers political discussions and actions take precedence: a third of the news is military and half is political. The regions of Vienna, Prague and Hungary account for 89% of the reporting of Transylvanian political concerns, and how these political events were reported changes for each region (see Table 3.3).

The political news reported in these news stories includes both the habitual actions of the arrival of envoys and the meeting of diets, as well as the events which were more specific to Transylvania and the years 1619-21. This latter category is dominated by the news of Bethlen's election as king of Hungary, but also includes the prince's continuing efforts to secure the support of the Ottoman Empire and the ongoing peace discussions with the Habsburg Emperor.

The news of the arrivals, duties and actions of the envoys and messengers traveling between both warring and allied powers was a consistent subject of the news stories. Envoys are mentioned on 100 occasions in the news from Vienna, 105 in the news from Prague, 48 in the news from Hungary and even 16 times in the Mediterranean news

[46] Bocskai was mentioned 3 times in the news stories of this period: 'Auß Callo/ vom 16. *Augusti, Anno* 1619.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:35); 'Ein Anderß auß Wien vom 21. Augusto.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Lll); 'Auß Wien vom 19 September.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Ppp).

and 13 times in the news from the Hereditary Lands. The news of the envoys is not limited to mentions of their appearance or descriptions of their horses or liveries. Rather, the news on the arrivals and departures of these messengers and ambassadors emphasizes on their importance in the political process: their role as negotiators in the formation of alliances or discussions between enemies. For example, news came from Vienna that Bethlen was trying to maintain a peace with the king of Poland: 'Er Betlehem Gabor hat ein Gesandten zum König in Polen abgefertiget/ und sich für ein Freund angebotten/ mit bitt wider ihne kein Volck zuschicken/ Aber hierüber noch kein Resolution bekommen'.[47] These envoys were often more than simply messengers; they could be noblemen and trusted counselors who were acting as true ambassadors and negotiators. Bethlen sent István Hatvani to Prague with the duty to pass on written correspondence, and, even more importantly, to present orally the conditions for a proposed alliance between Bohemia and Bethlen:

> vom Bethlehem Gabor Fürsten in Siebenbürgen 2. Gesandte allhero gelanget/ haben hiesigen Herrn Ständen ein Lateinisches Schreiben uberliefert/ weiln aber dasselbe auff deß einen Gesandten Stephani Haduani/ fernere mündliche *relation referiren* thut/ saget man/ sein mündliches anbringen dieses sey. 1. Das selbiger Fürst/ sampt dem Königreich Ungarn mit diesen unlengst *Unirten* unnd *Confoederirten* Ländern sich auch zu *Confoediren* begehre. 2. Noch in diesem Monat *Septembr*: hiesigen Ständen zu gut 20. Tausent Mann an die Mährischen Grentzen zu liefern/ solche/ wo man sie hinbedarff/ zugebrauchen. 3. Thete er ihnen zu wissen/ das die Ungarischen Stände ihme auff den 17: diß/ vor ihren König Krönen wolten/ ob nun solches gewiß/ eröffnet die zeit.[48]

The most obvious example of the importance of a single ambassador comes in the news from Vienna of the role of the duke d'Angoulême, who is referenced in 26 separate reports. Mentioned both by name and as 'the French messenger', he traveled between Bethlen and the Emperor from the end of July 1620 to April 1621 trying to negotiate a peace while also ensuring the proper burial of Dampierre after the siege of Pressburg:

[47] 'Auß Wien den 23. Dito [Oct.].', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIV).
[48] 'Auß Praga/ vom 10. *Augusti.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:36).

'Gestern Mittags ist die Frantzössi: Botschafft mit all den seinigen in Persohn nach Preßburg zum Betlehem verreist/ mit denselben wegen eines langen anstands zu *tractirn*, der begehrt auch den Tampirn weil er ein Frantzoß/ zu *rantzionirn*'.[49] While news stories from Hungary and Prague also make numerous references to envoys travelling and bearing communications, no single representative garnered as much attention as that given by Vienna to the Frenchman attempting to secure peace.

The other commonly reoccurring political action is the meeting of the diets and estates, with each region reporting the news which most affected local policy. Of the 80 references to assemblies and institutions in the stories from Vienna, 68 make reference to the various meetings of the Hungarian Diet which took place in Pressburg, Neuhäusel, Neusohl, Eperies and Tyrnau. These meetings housed the discussions most important to Vienna: the election and crowning of Bethlen as the king of Hungary and the later peace negotiations. The reports from Prague and the Hereditary Lands, however, balance the news of the Hungarian Diet with news of the estates and diets of the other regions. From Prague, there are 43 references to the Hungarian Diet, 17 to the Bohemian Directors, and 16 to the Estates of Bohemia, Upper Austria, Lower Austria and Moravia, as well as the Bohemian court and king's council. A similar pattern on a smaller scale is seen in the news from the Hereditary Lands, which contains 8 references to the Hungarian Diet, 1 to the Directors and 5 to the assemblies in Breslau, as well as the Moravian and Austrian Estates.

In the stories from Hungary of assemblies, all 30 are on the subject of the Hungarian Diet, and 20 are from the cities were the diets were taking place. This includes

[49] 'Wien vom 18. Octob.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:45).

a long chain of reports on the diet held at Neusohl in 1620, as well as news from Tyrnau 1621.[50]

The reports on the diet at Neusohl began in early June 1620 and were first reported from Kaschau. These Kaschau reports mostly deal with the arrival of envoys, messengers and men to the city.[51] On 11 June, the first report from Neusohl itself arrived, with news that Constantinople looked on the proceedings with favor and that Hungary had maintained an alliance with Venice.[52] Bethlen's arrival in town the following week set off a flurry of activity as lodging was found, costly food and drink were procured, a proposition was read and a threat was made that anyone who betrayed the fatherland would be thrown out of the window:

> So bald Ihre F. Durchl. ihren einzug gehalten/ haben sie alß bald anbefohlen/ das man in dem Hause/ da die *Proposition* verlesen wird/ durch die Mawr brechen/ und langes Fenster machen/ allen den jenigen zur warnung und nachrichtung vorhero/ welche nicht zur *Confoederation* schweren/ sondern sich muthwilliger weise in künfftig wieder das Vaterlandt Verrhäterisch erzeigen werdé / das man solche *Practicanten*, uñ Verrhäter/ so bald die *quaestio* im *Consilio* umbgangen/ zum gemelten Fenster *deiiciren*, unter welchem etliche Heyducken mit blossen Säbeln auffwarten/ und jeder dem *Salvatori fenestrali* einen hieb geben sol. Unter obgedachtem Fenster/ ist auch eine *Justitia* auffgericht/ darnach das *Commissum* sein wird/ sol auch die *Poena* gehalten werden.[53]

This threat of defenestration clearly calls to mind the actions at Hradčany Castle in May of 1618, although, on this occasion, hajducks waited with swords to ensure that neither a dung heap nor the Virgin Mary were able to save the traitors. Counsel then continued with representatives from the Hereditary Lands, and the participants resolved that no peace would be made with the Emperor, declaring, 'Bey dieser ersten *Seßion* ist auch die grosse in die lenge unerträgliche Tyranney der Keyserischen schrifftlich und außführliche

[50] For Neusohl see notes 52-5. In 1621, the Tyrnau reports were: 'Auß Tyrna vom 14. Jenner 1621.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt 1621:L); 'Auß Thürna/ vom 14. *Januarii, Anno* 1621.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:6).
[51] 'Auß Caschaw/ vom 1. Junii.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:26); 'Aus Caschaw vom 5 Junio.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:27).
[52] 'Aus Newensahl vom 11. Junii', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:27).
[53] '*Extract* auß einem Schreiben von Newensaal/ vom 18. *Junii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:26).

deduciret, uñ vorgebracht worden'.[54] On 22 August, a decisive report was issued from Neusohl that Bethlen had been elected king unanimously and that a peace had been entered into with the Confederated Lands.[55] In these stories, Hungary portrays the prince as the rightful claimant to the Hungarian crown by giving extensive reports on the diet meeting which granted him legitimacy.

The election of Bethlen as king of Hungary was not only reported in the stories from Hungary itself, but is also included in a great deal of the news coming from Vienna and Prague, with each city presenting a narrative that best suited its own political goals. From Vienna's perspective, Bethlen did not gain the crown due to a true election, but through force and intimidation. The city reported on rebellions and cities paying homage to Bethlen through 1619, along with his desires for the crown: 'das der Betlehem Gabor nicht allein die Hungari: Cron erlangen/ sonder auch ehest in Steyermarck ein fallen/ unnd sich etlicher Stätt/ welche vor diesem zur Cron Hungarn gehört zu bemechtigen'.[56] Furthermore, when the news of Bethlen's election did come, it was reported with the hopes that the Emperor's representatives were on their way to undermine the events.[57] While Bethlen's march and election are presented as cause for concern, they were not so extraordinary that their historical precedent was not recognized. Rather, this 'rebellion' is placed in the context of other Hungarian revolts, specifically that of Bocskai: 'Herr Bethlehem Gabor sey ihr Obrister/ trachte nach der Ungarischen Chron/ andere besorge/ es möchte ein Botzkaischer Tumult werden'.[58] After the election of Bethlen, the largest number of reports of political discussions between powers appeared, as the Emperor

[54] 'Auß Newensaal/ vom 24. *Junii, Anno* 1620.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:29).
[55] 'Auß Newensoll vom 22. Augusti.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1620:41).
[56] 'Wien vom 21. Augusti.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:37).
[57] Such as, 'wie es zu Preßburg ablauffen wird/ und ist Herr Breuner/ so von dar herauff kommen/ und harte *Conditiones* mit gebracht/ dieser tagen von Keyserl: Mayest: wieder nach Preßburg gesandt/ die Crönung zu verhindern'. 'Auß Wien vom 12. Januario.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:4).
[58] 'Ein Anderß auß Wien vom 21. Augusto.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Lll).

began negotiating a peace with the hope of convincing Bethlen to not accept the Hungarian crown.

This is very different from how the process of Bethlen's election was reported from Prague. There was very little news of the political implications of the cities won in Hungary. With the election, however, the good news of Bethlen's taking of the crown of St. Stephen is celebrated in several reports, generally hand in hand with the better news that Hungary and Transylvania would be joining an alliance with Bohemia:

> zu Preßburgk/ die *Confoederation* dieser *Unirten* Länder/ mit ihrer Durchl. HerrnBethlehem Gabor/ unnd dem Königreich Ungarn/ (unangesehen Käys. Mayst. solche zuhintertreiben/ und die Krohn Ungarn/ weil er sie ziemblich wanckend/ und fast verlohren vermerckt/ ihme Bethlehem gutwillig zu*cediren*, und sich mit seiner Mayst. zu *Confoederiren*, nur zu dem Ende/ das er hernachmals ihrer Mayst. hülff und *assistentz* wieder die Böhmen leisten müste: sich starck bearbeytet hat) geschlossen worden.[59]

Bethlen's desire to help the Bohemian king is even presented as his chief reason for accepting the crown: 'der wil die Ungarische Cron nicht vor sich/ sondern dem newen Böhmischen König darzu behülfflich/ und er Palatinus seyn'.[60] The later peace discussions between the Emperor and Bethlen were rarely reported by Prague, most obviously in 1621 when news of Transylvania in general was scarce.

The importance of Hungary in the political news of Transylvania can also be clearly seen in the sheer number of times *Ungarn* or *Ungarisch* is used in the news stories from each region (see Table 3.4). In fact, the combined references to *Kaiser* or *kaiserlich*, *Türk* and *Böhmen* only outnumber the references to Hungary by 28.[61] In addition to the news of Bethlen's election as king of Hungary, there are three other stories specific to Transylvania in the years 1619-21 which commonly appear in these stories, though not equally in each region. Just as each region presented the news of Bethlen's election in

[59] 'Auß Praga/ vom 14. *Januarii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:3).
[60] 'Auß Prag vom 5. October.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Rrr).
[61] In these counts, *Keiser* only refers to the Holy Roman Emperor. Any references to the 'Turkish Emperor' were not included.

terms that highlighted its significance to its own interest, these other political stories primarily came from the regions who had the greatest stake in the outcomes of these events. From Prague came news of the formation of the alliance with the Confederated Lands, while the Transylvanian-Imperial peace was reported on from Vienna. The Ottomans' interest in the conflict, though not as pressing an issue as it was from 1604-5, did appear as a concern in stories from Vienna and Hungary.

News of the alliance with the Confederated Lands came almost exclusively out of Prague and the Hereditary Lands. Much of this news occurred, as previously indicated, within the context of Bethlen's election as king of Hungary and the additional resources he would then be able to commit to the anti-Imperial cause of the Confederated Lands:

> wo fern Ihr May. das Kriegsvolck aus dem Königreich Böheim und Incorporirten Ländern nicht abführen/ unnd solche in ruhiger Possession lassen wolle/ sie nicht allein von der Cron Ungern auch verworffen/ unnd dem König in Böheim laut der Confaederation mit aller Macht beyzustehen.[62]

These promises appeared later in 1621 after the first peace discussions with the Emperor broke down and Bethlen's financial and popular support was waning despite some military successes. At that time, promises the prince made to a dying confederation were recalled: 'Seither vorgangener Huldigung in Schlesien/ sein vom Bethlehem an Fürsten unnd Stände bewegliche Schreiben abgangen/ darinnen er sie der *Confoederation* und deßhalben geleisteten Eyds erinnert/ mit betrohung'.[63] However, by November of 1621, Bethlen was only a month away from making his own peace with the Emperor and would not be crowned as king.

The Imperial-Transylvanian peace discussions, which took place at the beginning and end of 1621, received the most attention from Vienna. These reports include news of the arrival of envoys at Hainburg followed by months of contradicting stories that the

[62] 'Auß Praag/ vom 13. Julii.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:29).
[63] '*Item* [Prague], vom 26. diß [Nov.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:48).

talks had broken down or were on-going up until it became clear in April that the discussion had been unsuccessful.[64] In September, the Imperial and Transylvanian representatives once again met in Nikolsburg, and, though Bethlen continued marching through the Hereditary Lands, the Imperial envoys hoped that the Transylvanians would agree to a resolution.[65] This optimism faltered with news of the death of the ambassador Imre Thurzó, rumored to have been poisoned by Bethlen himself:

> Weil der Principal Emerich Turso gestorben/ ist zu Niclaßburg noch nichts geschlossen/ man will sagen/ der Bethlen hab ihme darumb vergeben lassen/ weil er sich zu vil auff deß Keysers seiten gewendet/ nach seinem Tod haben die Ungarn sich erst newen Beschaidts erholt/ welches den Schluß verlängert.[66]

However, the talks continued and the points discussed by the Habsburg and Transylvanian representatives appear in the November Viennese news stories, though they are followed by other stories on the difficulty of trying to negotiate with the Transylvanian.[67] Bethlen's conditions are described as 'seinen harten/ und unmügliche Begehren' and it is commented that no peace would come 'Weil der Bethlen zu keinem gütlichen Vergleich verstehen will'.[68] Finally, peace terms were accepted in December, after what is presented

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[64] Stories on peace discussions include: 'Auß Wien/ vom 1. *Februarii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:7); 'Auß Wien/ vom 7. *Februarii*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:8); 'Auß Wien vom 10. Februario', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:8); 'Auß Wien/ vom 15. Febr.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Q); 'Auß Wien vom 3. Martio.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:11); 'Ein anders auß Wien [9 Mar.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Y); 'Auß Wien/ vom 14. Ditto [Mar.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Aa); 'Auß Wien vom 17. Ditto.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Bb); 'Aus Wien/ vom 21. Martii.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1621:14); 'Aus Wien/ vom 23. dito [Mar.].', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1621:14); 'Auß Wien/ vom 28. *Martii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:15); 'Auß Wien/ vom 7. *Aprilis.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:16); 'Auß Wien/ vom 14. *Aprilis.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:17); 'Auß Wien vom 15. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:17); 'Auß Wien vom 17. Ditto [Apr.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Ll); 'Auß Wien vom 21. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:18).

[65] 'Auß Wien/ vom 6. October.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1621:40); 'Auß Wien/ vom 9. *Octobris.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:42); 'Auß Wien den 13. Octobris.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1621:XLI).

[66] 'Auß Wien den 27. Octobris.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1621:XLIV); 'Auß Wien/ vom 10. Ditto [Nov.]', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Iiii).

[67] Under the title 'Verzeichnuß was Bethlen Gabor in der Fridenshandlung zu Niclaßburg im October Anno 1621. begehrt.', in the story 'Auß Wien den 3. Novembris.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1621:XLV).

[68] 'Auß Wien/ vom 17. Ditto [Nov.]', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:85); 'Auß Wien den 1. Decembris.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1621:XLVIII).

as much vacillating on the part of Bethlen.[69] The peace discussions took a full year to come about, and the reports from Vienna place the blame for the delays on the shoulders of the Transylvanian prince and cite his unwillingness to compromise.

Though Ottoman involvement was primarily military in nature, as manifested in the supply of men and money given to the Transylvanian army, concerns about Turkish involvement in the region runs through these political discussions. Any concerns would seem to be confirmed by a report from Constantinople of the Transylvanian ambassador's recent visit:

> und mit ihme lange in *secreto tractirt*, hat der Türckische Keyser den 2. dieses mit all den Vezirn *Muffti, Roggia,* und *Cadischleschiers*, von wegen der gegenwertigen Unruhe/ in Ungarn uñ Teutschlandt/ grosse *consulten* gehalten/ Und weil im trüben Wasser guth fischen/ geresolvirt/ die Waffen auch in die Hand zu nemen/ darzu denn alle bereitschafft gemacht/ uñ ordnung gegeben wird.[70]

The reports from Vienna and Hungary express the most sensitivity to Ottoman involvement, as these regions were those most likely to be in communication with the Porte. In March 1620, the Sultan sent a messenger to Vienna declaring that he would defend his vassal the Transylvanian prince.[71] When Bethlen was elected king of Hungary, the Sultan supported him and confirmed the Turkish position beside the Confederated Lands.[72] After the Cossack invasion of Transylvania in the summer of 1620, the Ottomans did send men to support Bethlen's march, but also continued their own war with Poland. As a consequence, the Ottomans expressed limited interest in the peace negotiations between the Emperor and Bethlen in 1621. News stories from Vienna and Hungary do include references to Turkish interest in the proceedings, but those references do not near

[69] 'Auß Wien/ vom 8. Decemb.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1621:51); 'Auß Wien den 12. Decembris.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1621:L); 'Ein andere auß Wien/ vom 19. Decemb.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1621:52).
[70] 'Auß Constantinopel vom 7. Febr.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:12).
[71] 'Auß Wien vom 18. Martii.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:14).
[72] 'Aus Newensahl vom 20. Junii.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:29).

the level of involvement displayed in the peace discussions on Bocskai.[73] The final news of Nikolsburg in 1621 includes reports of both the Transylvanian-Imperial and Ottoman-Polish peace.[74]

The political news is particularly dominated by stories from Vienna, Prague and Hungary. From Hungary, reports on the meetings of the diets taking place are most prominent, and include lengthy accounts of Bethlen's election as king of Hungary and of discussions surrounding the potential peace to be made with the Emperor. These two subjects also appear to be the most important political concerns in the news from Vienna, but a slightly different perspective is taken. The Viennese stories present the Transylvanian prince as taking the Hungarian crown by force, not by right, and then stubbornly refusing to acquiesce during the peace negotiations. This stands in contrast to the reports from Prague, wherein the Imperial peace discussions are barely mentioned, Bethlen's election is welcomed and the alliance he formed with Confederated Lands is celebrated. While each region reports on the political causes and consequences of Bethlen's actions, each presents the news within the framework of their own interests.

3.5 Ceremony

The court culture and aspects of ceremony which appear in the reports of Bocskai's rebellion, namely the presentation of gifts and the descriptions of processions and banquets (see pages 68-71), appear in even higher numbers in the stories of Bethlen's own military actions in Hungary. This is in large part due to the election of Bethlen as king of Hungary and the role Transylvania played in the baptism of the king of Bohemia's

[73] 'Auß Wien vom 21. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:18); 'Auß Thürna/ vom 14. *Januarii, Anno* 1621.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:6); 'Auß der Leutsch vom 18. Maio.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:23); 'Auß Wien/ vom 2. *Junii*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:23).
[74] 'Auß Wien/ vom 24. Ditto [Nov.]', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Llll); 'Auß Wien vom 11. Decembri.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:52).

son. The increase in descriptions of parades and presents is not merely due to the ceremony which surrounded these specific events, but also relates to the higher diplomatic and political status that Bethlen assumed as a result. By accepting the status of king of Hungary, Bethlen promoted himself from the leader of a principality under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte to the ruler of a European land. In being named godfather of the son of the new king of Bohemia, he was likewise openly proclaiming his position as part of an alliance of Protestant rulers.

Given these considerations, it is perhaps unsurprising that the stories from Prague and Hungary include a much higher number of ceremonial descriptions proportionally speaking (with 21% of each region's stories including an act of ceremony), than do the stories of Vienna (of which only 6% include ceremonial language). These regions not only represent the locations where the election of the king of Hungary and the baptism of young Rupert took place, but they are also the regions that had the largest vested interest in the political and diplomatic capital of the prince of Transylvania.

The most common form of ceremonial language is seen in the descriptions of processions, whether they involved men and horses arriving at court or in camp (see Table 3.5).[75] From Prague, 5 of the 19 processions described occurred in the context of the baptism of Frederick's son at the beginning of April 1620. Bethlen was named godfather, and though he could not make the event in person, he sent his envoy Imre Thurzó. News of Thurzó's arrival appears in ten different stories from Prague, including, 'Den 30. Martii

[75] To count as a procession, the event must be described in some detail, either recounting the number of men or horses arriving, as in 'haben ihre Königl. Mayst. den Herrn Peter Müllern/ und einen andern Herrn/ mit 4. Kutschen/ der Siebenbürgischen *Legation*, welche 52. Personen/ und 46. Pferdt bey sich/ entgegen geschicket/ dieselbe in ihrer Mayst. Nahmen/ mit Lateinischer Sprach/ empfangen'. 'Auß Praga/ vom 12. *November.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:46). Or, more attention might have been given to the fineness of the carriages: 'sondern auch dieser tagen noch eine Böhmische Pottschafft allhero gelangt/ welche ihr Durchl: Herr Bethlehem stattlich/ und auff dero RothSammeten Wagen einholen lassen'. 'Auß Newensohl vom 8. Dito [Aug.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:34). However, simply stating that an arriving party was *stattlich* with no other detail does not warrant inclusion. Therefore, 'das ein stattliche Legation von Preßburg hernach folgen solle' does not count as a procession. 'Auß Prag den 8. Dito [Sept.]', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:VII).

ist die Siebenburg: Botschafft/ Herr Graff Turso mit 30. Husarn zu Roß/ 6. Gutschen/ zu 6. Rössen unnd biß in 100. Personen Mittags alhero gelangt/ und mit 12. Wägen der Herrn Landtständ'.[76] Similarly, ceremonial processions in the news from Hungary are most commonly tied to the election of Bethlen as king of Hungary. For instance, the arrival of Bethlen at Neusohl in June 1620 was given great attention; it is referenced 3 times in a letter from that city, including:

> Vor etlichen tagen seind Ihre F. Durchl. Herr Bethlehem Gabor mit dero Gemahlin/ und Frawenzimmer/ mit einem starcken *Comitat* von 12000. Mann zu Roß und Fuß/ aber auch statlich/ mit vielen Trommetern/ Heerpaucken/ und einem starcken Adel hieher kommen/ vor welcher Hoffhaltung ein Erbar Rhat allhier in 8. Häuser aneinander durchbrochen/ dieselben köstlich mit gülden Tapezereyen/ und *splendore*, das sich darüber zuverwundern/ und bey vielen hohen Potentaten nie gesehen worden/ zieren lassen/ vor dero Losament thun in 1200. in einer Liberery/ gewechselt/ Tag und Nacht/ starcke wacht halten.[77]

Bethlen's election as king of Hungary and his being named godfather of Frederick's son were likely his greatest political and diplomatic achievements, respectively, during this period. As such, the arrival of Bethlen, Thurzó and other envoys at these events accounts for a significant portion of the ceremonial news.

In the news from Prague there are 6 additional descriptions of envoys arriving from Transylvania in great number or splendor. A Transylvanian legation arrived in Prague with eight servants on horseback, a Transylvanian envoy traveled with an Ottoman messenger and 150 men and Rhédey came to the Bohemian camps 'mit 12000. Ungarn zu Roß überauß stattlich beritten/ bey ihme ankommen/ hetten mit grosser Ehrerbietung/ und beederseits gemachten Schlachtordnung einander empfangen'.[78] The stories of Prague also describe Bethlen's arrival in Neusohl with a great number of men in

[76] 'Aus Praag/ vom 1. Aprillis.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:15).
[77] '*Extract* auß einem Schreiben von Newensaal/ vom 18. *Junii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:26).
[78] 'Auß Praga/ vom 11. *October*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:41); 'Auß Praga/ vom 29. *Junii*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:27); 'Auß Prag den 23. Dito [Oct.].', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIII).

fine livery.[79] Prague presents Bethlen and other Transylvanian representatives as being great in number and rich in appearance when they arrived at court, camps or diet meetings since it was important that Bethlen, as one of Bohemia's most active allies, be seen as strong and worthy.

The alliance between Transylvania and Bohemia was further solidified by the gifts they presented to each other. Of the 13 references to presentations and gifts in the news of Prague, 8 are of gifts given by Bohemia to Transylvania, particularly in the weeks surrounding Bethlen's hoped-for election and crowning as king of Hungary. Bethlen's messenger arrived at the Bohemian court and was then dispatched with a great number of precious gifts, including sabers, backswords and maces (in Hungarian, *buzogány*): 'und Freytags wieder abgefertigt worden/ und mit ansehnlichen Presenten/ auß hiesiger Kunstkammer/ von schönen Säbeln/ Pallaschen und Pusickanen/ mit Edlengesteinen versetzt/ auch etlich Pistolen verehret'.[80] This list is immediately followed by an assurance that Bethlen would soon be king of Hungary: 'muß der Bethlehem die Ungarische Cron bereit unter den Henden haben/ Sintemahl nicht mehr dann 3. alß der *Palatinus*, *Humanai* und ein *Tursi* ihme zu wider seyn sollen'.[81] Gifts presented to Transylvania not only served to offer congratulations but also to reaffirm the alliance, one which would become increasingly important once Bethlen had the resources of the kingdom of Hungary behind him.

Another category of ceremonial description which accounts for a large portion of the news of Prague is the hosting of foreigners, including arrangements for the sharing of meals and the lodging of guests. Only 1 of these 14 instances relates to the arrangements for the baptism, and 3 recount news of activities in other cities: one story of Hohenlohe in

[79] 'Auß Prag vom 26. Junio.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:27); 'Aus Praag vom 26 Junii.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:28).
[80] 'Auß Prag vom 13. Octobr.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Sss).
[81] 'Auß Prag vom 13. Octobr.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Sss).

the 'Käysers Lustgarten' and two others of Bethlen hosting Frederick, Palfy and Hohenlohe at the castle of Pressburg.[82] The remaining stories primarily describe the lodging and entertaining of envoys including Thurzó's drive around the grounds following an audience with Hohenlohe and Frederick: 'unnd nach Hoff begleitet worden/ nach der aber sein I. Königl. Maj. sampt der Königin (bey welchem auch Herr Thurso von etlichen seiner Reuterey Husarn begleitet) im Wagen gesessen/ in dem Thiergarten/ hinter dem Schloß Spatzieren gefahrn'.[83] These descriptions of life at court and in the camps further illustrate the bond that existed between Bohemia and Transylvania.

The news from Vienna does not offer nearly as many stories of gift-giving, processions and guesting. All of the gifts presented were made to Bethlen and were given by the Emperor, a French envoy and the Porte, but they are not described in great detail. They are merely summed up in accounts such as: 'zwar I. Key: May: dem Betlehem statliche praesenten geschickt haben'.[84] Of the accounts of processions in the Viennese news, only 2 of the 5 describe Transylvania, with both focusing on the fineness of Bethlen's carriages as he entered Neusohl: 'dem Betlehem ist allhie eine schöne Kutschen mit Roth- und Goltgesticktem Saṁet/ gefüttert gemacht/ und zu seinem einzug hienab geführt worden'.[85] The other 3 accounts of processions describe the envoys from France, Hungary and the Ottoman Empire.[86] While news of envoys is fairly common in the reports from Vienna, neither the presentation of gifts nor the entrance of processions are frequently described.

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[82] 'Auß Praga/ vom 20. *Decembr.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:52); 'Auß Praga/ vom 5. *Decembr*:', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:49); 'Auß Prag den 6. Novemb.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XV).
[83] 'Prag vom 24. Aprilis.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:19).
[84] 'Aus Wien vom 19. Januarii.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:6).
[85] 'Aus Wien vom 27. Mai.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:24). Additionally, 'Auß Wien vom 27. Ditto [May].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1620:23).
[86] 'Auß Wien vom 10. Aprill Anno 1619.', *Zeittungen:* Untitled (Stuttgart, 1619:XVI); 'Auß Wien/ vom 28 *Decembr.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:2); 'Käyserlich Mayestät Schreiben/ denen so der Augßpurgischen *Confession* zugethan unter Euserischen Landständen zu zustellen.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:26).

The most common form of ceremony presented in Viennese news stories is formal address, such as the offering of congratulations or thanks. This demonstration of the forms of ceremony in spoken or written words is not limited to the stories from Vienna. From Hungary, a Turkish messenger traveled to Prague to offer congratulations to the king and hopes for peace; from the Hereditary Lands, Count Thurn paid his compliments to Rhédey.[87] From Prague, congratulations, praise and promises of service were bestowed on Bethlen by Thurzó, Frederick, Hohenlohe and Thurn.[88] The news from Vienna follows a similar pattern with a messenger from the Ottomans offering congratulations and hopes for peace to the Emperor, just as was done for the Bohemian king: 'Der Jünst ankommende Türcki: Chiausch/ hat in gehabter Audientz I. May: wegen des Keyserthumbs gratulirt/ auch die Continuirung des friedens angebracht'.[89] In addition, twice the phrase 'Leib, Ehr und Gut' is used in the news about the Confederated Lands promising Bethlen their loyalty: 'weiln er sich erboten/ nicht allein bey ihnen sondern auch den Conföd: Landen Leib Ehr und Gut auff zusetzen dahero er ehest solle Gecrönt werden'.[90] This phrase is also repeated in a story from Hungary.[91]

The ceremonial language, or address, is the most consistent form of courtly behavior described in the news stories, but it is not the most demonstrative of wealth and power. The stories from Prague and Hungary reflect that the cities had an interest in seeing their new ally and king in a glorious and strong position, and thus the news portrays Bethlen and his representatives as recipients of fine gifts and as the heads of

[87] 'Auß Newensohl/ vom 19. Junio.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:27). '*Copia* Schreibens an die Herrn *Directores, de dato* Newmühl 13. *Octobris*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:43).
[88] From Thurzó: 'Praag/ vom 1. May.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:19). From Frederick: 'Aus Prag vom 6 Noveimber.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:48). From Hohenloe and Thurn: 'Auß Prag den 1. Decemb.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIX).
[89] 'Auß Wien vom 18. Martii.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:14).
[90] 'Auß Wien vom 14. November.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:48); 'Auß Wien den 1. November.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:46).
[91] 'Auß Thürna/ vom 14. *Januarii, Anno* 1621.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:6).

stately processions. Furthermore, the banquets described were physical manifestations of an important alliance. All these descriptions of acts of ceremony demonstrate the desire the reporters had to place Transylvania in the role of a king of Europe.

3.6 Violence

A third of the news of Transylvania during this period is military in subject, as the Confederated and Habsburg armies besieged, assaulted and occupied cities and camps throughout the Hereditary Lands. While depictions of these actions are very common in these reports, on occasion a further level of description is given, detailing the acts of violence committed against individuals, armies and the general population of the affected regions using words from the lexicon of violence (see pages 71-2). During the period 1619-21, the news stories of Transylvania contain words from the lexicon on 604 occasions, or roughly once every 100 words. However, this distribution is by no means consistent throughout the reporting regions (see Table 3.6). Stories from the German Lands, the Hereditary Lands and Vienna are all more likely to contain violence words, with stories from the German Lands containing words from this lexicon once every 65 words, from the Hereditary Lands once every 75 words and Vienna once every 91 words. News from Hungary, the Mediterranean, Prague and Poland is less likely to contain violence vocabulary, with Hungary using a word from the lexicon once per 116 words, the Mediterranean once per 143 words, Prague once per 150 words. The stories from Poland and the Baltic lands only use these words once in every 281 words.

The regions of Vienna, the Hereditary Lands and the German Lands are not only the most likely to describe violent actions, but they also do so through a particular set of words. These regions use the words in frequency categories 4 and 5 at least twice as often as the other reporting regions. These 24 words make up two-thirds of

the vocabulary of violence used in the newspaper stories of 1619-21 and can be considered to be the core of the lexicon. The words are used frequently by each region, both those at the center of the reporting system, such as Vienna, and those on the ends, such as Hungary.

This is in large part due to how violence words are used. As in Bocskai's period, there are particular themes which run through the violence lexicon: death, destruction, fire, strong emotion and adjectival intensifiers (see pages 73-6). While the themes appear largely in a distribution similar to that of the violence lexicon overall, there are a couple of distinct breaks from that pattern which are of interest (see Table 3.7).

For all four of the major reporting regions, the most frequently described or second most frequently described event is death or killing without a particular weapon implied in the action. The words *niederhauen*, *erlegen*, *Tod*, *umbringen*, *hauen*, *morden* and *umkommen* appear a total of 101 times in the news stories of Bethlen. However, certain regions display a preference for certain words. *Niederhauen* is the most commonly used word in news from Vienna (used 21 times), the Hereditary Lands (5) and Hungary (5). Hungary also uses other forms of the verb *hauen* almost as frequently (4). Stories from Prague, however, are twice as likely to use the word *erlegen* (which appears on 8 occasions) than the word *niederhauen* (4).

For Vienna, Prague and Hungary, the next most frequently appearing events are destruction and plundering. These events appear a total of 93 times in the news stories and are primarily described using the words *Schaden* (40) and *plündern* (26), but also *verderben* (10), *verheeren* (6), *ruinieren* (4), *spolieren* (3), *zerstören* (2) and *verwüsten* (2). While Prague and Hungary both prefer the word *Schaden* to *plündern*, with each region using the latter word 2 times and the former 10 and 7 times respectively, the other

Hereditary Lands are twice as likely to use *plündern* (4) than *Schaden* (2). Vienna uses the two words almost equally (19 *Schaden* and 18 *plündern*).

These two events, killing and plundering, frequently appear in a list along with a third event: burning. Burning, fire and ashes appear 48 times in these stories, most frequently through the word *brennen* and its derivatives (33), but also via *Feuer* (9), *anzünden* (3), *Asche* (2) and *sengen* (1). These lists of words offer little detail on or description of the violence taking place, but rather merely recount that fire, destruction and death had occurred. In phrases such as 'mit Fewer und Schwerd verfolgen', 'Dörffer und Flecken abbrennen/ und plündern/ und das Volck niederhawen sollen', or 'allda alles rauben und brennen', there is not a sense of specific events being related, but rather of general mayhem occurring.[92]

Vienna and Prague, the major news centers for this period, both have roughly the same percentage of their violence words appear in this format. For Vienna, there are 42 violence words which appear in lists, or 15% of all the words in the violence lexicon for this period from the city; for Prague, there are 17 words which appear in lists, or 13%. The Hereditary Lands exceed this percentage, as 13 violence words (or 18%) occur in such a format, while Hungary has only 9 words, or 10%, which appear in lists. Vienna and Prague represent a standard of usage, as these are the two cities which report the most often on Transylvania, and, despite the variance in how often they describe violence, they use roughly the same percentage of words in lists. The Hereditary Lands, the sole major reporting region where military news outweighs political news, appear to have been more likely to use lists of violence to imbue the news with a general sense of death and

[92] 'Auß Praga/ vom 25. *Augusti.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:35); 'Auß Wien/ vom 29. *Julii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:32); 'Auß Presßlaw den 7. Octobris.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1621:42).

destruction. Hungary, on the other hand, is less likely to list violent events, and more likely to describe specific acts of violence.

Though differing in their usage of lists of violence, Hungary and the Hereditary Lands show a similar usage of words that imply death or injury by a specific means or weapon. While Vienna and Prague only use words describing death via weapon half as often as they describe death more generally, both Hungary and the Hereditary Lands describe these events nearly equally.[93] Vienna limits its 'weapons' words primarily to *schießen* (9) and *Gift* (5), while Prague complements *schießen* (3) with *abschneiden* (3) and *ersaufen* (2).[94] The Hereditary Lands also primarily use these words (used 4, 2 and 1 time respectively), but Hungary introduces *enthaupten*, *stranguliren*, *schinden* and *Klingen*, all used once each.

All of these words, with the general exception of *schießen*, are used to describe specific events which occur in the news of Bethlen's march on Hungary and surrounding events. For example, *ersaufen* appears in a story from Thurn's camps at Neumahl, which is later repeated in two reports from Prague, of Bethlen's victory over Tieffenbach's armada outside of Pressburg where Tieffenbach's men were drowned, wounded or captured:

> Herr Rudolff von Tieffenbach ([...]) mit solchem Volck/ von Ihr F. Gn. *Armada* geschlagen/ und er selbsten/ nach verliehrung 700. Mann (ausser denen/ so sich auff die Schiff *salviren* wollen/ und ersoffen) schädlich verwundet/ mit seinen vornembsten *Officirern*, zwey Fändel/ unnd 200. Mann gefangen/ die Stadt Preßburgk ubergeben.[95]

[93] To be more specific: Vienna has 50 death words and 23 weapon words; Prague has 22 death words and 12 weapon words; Hungary has 13 death words and 12 weapon words; the Hereditary Lands have 10 death words and 10 weapon words.

[94] The other words for Vienna are *Schwert* (2), *trennen* (2), *abschneiden* (3)and *hängen* (1). For Prague, they are *Schwert* (1), *trennen* (1), *Gift* (1) and *hinrichten* (1).

[95] 'Auß Newmühl/ vom 18. *Octobr:*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:43). This story also appears in a similar way in 'Auß Prag den 23. Dito [Oct.].', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIII) and 'Aus Prag vom 23 Octob.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:46).

The word *Gift* is used 8 times, 5 of which concern the death of Imre Thurzó and the non-fatal sickness of his cousin Szaniszló, the later Palatine, both during the Nikolsburg peace discussions. The story began in reports from Vienna on 28 October 1621, was then further related on 10 November, and was repeated from Brünn on 18 November.[96] The suspicion is conveyed that Bethlen had the Thurzós poisoned since they were inclined to accept the Emperor's offers for peace.

> Von der tractation zu Niclaßburg ist nichts gewisses zuschreiben/ der Stäntzel Thurzo ist zwar an seines Vättern Emerich Thurzo stell zum *Comissario* nach Niclaßburg verordnet worden/ aber wie man schreibet/ hab er auch Gifft bekommen/ und ligt auff den todt kranck/ die ursach soll seyn/ weilln beyde Thurzo zum Frieden geneygt/ der Betlehem aber kein Lust darzu habt/ laß er ihnen also Gifft beybringen.[97]

There was also news from Pressburg in March of 1620 that the sickness which Bethlen was experiencing may have been caused by a poisoning: 'Viel wollen gewiß dafür halten/ das solche vergifft gewesen sein/ dieweil Herr Bethlehem dardurch zu einer Kranckheit verursacht worden'.[98] *Enthaupten* and *Klingen* are both used in reports from Leutschau describing the execution of two noblemen loyal to the Emperor at the Hungarian Diet. Though the reports came from the same location and describe the same event, they use different language to describe the beheading. The report printed in the Hildesheim *Zeitung* states, 'der wil 2. vornehme Hungarische Herrn/ so starck auff des Keysers seitten gewesen/ unnd dem Betlehem nachm leben getrachtet/ enthaubten lassen', while in the Wolfenbüttel *Aviso*, it states 'und die 2. vornembsten Unger: Herrn/ so starck uff des Käysers seiten gewesen/ und dem Betlehem starck nach dem Leben gedracht/ uber die

[96] 'Auß Wien vom 28. Dito [Oct.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:45); 'Ein andere auß Wien/ vom 10. Novemb.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1621:47); 'Auß Wien/ vom 10. Ditto [Nov.]', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Iiii); 'Auß Brinn/ vom 18. *Novembris.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1621:48).
[97] 'Auß Wien/ vom 10. Ditto [Nov.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Iiii).
[98] 'Auß Preßburgk/ vom 8. *Martii*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:12).

Klingen springen sollen'.[99] These are instances where the violence being described is specific to the news of Transylvania during this period, rather than to the lists of violent acts associated with any marching army.

In looking at the lexicon of violence, patterns establish themselves. Vienna, opposing Bethlen's march into Hungary, was more likely to print news of violence than Prague, who was Transylvania's ally. Even though the Hereditary Lands and Hungary were both invaded by marching armies, news from the Hereditary Lands is much more likely to include violent words than news from Hungary. Though Hungary did report several specific violent events, it was much less likely to print news which simply lists violent actions. These lists, however, do appear in the news from Prague, Vienna and particularly the Hereditary Lands, either creating or reflecting the general apprehension surrounding the movement of troops and the destruction, fire and death that accompanied them.

There is another word which is used in descriptions of violence but which is also frequently encountered in political news; as a result, despite the strong feelings it conveys, it is not included in the violence lexicon. *Feind* appears a total of 88 times in the news stories of Bethlen, or over twice as many times as *Schaden* (40), *niederhauen* (36) or *brennen* (33).[100] Of these 88 times, almost half (42) occur in the news from Prague. In military news, it is used in stories on violence in Moravia, 'sie unlängst abermahl mit dem Feinde getroffen/ und in 1000. Mann erlegt haben', and outside Pressburg, 'dem Feind bey der Nacht uberfallen und in 800. erlegt'.[101] Though it appears roughly once every 450 words in the stories from Prague, this rate is actually exceeded by that in the

[99] 'Auß Leutsch von 14 Junii.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:29); 'Auß Teutsch/ vom 14. Julii.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:28).
[100] As an additional comparison, *Feind* is used 25 times in the *Messrelationen* of Bocskai.
[101] 'Auß Prag vom 15. Dito [Sept.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Ooo); 'Prag vom 6. Octob.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:43).

news from the Hereditary Lands, where the word is used 17 times or almost once every 300 words. The stories from both Prague and the other Hereditary Lands place a considerable proportion of the news of Transylvania within the context of an enemy. However, this is not the case for the news from Hungary and Vienna. Though Bethlen was marching into these lands and accepting a title claimed by the Emperor, these actions were much less frequently seen as a response to or an action of an enemy. *Feind* and its derivatives *Feindselig* or *feindlich* appear only 20 times in the news from Vienna (or once every 1270 words) and 7 times in the news from Hungary (or roughly once every 1500 words). The identification of an enemy is not correlated with the use of violent language; rather, it was used by the Confederated Lands to identify a common cause for their actions.

3.7 Economics

As did Bocskai's rebellion, Bethlen's march into Hungary incurred a great deal of actual monetary expense. Both the Transylvanian and Imperial armies had to provide food and supplies for their men, and this need was often fulfilled through the pillaging of the countryside or by soliciting payments from friendly governments. However, while Bocskai's military movements had come at the end of fifteen years' of war (see pages 76-9), Bethlen's march came after a decade of relative peace. Thus, the state of the countryside in Transylvania and the Hereditary Lands was not as deplorable as it had been in 1604-5, and the warring governments were concerned with having the money to recruit as many men as quickly as possible rather than bemoaning their inability to feed the men they already had.

Economic news appears 137 times in the news stories of Transylvania, and is most frequently included in the reports from the lands where the Transylvanian armies were

marching. No economic news appears in texts from Poland, the Baltic or Northwest Europe, and only 1 instance of such news is found in stories from the German Lands (see Table 3.8). The regions closer to the marching armies, Vienna, Prague and the Mediterranean, include economics in 15-17% of their news stories. The cities, towns and camps most affected by the daily economy of war, those in the Hereditary Lands and Hungary, include news of costs and expenses in 25% and 40% of their stories respectively.

Once again, this economic news can be divided into three categories: the direct costs of maintaining armies and fortifications, monetary payments made between countries and the cost to the civilian populations. Because each of these subcategories is related, directly or indirectly, to the military efforts which were occurring, how each of the major reporting regions includes economic concerns in its stories of Transylvania depends to a large degree on how that region was affected by the war. As such, the economic news is generally presented in relatively similar ways across the regions of Vienna, Prague, Hungary and the Hereditary Lands, as all expressed the greatest concern for the need to pay and feed troops, as well as the need to secure payments for border houses or other needs. However, there is a distinct difference in how Vienna communicates the civilian costs of war. News from this region presents a populace struggling financially and continues to place the blame for the fighting at the feet of the Transylvanian troops, building on the trends established in the topics of violence and politics.

The economics of the military offer a consistent set of topics which reappear throughout the major reporting regions and through the years, namely the need for provisions and money. At the beginning of the conflict, Prague stated that Bethlen wanted money and men to be sent to Moravia and Hungary:

> der Bethlehem Gabor die Ungarische Cron berait in Handen/ begehre auch die Confoedertion mit den Landen auffzurichten/ und dann 100000. fl. alßbald zur bezahlung der 12000. Mann/ so er in Möhrren geschickt/ Gleichfals 300000. fl. zu underhaltung der Vestungen in Ungarn'.[102]

This need for more money and men was never satisfied, and Bethlen's desire continued to be reported on at the end of 1621: 'zur Neuß soll offentlich vor den Betlehem geworben werden/ und sich allbereit 1000. Reuter und 1000. Mußkettiren haben bestellen lassen/ unnd hette der Obriste von Löhausen 30000. Ducaten vom Betlehem dorthin gehn Neuß zur mehrer werbung gemacht'.[103] Both the news stories from Prague and Vienna recognize the continued economic burden of war, and neither city refrains from expressing this persistent need for money and men. This subject accounts for 25 of the 33 instances of economic military news from Vienna, 17 of 27 instances from Prague, and a further 12 of the 15 from the Hereditary Lands and 9 of the 15 from Hungary.

Sometimes money and provisions were needed to respond to specific burdens. For instance, at the end of 1619, Vienna, Prague, Hungary and the Hereditary Lands all expressed concerns over the need to pay their soldiers, including fears that if payment was not forthcoming, the soldiers would turn to the other side. This was particularly the case for the Emperor, who feared his soldiers would turn to support Bethlen. From Komorn came worries that, since members of the Hungarian army had not received salaries in two years, they would join the rebellion:

> Auch das allhiesige Ungarische Kriegsvolck wegen der vor 2. Jahren her außstehende bezahlung/ sehr schwürig/ wöllen da ihenen inner 12. Tagen kein bezahlung ervolgt/ zum Feind fallen/ inmassen dann schon vil außgerissen/ seind auch die in der Schütt gelegne 300. Mann/ so man für Ih. M. mustern sollen/ zu ihnen gefallen.[104]

These fears were realized when news came in November that 1,500 men had abandoned Bucquoy, even with pay in hand, to serve Bethlen, 'der Bucquoi sol vor etlichen Tagen

[102] 'Auß Prag den 13. Dito [Nov.].', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XVI).
[103] 'Auß Wien vom 17. Ditto [June].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1621:Fff).
[104] 'Auß Commorra den 4. Octob.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XII).

bey 1500. Hungarn drey Monat Sold reichen/ und ein Monat auff rechnung geben lassen/ als sie aber solches empfangen/ haben sie sich zum Betlehem begeben/ mit vorgeben/ das sie wieder ihr Vaterland nicht dienen'.[105] The importance of paying the soldiers increased when a new conflict broke out and the men had yet to decide which commander to fight under.

While much of this attention to the provisions and salaries for military personnel is present in the news from any location, the specificity of Transylvania was important in the matter of the Hungarian borders. The need to secure the *Grenzhäuser* on the Hungarian-Ottoman border appears twice in the news from Vienna, 5 times in the news from Hungary and 6 times in the news from Prague. It was a clear concern for the Transylvanian prince, and his desire for assistance in funding this expense appears in the news of the ongoing negotiations and final points settled between Bethlen and both the Confederated Lands and the Emperor. In the Transylvanian-Bohemian agreement, it was determined that Bohemia would contribute to the preservation of the Hungarian border houses.[106] Later, the Nikolsburg peace between Bethlen and the Emperor also included a provision for the maintenance of borders and soldiers: 'Zu erhaltung der Gräntzen unnd bezahlung derselben Soldaten/ auß der Bergstätt Einkommen/ unnd Schlesier hilff/ Jährlich 100000. Ducaten zugeben.'[107]

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[105] 'Aus Wien vom 13. Novemb.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:49).

[106] The news of the discussion led to a couple different sums appearing in reports from Prague and Hungary: 'Die andere Länder sollen sich erkleren/ was sie gegen den Ungarischen Grentzheusern *spendirn* wollen/wegen der Jährlichen 80. tausent Thaler', 'Auß Prag vom 19. Aprill.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:17); 'sollen zu unterhaltung der Ungarischen Gräintz Häuser/ Jährlich 150. Tausent Gülden von dem Königreich Böhmen/ wie auch den *incorporirten* und *Unirten* Ländern bewilliget worden sein.', 'Auß Praga/ vom 24. *Aprilis.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:17); 'als begern I. Dhlt: zu erhaltung der Hungari: Gräntz/ das die Böhmi: Ständ und incorporirten Länder 300000 fl. Jährlich Contribuirn wollen.', 'Verzeichnuß der Puncten/ welche die Hungarn neben dem Bettlehem Gabor an Böhmen und Imorporirten Ländern begern.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:49); 'Zu versehung der Grentzheuser und Vestungen in Ungarn Jährlich zu hulff zu geben 50. tausent gülden.', '*Extract* der Landtags *Proposition*.' *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:14).

[107] 'Auß Wien den 3. Novembris.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1621:XLV).

In the discussions between Bethlen and both the Confederated Lands and the Emperor, the payment arranged fulfilled a particular point of contention, namely who should pay in order to ensure that the border between Christendom and the Ottomans was secure. However, there is news throughout these stories of specific sums of money being exchanged in many other contexts. The exchange of money or goods worth a named amount, but without a specifically military purpose, appears in stories from Prague (8), Hungary (7), Vienna (5), the Hereditary Lands (3) and the Mediterranean (2). This exchange generally took place in the context of diplomacy, as the Bohemian Diet arranged for envoys to carry presents to both the Ottoman Porte and Bethlen: 'nach der Ottomannisché Porten zu verfassen/ denen wird man in 60000. fl. werth Presenta/ auch für den Betlehem in 30000. fl. Silbergeschir vor seine bißhero gehabte mühe/ mit geben'.[108] Support also came in the form of promises of money, such as those given by England: 'Sonsten hat sich der König in Engelland erbothen/ den Ungarn 200000. fl. deßgleichen Betlehem und Dennemarck/ jeder so veil zu hülff/ zuschicken'.[109] On one occasion, the goods exchanged were part of a regular arrangement, as Venice reports, 'Alhie ist ein gesandter vom Betlehem angelangt/ mit der Herrschafft ein Accort zutreffen/ daß er ihnen jährlich 20000. Ochsen lieffern wolle'.[110] While these instances of monetary gifts, promises and exchanges were not entirely separate from the war between the Habsburgs and their Hereditary Lands, neither were they openly intended for the provision of soldiers or forts. Rather these were the incidental costs of both making war and preserving peace.

The subject area with the most significant differences in how economic news is portrayed is the effects of the military actions on the general population. In this case,

[108] 'Auß Prag vom 17. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:17).
[109] 'Aus Newensahl vom 24. Julii.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:34).
[110] 'Auß Venedig/ vom 25. Junii.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1621:27).

Vienna presents a picture of a harassed populace, as the armies of Bethlen and the Confederated Lands brought disease, stole cattle and destroyed the land. Of the 11 instances of civilian economic news from Vienna, 7 are of damage done, such as 'ist allhier wegen angehender grossen Thewrung und grassirenden Päst grosse noth und furcht' or 'viel Leut und Viehe gefangen/ unnd was nechstmahls uber geblieben/ vollends verderbet'.[111]

The news from Prague and the Hereditary Lands describe the armies' need to rely on the civilian population, but does not include references to destruction and fear. Rather, armies are portrayed as demonstrating a level of consideration, as in the letter from Count Thurn which states:

> Sie zu losiren/ habe ich ihnen nechst beym Lager zweene Dörffer/ darinnen die armen Leute noch bey Hauß sein/ eingeben wollen/ darfür mich aber der General/ wegen haltung bessern Regiments gebeten/ ich sol denselben ins freye Feldt Losieren lassen: welches auch beschehen.[112]

From Prague, there was news of messengers wanting to stay in accommodations in town for free, but no news of the army directly harming the civilian population. Though civilians may have been affected indirectly when the passage from Moravia and Bohemia was blocked by the Transylvanian army, 'daher zweiffels ohn bey der grossen menge Volcks/ so daselbst baldt mangel/ fürfallen möchte', this accusation was outweighed by the directness and number of accounts from Vienna [113]

The concern expressed in the Hungarian reports is much more focused on the effect that armies have on prices, which is discussed in 3 of the 4 items of economic civilian news from the region. From Neusohl, along with the news of Bethlen's grand entrance into the city, came the report that Bethlen's men were not buying expensive meat

[111] 'Auß Wien vom 4. Augusti.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:33); 'Auß Wien vom 15. Septembri.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:39).
[112] '*Copia* Schreibens an die Herrn *Directores, de dato* Newmühl 13. *Octobris*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:43).
[113] 'Auß Praga/ vom 19. *Decembris.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:51).

and drink, but rather 'und alles in wolfeil und leidlichen kauff'.[114] Additionally, a story from Leutschau describes Bethlen arresting all Silesian merchants or those with Silesian or Viennese debts.[115] These concerns for trade are a far cry from the visions of starvation that appear in the news of Bocskai's rebellion. While there were economic concerns for the civilian population, as reported on from several regions, the situation was not as dire at the start of this war as it would become by the end (see pages 198-203).

Hungary and the Hereditary Lands suffered the most direct, physical impact of war and thus they reported news dealing with the economic costs of that war, both in the form of supporting the army with provisions and salary and the need to procure payment through alliances, settlements and grants of money from friendly governments. However, the economic impact on the civilian population, not just through halted trade but also as a result of the destruction of property, is most likely to be expressed in reports from Vienna. Just as Viennese news uses violent language to give a sense of destructiveness in the stories of Transylvania, the city's economic news has a similar focus.

3.8 Religion

As in the news stories surrounding Bocskai's rebellion (see pages 79-86), the religious news of 1619-21 includes a concentration on the institutions of the church, as well as its buildings and clerics, but supplements this focus with other forms of religious language. Feasts and religious celebrations, particularly the baptism of Frederick's son, are included, as well as prayers to God from the military camps. However, above all, the religious news of this period includes language referring to the confessional struggle of

[114] '*Extract* auß einem Schreiben von Newensaal/ vom 18. *Junii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:26).
[115] 'Auß der Leutsch vom 18. Maio.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:23).

the Thirty Years War, and the fate of Christendom with the Ottomans once again looking north.

To an even greater degree than during Bocskai's rebellion, the identification of an individual, institution or group by its affiliation is the most common form of religious language during the years of Bethlen's first march into Hungary (see Table 3.9). The most commonly used identifiers are Evangelical (used 39 times), Catholic (25) and Christian (16), followed by Lutheran (6), Calvinist (4), papal (4), Arian (1), Jewish (1), Reformed (1) and heathen (1) (see Table 3.10). These descriptors were applied to counties and Estates, such as the 'Evangelischen Spanschafften' or 'Evangelischen Stände', and they were used to define both the clergy as 'Päbstli: Pfaffen' or the laity as 'die Catholischen Bürger'.[116]

While the stories from Prague and Vienna differ in other aspects of religious language, they are remarkably similar in their usage of identifiers of affiliation. Both cities use 'Evangelical' about twice as often as 'Catholic', in large part due to references to *Evangelischen Ständen* or *Spanschafften*, which Prague refers to on 8 occasions and Vienna on 7. In addition, the possibility of the Ottoman involvement in the war lead to uses of the term 'Christian'. Of the 4 instances when Vienna refers to Christendom or Christians, 3 are in direct relation to Turkish actions: 'wan mit den Christliché Ländern nit friden gemacht wirt/ der Türck sich mit ins spiel mischen möchte'.[117] In 2 stories from Prague, there is also a fear of Ottoman involvement: 'damit nicht bey diesem innerlichen Krieg der Türck sich herein seines Vortheils gebrauchen/ und der gantzen Christenheit

[116] 'Auß Wien vom 11. Dito [July].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Eee); 'Auß Praga/ vom 11. *Augusti.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:33); 'Aus Wien vom 3. Octob.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:43); 'Auß Preßburgk/ vom 8. *Martii*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:12).

[117] 'Auß Wien vom 11. Ditto [Mar.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1620:12). The other reference to *Christenheit* is in the declaration György Szechi wrote to the Hungarian borders in which he promises to spare no one who opposes him. A statement made 'mit der gantzen Christenheit vornehmer Ständ allgemeinen vorwissen', 'Auß Wien vom 25 September.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Qqq).

zum eussersten Schaden ins mittel kommen möchte'.[118] However, the other two references to Christendom refer to the threat of Bethlen. One report states that the Emperor was concerned that the crowning of Bethlen as king of Hungary would 'so der gantzen Christenheit zu eusserstem nachtteil gereichen möchte'.[119] This was followed another report a week later stating that Lord Pálffy had not yet presented the crown to Bethlen but that 'Er sey der Cron zu dienen verpflicht/ sey aber allein heraus kommen/ bey der Evangelischen Christenheit/ Leib/ Gut und Blut zuzusetzen'.[120]

Despite the persistence of affiliation identifiers in the stories from Prague and Vienna, this form of religious language is less common in another major reporting region. There are only 3 references in the news from the Hereditary Lands to religious affiliations, one referring to the Catholic Estates and the other two used in a report of the Transylvanian envoys in Brieg promising that the Ottomans would be kind to Christian lords, particularly the Protestants:

> Daß der Christlichen *Potentaten*, sonderlich der Evangelischen *Autoritet* am Türckischen Hoff so groß were/ das sie thun köndten/ waß sie wolten/ sonderlich weren des Königs in Engellandt/ der Staaden/ und der Venetianer Gesandten allda/ dieselben weren dem Böhmischen wesen sehr *affectioniret*, und die köndten bey den Türcken erhalten waß sie wolten.[121]

It cannot be claimed that the Hereditary Lands did not express the confessional concerns that are portrayed in reports from Vienna and Prague. However, it is clear that the Protestant-Catholic conflict is not at the center of the news of Transylvania from this region.

The news stories from Hungary contain a large number of references to religion, and confessional identifiers are once again one of the most common forms. However, in

[118] 'Aus Praag/ vom 17. Aprillis.', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:17).
[119] 'Auß Praga/ vom 28. *Novembr.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:48).
[120] 'Auß Prag vom 5. Decemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Cccc).
[121] 'Auß Horn vom 20. September.', *Relation dessen/ Waß sich ... begeben* (1) (n.p., 1619:Rr); 'Kurtzer *extract* der verrichtung unnd anbringen/ des Bethlehem Gabors Fürst. in Siebenbürgen Gesandten/ bey dem Ober Ampt in Schlesien/ Fürsten in Brieg.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:43).

this case, the words 'Catholic' and 'Evangelical' are closely matched by the word 'Christian', used primarily in response to the perceived Ottoman threat to the borders. For instance, in the points of accord which Bethlen proposed when entering into an alliance with Bohemia and the other Confederated Lands, concern is expressed for the defense of the Transylvanian borders and the preservation of Christendom in the face of the Ottomans: 'daß die Gräntzen und Vestungen gegen dem Türcken wol verwahret/ mit Gebäuen erhebet/ und besetzt werdé/ also begeren sie/ weil es der gantzen Christenheit zu gutem geraichet'.[122] Judging by the number of times identifiers of religious affiliation are used, Hungary was as concerned about the preservation of Christendom in the face of the Ottomans as it was about the wars fought between the Protestant and Catholics.

The second most common form of religious language is references made to religious individuals, such as Jesuits (reference 18 times), clerics (17), bishops (15), priests (15), cardinals (6), monks (5), the Pope (4) and others (5). This is then followed by references made to religious buildings, primarily churches (23), but also cloisters (4) and others (2). Both the clergy and the churches are included in the news reports in the context of celebrations and diplomatic situations, and also as subjects of a great deal of violence and destruction. Archbishop Péter Pázmány and Cardinal Dietrichstein both appear in the reports from Vienna, Prague and Hungary as they participated in Estates meetings and acted as counselors: 'gleichfals den Ertzbischoff *Pater Pasman* auff den Landtag nach Preßburg beruffen' and 'Cardinal von Dietrichstein/ Herr Breuner und andere mehr auff Ihrer Käyserl: Mayt. seithen erscheinen sollen'.[123] Meanwhile, many other priests, Jesuits and monks appear in the news because of their need to flee before coming assaults: 'wollen sie doch nit vortziehen/ dann sie unsere Ertzbischoff unnd

[122] '*POSTULATA* So die Ungarische Gesandten schrifftlich übergeben.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XVII).
[123] 'Auß Wien den 24. Novemb.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIX); 'Auß Wien vom 22. Septembri.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:40).

andere fürnehme Geistliche/ mit sich an der Spitze haben/ sonsten flehenen alle Geistliche/ Nonnen/ Jesuiter Münch und Pfaffen/ ihre sachen nach Raab/ Wien und Neustad/ deßgleichen sie an sichern ort ziehen'.[124]

Likewise, churches could either be places of celebration or plundering, particularly as the act of practicing a religion within a certain church demonstrated the amount of power the Catholics or Protestants were able to exercise in a certain location. In the weeks following the news of Bethlen's seizure of Pressburg and anticipated election as king of Hungary, the coronation church, St. Martin's Cathedral in Pressburg, performed services for Catholics, Evangelicals and Calvinists: 'hat der Bettlehem Gabor in der Pfarrkirchen zu Preßburg/ erstlich die Catholl: ihr Ampt verrichten/ nachmaln sein Calvini: Prediger auff Hungarisch/ und letzlich ein Lutheri: Teutsch Predigen lassen'.[125]

The extent to which these two roles of the church and its clergy appear, as either practitioners of praise or subjects of persecution, varies depending on the reporting city. In Prague, the buildings described were almost always places of celebration and preaching. These descriptions are included not only in the stories of the baptism of Rupert, but also in the stories of the bells ringing to celebrate the election of Bethlen as the king of Hungary: 'Deßwegen am vergangenen Sontag/ allhie/ in allen Evangelischen Kirchen/ das *Te Deum laudamus* gesungen/ alle Glocken geleutet'.[126] Vienna, however, discusses plundering as well as preaching. A third of the stories which reference religious buildings comment on their precarious position due to war, including the burning of a church's nave and the plundering that occurred around Pressburg in November 1619: 'ja die Clöster/ Kirchen/ Capeln und alle Heilige Orter verschonen sie nicht/ wird auch alles

[124] 'Preßburg vom 24. Diß [Sept].', *Relation dessen/ Waß sich … begeben* (1) (n.p., 1619:Rr).
[125] 'Auß Wien vom 27. Octobr.', *Die … Zeitung/ so sich in … zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:47).
[126] 'Auß Praga/ vom 14. *Januarii.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:3). Thanksgiving is also given in 'Auß Prag vom 14. Septemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:38).

außgeplundert'.[127] The damage done by the Protestant forces is also reflected in how the clerics are described in the news from Vienna. There are 9 references to clerics, priests and Jesuits fleeing from Bethlen's march through Hungary in September and early October 1619, 'dessen Volck geht sehr tyrannisch mit den Geistlichen umb/ wie sie dann etliche gar verschneiden lassen.'[128] As the Transylvanian army marched into Hungary and Bethlen was elected king promising freedom of religion, the Protestants in Bohemia celebrated for their Reformed neighbors, and the news of Prague reflects that. However, the seizure of church property from the Catholics and the violent expulsion of priests and Jesuits which accompanied the new rights for Protestants were bemoaned by the Emperor and the Catholics in Vienna.

The high status accorded to the clergy by the Catholic Church is also reflected in how frequently the diplomatic role of the clergy is mentioned in the stories from Vienna. While news of Jesuits fleeing Hungary was certainly reported on, the chief role of the clergy in the news from Vienna is that of envoy, diplomat or political figure. Pázmány traveled to the Hungarian Estate meeting in Pressburg in November 1619, the papal nuncio arrived in Vienna along with the ambassadors of Spain and Florence to give Ferdinand counsel the following February and Bethlen promised safe passage to the three bishops appointed to the Imperial delegation in November 1620.[129] In the news from Vienna, the role which the clergy assumed in negotiations, counsel and political actions is underscored.

[127] 'Auß Wien vom 4. Februario.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:7); 'Wien vom 24. Novemb.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:51).
[128] 'Auß Wien den 19. Dito [Sept.].', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:IX).
[129] 'Auß Wien den 24. Novemb.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIX); 'Auß Wien den 5. Februarii.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1620:VII); 'Auß Wien vom 5. Dito [Feb.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:7); 'Auß Wien/ vom 11. Novemb.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1620:48).

Religious feasts, festivals and celebratory days also make their way into the discussion of the news, and represent the different emphases of Vienna and Prague. The festival days mentioned in the stories from Vienna were almost always those on which a certain political event was to take place in Hungary, particularly the St. Stephen's Day when Bethlen was to be crowned (mentioned on 2 occasions), the Hungarian Estates meeting on St. Martin's Day (3) and St. Michael's Day when an agreed upon truce was to end (6). In news from Prague, however, while each of these days is mentioned one or two times, the day which receives the most attention is the day on which the baptism of Frederick's son occurred (mentioned 14 times). It was thought that Bethlen would arrive in person, 'auch der Betlehem Persönlich auff die Königl: Kindtauff alhero erscheinen', but then notice was received that he would be sending a representative instead.[130] After the baptism took place, the whole ceremony was described:

> Darauff gestern die Königliche Kundtauff gehalten worden/ Und haben sich ihre Königl. Maytt: mit dero Officirn/ Ständen uñ Gevatters Leuten erstlich in die Schloßkirchen verfugt/ predigt gehört/ Hernach ist die Königin mit ihrem unnd dem Böhmischen Frawenzimmer nachgefolgt. [...]/ In beschehener Tauff hat der Siebenbürgische Gesandte/ als Principal Gevatter/ das Kindt auff den Henden gehalten/ und ihme der Nahme *RUPERTUS* gegeben worden/ dann diesen Namen der erste Römische Keiser vom Hauß Pfaltz gehabt. Nach der Tauffe hat man das Herrlein auch den andern Gevattern/ so neben Herrn *Thurso* gewesen/ als der 3. Herrn Ständt der Chron Böheimb *Deputirte*, Item/ der *Incorporirten* Länder abgesandte/ einem nach dem andern auff die Armen geben.[131]

Though dissimilar in content, these references to feast days and religious celebrations are actually quite similar in context. Both represent events of great political import which are presented within a religious framework. The events reported on from Vienna were much more explicitly political and the references to saints' days are primarily indicative of the structure of the calendar rather than having a heavy religious connotation. However, both the breaking of a truce on Michaelmas and the assumption of a symbolic role as caretaker

[130] 'Auß Praag/ vom 11. dito [Mar.].', *Aviso Relation oder Zeitung* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620:12).
[131] 'Auß Prag vom 1. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1620:15).

at a baptism represent the changing status of a political relationship during a religious feast.

In addition to the religious subjects of affiliation, church, clergy and feast days, there are subjects, which while present in the news stories from Vienna and Prague, have a more significant presence in the stories from Hungary and the Hereditary Lands: the use of the word *Religion* and the use of *Gott*. *Religion* appears infrequently in the stories of Vienna and Prague, particularly in comparison to the previously discussed forms of religious language. When it does appear, it is generally in the context of naming or listing different confessions. A story from Vienna states that Bethlen issued a public statement accepting the Arians, or Antitrinitarians, and would consider this religion to have the same standing as other recognized confessions: 'und sich öffentlich zu deren 3. Religionen einer/ alß Lutherisch/ Calvinisch oder Catholisch bekennen würde'.[132] Whether in this example or in the recognition of the *Religion* of the prince of Transylvania, the reference is not to the idea of a system of beliefs as a whole, but rather to the particular practice of a specific confession.[133]

However, twice in the stories from Hungary, and in the one appearance of *Religion* from the German Lands, religion is mentioned in the context of freedom of religious practice. After Széchi's arrival in Neuhäusel in late September 1619, a report came describing the legation's announcement: 'Die *Legation* ist diese/ das sie in ihrer Freyheit/ und Religion sind gedrückt worden/ welches sie zu diesem vorhaben bewegt'.[134] These events in Neuhäusel were then repeated in a story from Komorn.[135] A December report from Cologne states that the Prince of Transylvania made demands of the house of

[132] 'Auß Wien vom 9. Januarii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Bb).
[133] 'Auß Prag den 1. Decemb.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XIX).
[134] 'Auß Newheusel/ vom 27 *Septemb: Anno 1619.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:41).
[135] 'Auß Commorra den 4. Octob.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XII).

Austria: 'da sie bey ihrer Religions Freyheit gelassen werden'.[136] This concern for religious freedom appears in a report from Vienna on Bethlen's march on Styria the following spring and is conveyed via the expression 'dann dieselbig Ständ kurtzumb ihr Religion frey haben wollen', but not *Freiheit*.[137] In total, within the context of the 12 uses of the word *Religion*, the term *Freiheit* is used on 3 occasions and *frei* is used once. This is roughly comparable to the usage pattern in the *Messrelation* reports on Bocskai's rebellion where *Freiheit* and *frei* appear the exact same number of times in 16 uses of the word *Religion* (see pages 84-5). The continuity between Bocskai's actions in 1604-5 and Bethlen's from 1619-21 are explicitly referenced in the political content of these news stories, but it also appears implicitly in the concern for religious freedom.

The word *Gott* is also used less frequently and in a different manner in the stories from Vienna and Prague than in those from Hungary and the Hereditary Lands. In the news from the Hereditary Lands, a large number of the references to God appear in a letter written by Thurn recounting the arrival of Rhédey's army at the Bohemian camps, including the prayerful assurance 'der Allmächtige gütige GOtt/ der dieses Werck bißhero so wünderlich geführet/ wolle es zu einem glückseligen ende vollführen'.[138] This letter alone accounts for 9 of the 18 references to God made in the stories from the Hereditary Lands. However, even if this letter is excluded, God appears more often, proportionally, in the news from this region than in news from Vienna and Prague, and it appears roughly the same number of times per story as in the news from Hungary.

In the stories from the Hereditary Lands and Hungary, God is often prayed to either after a military event had just taken place near the reporting location or when one was imminently expected. In the news from the Hereditary Lands, 15 of the 17 prayers

[136] 'Auß Cöllen den 8. Decemb.', *Zeittungen* (Stuttgart, 1619:XX).
[137] 'Wien vom 1. Martii.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:12).
[138] '*Copia* Schreibens an die Herrn *Directores, de dato* Newmühl 13. *Octobris*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:43).

are made from military camps or cities anticipating an army, like the prayer from Brünn in November 1619: 'aber Gott der Allerhöchste/ zu welchem unsere seufftzen durch die Wolcken im Himmel dringen/ hat uns erhöret/ und zu seiner zeit/ ihre Fürstl. Durchl. Herrn Bethlehem Gabors hülffe uns zugesendet'.[139] In news from Hungary, 5 of the 9 references to God occur in this context, including three from Leutschau in the spring of 1621, which communicate fears that the peace discussions with the Emperor would not hold and that the Polish-Ottoman conflict would overcome Transylvania: 'Gott erbarme es/ daß es darzu kommen soll/ daß man mit Türcken und Tartarn daß gute Landt verderben soll/ Gott wende alles zum besten'.[140] The others include one report on a distant military event as Tyrnau gave news of Bethlen's march in Moravia, two prayers for peace and one concern that Protestants in Austria were buried outside of city walls since 'man keine Evangelische in die geweihete Gottes Acker legen wollen'.[141] As the armies marched through the countryside of the Hereditary Lands and Hungary, the reports sent by the villages and cities they approached contained prayers for 'hülff von Gott'.[142] Similarly, the armies themselves offered prayers for God's help or assurances that 'ist es Gottes wille'.[143]

The stories from Vienna are much less likely to include supplications to God, and when they occur, they are divided between those which comment on violence in other locations, particularly Pressburg, 'als ob er Herr im Land were/ GOtt weiß den Außgang', and those which are given in the context of events of a more overtly political nature, such as peace discussions, 'was er hat/ Gott gebe/ das *interim*, mittel zum völligen Friede

[139] 'Auß Brinn/ vom 19. *Novembr, Anno* 1619.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:51).
[140] 'Auß der Leutsch in Ungarn vom 25. Maio.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1621:25).
[141] 'Auß Preßburgk/ vom 8. *Martii*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:12).
[142] 'Auß Newheusel/ vom 27 *Septemb: Anno 1619.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:41).
[143] '*Copia* Schreibens an die Herrn *Directores, de dato* Newmühl 13. *Octobris*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:43).

gefunden werden'.[144] In contrast, prayers in the stories from Prague almost always occur in the context of acts of diplomacy (8 occasions), such as the anticipation of a confederation with Bethlen, Bethlen's election and news of discussions between the Emperor and the Prince of Transylvania: 'Der Allmechtige Gott gebe sonst Mittel an die handt/ damit ferner Blutvergiessen verhütet werde/ und man dermal eins zum Frieden kommen möchte'.[145] The news stories from all four of the primary reporting regions on Transylvania include a reference or prayer to God in some context. However, while the Hereditary Lands and Hungary turned to God hoping for protection from the horrors of war, Vienna and Prague sought more divine guidance within the context of political discussions and decisions.

There is a final form of language which, though tied to a system of beliefs, may not be considered to be strictly religious. Only within the news stories of Transylvania from 1619-21 appear references to superstitions often connected to natural phenomena.[146] On Christmas of 1618, as reported the following January from Kaschau, a bloody flag fell from the heavens and was brought to Bethlen: 'ein blutiger Fahnen/ ein geharnischtes par Handschueh/ so wol ein Sturmhanden/ vom Himmel herunder gefallen/ und vor selben Fürsten gebracht worden'.[147] The months of January and February continued to see news which portended evil days ahead, such as a comet and a river running with blood, 'der Blutflüssige Bach zu Ziles unnd Comet ein grosses Blutvergiessen bedeuten möchte', a fetus calling from his mother's womb, 'Wehe uber euch/ welchs der Bethlehemb nicht gläuben wollen', a bell chiming without assistance from man or nature and an owl calling

[144] 'Auß Wien den 23. Dito.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:14); 'Auß Wien/ vom 23. *Januarii, Anno* 1620.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:6).
[145] 'Auß Praga/ vom 21. *Martii*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1620:13).
[146] There is also a picture in a *Messrelation* from this period of conjoined twins and an animal with three bodies and one head under the title 'Zwey *Monstra* in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen zur Welt kommen.', *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1620), 87.
[147] 'Auß Caschaw in Ober Hungarn/ vom 3. Ditto [Jan.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1619:4).

from a church tower.[148] All of these reports from Kaschau demonstrate an uneasy mindset. The news of the bloody river at Christmas time was remembered again in August as the hajducks marched through Hungary: 'Es kompt auch für gewiß eyn/ daß nunmehr bey 14. Fahnen Heyduggen auff Sobritz eyngezogen/ und darff sich leider wol begeben/ daß uns der Fluß Sixo/ so sich umb Weihnachten in Blut verwandelt hat/ etwas böß mitbringt'.[149]

However, these stories were not limited to reports from Hungary. The story from Kaschau of the river of blood was reprinted in reports from Vienna and Prague.[150] News from Prague and the Hereditary Lands also describes the superstitious beliefs in the camps. The previously mentioned letter from Thurn on Rhédey's arrival (see page 140) includes such a superstition, though Thurn assures the reader that his faith remains with God:

> Im hereinziehen hat gleichsamb deß Himmels Lauff: auch andere Kriegsmännische Aberglauben/ eine anzeigung bewiesen/ eines verhoffentlichen glücklichen *successus*: Der Wind hat den Fahnen *convento in Papa,* einen schönen flug gemacht/ Ein Haaß den ein Mann auffgeritten/ ist gleichsamb auff deß Tampiers Läger zugelauffen. So haben uns auch die Raben den Weg dahin gewiesen: Das verwürff ich nicht/ bawe auch darauff nicht/ Allein auff GOttes Gnad/ und erbarmung: Der wird/ weil es sein heiliges Wort antrifft/ uns mit seinem starcken Arm beystehen/ und unsere Feinde zuschanden machen/ damit wir ihnen ein vollgerüttelt und uberflüssig Maß in ihren Schoß werden legen können.[151]

As with the other subject and language areas, the reporting on religion reflects the specific interests and views of each region. Vienna and Prague, representing opposing

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[148] 'Aus Caschaw/ vom 12. Jan.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:7); 'Auß Caschaw/ vom 15. *Februarii, Anno* 1619. *stylo novo.*', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:11); 'Aus Caschaw/ vom 15. Dito [Feb.].', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:12).

[149] 'Auß Calo in Ober Ungarn vom 28. Augusti/ 1619.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1619:38).

[150] Rivers ran with blood in 'Auß Wien vom 16. Januario.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Cc); and were referred to in 'Auß Prag vom 16. Septembris.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (Hamburg, 1619:Ooo). There is also a blood red flag which fell from the sky in 'Auß Wien/ vom 30. Januarii.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:8); and monstrous births in 'Auß Wien vom 13. diß [Sept.]', *Relation dessen/ Waß sich ... begeben* (1) (n.p., 1619:Qq).

[151] '*Copia* Schreibens an die Herrn *Directores, de dato* Newmühl 13. *Octobris*.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Berlin, 1619:43). From Prague, the superstions of the army were recounted in 'Aus Prag vom 23 Octob.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:46).

sides in a struggle involving fundamental confessional differences, each littered the news of Transylvania with confessional identifiers and religious buildings, individuals and celebrations. While news from Prague presents these religious institutions as the settings for celebrations, baptisms and preaching, Viennese news additionally discusses the destruction of churches and the torment of clerics, following in the same vein as the city's economic news and use of violent vocabulary. The reports from the Hereditary Lands, with news from army camps and besieged cities, offer up many prayers to God for protection and good blessings. Hungary, similarly home to armies, printed news including many references to God, but also stories that express concern for the free practice of religion, one of the central points of Bethlen's political agenda, as well as portents of dangers to come.

3.9 *Messrelationen* of 1619-21

Each of the major reporting regions demonstrates, within its news of Transylvania, a particular perspective in its use of language and its choice of subject matter. From Vienna came news of Bethlen's march through Hungary, accompanied by destruction to civilian and church property, as well as the persecution of clerics, and news of his election as king of Hungary. Prague presents this election as being accompanied by great ceremony and pomp and Transylvania as being a supporter of Bohemia, an alliance solidified through Bethlen being named the godfather of Frederick's son. The Hereditary Lands printed news of the military actions, violent and filled with prayers to God and discussions of the costs of war. Hungarian news discusses the meetings of the diets, Bethlen as a king at the head of grand processions, concerns for religious freedom and the Ottomans at the borders of Christendom. Elements of all four of these narratives are present in the *Messrelationen* of the same period. Printed every six months, these publications did not

offer the most recent news, but they did provide a more cohesive narrative of events than did the weekly reports of the newspapers. The 37 surviving *Messrelation* issues of 1619-21 produced nearly as many words of news on Transylvania and Gábor Bethlen as the newspapers of the same period.[152]

Unlike the *Messrelationen* of 1604-5, four of the publications of this period mimicked the form of the printed newspapers, presenting news stories under a dateline with reporting location and date, rather than a headline summarizing the contents of the news story.[153] While this practice was not prevalent enough for the news stories of the *Messrelationen* to be assessed based on reporting location in the same manner as the newspapers, there are some striking similarities in reporting patterns.

There are 71 instances where a dateline is present and, of these, 35 state the news comes from Vienna and 23 reference Prague. Both the dominance of Vienna and Prague as reporting locations and the proportion of news coming from each city echoes stories of the newspapers where 764 stories included 324 from Vienna and 235 from Prague. Furthermore, there are 4 stories in the *Messrelationen* from Hungary, with 1 each from Kaschau, Neusohl, Pressburg and Komorn, the same cities which contributed news to the newspapers. The chief difference is the absence of news of Transylvania in stories from other cities in the Hereditary Lands and the increased importance of news from Italy. While there is no news from Breslau, Linz, Brünn or other cities of Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia and Austria, there are 6 reports from Venice and 2 from Rome containing news of Transylvania. While the *Messrelationen*, unsurprisingly, do not demonstrate in their

[152] There are 57,864 words in the news stories of the *Messrelationen*, compared to the 63,971 words present in the newspapers. As in the case of the newspaper stories, this count does not include words in repeating stories. For the background on the *Messrelationen* of this period, see pages 28-9. This count and the following analysis does not include one issue, *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1620).

[153] Used frequently in *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt) and *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg), but less frequently in *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne) and *Continuatio Relationis* (Heidelberg).

datelines the same complexity of reporting system that the newspapers do, the reporting locations they do name mirror those of the newspapers: Vienna and Prague remain important, and cities within Hungary were also responsible for some contributions.

While the Hereditary Lands, outside of Vienna and Prague, may not be well represented in the datelines of the *Messrelationen* news stories, news from this region is often mentioned in the text of the stories (see Table 3.11). Of the 15 references to news from the Hereditary Lands, only 2 are from Prague and 1 is from the Elector Palatine. The others are from Moravia, Silesia, Styria, Bohemia and Austriaand there are 5 from Thurn and the Bohemian camps. Letters were by far the most common form of communication, and many of these letters were reprinted in the *Messrelationen*. Manuscript news was also the most common method of communication from Transylvania, Vienna and Hungary. News from Bethlen, himself, often took the form of letters, though there are also 4 references to messengers, including the French envoy who was mentioned so frequently in the newspapers.[154] Additionally, news from Hungary and Vienna often does not specify the specific medium by which it traveled, with the reference within the story simply saying, 'Auß Wien hat man' or 'Auß Caschaw hatte man Zeittung'.[155] While there are more references to news traveling via the reporting system of the Hereditary Lands, there are also references made to news from the German Lands and the Ottoman Empire. The news from Germany came specifically via letters from Saxony and Bavaria, while the news from the Ottomans was from Constantinople. Three of the four reporting systems found in the newspapers of the period are also seen in the *Messrelationen*, with increased

[154] He traveled between Bethlen and Vienna on multiple occasions in October and November in *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, New Year 1621), 43, 61, 66, 78. Later on in the same *Messrelation* he was again arriving at Vienna from Bohemia carrying news, page 100.

[155] The exact same expression was used for news from Vienna in *Continuatio Relationis* (Heidelberg, Spring 1620), 4, 30; *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1621), 91; from Kaschau in *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1619), 85.

importance placed on communication via letters. These letters are not only cited within the news stories, but also reprinted, seemingly in full, in the *Messrelationen* themselves.

It is these letters, as well as the printed points of discussion between political leaders, that offer the chief difference in the news of Transylvania as presented by the *Messrelationen*. Many of the same anecdotes and stories of the newspapers are repeated, which is clearly seen in the reporting of ceremony, economics and religion, but the format of the *Messrelationen*—their expanded length and delayed printing—allowed certain items of interest to be included along with the news reports. As a consequence, there are 17 letters and 16 enumerated points which are at least partially devoted to the events in Transylvania.[156]

The letters which appeared in the *Messrelationen* were chiefly of political importance, detailing confederations entered into or justifying acts of war, rather than giving news of the acts themselves.[157] There are four letters from Bethlen, to the Bohemian and Moravian Estates explaining the motivations for his incursion into Hungary, to the Hungarian Estates discussing the alliance with the Confederated Lands, to the Confederated Lands themselves in November of 1620 proclaiming his readiness and resolution, and, the following spring, to the Tartars expressing his disappointment at earlier aggression and hopes for future friendliness.[158] There is also a long letter from the Emperor objecting to Bethlen's election as king of Hungary and another from the Sultan giving Bethlen his support.[159]

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[156] As in all cases, this number does not include the repetitions. Several of these points and letters were printed in multiple *Messrelationen.*

[157] The exception to this is a letter from Count Thurn to the Bohemian Estates recounting Rhedey's arrival in the camps. *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, New Year 1620), 29-32.

[158] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1620), 1-4; *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1621), 90-1; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1621), 50-2; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1621), 28-31.

[159] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1621), 75-84; *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Autumn 1620), 35.

Eight letters were exchanged between the Emperor, the Electors of the Palatinate, Bavaria and Saxony, and the Estates of Austria and Bohemia; they are generally either fairly short or only briefly touch upon the news of Transylvania.[160] The letters written by the Electors of the Palatinate, Bavaria and Saxony all express concern about the involvement of the Ottomans in the affairs of Christian Europe by means of Transylvania:

> Es zweiffeln aber S. Fürstl. D. ob Unpartheysche es für unzimlich werden halten/ gestalt entgegen des Bethlehem Gabors auff eingeholte Licentz von der Porten/ dahero er dependirt/ in OberUngarn/ folgends noch weiter feindliche Unchristliche Einfälle/ nicht allein allen Catholischen/ sondern auch andern der Augspurgischen Confession zugethanen Chur-Fürsten/ Ständen und Communen schwerlich fürkompt/ und dasselb bedrawren.[161]

The worry that Transylvania would act as a door through which the Turks could gain free access to conquer Europe appears in the stories of the newspapers, but is expressed in a clearer and more personal voice in the printed letters of the German leaders.

The 16 enumerated points likewise include both items which were directly related to Transylvanian events and those in which Bethlen was only indirectly involved. Discussions within the Bohemian Estates and between Bohemia and Poland referred to Transylvania as a confederate and neighbor.[162] Additionally, there are two versions of the

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[160] '*COPIA* Käyserl. Aachts Erklerung/ wider Hans Georgen den Eitern/ Marggraffen zu Brandenburg/ Christian Fürsten von Anhalt/ und Georg Friderichen Graffen zu Hohenloe.', *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1621) , 82-8; 'Copia deß Churfürsten zu Sachsen Antwort an Churfüsten Pfaltzgraffen.', *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1620), 29-31; 'Antworr Ihrer Fürstl. Durchl in Bayrn auff der Unirten Ständ Gesandten *Replica*.', *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1620), 101-7; 'Antwortschreiben der Bömischen Stände an I. Churf. Gn. wegen der *Execution.*', *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, New Year 1621), 24-9; '*Decret* Ertzhertzog *Leopoldi* an die NiederOsterreichische Landstände des *Bethlehem Gabors* einfall betreffende.', *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1619), 167-70; 'Ihrer Churf. Gn. zu Sachsen/ den Böhmischen Abgesandten gegebene Schrifftliche Antwort.', *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1620), 33-8; 'ChurPfaltz Schreiben an Bayern mittel zum Friden betreffent.', *Breviarii Sive Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continvatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1620), 25-7; 'Anderwertliches Abmahnung: unnd Erinnerungs Schreiben/ Hertzogen in Bayern ChurPfaltz/ von München auß vom Böhmischen Wessen/ abzustehen.', *Breviarii Sive Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continvatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1620), 31-9.

[161] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1620), 104. The Elector of Saxony also expressed the concern that 'Daß durch diese Gelegenheit nicht dem Türcken Thur und Thor geöffnet werde'. *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1620), 31.

[162] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1620), 164-5; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1621), 20-1.

articles agreed upon when Transylvania joined the Confederated Lands, as well as two versions of the points discussed by Bethlen and Frederick leading up to that event.[163] However, the deliberations that received the most attention, and whose points of proposal and finally agreement were most often recounted, are those that occurred between Bethlen and the Emperor in 1620 and 1621. On this subject, there are 8 discrete lists of points in the *Messrelationen*, ranging in count from eleven points in the spring of 1620 to four in the autumn of 1621.[164] Though these issues do not contain news from the last months of 1621, including the terms of the peace of Nikolsburg, the ongoing political discussions and disputations are clearly presented. Like in the newspapers, there are reports of meetings breaking up or continuing, but these are supplemented by the points under discussion.

The descriptions of ceremony and the economic news are two points of relative consistency between the reporting of the newspapers and that of the *Messrelationen*, though each appears less frequently in the latter medium. For economic news, there are half as many references to the monetary costs of war to the civilian population and to the armies themselves (see Table 3.12). The news of payments between governments, however, do not drop to such a degree. This is in large part due to the consistency with which some form of financial arrangement was made within the aforementioned discussions of the terms of peace and confederation.

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[163] *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Autumn 1620), 21-3; *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, New Year 1620), 69-72; *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1620), 56-7; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1620), 55-7.

[164] *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1620), 90; *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1620), 68-9; *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1620), 1-3; *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1620), 21-4; *Continuatio Relationis* (Heidelberg, Spring 1620), 64-5; *Continuatio Relationis* (Heidelberg, Spring 1620), 88-9; *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1621), 38; *Continuatio Relationis* (Heidelberg, Autumn 1621), 9.

Similarly, there are approximately half as many inclusions of ceremonial news in the *Messrelationen* stories (see Table 3.13). The similarity in reporting even extends beyond numbers to the actual news stories themselves. The descriptions of ceremony often include particular details which make the passages easy to compare. For example, a story from Kaschau in June 1621 reported on the recently arrived participants in the meeting of the diet, transferred from Eperies, who brought with them gifts for Bethlen. The list of arrivals is repeated with the same words in the *Messrelation* from the autumn of 1621 and mentions the proffered gifts of crown, golden apple, mace, sword and habit: 'die Eifere Truhen/ darin ein holtzerne gewesen/ eröffnen lassen/ und die Cron/ gülden Apffel/ Pusican/ Schwerd/ unnd Habit alles beysammen funden'.[165] Similarly, both the newspapers and the *Messrelationen* reported on Bethlen's arrival at the diet meeting in Neusohl in 'ein schöne Gutschen/ mit roth: und Goltgestickten Sammet' and the 'schöner Türckischer Sattel neben etlichen Pallaschen und Säbeln' sent by Thurn to Bethlen to congratulate him on his election.[166] The news stories which appear in the *Messrelationen* not only cover many of the same events, but, in some cases, come from the same source.[167]

The religious news in the *Messrelationen* is in many ways similar to that of the newspapers, including language and descriptions that are common to reports from both Vienna and Prague (see Table 3.14). This includes churches which were home to both

[165] *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Autumn 1621), 60, and 'Auß Caschaw/ vom 15. Junii.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1621:28).
[166] *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Autumn 1620), 44. In the newspapers, this language appears in 'Aus Wien vom 27. Mai.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1620:24). The second example is in *Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Magdeburg, Spring 1620), 8 and 'Aus Prag/ vom 18. September.', *Die ... Zeitung/ so sich in ... zugetragen hat* (Hildesheim, 1619:41) in the newspapers.
[167] Whether the *Messrelationen* used the newspapers as their sources or whether both mediums used a common source is not investigated in this work. However, studies have been conducted which look at methods of determining possible common news sources through the variations within the texts of the same story, such as A. Hardie, T. McEnery and S. S. Piao, 'Historical Text Mining and Corpus-Based Approaches to the Newsbooks of the Commonwealth' in B. Dooley, ed., *Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity* (2010), 251-86.

celebrations and plundering, as well as clerics and Jesuits who both suffered violence and acted as envoys. Even the kinds of religious days referenced are balanced: the baptism, a favorite of Prague, is mentioned 9 times, and the saints' days, often used to mark time in Viennese stories, are mentioned 11 times.

However, there are some distinct differences in the religious language of the *Messrelationen,* due in large part to the inclusion of the letters. For affiliation identifiers, the uses of 'Christian' outnumber those of both 'Catholic' and 'Evangelical' 3 to 2.[168] This is partially due to the relative frequency with which these words appear in the reproduced letters: while 'Christian' appears 12 times in the letters, 'Catholic' appears only 4 times and 'Evangelical' not at all. Half of the uses of 'Christian' occur in direct relation to the perceived Ottoman threat. Because Bethlen depended on 'dem Erbfeindt Christlichen Namens dem Türcken', the Ottomans could conduct their 'Unchristliche Einfälle' and 'das Blutvergiessen so viel unschuldiger Christen vorkommen'.[169] Bethlen also uses the word 'Christian' 5 times in his letters, thus seeming to assert his own claim to the Christian religion in opposition to the Catholic Habsburgs. He states that Ferdinand 'in Regierung der Christenheit/ solch schädliche angezünd Fewer hetten vertilgen', and 'ob uns auch gebürn wolle/ bey solcher unter den Christen schwebender Trübseligkeit/ so zu gewisser herauß erfolgenden grossen Gefahr angesehen'.[170] Yet, despite these troubles, they had to hold firm: 'welche bißhero mit vielem Blut bekräfftiget worden/ auch noch förter als rechte Christen standhafftig zu halten/ dieselb zu schützen/ und der hoffnung eines gewünschté Außgangs zu befördern.'[171] As presented in these letters, Christendom was under threat both from divisions within and from Ottomans at the door. These

[168] To be precise, 31 Chistian to 22 Catholic and 17 Evangelical.
[169] *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Spring 1621), 84; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1620), 104; *Breviarii Sive Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continvatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1620), 26.
[170] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1620), 3.
[171] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1621), 51.

concerns, which remain primarily implicit in the news reports, are made explicit in these epistolary words.

The letters also account for the increased number of references to God. Of the 58 times that *Gott* appears, whether in prayer or in formal address, 23 occur in Bethlen's letters and a further 20 in the letters of other men. God is addressed in the formal openings of several of these letters, such as 'Gabriel von Gottes Gnaden/ erwehlter König in Ungarn/ Dalmatien/ Croatien und Sclavonien/ Fürst in Siebenbürgen und der Siculorn Graff/ rc.', or in the even more impressive introduction to the Sultan's declaration of support for Bethlen's election as king of Hungary:

> Ich Soltan Solliman von den gnaden GOttes unüberwindlichster Türckischer Keyser/ rc. Schwere bey deß höchsten Allmechtigkeit/ und deß Allmechtigen Gottes Heiligkeit/ Durchleuchtigkeit/ und bey deß Himmels Kräfften/ Sonn/ Monn/ Stern/ bey der Erden und under der Erden/ Schaidel auff meiner Mutter Kopff/ und auff mein Bart/ Wapffen/ Leib und Seel/ auff den heyligen grossen Machomet/ unnd Incium/ Jezzoco und Vezimiere/ und aller Bursamani Beschneidung/ das ich dich meinen Brudern und Sohn/ nemblich den Bethlehem Gabor nechst künfftigen König in Hungarn/ in keinerley deinen grossen Sachen nicht will verlassen.[172]

When declaring his official support for the election of the Transylvanian in defiance of the Emperor's claims, the Sultan seemed intent on also declaring his lengthy credentials.

God is also addressed in printed prayers for protection and good outcomes, as when the Emperor sought a resolution to the rebellions in Hungary and Bohemia and found 'Wir hoffen aber ungezweiffelt zu dem allmächtigen Gott', while Bethlen hoped that his actions in the field of war would also be blessed by God: 'Wir seynd jetzo im Feld und Krieg begrieffen/ da es Gott gefällig seyn wirdt/ wollen wir E. Durchl. in der Person freundlich hierbey sehen/ und auff andern weg gratificiren'.[173] Though each reference to God in these letters expresses a degree of formality greater than that present

[172] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1621), 50; *Historicae Relationis Continvatio* (Cologne, Autumn 1620), 35.
[173] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1621), 82; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1621), 31.

in the short prayerful interjections of the newspaper reports, it nonetheless remains very personal. God's favor is called upon in the ceremonial language of address, but also in the very real desire for victory in war.

Military actions make up only a third of the news of the *Messrelationen*, but words from the violence lexicon are even more common in these publications than in the newspapers, appearing 606 times, or once every 105 words.[174] If divided between categories based on frequency of usage, these words display a distribution which in some ways reflects that of the newspapers of Bethlen, but which is also distinct (see Table 3.15). In particular, the words from category 5 are used far more frequently in the *Messrelationen* than in the newspaper: a total of 253 occasions, or once every 44 words.

If the words of the lexicon of violence are examined based on their common meanings, rather than based on their frequency of usage, this variation in distribution can be explained (see Table 3.16). While the words concerning death, weapons, fire and plundering are used similarly, adjectives and words displaying an emotion are more likely to appear in the newspapers.[175] The category 5 words used to describe burning and plundering are more likely to appear in the *Messrelationen* than in the newspapers, particularly in the case of *plündern* (used 43 times in the *Messrelationen* and 26 times in the newspapers) and *Schaden* (used 53 times in the *Messrelationen* and 43 times in the newspapers). On the other hand, the category 4 words used to describe emotions or difficulty are more commonly used by the newspapers. *Furcht, Schwer* and *schlecht* appear 26, 22 and 14 times, respectively, in the newspaper stories and only 1, 7 and 4 times, respectively, in the *Messrelationen.*

[174] Military news accounts for 33.4% of the total word count for the *Messrelationen*.
[175] While in total the words expressing weapon-related violence occur nearly the same number of times in the news stories of each medium, the words which are used are not the same. While the *Messrelationen* used the words *schiessen* (28 to 18) and *Schwert* (12 to 7) more often than the newspapers, the newspapers more often used the words *abschneiden* (9 to 3) and *Gift* (8 to 0).

When the narrative of events was published weeks if not months after the skirmishes, sieges and raids had taken place, attention remained firmly focused on the damage done to property and land, as well as to the lives taken. When describing actions, there seems to be less of a need to amplify the descriptions through the use of intensifying language or references to the fear felt by individuals. One word with heavy connotations that does remain in frequent usage is *Feind*. Used 88 times in the newspaper stories, particularly in the reports from Prague and the Hereditary Lands, it appears 116 times in the *Messrelationen*: 31 times in the letters, 17 of which are correspondence from Bethlen.

The *Messrelationen* present the news in ways that are strikingly similar to the stories in the newspapers, including subjects and language common to the reporting regions of both Vienna and Prague. The same major subjects of political, economic and ceremonial news reappear; occasionally the same stories are even repeated word for word. However, news reports were supplemented with letters and reprinted points from diplomatic discussions, which changes some patterns of language usage. There is a more thorough presentation of the points of contention in the peace discussions of Bethlen and the Emperor, fears about the Ottomans are more explicitly stated and both God and Christendom are referenced more often within the letters of the participants. The stories of the *Messrelationen* do not favor one reporting region, but rather aggregate news from a variety of sources to create a narrative and enrich that narrative with personal epistolary accounts and details of ongoing political discussions.

Conclusion

In the newspapers and *Messrelationen* of 1619-21, the prince of Transylvania is presented in a variety of lights. He is a military commander whose armies destroyed the lands of Hungary and who persecuted its priests and Jesuits. He is a noble leader who arrived in

red velvet carriages at the head of grand processions to meetings of the diet and the court and who was honored by gifts from the rulers of Europe. He is a good Christian who acted as the godfather to the son of the Bohemian king. He is a subject of the Porte who would allow the Turks a convenient excuse to raid the countries of Christendom. What is crucial is that, within the news stories, he is all of these things. Because the news came from the country which had elected him king, the neighboring lands and armies he marched to join, the city of the king who desperately sought to become his ally and the city of the Emperor whose title he took and whose men he fought, the Transylvanian prince is defined by a variety of situations which paint a rich picture of the man. However, after the fall of the Bohemian forces at White Mountain at the end of 1620, Prague no longer frequently reported on Bethlen: Transylvania lost the voice of its foreign ally. When the next prince of Transylvania marched into Hungary, the news stories did not present such a multifaceted portrayal.

Table 3.1 Number of reports and stories from each reporting region, 1619-21

	Reports	Stories
Vienna	498	324
Prague	302	235
Hereditary Lands	109	75
Hungary	83	65
Mediterranean	40	25
German Lands	24	24
Poland & Baltic	13	10
Other*	21	6
Total	1090	764

*Includes Northwest Europe and Unknown

Table 3.3 Number of words per reporting region with the number of words in political and military news (percent of total words in italics), 1619-21

	Total	Politics		Military	
Vienna	25,408	11,700	*46.0*	9,805	*38.6*
Prague	19,396	9,781	*50.4*	5,117	*26.4*
Hereditary Lands	5,407	1,602	*29.6*	2,716	*50.2*
Hungary	10,687	5,858	*54.8*	3,139	*29.4*
Mediterranean	1,147	716	*62.4*	321	*28.0*
German Lands	977	585	*59.9*	234	*24.0*
Poland & Baltic	562	270	*48.0*	255	*45.4*
Other	387	236	*61.0*	194	*50.1*
Total	63,971	30,748	*48.1*	21,781	*34.0*

Table 3.2 Number of times each location is cited as a source of news by reporting region (with the percent of the total number of region's stories in italics), 1619-21

	Transylvania		Hungary		Ottomans		Vienna		Prague		Hereditary Lands		Poland		Germany		Total	
Vienna	12	*3.7*	25	*7.7*	2	*0.6*	—	—	—	—	5	*1.5*	4	*1.2*	—	—	48	*14.8*
Prague	17	*7.2*	29	*12.3*	1	*0.4*	7	*3.0*	—	—	33	*14.0*	—	—	2	*0.9*	89	*37.9*
Hereditary Lands	3	*4.0*	5	*6.7*	—	—	2	*2.7*	—		1	*1.3*	2	*2.7*	—	—	12	*16.0*
Hungary	1	*1.5*	—	—	1	*1.5*	1	*1.5*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	*6.2*
Mediterranean	—	—	—	—	9	*36.0*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	*36.0*
German Lands	—	—	2	*8.3*	—	—	5	*20.8*	1	*4.2*	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	*33.3*
Poland & Baltic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	1	*10.0*	—	—	1	*10.0*
Total	33	*4.3*	61	*8.0*	13	*1.7*	15	*2.0*	1	*0.1*	39	*5.1*	7	*0.9*	2	*0.3*	171	*22.4*

Table 3.4 Number of times national identifiers are mentioned in the political news by reporting region, 1619-21

	Hungarian	**Imperial**	**Turkish**	**Bohemian**
Vienna	198	129	45	24
Prague	172	55	34	47
Hereditary Lands	28	15	10	8
Hungary	77	52	35	35
Mediterranean	10	9	6	4
German Lands	12	8	2	4
Poland & Baltic	5	1	3	—
Other	1	1	3	1
Total	503	270	138	123

Table 3.5 Number of occurrences of different ceremonial descriptions by reporting region (percent of total stories in italics), 1619-21

	Processions		**Presents**		**Guesting**		**Address**		**Total**	
Vienna	5	*1.5*	5	1.5	4	*1.2*	5	*1.5*	19	*5.9*
Prague	19	*8.1*	13	5.5	14	*6.0*	4	*1.7*	50	*21.3*
Hereditary Lands	5	*6.7*	1	1.3	—	—	1	*1.3*	7	*9.3*
Hungary	7	*10.8*	2	3.1	4	*6.2*	2	*3.1*	15	*23.1*
Mediterranean	—	—	—	—	1	*4.0*	—	—	1	*4.0*
German Lands	1	*4.2*	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*4.2*
Total	37	*4.8*	21	2.7	23	*3.0*	12	*1.6*	93	*12.2*

Table 3.6 Usage of violence words by frequency category and reporting region (with the number of appearances per 10,000 words in italics for comparison), 1619-21

	Category 1		**Category 2**		**Category 3**		**Category 4**		**Category 5**		**Total**	
Vienna	1	*0.39*	21	*8.27*	46	*18.10*	115	*45.26*	98	*38.57*	281	*110.60*
Prague	3	*1.55*	7	*3.61*	34	*17.53*	52	*26.81*	33	*17.01*	129	*66.51*
Hereditary Lands	1	*1.85*	3	*5.55*	17	*31.44*	30	*55.48*	21	*38.84*	72	*133.16*
Hungary	4	*3.74*	10	*9.36*	23	*21.52*	37	*34.62*	18	*16.84*	92	*86.09*
Mediterranean	—	—	—	—	2	*17.44*	4	*34.87*	2	*17.44*	8	*69.75*
German Lands	—	—	2	*20.47*	2	*20.47*	6	*61.41*	5	*51.18*	15	*153.53*
Poland & Baltic	—	—	—	—	1	*17.79*	—	—	1	*17.79*	2	*35.59*
Other	—	—	—	—	2	*51.68*	2	*51.68*	1	*25.84*	5	*129.20*
Total	9	*1.41*	42	*6.57*	127	*19.85*	246	*38.45*	179	*27.98*	604	*94.42*

Table 3.7 Violence words by subject and reporting region, 1619-21

	Death	**Weapons**	**Fire**	**Plundering**	**Adjectives**	**Emotions**
Vienna	50	23	28	52	27	20
Prague	22	12	9	16	14	10
Hereditary Lands	10	10	5	8	6	6
Hungary	13	12	4	14	10	7
Mediterranean	1	1	—	2	1	1
German Lands	3	1	2	1	3	1
Poland & Baltic	—	—	—	—	1	—
Other	2	1	—	—	—	1
Total	101	60	48	93	62	46

Table 3.8 Number of occurrences of different forms of economic news by reporting region (percent of total stories in italics), 1619-21

	Military		**Payment**		**Civilian**		**Total**	
Vienna	33	*10.2*	5	*1.5*	11	*3.4*	49	*15.1*
Prague	27	*11.5*	8	*3.4*	4	*1.7*	39	*16.6*
Hereditary Lands	15	*20.0*	3	*4.0*	1	*1.3*	19	*25.3*
Hungary	15	*23.1*	7	*10.8*	4	*6.2*	26	*40.0*
Mediterranean	2	*8.0*	2	*8.0*	—	—	4	*16.0*
German Lands	1	*4.2*	—	—	—	—	1	*4.2*
Total	93	*12.2*	25	*3.3*	19	*2.5*	137	*17.9*

Table 3.9 Number of religious words by category and reporting region (with the number of appearances per 10,000 words in italics for comparison), 1619-21

	Affiliation		**Person**		**Day**		**God**		**Building**		**Religion**	
Vienna	38	*14.96*	46	*18.10*	17	*6.69*	7	*2.76*	13	*5.12*	2	*0.79*
Prague	35	*18.04*	8	*4.12*	26	*13.40*	11	*5.67*	12	*6.19*	3	*1.55*
Hereditary Lands	3	*5.55*	3	*5.55*	2	*3.70*	18	*33.29*	—	—	—	—
Hungary	20	*18.71*	24	*22.46*	7	*6.55*	10	*9.36*	6	*5.61*	6	*5.61*
Mediterranean	—	—	1	*8.72*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
German Lands	2	*20.47*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*10.24*
Poland & Baltic	—	—	1	*17.79*	—	—	1	*17.79*	—	—	—	—
Other	1	*25.84*	2	*51.68*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	99	*15.48*	85	*13.29*	52	*8.13*	47	*7.35*	31	*4.85*	12	*1.88*

Table 3.10 Religious affiliation identifiers used by the reporting regions, 1619-21

	Evangelical	Catholic	Christian	Lutheran	Calvinist	Papal	Other	Total
Vienna	18	8	4	2	2	1	3	38
Prague	14	8	6	1	1	3	1	34
Hereditary Lands	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	3
Hungary	6	7	4	2	1	—	—	20
German Lands	—	1	—	1		—	—	2
Other	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Total	39	25	16	6	4	4	4	98

3.11 Locations and media cited as news sources within the *Messrelationen*, 1619-21

	Report	Letter	Messenger	Rumor	None	Total
Transylvania	2	6	4	1	1	14
Hungary	5	5	3	—	2	13
Hereditary Lands	3	11	—	1	1	15
Vienna	2	5	—	—	6	13
Ottoman Empire	2	1	—	—	—	3
German Lands	—	3	—	—	—	—
Total	14	31	7	2	11	61

Table 3.12 Forms of economic news in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1619-21

	Military	Payment	Civilian
Newspapers	93	25	19
Messrelationen	41	20	7

Table 3.13 Forms of ceremonial news in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1619-21

	Processions	**Presents**	**Guesting**	**Address**
Newspapers	37	21	23	12
Messrelationen	13	17	13	10

Table 3.14 Forms of religious news in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1619-21

	Affiliation	**Person**	**Day**	**God**	**Building**	**Religion**
Newspapers	99	85	52	47	31	12
Messrelationen	94	59	52	58	31	28

Table 3.15 Number of occurrences of each violence frequency category for the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1619-21

	Category 1	**Category 2**	**Category 3**	**Category 4**	**Category 5**	**Total**
Newspapers	9	42	127	246	179	604
Messrelationen	8	29	105	211	253	606

Table 3.16 Violence words by subject for the newspapers and *Messrelationen* of 1619-21

	Death	**Weapons**	**Fire**	**Plundering**	**Adjectives**	**Emotions**
Newspapers	101	60	48	93	62	46
Messrelationen	108	55	54	114	35	25

Chapter 4

György I Rákóczi's Invasion of Hungary and the Effects of War on Reporting Systems, 1643-5

Transylvania reentered the fight against the Holy Roman Emperor in the fall of 1643. An alliance was made with the anti-Imperial confederation of France and Sweden and a march into Hungary commenced that winter. In some respects, this action mirrored that of Gábor Bethlen over twenty years earlier: there were promises of Ottoman support, the Transylvanian army assisted allies fighting in the Hereditary Lands and, in the end, peace was concluded with the Emperor according to the terms of Nikolsburg, which had been signed by Bethlen in 1621.[1] However, Rákóczi never achieved Bethlen's glory, neither in being elected king of Hungary, nor in being presented as a Protestant hero in the printed news.

The intervening years had seen political changes in the region and infrastructural changes in the mechanisms of news reporting with the consequence that the sole major reporting region for news of Transylvania was the city of Vienna.[2] Though there were reports from Rákóczi's allies, particularly the Swedish army headquartered in Leipzig, three-fifths of the news of Transylvania was reported from the city of Rákóczi's enemy. As a result, the narrative of Rákóczi presented in the news is that of a nuisance whose unreasonable demands needed to be placated in order to achieve peace.

4.1 György I Rákóczi's March into Hungary, 1643-5

After the death of Gábor Bethlen in 1629, his widow, Catherine of Brandenburg, was named to the position of prince of Transylvania, though her reign was brief. She returned

[1] Bethlen march of 1619-21 is detailed on pages 90-5.
[2] Infrastructural changes which affected the patterns of news reporting over the course of the Thirty Years War are covered on pages 30-1.

the counties granted to Bethlen in the Peace of Nikolsburg to the Emperor, prompting the formation of an opposing coalition of György Rákóczi and the hajducks. She abdicated soon thereafter, but the conflict continued between Rákóczi and Bethlen's brother, István Bethlen. The Transylvanian diet elected István prince in September 1630 and Rákóczi the following December, and, though Rákóczi retained the position, the fighting continued between the two until Rákóczi finally defeated Bethlen in 1636.[3]

Though Rákóczi had been courted by the anti-Imperial alliance since taking the principality, he did not enter the Thirty Years War until 1643.[4] It had been nearly twenty years since Transylvania's last involvement in the conflict, and in the intervening years, Sweden and France had become the major anti-Imperial powers. Gustavus Adolphus had conquered much of northern Germany before dying in the battle of Lützen, while France had become active militarily in the war, in addition to having provided earlier financial and diplomatic assistance. Not long after France declared war on the Habsburgs of both Spain and Austria, Ferdinand III succeeded his father as Holy Roman Emperor. When Rákóczi formalized his alliance with Sweden and France, the two countries had begun discussing a possible conclusion to the conflict with the new Emperor. However, given the complications which arose from having multiple combatants who entered and exited the war at various times and who had varying degrees of commitment, even the question of who would take part in the negotiations was a subject of considerable discussion. While these preliminary discussions were taking place, the fighting continued.[5]

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[3] G. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600-1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (2000), 36; K. Péter, 'The Golden Age of the Principality (1606-1660)', in L. Makkai and Z.Szász, eds., *History of Transylvania,* Volume 2*: From 1606 to 1830* (2001), 100.

[4] Sweden and France hoped for the assistance of the Ottoman Turks in the 1630s, but the Sultan was primarily concerned with Persia at the time. Murdock, *Calvinism,* 274; J. V. Polišenský, *The Thirty Years War*, trans. Robert Evans (1971), 215.

[5] J. Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire,* Volume 1 (2012), 615.

With Lennart Torstensson at its head, the Swedish army marched through the Habsburg Hereditary Lands in 1642, capturing and holding Olmütz despite Imperial attempts to retake the city. The Swedes then followed the Emperor's army into Saxony, defeating them at the Second Battle of Breitenfeld in November and returning to Olmütz the following spring.[6] However, by November 1643, when the alliance with Rákóczi was secured, Sweden's focus had turned north again as Denmark prepared to reenter the war, this time on the Imperial side. Rákóczi was left to continue the fight in the Hereditary Lands while the Swedish forces began to be pulled out.[7]

Rákóczi invaded Upper Hungary in February 1644 and quickly moved against the border towns of Kaschau, Tokai and Eperies, with the assistance of his general, Gábor Bakos and additional Wallachian, Moldavian and hajduck troops. This march was not as warmly greeted as Bethlen's of 1619-21, as the strength of the Protestant Hungarian nobility had waned considerably over the past twenty years. After the defeat of the Bohemian forces and Confederated Lands at White Mountain, the Habsburgs had aggressively pushed through counter-reformation efforts throughout the Hereditary Lands. Though the rights of the Hungarian Protestants were largely protected through the Peace of Vienna, which had followed Bocskai's rebellion, many important families had reconverted to Catholicism. Furthermore, the Imperial forces, led by General Johann Christoph von Buchheim, were sent from Moravia to besiege Kaschau in June, leaving Rákóczi's position in Hungary quite precarious.[8]

Meanwhile, the Imperial ambassador was attempting to curtail the Transylvanian's maneuvers through appeals to the Ottoman Porte. The Sultan had not objected to Rákóczi's original invasion of the Emperor's possessions in Hungary, because Ferdinand

[6] P. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (2010), 636-41.
[7] Péter, 'Golden Age', 124; Polišenský *Thirty Years War*, 226-7; Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 696.
[8] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 33-4; Péter, 'Golden Age', 124-5.

had yet to ratify the truce which had been agreed upon in 1642. Given Rákóczi's actions, however, Ferdinand quickly dispatched Count Czernin to Constantinople, and the Sultan was convinced to honor the agreed upon extension of the truce and removed his support from Rákóczi.[9]

Talk of peace between Rákóczi and the Emperor began in July 1644, and by October, representatives from both parties were sent to Tyrnau. However, these talks came to naught, and when the Swedish army returned to the Hereditary Lands in March 1645, Rákóczi reconfirmed his alliance with Sweden and France. Torstensson's decisive defeat of Ferdinand's forces at Jankau in Bohemia restored the optimism of the anti-Imperial forces. Rákóczi moved to join Torstensson in a siege of Brünn, which lasted through the summer. The city held out, though, and plague ravaged the Swedish and Transylvanian troops, so that Rákóczi once again turned to the Emperor to discuss a truce. At the end of August, a peace was agreed upon according to the same terms of the peace of Nikolsburg first established by Gábor Bethlen and Ferdinand II in 1621.[10]

4.2 News Reports and Stories of the Printed Newspapers

The march of Rákóczi into Upper Hungary may have mirrored Bethlen's march in some ways, particularly at its outset and conclusion, but it was not as successful in military or political terms, nor was it as popular in the printed news. While Bethlen's march occurred at a time when much of Europe was looking to the region and anticipating the potential repercussions of the Bohemian revolt, Rákóczi's march came after the weariness of war had taken over and a final peace was being discussed. Of the 6,961 total reports from the newspapers between August 1619 and December 1621, 15% reference some news of

[9] Péter, 'Golden Age', 127; Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 696-7.
[10] Péter, 'Golden Age', 126; Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy*, 697.

Transylvania; of the 4,838 reports from between November 1643 and August 1645, Transylvania is reported on in 9%. Though Rákóczi did not gain the same level of prestige or popularity as Bethlen, he was still a regular fixture of the newspaper stories.

In total, there are 473 news reports from the years 1643-5 on Rákóczi, Bakos and Transylvania, with Vienna acting as the dominant contributor with 290 reports. Prague contributes only 42 reports, maintaining a level of reporting on Transylvanian news similar to that of the year 1621 (see page 96). The only other city or region to contribute more than 10 reports is Leipzig, which had been occupied by the Swedish army following the battle of Breitenfeld in 1642 and includes news of Rákóczi in 30 reports. Other cities and regions, primarily in the Hereditary Lands and Germany, offer more occasional reports: Regensburg (9), Dresden (7), Breslau (6) Brünn (6) Linz (6), Silesia (5), Hamburg (4) and Rome (4).[11]

When the news is divided into reporting regions, the dominance of news from Vienna is even clearer, as just over 60% of all news reports originated in that reporting region (see Table 4.1). The reporting regions of the Hereditary Lands (except Vienna, but including Prague)[12] and German Lands[13] are roughly the same, with 78 and 71 reports, respectively. There is again a large disparity between these regions and the others, which all have 10 or fewer reports each: Poland and the Baltic[14], Hungary[15], the Mediterranean[16], Northwest Europe[17] and Other[18]. When reports from different

[11] Each name is as it appears in the dateline, so 'Silesia' does not include reports from other cities in Silesia, but rather just those with *aus Schlesien* in the datelines.
[12] Includes Austria, Baden, Bohemia, Breslau, Brünn, the Danube River, Ebersdorf, Iglau, Krems, Linz, Prague, Silesia and Troppau.
[13] Includes Altenburg, Bernberg, Cologne, Dresden, Erfurt, Franconia, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Meissen, Mistelbach, Münster, Osnabruck, Regensburg, Reich and Saxony.
[14] Includes Berlin, Danzig, Kiel, Cracow, Pülssen, Riga, Stettin, Thorn and Warsaw.
[15] Includes Hungary, Komorn, Pressburg, Tyrnau and Zips.
[16] Includes Constantinople, Rome and Venice.
[17] Includes Brussels, Lyon and Paris.
[18] Includes one announcement of the coming publication of the settlement arrived at by Rákóczi and Torstensson.

newspapers that repeat a given piece of news using the same wording are excluded (see pages 53-6), there remain 355 discrete news stories. The relative distribution of the stories among the reporting regions is fairly similar to that of the reports, though the news from the German Lands surpasses that from the Hereditary Lands, and the news from Northwest Europe surpasses that from the Mediterranean.

While the story of Bethlen's march into Hungary was told through reports from the rival centers of Vienna and Prague and supplemented by Hungary and the Hereditary Lands, Rákóczi's march twenty years later did not benefit from such varying coverage. The stories coming out of Vienna dominated the news of Transylvania. The narrative of Rákóczi's successes and failures during this period was told by the home city of his opponents, with few reports coming from sympathetic voices. This affected how each of the five news topics were included with particularly interesting consequences for how ceremony and religion were included, or excluded, as the case may be.

4.3 Systems of Reporting

Within these news stories, though seemingly limited by the reporting dominance of Vienna, wider systems of reporting are evident. Messengers carried news from marching armies to court in Vienna or Swedish headquarters in Leipzig; letters were sent from Vienna outwards to other major cities in the Holy Roman Empire. The communication of news from Hungary to Vienna became increasingly common, but without specifics of medium or city. Vienna and Prague continued to act as hubs of news exchange and were joined by the city of Breslau, which was often cited as a source of news in-text.

As with the reports of twenty years earlier, the news stories during this period commonly cite the source of incoming news, often other cities, regions or military camps (see page 98). However, while the reports on Bethlen vary considerably in the frequency

with which they cite another location, the reports on Rákóczi's march are remarkably consistent. In-text locations are named in roughly a quarter of the news stories from the major reporting regions of Vienna, the German lands and the Hereditary lands (see Table 4.2).

The in-text location is also linked with the media used to transmit the news. Nonspecific 'reports' are still the most commonly referenced source of information, with 20% of the total reports simply using words such *verlauten* and *berichten* to indicate that the news told had an earlier source. However, more specific media, such as letters or messengers, are referenced in 25% of the total news stories, and the medium used generally correlates with where the news originated. Specifically, the regions closer to the infrastructure of the postal system were more likely to send letters, while those further away used messengers, if any source of news was cited at all.

The reporting region of Hungary does not reference any outside source of news and the Mediterranean only offers one, a letter from Constantinople.[19] For both regions, this lack of in-text sources is likely related to the significantly fewer news reports which contributed news of Transylvania during this period.

The other 6 references to news coming from the Ottoman Empire are all in the stories from Vienna and include only 1 from Constantinople and 1, more broadly, 'auß Türckey'.[20] The other 4 are from Ottoman cities further north: 3 from Ofen and 1 from Griechisch Weißenburg.[21] News which traveled from the Ottoman Empire was primarily

[19] 'Auß Venedig/ vom 30. Decemb. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:2).
[20] 'Wien/ den 5. Augusti/ *St.N.*', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644:65); 'Wien Primo Junii.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:24).
[21] 'Aus Wien vom 13. 23. Junii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:28); 'Aus Wien vom 19. Martii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:13); 'Aus Wien vom 17. Maii.', *Ordinari Postzeitung* (n.p., 1645:23); 'Auß Wien/ den 19.29. Aprilis.', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1643:36).

conveyed by individuals, whether Imperial couriers returning from Constantinople or a colonel coming from Ofen (see Table 4.3).[22]

Likewise, the news which is cited as coming from a Transylvanian source was nearly always carried by an individual, namely messengers sent by Rákóczi. The prince sent messengers and envoys to Vienna in the process of beginning peace discussions and to Leipzig to update the Swedes on the status of these discussions.[23] On one occasion, the news carried by the envoys from Transylvania is not political but rather deals with the current position and status of Rákóczi's troops. This news was brought to Vienna by '2. Hauptleuth so vom Ragotzi gefangen gewesen/ unnd ohne Rantzion wieder loß gelassen/ anhero kommen'.[24] Rákóczi primarily used messengers to communicate with both his allies in camp and his enemies at court.

Only twice are letters referenced as a source of incoming news from Transylvania, and one was in the hands of a messenger.[25] The other was unintentional, as a letter sent from Rákóczi was intercepted in September 1643 and the news that he would soon be meeting the Swedish army was then printed.[26] This was not the only time that Rákóczi's communications were intercepted, but it was the only time their contents were printed. Two months later, a Transylvanian envoy was captured and his servant was tortured, but the envoy apparently did not reveal any information. Though his bags were searched and a letter was found, its contents were not related, and it is merely communicated that the letter contained numbers:

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[22] 'Wien Primo Junii.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:24); 'Aus Wien vom 13. 23. Junii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:28).
[23] 'Ein andere auß Wien/ vom 6. Aprilis *S.N.*', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:16); 'Wien vom 31. dito [Aug.].', *Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644: Wien 20.7.); 'Aus Wien vom 37 [*sic*]. Dito [Sept.].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:38); 'Ein andere auß Leipzig/ vom 3. Jenner', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:4).
[24] 'Auß Wien/ vom 16. Mart.', *Raporten: Freytags* (Cologne, 1644:1.4).
[25] 'Ein andere auß Wien/ vom 6. Aprilis *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:16).
[26] 'Auß Wien/ den 2. Dito [Sept.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1643:38).

> Vor zween Tagen ist ein Gesandter von dem Fürsten Ragotzi aus Siebenbürgen zum Brieg gefänglich eingebracht/ dessen Diener alsobalden Torquiret worden/ was sie ausgesaget/ ist annoch in geheimb. Man hat bey ihnen ein Schreiben mit Zeiffern im Sattelknopff gefunden/ daß man nicht lesen noch verstehen kañ/ sollen nebenst dem Gesandten ehister Tagen nacher Wien geschickt werden.[27]

Both the instance of the intercepted letter and that of the tortured servant took place before Rákóczi's march into Hungary began and his alliance with Sweden was solidified. Once his aggression was clear and formalized, either he took greater precautions or diplomatic conventions were followed.

The number of times news is attributed to Rákóczi or Transylvania is clearly outweighed by the frequency with which Hungary is cited as the source of information. Vienna, the German Lands and the Hereditary Lands all frequently use non-specific phrases to relate that news came from Hungary, such as 'Auß Ungern kombt Bericht' or 'Auß Ober-Ungarn hat man'. [28] For Vienna, these phrases account for two-thirds of the in-text citations of Hungary. When more specific locations are given they are most commonly from near the contested area of the mountain cities. Kaschau is cited on 3 occasions, Eperies 2 times, Fülleck, Zips, and the 'Hungerischen Bergstätten' 1 time each, and all but one instance occur in reports of military news.[29] The exception is a report from Vienna stating that Imperial men were waiting near the Eperies post to hear news of Rákóczi's envoys heading to Tyrnau for peace talks: 'In Ungarn haben die Unserigen bey Eperies Posto gefasset/ und will verlauten ob sollen die Ragotzische Abgesandten zu

[27] 'Bericht aus der Schlesien vom 14. Novembris.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1643:49).
[28] 'Regenspurg den 3. Maii.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:20); 'Auß Wien/ vom 16. Mart.', *Raporten: Freytags* (Cologne, 1644:1.4).
[29] From Kaschau: 'Aus Breßlaw vom 4. Dito [Jun.].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:25); 'Aus Wien vom 19. Martii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:13); 'Wien den 9. Mertzen.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:12). From Eperies: 'Auß Wien/ vom 30. Septemb. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1643:41); 'Auß Wien/ vom 19. Octobris.', *Raporten: Freytags* (Cologne, 1644:4.11); 'Wien vom 7. 17. dito [Sept.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1644:178); 'Wien den 13. dito [July].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p.,1644:30); 'Auß Lintz den 3. December.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:50).

Tyrna ankoṁen/ und selbige Tractaten ihren Anfang erreichet haben.'[30] The other 3 news reports from Hungary which name a specific city are from the neighboring cities of Pressburg and Tyrnau, with the report from Tyrnau giving news of the recent peace talks, while the 2 reports from Pressburg describe Rákóczi's preparations to march on Transylvania and his attacks on the mountain cities.[31]

News from Hungary does not generally reference the medium by it traveled, but on the rare occasions when there is an in-text reference to media, it is more often to an individual than to a letter. In stories from Vienna, Hungarian letters are mentioned only once, while people are mentioned 6 times as the carriers of news, including couriers from Kaschau, the Imperial army in Hungary, 'Herr Graff Zacky von Türnaw' and 'Passagieri auß Ober Hungarn'.[32] A story from Breslau also cites Hungarian passengers who had been in Kaschau ten days earlier and who brought news of Rákóczi's actions there.[33] Evidence for manuscript news includes letters from Hungary and Upper Hungary to Vienna and the Emperor's nearby residence at Ebersdorf, and 2 instances where the dateline of a Hungarian news report states that the report was originally in manuscript form.[34]

In the stories from Vienna and the Hereditary Lands, there are also 6 instances where it is implied that the amount of news coming out of Hungary is disappointing and more is desired. While a report from Breslau gives the reason for the lack of incoming

[30] 'Auß Wien/ vom 19. Octobris.', *Raporten: Freytags* (Cologne, 1644:4.11).
[31] 'Auß Wien/ vom 29. Dito [Mar.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1645:XVI); 'Wien vom 9. Aprilis.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1644:70); 'Aus Wien vom 6. Julii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:31).
[32] 'Aus Wien vom 19. Martii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:13); 'Wien den 9. Mertzen.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:12); 'Auß Wien/ vom 11. Maii. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:21); 'Ein anders Aus Wien vom 8. 18. Dito [May].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:23); 'Auß Wien/ vom 29. Dito [Mar.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1645:XVI); 'Auß Wien/ vom 8. 8bris/ *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:43).
[33] 'Aus Breßlaw vom 4. Dito [Jun.].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:25).
[34] 'Extract-Schreibens aus Gomorra vom 31. Martii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1644:70); 'Extracs Schreibenß auß Ungarn datieret Sk[?]ma vom 8. Januarii Anno 1645.', *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:8).

news, 'Auß Ungern haben wir nichts zu hören/ weilen Ragotzi der maisten örtther sich bemächtiget', generally no reason for the delay is given.[35] The impression is given that a certain amount of news from Hungary was to be expected and, if it was not included, its absence ought to be remarked upon: 'Aus Ungarn vernimmt man dißmal sonst nichts denckwürdiges/ als allein daß der Ragoczi wiederumb newe Friedens-Puncten proponiren lassen solle'.[36]

A fair amount of news also circulated within the reporting system of Vienna and the Hereditary Lands. The primary direction of news transmission within this system was north and west, mostly from Vienna, but also Krems, towards Prague, Bohemia and Linz.[37] There was also one story which traveled to Prague from Brünn, a city of particular strategic importance during that phase of the war, given Torstensson's actions in Moravia. This city also sent news to Vienna and Breslau.[38] Breslau ended up being a third point of news circulation, as news traveled from south and east, primarily from locations within Moravia and Silesia, and was sent back out to the cities of Prague and Vienna.[39]

Vienna and the Hereditary Lands are also the most frequently cited sources of incoming news in reports from the German Lands. Stories from Regensburg, Franconia,

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[35] 'Auß Preßlaw/ vom 23. dito [Apr.]', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:19). This is also the only instance where the oral transmission of news is linked to a particular location.

[36] 'Aus Wien vom 1. Februar.' *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:32).

[37] From Vienna in: 'Auß Prag/ vom 19. dito [Mar.].', *Raporten: Freytags* (Cologne, 1644:1.4); 'Aus Prag vom 29. dito [July].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:33); 'Böhmen vom 26. dito [Mar.]', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:60); 'Auß Lyntz/ vom 8. Dito [Apr.]', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1645:XVII). From Krems: 'Praag den 26. dito [Aug.]', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:36).

[38] From Brünn: 'Auß Prag/ vom 9. dito [Apr.]. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:16); 'Breßlaw den 28. Febr.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:45); 'Ein andere auß Wien/ vom 9. Augusti/ *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:34); From Moravia: 'Wien den 10. dito [Apr.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:21).

[39] From Moravia: 'Aus Breßlaw vom 7 Maii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther*: *Wochentliche* (Hamburg, 1644:19). From Oppeln: 'Aus OberSchlesien vom 15. Februarii.', *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:10). From Breslau: 'Auß Praag/ vom 17. Junii/ *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:26); 'Auß Wien/ vom 7. Sept. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:38).

Frankfurt and Dresden cite news as coming from Austria and Bohemia, and, particularly, Vienna.[40] The system of the Imperial post also continued to act as an important infrastructural network, as a report from Cologne cites news of Rákóczi as coming from Regensburg.[41] The city of Leipzig, however, occupied by Swedish army, received its news from the regions where Torstensson was marching, Silesia and Moravia. This exchange based on military networks is similar to the exchange that allowed Prague to receive news from Thurn in 1619-20 (see pages 98-9).[42] This division between the more established Imperial system of news reporting and the military system is even reflected in the two instances when Hungary or Transylvania is cited as a source of news. Regensburg cites news from Hungary while Leipzig received news from Rákóczi's envoy traveling with Torstensson.[43]

The importance of the infrastructure of the Imperial postal system can be seen most clearly in the preference for letters over messengers in the news coming from Vienna. Letters received from Vienna are specifically cited in reports from the proximate cities of Linz and Prague, as well as in those from the news centers further out:

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[40] From Vienna: 'Aus Regenspurg vom 19. Maii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:22); 'Auß Regenspurg/ vom 1. Jenner.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:4); 'Aus OberFrancken vom 8. Martii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:13); 'Aus Franckfurt vom 13. Junii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:26); 'Aus Dreßden vom 9. 19. Januarii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung: Zu Num. ... gehörige* (n.p., 1644:3); 'Aus Dreßden [Feb.?]', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:8). From Linz: 'Auß Regenspurg/ vom 16. Novemb:', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:49). From Prague: 'Zeitung auß Dreßden/ vom 5. September 1645.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:40). From Bohemia: 'Auß Francken/ vom 28. Februarii.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:10); 'Dreßden/ den 28. Martii/ *St.V.*', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen*: *Extraordinari* (Erfurt, 1645:31).

[41] From Regensburg: 'Aus Cöln vom 10. Septemb.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:38).

[42] From Breslau: 'Zeitung auß Leipzig/ vom 16. Junii 1645.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:28). From Silesia: 'Ein andere auß Leipzig/ vom 24. Junii.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:29). From Brünn: 'Zeitung auß Leipzig/ vom 22. Junii/ 1645.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:29). From Iglau: 'Aus Leiptzig vom 5. Julii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:29).

[43] From Hungary: 'Regenspurg den 3. Maii.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:20). From Transylvania: 'Ein andere auß Leipzig/ vom 3. Jenner.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:4).

Regensburg, Frankfurt, Dresden and even Thorn.[44] There are also two reports wherein the dateline states that news is from a letter.[45] Dateline evidence of the manuscript transmission of news directly to the place of printing also occurs in the news from Prague and Breslau, and twice in the news from the Royal Swedish Headquarters at Brünn.[46] Other letters transmitted from the Hereditary Lands were commonly exchanged between larger regional centers and major reporting cities; for instance, they traveled from Breslau to Vienna and Leipzig, from Prague to Dresden and from Brünn to Breslau.[47]

The reporting system which was bound more closely to the Swedish army does include a couple of references to news being transmitted via manuscript, but it was more common for a messenger to be used. When a letter was used, it was usually ascribed to a specific person. Though there is one instance in a report from Breslau where a letter arrived from Brünn with no extra information, it is more common for an individual's name to be included, as in the story from Leipzig where information is attributed to Colonel Oesterling writing from Iglau.[48] Other instances attributed to specific *Obersten* include 'Herr Obrister Villalobos auß Oppeln berichtet/ daß ihme Herr Obrister Rochau auß Teschen vor gewiß zugeschrieben', 'Herr Obr. Warlowski ist zu Reichstein gewesen

[44] Includes reports from note 39 from Linz and Prague and note 42 from Frankfurt, Dresden in January and both from Regensburg. Additionally, 'Aus Thorn vom 3. Martii 23. Febr.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung: Zu Num. ... gehörige* (n.p., 1644:8).

[45] 'Copia Schreiben aus Wien vom 23. Dito [Jan.].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:6); 'Aus einem Schreiben von Wien/ vom 10. 30. [*sic*] Julii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:30).

[46] 'Extract Schreiben aus Prag vom 9. Martii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:12); 'Extract Schreiben aus Breßlaw vom 10. Augusti.', *Particular, Post/ Hambürger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (Danzig, 1644:40); 'Extract Schreiben aus dem Königlichen Schwedischen Hauptquartier vor Brün vom 8. 18. Dito [May].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:24); 'Extract Schreiben aus dem Königl. Schwedischen Feldtläger vor Brinn vom 31. Julii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther*: *Wochentliche* (Hamburg, 1645:34).

[47] From Breslau: 'Auß Wien/ vom 7. Sept. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:38); 'Zeitung auß Leipzig/ vom 16. Junii 1645.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:28). From Prague: 'Zeitung auß Dreßden/ vom 5. September 1645.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:40).

[48] 'Breßlaw den 28. Febr.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:45).

auff der Post von Prag/ reiset nach Brieg/ hat berichtet', and 'ein Rittmeister vom Obristen Rosaw/ so abgedanckt/ und den 17. diß von Brinn abgereyst/ bringt mit'.[49]

News of Transylvania was primarily exchanged through three typical methods of regional reporting. There was habitual reporting, which frequently does not cite a medium of transmission, such as the reporting that occurred from Hungary to Vienna and from Vienna to Prague; military reporting, carried by messengers and moving from the Hereditary lands to Leipzig or from the Transylvanian army to Vienna; and postal reporting, often conveyed via manuscript letters, as from Vienna outwards to Regensburg and Frankfurt or directly to a news printer. Additionally, there are 3 instances when the news of Transylvania came from a source other than the lands of the Habsburgs, the marching armies or Hungary, but each followed one of the three methods of reporting. In accordance with military reporting, there is a story from Vienna of recently arrived messengers from Poland. While the content of the story is not explicitly military, it concerns the upcoming peace discussions between the Emperor and Rákóczi, in which the Polish king had agreed to act as mediator.[50] Furthering the postal reporting method are 2 instances where news came from Paris to Cologne and Brussels, the latter transmitted via letter, concerning the donation of a large sum of money to Rákóczi's war efforts by the French government.[51]

There are some similarities between the reporting systems involved in the news of Rákóczi and those from the beginning of the war. Vienna remained the most important reporting center for news of Transylvania. Furthermore, information tended to travel from

[49] 'Aus OberSchlesien vom 15. Februarii.', *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:10); 'Franckstein den 15. Febr.', *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:10); 'Zeitung auß Leipzig/ vom 22. Junii/ 1645.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:29).
[50] 'Wien/ den 7. Maii/ *St.N.*', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644:39).
[51] 'Aus Cöllen vom 7/17. Julii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:30); 'Brüssel/ den 5. 15. Julii.', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644:57).

armies and cities in the Hereditary Lands to the headquarters of the king who lead the troops, whether that city was Prague from 1619-20 or Leipzig from 1643-5. However, the number of reports directly from Hungary had decreased dramatically, and seems to have been replaced by an increased reliance on reports from Vienna which carried the news from Hungary. There was considerably less news from the Mediterranean, but the importance of the reporting system of the German Lands increased significantly during this period. In large part, this had to do with the development of an alternative network of communication developed by the Swedish army as they marched through the continent. Bethlen had been a leader of an army with many hopes but few allies. As the war progressed, France and Sweden became the major powers to oppose the Emperor. Rákóczi was not the focus of the resistance, but rather an extra arm contributing to a much greater force. As such, he was often the secondary or tertiary character in the news of greater powers who were reported on from a wider stretch of locations.

4.4 Politics

Though Bethlen's invasion of Hungary met with great political success, Rákóczi's was not as fortunate, given that many Hungarian nobles were no longer anxious to declare independence from Habsburg influence. Despite this apparent disadvantage, Rákóczi was able to negotiate a peace which matched the terms of the Treaty of Nikolsburg established by Bethlen in 1621, regaining the seven counties attached to the Partium. However, this success was due largely to the influence of the Ottomans, the recent military triumph of the Swedes and the fact that Europe was finally settling down to make peace.

Though by the end of 1645 Rákóczi found himself in situation not unlike that of Bethlen in 1621, the previous years of reporting contained no political event of importance capable of rivaling Bethlen's election as king of Hungary. Therefore, the ratio

of political news to military news dropped significantly (see Table 4.4). While the news on Bethlen was 48% political and 34% military, these percentages are flipped in the news on Rákóczi, which is 34% political and 53% military.

As Vienna was the major reporting center for this period, with its stories accounting for nearly two-thirds of the words devoted to Transylvanian news, the changing focus from political events to military news subsequently tips the balance for the aggregate ratio. Though there are half as many words on Rákóczi as on Bethlen, the amount of military news decreases by less than a third, while the political news decreases by two-thirds. Rákóczi was not a major political threat and did not have the consensus needed to usurp the Habsburgs' role as the hereditary kings of Hungary. However, his military actions, especially his potential to destroy the fertile lands of Bohemia and Moravia, were a threat to the livelihood of the Hereditary Lands after years of war and famine. This is similarly reflected in the comparable percentages of political and military news from the Hereditary Lands where marching armies are of greater importance than envoys and later peace discussions.

The German Lands are the only region to show an increase in the number of reports contributing news of Transylvania between the periods of 1619-21 and 1643-5 (compare Tables 3.1, page 155, and 4.1). Since this is largely due to the reports from Leipzig and the Swedish military command established there, it is unsurprising that these news stories have the same proportion of military and political news as the other major reporting regions of Vienna and the Hereditary Lands.

There are only a handful of stories from Hungary, the Mediterranean, Northwest Europe and the combined region of Poland and the Baltic, and of these, only Hungary contributes more than 400 words. Though it is difficult to make bold pronouncements on the percentage of news devoted to military and political events when there is so little

news given, it is interesting to note that the regions which carry the least news of Transylvania are more likely to focus on political events.

Political stories from this period at the end of the war, with the meetings in Osnabrück and Münster taking place, are often about the peace arrangements. While news on Bethlen's march includes hopes for alliances and the joy or despair of his election as king of Hungary (see pages 104-14), the news of Rákóczi is dominated by the desire for peace or the maintenance of peace, specifically between the Emperor and either the prince or the Ottomans. The story of the peace talks between the Emperor and Rákóczi is primarily told through 72 items of relevant news in Viennese reports from March 1644 to November 1645. The organization of a meeting to discuss the terms of peace is first mentioned in March, with the king of Poland acting as mediator: 'Der König in Pohlen soll sich zum Interponenten haben erbotten/ die Differentien zwischen Ihrer Käyserl. Mayt. unnd Ragotzi durch güttliche Tractaten beyzulegen'.[52] While the desire for peace by both sides is referenced throughout the news of the fighting of the spring and summer, the meeting is said to be finally set for September at Tyrnau.[53] The reports from Vienna vacillate between hope and despair. The 'gute Hoffnung zum Frieden' of September turned to comments in October that 'deß Ragotzi begerten schweren Puncten noch hart an'.[54] November brought hope again but then there quickly emerged struggles over demands for religious freedom.[55] The Hungarian palatine's departure in December once

[52] 'Aus Wien vom 19. Dito [Mar.].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:14).
[53] 'Auß Wien/ vom 31. Augusti.', *Raporten: Dinstags* (Cologne, 1644:XXXVII); 'Ein anders [Vienna] vom 21. dito [Sept.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1644:178); 'Auß Wien/ vom 21. Septemb.', *Raporten: Dinstags* (Cologne, 1644:XXXX).
[54] 'Aus Wien vom 8. Octobr.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:43); 'Wien den 26. dito [Oct.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:45).
[55] 'Auß Wien/ vom 9. Novembris.', *Raporten: Freytags* (Cologne, 1644:25.11); 'Wien den 19. dito [Nov.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:49); 'Aus Wien vom 20. Novem.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:50); 'Wien/ den 9. Decembris/ *St.N.*', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644:101).

again yielded optimism, as his stubbornness was blamed for the difficulties in the discussion.[56]

With the new year came an agreement on religion, as well as further demands for property: 'Von den Frieden sagt man allhier vor gewiß/ daß er geschlossen worden sey/ wie aber Brieffe melden/ haben sie sich in Religions-Sachen völlig verglichen/ in *Politicis* aber wil verlauten/ ob hette Ragotzi uffs new die 14 Spanschafften ihme einzuräumen begehrt'.[57] In March, the peace was concluded, but by April, news came that it had broken up again.[58] This was confirmed in July:

> So grosse Hoffnung man zum Frieden mit dem Ragoczi gehabt/ also schlecht lesset sichs nunmehro ansehen/ dann weiln sich selbiger gantz zerschlagen/ als sind die allhier anwesende Herrn Stände heute wieder von einander gereist/ darüber alles zum Krieg fertig gemacht wird.[59]

However, September 1645 finally saw the establishment of the peace accord, and the speculation in the news begins to deal with its length rather than its existence: 'Die rechten Ragotzischen Puncten seynd noch nicht heraus/ sollen 7. in 8. Bogen lang seyn'.[60] Though reports from November express a concern that the palatine's death in September may bring more demands from Rákóczi, the peace was nonetheless concluded.[61]

The 11 political news items from the German Lands rarely contain any details of the peace process, simply repeating that the meeting took place in November 1644, encountered difficulties in January 1645, was concluded in March and formalized in September.[62] The 3 news items from Leipzig also twice mention the peace talks' effects

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[56] 'Auß Wien/ vom 7. Decemb. *S.N.,*' *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:51).
[57] 'Copia Schreiben aus Wien vom 23. Dito [Jan.].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:6).
[58] 'Wien den 22. dito [Mar.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:14); 'Aus Wien vom 26. Dito [Apr.].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:20).
[59] 'Ein anders [Vienna] vom 19. dito [July].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:141).
[60] 'Ein anders aus Wien vom 21. Septemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther*: *Wochentliche* (Hamburg, 1645:40).
[61] 'Wien vom 30. Novembr.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:225).
[62] 'Auß Regenspurg/ vom 16. Novemb:', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:49); 'Auß Regenspurg/ vom 1. Jenner.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen*

on Sweden. In January, the reporter seems confident that the peace would not go through and that Rákóczi would remain loyal to Sweden.[63] Later in June, a story states that Rákóczi could not enter into a peace without his allies, and should be involved in the ongoing talks in Osnabrück: 'Ragotzi hat sich gegen dem Käyser *Cathegoricè* erklärt/ könne unnd wolle ohne Franckreich unnd Schweden nicht Frieden machen/ sondern sich in Osnabrückische Tractaten einschliessen'.[64] While the notion that Rákóczi could not negotiate a peace without Sweden and France is mentioned in April 1644 in a report from Vienna, the possibility of Transylvania's participation in Osnabrück is not stated in the Viennese news.[65] Rather, the French and Swedish envoys who arrived are seen as a hindrance to the peace talks: 'das Frantzösische und Schwedische Abgesandten zu Barthfeldt in Ober Ungarn bey Ragotzi gewesen/ in willens den Fried zu verhindern'.[66]

The 11 news items from the Hereditary Lands and the 4 from Hungary largely echo the process as described by the reports from Vienna, including the references made to the two main categories of demands made by Rákóczi during the peace process. The first mentioned are the religious points, the banishment of the Jesuits and the practice of freedom of religion: 'die Patres Jesuiter weder im Königreich sein noch Güter haben sollen/ und alle seider Anno 1608. den Evangelischen eingezogne Kirchen zu restituriren/ auch das freye *exercitium religionis* so wol für die Burger und Bawren/ als

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Historien (Strasbourg, 1645:4); 'Aus Leiptzig vom 12. 22. Januar.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:3); 'Aus Berlin vom 3. 13. Januarii. 1645.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung: Zu Num. ... gehörige* (n.p., 1645:1); 'Aus Dreßden vom 10. 20. Martii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung: Copia Schreibens* (n.p., 1645:27.2); 'Zeitung auß Dreßden/ vom 5. September 1645.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:40); 'Aus Cöln vom 10. Septemb.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:38).

[63] 'Ein andere auß Leipzig/ vom 3. Jenner.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:4).

[64] 'Aus Leiptzig vom 22. Junii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:27).

[65] 'Wien den 23. dito [Mar.].', *Particular, Post/ Hambürger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (Danzig, 1644:14).

[66] 'Aus Wien vom 16. Dito [Mar.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Ordentliche* (Hamburg, 1645:13).

für den Adel begehren'.[67] The other is the request for land, either the counties gained by Bethlen in the Nikolsburg peace, 'begeren die Restitution der Siben Spannschafften/ so der Bethlehem Gabor auch gehabt haben solle', or the Duchy of Oppeln and Ratibor.[68] Both of these points are referred to a similar number of times in the political news items from each region, with religion and land appearing 10 and 9 times, respectively, in the Viennese reports; 3 and 2 times, respectively, from the Hereditary Lands; and 1 time each from Hungary.

Though the demands for both religious freedom and the seven counties are mentioned an equal number of times by the reporting regions, they are not given equal consideration. Vienna devotes more words to the subject of the land transfer, while Hungary presents a more detailed explanation of the religious question. This is most clearly demonstrated by the enumerated lists of points under discussion distributed by the different reporting regions. During Rákóczi's negotiations, the points under consideration were printed on four occasions in the newspapers, with each list occurring within a report from a particular region. The points were listed briefly in a report from Vienna in April 1644, before the talks had begun; then they reappeared the following winter, in news from Hungary in January and Vienna in February; and finally, they were reprinted in news from Prague in September 1645, once the peace had been agreed upon.

The first list from Vienna is just 46 words long, and briefly points out the four demands Rákóczi had sent to Vienna: the expulsion of the Jesuits from Hungary, the return of Evangelical lands and status, a meeting of the diet and the return of Ottoman possessions to their rightful heirs.

[67] 'Wien den 19. dito [Nov.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:49).
[68] 'Wien den 9. dito [Nov.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644.47).

In January, this is expanded to nineteen points and 659 words in the 'Summarische Instructiones Puncta derer Legaten und Grafschafften/ welche von dem Fürsten und denen vom Adel bey der Caschauischen versamblung verfasset und Ihre Käys. May. zu befestigen vorgetragen werden sollen:' from Hungary.[69] Eleven of the points concern the status of the church: its protection, land, the role of the clergy and the rights of the Calvinists.[70] The remaining points concern the meeting of the diet, arrangements for peace with the Ottomans, and the promise of full amnesty and restored privileges for the rebels. Directly preceding this listed summary of proposed points is the statement that Rákóczi would also like the seven counties and the Partium in perpetuity as he promised the Ottomans a tribute from these lands.[71] This claim is deemed to be too much by the Hungarian news writer: 'allein ist hie endtzwischen der Siebenbürgische Fürst über verhoffen: weiß nicht woher: veranleutet worden/ daß Er ander wertige ein zugehen unmühgliche Puncta ein geschiket hat'.[72]

At the end of January, it appeared the parties had come to an agreement on the points of religion, and the focus of the printed peace points turns to the seven counties, previously referred to as the counties of Bethlen in earlier reports from Vienna.[73] At the beginning of February came news from Vienna that discussions were hindered by Rákóczi's demands for land:

> Mit dem Ragoczischen Frieden stehet es noch in schlechten Terminis/ dann er nachfolgende Puncten zu Thürnaw übergeben lassen. Erstlich Ihme Fürsten Ragoczi gantz Ober-Ungarn/ nemblich die 14. Gespanschafften/ neben den

[69] *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:8).
[70] For further discussion, see section 4.8 Religion, pages 201-6.
[71] The seven counties of the Partium and the seven attached counties from the Nikolsburg peace are here referred to as the '14. Principal Graffschafften deß Königsreichs Ungarn'. 'Extracs Schreibenß auß Ungarn datieret Sk[?]ma vom 8. Januarii Anno 1645.', *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:8).
[72] 'Extracs Schreibenß auß Ungarn datieret Sk[?]ma vom 8. Januarii Anno 1645.', *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:8).
[73] 'Auß Wien/ vom 24. Augusti.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1644:XXXVI); 'Wien den 9. dito [Nov.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:47).

> darinnen ligenden Berg-Städten/ ihme und seinen Kindern erblich einzurämen/ und von den andern Keyserlichen Ungarischen Landen abzuscheiden.[74]

These twelve points totaling 285 words continue to describe which castles and properties would be transferred to Rákóczi, including repair costs and hereditary claims, finally concluding with the promise that Rákóczi would not assist any enemy of the Emperor.

In September, with peace finally concluded, a report from Prague gives seven points in just 82 words.[75] This summation is considerably briefer than the two which preceded it and touches on each of the main points of consideration: the transfer of the seven counties and the duchy of Oppeln and Ratibor, the removal of the Jesuits to beyond the Danube, and the return of church property to its 1618 status. In addition, Rákóczi is declared a prince of the Empire, a palatine is said to be retained in Hungary and a comment is made that all financial decisions would be discussed at the following Hungarian Diet.

While neither the Viennese nor the Hungarian news fail to reference both the religious and secular stakes which were debated in Tyrnau, different perspectives are presented by each region. The points as printed by Hungary emphasize the religious concerns and injustices which Rákóczi himself proclaimed in his pamphlet, *Manifest Des Fürstens in Sienbenbürgen/ wodurch er denen gesampten Ungerischen Ständen die Ursachen und Motiven/*[...]*/ zu verstehen gibt*, printed in February 1644.[76] From Vienna come the demands of a secular prince desiring more land and personal property to enrich himself and his heirs. When the peace was finally concluded, Prague reported the final points: a brief overview, lacking specifics, but retaining both the religious and property concerns.

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[74] 'Wien den 3. Feb. st.n.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:32).
[75] 'Aus Prag vom 30. Septembris', *Ordinari Postzeitung* (n.p., 1645:42).
[76] G. Rákóczi, *Manifest Des Fürstens in Sienbenbürgen/ wodurch er denen gesampten Ungerischen Ständen die Ursachen und Motiven/ so ihn bewogen wider die Röm. Käyserliche Majestät und dero Glaubens- und Bunds- genossen die Waffen zu ergreiffen/ zu verstehen gibt*. (n.p., 1644).

The other major political narrative involving Transylvania, though in this case only tangentially, was the Habsburg desire to preserve peace with the Ottoman Empire, evidenced by the importance of the words *Keiser* and *Türken* in political news (see Table 4.5). The peace arranged between these two parties had not been renewed the previous year, and Ferdinand wanted to ensure that Rákóczi's campaign did not incite a more powerful aggression from Constantinople. This story is told through 21 news items from Vienna, 4 from the Hereditary Lands, 3 from the German Lands, 2 from Hungary, 2 from the Mediterranean and 1 from Poland-Lithuania.

In January 1644, as Rákóczi was preparing to begin his march, Vienna feared that not only would he receive assistance from the Swedes, but that aid would also come from the Ottoman Turks.[77] Vienna sent ambassadors to the Porte that spring, first Commissioner Rauch in March then, and when there was a desire for an even more impressive personage, Buchheim was slated to follow in the summer:

> Weil der Türckische Kayser stärck auff die abschickung der grossen Pottschafft tringet/ und verspricht auff deren erscheinung den Ragotzi zu ruck zu fordern/ als haben Ihre. Kays: Mayest: den Graffen von Buchheim darzu ernent/ auff *primo* Julii mit stattlichen Presenten nach Constantinopoli auffzubrechen/ welcher hierzu 160. persohnen annimbt.[78]

They received assurances that the Ottomans would not send troops to assist Rákóczi, if certain terms were met.[79]

The question of Rákóczi's possession of the seven counties was of concern to the Ottomans, and the Sultan stated this concern early on: 'dann der Groß Türck entschuldiget sich und will ihnen kein Hülff leisten/ er mache dann 7. Comitatus so Bethlehem Gaber gehabt/ den Türcken wie Siebenbürgen unterthänig/ dessen Ragotzi

[77] 'Auß Wien den 20. Jenner.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:5).
[78] 'Wien vom 4. Martii.', *Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:8.3); 'Zeitung auß Wien/ vom 27. Aprilis/ 1644.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:19).
[79] 'Auß Venedig/ vom 30. Decemb. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:2).

bedenckens hat'.[80] The Ottoman interest in this matter was primarily financial, as Rákóczi promised the Ottomans tribute from these lands even before he had secured their possession: 'und das Er albereit den Türcken von all diesen Graffschafften/ Schlösier und Städten Jährlichen ein gewissen Tributh zugeben versprochen'. This was reported in a story from Hungary coupled with the threat that 'wann dieses alles nicht eingegangen werden solte/ wolt Er die Stadt Caschau mit einer grossen anzahl Türcken besetzen lassen'.[81] In order to secure peace with both Rákóczi and the Ottomans, the counties would have to be given to Transylvania.

The peace with the Ottomans was secured in the spring of 1645, just as the Swedish forces were returning to the Hereditary Lands, and the Transylvanians became eager to join them, particularly Gábor Bakos. The Imperial envoy, Colonel Beigot, was dispatched to the Pasha in Ofen demanding 'warumb dieser Bacos Gabor sich moviret/ weiln es seinem (des Bassa) versprechen zuwider ist', and is assured that Rákóczi will not move to join the Swedes.[82] As the Transylvanian forces did, in fact, join Torstensson at Brünn, the Ottomans became more directly involved, sending representatives to Pressburg with threats: 'Zu Preßburg ist ein Türggische Aga ankommen/ so den Ragotzi bey Verlurst seines Lebens und Fürstenthumbs die Waffen wider Ihr Kays: May: niderzulegen angebracht'.[83] With his troops dying of disease outside of the unsuccessful siege and orders from his suzerain in hand, Rákóczi ended his assault on the Emperor and exited his alliance with Sweden.[84]

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[80] 'Auß Wien/ vom 24. Augusti.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1644:XXXVI).
[81] 'Extracs Schreibenß auß Ungarn datieret Sk[?]ma vom 8. Januarii Anno 1645.', *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:8).
[82] 'Aus Oesterreich vom 16. 26. Aprilis.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:20); 'Aus Wien vom 10. Dito [May].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther*: *Wochentliche* (Hamburg, 1645.21).
[83] 'Wien den 21. dito [June].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:27).
[84] In his printed letter to Axel Oxenstierna, Torstenson attributes Rákóczi's giving up the siege to the Ottoman orders. 'Extract aus des Herrn General Feldmarschall Linnard Torstensons Excell. an den Herrn General Major und Gouverneur Axell Lillien abgelassenen Schreiben de dato im Feldlager zu Mistelbach den 20. August Anno 1645.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:174).

A report from Torstensson to Axel Oxenstierna states that Rákóczi is abandoning the siege of Brünn; this report occurred only a month after a news report from Vienna gave word that Rákóczi had renewed his treaty with France and Sweden for three more weeks.[85] This speculation on the state of the Transylvanian-Swedish-French alliance is another, less common, theme which runs through the news. It was a concern from the start of Rákóczi's march, through the peace discussion and up to the final withdrawal from the siege at Brünn.

The French and Swedes appear 20 times in the political news of Transylvania from Vienna, 13 times in that from the German Lands, 1 time in that from the Hereditary Lands and 5 times in that from Northwest Europe (see Table 4.5). Of these, 7 references concern the agreements made, the disappointments suffered or the assistance the allies gave to each other, with a sense of uncertainty concerning each side's commitment to the alliance. While the promise of Swedish troops to assist the Transylvanians was made in 1643 and January 1644, the first mention of a formalized alliance occurred in March: 'auch daß die Verpündtnuß zwischen ime/ Franckreich und Schweeden/ so groß seye/ daß er/ und seine Erben auff Kind/ unnd Kindskinder kein Friden ohne vorwissen Franckreich uñ Schweeden machen wolle'.[86] This agreement to make no peace without the consent of the allies was followed two months later by a reversal, as the promised assistance from Sweden had not arrived.[87] During the Transylvanian-Habsburg peace discussions, Rákóczi continued to keep the Swedes informed, sending an envoy with a message that:

[85] 'Extract aus des Herrn General Feldmarschall Linnard Torstensons Excell. ... den 20. August Anno 1645.' *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:174); 'Wien den 16. dito [July].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:35).
[86] 'Wien den 23. dito [March].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:14).
[87] 'Wien den 26. dito [May].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:23).

'man an deß Ragozi Beständigkeit gegen der Cron Schweden im geringsten nicht zuzweiffeln habe'.[88]

The most common way that Transylvania's allies appear in these news stories is through the reporting on the departure or arrival of envoys. Fourteen political news items are about messengers, letters and envoys, especially the movement of French envoys. In particular, the journey of the French envoy Crossius through Germany to reach the Swedes and then to visit the Transylvanian prince was reported in October and November 1644 from Hamburg, Lower Saxony and the Swedish Camps at Bernburg, until he finally arrived at the Tyrnau peace discussions, seemingly to the Imperial commission's annoyance: 'die Ragozischen *deputierten* erzeigen sich wegen eines bey Ihrem Fürsten ankommenen Frantzösischen Gesandten/ bey den Türnawischen Friedens *tractaten* sehr wiederspenstig'.[89]

The arrival, departure and assignation of envoys, not as carriers of the news but as the subject of the news themselves, remain a common occurrence in the stories from every reporting region. Approximately a third of the political items from Vienna (47 of 141) include news of envoys. While most of the news of envoys arriving and departing follows expected patterns of diplomatic engagement, even from warring parties, there are a few cases of less intentional communication. Intercepted letters appear 4 times in news from Vienna: once a letter from the Archbishop of Gran to the Hungarian palatine was intercepted by Rákóczi, while 3 times communication between Rákóczi and Sweden was

[88] 'Ein andere auß Leipzig/ vom 3. Jenner.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:4).
[89] 'Hamburg den 22. October.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:45); 'Auß Nieder Sachsen/ vom 28. Octobr. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:45); 'Aus dem Königl. Schwedischen Feldlager vom 6. Nov.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung: Extra-Ordinary Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:48); 'Zeittung auß dem Schwedischen Feldtläger bey Bernburg/ vom 8. Novemb: *Anno* 1644.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:49); 'Ein andere auß Wien/ vom 16. Novemb. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:48).

intercepted by the Imperial forces.[90] However, these communications were, at least occasionally, passed on to the intended party: 'solte er nur so schreiben/ damit er den Ragotzi animiren könte/ dieses Schreiben ist von den Keyserischen intercipirt und den Ragotzi zugeschickt worden'.[91] In one case, in the November before Rákóczi began his march in Hungary, a Transylvanian envoy's servant was captured. The reports from Vienna and Leipzig only mention that Rákóczi's man had been taken prisoner, while the story from Silesia, where the event took place, gives a more gruesome picture of torture and indecipherable letters.[92]

Given the Viennese dominance of the Transylvanian news, the political events which received the most attention were those that were of the greatest concern to the Habsburgs: the ongoing peace discussions and the placation of the Ottoman Empire. Though these issues were not the concern of Vienna only, and certainly of interest to other regions, they dominate the Transylvanian political news because of Vienna's position as primary reporter. The further involvement of Sweden and France in Transylvanian affairs is also included to a lesser degree, largely because of the reporting from the German Lands. What does not receive much notice is the perception of these events either within Hungary or Transylvania. Though Hungary is referenced many times in the news, it is usually within the context of an envoy arriving in Vienna, property being transferred, or the replacement of the palatine, not the detailed discussions of diet meetings seen during Bethlen's period (see pages 107-9). During this period, it was Vienna's political concerns

[90] 'Wien den 10. dito [Aug.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:34); 'Auß Wien/ den 2. Dito.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1643:38); 'Wien den 23. dito [March].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:14); 'Wien von 20. Julii.', *Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:20.7).
[91] 'Wien von 20. Julii.', *Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:20.7).
[92] As mentioned earlier: see note 29. 'Bericht aus der Schlesien vom 14. Novembris.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1643:49). Also in 'Auß Wien/ den 3. Dito [Nov.?].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1643:47); 'Auß Leiptzig den 29. Nov: Año 1643.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1643:51).

about Transylvania, peace with Rákóczi and the appeasement of the Ottomans, which drove the narrative that was published.

4.5 Ceremony

By the end of the Thirty Years' War, much of the ceremony and celebrations that had been a fairly regular feature of Bethlen's news stories had disappeared. The opening years of the war included 93 instances of ceremonial language from nearly every reporting region describing of pomp and parade of court, the baptism of Frederick's son, celebrations of Bethlen's kingly election, state dinners, costly presents and military salvos, much of which was from the reporting regions of Prague and Hungary (see pages 114-9).[93] However, by Rákóczi's time, with Vienna dominating the news stories, the pageantry had diminished in both frequency and detail. The 17 ceremonial news items of 1643-5 have fewer descriptions of finery and place more emphasis on negotiated power relationships. While Bethlen is depicted as a king who received expensive gifts from other rulers and sent stately envoys to the courts of Europe, Rákóczi is described as a military leader whom no one was trying to woo with great presents and whose banquet ended in disaster. Ceremony was included in the news stories when the reporter had an express desire to elevate the status of the subject, and Vienna had no cause to exaggerate Rákóczi's stature.

The most common form of ceremony in the reports of Rákóczi, as in the stories of Bethlen, is the presentation of gifts, an action which in many ways demonstrates the political process writ small. There are only 8 presentations of gifts in the stories of 1643-5, and each demonstrates a different relationship through the period (see Table 4.6). In the spring of 1644, as talk of a possible peace began, Rákóczi sent envoys with 'mit ungefehr 100. Pferden und statlichen Praesenten' to Ofen and 'einen Sedel 1000. Reichs Thaler

[93] For more on the process of determining ceremonial language and subject areas see pages 68-9.

werth' to the Emperor in Vienna.[94] Once the king of Poland had been designated as the arbiter of the Transylvanian-Imperial peace, the prince attempted to send a gift to him as well, but Homonnai intercepted and destroyed it:

> die Ragotzisché gehn den unsern immer nach/ welcher Fürst dem König in Polen 300. Faß Toggeyer Wein/ unnd 20. stattliche Pferdt zu senden wöllen/ welche aber dem Humanay in die Händ kommen/ der die Weinfässer zerschlagen/ den Pferdten Ohren und Schwaiff abschneiden/ und also forthpassieren lassen.[95]

When, during the summer of 1645, the talks seemed to have fallen through and Rákóczi reentered his alliance with Sweden and France, this relationship was solidified with his presentation to Torstensson of expensive and stately presents and horses.[96] In each of these cases, Rákóczi was the party with less power and prestige trying to curry favor, either with the hope of active support or tempered hostility. In direct contrast to Bethlen, in no news story does someone present Rákóczi with a gift and try to win his consideration.

Meanwhile, the Emperor and the Sultan each presented gifts to the other, hoping to preserve a peace between empires. The Emperor sent Buchheim to Constantinople with gifts and the hope of extending the truce in April 1644.[97] In August, the Vizier of Ofen visited the Emperor and presented 'ein Pferd uñ Türckischen Teppich' along with the promise that there would be no more assistance given to Rákóczi.[98] Rather than gifts being presented in either court continuously, each accompanied a specific messenger with a specific message.

There is another form of presentation of a more military nature. On two occasions, in June 1644 and April 1645, Buchheim came to the Emperor with the presentation of

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[94] 'Aus Wien vom 19. Martii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:13); 'Wien/ den 2. Aprilis/ *St.N.*', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644:29).
[95] 'Wien den 20. dito [July].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:31).
[96] 'Wien den 16. dito [July].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:35).
[97] 'Zeitung auß Wien/ vom 27. Aprilis/ 1644.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:19).
[98] 'Aus Wien 21.31. Augusti.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:37).

ensigns captured from Rákóczi.[99] In neither instance is great description given or fanfare demonstrated; rather, a seemingly routine demonstration of victories won is presented. Likewise, the only instance of an event that even remotely appears as a procession during this time period is similarly brief and martial. Instead of captains arriving with gold braiding and beautiful saddles, there was only a captain coming to Vienna with captured standards and servants: 'von deme Sontags ein Rittmeister 2. Standarten und etlich Knecht gefangen hieher eingebracht worden'.[100] After so many years of war, coffers and spirits were lower.

Banquets and guesting only appear a handful of times in these news stories, but the different instances do highlight interesting characteristics of these celebrations. Most commonly, they mark an agreement made or hoped for between parties, as Rákóczi threw a banquet for the Ottomans and French in Kaschau after returning to the alliance.[101] However, an invitation to a banquet could also be a consolation prize, as Rákóczi's envoy in Vienna complained that he had not had an audience with the Emperor, though he had been amused at court:

> Der Ragotzische Abgesandte ist nunmehr von hier abgereiset/ hat geklaget/ er hette uber Verhoffen bey Keyserlicher Majestät keine *Audientz* haben können/ da er doch auff alles/ so er gefraget werden möchte/ mit der Antwort *instruiret* gewesen/ man hat ihm in Beyseyn vieler vornehmen *Cavallier*, ein stattlich Panquet gehalten/ der hat sich auch ziemblich lustig erzeiget.[102]

In this case, the Transylvanian representative was not content with the show of court, but had hoped for a visit with more substantial consequences.

While most of these moments of ceremonial expression existed in a diplomatic sphere, where leaders discussed peace and envoys approached kings, banquets also acted

[99] 'Aus Wien vom 13. 23. Junii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:28); 'Ein anders auß Wien/ vom 5. April.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1645:XVI).
[100] 'Ein andere auß Wien/ vom 13. Julii/ *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:30).
[101] 'Aus Wien vom 19. 29. Dito [July].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:30).
[102] 'Wien/ den 5. 15. Aprilis.', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644:33).

as the setting for a mini-lesson on the dangers of celebrating in the field. As Rákóczi and his men feasted in the Castle Murány in August 1644, Colonel Wesselényi, the commander of Fülleck, attacked in the night with 200 soldiers, who slayed many men and officers and took the castle and supplies therein.[103] Of the 4 banquets which appear in the news of Rákóczi, one is a disappointment and another is a slaughter of Transylvanian men.

Even the ceremonial address during this period, which costs no money, shows signs of having been tempered over time. The most florid description within these news stories is the address given to Gábor Bakos, who is described as 'ein verständiger und guter Soldat'.[104] Instead of the *Leib, Ehr und Gut* with which loyalty was proclaimed to Bethlen, there remains the 'Kayserlicher allergnädigster Perdon' promised to the Hungarians if they rejected the advances of the Transylvanian prince.[105] The Transylvanians of 1643-5 were not presented as political leaders, but as good soldiers who could be favored with pardon by the Emperor once they were defeated.

These differences in the reporting of ceremony between 1619-21 and 1643-5 were due both to changes in actual circumstance and news coverage. Rákóczi did not have Bethlen's political success since the Hungarian nobility did not rally around him, and he did not benefit from Protestant allies who were desperately searching for a leader to combat the Habsburgs. The absence of these two political circumstances also meant the loss of the two reporting regions who offered the most positive news of Transylvania: the ally in Prague and the support in Hungary. Not only did nearly thirty years of war mean that the money and excitement of the beginning of the conflict had waned, but also that the only city that remained to contribute the majority of the news of Transylvania was

[103] 'Wien vom 24. Augusti.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1644:165).
[104] 'Iglaw vom 24. dito [May].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:107).
[105] 'Auß Wien/ den 18. Maii.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1644:XXII).

Rákóczi's enemy in Vienna. The absence of ceremony in the news of Rákóczi does not mean that the prince never received a gift or sent a fine procession of envoys, but rather that it was in the self-interest of no region to report such an event.

4.6 Violence

Although the proportion of military news to political news increased between the reporting on Bethlen and that on Rákóczi, the language of violence actually decreased. Words from the lexicon of violence (see Table 2.3, page 88) appear at a rate of 94 times every 10,000 words in the stories of 1619-21 (see pages 120-6), while the same words appear 87 times every 10,000 words in the stories from 1643-5 (see Table 4.7).[106] Vienna, the most important reporting region during this period, likewise shows a slight decline in the frequency with which it uses the vocabulary of violence, going from 111 to 103 words per 10,000 words between the two periods. However, this decrease is negligible when compared with the reduction in the violence words in the news from the Hereditary Lands. This region, which had acted, during Bethlen's period as the major reporting region, has the highest frequency of violence words: they appear 133 times for every 10,000 total words. In the years 1643-5, the Hereditary Lands (which include Prague), uses violence vocabulary half as frequently: only 65 times per 10,000 words.[107]

The distribution between the five frequency categories is fairly consistent, with the words from category 4 appearing the most frequently, followed by categories 5, 3, 2 and 1, in that order. However, the gap between frequency category 4 and the others, which is also present during Bethlen's period, becomes even greater during Rákóczi's.

[106] For more on the methodology behind the analysis of violence in the news stories, see pages 71-2.
[107] This number is even lower than that seen in Prague from 1619-21 (67 per 10,000), the major reporting region which uses the least number of words from the violence lexicon. Every other reporting region demonstrated an even greater decline in violence language, with the exception of the Mediterranean and Poland & Baltic regions.

This is in large part due to one word: *niedermachen*. This verb is largely synonymous with *niederhauen* (of category 5), but does not appear in the news stories of 1604-5 or those of 1619-21. By 1643-5, though, *niedermachen* has become the word most frequently used to describe the act of killing, outnumbering *niederhauen* 25 to 3.[108] It is primarily used in lists of casualties resulting from conflict between armies, which also include the number of men captured and weapons lost: 'hette die Ragotzkysche davor angegriffen/ auß ihrem Vortheil getrieben/ uber 1000. niedergemacht/ etlich 100. gefangen/ 9. Stücke Geschütz/ und etliche Fahnen erobert/ ubriges in die Flucht gebracht'.[109] As with *niederhauen* of earlier periods, it largely represents the routine language of war and is the chief reason that death without an implied weapon remains the most frequently appearing subject area of the violence lexicon (see Table 4.8).[110]

Words for plundering and damage to property remain the second most frequently appearing subject area, once again largely due to the use of the words *Schaden* (which appear 13 times) and *plündern* (7).[111] These words describe general damage, such as 'mit Plünderung und Brand nit wenig Schaden gethan', or in the condemnation of Rákóczi preached by a Reformed bishop who would no longer condone 'Rauben/ Plündern/ und Verwusten der Flecken/ Adelhöffen/ Acker unnd Felder in Ungarn'.[112] There are also specific cases of destruction caused, as seen in the reports from Leipzig and the Danube River describing the Transylvanian abandonment of Brünn in June 1645, during which 60 Swedish riders were taken as booty: 'Dem General Dorstensohn seynd vor Prin 1500.

[108] *Niedermachen* is used 23 times in stories from Vienna and 2 times in stories from the German Lands; *niederhauen* appears 2 times in stories from Vienna and 1 time in stories from the Hereditary Lands.
[109] 'Wien/ den 6. 16. Septembris.', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644:77).
[110] The other words used to describe death are *Tod* (6), *erlegen* (5), *hauen* (2) and *umbringen* (2).
[111] The other words used to describe damage are *ruiniren* (4), *verwüsten* (2), *zerstören* (1) and *verderben* (1)
[112] 'Wien vom 4. Martii.', *Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:8.3); 'Aus OberUngarn vom 13. Dito [July].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:31).

Ragotzische Völcker außgerissen welche im Haimreisen 60. Schweedische Reutter so auf der Beuth geweßt/ außgeblindert/ und gefangen mit hinweg geführt'.[113]

Death or injury by means of a particular weapon becomes, during this period the third most common form of violent language. However, while the verb *schießen* is dominant during Bethlen's period, in the stories from 1643-5 the word is used only once.[114] Many of the words that are used reflect a precise or unusual use of weaponry, such as the aforementioned servant tortured for information on papers he was carrying and Rákóczi's Wallachian troops who were punished in Brünn in the spring of 1644 with '135. gehenckt/ 29. lebendig geviertheilet/ 20. todt geviertheilet/ 12. lebendig gerädert/ 12. geköpfft/ 1. lebendig gespiest/ und 1. geschunden worden'.[115]

The use of adjectives and words signifying emotions is slightly lower during Rákóczi's era that during Bethlen's era, but this can be explained in large part by the relative absence of violent vocabulary in news coming from the Hereditary Lands.[116] In fact, if just Vienna's usage of these words is considered, the decrease is negligible, going from 11 adjectives per 10,000 words to 10 and from 8 emotional words per 10,000 to 7. However, the drop in descriptions of burning and fire cannot be explained by changes in the reporting systems. These words appear only 5 times in the reports of this period and 2 refer to the same incident, reported from both Vienna and Prague—Rákóczi set fire to the mills which had been serving a source of food for the Imperial army.[117] However, *brennen* and *Feuer* do not leave the vocabulary of the newspapers, and though they are rarely used

[113] 'Leiptzig den 18. dito [June].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:27).
[114] Other weaponry words are *abschneiden* (3), *trennen* (3), *vierteilen* (3), *hängen* (2), *enthaupten* (2), *torquieren* (1), *vernageln* (1), *schinden* (1) and *Piquen* (1).
[115] 'Bericht aus der Schlesien vom 14. Novembris.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1643:49); 'Aus Wien vom 19. Martii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:13).
[116] The adjectives are *schlecht* (7), *schwer* (5) and *ernst* (2). The emotion words are *Furcht* (4), *beängstigen* (3), *Verbitterung* (2), *Schrecken* (1) and *Furie* (1).
[117] 'Aus Prag vom 11. Junii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:25); 'Auß Wien/ vom 8. Junii.', *Raporten: Dinstags* (Cologne, 1644:XXV).

to describe the actions of Rákóczi's army, they do reappear in the reports of a later period (see Table 5.7, page 271).

One word which does appear with surprising frequency, though it is not expressly a violence word, is *Feind*. From 1619-21, this word is chiefly used by Prague and the Hereditary Lands appearing 21 and 31 times per 10,000 words, respectively. For 1643-5, this word only appears once for this combined region (a rate of 4 times per 10,000 words). However, the regions of Hungary and Vienna make up for this loss, with Hungary using *Feind* 5 times and Vienna 27. Additionally, while the enemy referred to in Bethlen's era is generally the Emperor, during Rákóczi's time the enemy identified is always Rákóczi or his lieutenants. For Vienna, the bulk of these references to the enemy take place during the periods when Rákóczi's army was advancing or threatening to advance, as in a report from the beginning of June 1644, when Rákóczi succeeded in killing and capturing many Imperial troops: 'General Götz hat dem Ragotzi unfer der Reissa in 800. Mann in einen Morast gejagt/ darin Roß unnd Mann verderben müessen/ darauff deß Feinds Corpo auch in die flucht gebracht/ vil erlegt/ und gefangen'.[118] References to the enemy still occur during the peace negotiations, though they are less frequent and do not necessarily refer to an Imperial view of Rákóczi as the enemy. For instance, in a report from November of 1644, the first reference to a *Feind* is a threat made by Rákóczi to Batthyány that he should not attempt entering the conflict or else he will be treated as an enemy. However, immediately following this declaration, is news from Hungary of the peace discussions in Tyrnau, in which Rákóczi is not referred to by name, but rather called *Feind*:

> auch hat der Ragozi dem Herrn Budiani zu entbieten lassen/ Er solle sich nicht in den Krieg mischen/ sonsten Er ihn als einen Feindt *tractieren* wolle/ und kommen jetzo auß Ungern Zeittung ein/ ob hätten sich die *tractaten* mit dem Feindt

[118] 'Wien Primo Junii.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:24).

> zerschlagen/ und sollen deß Feindts abgeordtnete allbereit zuruck kommen/ unnd man unserer täglich gewährtig sein.[119]

Similarly, the news from Hungary also uses *Feind* to refer to Rákóczi.[120] From Pressburg came the news that it was not yet known what developments the enemy had in store: 'was der Feind zu thun geneigt ist/ so haben die Ragotzkyschen die *Blocquada* Zendero verlassen/ *Baccos Gabor* führet mit 3000. leichten Reutern den Nachzug/ ob nun was vorgehen möchte/ stehet zu erwarten'.[121] The following February, Rákóczi was again called the enemy as he moved from Tyrnau to Moravia to act as a diversion for Torstensson: 'der Feind Ragoczi unsern wenig allhier verbliebenen Völckern ziemlich wieder annähern'.[122] The news from Hungary from twenty-five years earlier largely offers a positive view of the Transylvanian prince—when the diets elected him as king and he was at the head of grand processions—but during this later period, the region presents no ceremony around the prince and calls him *Feind.*

The language of violence is by no means stagnant. *Niedermachen* entered the common usage while *brennen* and *schießen* largely dropped away. Words such as *Feind* still appear, but are used by different regions and in changing ways. However, Vienna's dominance of the reporting on Transylvania during this period means that there is little comparison that can be made between reporting regions. This is by no means the case fifteen years later, when Rákóczi's son made his march.

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[119] 'Auß Wien/ vom 11. November *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:48).
[120] The one exception is a use of *feindlicher* not to identify a specific person or group, but rather to describe a hostile action in the peace points: '19. Und weil nicht auß freundlichen anfall/ oder Feindlicher bekriegung/ sondern zu beschützung deß Vaterlandes und der Freyheit/ zu den waffen gegrieffen worden/ alß soll allen und jeden ein General Amnistia ertheilet werden'. 'Summarische Instructiones Puncta derer Legaten und Grafschafften/[...]', *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:8).
[121] 'Preßburg/ den 15.25. Novembris.', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644:101).
[122] 'Aus Thürna vom selben dito [Feb.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:31).

4.7 Economics

The armies marching through the countryside, plundering and killing, had a considerable effect on the economies of all regions involved, whether it was the cost of feeding and maintaining those troops, the cost to the civilians suffering the devastation or the governments' need to make payments to other countries, either to entice them into a conflict or convince them to stay out. Each of these economic considerations—military, civilian and inter-governmental payments—are present in the news of Rákóczi, just as they are present in the news of Bethlen (see pages 126-32).[123]

However, overall, the percentage of items of economic news decreased from Bethlen's time to Rákóczi's, particularly those on the subject of military costs. Though this subcategory of economic concerns remains the most prevalent, it is not nearly as common as it was in 1619-21. From 1619-21 two-thirds of the total economic news was directly concerned with the cost of the army (see Table 3.8, page 158), but in 1643-45 it is less than half (see Table 4.9). This is in part due to fewer reports on the subject coming from Vienna, as the percentage of stories which discuss military economy dropped from 10.2% to 8.7%, but is much more a product of the decreasing attention paid to the Transylvanian army by the Hereditary Lands and Hungary. The absence of news from these reporting regions not only affects the amount of economic news, but also influenced the prevailing subjects.

The military economic news of this period is dominated by the difficulty in providing for the army. While at the start of the war, the concern was more for raising troops and providing them with income lest they change sides, by the end of the war, there was a desperate need to find food, munitions and even clothing. As Rákóczi's march began in the late winter and early spring, there was a scrambling for the limited resources

[123] For more on how economic news is defined and divided by category, see pages 76-7.

available. From Vienna is news that Rákóczi was promised men, provisions and munitions by the Ottomans and that he captured castles in order to provide for his army.[124] Both sides of the conflict seized castles for the express purpose of gaining control of limited resources. Rákóczi took Sendur near Kaschau in March 'auß mangel Proviant erobert'; in June, General Götz attacked Padoch, 'darin der Ragotzi sein Magazin und allen Vorrath hat', while Rákóczi took Castle Szerencs where 'viel Proviandt und Wein gewesen'.[125] This need for food and supplies was acknowledged as the reason an army moves: Rákóczi 'im zurück March nacher Labensa begriffen seyn/ dé Lebensmitteln desto näher zu seyn/ und die dahin auff geschickte Stück und Munition an sich zu ziehen'.[126] The reporting on this element of the economy of war can be seen to be concentrated in the months from the beginning of 1644 through August, with 11 news items from Vienna and 1 from the Hereditary Lands appearing during this period.

Another main topic of military economics appears not in the war reporting, but rather as part of the news on the negotiations for peace. Both Vienna and Hungary include news of the discussion between the Emperor and Rákóczi on who should be responsible for the building and maintenance of the forts along the Hungarian border. Though this concern only accounts for 5 of the 21 news items on military economy, it does take a prominent role in the peace points as printed by Vienna in February of 1645, where detail is given on how many guilder will go to each castle.[127]

The civilian costs appear in three ways, as in the news stories of Bethlen: the suffering borne by the land and villages to supply the troops, the promise of restitution for

[124] 'Wien 24. dito [Feb.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:10).
[125] 'Wien den 23. dito [March].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:14); 'Auß Wien/ vom 8. Junii.', *Raporten: Dinstags* (Cologne, 1644:XXV); 'Auß Wien/ vom 15. Junii.', *Raporten: Dinstags* (Cologne, 1644:26).
[126] 'Aus Wien vom 7. Dito [July].', *Raporten: Dinstags* (Cologne, 1644:XXX). Also from Breslau, Rákóczi's army moved away because of a lack of provisions: 'Aus Breßlaw vom 4. Dito [Jun.].', *Raporten: Dinstags* (Cologne, 1644:XXV).
[127] Wien den 3. Feb. st.n.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:32).

damage done and the effects of the conflict on trade. The first of these three is given the most attention, particularly from Vienna and the lands through which the armies marched.[128] From Prague came news that Rákóczi had burned mills and Imperial food stores in June, and then, the following March, that the prince was targeting villages.[129] Likewise, from Vienna come descriptions of the devastation wrought by Transylvanian armies: the stealing of cattle and the burning of mills.[130] However, in addition to this listing of specific crimes perpetrated against farms and villages, there was a general sense of despair over how long the country could support this fighting. In the spring of 1645, though the grass was once again long and there was food in the Hereditary Lands, there was a fear that the lands would suffer with Rákóczi's army marching.[131] This lack of money and resources translated into a desire for peace:

> man wartet mit Verlangen die Endschafft des jetzigen Krieges in Ihrer Käys. M. Erblanden zu vernehmen/ dann sich alles zu einer grossen gefährlichen Verenderung ansehé lesset/ indeme die Geldmittel sich nirgends mehr finden wollen/ und die Einkunfften je mehr und mehr entzogen werdé.[132]

While damage was committed by the troops twenty-five years earlier as well, in 1645 an end to the war was in sight. Peace talks had been begun and then abandoned, and the very real desire for their implementation was present.

The second way in which civilian economics appears is in the form of the question of who should compensate the people and areas who had been most affected by the war damage. This is referenced only twice, both times in reports from Vienna, in the peace discussions with Rákóczi with the final proposal that 'der Ragotzi ohne Königreichs Schaden auß Ungern weichen/ seine Völcker abdancken/ die eroberte Orth Restituiern/

[128] There are 5 items from Vienna, and 2 from the Hereditary Lands.
[129] 'Aus Prag vom 11. Junii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:25); 'Prag/ den 11. 21. Martii.', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1645:26).
[130] 'Wien vom 31. dito [May].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:107); 'Auß Wien/ vom 8. Junii.', *Raporten: Dinstags* (Cologne, 1644:XXV).
[131] 'Wien vom 20. Martii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:59).
[132] 'Aus Wien den 12. 22. dito [Apr.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:79).

sich in deß Königreichs Ungern Geschefft nit einmischen/[...] allen zugefügten schaden erstatten'.[133] During Bethlen's march Vienna was most likely to print news of the civilian costs of the war as a result of Transylvanian aggression, and, similarly, Rákóczi was deemed responsible for the damage done to the property and population of Hungary.

The final form of civilian economic news presented in these reports is the maintenance of commerce, which is represented by 1 story each from Vienna, Riga and Upper Franconia. All three concern the effects of war on trade, but each in slightly different ways. Franconia mentions news of the impact of the armies on the traditional trade routes, as all the ships on the Danube had been stopped at Linz.[134] The other 2 references concern trade within the area of conflict, as Riga says that Rákóczi asked Poland to maintain their alliance and allow trade, while Vienna discusses the concern for the effect the conflict would have on the sale of Turkish goods.[135]

In addition to the economic concern of providing for the armies and the cost that concern exacted on the civilian populations, the third category of economic news deals with promises of funding made between governments. There are two main pecuniary arrangements reported on in these news stories, and while discussion of these payments are not the most common form of economic news, it does occur in the reports from the widest range of reporting regions. Northwest Europe, the German Lands, the Hereditary Lands and Vienna all mention news of the financial support given by France to Transylvania. In addition, Hungary joined the Hereditary Lands and Vienna in reporting

[133] 'Wien den 2. dito [Nov.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:46). The other reference appears earlier on the same subject: 'Wien den 26. dito [May].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:23).
[134] 'Aus OberFrancken vom 8. Martii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:13).
[135] 'Aus Riga vom 1. Martii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:63); 'Wien den 23. dito [March].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:14).

on the need for Transylvania to continue paying its set tribute to the Ottoman Empire.[136] This promise of money from France first appeared in the summer of 1644 as reports from Lyon, Brussels and Cologne gave word that Paris had just promised Rákóczi 'ein grosse Summa Gelts', or more specifically: 'Von Pariß wird geschrieben/ daß die Königliche Regierung dem Ragotzky 150000. Duplonen/ zu *continuir*ung deß Kriegs/ ubermachet habe'.[137] Vienna reiterated that promise the following January, and news came from Prague of its payment in February and then of that payment being spent to recruit soldiers in May.[138]

The tribute that the Transylvanians had to pay to the Porte was seen as an overarching concern for Rákóczi during his military action. It was a condition that had to be fulfilled before Rákóczi began his march into Hungary or allied with Torstensson.[139] When the march did begin, the tribute had to be paid before troops or assistance would be given.[140] Finally, when the peace settlement was agreed upon, one condition was that Rákóczi, and his son and heirs after him, would pay tribute on the land he had received.[141] This tribute was an economic indicator of the suzerainty owed to the Ottoman Porte, and few decisions could be made by the Transylvanian prince without its consideration.

There may not be a great number of words devoted to economics in the news of this period, but it is an important consideration nonetheless. Nearly every reporting

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[136] There is also one reference to money given by Rákóczi to Poland in exchange for Ratiborn and Oppeln: 'Wien vom 30. Novembr.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:225).
[137] 'Auß Lyon/ vom 3. Julii.', *Raporten: Dinstags* (Cologne, 1644:XXX); 'Brüssel/ den 5. 15. Julii.', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644:57). Also, 'Aus Cöllen vom 7/17. Julii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:30).
[138] 'Wien den 4. Jenner.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:3); 'Aus Wien vom 20. dito [Jan.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:17); 'Praag den 25. dito [Feb.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:11). Also referred to in 'Regenspurg den 3. Maii.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:20).
[139] 'Auß Prag den 29. Dito [Aug.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1643:37).
[140] 'Wien vom 9. Aprilis.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1644:70); 'Wien/ den 2. Aprilis/ *St.N.*', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1644:29).
[141] 'Extracs Schreibenß auß Ungarn datieret Sk[?]ma vom 8. Januarii Anno 1645.', *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:8). For more, see pages 184-5.

region, even those which offer the fewest number of reports, gave some news on the inherent cost of making war or preserving peace. However, Vienna's concerns—namely, the cost of providing for an army and the destruction of land by the Transylvanian forces—are the ones which are most frequently observed in the stories of Transylvania.

4.8 Religion

Like each of the other subjects considered, the amount of news pertaining to religion in the stories of Transylvania declined between the years of 1619-21 and 1643-5. However, in the case of religious language, this decline cannot be described as primarily resulting from the fewer number of reports; instead, it stems from an overall change in how religion appears in the stories of Transylvania from each reporting region. The stories of Bethlen include numerous references to priests as envoys and victims and churches as places of celebration and plundering; furthermore, religious affiliation is ascribed to the Evangelical Estates, the Catholic burghers and all of Christendom (see pages 132-43). However, each of those circumstances has almost entirely disappeared from the stories of Rákóczi.[142] Instead, religious news in 1643-5 primarily occurs in the context of the Transylvanian-Imperial peace discussions.[143]

The shift seen in the context of religious news from Bethlen's period to Rákóczi's marks a further change in whether religious language is used to describe the institution of the church or a personal belief. Each of the six subcategories of religious language (affiliation, person, day, building, 'God' and 'religion') appears in both situations. The church as an institution, an organization with considerable economic and political power, is demonstrated in the news of priests who had a political role as envoys, clerical

[142] For an overview of how religious words are identified and counted, see page 79.
[143] For an overview of the major points of contention, see pages 178-83.

positions through which an individual could exercise authority, church property which was of value and must be maintained, political alliances which were reinforced in religious celebrations (whether baptisms or marriage), and diets, leaders and counties defined by religious affiliation (whether the Evangelical Estates, the camps of the Catholic armies, or all of Christendom). This role of the church can also be seen in the concern for religious freedom, because this freedom was largely manifested in the right to congregate within certain church structures and hear sermons and teachings from certain preachers. It was not a concern for the freedom of belief, but rather the ability to openly practice and have access to the institution. Religion is also expressed in a more personal way, as a belief or characteristic with more emotional or symbolic power. When reports included references to violence committed against clerics and church buildings, they were not invoking a practical concern for the value of the plundered property or the importance of the priest as an institutional leader, but an emotional response of horror at the contempt shown to sacred men and land. Similarly, the emotional importance of religion also commonly appears in the prayers offered to God for protection, while its symbolic importance is underscored when mysterious events happened on days of religious importance, such as Christmas Day in 1618 when the river ran with blood and Bethlen received a blood-red flag from the sky (see pages 141-2).

In the news of Bethlen, stories from Vienna, Prague, the Hereditary Lands and Hungary include references to both the personal and institutional roles of religion, with prayers to God and the persecution of clerics, but they also contain references to political bodies defined by their religious affiliation and religious days which carried political importance. However, by the end of the war, with Vienna as the primary reporter of the news of Transylvania, the institutional role of the church has almost entirely taken over. With Vienna controlling the narrative, peace negotiations became a central feature of the

news of Rákóczi, and Rákóczi's religious concerns in these discussions often appear often in the news.

Religious words occur 88 times in the stories of Rákóczi, and 60 of these are in the context of the process of the peace discussions or the final settlement (see Tables 4.10 and 4.11). These reports came from Vienna, the Hereditary Lands and Hungary and include the first suggestion of the peace terms from Rákóczi's envoy in April 1644 to the final agreed-upon terms recounted in a report from Prague in September 1645.[144]

While the final concessions in the Transylvanian-Imperial peace included the transfer of the seven counties to Rákóczi, the initial discussion focused on the expulsion of the Jesuits and the restoration of church property.[145] When Rákóczi sent Catholic representatives to Tyrnau in October 1644, the discussions began in earnest and the first references to religious freedom and the transference of counties appeared.[146] These terms were not met with great optimism in Vienna: 'so ist von den Ungerischen Fridens Tractaten noch schlechter Effect zu hoffen/ weil die Ragotzische Deputierte von der Wiennerischen *pacification*, und denen seider Anno 1608. gemachten Reichssatzungen nit weichen wöllen'.[147] The demands were repeated in several news stories from Vienna, until January 1645 when a detailed list of points presented by the prince was reported from Hungary.[148]

Of the nineteen points listed in this Hungarian report, religious concerns appear in eleven, addressing church properties, the free practice of religions and the role and

[144] 'Ein andere auß Wien/ vom 6. Aprilis. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:16); 'Aus Prag vom 30. Septembris.', *Ordinari Postzeitung* (n.p., 1645:42).
[145] 'Aus Wien vom 13. Aprilis.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:17).
[146] 'Auß Wien/ vom 5. October. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1644:42). Also, 'Auß Lintz den 3. December.', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:50).
[147] 'Wien den 19. dito [Nov.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:49).
[148] 'Wien den 15. dito [Jan.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:6); 'Copia Schreiben aus Wien vom 23. Dito [Jan.].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:6).

position of clerics.[149] The two points on church property specify that those schools, churches and cloisters which had been destroyed should be rebuilt and the free practice of religion allowed therein. Additionally, they state that freedom of religious practice should be guaranteed according to the 1608 Peace of Vienna, including the freedom of practice for peasants, and they further specify that Calvinists should be allowed to hold official appointments in Hungary (*Reichsamt*). The position and duties of clerics are specifically addressed in three points which state that the clerical tribunals would concern themselves only with the cases of their church's practitioners, the clerical estate would have a diminished role in the government, and the heirs of clerics would not be divested of their inheritance; they further note how ecclesiastical positions would be filled. The other religious points which appear in this list are the expulsion of the Jesuits, the revocation of the religious concessions made in the 1635 Peace of Prague, and, at the start of the document, an appeal to God for the preservation of peace: 'Uber dieses noch viel andere beschwerligkeiten/ die Ehre Gottes und die Religion betreffende/ zu welcher abwendung v. schliechtung die Waffen hochnötig wahren'.[150]

Of these religious peace points, the items which received the most attention from other reporting regions were the expulsion of the Jesuits and the desire for religious freedom. These demands were repeated in reports from Bohemia, Prague, the Danube River and Vienna: 'daß die Ungarn ihre *Privilegia* auch das freye *Exercitium Religionis* haben/ alle Jesuiter das Königreich quittiren'.[151] The preservation of religious freedom and practice was the cause given by Rákóczi for his march against Ferdinand, and thus

[149] 'Summarische Instructiones Puncta derer Legaten und Grafschafften/[...]', *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:8).
[150] 'Summarische Instructiones Puncta derer Legaten und Grafschafften/[...]', *Newe Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Breßlaw* (Danzig, 1645:8).
[151] 'Böhmen vom 26. dito [Mar.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:60); 'Aus Prag vom 30. Septembris.', *Ordinari Postzeitung* (n.p., 1645:42); 'Vom Thonaw Stroom/ den 20. 30. Martii.', *Ordinari Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Erfurt, 1645:30); 'Wien den 22. dito [Mar.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:14).

was one of the central focuses of his peace discussions. However, these concerns were generally not phrased in terms of progressing any belief or tenet, but rather promote the restoration of antebellum practices and situations, articulating a desire to return to the institutional status quo that existed prior to the outbreak of war and the progress made by the Catholic Church and Jesuits.

Outside of these explicit aims achieved through political agreements, religion rarely appears in the news of Transylvania during this period. There appears no violence against the clergy, no church bells ringing in celebration and no folkloric superstitions acting as expressions of a personal religious belief. There are even significantly fewer descriptions of moments of other institutional religious practices, such as ecclesiastical men serving as envoys and a diminished use of religious affiliation in the identification of institutions.[152]

However, there are still a few particular moments when both institutional and personal religious language are used in reporting the news. In reports from Vienna, feast and saint's days were still used to mark the meetings of the Hungarian Diet or the date of departure for Buchheim's troops.[153] The pope promised the Emperor that he would recruit troops against Transylvania, an act which did not please the French agent in Rome.[154] The death of the Hungarian palatine at the end of 1645 lead to the worry that Rákóczi may take the opportunity to seize the position himself or appoint an Evangelical lord, thus

[152] The few clerics who acted as envoys are in: 'Auß Warßlaw/ vom 23. Junii. *S.N.*', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1645:27); 'Aus Wien vom 10. 20. Februarii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:10); 'Aus Wien vom 29. Martii.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:16); 'Wien den 10. dito [Aug.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1644:34); 'Aus Wien vom 5. Dito [July].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther*: *Wochentliche* (Hamburg, 1645:30).

[153] 'Auß Wien/ vom 29. Junii.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1644:XXVIII); 'Copia Schreiben aus Wien vom 23. Dito [Jan.].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:6); 'Wien den 13. dito [Sept.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:39); 'Wien vom 13. dito [Sept.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:175).

[154] 'Aus Wien vom 9. Dito [Dec.].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1644:52); 'Brüssel vom 11. dito [Jan.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1645:15).

renewing the conflict with the Emperor.[155] The Ottomans captured too many Christians to be trusted, and a Reformed preacher in Transylvania warned that war was bringing too much devastation.[156] There are only two references made to God: Rákóczi's wife is referred to as 'eine Gottesfürchtige Heldin' and a report from the Swedish Headquarters at Kiel states that with the new year, 1644, comes the uncertainty of war: 'es scheinet daß liebe Newe Jahr dürffte mit Krieg heuffig anfahen/ wie es sich enden wird/ ist Gott bekant'.[157]

What is remarkable in each of these cases is their rarity. This is not a function of the lack of reporting from locations other than Vienna, as the Viennese reports of two decades earlier include a great deal of religious language (see Table 3.9, page 158). While the persecution of priests and prayers to God may be present in the news of Bethlen, evoking an emotional response from the reader or conveying the fear of the writer, by the end of the war, the language of the news writers from Vienna on the subject of Transylvania is more restrained. Religion has not disappeared from the news stories, but it has become almost entirely institutionalized: it is depicted not as a personal motivator but as a political concern.

4.9 *Messrelationen* of 1643-5

The *Messrelationen* of 1619-21 present a narrative of events which combined aspects of each major reporting region of the period—Vienna, Prague, Hungary and the Hereditary Lands—and supplement it with letters from the participants and the enumerated points of ongoing peace discussions (see pages 144-54). The *Messrelationen* of 1643-5, similarly

[155] 'Wien den 4. dito [Sept.].', *Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen* (n.p., 1645:42); 'Aus Prag vom 16. 26. Dito [Sept.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Ordentliche* (Hamburg, 1645:40).
[156] 'Aus OberUngarn vom 13. Dito [July].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:31).
[157] 'Aus OberUngarn vom 13. Dito [July].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:31); 'Auß dem Schwedischen Hauptquartier Kyel vom 23. Dec. 1643. 2. Jan. 1644.', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung: Absonderliche Zeitung* (n.p., 1643:53).

supplement news reports with letters and enumerated points, but, there are no longer a variety of perspectives on Transylvanian news, only the persistant voice of Vienna. Additionally, the *Messrelation* publications themselves suffered during the course of the war (see page 35). By 1643-5 there remained only two biannual publications, in Leipzig and Frankfurt, and as a consequence, there was considerably less news of Rákóczi. While the number on words devoted to the news of Bethlen is roughly comparable in the newspapers and *Messrelationen* of 1619-21, for Rákóczi the number of words drops by 54% (see Appendix Table 1, page 283). The amount of prestige, optimism and pomp presented alongside the news of Transylvania has been whittled away considerably between the years of Bethlen's first march and Rákóczi's. This can be seen in the stories of the newspapers and is even more noticeable in the stories of the *Messrelationen*.

Neither the Leipzig nor Frankfurt *Messrelation* reported news of Transylvania under a dateline, but both did have instances of a source of news being cited within the text of the story.[158] These in-text citations, though few, reflect the same habits of reporting demonstrated by the newspapers (see pages 167-76). Once again, Vienna is the dominant source of the news of Transylvania, with 5 of the 10 in-text citations coming from this city. There are furthermore 2 instances of news coming from Hungary, one simply 'auß Hungarn' and another from Pressburg, 1 citation of news from the Imperial camps and 2 instances of news from Rákóczi, one of which discusses the intercepted letters expressing Rákóczi's intent to meet with the Swedish army, as also seen in the newspapers.[159] All of the cases where a particular location is cited as the source of news also note that the news

[158] For how in-text citations are determined, see page 57.

[159] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1644), 7; *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1645), 12; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1644), 28; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1643), 83; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1644), 55. For the intercepted letters in the newspapers, see pages 169-70.

came via letters. This includes both the letters whose contents were summarized and those which were reprinted in full.

Like the *Messrelationen* of Bethlen's era, the news stories here are supplemented by letters and enumerated points, which were capable of offering a slightly different perspective on the news. In this case, it is the letters which offer the most variety, both in content and address. None of the letters came from Rákóczi himself. Instead, the four letters reprinted came from his military ally, Torstensson; his political enemy, the Emperor; and an exchange between the Hungarian palatine Esterházy and Torstensson. The first letter from Torstensson recounts Rákóczi's recent arrival at the camps and is primarily military in content and outlook.[160] The Emperor then sent a letter to Buchheim, commending him for his 'tapffern Valor' and hoping that the Hungarian war would soon end.[161] This second letter offers a different glimpse of the exchange between ruler and captain, not of the latter reporting back on the progress on the battlefield, as seen in the newspaper letters to Leipzig, but rather of the former affirming his commitment to the struggle and his army.

This is in contrast to the last pair of letters, wherein Esterházy informs Torstensson that the Hungarians will no longer be supporting Transylvania's military efforts. He acknowledges the confederation that had been made 'mit den löblichen Cronen Franckreich und Schweden', but states that neither the residents of Hungary nor the Ottoman Porte, 'deme sonst der Fürst in Siebenbürgen unterthan und zu gehorsamen schuldig ist', can continue to support this hostility and breaking of the peace.[162] Therefore, the Hungarian Diet will withdraw its support: 'Ja was noch mehr ist/ so erzeigen sich die jenigen Stände/ so dem Fürsten in Siebenbürgen zuvor anhängig

[160] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1644), 54.
[161] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1645), 48-9.
[162] *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1645), 11.

gewesen/ nunmehro gegen denselben gantz wiederwertig/ und wollen ihme keines weges mehr zu Fortsetzung seiner Waffen behülfflich seyn'.[163] A brief answer followed, acknowledging that the prince's own communication had indicated that the confederation had been made without the foreknowledge of the estates of Hungary and Transylvania. Though the newspaper stories reported that the Hungarian Diet accepted the Emperor's peace before Rákóczi himself, this explanation of reasons from the palatine is not presented.

While none of the letters printed were from Rákóczi himself, the prince of Transylvania's perspective on events is not entirely excluded from the *Messrelationen*, but is instead presented in the summarizing of enumerated demands. Stories appeared in the *Messrelationen* of spring and autumn 1644 in which Rákóczi's reasons for marching into Hungary were articulated, and they summarize in enumerated points the contents of the princes *Manifest* of February 1644 (see also page 182). Though both of the *Messrelationen* credit the '*sub dato* den 17. Febr. ein beweglich Ermahnungs-Schreiben an die Stände in Ungarn' as the source of the enumerated points, the two lists are not worded in the same manner and include different numbers of points.[164] However, both lists do contain concerns over the presence of the Jesuits, the inheritance of clerical positions and the worldly power and secular authority possessed by the ecclesiastical class.

Religious concerns also dominate the points of the peace discussion that appeared in the spring of 1645. Rather than several versions of the points appearing, printed from different locations with varying length and focus, there is one long story containing the points broken into two parts. The first half opens with a description of Rákóczi's envoys

[163] *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1645), 11.
[164] There are 6 points in *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1644.F), 86-7; and 9 points in *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1644), 16-7.

arriving and presenting terms: 'Gleich wie nun der Einzug prächtig/ also solle die Proposition desselben noch hochmühtiger und schärffer gewesen seyn'.[165] The nineteen points which follow are primarily concerned with the role of the church: the freedom of religion, the possession of property and the position of clerical leaders. Then the demands of the Imperial envoys are presented: 'Dieweilen aber jetzterzehlte Puncten den Käyserlichen Herrn Deputierten viel zu schwer seyn dünckten/ unnd dahero die Friedens Tractaten sich gar schlecht anliessen/ als haben Sie dargegen diese Articul begehrt'.[166] These six points concern the removal of Rákóczi's army from Hungary, the ending of the alliance with Sweden and France, the restitution for all war damage and the allowance of open commerce between Transylvania and the Imperial Lands. Rather than the peace discussions being presented in print through a series of reports from a variety of locations, one story is told, with the demands of both sides being articulated and characterized. However, there is a noted similarity to this type of presentation and that of the newspapers. As the reports from Vienna in the newspapers focus on the secular aspects of the peace discussion and the reports from Hungary on the religious aspects, in the *Messrelationen* the Imperial envoys present their demands for restitution, trade and the end of alliances while the points of the Transylvanian envoys convey a desire for the end of Imperial interference in terms of religious autonomy.

As are the stories in the *Messrelationen* of Bethlen's era, the stories printed in 1643-5 are for the most part consistent with regards to the economic news surrounding Rákóczi (see Table 4.12). Once again, this topic focuses on the need for munitions and provisions to support the armies, with 7 instances where the army took actions in order to secure food, such as when Rákóczi marched from the borderlands into Hungary, or where

[165] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1645), 45.
[166] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1645), 47.

a lack of food was seen as a particular disadvantage.[167] The Imperial forces lost fortresses on the Hungarian border as well as the city of Kaschau because troops could not progress quickly due to the weather and shortage of food:

> und weil die Teutschen/ wegen grossen Schnees unnd Gewässers/ auch Mangel der Fütterung/ nicht eylends genug fortziehen können/ hat Rakoczy theils der Landschafft in Ober-Ungarn/ auch an den Ungarischen Gräntzen sich dreyer Käyserlicher Vestungen bemächtigt/ unter andern aber die Haupt-Statt Caschaw.[168]

The other economic stories which appear are also the same as those occurring in the newspaper reports: they wonder who will compensate the civilians for the damage done to property and express concern for the continuity of trade. What is missing from the economic news is any reference to the promises of purely financial support. There is no reference to the tribute which Rákóczi had to pay the Ottomans, nor to the money promised by the French. There is one reference to the Ottomans giving support to Transylvania in the form of men, munitions and food, but otherwise the Transylvanians were financially on their own. The little economic news there is focuses on the starving armies.

Ceremonial occurrences are likewise consistent between the newspapers and the *Messrelationen* (see Table 4.13). Though the same stories do not appear in the same words, as happened occasionally in 1619-21 (see pages 149-50), the same events are recounted. Once again, the slaughtering of Rákóczi's men while feasting at the Castle Murány is reported, and once more the increasingly rare word *niederhauen* is used to describe the event.[169] As related in the newspapers, the Imperial ambassador went to Constantinople with gifts, and the Ottomans presented the Emperor with a Turkish

[167] *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1644), 55; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1644), 54; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1644), 28.
[168] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1644), 94.
[169] *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Augumn 1644), 64.

carpet.[170] Even the Tokai wine sent to the king of Poland by Rákóczi was again intercepted and destroyed by Homonnai.[171] Though the instances of ceremonial news correspond in subject, they are fewer in number. Within the *Messrelationen*, the only banquet attended by Rákóczi resulted in the slaughter of his troops and the only present he sent was destroyed before reaching its intended recipient. The ceremonial prestige of the Transylvanian prince as presented by the printed newspapers decreased considerably from Bethlen to Rákóczi and is even lower within the *Messrelationen*, one of the first narratives constructed about the events of these years.

One area in which the stories of the *Messrelationen* do not follow the reporting patterns of the newspapers is in the language of violence. Words from the lexicon of violence appear on 70 occasions within these news stories, or roughly 81 times in every 10,000 words, a lower frequency than in the newspapers (see Table 4.14). If organized by frequency category, these words appear to fall into a very similar pattern, with the words in category 4 surpassing those in category 5 in frequency of usage. However, while in the newspapers this change is due to a clear preference for the word *niedermachen* instead of *niederhauen*, this is not the case in these publications. In the *Messrelationen* of the period the words communicating death or killing without an implied weapon are used with comparable frequency: *niedermachen* and *Tod* each appear 4 times, *niederhauen* and *erlegen* appear 3 times and *umbringen* appears 2 times.

This is not the only instance where the changes in violence vocabulary which occur between the news of Bethlen and the newspapers of Rákóczi do not carry over (see Table 4.15). In the newspapers, both the words *schießen* and *brennen* rarely appear, with the former appearing less frequently than four other words which imply the use of a

[170] *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1644), 46; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1645), 78-9.
[171] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1644), 55.

weapon and the latter contributing to a relative dearth in references to fire of any kind. This is not the case in the *Messrelationen*. In these stories, *schießen* is once again the most common word for weapon use, appearing 3 times to *Schwert* and *trennen*'s 1 appearance each.[172] *Brennen* also appears on 3 occasions, making it as common as *schiessen, niederhauen, erlegen* and *plündern*. Word usage in every category of violence subject is lower by at least half in the *Messrelationen* versus the newspapers, with the exception of the words for fire. One aspect of vocabulary usage that does remain consistently popular is references to a *Feind*. In the newspapers, the word is frequently used in reports from Vienna, appearing 27 times from that location; in these *Messrelationen* it appears 20 times.

As the religious news in the newspapers is primarily relegated to the points of the peace discussion, so too is the religious news of *Messrelationen* bound up in the enumerated points discussed above. Of the 43 uses of religious language, 23 occur within the listing of either the demands of Rákóczi or the peace discussions with the Emperor (see Tables 4.16 and 4.17). Even though these points are not rearticulated from different reporting locations and within different contexts, they still account for over half the items of religious news.

One category which neither follows this pattern nor demonstrates a decrease in use from the newspapers to the *Messrelationen* is the use of 'God'. While the *Messrelationen* of 1619-21 also contained an increased number of references to God, this is in large part due to the contents of the letters which were reprinted (see pages 151-2). In these publications, however, only 1 of the 7 references to God occurs within a letter.[173] Another instance is in a description of Rákóczi's wife as a God-fearing heroine, a

[172] *Schwert* is another word which is fairly frequent in the news of 1619-21, but does not appear in the reports on Rákóczi.
[173] In the letter from the Emperor to Buchheim, *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1645), 48-9.

repetition of a compliment which appears in a newspaper report from Upper Hungary.[174] While 2 other references to *Gott* occur in the kind of prayer which commonly appears in the news stories relating military events, it is the remaining 3 uses of this word which are of most interest.[175] They appear within the same news story as a list of Rákóczi's reasons for marching into Hungary. Following the enumerated points is further news of the preparations being made by both the Transylvanian prince and the Habsburg Emperor, and both men are presented as defending their rights and duties before God. Rákóczi is described as having an obligation to God, the Hungarian nation and the Protestant faith: 'Wann dann ihme/ dem Ragotzy/ die Schuldigkeit gegen GOTT/ die Liebe gegen der Ungerischen *Nation* Freyheit/ des Evangelischen Wesens/ zu Rettung angeführter gewissens und weltlicher Freyheit gereitzet'.[176] However, these demands and assertions are followed by the conclusion that if the Transylvanian prince makes 'ein sehr gefährlich Bündnüß mit I. Maj. Feinden dem Schweden und Frantzosen' and attacks Hungary, soon thereafter peace with the Ottomans will be broken: 'mit häuffigem Blutvergiessen bey den Türcken erworbenen Frieden zuzertrennen'.[177] The Emperor would then have to defend his rights before God and all the world:

> So viel nun Ihre Keyserliche Maj. betreffen theten/ bezeuge sie vor GOTT und aller Welt/ daß von Ihro diesem Fürsten zu solchen Krieg und Uffstand einige Ursach nicht gegeben/ sondern sie vielmehr zu Handhabung Ihres von GOTT empfangenen Königlichen Rechtens/ und zu *defendirung* Ihrer getrewen Unterthanen genöthiget worden.[178]

[174] In the newspaper: 'Aus OberUngarn vom 13. Dito [July].', *Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung* (n.p., 1645:31). In the *Messrelation*: *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1645), 79.
[175] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1644), 7; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1644), 94.
[176] *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1644), 17.
[177] *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1644), 18.
[178] *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1644), 18-9.

In this case, Rákóczi's position was printed seemingly only to be refuted. While the news did contain the prince of Transylvania asserting his position and perspective, it was still overwhelmed by the voice of Vienna.

Conclusion

Between the march of the Transylvanian prince into Hungary at the start of the Thirty Years War and the march at end, much in Europe had changed. The optimism and aspirations of the Protestant, anti-Imperial cause had waned and there remained the weariness and poverty of decades of war in its wake. The Protestants of Hungary, who had rallied around the Transylvanian in defiance of the Habsburgs, were not quick to repeat the action twenty years later. The prince's allies, who had previously been neighbors who hoped that a combined force would raise the prestige of all involved, were now distant kings who hoped primarily for a distraction on the Emperor's southern border. Furthermore, while Bethlen had benefited from the fact that several regions had presented different perspectives of him in the news, creating the image of the prince who was a soldier, king and savior, Rákóczi's story was told primarily from the perspective of the city of his enemy. Transylvanian news from the years 1643-5 concentrated on the conditions of peace, the possible involvement of the Ottomans, the need to feed an army and the devastation of the countryside because these were the questions that most concerned Vienna.

Table 4.1 Number of reports and stories from each reporting region, 1643-5

	Reports	Stories
Vienna	290	206
German Lands	71	65
Hereditary Lands	78	58
Poland & Baltic	10	10
Hungary	9	8
Northwest Europe	6	4
Mediterranean	8	3
Other	1	1
Total	473	355

Table 4.3 Number of times individuals or letters are cited as the source of the news coming from a specific location, 1643-5

	Person	Letter
Transylvania	7	2
Hungary	7	4
Ottomans	5	2
Vienna	1	9
Hereditary Lands	7	10
Poland	1	—
Other	—	3
Total	28	30

Table 4.2 Number of times each location is cited as a source of news by reporting region (with the percent of the total number of the region's stories in italics), 1643-5

	Transylvania		Hungary		Ottomans		Vienna		Hereditary Lands		Poland		Other		Total	
Vienna	7	*3.4*	32	*15.5*	6	*2.9*	—	—	6	*2.9*	1	*0.5*	—	—	51	*24.8*
German Lands	1	*1.5*	1	*1.5*	—	—	6	*9.1*	8	*12.1*	—	—	2	*3.0*	18	*27.3*
Hereditary Lands	—	—	7	*12.1*	—	—	4	*6.9*	6	*10.3*	—	—	—	—	17	*29.3*
Poland & Baltic	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*11.1*	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*11.1*
Northwest Europe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*25.0*	1	*25.0*
Mediterranean	—	—	—	—	1	*33.3*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*33.3*
Total	8	*2.2*	40	*11.2*	7	*2.0*	11	*3.1*	20	*5.6*	1	*0.3*	3	*0.8*	90	*25.1*

Table 4.4 Number of words per reporting region with the number of words in political and military news (percent of total words in italics), 1643-5

	Total	**Politics**		**Military**	
Vienna	12,337	3,943	*32.0*	6,901	*55.9*
German Lands	1,887	472	*25.0*	1,068	*56.6*
Hereditary Lands	2,632	794	*30.2*	1,391	*52.9*
Poland & Baltic	339	172	*50.7*	126	*37.2*
Hungary	1,457	914	*62.7*	498	*34.2*
Northwest Europe	128	78	*60.9*	12	*9.4*
Mediterranean	49	16	*32.7*	31	*63.3*
Unknown	12	12	*100.0*	—	—
Total	18,841	6,401	*34.0*	10,027	*53.2*

Table 4.5 Number of times national identifiers are mentioned in the political news by reporting region, 1643-5

	Hungarian	**Imperial**	**Turkish**	**Swedish**	**French**
Vienna	37	49	18	12	8
German Lands	3	7	3	5	8
Hereditary Lands	16	9	5	1	—
Poland & Baltic	2	5	1	—	—
Hungary	4	3	4	—	—
Northwest Europe	1	1	—	1	4
Mediterranean	—	—	—	—	—
Unknown	—	—	—	—	—
Total	63	74	31	20	20

Table 4.6 Number of occurrences of different ceremonial descriptions by reporting region (percent of total stories in italics), 1643-5

	Presents		**Processions**		**Address**		**Guesting**		**Total**	
Vienna	8	*3.9*	1	*0.5*	1	*0.5*	4	*1.9*	14	*6.8*
German Lands	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*1.4*	1	*1.4*
Hereditary Lands	—	—	—	—	2	*3.5*	—	—	2	*3.5*
Total	8	*2.2*	1	*0.6*	3	*0.8*	5	*1.4*	17	*4.8*

Table 4.7 Usage of violence words by frequency category and reporting region (with the number of appearances per 10,000 words in italics for comparison), 1643-5

	Category 1		**Category 2**		**Category 3**		**Category 4**		**Category 5**		**Total**	
Vienna	5	*4.05*	12	*9.73*	18	*14.59*	71	*57.55*	21	*17.02*	127	*102.94*
German Lands	—	—	1	*5.30*	1	*5.30*	4	*21.20*	2	*10.60*	8	*42.40*
Hereditary Lands	2	*7.60*	—	—	3	*11.40*	5	*19.00*	7	*26.60*	17	*64.59*
Poland & Baltic	—	—	1	*29.50*	—	—	1	*29.50*	1	*29.50*	3	*88.50*
Hungary	—	—	2	*13.73*	—	—	4	*27.45*	1	*6.86*	7	*48.04*
Mediterranean	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*204.08*	—	—	1	*204.08*
Total	7	*3.72*	16	*8.49*	22	*11.68*	86	*45.65*	32	*16.98*	163	*86.51*

Table 4.8 Violence words by subject and reporting region, 1643-5

	Death	**Weapons**	**Fire**	**Plundering**	**Adjectives**	**Emotions**
Vienna	37	14	3	18	12	9
German Lands	2	1	—	3	—	—
Hereditary Lands	3	2	2	4	1	1
Poland & Baltic	—	1	—	—	—	1
Hungary	1	—	—	3	—	1
Mediterranean	—	—	—	—	1	—
Total	43	18	5	28	14	12

Table 4.9 Number of occurrences of different forms of economic news by reporting region (percent of total stories in italics), 1643-5

	Military		**Payment**		**Civilian**		**Total**	
Vienna	18	*8.7*	6	*2.9*	8	*3.9*	32	*15.5*
German Lands	1	*1.4*	2	*2.9*	1	*1.4*	4	*5.7*
Hereditary Lands	1	*1.8*	2	*3.5*	2	*3.5*	5	*8.8*
Poland & Baltic	—	—	—	—	1	*11.1*	1	*11.1*
Hungary	1	*12.5*	1	*12.5*	—	—	2	*25.0*
Northwest Europe	—	—	2	*50.0*	—	—	2	*50.0*
Total	21	*5.87*	13	*3.63*	12	*3.35*	46	*12.85*

Table 4.10 Number of religious words by category and reporting region (with the number of appearances per 10,000 words in italics for comparison), 1643-5

	Affiliation		**Person**		**Day**		**God**		**Building**		**Religion**		**Total**	
Vienna	9	*7.30*	15	*12.16*	4	*3.24*	1	*0.81*	8	*6.48*	9	*7.30*	46	*37.29*
Hereditary Lands	2	*7.60*	4	*15.20*	—	—	1	*3.80*	1	*3.80*	3	*11.40*	11	*41.79*
Poland & Baltic	1	*29.50*	1	*29.50*	—	—	1	*29.50*	—	—	—	—	3	*88.50*
Hungary	5	*34.32*	9	*61.77*	—	—	2	*13.73*	3	*20.59*	8	*54.91*	27	*185.31*
Northwest Europe	—	—	1	*78.13*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*78.13*
Total	17	*9.02*	30	*15.92*	4	*2.12*	5	*2.65*	12	*6.37*	20	*10.62*	88	*46.71*

Table 4.11 Number of religious words, excluding those which appear in the Transylvania-Imperial peace discussions, by category and reporting region (with the number of appearances per 10,000 words in italics for comparison), 1643-5

	Affiliation		**Person**		**Day**		**God**		**Building**		**Religion**		**Total**	
Vienna	3	*2.43*	6	*4.86*	4	*3.24*	—	—	2	*1.62*	1	*0.81*	16	*12.97*
Hereditary Lands	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*3.80*	1	*3.80*
Poland & Baltic	1	*29.50*	1	*29.50*	—	—	1	*29.50*	—	—	—	—	3	*88.50*
Hungary	2	*13.73*	4	*27.45*	—	—	1	*6.86*	—	—	—	—	7	*48.04*
Northwest Europe	—	—	1	*78.13*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*78.13*
Total	6	*3.18*	12	*6.37*	4	*2.12*	2	*1.06*	2	*1.06*	2	*1.06*	28	*14.86*

Table 4.12 Forms of economic news in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1643-5

	Military	Payment	Civilian
Newspapers	21	13	12
Messrelationen	8	—	3

Table 4.13 Forms of ceremonial news in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1643-5

	Presents	Processions	Address	Guesting
Newspapers	8	1	3	5
Messrelationen	3	1	—	2

Table 4.14 Number of occurrences of each violence frequency category in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1643-5

	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5	Total
Newspapers	7	16	22	86	32	163
Messrelationen	2	3	13	31	21	70

Table 4.15 Violence words by subject in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1643-5

	Death	Weapons	Fire	Plundering	Adjectives	Emotions
Newspapers	43	18	5	28	14	12
Messrelationen	16	7	4	11	5	3

Table 4.16 Religious words by subject in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1643-5

	Affiliation	**Person**	**Day**	**God**	**Building**	**Religion**
Newspapers	17	30	4	5	12	20
Messrelationen	16	16	2	7	4	6

Table 4.17 Religious words, excluding those which appear in enumerated points, by subject in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*,1643-5

	Affiliation	**Person**	**Day**	**God**	**Building**	**Religion**
Newspapers	6	12	4	2	2	2
Messrelationen	7	5	2	7	1	1

Chapter 5

György II Rákóczi's Invasion of Poland and the Expansion of News Networks in the Baltic, 1657-8

In January of 1657, Prince György II Rákóczi set out from Transylvania to claim the throne of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Despite several military successes, the endeavor was ultimately fruitless and attracted the ire of the Ottoman Porte, who had not approved of the prince's invasion of a foreign power. When Rákóczi returned defeated and without his troops to Weißenburg, he was deposed by the Transylvanian Estates, but asserted his own political influence in the region and was soon reinstated. The Ottomans, attempting to regain control, invaded the principality and effectively ended the relative autonomy the principality had enjoyed since 1605.

This foray into Poland-Lithuania had consequences in how Transylvania was reported on in the printed media, as Rákóczi marched north into a new reporting system. With the Swedish alliance and the attempt to gain the Polish royal title, the cities of Poland and the Baltic began frequently distributing and printing the news of the Transylvanian prince. This new major reporting system presented a different view of the actions of Rákóczi than what had traditionally appeared from Vienna. However, the narrative which appeared, which is more focused on the military, more violent, more personal and includes the prince's greatest ceremonial successes, lasted less than a year. When Rákóczi's invasion and alliance with Sweden collapsed, so too did Rákóczi's political reputation. At the end of 1657 and into 1658, though the prince achieved some military successes against the Ottomans, a large proportion of the news was concentrated on the questions of political legitimacy. This news reported from Vienna and, for the first time in these newspapers, from Transylvania itself is less concerned with the principality and more focused on the Ottomans taking control of the region. The fear of Ottoman

involvement in Christendom, which had been an undercurrent of the news since Bocskai and through the years of both Bethlen and György I, was finally justified.

5.1 Transylvania in the Northern Wars and the Ottomans in Transylvania, 1657-8

György II Rákóczi had come to the throne of Transylvania after his father's death in October 1648. The Peace of Westphalia was being signed that very month, marking a respite from the issues which had troubled his predecessors and a shift in focus to a different theatre of conflict—the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The year had been a tumultuous one in Poland, as the death of King Władysław IV Vasa in May had been followed almost immediately with the start of an uprising led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the hetman, or commander, of the Zaporozhian Cossacks. By the time Władysław's brother, John II Casimir Vasa was elected to the throne in November 1648, the Cossacks had had a string of victories and the ineffectiveness of the Commonwealth's forces was apparent.[1]

The revolt continued and in 1654, the Cossacks formed an alliance with the tsar of Muscovy, Alexis Romanov, who led a successful campaign into Poland that summer and autumn. This drew the attention of the new king of Sweden, Charles X Gustav, who attacked the Commonwealth the following March in the hope of forestalling future Muscovite progress in the area. Charles Gustav soon formed an alliance with Lithuania and after great military successes, John Casimir was in exile and Poland seemed near collapse. However, Swedish plundering in the countryside and churches soon provoked a resistance in both Lithuania and Poland, and Casimir's popularity grew, though his

[1] For more on the political background, both domestic and international, see R. I. Frost, *After the Deluge: Poland and Lithunania and the Second Northern War 1655-1660* (1993) and R. I. Frost, 'The Thirteen Years War and Second Northern War', in *The Northern Wars:War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558-1721* (2000), 156-91.

resources remained limited. By the end of 1656, Charles Gustav's fortunes were waning, and he turned to the prince of Transylvania for support. With the Treaty of Radnót, signed on 6 December 1656, György II Rákóczi agreed to provide military assistance in exchange for most of Lesser Poland and recognition as king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania.[2]

Before beginning his promised march on Cracow, Rákóczi also secured an alliance with the Zaporozhian Cossacks. The combined Transylvanian-Cossack forces met the Polish troops under Konstanty Giza at Szemberk, near Premissel. Rákóczi continued to find success at Jaroslau and Landshut, reaching his threatened destination of Cracow and breaking the siege of the city in March. Afterwards, near Sandomierz, Rákóczi met Charles Gustav and the two armies crossed the Vistula together with the hopes of moving on towards Warsaw. Though there was a skirmish with the combined Polish forces of Jerzy Lubomirski and Stanisław Potocki, a larger battle was postponed as the Polish troops withdrew to Brest at Casimir's request. Though the Transylvanian and Swedish forces passed near Warsaw, they continued on to Brest, which was quickly captured. Accords were agreed upon and drawn up on May 16.[3]

After Brest, however, Rákóczi's luck turned. Austria and Poland signed the Treaty of Vienna, wherein the Habsburgs promised Casimir men and weaponry. Frederik III of Denmark-Norway, hearing the news, also declared an alliance with the Commonwealth and war on Sweden. Charles Gustav raced back to the Baltic coast to attack Denmark and Rákóczi was left alone in Poland, where a national resistance movement tormented the

[2] Rákóczi was eager to be involved in the conflict of Poland and anxious to have his family in line for the Polish throne, though which side he would support was ambiguous at the beginning of the conflict. He had mediated a meeting between Charles and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV in the summer of 1655, but had also approached the childless Casimir about the possibility that Casimir would adopt his son, Ferenc Rákóczi. K. Péter, 'Great Expectations Unfulfilled', in L. Makkai and Z. Szász (ed.) *History of Transylvania*, Volume II. *From 1606-1830* (2002), 137. Also, G. Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier, 1600-1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transyvlania* (2000), 281-2.

[3] For a detailed account of Rákóczi's march into Poland, see M. Markowicz, *Najazd Rakoczego na Polskę, 1657* (2011); Frost, *Northern Wars*, 178-9; Péter, 'Great Expectations', 140-1.

Transylvanian troops. In addition, troubles had begun back in Transylvania. The Ottoman Porte was not pleased that Rákóczi had invaded Poland, despite orders to the contrary, and demanded that he return to the principality. The prince ignored this order, but the new Ottoman Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü, a powerful advisor to the Sultan, would not tolerate an Ottoman vassal acting independently, forming alliances with his enemies and invading other territories without his permission. The Crimean Tartars were sent by the Ottomans to intercept Rákóczi and insure compliance.[4]

Rákóczi began marching south again, revisiting the cities of his previous victories and suffering defeats along the way. His forces were not able to hold on to Cracow, giving it up in mid-July.. By the end of July, Rákóczi had signed a humbling peace, returning all occupied lands and promising to assist Poland as an ally in the future, and started his long march back to Transylvania. He took a circuitous route, trying to avoid meeting the Tatars, but was unsuccessful. When the Transylvanians and Tatars finally met, Rákóczi abandoned his army to be captured and raced home. The Transylvanian forces that had disembarked seven months earlier were a much depleted force.[5]

Soon after Rákóczi's arrival home, the Transylvanian Estates in Weißenburg received orders from Köprülü to dismiss Rákóczi, and the forceful immediacy of this request was underscored by an attack on the border castle of Germond by the pasha of Ofen. Ferenc Rhédey was soon elected prince of Transylvania and the soldiers captured by the Tartars were released with ransom paid. Rákóczi ended his foreign alliances and, with his son, confined himself to a new private life in Großwardein. However, this arrangement did not last for long, and Rákóczi soon refused to surrender to the demands of the Ottomans. He was reinstated as prince when the Estates met again in January of

[4] Frost, *After the Deluge*, 95-6; Frost, *Northern Wars*, 179; Péter, 'Great Expectations', 141-2.
[5] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 282-4; Péter, 'Great Expectations', 142-6.

1658. This greatly angered Köprülü, who sent his Turkish troops to the principality. Despite an initial victory by Rákóczi against the pasha of Ofen, Transylvania was quickly falling to the Turkish and Tatar forces, and the prince was fleeing before the fire. The Transylvanian nobleman Ákos Barcsai approached the grand vizier and pledged his loyalty to the Ottomans and, in return, was appointed the new prince of Transylvania. This position was confirmed by the Diet in October, though Rákóczi maintained his claim until his death in 1660.[6]

5.2 News Reports and Stories in the Printed Newspapers

With a Transylvanian invasion of Poland and a subsequent invasion of Transylvania by the Ottomans, the subjects covered in the reports of Rákóczi are markedly different than those of the previously considered three princes who fought the Emperor and marched into Hungary. Additionally, the infrastructure of the postal system which acted as the spine of the newspaper industry had also expanded to include the cities of the Polish, Brandenburg and Swedish lands along the Baltic (see page 35). Consequently, Rákóczi's movements were not only distinct in their geography and antagonisms, but were also proximate to the new reporting centers of the Baltic, which offered a perspective on Transylvania that was distinct from that of Vienna.

While Rákóczi's invasion of Poland did not garner as much news coverage as did Bethlen's march of 1619-21, with a total of 577 news reports, it did generate more news reports than his father's Hungarian action. The percentage of all newspaper reports also increased slightly, with 10% of the total number of reports from January 1657 through December 1658 featuring some news of Transylvania. Of the reports on Transylvania, 178 were printed by Vienna, the most consistent reporter of the news of Transylvania. The

[6] Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier*, 285-6; Péter, 'Great Expectations', 146-9.

action in Poland also received a great deal of attention from the newly established reporting centers along the Baltic, particularly Elbing (which contributes 50 reports), Thorn (48), Marienburg (33), Danzig (23) and Königsberg (17). When all of the cities along the Baltic are considered together—those of Polish Prussia, Brandenburg Prussia and the Swedish holdings—the total number of reports from the region, 190, exceeds that of Vienna (see Table 5.1)[7]. Of these reports, 180 were printed in the newspapers of 1657. Once Rákóczi left the Commonwealth and returned to face the difficulties within his own principality, the Baltic reporting region paid little attention to Transylvania. In contrast, Vienna split its news of Transylvania fairly evenly between the major events of the two years, with 77 reports in 1657 and 99 in 1658.

Besides the main reporting regions of the Baltic and Vienna, the Hereditary Lands once again contributed a substantial number of reports on the subject of Transylvania, nearly equal to the number seen in 1619-21 and greater than in 1643-5 (see Appendix Table 1 for full comparison, page 283). A total of 91 reports were printed by the Hereditary Lands, with the region of Silesia (31), its capital in Breslau (23) and Transylvania's old ally Prague (27) being the most frequent contributors from the area.[8]

The cities and towns in Rákóczi's path in Poland-Lithuania contributed roughly the same number of reports as the cities of the German Lands, with 45 and 41 reports respectively.[9] The Mediterranean contributed more reports on Transylvania during these years than it did at the end of the Thirty Years War, with 14 reports.[10] Hungary sent two fewer reports in 1657-8 than it did in 1643-5, but, for the first time in the periods

[7] The Baltic reporting region includes the above cities as well as Wismar, Further Pomerania, Stettin, Riga, Frankfurt an der Oder, Bütow, Dirschaw, Lauenburg and Prussia.
[8] The Hereditary Lands also include Glatz, Olmütz, Pilsen, Bohemia, Glogau, Neustadt and Upper Silesia.
[9] Poland includes Cracow, Zamość, Zawichost, Częnstochowa, Ostrosar, Poland, Brest, Danków, Kedahnen, Kiev, Petrikau, Radom, Ukraine, Vestung Landshut and Wilda. The German Lands include Hamburg, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Erfurt, the Altes Land, Cologne, Elbe River, Meissen, Nuremberg, Oder River, Regensburg and Reich.
[10] The Mediterranean includes Venice, Italy, Constantinople, Rome and Wiznitz.

considered in this thesis, there were 6 news reports directly from Transylvania, resulting in a total of 12 news reports for the reporting region of Hungary-Transylvania.[11]

Once again there are a considerable number of news reports which are repeated in the various newspapers.[12] When these repeating stories are excluded, the total number of discrete news stories comes to 479, but the stories' distribution among reporting regions is preserved, with the exception that the German Lands exceed Poland-Lithuania by 4 stories. While from 1643-5, the news of Transylvania was told almost entirely from the perspective of Vienna (see pages 165-7), fifteen years later there were two equally strong reporting regions, the Baltic and Vienna. The Hereditary Lands also contributed more news stories during this period, in large part due to the news from Silesia and Breslau, bordering on Poland-Lithuania. These three major reporting regions were supplemented by stories from the news centers of the German Lands and the Mediterranean, as well as by stories from the invaded lands of Poland-Lithuania and Transylvania.

5.3 Systems of Reporting

With the new reporting locations along the Baltic and in Poland, a new system of reporting also appears within the news stories of Rákóczi.[13] News not only moved from Hungary through Vienna to the newspapers or other reporting centers in the German Lands, but also from Poland through the ports of the Baltic. Furthermore, the region of the Habsburg Hereditary Lands, previously demonstrating close links to Vienna in its reporting on Transylvania, included more references to news of Rákóczi coming from Poland, particularly through the cities of Silesia. These two, largely distinct, reporting

[11] Hungary-Transylvania includes Transylvania, Neuhäusel, Hungary, Klausenburg, Pressburg and Raab. There is also 'Other', which includes reports from Unknown, The Hague and Alsace.
[12] For the difference between 'reports' and 'stories' and how 'stories' are determined, see pages 53-6.
[13] For more on how the reporting systems are defined see section page 98.

systems once again reveal the multiple perspectives that existed in the news of Transylvania.

While in the years 1619-21 there were two major reporting centers in southeastern Europe, both of which received news reports from Transylvania and Hungary (see pages 98-104), by the end of the Thirty Years War, they had been reduced to one (see pages 167-76). Not only was Vienna the main city sending reports of Transylvania, but it was also the most likely to cite news as coming from the prince himself, the Ottomans or Hungary. This trend continued and even strengthened in the stories of 1657-8. Vienna cites news as coming from Hungary in over a quarter of its stories, which far exceeds what is seen in the other reporting regions (see Table 5.2). These references only name a particular medium of communication on 10 occasions, while the repeating references to 'Auß Ungarn *continuirt*' or 'Aus Ungarn kompt Zeitung' reinforce the idea of habitual, assumed communication between these two regions.[14] Vienna did not report news from Hungary only because a messenger or letters arrived carrying new information, but rather because Vienna was the reporting center through which news from Hungary reached the rest of Europe.

This is not the case with news from Transylvania or the Ottomans. Though Vienna references Transylvania or a Transylvanian as the source of information more than any other reporting region, and though Vienna is the only city which names the Ottomans as the source of Transylvanian news, neither of these branches of the reporting system provided news as frequently as did Hungary. In both cases, news came primarily from messengers, (see Table 5.3). From Transylvania came 'der jüngst *indigitirte* Siebenbürgischer Gesandter Nahmens Madinansky', 'die 4. Bottschafft' from Rákóczi or

[14] 'Auß Wien/ vom 24. Dito [July].', *Ordinari Zeitung* (Munich, 1658:31); 'Wien vom 11. Novemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:48). There are furthermore 6 letters and 4 persons cited as bringing news from Hungary to Vienna.

'der Ungarische Cantzler vom Fürsten Ragotzi aus Pohlen'.[15] From the Ottomans a 'Türckisher Chiaus' came 2 times, and 3 news stories attribute information to the Emperor's own representatives or messengers returning from Constantinople.[16] News of Transylvania from the Ottomans no longer traveled via Venice, as it did from 1619-21, or from the Balkan capitals to Vienna, as it did from 1643-5, but directly from the Sultan in Constantinople to the Emperor in Vienna.

In addition to receiving news from Hungary, Transylvania and the Ottomans, Vienna also used to act as a common source of news for the other cities of the Hereditary Lands (see Tables 3.2, page 155, and 4.2, page 216). This was no longer the case during the time period under examination. While Breslau and Prague did receive news reports from Vienna, news of Transylvania was much more likely to reach the reports of the Hereditary Lands through the second major reporting system: that of Poland and the Baltic.[17] News of Rákóczi's march, particularly in the stories from Breslau and Silesia, is attributed to a variety of locations in Poland, occasionally to letters, but more often to individuals. Sometimes of the individuals cited were dedicated messengers or connected to the military, such as 'ein Ingeneur aus dem Königl. Hungarischen Läger' or 'auß Polen kommender Obrister', but there are also several instances where the news comes from merchants or travelers, including 'einige Kauffleute aus Reussen und Samoisce', 'ein

[15] 'Aus Wien vom 5. Februarii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:8); 'Wien vom 9. 19. Dito [July].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:31); 'Aus Wien vom 16. 26. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:19).

[16] 'Wien vom 8. Dito [Apr.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:17); 'Auß Wien/ vom 25. Aprill.', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1657:XIX). Emperor's representatives: 'Aus Wien vom 10. Octob.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:43); 'Wien vom 10. Dito [Apr.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:17); 'Wien vom 30. Octob.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1658:46).

[17] 'Br/ßlaw vom 17. Januarii.', *Post Zeitung: Mitwochentliche* (Hamburg, 1657:6); 'Prag vom 24. Dito [Nov.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:49).

guter Freund von Tornawitz 12. Meil von Crakow liegend' and 'etliche Schotten und Passagieri/ so von Lemberg'.[18]

The cities, towns and camps of Poland were also an important source of news for the ports of Prussia on the Baltic Sea. While the Hereditary Lands received much of their Polish news through individuals, the Baltic was more likely to receive news in the form of letters: 'schreibet man auß *Zamoiscz'* or 'Aus Crakow haben Ihre Kön. Maj. vom 15. passato Brieffe erhalten'.[19] Even the news from Transylvania cited by this region usually came by letter, though it was often carried by a messenger, such as 'Der Fürst von Siebenbürgen hat durch die neulich mit Brieffen hergeschickte 3. Edelleute umb nachfolgendes bey Ihr. Königl. Maytt. zu Schweden angehalten'.[20] The most common source of news were other cities in the region, particularly the city of Thorn. The *Thorner Post* is mentioned 4 times, and other news from Thorn is cited in reports from Königsberg, Elbing and Marienburg.[21] News also traveled from Königsberg to Danzig

[18] 'Breßlaw vom 8. 18. Dito [Aug.].', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:35); 'Aus Praag/ vom 23. Junii.', *Post Zeitung: Sambstägige* (Hamburg, 1657:27); 'Extract Schreibens aus Bresßlaw vom 17. Dito [Feb.].', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:10); 'Breßlaw vom 7. April.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:16); 'Auß Schlesien/ vom 1. 11. Augstmonat.', *Newe Vnpartheysche Zeittung vnd Relation* (Zurich, 1657:XXXIV).

[19] '*Elbing* den 3. 13. Martii.', *Europaeische Zeitung: Particular-Schreiben: Zu No ... Europaeischer Zeitungen gehörig* (Stettin, 1657:11); 'Ein anders vom 9. 19. Dito [Mar.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:13).

[20] '*Thorn* vom 14. *Martii*. 1657.', *Europaeische Zeitung: Particular-Schreiben ... Zum Appendice Num ... 1657. gehörig* (Stettin, 1657:12). There are two other instances of messengers from Rákóczi carrying letters in: '*Aliud ab eodem loco & dato* [Elbing, 10 Mar.].', *Europaeische Zeitung: Particular-Schreiben: Zu No ... Europaeischer Zeitungen gehörig* (Stettin, 1657:12);'Ein anders [Elbing] vom 27. Dito [Mar.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:15).

[21] The *Thorner Post* is mentioned in 'Thorn vom 7. 17. Dito [Mar.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:14); 'Elbing vom 14. 24. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:17); 'Elbing vom 21. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:18); 'Elbing vom 9. 19. Junii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:25). Other news from Thorn in: 'Königsberg vom 27. Dito [Sept.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:41); 'Auß Königsberg/ vom 1. 11. Weinm.', *Newe Vnpartheysche Zeittung vnd Relation* (Zurich, 1657:XLIV); 'Elbingen vom 17. Dito [Mar.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:13); 'Marienburg vom 13. 23. Dito [Mar.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:14); 'Marienburg vom 14.24. Dito [Apr.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:17); 'Marienburg vom 14. 24. Dito [Apr.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:18). 'Marienburg vom 16. 26. Julii.' [2nd], *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:31); '*Marienburg* vom 11. 21. *Augusti* 1657.', *Europaeische*

and Elbing, from Marienburg to Elbing and from Danzig to Elbing and Marienburg.[22] Given that the newspapers printed in Stettin and Königsberg, in general, received a large number of reports from the other cities along the Baltic coast, particularly Danzig, Elbing, Marienburg and Thorn (see pages 37-9), it is unsurprising that within the news of Transylvania there is further evidence of this exchange of information along the Baltic coast.

Both of these two major reporting systems, centered around Vienna and Poland, not only sent reports directly to the newspapers, but are also cited as the source of news in stories from other cities in the German Lands. Earlier periods had seen five to six instances of Vienna being cited as a source of news in stories from the German Lands, and this continued to be the case in the years 1657-8, particularly in the stories from Frankfurt and Erfurt.[23] Hamburg, however, was much more likely to receive news from Poland or the Baltic, particularly Warsaw.[24] In this way Hamburg was more like the other major ports of the north. News of a Transylvanian prince's march into Poland came from the region itself and did not need to pass through Vienna first.

Zeitung: Particular-Schreiben ... Zum Appendice Num ... 1657. gehörig (Stettin, 1657:33); 'Marienburg vom 11. 21. Augusti.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:34).

[22] From Königsberg 'Dantzig vom 11. Dito [Apr.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:15); 'Elbing vom 1. 11. Dito [Sept.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:37). From Marienburg: 'Elbingen vom 28. Dito [Mar.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:11). From Danzig: 'Elbing vom 13. 23. Februarii.', *Post Zeitung: Mitwochentliche* (Hamburg, 1657:9); '*Marienburg* vom 11. 21. *Augusti* 1657.', *Europaeische Zeitung: Particular-Schreiben ... Zum Appendice Num ... 1657. gehörig* (Stettin, 1657:33); 'Marienburg vom 11. 21. Augusti.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg,1657:34).

[23] From Vienna: 'Erffurt vom 8. Dito [Aug.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg,1657:33); 'Auß Franckfurt vom 8. Decemb. st.N.', *Dingstags (Freytags) PARTICULAR: Freytags* (Danzig, 1657:51); 'Erffurt vom 16. 26. Dito [Feb.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1658:9); 'Frankfurt vom 2. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:14); 'Franckfurt vom 8. Junii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:24); 'Nürnberg vom 27 Novemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:50).

[24] From Warsaw: 'Leipzig vom 3. 13. Febr.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:7); 'Auß Hamburg/ vom 24. Maii.', *Ordenliche Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Munich, 1658:XXII); 'Auß Hamburg/ vom 2. Junii.', *Ordenliche Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Munich, 1658:XXIII); 'Auß Hamburg/ vom 9. dito [June].', *Ordenliche Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Munich, 1658:XXIX); 'Auß Hamburg/ vom 16. Junii.', *Ordenliche Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Munich, 1658:30); 'Auß Hamburg/ vom 24. Julii.', *Ordenliche Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Munich, 1658:XXXV).

These two major reporting systems, from Hungary to Vienna and from Poland to Prussia, share few points of intersection and few points of interest in their reports of the news of Transylvania. Each references religion in a different manner, uses a different language of violence, relates different episodes of economic or ceremonial importance, and even more noticeably, concentrates on different subjects of political significance. With these two reporting regions, there are two viewpoints presented of the actions of Rákóczi.

5.4 Politics

Each major reporting system, that of Poland, the Baltic and the Hereditary Lands, and that of Vienna, Hungary and Transylvania, focused most of its attention on the events which were of immediate importance to the reporting region itself when relating the news of Transylvania, with the consequence that each told a different story of the years 1657-58. The news of 1657 was largely told by Poland, the Baltic and the Hereditary Lands and while it is mostly focused on the military events of the day, descriptions of battles and sieges are accompanied by proclamations from Rákóczi justifying his presence in Poland and his claim to the crown. The peace which ended this march may have been embarrassing to the prince, but the news of the winter and spring contains descriptions of many victories in the field and opportunities for Rákóczi to proclaim why he would be a worthy king of Poland. The news from Vienna and the reporting region of Hungary-Transylvania, however, present a much bleaker picture. There are some reports of his earlier success and then failure in Poland, but most of the news from these regions deals with the subject of the Ottoman invasion. The news addresses the dismissal of Rákóczi, the elections of Rhédey and Barcsai and the overall justification for the Ottomans' authority in this matter. The prince of Transylvania is no longer portrayed as a political

threat who could become king of a neighboring land, but rather as a figure whose legitimacy could easily be called into question by a demand from the Porte.

Given these series of events, 40% of the news in the stories of 1657-8 is political in subject, approximately halfway between the large percentage of political news tied to Bethlen's triumph's (48%) and the comparably low percentage of reporting on György I's peace discussions (34%).[25] However, this 40% of political news is not a consistent across reporting regions, but rather an average of two extremes (see Table 5.4). Those regions with greater than half of their total word count devoted to political stories—Vienna, Hungary and the German Lands—also primarily focus on the struggle between Transylvania and the Ottomans over Transylvania's degree of autonomy. The regions which have under a third of their total words used to address politics—the Baltic and the Hereditary Lands—focus more on the events within Poland and the marching of armies. The region which offers the closest balance of political and military news is Poland-Lithuania, as that region not only reported on the armies which moved through the countryside, but also on how Rákóczi justified his presence to the people of Poland.

The political news from the Baltic is primarily concerned with Rákóczi's actions in Poland-Lithuania, though there are 6 news stories which focus on the later conflict with the Ottomans and news of Rhédey's appointment as prince of Transylvania. The largest proportion of the political news comprises the three main political stages which accompanied Rákóczi's invasion: the securing of alliances, the justification for Rákóczi's claim to the crown of Poland and, finally, the peace accord which was settled upon. News of the alliance made with Sweden appears in 4 news items, including a report on a later

[25] For more on how political and military news events are defined see pages 60-1. Bethlen's political news is covered on pages 104-114 and György I's on pages 175-87.

agreement between Rákóczi, Sweden and Brandenburg in which the parties agreed to enter no separate peace without the others.[26]

While these alliances may have resulted in military support, Rákóczi still presented justifications to the country as to why he should be considered king of Poland. In the reports from Prussia, he invoked the name of István Báthori, a Transylvanian prince who had been a popular king of Poland-Lithuania in the sixteenth century: 'beybringend das Exempel des Königs Stephani Bathori/ der auch aus Siebenbürgen geruffen unnd zum Pohlnischen König gekrönet worden/ auch gar glückselig regieret hette'.[27] Not only did he appeal to a historical king of Poland as a precedent to welcome Transylvanian rule, but he also noted that presently the country was without a leader: 'Er keme als ein Freund/ und nicht als ein Feind/ begehrete dahero von ihnen/ daß sie ihn annehmen solten als einen König/ denn weiln sie keinen König im Lande hetten/ wolte er ihr König seyn'.[28] Furthermore, as Rákóczi conquered Lemberg, he promised in 'universale texts', proclamations or acts made to the public, that he would respect the nobility and 'auch solche Universales habe ausgehen lassen/ daß die sämbtliche vom Adel zu ihm/ als einen guten Freund und Könige sich häuffen möchten'.[29]

The news stories from Poland-Lithuania expand on this subject area. While the news of the alliance with Sweden is not reported on by the Commonwealth, once Rákóczi's march began, news of his political justifications begins to be included. The presentation at Lemberg is included in 5 separate reports, and there is a detailed account of his arrival at Brest and his promise in the accords, written just after, to protect the

[26] '*Thorn* vom 14. *Martii.* 1657.', *Europaeische Zeitung: Particular-Schreiben … Zum Appendice Num … 1657. gehörig* (Stettin, 1657:12).
[27] 'Elbingen vom 6. 16. Febr.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:8).
[28] 'Elbingen vom 2. Dito [Mar.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:10).
[29] 'Elbing vom 13. 23. Februarii.', *Post Zeitung: Mitwochentliche* (Hamburg, 1657:9). Also in 'Extract eines Schreibens aus Thorn vom 17. 27. Febr.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:9).

rights of the nobility who pledge their loyalty to the king of Sweden and the prince of Transylvania:

> 1. Sol die Stadt Brzescie ohne Verzug nach abgelegtem Eyde der Trewe I.K.M. zu Schweden unnd dem Fürsten von Siebenbürgen ubergeben/ doch einem jeden seine Freyheit so wohl in Geist- als Weltlichen Sachen von hochbesagtem Fürsten gelassen werden. [...]. 5. Sol denen vom Adeln/ welche bey I.K.M. und hochgedachtem Fürsten getrew verbleiben wollen/ nicht allein Sicherheit ihrer Häuser unnd Besitzungen in- und ausserhalb der Stadt gegeben/ sondern auch alle abwesende/ so zu solchem Gehorsam treten wollen/ gleich denen andern vom Adel bey ihren alten Freyheiten/ Recht und Gerechtigkeiten gelassen werden/ wofern sie nur friedsam leben/ und nichts Feindseliges beginnen werden. [30]

Rákóczi's military invasion occurred within a framework of political justification and even though the Baltic and Poland-Lithuania both reported on the same subject they constructed slightly different political frameworks according to the interest of each region. The Baltic was more likely to print shorter stories and report on the maneuverings of international politics. Poland-Lithuania, however, filled its generally longer reports with narratives of local events, which took on greater importance as Rákóczi's march continued.

From both reporting regions, the news of the final peace accords, reached after Rákóczi lost possession of Cracow and accepted ignominious concessions, is less focused on the details of the agreement and is more effective at communicating a certain tone. From Poland-Lithuania, the news conveys the joy of a battle won with phrases such as 'Es ist nunmehr/ Gott lob/ auff unser und der Pohlnischen Seiten so weit kommen' and

[30] 'Kurtzer Bericht Welcher gestalt der feste Orth Brescie Litewsky von Ihrer Königl. Majest. zu Schweden/ rc. rc. unnd dem Fürsten von Siebenbürgen per Accord ohne Verlust eines eintzigen Manns erobert worden/ sampt denen daselbst getroffenen Accords-Puncten. [...]. Gegeben im Königl. Hauptquartier Ostrozana den 14. 24. Maii 1657. Folgen die Accords-Puncta.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:23). On Lemberg: 'Aus Zamos Wiwos vom 6. Jan.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:7); '*Extract* Schreibens auß *Samoiscie* den 25. *Jan*. 1657.', *Europaeische Zeitung: Particular-Schreiben: APPENDIX Europaeischer Zeitung/ von Num* (Stettin, 1657:7); 'Samosch vom 8. Dito [Feb.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:9); 'Pohlnischen Gräntze vom 18. Febr.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:9); 'Wilda vom 9. Dito [Mar.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:13).

'von den allerfürnehmsten und tapffersten *Cavallieren commandire'*.[31] From the Baltic, the news reveals how negative the outcomes were for Rákóczi, 'daß Er nicht allein *totaliter ruini*ret und zu unehrlichem *Accord* gezwungen', and the desire to spread the word as quickly as possible:

> Gestern sind 2. Postilions aus unsers allergnädigsten Königs Lager vor Crakaw anhero kommen/ der eine von Ihr. Königl. Majestät/ der ander aber vom hiesigen Secretario/ mit Versichrung daß der Ragoskysche Krieg zum Ende/ und selbiger Fürst ümb aus den augustiis worinnen ihn die Pohlnischen Feldherrn gehabt/ zukommen/ auff gewisse Condition verglichen war/ welcher Accord auch anhero gesand und alsofort mit permission und privilegio im öffentlichen Druck publiciret worden.[32]

Each response communicates the attitudes of the respective reporting regions. Poland, and more specifically Cracow, bore the brunt of the marching armies and so was overjoyed that the Transylvanians would be leaving. The Baltic, on the other hand, had largely been a point of information exchange, and thus commented on the action and then dispersed the news.

While in previous periods the news of the Hereditary Lands primarily came from Prague (see sections pages 95-7 and 164-6), the reporting region for these two years was dominated by stories from Silesia and Breslau, more specifically. This region's interests, due to geographical proximity and economic and cultural ties, lay more with the news of Poland than with the news of Transylvania. As a result, though the political disarray of the principality from the end of 1657 receives attention in 6 reports, the political events in Poland are the subject of 14 reports. In this latter category, there is news of envoys traveling between Sweden and Rákóczi, the alliance made with the Cossacks and a statement from Rákóczi's envoy that 'Mehrbesagter Fürst hat unlängst ein *Manifest*

[31] 'Aus dem Hatzfeldischen Hauptquartier vor Crakow vom 7. Augusti.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:35); 'Aus Newstadt vom 17. *Augusti*.', *Particular Zeitung* (n.p., 1657:44).

[32] '*Marienburg* vom 11. 21. *Augusti* 1657.', *Europaeische Zeitung: Particular-Schreiben ... Zum Appendice Num ... 1657. gehörig* (Stettin, 1657:33); 'Dantzig vom 11. Augusti.', *Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Hamburg* (Copenhagen, 1657:33).

heraus geben/ worinn er unter andern die Pohlnische Stände erinnert/ was gestallt er vor langer Zeither zur Cron Pohlen eine rechtmässige *praetension* wegen der *Soccession* habe'.[33]

However, the political subject which garners the most attention is the peace arranged between Poland and Rákóczi. One report enumerates the points of the peace including the concessions that Rákóczi would remove his army, compensate the crown for damage done, give payment to the Polish army and take up arms to assist the Poles, but most of the news is considerably shorter.[34] The reports primarily concentrate on the initial consequences of the peace, such as the removal of troops, 'nachdem der Friede mit dem Ragotzi getroffen/ die Ragotzische Besatzung aus der Stadt Crakow in 2500. starck abmarchiret', or celebration, 'So haben die Dantziger über den zwüschen der Kron Polen und dem Ragozi getroffenen vergleich/ ein Freudenfest gehalten/ und mit stukken salve geschossen'.[35] While the Transylvanian political news from the Hereditary Lands may be primarily concentrated on the invasion of Poland, it does not provide very detailed narratives. Like the other reporting centers in the Baltic, the Hereditary Lands acted primarily as an aggregator of news from Poland.

Vienna also contributed some reports on the political actions in Poland, specifically to the alliances made with the Swedes and Cossacks and the presentation of 'universale texts' to the city of Lemberg.[36] However, the political ramifications of

[33] 'Extract Schreibens aus Breßlaw vom 17. Dito [Feb.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:9). Envoys discussed in 'Breßlaw vom 6. Dito [Oct.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:42). Cossack alliance in 'Olmitz vom 14. Jan.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:5).

[34] 'Aus Pilza/ vom 12. Julii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:29).

[35] 'Breßlaw vom 8. 18. Dito [Aug.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:35); 'Auß Schlösien/ vom 1. 11. Herbstm.', *Newe Vnpartheysche Zeittung vnd Relation* (Zurich, 1657:XXXVII).

[36] On the alliances: 'Wien vom 27. Dito [Dec.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:2); 'Wien vom 4. Jan.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:3); 'Auß Wien/ vom 7. 17. Jänner.', *Newe Vnpartheysche Zeittung vnd Relation* (Zurich,

Rákóczi's actions in Poland which most commonly appear in the news from Vienna are those pertaining to the Hungarian Diet and the debate therein on whether to support the Transylvanian invasion:

> Die allhier in grosser anzahl versamblete Ungarische *Proceres* seynd etzliche Tage nach einander unter sich eyfferig zu Rath gangen/ aber wie man vernimbt/ wegen des bevorstehenden Einfals in Pohlen oder Siebenbürgen nicht einig/ in dem allerley augenscheinliche Gefahren dadurch zubesorgen'.[37]

The political consequences of the invasion within the principality are much more frequently included in the news from Vienna. News of the Ottomans' ire, their demand for the dismissal of Rákóczi and the subsequent election of Rhédey are mentioned on 28 occasions in news items of different length and from the perspectives of both parties.[38] An explanation is presented as to why the Ottomans have the authority to dismiss Rákóczi and instate Rhédey: 'der Groß-Türck an die Siebenbürgische Stände geschrieben/ und ihren Fürsten Ragotzi wegen des jüngsten ohne seinen Consens in Pohlen vorgenommenen Zugs abzusetzen begehret haben'.[39] Additionally, there is news of Rákóczi hoping to regain the support of the Transylvanian nobility: 'alle geworbene und Landvölcker/ wie auch der gantze Adel/ ausser Proceres haltens noch mit ihme/ unnd

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1657:IV). On the *Universalen*: 'Wien vom 17. 27 Dito [Jan.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:6).

[37] 'Aliud ab eodem [Vienna, 3 May].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:20).

[38] On Turkish displeasure: 'Franckfurt an der Oder vom 26. Octob.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:46);'Aus Wien/ vom 27. Novembris', *Post Zeitung: Mitwochentliche* (Hamburg, 1657:51). On the appointment of Rhédey: 'Wien vom 28. Novemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:50); 'Aus Newhäusel vom 21. Novemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:53); 'Aus Siebenbürgen vom 27. Decemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg 1658:4); 'Prag vom 1. December.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Ordinari Donnerstags Zeitung* (Hamburg, 1657:50). On reasons given for why Rákóczi was removed: 'Wien vom 6. Decemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:51); 'Wien den 16. Decemb.', *Post Zeitung: Mitwochentliche* (Hamburg, 1657:53).

[39] 'Prag vom 1. Decemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:50).

köndte es leicht geschehen/ daß das Blat sich ändern/ unnd Er wieder zur vorigen Würde kommen dörffte/ gestalt Er dann jetzo gar starck mit dem GroßTürcken *capituliren* lest'.[40]

The possible consequences of this action for the Habsburgs provoked a continuing communication with both sides of the dispute, Rákóczi and the Ottomans. There are 10 references to communication with the Ottomans and 15 references to Rákóczi within the political news over the course of the conflict, even if only: 'Zu Preßburg ist eine Ragotzische Bottschafft/ welche nebst behöriger *gratulation* stattliche Praesenten für Ihre Käyserl. Majest. mit gebracht/ wie auch ein Türckischer Chiaus nebenst 5. Personen aus der Türckey ankommen/ dessen anbringen künfftig zu vernehmen sein wird'.[41] Additionally, the Habsburgs once again reported on the deliberations within the Hungarian Diet on the question of whether to support Rákóczi in his fight against the Turks: 'Die Hungarischen Stände kommen guten theils anhero/ umb zu *consultiren*, ob man dem Fürsten Ragotzi assistiren solle oder möge'.[42] For Vienna, the Ottoman actions in Transylvania were of the highest concern: they began with the Porte ruling with a heavier hand and demanding the Transylvanian Estates name a new prince, but could end with the Ottomans seizing the principality and its fortresses.

The news of the elections of both Rhédey and Barcsai is supplemented by reports from the reporting region of Hungary-Transylvania. Though there are only 4 stories on the topic, they are lengthy and give the most comprehensive narrative for how and why the changes in the government of the principality took place at the end of 1657 and 1658. Surrounding the appointment of Rhédey, there are not only details on what properties Rákóczi must turn over, but there is also charged language describing why Rákóczi had

[40] 'Aus Wien vom 24. Decemb.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1658:3).
[41] 'Wien vom 28. Dito [Aug.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:37).
[42] 'Aliud ab eodem [Vienna 2 Sept.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1658:41).

been removed, 'wie er nemblich ohne ihres Großmächtigsten Käysers Wissen und Willen eine grosse anzahl seiner vornembsten Vasallen und Unterthanen in Pohlen uff die Fleischbanck geopffert', and what action is expected of him, 'inzwischen wolte er zu vollziehung seines Großmächtigen Käysers befehlich hiemit das Fürstenthumb *resigniren*, und seinen Vettern Herrn Redey als einen Fürsten wieder einsetzen'.[43] When Barcsai was named prince, a report from Transylvania detailed the expectations that he was meant to fulfill as a loyal vassal:

> 1. Daß er dem Türckischen Käyser in allem/ so lange er regieren würde/ getrew verbleiben. 2. Von dem Türckischen Käyser zumahl seine *Dependentz* haben/ und allen seinen Mandaten gehorsamen und demüthig *exequiren*. 3. Die oben geschriebene *Conditiones* völlig und festiglich halten und praestiren. 4. Mit dem Fürsten Ragotzi keine *Correspondentz* halten/ noch einige Tractaten offent: oder heimblich mit ihme eingehen wolle/ sondern ihnen den *Transalpinum* unnd Moldavum, als seine Adhaerenten nach Mügligkeit verfolgen/ und so er sie gefangen haben würde/ dem Türckischen Käyser zuschicken solte. [44]

These two reports present a different view of the Transylvanian prince than that previously been seen in the stories of Bocskai, Bethlen or György I. Many of the stories from these periods reference the relationship between Transylvania and the Ottomans, but largely in the context of an aggressive Transylvanian seeking financial or military support from the Turks. The fear was that the militant desires of the prince would give the Ottomans an excuse to attack the Habsburgs. In 1658 this expectation was halfway fulfilled. It was the bellicose policy of the prince which convinced the Sultan to once again become active in Transylvanian affairs; however, the involvement was not at the prince's request, but rather had the goal of unseating him.

The final news of Rákóczi in the newspapers of 1657-8 paints the picutre of a prince who has lost authority and legitimacy and of the Ottomans reclaiming a position as

[43] 'Aus Newhäusel vom 21. Novemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:53).
[44] 'Siebenbürgen vom 27. Dito [Sept.],' *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1658:44).

the dominant force in the region. These political subjects appear in the news from Transylvania itself, the neighboring region of Hungary and the Imperial capital in Vienna. This depiction is markedly different from that seen in the news of Rákóczi from less than two years earlier; those stories from Poland, the Baltic and the Hereditary Lands present the leader of an army, who may have been unwelcome to some, but who had strong allies, military victories and an articulated claim to authority. Each reporting region printed the news of Transylvania which was most relevant to region itself, and as a result, there are two distinct views of Rákóczi which are communicated by the two different systems of reporting. The regions most concerned with Poland-Lithuania showed the prince, if only for a limited time, as a conqueror, while those with a greater interest in the Ottomans showed a principality imploding.

5.5 Ceremony

The two political perspectives presented by the reporting systems of the Baltic and Vienna, those of an invading prince and the loss of authority, further affected how ceremony was included in the news stories of Rákóczi. Though there are few aspects of ceremony which appear in the reports of 1657-8, those which are the most flattering to prince and highlight the strength of his allies as well as his own importance all appear within the context of his Polish march. This even includes stories from Vienna which present cordial diplomatic exchanges between Rákóczi and the Emperor.

Of the 18 instances of ceremonial news in the stories of 1657-8, half are in reports from Vienna (see Table 5.5).[45] Amongst these are 2 references to presents given to Rákóczi by the Emperor in the early days of his march into Poland: ‘und demselben im Nahmen allerhöchstermeldter Ihrer Käyserl. Majest. eine ansehnliche güldene Kette mit

[45] For the definition of ceremonial news see pages 68-9.

einem schönen Brustbilde/ jedes zu 1000. Ducaten werth/ offeriren'.[46] When the Transylvanian army was not marching directly against the Emperor or moving into Royal Hungary, Vienna included references in the news to the diplomatic relationship between the two neighbors. However, when Rákóczi's envoys arrived at Vienna during the conflict with the Ottomans, though they arrived with carriages and horses, it had more of the appearance of an escape than a grand procession:

> Ihren Einzug betreffend/ ist solcher schlecht hin gewesen/ dann sie nur eine mit 6. Pferden bespannete Gutschen/ worin sie nebenst 2. Caleschen/ auff welche ihre Diener gesessen/ und etzliche Bawren Wagen mit bey sich habenden Mobilien und nothturfft gehabt.[47]

While Rákóczi is presented as receiving a present from the Emperor and as sending a procession in his name, the ceremonial descriptions from Vienna are still more likely to underscore the diplomatic importance of the city and the gifts given to the Emperor. There is a general statement as to the 'uberaus pomposen Einzug' of the arriving envoys, as well as a detailed description of the finery of the Polish delegation which arrived to further convince the Emperor to join the fight against Rákóczi and Sweden:

> Er führete einen roth bedeckten Pohlnischen mit 4. Pferden bespanneten Wagen mit sich/ und gingen für demselben 15. Tragoner/ denen 15. andere folgeten/ sol ein grossen Schatz an Gold und Silber bey sich haben/ welchen er entweder versetzen oder verschmeltzen lassen wil'.[48]

Furthermore, 3 stories report that the Emperor received '12. schöne Pferdt zum *Praesent*' from Rákóczi.[49] Even when the ceremony in the news stories of Vienna is limited to that

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[46] 'Wien vom 20. 30. Jan.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:5). Both quotes are referring to the same instance, with the above wording being the most elaborate. The second references is only 'Morgen reiset der Ungarische Cantzler als Käyserl. Legatus nach Siebenbürgen mit kostbaren Praesenten'. 'Wien vom 8. 28. [*sic*] Dito [Jan.].', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:5).

[47] 'Aus Wien vom 14. Septemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1658:39).

[48] 'Aliud ab eodem [Vienna 2 Oct.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:42); 'Wien vom 2. 12. [Apr.]' *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:17).

[49] 'Auß Wienn/ vom 18. Dito [Sept.].', *Ordinari Zeitung* (Munich, 1658:39); 'Aus Wien vom 17. Septemb.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:40). In a shortened

which concerns Rákóczi and Transylvania, the grandeur of the court and the Emperor is the dominant theme.

The ceremonial news from the Hereditary Lands and the Baltic is generally brief and focused on the role of Sweden. Though there is one reference to the same horses presented to the Emperor by Rákóczi, ceremonial news is more likely to involve the Transylvanian-Swedish relationship, such as gifts presented to the king of Sweden before he traveled to meet Rákóczi and the hosting of both Rákóczi and the Swedish officers in Cracow.[50]

There is no ceremonial news in the stories from Hungary and Transylvania. Though these reports often focus on the election of princes, they lack the confidence which accompanied the earlier news of Bethlen's election as king of Hungary (see pages 114-19). These news stories do not describe an Estates meeting making the bold choice to elect a controversial, but acclaimed leader, but rather paint the pictureof a body which is hoping to appease a suzerain.

Stories from Poland-Lithuania, however, do present Rákóczi as the center of the ceremonial events. He hosted the king of Sweden for a meal upon their initial meeting and presented him with a fine gift of horses and saddles at the Swedish headquarters of Zawichost:

> seynd Ihre Königl. Majest. von Ihrer Durchl. mit zweyen stattlichen Teutschen Pferden/ auff deren einem ein mit Gold sehr reich bestickter Teutscher Sattel/ Pistolen unnd köstliches Zeug/ auff dem andern ein Pohlnischer Sattel mit Schabrague/ Zeuge und ein Pallasch/ alles von *massiv* Gold sehr reich gezieret/

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form: 'Wien vom 28. Dito [Aug.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:37).

[50] For the horses given to the Emperor: 'Prag vom 28. Sept.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:41). For Sweden's gift: 'Extract Schreibens aus Riga vom 10. 20. Dito [Apr.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:18). For the hosting: 'Auß der Schlösien/ vom 24. *April*.', *Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Strasbourg, 1657:18).

> und mit Türckosen unnd andern Edelgesteinen besetzet/ geleget gewesen/ verehret uns beschencket worden.[51]

However, stories of Rákóczi's arrival in Cracow contain the most ceremonial attention. He received the key of the city and his entrance is described in the most flattering terms of address, referencing his bravery and how honored the city is by his arrival:

> Es ist warlich ein stattlicher/ *humaner*, tapfferer Fürst/ ohne alle Hoffart. Er hat sich gegen uns allen sehr freundlich erwiesen/ unnd durch dessen Cantzler in einer besondern *Oration* uns bedancken lassen/ für unsere erwiesene Tapfferkeit wider unsere unnd seine Feinde/ unnd daß wir ihm beym Einzuge so viel Ehre angethan.[52]

Though this sentiment was clearly not echoed by the whole population of Poland, some of the reports from the region were written by admirers. News from the region describes the military advance of the invading prince in terms which show him as having a welcome presence, with the dignity to take on the title of king of Poland.

When Rákóczi was in Poland, he was a military leader with several successes and a strong ally. As such, it was within this context and these few months that a ceremonial language focused on a Transylvanian appears and Rákóczi is presented as a leader. Though there are two other princes chosen in 1658, these events were not great acts of state to be celebrated, but demonstrations of turmoil within the principality, and no ceremonial descriptions accompany them.

5.6 Violence

The stories from Poland, the Baltic and the Hereditary Lands not only include some news of the grandeur which can accompany war—the beautiful saddles, hosting of meals and

[51] 'Eigentlicher und glaubwürdiger Bericht/ wann und wo Ihre Königl. Majest. zu Schweden rc. rc. sich mit des Herrn Ragotzi Hochfürstl. Durchl. in Pohlen conjungiret/ und was dabey vorgangen/ *sub dato* in dem Königl. Schwedischen Hauptquartier Zavichost den 6. Aprilis Anno 1657.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:21). Hosting: 'Ein anders [Zawichost] vom 7. Dito [Apr.].', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:21).

[52] 'Crakow vom 4. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:17); 'Crakow vom 5. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:17.

presentations of keys to a city—but they also contain reports of the great violence which followed the marching army. The news of György I's movements in Hungary containted a low frequency of descriptions of violence (see pages 193-7), but the immediacy and fear communicated by these words return in the stories of Rákóczi's invasion and the Ottoman advance. The vocabulary of violence offers a glimpse of how the language of the news itself changed over these four periods of time. Certain words fell out of common usage, and regions expressed preferences in their different use of words with similar meanings. The vocabulary used for actions, such as damage done, killing or an emotional response, was different for the main reporting regions of Vienna and the Baltic. It is through language usage that the stories from the Hereditary Lands show the greatest link to those of Vienna. Though this region was more likely to report news from Poland, it used the preferred vocabulary of Vienna demonstrating linguistic ties to the Habsburg capital.

During the period 1657-8, words from the lexicon of violence (see Table 2.3, page 88) once again reached a level equal to that seen during Bethlen's first campaign from 1619-21, appearing 96 times for every 10,000 words (see Table 5.6). Though Vienna continued to decrease the number of violence words it used in its reports, dropping once again from 104 words per 10,000 to 97 (see also Table 4.7, page 218), this decrease is minimal and is more than made up for by the number of violence words used by the other reporting regions. The Hereditary Lands, the Baltic, Poland-Lithuania and the reporting region of Hungary-Transylvania each use words from the lexicon on over 40 occasions, while for the years 1643-5 there is no region except for Vienna which uses these words on more than 20 occasions. Over the course of the three years of reporting on the György I's invasion of Hungary, violence words are used 163 times. The two years of 1657-58, however, offered two separate invasions, and the use of violence vocabulary is much denser.

When the words from the lexicon of violence are considered by frequency category, they form a pattern much more reminiscent of how violence is included during Bethlen's march as opposed to during György I's. Words from Category 4 still tend to be the most common, but they are not quite three times as common as Category 5 words, as they are in the stories of 1643-5. This distribution holds for each reporting region, with a couple of exceptions. Across all five frequency categories, the reporting region of Hungary-Transylvania has the highest proportional use of violence vocabulary. This is in large part due to two particular stories from 1658: the victory of Rákóczi over Mustafa Beeg near Arad from Neuhäusel in July and the Tatars preparing to attack Rákóczi in Großwardein in September.[53] These stories contain Category 4 words such as *Feuer und Schwerdt* and *niedermachen*, but also words from Categories 1 and 2 such as *zertreten, umkommen* and *erstechen*. In addition, there is a discrepancy between the two major reporting centers, with Vienna greatly surpassing the cities of the Baltic in the use of words from Categories 2 and 5.

If broken down by the subject of violence, there appears to be more of a consensus between the language of the stories from Vienna and the language of those from the Baltic. However, each region has particular words it prefers for each subject area, and these are often not the same. In newspapers from the years 1657-8, the words for plundering outnumber those for causing death for the first time (see Table 5.7), yet the word *plündern* itself is not as frequently used, appearing only twice in the stories from the Hereditary Lands and twice again in the stories from Poland-Lithuania. News from Vienna is much more likely to use *Schaden*, as in the years 1643-5, while the Baltic prefers *ruinieren*. Both of these words also appear in the stories from the Hereditary

[53] 'Aus Newhäusel vom 15. Julii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:32); 'Siebenbürgen vom 20. Dito [Sept.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:41).

Lands, though this region aligns with Vienna's usage pattern more closely, using *Schaden* 7 times and *ruinieren* 3 times.[54] Though the reporting region of the Hereditary Lands was more likely to report the news of Transylvanian involvement in Poland rather than reflect Vienna's concern and interest in the Ottoman movements against Rákóczi, the language used in these reports is consistently more similar to that used by the older news center of Vienna than to that used by the newer reporting cities of the Baltic.

Often accompanying damage and destruction is burning and fire. Though these words became infrequent in the stories of György I's march, they are once again common in the reports of the invasions of both Poland and Transylvania. *Brennen* is more frequently used by the cities of the Baltic and Poland, such as 'in den grund verbrennen und ruiniren lassen', while *Feuer* is more common in news from the Hereditary Lands and Vienna: 'mit Fewr und Schwerdt grossen Schaden gethan'.[55] Hungary also varies its descriptions beyond 'burning' and 'fire' to include words such as *anzünden* and *Asche* to describe the suffering and damage suffered by the principality at the hands of the Ottomans: 'welche nunmehr das gantze Fürstenthumb Siebenbürgen durch unnd durch gezogen/ und darinnen grawsamlich gewütet/ in dehme sie die meisten Städte und Flecken in die Asche gelegt/ die jungen unerzogenen Kinder unmenschlicher Weise ertödtet.'[56]

The language of the Hereditary Lands still resembles that of Vienna instead of the that of the Baltic on the subject of death. In the years 1643-5, Vienna uses the word *niedermachen* more than *niederhauen* as its primary expression for killing. This is also

[54] *Schaden* and *ruinieren* both appear in the stories from the Baltic and Vienna, but while Vienna uses *Schaden* 9 times and *ruinieren* 4 times, the Baltic uses *Schaden* 2 times and *ruinieren* 8 times.
[55] 'Marienburg vom 11. 21. Dito [May].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:22); 'Wien vom 28. Dito [Nov.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:50).
[56] 'Preßburg vom 30. Octob.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1658:48).

true in the years 1657-8, with *niedermachen* outnumbering *niederhauen* in the stories from Vienna 8 to 1. The regions of the Hereditary Lands, German Lands, Mediterranean and Hungary-Transylvania all demonstrate this same preference for the newer dominant word. However, both the Baltic and Poland-Lithuania continue to use *niederhauen* slightly more often; it appears 4 times to *niedermachen*'s 3 in the Baltic, and 3 times to *niedermachen*'s 2 in Poland. While the reporting systems of Vienna and the German Lands adopted a new vocabulary to express the death of many men, this was not yet fully the case in the newer reporting system developing in the Baltic and Poland.

The Hereditary Lands, however, are more likely to convey that a person was killed by a particular weapon than to simply indicate death. The word *schießen*, which is popular from the years 1619-21, but falls away in use from 1643-5, once again appears in the news of Transylvania, primarily from the Hereditary Lands, as in a report from Breslau on the capture of Cracow: 'die Stadt heut 8. Tage zubeschiessen angefangen/ und wird dafür gehalten/ daß die Eroberung viel Blut kosten dörffte'.[57] Hungary and Vienna also use words which indicate death by a specific means or weapon, as in Rákóczi's defeat of the Ottoman troops near Arad, when the Turkish troops tried to escape into the river valley, but 'was in der Flucht nicht gefangen und niedergemacht worden/ alles in den nechsten Fluß Moran getrieben/ und meistens ersäuffet', or Rákóczi's earlier success seizing Lippa from the Turks:

> der Ragotzi die Türckische Vestung Lippa unversehens erobert/ die Türckische Besatzung darin niedergemacht/ und den darauff zugezogenen Secourß geschlagen unnd zertrent/ auch den beym newen Fürsten Redey Ferentz gewesenen Türckischen Residenten enthaupten lassen.[58]

[57] 'Breßlaw vom 28. Julii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:32).
[58] 'Aus Newhäusel vom 15. Julii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:32); 'Wien vom 15. Maii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:22).

Words which imply the use of a weapon or death caused by particular means are used by the reporting regions when a specific story is being related. While the stories from the reporting region also contain plenty of instances of general fear and destruction at the hands of the marching armies, there are also sieges, battles and victories in both Poland and Transylvania of great strategic importance which are related in the newspapers.

Though more specific vocabulary is used to communicate death, adjectives are less common in the stories from the major reporting centers and are only used 1 and 4 times respectively in the stories from the Baltic and Vienna. However, they are still in fairly common use in reports from the Hereditary Lands, Poland-Lithuania and even the German Lands, as Brest awaited an 'ernstlicher Betrohung' of '*extreme ruin*' or the news that the Ottomans threatened Rákóczi and all things for him 'schlecht genug ergehet'.[59]

Words conveying an emotional response to violence are once again divided by seemingly regional language patterns, with the Hereditary Lands adopting a vocabulary more similar to Vienna than Poland. Both the Baltic and Poland use *Schrecken* to describe the response to Rákóczi's marching army who 'haben mit Brennen/ Plündern unnd Niederhawen aller Orten groß Schrecken eingejaget'.[60] Vienna, on the other hand, reports the *Furcht* which accompanied the marching Ottomans: 'wegen des Türcken Einfall umb Raab unnd der Orthen ein Zeithero grosse Furcht gewesen'.[61] Similarly, though the stories from the Hereditary Lands describe actions similar to those in stories from Poland and the Baltic they employ Vienna's use of *Furcht* to describe the response to the events,

[59] 'Kurtzer Bericht [...]. Gegeben im Königl. Hauptquartier Ostrozana den 14. 24. Maii 1657.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:23). 'Aus Hamburg vom 18. 28. dito [Oct.].', *Dingstags (Freytags) PARTICULAR: Freytags* (Danzig, 1657:46).
[60] 'Crakow vom 10. Martii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:15).
[61] 'Wien vom 6. Decemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:51).

as when the king of Sweden's moved to meet Rákóczi causing the king of Poland to 'sich befürchten'.[62]

The language of violence that is common in the stories of Bethlen but is less frequent in the news on György I's invasion of Hungary; however, iit does return in the news stories on György II's invasion of Poland and the ensuing Ottoman attack on Transylvania. As a result, the military threat of both invasions, Transylvanian and Ottoman, is presented as being more serious. However, only the invasion of Transylvania into Poland is accompanied by the word 'enemy'. *Feind* is used a total of 31 times in the news stories of 1657-58, or roughly 10 times for each 10,000 words, and, of these; 27 come from the news stories of the Baltic and Poland. There is only 1 reference each for the regions of Vienna, the Hereditary Lands, the German Lands and Hungary-Transylvania, but the Baltic uses the word 14 times and Poland-Lithuania another 13. Though both stories from Vienna and Hungary call György I an enemy because of his invasion of Hungary, these same reporting locations do not refer to the Ottomans as an enemy. In both instances when this word appears in these regions' stories, it is in a promise from Rákóczi to the Emperor that he is not an enemy.[63] When the news from Vienna and Hungary-Transylvania casts the Ottomans as an 'other', it is not done by naming the Sultan as an enemy but by referring to the religious differences between the invading army and the suffering country.[64]

The lexicon of violence includes words which are based around the most common acts of war and were used to communicate news of both major military events of the period, whether the Transylvanians were the aggressors in Poland or the victims of the

[62] 'Extract Schreibens aus Breßlaw vom 17. Dito [Feb.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:9).
[63] 'Aus Ungarn vom 27. Julii', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:34); 'Auß Wien/ vom 7. dito [Feb.].', Untitled *Zeitung* (Frankfurt, 1657:VIII).
[64] For more, see section 5.8 Religion, pages 256-261.

Ottomans. However, as news of each of these events was primarily told by certain reporting regions, variations in the usage of the language of violence can be identified, especially on the subjects of plundering, fire, death and emotion. The two major reporting regions of Vienna and the Baltic primarily use different words to describe these actions, and the Hereditary Lands, which in other topic areas align more closely with reports from Poland and the Baltic, here demonstrate the influence of Vienna in vocabulary choice. While death and destruction appeared in the course of war no matter where the fighting took place, how violence was communicated depended on the reporting location.

5.7 Economics

The focus of the two reporting systems on different aspects of Transylvanian news also affected how each economic subcategory was communicated in the news coverage. The news from Poland and the Baltic, which covered the military invasion of Rákóczi, was more likely to relate the expense of forming and maintaining an army and the costs that were incurred by the country through which these armies marched. In Vienna and Hungary-Transylvania, reporting regions whose coverage focused on the political machinations of deposing a prince and the demands of the Ottoman suzerain, the economic news concentrates on the demands for a tribute from the principality to the Porte and the debts accrued by Rákóczi.[65] The Hereditary Lands, though they demonstrate a language usage more similar to Vienna than Prussia on the subject of violence, continue to place a greater interest on the events in Poland and the restitution Rákóczi must make for damage done there.

The news of the military economy is focused on the same topics that occurred in the news reports of the other periods (see pages 76-9, 126-32 and 198-203): the need to

[65] For more on the definition of economic subdivisions, see pages 76-7.

recruit new soldiers and to find a way of paying the new recruits. The news from the Hereditary Lands, in particular, details the recruitment process at the end of 1657, when the Ottomans were preparing to invade Transylvania and Rákóczi was preparing to fight back. There is news describing the addition of the Croatians to Rákóczi's force, 'aufs newe Patenta und Gelder zu Werbung 2. Regimenter Croaten außgetheilet worden', and the Ottomans' advertisement for new soldiers.[66] Of the 9 stories on the military economy in the news of the Hereditary Lands, 4 are solely on the need to recruit soldiers (see Table 5.8).

The stories from Poland focus more attention on the need to feed the soldiers, the subject of 4 of the 6 stories on the military economy from this region. This same idea appears in the reports from Vienna and the German Lands, as money and food were sent to the army at Cracow and rations were given to Buchheim's men in the Hereditary Lands in preparation for a move against Rákóczi.[67] However, the consequences were graver in the stories from Poland, as the starving army was said to be stealing from the countryside in order to make up for their lack of payment. In March, Rákóczi's men turned to attack the towns where Lubomirski was camped: 'in seinen Städten und Gütern mit Rauben und Brennen auffs grawsamste ihre Bezahlung suchen'.[68] The Polish cities and towns were not primarily concerned about the welfare of the armies, but rather about what would become of a countryside where hungry, discontented men were marching.

The news which is considered 'civilian' is primarily concerned with the disruption to trade and the need to make restitutions. The subject of trade is the most common,

[66] 'Prag vom 29. Novembris.', *Post Zeitung: Mitwochentliche* (Hamburg, 1657:50); Also: 'Prag/ vom 20. Novembr.', *Europaeische Wochentliche Zeitung: Donnerstags* (Königsberg, 1657:50); 'Aus Prag vom 17 dito [Nov.].', *Dingstags (Freytags) PARTICULAR: Dingstags* (Danzig, 1657:50); 'Prag vom 7.17. Dito [Nov.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:48).
[67] 'Aus Hamburg vom 18. 28. dito [Oct.].', *Dingstags (Freytags) PARTICULAR: Freytags* (Danzig, 1657:46); 'Aus Wien vom 5. Februarii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:8).
[68] 'Crakow vom 10. Martii.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:15).

appearing in 2 of the 5 stories of civilian economy from the Hereditary Lands, all 3 from Vienna and in the 1 story from the German Lands. These references are to individual traders or merchants who were affected by war, such as the news that 'Für etzlichen Tagen weren 40. mit Kauffmans-Gütern beladene Wagen/ so aus Ungarn kommen/ und nach Lemberg gewolt/ meist Schottländeren zugehörig/ von den Bawren und den Ragotzischen gantz spoliiret worden/ welches ein grosser Schade', or the general disruption to trade patterns.[69] In addition, news from the Hereditary Lands includes promises that Rákóczi had made to provide restitution for the damage done by his army in Poland, from returning goods to a church to an agreement that compensation would be made in peace conditions.[70]

The news of payments made, or promises of money between governments or groups to secure peace or in tribute, are similarly included in reports of Rákóczi's actions in Poland and the Ottoman actions against Rákóczi. However, the subject areas are not equally distributed amongst the reporting regions. Vienna concentrates almost exclusively on the demands made by the Ottomans for a tribute from Rákóczi in addition to the prince (or former prince) accepting the burden of paying the ransom for those men who had been captured by the Tartars:

> biß sich etwan der Ragotzi nach des Groß Türcken begehren *accommodiren* möchte/ welches zum theil uff eine grosse Summa Geldes/ zum theil auch dahin angesehen/ daß er all die jenige gefangene/ welche ihme bey seinem Zurückmarch aus dem Königreich Pohlen von den Tartarn abgenommen und weggeführet worden/ mit seinen eigenen Mitteln wieder ledig machen/ unnd sich der Cosacken/ welche mit denen an dem schwartzen Meer wohnenden Griechen gegen dem Türcken gefährliche Correspondentz gepflogen/ entschlagen solte.[71]

[69] 'Breßlaw vom 4. Augusti.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:33). Other trade: 'Prag vom 26. Novemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:49); 'Wien vom 2. 12. Dito [Apr.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:17); 'Aus Wien vom 14. Septemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1658:39); 'Auß Hamburg/ vom 12. dito [Aug.].', *Ordenliche Wochentliche PostZeitungen* (Munich, 1658:XXXVIII).
[70] 'Prag vom 11. Augusti.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:34); 'Aus Pilza/ vom 12. Julii.', *Wochentliche Zeitung Auß Hamburg* (Copenhagen, 1657:29).
[71] 'Wien vom 6. Decemb.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:51).

The news of the Ottoman demands for payment from Transylvania, also came from the other major reporting centers of the German Lands and the Baltic, as well as from Transylvania, where the story is placed in the context of a resolution made between Barcsai and the Sultan.[72] The news of payments made in conjunction with the Polish invasion came primarily at the end of the conflict, as Rákóczi had to pay the Tartars for peace, and repay his debts to his allies Sweden and France.[73] Though there were a few stories on this subject from the Baltic, Vienna and Poland-Lithuania, the reporting region which gave the most news is the Hereditary Lands. All 4 references to payments from the regions relate to the agreement made bringing peace with the Tartars: 'daß die Cosacken/ nach dehme sie mit 400000. Ducaten die Tartarn abgekaufft und zu frieden gesproché'.[74]

In total, 12 of the 18 items of economic news from the Hereditary Lands are on the subject of the war in Poland. Of the two major conflicts which appear in the news of Transylvania from 1657-8, the Hereditary Lands are primarily concerned about reporting on Rákóczi's invasion of Poland. The Ottoman advance which so clearly concerned the news writers of Vienna does not appear to be as pressing a worry, particularly within Silesia, as the war across the border was.

5.8 Religion

The religious news of Bocskai is characterized by a large number of references to destruction of church property, prayers to God and the unchristian-ness of both the

[72] 'Siebenbürgen vom 27. Dito [Sept.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1658:44).
[73] 'Aliud ab eodem [Vienna, 12 Dec.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:52); 'Dantzig/ vom 11. Januarii.', *Europaeische Wochentliche Zeitung: Sontags* (Königsberg, 1658:3); 'Breßlaw vom 9. Dito [Mar.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:13).
[74] 'Breßlaw vom 1. 11. Dito [Aug.].', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:34).

Ottomans and the Protestants in Transylvania (see pages 79-86). During Bethlen's phase religious events are a common feature of the news, though the institutional aspects of the religion are more important (see pages 132-43). Churches and clerics were not only destroyed and persecuted, but also saw political celebrations and performed diplomatic roles, while religious identifiers were used to describe representative bodies, such the Evangelical Estates. The institutional role of the church becomes such a dominant focus during the march of György I that over two-thirds of the references to religion occur within the context of the peace discussions with the Emperor (see pages 203-8). Within the news stories of 1657-8; however, this movement towards a completely institutional role of the church within the news stories is interrupted by the reporting style of the news from Poland and the fear of the Turks.

As a whole, there are significantly fewer references to religion in the Transylvanian news stories of 1657-8 than in the other periods discussed in this thesis (see Table 5.9). The news from Vienna alone goes from 123 religious words in 1619-21 to 43 in 1643-5 and finally 18 in 1657-8. However, if compared to the references to religion from 1643-5 which are not included in the peace negotiations between György I and Ferdinand III (see Table 4.11, page 219), the numbers are actually remarkably consistent. Vienna has 16 references to religion in 1643-5 and 18 in 1657-8; the Hereditary Lands go from 1 to 2; and Hungary and Transylvania from 7 to 5.

There is also a consistent pattern in the reporting of religious subjects surrounding the institution of the church—its buildings, priests and feast days—which appears both in the context of war and diplomacy, specifically on the subject of Rákóczi in Poland. In the news from Vienna, there are 3 references to the upcoming Pentecost, which marked Rákóczi's imminent departure to begin his march into Poland: 'das Werck so viel

müglich gegen Pfingsten zu *divertiren*'.[75] That same month, a Hungarian bishop was sent by the Emperor as an envoy to Rákóczi.[76] In the news from the Hereditary Lands, it is said that as Rákóczi marched into Poland with the Cossacks at his side, their combined forces terrorized the people: 'wider die Geistlichen unnd Edelleut sehr übel verfahren.'[77]

From Poland and the Baltic came a few more references to the church in the context of Rákóczi's invasion. The bishop of Lemberg fled the city before Rákóczi's arrival.[78] Not long after, Rákóczi met the king of Sweden and the two 'das feste Closter Czenstochowa berendt worden'.[79] They marched on together, and, after seizing the city of Brest with little resistance, the days' events were recounted including the king of Sweden holding a day of fasting and repentance, 'den Buß und Bettag', on Friday.[80] In each of these cases, the most important part of the story is the advance of the Transylvanian and Swedish forces, while the bishop, the cloister and the religious service are all simply markers of a leader, property and passage of time.

The most remarkable aspect of religious news from Poland and the Baltic is the prayers to God. Though very common in the news from the Hereditary Lands and Hungary, and even Vienna and Prague, during the years 1619-21 (see Table 3.9, page 158), this form of religious language is very rare in the years 1643-5. It is still absent in the stories from Vienna, Hungary and the Hereditary Lands in 1657-8, except for one instance when a report from Vienna offers a prayer in the face of the advancing

[75] 'Aus Wien vom 5. Februarii.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:8); 'Aus Wien vom 7. Februarii.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:8); 'Deutschland. *Wien* vom 10. *Feb*. st.n.' *Europaeische Zeitung: APPENDIX* (Stettin, 1657:8).
[76] 'Deutschland. *Wien* vom 10. *Feb.* st.n.' *Europaeische Zeitun: APPENDIX* (Stettin, 1657:8).
[77] 'Schlesien vom 14. Dito [Apr.].' *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:18).
[78] '*Extract* Schreibens auß *Samoiscie* den 25. *Jan*. 1657.', *Europaeische Zeitung: APPENDIX* (Stettin, 1657:7).
[79] 'Marienburg vom 14. 24. Dito [Apr.].' *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:18).
[80] 'Kurtzer Bericht [...]. Gegeben im Königl. Hauptquartier Ostrozana den 14. 24. Maii 1657.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:23).

Ottomans, 'Unsere Gräntzen seynd wol versehen/ und werden uber das je länger je besser verwahret/ Gott stehe der Christenheit bey.'[81] However, when Rákóczi invaded Poland there are 13 prayers and supplications to God. 'GOtt Lob!', 'Er GOtt gedancket', 'Gott gebe was gutes', 'Gott helffe ferner' and others are all exclaimed in the reports from Poland and the Baltic.[82] On one occasion the praise to God is in a parenthetical phrase. The news report from Elbing dated 10 April 1657 was printed in both the Hamburg *Wöchentliche* and the Stettin *Europaeische*. While in the former newspaper, the text reads 'daß von Ihrer Königl Majest. glücklichen Progressen abermahl gar gute Zeitungen einkommen', in the latter a small phrase of thanksgiving was inserted: 'daß von Ihr. Königl Maytt. glücklichen *Progres*sen (GOtt Lob!) abermahl gar gute Zeitungen eingekommen.'[83] The use of God in this way reflects a sense of hope or desperation, as well as the immediacy of the events being reported. Whether inserted by the news writer or newspaper printer, the news of Rákóczi's progress seemingly held more resonance for Stettin, held by Sweden, than for Hamburg.

The most common form of religious language during the period, the identification of a particular religious affiliation, is largely used within the context of the Ottoman actions in Transylvania rather than with that of the Transylvanian's actions in Poland. In these stories *evangelisch* is never used and *katholisch* is only used once, but *Christen*, *Christenheit* or *christlich* appear on 12 occasions (see Table 5.10).[84] All five of the religious references from stories out of Hungary or Transylvania, and half of the stories

[81] 'Wien vom 6. Martii.' *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1658:12).
[82] '*Elbing* vom 10. *April*. 31. *Mart.*', *Europaeische Zeitung: Particular-Schreiben ... Zum Appendice von Num ... gehörig* (Stettin, 1657:14); 'Aliud ab eodem [Elbing, 13 Apr.].' *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:16); 'Extract Schreibens aus Crakow vom v. Febr.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:10).
[83] 'Elbing vom 10. April.', *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:15). '*Elbing* vom 10. *April*. 31. *Mart.*', *Europaeische Zeitung: Particular-Schreiben ... Zum Appendice von Num ... gehörig* (Stettin, 1657:14). Whether the parenthetical phrase from the report in April was deleted from the Hamburg paper or added to the Stettin one is unknown.
[84] This is only one less than during Bocskai's years and 4 less than Bethlen's. 'Christian' only appears once during György I's news stories (see Appendix Table 7, page 289).

from Vienna use *Christen* to identify those individuals who were most threatened by the advancing Ottoman, such as 'vil gefangene Christen erlediget worden' or 'die Christen an den Gräntzen'.[85] This usage clearly underscores the unchristian-ness of the Ottoman Turks, much as it does during the years of Bocskai's rebellion. However, while the news stories from the years 1604-5 commonly compare the non-believing Turks to the equally heretical Transylvanian Protestants, this second antagonism is not present in these reports. Rather, the Transylvanians are primarily presented as fellow Christians who are suffering at the hands of barbarians, such as the captured Transylvanians: 'was für ein grosse anzahl Christen von gedachten Barbarischen Völckern entführet'.[86] This is further supported by the use of *Seelen* to describe the people killed or captured by the Turks from Hungary and Transylvania: 'die Türcken in die 60000. Seelen aus Siebenbürgen nach der Türckey weggeführet'.[87] While in the case of Rákóczi's invasion of Poland, there was apparently little need to highlight the religious differences of a Reformed prince in a Catholic country, when the Muslim Turks marched into the region which was acting as a buffer to Christendom, Christianity became a unifying characteristic.

The religious identity of the Transylvanian prince did not pass without comment, both in the context of the march into Poland and the Ottoman advance. However, in both situations the Protestant belief is not cast in a negative light, as it was fifty years earlier when Bocskai was called an Arian in the stories of the *Messrelationen*. Rákóczi, though of the Reformed faith, stated, when making his claim for the Polish crown, that he would also be accommodating to the Catholic majority of Poland, as was the last Transylvanian king of Poland, the Catholic István Báthori: 'daß Er *ad exemplum Stephani Battori*, den

[85] 'Auß Wien/ vom 24. Dito [July].', *Ordinari Zeitung* (Munich, 1658:31); 'Wien vom 6. Decemb.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1657:51).
[86] 'Wien vom 30. Octob.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1658:46).
[87] 'Wien vom 30. Dito [Oct.].', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1658:46); 'Wien vom 8. Dito [May].' *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Diengstags* (Hamburg, 1658:21).

Pohlnischen Sitten sich *accommodiren* und ihre Religion annehmen würde'.[88] Additionally, the four references to Reformed, Calvinist and Catholic all occur in news in which the authority in the principality is questioned. Ferenc Rhédey is described as 'einen Herrn von gutem Verstande/ der Reformirten Religion/ und mittelmässigen Alters' in reports from Vienna and the Baltic during the turnover of the principality at the end of 1657.[89] Ákos Barcsai was similarly described in a report from Vienna that was printed when he became the third named Prince of Transylvania in a year, at the end of 1658.[90] However, Rhédey's potential Catholic sympathies are also indicated: 'welcher zwar auch Calvinisch/ aber zu der Catholischen Religion inclinirt seyn solle'.[91] The Reformed faith of the Transylvanian prince is identified, but is not seen as being a harbinger of treacherous deeds to come, as was the case fifty years earlier.

In the stories from the newspapers of 1657-8, religious language includes a resurfacing expression of personal belief and is not limited to simply describing the institutional role of the church. In news from Poland and the Baltic, it demonstrates the heightened, personal emotions of the news writers, who turned to God in fear or praise in response to the Transylvanian armies. In the news from Vienna and Hungary-Transylvania, religion primarily appears in the identification of a common Christian identity against an Ottoman invasion. While this latter usage may appear to be a more supportive use of religious language, it is actually more dismissive of the Transylvanian prince. By framing the advance of the Turks as a cause of fear for the whole Christian community, the stories from Vienna, Hungary and even Transylvania are already

[88] 'Copia eines vertrawten Schreibens aus Dantzig an einen Churfürstl. Brandenburgischen Bedienten *sub dato* 6. Januarii.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:3). István Báthory was elected king of Poland from 1576-86 with his fiancée, Anna Jagiellon.
[89] 'Dantzig/ vom vorigen [28 Dec.].', *Europaeische Zeitung: Sontags* (Königsberg, 1658:1); 'Wien vom 28. Novemb.', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: APPENDIX* (Hamburg, 1657:50).
[90] 'Auß Wien/ vom 20. 30. Weinm.', *Newe Vnpartheysche Zeittung vnd Relation* (Zurich, 1658:XLIV).
[91] 'Auß Franckfurt vom 8. Decemb. st.N.', *Dingstags (Freytags) PARTICULAR: Freytags* (Danzig, 1657:51).

conceding that the leaders of Transylvania did not have the military strength and political legitimacy to refuse to comply with the Porte's demands. Instead, if the attack of the Ottomans was to be repelled, it must be with the support of other European powers. This Turkish invasion was the disastrous result of Rákóczi's attempt to invade Poland. Though the incursion was ultimately unfortunate for Transylvania as a whole, the early months of 1657 could not have predicted this ill-fated result. The reports from Poland and the Baltic during these days present the leader of an army whose advance provoked real consternation from the populace.

The news of Rákóczi from 1657, as reported by the Baltic-Polish reporting system, is focused on the military, provoking prayers to God on the part of the news-writers, but it also contains the prince's own justifications for his actions and descriptions of ceremonial moments which reinforced his diplomatic ties. The news of Rákóczi and Transylvania from 1658, as told by the stories of the Viennese-Hungarian reporting system, depicts a region in turmoil with no clear leader, an advancing foreign army with the political authority to support their claims to rule and an appeal to a common Christian identity to give support on the borders of Europe.

5.9 Messrelationen of 1657-8

Both of these narratives of Transylvania, as conqueror and victim, are presented in the *Messrelationen* of 1657-8. In earlier periods, the news in these publications is largely an aggregation of the same news stories which had appeared in the newspapers of the day, but in the Messrelationen, they form into a more cohesive narrative and are supplemented by the reprinting of letters from the main participants and of agreements made between parties (see pages 144-54 and 208-17). The *Messrelationen* of 1657-8 are no exception, and elements of the news of both reporting systems, via the Baltic cities and Vienna, are

characterized by a very clear change in tone, which marks the news of a victorious Rákóczi and the news of a ruined Transylvania.

With only the two publications from Frankfurt and Leipzig remaining for the years 1657-8, there are considerably fewer words devoted to the news of Transylvania in the *Messrelationen* than in the newspapers of the day.[92] The 6 extant issues, 4 from 1657 and 2 from 1658, contain only 7,250 words of news on Transylvania, or 77% less than the number of words of the newspapers. However, among these few stories there remains not only reporting on main events in Poland and Transylvania, but also 4 letters and 2 enumerated points of discussion. Both sets of points which appear are those referenced within the reporting of Rákóczi's Polish invasion: the 'Kurtzer Innhalt deß vom Fürsten in Siebenbürgen durch Polen publicirten Manifests' and the accords presented after Rákóczi and the Swedish forces took Brest.[93] In addition, all four letters were written by Rákóczi to the king of Sweden between 27 February and 23 March 1657, from Jaroslau, Landshut and finally Orsinaw, with each reporting on his progress towards Cracow.[94]

All six of these letters and enumerated points were printed in the same *Messrelation*, and, taken together, the story which appears is optimistic and shows the prince's success. Within the letters, Rákóczi asks for what points Sweden would like to include in the discussions, because he is confident they would soon be coming to a peace. He states with hope, 'Mir ist zwar durch Gottes Gnade dieser Zug nach Hertzens-Wunsch ergangen/ zweifele aber nicht/ daß er ins künfftige noch glücklicher seyn werde/ wann E. Kön. May. Hülffe darzu kommt'.[95] For the spring and early summer of 1657, when Rákóczi's march was successful and his alliance appeared strong, the Transylvanian prince was, in a large part, the author of his own news. Four letters from Bethlen appear

[92] For more on extant issues of the *Messrelationen* from 1657-8 see pages 39-40.
[93] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1657), 10, 30.
[94] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1657), 10-14.
[95] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1657), 11.

in the *Messrelationen* of 1619-21, but they are outnumbered by the letters from other rulers and electors. There are no letters from György I in the *Messrelationen* of 1643-5, and his perspective was largely limited to his proposed demands for peace. This *Messrelation* issue from the autumn of 1657, however, printed news that came directly from the successful and hopeful prince of Transylvania as he conducted his march into Poland.

However, as Rákóczi's own luck turned, so did the dominant narrative of him in the *Messrelationen.* The first news printed in the Frankfurt *Messrelation* from the spring of 1658 was an announcement in a large font that Leopold I would soon be elected Holy Roman Emperor. The first full story which appears in the traditional manner, under a headline, relates the news of Rákóczi and is titled 'Herr Georg Ragoczy/ Fürst in Siebenbürgen/ muß das Königreich Pohlen mit schlechter Reputation/ und grossem Verlust seines Kriegsheers verlassen'.[96] With this headline the optimistic and proud view of Rákóczi which appears in the earlier publication is dismissed, and an address to the reader continues further:

> Gleichwie/ Geschichtliebender Leser/ in vorhergehender Herbst Relation deß entwichenen 1657. Jahrs/ und zwar am 8. und etlichen folgenden Blätern derselben/ wir vö dem damahls großaußsehenden Feldzug deß Fürsten in Siebenbürgen/ Herrn Georg Ragoczy/ kurtze Meldung gethan: dabeneben auch mit weingem angeführt/ wie gar schlechten Fortgang dasselbé Waffen/ in so unglücklich vorgenommener *Expedition* gehabt/[…]/ wie mit gar schlechter Reputation/ und sehr grossem Verlust seines Kriegsheers/ hochgedachter Fürst das wider *raison* feindlich überzogene Königreich Pohlen verlassen/ und den Weg/ in form und weise eines Feldflüchtigen/ wider nach Hause nehmen müssen/ welches sich nachfolgender massen veranlaßt.[97]

In this introduction to the news to follow, Rákóczi's expedition is called unhappy and is said to be making poor progress. He is described as having a bad reputation, acting without reason and sacrificing the commanders of his army. The story marks a shift from

[96] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 3.
[97] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 3-4.

the portrait of a prince leading an army, communicating with his ally the king of Sweden and agreeing upon points in his favor, to the image of political disgrace which characterizes the news of Rákóczi in 1658.

This turning point, expressed so openly in the words above, can also be seen more subtly in the change in language used to address the two major narratives. In many respects, the language and references used to communicate the news of the year 1657 are similar to those of the newspaper stories from Poland and the Baltic, while the news of the 1658 *Messrelationen* is more likely to mimic that of Vienna and Hungary. Though this parallel does not hold up perfectly, the broader trend is still noticeable.

There are 9 references to economic news in these *Messrelationen* with 7 referring to the cost of maintaining an army and 2 to payments made between governments (see Table 5.11). These subcategories do not fall into broad patterns of military costs for the Polish invasion and political payments alongside the Ottoman advance, but are actually distributed more evenly. There is 1 reference to the payment demanded of Rákóczi by the Ottomans and 1 to the payment promised by Rákóczi to the Polish army.[98] On the subject of military economy, there are concerns expressed about the need to provide provisions and munitions for the armies in Poland on 5 occasions and 2 on this same need in defending against the Ottomans.[99] In both contexts, Polish and Ottoman, Transylvania was involved in political and military struggles, with payments demanded as tribute or settlement and armies needing food and weapons. However, the military aspects were a bit more likely to be discussed when it came to the subject of the Polish invasion.

[98] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 5, 6.
[99] In the context of Poland: *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1657), 9, 12, 28-9, 31; *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 5. In the context of the Ottomans: *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 5; *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1658), 61.

The language of violence in the *Messrelationen*, though used much less frequently than in the newspapers (see Tables 5.12 and 5.13), is still employed in a similar manner. Namely, those words which are more likely to appear in the news stories from the Baltic on Rákóczi's Polish invasion, are also more likely to appear in the *Messrelationen* referring to the same events, while those which are the preferred vocabulary of Vienna continue to be on the subject of the Ottomans. *Ruinieren* (appearing 1 time), *niederhauen* (1) and *Schrecken* (1) both preferred by the Baltic appear in the news of the invasion of Poland or the *Messrelationen* of 1657, while *Schaden* (1), *niedermachen* (3) and *Furcht* (1) appear in the stories of 1658.[100] Furthermore, *Feind*, used exclusively in the newspaper reporting of the Transylvanian invasion of Poland, appears 14 times in the news of the *Messrelationen,* all similarly referring to Rákóczi's aggressive acts. The 4 times *Feind* appears in a 1658 *Messrelation* it is in a discussion of the circumstances and consequence of the poor ending to Rákóczi's march: 'daß ermeldter Fürst sich mit der Cron Schweden/[…]/ in diesen Krieg wieder Polen eingelassen/ und Ihrer Keys. May. seine *intention*, die Cron Polen feindlich anzugreiffen/ selbst *denunciiret*'.[101]

The story of Rákóczi's success in 1657 is additionally supported by the appearance of ceremony in the news stories of the *Messrelationen*. There are only 9 items of news which are ceremonial in nature, and all occur in the publications of 1657 (see Table 5.14). They include references to the expensive presents sent by the Emperor to Rákóczi, as reported in the newspaper reports from Vienna, and the fine horses with German and Polish saddles presented to the king of Sweden by Rákóczi upon their first

[100] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 5 (*ruiniern*); *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 6 (*Schaden*); *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1657), 30 (*Schrecken*); *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1658), 61 (*Furcht*); *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1657), 58 (*niederhauen*); *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 5 (*niedermachen*); *CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Autumn 1658), 55 (*niedermachen*, twice).

[101] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 16.

meeting.[102] Furthermore, the experiences of guesting and hosting between the Transylvanians and the Swedes are included in 3 other stories.[103] The most exceptional aspects of ceremony in the news stories appear in Rákóczi's published letters, which he ends with formal wishes for the health, prosperity and reputation of the Charles Gustav: 'Nebenst diesem wünsche Ich E. Königl. Mayest. wolständige Leibes-Gesundheit/ und alles glückliche Wolergehen/ darzu befehle ich mich Ihrer beharrlichen Gunst' or 'von dem gemeinen Besten mit E. Kön. May. zu allem fernern hohen Nachrum/ und unserm Besten/ viel lange Jahre frisch und gesund erhalten/ auch verleihen wolle/ daß Ich mit aller ehestem in gegenwart Deroselben bezeügen könne/ daß Ich sey'.[104]

Rákóczi's letters also act as the vessel through which almost half of the religious language of the *Messrelationen* is conveyed. Of the 15 references to religion which appear in the *Messrelationen* (see Table 5.15), 7 are in the four letters written by Rákóczi, including a reference to the bishop of Neutra acting as Hungarian chancellor and 6 allusions to God. Once again the stories of Rákóczi's march into Poland contain a higher proportion of the references to God, but instead of these prayers coming from a news writer praying for salvation or praising good news, they come from Rákóczi himself confident that God will grant him assistance; he uses phrases such as 'durch Gottes Gnade', 'durch Göttliche Hülffe' and 'nechst Göttlichem Beystand/ fertig und bereit'.[105] Though the context of these references to God is not the same as the context which appeared in the newspapers, the references do display a similar personal and emotional connection to the information being related.

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[102] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1657), 8-9, 17. In newspapers see 'Wien vom 8. 28. [*sic*] Dito [Jan.].', *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:5); 'Eigentlicher und glaubwürdiger Bericht/[...]/ *sub dato* in dem Königl. Schwedischen Hauptquartier Zavichost den 6. Aprilis Anno 1657.' *Wöchtenliche Zeitung auß mehrerly örther: Donnerstags* (Hamburg, 1657:21).
[103] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1657), 15, 29, 32.
[104] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1657), 11, 13.
[105] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1657), 11, 14.

The other references to religion reveal a very similar pattern as that laid out by the newspapers. There is a reference to the Reformed religion of Ferenc Rhédey, very close in wording to the reference which appears in the stories of the Baltic and Vienna, the day of repentance honored by the king of Sweden as reported from Poland, and 2 references to 'diesem Christlichen Königreich' and 'die Christl. Potentaten in der Nachbarschaft'.[106] There are also 2 more allusions to God in the news of the Ottomans, making references in this context more common in the *Messrelationen* than in the newspapers.[107]

Overall, the *Messrelationen* present a narrative of events which is aligned with that of the newspapers of the day. The publications of 1657 focus on Rákóczi's marching army; they include both the economic struggles and ceremonial events which accompany a military actionand present Rákóczi's own optimism and assurance of his successes. The ill turn that he experienced in the autumn of 1657 and 1658 is expressed even more explicitly in the biannual publications. Instead of reports coming in pieces and then being confirmed by later news from Transylvania itself, the whole series of events is presented as one story, including Rákóczi's defeat by the Tartars, his ignoble return, his dismissal and the election of his replacement. The news of the following year features similar violence and searching for provisions, but without any of the pomp of presentations and words of hope that accompanied the earlier news.

Conclusion

In the years 1657-8 Rákóczi's actions led to two distinct news narratives involving Transylvania each reported from a different location. The news of the Ottoman advance

[106] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 17; *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1658), 72. *Also Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 6 (Reformed); *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Autumn 1657), 32 (Day of Repentance).
[107] *Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio* (Frankfurt, Spring 1658), 17; *CONTINUATIO ... Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation* (Leipzig, Spring 1658), 62.

into the principality was of great interest to the city of Vienna, as a concern for Turkish involvement in the affairs on the Empire's borders had been a feature of the news stories for the past 50 years. This reporting included news from Transylvania for the first time, but the story being related presents the men who held the position of prince as being under the control of the Ottoman Porte and having little autonomy or clout. This portrait is a far cry from the images of Bocskai, Bethlen or even György I who had enough political and military strength to march into Hungary and win concessions from the Emperor. However, before Rákóczi was disgraced and dismissed, he was presented in the news as leader promising to honor noble rights and achieving military success. This story is told largely from the perspective of the ports along the Baltic which had established themselves in the previous decade as centers of reporting and even newspaper publishing. For a few months, Rákóczi's march benefited from the coverage from these ports, as well as the towns and cities of Poland-Lithuania which he passed and conquered on his way, and this is preserved in the *Messrelationen* as a story of success and promise.

Table 5.1 Number of reports and stories from each reporting region, 1657-8

	Reports	Stories
Baltic	190	158
Vienna	178	136
Hereditary Lands	91	79
German Lands	41	41
Poland-Lithuania	45	38
Mediterranean	14	14
Hungary-Transylvania	12	10
Other	6	3
Total	577	479

Table 5.3 Number of times types of media are cited as a source of news coming from a specific location, 1657-8

	Letter	Messenger
Transylvania	6	15
Hungary	7	4
Ottomans	—	5
Vienna	4	1
Hereditary Lands	4	1
Poland	16	19
Baltic	13	4
Moscow	—	1
Total	50	50

Table 5.2 Number of times each location is cited as a source of news by reporting region (with the percent of the total number of region's stories in italics), 1657-8

	Transylvania		Hungary		Poland		Baltic		Hereditary Lands		Vienna		Ottomans		Germany		Other		Total	
Baltic	6	*3.8*	3	*1.9*	17	*10.8*	22	*13.9*	4	*2.5*	1	*0.6*	—	—	1	*0.6*	—	—	54	*34.2*
Vienna	14	*10.3*	37	*27.2*	7	*5.1*	—	—	4	*2.9*	—	—	6	*4.4*	—	—	—	-	68	*50.0*
Hereditary Lands	2	*2.5*	3	*3.8*	20	*25.3*	3	*3.8*	2	*2.5*	2	*2.5*	—	—	2	*2.5*	2	*2.5*	36	*45.6*
German Lands	—	—	1	*2.4*	8	*19.5*	1	*2.4*	1	*2.4*	6	*14.6*	—	—	2	*4.9*	—	—	19	*46.3*
Poland-Lithuania	1	*2.6*	—	—	4	*10.5*	—	—	—	—	1	*2.6*	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	*15.8*
Mediterranean	—	—	1	*7.1*	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*7.1*	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	*14.3*
Hungary-Transylvania	1	*10.0*	—	—	1	*10.0*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.	*20.0*
Other	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*33.3*	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*33.3*
Total	24	*5.0*	45	*9.4*	57	*11.9*	26	*5.4*	11	*2.3*	12	*2.5*	6	*1.3*	5	*1.0*	2	*0.4*	188	*39.2*

Table 5.4 Number of words per reporting region with the number of words in political and military news (with the percent of the total words in italics), 1657-8

	Total	**Politics**		**Military**	
Baltic	8,185	2,270	*27.7*	5,417	*66.2*
Vienna	8,840	4,611	*52.2*	3,855	*43.6*
Hereditary Lands	5,099	1,152	*22.6*	3,430	*67.3*
German Lands	2,010	1,031	*51.3*	770	*38.3*
Poland-Lithuania	4,928	2,390	*48.5*	2,427	*49.2*
Mediterranean	658	293	*44.5*	350	*53.2*
Hungary-Transylvania	1,833	951	*51.9*	856	*46.7*
Other	195	144	*73.8*	51	*26.2*
Total	31,748	1,284	*40.4*	17,156	*54.0*

Table 5.5 Number of occurrences of different ceremonial descriptions by reporting region (with the percent of the total stories in italics), 1657-8

	Presents		**Processions**		**Address**		**Guesting**		**Total**	
Baltic	1	*0.6*	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*0.6*
Vienna	6	*4.4*	3	*2.2*	—	—	—	—	9	*6.6*
Hereditary Lands	1	*1.3*	—	—	—	—	1	*1.3*	3	*3.8*
Poland-Lithuania	2	*5.3*	—	—	2	*5.3*	1	*2.6*	5	*13.2*
Total	10	*2.1*	3	*0.6*	2	*0.4*	2	*0.4*	18	*3.8*

Table 5.6 Usage of violence words by frequency category and reporting region (with the number of appearances per 10,000 words for comparison), 1657-8

	Category 1		**Category 2**		**Category 3**		**Category 4**		**Category 5**		**Total**	
Baltic	1	*1.22*	1	*1.22*	14	*17.10*	24	*29.32*	14	*17.10*	54	*65.97*
Vienna	2	*2.26*	12	*13.57*	15	*16.97*	30	*33.94*	27	*30.54*	86	*97.29*
Hereditary Lands	—	—	2	*3.92*	8	*15.69*	32	*62.76*	13	*25.50*	55	*107.86*
German Lands	—	—	—	—	4	*19.90*	6	*29.85*	4	*19.90*	14	*69.65*
Poland-Lithuania	2	*4.06*	6	*12.18*	9	*18.26*	19	*38.56*	13	*26.38*	49	*99.43*
Mediterranean	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*15.20*	2	*30.40*	3	*45.59*
Hungary-Transylvania	4	*21.82*	8	*43.64*	7	*38.19*	13	*70.92*	9	*49.10*	41	*223.68*
Other	—	—	—	—	1	*51.28*	1	*51.28*	—	—	2	*102.56*
Total	9	*2.83*	29	*9.13*	58	*18.27*	126	*39.69*	82	*25.83*	304	*95.75*

Table 5.7 Violence words by subject and reporting region, 1657-8

	Death	**Weapons**	**Fire**	**Plundering**	**Adjectives**	**Emotions**
Baltic	12	3	4	10	1	2
Vienna	15	7	6	13	4	5
Hereditary Lands	5	10	5	13	5	3
German Lands	1	—	—	2	3	1
Poland-Lithuania	8	5	9	6	5	4
Mediterranean	1	—	1	1	—	—
Hungary-Transylvania	4	4	7	6	2	3
Total	46	29	32	51	20	18

Table 5.8 Number of occurrences of different forms of economic news by reporting region (with the percent of the total stories in italics), 1657-8

	Military		**Payment**		**Civilian**		**Total**	
Baltic	2	*1.3*	5	*3.2*	—	—	7	*4.4*
Vienna	6	*4.4*	11	*8.1*	3	*2.2*	20	*14.7*
Hereditary Lands	9	*11.4*	4	*5.1*	5	*6.3*	18	*22.8*
German Lands	1	*2.4*	2	*4.9*	1	*2.4*	4	*9.8*
Poland-Lithuania	6	*15.8*	1	*2.6*	—	—	7	*18.4*
Mediterranean	1	*7.1*	1	*7.1*	—	—	2	*14.3*
Hungary-Transylvania	—	—	2	*20.0*	—	—	—	*20.0*
Total	25	*5.2*	26	*5.4*	9	*1.9*	60	*12.5*

Table 5.9 Number of religious words by category and reporting region (with the number of appearances per 10,000 words in italics for comparison), 1657-8

	Affiliation		**Person**		**Day**		**God**		**Building**		**Religion**		**Total**	
Baltic	1	*1.22*	—	—	—	—	6	*7.33*	1	*1.22*	1	*1.22*	9	*11.00*
Vienna	8	*9.05*	5	*5.66*	3	*3.39*	1	*1.13*	1	*1.13*	—	—	18	*20.36*
Hereditary Lands	—	—	2	*3.92*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	*3.92*
German Lands	4	*19.90*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*4.98*	5	*24.88*
Poland-Lithuania	1	*2.03*	2	*4.06*	2	*4.06*	7	*14.20*	—	—	—	—	12	*24.35*
Mediterranean	—	—	1	*15.20*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	*15.20*
Hungary-Transylvania	5	*27.28*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	*27.28*
Total	19	*5.98*	10	*3.15*	5	*1.57*	14	*4.41*	2	*0.63*	2	*0.63*	52	*16.38*

Table 5.10 Religious affiliation identifiers used by reporting regions, 1657-8

	Christian	**Reformed**	**Catholic**	**Calvinist**	**Other**	**Total**
Baltic	—	1	—	—	—	1
Vienna	6	2	—	—	—	8
German Lands	1	—	1	1	1	4
Poland-Lithuania	—	—	—	—	1	1
Hungary-Transylvania	5	—	—	—	—	5
Total	12	3	1	1	2	19

Table 5.11 Forms of economic news in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1657-8

	Military	Payment	Civilian
Newspapers	25	26	9
Messrelationen	7	2	—

Table 5.12 Number of occurrences of each violence frequency category in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1657-8

	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5
Newspapers	9	29	58	126	82
Messrelationen	2	4	10	29	11

Table 5.13 Violence words by subject in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1657-8

	Death	Weapons	Fire	Plundering	Adjectives	Emotions
Newspapers	46	29	32	51	20	18
Messrelationen	6	7	4	4	11	2

Table 5.14 Forms of ceremonial news in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1657-8

	Presents	Processions	Address	Guesting
Newspapers	10	3	2	2
Messrelationen	2	—	4	3

Table 5.15 Religious words by subject in the newspapers and *Messrelationen*, 1657-8

	Affiliation	Person	Day	God	Building	Religion
Newspapers	19	10	5	14	2	2
Messrelationen	3	2	1	8	—	1

Conclusion

The German-language printed periodicals reported news on each of the major Transylvanian princes during the first half of the seventeenth century. However, these stories were rarely sent from Transylvania itself, and as a result, each man's representation in the news changes depending on which regions are providing information on his exploits. Developments in infrastructure affected which cities reported the news, which, consequently, altered the availability of news on Transylvania.

The reporting systems through which news of Transylvania was communicated were by no means static. They shifted depending on where the action was taking place and because of political and infrastructural changes, namely the quashing of Protestant resistance in Prague and the expansion of the postal system by the Swedes and within Prussia. As a result, Vienna was the only consistent reporter of Transylvanian news, while other reporting regions, such as Prague, the German Lands and the Baltic, waxed and waned in importance.

Vienna acted as the hub of a reporting system within the Hereditary Lands, characterized by both circumstantial and habitual links of communication. The clearest habitual reporting pattern demonstrated within the news stories of Transylvania was that between Hungary and Vienna. In-text citations note news travelling from Hungary to Vienna with increasing frequency and decreasing specificity throughout this period, indicating that this was an established and common route of news communication. In contrast, various circumstantial patterns of communication can be seen in the references to news coming from the military camps throughout the Hereditary Lands, including references to news from the Transylvanian prince himself.

While there is clear evidence of the Hereditary Lands reporting system in all four periods, even in the *Messrelationen* of Bocskai's time, the reporting system of the

German Lands became more important only during the last two periods. The Swedish military headquarters at Leipzig reported on actions from the camps of the allied Swedish and Transylvanian forces in 1643-5, and Hamburg had become, by 1657-8, the major center of German newspaper reporting, in part due to its connection to the cities of Prussia. These Baltic cities represent a third reporting system, which communicated news from Poland-Lithuania and regarding György II's invasion. Changes within these reporting systems had a direct effect on how Transylvania was portrayed in the news of the day, as demonstrated through an examination of five different topics: politics, ceremony, violence, economics and religion.

Each region reported the political news of Transylvania which was of the greatest concern to the region itself rather than what may have had the greatest impact on the prince or principality. This worked in Bethlen's favor, as Hungary gave detailed reports on the kingly election to better promote his legitimacy, while Prague included in this news the implication that the election would save the allied Confederated Lands. Both of these portrayals balanced Vienna's depiction of Bethlen, which only showed him as succeeding because of his military force and the aid of the Ottoman Turks. György I did not benefit from multiple depictions of his political actions. During the years of his march, Vienna was by far the prevailing reporting region, and the city's political concerns regarding Transylvania, that a quick peace be found which did not antagonize the Ottomans, dominated the news. Fifteen years later, Vienna still expressed much more worry that Transylvania would serve as a possible gateway to Europe for the Ottomans than it did any fear that the Transylvanian prince was a possible political threat. Though György II did profit from a second major reporting system carrying the news, this benefit lasted only for one year. The reports from the Baltic and Poland, which include his justifications for claiming the Polish-Lithuanian crown, were followed the next year by

the perspective of Vienna, whose reports depict the prince's hubris as leading to a loss of authority, even in Transylvania.

In many ways, ceremonial news serves as a natural extension of political news, though this topic also includes the pageantry of military camps and religious celebrations. How each reporting region included processions, presents, addresses and banquets reflects that a variety of power relationships existed. Those regions most concerned with aggrandizing the Transylvanian prince presented him as the recipient of expensive gifts and the leader of fine processions. This is particularly the case in Prague's portrayal of Bethlen. The new Bohemian king's position was not very different from that of his neighbor and ally, the elected Hungarian king, and Prague's portrait of Bethlen as a fine and worldly ruler in turn flattered Frederick. The German Lands did not offer such a complimentary view of György I, since the Swedish king did not need to glorify a Transylvanian prince in order to underscore his own authority. Both the Hungarian news of Bethlen and the Polish news of György II include several references to the acts of ceremony which accompanied a prince when he was successfully invading a country and receiving homage from conquered cities. Though György I did succeed in taking cities in his march through Hungary, there were very few reports from the region and not much support from the Hungarian nobility, and thus few ceremonial accounts. Instead, the news of György I includes ceremonial news from Vienna, which, across all periods of time, tends to focus more on the ceremony of the Imperial court than on that of the Transylvanian prince. Without a second major reporting center contributing news from an ally or conquered land, György I was a prince without a present or procession.

The language of violence demonstrates more subtle changes in usage depending on the reporting system or time period. War during the seventeenth century not only involved armies fighting and cities being besieged, but also corollary damage and death.

There are only a couple of dozen words which are used frequently to describe the fire, destruction, death, injury and fear which surged within the news of Transylvania, and there are trends in how words from the lexicon of violence are employed. Over the course of the fifty years of reporting covered by this thesis, *niedermachen* replaced *niederhauen* as the preferred depiction of killing in the news from Vienna, but this change did not also take hold in the news from the Polish-Baltic reporting system. Other patterns of usage can be seen in the years 1657-8, when there were two distinct reporting systems presenting news of Transylvania. *Plündern* fell out of common usage and was replaced by *Schaden* in stories from Vienna and *ruinieren* in stories from the Baltic. The reporting region of the Hereditary Lands offers an interesting case during this period, for even though reports from the region are more likely to cover subjects which are similar to those of the Baltic-Poland reporting system, they use violence language that is more similar to that of Vienna. The language of reporting was not static, and how it changed did not necessarily depend on the subject being reported on, but rather on other regional ties.

The reporting of economic news is the most consistent topic across the four time periods and, to some degree, even reporting regions. Each invasion, whether Bocskai, Bethlen or György I in Hungary or György II in Poland, provoked news from the regions that discussed the costs of raising, maintaining, feeding and paying the troops. This is true for both the governments which had to fund the troops, such as Vienna and Prague in 1619-21, and the countryside where the men were marching, such as Poland in 1657-8. Even in 1643-5, Vienna expressed concern for how György I would pay his army, though this was largely tied to a fear that the prince would turn to the Ottomans for support. The Ottoman ties to the principality of Transylvania were expressed in economic terms throughout each prince's period, primarily in the stories from Vienna and Hungary. This includes Bethlen's desire to find funding to secure the Hungarian-Ottoman border and

both György I's and György II's need to pay the Ottomans a tribute. War and the Turks are the two most consistent features of the Transylvanian news of these periods, and both concerns form a large part of the economic news of the principality. One category of economic news which is commonly included, though from different reporting regions, is the costs of war suffered by the civilian population. In the years of 1657-8, this news came from the cities and towns of Poland, where György II's pillaging army eventually provoked a response strong enough to force him to retreat. During the invasions of Hungary by Bethlen and György I, this description of some of the worst consequences of war did not come solely from the countries being invaded, but also from Vienna. It was Vienna who had the greatest interest in placing the blame for the war at the feet of the Transylvanians.

How religion was included in the news stories of Transylvania changes distinctly over the course of the fifty years here considered. The clearest example is the references to Christians and Christendom, which appear most frequently during the years of Bocskai's rebellion and the Ottoman invasion of Transylvania in 1658. In the latter period, the concern over the fate of Christians is clearly expressed in reports from Vienna and Hungary, as these were the two regions which demonstrated the most fear of the influence and aggression of the Turks. In addition, the term is used in the years 1604-5 to highlight another struggle—that between the Catholics and the Protestants. The Reformed Transylvanians are compared to the Ottomans as being another example of unchristian influence. While this inter-confessional struggle continued to be a feature of news from the beginning of the Thirty Years War onwards, with both Vienna and Prague calling attention to the religious affiliation of institutions, by the time György II invaded Poland, this concern had almost completely died away. One aspect of the religious news which did reappear was the inclusion of references to God. This form of personal religious

expression is common in news from the years 1619-21, particularly in the stories from the Hereditary Lands and Hungary, as the news from the invaded lands and armies contains prayers for safe-keeping and success. By 1643-5, the personal expressions of religious belief are less common and the institutional role of the church is the primary focus of the news, particularly as manifested in the peace discussions between the Emperor and György I. However, when György II marched into Poland, reports from both the Baltic and the cities of Poland-Lithuania once more filled their stories with references to God, though stories from Vienna and Hungary-Transylvania did not likewise offer prayers as the Ottomans advanced the following year. The reporting system of the Hereditary Lands and Vienna continued to focus primarily on the institutional role of the church in 1657-8, while the new Baltic-Poland system referenced personal religious belief in a way similar to that which was seen at the start of the Thirty Years War.

Each week, the newspapers could offer several perspectives on events happening side by side, presenting the prince of Transylvania in a variety of lights. Additionally, every six months, an interested news reader could also turn to the *Messrelationen*. These publications reported the news not in fits and bursts, but rather compiled and organized it and supplemented it with letters from the participants and the enumerated points of the demands being made or the peace being discussed. However, even in these constructed narratives, there is evidence of the voices of the multiple reporting regions. Each of the five topics betrays the influence of the perspectives of the major reporting regions. The Ottoman invasion of Transylvania as reported in the *Messrelationen* of 1658 includes elements of the news as presented by Vienna, such as references to Christians and the need for an Ottoman tribute, while the previous year's reporting of György II's march reflects the concerns of Poland and the Baltic in its focus on military events and the accompanying ceremony and need to feed armies. The stories of 1643-5 are dominated,

like the newspaper reports of the same period, by the perspective of Vienna in their focus on the peace discussions and the recounting of specific episodes, such as the attack on Castle Murány. From 1619-21, however, the *Messrelationen* contain items of news on Transylvania which express the concerns of the warring parties in Vienna and Prague, side by side. There is news of Rupert's baptism and gifts made to Bethlen, which are also featured prominently in the news from Prague, and references made to Christians and the economic costs suffered by civilians, which are elements of the overarching concerns in the news from Vienna.

There are no surviving newspapers from 1604-5 with which to compare the stories of Bocskai's rebellion as presented in the *Messrelationen*, but the portrait of Bocskai is consistent with the Viennese point of view. From Vienna, an apprehension about the Ottomans is consistently expressed throughout the four news periods, and the Transylvanian prince is never recognized as being anything greater than a regional prince and Turkish vassal. However, the reports from Vienna do express a true concern for the influence that Transylvanians could exercise within Hungary, and this is clearly evident in the news of Bocskai and Bethlen. This was Transylvania through Vienna's eyes: capable of upsetting the Emperor's position in Hungary, but more feared for the opportunity it represented for the Ottomans to once again attack Imperial borders and Christendom. Because Vienna was the greatest contributor of Transylvanian news, this was also the narrative of the principality which permeates the printed periodicals of the day.

From time to time, other perspectives are presented, offering a second view of the prince and his position in Europe. In the news from Hungary, Bethlen is a truly elected king, and in news from Prague, he is a proud ally with diplomatic strength. In news from Poland and the Baltic, György II is, however briefly, painted as a feared military commander whose claim to the Polish throne is based on precedent. During these two

periods, because of both the political situation and the development of infrastructure, alternative views of Transylvania are presented. They are preserved not only in the ephemeral weekly newspapers, but also in the *Messrelationen*, which constructed their various reports and news as a comprehensive narrative and printed them as a book, meant to be bound and kept. What a seventeenth-century audience knew of Transylvania was therefore largely determined by the concerns and interests of other regions, friend and foe, which, unlike the principality itself, had the infrastructure and ability to report the news.

The stories in the newspapers represent the first fixed, printed narrative of an event which was widely and cheaply available. The news discussed in this thesis is not eloquently written, humorously illustrated or fully detailed, but it does reflect the first impressions of amateurs and professionals hailing from court, campaign and urban center. As such, it expresses the individual anxieties, hopes, predictions, expertise, prejudices and agendas that existed at that time which, when considered together, present a rich and varied portrait of how society reacted to contemporary events. Every six months a *Messrelation* volume would appear; it compiled the news, including many of the same anecdotes, and had the same qualities as the early newspaper reports. The scattered impressions were presented a second time, as a complete story supplemented by official documents and letters—a full, constructed narrative.

During the four periods considered within this thesis, there are a total of 2,181 newspaper issues containing 21,479 reports and an additional 73 *Messrelation* publications. Within these, there are 207,688 words in the newspapers and *Messrelationen* devoted to the news of Transylvania, and the content is largely unspectacular. Though there are moments of clear importance, such as the election of Bethlen, for the most part, the news deals with quotidian moments of war: the armies marching, the envoys being sent and the abundant false reports. However, even these news stories, which may seem to

offer little of interest to historians because of their redundancy, vagueness, and even inaccuracy, provide important insights into the mentalities of early modern communities. Each city and region, each community, reported the news that was of the greatest interest to it, and the information which was included and excluded reflects the concerns and preoccupations of the time.

In addition, how that information is communicated—what language was used, how individuals were identified—betrays how mentalities changed over a fifty-year period. The role of religion shifted from being expressed in the charged, personal language of confessional antagonism to being conveyed through a more restrained, institutional focus on the authority of the church. The language from the established reporting center of Vienna became less incendiary as fewer prayers to God appeared within the news stories and the descriptive verb *niederhauen* was replaced by *niedermachen* to describe the killing of another individual. Meanwhile, the language of the reporting centers that was born along the Baltic coast as the postal networks developed and expanded was more similar to that of Vienna and Prague thirty years earlier: an enemy was identified more readily, violence was described more graphically and more supplications to God for protection and victory were made. Neither the networks that carried the news nor the language employed in the reports were static. Yet, an examination of the changes which did occur reveals certain patterns in both transmission and vocabulary.

Over the fifty years considered by this thesis, the news of Transylvania was primarily reported from the constant perspective of Vienna, which, though it subtly changed its language usage and allusions, consistently had an overarching view of the principality as a region which could cause disruptions within Hungary. However, Vienna was more afraid of the opportunity which the principality offered to the Ottomans—the

possibility of reinitiating war. In addition to this persistant voice, other regions offered up perspectives on Transylvania during particular periods of peak interest. Prague and Leipzig reported on their Transylvanian allies Bethlen and György I. The Hereditary Lands, Poland and Transylvania told of the invading armies of Bethlen, György II and the Ottomans. Hungary gave details on diet meetings and the kingly elections of Bocskai and Bethlen. Breslau and the Baltic aggregated the incoming news of György II's operations in Poland-Lithuania. Each of these additional perspectives added to the complexity of the contemporary understanding of the principality.

In order to understand both the changes and the consistencies in reporting, whether a consequence of medium, location, event or time, the researcher must be willing to approach these sources both qualitatively and quantitatively. The topics considered here—politics, violence, ceremony, economics and religion—are not included in the news in the same manner and no one stands wholly apart from the others. Political concerns may have been the primary subject of the news, but religion most often appears in the form of short references to persons or locations associated with the church, personal prayers or the religious affiliation of individuals and institutions. Economic concerns and ceremonial events are nearly always associated with discussions of military or political motivations. A full understanding of news reports requires bending to the peculiarities and complexities of the stories themselves, without forcing a predetermined method or theory on them.

If approached with a flexible mind, the seemingly mundane news reports of the printed periodicals can reveal a variety of insights into both the construction and conception of the news. The development of routine communication routes is apparent as Vienna's reporting of the news from Hungary went from a sporadic occurrence to a regular feature. The analysis of the vocabularly of violence revealed changes both in the

most frequently used words and in the overlapping linguistic influences of Poland and Vienna within the Hereditary Lands. In addition, a broader reading of political news shows varied portrayals of how kingly authority was manifested, whether it was won through the conquering of cities, as reported from Vienna, or whether was granted by diet, as in the news from Hungary. The use of a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods revealed that the ceremonial news demonstrates the degree to which Prague attempted to further the reputation of both its own new king and its neighboring ally through the inclusion of presents, parades and pomp. The importance of this inclusion is particularly highlighted by the comparative lack of ceremony in the news from Transylvania's later Swedish allies, who were much more confident in their position. Within these news reports a variety of perspectives and subjects of interest have been preserved, and the insight they can give into contemporary conceptions of seventeenth-century Europe should not be ignored.

Appendix

Table 1 Total number of reports, stories and words for each reporting region and period, with number of words devoted to political and military news

Table 2 Total number of occurrences of ceremonial description, organized by reporting region and period

Table 3 Total number of occurrences of violence words by frequency category, organized by reporting region and period

Table 4 Total number of occurrences of violence words by subject, organized by reporting region and period

Table 5 Total number of occurrences of economic news, organized by reporting region and period

Table 6 Total number of occurrences of religious language, organized by reporting region and period

Table 7 Total number of occurrences of selected religious affiliation identifiers, organized by reporting region and period

Table 1 Total number of reports, stories and words for each reporting region, with number of words devoted to political and military news

	Period	Reports	Stories	Words	Political	Military
Vienna	1619-21	498	324	25,408	11,700	9,805
	1643-5	290	206	12,337	3,943	6,901
	1657-8	178	136	8,840	4,611	3,855
Hereditary Lands	1619-21*	411	310	24,803	11,383	7,833
	1643-5	78	58	2,632	764	1,391
	1657-8	91	79	5,099	1,152	3,430
Hungary-Transylvania	1619-21	83	65	10,687	5,858	3,139
	1643-5	9	8	1,457	914	498
	1657-8	12	10	1,833	951	856
German Lands	1619-21	24	24	977	585	234
	1643-5	71	65	1,887	472	1,068
	1657-8	41	41	2,010	1,031	770
Poland-Baltic	1619-21	13	10	562	270	255
	1643-5	10	10	339	172	126
	1657-8†	235	196	13,113	4,660	7,844
Mediterranean	1619-21	40	25	1,147	716	321
	1643-5	8	3	49	16	31
	1657-8	14	14	658	293	350
Other	1619-21	21	6	387	236	194
	1643-5	7	5	140	90	12
	1657-8	6	3	195	144	51
Messrelationen	1604-5	—	—	20,105	8,453	9,697
	1619-21	—	—	57,864	35,412	19,334
	1643-5	—	—	8,617	3,822	4,666
	1657-8	—	—	7,250	2,780	3,836

* Includes Prague
† Includes both the Baltic and Poland-Lithuania

Table 2 Total number of occurrences of ceremonial description, organized by reporting region and period

	Period	Presents	Processions	Address	Guesting
Vienna	1619-21	5	5	5	4
	1643-5	8	1	1	4
	1657-8	6	3	—	—
Hereditary Lands	1619-21*	14	24	5	14
	1643-5	—	—	2	—
	1657-8	1	—	—	1
Hungary-Transylvania	1619-21	2	7	2	4
	1643-5	—	—	—	—
	1657-8	—	—	—	—
German Lands	1619-21	—	1	—	—
	1643-5	—	—	—	1
	1657-8	—	—	—	—
Poland-Baltic	1619-21	—	—	—	—
	1643-5	—	—	—	—
	1657-8†	3	—	2	1
Mediterranean	1619-21	—	—	—	1
	1643-5	—	—	—	—
	1657-8	—	—	—	—
Messrelationen	1604-5	19	6	3	4
	1619-21	17	13	10	13
	1643-5	3	1	—	2
	1657-8	2	—	4	3

* Includes Prague
† Includes both the Baltic and Poland-Lithuania

Table 3 Total number of occurrences of violence words by frequency category, organized by reporting region and period

	Period	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5
Vienna	1619-21	1	21	46	115	98
	1643-5	5	12	18	71	21
	1657-8	2	12	15	30	27
Hereditary Lands	1619-21*	4	10	51	82	54
	1643-5	2	—	3	5	7
	1657-8	—	2	8	32	13
Hungary-Transylvania	1619-21	4	10	23	37	18
	1643-5	—	2	—	4	1
	1657-8	4	8	7	13	9
German Lands	1619-21	—	2	2	6	5
	1643-5	—	1	1	4	2
	1657-8	—	—	4	6	4
Poland-Baltic	1619-21	—	—	1	—	1
	1643-5	—	1	—	1	1
	1657-8†	3	7	23	43	27
Mediterranean	1619-21	—	—	2	4	2
	1643-5	—	—	—	1	—
	1657-8	—	—	—	1	2
Other	1619-21	—	—	2	2	1
	1643-5	—	—	—	—	—
	1657-8	—	—	1	1	—
Messrelationen	1604-5	2	14	61	86	88
	1619-21	8	29	105	211	253
	1643-5	2	3	13	31	21
	1657-8	2	4	10	29	11

* Includes Prague
† Includes both the Baltic and Poland-Lithuania

Table 4 Total number of occurrences of violence words by subject, organized by reporting region and period

	Period	Death	Weapons	Fire	Plundering	Adjectives	Emotions
Vienna	1619-21	50	23	28	52	27	20
	1643-5	37	14	3	18	12	9
	1657-8	15	7	6	13	4	5
Hereditary Lands	1619-21*	32	22	14	24	20	16
	1643-5	3	2	2	4	1	1
	1657-8	5	10	5	13	5	3
Hungary-Transylvania	1619-21	13	12	4	14	10	7
	1643-5	1	—	—	3	—	1
	1657-8	4	4	7	6	2	3
German Lands	1619-21	3	1	2	1	3	1
	1643-5	2	1	—	3	—	—
	1657-8	1	—	—	2	3	1
Poland-Baltic	1619-21	—	—	—	—	1	—
	1643-5	—	1	—	—	—	1
	1657-8†	20	8	13	16	6	6
Mediterranean	1619-21	1	1	—	2	1	1
	1643-5	—	—	—	—	1	—
	1657-8	1	—	1	1	—	—
Other	1619-21	2	1	—	—	—	1
	1643-5	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1657-8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Messrelationen	1604-5	58	28	16	46	11	11
	1619-21	108	55	54	114	35	25
	1643-5	16	7	4	11	5	3
	1657-8	6	7	4	4	11	2

* Includes Prague
† Includes both the Baltic and Poland-Lithuania

Table 5 Total number of occurrences of economic news, organized by reporting region and period

	Period	Military	Payment	Civilian
Vienna	1619-21	33	5	11
	1643-5	18	6	8
	1657-8	6	11	3
Hereditary Lands	1619-21*	42	11	4
	1643-5	1	2	2
	1657-8	9	4	5
Hungary-Transylvania	1619-21	15	7	4
	1643-5	1	1	—
	1657-8	—	2	—
German Lands	1619-21	1	—	—
	1643-5	1	2	1
	1657-8	1	2	1
Poland-Baltic	1619-21	—	—	—
	1643-5	—	—	1
	1657-8†	8	6	—
Mediterranean	1619-21	2	2	—
	1643-5	—	—	—
	1657-8	1	1	—
Other	1619-21	—	—	—
	1643-5	—	2	—
	1657-8	—	—	—
Messrelationen	1604-5	53	27	16
	1619-21	41	20	7
	1643-5	8	—	3
	1657-8	7	2	—

* Includes Prague
† Includes both the Baltic and Poland-Lithuania

Table 6 Total number of occurrences of religious language, organized by reporting region and period

	Period	Affiliation	Person	Day	Building	God	Religion
Vienna	1619-21	38	46	17	13	7	2
	1643-5	9	15	4	8	1	9
	1657-8	8	5	3	1	1	—
Hereditary Lands	1619-21*	38	11	28	12	29	3
	1643-5	2	4	—	1	1	3
	1657-8	—	2	—	—	—	—
Hungary-Transylvania	1619-21	20	24	7	6	10	6
	1643-5	5	9	—	3	2	8
	1657-8	5	—	—	—	—	—
German Lands	1619-21	2	—	—	—	—	1
	1643-5	—	1	—	—	—	—
	1657-8	4	—	—	—	—	1
Poland-Baltic	1619-21	—	1	—	—	1	—
	1643-5	1	1	—	—	1	—
	1657-8†	2	2	2	1	13	1
Mediterranean	1619-21	—	1	—	—	—	—
	1643-5	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1657-8	—	1	—	—	—	—
Other	1619-21	1	2	—	—	—	—
	1643-5	—	1	—	—	—	—
	1657-8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Messrelationen	1604-5	24	27	9	13	22	18
	1619-21	94	59	52	31	58	28
	1643-5	16	16	2	4	7	6
	1657-8	3	2	1	—	8	1

* Includes Prague
† Includes both the Baltic and Poland-Lithuania

Table 7 Total number of occurrences of selected religious affiliation identifiers, organized by reporting region and period

	Period	Christian	Catholic	Evangelical	Lutheran	Reformed	Calvinist
Vienna	1619-21	4	8	18	2	1	2
	1643-5	—	2	7	—	—	—
	1657-8	6	—	—	—	2	—
Hereditary Lands	1619-21*	7	9	15	1	—	1
	1643-5	—	1	1	—	—	—
	1657-8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hungary-Transylvania	1619-21	4	7	6	2	—	1
	1643-5	1	1	1	—	1	1
	1657-8	5	—	—	—	—	—
German Lands	1619-21	—	1	—	1	—	—
	1643-5	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1657-8	1	1	—	—	—	1
Poland-Baltic	1619-21	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1643-5	—	—	—	1	—	—
	1657-8†	—	—	—	—	1	—
Other	1619-21	1	—	—	—	—	—
	1643-5	—	—	—	—	—	—
	1657-8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Messrelationen	1604-5	13	4	1	1	—	—
	1619-21	31	22	17	5	2	3
	1643-5	3	1	9	—	1	—
	1657-8	2	—	—	—	1	—

* Includes Prague
† Includes both the Baltic and Poland-Lithuania

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1644: VIII, IX, XVII, XIX, XXII, XXVIII, XXXI-XXXIII, XXXVI, XXXIX, XLVII, LI, LII
1645: III, VI, IX, XI, XII, XIV-XVII, XXV, XXVI, XXXIV, XXXVIII, XLII, L, LI

(Johann Baptist Höswinkel).
1657: III, V, VIII, XVIII-XX, XXXVIII, XXXIX

Güstrow

Zeitung:

(Moritz Sachs[?]).
1620: XIV
1621: V, XIV

Halberstadt

Aviso Relation, oder Zeitung:

(Jakob Arnold Kote).

1619: 52

Hamburg

Post Zeitung:

(Johann Baptista Vrints).

Europaeische Mitwochentliche Zeitung

1657: 6, 9, 17, 28, 35, 41, 42, 48-53

1658: 7, 10, 12, 16, 21, 29, 47

Europaeische Sambstägige Zeitung

1657: 15, 21, 22, 27, 29, 42, 46, 50, 52

1658: 2, 16, 17, 28, 38, 42, 47, 53

Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther:

(Johann Meyer).

1619: Bb-Ee, Gg, Hh, Kk, Ll, Nn-Rr, Xx, Aaa, Bb[=Bbb], Ccc-Hhh, Ji[=Jii], Kkk-Sss, Bbbb, Cccc

1620: 3, 4, 6-17, 21, 22, 26-28, 34, 35, 37-41, 43, 45-47, 49

1621: 1, 7-11, 14-27, 30-37, 39-41, 45, 51, 52

(Ilsabe Meyer & Martin Schumacher).

Wochentliche Zeitung

1643: 1, 5, 7, 14, 21, 33, 37, 38, 46, 47, 48, 50

1644: 19, 49, 52

1645: 1, 12, 15, 21, 22, 30-34, 37, 38, 40, 43-45, 47-49, 51

Post-Zeitung

1643: 1, 5, 6, 10, 14, 21, 32, 36, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45-47, 50, 53

1644: 15, 31

1645: 15, 23

Ordentliche Zeitung

1644: 51, 52

1645: 13, 15-17, 22, 28, 32-34, 36, 38-40, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48

(Martin Schumacher).

Ordinari Diengstags Zeitung

1657: 1-53

1658: 2-52

Wochentliche Donnerstags Zeitung

1657: 1-52

1658: 1-52

APPENDIX Der Wochentlichen Zeitung Von Numero …

1657: 1-52

1658: 1-21, 23-52

Hildesheim

Die … Zeitung/ so sich in … zugetragen hat:

(Joachim Gössel).

1619: 1-44, 46-51, 53

1620: 1-35, 37-52

Königsberg

Europaeische Wochentliche Zeitung:

(Johann Reußner).
1657: 45
Europaeische Ordinari Postzeitung
1657: 45
Donnerstags PARTICULAR Zeitung Zu… gehörig
1657: 36, 48, 50-52
1658: 2, 3, 12, 19, 21, 43
Freytags PARTICULAR Zeitung Zur Numer … gehörig
1657: 46, 49
Sonnabends RELATION, Zum Europaeischen Mercurius Numer … gehörig
1658: 5
Sontags Europaeischer MERCURIUS
1658: 1, 3, 6, 11, 24, 30, 38
Europaeischer APPENDIX
1658: 1, 3, 24

Leipzig

Wöchentliche Zeitung:

(Timotheus Ritzsch[?]).
1643: 16-18
1644: 68-70, 138, 143-147, 163-166, 175-178, 231
1645: 14-21, 23-32, 34, 38-53, 57-65, 75-79, 89, 90, 94-98, 104-108, 119, 125, 137-157, 159-166, 168, 170-191, 193, 198-213, 216-220, 223-225

Munich

Ordenliche Wochentliche PostZeitungen:

(Cornelius Leysser und Erben).
1643: XII
(Lucas Straub).
1658: I-XXIII, XXIX-XLV, XLVII-XLX [=L], XLVII-XXXXXI [=LII] [2nd]

Ordinari Zeitung:

(Nikolaus Heinrich).
1645: II
(Johann Jäcklin).
1658: 1-52

Wochentliche Ordinari Zeitungen:

1643: 106 [=108]-110 [=112]

Prague

Postzeittungen:

(Ludmilla Sedlčanska).
1658: CLXXXVII, CLXXXVIII

Stettin

Europaeische Zeitung:

(Johann Valentin Rhete).
1657: 2, 7, 8, 11, 14
Particular-Schreiben: Zu No … Europaeischer Zeitungen gehörig
1657: 7, 11, 12, 12 [2nd]
APPENDIX Europaeischer Zeitung/ von Num …
1657: 2, 7, 8, 11-13, 15, 32-34, 52
Particular-Schreiben … Zum Appendice Num … 1657. gehörig
1657: 7, 10, 12-14, 33, 35
Europaeische Dingstägl. Zeitũg
1658: 37, 48
Particular-Schreiben: Zu No … Anno … Europaeischer Dingstägl. Zeitungen gehörig
1658: 49, 50
Europaeische Samstägl. Zeitũg
1658: 13

Strasbourg

Relation Aller Fürnemmen vnd gedenckwürdigen Historien:

(Johann Carolus).
1619: 22
1620: 33, 48
1621: 22, 27-29, 31, 34, 37, 39, 40, 47, 49, 51, 52
(Moritz Carolus).
1643: 41
1644: 16, 19, 21, 28-31, 36-40, 42, 45, 48, 49, 51
1645: 1-4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 25-32, 34, 35, 37, 39-41, 43, 45, 48, 51
(Carolus' Erben).
1657: 18

Stuttgart

Zeittungen:

(Johann Weyrich Rößlin).
Untitled *Zeitung*
1619: I-XVI
Zeittungen
1619: I-XXII
1620: VII
1621: XL-LII

Vienna

Ordinari Zeittung:

(Matthäus Cosmerovius).
1645: LXIII
1658: DCCLXIV, DCCXXVIII

Warburg

Fama Mundi oder WeltTrommeter:
(Johann von Roerig).
1620: Aprilis, Maius, Iunius

Wolfenbüttel

Aviso Relation oder Zeitung:
(Elias Holwein).
1619: 52
1620: 1, 2, 4-43, 45-52
1621: 14, [?Oct.], [?Nov./Dec.]

Zurich

Newe Vnpartheysche Zeittung vnd Relation:
(Offizin Bodmer).
1644: XVIII, XIX
1645: XIII, XVIII, XXV, XXVI, XXIX, LII
1657: I, III-V, X, XIII-XV, XVIII, XX-XXV, XXVII, XXX, XXXII-XXXVIII, XL, XLII, XLIV, XLVI, XLVIII, XLIX, LII, LIII
1658: I-VIII, X-XII, XIV, XIV[=XV], XVI-XX, XXII-XLII, XLIV-XLIX, LI

Unknown

Aviso Relation/ Oder Zeitung:
1619: O, P, [Q], [R], T

Continuation:
1621: 29

Continuat. Relat.:
1621: XX, XXI

Einkommende Wochentliche Zeitungen:
1643: 77-80

Extra Ordinari Wochentliche Postzeitungen auß vnterschiedlichen Orthen vnd Landen:
1644: 9.12.

Ordinari Postzeitung:
1643: 10, 11
1645: 23, 42

Particular Zeitung:
1657: 9, 14-16, 44-46, 51, 53, 54
1658: 1, 12, Riga 2.10

Post/ Hamburger vnd Reichs-Zeitung:
1643: 19, 27, 36, 49, 51-53
1644: 1-8, 10-17, 19, 20, 22-52
1645: 1-24, 26-32, 32 [2nd], 33-46, 48-51
Absonderliche Zeitung
1643: 53
1644: 49
Zu Num. ... gehörige ...
1644: 7, 8
1645: 1, 2
Extra-Ordinary Zeitungen/ uber Berlin und anderwerts einkommen. Zu Num. ... gehörig
1644: 48
Copia Schreibens
1645: 27.2

Relation dessen/ Waß sich ... begeben (1):
1619: Aa, Bb, Ff, Ll, Qq-Ss
1620: Dd, Aaa
1621: Ll

Relation dessen/ Waß sich ... begeben (2):
1619: H, K

Wochentliche Ordinari-Post-Zeitungen:
1643: 2-5, 12, 13, 15-19, 21-23, 25-30, 32, 33, 36-49, 51-53
1644: 1-6, 8-12, 14-20, 22-34, 36-52
1645: 1-9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17-25, 27-37, 39, 40, 42-48, 50-53
1657: 28, 47
1658: 2

Zeitungen:
1644: Nieder Hessen 8.3, Freyburg 18.7, Wien 20.7, Oldeßloe 30.7, Weymar 16.10
1645: Kgl. Schwed. Hauptquartier 20.4, Francken 16/26.4, Wien 27.5, Cölln 18.6, Thoren 7.11

***Messrelationen* (listed by city, with author, printer, publisher for extant issues)**

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Cologne

Historicae Relationis Continvatio:

Spring 1604 (P.A.E.D, Peter von Brachel, [no indicated publisher]).
Spring 1605 (C. Kerler, [Peter von Brachel?], [no indicated publisher]).
Autumn 1605 (Kaspar von Lorch, [Peter von Brachel?], [no indicated publisher]).
Spring 1619 (Caspar Caspars, Peter von Brachel, [no indicated publisher]).
Autumn 1619 (Caspar Caspars, Peter von Brachel, [no indicated publisher]).
Spring 1620 (Caspar Caspars, Peter von Brachel, [no indicated publisher]).
Autumn 1620 (Caspar Caspars, Peter von Brachel, [no indicated publisher]).
Spring 1621 (Caspar Caspars, Peter von Brachel, [no indicated publisher]).
Autumn 1621 (Caspar Caspars, Peter von Brachel, [no indicated publisher]).

Historicae Relationis Continvatio (Lützenkirchen):

Spring 1604 (L.P.L.F.C., Wilhelm Lützenkirchen, [no indicated publisher]).

Erfurt

Iacobi Franci Relationis Historicae Continuatio:

Spring 1604 (Jacobus Francus, [Johann Beck?], [no indicated publisher]).
Spring 1605 (Jacobus Francus, [Johann Beck?], [no indicated publisher]).
Autumn 1605 (Jacobus Francus, Johann Beck, [no indicated publisher]).

Frankfurt am Main

Breviarii Sive Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continvatio:

Spring 1620 (M[ichael Kaspar] Lundorp, Wendelin Meckel, Johann Gottfried Schönwetter).
Autumn 1620 ([Michael Kaspar Lundorp], Wendelin Meckel, Johann Theobald Schönwetter).
Spring 1621 (Michael Kaspar Lundorp, Wendelin Meckel, [Johann Theobald Schönwetter]).

Iacobi Franci Relationis Historicae Continvatio:

Spring 1604 (Jacobus Francus, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Autumn 1604 (Jacobus Francus, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Spring 1605 (Jacobus Francus, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Autumn 1605 (Jacobus Francus, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continuatio:

Spring 1604 (Theodorus Meurer, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Autumn 1604 (Theodorus Meurer, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Spring 1605 (Theodorus Meurer, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Autumn 1605 (Theodorus Meurer, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Spring 1619 (Sigismund Latomus alias Meurer, Francus, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Autumn 1619 (Sigismund Latomus alias Meurer, Francus, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Spring 1620 (Sigismund Latomus alias Meurer, Francus, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Autumn 1620 (Sigismund Latomus alias Meurer, Francus, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
New Year 1621 (Jacobus Franck, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Spring 1621 (Sigismund Latomus alias Meurer, Francus, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Autumn 1621 (Sigismund Latomus alias Meurer, Francus, [no indicated printer], Sigismund Latomus).
Spring 1643 (Johann Georg Schleder, Heirs of S. Latomus, Heirs of S. Latomus).
Autumn 1643 (Johann Georg Schleder, Heirs of S. Latomus, Heirs of S. Latomus).
Spring 1644 (Johann Georg Schleder, Heirs of S. Latomus, Heirs of S. Latomus).
Autumn 1644 (Johann Georg Schleder, Heirs of S. Latomus, Heirs of S. Latomus).
Spring 1645 (Johann Georg Schleder, Heirs of S. Latomus, Heirs of S. Latomus).
Autumn 1645 (Johann Georg Schleder, Heirs of S. Latomus, Heirs of S. Latomus).
Spring 1657 (Johann Georg Schleder, Heirs of S. Latomus, Heirs of S. Latomus).
Autumn 1657 (Johann Georg Schleder, Heirs of S. Latomus, Heirs of S. Latomus).
Spring 1658 (Johann Georg Schleder, Heirs of S. Latomus, Heirs of S. Latomus).
Autumn 1658 (Johann Georg Schleder, Heirs of S. Latomus, Heirs of S. Latomus).

Relationis Historicae Semestralis Continvatio (Schönwetter):

Autumn 1620 ([Michael Kaspar Lundorp], [Wendelin Meckel], Johann Theobald Schönwetter).
Spring 1621 (Michael Kaspar Lundorp, [Wendelin Meckel], [Johann Theobald Schönwetter]).
Autumn 1621 (Wendelin Meckel, [Wendelin Meckel], [Johann Theobald Schönwetter]).

Heidelberg

Continuatio Relationis:

Spring 1619 (Jacobus Faber, [no indicated printer], Thomas Gräve).
Autumn 1619 (Jacobus Faber, [no indicated printer], Thomas Gräve).
Spring 1620 (Jacobus Faber, [no indicated printer], Thomas Gräve of Erfurt).
Autumn 1621 (Jacobus Faber, [no indicated printer], Thomas Gräve).

Leipzig

CONTINUATIO … Der Zehenjährigen Historischen Relation:

Spring 1605 ([Hieronymus Megiser?], Abraham Lamberg, [Abraham Lamberg]).
Autumn 1605 ([no indicated author], Abraham Lamberg, [Abraham Lamberg]).
Spring 1619 (Gregorius Wintermonat, [no indicated printer], Abraham Lamberg and Kaspar Klosemann).
Autumn 1619 (Gregorius Wintermonat, [no indicated printer], Abraham Lamberg and Kaspar Klosemann).
New Year 1620 (Gregorius Wintermonat, [no indicated printer], Abraham Lamberg and Kaspar Klosemann).
Spring 1620 (Gregorius Wintermonat/ Gregorius Sommermonat, Abraham Lamberg, [no publisher indicated]).
[Autumn 1620 (Gregorius Wintermonat, Abraham Lamberg, Gottfried Grosse). (*Not included in analysis*)]
New Year 1621 (Gregorius Wintermonat, Abraham Lamberg, Gottfried Grosse).
Spring 1621 (Gregorius Wintermonat, Abraham Lamberg, Gottfried Grosse).
Spring 1643 (Gregorius Wintermonat, Henning Köhler, Heirs of Gottfried Grosse).
Autumn 1643 (Gregorius Wintermonat, Henning Köhler, Heirs of Gottfried Grosse).
New Year 1644 (Gregorius Wintermonat, Henning Köhler, Heirs of Gottfried Grosse).
Autumn 1644 (Gregorius Wintermonat, Henning Köhler, Heirs of Gottfried Grosse).
Spring 1645 (Gregorius Wintermonat, Henning Köhler, Heirs of Gottfried Grosse).
Autumn 1645 (Gregorius Wintermonat, Henning Köhler, Heirs of Gottfried Grosse).
Spring 1658 (Gregorius Wintermonat, Heirs of Henning Köhler, Heirs of Gottfried Grosse).
Autumn 1658 (Gregorius Wintermonat, Heirs of Henning Köhler, Heirs of Gottfried Grosse).

Magdeburg

Iacobi Franci Historicae Relationis Continvatio …:

Spring 1604 (Jacobus Frame, [no indicated printer], Johann Francke).
Autumn 1604 (Jacobus Frame, [no indicated printer], Johann Francke).
Spring 1605 (Jacobus Frame, [no indicated printer], Johann Francke).
Autumn 1605 (Jacobus Frame, [no indicated printer], Johann Francke).
Spring 1619 (Johann Francus, Joachim Schmidt, [Johann Francke]).
Autumn 1619 (Johann Francus, Joachim Boel, [Johann Francke]).
Spring 1620 (Jacob Frame, Wilhelm Ross' Erben, [Johann Francke]).
Autumn 1620 (Johann Francus, Joachim Boel, [Johann Francke]).

Unknown

Continvatio Historica:

Spring 1620.

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