Reconstructing the early modern news world: urban space, political conflict, and local publishing in Hamburg

Daniel Bellingradt, Claudia Heise

Angaben zur Veröffentlichung / Publication details:

Bellingradt, Daniel, and Claudia Heise. 2022. "Reconstructing the early modern news world: urban space, political conflict, and local publishing in Hamburg." In *Hidden cities: urban space, geolocated Apps and public history in early modern Europe*, edited by Fabrizio Nevola, David Rosenthal, and Nicholas Terpstra, 61–83. Abingdon: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003172000-6.

Hidden Cities

Urban Space, Geolocated Apps and Public History in Early Modern Europe

Edited by Fabrizio Nevola, David Rosenthal and Nicholas Terpstra

The project *PUblic REnaissance: Urban Cultures of Public Space between Early Modern Europe and the Present* is financially supported by the HERA Joint Research Programme (www.heranet.info) which is co-funded by AEI, AHRC, BMBF, CNR, NWO and The European Community, H2020-SC6-CULT-COOP-2017 Understanding Europe – Promoting the European Public And Cultural Space - under grant agreement no. 769478.

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2022
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Nevola, Fabrizio, editor. | Rosenthal, David, editor. | Terpstra, Nicholas, editor.
Title: Hidden cities: urban space, geolocated apps and public history in early modern Europe/edited by Fabrizio Nevola, David Rosenthal and Nicholas Terpstra.
Description: Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2022. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2021048114 (print) | LCCN 2021048115 (ebook) | ISBN 9780367775919 (hardback) | ISBN 9780367775933 (paperback) | ISBN 9781003172000 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Hidden cities (Computer files) | Cities and towns—Europe—Study and teaching. | Digital humanities. | Mobile apps.
Classification: LCC HT131. H52 2022 (print) | LCC HT131 (ebook) | DDC 307.76094/071—dc23/eng/20211005
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021048114
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021048115

ISBN: 978-0-367-77591-9 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-367-77593-3 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-003-17200-0 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003172000

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Contents

Figures

3 Reconstructing the early modern news world

Urban space, political conflict, and local publishing in Hamburg

Daniel Bellingradt and Claudia Heise

Introduction

If an early modern merchant returned to their home city and wanted to find out what had been going on in their absence, how did they do that? Where did they go to get information and comment? What kinds of printed materials could they get their hands on or hear about? These questions about media and urban history underpin the *Hidden Hamburg* app, which looks to translate historical research into public history using a locative approach that is both novel and designed to engage a wide audience.[1] As with the other *Hidden Cities* trails discussed in this volume, our approach is to present early modern "experience" in today's European cities through geolocated walks and place-related stories. Mobile technologies now offer an opportunity to rearticulate urban spaces and past lives for different publics, and in this sense all the *Hidden Cities* tours represent nuanced experiments in digital public history. *Hidden Hamburg's* specific contribution is to digital humanities approaches to media history, book history, and communication history.[2]

1 Recent studies on new ways of historical storytelling include Christian Bunnenberg and Nils Steffen, eds., *Geschichte auf Youtube. Neue Herausforderungen für Geschichtsvermittlung und historische Bildung* (Berlin: de Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019); Eugen Pfister and Tobias Winnerling, *Digitale Spiele und Geschichte: Ein kurzer Leitfaden für Student*innen, Forscher*innen und Geschichtsinteressierte* (Glückstadt: Verlag Werner Hülsbusch, 2020); Nicholas Terpstra and Colin Rose, eds., *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical GIS and the Early Modern City* (New York: Routledge, 2016). For approaches into exploring the city of the present and its past relics using social media see Nanke Verloo and Luca Bertolini, eds., *Seeing the City. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Study of the Urban* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020).

2 Recent reflections on digital history as a way of approaching the past with digital communication technologies include C.A. Romein et al., 'State of the Field: Digital History', *History* 105, no. 365 (2020): 291–312; Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Guido Koller, *Geschichte digital. Historische Welten neu vermessen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2016); Philippe Rygiel, *Historien à l'âge numérique* (Lyon: Presses de l'Enssib, 2017). See on the impact of Digital History to the field of digital humanities: Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth, eds., *A Companion to Digital Humanities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Matthew

DOI: 10.4324/9781003172000-6

In this chapter, we explore the research themes informing *Hidden Hamburg's* app story – a hunt for news by a fictionalised character called Johann, a paper trader, who has just returned to the city after a business trip. The year is 1686, the significance of which we will return to shortly, but it is firstly important to point out that Hamburg is a prime location to explore early modern media and urban history. At this time, Hamburg, a Free and Imperial City of the Holy Roman Empire, was one of Europe's most important locations of print production and consumption. The mediality of urban space in early modern European cities could turn cities like Hamburg into resonating boxes in which news flows – printed, handwritten, and oral – battled for attention.[3] It is estimated that Hamburg's reading public amounted to between one-fifth and one-quarter of the population (*c*. 15,000–17,000 people).[4] To investigate this "city of news," we chose a character who represented the crucial suppliers of raw materials to a paper-hungry publishing industry feeding Hamburg's ever-increasing demand for printed news.

Hamburg's publishing story started as early as 1491 when its first printing shop was founded. In 1686, at least 8 print shops and approximately 12 hand presses in total were in operation.[5] One of these shops belonged to the printer and publisher Thomas von Wiering – a real historical figure and one of Johann's paper clients in the app story. In 1686, Wiering's biweekly newspaper, the *Relations-Courier*,

K. Gold, ed., *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019).

3 Daniel Bellingradt, 'The Early Modern City as a Resonating Box: Media, Public Opinion, and the Urban Space of the Holy Roman Empire, Cologne, and Hamburg ca. 1700', *Journal of Early Modern History* 16, no. 3 (2012): 201–240; Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

4 Estimations in Daniel Bellingradt, *Flugpublizistik und Öffentlichkeit um 1700. Dynamiken, Akteure und Strukturen im urbanen Raum des Alten Reichs* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011), 247, and Holger Böning, 'Der gemeine Mann als Zeitungs- und Medienkonsument im Barockzeitalter', in *Das Mediensystem im Alten Reich der Frühen Neuzeit (1600–1750)*, ed. Johannes Arndt and Esther-Beate Körber (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 227–238; 'Eine Stadt lernt das Zeitungslesen. Leser, Auflagen und Reichweite der Hamburger und Altonaer Zeitungen im ersten Jahrhundert des Zeitungswesens', in *Hamburg: Eine Metropolregion zwischen Früher Neuzeit und Aufklärung*, ed. Johann Anselm Steiger and Sandra Richter (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), 391–415, (406–412), and *Welteroberung durch ein neues Publikum. Die deutsche Presse und der Weg zur Aufklärung. Hamburg und Altona als Beispiel*. (Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2002), 112–131, (128).

5 Those included the presses of Thomas von Wiering, Thomas Roos, Peter Ziegler, Margarethe Rebenlein, widow of the official printer of the Senate, Georg Rebenlein, assisted by his successor Conrad Neumann, Nicolaus Spieringk, Friedrich Konrad Greflinger, Arnold Lichtenstein, and Henning Brendeke. In Altona, Christian Reimer was the privileged printer for the Danish authorities. See Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), 15–16, 357–371; Hermann Colshorn, 'Hamburgs Buchhandel im 17. Jahrhundert: Drucker, Verleger und Sortimenter', *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, Frankfurter Ausgabe* 21, no. 89 (1965): 2369–2374, 22, no. 88 (1966): 2365–2370, 23, no. 31 (1967): 795–799; Werner Kayser*, Hamburger Bücher 1491–1850: Aus der Hamburgensien-Sammlung der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg* (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1973), 13–15, 64, 72–78, 86–88.

was keeping his printing shop busy, as well as consuming large amounts of paper, but Wiering also operated successfully as publisher of almost 1,000 pamphlets, broadside prints, and other publications.[6] The app-user meets Johann on his return to Hamburg with a ship's cargo of paper, keen to meet von Wiering, and to catch up with the local news.

Choosing 1686 allowed us to ground, and accentuate, our exploration of mediality and the spaces of news production and consumption in early modern Hamburg. This was a year of dramatic political conflict and as such it produced plenty of printed media. In this year, the so-called "Jastram-Snitger turmoil" – as it has been labelled, not uncritically, by many historians – came to an end with the public execution of the two Hamburg politicians Cord Jastram and Hieronymus Snitger.[7] This affair started in 1684 when the two men accused the city council of misconduct and abuse of power. By organising the support of other citizens, Jastram and Snitger first managed to force the envoys of an Imperial commission in Hamburg (including the Duke of Celle) and one of the acting and accused mayors (Heinrich Meurer) to resign. Then, a deputation of 30 burghers, among them the influential Jastram and Snitger, staged a political takeover of the city. However, this burgher takeover did not become permanent. Jastram and Snitger faced strong political and economic sanctions by other powers of the Empire and when they approached the Danish king, Christian V, for help, their political momentum vanished. The Danish king and Duke of Holstein was an opponent of the Emperor and patron of the nearby city of Altona, and for decades he had wanted to subjugate Hamburg. In his eyes, the city was nothing more than a Holstein country town whose status of imperial immediacy he did

6 For Wiering's news publishing business see Holger Böning, *Geschichte der Hamburger und Altnaer Presse: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*, vol. 1 (Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2020), 145–151; Werner Kayser, 'Thomas von Wiering und Erben: Ein bedeutendes Kapitel hamburgischer Druckgeschichte', *Auskunft* 10, no. 4 (1990): 343–371, (370); Kayser, ed., *Hamburger Bücher*, 72–77; and Colshorn, 'Hamburgs Buchhandel' (1967), 795–799. Our website shows the newspaper report of the execution of Jastram and Snitger from 5th October 1686 ('Wiering's Relations-Courier', *Hidden Cities,* www.hiddencities.eu/hamburg/new-market/wierings-relations-courier [accessed February 1, 2021]). See on the early modern news system Noah Moxham and Joad Raymond, eds., *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

7 The *Jastram-Snitger turmoil*, a political process of unrest termed after two executed politicians,Cord Jastram and Hieronymus Snitger, took place in Hamburg between 1683 and 1686. See Kai Lohsträter, 'Hinter den Kulissen eines Schreckenstheaters: Der Fall Jastram und Snitger in der Theatrum-Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts', in *Theatralität von Wissen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Nikola Roßbach and Constanze Baum ([s.l.] 2013, https://bit.ly/3pExGE7 (accessed January 27, 2021); Hans-Dieter Loose, 'Die Jastram-Snitgerschen Wirren in der zeitgenössischen Geschichtsschreibung', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 53 (1967): 1–20, and Manfred Asendorf, 'Hamburg 1686 – Der dänische Entschluss zur Belagerung Hamburgs und der Justizmord an Jastram und Schnitger. Das Ende einer Geschichtslegende', in *Geprägte Geschichte. Hamburger Medaillen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Ralf Wiechmann and Joist Grolle (Hamburg: Edition Wartenau, 2014), 156–177.

not acknowledge.[8] When in August and September 1686, Christian V besieged Hamburg, Jastram and Snitger fast became *personae non gratae*. Hamburg's political class turned their backs on them and cooperated promptly with the Emperor, gaining military support from regional imperial leaders such as the Elector of Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm. Hamburg prevented a takeover by the Danish king, and Jastram and Snitger were accused of high treason and publicly executed.

The events in 1686 that culminated in Jastram and Snitger's execution are intended to raise the stakes for the guide character in his search for news. We thus set both Johann and the user on a journey both real and virtual through the streets of Hamburg, its busy marketplaces, and prominent news stalls. As Johann tries to access printed material generated by the political upheaval, including a certain contentious pamphlet burned by the government, both he and the user of the app reconstruct the political events that shook Hamburg in 1686. At seven sites (see Fig. 3.1), we gather news and rumours with Johann, listen to contextualising audio from the project researchers, and look at the accompanying images and texts provided on the app and website. While some of the sites have disappeared due to extensive destruction in Hamburg, public places, the courses of the streets, and often sections of the early modern fabric are still present. The app looks to overcome the gap between the spatial and material city by using additional historic street images and images of objects from local museums. Because we have used a propulsive "quest" model in this project, we roughly follow the app trail in this chapter to reflect on our experiment in public-facing kinetic storytelling. As we do so, the chapter links the trail in more detail to the underpinning research on urban, media, and spatial history.

The app tour establishes both the figure of Johann and the idea of the city as a trading hub by starting in the *Deichstraße*, where visitors can see the last remaining ensemble of Hamburg's premodern historical fabric. This was a bustling neighbourhood full of great merchant houses and shops, one of the favoured living and working places of wealthy traders in Hamburg. In the app, we used an image of one of the still extant seventeenth-century buildings to stand for Johann's house.[9] In 1686, the Deichstrasse was a famous trading hub, where merchants' houses and shops shaped the streets and everyday urban life. Hamburg benefited greatly from its geographical location on a river (the Elbe), which also provided access to the North Sea. As the transport of goods was a water-driven economy, trading flows made the city a hotspot of regional,

8 See Martin Krieger, 'Hamburg', in *Handbuch kultureller Zentren der Frühen Neuzeit: Städte und Residenzen im alten deutschen Sprachraum*, ed. Wolfgang Adam and Siegrid Westphal, vol. 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 797–829, (797, 802f.).

9 The house at Deichstrasse No. 47 was founded in 1658 and restored in the 1970s. See Ursula Schneider, 'Die Deichstraße', in *Historische Stadtrundgänge: Kaufmannshäuser, Speicher und Kontore – von der Deichstraße zur Speicherstadt, ed. Arbeitskreis Hafenkante* (Hamburg: Museum der Arbeit, 1989), 4–11, (5–6).

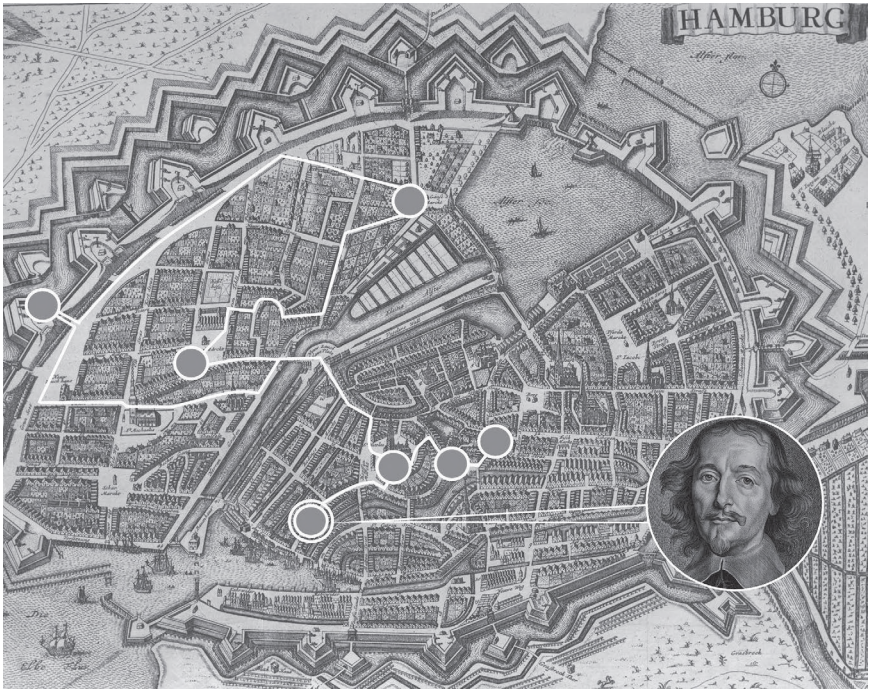

Figure 3.1 Map of Hamburg. Copperplate print by Frederik de Wit (approximately 56 x 49 cm), with overlay of the seven sites in the Johann trail "City of News". © portrait image of Johann: Cornelius Galle und Anselmus von Hulle, 'Otto von Gericke' ([s.l.], 1649, from State and University Library of Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, signature: P 21: G 19, https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/PPN663948975 (CC BY-SA 4.0). © map: State Archive of Hamburg, Plankammer, signature: 720-1/1_131-01=168/53.

transregional, and international importance.[10] Johann's house where he both lived and worked – a normal condition for merchants in times when counting house, residence, and warehouse were most often under one roof – bordered the *Nikolaifleet*, the broad canal that was used for transportation.[11] The user

10 See on the economic history of seventeenth-century Hamburg: Hans-Dieter Loose, 'Das Zeitalter der Bürgerunruhen und der großen europäischen Kriege 1618–1712: Handel, Schiffahrt und Gewerbe', *Hamburg: Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner*, vol. 1, ed. Hans-Dieter Loose (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1982), 328–335; Martin Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht* (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1975); Mary Lindemann, *The Merchant Republics: Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg, 1648–1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

11 A contemporary two-storey merchant's hall from the *Deichstraße* and a banquet hall are exhibited in the Museum of Hamburg, see 'Banquet Hall', Museum of Hamburg history, https://bit.ly/2MHSsDZ; 'Merchant's Hall', Museum of Hamburg history, https://bit.ly/2YpSDqe (both accessed January 25, 2021).

is directed to the merchant's *Kontor*, or office, furnished with a desk, goose quills, wax seals, ink bottles, and papers, in order to highlight the most common business practice of early modern merchants engaged in transregional trade – reading and writing letters, keeping account books.[12] After establishing the merchant's habitat, we propel Johann into the city by blending two activities. Like any merchant, he is looking firstly to sell his goods, his paper, by taking a walk to visit a client, in this case the publisher Wiering. At the same time, he is seeking news, attempting to find out what has happened in the city during his absence.

News flows in religious spaces

The former church of St. Nicholas, at the Hopfenmarket, the city's former busy and most central market, is today a ruin and a memorial allowing visitors to move freely within the material remains of the nave and to imagine its grand dimensions, in particular the tallest steeple of its time (147.4 m in 1874).[13] In 1686, St. Nicholas was one of five Lutheran parishes in Hamburg. The imposing dial on the church tower dictated the city's time and served as an important visual and acoustic landmark.[14] The church bells claimed attention in the nearby spaces of political, judicial, and economic power: the old city hall, the court of first instance (or trial court), and the stock market. Inside at the centre of the church, there was an altar and pulpit, while to the west of the structure an organ by Arp Schnitger was under construction.[15] Johann's stop here on his way to the printer calls attention to one of the most typical spaces of news reception and circulation in an early modern city: the church. In 1686, St. Nicholas was an epicentre of news.[16] Early modern churches were prominent social spaces that offered opportunities, before and after the service, to

12 Recent studies on merchants and their secretarial work include Megan Williams, '"Zur Notdurfft der Schreiberey'. Die Einrichtung der frühneuzeitlichen Kanzlei', in *Diskurse – Körper – Artefakte. Historische Praxeologie in der Frühneuzeitforschung*, ed. Dagmar Freist (Cologne: Böhlau, 2015), 335–372; Eric Ketelaar, *Archiving People: A Social History of Dutch Archives* ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2020), 171–175, chap. 7.3.1; Ann Blair and Peter Stallybrass, 'Mediating information 1450–1800', in *This is Enlightenment*, eds. Clifford Siskin and William B. Warner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 139–163.

13 The principal church St. Nicholas, founded in 1195, burned down in 1842, was rebuilt in the 1870s and was finally destroyed again in the Second World War. See 'St. Nikolai: Eng mit der Hamburger Stadtgeschichte verbunden', St. Nikolai, die Hauptkirche am Klosterstern, www.hauptkirche-stnikolai.de/kirche/geschichte/geschichte/ (accessed January 22, 2021).

14 'Die Geschichte von St. Nikolai – Teil 1: 1195 bis 1842 – Die mittelalterliche Pfarrkirche St. Nikolai', Mahnmahl St. Nikolai, www.mahnmal-st-nikolai.de/?page_id=268 (accessed January 22, 2021).

15 See for a contemporary description of St. Nicholas church: Wolffgang Henrich Adelungk, *Die annoch verhandene Hamburgische ANTIQUITAETEN. . .* (Hamburg: Conrad Neumann, 1696), 17f.

16 See for further reading: Renate Dürr and Gerd Schwerhoff, eds., *Kirchen, Märkte und Tavernen. Erfahrungs- und Handlungsräume in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2005).

read and discuss gossip and other local affairs. Religious services themselves have long been understood by historians of communication as powerful media events where sermons delivered by pastors reached large audiences, who then discussed them.[17] In early modern Hamburg and elsewhere, pastors regularly used their sermons to comment on local and wider affairs, to highlight and mock rumours in the city, and to promote printed versions of their own orations. The sermon was furthermore the place to read out the city's latest ordinances – which were also put up as printed posters on the city hall door, the stock market, or the city's harbours. In 1686, one could buy these printed sermons and much other news from the bookstalls at the back of St. Nicholas church. Booksellers, such as Johann Adolph Härtel at St. Nicholas, ran stalls in churches, offering printed books and news media on relevant topics.[18] In addition, the Lutheran church was deeply intertwined with local politics and reformed pastors inserted themselves repeatedly into politics, organizing themselves in the so-called *Geistliches Ministerium*, the representation of Hamburg's Lutheran clergy.[19]

It was highly plausible therefore to have Johann want to stop at St Nicholas to gather information, and then to discover from the sermon that the two burghers Jastram and Snitger had been convicted and executed for high treason, as well as hear about the public burning of a pamphlet printed by Arnold Lichtenstein shortly before the execution day. In this way, the app story starts to combine the political history of Hamburg with an actor-led approach to media and communication history. When Johann goes to the bookstalls in the back of the church and buys a pamphlet with the title: "Kurtze und außführliche Relation"[20] ("A short and detailed report"), he also discovers how Hamburg was besieged by the army of the Danish king, Christian V, in August and September of that year. The user is also prompted to look at this pamphlet, which typically for the period is heavy on text with only a few images, while the secondary researcher audio fills in the political context

17 Bellingradt, *Flugpublizistik*, 141; Reinhold Pabel, *Hamburger Kultur-Karussell zwischen Barock und Aufklärung* (Neumunster: Wachholtz, 1996), 319f; Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff, eds., Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne: öffentliche Räume in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008).

18 Hermann Colshorn, 'Norddeutscher Buchhandel in den Kirchen', *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, Frankfurter Ausgabe* 102, no. 16 (1960): 2371–2374, with reference to various contemporary travel accounts.

19 Daniel Bellingradt, 'Resonating Box', 224; Bellingradt, *Flugpublizistik*, 135ff.; Susanne Rau, 'Von "Lockungen", "Verführungen" und "Zwang". Zur "Denunciation" der Rekatholisierungspraxis im lutherischen Hamburg zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Zeitenwenden: Herrschaft, Selbstbehauptung und Integration zwischen Reformation und Liberalismus*, ed. Jörg Deventer, Susanne Rau and Anne Conrad, 2nd. ed. (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2006), 335–358 (341); Wolffgang Henrich Adelungk, *Das Hoch=Ehr=Würdige MINISTERIUM zu Hamburg, . . .* (Hamburg: Conrad Neumann, 1696); Dennis L. Slabaugh, 'Geistliches Ministerium', in *Hamburg Lexikon*, eds. Franklin Kopitzsch and Daniel Tilgner (Hamburg: Zeise Verlag, 1998), 175f.

20 *Kurtze und außführliche Relation, Was sich in währender Berennung der Stadt Hamburg In und ausser derselben zwischen Ihr. Königl. Maj. von Dännemarck und obgedachter Stadt von Tage zu Tage begeben/ und remarquables zugetragen. . .* (s.l.: 1686).

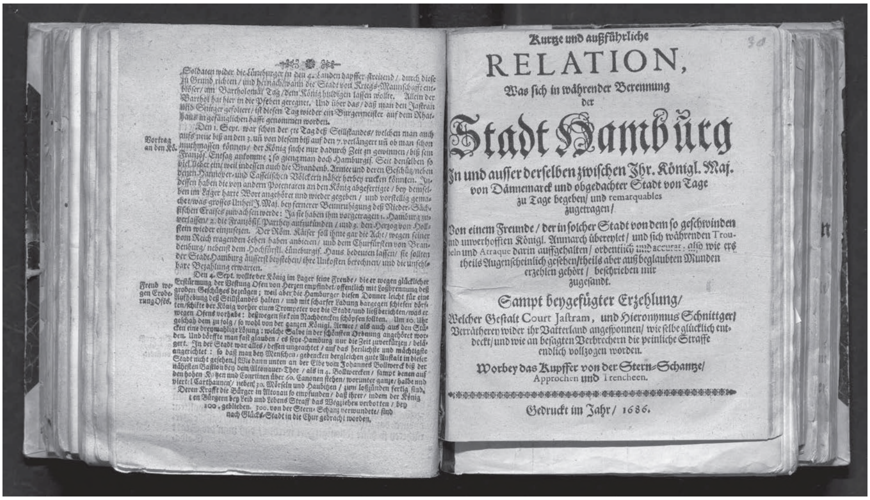

Figure 3.2 An anonymous pamphlet of 23 pages providing a chronological narration of both the military siege of Hamburg and the "exposure" and punishment of Jastram and Snitger, considered to be traitors and conspirators who intended to hand over the city to the Danish king. © State Archive of Hamburg, signature: Sammelband 121, no. 30.

(see Fig. 3.2). In Hamburg, the urgent political question, and the background to the so-called "Jastram-Snitger affair", was about who held the highest authority in the city, a problem rooted within a complex power-sharing system in which those holding power (namely burghers, residents with citizenship) were divided into two political institutions, the Senate (Rat) and the burghers (Bürgerschaft) and their various civic colleges.[21] App users can engage in more detail with this political background by linking to the short website article that accompanies this site.[22]

Printing the news

"Here we are, in Thomas von Wiering's printshop," Johann explains while the user is standing in front of the Museum of Hamburg History. In the app walk, the

21 On the "Jastram-Snitger affair" see the references given in footnote 7. See for an overview of the political system of Hamburg: 'Hamburg in 1686', *Hidden Cities,* www.hiddencities.eu/hamburg (accessed February 1, 2021); Jörg Berlin, *Bürgerfreiheit statt Ratsregiment. Das Manifest der bürgerlichen Freiheit und der Kampf für Demokratie in Hamburg um 1700*, 2nd ed. (Norderstedt: BoD, 2012), 31–34; Krieger, *Hamburg*, 55–58; Loose, 'Bürgerunruhen', 269–288; Lindemann, *Merchant Republics*, 36–38, 51–55; Gisela Rückleben, 'Rat und Bürgerschaft in Hamburg 1595–1686: Innere Bindungen und Gegensätze' (PhD diss., Philipps-Universität Marburg/Lahn).

22 Daniel Bellingradt and Claudia Heise, 'St. Nicholas: Church, Parish and Political Space', *Hidden Cities,* www.hiddencities.eu/hamburg/st-nicholas (accessed February 26, 2021).

museum, our external partner, stands symbolically for Wiering's now-vanished shop in the old city centre, mainly because it houses a rare extant example of an early modern printing press (Fig. 3.3) alongside other material traces of the city's once thriving print industry.[23] With the aim of illuminating the 1686 printing industry's impact on news flows in and out of the city, the user is provided with this image and the technical and economic contexts of the printing industry in early modern Europe. In many European cities, the "printing industry" was a local network that linked those people organising the necessary materials with the production and selling of all kinds of handwritten and printed media: paper dealers, book binders, map sellers, owners of book shops and news stalls, publishers, and of course printers. Hand-press printing did not change significantly in Europe between 1450 and the early 1800s, and when early modern Europeans referred to the art of printing, they meant the entire publishing process, starting with ideas from an author and including the work of specialists such as compositors, pressmen, proofreaders, and so on. In the app, we also provide a contemporary image of these processes of concurrent production by the specialists involved in the printing processes.[24] As interdisciplinary scholarship on the "History of the Book" continues to highlight, commercial printing and bookselling enterprises created and fostered important new markets of consumption and knowledge circulation.[25] And printing the news was both a major commercial enterprise of the time and a way to influence public opinion.

While Johann's original destination was Wiering's shop in any case, he was also keen to find out the rest of the story he heard in church. In order to maintain the tension for both him and the user in this quest for information, we contrived that Wiering's shop produced a reprint of the small pamphlet titled "Wahre Abbildung der an Tag gegebenen Verrätherey" ("True depiction of the treason that came to light"), a reprint of the burned pamphlet Johann heard about in St Nicholas.

23 'Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte', Stiftung Historische Museen Hamburg, https://shmh.de/de/museum-fuer-hamburgische-geschichte (accessed February 26, 2021). For further information, see the introduction for actual early modern printing practices: Donald F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind. Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography* 22 (1969): 1–75, and for practices of printing a newspaper, see Martin Welke, 'Die Entwicklung der frühen Zeitungsdrucktechnik', in *Zeitungsdruck. Die Entwicklung der Technik vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Martin Welke and Boris Fuchs (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000), 9–28. Among the first printer manuals on how to run a contemporary printing workshop is Joseph Moxon, *Mechanik exercises, or, the doctrine of handy-works*. London 1694.

24 The app shows the etching ("At a printer-publisher's", "Der Buchdrucker") from Christoph Thelott (Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig, E 33/34/Gb). Another image on the website is an anonymous copperplate print with the title "Interieur van een boekdrukkerij" ("Interior of a print shop") from the Rjiksmuseum of Amsterdam, object number RP-P-2015–26–1393, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.619603 (accessed January 25, 2021).

25 See the overviews by James Raven, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020); Michael F. Suarez and H.R. Woudhuysen, eds., *The Book: A Global History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

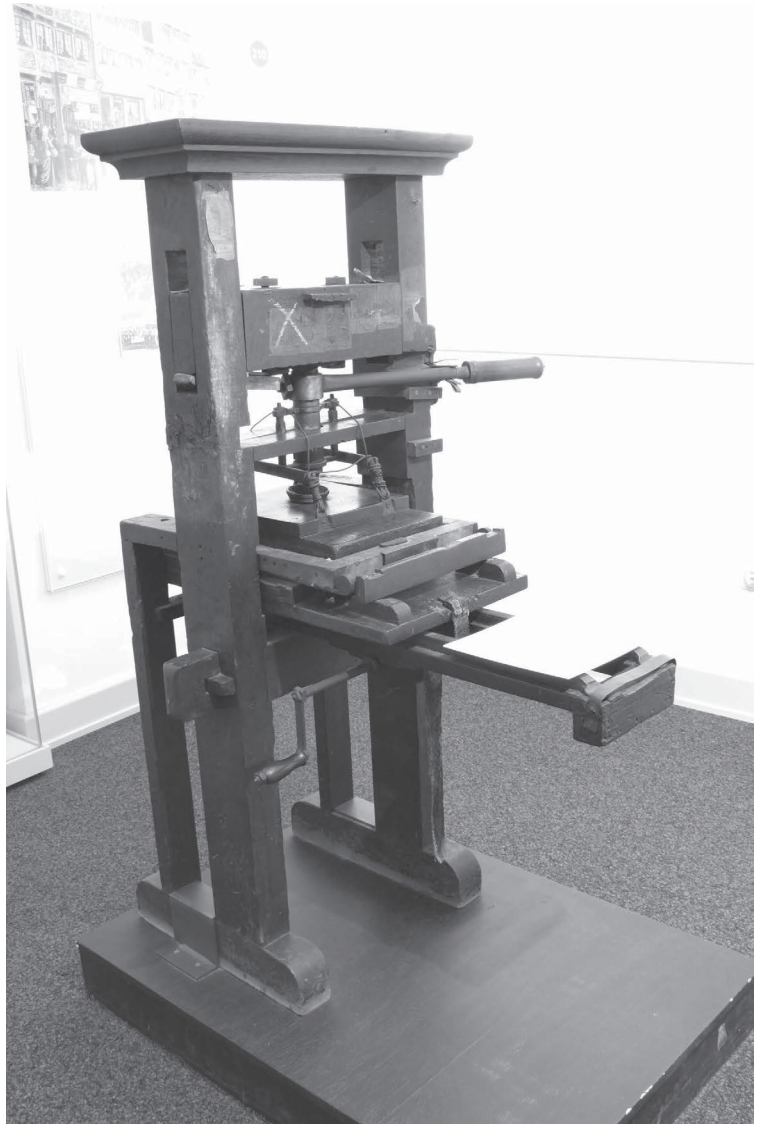

Figure 3.3 An early modern printing press present in the Museum of Hamburg History. This specimen is presumably of the eighteenth century because it already contains metal components such as the spiral spindle, transmitting the power of the rotation to the printing frame, while the first printing presses were entirely made of wood. © Historic Museums Hamburg Foundation, Museum of Hamburg History, inventory-number 2016–441

Wiering is not at his shop and Johann cannot buy a copy, and this drives him to the city's public news markets.

Public news markets

Market places like the local *Goosemarket* or the New Market, known now as the *Großneumarkt*, were hotspots for media flows in Hamburg, part of what made urban public spaces resonating boxes for communication.[26] The Goosemarket (Gänsemarkt) was a meeting place for a contemporary urban elite hungry for entertainment, a cultural hotspot in a large and wealthy city. Hamburg's opera house, established at the Goosemarket in January 1678, became the first public and commercially run opera house in German-speaking Europe and quickly established itself as an important feature of public life in Hamburg.[27] In the app, we show an image of the timber-framed structure in 1727 that appears to be the only remaining depiction of this grand institution, which was built after plans by the Italian architect, Girolamo Sartorio.[28] In and around 1686, this theatre as it was called by contemporaries, was devoted to a rather new genre, the opera, attracting up-and-coming composers, including Johann Theile and Georg Philipp Telemann, for its thrice-weekly performances. This institution was a hub of news, about the city and about international events and politics. Every performance was a social event, fostering the exchange of news and gossip both before and after the show. Because there was a scale of ticket prices, a range of social classes contributed to and participated in news flows at the opera house. In order to give an impression of the normally crowded public space in front of the opera, the app website shows a print depicting a crowded Goosemarket.[29] Because of all

26 On the interpretation of urban public spaces as resonating boxes, see de Vivo, *Information and Communication*; Bellingradt, 'Resonating Box'; Rosa Salzberg, *Ephemeral City: Cheap Print and Urban Culture in Renaissance Venice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); Rudolf Schlögl, 'Politik beobachten. Öffentlichkeit und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 35 (2008): 581–661.

27 See on the establishment of Hamburg's opera house in 1678 and the following political and religious quarrels known as the "Hamburger Theaterstreit" (Hamburg's theatre conflict): Ingo Rekatzky, *Theater, Protestantismus und die Folgen: Gänsemarkt-Oper (1678–1738) und Erster Hamburger Theaterstreit* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2019); Johannes Geffcken, 'Der erste Streit über die Zulässigkeit des Schauspiels (1677–1688)', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 3 (1851): 1–33; Bernhard Jahn, *Die Sinne und die Oper. Sinnlichkeit und das Problem ihrer Versprachlichung im Musiktheater des nord- und mitteldeutschen Raumes (1680–1740)* (Tubingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005).

28 The depiction of the opera house is in the holdings of the State Archive of Hamburg, signature 720–1/1_131–07=84.57. For a further description, see Hans-Joachim Marx, 'Geschichte der Hamburger Barockoper: Ein Forschungsbericht', in *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft,* vol. 3, eds. Constantin Floros, Hans Joachim Marx, and Peter Petersen (Hamburg: Wagner, 1978), 7–34 (14–18); Rekatzky, *Theater*, 14–17; Ernst Grohne, 'Das älteste hamburgische Opernhaus' *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 14, no. 77 (1926): 106–110.

29 The copperplate print by Franz Nicolaus Rolffsen shown on the website gives an impression of the crowded *Goosemarket* near the opera house. The scene shows a public lottery drawing

this, news stalls offering the latest in print were likely to have operated in this square. We have Johann buy a bestselling pamphlet titled "Hamburgisch Mordt-Theatrum, Besprengt mit dem Blute Jeronimi Snitquer" ("A Hamburg theatre of murder, sprinkled with the blood of Hieronymus Snitger") on the rise and fall of the well-known merchant and politician, published shortly after Snitger's execution in 1686, before heading to the New Market in search of a reprint of the burned pamphlet.[30]

In 1686, the New Market, known now as the *Großneumarkt*, was the biggest marketplace in the city, and one of Hamburg's largest urban spaces, used for various trading activities, and often crowded with street singers and fairground people.[31] The New Market could easily have been called the "News Market" (as Johann calls it in his audio), as the market area was also one of two hearts of Hamburg's printing industry – the other one being near city hall. Thomas von Wiering's vanished shop historically was situated in the Brodschrangen near the Trostbruecke, but in the app we gave him a stall at the New Market as well, located among the many other printer-publishers, booksellers, and typesetters in the "Neustadt." In 1686, these purveyors of print included Friedrich Konrad Greflinger, Arnold Lichtenstein, Peter Groote, and Bartholomäus Voskens.[32] The marketplace was a prime location to buy, read, and hear the latest from local and other German newspapers, as many street sellers and news hawkers with cheap prints in their baskets were present as well. Reading alone, reading to others, and listening to others discuss news, and commenting on news were some of the main communicative activities in early modern cities.[33]

As Johann listens to and comments on news flows at New Market and examines the stalls, the app aims to deepen user engagement with current research on multimedia reception and the uptake of news in early modern urban spaces. Evidence suggests that in 1686 some news stalls even offered, for half the price of a

('Goosemarket Gathering', *Hidden Cities,* www.hiddencities.eu/hamburg/goosemarket/goosemarket-gathering [accessed February 1, 2021]).

30 *Hamburgisch Mordt-THEATRUM Besprengt mit dem Blute JERONIMI SNITQUER, Kauffman und Bürger zu HAMBURG* (s.l.: [1686]). The anonymous pamphlet of 139 pages was presumably published in late 1686 and addresses the theatrical staging of Hieronymus Snitgers execution (StAHH Smbd. 121, No. 34). See further: Lohsträter, 'Hinter den Kulissen eines Schreckenstheaters'.

31 See Otto Beneke, *Der große Neumarkt in Hamburg. Mittheilungen aus vergangenen Tagen* (Hamburg: W. Mauke Söhne, 1873); Jonas Ludwig von Heß, *Hamburg topographisch, politisch und historisch beschrieben*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Bachmann & Gundermann, 1796), 276–277.

32 Friedrich Konrad Greflinger worked at the Großneumarkt no. 39, Arnold Lichtenstein ran his print shop in the Millernsteinweg, publisher Peter Groote was in business with two shops on the Ellern Brücke near New Market and at the stock market. Bartholomäus Voskens ran his shop, a type foundry, at the Herrengraben. See Reske, *Buchdrucker*, 369; Colshorn, 'Hamburgs Buchhandel' (1966), 2368–2370, (1967), 798; Johann Martin Lappenberg, Zur Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Hamburg am 24. Juni 1840 (Hamburg: Johann August Meißner, 1840), LX-LXIII; Kayser, ed., *Hamburger Bücher*, 64, 88.

33 In our app tour, we present another copperplate print at location 5, depicting practices of communication and reading in public spaces (J.C.G. Fritsch, '1. Das Rathauß. 2. Das Niedergericht. 3. Die Börse. 4. Die Commercien Bibliothek. 5. Die Wage. 6. Der Cran.' [s.d.]; State Archive Hamburg, Plankammer, signature 720–1/1_131–06=37–175a).

Figure 3.4 A pictorial print of the well-attended public execution that took place on 4th October 1686 and consists of two main parts. While part A shows the moments before the execution, the so-called poor sinners walk, part B presents the execution at the Köppelberg in the city's periphery. © State Archive of Hamburg, signature: A 320/22

printed copy, the option of hearing a newspaper being read aloud.[34] This special service helped to stimulate a continuous circulation of rumour and information among the city's diverse social communities, those who consumed newspapers and other non-periodical outputs of the local and (via postal networks) "foreign" print industries on a biweekly or weekly basis, and those who only heard news in coffee houses, churches, and marketplaces. Hamburg thus produced public spaces of illiterate and literate news reception, filled with oral, handwritten, drawn, and printed news – heard, seen, or read. Spectacular events, such as the public execution of Jastram and Snitger in 1686, generated additional news echoes that quickly found their way into these media streams. Because Johann learns that his sought-after pamphlet is sold out even at the *News* Market, he buys another print depicting the *Poor Sinners Walk* of Jastram and Snitger through the city, and their execution (Fig. 3.4).[35] Yet still aiming to find his

34 In 'Wierings Kram' (Wiering's shop) one could buy the newspaper for one Schilling or only half the price to only read it but not take it home. See Böning, 'Geschichte der Hamburger und Altonaer Presse', 151, with reference to the epigram 'Hanselmus' by Christian Wernicke in *Christian Wernickes Epigramme*, ed. Rudolf Pechel (Berlin, 1909), 252 (esp. footnote 2), URL: https://bit.ly/3AdzDgw [30.06.2021]) and Holger Böning, 'Weltaneignung durch ein neues Publikum. Zeitungen und Zeitschriften als Medientypen der Moderne', in *Kommunikation und Medien der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Johannes Burkhardt and Christine Werkstetter (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005), 105–134 (112), as well as Böning, 'Eine Stadt lernt das Zeitungslesen', 391–415 (406).

35 On the webpage we offer an example from the *Relations-Courier* produced by Wiering (see footnote 6). A copy is bought by Johann from a stall at the New Market. There the event of the

desired "burned pamphlet," he heads off to the site where the pamphlet and its copies were incinerated in an official ritual punishing event – the city hall where the pillory stands.

Power, public space, and censorship

The City Hall (Rathaus) and Court of First Instance (Niedergericht) constituted not only the heart of political power in seventeenth-century Hamburg but also a site of strategic importance for the local book industry. Accessible by a bridge called *Trostbrücke*, this was where the burghers' committees and the Senate met. While the Senate also functioned as the "Obergericht," the High Court of the city, the Niedergericht, was responsible for sentencing (see Fig. 3.5).[36] Much of the local book industry was located near this powerhouse: many printers, publishers, and booksellers were stationed nearby, trying to get publishable news or official announcements directly and quickly. In 1686, Margarethe Rebenlein and Conrad Neumann jointly ran the privileged printing shop of the city near St. Peter Church, while the printer-publisher Wiering had his shop in nearby Brodschrangen street. The printers Thomas Roos and Nicolaus Spieringh ran their shops at the corner of Knochenhauerstraße and "bey dem Rathause," literally at city hall. Booksellers and bookbinders were nearby too: for example, Peter Groote's bookshop near St. Nicholas, and the bookbinder Peter Knust, "Neben dem Niedergericht" – next to the Niedergericht.[37]

In the app, we have Johann introduce another object relevant to the political story of 1686: the pillory, or the so-called ehrloser Block ("dishonourable block").[38] In front of the Niedergericht, verdicts were announced, and minor penalties carried out, and in 1686, the death sentence against Jastram and Snitger was announced here to a public audience. On 28 September, one day after the announcement of the death sentence and a few days before the execution, the city executioner burned at the pillory confiscated copies of a critical and proscribed pamphlet produced

execution depicted on the copperplate print, held in the State Archive of Hamburg (StAHH Smbd. 153 No. 30: 8), is shortly described.

36 Two copperplate prints of the "Niedergericht," engraved by Nicolaus Christopher Sooth, are shown on the website: 'Inside Law Court', *Hidden Cities,* www.hiddencities.eu/hamburg/trostbruecke/law-court-inside (accessed February 1, 2021) and 'Law Court Building-complex', www.hiddencities.eu/hamburg/trostbruecke/law-court. See further: Daniel Jacobj, *Geschichte des Hamburger Niedergerichts* (Hamburg: Gustav Eduard Nolte, 1866), esp. 106ff., 120–122; Joseph Scholz, *Hamburg oder vollständige Geschichte und Beschreibung dieser Stadt, mit allen ihren Merk= und Sehenswürdigkeiten. . . .* (Hamburg: Gottfried Vollmer, 1811), 31–33.

37 See: Reske, *Buchdrucker*, 367–370; Colshorn, 'Hamburgs Buchhandel' (1967), 798; Kayser, ed., *Hamburger Bücher*, 72–78, 86; Kayser, 'Thomas von Wiering', 343–371.

38 For descriptions of the "dishonourable block", see Nicolas Bärmann, *Hamburg und Hamburgs Umgegend: Ein Hand- und Hülfsbuch für Fremde und Einheimische, nach den neuesten Angaben und den zuverlässigsten Quellen neu ausgearbeitet* (Hamburg: Friedrich Hermann Nestler, 1822), 128f.; J.F. Voigt, 'Von Pranger und Halseisen', *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 4 (1882): 122–124; Heß, *Hamburg topographisch*, 331–332, Jacobj, *Niedergericht*, 128.

Figure 3.5 A copperplate print, taken from a popular single broadsheet by the successful printer-publisher Thomas von Wiering, allowing a glance not only on the city's powerhouse at the Trostbrücke, with the ensemble of city hall, court of first instance, stock market, crane, and scales, but also on how inhabitants observed the city's life in busy public urban spaces and participated in its communicative flows. © State Archive of Hamburg, Plankammer, signature: 720-1/1_131-06 = 37/159.

near New Market by the local printer Arnold Lichtenstein.[39] While no images of the pillory – a place that was regularly used to publicly burn condemned books or pamphlets – exist, we offer the app user an image of the burned pamphlet that Johann was so eager to acquire, a reprint of which he manages to purchase from a boy hawking prints at the site. This site allowed us to further explore two themes pertinent to both media and urban history: symbolic punishments, such as public book burnings, and news circulation around such events.[40] The pamphlet in question is titled "Wahre Abbildung der an Tag gegebenen Verrätherey" ("True

39 This event from 28th September 1686 is reported, for example, in the anonymous handwritten chronicle *Geschichte merckwürdiger Vorfälle, die sich in Hamburg vom 15.Jan.1680–25.Mai 1687 ereignet haben, in Form eines Tagebuchs von gleichzeitigen Händen geschrieben* (Hamburg: [n.p.],[s.d.]) (Commerzbibliothek der Handelskammer Hamburg, S/667).

40 Hermann Rafetseder, *Bücherverbrennungen. Die öffentliche Hinrichtung von Schriften im historischen Wandel* (Vienna et al.: Böhlau, 1988), esp. 131–158; see further: Richard Ovenden, *Burning the Books. A History of Knowledge under Attack* (London: John Murray, 2020); Daniel Bellingradt, 'Wenig Papier, viel Aufwand. Öffentliche Buchverbrennungen der Frühen Neuzeit als materielles Problem', *JbKG* 16 (2014): 28–48.

depiction of the treason that came to light"). It was considered by the authorities to be a political hot potato, and was immediately confiscated when copies were sold by Hamburg's street sellers. Yet the song printed in the pamphlet continued to circulate orally within the city.[41] In the song, the suspected ringleaders of the turmoil, Jastram and Snitger, and the Danish king are explicitly pilloried, and the triumph of the Free and Imperial City of Hamburg is praised – a topic considered by the city's officials too risky to being sung within the city walls. Attacking potentates or reviling their honour, whether spoken, written, or with drawings, was also illegal, explicitly forbidden by both imperial laws and constantly renewed bylaws on censorship and often resulting in public executions.

Coffee houses as information hubs

Hidden Hamburg's last stop is Johann's favourite coffee house, Eimbeck's House, chosen to allow us to explore early modern urban drinking houses as hubs of news. Eimbeck's House was one of the first coffee houses in Germany, serving coffee from 1668, and was situated at the corner of Kleine Johannisstraße and Dornbusch.[42] Today, it is an inconspicuous street corner surrounded by office buildings, restaurants, and a bakery, and the app therefore provides a contemporary copperplate print of this important and multifunctionally used historic building. In 1686, there were at least three other coffee houses in the city – the Dreyersches, Dressersches, and Schülersches.[43] Meanwhile, large and small inns, drinking houses, and taverns were scattered across the city, offering, in addition to coffee, a great range of drinks and food, including hot chocolate, wine, and beer, and offering diversions such as billiards. Indeed, tavern culture in the seventeenth century was strongly connected to the new coffee house sociability.[44] Meeting in one of the many drinking houses (and we know of at least 30 in Hamburg in

41 The anonymous print comprises four pages including a song in 20 verses (Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Smbd. 122 No. 18).

42 See Dagmar Lekebusch and Katja Nicklaus, 'Heiß begehrt: Kaffee, Tee und Schokolade statt Biersuppe', in *Kein Bier ohne Alster. Hamburg – Brauhaus der Hanse*, ed. Ralf Wiechmann (Hamburg: Verlag der Stiftung Historische Museen Hamburg, 2016), 203–219 (211). Its name derives from 'Einbecker beer' – Eimbeck's house was the only place in which this beer could be consumed. See Heß, *Hamburg topographisch*, 407–409; Alfred Dreyer, *Der alte Ratsweinkeller zu Hamburg 1250–1842* (Hamburg: Hamburgische Bücherei, [1951]), 7–12; Eduard Meyer, *Das Eimbecksche Haus in Hamburg. Eine Monographie* (Hamburg: W. Mauke Söhne, 1869), 24–26.

43 Lekebusch and Nicklaus, 'Heiß begehrt', 212–213.

44 Coffee house socialising was gendered: it was primarily men who used these new public–private social spaces. Few women – as imagined on the satirical print of a coffee house scene accompanying our article on the webpage (see 'Inside a Coffeehouse', *Hidden Cities,* www.hiddencities.eu/hamburg/eimbecks-house/coffeehouse-scene [accessed July 12, 2021]) – were seen regularly in these places. See further: Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Dagmar Freist, 'Wirtshäuser als Zentren frühneuzeitlicher Kommunikation. London im 17. Jahrhundert', in *Kommunikation und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Johannes Burkhardt and Christine Werkstetter (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2005), 201–224; ([Anonym], *Die neu-eröfnete lustige Schaubühne Menschlicher Gewohn- und*

the 1680s)[45] had a communicative impact, as news media were regularly offered alongside the drinks.[46] The coffee house and its urban clientele constituted a distinct social space driven by an atmosphere of relatively informal contact that allowed for pleasure as well as debate and discussion, sometimes over playing cards or board games. Because of this, coffee houses were popular meeting places for urban merchants looking to discuss business, catch some news, and be seen by others – and indeed it is here that Johann finally finds the printer Wiering.

Usually, one had to buy a drink to gain access to a house's range of written media such as pamphlets and newspapers.[47] However, one did not necessarily need to read the news in silence: the alcohol-driven and caffeine-fuelled worlds of drinking houses and coffee houses allowed clients to observe arguments presented or discussed by others, as well as engage with the sometimes contested interpretations of news. Gossip and rumour filled the air of Europe's coffee shops. In the app story, before Johann notices Wiering, who visited Eimbeck's House by accident, too, we have him discover another, more elitist, artefact of the local news world, a satirical medal that is being shown around by one of the other clients.[48] The silver medal's imagery allegorises the story of Jastram and Snitger from the Senate's perspective, addresses the rule of the Senate and the freedom of the city, and acted as a warning not to interfere with the city's rightful authorities. Having seen the medal, Johann joins Wiering for further discussion of the city's news and a future paper purchase, and bids the app's user "farewell," as the story ends at the last point of the tour.

Conclusion

Like all city tours of the *Hidden Cities* project, *Hidden Hamburg* explores new and engaging methods of historical storytelling for a wide public. Historical questions around media dynamics in an early modern urban setting, Hamburg in

Thorheiten . . . Teil II: Caffée- und Thée-Logia, dessen Gebrauch und Mißbrauch [Hamburg: Wiering 1690], n.p.

45 See Christoph Walther, 'Georg Greflinger's Hamburgisches Reisehandbuch und Beschreibungen von Hamburg im Jahre 1674', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 9 (1894): 122–149, (138–140).

46 In the seventeenth century, coffee, tea, and chocolate became popular in Europe. Spending time in a coffee house became a feature of Hamburg's public life by the 1680s. Recent publications on the topic include B. Ann Tlusty: *Bacchus and Civic Order. The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001); Beat Kümin, *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

47 Annerose Menninger, 'Tabak, Kaffee, Tee und Schokolade in Wissenskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit', *Zeitenblicke* 8, no. 3 (23.12.2009): 81, www.zeitenblicke.de/2009/3/menninger/Abbildung-4 (accessed January 28, 2021).

48 The medal, of pure silver, is about 5 cm across and weighs 30 g (Museum of Hamburg History, inventory no. MK 667). In our app tour, we present an image of this medal in the "Discover More" for this location.

1686, are translated into public-facing locative media through a geolocated city tour with place-related stories. We used the character guide, Johann, to explore the public spaces of the city as lived experience, reconstructing information accessibility and news flows in an early modern city, as the local publishing industry responded to a tumultuous situation. While the character format allows for an embodied experience of news hunting through the city, the app's expert commentaries on our research questions address the production and spaces of "news" in the 1680s. One of our intentions, afforded by the mobile storytelling format, was also to provoke reflection about past and present communication dynamics and spaces in an urban context. With the reconstruction of early modern Hamburg's news world, *Hidden Hamburg* aims to impact perceptions of communication conditions in the past for a broad audience, but we also hoped to encourage twenty-first-century app users to consider how our experience of news flows is contingent on available media, places, and social spaces. Historical memory emerges at individual, collective, and institutional levels, and we set out in the app to contribute to these multiple ways of making and presenting history. In doing so, we also aim to highlight both the impermanence and permanence of public places and their physical condition in historic and present Hamburg.

Bibliography

Adelungk, Wolffgang Henrich. *Das Hoch=Ehr=Würdige MINISTERIUM zu Hamburg, Wie Deroselben Mit=Glieder/ nach der Reformation des Hocherleuchteten Theuren Mannes Gottes D. MARTINI LUTHERI, Durch ordentlichen Beruff In das Predig=Ampt eingetreten/ und durch Ein Seeliges Absterben Selbiges hinwieder quitiret. Alles gantz ordentlich nach der Jahr=Zahl und Kirch=Spielen eingetheilet*. Hamburg: Conrad Neumann, 1696.

Adelungk, Wolffgang Henrich. *Die annoch verhandene Hamburgische ANTIQUITAETEN Oder Alterthums=Gedächtnisse/ Welche sowohl in denen Kirchen/ als auch sonsten/ in und ausserhalb dieser Stadt/ nebst andern Anmerckungen/ wol zu observiren und merckwürdig zu beschauen seyn. Denen Einheimischen/ als insonderheit Reisenden Frembden/ zu angenehmer Nachrichtung fleißigst entworffen und angewiesen*. Hamburg: Conrad Neumann, 1696.

Anonymous. "Caffe- und The-Logia, oder Kurtze Anzeigung und Beschreibung dieser Getränckе: Worinnen enthalten/ wie die Liebhaber des Caffe- und 'The-Trinckens sich aufführen/ und ihre Wasser=Debauchen auff den Caffe Häusern verrichten. Auffgesetzt von Einem zimlich erfahrnen Caffe-Schlucker." In *Die neu-eröfnete lustige Schaubühne Menschlicher Gewohn- und Thorheiten [. . .]*, edited by N.N. [Hamburg: [Wiering], 1690].

Anonymous. "Elbstrohm/ vom 5 Octobr." *Relations-Courier* 158 (1686): 8.

Anonymous. *Geschichte merckwürdiger Vorfälle, die sich in Hamburg vom 15. Jan. 1680 bis 25. Mai 1687 ereignet haben, in Form eines Tagebuchs von gleichzeitigen Händen geschrieben*. Commerzbibliothek der Handelskammer Hamburg / Stiftung Hanseatisches Wirtschaftsarchiv, Safebestand, Signatur: S 667.

Anonymous. *Hamburgisch Mordt-Theatrum. Besprengt mit dem Blute Jeronimi Snitquer, Kauffman und Bürger zu Hamburg*. [s.l.]: [1686]. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Signatur: Sammelband 121, Nr. 34.

Anonymous. *Kurtze und außführliche RELATION, Was sich in währender Berennung der Stadt Hamburg In und ausser derselben zwischen Ihr. Königl. Maj. von Dännemarck und obgedachter Stadt von Tage zu Tage begeben/ und remarquables zugetragen/ Von einem Freunde/ der in solcher Stadt von dem so geschwinden und unverhofften Königl. Anmarch übereylet/ und sich währenden Troubeln und Atraque darin auffgehalten/ ordentlich und accurat, also wie ers theils Augenscheinlich gesehen/ theils aber auß beglaubten Munden erzehlen gehört/ beschrieben mir zugesandt. Sampt beygefügter Erzehlung/ Welcher Gestalt Court Jastram, und Hieronymus Schnittger/ Verrätherey wider ihr Vatterland angesponnen/ wie selbe glücklich entdeckt/ und wie an besagten Verbrechern die peinliche Straffe endlich vollzogen worden [. . .]* [S.l.]: 1686. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Signatur: Sammelband 121, Nr. 30.

Anonymous. *Wahre Abbildung der an Tag gegebenen Verrätherey*. [Hamburg: Lichtenstein, 1686]. Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Signatur: Sammelband 122, Nr. 18.

Asendorf, Manfred. "Hamburg 1686 – Der dänische Entschluss zur Belagerung Hamburgs und der Justizmord an Jastram und Schnitger. Das Ende einer Geschichtslegende." In *Geprägte Geschichte. Hamburger Medaillen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Ralf Wiechmann and Joist Grolle, 156-177. Hamburg: Edition Wartenau, 2014.

Bärmann, Nicolas. *Hamburg und Hamburgs Umgegend: Ein Hand- und Hülfsbuch für Fremde und Einheimische, nach den neuesten Angaben und den zuverlässigsten Quellen neu ausgearbeitet*. Hamburg: Friedrich Hermann Nestler, 1822.

Bellingradt, Daniel. *Flugpublizistik und Öffentlichkeit um 1700. Dynamiken, Akteure und Strukturen im urbanen Raum des Alten Reichs*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011.

Bellingradt, Daniel. "The Early Modern City as a Resonating Box: Media, Public Opinion, and the Urban Space of the Holy Roman Empire, Cologne, and Hamburg ca. 1700." *Journal of Early Modern History* 16, no. 3 (2012): 201-240.

Bellingradt, Daniel. "Wenig Papier, viel Aufwand: Öffentliche Buchverbrennungen der Frühen Neuzeit als materielles Problem." *JfKG* 16 (2014): 28-48.

Beneke, Otto. *Der große Neumarkt in Hamburg. Mittheilungen aus vergangenen Tagen*. Hamburg: W. Mauke Söhne, 1873.

Berlin, Jörg. *Bürgerfreiheit statt Ratsregiment. Das Manifest der bürgerlichen Freiheit und der Kampf für Demokratie in Hamburg um 1700*. 2nd ed. Norderstedt: BoD, 2012.

Blair, Ann and Peter Stallybrass. "Mediating information 1450-1800." In *This is Enlightenment*, edited by Clifford Siskin and William B. Warner, 139-63. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Böning, Holger. "Der gemeine Mann als Zeitungs- und Medienkonsument im Barockzeitalter." In *Das Mediensystem im Alten Reich der Frühen Neuzeit (1600-1750)*, edited by Johannes Arndt and Esther-Beate Körber, 227-238. Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010.

Böning, Holger. "Eine Stadt lernt das Zeitungslesen. Leser, Auflagen und Reichweite der Hamburger und Altonaer Zeitungen im ersten Jahrhundert des Zeitungswesens." In *Hamburg: Eine Metropolregion zwischen Früher Neuzeit und Aufklärung*, edited by Johann Anselm Steiger and Sandra Richter, 391-415. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012.

Böning, Holger. *Geschichte der Hamburger und Altonaer Presse: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*. Vol. 1, *Periodische Presse und der Weg zur Aufklärung*. Bremen: edition lumière, 2020.

Böning, Holger. "Weltaneignung durch ein neues Publikum. Zeitungen und Zeitschriften als Medientypen der Moderne." In *Kommunikation und Medien der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Johannes Burkhardt and Christine Werkstetter, 105-134. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2005.

Böning, Holger. *Welteroberung durch ein neues Publikum. Die deutsche Presse und der Weg zur Aufklärung. Hamburg und Altona als Beispiel*. Bremen: edition lumière, 2002.

Bunnenberg, Christian and Nils Steffen, eds. *Geschichte auf Youtube: Neue Herausforderungen für Geschichtsvermittlung und historische Bildung*. Berlin: de Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019.

Cohen, Daniel J. and Roy Rosenzweig. *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Colshorn, Hermann. "Hamburgs Buchhandel im 17. Jahrhundert: Drucker, Verleger und Sortimenter (I)." *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, Frankfurter Ausgabe* 21, no. 89 (1965): 2369-2374.

Colshorn, Hermann. "Hamburgs Buchhandel im 17. Jahrhundert: Drucker, Verleger und Sortimenter (II)." *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, Frankfurter Ausgabe* 22, no. 88 (1966): 2365-2370.

Colshorn, Hermann. "Hamburgs Buchhandel im 17. Jahrhundert: Drucker, Verleger und Sortimenter (III)." *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, Frankfurter Ausgabe* 23, no. 31 (1967): 795-799.

Colshorn, Hermann. "Norddeutscher Buchhandel in den Kirchen." *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel, Frankfurter Ausgabe* 102, no. 16 (1960): 2371-2374.

Cowan, Brian. *The social life of coffee: the emergence of the British coffeehouse*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

De Vivo, Filippo. *Information and communication in Venice: rethinking early modern politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Dreyer, Alfred. *Der alte Ratsweinkeller zu Hamburg 1250-1842*. Hamburg: Hamburgische Bücherei, [1951].

Dürr, Renate and Gerd Schwerhoff, eds. *Kirchen, Märkte und Tavernen. Erfahrungs- und Handlungsräume in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Frankfurt/Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2005.

Freist, Dagmar. "Wirtshäuser als Zentren frühneuzeitlicher Kommunikation. London im 17. Jahrhundert." In *Kommunikation und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Johannes Burkhardt and Christine Werkstetter, 201-224. Munich: Oldenbourg, 2005.

Geffcken, Johannes. "Der erste Streit über die Zulässigkeit des Schauspiels (1677-1688)." *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 3 (1851): 1-33.

Gold, Matthew K., ed. *Debates in the Digital Humanities*. 3rd ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019.

Grohne, Ernst. "Das älteste hamburgische Opernhaus." *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 14, no. 77 (1926): 106-110.

Heß, Jonas Ludwig von. *Hamburg topographisch, politisch und historisch beschrieben*. Vol. 1. Hamburg: Bachmann & Gundermann, 1796.

Hidden Cities. "Hamburg in 1686." Accessed December 20, 2021. https://hiddencities.eu/hamburg.

Hidden Cities. "Inside a Coffeehouse." Accessed December 20, 2021. https://hiddencities.eu/hamburg/eimbecks-house/coffeehouse-scene.

Hidden Cities. "Public gathering on Goosemarket." Accessed December 20, 2021. https://hiddencities.eu/hamburg/goosemarket/goosemarket-gathering.

Hidden Cities. "St. Nicholas: church, parish and political space." Accessed December 20, 2021. https://hiddencities.eu/hamburg/st-nicholas.

Jacobj, Daniel Heinrich. *Geschichte des Hamburger Niedergerichts*. Hamburg: Nolte, 1866.

Jahn, Bernhard. *Die Sinne und die Oper. Sinnlichkeit und das Problem ihrer Versprachlichung im Musiktheater des nord- und mitteldeutschen Raumes (1680-1740)*. Tubingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005.

Kayser, Werner. *Hamburger Bücher 1491-1850: Aus der Hamburgensien-Sammlung der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*. Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1973.

Kayser, Werner. "Thomas von Wiering und Erben: Ein bedeutendes Kapitel hamburgischer Druckgeschichte." *Auskunft* 10, no. 4 (1990): 343-371.

Ketelaar, Eric. *Archiving People: A Social History of Dutch Archives*. 's-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2020.

Koller, Guido. *Geschichte digital: Historische Welten neu vermessen*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2016.

Krieger, Martin. "Hamburg." In *Handbuch kultureller Zentren der Frühen Neuzeit: Städte und Residenzen im alten deutschen Sprachraum*, edited by Wolfgang Adam and Siegrid Westphal, 797-829. Vol. 2, *Halberstadt–Münster*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012.

Kümin, Beat. *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social exchange in early modern Central Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Lappenberg, Johann Martin. *Zur Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Hamburg am 24. Juni 1840*. Hamburg: Johann August Meißner, 1840.

Lekebusch, Dagmar and Katja Nicklaus. "Heiß begehrt: Kaffee, Tee und Schokolade statt Biersuppe." In *Kein Bier ohne Alster. Hamburg – Brauhaus der Hanse*, edited by Ralf Wiechmann, 203-219. Hamburg: Verlag der Stiftung Historische Museen Hamburg, 2016.

Lindemann, Mary. *The Merchant Republics: Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg, 1648-1790*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Lohsträter, Kai. "Hinter den Kulissen eines Schreckenstheaters: Der Fall Jastram und Snitger in der Theatrum-Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts". In *Theatralität von Wissen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Nikola Roßbach and Constanze Baum (2013). Accessed January 27, 2021. http://diglib.hab.de/content.php?dir=ebooks/ed000156&distype=optional&metsID=ebooks_ed000156_article09&xml=tei-article09.xml&xsl=tei-ebooks.xsl.

Loose, Hans-Dieter. "Das Zeitalter der Bürgerunruhen und der großen europäischen Kriege 1618-1712: Die Kämpfe zwischen Rat und Bürgern." In *Hamburg: Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner*, edited by Werner Jochmann and Hans-Dieter Loose, 269-287. Vol. 1, *Von den Anfängen bis zur Reichsgründung*. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1982.

Loose, Hans-Dieter. "Das Zeitalter der Bürgerunruhen und der großen europäischen Kriege 1618-1712: Handel, Schiffahrt und Gewerbe." In *Hamburg: Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner* edited by Werner Jochmann and Hans-Dieter Loose, 328-334. Vol. 1, *Von den Anfängen bis zur Reichsgründung*. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1982.

Loose, Hans-Dieter. "Die Jastram-Snitgerschen Wirren in der zeitgenössischen Geschichtsschreibung." *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 53 (1967): S. 1-20.

Mahnmal St. Nikolai. "Die Geschichte von St. Nikolai – Teil 1: 1195 bis 1842 – Die mittelalterliche Pfarrkirche St. Nikolai." Accessed January 22, 2021. https://www.mahnmal-st-nikolai.de/?page_id=268.

Marx, Hans-Joachim. "Geschichte der Hamburger Barockoper: Ein Forschungsbericht." In *Studien zur Barockoper*, edited by Constantin Floros, Hans Joachim Marx and Peter Petersen, 7-34. Vol. 3 of *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*. Hamburg: Wagner, 1978.

McKenzie, Donald F. "Printers of the Mind. Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices." *Studies in Bibliography* 22 (1969): 1-75.

Menninger, Annerose. "Tabak, Kaffee, Tee und Schokolade in Wissenskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit." *Zeitenblicke* 8, no. 3 (23.12.2009): 81.

Meyer, Eduard. *Das Eimbecksche Haus in Hamburg. Eine Monographie*. Hamburg: W. Mauke Söhne, 1869.

Moxham, Noah and Joad Raymond, eds. *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Moxon, Joseph. *Mechanik exercises, or, the doctrine of handy-works*. London: J. Moxon, 1694.

Museum of Hamburg History. "Banquet hall." Accessed January 25, 2021. https://bit.ly/2MHSsDZ.

Museum of Hamburg History. "Merchant's hall." Accessed January 25, 2021. https://bit.ly/2YpSDqe.

Ovenden, Richard. *Burning the Books: A History of Knowledge under Attack*. London: John Murray, 2020.

Pabel, Reinhold. *Hamburger Kultur-Karussell zwischen Barock und Aufklärung*. Neumunster: Wachholtz, 1996.

Pettegree, Andrew. *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.

Pfister, Eugen and Tobias Winnerling. *Digitale Spiele und Geschichte: Ein kurzer Leitfaden für Student*innen, Forscher*innen und Geschichtsinteressierte*. Glückstadt: Verlag Werner Hülsbusch, 2020.

Rafetseder, Hermann. *Bücherverbrennungen: Die öffentliche Hinrichtung von Schriften im historischen Wandel*. Vienna et al.: Böhlau, 1988.

Rau, Susanne. "Von 'Lockungen', 'Verführungen' und 'Zwang'. Zur 'Denunciation' der Rekatholisierungspraxis im lutherischen Hamburg zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts." In *Zeitenwenden: Herrschaft, Selbstbehauptung und Integration zwischen Reformation und Liberalismus. Festgabe für Arno Herzig zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Jörg Deventer, Susanne Rau and Anne Conrad, 335-358. 2nd ed. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2006.

Rau, Susanne and Gerd Schwerhoff, eds. *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne: öffentliche Räume in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Cologne: Böhlau, 2008.

Raven, James. *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Book*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Reißmann, Martin. *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht*. Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1975.

Rekatzky, Ingo. *Theater, Protestantismus und die Folgen: Gänsemarkt-Oper (1678-1738) und Erster Hamburger Theaterstreit*. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2019.

Reske, Christoph. *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015.

Romein, C. A. et al. "State of the Field: Digital History." *History* 105, no. 365 (2020): 291-312.

Rückleben, Gisela. "Rat und Bürgerschaft in Hamburg 1595-1686: Innere Bindungen und Gegensätze." PhD diss., Philipps-Universität Marburg/Lahn, 1969.

Rygiel, Philippe. *Historien à l'âge numérique*. Lyon: Presses de l'Enssib, 2017.

Salzberg, Rosa. *Ephemeral City. Cheap Print and Urban Culture in Renaissance Venice*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014.

Schlögl, Rudolf. "Politik beobachten. Öffentlichkeit und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit." *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 35 (2008): 581-661.

Schneider, Ursula. "Die Deichstraße." In *Historische Stadtrundgänge: Kaufmannshäuser, Speicher und Kontore - von der Deichstraße zur Speicherstadt,* edited by Arbeitskreis Hafenkante, 4-11. Hamburg: Museum der Arbeit, 1989.

Scholz, Joseph. *Hamburg oder vollständige Geschichte und Beschreibung dieser Stadt, mit allen ihren Merk= und Sehenswürdigkeiten. Ein Wegweiser für Fremde so wie ein unentbehrlich Handbuch für Einheimische, die sich mit der Verfassung und Geschichte Hamburgs vertraut machen wollen*. Hamburg: Gottfried Vollmer, 1811.

Schreibman, Susan, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth, eds. *A Companion to Digital Humanities*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.

Slabaugh, Dennis L. "Geistliches Ministerium." In *Hamburg Lexikon*, edited by Franklin Kopitzsch and Daniel Tilgner, 175f. Hamburg: Zeise Verlag, 1998.

Stiftung Historische Museen Hamburg. "Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte." Accessed February 26, 2021. https://shmh.de/de/museum-fuer-hamburgische-geschichte.

St. Nikolai, die Hauptkirche am Klosterstern. "St. Nikolai: Eng mit der Hamburger Stadtgeschichte verbunden." Accessed January 22, 2021. https://www.hauptkirche-stnikolai.de/kirche/geschichte/geschichte/.

Suarez, Michael F. and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds. *The Book. A Global History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Terpstra, Nicholas and Colin Rose, eds. *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical GIS and the Early Modern City*. New York: Routledge, 2016.

Tlusty, B. Ann. *Bacchus and Civic Order. The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001.

Verloo, Nanke and and Luca Bertolini, eds. *Seeing the City. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Study of the Urban*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020.

Voigt, J. F. "Von Pranger und Halseisen." *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 4 (1882): 122-124.

Walther, Christoph. "Georg Greflinger's Hamburgisches Reisehandbuch und Beschreibungen von Hamburg im Jahre 1674." *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 9 (1894): 122-149.

Welke, Martin. "Die Entwicklung der frühen Zeitungsdrucktechnik." In *Zeitungsdruck. Die Entwicklung der Technik vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Martin Welke and Boris Fuchs, 9-28. Munich: K. G. Saur, 2000.

Wernicke, Christian. "Hanselmus". In *Überschrifften in zehn Büchern. Mit durchgehenden Anmerckungen und Erklärungen*, edited by Michael Holzinger, 252. Berlin: Edition Holzinger, 2013.

Williams, Megan. '"Zur Notdurfft der Schreiberey'. Die Einrichtung der frühneuzeitlichen Kanzlei." In *Diskurse – Körper – Artefakte. Historische Praxeologie in der Frühneuzeitforschung*, edited by Dagmar Freist, 335-372. Cologne: Böhlau, 2015.