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Letters In-Between
Informal Communication at the Habsburg Court, c.1508–1518

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Abstract

Letters In-Between: Informal Communication at the Habsburg Court, c.1508–1518

This thesis deals with letters in early sixteenth century administration and politics. The focus lies on letters between Habsburg officials during the reign of Maximilian I between 1508–1518, most of which are now part of the *Maximiliana* fonds of 'state papers' split up between public archives in Vienna and Innsbruck. The correspondence of Court Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein will be of particular interest throughout this thesis. Both in the historical research on letters and specialized disciplines on premodern 'official documents,' letters in politics and administration often occupy a certain grey area due to the genre-specific influential categories of 'private' and 'public' or 'official.' This thesis addresses this grey area in the historical research on letters and in the discipline of diplomatics by proposing a novel approach to the source material. By taking recourse to recent applications of the tools of organization theory in historical research, I will pay particular attention to the interaction of formal practices on the 'front stage' and informal practices on the 'back stage' of premodern administration. Furthermore, I will argue that premodern officers were met with both formal and informal expectations which might co-exist (sometimes uneasily) in a period of 'normative ambiguity.' Thus, letter-writing is explored as doubly informal administrative practice of premodern governance on the basis of three central aspects: 1) the question of access to formal and informal communication channels, 2) the practices of sociability in letters to maintain informal relationships, and 3) the preservation and transmission of these letter corpora in state and private archives.

Abstract

Letters In-Between: Informal Communication at the Habsburg Court, c.1508–1518

Diese Abschlussarbeit beschäftigt sich mit Briefen in Verwaltung und Politik des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Im Fokus der Untersuchung stehen die Briefe zwischen habsburgischen Amtsträgern im Zeitraum der Herrschaft Maximilians I. von 1508–1518, die heute zum Großteil in den Beständen der *Maximiliana* in öffentlichen Archiven zwischen Wien und Innsbruck aufgeteilt sind. Die Korrespondenz des Hofkanzlers Zyprian von Serntein nimmt dabei durchwegs eine zentrale Stellung ein. Die Gattung Brief rangiert in der allgemeinen Briefforschung und spezialisierten Disziplinen zu vormodernem 'Behördenschriftgut' oft in einer gewissen klassifikatorischen Grauzone, die auf die in der Forschung prägenden Kategorien 'privat' und 'öffentlich' bzw. 'offiziell' zurückzuführen ist. An dieser Grauzone in der historischen Briefforschung und in den diplomatischen Hilfswissenschaften setzt die vorliegende Arbeit an. Mit Rückgriff auf rezente geschichtswissenschaftliche Anwendungen organisationstheoretischer Konzepte gehe ich einerseits von der Wechselwirkung formaler Praktiken auf der 'Vorderbühne' und informeller Praktiken auf der 'Hinterbühne' vormoderner Verwaltung aus, andererseits davon, dass auf vormoderne Amtsträger sowohl formale als auch informelle Erwartungen einwirkten, die im Sinne einer für die Epoche charakteristischen Ambiguitätstoleranz widersprüchlich ko-existieren konnten. Briefe zwischen habsburgischen Amtsträgern werden damit als Produkt einer quasi doppelt informellen administrativen Praxis anhand dreier zentraler Aspekte problematisiert: 1) anhand der Frage des Zugangs zu formalen und informellen Kommunikationskanälen, 2) den Praktiken von Soziabilität in Briefen zur Aufrechterhaltung informeller Beziehungen, und 3) der Aufbewahrung und Überlieferung dieser Briefkorpora in staatlichen und privaten Archiven.

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List of Abbreviations

FHKA	Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Vienna
HHStA	Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
RI	Regesta Imperii
TLA	Tiroler Landesarchiv, Innsbruck

Chapter 1

Preface: A Sixteenth-Century Scandal

The Austrian National Library preserves a manuscript that contains the story of a largely forgotten political scandal in early sixteenth-century Vienna. The first-person account, a tale of corruption and intrigue, is entitled *History of Lauffner's offence and that of his companions*.¹ It does not carry an author's name, yet we know it to have been the work of no other than Martin Siebenbürger (c.1457–1522), who later became mayor of Vienna and notoriously fell victim to a political trial by the new Habsburg regime in 1522.² The manuscript itself is a jumbled collection of biographical notes, bills, letters, and recipes. But throughout this compilation we can find traces of the Lauffner case, be it copies of letters, excerpts from files, brief updates on the case or sometimes even abusive remarks on its main protagonist angrily scribbled on the page.³ Siebenbürger himself had been heavily involved in the scandal both during his tenure as *Stadtrichter* of Vienna – as city judge he was responsible for practising civil and criminal jurisdiction on behalf of the prince as town lord – and after. The evidence suggests that the case was on his mind for the better part of a decade. The origin of the scandal was rather ordinary: the toll collector Lienhart Lauffner had been sued for fraud by another citizen of Vienna. In the course of the lawsuit, however, multiple accusations of venality against high-ranking members of the political and administrative elite came to light. Among those accused to have taken bribes from Lauffner were the mayor of Vienna (Hans Süß), the vidame of the duchy of Lower Austria (Lorenz Saurer), two members of the regional government or *Regiment* (Georg Rottal and Johann Schneidpeck), and even Siebenbürger's predecessor as *Stadtrichter* (Hans Pelchinger).

An outcry followed, writes Siebenbürger, with “all of Vienna, great and little, rich and poor” in great commotion against the governors who had violated their oath;⁴ an incident so wicked it was worthy committing to memory.⁵ Siebenbürger begins his account here, with his appointment to the office of *Stadtrichter* after the removal of his predecessor. To explain how the events came about, the account jumps back in time to the year 1512:

¹*Historia der mishandlung des Lauffner und ander im vervant*, ÖNB Cod. 8134; the account is partially transcribed and more or less successfully modernized in Kraus, 1873, 89–101. On the history of the scandal see esp. *ibid.*, 89–101 and Perger, 1981, 31–39; on the manuscript itself see Tersch, 1998, 172–179.

²On the context of this turbulent period in Austrian history and the so-called *Wiener Neustädter Blutgericht* see Winkelbauer, 2003, 30–38.

³Cf. ÖNB Cod. 8134, fol. 51.

⁴...*dan die gantz statmenig Wien, gros und klain, reich und arm, gros geschray, geruff und vil ubung gehabt gegen denjhenen, so von dem armen mann gelt gedrunge wider yr aydsphlicht...*, ÖNB Cod. 8134, fol. 101r.

⁵...*warlich ain wunderliche pöse handlung würdig zu gedechtnus zuschreyben*, ÖNB Cod. 8134, fol. 98r.

In the twelfth year, there was a collector of the river toll at the Rotenturm in Vienna by the name of Lienhart Lauffner. He was married to [Hans] Rockner's daughter [Ursula], the sister of the imperial secretary Vinzenz Rockner and Paul Rockner, dean of St. Stephen's cathedral [...]⁶

In the following roughly hundred pages of the engaging and detailed account Siebenbürger vividly describes how any effort of his to prosecute Lauffner had been undermined by powerful individuals in the *Regiment* and close to the emperor at court. Siebenbürger resigned his office at the end of his tenure and was later investigated for misconduct and slander of government officials. The Lauffner case was heard at the imperial council (*Hofrat*) and later transmitted to the faculty of law at Freiburg University to consult on the issue.⁷ Eventually, in 1518, the judicial vicars of Vienna and Passau who were to reach a final verdict quashed the lawsuit because of procedural errors. Ultimately, nobody was prosecuted even though Siebenbürger would resume to accuse his adversaries as late as 1519, invoking *Lex Julia de repetundis* (an antique Roman corruption law) in a petition to Maximilian I's successor.⁸

Today, the fragments of court files on the Lauffner scandal that survive in Siebenbürger's papers and in the records of the *Maximiliana* collections do not allow for an informed conclusion regarding the veracity of the bribery allegations levied against the government agents. Ultimately, however, it is Siebenbürger's perception of the proceedings that are of interest for a thesis on informal written communication. After all, it is not by chance that Siebenbürger introduces his main protagonist Lienhart Lauffner by detailing his family relations. Siebenbürger's narrative suggests that even though there was (or should have been) a formal procedure, it was being undermined at every turn by a tight-knit group (*gesellschaft*) of individuals involved in the case and often related to one another through kinship ties. Had Lauffner not had the support of his brother-in-law Vinzenz Rockner at the imperial court, Siebenbürger asserts, he would have ended up at the gallows long before.⁹ According to Siebenbürger, it was only with the support of the corrupt officials who had neglected their honour, duty, and oath that Lauffner escaped prosecution. As a result, he saw himself at a distinct disadvantage: while Siebenbürger's progress in the case was slowed down by the need to present official requests to the regional government (which in turn had to be fully assembled to take action), Lauffner and his supporters, according to the narrative, would effortlessly manage to obtain multiple imperial orders in their favour. Where Lauffner was guaranteed full access to the files, Siebenbürger was denied it. Transmitting requests and files to the faraway imperial court required Siebenbürger to trust in the postal service which was organized in the house of the vidame, one of the individuals who had allegedly taken money from Lauffner. And when Siebenbürger finally decided to travel to the imperial court in Augsburg in person in order to defend his case before the emperor and hand over the files personally (because he did *not* trust the post), he was severely obstructed.¹⁰

⁶Zu der zeit des zwelfften jars ist ainer bey dem Rottm Thurm zu Wien wasser mautter gewest mit namen Lienhart Lauffner, hat des Rokhner tochter, maister Viczenzn ksl. Mt. secretary und und maister Pauls dechent zu Sand Steffan schwester, zu ainem elichen weyb gehabt, ÖNB Cod. 8134, fol. 98r.

⁷On the premodern practice of sending court files to law faculties to advise or decide on pending cases see Oestmann, 2015.

⁸For Martin Siebenbürger's petition see ÖNB Cod. 8420, fol. 20–24.

⁹Lauffner hat [...] hylff gewart von mayster Vicentzn ksl. Mt. secretary seins schwager, dan Lauffner sein schwester hat. Wo sein hylff bey ksl. Mt. nit gewesn, Lauffner wär lengst am galgn erdert worden, ÖNB Cod. 8134, fol. 101v.

¹⁰For the latter incident involving Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein and Vidame Lorenz Saurer see ch. 4.3.1.

As a result, Siebenbürger's perception of formal procedures and the official record is often ambivalent: on the one hand, his account, which also serves as a justification of his actions, is often based on what can only be described as a thorough study of documents and files. Accordingly, he uses phrases such as "This is what happened according to the files," (*Das ist beschehn laut der acta*) or "This can be found in the files" (*vind man in actis*) for which he regularly provides references. At the same time, however, he calls into question the integrity of the record. At various points in the narrative he accuses his adversaries of tampering with files, i.e. slipping in letters or forged documents under his name. For instance, when Siebenbürger was charged with misconduct and investigated by Stefan Reuß – who was representing the interests of the crown as *Kammerprokurator*¹¹ – Siebenbürger recounts an incident at his hearing before the imperial council:

The governors (*regentn*) had sent the court records between me and Doctor Stefan [Reuß] from Vienna to His Majesty. When I asked for them to be opened in my presence, Doctor Philip [Altinger] refused, but my request was found justified and was granted. When I inspected the files, I found two documents (*geschrifften*), one from the chancellor [Johann Schneidpeck] and [Georg von] Rottal, the other from the vidame [Lorenz Saurer], which in spite of law and equity had been secretly added behind my back. I openly reported this in the presence of the royal counsellors and the spiritual and secular princes and demanded copies of the added documents.¹²

In fact, both Siebenbürger and his adversaries at one point suspected the other party of altering court files in their favour.¹³ It is not surprising then that even though Siebenbürger contends that 'it's all in the files,' he also asserts the reader that "one can find a better explanation of things in the files that I leave behind [in my property.]"¹⁴

There is a couple of interesting conclusions we can draw from Siebenbürger's account for the present thesis. For one, we get a sense of what was expected of Habsburg officials in the fulfilment of their duties.¹⁵ Of course, norms and rules of conduct outlined in ordinances and oaths are always at their most visible when they are being challenged, as the plentiful research on premodern corruption shows.¹⁶ More importantly, I believe that Siebenbürger's account is useful for drawing attention to some of the questions about premodern statecraft and administrative practice I have encountered in studying the records of Emperor Maximilian's reign. Siebenbürger describes both an administration that works through formal communication channels and procedures, an administration which requires official requests put in

¹¹For the office of *Kammerprokurator* see Hollegger, 2011, 351–352.

¹²*Die regentn habn von Wien die gerichtsacla zwischen mir und doctor Steffan der ksl. Mt. zugeschykht. Hab ich begert, die in meiner gegenwardt zu öffnen, des sich doctor Philip gewidert, aber es ist mir recht erkennt. Hab also die acta besichtigt und zwo geschrifften darbey gefund, aine vom cantzler und Rottaler, die ander vom vitztumb haymlich hinterrug meyner hinzugelegt wider recht und pillikhait, das ich dan in gegenwart ksl. Mt. rät, fursten geistlich und weltlich offenlich anzaigt und der zugelegtn geschriften abgeschrift begert*, ÖNB Cod. 8134, fol. 107r.

¹³For the concern voiced by Lauffner that Siebenbürger and Ernst von Baden might tamper with the court files see the letter from Maximilian I to the Lower Austrian Regiment on 17 October 1513, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-1-33.

¹⁴*Aber pessern grund der sachn vindt man in acten so ich beyhendig hinder mein las*, ÖNB Cod. 8134, fol. 101v.

¹⁵On this topic cf. Hollegger, 1990 and Hollegger, 2014.

¹⁶For a brief introduction to premodern corruption see Engels, 2015.

writing and whose decisions can be traced through the careful study of its files. At the same time, there is also the 'other,' an administration in which personal relationships are paramount, where procedural 'shortcuts' and privileged access to communication channels exist, and where the official record is both opaque and vulnerable to manipulation.

We might ask ourselves, was Martin Siebenbürger right in his critical assessment of a two-faced Habsburg administration where for every formal procedure an informal 'other' may exist? To answer this question with respect to the Lauffner scandal, we have to look elsewhere than in Siebenbürger's papers. It is in the most important collection of 'state papers' of Maximilian's reign that we find some answers. To that end, let us briefly consider some documents from the *Maximiliana* collection. The first is a letter from Vinzenz Rockner, Lienhart Lauffner's brother-in-law whom Siebenbürger suspected of obstruction, addressed to Court Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein on 8 August 1513. In his letter, Rockner asks Serntein to retain the files of the Lauffner case meant to be sent to the imperial court should they arrive in Innsbruck first:

The court files between my brother-in-law Lauffner and the opposing party are to be sent here. In case they are sent to Your Grace, I will be obliged if Your Grace shall retain them, since they won't be dealt with at court right now.¹⁷

Rockner continues to talk about the scheming (*practiken*) of Lauffner's opponents and emphasizes his trust in Serntein's judgement should he hear anything to the contrary.¹⁸ The second document for us to consider is another letter, sent to the imperial secretary Hans Vinsterwalder on 27 February 1514 by Georg Rottal, one of the governors who had allegedly taken a bribe – by then promoted to head of the Lower Austrian *Regiment*.¹⁹ In his letter, Rottal bitterly complains to Vinsterwalder about Siebenbürger's 'show trial' (*galigengericht*). Rottal, having heard that Siebenbürger was travelling to the imperial court, fears his adversary might try to convince the emperor of stopping the investigations of misconduct against him. He thus asks Vinsterwalder – whom he addresses as 'dear friend' – to have a word with the emperor and submit to him the 'small supplication' (*ain klainß suplecaci*) enclosed within the letter. He had been told by Lower Austrian *Landhofmeister* Sigmund von Dietrichstein, a close confidant of the emperor and Rottal's future son-in-law, that in Dietrichstein's absence from court Vinsterwalder would support Rottal's cause with the emperor. For the third and last example, let us consider a collection of another 13 letters from the above mentioned Georg von Rottal to an imprisoned Lienhart Lauffner, the main culprit of Siebenbürger's story himself. The undated letters from around 1512 survive as contemporary copies made by Lauffner himself which at some point probably had been submitted (or at the least added) to the court file.²⁰ In his letters, Rottal comforts Lauffner advising him to be patient, to have trust in

¹⁷*Genediger herr, es sullen die acta zwischen meinem swager Lauffner und seiner widerparthey heraufkumen. Wo e.g. dieselben zubracht würden, e.g. welle die behalten lassen, dann doch yetzo am hofe nicht daran gehandelt werden mag, wil ich umb e.g. verdienen.* Vinzenz Rockner to Zyprian von Serntein on 8 August 1513, TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, IX.46.

¹⁸On the origin and meaning of the term *practiken* which was popularized around 1500 see Groebner, 2000, 251–265.

¹⁹Georg von Rottal to Hans Vinsterwalder on 27 February 1514, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-3-142.

²⁰Maybe the original documents written in Rottal's own hand should be referred to more correctly as *Zettel* (or notes) in Lauffner's words rather than letters. Accordingly, the endorsement on the back of the file reads: *Hie sein eingeschriben die zettl so mir herr Jörg von Rottal mit seiner eigenn handt geschribn und zuegeschikht hat, die original noch vorhanden*, HHStA/Maximiliana, 28-4-47.

the emperor and his good friends. More importantly, the letters show that Siebenbürger's suspicion that Rottal "had drawn up all the documents for him [Lauffner], advised and supported him" were not unfounded,²¹ with Rottal frequently requesting copies of court files from Lauffner, drawing up documents himself and keeping the prisoner up to date with the situation at court.

The interpretation of the examples above is sometimes difficult and their impact uncertain. With the first one, we cannot say for sure whether the emperor was indeed too busy to handle the Lauffner case or if Rockner had ulterior motives for delaying the court files. We also cannot be certain whether Vinsterwalder acted at Rottal's request in our second example; in fact he most likely did not as the supplication can still be found enclosed in the letter. Lastly, we can only guess why Rottal's letters to Lauffner survived in the *Maximiliana*. Yet it is safe to suggest that in all three cases, we can see attempts to somehow influence the formal procedure, be it by delaying the transmission of files to the court or by accelerating an appeal to the emperor. In all three cases, communication channels were used which seem to rely on personal relationships (in the second case by proxy). And, of course, all three examples involve letters. I would like to argue that these examples are representative of a wider phenomenon of informal written communication in premodern administration and at the premodern court, which will be at the centre of this thesis.

1.1 Research Question

What is the purpose of supposedly personal letters in the service of what is typically envisioned as an impersonal state apparatus from our modern perspective? What is their significance in relation to the increasing formalization and institutionalization of administration and decision-making processes that has been observed for the premodern period? How come these letters survive both in the most important collections of state papers of the period and private archives? Are we to conceptualize them as public, private, semi-private or semi-public and are these concepts useful in the context of premodern administration? How did the letter-writers perceive their correspondence and how did they conceive of their role as royal officials? Finally, how does the archival afterlife of these letters impact our interpretation of the source material and our understanding of premodern statecraft?

I will aim to address all of these questions by example of the correspondence among Habsburg officials during the reign of Maximilian I with a chronological focal point on the years between 1508–1518. The goal is to examine letter-writing as an informal administrative practice of premodern governance. While the importance of face-to-face interaction at court and in premodern society in general has frequently been emphasized,²² overcoming absence by means of new forms of written communication is also a trait of the period.²³ After all, the peripatetic reign of Maximilian I was as much characterized by presence as it was by absence.²⁴ Both him and his officers were almost constantly in motion and a regular stream of communication

²¹*Ich las mich bedunkhn her Jorg von Rottal hab ym alle geschriffn gemacht, gerattn und beystant gethan*, ÖNB Cod. 8134, fol. 102v.

²²See especially Schlögl, 2014.

²³On this issue in response to Schlögl's theory see Ulrike Ludwig's contribution in Stollberg-Rilinger et al., 2016, 120–123.

²⁴See Zajic, 2022, 472.

between the moving centre and the periphery as well as between individual office-holders – facilitated by technological innovations such as a rudimentary postal system – were characteristic of the period, creating a sort of “virtual court.”²⁵ Of particular importance in overcoming distance were letters, which are increasingly being researched as a critical tool of premodern governance.²⁶

Conceptually, my approach is stimulated by recent works on premodern state formation that take into consideration inputs from organization theory, as well as studies paying close attention to specific practices of individuals – their habits, routines etc. – in order to gain a new perspective on macro-issues. Writing is at the centre of administrative practice and the materiality of administrative documents, which I will pay particular attention to, has been recognized as crucial to understanding state formation; in the words of Matthew S. Hull: “if you want to understand bureaucratic activities, follow the paper.”²⁷ My analysis rests on the material evidence that today makes up one of the most important collections of ‘state papers’ for this period, the *Maximiliana* collections in Vienna and Innsbruck, particularly the surviving fond of Court Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein’s correspondence. By situating my findings within the historical research on early modern letters as well as modern diplomatics, I will address what I perceive to be a grey area in both disciplines. Furthermore, by drawing attention to parallels in premodern administrative cultures I intend to transcend wherever possible the narrow scope of analysis.

Even though this is first and foremost a thesis about letters, it naturally poses questions towards the individuals who authored these letters. These individuals go by a host of different names and titles in contemporary sources. My using simplifying or generic terms such as *officials*, *government agents*, or *office-holders* is anachronistic to some extent and of course conceals the variations in rank, quality and conditions of service among this heterogeneous group of people.²⁸ Nevertheless, there are certain shared features which characterize the members of central or regional administrative bodies concerned with epistolary, financial or legal administrative tasks, who will be at the centre of my exploration. The same problem, to some extent, is posed by my using the term ‘official’ as synonymous to ‘formal.’ If I do so – knowing that *the* ‘official’ per se did not exist in premodern times – it is because I intend to show that certain stable expectations of the ‘official’ did exist;²⁹ which is why I will refrain from taking the historian’s path of least resistance, i.e. encasing the term in yet another scare quote.

The first part of this thesis (chapters 2 and 3) will cover some of the theoretical and conceptual groundwork we shall have to bear in mind for appreciating the more empirically-oriented focus of the second part (chapters 4, 5 and 6). After a discussion of the research on early modern letters with a particular focus on letters in politics and administration (ch. 2), I will introduce some findings by organization theory relevant to premodern state formation and discuss them with respect to the Habsburg court at the turn of the sixteenth century (ch. 3). In the second part of this thesis, I will explore different but related features of informal written correspondence among Habsburg officials (outlined in more detail in section 3.2). The different case studies on central aspects of letter-writing such as access to different communication channels, sociability in letter-writings as a means of guaranteeing epistolary continuity,

²⁵For the term see Dover, 2021, 108.

²⁶See recently *ibid.*, 106–120; see also Antenhofer and Müller, 2008; and Landi, Boutier, and Rouchon, 2009.

²⁷Hull, 2012, 22.

²⁸For an overview see Schindling, 1992.

²⁹See also Brendecke, 2018, 21.

and the complex afterlife and custody of letters aims to provide a refined picture of a phenomenon that is often immune to clear classifications and remains something in-between. A summary of findings is provided in the conclusion (see ch. 7). Appendix A contains a critical edition of selected letters between two high-ranking Habsburg officials, Zyprian von Serntein and Lorenz Saurer, which I refer to frequently in this thesis and which provide a good example of the phenomenon of informal written communication. The index refers only to the persons mentioned in their letters, i.e. the contents of the critical edition.

1.2 A Note on Translations and Sources

The sources analyzed in this thesis are written in a language and style that is often difficult to access for the modern reader and require a certain familiarity with its peculiarities. For this reason I have decided to provide English translations of passages of interest, favouring readability over faithfulness. The respective source passages are reproduced in italics in their original wording in the annotations. My first encounter with these letters was an analogue one, but to the great benefit of researchers, a significant portion of the *Maximiliana* collection has very recently been made available online and it is to be hoped that the rest will follow suit.³⁰ Thus, where available I have also provided links to the digital reproductions of the sources; this applies above all to the Viennese *Maximiliana*.

³⁰On the digitization of this important archival fond, initiated and undertaken by the Department of Text Edition and Source Studies of the Institute for Medieval Research at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, see Fliri, 2023.

Chapter 2

Private Letters, Public Records and Everything in Between

For a thesis that deals with letters – a genre typically considered as a vehicle for conveying personal or private thoughts – in the field of politics and administration – an environment typically considered quintessentially official and public –, a few preliminary observations on the research on early modern letters are in order. The categories of *private* vs. *public* or *familiar* vs. *official* is perhaps the most common distinction of early modern letters and has had a considerable impact on how letters are categorized and evaluated in historical research. When reading about early modern letters, however, one is bound to encounter a number of inconsistent or even contradictory statements regarding their public or private nature. Where does the distinction come from and how can we explain its importance for the study of letters? How does the binomial of public and private affect research on letters in premodern administration? And how does research deal with grey areas in letter-writing practice? In the following chapters, I will review the more general historical research on letters with its focus on the familiar letter (ch. 2.1) and secondly the discipline of modern diplomacy (ch. 2.2) with its focus on official documents. As a result of the review of these fields and their shortcomings, I will propose to look at the subject of this thesis from a different angle (ch. 3).

2.1 Private Letters in Public Administration?

What even is a letter in the first place? First off, as with any other document genre, a letter can be described as a written message that embraces a certain number of genre-specific features which make it identifiable as *letter*; features such as material characteristics, internal structure of the text, or the manner of transmission, among others. A definition of the essential characteristics of a letter might be as simple as “a written communication (in manuscript and/or print form), between two different entities (sender/s and recipient/s), which is located in space and time by the addition of addresses and a date.”³¹ Since antiquity, the letter genre has been highly versatile regarding its content, style and the social background of its author. The basic letter form might inhabit and sustain a wide variety of topics and social relationships. Even today, the letter we receive from our bank shares many formal characteristics with the letter we receive from a close friend. Significantly, however, we are more likely to think of the latter as embodying a ‘proper’ letter.

³¹Boran, Matthews-Schlinzig, and Signed, Sealed, and Undelivered, 2019, 60–61. For an introduction to the state of the field see Daybell, 2005; Del Lungo Camiciotti, 2014; Matthews-Schlinzig et al., 2020; see also the influential Nickisch, 1991; and Schneider, 2005.

This supposedly unambiguous dichotomy between private and non-private correspondence is a modern legacy.³² In its wake, the distinction between private and non-private letters (at least theoretically) became rather simple and straightforward: private letters as exchanged between private individuals, typically concerning personal or family affairs and “natural, cordial, free and personal”³³ in tone; non-private correspondence, on the other hand, as conducted by individuals in a public position for the sake of political, official or business purposes and decidedly formal, sober and impersonal. In fact, the cultural impact of the eighteenth-century conception of what constitutes a ‘proper’ letter is such that the word letter (*Brief*) in German is conceived of as inherently private to the extent that an official letter is more commonly referred to as *Schreiben*, a nominalization of the verb ‘to write.’

For present purposes, I will for the most part limit my observations to the supposed opposition of the private/familiar letter to the business letter, i.e. political and administrative correspondence. For a long time, the nature of the correspondence between government agents, which for the most part has been deemed unambiguously ‘public,’ has received little attention among scholars, even though it has always been a chief source for the history of premodern statecraft. While the ‘proper’ letter, i.e. the so-called familiar letter, was regarded to be characterized by its historical and literary value, official letters “dealing exclusively with men and affairs, and making no pretence to style,” to quote an influential scholar, “belong to history rather than to literature.”³⁴ As a result, rather than being worthy of study in their own right, letters written by government agents have instead often served as the benchmark against which phenomena of ‘privacy’ in letter-writing might be measured. This has to do, I believe, with the inherently relational concept of privacy and its casual use in research. After all, what is considered ‘private’ has historically been a matter of perspective and definition.³⁵ According to some, merchant letters about business ventures, when contrasted with official correspondence between government agents, should be considered private.³⁶ Similarly, some consider certain princely correspondence private, at least when opposed to highly formalized chancery letters.³⁷ The problem at hand is that the reasons for the characterization of a letter as private are often left implicit or deemed self-explanatory, even though the term carries a number of implications such as “desired intimacy, or, conversely, solitude, and certainly a wide range of individual rights defined during and since the Enlightenment.”³⁸ Even when a definition for the designation of a letter as ‘private’ is put forward, it is often unsatisfactory in its scope, as it might alternatively be based on as different factors as the person of the author, the content of a letter, its transmission or its form and style of writing.³⁹

The value and appeal of making a distinction between private and public correspondence in the first place is obvious on the other hand, as the ‘private’ letter was supposedly “written spontaneously to personal friends and not intended for

³²Cf. Dauser, 2020; Vellusig, 2000.

³³Petzsch, 1913, 9 (transl. mine).

³⁴Thompson, 1924, 101.

³⁵Cf. Brewer, 1995. For a recent approach on the topic of early modern privacy see Green, Nørgaard, and Bruun, 2021 and on letter-writing in particular the forthcoming Green and Nørgaard, forthcoming.

³⁶Cf. famously Steinhausen, 1889, 159–183.

³⁷Cf. Klettke-Mengel, 1986; also Mat’á and Sienell, 2004, 837–838. For a recent example see also Neighbors and Käfer, 2022, 64, who speak of “private politics” among early modern “women of power.”

³⁸Rice Henderson, 2002, 19.

³⁹In place for a common problem, cf. Wich-Reif, 2019; a principally commendable study which suffers from an undertheorized use of the term.

publication, revealing the writer's intimate feelings and personal characteristics not to be found in his formal writings."⁴⁰ Recent research has seriously undermined this persistent view, revealing early modern letter-writing in general to have been a situated and often collaborative pursuit. Even the often-cited origin of private letters, the genre of the humanist 'familiar' letter which purported to share 'private' thoughts and feelings – first systematized in Erasmus's hugely successful manual *De conscribendis epistolis*⁴¹ in 1522 –, was ostensibly more public than many a business letter. In fact, humanist familiar correspondence has been described as "a deadly serious business," both as a published branch of humanist literature and as a tool of scholarly networking.⁴² It shall suffice here to refer to James Daybell (in place of many others) who has pointed out that to project modern expectations of the letter "as intrinsically 'personal', 'private' and 'intimate', and letter-writing as a straightforward closed two-way epistolary exchange between sender and reader"⁴³ misses the point for much of early modern correspondence.

Of course, for many studies on early modern letters, the simple distinction between 'private' and 'public' will do just fine. When it comes to letters as a tool of politics and administration, however, the capricious nature of the concept of 'privacy' is revealed. This is why even letters which – keeping in mind the above – might be regarded as 'official' by some due to the public authority of their authors, they might just as well be described as private by others. Thus, the correspondence between public figures such as princes, ministers or diplomats is regularly referred to as 'private.' To get to the bottom of this contradiction, I will for now only refer to one of the most prominent issues in interpreting early modern correspondence: its language. I believe that the reason letters in politics and administration are sometimes labelled as 'private' for the use of a particular style supposedly reserved for the most intimate of friends or family members. It is this anachronistic conception of affective language as universal trait of privacy which already tempted the influential Georg Steinhausen to describe German princely correspondence of the fifteenth century as essentially 'bourgeois' in style; i.e. affirming his notions of nineteenth-century bourgeois privacy.⁴⁴ But even today some scholars confound the often personal tone in early modern political and administrative correspondence for an expression of an ill-defined private sphere. To do so is to mistake an affective register for evidence of a familiar or intimate exchange. As Gary Schneider has pointed out:

the public/private binary did not correspond to any sort of knowledge/affect binary – that the term 'private' solely constituted the language of affect and emotion, while the term 'public' only constituted the language of news and information.⁴⁵

He continues that "'private' letters often contained public, official content, and official letters were laden with the rhetoric of affect." Although the language of these letters often suggests a familiar or even intimate connection between author and recipient, they typically followed conventional patterns appropriate for certain social relationships the like of which can also be seen in letter-writing manuals, e.g.

⁴⁰A rather questionable view reiterated as recently as 2012 by Rosenthal, 2012, 81.

⁴¹Cf. Erasmus, 1529; and Fantazzi, 1985.

⁴²Almási, 2010 (quote); see also Rice Henderson, 2002; for the publicity of 'private' letters in the eighteenth century see Schlaffer, 1996.

⁴³Daybell, 2012, 12.

⁴⁴Cf. Steinhausen, 1889, 86. For the use of intimate language in fifteenth-century princely correspondence see Nolte, 2000; Fouquet, 2002; and Antenhofer, 2007, 277–291.

⁴⁵Schneider, 2005, 72.

between a child and his parents, between relatives and 'friends,' or in patronage relationships.⁴⁶

We have seen that the classification of letters as 'private' often follows rather arbitrary or even anachronistic concepts of privacy. Thus, some scholars of early modern letters evade the term, instead preferring less charged vocabulary to avoid anachronistic and strictly binary concepts.⁴⁷ When the term 'private letter' is used in the realm of politics by scholars who offer their own definition – e.g. letters sent not by government bodies but by individuals;⁴⁸ letters composed outside a formal chancellery;⁴⁹ letters addressed to one's patron⁵⁰ – it is often volatile and best avoided for our purposes. Perhaps another discipline, one concerned with the nature, genesis and formal characteristics of the documents of the (emerging) bureaucracy can offer a suitable alternative?

2.2 *Off the Record: Letters in Modern Diplomatics*

One would be right to assume that the question of 'private' vs. 'public' correspondence is far less contentious in the discipline of diplomatics, which after all is concerned to a large extent with official documents: instruments, deeds, acts and charters and more generally documents of probative value in *classic diplomatics*; records or files in *modern diplomatics*.⁵¹ The diplomatic methodology can offer to the historian tools with which to analyze and identify rules and conventions in the creation of documents, locate them among a typology of genres according to external and internal features and evaluate their position within decision-making processes. Undoubtedly, a detailed classification scheme of the subtleties of official correspondence such as the one provided by modern diplomatics based on questions of authorship, form, and function is useful and indeed necessary insofar as premodern governments might be described as "letterocracies" and considering that "[m]ost of what coursed through this 'government by paper' were letters."⁵²

Considering the centrality of letters in politics and administration, it is surprising that they have rarely been an explicit object of diplomatic analysis in classic or modern diplomatics; a fact often deplored by researchers.⁵³ For the German tradition of modern diplomatics (*Aktenkunde*) – which I will focus on for the remainder of this section – 'letters' as a genre have never held epistemological value. This is precisely because letters are abundant in the records of institutional archives from which modern diplomatics has primarily derived its methodology. To quote the

⁴⁶On letter-writing manuals see the recent overview in Schiegg, 2020; see also Nickisch, 1969.

⁴⁷See e.g. Holzapfl, 2007, 305–306; Fouquet, 2002, 305–306; Nolte, 2000, 186.

⁴⁸Cf. Teuscher, 1997, 366.

⁴⁹Cf. Mat'á and Siennell, 2004, 837.

⁵⁰Cf. Droste, 2006, 274–278 who, to my knowledge, is one of the few to use the term in reference to clientage relationships among diplomats. In later books, Droste seems to have dropped the term in favour of the term 'particularistic.' Cf. Droste and Hurd, 2021.

⁵¹For a brief introduction to 'classic' and 'modern' diplomatics from an archival science perspective see Duranti, 2015. For an overview of the French tradition of modern diplomatics with a focus on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see Barbiche, 1996.

⁵²Dover, 2016a, 4. On the letter as a political tool see also Dover, 2021, esp. 107–110.

⁵³For classic diplomatics cf. Lackner, 2013, 66–67; and Zwierlein, 2010b, 38–40 (note 12) for a comprehensive bibliography; for modern diplomatics cf. Kretzschmar, 2015. For some notable exceptions to the rule see Klettke-Mengel, 1986 who develops a diplomatic method for early modern princely letters; Senatore, 1998 who provides a comprehensive diplomatic analysis of letters in diplomacy; and more recently Holzapfl, 2008; and Lazzarini, 2017.

most influential modern diplomatist in the twentieth century: “Government institutions (*Behörden*) do not write letters.”⁵⁴ A letter in modern diplomacy essentially describes the ‘private letter’ discussed in the previous section (see ch. 2.1), exchanged between private individuals, concerning personal or family affairs and using an intimate register.⁵⁵ As such, letters are created outside the scope of the business of state and thus excluded from the purview of modern diplomacy. Another diplomatist, Jürgen Kloosterhuis, has deemed the term ‘letter’ to be inappropriate even for the private sphere, i.e. non-state activity, as it ought to describe just the physical manner of transmission (hence he uses the term *Privat-Schreiben* instead of *Brief*).⁵⁶ Consequently, *any* document that results from administrative activity – including letters – is instead conceptualized as just an element in a procedure that leads to the creation of files (*Akten*) and is further classified with regard to its extrinsic and intrinsic elements.⁵⁷

So, in contrast to studies engaged with often imprecise definitions of the ‘private letter’ outlined in the previous section, in modern diplomacy we have what seems to be a strict separation between public or official correspondence created and preserved in an administrative context and private letters which are decidedly non-official. Having said that, there is still room for contradictions where letters in politics and administration are concerned. Among scholars of modern diplomacy there is some agreement on the phenomenon of an obscure type of official correspondence which is considered at least ‘semi-private,’ the so-called *Privatdienstschreiben*. To some extent, the grey area identified with this phenomenon – whose unfavourable name can loosely be translated to ‘private official correspondence’ – lies at the core of what I will discuss in this thesis as an instance of informal written communication (see ch. 3.2), even though I do not concur with the specific implications outlined by modern diplomacy. According to the most common definition, *Privatdienstschreiben* describes the written correspondence between officials on business matters, yet – and this is important – written in a ‘private’ style or in the style of a ‘private letter.’ According to Otto Meisner, sending a *Privatdienstbrief* allowed officials to deal with the document as they pleased, for instance to withhold it from the official record. He continues that even though these documents might take on the guise of a ‘private letter’ and survive in private archives (*Privatregistratur*), they remain – due to the person of their author and recipient – official documents.⁵⁸ Jürgen Kloosterhuis essentially concurs with Meisner on what he calls *Privat-Dienstliches Schreiben*. He furthermore describes it as a phenomenon most common in diplomatic correspondence during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and thus primarily as a way of transmitting confidential or secret information which concerns official business.⁵⁹ Michael Hochedlinger, who speaks of *Privatdienstschreiben* or *Partikularschreiben*, locates the phenomenon especially in the correspondence between high-ranking officials but at the same time points out that it might occur in symmetrical as well as

⁵⁴Cf. Meisner, 1950, 21 (transl. mine). On Meisner’s seminal book and his influences see Wimmer, 2019.

⁵⁵Meisner did acknowledge the frequent overlaps in content but recommends the ‘elimination’ of any personal or political passages for the purpose of unambiguous classification. Cf. Meisner, 1969, 75–80; on the private letter in modern diplomacy see also Schmid, 2012; and more recently Hochedlinger, 2009, 45–46.

⁵⁶Cf. Kloosterhuis, 1999, 467–468.

⁵⁷For a recent introduction see Hull, Nellen, and Rohringer, 2019.

⁵⁸Cf. Meisner, 1969, 76.

⁵⁹Cf. Kloosterhuis, 1999, 516.

asymmetrical relationships. Moreover, this type of correspondence typically accompanied and expounded on official correspondence according to Hochedlinger.⁶⁰

Even though these definitions appear to be rather straightforward at first glance, what is meant by a document's 'private style' exactly is once again difficult to grasp. Sometimes it seems to refer to the familiar or personal language employed in letters, sometimes it seems to describe a means of bypassing official channels, i.e. the official record. As far as the topic of this thesis is concerned, the genre *Privatdienstschreiben* is of little use. For one, it has been modelled on a very specific type of correspondence of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which arose from the desire to bypass an established bureaucracy with standardized procedures, explicit communication channels and clear responsibilities and hierarchies very much unlike that of an early sixteenth-century administration. More importantly, there are a number of issues with its definition, especially regarding the concept of privacy which is once again regarded as a question of style and language. In any case, the *Privatdienstschreiben* once again clearly refers to a grey area of administrative practice and reveals a certain uneasiness within modern diplomatics, a discipline which typically manages to gloss over many ambiguities for the sake of a viable classification system.

⁶⁰Cf. Hochedlinger, 2009, 210–211.

Chapter 3

Letters in Politics and Administration: A Reappraisal

The review of research provided above indicates that when it comes to letters in pre-modern administrative practice, there are certain phenomena which do not quite fit the categories of 'private' or 'public' that have been so influential both in research on the 'private' or familiar letter and in the study of the official letter in modern diplomacy. For present purposes, I propose to discuss these phenomena by using the concepts of formality / informality as developed by organization theory. Organization theory has had a significant impact on recent German-language scholarship of early modern state formation, especially when it comes to the re-appraisal of administrative practices. Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, for example, who discusses the character of the early modern period as an 'era of formalization,' has proposed to look at state building from the perspective of increasing formalization and to analyze the formal and informal spheres and practices that this process inevitably created.⁶¹ In the following chapters, I will briefly introduce the propositions and findings of organization theory for premodern statecraft (ch. 3.1.1), before moving on to its implications by example of the Court Chancellery (ch. 3.1.2). The following chapter (ch. 3.2) will serve as an intermediary conclusion for the conceptual first part of this thesis as well as to introduce the main aspects discussed in the second, empirical part.

3.1 Premodern Administration and Organization Theory

3.1.1 Formal and Informal Practices

Formalization as a criterion of early modern state formation, of course, is nothing new. The increasingly formalized structure of administrative bodies, for instance, has long served to support teleological modernization narratives. Formalization now and then refers to the process of creating explicit rules to guide and constrain the behaviour of an organization's member. What historical research inspired by organization theory brings to the table, however, is its novel approach to the relationship between formal and informal structures.⁶² The basic idea is that formal and

⁶¹Cf. Stollberg-Rilinger, 2013. For an overview of the concepts of formality and informality in recent research cf. Hoffmann-Rehnitz, 2015; Emich, 2008; Emich, 2011; Emich, 2016; Pohlig, 2021.

⁶²For the following, see especially Stollberg-Rilinger, 2013. For a recent overview from a historical perspective see Neumann, 2020; and from a sociological perspective Jakobs, 2021. Even though my approach is also informed by sociological theoretical works such as Luhmann, 1999 (for a partial translation see Luhmann, 2020); and Kühl, 2011, I prefer a less orthodox and more flexible approach – exhibited by most historical research influenced by organization theory – which I find best suited to my needs.

informal practices are always two sides of the same coin. Contrary to older teleological modernization narratives, informal practices are thus no longer perceived as deficiencies of formal structures. Instead, with a more complex understanding of how organizations are always structured both by formal and informal rules, many informal practices can be recognized as beneficial or indeed necessary to accommodate the task at hand. But informal practices can have different qualities in relation to an organization's formal structure. Informality as such subsumes everything related to administrative work but not explicitly regulated, from the basics of social interaction to informal relationships such as clientage.⁶³ Some of these practices may run counter to formal rules but are tolerated as necessary supplements to deficiencies in the formal framework, a phenomenon for which Niklas Luhmann has coined the term 'useful illegality' (*brauchbare Illegalität*).⁶⁴ Others subvert or violate formal rules and therefore may be sanctioned.⁶⁵ Ultimately, as Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger points out, "the aim should be to perceive formal and informal rules not as opposites, but to describe the interactions between both."⁶⁶ Once expectations are formalized in a set of rules, the argument goes, they are more robust and less ambiguous than informal expectations, they can be explicitly addressed, they can be challenged, obeyed or disobeyed. To put it in different terms, an organization's formal structure can be thought of as the 'front stage' (sometimes also serving as the *Schausseite* on display for the organization's environment), with informal practices occupying the 'back stage'.⁶⁷

Now of course, the above concepts were developed through observations of *modern* formal organizations and there is no doubt that premodern administration(s) worked very much unlike modern bureaucracy. Perhaps the most striking difference between premodern and modern examples with respect to organization theory is the issue of early modern 'normative plurality.' A growing body of scholarship on the multinormativity of premodern society shows that the period was not only an 'era of formalization' but also 'an era of (normative) ambiguity.' Thus, it was characterized by the potentially conflicting co-existence of normative orders suggesting different modes of behaviour, with individuals exhibiting a tolerance for normative ambiguity foreign to modern society.⁶⁸ As a result, formal and informal expectations from an organization and its environment might co-exist more or less comfortably, as the research on the centrality of informal networks to state formation has shown.⁶⁹ For example, informal expectations of an individual due to their entanglement in ties of affinity, kinship or patronage (to name some of the most common in premodern society) were deemed equally legitimate as the formal expectations conferred on their formal membership role within an organization.⁷⁰

⁶³Paraphrased from Emich, 2016, 72. For a brilliant analysis of manners of social conduct in a seventeenth century office see Krischer, 2015.

⁶⁴Cf. Luhmann, 1999, 304–314.

⁶⁵Cf. Kühl, 2011, 120–123.

⁶⁶Stollberg-Rilinger, 2013, 7 (transl. mine).

⁶⁷Cf. recently Stollberg-Rilinger, 2024, 77–87.

⁶⁸For the concept of 'normative competition' see Karsten and Thiessen, 2015; and more recently a modified version in Thiessen, 2021; critical of the initial focus on competing norms are Emich, 2015; Kühnel, 2018; and Kühnel, 2021.

⁶⁹On this topic with regard to Maximilian's court see the forthcoming Dumont and Zajic, *forthcoming*. I would like to thank Andreas Zajic for kindly making the introduction to the collection available to me, even though its findings could not be considered in this paper on time. For an overview cf. Hoffmann-Rehnitz, 2015; see also Asch, Emich, and Engels, 2011.

⁷⁰Hence the often contradictory evidence of early modern corruption. See for example Watts, 2018; Grüne and Tölle, 2013.

Even though we have to be cautious with applying modern concepts such as the one developed by organization theory on a society as foreign as the sixteenth century's, successful applications of the toolkit offered by organization theory on topics as varied as the cameral court (*Reichskammergericht*),⁷¹ the imperial aulic council (*Reichshofrat*),⁷² the sixteenth-century Saxon mining administration,⁷³ the Lower Austrian chamber (*Niederösterreichische Kammer*),⁷⁴ the German Chancery in London,⁷⁵ the seventeenth-century English Navy Office,⁷⁶ and eighteenth-century British intelligence networks⁷⁷ impressively show that we stand to gain a fresh perspective on administrative practice and a better understanding of premodern Habsburg administration.

3.1.2 Formalizing the Administration: The Court Chancellery

According to one of the eminent authorities on the subject, hardly any topic has received as much attention in the tradition of the Austrian history of administration as the 'administrative reforms' initiated in the reign of Maximilian I.⁷⁸ Of course, Maximilian was not alone in his efforts to centralize princely authority at the turn of the sixteenth century. During the conflict-laden period of the late Middle Ages, increasingly consolidated polities had emerged which shared similar characteristics by the end of the fifteenth century.⁷⁹ An increasingly formalized set of administrative bodies had sprung up at a different pace all across Europe, with the German principalities having been rather late in this development compared to political entities in Western Europe. I will focus here mostly on the centralizing tendencies at the Habsburg court and in the Habsburg hereditary dominions (*Erbländer*), over which Maximilian and his predecessor Frederick III had more direct influence, rather than the *Reich* or its constituent polities even though it is important to note that many of the reforms initiated by Maximilian could be interpreted as reactions to pressure exerted by the 'imperial reform movement' (*Reichsreformbewegung*) around 1500.⁸⁰ There is, in fact, a host of opinions on the motivations, influences and origins of the various administrative ordinances issued around 1500, which I will not elaborate on further.⁸¹

For now it shall suffice to remark that from around 1500, written ordinances for the central administrative bodies at court and in the regional governments were published. They established formal rules detailing terms of membership, hierarchies and operations of the judicial, financial and epistolary bodies at court and in the Habsburg dominions. Passing over a series of re-configurations and failed initiatives for the sake of clarity, we can characterize the situation around 1510 as such:

⁷¹Cf. Stollberg-Rilinger, 2013; Schwarting, 2020.

⁷²Cf. Dorfner, 2015b; Dorfner, 2015a; Schenk, 2022; Schenk, 2023a; Schenk, 2023b.

⁷³Cf. Neumann, 2021a; Neumann, 2021b.

⁷⁴Cf. Hengerer, 2007.

⁷⁵Cf. Bühring, 2021.

⁷⁶Cf. Krischer, 2015.

⁷⁷Cf. Pohlig, 2016.

⁷⁸Cf. Lackner, 2010, 401; the most important contributions on the topic are still Adler, 1886 and the (difficult to access) Hollegger, 1983; the most recent overview is offered by Hollegger, 2019; see also the concise description in Schennach, 2010, 59–72. On Maximilian's reign in general see the five-volume biography by Wiesflecker, 1971–1986; and the more concise biography by Hollegger, 2005. For recent approaches see for example the contributions in Debortol et al., 2022.

⁷⁹Cf. Watts, 2021; see also the critical approach in Hardy, 2018.

⁸⁰For a recent critical assessment of the interpretation of this movement see *ibid.*, 249–252.

⁸¹For a good introduction and further reading on these ordinances see Heinig, 1999; for the genre in a European perspective see Widder, 2007; and Widder, 2021.

at court, the central administrative bodies were the imperial council (*Hofrat*),⁸² the court treasury (*Hofkammer*) and the court chancellery (*Hofkanzlei*). These bodies were in turn mirrored in two regional governments (*Regimente*) in Innsbruck and Vienna, each incorporating a complex of Habsburg territories.⁸³ While the regional governments remained – for the most part – stationary, the central administrative bodies travelled with the peripatetic court. As a result, there are frequent overlaps between the court, the central administrative bodies and the domestic household of the emperor, a phenomenon that was not unusual but indeed common in European polities even from a global perspective.⁸⁴ It is important to keep in mind that these administrative bodies at court and in the Habsburg regional governments are sometimes amorphous and barely distinguishable from each other, with some of them especially poorly developed.⁸⁵ Whereas some were organized according to the collegiate principle, the court chancellery, which will be the focus of this section, was formally monocratic.

The metaphor of the chancellery as the prince's heart (i.e. the heart of public authority) was a common one in our period, a result of the chancellery's purpose of producing public written records.⁸⁶ By the early sixteenth century, the Habsburg court chancellery (not to be confused with the imperial chancellery) did not have a virtual monopoly on writing in the name of the ruler anymore as chancelleries had done for much of the Middle Ages, yet it doubtlessly carried the burden of the better part of the estimated 100.000 charters created during the thirty-year reign of Maximilian I.⁸⁷ The court chancellery, much like the financial and judicial administrative bodies, was subject to written ordinances from the late fifteenth century. From other sources we know that it was made up of around 40 individuals in our period, about half of which were penmen (secretaries or clerks).⁸⁸ Specific working hours and procedures outlined in the ordinances illustrate the workflow and exhort members of the chancellery among others to uphold secrecy, not to take bribes and generally to show no favour to individuals from the chancellery's environment.⁸⁹

More importantly, as Cornelia Vismann has pointed out with regard to the 'ordering' of the court chancellery, it was not people that were primarily addressed but documents, or rather, the authorized production of documents: "What is regulated in [the various chancellery ordinances] is grouped around the production of written documents. Writing is at their centre."⁹⁰ Isabella Lazzarini's characterization of late medieval Italian chanceries as a "place where authority and legitimacy, as well as authenticity, were defined and formalised" in what would result in a "coherent and in some degree homogeneous complex of public written records"⁹¹ is valid for the court chancellery at the turn of the sixteenth century as well. The various chancellery ordinances established the chancellery as an arcane space with restricted access in a

⁸²On the imperial council during Maximilian's reign see Ortlieb, 2003, 225–248.

⁸³For a recent introduction see Hollegger, 2019.

⁸⁴On the long overstated phenomenon of 'going out of court' see Duindam, 2015, 309–311.

⁸⁵For the imperial treasury which in its original design had essentially ceased to exist by 1510 see Hollegger, 1983, 149–169.

⁸⁶Cf. Lazzarini, 2016.

⁸⁷Cf. Moraw, 1983. Whereas Peter Moraw's calculations focus specifically on charters, the written output of the chancellery was indeed much greater, with roughly 500.000 individual sources considered in the *RI collection* during Maximilian's reign.

⁸⁸The most comprehensive examination of the personnel of the court chancellery is still offered by Hollegger, 1983, 32–69.

⁸⁹For a more detailed discussion of formal expectations conferred on official roles see ch. 6.1.

⁹⁰Vismann, 2000, 164–165 (transl. mine).

⁹¹Lazzarini, 2021, 124, 126.

controlled environment established through sworn oaths, rules of conduct and disciplinary regulations, as well as locked doors and trunks.⁹² The transformations from *dictation* to *draft* to *document* to *registry entry*, involving all writing personnel from chancellor, secretary, scribe, registrar and taxator, was formulated as a rigorously controlled sequence of multiple readings, re-readings, writings and re-writings, before the finished document was registered, levied with a tax and ultimately left the chancellery.⁹³ Each document produced was not merely a piece of writing, but a claim to documentary authority.⁹⁴

So much, in short, for the formal stipulations. Of course it has been common knowledge among historians for some time that “an examination of the social aspects of administrative practice, often peculiar to us, reveals more than its technical procedures.”⁹⁵ By taking into account the court’s perpetual pilgrimage alone, for instance, we can already gather that the workflow outlined in the ordinances must have frequently been obstructed.⁹⁶ This is illustrated, for instance, by a letter from imperial secretary Vinzenz Rockner to the chancellor from 8 August 1513 on the state of the chancellery’s personnel.⁹⁷ In his letter from Worms, we learn that Rockner was planning to travel to Cologne and from there to Maximilian’s court in Lille. Two other clerks were joining him on his journey from Worms to Cologne as well, before moving south to Innsbruck. One clerk who had run out of money was going to travel to Innsbruck directly and another was going to remain at Worms to help out with the preparations for the next imperial diet. The image of parts of the chancellery being scattered in an area roughly between the Tyrol and Belgium belies the attention to procedural detail presented in the chancellery ordinances. The sixteenth-century travelling chancellery, which has to be thought of as a flexible and mobile cluster of writing professionals, working tools and materials, reminds us to be cautious of describing premodern administrative bodies in terms of a modern ‘office.’ More generally, we know from numerous studies that the relationship between the chancellery, the prince and other administrative bodies at court as a whole is misrepresented in the ordinances. Far from merely overseeing the written output of decision-making, as the ordinances suggest, we know from contemporary accounts that individual secretaries from the court chancellery had significant informal power at court and in policy-making.⁹⁸ The emperor himself was also known to undermine the formal framework, for instance deliberating in an informal privy council and using what has been called his ‘private chancellery’ (*Privatkanzlei*) with Matthäus Lang as its most influential councillor and secretary.⁹⁹

Should we then, as it was recently put, dismiss these formal administrative ordinances as purely ‘utopian’?¹⁰⁰ I think this would miss the point for a number of reasons: first, if we take seriously the theoretical concepts discussed above, we might conceive of these ordinances not merely as formal expectations conferred on membership roles, but as explicitly addressing the ‘environment’ as well. The swearing-in on the new ordinance, for instance, seems to have been staged as an event to

⁹²Cf. Williams, 2015b, 352.

⁹³Vismann, 2000, 162–163.

⁹⁴Cf. Mokros, 2021.

⁹⁵Moraw, 1983, 28 (transl. mine).

⁹⁶For a description of the workflow of the travelling court chancellery under one of Maximilian’s successors, see Williams, 2015b.

⁹⁷Vinzenz Rockner to Zyprian von Serntein on 8 August 1513, TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, IX.46.

⁹⁸With regard to Maximilian’s court, this issue will be addressed in Dumont and Zajic, forthcoming. Regarding the ‘age of secretaries’ more generally cf. Dover, 2016a.

⁹⁹See Moraw, 1991; and more recently Hollegger, 2014.

¹⁰⁰Cf. Bojcov, 2019, 51–52.

attract the attention of the wider court and even foreign princes. This is suggested by a Bavarian envoy's account in 1498 to his lord, according to which the chancellor, councillors and all the officers at the Habsburg court were sworn in on the new ordinances.¹⁰¹ There is also evidence, that some of the ordinances were published as printed broadsheets – ideal for public display.¹⁰² Taking into account these clues regarding their intended audience and with organization theory in our toolkit, we could argue that these ordinances to some extent represent the administration's *Schauseite*, the dimension 'on display' for the environment in order to present an idealized version of itself; a representation more or less distinct from its formal and informal dimensions.¹⁰³ Another reason why we should not disregard the ordinances as merely 'utopian' is the simple fact that, as Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger has pointed out, once there are explicit rules, they can be invoked and insisted upon.¹⁰⁴ We will encounter several examples of this phenomenon throughout this thesis (see especially ch. 6.1), but take for example the concern with judicial procedures. There is numerous evidence that the Lower Austrian *Regiment* invoked the ordinance of 1510 to fend off Maximilian's frequent interventions in the judicial process.¹⁰⁵ In doing so, they would typically refer to the solemn oath they had sworn to the emperor when taking office that prohibited them from violating the ordinance, one time with a physical copy of the ordinance attached to 'remind' the emperor of its stipulations.¹⁰⁶ Another example might be found in the papers of Martin Siebenbürger (see ch. 1), who had apparently jotted down what seems to be an extract on the issue of appeals from the 1518 imperial council ordinance in between his notes on the Lauffner case.¹⁰⁷ Why would he have done so, if they were considered purely 'utopian' by contemporaries?

To conclude, when I refer to the formal structure of administrative work at the turn of the sixteenth century throughout this thesis, it is not for the sake of signalling where practice diverged from the norm. Instead, I will analyze formal expectations as a point of reference for the individuals who participated in the exercise of power. Only by paying close attention to the formal 'front stage' can we appraise the informal 'back stage' of administrative work, on which letter-writing played a crucial part.

3.2 Main Hypotheses and Outline of the Empirical Part

To summarize, in the previous chapters I have introduced different approaches to letters in administrative practice in the research on early modern letters and in the discipline of modern diplomatics, which I have shown to be lacking particularly with respect to the common binomial of 'private' and 'public.' I have proposed to consider the grey areas of letter-writing in Habsburg administration by introducing the concepts of formality/informality. Furthermore, I have shown how there

¹⁰¹Matthäus Schmidl to Duke Albert IV of Bavaria on 2 March 1498, RI XIV,2 n. 5931.

¹⁰²The ordinance for the Lower Austrian *Regiment*, for instance, was published in 1501 (I owe this information to Christian Lackner). For Maximilian's early endorsement of the printing press for government purposes, cf. Limbach, 2019; and Limbach, 2021.

¹⁰³Cf. Kühl, 2011, 136–157; for a premodern example see Neumann, 2021a; and Schenk, 2022.

¹⁰⁴Cf. Stollberg-Rilinger, 2013, 9–10.

¹⁰⁵See Hollegger, 1983, 294–304.

¹⁰⁶See for example Lower Austrian *Regiment* to Maximilian on 23 November 1510, HH-StA/Maximiliana, 23-2-30; and Lower Austrian *Regiment* to Maximilian on 7 February 1511, *ibid.*, 23-5-15.

¹⁰⁷The excerpt entitled *Artikhel des hofratz* is similar to but not verbatim with the ordinance from 1518, ÖNB Cod. 8134, fol. 112v.

is always a formal and informal dimension to administrative practice and that pre-modern officials were often confronted with formal expectations as members of an administrative body as well as – possibly conflicting but nevertheless legitimate – informal ones by the environment. By taking a closer look at the formalization of the court chancellery, I went on to suggest that even though research has frequently pointed out the discrepancies between norms and practice we should not dismiss formal expectations, arguing that there is a difference between the front stage and back stage of administrative work.

Having outlined the major theoretical framework for this thesis, let me now again return to its primary topic: letters.¹⁰⁸ Now, if we take a look at the extant sources of the court chancellery we will see for one that the strict procedural steps outlined in the chancellery ordinance only applied to certain types of documents, namely charters and letters patent of a probative or dispositive nature. This is not all that surprising, after all we have seen that the chancellery's physical space and complex procedure of creating authentic documents served to guarantee the prince's documentary authority, which was best expressed in the power to grant privileges, dispense justice or give orders. However, charters or letters patent, i.e. documents in which the prince (or someone acting in his name) performed an authoritative act, only make up part of the documents that today lie in the *Maximiliana*.¹⁰⁹ A considerable portion of the fond is made up of what we would more easily identify as letters,¹¹⁰ many of them authored by Habsburg officials. A large amount of these letters reflects the day-to-day coordination of administrative work; transmitting information, requesting or supporting decisions. How can we conceive of these letters from the viewpoint of organization theory? Let me quote one last definition of the 'official letter' to approach the issue, one put forward by the linguist Karl Ermert:

'Official' letters are exchanged, for example, between business partners, between companies, between government authorities, between companies and government authorities on the one hand and private individuals on the other. It is constitutive for the official sphere of action (*offizieller Handlungsbereich*) that at least one of the participants is guided (*gesteuert*) by behavioural expectations and norms which derive from an official role within the framework of social 'organizations' [...] and that these patterns of behaviour (*Verhaltensmuster*) are binding to a higher degree than in the private sphere. The scope for deviation from these behavioural norms is relatively smaller, and violations of the norm may have more severe consequences for the perpetrator in their 'official' position and possibly for their social status as well.¹¹¹

Ermert's rarely adopted definition is a powerful one because it does not essentialize the letter writer's identity, but instead emphasizes expectations towards the author of a letter in one specific context, which may well differ from expectations in

¹⁰⁸It is important to note that the formal chancellery output (charters, deeds etc.) was typically referred to in German as *brief*, i.e. letter, in contemporary sources. The documents more easily identified as letters in our contemporary sense, on the other hand, might also be described as *brief* or sometimes *schreiben*. For a brief overview on terminology see Holzapfl, 2008, 8–11; see also Dülfer, 1957.

¹⁰⁹For a good overview of document types (including lists, protocols, inventories etc.) one can encounter at premodern courts see the contributions in Paravicini, 2007; see also Heinig, 1998.

¹¹⁰It is important to note that the formal chancellery output (charters, deeds etc.) was typically referred to as *brief* or *prief*, i.e. letter, in contemporary sources. Cf. on the source terminology Dülfer, 1957; for a recent, brief overview of the long-standing discussion on the distinction of charters and letters in the discipline of diplomacy see Holzapfl, 2008, 8–11.

¹¹¹Ermert, 1979, 76 (transl. mine).

another context. Thus, it takes into account the different roles an individual might inhabit. As for the second part of the definition, according to which an official role is more binding than one in a private context, the argument may have some validity for modern organizations but there are a number of concerns in a premodern setting. As mentioned above (ch. 3.1.1), premodern society was characterized by normative ambiguity, meaning informal expectations might be considered just as valid as formal ones in a given situation. Now, I want to argue that the practice of letter-writing among Habsburg officials which we have identified as one aspect of the informal back stage of administrative practice was significantly impacted by informal expectations.

The observation that the correspondence among Habsburg officials represents one aspect of the informal 'back stage' of premodern administration alone has some merit. Paired with the more general observation that "[t]he early modern state transacted its administrative business, for the most part, in personal letters,"¹¹² it addresses the grey area in the research on early modern letters in politics and administration identified in Chapter 2. The latter phenomenon has often led to this type of correspondence being labelled as private, familiar, or personal. I would like to argue that communication on the informal back stage of premodern administration was itself structured by informal expectations from the environment. Thus, individuals were not only (or sometimes not even primarily) addressed in their 'public' role, but in their role as 'friends,' kin, patrons or other informal roles they may assume. Because of this complex entanglement of informal back stage and expectations informed by the environment's social norms, the informal written communication among officials can appear on a spectrum ranging from the inconspicuous side letter as a tool of administration, to the overt letter of patronage most often discussed in research. Moreover, as we will see, the line between formality and informality was permeable and reliant on different factors. An estimation of the communicative situation may change from letter to letter and has to take into account both the relationship between sender and recipient (which in turn is subject to change) as well as possible secondary audiences. When I started working on this thesis, my intention was to discuss a 'genre' of informal letter, a label which is not easy to reconcile with the interplay between formality and informality displayed in the source material. Clear categorizations are sometimes difficult to make and more often it will be prudent to pinpoint phenomena on a continuum within an 'formality-informality-span.'¹¹³

In the following chapters, I will show in a number of case studies how we might gain a better understanding of the agents and tools of statecraft at the turn of the sixteenth century by viewing the epistolary exchange among Habsburg officers as traversing between formal and informal dimensions of administrative practice. I will pay particular attention to three factors which strike me as central to officials' letter-writing practice:

- **access** – letters among Habsburg officials were often transmitted via informal communication channels based on personal ties. These channels often ran parallel to, crossed, or even countered formal communication channels.
- **sociability** – these letters often contain information that is seemingly at odds with the purpose of official business and/or are written in a style which has led many to label them as 'private.' I want to argue that in many cases the

¹¹²Magnusson, 1999, 103.

¹¹³On the latter see Pohlig, 2021, 40–41.

letter itself as well as its contents (e.g. the exchange of news) was understood to fulfil informal expectations of sociability, following a logic of gift exchange.

- **custody** – the letters analyzed in this thesis are of an ephemeral character, their survival in institutional or family archives is often accidental. I will argue that the afterlife of these letters and the conflictual question of custody vs. possession of records is an important factor in interpreting informal epistolary networks.

In the next chapter I will describe in greater detail the question of *access* in letters among Habsburg officials. By taking into consideration the research on communication channels in early modern diplomacy (ch. 4.1), I will establish a framework for discussing the interplay of formal and informal communication channels at the Habsburg court more generally (ch. 4.2) before moving on to a specific case study on the correspondence between Court Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein and the vidame of the duchy of Lower Austria, Lorenz Saurer (ch. 4.3).

The following discussion of news in letters as an expression of *sociability* in Chapter 5 can rely on another vibrant field of research (introduced in ch. 5.1). However, the peculiarities of news correspondence at the turn of the sixteenth century which are little discussed in research require an analysis of the materiality of news at the Habsburg court (ch. 5.2). The section that follows contains two case studies. The first pays particular attention to the circulation of news among Habsburg officials by example of Zyprian von Serntein's news correspondence (ch. 5.3.1). The second case study briefly explores the relationship between formal and informal expectations connected to the transmission of news as *service* or *gift* before moving on to an example from the Serntein-Saurer correspondence which exposes the overlaps and interplay of formality and informality in news correspondence (ch. 5.3.2).

Chapter 6 is dedicated both to the afterlife of letters and an examination of how the letter writers perceived of their role as officials. Starting with the latter, I will describe in greater detail how Habsburg officials reflected on formal expectations in their letters (ch. 6.1). In the second part of this chapter (ch. 6.2), I will further explore the main themes that emerged by paying close attention to the main corpus of sources for this thesis, the *Maximiliana* collection of 'state papers'. In a first step, I will more generally consider the question of *custody* or possession of official papers and letters in premodern administration (ch. 6.2.1) before moving on to the material evidence offered by Zyprian von Serntein's papers (ch. 6.2.2).

Chapter 4

Rules of Access

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Emperor Matthias received an anonymous complaint regarding the state of the court chancellery.¹¹⁴ The way things were, the chancellor could not possibly be made responsible for the chancellery's written output, as many issues were dealt with by particular secretaries without his knowledge. The biggest issue, the author felt, was that the court chancellor had over the years lost his position of *scrinium principis*. Fortunately, all these problems could be resolved provided "the old chancellery instructions are observed and the chancellor is restored in his command,"¹¹⁵ i.e. to make the chancellor "director of all incoming papers" once more. To emphasize his point, the author attached the ordinance issued for Chancellor Bernhard Cles in 1528.¹¹⁶ This ordinance indeed had given the chancellor authority over "each and every post that arrives from Spain, France, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Germany or other places in our hereditary lands."¹¹⁷ The postmaster was instructed to hand out the post addressed to Ferdinand I, his chancellor or any other person to nobody else but the chancellor, neither was he to send any posts without his knowledge. He was to receive all written communication addressed to the court, present it to the places where decisions were made (i.e. the prince and/or his council), and issue a response. According to the ordinance, then, the chancellor was formally equipped with full control over any written communication entering or leaving the chancellery.

These formal stipulations – instituted roughly 100 years prior – evidently suited the aspirations of the author of the grievance. Yet we might ask how much of a formal restraint was really exerted on information flows and communication networks in premodern politics and administration and whether the regulations issued in 1528 were themselves aspirational. As will be shown in the following chapters, the findings of this thesis suggest that the formal communication channel was just one among many informal ones which often ran parallel to, crossed, or even countered the official channel. The question of the interplay between formal and informal communication channels will be the topic of this chapter. In a first step, I will review recent approaches to parallel communication channels in research on early modern diplomacy (ch. 4.1). In the sections that follow, I will first present some general findings on communication channels in our period (ch. 4.2) before moving on to a specific case study. The latter will shed light on the correspondence between Zyprian von Serntein and Lorenz Saurer, two officers who make for a particularly revealing case regarding access to formal and informal communication channels (ch. 4.3).

¹¹⁴Edited in Fellner, 1907, 386–388. Even though the grievance is anonymous, Emperor Matthias's answer suggests that it was the chancellor himself who authored it.

¹¹⁵...welchen mit disem zu remedieren, wan die alten canzleiinstructionen gehalten und ainen canzler oder vicecanzler sein von alters hero gebürendes commando gelassen..., *ibid.*, 388.

¹¹⁶For the ordinance of 1528 see *ibid.*, 238–246; on Cles's 'paper chancellery' cf. Williams, 2016.

¹¹⁷All und jede posten, si kommen aus Hispanien Frankreich Italien Hungern Behaimb Teuschland oder von andern ortn aus unsern erblanden..., Fellner, 1907, 239.

4.1 Parallel Channels in Premodern Diplomacy

The following literature review might surprise the reader at this point, as it mostly concerns examples from seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries diplomacy. After all, the seventeenth century is still considered a watershed moment for European diplomacy.¹¹⁸ However, the development of new forms of diplomacy has traditionally been identified for the period under investigation here. And even though scepticism in employing terms such as *formal* and *informal* regarding the status of diplomats – Isabella Lazzarini prefers the term “occasional diplomacy”¹¹⁹ in her study on late medieval Italian diplomacy instead – is not unjustified, there is no doubt that the increase in volume of diplomatic correspondence in the Italian polities had led to a process of formalization of diplomatic correspondence and communication channels in Europe by the end of the fifteenth century already.¹²⁰ In fact, even the few examples of diplomatic correspondence of Habsburg diplomats available for the turn of the century already closely resemble the more sophisticated Italian practices of diplomatic reporting.¹²¹

In any case, what this literature review means to achieve is not a comparison of diplomatic practices, but to highlight a particular aspect of epistolary communication: that of the relationship between formal and informal communication channels. Basically, what we see in all these examples is the more or less harmonious co-existence of different tracks of communication, some of them more, some of them less formal; with informal communication channels often based on a personal connection. These channels often ran parallel to, crossed, or even countered formal communication channels. What the following diachronic examples from all over Europe have in common is that there is a sense of boundary-drawing which translates to different practices between correspondence through formal and informal channels. They share certain key elements which to a certain degree can also be found in the letter networks of sixteenth century Habsburg officers. These key elements will guide my analysis of communication channels throughout this chapter.

From earliest examples we can see that the distinction of different communication channels always concerned questions of access. This is already visible in fifteenth century Milan. As Francesco Senatore has shown, fifteenth-century Milanese diplomats were instructed to distinguish *lettere communi* from *lettere separate*, especially when it came to news; a rare example of a formal separation of channels.¹²² According to Francesco Sforza’s instruction from 1458, a diplomat was to write in a manner that the letters could be shown to anyone where necessary, and because some parts may be shown to one but not the other, he was to separate the different matters in several letters or sheets.¹²³ In premodern Italy, this separation of confidential and shareable news which served to control the dissemination of information or restrict the circle of recipients was a common practice and testament to a sophisticated system of news management (see also ch. 5).¹²⁴

There are frequent examples of this separation of confidential issues in early modern English diplomacy as well, albeit not as a formalized practice. For instance,

¹¹⁸For a recent introduction to the vibrant field of New Diplomatic History see Goetze and Oetzel, 2024.

¹¹⁹Lazzarini, 2015, 133.

¹²⁰For a recent introduction see Condren and Luiten, 2024; on fifteenth century Italian diplomatic practices and sources see especially Lazzarini, 2015; and Senatore, 1998.

¹²¹Cf. Lutter, 1998, 92, 120–122 on the comparison of Habsburg and Venetian diplomacy 1495–1508.

¹²²Cf. Senatore, 1998, 232–242.

¹²³Cf. *ibid.*, 232.

¹²⁴See also Infelise, 2002, 31–32.

in 1583 Francis Walsingham instructs Edward Stafford in France thus: “I pray you hereafter, when you write of some secret matter, let it be in a ‘by-paper’ and not in your general letter, which I must needs show to divers of my lords.”¹²⁵ Similarly, Sir Robert Cecil later elaborates on his practice of communicating over different channels in a letter to George Carew:

I pray you also remember to direct your advertisements of things done, of publicq purposes in future, and (of your demands and necessities) to the whole Consells, and not to me in particuler, for I am much absent from Court [...]: and therefore in my absence, it is some trouble, because I am fayne to delivre the publicq advertisements out of your letters singly directed to me, wherein are commonly some private things, which being ouvertures of some plotts intended, or hopes of some services to be done by some speciall men (which are things to be carried more privately) are not to be read by others, then by the Queen and my self. I pray you therefore make separation of these things when there is cause [...]¹²⁶

Cecil would sometimes even revoke instructions given in the ‘general’ letter in a secretarial hand through a parallel holograph side letter.¹²⁷ Apart from separating general from confidential information due to security concerns, however, there is also evidence that contemporaries understood different channels of communication to address different roles. This is best illustrated in a letter from Thomas Sherley who advises the Earl of Leicester to

wryte one letter unto the boddy of the councell, as well as to pryvate frendes, for I have benne so sayd unto by soome of your lordships frendes, that, in these cases, they are to deale for your lordship as councellors, and nott as pryvate frendes; that pryvate letters be nott taken knowlege of in councell.¹²⁸

In this interesting case, we see a clear separation of communication channels depending on the role in which the person is addressed (on this issue see ch. 6.1). In English diplomacy, these ‘particular letters’ or ‘side papers’ were a common epistolary practice up until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when they were formalized as genre physically distinct from official dispatches.¹²⁹

All the imperial envoys to the congress of Westphalia, too, corresponded with high-ranking members of the court through informal channels in addition to their regular dispatches to the emperor, as Dorothee Goetze has shown.¹³⁰ These letters, referred to by contemporaries as side letters (*nebenschreiben*) to distinguish them from formal dispatches, were more informal in style (which is not to say that they were without form) but Goetze stresses their dependency on the official channel. The information sent through informal channels was often complementary to information that passed through formal ones, supplementing what could not be voiced or addressed in official dispatches.¹³¹ The emperor was aware of these side letters

¹²⁵Schneider, 2005, 69–70. For the use of informal correspondence aside from official channels by Thomas Cromwell in the first half of the sixteenth century see Burge, 2022, 43–45.

¹²⁶Full quote in Hunt, 2016, 195–196.

¹²⁷Cf. *ibid.*, 196–197.

¹²⁸Partially cited in Schneider, 2005, 69; for the full quote see Bruce, 1844, 182.

¹²⁹Cf. Hunt, 2016, 207–208.

¹³⁰Cf. Goetze, 2021; and Goetze, *forthcoming*. I would like to thank Dorothee Goetze for kindly making her forthcoming paper on diplomatic letter-writing available to me.

¹³¹Cf. Goetze, 2021, 153–158.

which seem to have circulated in specific groups at court. According to Goetze, they offered envoys among others the chance to critically evaluate the ongoing at the congress, transmit sensitive information, maintain patronage relationships and networks at court, and guarantee a more direct access to the emperor. Finally, Goetze observes that side letters carried no signs of having passed through the formal chancellery procedures and indeed were often holograph letters to signal closeness between author and recipient.

Communicating over separate channels could lead to a 'highly confusing situation' as Anuschka Tischer has observed for the French delegation at the Westphalian peace congress.¹³² In this case, the different streams and layers of communication resulted from conflicts between factions at court as well as within the delegation. Not unusual for diplomatic practice at the time, the official channel from the royal council (*Conseil d'en haut*) to the French delegation was supplemented by the informal correspondence between Mazarin and the envoys. More significantly, however, Mazarin also indirectly instructed the third envoy at the congress, his client Abel Servien, through his secretary Hugues de Lionne, who was the nephew of Servien. Through his nephew, Servien maintained good relations with Mazarin, was able to place confidants in critical positions of influence and was regularly better informed than his colleague and rival, the head of the delegation Jean-Antoine d'Avaux, whom he would successfully oust as a result. This example shows that communication channels based on informal ties were not only 'supplementary,' but could effectively trump formal channels in diplomatic practice.

It is this social logic of epistolary communication which Ulrike Vogel has emphasized in her paper on early modern diplomatic writing.¹³³ By closely observing the six separate letters sent by the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Pierre Girardin, on 10 March 1687, she demonstrates that the information flow between Constantinople and Versailles was "fragmented according to the social logic of clientage, friendship, and kinship."¹³⁴ In addition to his official dispatches to the king, Girardin would strategically distribute information in 'supplementary' letters, for instance to the secretary of state for foreign affairs, Colbert de Croissy, to whom he was obliged as a client in a vertical relationship, as well as Croissy's secretary François Blondel, who acted as Girardin's 'friend' within Croissy's département, supplying him with advice, opinions on his performance at court and unofficial instructions. "This rather complicated procedure," Vogel argues,

makes sense if we consider that early modern bureaucratic practice was structured by the logic of personal allegiance and patronage, with ministers considering themselves loyal servants to their princes rather than to their states. Further down the social architecture of power, an officer's loyalty was more with his patron than with the abstract notion of a polity, or even with the king.¹³⁵

Here, the formal channel once again is just one among a variety of informal ones in which information as a valuable resource served to satisfy the requirements of royal service, 'friendship' or kinship and where personal allegiance could be more palpable to contemporaries than abstract formal expectations.

¹³²Cf. Tischer, 2005.

¹³³Cf. Vogel, 2019, esp. 193–197.

¹³⁴*ibid.*, 197.

¹³⁵*ibid.*, 194; on this issue see also Thiessen, 2010.

From the above examples we can see that the phenomenon of parallel communication channels was common to different European political and administrative cultures at different times.¹³⁶ Informal communication channels might be maintained to restrict access to confidential information, to gain privileged access to the centre of decision-making or to address issues not suitable for formal channels. More importantly, many relied on informal relationships and as such were often semantically distinguished as the 'particular' from the 'general',¹³⁷ for instance as side letters or separate letters. Attentive readers will also have noticed certain similarities to the concept of *Privatdienstschreiben* in modern diplomatics (see ch. 2.2), i.e. 'semi-private' correspondence between government agents on business matters. However, the above studies all stress that letters transmitted through informal channels should not be considered private in our contemporary sense.¹³⁸ While it is true that these channels offered a way to avoid the official record or to restrict the number of recipients and even though these letters often employed a familiar style and tone, they were neither private in the sense of an exclusive two-way exchange, nor were they necessarily based on strong emotional feelings. Letters sent through informal channels interacted with and often supplemented their formal counterpart, were often accepted – or rather, expected – to circulate beyond the original recipient, and conveyed intimacy by employing affective language even in cases where the correspondents had never met in person. We can attribute the use of this language to the function these letters served in a political culture structured by personal ties of allegiance rather than abstract notions of state service, where information was 'fragmented' according to both formal and informal expectations.

4.2 'Supplementary' Letters and the Official Channel

Keeping in mind some of the key aspects of parallel communication channels from the literature review above, let us consider some questions with respect to letter-writing at and around the early sixteenth-century Habsburg court: can we recognize a distinction of different communication channels and if so, did Habsburg officials apply a distinct semantic label to their correspondence maintained through informal channels, for example by distinguishing the 'general' from the 'particular'? In what way did letters sent through informal channels interact with official documents? And finally, what evidence is available regarding the intended audiences of epistolary communication?

Before we get into the questions posed above, it is important to consider the material conditions of letter-writing as it is already informative regarding the relationship between formal and informal channels. To send a letter, a Habsburg officer would either employ a special courier or, from about the turn of the century, use the postal service; a system of couriers posted at strategic relay stations.¹³⁹ Premodern

¹³⁶For further examples see Haug, 2020; for eighteenth-century France and Prussia see Dade, 2008; for the imperial diplomacy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see Müller, 1976, 42–59; for eighteenth-century ministers of state see Schick, 2020.

¹³⁷The official channel was referred to as *canaux ordinaires* in the informal correspondence between Madame de Maintenon and the Princesse des Ursins, a particularly interesting case of parallel communication channels in early modern diplomacy. See especially Bastian, 2013, 142–168; and the recent summary in Bastian, 2020.

¹³⁸Cf. *ibid.*, 851; Goetze, 2021, 146; Vogel, 2019, 194.

¹³⁹For the early Habsburg postal service that existed from at least the end of the fifteenth century see especially the dated but informative Ohmann, 1909; for the development of postal networks more generally see Behringer, 2003; also Raymond and Moxham, 2016.

letters were typically not delivered as single items, but in parcels which usually contained multiple letters and various other documents. Thus, before a letter reached its final destination, it might have gone through the hands of multiple intermediaries; very much unlike the common image of letter-writing as a closed two-way exchange between sender and recipient or the “flat, fossilized, twodimensional artefacts”¹⁴⁰ we encounter in archives today. To modern historians, as Arnold Hunt has put it, reconstructing the transmission and forwarding of letters and enclosures “can very often feel like trying to assemble a jigsaw puzzle with an unknown number of missing pieces.”¹⁴¹

The quasi-nomadic lifestyle at court and in the service of Maximilian certainly complicated day-to-day communication and put letter-writers in a constant state of uncertainty where and how to transmit letters safely.¹⁴² One way to appreciate this problem is by closely examining a very common phenomenon of letter-writing in the *Maximiliana*, the writing about letters. Frequent references to ‘accompanying’ (*hiebeiliegend*) letters and documents suggest that contemporaries were familiar with handling document compounds – what we might call “epistolary ensembles”¹⁴³ – rather than single letters, with supplementary letters detailing the rules of access. To illustrate this phenomenon, let me quote at length a passage from a letter sent from Matthäus Lang jointly to Zyprian von Serntein and Jakob Villinger:

Dear chancellor and Villinger. The night before last I received post from you, chancellor, in which you sent me many letters (*vill brief*) from Italy, which missed me on my way up and were sent by post to Trier. Among them were also several letters addressed to His Majesty, which I have opened, and beside that (*darneben*) your letter dated Trier on the Monday before Whitsun, and I thank you kindly for your account of the deliberations at the diet, knowing and hoping you will be diligent in all things.

During this night I received another post from Italy. I opened it, kept it overnight and drew from it (*daraus geczaichennt*) what I needed for better instruction (*zu besser unnderricht*). Then I closed it again and added the above-mentioned letters from Italy sent by you and bound them together in a parcel to Jakob de Banissis. I am sending you the same parcel herewith; you may open it and, after reading the letters, close it again and forward it swiftly to Jakob de Banissis. From these letters you will receive various news from [Alberto Pio] Da Carpi and on the state of everything else.

Furthermore, in the post I received this night, I also received a parcel from the *Regiment* at Innsbruck addressed to you, which I have opened in good faith (*im bessten geöffnet*). In it I found a letter to His Majesty, which I have also read and I am sending this parcel to you as well; in it you will find various news, especially about the Swiss.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰Boran, Matthews-Schlinzig, and Signed, Sealed, and Undelivered, 2019, 65.

¹⁴¹Hunt, 2016, 206. On the character and function of enclosures in early modern diplomatic practice see Oetzel, *forthcoming*. I would like to thank Lena Oetzel for kindly making her forthcoming paper available to me.

¹⁴²For the drawbacks of a life ‘on the road’ see Noflatscher, 1999, 322–329; and Williams, 2016.

¹⁴³Daybell and Gordon, 2016, 10.

¹⁴⁴*Lieber her canntzler und Villinger. An vorder nachts hab ich posst von euch her canntzler emphanngen, darinnen ir mir vill brief aus Italia, so mich an meinem heraufziehen verirret haben und auf der posst gen Trier gefurt worden seind, zugeschikht habt. Darunder seind auch etlich brieff an die ksl. Mt. lautennd gewest, die hab ich geöffnet auch darneben eur schreiben des dat. ist zu Trier am Montag vor Pfingsten verstannden und*

Serntein was to forward the parcel to Villinger after having read the letters within. This fairly common type of epistolary ensemble is revealing as to how letters were transported in the vicinity of the court: parcels of letters addressed (*uberschriben*) to individual officers, the emperor, or administrative bodies were transported along established routes, regularly opened upon arrival and the letters inside scanned for external addresses, and once again re-sealed and forwarded. Supplementary letters such as the one cited above outlined the rules of access. They guided the recipient which letters he ought to read and which to forward. At each destination, additional documents might be added and bound into a parcel with existing mail to be sent to the next addressee. I call it a practice common in the vicinity of the court, because for most of these parcels the court was either the point of departure or arrival. This practice of epistolary circulation may also add to our understanding of a distinction between official vs. informal channels if we inquire after the rules of access.

Already in Matthäus Lang's letter cited above we see that Lang opened letters addressed to the emperor without hesitation. In fact, my tentative findings suggest that certain expectations existed regarding access to what we might call 'official' or at least more formal channels of communication. Paying close attention to the scattered evidence available, we can see that it was not unusual for officials to 'tap in' on communication directed towards the imperial court. This was particularly common at places like Innsbruck, an important intersection of the information flow along the postal route from the Netherlands and the *Reich* to Italy, and the East-West route from Vienna to Freiburg im Breisgau.¹⁴⁵ For instance, there are frequent examples of the Innsbruck *Regiment* opening and re-sealing letters addressed to Maximilian, sometimes even letters addressed to the emperor's 'own hands.'¹⁴⁶ We know this, because the *Regiment* would often add a supplementary letter to the re-sealed letter, explaining that they had read it 'in good faith' (*im besten aufgetan*) or had opened it because they had received information on the matter in the past. Of course, they would not have known what issues a letter dealt with (let alone its author) from the address alone, but it seems likely that this was evident from other side letters or the *Postzettel*; sheets detailing the travel route of parcels.¹⁴⁷ At times, copies of the letters addressed to the emperor were added as loose sheets (*offen copeyen*) so one did not have to open the letter.¹⁴⁸ In general, however, it seems that the expectations regarding access to official epistolary streams were somewhat uncertain and might lead to conflict if the communication flow was interrupted (for an example see ch. 5.3.1). Rather than claiming access then, it seems to have been more common to send

sag euch eurs annzaigenns was auf dem reichstag gehandelt wirdet hiemit fruntlichen danngh und versiche mich und verhoff ir wisst und werdet vleyss thuen damit all sachen recht von stat geen. / So ist mir auch an nechten abermals ain posst aus Italia zuekomen. Die hab ich geöffnett, ubernacht alhie auffgehalten und was not gewest ist mir zu besser unnderricht daraus geczaichennt und widerumb zuegemacht und die obberurten brief aus Italia, so mir wie obsteet von euch zuegeschikht worden sind, darzue gethan und in ain pakeet an den Jacoben de Bannissis zusammengebunden. Dasselbig paket schikh ich euch hiemit; das wellet öffnen und nach verlesung der brief an die ksl. Mt. lautend widerumb zuesliessen und dem berurten Jacoben de Bannissis aufs furderlichst zueschikhen. Daraus werdet ir allerlay neuzeitungen von dem von Carpi und anndern und wie sonnst all sachen steen woll vernemen. / Verrer so ist mir auch in ytzgemelter nechtiger posst unnder anndern ain pakeet von dem regimennt zu Ynnsprugkh auf euch lautennd zuekomen; das hab ich im bessten geöffnett. Darinnen ainen brief an die ksl. Mt. gefunden und denselben auch verlesen und schikh euch solh pakeet hiemit auch zue; daraus werdet ir auch allerlay neuzeitungen und sonnderlich der sweyzer halben versteen, Matthäus Lang to Zyprian von Serntein and Jakob Villinger on 30 May 1512, HHStA/Maximiliana, 27-2-70.

¹⁴⁵Cf. Behringer, 1990, 22.

¹⁴⁶See e.g. HHStA/Maximiliana, 31-1-50; *ibid.*, 31-1-56; *ibid.*, 31-2-9; TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, VII.157.

¹⁴⁷For an example of a *Postzettel* see HHStA/Maximiliana, 19-2-86.

¹⁴⁸See for example HHStA/Maximiliana, 25-2-15; *ibid.*, 25-2-68.

accompanying side letters detailing terms of access.

In contrast, letters addressed not to the emperor but to individual officers were typically not opened without previous consent. Take the example of Johann Storch, envoy to the Swiss diets. Worried that his letters had not arrived after not receiving an answer to the last four of his diplomatic reports, he wrote to Chancellor Serntein that

I was concerned that you had not been at court and therefore these documents were not brought before His Majesty; that they were withheld until your return because they were addressed to your self (*zu euern handen*). Therefore, as you can see, I was compelled to change the address.¹⁴⁹

Storch would typically address his diplomatic reports not to the emperor directly but to Chancellor Serntein, which we know from another letter in which he once again apologized for addressing his reports to the emperor, fearing Serntein might not be at court and thinking it inappropriate for the letters to be passed around (*durch vil hende hyn und wider zu beutlen*).¹⁵⁰ To conclude, we can see that certain channels of epistolary communication were more readily accessible than others.

In the literature review on diplomatic correspondence in the previous section we have seen that contemporaries would often refer to letters sent through informal channels as 'side letters,' 'particular letters,' or 'separate letters' to distinguish them from 'general letters' or even *canaux ordinaires*. For the period under examination, such a clear distinction — given the low degree of formalization — did not exist. However, occasionally letter-writers would refer to their letters as being sent 'separately' (*sonderlich, in sonderhait, sonder*).¹⁵¹ For instance, the secretary at the chancellery of the Innsbruck Regiment wrote to Chancellor Serntein in 1514 that "I believe it is unnecessary for me to always bother Your Grace with another [letter] separately (*daneben in sonders*) when I sent the Regiment's letters to you."¹⁵² Even though *sunder* is indeed synonymous to the Latin *privatus* which entered the German vocabulary in the course of the sixteenth century,¹⁵³ the use of the word is not (yet) precise enough to describe a certain type of document.

Although there is no clear semantic distinction between formal and informal channels then, it should be clear by now that what we do find several examples of in the *Maximiliana* is the practice of sending separate or supplementary letters much like the phenomenon of 'side letters' observed in the literature review on diplomatic correspondence above. In fact, the only researcher to have described the correspondence of Zyprian von Serntein — one of the main protagonists of the following case study (ch. 4.3) — in greater detail, has noted these side letters as one of its main characteristics:

While the official documents (*Akten*) themselves are addressed to the king, the side letter (*Begleitschreiben*) is usually addressed to Serntein. It

¹⁴⁹...das ich fursorg hab ir nit zu hoff gewest; deßhalb solich schrifft irer Mt. nit furbracht unnd bis auf euer zukunft dweil die zu euern handen steen verhalten seyen. Darum ich die uberschrift wie ir sehent anders zu stellen bewegt worden bin, Johann Storch to Zyprian von Serntein on 7 January 1513, HHStA/Maximiliana, 28-5-4.

¹⁵⁰Johann Storch to Zyprian von Serntein on 21 April 1512, HHStA/Maximiliana, 27-1-38.

¹⁵¹For an early example from mid-fifteenth century Tyrol where in addition to official letters more informal letters were sent *in sonderhait* see Woelki, 2020, 311–314.

¹⁵²See Hans Kantz to Serntein on 8 April 1514, HHStA/Maximiliana, 31-2-16. For similar examples see *ibid.*, 27-3-43; *ibid.*, 29-2-106; *ibid.*, 30-2-36; *ibid.*, 37-3-54.

¹⁵³Cf. Moos, 2004, 44. In Swiss administrative ordinances around 1500, the term *sunderig* appears synonymous to *heimlich* and opposed to *gemein*. See the cited passages in Groebner, 2000, 179, 205, 215.

often reveals conditions and circumstances that are not contained in the official document itself, but sometimes supplement it significantly.¹⁵⁴

This certainly sounds like the type of parallel channel of correspondence common in early modern diplomacy; communication channels through which additional concerns, perhaps not fit for the official channel, could be voiced. The next section will pay close attention to one such correspondence with respect to its 'social logic' in informal relationships, but for now, let me briefly talk about the interaction of such letters with the 'official' channel. I believe this necessary because even though the supplementary or side letters in Serntein's correspondence are typically described as 'official' in research, they have often been called 'private' in the same sentence. For instance, Reinhold Stollenmayer has noted that Serntein's correspondence has a "highly private character" even though it was in "close relation to the chancellor's official position at court."¹⁵⁵ Similarly, Hans Moser in his study of the court chancellery has emphasized the "highly private elements"¹⁵⁶ of Serntein's official letters (*Amtsbriefe*), and according to Heinz Noflatscher the chancellor had in private written copious amounts of letters to his friends on court affairs.¹⁵⁷ Once again, the casual use of the term 'private' is the source of this contradiction and is as usual difficult to interpret. Therefore, let us for one examine its implied meaning of a 'private' two-way exchange.

To that end, let's have another look at diplomatic correspondence in our period. In this case the correspondence of the envoys to the Swiss cantons in 1512/13.¹⁵⁸ Wilhelm Reichenbach, envoy to several Swiss diets (*Tagsatzungen*), regularly reported to the emperor on the progress of his mission. Beside his official dispatches, Reichenbach maintained a regular correspondence with Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein, typically accompanying his official reports. In his letters to Serntein, Reichenbach would often write about issues which are conspicuously absent in his reports to his royal master. Among them are, of course, issues very commonly addressed by diplomats such as lacking funds. Sometimes Reichenbach would also write to Serntein on his own behalf (*meiner Sachen*). It is perhaps no surprise that some of Reichenbach's more demanding letters were addressed to Serntein rather than the emperor. In one of his letters, Reichenbach threatens to abandon his mission and travel to the emperor's court himself if he does not receive a decision by a certain deadline, reproachfully appealing to Serntein that:

even though I know you do not care whether I stay here or ride away, I still wanted to report this to you because of my good faith in you, because you are His Majesty's chancellor [acting] in the name of His Majesty and also because of my great distress.¹⁵⁹

Certainly Reichenbach could not have addressed the emperor directly in this way, at least in his official capacity. And certainly, he still expected the message to

¹⁵⁴Stollenmayer, 1920, 21 (transl. mine). Similarly Metzsig, 2016, 151 on the sources of the diplomatic mission at Blois in 1504/05, according to whom the side letters (*Begleitschreiben*) from Lang to Serntein are the most revealing on diplomatic practice.

¹⁵⁵Stollenmayer, 1920, 21 (transl. mine).

¹⁵⁶Moser, 1977, 205 (transl. mine).

¹⁵⁷Cf. Noflatscher, 1999, 300, 328.

¹⁵⁸On a recent introduction to early modern Swiss diplomacy see Rindlisbacher Thomi, 2024; cf. also Würzler, 2013.

¹⁵⁹...und wiewol ich weiß, das euch nichts daran gelegen ist ob ich hie beleib oder wegreit, so hab ich euch doch denocht auß gutem vertrauen und als ksl. Mt. cantzler in namen ir Mt., auch meiner mercklichen grossen noturfft nach hiemit solichs anzaigen wellen, Wilhelm Reichenbach to Zyprian von Serntein on 3 June 1514, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-3-92.

come across, explicitly reminding Serntein of his formal role as the emperor's chancellor. Similarly, Johann Storch, another envoy to the Swiss diets, sent at least four letters on 26 December 1512. Apparently he forwarded two copies of his official dispatch to the emperor in letters to both Matthäus Lang and Paul von Liechtenstein. In another letter to Serntein, accompanying the official dispatch to Maximilian, he only briefly refers to the official report. Instead he urges Serntein to get the emperor to allow him to return because of his illness, he asks for financial support and informs Serntein about a special fermented cheese he was going to send to court.¹⁶⁰

Even though these letters are more informal in tone and often invoke the trustful relationship with the addressee, we should be careful to consider them 'private' in the sense that they were for the eyes of author and recipient only, as I have shown with Reichenbach's letter in which the emperor was clearly a secondary audience.¹⁶¹ This is even more apparent with another example, a letter from the important humanistic physician, imperial counsellor and diplomat Johannes Cuspinian to the vidame Lorenz Saurer. In his letter, Cuspinian provides Saurer with a detailed (and partially ciphered) update of his mission to the Hungarian court. He addresses Saurer, his close confidant and godfather to one of his children, as 'dear kind lord and godfather' (*freuntlicher lieber herr und gevatter*) and frequently invokes Saurer's confidentiality. He closes his letter with the request to relate his message to the emperor to the extent Saurer deems necessary "because I do not write to His Majesty nor anyone other than you."¹⁶² How come a letter that seems to be solely directed at Lorenz Saurer today only survives as a copy in the *Maximiliana* collection of 'state papers'? In this particular case, it is a note in Saurer's hand on the bottom of the copy which provides the solution. It reads: "this is the copy of the letter which Doctor Cuspinian has sent to me from Ofen." Obviously, it must have been Saurer himself who transmitted Cuspinian's letter to court, most likely either to Serntein or Maximilian. We encounter claims to exclusivity like the one above – having nobody else to turn to, writing to nobody else – rather frequently in letters, particularly in combination with proclamations of trust.¹⁶³ In my understanding, these claims to exclusivity should not be understood as signifying a 'private' exchange, but rather as a rhetorical device to affirm an informal relationship and to signal intimacy and friendship,¹⁶⁴ more of which we will see in the following section.

4.3 Informal Communication Channels at the Habsburg Court

4.3.1 Gatekeepers and Trusted Friends

There are various traces of correspondence via informal channels in the records of the *Maximiliana*, many more have been lost or were preserved in private archives

¹⁶⁰Cf. Johann Storch to Zyprian von Serntein on 26 December 1512, HHStA/Maximiliana, 28-4-42; Johann Storch to Paul von Liechtenstein on 26 December 1512, *ibid.*, 28-4-41; Johann Storch to Maximilian on 26 December 1512, *ibid.*, 28-4-43.

¹⁶¹For another interesting example of the very subtle evidence for implicit secondary audiences in letter-writing see Magnusson, 1999, 94–99; and on the interplay of informal and formal channels in fifteenth-century Switzerland see Walter-Bogedain, 2016.

¹⁶²...und wist ksl. Mt. verrer aller sach, was not ist, wol zu undterrichten, wann ich schreib noch ksl. Mt. noch nyemants andern, dan euch, Johannes Cuspinian to Lorenz Saurer on 7 September 1514, HHStA/Maximiliana, 32-3-14; the letter is edited in Ankwicz-Kleehoven, 1933, 60–67.

¹⁶³See e.g. HHStA/Maximiliana, 21-1-4; *ibid.*, 27-3-43; or *ibid.*, 32-1-8.

¹⁶⁴The same can be said of requests to destroy letters according to Hunt, 2016 or the practice of sending holograph letters. For the latter see the contributions in Feller and Lackner, 2016. For Maximilian's autograph handwriting see Zajic, 2019a; and Zajic, 2019b.

(for the afterlife of these letters see ch. 6.2). The one correspondence I would like to examine in more detail in the following section – parts of which I have edited in the Appendix A – was maintained between two high-ranking Habsburg officials, Zyprian von Serntein and Lorenz Saurer. Zyprian von Northeim (typically referred to as Serntein or Sernteiner) (c.1457–1524) alongside Paul von Liechtenstein and Matthäus Lang is considered one of the closest confidants of Maximilian I and part of the impenetrable thicket (*Hecke*) one had to pass to get access to Maximilian according to the complaints of contemporaries.¹⁶⁵ Serntein, who came from the Tyrolean lower aristocracy and a family that had been in Habsburg service for generations, started his career in the chancellery of Archduke Sigmund of Tyrol in 1482. After Maximilian's takeover of Tyrol he rose through the ranks to become both Tyrolean chancellor and was in 1509 formally appointed court chancellor after the death of his predecessor, a duty he had already performed as an administrator (*Verweser*) since 1500. At times, Serntein also (reluctantly) participated in *ad-hoc* diplomatic missions, most notably the mission to France in 1504.¹⁶⁶ Lorenz Saurer (c.1456–1523), born into the Salzburg urban elite, also seems to have joined Archduke Sigmund's service in 1485.¹⁶⁷ For some time, Saurer worked as factor for the court tailor Martin Trumer and in 1508 he was appointed vidame of the territory that today largely equals modern Lower Austria. As vidame, Saurer was responsible for the administration of the prince's domain (*Kammergut*) in Lower Austria, an office which he held (at least nominally) until his death. From 1510 he was a member of the Lower Austrian *Raitkammer*, and in 1512 was made a member of the Lower Austrian *Regiment* against strong resistance from the body. Saurer participated in various diplomatic missions as well, perhaps most importantly to the Jagiellonian court in Budapest in 1514 and 1515.

In my understanding, the correspondence between Zyprian von Serntein and Lorenz Saurer is a particularly good example of letter-writing among Habsburg officials specifically with respect to the issue of formal vs. informal channels (see the Appendix A for a brief description of the correspondence). When initially reading their letters, I kept asking myself why Serntein and Saurer corresponded in the first place. Both of them were high-ranking administrative officials certainly, yet there are no discernible formal stipulations which would explain the regular correspondence between court chancellor and the vidame of the duchy of Lower Austria. According to an often-cited passage from 1494, Serntein might have been formally designated as contact person for the Lower Austrian governors.¹⁶⁸ Another draft in the records of the *Maximiliana* instructs a list of major administrative bodies and office-holders – among them the *Regiment* but significantly not the vidames – to address Serntein in their reports to Maximilian.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, it seems that members of the *Regiment* such as Wolfgang von Polheim and Chancellor Sigmund Schneidpeck stayed in regular

¹⁶⁵On this triumvirate cf. Hollegger, 2014. On Serntein cf. especially Wiesflecker, 1986, 237–240; and Schön, 2015, 7–18; the biographical study by Hyden, 1973 is of mediocre quality and heavily dependent (often verbatim) on the more substantial but equally tendentious Stollenmayer, 1920. For a recent evaluation of Serntein's position at court see the forthcoming Dünnebeil, forthcoming. I would like to thank Sonja Dünnebeil for kindly making her forthcoming paper available to me.

¹⁶⁶For a recent analysis see Metzger, 2016, 141–202.

¹⁶⁷On Saurer see especially Wiesflecker, 1986, 265–270; the only biographical study of Saurer by Graf, 1979 is not easily accessible and (understandably) does not offer much in the way of analysis.

¹⁶⁸For a transcription of said letter from the Lower Austrian *Regiment* to Caspar von Meckau according to which then King Maximilian had referred to Serntein as *sollicitatorem* for the Lower Austrian *Regiment* see Kraus, 1875, 99.

¹⁶⁹The draft is undated (created between 1502–1510) and might never have been put into effect. See TLA/Maximiliana/14, Varia aus der Kanzlei, no. 210.

contact with Serntein. Saurer in his office as vidame, on the other hand, was formally responsible for managing the royal domains in Lower Austria, i.e. the Habsburg territories between Vienna and Linz and down south to what today is modern Slovenia, and as such came in contact with the court primarily with regard to financial issues. The two correspondents were not connected by any family ties either, which after all would not have been unusual for the political and administrative elite of the time.¹⁷⁰ Finally, the sources suggest that they rarely met in person, with Serntein either in Innsbruck or travelling with the peripatetic court and Saurer mostly staying put in Vienna. In spite of all that, they kept in regular contact, exchanging news and compliments, voicing their opinions on political issues, arranging business deals and providing counsel. As a result, their correspondence has been described as 'familiar.'¹⁷¹

An attentive reader might remember Vidame Lorenz Saurer from Martin Siebenbürger's account (see ch. 1.1) as one of the men accused of venality. In fact, Siebenbürger has recorded the only outsider's account (to my knowledge) of a meeting between Lorenz Saurer and Zyprian von Serntein. Siebenbürger had travelled to Augsburg sometime in the spring of 1513 to deliver the Lauffner court files to Maximilian personally, as he did not trust the postal service which was managed by Lorenz Saurer. In his attempt to obtain an audience with the emperor, he records the following scene which I will quote here at length:

Finally, I decided to ride to Augsburg to see His Majesty. As soon as I arrived there, I was questioned by Vidame Saurer as to what I was doing here, although he must have known about the matter through the post. I replied that I was travelling to Öttingen on a pilgrimage and so happened to pass Augsburg on the way, which he did not believe. So I told him the reason for my journey: "I understand that I was brought into great disfavour with the emperor by my ill-wishers because of the Lauffner case. I am here to justify myself before His Majesty, to tell the truth and to spare no one." Saurer then assured me that I had a gracious master in His Majesty and that he was going to lead me to the emperor himself. So I went with Saurer to the court (*in die paltz*) where he kept me waiting for 4 hours. When he returned, he had brought Chancellor Serntein with him. Serntein said: "Doctor, I understand you would like to meet His Majesty. What is your business with Him? Do you mean to talk about L[auffner]?" I told him it had nothing to do with him. Then the vidame said: "You have written and spoken that you want to report the cause and the truth of the Lauffner case to His Majesty" – "Yes, if His Majesty feels any disfavour towards me, that is what I will do." After Serntein had left, Saurer said that he wanted to take me to the emperor tomorrow, which displeased me, as I knew very well how to get to His Majesty myself. But he wanted to hear what I had to say to His Majesty. In the end, I did not speak to His Majesty about Lauffner, because the emperor did not raise the matter, but His Majesty promised to be my gracious master and asked me to put my request in writing if I desired anything. Now, however, I did not want to request anything more, but commended myself to the emperor and went home again.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰Cf. Noflatscher, 1999.

¹⁷¹For example Wiesflecker, 1986, 269; Hollegger, 1983, 289; Noflatscher, 1999, 82.

¹⁷²*Aber ich hab bey myr enntlich beschlossn und zu der ksl. Mt. geryttn, die zu Augspurg gefunden. Alspaldt ich dahin khomen, hat vitztumb Sawr mit myr gehandelt was ich da thu, wiewol er die handlung durch die post*

The chancellor and vidame in this scene are described by Siebenbürger as nothing less than gatekeepers, implicated in the *gesellschaft* that had been undermining his prosecution of Lauffner. He evidently thought the episode was worthy of committing to memory as it showed the voluntary collusion of Serntein as one of the highest officers at court with his adversaries. As it turns out, Saurer and Serntein on the other hand fondly remembered their meeting in Augsburg. Saurer had announced his departure for Worms in late February, where the emperor's court was to be expected for the imperial diet.¹⁷³ Maximilian, however, who was supposed to be at the opening of the diet in January already, was anywhere but at Worms, only paying a short visit in June later that year.¹⁷⁴ Saurer, who was accompanied by a wagon of 'necessities' (*mit etlicher notturfft*) including delicacies such as beluga sturgeon and Lenten fare,¹⁷⁵ finally came across the emperor at Augsburg where Maximilian spent a good month between March and April 1513. We do not know exactly why Saurer took the journey upon himself, but he certainly had reason enough to do so. The Lower Austrian *Regiment* had been in upheaval for some time.¹⁷⁶ For one, Wolfgang von Polheim had recently died and Maximilian had not yet appointed a successor as head of the *Regiment*. Frequent skirmishes between the kingdom of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire created a tense situation at the border. And of course there was the Lauffner scandal, in which a number of *Regiment* members had been accused of taking bribes. For this and other reasons, the dissatisfaction with the government ruling on behalf of the remote emperor was such, that calls to civil unrest and death threats were publicly displayed in Vienna.¹⁷⁷ Surely, Saurer had plenty to discuss with Maximilian as well as with Serntein, whom he had most likely already met in the service of Archduke Sigmund. Months after their meeting in Augsburg, both Serntein and Saurer would still refer to their confidential conversations (*vertrautten reden*) they had had in private.¹⁷⁸ In the secluded space of Serntein's chamber in an Augsburg inn, they most likely discussed issues which either of them were cautious

iemaln gewist. Hab geantwurt ich sey khirchfarttn gezogen gegen Öting und also gar gegn Augspurg khämen, des er nit gelaubn welln. Hab im also grund des handel bericht: "ich verstee ksl. Mt. trag gros ungenad gegn myr von wegen des L. durch angeb etlicher meiner mysgunner, bin darumb da, das ich mich well entschuldigen gegen sein Mt. und die warhayt anzaigen darin nyemant verschonen." Hat Saurer gesagt ich hab ainen g. h. an der ksl. Mt., das soll ich entfindn, dan er wel mich zu seiner Mt. selbst fuern. Bin also mit dem Sawrer in die paltz zu Augspurg gangen, hat er mich hayssen warttn, das ich gethan. Bin von 6 bis auff x ur in stätter warttund gewest. Erst ist Sawrer mit dem Serenteiner cantzler zu myr khömen, cantzler gesagt "her doctor ich vernym ir wärdt gern bey der ksl. Mt., was welt ir mit sein Mt. handln? Wilt ir was von wegen des L. anpringen?" Hab ich antwurd geben ich hab nichtz mit im zu thuen. Vitztumb paldt gesprochen: "Habt in doch geschriebl und gesprochen, welt ksl. Mt. in des L. sach aller grund und warhait berichtn," – "ja, so ich verstee ainicherlay ungnad bey seiner Mt. well ich das mit allen fleis thuen." Ist Serenteiner weggangen, vitztumb geredt, morgen wel er mich zu dem khayser pringen, das ich nicht gern gesehn dan ich zu der ksl. Mt. zukhömen woll gewest hab, aber er hat welln vernemen was ich handln. Ich hab aber nichtz von wegen des La. gehandelt, dan die ksl. Mt. sich der sachen nichtz beschwert noch merkhln lassen, sunder myr zugesagt wel meyn g. her sein und was ich von seiner Mt. beger sol ich zu geschryft stellen, wel gar meyn g. her sein. Nun hab ich nichtz begern wellen, sunder mich seiner Mt. bevolhn und haym gezogen, ÖNB Cod. 8134, fol. 104v–105r; see also Kraus, 1873, 95–96 who offers another interpretation of the scene due to his different reading of the admittedly challenging passage.

¹⁷³See Appendix A.3.

¹⁷⁴Cf. Seyboth, 2023.

¹⁷⁵Cf. the permit for Saurer from 21 February 1513, FHKA/*Gedenkbuch* 18, fol. 145.

¹⁷⁶For the troublesome situation of the Lower Austrian *Regiment* around the year 1513 in particular see Perger, 1990, esp. 14–31; for a recent paper on the Lower Austrian hereditary lands see also Zajic, 2022.

¹⁷⁷For the poem affixed to a building in a public spot referencing the violent deposition of the city council in Cologne in January 1513 see Perger, 1990, 26; for the unrest in Cologne during which multiple council members were executed see Irsigler, 2017.

¹⁷⁸See Appendix A.12, A.19, A.20, A.23.

to commit to paper, including the Lauffner scandal which is conspicuously absent from the surviving letters between Serntein and Saurer. The encounter with Martin Siebenbürger cited above suggests that the Lauffner scandal had indeed been a topic discussed between vidame and chancellor. I believe the exchange between Saurer and Serntein in the Augsburg inn to have coincided with a pivotal moment in their (epistolary) relationship, which is reflected in the increasing density of letters exchanged in the following months.

Let us take a closer look at how the correspondents themselves described their relationship in order to answer the question why they so frequently wrote each other letters. I have already talked about the confidential conversation Zyprian von Serntein and Lorenz Saurer had enjoyed in Augsburg. In the letters that followed this exchange, they would each re-affirm their relationship of trust in writing.¹⁷⁹ On Saurer's assurance that Serntein need not worry that he would make every effort to follow Serntein's orders – not very modestly adding that he only wished everyone was as diligent in the service for the good of the emperor as himself –,¹⁸⁰ Serntein replies:

I am particularly pleased with your answer and I know that you gladly take care of what is asked of you from me or others, for I have known you for so long and from a young age; that you have been good-willed and diligent in all your affairs. And it is your good will and diligence that have raised you to this position (*in disen stannd unnd wesen pracht*), and I hope that you will be elevated even further, which would please me and in which I will support you to the best of my ability.¹⁸¹

To this, Saurer responds:

I have received your gracious intention to help me reach greater honours in all my affairs because of my faithful diligence. I have been favoured by Your Grace all my days since my youth, and I hope to keep your favour and merit it with faithful diligence. Your Grace can trust and rely on me to carry out the affairs of His Majesty as I am obliged to His Majesty and God the Almighty. I will entrust myself to Your Grace as my gracious lord in all affairs.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹On the establishment of trust in letters see Jucker, 2008; on the importance of trust in early modern politics see Hirschbiegel, 2015.

¹⁸⁰Cf. Appendix A.21.

¹⁸¹*Weiter als ir mir anzeigt, daz ich nit zweifel bedurff tragen, was ich euch bevell es soll kain not bey euch haben, sonnder mit fleiss aufgericht werden etc. Desselben hab ich sonnder guet gefallen von euch unnd wais woll was euch von mir oder anndern zukumbt, das ir dasselb mit gutem vleiss auch willigklichen und gern aufricht, dann ich hab euch solanng zeit her von jugent auf erkennt, daz ir in allen allen [sic] euren sachen guetwillig und fleissig gewesen seit unnd derselb eur gueter will und fleiss hat euch in disen stannd unnd wesen pracht unnd erhebt. Unnd bin der hoffnung, ir werdet damit noch heher komen unnd erhebt werden, das ich euch dann woll gonnen, auch sovil in mir unnd muglichen ist euch darzue treulichen helffen unnd furdersam sein, see Appendix A.26.*

¹⁸²*Verer in dem dritten euer g. schreiben hab ich vernomen euer genaden genedigs gemuet, das mir euer gnaden erzaigt mir durch meines getreuen fleiss willen, in allen meinen hanndlung auch zu mereren und grosern ernn verholffen zu sein. Ich hab bissher all mein tag von jugennt auff von euren g. besunder genadt gehabt, in hofnung dermasen zu halten damit die von mir nimer abgewennt werden, auch mit getreuen fleis umb euer g. verthienn. Euer g. mag sich auch enntlich zu mir versechen und getrosten, ksl. Mt. sachen woll erberlich und frumcklich wie ich das gegen Got dem almechtigen und ksl. Mt. zu verantwurten wais ausrichten. Will mich in allen sachen euren g. als meinem g. herrn bevelchen, see Appendix A.28.*

What might appear to be distinctly personal to the modern reader is an exchange which follows a pretty standard repertoire of expressions common in clientage relationships. This does not mean, however, that Saurer's and Serntein's mutual assertions of service and favour were necessarily 'insincere.' Much like the exchange of letters itself, it emphasizes the mutual demonstration of service, friendship, and trust in an economy of gift exchange. What the above exchange displays is an openly utilitarian relationship to support the pursuit of advancement in exchange for personal loyalty, only barely masked by the reference to the emperor's good – which is to say the common good.¹⁸³ The correspondence between Serntein and Saurer frequently signals this adherence to the symbolic expression of service and favour.¹⁸⁴ For instance, Saurer's excuse for troubling Serntein with a long letter (of course having taken the trouble of writing it with his own hand) is answered by Serntein graciously: had Saurer sent him an even longer letter, he would still have read it.¹⁸⁵ These and other examples – such as Saurer referring to himself as Serntein's *factor*¹⁸⁶ – follow established conventions of maintaining social relationships at a distance and serve to continue the epistolary exchange.¹⁸⁷

To a lesser extent subject to established forms and perhaps more interesting with regard to an evaluation of Saurer's and Serntein's relationship are what I perceive to be examples of irony or sarcasm in their letters. There is, for instance, Saurer's dry remark regarding the recent death of the Lower Austrian *Regiment's* head, Wolfgang von Polheim, with whom Saurer had had a difficult relationship in the past. In reply to Serntein's conciliatory use of a proverb that one should let the dead rest, Saurer quips that he certainly would not want to wake Polheim up again.¹⁸⁸ In another exchange between Serntein and Saurer, the chancellor promises to provide Saurer with a rich widow to which Saurer replies he would indeed prefer a rich widow over a poor one considering his expenses.¹⁸⁹ It is these and other passages which lead me to think their relationship was more complex (perhaps in terms of a political alliance) than the language shaped by the rhetoric of superiority and inferiority would suggest.

In any case, we can conclude that the communication channel between Zyprian von Serntein and Lorenz Saurer was not a formal requirement but based on their informal relationship which they frequently affirmed in their letters. It is interesting to note here with regard to the question of formal vs. informal channels that Serntein – in contrast to Lorenz Saurer – was in the habit of sending multiple letters a day to his correspondents, each dealing with separate issues.¹⁹⁰ As it happens, the letter enthusiastically praising Saurer's diligence and emphasizing their trustful relationship was just one of four letters he sent to the vidame that day of which only two survive,¹⁹¹ the other dealing solely with a request for Saurer to acquire saltpetre for the Upper Austrian *Regiment* (A.27). At first glance, these two letters do not seem to differ from each other much in style. However, upon close reading it seems

¹⁸³On the self-perception of officials see ch. 6.1.

¹⁸⁴On the codified language in early modern letters see e.g. Kühner, 2011; Neuschel, 1989, esp. 69–78; Schneider, 2005, esp. 101–105.

¹⁸⁵See Appendix A.28 and A.30 respectively.

¹⁸⁶Cf. Appendix A.1.

¹⁸⁷On the crucial issue of maintaining epistolary continuity see Schneider, 2005, 56–59.

¹⁸⁸*Als mir eur g. des von Polhaim halbn anzaigt, es sey hin, tod unnd ab, man sol die todtn rueen und lign lassen, mag ich wol leiden. Wil in sonnder zweifl nicht aufwegkhenn*, see Appendix A.1.

¹⁸⁹See Appendix A.28 and A.30.

¹⁹⁰This explains the discrepancy in numbers of letters sent between Saurer and Serntein as seen in fig. A.1.

¹⁹¹According to Saurer's confirmation of receipt in Appendix A.28.

evident why Serntein split his message in several letters. In the second letter, dealing with the acquisition of saltpetre, he addresses the vidame not individually but in concert with the Upper Austrian *Regiment* and *Raitkammer*. The first letter however, the one invoking their long history of trust, Serntein himself tellingly describes as having been sent as “a seperate letter” (*in ainem sonndern brief von mir*).¹⁹² Even though Serntein was not consistent in this practice, to be sure, we can nevertheless see indications of a differentiation according to subject and formal and informal communication.

4.3.2 A Struggle for Access

The cases of both Zyprian von Serntein and Lorenz Saurer also serve to illustrate another issue mentioned above, the question of access to formal and informal channels of written communication.

Lorenz Saurer for one undoubtedly held an informal position of power in the Lower Austrian *Regiment* and at court far exceeding his formal status as vidame of the duchy of Lower Austria. This has long been a point of contention for historians. Sigmund Adler, in one of the first comprehensive studies on the central and regional administrative bodies, described Saurer as symptomatic of what he considered a threat of the personal element to the emerging state apparatus. In Adler’s view, the Lower Austrian *Regiment* had not yet reached the evolutionary stage of its Upper Austrian counterpart, where the institutions were already developed enough to have prevented the existence of such favourites as Saurer and where officials already saw themselves as mere enforcers of an order to which the individual had to submit.¹⁹³ In light of the plethora of works on the significance of patronage structures and social networks for premodern statecraft, of course, the grand narrative of the emergence of the rational modern state and the disinterested civil servant does not hold much appeal anymore in the study of premodern administration.¹⁹⁴ Yet, if we consider a contemporary opinion on the ideal choice for the office of vidame, we find surprising similarities to Adler’s conviction regarding the expectations towards officials. According to this source from 1521, the ideal vidame is a foreigner which is to say he does not possess large properties and does not have many ‘friends’ in the territory. Everything a pious, loyal and diligent vidame requires, according to the text, is a lord that protects him.¹⁹⁵ A vidame’s most important quality is thus to be impervious to the demands from his environment.

Though certainly far from being without means, Lorenz Saurer was indeed both a foreigner and from somewhat humble station. Most importantly, in his office he was formally subjected only to the emperor. This does not mean he was disconnected from his environment. Even though we know little of his background, he was for one known to be a patron of local humanist societies in Vienna,¹⁹⁶ and – as we know from the Lauffner scandal – brother-in-law to city judge Pelchinger. Saurer seems to have been on good terms with the merchant elite of Vienna as well. In 1510, Saurer asked Zyprian von Serntein in a holograph postscript to one of his letters to procure a trading license for the affluent Vienna citizen Jeronim Kiesling, adding

¹⁹²Described as such in Appendix A.30.

¹⁹³Cf. Adler, 1886, 300–303.

¹⁹⁴See e.g. the classic Chittolini, 1995.

¹⁹⁵For the opinion related to Archduke Ferdinand in 1521 cf. Adler, 1886, 308–309.

¹⁹⁶Cf. Zajic, 2017a, esp. 374–376, 406–409.

that “I expect I shall benefit from this through the friendship he might bestow on me.”¹⁹⁷

Within the *Regiment*, on the other hand, Saurer seems to have been met with distinct hostility. This might have had to do with his being a foreigner, most likely however, it was due to his ever-increasing authority to the detriment of the *Regiment*. As Manfred Hollegger has pointed out, Saurer’s authority was indeed much greater than his formal office would allow.¹⁹⁸ Most importantly for present purposes, Saurer had gained access to vital communication channels. For example, in 1510 the Lower Austrian *Regiment* sent a complaint to Maximilian regarding access to the postal network. According to the complaint, the post had sometimes been sent off without their knowledge and letters from court had been sent to persons outside the *Regiment* (*personen ausserhalb des regiments*), contravening royal orders that the *Regiment* was to oversee the management of the post.¹⁹⁹ Even though the letter does not mention Saurer by name, later developments suggest that the complaint was actually referring to him. In 1512, Saurer was made member of the *Regiment* by Maximilian against the outspoken objection of its members and in the same year Maximilian decided the conflict over the access to the postal service, decreeing that any post from the *Regiment* to the court was to be delivered to Saurer first.²⁰⁰ Thus, Lorenz Saurer’s informal access to communication channels had been formalized after the fact.

Zyprian von Serntein for one had been sending Saurer court mail to distribute before the vidame had formally been authorized to manage the post.²⁰¹ As we will see in another chapter, the chancellor would frequently send news to Saurer as well (see ch. 5), to the point that he would refer to his letters to Saurer when asked for news by individual members of the *Regiment*.²⁰² To be sure, when sending news to Saurer, Serntein would usually ask Saurer to relate them to the *Regiment* as well; yet when Saurer once protested that this was inconvenient to him, Serntein replied:

I have always left it up to you to relate to them [the governors] as much as pleases you and you think is good for them to know. But if you think something is not good for them to know, you may refrain from doing so.²⁰³

In short, Saurer also enjoyed privileged access to news through his informal correspondence, for instance with Chancellor Serntein. Most likely, the vidame’s privileged access to information had to do with his role in the diplomatic relations to neighbouring Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia. Lorenz Saurer maintained regular correspondences with diplomats such as Johannes Cuspinian, received intelligence from different sources at the Hungarian court and frequently participated in diplomatic missions himself.²⁰⁴ By 1513, it seems he had made himself indispensable in

¹⁹⁷*Versich mich, soll mir auch zu guet kumben durch fruntschaft, die er mir thain mag*, Saurer to Serntein on 24 October 1510, TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, VI.110. On Jeronim Kiesling, who was a member of the city council as well as the Fugger’s factor in Vienna until his death in 1512 see Perger, 1981, 14–20; also recently Kohn, 2015, 156.

¹⁹⁸For Hollegger’s estimation of Saurer see Hollegger, 1983, esp. 290–291.

¹⁹⁹Lower Austrian *Regiment* to Maximilian on 5 June 1510, HHStA/Maximiliana, 22-2-11.

²⁰⁰See a summary of the royal order from 22 November 1512 in Schuster, 1896, 18.

²⁰¹See e.g. TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, VIII.2; HHStA/Maximiliana, 23-4-12; *ibid.*, 23-4-36.

²⁰²Zyprian von Serntein to Johann Schneidpeck on 22 February 1512, HHStA/Maximiliana, 26-4-40; and TLA/Maximiliana/14.1513.II.103.

²⁰³*Nu hab ich euch alwegen dabey geschriben und haimgestellt, was ir wellt und vermaint gut seyn, daz man inen anzaig, das sollt ir tun. Bedeuucht euch aber etwas nit gut seye, so sollt ir diselben underwegen lassen, see Appendix A.23.*

²⁰⁴Some of the letters from Cuspinian to Saurer are edited in Ankwicz-Kleehoven, 1933.

the communication network supporting the negotiations with the king of Hungary. In February 1513, shortly before Saurer's trip to Augsburg, Maximilian urged the vidame through Serntein to appoint a deputy who would guarantee that letters from Cuspinian or the Kingdom of Hungary were forwarded to Saurer in his absence.²⁰⁵ Lorenz Saurer's access to formal and informal communication channels, particularly regarding the diplomatic efforts with neighbouring Hungary, made him a valuable source of information for Zyprian von Serntein as well. The latter had expressed an interest in pursuing negotiations with the king of Hungary to draw him into the Italian War as recently as December 1512.²⁰⁶

Turning now to Chancellor Serntein, it may seem inappropriate to discuss his correspondence regarding the issue of access to formal and informal communication channels. After all, as court chancellor Serntein had access to official channels almost by default. We have seen in the introduction to this chapter as well as in instructions cited above, that the court chancellor as *scrinium principis* was often cited as the formal point of contact for business to be delivered to the emperor. Moreover, many of those who wished to lend added weight to their concerns addressed Serntein through informal channels, for instance with side letters (see ch. 4.2). What makes Serntein's case worth discussing nevertheless is the situation he found himself in for a period of several months in 1513, in which his access to communication channels at court was severely restricted. What had happened? In the summer of 1513, while successfully avoiding participation at the imperial diet at Worms, Maximilian had decided to join King Henry VIII and his invasion force in the siege of Théroutanne in France.²⁰⁷ Serntein did not accompany Maximilian on this mission from which the emperor would only return in October. For a period of several months, Serntein mostly stayed in Innsbruck, apparently in close co-operation with the Upper Austrian *Regiment*. His absence from court has unanimously been interpreted in research as a fall from grace.²⁰⁸ It is certainly true that already in 1509, in an often cited letter to Paul von Liechtenstein, Serntein expressed his concerns with a group at court that wished for Serntein to fall out of favour with the emperor.²⁰⁹ Serntein himself, in a very resentful letter to his confidant Vinzenz Rockner, accused the emperor of being influenced by his adversaries and pushing him from court.²¹⁰ According to Serntein, it was public knowledge how he was curtailed in his office and he was frequently confronted with rumours of Maximilian planning to make a sham of the office of chancellor and instead use the secretaries to conduct all business.²¹¹

The parallels with the seventeenth-century grievances cited at the beginning of this chapter are obvious. Even though the chancellor had formally been equipped

²⁰⁵For Serntein's letter to Saurer on 4 February and 14 February 1513 see Appendix A.2 and A.4.

²⁰⁶Letter from Zyprian von Serntein to Matthäus Lang on 26 December 1512, HHStA/Maximiliana, 28-4-45. For the previous unsuccessful attempts to commit the king of Hungary to supporting Maximilian's war by invading Dalmatia see Wiesflecker, 1981, 157–158.

²⁰⁷One of the most comprehensive accounts of this expedition is still Busch, 1910.

²⁰⁸According to Hollegger, 1983, 125 Serntein was absent from court between May and October 1513; see also Hollegger, 2014, 92; Wiesflecker, 1986, 239–240.

²⁰⁹Zyprian von Serntein to Paul von Liechtenstein on 3 April 1509, HHStA/Maximiliana, 20-3-8. The letter is printed in Kraus, 1875, 120–125.

²¹⁰...das k. mt. mich von dem hoff schieb vnd das etlich ain punt ober mich gemacht haben, den kaiser mit vngnaden gegen mir zubewegen vnd dermassen das ich vom hof komen vnd mir villeicht darzue ander vngnad auch begeben sol, Zyprian von Serntein to Vinzenz Rockner on 9 October 1513. For a transcription of the letter, which unfortunately today is nowhere to be found, see *ibid.*, 125–130: 127 (quote).

²¹¹[...] wie man mir in mein ambt am hoff greift das sey offentlich. So sagen etlich der kaiser welle mein am in ainen schein, damit ich von hoff khomb, abthun vnd dasselb ainem andern lassen oder sich der secretäre allain behelffen. Die reden geen hin vnd wider, *ibid.*, 127.

with access to every document that arrived at or left the chancellery, there were informal routes to take at court, undermining his authority; a phenomenon which we have already encountered in a different context with Georg von Rottal's attempt to send a supplication to the emperor via the secretary Vinsterwalder (see ch. 1.1). There were specific regulations in place with regard to supplications which could, however, be bypassed through informal contacts.²¹² Thus, informal access to Maximilian at the sixteenth century Habsburg court which has been characterized as exhibiting a "relaxed traditional courtly style"²¹³ could leave the chancellor oblivious to matters formally subject to his authority. In 1512 for instance, Matthäus Lang confronted Serntein with a document according to which Hans von Auersperg had received a fief which Lang had been wanting to procure for his own diocese. To this Serntein apologetically replies:

You must believe me that I had no knowledge of how, when or in what form this document (*brief*) is supposed to have been drawn up and issued. Nor did I ever see any such document carrying a signature or seal with my own eyes. I am aware that these and other matters are carried out without my knowledge and behind my back.²¹⁴

Thus, even before his long-term absence from court the following year, Serntein was well aware of informal groups in the chancellery that tried to undermine his authority. Of course, Serntein had his own group of supporters among the secretaries, to whom he was connected not only by way of superiority, but also through informal relationships. This he mentions in a letter to Michael von Wolkenstein in October 1513, where he assures Wolkenstein that in his absence from court he has instructed "his people" at court (*den meinen die ich in meinem abwesen zu hoff hab*) to negotiate in his place.²¹⁵ During his absence from court in 1513, then, Serntein kept in regular contact with 'his people,' who quite literally had the ear of the emperor – Vinzenz Rockner for instance once transmitted a secret message from Serntein to the emperor by whispering in Maximilian's ear.²¹⁶ Rockner also provided Serntein with information on the emperor's moves and news on the war. Most importantly, he represented Serntein's interests at court. When Maximilian was hesitant to sign a deed for a mining fief that the chancellor had sent to his confidant, Rockner convinced the emperor by urging him to consider Serntein's faithful service.²¹⁷ Like

²¹²On the procedure of supplicating to the emperor around 1500 see Lackner, 2015; and Krajicek, 2021.

²¹³On this and the issue of access at the Austrian Habsburg courts more generally see Hengerer, 2016; for example, according to Lutter, 1998, 158–160, apart from formal audiences it was characteristic of Maximilian to frequently discuss foreign affairs with the diplomats of foreign powers in more informal settings.

²¹⁴*Darauf fug ich euch zu wissen und sollt mir warlich glauben, das ich gantz khain wissen gehabt, wie, wann oder was gstellt solh brief aufricht und gefertigt sein sollen. Mir ist auch derselbe kainer, weder mit unterschreiben oder siglen zu augen komen. Und merkh wol das die und annder hendl ye ausser meins wissen und mir zurugk ausgericht werden*, Zyprian von Serntein to Matthäus Lang on 5 July 1512, HHStA/Maximiliana, 27-4-17.

²¹⁵Zyprian von Serntein to Michael von Wolkenstein on 16 October 1513, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-1-30.

²¹⁶...*daz ich irer Mt. die maynung in ain or haimlich gesagt*, Vinzenz Rockner to Zyprian Serntein on 11 June 1512, HHStA/Maximiliana, 27-3-21; this letter is partially edited in Seyboth, 2017, 2538–2539 (no. 1824). For further examples of Rockner passing on secret letters from Serntein to the emperor see HHStA/Maximiliana, 28-4-21; and *ibid.*, 28-4-6.

²¹⁷*Bat ich ir Mt. unangesehen solhs den gabbrief zu underzaichnen mit ermanung e. g. dinst etc. Darauf ir Mt. den brief verzaichent...*, Vinzenz Rockner to Zyprian von Serntein on 2 September 1513, TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, IX.49.

Saurer, Rockner affirmed his relationship to Serntein over a distance, yet we get a sense that the people attached to Serntein in the chancellery grew frustrated with the support their patron failed to provide them. In a letter to Serntein in September 1513, Rockner vividly describes the dire situation 'his people' found themselves in during the chancellor's long absence from court, which I will quote at length:

Rumour has it that Your Grace will remain in the *Regiment* at Innsbruck and will abstain from court. If this is Your Grace's decision, I ask you to confirm it and to let me know how to act accordingly. For it is burdensome to continue to serve like this. I have served in vain for long enough, yet I have always hoped that Your Grace would help me to receive a good reward from His Majesty; this I am still waiting for (*Des wil ich mich noch versehen bey e. g.*). So far I have done as much as has been in my power to Your Grace's benefit for which I have had to and probably will still have to recompense (*entgelten*) quite a few people. I do not have a good standing, as Your Grace has undoubtedly noticed, but if I was to receive something that befits my service, I would be well satisfied, because the way things are, I would much rather leave life at court (*hofwesen*) behind. They also tell me and others that are attached to you (*mir und anndern den eurn*) in private (*under augen*) that we should not expect any further support or advancement (*das man uns furder*) in the chancellery since we are in Your Grace's service in the chancellery, and we are already experiencing this. We are treated as ghosts (*lasst man uns umbgeen wie ainen schatten an der wendt*). When something has to be ingrossed that is not paid duly (*das zu fertigen ist und khainen nutz tregt*), we are ordered to do it. We cannot continue to serve like this, lest we lose all hope of future service.²¹⁸

Rockner's letter shows the competitive situation within the court chancellery and the precarious situation of those 'attached' to Serntein, who in his absence had to carry out badly paid work without any prospect of advancement. The implications of Rockner's letter are obvious. Zyprian von Serntein, from the perspective of 'his people,' was neglecting his informal duties of providing the prospect of princely favour; the most important duty of any patron. He was thus at risk of losing one of his most important confidants who had guaranteed his informal access to the court. Vinzenz Rockner would later indeed take the first opportunity to leave court that presented itself to him, the comfortable office of *Landschreiber* in Lower Austria which he assumed in January of 1515.

²¹⁸Die sag ist herniden bey etwovil leuthen e. g. werde zu Ynsprug beleiben in den regiment und sich des hofs entslagen. Were es e. g. maynung, bit ich dieselb mich des zuberichten und wes ich mich furter halten sulle, mich darnach wissen zuhalten. Dann dermassen wie bisher zu dienen ist mir beswerlich. Ich hab lang genug vergebens gedient und alweg der hofnung gewesen, e. g. wurde mir guter belonung bey ksl. Mt. verhelpen. Des wil ich mich noch versehen bey e. g. Ich hab bisher getan sovil an meinen vermugen gewesen ist, e. g. zu gutem, des ich dann bey etlichen nicht wenig entgillt und villeicht noch entgelten mus. So steet mein wesen nicht zu grossem ansehen wie e. g. ungzweifelt bisher gemerkht, sonnder wo mir etwas meinen dinsten gemeß wurde, were ich wol zufriden, dann als mich sachen ansehen, wolt ich das hofwesen vil lieber mussig sein. Man sagt auch mir und anndern den eurn under augen, wir uns khainsweegs versehen das man uns furder, dieweil wir in e. g. dinst der cantzley halben sein; sovil merkh man bey etlichen. So lasst man uns umbgeen wie ainen schatten an der wendt, sollt etwas fur daz zu fertigen ist und khainen nutz tregt, schikht man uns sunst nichts zue, wes wellen wir uns dann zeihen lang dermassen also zu dienen, es weren damit vergangen und kunfftig dinst auch zeitt und hofnung verlorn, Vinzenz Rockner to Zyprian Serntein on 2 September 1513, TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, IX.49.

Serntein's dry spell did not last very long. It seems that by the end of the year he was able to return to court and was back in the emperor's favour for the rest of Maximilian's reign. Contrary to his contemporary, Chancellor Bernhard Cles, Serntein had struggled in maintaining his formal authority in his absence from court.²¹⁹ In a situation like the one Serntein found himself in during the year 1513, he relied heavily on people like Lorenz Saurer who professed their loyalty to him and provided him with supplementary access to communication networks. That one of the main characteristics of their correspondence – as was the case with letters among officials more generally – was the exchange of news, a valuable currency at court, will be shown in the next chapter.

²¹⁹See the conclusion in Williams, 2016. However, Meg Williams has also shown Cles to be highly dependent on the secretary of the Latin expedition, Johannes May, to mediate between him and Ferdinand, with May's influence on foreign policy thus far exceeding his formal status.

Chapter 5

Expressions of Sociability

That sending news in letters was a social phenomenon rather than as a simple requirement of administration, is perhaps best expressed in a letter Thomas Cromwell (1485–1540), an influential minister under Henry VIII, wrote to the London merchant John Creke whom he addresses as “[esp]ecial and entyrelve belouyd Frende.” After expressing his gratitude for Creke’s “gentill and louyng *letteres*”, Cromwell goes on to apologize for his belated reply, continuing:

But at this present I being at Sum layser entending to remembre and also remunerate the olde acquayntaunces and to renew *our* not forgotten Sundrye *communycacions* Supposing ye desyre to know the newes curraunt in thes *partyes* for it is said that newes refresshith the spy[rit] of lyffe [...]²²⁰

Cromwell goes on to express his frustration with the political deliberations in parliament in a letter often cited for its cascade of hyperbolic descriptions of the state of public affairs. Of more interest to the current chapter, however, is Cromwell’s evaluation of ‘news’ cited above. Cromwell describes this news not as necessarily useful information, but as something to enjoy or relish, a means of re-connecting via letter, and as a commodity to be ‘remunerated.’ Likewise, research on the function of news has highlighted the genre’s diversity, from informing political decision-making processes to news as a “medium of socialization.”²²¹

In the following sections, I will examine the practice of sending news in letters; a phenomenon that has generated a rich tradition of research into questions of information-gathering, news networks, or the creation of a public sphere.²²² The practice of sending news will serve in this thesis above all to illustrate the ‘social function’ of letter-writing. The concern for epistolary continuity and maintaining relationships via correspondence is a central theme in the research on letters. As such, sharing news was one way of fulfilling informal expectations of sociability. It could support the maintenance of epistolary continuity and ultimately informal relationships. At the same time, the intensified circulation and the resulting shifting shapes of premodern news allows us to once again appreciate the permeable border and interaction between formal and informal channels of communication. In a first step, I will cover some of the central research on the character of premodern letters of news (ch. 5.1), before taking a leap off the beaten path in the discussion of the somewhat fragmentary evidence of letters of news and newsletters in the records of the *Maximiliana* (ch. 5.2). In the following case studies, I will take a closer look at

²²⁰Thomas Cromwell to John Creke on 17 August 1523, Merriman, 1902, 313 (no. 1). On Cromwell’s correspondence networks see recently Burge, 2022.

²²¹Droste and Hurd, 2021, 1.

²²²For an introduction see Dooley, 2010; Davies and Fletcher, 2014; Raymond and Moxham, 2016.

the circulation of news by example of Zyprian von Serntein's correspondence (ch. 5.3.1), before undertaking another attempt to map the grey area that is the exchange of news via formal and informal channels by considering expectations regarding the exchange of news in the correspondence of Zyprian von Serntein and others (ch. 5.3.2).

5.1 News in Premodern Correspondence

In 1522, Erasmus described the phenomenon of writing about news in his *De conscribendis epistolis*, a hugely influential treatise on humanistic letter-writing for the coming centuries.²²³ The scholar and humanist Erasmus, fashioning himself another Cicero or Quintilian, did not accredit much importance to the practice of writing news in his manual. For Erasmus, letters were primarily meant to artfully persuade and inspire in imitation of the ancients – an ill fit for the banality of reporting news. Consequently, he covered the writing of news in a section on 'extraordinary' letters (for which, significantly, he would later also use the term 'familiar letters') as an addition to the classical division based on the oration, even though he acknowledged that what he conceived of as 'extraordinary' was in fact a most ordinary phenomenon in his time.²²⁴ In the Middle Ages, writing about news in letters had still been a rarity as couriers had typically been entrusted with news and transmitted it orally when delivering a letter. With the increasing availability of paper from the late Middle Ages, however, information labelled 'news' steadily appeared in letters.²²⁵

But what even is 'news'? An often employed definition emphasizes the descriptive character of news which is neither appellative nor expressive in purpose, i.e. an 'objective' description of a certain state of affairs lacking personal opinions or evaluations.²²⁶ Another definition which aims to approximate the experience of contemporaries was recently suggested by Joad Raymond:

Anything that was mutually recognized as news in a communication, whether by word of mouth, by letter, or in print, anything that was accepted in answer to the question *What news?* was news.²²⁷

For some time, the genre of news and the medium of letter were almost inseparable. It was common practice at least from the mid-fifteenth century onwards to devote a section of a letter to news. At the time of Erasmus's musings about the art of letter-writing, reporting news was not only a ubiquitous feature of letters, but with the newsletter was beginning to develop its own genre.²²⁸ By the first half of the sixteenth century, everyone from the lowest merchant up to the mightiest prince were sending news via letter. The gathering of information and the consumption of news was soon deemed so essential for a prince, in fact, that Francesco Sforza of Milan

²²³Cf. Fantazzi, 1985, 225–229.

²²⁴Cf. *ibid.*, 225.

²²⁵Cf. Zwierlein, 2010b.

²²⁶See a comprehensive definition in Droste and Hurd, 2021, 1; a similar definition is used by Zwierlein, 2010b, 4–5; for an insightful typology of letters according to 'sociopragmatic text types' see Bergs, 2004.

²²⁷Raymond, 2021, 628.

²²⁸There is an ongoing discussion whether the interests of a merchant elite or the demands of early modern diplomacy were responsible for the appearance of the genre of newsletter. For a recent overview by a proponent of the merchant origin thesis see Infelise, 2019, 45–51; for a proponent of the diplomacy origin thesis see Zwierlein, 2006, 208–272; and for a recent revisionist look at the late medieval origins of the European newsletter see Kittler, 2018.

would famously fashion himself as *maestro di novelle*, master of news.²²⁹ Significantly, however, news about the raging wars of early modern Europe, the meetings of its crowned heads and diplomatic representatives occupied a much wider circle of readers. Soon, the early modern “thirst for information”²³⁰ about politics, military exploits and various curiosities gained momentum and news was soon shared in correspondence among courtiers, merchants, officials, scholars and – as Erasmus stresses – ‘friends.’²³¹ In the first half of the sixteenth century, the genre of news had not yet developed as a distinct medium like the later manuscript or printed newsletters and/or newspapers. It was only in the second half of the century, when news became a “publicly available commodity” produced periodically by professional news agencies in important information hubs such as Venice, Rome, Cologne or Antwerp, that news took on a specific material form distinct from the early modern letter.²³² These newsletters, stripped of any personalized features and emerging in most European countries under largely synonymous terms such as *avvisi*, *corantos*, *nouvelles*, *Zeitungen*, *tijdingen* etc.,²³³ have garnered considerable scholarly attention in the study of early modern news networks and the origin of the modern newspaper.²³⁴ They will, however, only be of marginal concern here. Instead, the following chapters will mainly refer to ‘news correspondence’ (a term I borrow from Heiko Droste), i.e. the letter as material carrier of news and transmitting news as integral part and common practice of early modern letter-writing.²³⁵

If purposes for sharing news and the ways in which it was transmitted were manifold, so was its contents. Once again, the interpretation of this phenomenon has to take into account the role in which correspondents were addressed as well as the character of their mutual relationship. For the present purpose it seems prudent to distinguish ‘voluntary’ letters of news from reports which were sent to satisfy formal expectations. The letter of news sent by Thomas Cromwell to his ‘friend’ cited in the introductory episode in this sense is different from reports by diplomats to their prince, to name one example. It was one of the diplomat’s main duties to gather information which, significantly, entailed keeping abreast of current events and reporting them home more or less regularly.²³⁶ I will show, however, that the news shared among Habsburg officers was in many cases not necessarily (let alone primarily) relevant to fulfilling a specific task.²³⁷ Instead, reports on novel events often had no implications for the actions of the recipient whatsoever. In his recent study on early modern news networks Heiko Droste has argued that news should be considered an important “social resource” that first and foremost generated a sense of belonging for the members of an “elite news culture:”

[N]ews functioned primarily as an investment in a social relationship.

²²⁹See the fabulous chapter on new information management techniques in late fifteenth-century Italy in Lazzarini, 2015, 69–85.

²³⁰Pettegree, 2014, 5.

²³¹Cf. Fantazzi, 1985, 225.

²³²Droste, 2019, 30 (quote); On early modern metropolitan news hubs cf. Pieper, 2001; Burke, 2000; for Venice and Rome (and especially on *avvisi manoscritti*) see Infelise, 2002; and Vivo, 2007.

²³³Cf. Arblaster et al., 2016.

²³⁴For an overview see Raymond and Moxham, 2016; also Helmers and Groesen, 2016.

²³⁵There are only a few studies that have analyzed letters of news, often with a focus on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See e.g. Schneider, 2005, 143–182; Daybell, 2004; O’Neill, 2015, 169–196.

²³⁶This was already pointed out by Mattingly, 1955, 110; on the practice of writing diplomatic reports cf. the contributions in Dorfner, Kirchner, and Roll, 2021; see also Vivo, 2011.

²³⁷The question of relevance might effectively distinguish news from information. For such a definition of information in relation to its purpose cf. Brendecke, Friedrich, and Friedrich, 2008, 16, 30.

It was meant to cement countless relationships stamped by inequality and geographical distance. Its ability to bridge social and geographical distances made news a medium of socialization in disembedded institutions.²³⁸

The exchange of news then, according to Droste, served to stabilize unequal relationships which were maintained over a distance in time and space.²³⁹ Similarly, Cornel Zwierlein has convincingly shown that the exchange of news between 'friends' in equal and near-equal, or patron and client in asymmetrical relationships has to be understood as a reciprocal exchange of *gifts*, distinct from a dynamic in which sending news is a *service* owed to one's master. The content of news in these reciprocal relationships was not necessarily of much importance, as their function was mainly to reproduce or intensify social relations between correspondents.²⁴⁰ In general terms this means that formal or informal expectations determined whether a report of news might be considered as *service* or *gift*. While the social context of correspondences to me seems more ambiguous at times, somewhat blurring the distinction between service and gift, I find it useful to distinguish documents such as diplomatic dispatches directed primarily at the ruler from news correspondence more firmly embedded in the mechanisms of premodern gift-exchange and structured by informal expectations.

Having said that, owing to their 'neutral' character as a descriptive genre,²⁴¹ news reports could easily be removed from their original context and transferred to a new one which, in fact, regularly happened. Thus, news reports were often further shared, circulated, or recycled, copies of news being regularly sent as part of the letter or as enclosures. A news report originally imbued with the implication of *service* in formal relationships might thus be transformed into a report transmitted as *gift* through informal relationships and vice-versa. Take for instance the diplomatic dispatch, a dutiful report on current events addressed with the implication of service to the prince; an extract of the same report sent from a courtier to a 'friend' now carries the implication of a gift. Therefore, an analysis of news correspondence among Habsburg officials has to take into account the ways in which different documents, excerpts of documents or copies of documents travelled among and often traversed different social relationships and communication channels, as well as the transformations of such documents which could incur as a result.

5.2 *Shifting Shapes: The Materiality of News around 1500*

In the period under investigation, members of the Habsburg court and administrative elite applied the vernacular term for 'news' (*Zeitung* or more frequently *Neuzeitung*) in a generic sense, but predominantly in contexts referring to 'public' matters such as politics and war. In general, however, as the term was not yet tied to any specific material form, it was employed with a certain degree of flexibility. For instance, it was more typical to use the term *Zeitung* when asking for news in a general sense than to apply the term for one's own specific news report. Hence, there seem to be some irregularities in the contemporary concept of news and the use of the

²³⁸Droste and Hurd, 2021, 1. Droste refers here to Anthony Giddens's concept of disembedding and institutionalization. See *ibid.*, 39–42.

²³⁹On this aspect of sending news see also Schneider, 2005, 152–160.

²⁴⁰Cf. Zwierlein, 2010b, 26–29.

²⁴¹On the 'functional neutrality' of news reports and the following arguments on shifting meanings see Zwierlein, 2006, 227.

term *Zeitung*, making it a somewhat unreliable factor for identifying what contemporaries might have considered 'news' in letters. In the period under review, what was described as *Zeitung* was to a large part concerned with information on the Italian Wars, a conflict so violent and unprecedented in its intensity, that some argue it led to new forms of transmitting news.²⁴² It is perhaps interesting to note that most of the earliest surviving occasional prints (broadsheets and pamphlets) treated news on the Italian Wars.²⁴³ The gradual development of these new forms of news communication during the second half of the sixteenth century has, by some, been interpreted as the creation of a news and information network less dependent on personal connection and addressed at a larger public.²⁴⁴

In any case, *Zeitung* at the turn of the sixteenth century was still a generic term used for orally transmitted news, news correspondence and newsletters alike, indiscriminate of any particular material shape.²⁴⁵ It is perhaps due to this methodological challenge, that much of the research on news networks has focused on the period from the second half of the sixteenth century, when handwritten newsletters developed as a periodically available, somewhat uniform text genre produced by professional news agents. Much less is known about news correspondence of the early sixteenth century, when news was still mostly (albeit not exclusively) shared irregularly in 'particularistic' correspondence, i.e. written with a particular addressee in mind. However, the traces of news reports in the records of the *Maximiliana* collection suggest that the ephemeral genre of news already took on different material forms, often shifting shapes in the course of circulation among different epistolary communities. On one side of the spectrum we have the letter of news – or rather, the letter *with* news –, a news report incorporated in the personally addressed letter.²⁴⁶ On the other end of the spectrum, we already see news being shared as depersonalized 'separates,' i.e. the newsletter form more common from the second half of the century.

When sent as part of the letter, the writing of news follows a discernible pattern: unless the sole purpose of writing a letter was to transmit news, news reports were typically located at or towards the end of the letter, often introduced with phrases such as "Regarding news, I let you know that..." (*Für Neuzeitungen lass ich euch wissen*) followed by the news passage. The importance of introductory phrases like this are not to be underestimated, as they suggest early on that news occupied a distinct part of the letter. Ultimately, it also signals a process of transformation which would lead to the creation of a genre separate of the letter.²⁴⁷ News reports could make up the sole content of a letter, appear as a somewhat separate section towards the end of the letter, as postscript or even pushed to the fringes of the page. The most extensive reports that were labelled 'news' in the correspondence of Habsburg officials in the period under investigation were usually dedicated to military achievements of the emperor or his allies.²⁴⁸

²⁴²*ibid.*, 237–243, for instance, has diagnosed a 'communicative shock' as a result of the onset of the French invasion in Italy.

²⁴³Cf. Weller, 1872.

²⁴⁴See e.g. Infelise, 2007; and Randall, 2008.

²⁴⁵The same can be said for the Italian term *avvisi* in the same period. See Infelise, 2007, 46–47.

²⁴⁶As Lindsay O'Neill has pointed out, it would be more correct to refer to this phenomenon as 'letter with news' as letters were rarely monothematic or devoted entirely to news. Cf. O'Neill, 2015, 171.

²⁴⁷For this development see Infelise, 2007.

²⁴⁸See for example the letters Zyprian von Serntein received after the successful siege of Kufstein during the War of the Succession of Landshut in 1504, printed in Redlich, 1888, 109–112, in which the narrative news reports account for most of the letters.

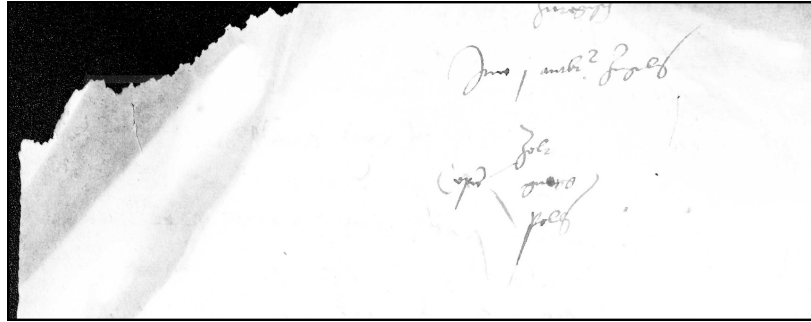


FIGURE 5.1: Close up of forwarding instructions on the back of the letter. TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, VI.95.

Enclosures of additional documents were another common phenomenon of news correspondence. The length and detail of news reports in letters often differed in relation to the availability and character of accompanying material, i.e. originals or copies of documents relevant to the news item. At one extreme, news sections in letters served as a mere cross-reference to enclosed documents; at the other, additional documents merely supported or corroborated news sections. In a common scenario, letter-writers would briefly recount the news in the letter and refer to enclosed copies of documents for further details. Of course, making copies of documents was a time-consuming activity and not everyone had the means to do so. As chancellor which a number of scribes at his disposal, Zyprian von Serntein had no such concerns. He regularly accompanied his letters with copies of official documents or other letters. We can tell from infrequent notes of his on incoming documents how Serntein proceeded in this way with documents he deemed worthy of accompanying and supporting a news section. On the back of a letter from Georg von Liechtenstein to Serntein in which Liechtenstein describes military operations in Italy, for instance, the chancellor left the following notes: a reminder to answer the letter (*Ime 1 antbort zugeben*) and a note which simply reads “copies” (*copien*) with lines connecting the names of Eitelfriedrich von Zollern (*Zolr*), Matthäus Lang (*Gurrg*) and Polheim (*Polh[eim]*) (see fig. 5.1).²⁴⁹ Apparently, after reading Liechtenstein’s letter, Serntein decided the report was significant enough to be disseminated further. Whether Serntein did so to provide a more detailed description of events which he might have referred to as ‘news’ in letters to Zollern, Lang or Polheim, or to encourage an answer to Liechtenstein’s requests remains uncertain with this particular example. Serntein would often enclose such documents to verify information, to contrast competing accounts on the course of events, or simply to provide a more detailed account of news mentioned in a letter. The nature of these enclosures is often difficult to ascertain from the records of the *Maximiliana*, as they were usually physically separated from the letter at some point in time. In most cases, a fleeting reference in a letter is all that remains to identify a document. From these references we can gather that it was mostly copies of documents that were shared as enclosures. At other times, the enclosed documents had already been the product of an editorial effort and are more accurately defined as newsletters.

When it comes to the material vehicles of news, it is useful to distinguish copies of original documents, like Georg von Liechtenstein’s letter mentioned above, from

²⁴⁹Georg von Liechtenstein to Zyprian von Serntein on 3 September 1510, TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, VI.95; unfortunately, none of the other letters mentioned survive in the *Maximiliana*.

documents that went through a process of selective edition and compilation, resulting in a text which was removed in varying degrees from its original form and resembles the later genre of newsletters. The newsletter of the mid-1500s in its established form was no longer addressed to a specific person and followed specific conventions. Characteristically for this medium, certain features of the original source that would allow its identification as letter, dispatch, missive, oral account etc. have been omitted in favour of a straightforward succession of news items, often organized in paragraphs.²⁵⁰ This was not necessarily the case with newsletters that were consumed north of the Alps around 1500. The paucity of surviving newsletters in the strict sense in the records of the *Maximiliana* does not allow for sweeping statements concerning the use of newsletters in the correspondence of Habsburg government officials, however the few examples available to me convey a fluidity of form which is revealing in the juxtaposition of letters and newsletters at the advent of the sixteenth century. A few examples which can be categorized in different groups according to similar features might illustrate this fluidity which characterizes the surviving newsletters in the records of the *Maximiliana*.

The first group we can identify is made up of documents that are merely extracts of news passages which retain some features of the original source. The first example, an undated bifolio-newsletter from 1504, contains an account of the Battle of Garigliano in Southern Italy. According to the text, the news is based on diplomatic dispatches and other written and oral accounts.²⁵¹ Judging from its standard introductory phrase (*Wir wolten euch auch fur neuzeitung nit verhallten ...*) and syntax alone, the text originated in a letter of news. The newsletter itself omits the original address and date, focussing on the narrative account. It is only by corroborating this newsletter with another document, an undated draft which unfortunately does not name a recipient, that we can identify the text as originating in a letter by the emperor himself.²⁵² In this draft, the emperor most likely informed some sort of political or administrative body (*Lieben getreuen*) of his future itinerary and comments on the efforts to solve the conflict between the duchies of Bavaria-Munich and Bavaria-Landshut before reporting the detailed news passage copied verbatim in the newsletter, the draft ending with the generic closing phrase of a news report (*Solhs hab ich euch nit wellen verhalten*); a phrase which the newsletter also omits.

A similar newsletter from c.1511 belonging to the first group retains framing elements of a typical news passage in a letter as well, namely the introduction (*Wir fügen euch auch fur neuzeitung zu vernemen, daz [...]*) and ending (*wolten wir euch auch unverkunt nit lassen*), in this case relaying a number of different news items organized in paragraphs.²⁵³ The source of another anonymous and undated newsletter on the defeat and death of James IV of Scotland in 1513 is less obvious. The irregular-sized piece of paper once again contains a single monothematic news paragraph.²⁵⁴ The text itself refers to a letter from the victorious Earl of Surrey as its source.²⁵⁵ The

²⁵⁰See Schneider, 2005, 265; for the paragraph as “the basic unit of political and military news” up until the eighteenth century see Slauter, 2012, 255 (quote).

²⁵¹RI XIV,4,2 n. 20886.

²⁵²Maximilian to N. N. on 15 January 1504, HHStA/Maximiliana, 42-1-8-13.

²⁵³The newsletter survives as two almost identical copies. While one of the documents retains the *datum ut in litteris* and thus refers to the accompanying letter, the other one (perhaps a copy of the first) omits this cross-reference and instead reads *Augspurg und Villinger* (perhaps the intended recipients?) on the back. HHStA/Maximiliana, 41-12-4.

²⁵⁴Incipit: *Item an gestern ist die recht posst aus Engelannd komen, darinn des kunigs von Engeland stathallter antzeigt, wie...*, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-2-137.

²⁵⁵Henry VIII, who at the time was besieging the city of Tournai together with Maximilian, received a letter from the earl of Surrey on 19 September (ten days after the battle) with a more detailed report;

newsletter, in contrast to the newsletters from 1503/04 and 1511, dispenses with salutations and subscriptions and shows no indication of an addressee. It is only by the explicit mention of an eye-witness situation that we can gather the passage was extracted from a text written perhaps by someone in the emperor's entourage at Tournai.²⁵⁶ We can tell however that the newsletter itself which was folded three times horizontally and one time vertically and shows slit-holes but no address, was subsequently transmitted as attachment.

A second group of newsletters bears resemblance to contemporary Italian examples of *avvisi* and shows an even further departure from the original source. Take for instance an undated, anonymous document from the summer of 1512 in the style of contemporary *summarii di lettere* or *summarii di avvisi*,²⁵⁷ compiling extracts from various letters or dispatches organized in paragraphs under headlines which describe the source of the news, such as "Agostino Somenzi writes to his brother on 7 July in Mantua" or "Doctor Veit von Fürst, on 31 May at Modena."²⁵⁸ Each heading comprises a number of short paragraphs (sometimes only a single sentence) with letter extracts on political intelligence, events, rumours and gossip from the Italian political arena. Perhaps even more representative of the second group is a newsletter with summaries of news from Italy which Zyprian von Serntein received in 1495.²⁵⁹ At the same time it is a rather curious example which suggests a certain inexperience with the new medium north of the Alps. The newsletter itself is unremarkable, a compilation of 20 news items concerning the political situation in Italy organized in short paragraphs. It is on the originally empty page of the second folio, however, that the newsletter departs from its generic model with a later note that reads:

Dear Serntein, this news which my lords the governors have ordered me to write to you, you shall immediately bring to the attention of His Majesty. To escape death [*i.e. the plague*], we fled from Innsbruck to Brixen. You shall send the enclosed letters to their respective destinations. Dat. at Brixen [...]²⁶⁰

It seems like the sender of the newsletter (some "H.," most likely a member of the exiled Innsbruck *Regiment*) upon receiving a newsletter reminiscent of an Italian *avviso* with its de-personalized style, had re-personalized it, even adding some news of his own to the mix.

Other news compilations in the records of the *Maximiliana* are an even further abstraction of this *avviso* style. They assemble anonymized news items whose origin or source cannot be identified anymore. One of these newsletters has been preserved as enclosure in a letter from Michael von Wolkenstein to Zyprian von Serntein from

news of the victory had reached Henry VIII by a letter from Catherine of Aragon from 16 September already. Cf. Brewer, 1920, no. 2268, 2270, 2286.

²⁵⁶King James's coat and gauntlets had been sent to Henry at least by 19 September who reportedly showed them to Maximilian. The author of the news report mentions towards the end of the letter in first person that they had seen the puncture in James IV's coat (*Der rockh so der kunig von Schotten denselben tag angefurt hat, ist herausgeschigkt worden, den ich gesehen hab und fyndt einen schuss ein zwerche handt ungeverlichen under dem prustlen*), indicating that they were present when Henry showed Maximilian this trophy.

²⁵⁷On this type of news report see Zwierlein, 2010a, 177.

²⁵⁸*Augustinus Somenza schreibt seinem brueder am vii Juny zu Mantua; Doctor Veit von Fürst, am xxxi May zu Modena*, HHStA/Maximiliana, 41-12-2.

²⁵⁹TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, I.45; see also RI XIV,1 n. 3604.

²⁶⁰*Lieber Sernteiner, dise neutzeytungen wellet die ro. ksl. Mt. unsern allergnedigisten herrn von stundan hören lassen, dann meine herren die stathalter mir das eu zuzuschreyben bevolhen haben. Wir sind den tod von Insprugg her gen Brichsn geflohen, die andern hie beyligenden brief wellet an ir stat schikhen. Dat. zu Brichsen...*, TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, I.45.

7 July 1514 (see fig. 5.2).²⁶¹ This rare find shows how the letter and enclosed newsletter could interact. In his letter, Michael von Wolkenstein refers to the enclosed newsletter as a copy of news which he had received from a trusted source, a good 'friend' (*ain abschrift etlicher neuen zeitigungen, so mir ain gueter freunt zuegeschickt*). The sources of the individual news items are not given and we can assume that it was the reputation of Wolkenstein and the fact that he deemed his source trustworthy which lent credibility to the report. The newsletter, a single sheet of paper, consists of just three short paragraphs, each of them unconnected news items from different parts of Europe. With regard to one of the news items – that Venice had ratified the peace on 20 June and sent it to Rome – Wolkenstein in his letter asks Serntein to inform him of the emperor's future plans. The paragraph in question simply reads "News that on the 20th day of the last month Venice's ratification of the peace has arrived in Rome."²⁶² No source, no contextual information which could offer a clue regarding its origin. Each news item might have derived from a diplomatic dispatch, the news section of a letter or an oral report. It is easy to imagine that the contents of newsletters such as this one, removed so far from their original context, could easily be shared among correspondents and travel from one person to the next. The same feature, namely the abstraction to varying degrees of the information transmitted, is perhaps also the reason why so few examples of newsletters survive. Once the information had lost its novelty, the ephemeral newsletter was likely re-used for notes or doodles before eventually being discarded by contemporary or modern archivists.

²⁶¹Michael von Wolkenstein to Zyprian von Serntein on 7 July 1514, TLA/Maximiliana/14.1514.II.108.

²⁶²*Neuezeitigung daz von venedigern am xx tag des nachstverganngn monat die ratificacion und pevestigung des frids gen Rom komen sey. The other news items are: Engelandt hat zwo potschaften pey den schweitzern, und kan nit verstecken, daz noch der pabst und schweitzer mitainander in puntnus oder sonnderm verstant sein, and ,Die paurn, so daz kreutz an sich genomen haben, sein pey xii^m und ligen noch pey xx meyl undter Offen, aber die hungern geistlich und vom adl sammeln sich, vermain sy zuerschlagen oder in annder weg ir furnemen zukern.*

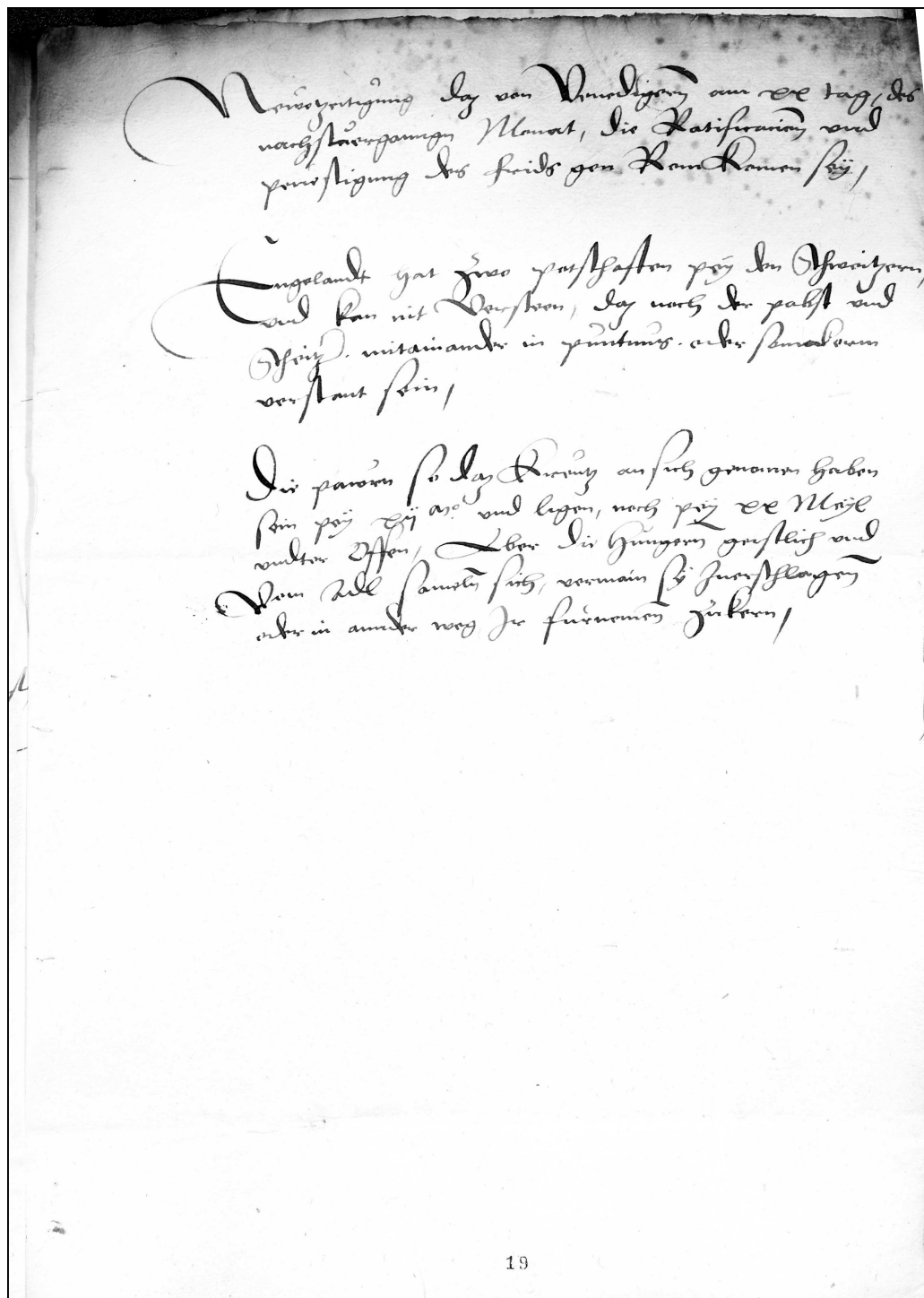


FIGURE 5.2: Enclosed newsletter. TLA/Maximiliana/14.1514.II.108.

5.3 News Networks at the Habsburg Court

5.3.1 Circulating News

In research, Court Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein is mostly associated with his influential position as councillor and part of the so-called ‘thicket’ shielding the emperor from his environment.²⁶³ Less considered is his role as central hub in the news network among courtiers, diplomats, and other officers. Even foreign princes, like the elector of Saxony, would regularly inquire about news from Serntein.²⁶⁴ It is perhaps not surprising that a man of Serntein’s position would be known for his access to news; the examples of ministers with similar reputations at all major European courts during the early modern period are countless.²⁶⁵ The chancellery, “engine room for the redaction, registration, and reproduction of documentation,”²⁶⁶ was naturally the heart of information management. Owing to the nature of his office, Zyprian von Serntein handled and had access to massive amounts of paperwork each and every day, as a stream of imperial mandates and missives, letters and reports, instructions and supplications flowed through the chancellery. Documents describing current political events – the primary topic of ‘news’ according to contemporaries – were ubiquitous among this paper flow.

News reached Serntein either directly or indirectly. As we have seen in ch. 4.2, Serntein would often receive documents such as diplomatic reports containing news ‘second-hand’ through the circulation among a wider circle of correspondents. As a man of considerable influence, Serntein like other important councillors seems to have enjoyed formal access to political reports, at times directly receiving arcane news on diplomatic negotiations. There is, for example, some evidence that it was not unusual for diplomatic dispatches – one of the main sources for news – to be drawn up in multiple copies from the outset and addressed to various recipients other than the emperor. In July 1513, for instance, Wilhelm Reichenbach, imperial envoy at the diet (*Tagsatzung*) in Baden, asked Serntein to supply him with a scribe as he could not possibly keep up with all his tasks, having to triplicate or quadruplicate reports with his own hand.²⁶⁷ Similarly, Matthäus Lang apologized in a letter to Serntein on 25 June 1512 for not having managed to produce duplicates of his reports to the emperor for Serntein as he had been in a hurry. Significantly, he asked the chancellor to simply open, read and re-seal the letters before forwarding them to Maximilian.²⁶⁸ This latter practice of circulation seems to have been more common than duplicating reports.

As a result of this manner of circulation, news sent via letter might take considerable detours before reaching the prince. One example of this indirect circulation will be telling. In early October, a new Holy League between the pope, the king of Spain and the Republic of Venice unsettled the emperor’s military efforts in Friuli.²⁶⁹ The alliance with France in the League of Cambrai had become increasingly unattractive to Maximilian, who had suffered frequent setbacks in Northern

²⁶³See Hollegger, 2014.

²⁶⁴See e.g. Seyboth, 2017, 129 (no. 23), 169–170 (no. 78), 1170 (no. 885), 1250–1251 (no. 964).

²⁶⁵See numerous examples in Dover, 2016b.

²⁶⁶Dover, 2021, 101.

²⁶⁷Wilhelm Reichenbach to Zyprian von Serntein on 22 July 1513, HHStA/Maximiliana, 29-3-34. In another letter Reichenbach specifically mentions duplicates he fashioned for the emperor, Matthäus Lang, and the Innsbruck *Regiment*, *ibid.*, 29-3-7; in yet another letter to Serntein he regrets not having been able to send Serntein an individual copy (*ain sonder copi*) of a document he sent to the emperor due to timely constraints, *ibid.*, 30-2-36.

²⁶⁸Matthäus Lang to Zyprian von Serntein on 25 June 1512, HHStA/Maximiliana, 27-3-43.

²⁶⁹For an overview see Wiesflecker, 1981, ch. 2; and Hollegger, 2005, 191–212.

Italy and did not seek a conflict with the Holy League. Over time, a cease-fire or peace treaty with Venice and the League was increasingly favoured by a number of influential courtiers and news about the negotiations with Venice at the Roman Curia in 1511/12 had been followed with apprehension for weeks.²⁷⁰ Especially the question of a possible peace treaty between the negotiating parties preoccupied not only the emperor but also his most influential councillors. As a result, reports on the course of the negotiations were eagerly awaited. In December of 1511, two such reports addressed to Maximilian by Giovanni Colla from Rome arrived in Trent by post. The bishop of Trent forwarded the bundle of letters to the postmaster in Innsbruck who in turn handed it over to Hans Kantz, a high-ranking secretary at the Innsbruck *Regiment*. After scanning the contents of the parcel, Kantz and his fellow councillors sent it a few miles West to the castle of Court Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein who was staying there over Christmas. In his letter to Serntein which accompanied the bundle of letters from Rome,²⁷¹ Kantz explains that he and another member of the *Regiment* had decided not to forward the letters to Maximilian (who was staying in Linz at the time), because were the letters to contain news of the negotiations, Serntein and the members of the *Regiment* ought to be informed. Kantz asked Serntein to open the package adding that Degen Fuchs von Fuchsberg, member of the Innsbruck *Regiment*, additionally asked Serntein to pass on any news (*icht neus*) he might come across in the letters. When Chancellor Serntein opened the package, which, among various other letters, contained two reports by Colla, he promptly forwarded them not to the emperor but to his close confidants Paul von Liechtenstein and Matthäus Lang in Augsburg.²⁷² Lacking the appropriate cipher, Serntein apparently hadn't been able to make much sense of one of the reports which had been encrypted and thus asked Matthäus Lang to make excerpts of the letters' contents and send them both to him and the emperor.

To cut a long story short, by the time news of the negotiations reached the imperial court, it certainly wasn't novel anymore. The news had already circulated and been multiplied among Maximilian's most influential councillors and probably a much larger secondary audience; a fact which met with the emperor's explicit displeasure. It was not without a touch of indignation then, that Maximilian, who had in the meantime received Colla's reports, demanded of Zyprian von Serntein on 6 January 1512 that should he receive ciphered or other letters from Colla in the future he ought to "send them to us and no one else considering we have the cipher key with us and these letters should rightly reach us first."²⁷³ Judging from the flexible approach typically applied to correspondence addressed to the emperor (see ch. 4) – which Maximilian was in fact well aware of – it must have been special circumstances which led the emperor to admonish his chancellor such. Was Maximilian perhaps disgruntled precisely because exclusivity and novelty were the most important ingredients to determine the value of news? In any case, the similarities to a letter by Francesco Sforza admonishing his ambassador in 1458 to remember that "if someone wants to have news, we want him to know it from us before anybody

²⁷⁰Cf. Wiesflecker, 1981, 88–89, 96–99; Dinacher, 1983, 28–30.

²⁷¹Hans Kantz to Zyprian von Serntein on 28 December 1511, TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, VIII.72; the letter is dated 28 December 1512 because the turn of the year was for official chancery purposes set on 25 December.

²⁷²Zyprian von Serntein to Paul von Liechtenstein and Matthäus Lang on 28 December 1511, HH-StA/Maximiliana, 26-2-48.

²⁷³...mit ernst bevelhend, wann du hinfuro von Johann Colla weiteres, sey in ziffer oder sonnst brief, zuekhomen, das du unns und sonnst nyemand die furderlichen zueschickhest, angesehen das wir die ziffer ytzo bey unns haben und uns dieselben brief pillich am ersten zuekhomen sollen, Maximilian to Zyprian von Serntein on 6 January 1512, HHStA/Maximiliana, 26-3-8.

else”²⁷⁴ are striking. After all, ciphers were introduced in diplomatic communication in the fifteenth century not only as a precaution in case a letter was intercepted, but to prevent the internal leaking of news. According to Andreas Würgler, ciphers were (among other things) supposed to “interrupt the existing chains of communication that had developed at various courts and political centres through dynastic relations, friendships and business or other personal ties.”²⁷⁵ As a matter of fact, Zyprian von Serntein seems to have been thoroughly unimpressed by the imperial order. In a letter to the imperial secretary Sebastian Spreng on 17 January 1512 in which Serntein – referring to Maximilian’s orders – sent subsequent reports from Colla to the emperor, he asked Spreng not only to send him as well as Matthäus Lang an extract of the deciphered letters, but to also send him a copy of the cipher “since letters written in cipher arrive daily and it is necessary that, if there was peace, one should have knowledge of it.”²⁷⁶

Zyprian von Serntein himself was also regarded as a reliable source and was frequently solicited for news by diplomats, ‘friends,’ clients, family and even princes. From the records of the *Maximiliana*, we get a sense of the network of people with whom Serntein engaged in news correspondence. Bearing in mind the possible bias of the available source material, we can distinguish certain groups of correspondents in terms of regularity and quality of news reports. We can picture these groups as concentric circles, with the innermost circle of correspondents receiving regular, more detailed and sometimes confidential news reports, the outermost circle on the other hand receiving more irregular, less detailed and ‘general’ news, mirroring the spectrum of more or less formal expectations to be kept up to date with current events.

In terms of regularity of reporting news we can first discern an epistolary community made up of individuals close to the centres of power who enjoyed privileged access to news. This was a group of people that Serntein had known and stayed in close epistolary contact with for decades and for whom a steady flow of news was seemingly indispensable. Of course, the composition of this closely knit group of individuals shifted over time. For the period under investigation (c.1508–1518) it was made up by a small number of important political actors, some of them in close proximity to the court, such as Paul von Liechtenstein, Matthäus Lang or Jakob Villinger, some of them influential in the regional administration such as Michael von Wolkenstein or the bishop of Brixen, Christoph von Schrofenstein. This group of people Serntein kept in epistolary contact with most consistently in general, apart from his news correspondence. The exchange of news in this circle, it seems, was primarily borne from an expectation to provide counsel to each other and to the emperor. Embedded in a rhetoric of reciprocity and frequently affirming mutual trust, there is a sense that these correspondents felt an obligation to exchange news and to guarantee a certain continuity in a steady stream of news reports. Matthäus Lang expressed this desire frankly, asking Serntein to write him and Paul von Liechtenstein about news at least once or better twice a week, promising in turn to write Serntein often as well.²⁷⁷ We also see this sense of obligation in one of Serntein’s ‘memorial

²⁷⁴Quoted in Lazzarini, 2015, 72.

²⁷⁵Würgler, 2012; on the appearance of ciphers as reaction to the ‘uncontrollable exchange of news’ between officials in ‘private’ see also Zwierlein, 2006, 235.

²⁷⁶Zyprian von Serntein to Sebastian Spreng on 17 January 1512, HHStA/Maximiliana, 26-3-26.

²⁷⁷*Wellet uns bayden [Lang and Liechtenstein] von allen dingen oft schreiben, nemlich alle wochen zwaimal oder doch ainst aufs wenigist, damit wir alzeit neu zeitungen von euch haben und uns dester pas darnach richten mügen. Desgleich will ich euch auch oft schreiben*, Matthäus Lang to Zyprian von Serntein on 23 May 1512, HHStA/Maximiliana, 27-2-51; partially edited in Seyboth, 2017, 1165–1166 (no. 879).

sheets.²⁷⁸ Essentially a series of aide-memoirs on whom to send letters with short notes on the topics to be covered, it starts like this:

To write Villinger of my illness and that I have not written to him since Schwaz etc. To talk to him in person about this as well.

To write lord Michln of my illness and to apologize that I have not written to him since Innsbruck.

[...]

To write Gurk of my illness and apologize that I have not written to him since Innsbruck.²⁷⁹

These reminders to apologize to Jakob Villinger, Michael von Wolkenstein (*Herr Michln*) and Matthäus Lang (*Gurgg*) for interrupting a steady stream of written communication more than anything show a concern for epistolary continuity in this tight-knit group of correspondents. Not replying to letters might easily be interpreted as a sign of discontent.²⁸⁰

If we keep with the common metaphor of moving water, i.e. the steady stream of news in the first group of correspondents, we might describe the flow of news between Serntein and a second group of correspondents as resembling a stream subject to seasonal or temporary ebbs and flows. Proponents of this group received news more or less regularly; contingent, it seems, on factors as varied as their relationship to the chancellor, the function and/or informational value they could provide regarding current issues and the availability of news in general.²⁸¹ This group was most likely subject to continuous change over time, an exchange of news often initiated only when it seemed opportune to one or the other party. Serntein's news correspondence with the vidame Lorenz Saurer (see Appendix A), fits squarely into this second group of correspondents. A third group of correspondents only rarely received solitary trickles of news mostly related, it seems, to exceptional events of general interest like military victories, natural catastrophes etc. This is perhaps the most enigmatic and varied group Serntein supplied with news, sometimes transcending the first two groups made up mostly of royal officials or people close to the court to include individuals from the 'environment.'

This difference in regularity of reporting is mirrored in the quality of the news relayed. This is perhaps best illustrated by one example that permeated all three groups of correspondents: it stems from October 1513, when Zyprian von Serntein received news of the victory of Spanish and imperial forces over an army of the Republic of Venice at the Battle of La Motta in the Veneto on 7 October 1513. First unconfirmed news of the victory reached Serntein in Innsbruck around three

²⁷⁸'Memorials' of this sort look very much like what we would today refer to as to-do lists and were common in different parts of Europe; see for example Hunt, 2018, 121–122 for Francis Walsingham's 'memorial book' which strongly resembles Serntein's style of taking notes and according to Hunt has its origins in mercantile ledgers and day-books. In the *Maximiliana*, Serntein's 'memorial sheets' typically survive as undated single sheets of paper which to my knowledge have not been analyzed so far.

²⁷⁹*Villinger zu schreiben mein kranckhait und daz ich im seider Swatz nit mer geschriben hab etc. Deshalb mit Villinger auch muntlich zureden / Herr Michln zu schreiben meiner kranckhaith und zuentschuldigen daz ich im seider Insprugg nit mer geschrieben / [...] / Gurgg zu schreiben meiner kranckhait und entschuldigen seider Insprug nichts geschrieben*, 'memorial sheet' c.1514, HHStA/Maximiliana, 45-3-35.

²⁸⁰See for example the apologetic letter by Jakob Villinger to Zyprian von Serntein on 9 August 1511, TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, VII.92.

²⁸¹After all, news was also a seasonal good. Cf. Raymond, 1996, 5; Keller, 2015, 62.

or four days after the battle which were confirmed in a letter addressed to Maximilian (but opened on arrival in Innsbruck) on 13 October.²⁸² Upon arrival of the official confirmation, Serntein sent copies of the official letter from 13 October as well as additional copies of multiple letters he had received concerning the battle to Jakob Villinger and the bishop of Brixen, who was to forward the documents to Michael von Wolkenstein.²⁸³ Possibly on the same day Serntein also informed Vidame Lorenz Saurer of the victory.²⁸⁴ On 15 and 16 October, he sent another two letters of news (which were in fact dedicated to a variety of different news) with multiple enclosed documents he had received on the battle in the meantime to Jakob Villinger and Michael von Wolkenstein respectively.²⁸⁵ Yet again on 15 October, he sent another letter to Lorenz Saurer with a summary (*ainen außzug*) of the official report to the emperor from 13 October, explicitly allowing Saurer to share the news not only with members of the Lower Austrian *Regiment* in Vienna, but also with his friends at his own convenience and in as much detail as he deemed appropriate “regarding the character of each individual.”²⁸⁶ Similarly, Serntein wrote a letter to the Augsburg merchant Philipp Adler on 16 October, once again with excerpts of the official report from 13 October, asking him to pass on the news to his friends, the illustrious Augsburg citizens, imperial counsellors and financiers Konrad Peutinger, Jakob Fugger, Hans Paumgartner and Ambrosius Höchstetter.²⁸⁷ The last surviving letter Zyprian von Serntein sent in this matter is one to Georg von Liechtenstein from 20 October, including yet another copy of the official report from 13 October and other news on the emperor’s travel plans, the defeat of James IV of Scotland at the Battle of Flodden Field and the imperial and English victory at Théroutanne and Tournai.

What conclusions can we draw from this detailed example of an entangled journey of a single news item? We see a difference concerning the quantity, currentness and quality of news transmitted in the different groups. Individuals of the first group (Villinger, Wolkenstein, the bishop of Brixen) were promptly forwarded copies of detailed reports, letters, and other documents, receiving further reports as the events transpired. Individuals of the second group – i.e. Saurer and Liechtenstein – were informed more or less swiftly and received selected updates and excerpts of official documents. Ultimately, news of the imperial victory were extraordinary enough for Serntein to transmit the news – with some delay – to members of the merchant elite in Augsburg and thus members of the third group of correspondents. Besides issues of quantity and currentness, there is a noticeable difference in the quality of news transmitted. All news reports more or less expressed the chancellor’s exhilaration over the victory, but where the Augsburg merchants were presented with a ‘sterile’ tale of victory, Saurer and Liechtenstein received further remarks by Serntein on the importance and future implications of the battle in the long

²⁸²It is possible that Serntein received unconfirmed news on the battle in a letter from Michael von Wolkenstein from 11 October, but the letter is difficult to interpret because of physical damages. See Michael von Wolkenstein to Zyprian von Serntein on 11 October 1513, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-1-23.

²⁸³Zyprian von Serntein to Christoph von Schrofenstein on 13 October 1513, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-1-24; Zyprian von Serntein to Jakob Villinger on 15 October 1513, *ibid.*, 30-1-27, in which Serntein mentions his first letter to Villinger on 13 October.

²⁸⁴A reference to this earlier letter is made in a letter from Serntein to Lorenz Saurer on 15 October 1513 (see Appendix A.29).

²⁸⁵Zyprian von Serntein to Jakob Villinger on 15 October 1513, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-1-27; Zyprian von Serntein to Michael Wolkenstein on 16 October 1513, *ibid.*, 30-1-30.

²⁸⁶...unnd mugt solh neuzeitungen den herrn vom regiment daniden und andern euren gueten freunden, den ir vergont nach gestalt unnd gelegenhait ains yeden person wie euch gut bedunckht, anzeigen, see Appendix A.29.

²⁸⁷Zyprian von Serntein to Philipp Adler on 16 October 1513, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-1-31.

run. And where Saurer and Liechtenstein had to make do with a few tentative evaluations, individuals of the first group had already been informed by Serntein on the emerging strife between the Spanish and imperial camps in the immediate aftermath of the battle, the bishop of Brixen readily offering his council on how the emperor and viceroy should proceed going forward.²⁸⁸ To conclude, Serntein adapted and personalized his news reports according to its recipient, in his own words “regarding the character of each individual,”²⁸⁹ at times only scratching the surface, at times offering additional information or opinions, or finally, providing reports in what he projected to be full transparency.

5.3.2 News as Service, News as Gift?

In the previous chapter we have seen that news often traversed formal and informal channels. For the following case study, I will focus on informal channels in particular, even though it is not prudent to draw too clear of a line. To understand where the exchange of news falls within a ‘formality-informality span’ it is useful to talk about expectations. As shown above, news might carry different implications depending on the epistolary relationship and thus could satisfy both formal and informal expectations.

Take for example the correspondence between Zyprian von Serntein and Wilhelm Reichenbach (discussed in ch. 4.2). I have shown that Reichenbach, apart from his regular reports to the emperor as envoy to the Swiss diets, maintained a correspondence with the chancellor, for instance to address grievances not fit for the official channel. Negotiating on the emperor’s behalf at the diet in Baden in the summer of 1513, Reichenbach saw himself at a decisive disadvantage with the other powers’ envoys, particularly when it came to the issue of news; a fact which he reminded Serntein of in a rather reproachful manner:

I have previously written to you that you should send me news (*neuen zeitungten*) in good time, since they are asking me about it and if I cannot answer them, they believe, so I am told, that they are being withheld from them. I have now been asked about the Venetians, about the Turks, and about the uprising in Vienna, but I did not know what to tell them. The margrave of Mantua and the duke write to their orator and they inform them [of these news]. When they ask me, I know nothing to tell them.²⁹⁰

Here Reichenbach likens himself to the other powers’ diplomats, emphasizing his formal role as orator and reasoning that his agency is severely undermined because he is left in the dark about ongoing events. Tracey Sowerby has shown for sixteenth-century Elizabethan diplomats that news was both an important resource to trade with other diplomats, as well as a sign of appreciation and support to be expected

²⁸⁸Christoph von Schrofenstein to Zyprian von Serntein on 17 October 1513, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-1-35.

²⁸⁹See Appendix A.29.

²⁹⁰*Ich hab euch hievor geschriben, das ir doch mir ye zuzeyten die neuen zeitungten zuschreiben wolt, aus der ursach, sy fragen mich und, so ich in kain beschaid weiß zugeben, achtens sy es dafur, als ich bericht wird, man well yns sonst verhalten haben. Mich yetz der venediger halben gefragt, item des turcken, auch der aufrur halben zu Wien. Hab ich ynnen kainen beschaid wissen zugeben. Der margrave von Mantua, item der hertzog schreibt seinem orator herauß, der zaigt ynnen dasselbig an. Wan sy mich fragen, wais ich yn kain beschaid zugeben,* Wilhelm Reichenbach to Zyprian von Serntein on 4 July 1513, HHStA/Maximiliana, 29-3-7. A similiar complaint – but in this case addressing Maximilian directly (!) – was uttered by Bernhard Polheim on his mission to Italy in 1496; cf. Gollwitzer, 1955, 199.

from one's prince.²⁹¹ Indeed, even though Reichenbach addresses Serntein in his letter, his reference to other princes demonstrates that he is, in fact, indirectly addressing expectations of his master with his demand for the supply with news.²⁹² Reichenbach's letter, though sent through informal channels, could be said to address formal expectations he and many of his colleagues had of their prince.

We encounter a wholly different situation with an example of the correspondence between Blasius Hölzl,²⁹³ a Habsburg official active in the financial administration, and Konrad Peutinger, famous humanist and imperial councillor. The two maintained a correspondence where – characteristically – business matters were intermingled with the exchange of pleasantries and news on the imperial court (*hofmer*). We can get a sense of the role news and other expressions of sociability played in correspondence in a conflict that emerged between the two: in a letter from 2 November 1504, Hölzl announced his intention to marry and casually asked Peutinger whether he knew of a suitable match for him in Augsburg.²⁹⁴ After ignoring Hölzl's request for several letters, Hölzl wrote the following:

I have hitherto been in the habit of not only replying to all the items in your letters, but in addition have usually written of news (*von neuen zeitungen*) or other things. Yet I have noticed that you do not write me anything particular (*nichts sunders*), and do not reply to all the items [...]; so from now on I will also keep it polite (*hoflich halten*), and will not answer what I do not like either. For as the saying goes: no answer is also an answer. Perhaps you are worried that I would like to become your brother-in-law and because this may not be convenient for you, you leave the article unanswered.²⁹⁵

It is revealing that Hölzl refers to his sending of news in this context, even though his issue is primarily with Peutinger not replying to his request. The 'particular' (*sunders*) once again signifies an act of boundary drawing, referring to informal expectations outside the realm of formal duties. Hölzl describes his sending news as a sign of esteem and a gesture of goodwill, a gift to bestow on 'friends' in addition to the business conducted through letter-writing. This writing of 'particulars,' however, needs to be reciprocated. Indulging Hölzl's request for match-making by at least acknowledging it through a non-committal sign of goodwill, gratefully receiving news and sending others in return, exchanging pleasantries and compliments; all of these expressions of sociability were not formal requirements necessary for the conduct of business, but served to cement relationships by meeting the informal expectations of epistolary communication among 'friends,' family, kin or clients. Whereas the envoy Wilhelm Reichenbach attached the importance of news to the successful accomplishment of his tasks in his formal role as diplomat, Hölzl describes news as a courtesy of polite communication that transcends the formal sphere of business and instead concerns the informal one of 'friendship.'

For a final example of how the exchange of news was particularly prone to change contextual implications by circulation, let us look at an example from Zyprian von Serntein's correspondence. Even though most of Serntein's news correspondence carried the implication of a gift exchange rhetorically, significant differences

²⁹¹Cf. Sowerby, 2016, 305–312.

²⁹²For the importance attributed to news at the Swiss diets at the turn of the century see Würigler, 2003, 294–295, 312.

²⁹³On Hölzl see recently Lackner, 2022, 306–308 with further reading.

²⁹⁴Blasius Hölzl to Konrad Peutinger on 2 November 1504; edited in König, 1923, 43–44 (no. 22).

²⁹⁵Blasius Hölzl to Konrad Peutinger on 5 November 1504, edited in *ibid.*, 44 (no. 23).

in the regularity, quantity and quality of news transmitted have been observed above (see ch. 5.3.1). Between the almost obligatory character of news exchange with individuals in the 'inner circle' and the irregular and rather limited supply of news to selected individuals from the 'environment,' the news Serntein passed on to people like Lorenz Saurer can more firmly be considered as carrying the implication of *gift*. It was people like Saurer who were in most cases not directly affected by this news, whose council or opinion Serntein in turn did not request, but of whom we would often expect news in return. However, with news as a particular genre of text which effortlessly transcends social contexts or undergoes material transformations (see ch. 5.2), the example will also serve to once again map out the grey area of formality and informality in letter-writing.

The select edition of letters in the Appendix A shows that the exchange of news played a central role in the correspondence between Chancellor Serntein and Vidame Saurer.²⁹⁶ Both correspondents shared news of different qualities, some of them confidential, some to be shared with a smaller or wider circle of recipients, some to be purposefully disseminated through informal channels; for instance when Serntein asked Saurer to transmit news of a joined imperial and English victory over the French to Cuspinian to relate to the king of Hungary, but "as if you were doing it for yourself, not by order of the emperor."²⁹⁷ How we are to evaluate this regular news correspondence within the span of formal and informal expectations is best expressed in Saurer's own words:

In the seventh letter from Your Grace, I find – with the news on the state of the world – Your Grace's favourable and benevolent disposition towards me, which pleases me greatly.²⁹⁸

Lorenz Saurer perceived the chancellor's sending of news as nothing less than an expression of favour and goodwill. As a rule, the news Serntein shared with Saurer had no significance for Saurer's actions. Instead, they are consistently embedded in the semantics of gift exchange. Accordingly, Saurer would often connect his request for news with conventional appeals that Serntein must not 'forget about him' or the promise of recompense (*zuverdienen*), whereas Serntein would express his benevolence towards Saurer, promising not to 'withhold anything' (*nichts verhalten*) that reached him. For the most part, Serntein would inform the vidame about news from the Italian Wars which in turn offered Saurer the chance to offer his unsolicited opinion in response.

Less easy to interpret is the other direction of information flow, i.e. Saurer's regular updates on the situation with Austria's neighbours, particularly the Kingdom of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. For some reason or other, Saurer had become one of the crucial contact points in the negotiations between the emperor and the king of Hungary, organizing the delivery of diplomatic correspondence. We have already talked about his close relationship and correspondence with the diplomat Johannes Cuspinian (see ch. 4.2). In the records of the *Maximiliana*, there are traces of further contacts which of course can only offer a glimpse at the network of informants Saurer might have had access to at the Hungarian court beyond the

²⁹⁶This has also been frequently noticed in research, e.g. in Hollegger, 1983, 289; or Wiesflecker, 1986, 269.

²⁹⁷...dergestalt, als ob ir sollichs fur euch selbs und nit aus bevelh ksl. Mt. thetten, see Appendix A.13.

²⁹⁸In dem sibenten eurn gnadn schreiben befind ich mit den neuen zeittungen unnd wie es allenthalben in der welt stet eur gnaden gnedigen gunstigen unnd genaigten willen, so eur genad zu mir tregt, das mich nicht clain sonnder hoch erfreyett, see Appendix A.12.

more prominent diplomats such as Cuspinian, Jan Mrakeš or Jan Meziříčský z Lomnice. For instance, Saurer was also provided with intelligence by Cuspinian's secretary Johannes Gremper²⁹⁹ and by a certain Peter Schroll,³⁰⁰ apparently a resident of Pest who in turn received intelligence from a Jewish informant at court, named Moschl who was known as "the emperor's jew" (*den man nempt des kaysers juden*).³⁰¹ The reason these letters – including a petition for protection by the aforementioned Moschel³⁰² – survive, is that Saurer must have forwarded them either to Serntein or, more likely, to the emperor directly.

Saurer transmitted news from these varied sources both over official channels as well as through his informal exchange with Serntein, who in turn distributed them in his own letters. Even though Serntein framed his request for news from the neighbouring powers in the reciprocal exchange of gifts – he would sometimes follow his 'gift' of news on the Italian Wars with a request for Saurer to relay information from Hungary –,³⁰³ he indubitably accredited significance to it beyond its gift character. Of particular interest of the route this news might take is a simple bifolio in the records of the *Maximiliana* endorsed with the title 'Hungarian affairs' (*Hungerisch sachen*) on its back.³⁰⁴ The paper contains a summary of single news items Zyprian von Serntein had received from Johannes Cuspinian and Lorenz Saurer respectively, each introduced with the following phrases: "Doctor Cuspinian reports to Serntein that..." and "The vidame in Lower Austria has [sent] to Serntein chancellor..." before listing each item of news in neat paragraphs. There is no doubt that this selection of news which Serntein had received through his informal channels was composed at the order of the chancellor himself, most likely to relate to Maximilian directly in Serntein's absence from court (see ch. 4.3.2).

A hurried note from another hand, scribbled on the corner of the page confirms the intended addressee, but poses additional questions:

Per Vinzenz [Rockner]: Write to vidame that emperor has today received a letter from Serntein wherein he is citing from the vidame's letter. However, because his letter is *ander* [?], the emperor cannot answer it. He awaits a swift report from Saurer [...]³⁰⁵

According to this note, imperial secretary Vinzenz Rockner was to draft an imperial order, requesting Saurer to officially report on the matter to the emperor. The note is difficult to interpret, but it clearly passes over the mediating position Serntein had claimed between Lorenz Saurer and the emperor. Might we read this as an attempt to re-direct the flow of information through formal rather than informal channels? In any case, here we once again see that content transmitted through informal channels with the implication of *gift* could be transformed and transmitted over

²⁹⁹Johannes Gremper to Lorenz Saurer on 2 September 1514, HHStA/Maximiliana, 32-3-4. On Gremper who would later join the Latin expedition of the court chancellery see Ankiewicz, 1913, with a transcription of Gremper's letter on p. 200.

³⁰⁰See letters from Peter Schroll to Lorenz Saurer in TLA/Maximiliana/14.VI.567; and HHStA/Maximiliana, 32-3-5.

³⁰¹Another informant's letter to Saurer remains anonymous and undated; see TLA/Maximiliana/14.VI.213.

³⁰²Moschl to Maximilian on 2 September 1514, HHStA/Maximiliana, 32-3-6.

³⁰³See e.g. Appendix A.7 or A.26.

³⁰⁴HHStA/Maximiliana, 29-4-32.

³⁰⁵*per Vincentzen. Schreibet vitztum, keiser hab auff den tag ein schreiben von Sernteiner empfangg, darinnen schreib er seiner mt. aus seiner des vitztum schreiben. Dieweil aber sein schreiben ander [uncertain reading] ist kan im kayser kein antwort darauff geben. Wartet furderlichen beschaid von Saurer...,* the whole passage is legible only with difficulty.

formal ones now with the implication of *service*, in this case in a sort of hybrid which maintains a clear reference to the informal origins of the information contained.

Chapter 6

A Matter of Custody?

Very soon after the passing of Sir Francis Walsingham (c.1532–1590),³⁰⁶ principal secretary to Queen Elizabeth I and one of the most powerful officials in late sixteenth-century England, his papers were dispersed. The incident was described by Robert Beale in a contemporary treatise on secretaries, supposedly to serve as negative example of how not to manage one's paperwork.³⁰⁷ According to Beale, "the cause that upon the death of Mr. Secretarie Walsingham all his papers and bookes both publicke and private weare seized on and carried away" was Walsingham's failure to distinguish in his papers

betweene that w[hi]ch is publicke and that w[hi]ch is private, – that is, a separation betweene those thinges w[hi]ch are her Ma[ies]ties Recordes and appertaines unto her and those which a Secretarie getteth by his private industrie and charge.³⁰⁸

Walsingham's is an interesting case which lets us consider the question of the afterlife of letters. When observing the issue of custody of official papers in premodern Europe, there seems to be a timeless element to what Alan Stewart has called the "awkward situation of the man who works with state papers." It reveals fundamental problems of authority and ownership which might have been on an official's mind:

Is his work his own, or does it belong to the office he holds? Is there a way of separating out some of it as his own [...]? If so, how is it to be done? And does he leave his work to the record keeper who follows him in the post, or to his familial heir?³⁰⁹

Can we really assume that, just like Walsingham was supposed to, premodern officials differentiated between 'their own documents' and those 'appertaining to the prince'? If so, where did they draw the line? In reference to the entangled history of the custody of 'official' and 'private' papers, this leads to follow-up questions which this thesis has tried to answer: did Habsburg officers in the management of their paperwork distinguish between 'official documents' destined for the registry and correspondence 'off the record'? Is there a sense of distinction between 'official' and 'non-official' issues in their letters? Who claims custody over the papers produced

³⁰⁶On Walsingham see Adams, Bryson, and Leimon, 2009.

³⁰⁷On Robert Beale, who most likely had an interest in the papers as he was not only Walsingham's brother-in-law but also a fervent 'hunter' of official papers in private collections for the government, cf. Bell, 2015; and Stewart, 2016, 240–241 (quote). Beale's treatise (Treatise of the Office of a Councillor and Principall Secretarie to her Ma[ies]tie) from 1592 is published in Read, 1925, 423–443.

³⁰⁸*ibid.*, 431.

³⁰⁹Stewart, 2016, 241.

in an official's workplace? And was the keeping of papers even a matter of custody or ought it to be discussed as one of ownership?³¹⁰

Once again, what all these questions boil down to is the issue of drawing boundaries. From previous chapters we have seen that premodern officials were confronted with different, often conflicting expectations in their formal role as office-holders and in their informal roles as 'friend,' family member, patron or client. Formalization, according to organization theory, has historically promoted just that: by reducing the ambiguities which are characteristic of informal expectations, formal rules clearly define expectations of their members and in turn promote the distinction of clearly distinguishable roles.³¹¹ With regard to the self-perception of premodern officials, one way to approach this topic is by assessing the discrepancy between norms outlined in ordinances or manuals of good governance³¹², and practice most commonly analyzed regarding issues such as corruption.

I will briefly touch upon this discrepancy, however to answer the questions above my focus in the next section will lie on the traces of semantic boundary drawing in formal ordinances and the informal exchange through letters (ch. 6.1). In a second step I will proceed from a different angle – hinted at in the introductory episode – by scrutinizing the primary corpus of this thesis, the correspondence of Court Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein. Specifically, we must focus on the enlightening yet ambiguous material evidence provided by its afterlife (ch. 6.2).

6.1 Norms, Expectations and Self-Interest

Traditional scholarly attempts to trace the process of 'modernization' in the normative framework of premodern administration have rightly been criticized for decades now, with scholarship of premodern statecraft emphasizing the discrepancies between norms and actual practice, arguing that a straightforward distinction between the official role and the individual as well as between the official and private interest of office-holders as 'co-entrepreneurs' of princely power is futile.³¹³ Of course, premodern officials were far from adhering to the features famously outlined in Max Weber's ideal typical form of a modern bureaucrat. They were considered personal servants to the monarch, they usually could not depend on stable salaries or remuneration, offices were often treated as a form of property to be sold or inherited by their owners, and kinship or other social relationships such as clientelism often trumped qualifications in the appointment of office-holders.³¹⁴

Yet, we have also seen that around 1500 formal ordinances were put down which described a set of relatively stable behavioural expectations and a professional ethos often in conflict with informal expectations held towards officials as individuals entangled in networks of affinity, kinship, patronage or political 'friendships.'³¹⁵ Rather than dismissing the written treatises, administrative ordinances and manuals of good government appearing all over Europe towards the end of the late Middle Ages as 'unsuccessful attempts at modernization' or discredit the logic of networks based on personal relationships as impeding this process, then, we should consider not how rules imposed norms on behaviour, but on the way contemporaries talked

³¹⁰On this question with regard to Walsingham's papers see Williamson, 2015, 478–479.

³¹¹Cf. Stollberg-Rilinger, 2013; Thiessen, 2021.

³¹²On manuals on good governance and the development of a 'professional ethos' see Stolleis, 1990, 197–231; and more recently for Spain Brendecke, 2018; see also Hollegger, 1990.

³¹³Cf. for instance Reinhard, 2000, 128–130; Hesse, 2005, 17–19.

³¹⁴Cf. Reinhard, 1996, 13; for Habsburg Austria specifically see also Fichtner, 1995.

³¹⁵On this issue cf. Thiessen, 2021, 216–270; Neumann, 2020, 596–598; see also Brendecke, 2018.

about these rules.³¹⁶ We might ask how formal expectations interacted with informal ones, how office-holders conceived of their work and official role, and what we can say about their self-perceptions and self-identifications in relation to a professional ethos and abstract notions of rule.³¹⁷

We can see how formal expectations promoted the separation of formal and informal roles by looking at attempts of drawing boundaries in Habsburg administrative ordinances. After all, these norms would often demand just that: officials must not let their own interest or considerations born from ties of affinity or clientage influence their actions, i.e. they were to distinguish their 'public' from their 'private' role. The common phrase that officials must not let their actions be guided by bribes, gifts, friendship or hostility (*weder miet gab gunst freuntschaft noch veintschaft ansehen noch darumb ainicherlai erung noch schankung nehmen*) has been in use in different variations in German as early as the thirteenth century *Schwabenspiegel* (here referring to a judge's oath) and is only the most obvious line of conflict between the ethos of 'bureaucratic indifference' and the co-existing informal expectations through personal ties such as kinship or patronage.³¹⁸ More elaborate examples include rules that certain officials were to withdraw from giving council in matters in which they are interested parties due to family connections or their personal interest.³¹⁹ This rule was made explicit in an early ordinance from 1488 for the council of Archduke Sigismund in Tyrol, according to which councillors ought to act impartially and as public administrator in the name of the archduke (*sich unparteiisch und als ain gemainer Verwalter im namen meins gn. herrn finden lassen*) and accordingly, councillors who were 'friends' or kin with individuals whose case was brought before the council ought to step out during sessions.³²⁰

Pursuing one's own interests in an official capacity was discredited as well. Thus, in the fragmentary ordinance for the court chancellery of 1498 we read that "a chamberlain or councillor shall not deal in his own affairs (*in seinen eignen Sachen*) and procure written concessions (*briefe*) for himself", unless he had been authorized to do so beforehand by the prince or his council.³²¹ In a similar phrasing, a later ordinance from 1560 for the Lower Austrian Chamber exhorted councillors not to deal with their own affairs during work hours (*allain die Camerhannndlunngen, unnd nit Eure Selbst eignen sachen*).³²² This common theme in court ordinances of attempting to formally isolate an official's work from his self-interest or expectations from his environment is put concisely in a well-known contemporary manual on good government, which says that officials

must distinguish their official (*des amts*) from their private matters (*privatsachen*) and must not act in their own affairs (*ir sonderliche sachen*) against third parties as officials or in the government (*regiment*), for they are part

³¹⁶On this point see Groebner, 2000, 240.

³¹⁷On the self-perception of 'the people of the pen' from a global perspective cf. Berkel, 2018; see also Neumann, 2021a, 97–111.

³¹⁸See for example the treasury ordinance of 1498 edited in Fellner, 1907, 46; for the reference of the phrase in the *Schwabenspiegel* see Große, 1964, 124.

³¹⁹...so sullen alsdann der oder dieselben auf der camer, so dem und denselben unsern phlegern, amtleuten oder wie die genannt, gefreundet oder verwant waren, bei demselben ratslag nit sein sondern ausgen und die andern von der camer, so dem oder denselben nit verwant wären, daruber ratslagen und sliessen lassen..., treasury ordinance of 1498 edited in Fellner, 1907, 38.

³²⁰...sol man alle die, so gefreundet oder verwandt sein den personen, dero sachen im rat gehandelt werden, austreten, Rachfahl, 1913, 64–65.

³²¹...und sol dennoch ein camerer oder rate in seinen eignen Sachen nit mügen gescheftherr sein, im selbst ainig briefe anzuschaffen..., Fellner, 1907, 51.

³²²Cf. Hengerer, 2007, 106–107.

of the government not as their own person (*als sonderliche person*), but as representatives of God Almighty and their worldly lord.³²³

This argument of acting not for oneself but in the name of the prince can also be found in early sixteenth-century Habsburg administration, especially in the case of administrative bodies that presented what we might call a corporate identity to their environment. The reference to this identity and the formal framework in general is particularly evident when the authority of the body was challenged: this happened in December 1511, for instance, when Maximilian once again intervened in a legal dispute of the *Landmarschall* Benesch von Ebersdorf heard before the Lower Austrian *Regiment*. Ebersdorf, who was evidently unsatisfied with the outcome of his trial had sent the emperor a supplication in which he levelled heavy accusations against some of the *Regiment*'s members. In their response to Maximilian's temporary termination of the dispute, the governors asserted that they did not act "as our own person, but in the name and in place of Your Majesty"³²⁴ and that they had not acted out of "envy or hatred ... but in keeping with the oath and duty by which we are bound."³²⁵ They continue that should Maximilian undermine the authority he had delegated to them by virtue of the ordinance, they could not act in accordance with their oath, the money spent on the *Regiment* would be wasted and ultimately it was to be expected that the neighbouring nations of Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia would also encroach on the authority of their orderly governments.³²⁶

But the emperor, notoriously reluctant to be restricted by the formal order imposed by himself, could also adopt the formal point of view. He did so, for example, in a well-known episode concerning a dispute over rank between Hans von Puchheim and Georg von Rottal.³²⁷ Puchheim, who came from an old noble family, had lodged a complaint in 1514 because he refused to give precedence to the social climber Rottal who had been made head of the *Regiment* a year prior and who had only recently been raised to the rank of baron by Maximilian. Significantly, Maximilian would eventually settle the argument by maintaining that the social hierarchy of its environment had no bearing on the hierarchy within the *Regiment*, since

it has always been the order in our governments that the head of the *Regiment* (*lannthofmaister*) as the first and highest office shall have the first session and rank, regardless of who or what rank the person themselves may be.³²⁸

Even though the above examples seem straightforward at a first glance, the situation was often more ambiguous when we consider the interaction of formal and

³²³This passage from Heinrich von Osse's *Politisches Testament* from 1556 is cited in Grüne, 2011, 299 (transl. mine).

³²⁴...dieweil wir nicht fur unnser person, sunder in namen und anstatt eur ksl. Mt. zu representirn, antzaigen, und zuhanndthabung derselben oberkait hie sein, Lower Austrian *Regiment* to Maximilian on 15 December 1511, HHStA/Maximiliana, 26-2-8.

³²⁵...so haben wir nicht aus neyd noch has [...] sunnder alain was unns unnser ayd und phlicht ermant und gebunden, gehanndlt, HHStA/Maximiliana, 26-2-8.

³²⁶Wer auch wo es dy weeg erraichen solt unnser hanndlung unangesehen und der cossten, so eur Mt. auf die regierung leget, vergebens, möchten auch auf unnser ayd unnd phlicht eur ksl. Mt. getan, eur Mt. regierung, oberkhait und herligkait zu wolfart und ansehen, nicht hanndln, noch unns bey eur Mt. ere und gnad erdienen, auch bey den anstessunden nacion Hungern, Beheim und Merhern, so ir geordnete regierung, verkhlaynung, und bey den partheien teglichen schimphierung zuezufuegen, erwartten, HHStA/Maximiliana, 26-2-8.

³²⁷For this conflict see Lackner, 2010, 395–396.

³²⁸daz bishere altzeit unnser ordnung in unnsern regimenten gewest, auch noch unnser maynung ist ..., daz der lanthofmaister als daz vordrest und obrist ambt die ersst session und stannd hat und haben sol, unangesehen wer oder wass stannds die personen an in selbs sein, *ibid.*, 395 (transl. mine).

informal channels of communication. Let me illustrate this by once again referring to the Lauffner scandal (see ch. 1). In an official letter to the imperial council from two of the accused *Regiment* members, Georg von Rottal and Sigmund von Schneidpeck, we encounter the typical references to the formal framework and their official role.³²⁹ Thus, Rottal and Schneidpeck argued that they were acting not for themselves but in the name of the emperor (*nach wir inn namen ksl. Mt. unnd nicht unnser personn halbenn handln*) and concerning the accusation of supporting Lauffner, they suggested that they supported anyone “as much as is fair and just, unaffected by envy or hatred.”³³⁰ In short, in referring almost verbatim to the formal expectations expressed in official ordinances they project an image of the impersonal conduct of office, an official role that is isolated from one’s personal feelings and emotions.³³¹ It is only in a letter by Georg von Rottal sent through an informal channel to imperial secretary Hans Vinsterwalder, that we can appraise a different dimension of the conflict. In his letter, Rottal describes Siebenbürger’s proceedings, worst of all the public attention it attracted “in the presence of all merchants and the university from the *Reich* and the hereditary lands,” as nothing but a malicious attack on his and Chancellor Schneidpeck’s honour. Rottal, who fears Siebenbürger might attempt to stop the investigations of misconduct against him, writes to Vinsterwalder that

this would be a great, horrible offence to my honour. Please ask His Majesty most earnestly not to bring disgrace to me in my old age, but to allow this investigation (*rechtfertigung*) [to continue]³³²

As we can see, both official role and personal status might be invoked on the same issue, but communicated differently over formal or informal channels. In the ‘small supplication’ (*ain klainß suplecaci*) written in Rottal’s hand which he enclosed in his letter for Vinsterwalder to hand to the emperor personally, Rottal accordingly frames his request to Maximilian in terms of grace and disgrace:

All the trouble I have had in my days is nothing compared to this. Your Majesty could do me no greater favour than to order that Siebenbürger must answer for his prosecution, nor any greater disfavour than the suspension of this investigation.³³³

That to Rottal the conflict was first and foremost an attack on his personal honour, not only transcending his official role but death itself, is also evident from Rottal’s last will and testament. In his will, he once again mentions the Lauffner scandal and stipulates that should someone level accusations of bribery against him after his death, his honour must be defended.³³⁴

³²⁹Cf. ÖNB Cod. 8549. The letter survives as a fragment which Perger, 1981, 79 (note 358) believes to have been addressed to the Vienna *Regiment* in 1514. I believe it was more likely addressed to the imperial council, perhaps here we even have a fragment of the letter slipped in the record according to Siebenbürger’s account (see ch. 1.1).

³³⁰*Er sagt auch wir furdern des Lauffners sachenn, lassen wir beschehenn. Wir fuerdern inn und ain yegklichenn sovill als billich und recht ist und sehenn darinn weder neyd noch hass ann*, ÖNB Cod. 8549.

³³¹On the ideal of the office-holder “stripped of affects” see Brendecke, 2018.

³³²...*solichß mir an mein ern ain grosse, gresliche verletzung ist. Pit euch, ir welt ksl. Mt. aufs hoxt pitn, mir zu mein alter kain schand zuzustellen, sunder solich rechtfertigung verschaffn aufzufurn, damit ir ksl. Mt. des grünts der warhait gewar werdñ*, Georg Rottal to Hans Vinsterwalder on 27 February 1514, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-3-142.

³³³*All dy not so ich all mein tag gehabt ist alles diser nicht zugelechn. Eur ksl. Mt. mügn mir kain grosser genad tuen den zu befelichn daß Sibenburger sein klag verantburt inn rechtn, auch kain groser ungnad alß sperrung der rechten*, undated supplication from Georg Rottal to Maximilian, enclosed in his letter to Hans Vinsterwalder, HHStA/Maximiliana, 30-3-142.

³³⁴See the transcription of Rottal’s will in Bachschweller, 2012, 56–74: 73.

In any case, we have established that formal expectations were a point of reference for Habsburg officials. We also see this in informal letters among officers. Here, too, there is the same linguistic demarcation that we have already encountered in the ordinances, between official business pertaining to the emperor and one's 'own affairs' (*mein aigen sachen*). The phrase seems to designate a matter as a 'particular' issue, i.e. distinct from affairs arising from royal service. A proper examination of this phenomenon cannot be afforded here, but in general terms an official's 'own affairs' seems to have referred primarily to the management of their household and personal finances. Serntein himself speaks of *mein aigen sachen* in a letter to Jakob Villinger, asking to help him obtain a financial credit in Augsburg for an investment in his and his wife's share in a lucrative mining venture.³³⁵ So did he, in several instances, when organizing cattle for his estates through Vidame Lorenz Saurer at the Viennese cattle markets.³³⁶ Other high-ranking officials, such as Paul von Liechtenstein, made use of the phrase in similar circumstances.³³⁷ In a more or less common trope, perhaps meant to signal the dedication to their master's cause, officials would even complain about a conflict of interest between their time-consuming engagement with the emperor's business and their neglected 'own affairs' and household. Perhaps, nobody complained about this more emphatically than Blasius Hölzl in one of his letters to Zyprian von Serntein:

I have travelled for almost two years the length and breadth of Lower Austria and have suffered great disadvantage through the neglect of my other business. I reckon other people may also travel for a while. I shall now return to Vellenberg with my wife and children and see to my own affairs (*meinen aigen sachen*) for a change etc.³³⁸

It seems from these examples that the reference to 'one's own affairs' in letters was less problematic than in the administrative ordinances. There is certainly a discrepancy between the pejorative use of the term in ordinances and the matter-of-fact way officers themselves used it in their letters to refer to matters outside their official role.

6.2 The Afterlife of Letters at the Habsburg Court

One of the few reliable sources on the afterlife of the records of the court chancellery under Maximilian I stems from a casual mention in a report made to his grandson Ferdinand from 1533,³³⁹ referring to an incident which had occurred some years prior:

we must also inform Your Majesty, that there is no organized registry of the Austrian affairs (*hanndl*) of Emperor Maximilian's court chancellery,

³³⁵Zyprian von Serntein to Jakob Villinger on 15 January 1518, TLA/Maximiliana/14.1518.II.1.

³³⁶See Appendix A.17 (*in meinen sachen*) and A.22 (*von meinen wegen*).

³³⁷Cf. the instances Paul von Liechtenstein refers to his efforts to obtain the dominion Rattenberg as his *aigen sachen* in his letters to Zyprian von Serntein in Liechtenstein's letter-book, ÖNB Cod. ser. n. 2646, 9, 10–11.

³³⁸*Ich pin schier zway jar umbher geriten in alle nyderosterreichische land und des mit versaumnus anderer meiner händl und in anderweg nit klainen nachtail gelitten. Mag leyden ander leut reiten auch ain weyl. Ich sol yetz mit weyb und kind wider auf Vellenberg ziehen und ainmal zu meinen aigen sachen auch sehen etc.*, Blasius Hölzl to Zyprian von Serntein on 18 April 1514, HHStA/Maximiliana, 31-2-36; for similar examples see *ibid.*, 28-4-42; and *ibid.*, 27-3-43.

³³⁹Report of the Regiment to King Ferdinand I on 27 September 1533. Cf. Schönherr, 1886, 96–97; cf. also the longer passage quoted in Schön, 2015, 37–38.

since all the records of the court chancellery (*alle copeyen ... irer hanndl*) during the late Zyprian von Serntein's administration had been stored in ten or twelve barrels and trunks as a jumbled collection of loose papers. After his death, they were brought here from Castle Fragenstein and have not yet been put in order or registered, which would require a special assignment and would take a long time.³⁴⁰

From this passage we learn that the papers of the court chancellery had been seized at the chancellor's castle Fragenstein after his death, to be transferred to Innsbruck on three carriages in a supposedly abysmal state. Apparently, the papers had remained in Serntein's custody long after the emperor's death in 1519, even after the chancellor's demise in political importance. Accordingly, Heinz Noflatscher has suggested that "the secret and often very personal affairs of a courtly archive apparently were better stored in a private tower rather than the vaults of the Innsbruck Hofburg."³⁴² But which was it? Where these records that today make up a considerable amount of the *Maximiliana* collection of 'state papers' private or public affairs? And if they were of public interest – as their retrieval would suggest – how come they were stored in Castle Fragenstein in the first place?

6.2.1 The Public Record in Private Custody

At this point, after we have seen how formal and informal communication channels were often intermingled, we should probably start asking ourselves why and by whom the letters at the heart of this thesis have been preserved, and what this means for us historians.³⁴³ Too often, these sources have been pillaged for facts and narrative without considering their provenance and the ramifications for their interpretation. What does it mean, for instance, that often-cited letters like the one by Zyprian von Serntein to Paul von Liechtenstein in which the chancellor openly criticizes the ruling style of an ageing and stubborn Maximilian – breaking with the emperor's image so carefully curated for posterity – survives in a collection of 'state papers' of all places?³⁴⁴ And how are we to interpret Martin Siebenbürger's suggestion in his account of the Lauffner scandal (see ch. 1), that it is not in the files created by the regional government but in the files that he leaves behind in his possession that one can understand the true cause of events (*pessern grund der sachen*)? In short, we have to look into the afterlife of letters.

The type of correspondence between government officials which for its 'private style' has often puzzled scholars of modern diplomatics (see ch. 2.2) would often survive in what we would refer to today as private archives rather than state paper collections in institutional archives. In fact, some scholars of modern diplomatics have argued that this type of correspondence was used precisely to avoid leaving

³⁴⁰...darbey geben wir eur kn. mst. auch zuerkennen, dz wir bey uns kain ordenliche registratur kayser Maximilianen hof cannzley österreichischer hanndl finden sunder alle copeyen irer kay. mst. hof cannzley hanndl unnder weylend herrn Ziprian von Serntein verwaltung sein stuckhsweis unnd durchain annder vermischet unnd zerrutt in zehen oder zwelf vass und truhen geschlagen unnd nach seinem abganng von dem sloss Fragenstein herabgefiert unnd bis heer noch nie ersuecht ordniert noch registriert worden welche arbeit einer aignen person unnd langer zeit bedarff.³⁴¹

³⁴²Noflatscher, 1999, 218 (transl. mine).

³⁴³On this topic see Esch, 1985; see also the interesting observations in Hunt, 2016, 206–207.

³⁴⁴Zyprian von Serntein to Paul von Liechtenstein on 3 April 1509, HHStA/Maximiliana, 20-3-8; the letter, which interestingly survives as a draft in Serntein's and another person's hand, has been partially edited in Wiesflecker-Friedhuber, 1996, 172–175. On Maximilian's self-image see the classic Müller, 1982.

traces in the official record.³⁴⁵ This practice, of course, has been much to the disdain of modern archivists, who insisted that these documents ought to be considered ‘official’ and thus the state’s property. Thus, the ‘godfather’ of British archival theory, Hilary Jenkinson, in a sweeping statement directed at the “use of personal letters in business” regards the private custody of personal letters by public figures as owing to an “accident of custody in the past;” an issue of which, according to Jenkinson, there are “numerous examples [to be] drawn from the past – indeed from all periods.”³⁴⁶ From the comfortable position of a twentieth-century archivist, Jenkinson thus argues:

When, in spite of all precautions, private correspondence does obtain a place in official or public business the obvious rule should be that official or business action taken upon a private or personal letter automatically makes that letter an official or business document, to be treated as such: that is to say, it ceases then and there to be the property of the person to whom it was addressed and his office should see to it that official ownership is invariably asserted.³⁴⁷

As scandalous as the private custody of ‘state papers’ may seem to twentieth-century archivists or even us today, it was not unheard of in premodern Europe. As early as 1410 we are told that the late King Ruprecht’s chancellor Raban von Helmstatt apparently thought of the imperial registers as his property, not Ruprecht’s successors’.³⁴⁸ Indeed, a propensity towards holding on to paperwork was a common trait among premodern officers in Europe. Officials not only stored documents and files in their homes, they also bequeathed them to their heirs, often for instructional purposes and emulation.³⁴⁹ This of course has to do with the fact that office-holders would often work from home, not in an office environment we associate with bureaucracy today.³⁵⁰ To be sure, there is evidence that the ownership of such documents was highly contested already in premodern times. Frequently, governments sought to acquire (sometimes to no avail) the papers their ministers, secretaries and diplomats had produced. Today, many of Europe’s state archives trace some of their most important collections of what is now referred to as ‘state papers’ to such private collections.³⁵¹ After all, the main purpose of any archive – to serve as memory for past actions and events – could not be achieved when the death of an official resulted in a sort of documentary amnesia.

But how did institutional archives and state paper collections even come about in the first place? If we think of state archives today, we might picture a grand edifice solely dedicated to the ‘memory’ of the state’s institutions. We might also picture stacks of dusty papers or stacks of dusty boxes containing even more dusty papers. For Europe c.1500, neither of those images are true for most polities, especially when it comes to principalities north of the Alps. For one thing, written

³⁴⁵Cf. Meisner, 1969, 76.

³⁴⁶Jenkinson here refers to the *Cecil Papers* at Hatfield House. Jenkinson, 1937, 118, 167–168.

³⁴⁷*ibid.*, 167–168. For a similar argument regarding the nature of *Privatdienstschreiben* by Otto Meisner mentioned previously see ch. 2.2.

³⁴⁸Cf. Seeliger, 1890/94, 245–247; and Moraw, 1969, 441–443.

³⁴⁹Cf. Stewart, 2016; Hunt, 2018.

³⁵⁰On the issue of ‘home office’ of early modern officials see Ludwig, 2015; and Ågren, 2020.

³⁵¹Cf. the overview in Friedrich and Dillon, 2018, 103–107; for England cf. Hunt, 2018, 125–129; for Italy cf. Vivo, Guidi, and Silvestri, 2016, 389–393; and Vivo, 2007, 54–56; for France cf. Poncet, 2018; for Spain cf. Brendecke, 2010; for the Austrian State Archive cf. Hochedlinger, 2011, 111–119; and as a particularly vivid example the provenances of the important collection *Große Korrespondenz* described by Gross, 1936.

material of dispositive value was often stored in multiple towers or vaults rather than the dedicated buildings of central archives we know today. For another, much of the material of those 'archives' until way into the late Middle Ages consisted not of originals but of series of book-like cartularies and registers for incoming and outgoing documents, i.e. codices which recorded copies of documents the ruling family had received as beneficiaries or conferred as benefactors.³⁵² In fact, for a long time only the most important documents of a probative character, i.e. proofs of authoritative acts, were preserved as originals and/or recorded in registers. In the course of the late Middle Ages, albeit with a noticeable difference in pace within Europe, incoming documents were increasingly stored in boxes and armoires in specially designated buildings, i.e. archives. Significantly, even drafts and rough copies as well as other documents, hitherto recorded selectively in ever more exhaustive series of registers, were increasingly preserved as loose paper or paper bundles. One – admittedly crude – way to measure this new practice of preserving internal paperwork of chanceries under Habsburg rule is by volume of surviving records. These survive largely in the heterogeneous series of records of the reigns of Frederick III, Sigismund of Tyrol and his cousin Maximilian I. Today the paper records of king and later emperor Frederick III (r. 1440–1493) take up a neat 4 boxes in archives in Vienna and Innsbruck, whereas the records of his nephew Archduke Sigismund of Tyrol (r. 1439–1490) already occupy 14 boxes. The successor to both Frederick III and Sigismund, Maximilian (r. 1490–1519), amassed 37 and 46 boxes in the archives of Innsbruck and Vienna respectively during his significantly shorter reign, totalling 83 boxes of documents.³⁵³

The keeping of drafts of issued documents during Maximilian's reign and the intensified maintenance of registers for more immediate use in a "book-based information management system" – for all its faults – was certainly something new in its ambition.³⁵⁴ However, regarding the question of what documents were to be registered or kept, contemporary ordinances show that it was only a certain genre of documents that were defined as "issues one must remember" (*sachen der man gedechtnus haben muss*), primarily those which "flowed from the emperor himself or at his order" (*sachen so auss seiner mt. selbs person und bevelh vliessen*) and were issued as sealed charters.³⁵⁵ Certainly, the registrar of the court chancellery was instructed to keep all drafts, including the ones which did not need to be registered, and send them to the chancellor every half year to be put in a dungeon.³⁵⁶ But these regulations are often imprecise and significantly, incoming letters are not considered. As a result,

³⁵²For an introduction cf. Friedrich and Dillon, 2018, 24–28; see also the ground-breaking Clanchy, 2012.

³⁵³All three fonds are collections of documents from different provenance, put together largely during the nineteenth century. For the Innsbruck archive cf. Beimrohr, 2002; and Stolz, 1934; for the Vienna part of the *Maximiliana* see recently Fliri, 2023; for a more general overview see also Haidacher, 2022; as well as Hochedlinger, 2013.

³⁵⁴Head, 2019, 114 (quote). Cf. also Vismann and Winthrop-Young, 2008, 91–95. For a recent description of the exhaustive register series of the Upper Austrian *Kammer* see Krajčec, 2022.

³⁵⁵*Item, der kun. mt. und alle andere nöttige sachen der man gedechtnus haben muss, sonderlich die versigelt verschreibung, es sei umb dinst, pflege, lehen gabe, provision, leibgeding, verzeihung, privilegien, bestettigung, presentatz, moninatz, wapenbrief und dergleichen sachen so auss seiner mt. selbs person und bevelh vliessen auch instruction umb merglich sachen [...] trewlich zu verwaren, for this passage of the imperial chancellery ordinance of 1498 see Rosenthal, 1887, 45; on this practice see also Moraw, 1983, 41.*

³⁵⁶*Item was aber ander copeien, die nit not seien zu registriren sonder sunst zu behalten seien, die sollen die secretarien und canzlschreiber, sopald si die brief davon ingrossiert und geschriben haben, dem bemelten registrator von stund an uberantwurten; der sol die auch in ein jede laden des lands, da derselb brief gelaut hat, legen und zu jedem halben jar dieselben auf- und zusammengepunden und dem canzler geantwort werden, der die fürter auch in ein gewelb tuen und ferrer, wo das der kgl. Mt. gevellig ist, schicken sol, see item 12 in the ordinance for Court Registrar Hans Renner in Fellner, 1907, 13–15.*

even for one of the most prestigious collections of letters kept in archives today, the diplomatic correspondence between a ruler and his ambassadors, the situation can only be described as dire for the reign of Maximilian.³⁵⁷ It was only later during the sixteenth century that documents were systematically registered and kept to provide retrievable information rather than just legal proof of properties or prerogatives.³⁵⁸

But what of the letters produced by royal officials such as Zyprian von Serntein which have been at the centre of this thesis? At the beginning of the chapter we have seen that efforts were undertaken by the official authority to retrieve documents from the chancellor's castle. There is some evidence of other such cases. In February 1513, for example, Maximilian ordered the estate of the late imperial secretary Johann Collauer, containing "several chests with several registers, copies and other documents that affect us," to be seized and brought to Innsbruck;³⁵⁹ the same happened to Jakob de Banissis's papers in 1533 after his death.³⁶⁰ Similarly, there is evidence that high-ranking officials such as the treasurer Jakob Villinger and Chancellor Bernhard Cles were asked to return official papers at the end of their tenure. A note that survives on account of Villinger's transferal of these documents, arranged in bundles by year and month, reads:

Receipt of copies/drafts of all kinds of documents (*brief*) that Jakob Villinger made in past years in the name and on behalf of the late emperor Maximilian, and which, in addition to the registry and other writings, are handed over to the hands of his royal majesty, archduke of Austria etc. in Innsbruck.³⁶¹

With regard to Serntein's papers in the records of the *Maximiliana*, unfortunately we have little information of the circumstances of the incident at Castle Fragenstein. Was the action prompted by the search for missing documents? Was Serntein perhaps asked to return papers but never did while he was still alive? We might reasonably assume that the transfer of documents described in 1533 was not accorded with either Serntein or his widow ahead of time, perhaps it was not anticipated at all.³⁶² After all, besides Serntein's correspondence we find some documents in the *Maximiliana* collection which one would rather expect to find in contemporary 'private' family archives, but not necessarily among a collection of state papers. More significantly with regard to Serntein's correspondence, there is tangible evidence that contemporaries and colleagues of Serntein did not necessarily consider their letters a 'part of the deal.' So, even though the above-mentioned Bernhard Cles passed

³⁵⁷See Lutter, 1998, 24, 118–122; and Metzger, 2016, 33–37. On the evolution of record-keeping techniques regarding diplomatic correspondence see Vivo, 2018, esp. 63–73.

³⁵⁸For the far-reaching innovations in information management techniques under Maximilian's successors from the 1520s onwards see Head, 2019.

³⁵⁹*Nachdem weyleynd doctor Johann Collauer ettlich truhen mit ettlichen registern, copeien und anndern henndln so unns berurten hinder sein verlassen...*, Maximilian to the Upper Austrian Regiment on 18 February 1513, TLA/Maximiliana/14.1513.I.6.

³⁶⁰Cf. Stowasser, 1919, 36.

³⁶¹*Quittung Copeyen allerlay brief, So Jacob Villinger in verschinen Jaren In Namen und von wegen weillendt Kayser Maximilian hochloblicher gedechtnuss gemacht und neben der Registratur und anndern Schrifften zu Ku. Mt. Ertzherzogen zu ostererich etc. hannden zu Ynssbrugg ubergeben wirdet, und sein solh Copeyen in Butschen nach den Jaren und Monaten angeschnaist und eingetailt wie hernach volgt [...]*, cited in Williams, 2015b, 370 (note 94).

³⁶²Reinhold Stollenmayer claims that after Serntein's death his widow Dorothea tried to refuse the confiscation by Ferdinand I because important family documents were among the papers, however he does not cite a source and his flamboyant style makes Stollenmayer a somewhat unreliable source. Cf. Stollenmayer, 1920, 17.

his “paper heritage”³⁶³ on to his successor in the chancellery as requested, his voluminous correspondence with princes, diplomats, courtiers and the like remained with him at the Prince-Bishopric of Trent. According to the report of one of the archivists who coordinated the transfer of Cles’s correspondence from Innsbruck (where it had been moved from Trent some time after 1802) to Vienna in 1860, the 2.800 letters addressed to Cles filled some 35 fascicles, while the bound drafts of his letters amounted to 15 booklets (*Hefte*).³⁶⁴

With that in mind, why was Serntein’s correspondence among the ‘loose papers’ seized after his death? Did Serntein perhaps – not unlike Francis Walsingham in the episode cited at the beginning of this chapter (see ch. 6) – fail to separate ‘his own’ papers from those ‘concerning the emperor’? The sources on this matter are conflicting and rely heavily on the crux of all historical research: the contingencies of survival. Nevertheless, some evidence might be gained from trying to reconstruct Serntein’s management of his papers.

6.2.2 *My Home, My Castle? Zyprian von Serntein and his Papers*

Let us start our investigation of Zyprian von Serntein’s papery inheritance with the space where it was kept. After all, Heinz Noflatscher has suggested that “the secret and often very personal affairs of a courtly archive apparently were better stored in a private tower rather than the vaults of the Innsbruck Hofburg.”³⁶⁵ But how ‘private’ a place was Castle Fragenstein in Noflatscher’s use of the term? Let me approach this question by addressing some as of yet undiscovered sources and the fragmentary evidence that is available to us regarding life at Fragenstein Castle.

When Zyprian von Serntein died in the spring of 1524, he had served the Habsburg dynasty for over 40 years, the majority of his life. His influence had waned significantly in the years after Maximilian’s death in 1519. The latter’s successors distanced themselves not only from many of their grandfather’s councillors but their way of doing politics; a fact which Charles V communicated plainly to Serntein.³⁶⁶ Nevertheless, he was one of the few old councillors who retained some authority. He had been active in the interim government after the emperor’s death, had travelled to the Imperial Diet at Worms in 1521, had negotiated the division of territories between Charles and his brother Ferdinand at Brussels in 1522 and from the Imperial Diet of Nuremberg had travelled to Innsbruck with Ferdinand in the spring of 1523 to install the new provincial government.³⁶⁷ It is perhaps interesting to note that the little we know of his activities towards the end of his life we know primarily from his letters to Michael von Wolkenstein; letters which significantly survive in the Wolkenstein family archive, not in the records of the court chancellery.³⁶⁸

³⁶³Williams, 2016, 74 (quote), 80 note 10.

³⁶⁴Cf. Mayer, 1894, 174–175. Interestingly, after World War I when Italy laid claim to the *Corrispondenza Clesiana* due to its provenance in Trent, it seems the Austrian State Archive argued that it was not Cles’s ‘private correspondence’ but rather his ‘official correspondence’ as court chancellor and president of the privy council according to Gross, 1936, 590. The *Clesiana*, comprising about 3.800 letters between 1490–1539 in 21 bundles, lies today neither in the Austrian State Archive nor the former bishopric but the Archivio di Stato in Trent (another 400 lie in the Biblioteca Comunale di Trento), however in the online catalogue of the Austrian State Archive one still finds an **empty entry** for the correspondence; for a recent appraisal of the entangled history of the archive of the prince-bishopric of Trent cf. Occhi, 2018.

³⁶⁵Noflatscher, 1999, 218 (transl. mine).

³⁶⁶See the letter from Zyprian von Serntein to Michael von Wolkenstein in 1521 cited in *ibid.*, 117.

³⁶⁷Cf. *ibid.*, esp. 84–119; cf. also Rill, 2003, 73–76.

³⁶⁸For a description of the archive of this branch of the Wolkenstein family cf. Andrian-Werburg, 2009.

In any case, it seems that Serntein eventually settled in Tyrol, retaining his office as chancellor but being less involved in daily administration and politics. He and his wife Dorothea had taken residence primarily, it seems, at Castle Fragenstein, only a few miles west of Innsbruck. Castle Fragenstein was also the place where Serntein stored the paperwork he had accumulated in his function as court chancellor, and lots of it. One key thing to remember, of course, is that Chancellor Serntein was 'on the road' for much of his life. When he was in Tyrol, it is likely that he would have spent more time at his Innsbruck city residence close to the *Hofburg*, which might have served also as a (temporary) working space for the mobile court chancellery, even though this question remains controversial among scholars.³⁶⁹

A rather nondescript document might reveal some more information on the household(s) of the chancellor. It is an undated list in Serntein's hand of 46 names and/or occupations which are organized in four columns of which three are superscribed with the names of some of Serntein's dominions, namely Fragenstein, Hörtenberg and Telfs; a list which can easily be identified as describing the people in Serntein's household(s) (see fig. 6.1).³⁷⁰ The fourth column without label I believe to be a list of Serntein's mobile entourage as court chancellor. This as of yet unexplored source provides a fascinating insight into the household of a travelling official and courtier. It starts with the first person pronoun "I" (*Ich*) and features a list of a further 18 individuals whose professions reflect the demands of a highly mobile lifestyle; among them several persons responsible for transportation and taking care of draught animals, a blacksmith, a barber (surgeon), two cooks and a kitchen help, the scribe Lindtmaier,³⁷¹ a chaplain, and the names of two 'noble men' (*edlman*).

When Serntein returned to Castle Fragenstein (which there is reason to believe he did not do regularly)³⁷² he was greeted by a household of another 17 people, who are listed in the column labelled "Fragenstein". The first item on the list, a simple "Frau", establishes his wife as *materfamilias*. Dorothea von Serntein, daughter of an affluent mining entrepreneur, had married the significantly older Serntein at a very young age; her surviving fifteen letters to her husband in the records of the court chancellery (mostly centred around financial troubles) are very expressive in tone and make use of an emotional repertoire which was not uncommon for the letters of early modern noble women.³⁷³ On the above list she is followed by what seems to be her *Frauenzimmer*, two *junckfrauen* (one identified by name) and one *altfrau*, as well as one female cook and two maids. The remaining male part of the household is led on by Fragenstein's administrator (*pfleger* or *hauspfleger*), followed by a number of servants responsible for the maintenance of the estate, i.e. the vineyards, gamekeepers and so forth. Judging from the few letters of Dorothea von Serntein to her husband that have survived in the records of the court chancellery, she seems to have been involved directly with the duties of maintaining the estate and its finances, as

³⁶⁹Noflatscher, 1999, 217 suggests (without providing a source) that Serntein's house hosted the chancellery; Hollegger, 1983, 35 in turn argues the chancellery had no dedicated work place in Innsbruck; for a recent description of the medieval *Hofburg* see Riegel, 2019; for a general discussion of living conditions of Habsburg officers c.1500 see Noflatscher, 1999, 207–225.

³⁷⁰TLA/Maximiliana/14, Varia aus der Kanzlei, no. 55.

³⁷¹A *Georg Lyndamayr* is listed in the 1519 *Hofstaatsverzeichnis* as chancellery scribe; cf. Fellner, 1907, 139–147: 142; see also Hollegger, 1983, 68.

³⁷²At least according to Serntein himself who in 1513 told Vinzenz Rockner he had not been home for two years. Cf. the letter from Serntein to Rockner on 9 October 1513, edited in Kraus, 1875, 125–130: 127.

³⁷³Dorothea's letters are edited in Schön, 2015, 66–86; and Rensing, 1935, 318–326. For the gendered language of early modern letters composed by members of the nobility see Nolte, 2000, esp. 197–198.

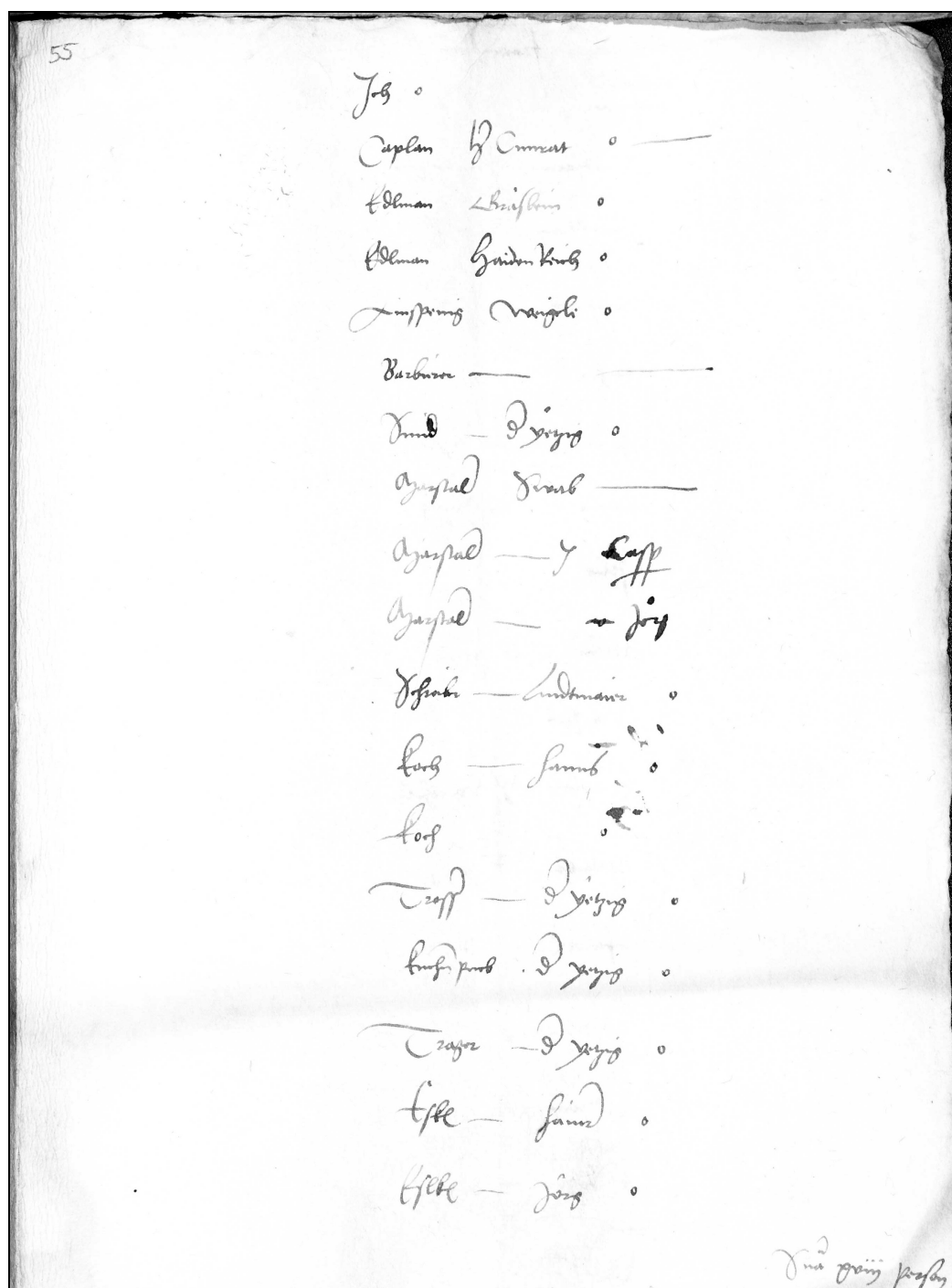


FIGURE 6.1: A list of what seems to be Serntein's travelling entourage. TLA/Maximiliana/14, Varia aus der Kanzlei, no. 55.

well as hosting events of conviviality with neighbours and kin.³⁷⁴

Serntein had been granted Castle Fragenstein as a pledge in return for yet another credit to the emperor in 1498.³⁷⁵ A sketch from c.1550 by Sebastian Scheel shows an impressive hill castle with two large towers overlooking the Lower Inn Valley.³⁷⁶ Due to the castle's strategic location, lying on the travel route between Innsbruck and Augsburg, the emperor (who also enjoyed its hunting grounds) was a frequent guest at Fragenstein.³⁷⁷ In the emperor's wake travelled the court chancellery which might have regularly dropped off piles of documents at the chancellor's castle.³⁷⁸ If Serntein did distinguish between his 'own affairs' from that of his office or the emperor's, it did certainly not translate to a spatial separation between the official and the 'private' in today's sense of the word 'domestic'.³⁷⁹

In this regard, another scrap of paper, a single page memorandum endorsed by Serntein's hand entitled 'my own affairs' (*mein selbst aigen sachen*) is of particular interest (for the phrase, see ch. 6.2.1).³⁸⁰ Among the list of items on the memorandum which mostly concern financial matters we find the short entry *Stat und ordnung der cantzley und meins stats*, which could roughly be translated to '(financial) condition and organization of the chancellery and of my own.' The interpretation of *stat* is a difficult one.³⁸¹ Around 1500 it holds a number of meanings of which 'state' in the sense of realm is the least common. More often it seems to refer to expenditures incurred by a group of people.³⁸² In Serntein's case, it seems to refer both to the staff of the chancellery (for which the chancellor was responsible) and possibly Serntein's entourage or the staff of his household(s). In any case, the casual blending of Serntein's 'own affairs' with those of the chancellery reminds us to be cautious about anachronistic notions of a separation of the domestic space as essentially private and as distinct from the place of work of premodern officers.

The same is true for other influential officials at the Habsburg court. In 1506, in a letter to his master, Paul von Liechtenstein requested for funds to reinforce the buildings of Castle Rattenberg in Tyrol, one of the Emperor's spoils of the War of the Succession of Landshut in 1504 which Liechtenstein had received as a pledge shortly after.³⁸³ In letters to Zyprian von Serntein, Liechtenstein would frequently describe his efforts to rebuild Castle Rattenberg into a 'princely residence worthy

³⁷⁴For an example of such a gathering organized by Dorothea von Serntein see the letter from Blasius Hölzl to Zyprian von Serntein on 21 December 1510, TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, VI.120.

³⁷⁵On the economic principles behind the early modern 'pledge' cf. Löhnig, 2015; see also Rauscher, 2004; Knittler, 1997; and for a recent exemplary study Zajic, 2020.

³⁷⁶For Castle Fragenstein cf. Kutschera, 1982, including the sketch of Fragenstein. A recent **digital reconstruction** of Fragenstein Castle initiated by the Burghauptmannschaft is available on their youtube channel.

³⁷⁷For an itinerary of Maximilian's stays at Fragenstein see the (otherwise negligible) thesis by Grotenburg, 2011, 75–94.

³⁷⁸Cf. Noflatscher, 1999, 217–218; while the court chancellery's register books travelled with the chancellery, the completed books were sent back to Innsbruck for safe-keeping where they were stored in a rented citizen's town house. Cf. Hollegger, 1983, 36, 44–46.

³⁷⁹On the issue of the 'domestic space' in early modern Europe see multiple contributions in Eibach and Lanzinger, 2021; as well as Wunder, 2021.

³⁸⁰TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, XI.48; the paper additionally carries the endorsement *Mein selbst aigen sachen vor meiner abschied zu mein gehaim ge. puech zustellen* and *Henndel meiner aigen sachen. Zu Fragenstein zuuversehen*.

³⁸¹See Wührer and Scheutz, 2011, 20–22; see also Heinig, 1999, 225.

³⁸²Take, for example, the list of people in Maximilian's court entitled *stat des hofgesinds*, the list of Jakob Villingers entourage entitled *Villingers stat*, or numerous lists of a similar kind in Paul von Liechtenstein's letter-book, all of them in some way connected to financial considerations. Cf. Fellner, 1907, 56, 139–147; for Liechtenstein's letter-book see ÖNB Cod. ser. n. 2646, 9, 10–11.

³⁸³On Rattenberg see Neuhauser, Burger, and Mölk, 2019.

of the name' as belonging to his 'own affairs.'³⁸⁴ In his letter to Maximilian, however, Liechtenstein emphasized other benefits of the renovation, namely that of a repository for official documents:

[...] that Your Majesty may have a dwelling there; one strong enough so treasure and an arsenal might be kept there, also important privileges and charters (*brieflich gerechtigkeit, daran gelegen wär*).³⁸⁵

Similarly, in 1513 Georg von Rogendorf, burgrave of Steyr Castle, was ordered by Maximilian to safekeep two trunks of important documents.³⁸⁶ Evidently, the castles Maximilian granted to trusted servants could serve as repositories for important documents. At Castle Fragenstein, very much like Castle Rattenberg or Castle Steyr, there were numerous entanglements between the spheres of the supposedly 'private' and the 'official' sphere. At Fragenstein, it materialized in the chancellery's paper trail, blurring the line separating the chancellery and the chancellor's household. For all intents and purposes, Fragenstein Castle was private in the sense that access to possibly confidential documents was more easily controlled.³⁸⁷ However, it is important to remember that the estate was nominally owned by the emperor, that the Innsbruck chamber (*Raitkammer*) could be solicited for reimbursements for renovations at Fragenstein – including the construction of a chamber for the use of Maximilian³⁸⁸ – and, most importantly, that Fragenstein itself was frequently the centre of political action. Numerous official documents carrying the emperor's signature were composed at Fragenstein during Maximilian's reign and, as Heinz Noflatscher suggests, Zyprian von Serntein might have very intentionally placed his castle Fragenstein prominently as issuing place at the bottom line of official documents.³⁸⁹

At the close of this chapter, I would like to offer some brief observations on how Zyprian von Serntein organized his papers. Unfortunately, there is only spurious proof to be gained from the material evidence which in the past five centuries has been re-assembled beyond recognition. However, I would certainly question that Serntein really was the 'slob' he has been made out to be by some.³⁹⁰ It is possible that Serntein stored documents in barrels and trunks as was suggested in the report from 1533 cited at the beginning of this chapter; he certainly stored documents in sacks, arranged by subject.³⁹¹ One could also speculate that some letters and sheets had been 'recycled' by Serntein to – maybe temporarily – contain or identify the content of document collections in a simple sort of filing system (see fig. 6.2).

More importantly, there is some evidence of a more sophisticated form of information management on Serntein's part in the form of letter-books.³⁹² These books,

³⁸⁴See ÖNB Cod. ser. n. 2646.

³⁸⁵...das e. k. Mt. woll möcht ein wonung da haben und so stargkh machen, das schacz und zewghaus darynn bewart, auch brieflich gerechtigkeit, daran gelegen wär, Paul von Liechtenstein to King Maximilian on 13 January 1506, ÖNB Cod. ser. n. 2646, 105; parts of the letter have also been transcribed in Frimmel, 1887, XIV (no. 4014).

³⁸⁶See HHStA/UR/FUK, 963 (I owe this information to Andreas Zajic).

³⁸⁷According to a recent revisionist approach to the term 'privacy' in premodern times, privacy might be defined as "experiences of withdrawal, boundary drawing, and control of access." Green, Nørgaard, and Bruun, 2021, 22–23.

³⁸⁸For a detailed report from 1501 concerning the planned construction works at Fragenstein, including a chamber for Maximilian see Kutschera, 1982, 51–52.

³⁸⁹Cf. Noflatscher, 1999, 217–218.

³⁹⁰For instance Hollegger, 1983, 48.

³⁹¹See Serntein's mention of a bag containing records concerning Persen Castle in a letter to one of his administrators, Wilhelm Schöchtel, HHStA/Maximiliana, 43-2-32. For leather sacks as a method of storing documents in sixteenth-century Innsbruck see Williams, 2015a, 505–506.

³⁹²On letter-books in a diplomatic context see recently Williamson, 2021, 95–132.

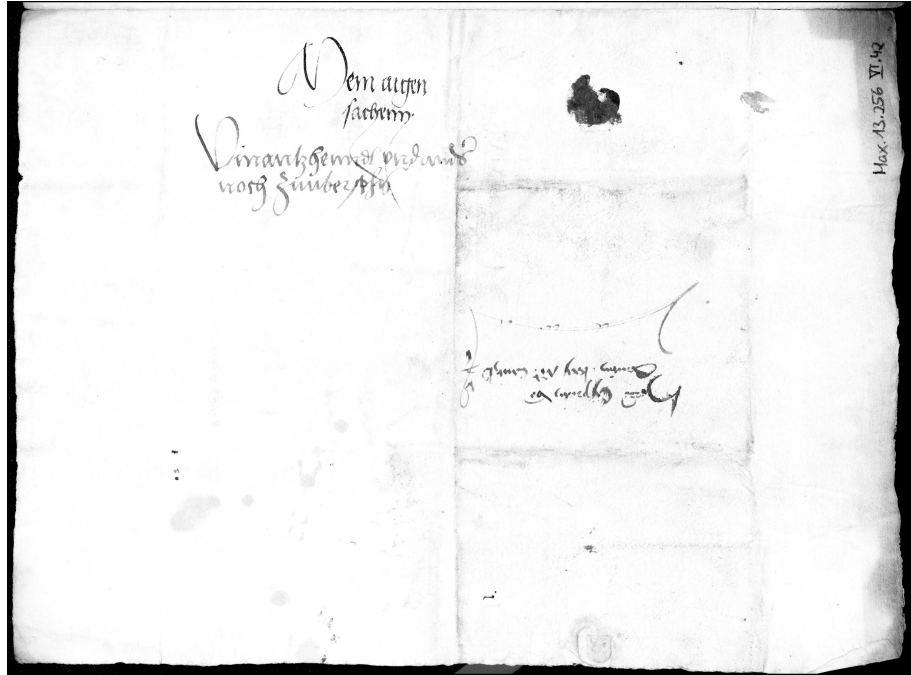


FIGURE 6.2: An example of a possible 'cover sheet' on the back of a letter, perhaps to identify the content of document collections as *Mein eigen sachenn*. TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, VI.42.

which only a few scholars have drawn attention to in the past,³⁹³ can only be reconstructed from infrequent annotations by Serntein's hand on the back of letters. Since none of these letter-books survive (supposing they did in fact exist in the first place), the annotations only allow cautious interpretation. We can find these annotations on incoming letters and drafts of outgoing letters alike, sometimes appearing in pairs or even up to five different annotations at once, which would often occur in similar clusters (see fig. 6.3). Interestingly, many of the annotations refer to letter-books or notebooks which Serntein would have considered his 'own affairs': books on administrators of his estates (*puech Schöchtl*; *puech B. Gretzinger*), on the estates themselves (*puech Rofreid*; *puech Persen*), or on business partners (*puech Hans Stöckl*³⁹⁴). Some might suggest personal use (*mein gemain gedenk puech* and *mein vinantz puech*). Other references seem to describe letter-books organized by correspondants such as *puech Villinger*, *puech Wolckenstein*, *puech vitzthumb zu Wien*, *puech Brixen* and *Peutinger*. Others again are more difficult to interpret with regard to their specific contents (*die v [5] vitzthumb puech*; *puech regiment*; *puech ksl. Mt. rät*; *ksl. Mt. gedenckhpuech*) and lastly, many pieces only carry a simple note to be registered (*Zu registrieren*).

What might these letter-books have looked like? Perhaps they might have resembled a surviving letter-book that lies in the Austrian National Library. It contains roughly 100 letters sent by Paul von Liechtenstein in 1505/06 primarily to Zyprian

³⁹³These letter-books went largely unnoticed in research on the court chancellery. For the most lengthy discussion up to date cf. the brief mention in Hollegger, 1983, 46 (note 1).

³⁹⁴Hans Stöckl was Serntein's brother-in-law and – like Dorothea von Serntein's father – one of the most affluent investors in the mining economy in Schwaz. On the family see Egg, 1975.

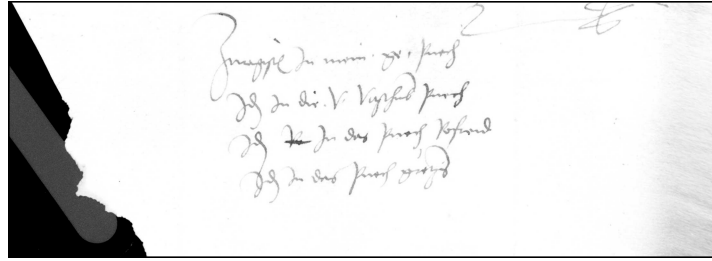


FIGURE 6.3: Close up of annotations referencing different letter-books on an incoming letter addressed to Serntein, TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, IX.23.

von Serntein and Maximilian.³⁹⁵ The letter collection reveals many of the characteristics observed for the correspondence of Zyprian von Serntein throughout this thesis.³⁹⁶ Perhaps Serntein's letter-books resembled another fragment which survives in the *Maximiliana* which also contains informal letters and has in the past been attributed to the *Regiment* in Vienna.³⁹⁷ For a number of reasons, however, I would argue it is more likely to have been created at Serntein's orders. It is a collection of 16 letters from 1507 primarily between Zyprian von Serntein, Wolfgang von Polheim and Maximilian. Most of the letters are reproduced in full, a standard letter by Polheim in support of a client has been reduced to a simple digest.³⁹⁸ In contrast to Liechtenstein's letter-book, it contains both incoming and outgoing letters treating various different subjects, among them frequently Polheim's 'own things' (*eigen sachen*).³⁹⁹

If Serntein's letter-books did exist, they were not among the papers carried from Castle Fragenstein to Innsbruck after the chancellor's death. In Serntein's as well as in Francis Walsingham's case, one could speculate that it was the lack of male heirs who might have laid claim to the papers which facilitated their dispersal after their death. Even though we cannot tell with certainty which part of the records of the *Maximiliana* stem from Castle Fragenstein, I contend that a majority of Serntein's correspondence with other Habsburg officials survives today because the chancellor failed to physically separate them from the papers a prince would have wanted to

³⁹⁵The book cover reads *Hrn Paulsen von liechtenstain grosser Puech*; the collection of letters is entitled *Hanndel vnd schrifftten die her Pauls von liechtenstain der rö. k. Mt. auch Zyprian von Serntein seyder seins abschaidung vom k. hof zu Löwen am ersten tag Octobris Anno xvc quinto beschehen*, ÖNB Cod. ser. n. 2646. The most thorough description of the codex is still to be found in Frimmel, 1887, including transcriptions of some of the letters.

³⁹⁶The provenance of this particular letter-book is difficult to pin down. While it is difficult to say whether the letter-book was composed close to the time the letters were sent/received, it is certain that they were copied by a scribe who had trouble reading Liechtenstein's – arguably very nasty – handwriting, as attested by numerous lacunae in place of perhaps illegible words (see e.g. on p. 67). This and other clues suggest that the copies were created from originals rather than drafts.

³⁹⁷HHStA/Maximiliana, 17-4-75 – 17-4-88. See also a detailed examination of the fragment in Seuffert, 1934, 136–159, including an edition of the letters. Seuffert attributes the fragment to the *Regiment*; a wrongful attribution in my opinion as he misses the simple fact that a signature is recorded for all of Polheim's, but none of Serntein's letters. Since register entries were typically copied from drafts rather than from the engrossed pieces, the missing as well as the existing signatures point to the fragment stemming from Serntein's own initiative. Seuffert, who considers this option, is unconvincing in his counter-arguments. Another register with a collection of letters from Zyprian von Serntein to Matthäus Lang in 1504 (which I did not have access to) survives in the Innsbruck *Maximiliana*. Cf. the comment in RI XIV,4,2 n. 21315a

³⁹⁸HHStA/Maximiliana, 17-4-83; and *ibid.*, 142.

³⁹⁹HHStA/Maximiliana, 17-4-82; and *ibid.*, 17-4-76; *ibid.*, 141, 144.

claim for his growing archive. All things considered many questions remain which are deserving of an in-depth analysis that cannot be achieved here, the evidence being thinly spread as it is. However, we might draw some tentative conclusions with regard to the management of papers of senior officers such as Zyprian von Serntein. For one, it is revealing how the letter-books in Serntein's possession differed from the registers created at the court chancellery or the regional governments.⁴⁰⁰ Where the latter were mostly organized chronologically or by subject, the letter-books cited above reveal that Serntein organized many of his registers by correspondent, the only way of feasibly recording this kind of informal communication.⁴⁰¹ Moreover, these letter-books evidently contained both in-letters and out-letters, a practice uncommon for contemporary chancellery registers. Indeed, the few clues on managing correspondence reveal informal record-keeping practices as moulded by the conditions of letter-writing networks as crucial component to administrative practice. The communication through informal channels, unrecorded in official registries and 'withheld' from the official record by its recipients, was kept and recorded employing techniques distinct from that of the emerging state.

⁴⁰⁰For the register series of the court chancellery see Seeliger, 1890/94; and for the mid-sixteenth century Gross, 1933, 221–228. The registers of the Lower Austrian *Regiment* do not survive unfortunately. For the register series of the Upper Austrian *Regiment* see Stolz, 1934, 124–134; and Dörrer, 1989.

⁴⁰¹For an interesting discussion of formal and informal communication from an archivist's perspective see Meier, 2004.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis my aim was to shed some light on correspondence often neglected in research on premodern epistolary culture: letters in politics and administration, particularly among government agents. These letters have rarely been studied in their own right, but have mainly been ransacked for facts. Where they are discussed in epistolary research or specialized disciplines such as modern diplomatics, they often seem to exist in a grey area between categories of 'private' and 'public,' 'familiar' and 'official' because of their often informal character; a contradiction that is rarely reflected upon. My aim was to investigate what role these letters – which hardly fit into our current understanding of statehood and are thus often labelled as private or semi-private in research – played at and around the early sixteenth-century Habsburg court. Another aim was to provide a new reading of this often-cited source material by situating the letters within a process of increasing formalization of governance and thus get to the core of the character of statecraft and the 'official' in a period which has notoriously been said to witness the 'cradle of modern administration.'⁴⁰² To that effect, I could rely on recent historical research on the process of state formation and formalization employing concepts of organization theory. One of the guiding questions was concerned with how government agents related to the process of formalization at the turn of the sixteenth century and how the new formal structures interacted with informal administrative practices. As a result, I have analyzed the correspondence between officials primarily as a means of informal communication in a twofold sense: both as a tool of administrative practice on the 'back-stage' of governance and as a medium that was considerably structured by informal relationships and expectations.

As seen throughout Chapter 4, one of the prime issues of letter-writing as administrative practice was the question of access to channels of communication. Already at the early sixteenth-century Habsburg court there is evidence of the interplay of formal and informal channels of written communication which would be characteristic throughout Europe for much of the early modern period. Informal channels relied on networks of personal allegiance and served to satisfy the needs of both informal administrative practice and the maintenance of informal relationships necessary for the accomplishment of day-to-day administration. Importantly, letters sent through informal channels were not 'private' in the sense of exclusively limited to author and recipient, nor in the sense of an intimate exchange. The case studies have shown how epistolary continuity was established through the regular affirmation of informal relationships such as 'friendship' or clientelism, an exchange often couched in the language of service and favour. We have seen the fragile nature of formally delegated power at court and how even high-ranking officers such as Court Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein were dependent on informal networks of support. At the same time, informal influence which far exceeded formal authority could be

⁴⁰²See Weber, 1972, 165.

subject to a subsequent formalization, as the remarkable career of Vidame Lorenz Saurer has shown. And yet, formal and informal channels – whose distinction along semantic and functional lines is only partially recognizable for our period – often related to each other in a complex manner, characterized by frequent overlaps and intersections.

In many ways, the permeability of formal and informal channels as well as its impact for the material form of letters is demonstrated in Chapter 5 by example of the exchange of news. News is a very dynamic genre in the early sixteenth century, subject to profound material changes. More importantly, it is an important resource both in the realm of politics and diplomacy but also as an expression of sociability in informal exchanges via letter. Habsburg officers exerted much time and effort on sharing news and the circulation of news through informal channels could take on a life of its own. The case study has shown that the sharing of news could be subject both to formal and informal expectations. The latter was imbued with a logic of gift-exchange that could be expressed through various means in letter-writing. Once again, however, news could easily traverse informal and formal channels and relationships, making it a phenomenon particularly well suited to appreciate on a 'formality-informality-span' as demonstrated by the last case study.

Finally, the afterlife of letters in politics and administration explored in Chapter 6 throws light on a fundamental issue of working with premodern 'state paper' collections. As this thesis has demonstrated, formal expectations conferred on an official role as expressed in administrative ordinances were a point of reference for Habsburg officers when communicating through formal channels, yet in the communication through informal channels a concern for personal status and one's own affairs emerges. Exploring the afterlife of Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein's papers serves not just as a revisionist examination of the provenance of the *Maximiliana* 'state paper' collection but offers revealing glimpses into the contextual framework of keeping and managing written communication in the service of public authority, amplifying our knowledge of premodern information management practices. As I noted, a simplistic association of 'private' custody and 'public' possession of what would only later be called 'state papers' cannot be maintained in view of the entanglement of official and domestic spaces and the tentative evidence of informal record-keeping techniques among Habsburg officers.

Throughout this thesis we have seen that by studying letters in premodern politics and administration in terms of formality/informality and by paying close attention to the material practices in letter-writing, novel ways of approaching the challenging source material are revealed. The results of the case studies support these contentions and show frequent instances of boundary-drawing. Yet, the abstract distinction between formal and informal practices is not clear cut in practice but shows overlaps and the often ambiguous reference to this boundary. Unlike the introductory episode of the Lauffner scandal, where the relentless Martin Siebenbürger paints a black and white picture of the co-existence of formal procedure and informal *praktiken* in a two-faced Habsburg administration, the letters between Habsburg officers have revealed the different shades of grey of premodern administrative practice, with letters by Habsburg officers more often than not as the something in-between.

Appendix A

Critical Edition of Selected Letters

The following edition contains a selection of letters exchanged between Court Chancellor Zyprian von Serntein and Lorenz Saurer, vidame of the duchy of Lower Austria. I have chosen this correspondence for its relative completeness as well as its overall representativeness for the phenomenon described in this thesis. The year 1513 is of particular interest for the increasingly dense correspondence between chancellor and vidame. Of the roughly sixty letters sent between Zyprian von Serntein and Lorenz Saurer in 1509–1518, more than half were sent in a short window of time in 1513. It is not very far fetched to assume that this not only had to do with the fortune of a high survival rate, but with Serntein's absence from court between May and October 1513 due to a court intrigue against him.⁴⁰³ During this time, Serntein stayed in Innsbruck and worked closely with the Upper Austrian *Regiment*. Evidently, Serntein was struggling to compensate his being cut off from the central information network. Lorenz Saurer was able to provide information on the state of the Lower Austrian *Regiment* as well as diplomatic efforts with the kingdom of Hungary regarding the tense situation with the Ottoman Empire and the diplomatic negotiations preceding the Habsburg-Jagellonian double wedding in 1515. The correspondence comprises 32 letters extant in the *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* (HHStA) in Vienna and the *Tiroler Landesarchiv* (TLA) in Innsbruck. Another 26 letters exchanged between Serntein and Saurer survive for the periods 1509–1512 (14 letters) and 1514–1518 (12 letters),⁴⁰⁴ marking the year 1513 as the most active in their epistolary relationship by far. The correspondence seems to have come to an abrupt end in late October 1513, when Serntein apparently stopped replying to Saurer's letters for some time. This has been interpreted as a fall out, however it might simply have to do with Serntein's return to the imperial court.

With regard to its materiality, it is important to note the discrepancy in transmission. Whereas Serntein's letters have survived either in draft form or as fair copies,

⁴⁰³Cf. Hollegger, 1983, 125.

⁴⁰⁴For the other letters see HHStA / Maximiliana, 23-2-82 (23 December 1510); *ibid.*, 23-4-12 (7 January 1511); *ibid.*, 23-4-29 (15 January 1511); *ibid.*, 26-1-19 (5 November 1511); *ibid.*, 27-4-23 (12 July 1512); *ibid.*, 28-1-15 (10 September 1512); *ibid.*, 28-2-42 (21 October 1512); *ibid.*, 28-3-58 (28 November 1512); *ibid.*, 28-4-32 (20 December 1512); *ibid.*, 30-3-13 (9 January 1514); *ibid.*, 30-3-85 (1 February 1514); *ibid.*, 31-3-42 (18 June 1514); *ibid.*, 32-1-23 (13 July 1514); *ibid.*, 32-3-47 (7 October 1514); *ibid.*, 34-2-61 (27 November 1515); *ibid.*, 36-3-23 (13 February 1517); *ibid.*, 36-3-28 (21 February 1517); *ibid.*, 37-3-22 (20 March 1518); *ibid.*, 37-3-54 (21 June 1518); and TLA / Maximiliana / 13.256, VI.44 (29 June 1509); *ibid.*, VI.110 (24 October 1510); *ibid.*, VII.169 (13 November 1511); *ibid.*, VIII.2 (3 January 1512); *ibid.*, VIII.53b (7 October 1512); *ibid.*, X.100 (6 March 1518); *ibid.*, X.100a (9 March 1518). Of particular interest in the later correspondence are Lorenz Saurer's descriptions of the journey of the joint household of princesses Anne of Hungary and Mary of Austria from Vienna to Innsbruck in 1517, which to my knowledge have not yet been discussed in scholarship but will be examined in the project *Gendering Maximilian* as part of the interdisciplinary Special Research Program (SFB 92) *Managing Maximilian (1493–1519): Persona, Politics, and Personnel through the Lens of Digital Prosopography*.

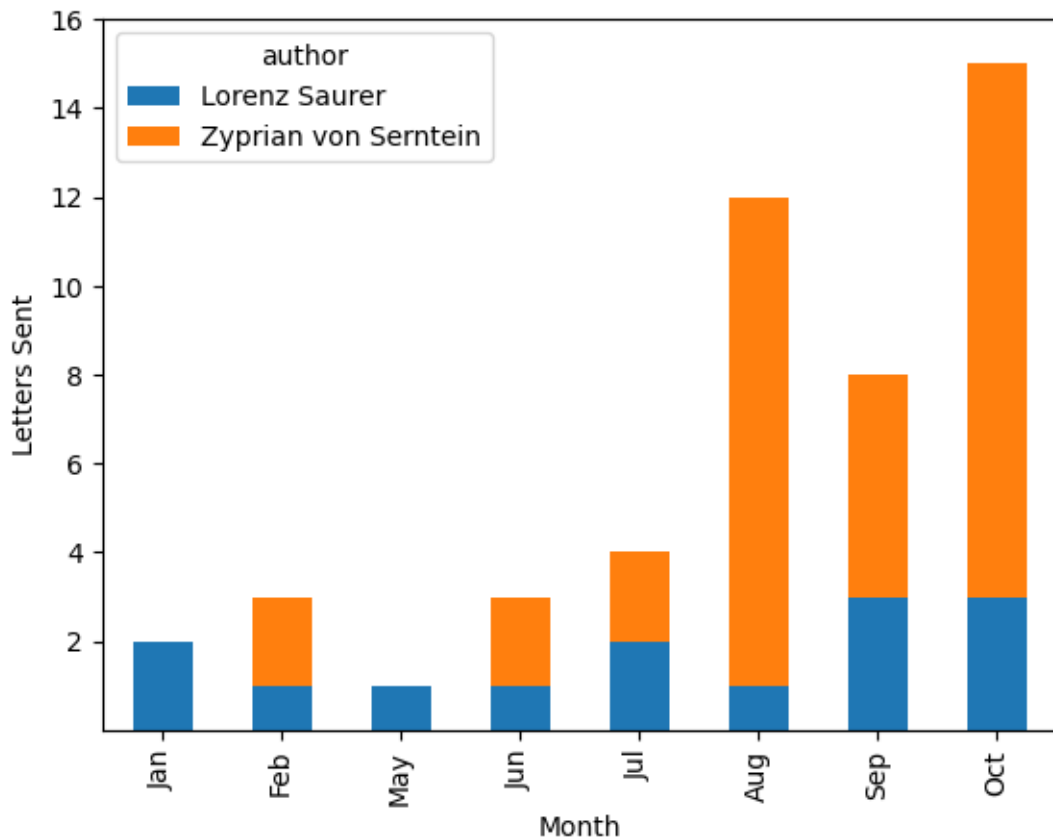


FIGURE A.1: Distribution of letters sent in 1513.

Saurer's letters are all originals, many of them written in Saurer's hand.⁴⁰⁵ From the typical confirmations of receipt of previous correspondence at the beginning of a letter, we can estimate that for the year 1513 at least 15 letters were lost. Serntein's letter drafts which survive as bifolios or loose sheets of paper were most likely penned by one of his clerks, typically only utilizing the right half of the page to leave a left-hand margin for annotations. It is uncertain whether Serntein dictated the letters himself, but there are frequent annotations and revisions in his hand either inter-linear or on the left half of the page. Saurer's letters to Serntein are preserved as originals, i.e. letters engrossed on paper that were actually sent. Frequently in a bifolio format, they were folded up and 'locked' by applying a signet of wax, typically covered by a piece of paper. The originals bear a more or less uniform external address. Even though some of the letters edited here are more informal than others, neither of them are without form but more or less follow the basic structure outlined by letter-writing manuals of the time.⁴⁰⁶ As this thesis has shown, letters were often sent as 'epistolary ensembles' with multiple enclosures, which in the case of the *Maximiliana* unfortunately have often been lost or de-contextualized through centuries of archival intervention. As a result, these documents will not be identified. Wherever digital representations of the letters are available, they will be linked to (only available in the .pdf version of this thesis).

⁴⁰⁵Unfortunately, almost nothing of the Lower Austrian vidames' archive has come down to us. Cf. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, 1951, 81.

⁴⁰⁶For a detailed examination of the classic structure of letters see Holzapfl, 2008, 107–178.

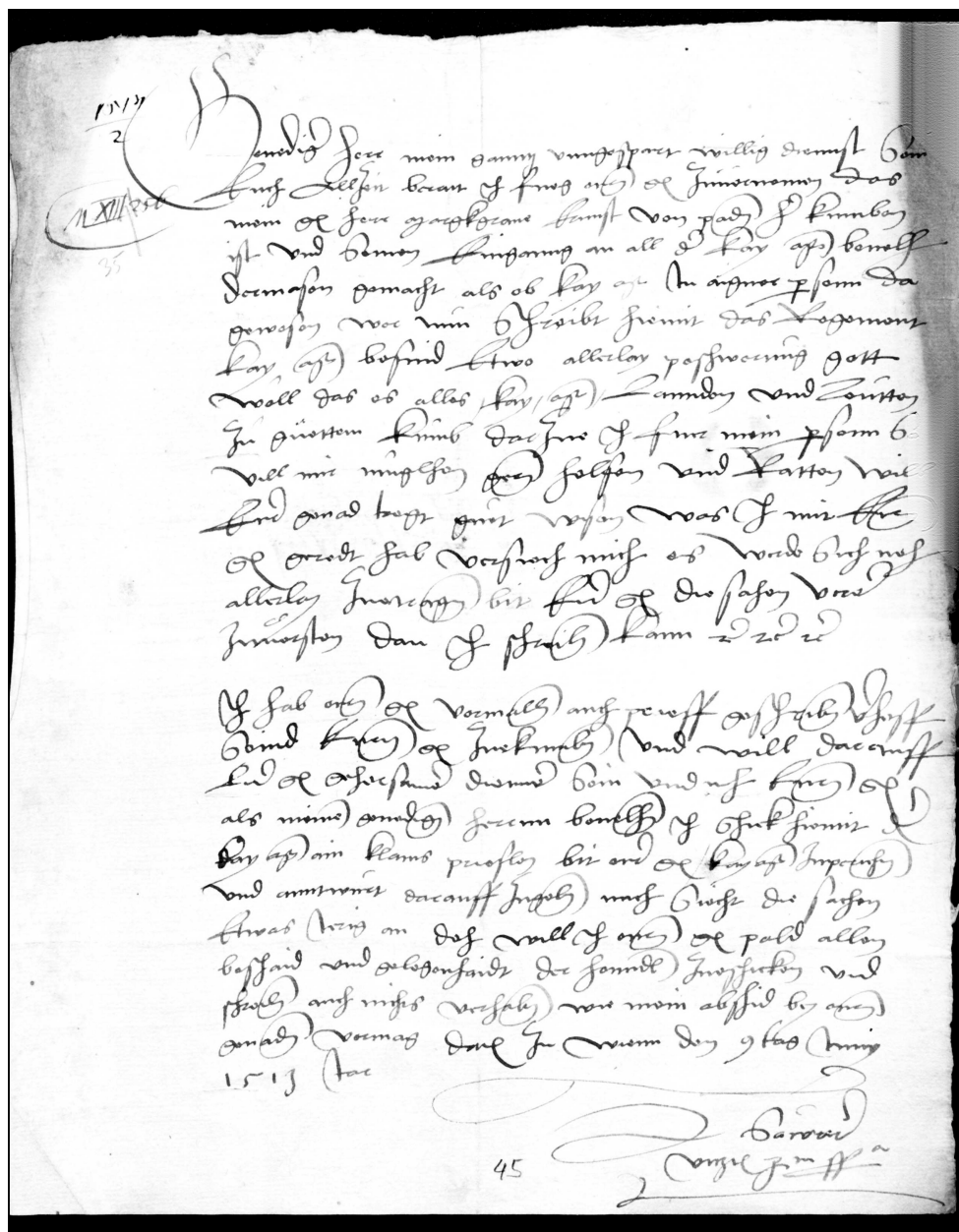


FIGURE A.2: Example of Lorenz Saurer's holograph letters to Zyprian von Serntein. TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, IX.35.

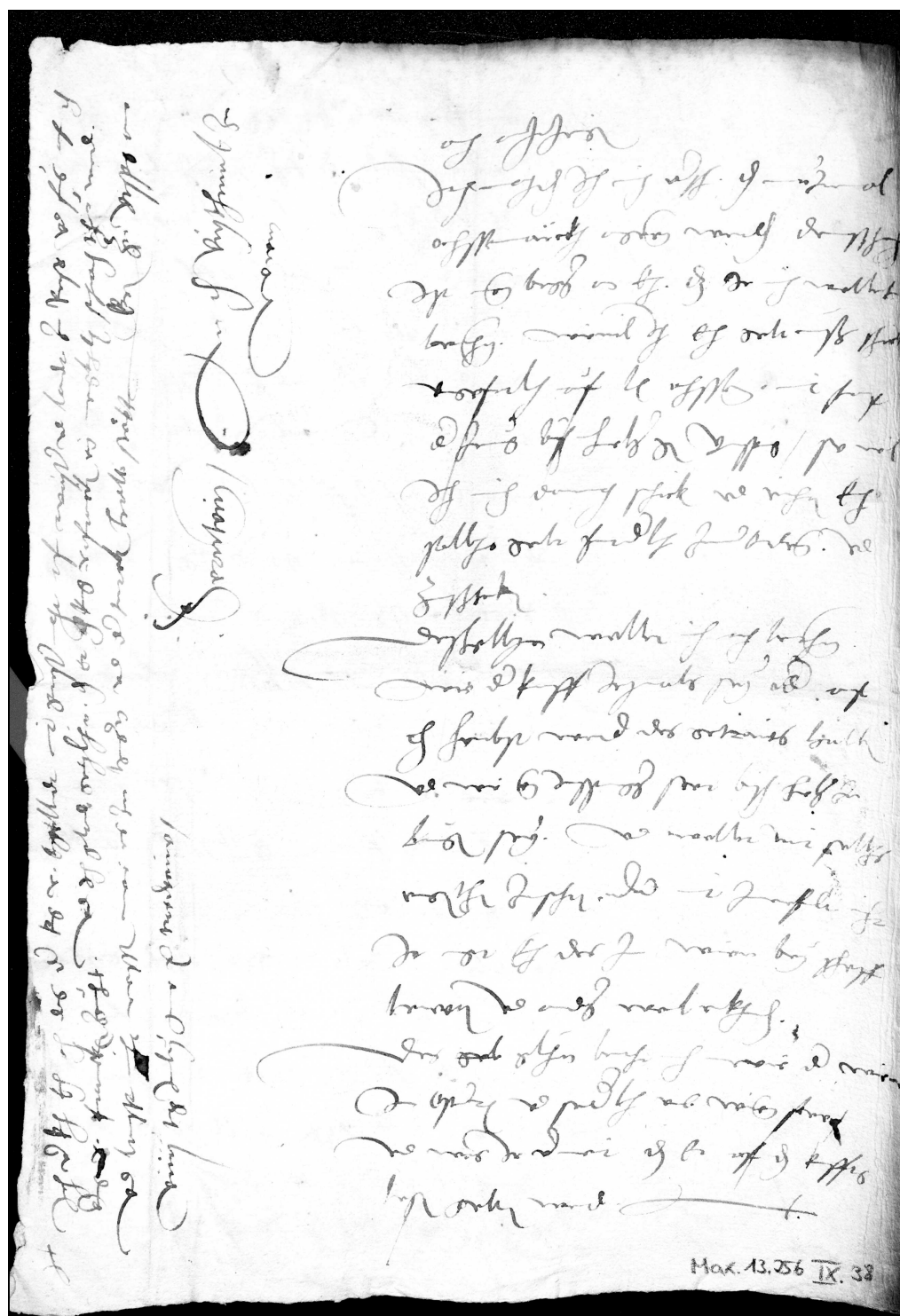


FIGURE A.3: Example of one of the more challenging letter drafts by Zyprian von Serntein, addressed to Lorenz Saurer. TLA/Maximiliana/13.256, IX.38.

The editorial policy follows the aim of providing first and foremost a clean and legible transcription. Thus, I am following a ‘clear-text’ method of transcription, which aims to reduce reference to contemporary alterations to the text (deletions, insertions etc.) and keep editorial interpolations to a minimum. A different approach to transcribing the letters by author has been made necessary due to the different types of transmission. With Lorenz Saurer’s letters (see fig. A.2), transcription largely follows the original spelling (exceptions have been made for the sake of legibility, e.g. Saurer’s frequent spelling of *ih* has been normalized to *ich*). Serntein’s letters (see fig. A.3) on the other hand mostly survive as rough drafts in varying degrees of (ill-)legibility where it is often not possible to make out a word’s single letters, making a faithful transcription a futile task. Hence, I have chosen to transcribe these drafts as faithfully as possible in a style that matches its more legible counterparts. More generally, transcriptions follow the original spelling, except for u/w/v and i/j which have been normalized (except for named entities). Standard contractions have been silently expanded, some regular contractions have been maintained (the contraction for *gnaden* as in *euer gnaden* has been kept as *euer g.*, the contraction referencing the emperor as *römisch kaiserliche Majestät* has been standardized to *r. ksl. Mt.* and the one referencing the king of Hungary as *König* to *k.*). Everything except for the beginning of sentences, certain standard abbreviations and named entities are kept in lower case. Misspellings have been preserved, the doubling of words remarked with *[sic]*. Where the transcription of words or passages is uncertain, conjectured readings have been [enclosed in italic square brackets] and illegible passages disclosed thus [...]. All interpolations by the editor, in fact, are kept in italics in the text and apparatus and enclosed in square brackets within the text.

I have also made the major decision to not follow the original manuscript regarding punctuation and word division, but have chosen to normalize it. This is a service to the reader, as the non-standard early modern German of Saurer’s and Serntein’s letters is otherwise often difficult to comprehend. The result is a somewhat radical alteration of the text and a deliberate interpretation of mine, yet informed by an extensive study of the material. Changes of script and hand are not recorded within the transcription,⁴⁰⁷ with the exception of letters written by Saurer in his own hand. The transcription does not reproduce the visual structure of the letters either. Where paragraphs are not clearly indicated in the letters but the subject is clearly changed, a new paragraph has been added without comment. The internal address, valedictions, and postscripts are also treated as new paragraphs. The external address, found on the reverse of the folded letter, is more or less uniform for all letters and will not be recorded.⁴⁰⁸ Marginalia and insertions, particularly frequent with Serntein’s letter drafts, have been silently transcribed and are only remarked as such in the critical apparatus if they add substantially to the interpretation of the passage in my opinion. The edition is accompanied by an index of persons mentioned in the letters (with the ominous exception of Maximilian I, who is mentioned in every letter). In their first appearance, individuals that could be identified are provided with brief biographies (up to the year 1513) in the footnotes. Place names are only referred to in the footnotes if an identification is necessary (i.e. German variants of foreign-language names).

⁴⁰⁷Saurer had different scribes at his disposal which results in a variety of styles in script and spelling.

⁴⁰⁸On Saurer’s letters the address is typically *Der r. ksl. Mt. etc. hoff und tirolischen canntzler, herrn Ziprian von Serentein meinem genedigen herren*, whereas the only external address recorded for Serntein’s letters to Saurer is *Romischer ksl. Mt. rat und vitzthumb in Osterreich undter der Enns Larenntzen Sawrer zuhamnden*.

A.1 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 12 January 1513

Vienna, 12 January 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 28-5-8, original.

Genediger herr, eurn g. sein mein gantz ungespart willig dinst allzeit bereit.

Eur g. schreibm, des dat. stet zu Mundlhaim am xviii tag Decembris anno duodecimo [letter unavailable] mir getan, hab ich wie sich geburt emphanen, darinnen vernomen, das eur g. ettlich mein schreiben unnd nemlichen der Weisspriacherin⁴⁰⁹ handlung, darinnen eur g. meinen gutn vleis zu nutz ksl. Mt. gehebt, dann mir mit solichem e. g. schreibm von irer Mt. schriftlich anntburt unnd bevelh, was ich mitsambt herrn Albrechten vom Wolfstain⁴¹⁰ weiter hanndln sol, zuekumen. Wil damit wievor gehorsamlichen und mit allem vleis verfarn unnd verrer was sich geburt meinem vermugen nach hanndln. Wie sich die sachen zuetragn und weiter beschlossn werden, wil ich eurn g. nicht verhalten onverziehen zu berichten.

Als mir eur g. anzaigt numalln gut underricht habt der Behem aussteunden schuldn, desgleichen den stat so ich eurn g. zuegeschickht emphanen und ksl. Mt. furgehaltn, den ir ksl. Mt. verrer herrn Jacoben Villinger⁴¹¹ zu ubersehen verordnet und mir darauf anntburt zu gebn bevolhen worden, die aber bisher nicht emphanen. Dieweil dann e. g. als ich mich versiech bey ksl. Mt. ankumen, ist mein vleissig bit e. g. welle bey ksl. Mt. sovil handln, damit mir lautter beschaid zuekhom, dann mich ir Mt. auf die steur ob der Enns verweisen. Mir wirt nichts von kainer verweisung, Got wais das ich nach allem meinem vermugen ksl. Mt. bevelh gern nachleben wolt unnd allzeit das genetigist darinnen richtn.

Verrer der geschefft halbn, so auf mich ausgeen, welle eur g. mit dem pesstn fuegn underhalten, des ich mich hoch bedanckh. Dann warlichen in die leng nicht muglich war, so mir nit verweisung beschech, solt dann durch verzug ksl. Mt. ettwo nachtail bescheen, war on meinen willen.

Als mir eur g. des von Polhaim⁴¹² halbn anzaigt, es sey hin, tod unnd ab, man sol die todtn rueen und lign lassen, mag ich wol leiden. Wil in sonnder zweifl nicht aufwegkhenn.

Dann als sich eur g. gegen mir bedanckht, das ich eur g. factor bin und nicht anders mercken kundt, das ich dasselb mit allem vleis thue, des bin ich noch mit allem meinem vermugen zuvolziehen willig. Wolt Got, das ich eurn g. nur zugefallen dienen moecht, solt ungespart meins leibs und guets bescheen.

Eurn g. er bieten des Pelchinger⁴¹³ hanndlung halbn sag ich eurn g. grossen dannckh. Bedarf furter kainer ausrichtung mer, sein hanndlung ist schon expediert.

Betreffennd herrn Erhartn von Polhaim⁴¹⁴ und doctor Reichenpachs⁴¹⁵ hanndlung eurn g. nichts zuekumen sey: Nun hab ich von ksl. Mt. deshalbn gutn beschaid und nemlichen, das ich doctor Reychenpach kain gelt geben sol. Dem wil ich gehorsamlich nachkumen und treulich geloben. Ob mir schon annder bevelh zuekemen, wurde ich mich des erstn der ksl. Mt. bevelh halten.

⁴⁰⁹Gertraud von Weißpriach, lady of Castle Landsee. On her cf. Mur, 1977, 173–181.

⁴¹⁰Albrecht von Wolfstein, member of the Lower Austrian Regiment from 1514. Cf. Hollegger, 1983, 319.

⁴¹¹Jakob Villinger (c.1470–1529), court treasurer. Cf. Wiesflecker, 1986, 258–261.

⁴¹²Wolfgang von Polheim (1458–1512), head (Oberster Hauptmann) of the Lower Austrian Regiment between 1496–1512. Cf. *ibid.*, 270–272.

⁴¹³Hans Pelchinger (d. 1526), city judge of Vienna and brother-in-law to Lorenz Saurer. Cf. Perger, 1988, 167.

⁴¹⁴Erhard von Polheim (c.1460–1538), member of the Lower Austrian Regiment 1510–1521. Cf. Starzer, 1897, 415.

⁴¹⁵Wilhelm Reichenbach (d. 1529), member of the Lower Austrian Regiment 1506–1512. Cf. Hollegger, 1983, 316–317.

Die zwen brief von wegen der hungerischen handlung, so her Hanns von Puech-aim⁴¹⁶, her Jan Muregsy⁴¹⁷ und doctor Cuspinian⁴¹⁸ der Behaim halben getan emphanngen und mir kurtzlich anntburt darauf zuekumen werde, aber bisher nicht geschehen. Schickh eurn g. widermalln ettlich brief von herrn Jan Muregsy, so ime die k. wurde zu Hungern⁴¹⁹ zuegesendet, wirt e. g. wol vernemen.

Des reichsabschid und -ordnung so auf jungstgehaltenn reichstag zu Trier unnd Colln gemacht und beschlossen ist und mir eur g. zuezeschickhen verordent, sag ich eurn g. grossenn danckh, das eur g. mein nit vergist.

Weiter so schickh ich eurn g. hiemit ainen auszug alles emphanngs unnd ausgebenns der landsteuer des furstntumbs Osterreich unnder der Enns so jetz des zwelften jars verganngen angeschlagen. Damit eur g. sech, das kain vleis, mue noch arbeit von ksl. Mt. wegen und in irer Mt. sachen bey mir erwinden solt, und sich die ausgab umb ainen guetn tail hoher dann der emphanng lauft, so kan ich von der lanndschaft nichts einbringen. Mein g. herr von Gurckh⁴²⁰ schreibt auch taglichen umb gelt, den die ksl. Mt. auf mich verweisen. Wirt eur. g. in der zetl clar befindenn, wie die sachen steen, ob mein g. herr von Gurckh ksl. Mt. uber mich schreiben und clagen wurde. Ich siech bey dem volkh mit bezallung der steurn khain gehorsam.

Mit der nachsten post wil ich eurn g. ainen auszug aller hanndlung, so ich von e. g. wegen mit emphanng unnd ausgeben bisher getan, zuschickhen. Der mainung nach, ob eur g. den vorigen verlegt het, widerumben wissn gewynn.

Als mir eur g. ainen bevelh umb ain dreiling weins zuegeschickht hat, denselben wil ich eurn g. zu gefalln annemen. Unnd wann die zeit kumbt wo ich den hinschickhen sol, lass mich eur g. zeitlich wissen.

Der hausn halben, so ich nur fuer gehalten mag, wil ich eur g. damit versehenn. Das willdbrat wil ich mit ksl. Mt. wildpret zu der vasstn auf ainem scheff hinauf schicken.

Sonnst diser zeit nichts besonnders, dann ich bevillh mich eurn g. als meinem besondern gnedigen vertrautn liebm herrn.

Geben zu Wienn den zwelftn tag January anno etc. im dreyzehentn.

[Signature]

A.2 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 4 February 1513

Wissembourg/Weissenburg (im Elsass), 4 February 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 28-5-56, draft.

Lieber vitzthumb,

Eur schreiben den xxi tag zu Wien [letter unavailable] ausgegangen hab ich vernomen. Und als ir darinn anzaigt, daz ir auf etlich eure schreiben mir getan antwurt und beschaidt von mir emphanngen, der zuversicht, so ich an ksl. Mt. hof komen, ich werde eur, der artickl halben mir zugeschickt, bey seiner Mt. nicht vergessen, und sonderlichen der raittung halben die landtsteuer betreffend etc. Darauf gib ich euch zuerkennen, daz ich vor etlichen tagen widerum zu ksl. Mt. komen, und wil also

⁴¹⁶Hans von Puchheim (c.1480–1522), marshal of the Lower Austrian Regiment (Regimentsmarschall) 1510–1519. Cf. *ibid.*, 313–314.

⁴¹⁷Jan Mrakeš von Noskau, captain of Drosendorf. Cf. Rill, 1993, 137–138; Mur, 1977.

⁴¹⁸Johannes Cuspinian (1473–1529), humanist and diplomat. For his role as diplomat cf. Ankiewicz-Kleehoven, 1933.

⁴¹⁹Vladislaus II, king of Bohemia and Hungary (1456–1516).

⁴²⁰Matthäus Lang (1468–1540), secretary and diplomat.

die obbemlten artickl, mir gen Augspurg zuegeschriben, an die ksl. Mt. bringen und darynn gueten vleis gebrauchen. Desgleichen irer mt. anzaigen eurn emphang und ausgab der landsteuer, sonder zweyfel ir ksl. Mt. werde dessen gnedigg und gut gevallen emphahen. Und was mir darauf begegnet, wil ich euch widerum berichten.

Das ir auf die instruktion und bevelh den Landsee⁴²¹ beruerendt von wegen ains stillstandts gehandelt, auch dabey eur gutbeduncken daz nit wider ksl. Mt. gewesen were, den anstandt auf ein lengere zeit zumachen und das doctor Cuspinian mit allem bevelh zu k. wurde gen Ofen zogen sey, hab ich auch vernomen und solches der ksl. Mt. inhalt eurs schreibens angezaigt und den brief so ir und herr Albrecht von Wolffstain ksl. Mt. deshalb geschrieben seiner mt. uberanth[*wortet*] Darauf gibt euch baiden sein Mt. hiemit wider antwurt, wie ir vernomen. In solhem allem wissen ir euch wol zuhalten, und doctor Cuspinian guet underrichtung, was er bey der kunigklichn wurde zu Hungern waiter hanndlen sol, zugeben. Und bedunckt ksl. Mt. gantz guet sein, ir Mt. mags auch wol leiden, das ain lenger anstandt gemacht, wie ir das in ksl. Mt. schreiben hiebey aigentlichen vernemen werdet. Und als ich von ksl. Mt. verstanden, so seyt ir des willens yetz von stundan aufzusten und zu irer mt. auf den reichstag gen Wormbs zu ziehen. Demselben nach wellet vor eurem abschaiden von Wien bestellen, das nichtdestmynder in eurem abwesen gehandelt, wie dann solhes die notdurfft verorden wurdet und ir wol zu tun wisst. Desgleichen, was brief von doctor Cuspinian von Hungern komen, daz euch dieselben allzeit zum furderlichisten auf der posst herauf nachgeschickt werden.

Meiner raittung halben so ir mir zuegeschickt, besorg ich wol, ich hab dieselb yetzmalen nit bey hannden, mag auch wol leiden, daz ir mir ain andere stelln lasset und dieselb, auch was darzu not und dienstlich ist, mit euch herauf bringet. Wil ich die ubersehen, entlich mit euch besliessen und darinn guten beschaidt tun.

Ich bedanck mich gegen euch, daz ir der frauen von Tschernaho⁴²² ire brief zuegesandt und ob euch darauf vor eurem abschaiden zu Wien widerum von ir antwurt zukäme, die wellet mir durch die postereyen zuschicken. Wo nit, bey eurem stathalter verordnen, damit euch solhe antwort, so ime zuekumbet, auf der post nachgeschickt werde.

Verer, als ir euch der zugeschickten ordnung und abschids des jungstgehalten reichtags zu Colen, auch der neuen zeitung euch zugeschriben gegen mir bedannckt, sollet ir euch versehen, wo ich euch in dem oder anderm guten willen erzaigen kan, das ich dasselbe gern tun wil.

Die copi herrn Jann Marexj schreiben hab ich auch emphangen und dieselb ksl. Mt. furbracht. Die hat sein Mt. gelesen und solhes hanndls nicht klain beswerdt. Und schreibt ir mt. darauf der k. wurde zu Hungern, auch den stenden der cron Behaim, wie ir bey nechster posst hernach gewisslichen vernemen werdet. Und als ich vernym, so wurdet die ksl. Mt. solh sachen in kainen weg verachten, sonnder tapferlichen und mit ernst hierynnen handeln. Ir Mt. wil auch schicken an etliche ort da die zwen, so zu dem kunig von Franckreich⁴²³ verordent sein, durchziehen sullen, vleis und aufsehen zu haben und anzukeren, ob man diesse mecht betreten. Bey denselben wurdet man an zweifel weitem beschaidt vinden. Und in alweg so verordent, wo ir zu Wien verrucken, ee euch disselben mein schreiben zuekombt, daz dem kunig zu Hungern auch die cron zu Behaim und an andere ende solh brief, so die herab komen, furderlichen zugeschickt werden und das sich ein stathalter in eurm abwesen in solhen henndeln schicklichen halte, als mir nit zweifelt ir solhes

⁴²¹Landsee Castle, nowadays in the Austrian province of Burgenland, at the time of Maximilian a contested Hungarian estate at the Austrian border.

⁴²²Possibly Dorothea von Firmian, widow of Dietrich von Tschernahor/Černahora. Cf. Krajicek, 2021, 188.

⁴²³Louis XII of France (1462–1515).

wol zu tun wisset. Und haltet demnach auch eur guet kuntschaft gen Behaim, ob ir solhes furnemens halben etwas weiters kundt oder mocht erfaren. Und sonderlichen, ob herr Sebastian van der Weytmul⁴²⁴ derselben auch ainer sey. Wellet auch bestellen bey eurm verwalter, ob von dem von Meseritsch⁴²⁵, herrn Jann Mrexj oder andern in diser sachen in eurem abwesen etwas heraus geschriben, das euch solh brief auf der posst von stundan nachkomen.

Dat. Weyssenburg am Elss[ass] am vierden tag Februarii a^o xiii.

A.3 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 14 February 1513

Vienna, 14 February 1513.

TLA / Maximiliana / 13.256, IX.12, original.

Wolgeborner herr, euern genaden sein mein ganntz ungespart willig dinst zuvor.

Eur schreiben des dat. stet zu Weissenburg am Elsaß den iiii tag February [A.2] mir gethan hab ich vernomen und wil solch schreiben was nicht gar die notturft erfordert diser zeit nicht verantburtn, sunder bis auff mein zuekunft rueen lassen.

Die brieff, an die kunigklich wird von Unngern laudent den Landsee betrefennt und mir durch euch zuegeschickht worden sein, hab ich von stundan ir kunigklichen wird zu hannden herrn Johann Cuspinian r. ksl. Mt. rat bey aigem potten zuegeschickht und ime daneben geschriben und grunntlich underricht und anzeige gethan was er von ksl. Mt. wegen von wegen des stillstannd mit der kunigklichen wiert von Hungern hanndlen soll. Bin ungezweifelt, wert darinnen kain vleis sparen.

Auch als ir mir anzaigt in meinem abwesen zu bestellen, was von brieffen der und ander sachen halben von ksl. Mt. her, von der kunigklichen wird von Hungern, oder herrn Johann Cuspinian herauf kumen, das der selbigen von stundan pey der post geschickht und geantburt werden, des tragt kain zweifell. Ich wil all hanndlung dermasen bestellen, das in meinem abwesen ksl. Mt. nichts versaumbt und all brieff so von Ungern, oder andern ennden daran ksl. Mt. gelegen ist, anverzug nachkummen sullen.

Dan als ir mir schreibt ir habt die copey herrn Jan Mraj so ich euch geschickht emphanngen, ksl. Mt. fuergehalten, darab ksl. Mt. beswer trag und furderlich darinnen zuhandln willenns sey, auch bey meinen verwesern zubesteln, wann solch brieff herkumen damit die woll geschickht unnd geantburtn werden: Darinnen wil ich kein vleis sparn unnd bestellen, das mir all brieff und kuntschaften desthalben bey der post nachkumen sullen. Hab mich auch verer erkunt, nachdem die sag gewesen ist wie herr Sewastian von der Weitmull ainer solt gewesen sein so zu dem kunig von Frannckhreich ziehen. Ist nit, sunder sein brueder herr Jan von der Weitmul⁴²⁶. Demnach wär mein rat und guet bedunckhen damit allenenthalben bestellt wurt wo man der yndert am herausziehen betretten mecht, bin ungezweifelt man würt brieff und anders bey im finden, damit ir furnemen abgestellt.

Das hab ich e. g. als meinem genedigen herrn dem ich mich hiemit thue bevelhen im pesten nicht wellen verhalten.

⁴²⁴Šebestián Krabice z Veitmile, c.1490–1549.

⁴²⁵Jan Meziříčský z Lomnice (d. 1515), Moravian land captain and diplomat.

⁴²⁶Jan Krabice z Veitmile.

Dat. Wienn den xiiii tag February anno tredecimo.

^aIch erhebe mich den xx tag February hie zu Wienn und den nagstn an der ksl. Mt. hoff, daselbst ich eurer genad aller hanndlung und sachen eygenntlich berichten will, auch in allen henndl dermaß halten, darab e. g. ain genedigs gefallen tragen wiert. Damit und beleib ich euer g. williger allzeit.^a

[Signature]

A.4 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 14 February 1513

Landau, 14 February 1513.

TLA / Maximiliana / 13.256, IX.13, original.

Lieber vitzthumb,

Die ksl. Mt. hat euch bey nechster posst geschriben und bevolhen, daz ir doctor Cuspinian etlich brief in Hungern zuesenden sullet. Dieweyl aber ir Mt. bericht ist, daz ir am heraufziehen zu seiner Mt. sein sollet, hat sein Mt. besorgt, solich brief werden euch zu Wienn nit betretten. Darzu so wissen ir Mt. nit, wer eur stathalter daselben in eurem abwesen ist. Und nachdem an solhen briefen vil gelegen, hat die ksl. Mt. der sachen zu furdrung Hannsen Öder⁴²⁷, saltzamtman, geschriben, ob ir von Wienn verritten, zu sollicitiern, damit demnach solich brief doctor Cuspinian zum furderlichsten zuegeschickt wurden. Das hab ich euch unangezaigt nit wellen lassen, damit ir, so die sachen dermassen an euch gelangngen, nicht gedenncken mocht, daz euch ir Mt. fur unfleissig achtet, sonnder das allain die ksl. Mt. fursorg getragen, ob ir villeicht nit mer zu Wienn und auf dem wege herauf weret, das demnach in eurem abwesen darynn nichts versaumbt wurde. Dann die ksl. Mt. zuvor und ich erkennen euch nicht annders, dann das ir bisher an allen sachen getreuen und gueten vleis gebraucht habt.

Dat. Landaw am xiiii Februar anno domini etc. xiii

[Signature]

A.5 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 26 May 1513

Vienna, 26 May 1513.

TLA / Maximiliana / 13.256, IX.32, original in Saurer's own hand.

Genediger herr, mein ganntz willig diennst seind euren g. allweg bevor.

Ich verkundt euch, das ich hieher gein Wienn kumben bin, warlich groß widerwerttgkait befunden. Wie ich der ksl. Mt. hiemit anzaig, tuet meins bedunckhens not, das ksl. Mt. ainmall in lanndt kem, damit doch der gemain man auch sech und weste, das er ainen herrn hiet und nicht in aigem willen lebt. Demnach bit ich euer g. welle darine helffen und ratten, das ier Mt. ainen ridt herab fuernemb, ist umb ain kurze zeit zuthain. Ich dannck Got das wier guet nachpaur haben. Die herrnn vom regement hab ich hie nicht funden dan herrnn Jorgen von Rottall⁴²⁸, werden die tag ankumben. Was verer gehandelt und peschlossen wiert, will ich euren genaden anverziechen zueschreiben.

⁴²⁷Hans Öder (d. 1524), Salzamtman in Vienna 1504–1520. Cf. Hollegger, 1983, 101.

⁴²⁸Georg von Rottal (1448–1525), head of the Lower Austrian chamber of accounts (Rechenkammer) 1494–1513, later head (Landhofmeister) of the Regiment 1513–1519. Cf. Wiesflecker, 1986, 272–275.

^{a-a} in Saurer's hand.

Der herr von Meseritsch hat seinen sun zu mir geschickt und geschriben in meiner hanndlung zu zu *[sic]* perichten. Hab ich gethan, hat darab ain guets wolgefallen, allain in dem artickl ist er nicht zufriden, das nit ain peschaid kumben ist auff comissary zwischen Osterraich und Märhen zu hanndlen. Deshalben weiter an mich pegert e. g. zuschreiben, damit fuderlich comissary verordennt werden. Dardurch wiert sich in der hanndlung annder sachen auch zuetragen, das baiden lannden zu frid und ruee kumben mag. Dan als mich die leuff ansechen, beturfen wier guetten frid bey unnseren nachpaueren diser zeit woll. Das hab ich euren g. in aller gehorsam nicht verhalten wellen.

Die munich zu Klosterneuburgk haben ain solche grose emporung mit ierer hanndlung aufgericht, das ich e. g. davon nicht schreiben kann. Will aber so vill mir muglichen ist helfen ablöschen und das volck stillen. Wiert tapffer hanndlung in der sachen not thain. Ich will euren g. verer gelegenhait aller sachen perichten, auch dapey mein rat und guotpeduncken anzaigen. Hat man hie auff mein zuekunft verzogen und uber die ersten der ksl. Mt. bevelh nichts weiter gehandelt. Acht darfur es solt zu guettem ennde geraicht haben. Nun ist die hitz in das folck kumben, das sy so liederlich nicht zupewegen sein.

Damit pevill ich mich e. g. als meinem genedigen lieben herren.

Dat. zu Wienn den xxvi tag May 1513 jar.

[Signature]

^aIch bit euer genad mir zuschreiben was sich euer genadt verschieht, ob ksl. Mt. herabkumben wert, auch wie sunst geleghait der sachen sein, so vill sich mir zu schreiben gepurt.^a

A.6 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 9 June 1513

Vienna, 9 June 1513.

TLA / Maximiliana / 13.256, IX.35, original in Saurer's own hand.

Annotation on the back: Noch hie zu fertigen.

Genediger herr, mein ganntz ungespart willig diennst sein euch allzeit berait.

Ich fueg euren g. zuvernemen, das mein g. herr margkgrave Ernst von Paden⁴²⁹ herkumben ist und seinen einganng an all der ksl. Mt. bevelh dermasen gemacht, als ob ksl. Mt. in aigner personn da gewesen wer. Nun schreibt hiemit das regement ksl. Mt., befind etwo allerlay peschwerung. Gott wöll das es alles ksl. Mt. lannden und leutten zu guettem kumb, darzue ich fuer mein personn so vill mir muglichen gern helfen und ratten will. Euer gnad tregt guet wisen, was ich mit euren g. geredt hab. Versiech mich es werde sich noch allerlay zuetragen. Bit euer g. die sachen verer zu versten, dan ich schreiben kann etc. etc. etc.

Ich hab euren g. vormallen auch prieff geschriben, verhoff seind euren g. zuekumben. Und will darauff euer g. gehorsamer diennner sein und mich euren g. als meinem genedigen herrnn bevelhen. Ich schick hiemit ksl. Mt. ain klains prieflein, bit euer g. ksl. Mt. zu perichten und anntwurt darauff zugeben. Mich siecht die sachen etwas ierig^b an, doch will ich euren g. pald allen beschaid und gelegenhaidt der henndl zueschicken und schreiben, auch nichts verhalten, wie mein abschid bey euren genaden vermag.

⁴²⁹Margrave Ernest of Baden-Durlach (1482–1553), for a short period in 1513 head (Oberster Hauptmann) of the Lower Austrian Regiment.

^{a-a} postscript. ^birrig.

Dat. zu Wienn den 9 tag Juny 1513 jar.

[Signature]

A.7 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 9 July 1513

Innsbruck, 9 July 1513.

TLA / Maximiliana / 13.256, IX.38, draft.

[beginning is missing] so ich aber wider zu ksl. Mt. kum, wil ich weiter mit irer mt. davon reden und euch alsdann ferer schreiben.

Weiter so habt ir mir 1 [kleinen] brief an ksl. Mt. zugeschickt. Dasselbe und etlich ander brief mer von den h. v. regiment hab ich irer Mt. zugeschickt und bin darauff all stund deshalben von irer mt. antwort gewartendt. Sobald mir disse zukumft, wil ich euch diesselbe furderlichn zuschicken.

Dergleichen habt ir mir 1 brief von kunig von Hungern zugeschickt betreffend die turckhen. Hab ich ksl. Mt. sollichn brieff auch zugeschickt und versich ich teglichen antwort der ich euch alsdann berichten wil.

Die wallechische potschafft hat sich zu Augspurg ksl. Mt. reten und mir angezaigt. Darauf hat ksl. Mt. disselbe botschafft zu irer Mt. gen Worms beschieden.

Verer haben herr Hans v. Bucheim, herr Johan Maregsy und ir [i.e. Saurer] ksl. Mt. und auch mir von wegen der hungerischen handlung und sonderlich des Rendels⁴³⁰ halben, was sich der berumbt, geschrieben. Diesselben brieff hab ich ksl. Mt. von stundan in ir mt. eigen hand zugeschickt.

Und bin allstund antwort wartendt und gib solchen des pundels anzeigen oder worten nit vil glauben und ich schreibe auch drauff euch, herr Johan v. Buchaim und Moretschgy wie ir hiebey sehen werdet. Und ich acht durft daz die ksl. Mt. euch und denselben guten glauben halten und niemandts sunst in der hungerischn sach handeln werd lassen.

Mir zweiflt nicht ir wisst nuzumall den abgang weilendt herr P. v. Lichtenstein⁴³¹ der Got gnedig und barmherzig sey und acht darfur daz ksl. Mt., auch iren land und leutten dieser abgang nit zu cleinem nachteil beschehen sey.

Ich bin aus grossen und [mergklichen ursachen seider der ksl. Mt. und disem landt zu guten hieher kumen und verschich mich dieselben hendl ankumen dann zu richten und mich alsdan widerumb zuschick] zu ksl. Mt. zu ziehen. Aber ich kan euch noch bey diser posst eigentlich nit berichten auff was zeit ich von hinnen zu ksl. Mt. ziehen wird, aber ich wil euch dasselbe bey guter zeit anzeigen. Was ir aber mitler zeit an hof zu schreiben habt und daz euch fur gut ansieht, mugt ir. m. Vincenzen Rogker⁴³² disselben zuschreiben und zuschicken. Dem wil ich bevelhn sollchs mit vleis zu sollicitieren biß auf mein zukunfft.

Was ir aber sunst andern secretarien [an] bevelh ksl. Mt. zuzuschicken habt, dasselbe mugt ir auch thun.

Ir habt mir vil brief gen Augspurg geschickt, diesselben all hab ich am hof geschickt, acht auch darfur sy seyen all geantwort.

Dann der neuzeitungen halb so ich euch hiemit zuschik, diesselben wist ir den herren v. regiment sovil euch guetbedunkht auch anzuzeigen.

⁴³⁰ Albrecht Rendl z Oušavy (d. 1522), influential courtier at the Hungarian court. Cf. Palacký, 1867, 291–294.

⁴³¹ Paul von Liechtenstein und Kastelkorn (1460–1513), head of the imperial chamber (Hofkammer) 1507–1513. Cf. Wiesflecker, 1986, 248–251.

⁴³² Vinzenz Rockner (c.1470–1536), imperial secretary. Cf. Hollegger, 1983, 48–49.

Ich [...] daz ich mich versich daz nuzumal ochssenmärckten angeen wurden. [Demselben nach] ist mein begeren an euch, daz ir mich wellet berichten wivil ich euch gelt muß schicken ungeferlich auf lx ochssen [mitsampt] der zerung biss hieher gen Ynsprug, so wil ich mich darnach schicken und richten euch sollchs gelt furdertlich zuverorden und zuschicken.

Diselbigen wellet mich auch berichten, wie der kauff jezumalen sey oder auf den herbst werd des getraits halben und wie ein Insprugger star biss hieher zu bringen sey. Und wellet mir solchs [eigentlichen] zu schreiben, dann mir zweifelt nicht ir muget euch des zu Wien bey [scheffleuten] und andern wol erkunden.

Desgleichen bericht mich wie der wein in Osterreich und sonderlich umb Wien stee und was ir vermeint daz er auff den kunfftig lesen gelten werd.

Ich verkund euch auch, das der kunig v. Engelland⁴³³ mit [...] auf wasser und landt zu roß und fus auf den kunig v. Franckreich zeucht. Und ich glaub gantzlichen das er den kunig v. Franckreich ein mergklichen schaden thun werd. Und lasst ihr wissen wie es zu Hungern und der Turcken halb stett.

Dat. zu Ynsprug am viiii tag July anno etc. tredecimo.

A.8 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 18 July 1513

Vienna, 18 July 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 29-3-28, original.

Annotations on the back: Cito Cito and Wien.

Genediger herr, euern gnaden sein mein gehorsam willig diennst allzeit bevor.

Eur g. schreyben mier der dato ainer zu Insprugg stett den dritten tag Juny [letter unavailable], habe ich wie sich gebuert vernomen. Darinnen ir mier erstlich annzaigt, wie die babstlich heilighait⁴³⁴, vicere von Hispania⁴³⁵ mit des kinigs von Arrogani⁴³⁶ kriegßvolkh mitsampt anderm kriegßvolkh ksl. Mt. zu guet auf Bern⁴³⁷ ziechen, der maynung den venedigern ir furnemen weiter abzubrechen und widerstandt zuthun, das ich warlich mit freiden vernomen habe. Unnd sag eurn g. grossen danngkh, das mich e. g. mit solchen gluklichn neun zeittungen so genedigklich versiecht, dann in disen landen der romischen ksl. Mt. unndterthanen auch freid darab emphanen und zu hilff ierer ksl. Mt. bewegt wörden.

In dem andernn eurn gnaden schreiben des dato stett zu Augspurg am vierzehnten tag Juny [letter not available], darin mier e. g. erstlich annzaigt, wie e. g. mein schreiben so ich e. g. der emperung halben so ich hie als ich herkhumen bin befunden, zuekumen, darauf mier e. g. widerumben anzaigt die schwern kriegsleuff, damit ksl. Mt. diser zeit beladen, doch mit der zueversicht, das sich e. g. versiecht es werd mein g. herren von dem regiment und ich mitler zeit bis ir ksl. Mt. in diße lanndt khomen mög so vill hanndln, dadurch solch emperung hingelegt oder zurugkhgestellt werde. Darinnen mein g. herren von dem regiment und ich bisher allen muglichen vleis gepraucht, damit ain wenig gestillt worden. Wo es aber khain bestandt haben wollt, will ich e. g. solches ksl. Mt. zuguet nicht verhalltn. Ain irrung ist verhanden, die ich e. g. nicht schreiben kann. Sonnst vermain ich es wurd wenig not haben alle sachen in guet weeg bis auf ksl. Mt. zuekunfft zu stellen.

⁴³³Henry VIII of England (1491–1547).

⁴³⁴Pope Leo X (1475–1521).

⁴³⁵Ramon Folc de Cardona (1467–1522), viceroy of Naples.

⁴³⁶Ferdinand II of Aragon (1452–1516).

⁴³⁷Verona.

Meseritsch seinen sonn zu mir gesandt, ime mein handlung zu berichtn inmassen wie ich e. g. geschriben betreffunt den tag zwischen der ksl. Mt. lande Österreich und der markgrafschaft Merhern⁴³⁸ denselben furderlich zu hallten: Bedunkt mich warlich die notturfft ervordert solches onverziehn zuthun. Darauf e. g. rat und guetbedungkn, das desshalben ain tag angesetzt und darinnen gehandelt wurd und ich mitsambt dem regiment fuerderlich ratschluegen, auf was zeit man den furnemen unnd ksl. Mt. zu comissary verordnen soll. Auch was unnd wie vill ir ksl. Mt. instruction, credentz unnd annder brief brief [*sic*] fertigen so darzue nott sein wern, der copeien ich e. g. zueschikhen soll. Dieselbigen wellt ir onverzug zuververtigen verschaffen. Ich die sachen angebracht und mit nögster post copeien der brief, instruction und was die notturfft ervordert aufgericht zueschikhen, darin e. g. derselben gefallen nach verrer zu hanndln woll wissen. Dann meines bedungskens mag es nicht bit erleiden welln anderst die lande in frid unnd rue gegeneinander beleiben. Nicht mynder ervordert die notturfft zwischn dem haus Österrich und der cron zu Hungern auch den tag wie vormalln gen Odenburg bewilligt ist, aufzuthun, dann sich teglich irrung zuetragen, die liederlich zu entschaiden werden, auch die allten hanndl erledigt werden möchten, das die in grossern und merern sachen nicht irrung gebuern. Aber nyemant will solches behertzigen, meinem verstanndt nach nicht main auf solchen tag ain verainigung oder puntungg wider den einzug der ungelaubigen bewegen und machen, das mich nicht klain betruet, so es in der cron zu Hungern schwerlichn steet. Acht auch darfuer, ksl. Mt. unnserm allergenedigistn herrn in vill weeg durch die heirat und ander weg auch beruemen möcht das e. g. alles bas dan ich zupewegen wissenn.

Dann von wegen der munich hanndlung zu Closterneunburg⁴³⁹, das e. g. solches, deßgleichen meiner g. herren vom regiment schreiben zuekumen, unnd e. g. furter ksl. Mt. zuegesand und mit allem vleis e. g. darinen sollicitiern wolt ainen fuerderlichn beschaid von irer ksl. Mt. zuerlangen, das warlich die notturfft ervordert. Dan es ist zu erbarmen, das man den munichen solchen grossen mutwillenn, so sy bissher getan und treiben, gestatten soll. Dann wo ksl. Mt. mit ernst und straff nicht darein sechn wurt, zu besorgen dergleichen bos hanndlungen vill ersten und gross emperungn etwo ksl. Mt. zu mererm nachtl ersten wurdn. Nun hat sich mein g. herr marggrave Ernst, obrister haubtman, ausserhalb des regiments uber ksl. Mt. bevelch die sachen allain mit den jhenen so sein f. g. darzue ervordert zu verhern, geschlagen, vill darzwischenn verloffn. Acht darfuer, wo all sachen mit rat unnd wollbedächtlich gehandelt wurdn, wer ksl. Mt. notturfft. Kan aber nit wissen, wie es sein enntschafft erraichen wierdt, bis ich bas gelegenhait emphindt. Sein f. g. hat mich sonnderlich darzue ervordert das ubel zustraffen, gedeucht mich guet etc.

Unnd als mir e. g. anzaigt auf mein schreibenn so ich e. g. getan und gebeten, mich wissen zu lassen ob sich die ksl. Mt. nicht in dise land erheben well: Darauf ich durch e. g. bericht, e. g. nutz und guet bedeucht aus vill ursachen ir ksl. Mt. dise lande besuecht. Dieweill aber jetzt khain schikligkait oder gelegenhait der leuff, das ir ksl. Mt. in dise land ziehen mag. Kan ich solches bey mier selbs, wiewoll es fuer ir. ksl. Mt. land und leut were, bewegen, das ir ksl. Mt. aus kriegsuebung und andern merklichn zuelfallunden sachen in diße land nicht kumen mag. E. g. bericht mich, wie ir ksl. Mt. gen Wurmbs zu denn curfürstn, fürstn, und treflichen stännndn des heiligen reichs eilennds erhebt unnd zubewegen, damit seu ir ksl. Mt. gegen den venedigern hilff und bestandt thun, der zuversicht, solches volzogen, alsdann ir ksl. Mt. widerumbn herauf zu erheben, nachmalln e. g. vleis fuerzukhern, ob e. g. ir ksl.

⁴³⁸ *Margraviate of Moravia.*

⁴³⁹ *Klosterneuburg Abbey.*

Mt. bewegen mocht in diseu lannd zuziehen. Mitler zeit sol ich mitsambt anndern meinen g. herrn vom regiment allenthalbn ir ksl. Mt. unnd derselben land unnd leuten zu guet das pesst handln, das wier warlich nach allen unnserm vermögen ksl. Mt. zu guet, unserm verstanndt nach gern thun wellen, soverr uns die ksl. Mt. genediglich dabey handhaben will. Ich hab das regiment in so gueter ordnung und austreglicher arbeit nie gesehn seider ich am jungsten von ierer ksl. Mt. zogen und hieher kumen bin. Aber nun wiert es villeicht in poser ordnung gewenndt etc.

E. g. dritten schreiben des dato stett zu Ynsprugk den neuntn tag July [A.7] hab ich bey der post den xiiii tag desselbn monats emphanen. Darinnen anfangklich vernomen, wie e. g. mein schreiben der irrung und widerwärtigkait halbn, so hie zu Wienn bescheen, zuekumen, und nicht anderst gedacht e. g. hab mier auf dieselben artigkl eemallen beschaid geben, doch in ainer eill auf die post zugeben vergessen. Erst mit disen brieffn zuegeschikht hab ich vernomen und emphanen, hie veranburt ich hernach verrer was nott thutt, darinen euer gnad guet unndterricht pefinden unnd klare anntburt auf all e. g. artigkl unnd schreiben.

Weiter bericht mich e. g., das ich on zweiffl wissen trag die schlacht mit den frantzosen und schweintzer, und damit ich der gruntlich unndterricht emphach, so schikht mir e. g. zwo copeien, darinen ich klarlich gelegenhait aller sachen vernehmen mag, des ich e. g. mit dem allerhochsten danngkh sag. Wie die eytgenossen noch in dem hertzogthumb Mayland sein unnd ain grosse merkliche suma gellts haben wellen, e. g. trag auch nit wissen wo sy weyter hie ziehen welln. Aber e. g. acht dafur ksl. Mt. werd sich bewegen uber die frantzosen zu ziehen, darzue ir ksl. Mt. unnd alln so darinnen handln der almechtig Gott gnad verleihn welle, damit solcher krieg zu ennde gepracht werdn möcht, und unns zu schikken wider die ungelaubigen dis warlichen sich unndtersteen der cristenhait grosse nott zuezufugn, ungeverlichen in Krabatn⁴⁴⁰ und Hungern bis in xvi geschlösser unnd besetzung erobert. Soverr kain widerstandt vor augen unnggezweiffl verrer greiffen werden. Nun seindt die Hungern in kainer macht noch ordnung, dardurch zubesorgen iren willen zunemen, das alles hoch unnd nit klain zuebedenngkhen ist.

Verrer zaigt ir mier an wie des kinigs von Arrogan obrister hauptman in Italia dem hertzen von Genua⁴⁴¹, so die Frantzosen ausgetriben, widerumb eingesetzt⁴⁴² und sobald dasselbig bescheen sey, er mit allem volkh gegen den venedigern gezogen, inen alles, das so sy in dem hertzogthumb Mailand unnd ennhalt der Etsch gehabt, abgebugn, ausgenommen das geschloss Bergama und die stat Kerna⁴⁴³. Dessgleichen alles so die venediger innerhalb vi wochen ksl. Mt. abgedrungen. Und weiter mit seinem kriegsvolkh auf Bern⁴⁴⁴ zuziehen erhebt, daselbst ain merklich anzahl volkh gefundn. Mitsambt seinem volkh auf die Venediger zeuch, Vitzentz eingenomen und gewislich fuer Badua schlachen wert, und was e. g. weiter zuekumb mich berichten, des ich e. g. grossen dangkh sag. Mer wen zuvill von e. g. mir zuschreiben, doch bin ich sein von hertzen befreidt der allmechtig welle ime gluckh und wollfart gebenn damit wir zu ainem fridlichen guetn enntlichn ende khumen mochten. Dessgleichen wie die babstlich heiligkait ksl. Mt. zuguet wider die Venediger iiii^c lantz und iii^m fuessknecht geschikht, und woll gegn ksl. Mt. hallt und der hoffnung den Venedigern ain gross widerstandt zuthun. Dessgleichen die graffschaft Tiroll und das regiment daselbs grosse hilff und furdrung thue. Wie

⁴⁴⁰Kingdom of Croatia.

⁴⁴¹Ottaviano di Fregoso (1470–1524), doge of the Republic of Genoa.

⁴⁴²In fact, the doge who had been removed with French support in May 1513 was Giano II di Campofregoso (1455–1529).

⁴⁴³Most likely Crema.

⁴⁴⁴Verona.

auch der hochwirdig fuerst mein gnediger herr von Gurgkh auf Trient zogn und dem kriegsvolk und spaniell nachern, darab khain zweiffl, sein f. g. wert ksl. Mt. woll erschiessen, habe ich gern vernommen. Man tregt guett wissen wie sich die graffschafft Tiroll in disem krieg gehallten. Was wier unns hie auf disem landtag bewilligt haben wiert eur gnad hernach vernemen.

Das volkh so der schwäbisch pundt der graffschafft Tiroll zu hilff schikht unnd so die ksl. Mt., wie mir e. g. anzaigt, die Schweintzer bewegen mocht wider den Franzosen zu ziechen, bedunkht mich gar nutzlich unnd guet fuer die ksl. Mt. lannd und leuten zu sein. Bin auch ainer grossen zueversicht und trostlichen hoffnung ir ksl. Mt. werde das heilig reich bewegen damit sy ir ksl. Mt. ain ansechlichen hilff thun und die gemellten krieg zu ennd gepracht werden.

Verrer als mier e. g. schreibt belangent meinem gnedigen herren margkgraven Ernten der dan zu obristem haubtman von ksl. Mt. in disew lannde verordnet, wie e. g. gern wollt das sein f. g. handelt damit es leut und land zuguet khem: Darauf fueg ich e. g. zuvernemen das sein f. g. morgen widerumbn von hie hinauf zuziehen willens, nit wais ich aus was ursachen. So sein f. g. herwider kumen soll bin ich der hoffung villeicht mit guettem glimph zuhandln, wais e. g. bas dan ich zubewegen.

Desgleichen halben von herr Hansen von Puechaim, herr Jhan Moraxj und mir der hungrischen handlung halben gethan und dasselbig e. g. ksl. Mt. zu ir ksl. Mt. aygennd hannden zuegestellt, e. g. all stund antburt wartundt, e. g. acht dafur die ksl. Mt. werd unns guetn glauben hallten und nyemants sonnst in der hungrischen sachen handln lassen: Nun will sich kainsweggs geburen das die ksl. Mt. irer mt. zuguet niemants anders dann die sover darinnen gehandlt habn gepraucht, dann wo durch ander gehandelt wurt die sover das pest getan werden all absteen mitsambt iren herren und freunten, hat eur gnad zuermessen was nachtl solches ksl. Mt. gepern mocht demnach e. g. diser handlung woll verzinsen wais.

Den abgang herren Paulsen von Liechtenstain freiherr zu Kastlkorn dem Gott genedig und barmhertzig sey, und wie solcher abgang ksl. Mt., auch land und leuten nit ain klainer nachtl sey: Mag ich bey mir selbst erwegen, das ir ksl. Mt. warlichen aus der graffschafft Tiroll den allernutzisten und pessten man ainen verloren hat. Wan aber e. g. zu Ynsprugk sein mocht, wurt ksl. Mt. seinthalben nicht vill nachtl bescheen, sonnder durch e. g. versehung und wendung bescheen. E. g. wirts woll besetzen und verordnen dan e. g. aller seiner sachen guet wissen traggt.

Die Handlung mit dem brobst zu Closterneunburg⁴⁴⁵ will sich kainsweegs zu enndt schikken aus ursachn wie ich e. g. mundlich woll zu berichten west, aber sich nicht schreiben last. Die ksl. Mt. muess ainen weeg fuernemen, darzue ich mein rat gern geben wolt, so annderst ir ksl. Mt. das closter in wierden behallten will. Mit diser handlung erraicht es sein ennde nicht. ^aGeleich in diser stunnd haben wier den hanndl vertragen mit Klosterneuburg.^a

Weiter als e. g. all mein brieff so ich gen Augspurg geschikht gen hoff gesennd und die zu anntburten bevolchen, desgleichen der neuzeittung die hab ich nach e. g. bevelch meinen g. herren von dem regiment auch angezaigt und sag des e. g. grossen danngh.

Unnsrer landtag hie hat sich geendet und der ksl. Mt. bewilligt xvi^m gulden rh. zwischn hie und Sand Katherina tag zupezallen, wie wier comissary der ksl. Mt. hiemit anzaigen. Nun hat mier die ksl. Mt. bevolchen von stundan behamischer

⁴⁴⁵Georg Hausmannstätter (d. 1541), provost of Klosterneuburg Abbey and member of the Lower Austrian Regiment 1510–1521. Cf. Hofer, 2020.

^{a-a} marginal note in Saurer's hand.

khnecht iiii^c aufzunemen und auf die granitzen hinein zuverordnen. Hab ich getan und werden also von heut xiiii tag hie ausziehen. Soll ich von der steur bezallen, muess ich zuvor aufpringen wie ich mich zu thun bewilligt. Nun schreibt mir mein g. herr von Gurkh die steur auf seiner f. g. bevelch zu entrichten. Bin ich willig aber die knecht wurt ich auf bevelch ksl. Mt. an mitl hinein verordnen und das gelt so ich darauf aufpringen mag wider zustatten. Darnach bin ich zufriden seinen g. auf ksl. Mt. bevelch gern gehorsam zusein.

Als nu die merkt der oxen vor augen sein und e. g. begert lx oxen zu kauffn und zu berichtn wievill gelt seu gesten werden: Ist allmall der kauf ungeverlich das par umb viiii g. ungrisch thuet reinisch xi gulden xv kr. Was aber von kost und zerung von Wien bis gen Insprugkh darauf geet, mag e. g. bey eurn leuten erkunden so solch vormalln auch ausgeben haben. Und so e. g. oxen haben woltdt, so schikh e. g. ainen yetzt zu Sand Larentzen tag oder auf Crucis nagstkunfftig her, mit demselbn will ich allen meinen muglichen vleis fuerkheren damit eur gnad gar woll versechen und den pesten kauff haben sold den ich woll zuerlangen waiss.

Desgleichen begert e. g. bericht wie der kauf ytz sey oder auf den herbst, werd des getraids halbn und wie ain insprugkher star biss gen Insprugg zu bringn sey, auch wie die wein umb Wien sten und auf das kunfftig lesen gelttn werden: Darauf fueg ich e. g. zuvernemen, das in dem land getraid gnug verhanden ist und lass mich entlich bedungkhen, das es jetz wolfeiler ist dan kunfftiglich werden mecht. Meines bedunkhen mecht man jetzt ain star umb vi kr. hie im landt guet waitz kauffn. Der wein stett warlich umb Wien und allenthalben schwach und wenig, nimbt taglich zuetfall und nachtl durch das wetter und versich mich nicht anders den der allerschlechtest wein wert der emer in dem lesen ain gulden rh. gelten. Was e. g. nun darinnen zuhabn geliebt, mag e. g. jemants her verordnen mit dem will ich allen meinen muglichn vleis geprauchten und darob sein, damit e. g. auf das nutzist und pest gekauft und gehandelt werden soll.

Solchs alles hab ich e. g. im pesten nit wollen verhalten damit were ich e. g. ungespart leib und guts gedienen kundt und mich e. g. allzeit gehorsam und willig wie eurn gnaden diener und mein vertrauen entlich zu e. g. stett. Hoff zu Gott e. g. hab ich bissher in allen meinem thun und handlung dermassn erkundt, das e. g. ain genedigs gefallen zu mier trag wie anders all mein tag von e. g. nie emphunden hab.

Damit bevilch mich e. g. als meinem gnedign herren.

Geben Wien den xviii tag July anno etc. tredecimo.

[Signature]

A.9 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 30 July 1513

Innsbruck, 30 July 1513.

TLA / Maximiliana / 13.256, IX.44 and IX.44a, draft.

Annotation on the back: Osterreich.

Lieber vitzthumb,

Ich hab euch jungst geschrieben und angezaigt, das die herren des regiments hie [Innsbruck] an salitter mangl haben unnd euch darauf ersucht, allen vleis anzukeren inen salitter, sovill ir des bey euch zubwegen bringen mugt, herauf zuverordnen, wie ir an zweifel aus demselben meinem schreiben wol vernomen habt. Darauf geb ich euch zuerkennen, daz den bemelten herren in disen tagen sachen zuegefallen sindt, darzu sy salitter vast notdurfftig sein und daran mergklichen mangl haben,

des auch hie nit genugsam ghaben mugen. Demselben nach ist an euch nachmals mein ^aernstlich begern^a ir wellet allen muglichen und ernstlichen vleis darinn furkeren und was ir inen yetz in der eyl heraufschicken muget und wes sy sich darynn gegen euch versehen sullen, des wellet mich von stundan und zum furderlichsten bey der posst berichten.

Verrer ist hierumb^b das gemain geschray, wie der thurckh gegen den Hungern und ksl. Mt. erblanden mit aller macht ligen auch den Hungern etwivil stett, schloss und besetzungen abgedrungen haben solle, davon ich^c aber kain gruntlich oder lauter wissen haben, und ist darauf an euch mein sonders begeren, ir wellet mich grundt der sachen wie es doch darin stee und was sich noch kunfftigklichen zwischen den ^dHungern und den Turckhen^d zuetragen wirdet, allzeit berichten, damit die herren des regiments hie und ich auch ein wissen haben.

Der von Gurgg ist vor etlichen tagen von hier aus gen Bern⁴⁴⁶ ankomen und furter gestracks in das veldt zu dem vicere zogen, und wais noch nit anders dann das der vicere und ksl. Mt. haubtleut des furnemens sein und beschlossen haben, sich mit allem volck fur Padua zuschlahen, wiewol ich von dem von Gurgg sider er von Bern auszogen, das dann nur bey v tagen ist, kain post noch schriffte ghebt hab. Ich versich mich der aber all stundt, so mir die zukommt, wil ich euch gelegenhait aller sachen im veldt weiter auch berichten und zueschreiben.

Die ksl. Mt. ist am xxii tag dits monats zu Namur gewesen und als ich mich versich von dannen in Brabant oder Flandern gezogen und als mich glempflich angelangt, so sol sein mt. willens sein zu dem kunig von Engllandt in das veldt zuziehen.

Der reichstag zu Wormbs ist ^eyetzmals aufgeschoben^e, und alle churfursten, fursten und ander stende sein anheim zogen und versich mich es werde ain ander reichstag angesetzt, wie ir dann hernah wol weiter bericht werdet.

Auf eur schreiben mir jungst getan wil ich euch bey nechster post noch lengen antwort geben.

Wellet mich auch wissen lassen, wann ir euch versecht auf was zeit die yetzbe-willigt hilff der steur zu Osterreich gefallen werde und seyt in albeg daran, damit solh gelt nyemand anderm, dann allain zu des von Gurgg handen eingeprecht und geantwurt werde. ^fUnd last mich bey der post wissen, ob ksl. Mt. euch deshalb auch geschrieben hab.^f

Verrer gib ich euch zuerkennen, daz in der aydgenosschaft zwischen inen selbs groß und merklich aufrurn entstanden sein und sonderlichen derohalben, so allweg guet frantzosisch^g gewesen sindt, der sy auch etlich gefangen haben und mit der straff gegen inen handlen werden. Auf dem tag so sy in dieser wochn mit ksl. Mt. zu Zurch haben, werden sy sich entlich entschliessen, ob sy dem zug mit ksl. Mt. wider Franckreich tun wellen oder nit. Was mir deshalb zukommt, will ich euch auch anzaigen. Lasst mich wissen, ob marggraf Ernst von Baden herauf sey und aus was ursachen.

Dat. Insprugg xxx July a^o xiii

A.10 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, July 1513

July 1513.

TLA / Maximiliana / 14.II.24, fragment of an original.

⁴⁴⁶Verona.

^{a-a} corrected from fruntlich bitt. ^b corrected from bey unns. ^c corrected from wir. ^{d-d} corrected from unseren und inen. ^{e-e} corrected from zertrenndt. ^{f-f} insertion. ^g deleted: und wider ksl. Mt.

Marginal expeditum-annotations on each paragraph.

Genediger herr, gleich als ich euern gnaden dieses hie beilundt schreyben gefertigt, ist mir widerumben ain brieff von e. g. des datum steet zu Ynsprugg den xxx tag July [A.9] zuekumen, darinen anfangklich vernomen des salliter halben, so ich auf begeren meiner g. herren vom regiment unnd eurn gnadenn aufpringen unnd bestellen soll. Nun habe ich e. g. vormallen geschriben unnd annzaigt in dem brieff so ich e. g. hiemit zueschikh, was vleiss ich desshalben gehabt unnd wie es damit steet so eur g. klarlichen vernemmen wirt.

Verrer zaigt mir e. g. an, wie zu Ynsprugg das gemain geschray sey, wie die turken gegen den Hungern unnd ksl. Mt. erblannden mit aller macht ligen unnd darauff an mich begertt, e. g. grundt der sachen zuberichtenn. Darauf fueg ich e. g. zuvernemen, das jetzt der turkn unnd Hungern halben khain sunderliche emperung ist, auch die Hungern khain annsechlich volkh beyeinannder haben, wiewoll die turken neulichen in Hungern und Crabaten kurtz verschiner zeitt bis in die xiiii geschloss unnd bevestigung uberkumen unnd ain merklich anzall volkh weckhgefuert. Die ksl. Mt. schikht abermals yetzt doctor Johann Cuspinian zu der k. wierde von Hungern mit ainer instruction, darin unnggezweifft der turken halben zu hanndlen auch steet, so durch yerer ksl. Mt. secretarien Johann den Bonases⁴⁴⁷ in latein gefertigt worden. Mocht woll leiden, das ettwas ksl. Mt. zu nutz, wie ich dan mit eurn g. geredt und zuegeschribn habe, gehandelt wurd.

An heut dato ist her Jhan von Meseritsch hie bey mir gewesen. Zeucht den nags-ten zu kunigklicher wierde gen Hungern unnd mir lauter zuversteen geben, das man in taiding aines fridlichen anstandt auf zway jar lanng zwischen des Turken und Hungern stee. Ob aber ksl. Mt. darinen begriffen sey oder nit, trag er noch khain wissen. Unnd ist warlich ganntz ubl zufriden, das die ksl. Mt. nicht hanndlt wie ir ksl. Mt. gemuet unnd willen gewesen, als der von Meseritsch von ierer ksl. Mt. abgeschaiden. Was mir aber gemelter von Meseritsch, auch doctor Cuspinian, schreiben, oder ich sonnst desshalben erfahren wurd, will ich eurn gnaden nicht verhallten.

Weiter, das mein genediger herr von Gurgk zue dem vicere in das veld gezogen und das fuernemen fuer Padua zuschlachen, darzue ime der allmechtig glukh und haill gebe, unnd bite darauf e. g. als meinen genedigen herren was e. g. desshalben unnd annders, sovill mir geburt und zimbt zuwissen, schreiben lassen.

Dann der anndern neuzeitung halben, wie ksl. Mt. zu Namur gewest, yetzt den weeg in Brabannt unnd Fländern nymbt, des reichstag zu Wurmbs und der aidgenossen halben, sag ich eurn gnaden grossenn unnd hohen danngkh, will das mit aller unndterthanigkait gevlissen sein zuverdienen [*rest of letter is missing*]

A.11 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 14 August 1513

Innsbruck, 14 August 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 29-3-51, draft.

Lieber^a vitztumb,

Gleich als ich disen brief ferttigen hab wellen, ist mir ain post von meinem g. heren von Gurgk kumen, darauff er mir zwo copi geschikht, wie ir seiner genaden

⁴⁴⁷Jakob de Banissis (1476–1532), imperial secretary in the Latin expedition.

^adeleted: frundt.

vermogen der bewilligten steur in Osterreich der ⁱⁱⁱⁱ^c behemischen knecht und ⁱⁱⁱⁱ^c gulden halben die ir marggraf Ernsten gegeben habt, geschriben, und sein gnad euch darauff widerumb anntwort gegeben hat, das ir solh steur einnehmen und hinder des Fugger factor⁴⁴⁸ zu Wien erlegen sollt etc. Wollt ich euch nicht verhalten unnd ist on not euch weitter zuschreiben oder meldung davon zuthun, damit ir aber verstet, daz solhs ksl. Mt. will seie, so schikh ich euch hier auch ain copi dis bevelhs so euch der von Gurgg von ksl. Mt. umb die steur zugesandt hat. Und ist demselben nach auch mein fleissigs begern an euch, ir wellet inhalt desselben kais. bevelhs und auf meines herren von Gurgg schreiben euren muglichen vlys haben und ankern, daran mir dann ganntz nicht zweiflt, dann warlichn bemelter mein herr von Gurgg were des gellts zu underhalten des kriegsvolkh ganz notturfftig dan er on gellt vill mangl und abgang hat. Darumb thut das pesst.

Dat. Insprugg 14 Augusti 1513.

A.12 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 27 August 1513

Vienna, 27 August 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 29-3-67, original.

Genediger herr,

Bey der nachsten post sein mir von eur g. syben schreiben zuekommen, darinnen eur gnad will unnd maynung vernomen wie hernach volgt, darauf hiemit antwurt unnd verrer was not tut.

Erstlich so schreibt mir eur g. in ainem brief des dato stet zu Innsprugg am viii tag Augusti [*letter unavailable*] der walacheyschn botschaft halbn, wie die durch ksl. Mt. widerumb an haim zu irem herrn zu ziehen abgefertigt unnd das ir ksl. Mt. Fridrichen Harber⁴⁴⁹ mit bestimbten Walachen in die Walachey zu ziehen verordnet, den ich also auf ksl. Mt. bevelh wol unnd statlich abgefertigt, also an heut dato hie zu Wienn weggezogen. Bin sonnder zweifl der Weida⁴⁵⁰ in der Walachey werde ab der verordnung seiner braut die ksl. Mt. mit dem Harber hinein schickht gut gevallen tragen. Muessen manigerlay nacion der welt bey ksl. Mt. erkennen lernen etc.

In dem anndern schreiben des dato stet zu Innsprugg den xiiii tag Augusti [*letter unavailable*] zaigt mir eur gnad an wie eur g. mein schreiben so ich eurn gnaden der emporung der Turcken unnd Hungern auch doctor Cuspinian halbn getan etc. zuekommen sey. Darauf mich e. g. bericht, das eur gnad von stundan ksl. Mt. auch Jacoben de Bonissis geschriben, wo sein ksl. Mt. doctor Cuspinian in seiner Instruction nicht bevelh geben hiet, ob die kunigclich wurde zu Hungernn ains anstannds oder frids halben mit den Turcken tractirn unnd hanndln wurde, sein mt. auch darein zu ziehen, das im sein ksl. Mt. nochmalln durch den Bonissis furderlichenn schreiben unnd bevelhen lassen welle, damit, ob durch k. wird von Hungern ain anstand oder frid mit den Turckhn gemacht, das alsdann ir ksl. Mt. mit iren furstentumben unnd lannden auch darein gezogen werde. Doch nichtzdestminder ist eur gnad mainung gewest, das ich solichs mittler zeit doctor Cuspinian anzaigen unnd zueschreiben sol. Wie er solichs nicht bevelh het, nicht destminder muglichen vleis hab unnd anker, das ksl. Mt. mit irn furstentumben unnd lannden auch darinnen

⁴⁴⁸Most likely Stefan Kisling the Younger. Cf. Perger, 1981, 18.

⁴⁴⁹Friedrich Harber (died c.1514), diplomat. On Harber's mission to the voivode of Wallachia see Wiesflecker, 1981, 168.

⁴⁵⁰Neagoe Basarab (c.1459–1521), prince of Wallachia.

begriffen werde, dergleichen ime e. g. auch schreib. Darauf hab ich ime von stund-an alle handlung meins beduncken laut e. gnaden schreiben und bevelh anzaigt, desgeleichen eur gnaden brief zuegeschickht. Bin guter hofnung, werde darinnen zu hanndln kainen vleis sparen. Was mir weiter deshalb zuekumbt, wil ich eur gnad nicht verhalltenn.

Verrer, als mir eur gnad auf mein schreiben anzaigt der hanndlung halbnn zwischen ksl. Mt. unnd k. wurde zu Hungernn, des sich der wolgebornn herr her Jan von Meseritsch hoch beschwert unnd solichs in seinem abschid ksl. Mt. maynung unnd willen nicht gewesen, durch jemand's andern dan wie der beslus vermutt hat hanndln zu lassen, deshalb e. g. in der selbenn abschid von hof genuegsam underricht getan. Darauf ir ksl. Mt. eur g. genedige anntwurt geben, in ansehung das ir ksl. Mt. lannden und lewten vil daran gelegenn ist, genediglich ingedenckh zu sein, deshalb aber mir bisher nichts zuekomen ist, wiewol mir e. gnad anzaigt, das eur gnad ksl. Mt. gar ernstlichen geschriben hat, das sein ksl. Mt. den hanndl bedennckh, was irer ksl. Mt. daran gelegen sey, unnd noch genedige versehung zutun und welle dieselb hanndlung dem von Meseritsch herrn Hannsen von Puechaim unnd her Jan Moregsy, die dann vormalln auch darinnen gehanndlt und deshalb guet wissen tragen, zueschreiben unnd bevelhen, auch solichs zu sollicitirn, maister Vincentzn Rockner mit ernst bevelhenn, das sein ksl. Mt. deshalb furderlichen enntslieess unnd bemeltenn herrnn bevelh geb unnd zueschreib, in massen sein ksl. Mt. dem von Meseritsch jungst zu Colln den abschid gegebenn het. Unnd eur gnad versehe sich enntlich, wo ir ksl. Mt. nicht darinnen gehandelt het, ir ksl. Mt. werde nochmallen furderlichen darinnen handln. Und so eur gnad widerumben anntburtt unnd beschaid zuekumbt, dasselb well mir eur g. furter zueschreiben. Unnd ist darauf e. g. begern an mich, die bemelten herrn unnd nemlichen den von Meseritsch mittler zeit mit dem pesten fug zu underhalten, das ich nach allem meinem vermugen gern tun wil unnd bisher getan hab. Unnd eur gnad sol enntlich wissen, wo ichs bisher nicht getan het war lanngst ksl. Mt. unrue daraus erwachsenn, dann sich der von Meseritsch hoch beswert, der jetz zu Ofen gewesen, unnd widerumb an haim gezogen. Mir zue enntboten, er welle seinen aygen son heraus zu mir schickenn, mich grunt aller sachenn berichten, damit ich die verrer irer ksl. Mt. auch e. gnaden zu zeschreiben wiss, wil ich onverziehen tun. Es sein warlich, gnediger herr, vil sellzamer practickn, das meines bedunckens grosse not thet, das ksl. Mt. selbs in das land kemb, mocht man mit ainem grunt besliessen.

Weiter der xvi^m gulden halbn, so ain ersame lanndtschaft des furstentumbs Osterreich unnder der Enns ksl. Mt. zwischenn hinnen unnd sannd Katherina tag nachstkunfftig zubezallen zuegesagt, auf mein anzaigen unnd schreibn, so ich eurn g. deshalb getan, das eur gnad solichs meinem gnedign herren von Gurckh zuegeschribenn, das ich der steur halbm seinen f. g. zu anntwurten von ksl. Mt. kainen bevelh hab. Darauf mir eur gnad anzaigt, das mein g. herr von Gurckh eur g. geschriben, das ksl. Mt. auf mich ainen bevelh ausgeen hab lassen, das ich niemands die steur dann meinem g. herrn von Gurckh oder wem sye sein gnad verordnet anntburten, auch daneben ain schreiben von meinem g. herrn von Gurckh, das sein g. zuegibt die iiij^c gulden reinisch so ich meinem g. herren marggraf Ernst von Baden geben hab, desgeleichen was ich auf die vier hundert behemisch knecht so nun auf disen tag zu Görtz sein unnd on zweifl ksl. Mt. zu guetem nutz entspriessen werdenn, bezallt hab, innen zubehalten. Darauf fueg ich e. g. zuvernemen, das mir von ksl. Mt. noch der steur halbnn kain bevelh zuekomen ist, nicht desterminder wil ich meines g. herrn von Gurckh unnd eur g. schreiben und begern nachkumen unnd furter kainen bevelh auf die steur annemen unnd nichts darauf ausgeben. Dann

warmit ich meinem g. herrn von Gurckh auch e. g. mit meinen unndertenigen dinsten zu willen werden mocht, sollen mich eur gnad allzeit willig unnd bereit vinden. Mein gnediger herr von Gurkh unnd eur g. wissen mich mit genugsamen bevelhen wol zuversehen.

Verrer schreibt mir eur gnad von meines gnedign herren Marggraf Ernstn von Badn wegen, das eur gnad ab dem unlust, so sein genad mit meinen g. herrn von dem regiment unnd anndern gemacht, kain gefallen tregt, wan solichs fur ksl. Mt. lannd unnd leuten nicht ist, unnd wie eur g. das ksl. Mt. angezeigt, unnd wo eur genad personlich zu irer mt. komen wirdet, gruntlich berichten welt, damit ir ksl. Mt. wendung darinnen thu. Hab vormalln e. g. geschriben unnd anzaigt, das ich sein furstlich g. meinenthalben wol leiden mug, wo es fur ksl. Mt. lannd unnd leut, des ich ungezweiflt bin, sein furstlich gnad wol regiern wirdet, das alles e. g. pas dann ich zubewegen wissen. Eur g. ist ongezweiflt allerlay sachenn unnd redn, so wir zu Augspurg miteinander getan haben, wol ingedenckh. Ich wolt nur gern, das alle sachenn ksl. Mt. lannden unnd leuten mit treuen und ainigkait gehandelt wurden, wo eur g. deshalbn ettwas zuekomen wurde, bit e. g. mich gnediglichen zu bericht.

In dem dritten schreiben des dato stet zu Innsprugg den xiiii tag Augusti [*letter unavailable*] zaigt mir eur gnad an, das e. g. meines meines [*sic*] schreiben unnd vleis, so ich des saliter halbn getan, mitsambt meinen gnedign herrn von dem regiment genedig gefallenn tragen, das doch warlich alweg mein will und mainung ist, wo ich ksl. Mt. nutz unnd e. g. begern nach zu gutem entspriessenn mocht, sol allzeit bey mir ungespart sonnder mangl nicht gefunden werden. Dieweil mir aber eur g. abermals unnd in namen meiner gnedign herrn vom regiment schreibt unnd begert, zway hundert zenntn saliter hinauf zeschicken, nachdem ksl. mt. zeugheus in grossen ödn ligen, unnd deshalbn nichts darinnen verhanden, möcht zu grossem nachtail unnd schadn raichen, unnd das eur g. deshalbn ksl. Mt. umb bevelh geschriben, so der eur g. zuekumbt, mir alsdann an verzug zuesenden, nicht destminder sol ich all sachen bestelln: Gelaub mir eur gnad, solt ich hie zway hundert zenntn saliter aus dem zeughaus nemen, wurd wenig oder nichts darinnen beleiben. Aber was ksl. Mt. will unnd maynung ist, sol bey mir nicht verzogen unnd kain vleis gespart werden. Wil mich auch mittler zeit darnach schicken, den schifman bestelln unnd was ich gehalten mag aufladn. Kumbt gleich das lesen auch herzue, damit ich destbas fuer haben mag. Wie ich die fuer bestell, wirt eur g. oben wol bezallen.

Weiter, das ich uber solichen angezaigten saliter nochmallnn das pesst tun, und vleis haben sol, damit ich ain taphere summa saliter erfragen unnd ankomen mocht, unnd eur g. von stundan wissen lassenn, in was kauf auch wie bald der selbig bezallt werden muesst, unnd mit was cossten derselb gen Innsprug zu bringen wär. Nun kan ich eur g. warlich saliter halben zuerlangen kain vertroistung tun, auch den kauf nicht bestimmen, dann warlich kainer verhanden ist, nur was ich von den paurn teglichs ze ainziger phuntweis kauff, das dann nit vil auf im tregt. Aber das wär mein rat und gutbedunckhen, das eur g. ain suma gelts her verordnet het, wer e. g. darzue gefellt, dem wil ich meiner diener ainen zuegebenn unnd in dem lannd umbreiten lassen unnd allen vleis furkeren ob sy saliter zu wegen bringen mochten. Den muessten sy von stundan bar bezallen, dann kain salitrer gibt kainen saliter auf porg. Was eur gnad unnd meinen g. herrn von dem regiment darinnen gemaint und gevellig ist, das lass mich eur gnad wissen, zu dem ich nach allem meinem vermugen ratn und helfen wil unnd meiner person halbn darinnen kain versaumbnus bescheen.

In dem viertn schreibn, des dato auch zu Innsprugg den xiiii tag Augusti [*letter unavailable*], bericht mich eur g., das e. g. mein schreibn der oxsen halben

zuekumen, unnd mir innerhalb vi tagenn das gelt darumben in den wechsl herab gen Wien verordnen, auf der nachsten post all maynung unnd beschaid deshalb weiter zueschreiben, von stundan ainen der sy hinauff treiben sol abfertigen etc. Gnediger herr, auf solchen e. g. wechsl unnd diener bin ich wartund, wil mitsambt demselben allen muglichen vleis furkern, damit e. g. mit ainem guten viech in dem pessten kauf versehen solt werden unnd darinnen kainen vleis sparen, eur gnad zu gut hanndlnn, als wann es mein aigen person betreff. Eur gnad welle die sachen vor des heiligen Chrewtz tag furdern, ist der lesst marckt. Eur gnad nemb nur ain wechslbriefl auf den munsmaister⁴⁵¹ hie, hat es kain not.

In dem funften schreiben, des dato stet zu Innsprugg den xiiii tag Augusti [A.11], zaigt mir eur gnad anfennclich an, als eur g. dise post gefertigt hat, ist eur g. ain post von meinem gnedign herrn dem von Gurkh zuekomen, und eur genad zwo copey zuegeschickt wie ich seinen gnaden geschriben hab, der bewilligten steur halben in Osterreich, auch der iiiic^c behemischen knecht, desgeleichen der iiiic^c gulden reinisch, meinem gnedign herrn marggraf Ernst von Baden gegeben haben, unnd sein gnad mir darauf widerumben anntburt geben das ich solich steur einnehmen, unnd hinder der Fugger factor zu Wienn erlegen sol etc. Damit ich aber verstee, das soliches ksl. Mt. maynung sey, so schickt ir mir ain copey des ksl. bevelh unnd ist darauf eur gnadn begeren an mich, inhalt desselben kayserlichen bevelh unnd meines gnedign herren von Gurckh schreiben, meinen muglichen vleis haben unnd furkeren, damit meinem gnedign herrn von Gurckh das gelt der steur zuegestellt werde, dan sein gnad solichs zu unnderhaltung des kriegsvolkh gros notturftig ist, etc. Darauf fueg ich e. g. zuvernemen, das ich die copey des ksl. bevelh, auch meines gnedign herren von Gurckh und e. g. schreiben emphanngen, mir ist aber der kay. bevelh noch nicht zuekomen. Nichtdestminder wil ich auf meines g. herrn von Gurkh unnd eur gnadn schreiben mit der steur, inmass wie ich eurn g. hievor angezeigt hab, hanndlnn so vil ich kann, nichts versaumen.

Bey dem sechsten eurn gnadn schreiben [*letter unavailable*], ain brief von meinem gnedign herrnn von Gurkh an her Wilhalbm von Rogendorf⁴⁵² lauttend, die hab ich emphanngen unnd selbsseltem herrn Wilhalbmen von Rogendorf hie zu Wienn in sein hannd geantwurt. Dann was mir eur g. zetun bevilht, bedarf eur g. kainen zweifl haben noch verer nachgedenncken, wil in den selben nichts versaumen.

In dem sibenten eurn gnadn schreiben [*letter unavailable*] befind ich mit den neuen zeittungen unnd wie es allenthalben in der welt stet eur gnaden gnedigen gunstigen unnd genaigten willen, so eur genad zu mir tregt, das mich nicht clain sonnder hoch erfreyett. Dieselben auch meinen gnedigen herrn vom regiment angezeigt unnd bedannckh mich auf das aller hochst solicher g. Ob got wil, umb eur genad gehorsamclich zuverdienen unnd bit eur gnad, welle mir so gnedig sein unnd verer auch mittailen, was eur gnad schaft unnd gebeutt, bin ich gehorsam. Wil mich darauf eurn gnaden, als meinem besonndern gnedign liebm herrn, allzeit bevolhen haben, wie dann mein vertraun zu eurn gnadn stet.

Dat. Wienn den xxvii tag Augusti im xv^c unnd dreyzehennnten jare
[Signature]

A.13 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 28 August 1513

Innsbruck, 28 August 1513.

⁴⁵¹ Wolfgang Liephart (d. 1517), Münzmeister of Vienna 1510–1513 and 1515–1517. Cf. Perger, 1988, 221.

⁴⁵² Wilhelm von Rogendorf (1481–1541), field captain (Feldhauptmann) of Verona 1511–1516. For the Rogendorf family cf. Zajic, 2017b.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 29-3-70, draft.

Annotation: Zuregist. in das puech vitzthumb zu Wien und mein vinantz puech.

Mein freuntlich dienst sein euch zuvor lieber vitzthumb.

Nachdem ich euch kurtzverschiner zeit von wegen der herren vom regiment hie und mein geschriben unnd gepetten hab, daz ir allen vleis furkeren wölten ob ir zweyhyundert centner salitter zuwegen bringen und den herren vom regiment hierher schicken möchten, so wellen die gedachtn herren vom regiment und ich so vil vleis haben, das euch die ksl. Mt. umb sollichn satlitter ein geschafft geben soll wie dann dass schreiben weiter inhelt. demnach fueg ich euch zuvernemen, daz die ksl. Mt. jetzo den herren regenten und mir ein geschafft an euch lautent umb vi^c centner satlitter zugeschickt unnd gnedigklich zugeben und verwilligt hat, daz ir solchen salitter von dem gelt der jetzbewilligten landsteuer bezallen muget, wie ir dann auss berurten bevelh, den ich euch hiemit zuschicke, vernemen werdet. Unnd ist darauf der herren vom regiment unnd mein sonder vleissig und gantz ernstlich beger^a, ir wöllet den benannten salitter von stund und unverzogenlich hieher schicken und inen noch unns des keinswegs abschlagen, sonder euch hierinn dem vertrauen nach so wir fur ander zu euch haben gutwillig halten und erzeugen, als wir uns des gentzlich zu euch versehn und verlassen. Mich auch zum furderlichsten bericht wann ir vermeinet daz solher satlitter herkomen werde. Das wollen die heren von regiment und ich^b mit gutem willen beschulden^c. Die gedachtn herren und ich haben auch dem v. Gurkh geschriben unnd in aufs hechst gepotten und ersucht, daz er auf ksl. Mt. bevelh auch bewilligen und zugeben well, daz ir euch des bemelten satlitters von den gedachten niderosterreichischn hilfgelt bezallen mugt, und wir sein sonder zweyfl s. g. werd des gnedigklich zu finden sein und uns solchen bevelh zuschickken, wie ir dann auss der regenten beyligenden schreiben auch vernemen werdt.

^dAuch so^d hab ich euch kurtzlich geschriben von wegen etlicher hungerischer ochssen die ir mir bestelen und kauffen und herauf ferttigen sollen. Wie ir sonder zweifl vernomen habt. Und ist darauf nochmals mein pit, daz ir in demselben guten vleis haben wöllet, damit diese ochssen in zimlichen gutem kauffe bestellt^e und euch hierin gutwillig und dermassen halten, als ich euch vertrau und ich gentzlich verlas. Das will ich mit guten willen umb euch beschulden^f.

Verer so hab ich euch bey jungster posst etlich neu zeittungen, die mir von ksl. Mt. hof zukomen und in denselben verkundt worden ist die zusammenkunfft ksl. Mt. und des kunigs von Engellandt, zugesandt, und dabey anzeigt was mir weiter zukam, dasselb welt ich euch alsdann auch berichten. Darauf solt ir wissen, daz ^gden herren von regiment hie und^g mir angesstern abermals 1 posst von Gabriel Vogt⁴⁵³ von hof zukomen, darinn verkundt uns der Vogt wie die ksl. Mt. und der kunig von Engellandt vill mechtiger und treffentlicher franzosen von herren und adel neulich niderlegt haben, wie ir aus eingelegter copeyen darauf ich mich refferier eigentlich vernemen werdet. Diesselben wöllet also dem regiment bey euch auch anzeigen. Unnd sofer es euch fur gut ansieht so beduncket mich, ir möchtet solliche neuzeitungen, doch nitt ^hdie gantz schrift^h sonder sovil euch gut beduncket zum teil ⁱund sovil zimlichen istⁱ wol ausziehen lassen und durch docter Cuspinianen

⁴⁵³Gabriel Vogt (d. 1534), imperial secretary. Cf. Hollegger, 1983, 49.

^acorrected from pitt. ^bdeleted: sampt einer gemeiner landschafft gantz fruntlich und. ^ccorrected from verdienen. ^{d-d}beginning of the next page, corrected from M. f. d. seien euch zuvor lieber vitzthumb. ^edeleted: und hieher aufs furderlichist hieher pracht werden möchten. ^fcorrected from verdienen. ^{g-g}inserted. ^{h-h}inserted. ⁱ⁻ⁱinserted.

dem kunig von Hungern verkhunden, dergestalt, als ob ir sollichs fur euch selbs und nit aus bevelh ksl. Mt. thetten. Und ich hof zu Got es sey ein guter anfang, dardurch die ksl. Mt. und der kunig von Engellandt in guet einigkeit komen und der franzose gedungen mug werden einen friden, der ksl. Mt. erlich und nuzlich sey, anzunemen. Das hab ich euch nit wellen verhalten.

Dat. Ynsprug 28 Augusti anno etc. tredecimo.

A.14 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 7 September 1513

Vienna, 7 September 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 29-4-24, original.

Genediger herr,

Eur gnad hat mir vier schreiben geschickht die mir kurtzlich nacheinander zuekomen sein, der dato stet wie eur g. hernach vernemen wirdet. Hab ich vernomen unnd gib eurn g. darauf was mich bedunckt die notturft ervordert anntburt unnd verrer was not ist.

Gnediger herr, das erst schreiben des dato zu Innsprug den xx tag Augusti [*letter unavailable*], dabey ainen ksl. brief an stathalter und regenten der niderosterreichischen lannde unnd ettlich brief so eur g. von meinem gnedign herrn von Gurgg zuekomen, auch ain brief an r. ksl. Mt. verweser unnd vitztumb in Steyr⁴⁵⁴, hab ich all emphanngen unnd uberantwort, den in Steyr mit ainem aigenn poten geschickt.^a

Genediger herr, in dem anndern brief des dato Innsprugg an dem xxiii Augusti [*letter unavailable*] zaigt mir eur g. an, das ich eur g. xl guet ochsenn zu unnderhaltung eur g. geslosser kauffen sol und mir eur g. deshalbenn durch eur g. swager, Georgen von Eckh⁴⁵⁵ vitztumb in Crain, von Villach aus in wechsl zu machen zway hundert gulden reinisch verordennt. Unnd wo sy mir vor dem marckt nicht zuekomen eur g. zu gut und furdrung der sachen darstreckenn sol, desgleichen den abgang so mir im kauff furkomen moecht mitsambt der zerung von Wienn aus darauf darleihen unnd so ich die gekauft in mein gwaltsam zu nemen, bis Lamprecht Spitznstain⁴⁵⁶ kumbt, der sy alsdann zu seinem viech annemen und hinauf bringen sol, die wie sich geburt zaichenn lassen, etc. Gnediger herr, solichem eurn g. vorangezaigtem begern wil ich mit allem meinem vermugn und hochstn vleis damit eur g. versehen werde, leben unnd nachkumen, dann mit treu ich eurn g. gedienen kundt sol mich e. g. allzeit berait unnd willig vinden. Was ich ausgeben wirt, wil ich e. g. zueschreiben, auch den Ipphofer⁴⁵⁷ darauf verweisen.

Gnediger herr, in dem drittn e. g. schreibn des dato auch zu Innsprugg den xxiii Augusti [*letter unavailable*] darinn mir eur g. erstlich anzaigt, wie die ksl. Mt. zu dem kunig von England kumen und wie sy mit allem wesen anenander emphanngen haben, laut eur g. copei die ich nach eur g. bevelh meinen g. vom regiment auch furgetragen hab.

Zum anndern, der Aidgenossn halbn, wie sy auf ksl. Mt. begeren mitsambt ksl. Mt. geraisgem zeug unnd geschutz dem nagsten auf den kunig vonn Franckreich,

⁴⁵⁴ Andreas von Spangstein (d. 1516), *vidame of Styria 1493–1498 and 1511–1516*. Cf. Drexel, 1995.

⁴⁵⁵ Georg Eck von Hungersbach (1462–1537), *vidame of Carniola 1498–1514*. Cf. Wiesflecker, 1986, 217.

⁴⁵⁶ Lamprecht Spitzenstein, merchant. Cf. RI XIV,4,1 n. 15934.

⁴⁵⁷ Wendel Iphofer, long-time Fugger employee in Innsbruck. Cf. Pölnitz, 1951, 136–137.

^a marginal annotation: Placet.

unnd das der krieg mit dem swebischn punt wider die hegknreiter unnd strasrauber gwislichen angee mit ainer trefflichen anzal volkh jetz Michaelis dieselbenn zu straffen, des ich eurn g. grossen dannckh sag. Und bit eur g. als meinen genedign herrn, was eur gnaden weiter deshalben sovil mir zu wissen geburt zuekumen wirt, mir durch eur g. diener in geschrift mitzutailln.

Weiter so begert eur g. zu wissenn wie es diser zeit mit den Turkhen unnd Hungern gestalt sey. Fueg ich eurn g. zuvernemen, das der bischof von Vesperin⁴⁵⁸, den eur g. wol kennt und neulich bey ksl. Mt. gewest unnd ietz in Krabatn haubtman uber das volkh ist, xviii hundert Turcken erschlagen. Desgleichn wurde ich durch den Tscherko⁴⁵⁹ bericht, den eur g. auch kennt unnd jetz bey kriechischen Weissennburg⁴⁶⁰ als obrister haubtman ligt, mit den Turcken auch ain slacht getan, wie e. g. aus diser copey so er mir geschriben hat, zuvernemen haben. In hofnung die Hungern werden sich des Turcken diser zeit enthallten.

Genediger herr, in dem viertn e. g. schreiben des dato den xxviii Augusti [A.13] zaigt mir eur g. an, wie ich eurn g. vormallen der zwayhundert zentn saliter halbn geschriben, mitler zeit eurn g. unnd meinen g. herrn vom regiment ain geschefft von ksl. Mt. umb vi^c zennten saliter auf mich lauttend zuekumen sey, unnd ir ksl. Mt. genediglich zuegeben und bewilligt hat, solichenn saliter von dem gelt der jetzbewilligten lanndsteuer zubezallen, wie ich dann innhalt ksl. Mt. bevelh vernomen. Ist darauf e. g. und annder meiner g. herrn von dem regiment begeren, solichen obangezaigtn saliter von stundan unnd onverzug hinauf zu schickhenn, auch wie eur g. und annder mein g. herrn vom regiment meinem g. herrn von Gurckh geschriben, das sein genad solichenn saliter von dem hilfgelt zubezallen erlaub, wie ich dann soliches aus meiner g. herrn vom regiment schreiben auch vernomen hab. Darauf fueg ich e. g. zuvernemen, das ich bisher allen meinen muglichen vleis furkert unnd kan eurn g. nicht mer dann in die vierhundert zenntn saliter zuwegen bringen. Die wil ich onverzug zu meinen hannden nemen und hinaufschickhen, wiewol ich als eur g. wais, das mir die ksl. Mt. mein g. herr vonn Gurckh unnd e. g. bevolhen hat, ausshalb der xvi^c gulden reinisch auf die behemischn knecht unnd die iiiii^c gulden reinisch meinem g. herrn marggrafen, auf kainerlay schreiben und bevelh so vor ausgangen unnd hernach kunftig weren nichts auszugeben. Des ich mich aber auf e. g. schreiben nichts irren noch verhindern lassen wil, der zuversicht sein, das e. g. bey meinem g. herrn von Gurckh sovil zuverfuegen, damit sein g. solichs zugeb unnd mir von seinen g. zuegeschriben werde. Ich wais warlichen ietz nindert kainen saliter, dan zu Znaim unnd Brunn, daselbs man mir den zentn nit naher dan umb zehen gulden reinisch geben will. So man in haben muest, wais in eur g. daselbs zu vinden.

Verrer zaigt mir eur gnad an wie eur g. unnd anndern meinen gnedigen herrn vom regiment aber neuzeitung durch Gabrielen Vogten, ksl. Mt. camer secretarien, zuekumen sein, das die ksl. Mt. unnd der kunig von Engellannd vil machtiger und treflicher Franzosen von herrn und adl neulich erlegt habn, wie dann e. g. copey so mir eur gnad zuegeschickt hat vermag. Auch das weiter, wie mir eur gnad angezaigt, mit ainer mass der kuniglichen wurde zu Hungern anzusaigen, das ich nach meinem verstand mit dem pesten fueg tun will, hoflichen als fur mich selbs wie ich zu guetermass wol zetun wais.

Eur g. schreibt mir den herren vom regiment ye ain sachen anzusaigen, wolt ich gern tun, so seien ir ye zu zeiten ain drey oder vier hie etc. Sonst nichts sonders, dann ich bevillh mich eurn g. als meinem g. herrn, darzue all mein vertrauen

⁴⁵⁸ Petar Berisló, bishop of Veszprém and ban of Croatia from 1513–1520.

⁴⁵⁹ Ambrus Sárkány von Ákosháza (d. 1526), ban of Belgrade. Cf. Neumann, 2019, 177–178.

⁴⁶⁰ Belgrade.

stet. Eur gnad bedarf kainen zweifl haben, was mir von ksl. Mt. unnd eurn gnadn zetun bevolhen wirt wil ich nichts versaumen, mit vleis auch meinem hochsten vermugen nach aufrichten unnd volziehen. Der steur halbn hab ich eurn g. vormalln angezeigt, wie die bezallung hie ist. Ich kan als mir got helff nichts tapfers zusammen bringen, wirt albeg kaum in ainem jar so wais ich bey inen nicht vil ersprieslichs fur zu vinantzen, hab ich eurn g. nicht verhaltenn wellen.

Dat. Wienn den vii tag Septembris anno etc. tredecimo.

[Signature]

A.15 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 7 September 1513

Innsbruck, 7 September 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 29-4-25, draft.

Annotation on the cover: expeditum-annotation and 7. 7tember 1513 and Sawrer vitzthumb.

Lieber vitzthumb ^amein fruntlich dinst seien euch zuvor.^a

Nach [daselbst] mir in eurm schreiben des dat. stet zu Wienn den 27 tag Augusti [A.12] anzeigt, daz ir Friderichen Harber auf ksl. Mt. bevelh wol abgefertigt und sonderlichen mit der vererung der praut die er dann mit ime hinein gepraucht hab, daran habt ir wol gehandelt und ksl. Mt. sonder zweifl ein gut gefallen getan.

Weiter hab ich zu gefallen vernomen, daz ir doctor Cuspinian meinen brief an ime zuegeschickt und ime selbst auch geschriben habt von wegen des anstands, ob der durch die k. wurde zu Hungern mit dem Turcken beslossen, daz er vleiß haben welle damit ksl. Mt. und derselben erblande auch darein gezogen werden. An solhem habt ir recht gehandelt. Ich hab euch ksl. Mt. wie ich euch vormals angezeigt an hof geschriben, ob ir Mt. doctor Cuspinian in seiner instruction deshalb keinen bevelh geben, daz ime sein Mt. dan noch furderlich zuschicken welle, des ich von ksl. Mt. ^bauch Jacoben Bonissy diselben^b also gewartend bin. Was mir des zukommt wil ich euch von stundan auf der post ferer zuesenden.

Betreffend die handlung zwischen ksl. Mt. und dem kunig von Hungern, daz sich der von Meseritsch derselben hoch beschwere und sonderlich daz ksl. Mt. will und maynung nye anders gewesen durch yemands andern dan wie der abschid dass vermuge darinn handeln zulassen, mit anzaigung, wo ir bisher bey dem von Meseritsch nit dermassen aufgehalten es were ksl. Mt. langst unrue daraus erwachsen und daz der von Meseritsch seinen sun deshalb zu euch fertigen und euch grundt aller sachen entdecken lassen welle etc. Nu habt ir vormals aus meinen schreiben genugsamlichen verstanden, daz ich ksl. Mt. deshalb zu mermahlen geschrieben, daz sich sein Mt. auf den abschid dem von Meseritsch zu Coln gegeben noch furderlichen ersliessen und ime, auch andern so vormals darinn gehandelt, solhen beslus und weitem bevelh an verziehen geben welle. ^cAuch maister Vicentzen Rockhner ernstlich geschrieben solhs bey ksl. Mt. mit allem vleiss zu sollicitirn.^c Aber mir ist noch auf solh mein schreiben gar kein beschaidt zukommen, bin des aber noch all tag gewartendt und zu furdrung des handels wil ich der ksl. Mt. bey nechster post noch weiter und ernstlichen schreiben und anzaigen, was nachtails und unrue seiner mt. aus solchen verzug entsteen mag und darauf sein Mt. vernemen bemelten von

^{a-a} inserted. ^{b-b} inserted. ^{c-c} inserted.

Meseritsch und andern, so vormals mit und neben ime die sachen gehandelt haben, noch zum furderlichsten beschaidt zugeben was sy weiter darinn tun sollen, als ich mich dann gentzlichen versieh, solches werde auf yetzig und vorig meine schreiben irer Mt. getan, gewislichen beschehen. Und was mir zukombt, das wil ich euch von stundan zuschicken und berichten. Darumb so wellet den von Meseritsch noch lenger, biß mir und euch der beschaidt von hof kombt mit pesten fuegen wie ir bisher getan habt auf zuhalten alle muglichen vleis haben und ankeren.

Ich versich mich gentzlich, der kayserlich bevelh, so der steur halben die zwischen hie und sand Kathreyntag von einer ersamen landschaft des furstenthumbs Osterreich gefallen und ir zu des von Gurgg handen emphahen und antworten sollet, sey euch nuzumal von meinem hern von Gurgg zuegestellt worden, dann ich hab den in meinen handen gehebt und gelesen und so euch der zuekombt, wist ir euch demselben bevelh wol gemess zu halten und volg zutun. Doch werdet ir des salitters halben in dem nachfolgenden [acten] vernemen, was ksl. Mt. maynung dessen ist und die notdurft dits lands verordnet.

Dann marggraf Ernsten von Badn halben hab ich der heren des regiments in Osterreich beswerung, so sy ob seiner g. handlung und [...] tragen der ksl. Mt. zuegeschickt und seiner Mt. selbs auch geschriben [gut] darein zu sehen, damit solher unwill zwischen inen hingelegt und weiter nachteil und zerrutung so daraus erwachsen mag verhuettet werde. Darauf gewart ich von ksl. Mt. antwurt. Wann mir die zukumbt, wil ich euch und den heren des regiments dieselbe zuschicken und kan warlich wol gedenncken, das solhs fur ksl. Mt. auch derselben landt und leut not ist und die sachen gern gut saheth.

Von wegen des salitters [dat.] die heren des regiments und ich euch hievor geschriben, hab ich eur antwurt und gutbeduncken darauf nach lengen verstanden und zweifelt mir nit, ir habt numals einen bevelh von ksl. Mt. und dabej ein schreiben von ir emphanen daz ir biß in vi^c zennten salitters bestellen und denselben von der steur der yetzbewilligten hilf bezalen sollet. Und dieweil dann solh steurn, wie vor anzaigt ist und ir gut wissen tragt auch des von ksl. Mt. an zweifel numalen ein bevelh habt, zu des von Gurgg handen geantwurt werden sol, haben die heren des regiments hie und ich seinen g. geschriben und aufs hechst ersucht, das er innhalt des kay.en bevelhs zugeben und euch deshalb schreiben welle, solch vi^c zennten salitter von angezaigter steurn zuzalen. Und achten gentzlichen darfur sein g. werde das verwilligen und euch deshalb bschaidt tun. So sy den von ime haben, werden euch gedachte heren des regiments alsdann alle [...] wie ir euch in solhem halten sollet weitter zuschreiben und bit euch ir wellet den sachen mitler zeit nachgedencken wie und wo ir solhen salitter zubegenbringen mugt und darinn allen muglichen vleis gebrauchen, dann ir habt zu guter wissen aus meinen vorigen schreiben [...] was ksl. Mt. und disen landt hie an solhem gelegen ist, verstanden.

Und als ir weiter in einen artickel euren schreibens meldung tut, daz ir die copi des ksl. bevelhs von wegen der bewilligten landssteuer auch zwo schreiben von meinem g. herren v. G. und mir entlich emphanen habt, aber der recht ksl. bevelh sey euch noch nit zukomen, und wellet doch nichtdestmynder auf solch schreiben der steur halben wie euch sein g. und ich geschriben haben etc. versiech ich mich gentzlich solcher bevelh sey oder werde euch wie vorstet gar kurtzlich zukomen von dem von Gurgg.

In den beiliegenden schreiben [A.16] werdet ir mein begern der oxsen halben nach lengen versteen, darinn wellet euch halten und handeln als ich mich zu euch versich, das wil ich wider verdinen.

Ich danck euch, das ir dem von Rogendorff seinen brief geantwurt habt, mit

begeren ir wellet ime die neuen zeitungen die ich euch bey nechster posst der gefangen und erschlagen frantzosen halben zuegesandt hab auch mittailen und lesen lassen, damit allzeit was euch lieb und dienst ist.

Dat. Insprugg 7 Septembris a^o xiii.

^aUnd als ich disen brief hab fertigen und zuesliessen wellen, sein mir von dem v. G. brief zuekomen die ich euch hiemit zuesende. Ich wil euch in zwain tagen weiter neue zeytung schreiben.^a

A.16 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 7 September 1513

Innsbruck, 7 September 1513.

*HHStA / Maximiliana, 29-4-25, fair copy. For the verbatim first draft from 5 September 1513 see *ibid.*, 29-4-12.*

Lieber vitzthumb,

ich hab euch verschiner zeit geschriben und ersucht, mir auf den yetzigen marckten in Osterreich zu notdurfft etlicher meiner slosser biss in xl hungrisch oxsen zu kauffen unnd euch dabey einen brief von meinem swager Jorigen von Egg zugeschickt, innhaltent daz er euch zu betzalung solher oxsen ii^c guldin rheinisch von Villach aus durch wechsel hinabmachen welle unnd er mir hie in seinem abscheiden solhs zuthun muntlich auch zugesagt. Unnd versich mich genntzlich, er hab euch nu solh ii^c gulden gewisslich hinabgemacht. Darauf habt ir mir, in eurm schreiben ainem unnder annderm dise anntwurt geben, ir wartet obberurts wechsels und meines dienners, den ich solicher oxsen halben hinabfertigen welle. So euch dieselben zukomen, wellet ir mitsampt ime muglichen vleys ankern, damit ich mit gutem vich versehen werde in ainem rechten kauff und daz ich die sachen vor der heiligen kreutztag nechstkunfftig hinabfurdern welle. Demselben nach hab ich anheut dato ainem metzger von hynnen, genant Thoman Kienast, mit ainem schreiben an euch abgefertigt, der soll angetzeigte oxen von euch emphahen unnd ob die noch nit kaufft weren, helffen kauffen unnd herauf treiben. Bitt euch demnach fruntlichs vleys, ir wellet mir guet und gross viech, inmassen ir euch des erpotten unnd ich mein zuversicht zu euch hab, kauffen, unnd waz ir uber die ii^c guldin rheinisch zubetzalung der xl oxen weiter notdurfftig sein werdet, daz wellet mir darleihen. Deßgleichen dem Kiennast die zerung biss hieher auch geben. Das will ich euch auf eur schreiben zuhanden des Yphovers hie von stundan wider entrichten. Und ob euch der wechselbrief von Jorigen von Egg nit so bald zukem und ir des gelts eer notdurfftig sein wurdet, so wellet daz mitler zeit auch darleihen, dann der von Egg hat mir glauplichen zuegesagt er well solhen wechsel durch die kauffleut von Villach aus gewißlichen hinabfertigen, wie ir daz aus seinem schreiben, so ich euch zugesannndt, auch vernomen habt. Dann ich setz in kain zweifl, solcher wechsel werde euch gewißlich unnd furderlich zukomen.

Verrer hat mich her Barthleme von Firmian ersucht, ich solle im in solichem kauff auch xii oxsen bestellen. Darauf schickh ich euch hiebey ain wechselbrief auf Colman Helmstainer lauttendt umb lxxii gulden rheinisch, die wellet zu eurn hannden nemen unnd die xii ochssen darumb kauffen unnd bestellen. Die mugt ir mit mein oxsen in ainem kauff, oder wie es euch gelegen ist, kauffen, unnd ob euch zu betzalung solher xii oxsen an diser suma auch etwas abgienng, daz wellet erstatten.

^{a-a} *postscript in marginal note.*

Daz sol euch auch gewißlich auf eur antzaigen hie bey dem Yphover betzalt werden. Unnd wo ir solch ochsen in sonderhait kaufften, so last solich ochsen auch in sonnderheit zaichnen unnd mit meinen ochsen herauf treiben. Main aber es were besser, es gienng in aim kauff hin.

So hab ich dem Kienast metzger vergonnt, daz er ime selbst auch vier ochsen und nit mer kauffen und mit herauf treiben muge, darauf bedurfft ir ime kain zerung geben. Daz pracht alles lvi ochssen, die bemelter Toman metzger herauf treiben wirdet und gebt ime die zerung allain auf die lii ochsen unnd schickh euch darauf hiemit unnder meinem tittel ain zolfreybrief auf all fursten und herren da solich ochsen durchgetriben wie ir sehen werdet. Unnd nachdem ich acht solher passbrief, dieweil der allain von mir ausgeet mocht nicht genug sein, auch die ochsen darauf nit mautffrey durchgelassen werden, auch mir der recht passbrief von ksl. Mt. vielleicht nit so bald als not wurde sein zukomen möcht, so bit ich euch fruntlich ir wellet mir von den herren des regiments unnder des kaysers tittel auf solh lvi ochsen auch ainen zollfreybrief auf meynung wie meiner lauttet erlangen, oder aber ir als ain vitzthumb mir ainen geben unnd denselben auch meinen zollfreybrief dem Kienast uberanntwurten. So mir dann der paßbrief von ksl. Mt. zukumbt, will ich euch den auf der posst furderlichen zuesennden. Und habt der sachen allenthalben guten vleys als ich dann das ain vertrauen zu euch hab. Daz wil ich wider umb euch zubeschulden geflissen sein.

Dat. Innsprugkh am viiten Septembris a^o etc. xiii.

A.17 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 18 September 1513

Innsbruck, 18 September 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 29-4-46, draft.

Mein freundlich dienst zuvor lieber freundt vitztum.

Ich hab eur schreiben mir des sibenden tags diss monats Septembris [A.14] von Wienn aus getan, emphanen, und daraus vernomen, daz euch [...] nacheinander vier schreiben von mir zukomen sein, des ich dann wol zufriden bin.

Ich hab auch zu gevallen vernomen, daz ir den stathaltern und regenten der niderosterreichischen lande und etlich ander brief von dem von Gurgg, auch einen brief an den verweser und vitztum in Steir uberantwort hab.

Der xl ochsen halben, so ir mir bestellen habt ir aus meiner vorigen schreiben euch deshalb getan genugsamlichen verstanden, wie irs damit halten sollet. Versich mich auch, euch sey der wexl umb die ii^c gulden rheinisch von Jorgen von Egg zuekommen und ir habt die ochsen numals kaufft. Darauf schick ich euch hiemit den pass- und zolfreybrief von ksl. Mt. umb lx hungerische ochsen lautendt. Den wellet dem Thoman Kienast uberantworten und da gegen meinen, auch der regenten der niderosterreichischen lande, pasbrief, den ir mir auf mein schreiben, als ich mich deselben von inen erlegt, wider zu eurn handen nehmen. Und dieweil diesen 2 pasbrief nur umb lvi ochsen und kais. Mt. pasbrief umb lx ochsen lautet, so wellet mir noch vier zusambt den xl ochsen so mir zugehorn kauffen und diese all miteinander herauf schicken. Was die gesteen werden, wil ich euch mitsambt anderen darleyhen zu handen des Yphofers auf eur schreiben bezalen. So aber der Kienast mit den ochsen weg were, so wellet ime disen pasbrief von stundan nachschicken, damit ime der furderlich und gewislich werde, dann ich besorg im land

ob der Enns da die grossen meut und zöll sein, mocht mir irthumb beschehen.^a Und nachdem ir weiter anzaigt, daz ir in diser sach eurn hochsten und pesten vleis ankeren wellet damit ich wol versehen werde etc. solch eur erpieten hab ich zu sonderm dannckh vernomen, hab auch bisher nye anders emphunden, dann daz ir euch in meinen sachen allzeit willig und geflissen gehalten habt, des ich widerumb zubeschulden genaigt bin. Des sollet ir euch gentzlichen zu mir versehen.

Verrer als ir anzaigt, daz ir die neuen zeitungen wie ksl. Mt. zu dem kunig von Engllandt komen sey, emphangen, und ferrer den heren des regiments anzaigt, desgleichen auch vernomen habt, wie die aidgenossen und ksl. Mt. geraisen zeug ausgezogen sey, auch der krieg mit dem swebischen pundt wider die hegkenreiter angeen werde etc. Solh anzaigen hab ich euch gern getan. Bin auch genaigt, was mir von denselben enden weiter zukommt, euch dasselbe auch zuverkunden. Aber ich wais diser zeit nichts gutlichs dann was mich vergebenlicherwise angelangt, darauf dann kain glauben zusetzen ist. Was ich aber warhafftig und durch schriffthen von hof erfare, sol euch unverhalten nit pleiben.

Eurs anzaigen daz der bischoff von Vesprim yetz kurtzlich xviii^c turcken erlegt und der Tscherko auch ein slacht mit inen getan, sag ich euch freundlichen dannckh. Und gib euch darauf zuerkenen, daz mir von hern Hansen von Aursperg⁴⁶¹ und Sigmunden v. Dietrichstain⁴⁶² deshalben auch schriffthen zuekommen das dem also sein solle, und zaigen dabey an, das der Turcken durch den bemelten bischof von Vesprim wol biß in dritthalb tausent erslagen sein sollen, doch geb ich eurm schreiben am maisten glaubens.

Weiter als ir schribt daz euch ein ksl. bevelh von den heren des regiments und mir zugeschickt sey lautendt umb vi^c zentten saliters mit begere, solches sallitter an verzug herauf zuschicken, und daz ir nit mer dann iiiii^c zentten zuwegen bringen wisset den ir zu eurn handen emphahen und furderlichen herauf fertigen wellet: Darauf gib ich euch zuerkenen, nachdem ir aus vorigem^b meinen schriffthen verstanden, daz durch sy und mich dem von Gurgg geschrieben und bey ime mit allem vleiss und ernst gesucht ist, daz er verwilligen und zugeben, auch euch desselben schreiben welle, die vi^c zentten sallitters von der yetzbewilligten landssteuer des furstenthumbs under der Ens zu bezalen. Darauf ist den heren des regiments und uns von dem von Gurgg deshalben antwort zukomen darinn er anzaigt, daz er kainswegs zuegeben kunde oder muge, das solher sallitter von diser landssteuer bezahlt werde, aus ursachen er hab Jacoben Villinger, ksl. Mt. tresiruer, umb xiii^m gulden rheinisch auf solh steurn verweisen. Desselben gleichen zuegeben hab, daz ir den iiiii^c behaimischen knechten einen [...] sold und [meren] g. Ernsten von Baden zu seiner notdurft auch iiiii^c gulden rheinisch davon bezahlt habt. Des dann warlich die heren des regiments nit klain erschrecken emphangen und darauf von stundan ernstlichen geratschlagt haben, wie weiter weg zu [suchen] sein, damit man nichtdestmynder solh iiiii^c zentten sallitter zu der mercklichen notdurfft ksl. Mt. und dits lands heraufbestellen mocht. Und ist durch die heren regenten und mich beslossen, daz sy von der camer hie ii^c zentten an demselben sallitter [mitschreiben] dem fuerlon herauf bezalen und die ksl. Mt. durch ir schreiben ernstlichen ersuchen wellen, bey euch genediglichen zu handeln, damit ir die ubrigen ii^c zentten und das fuerlon darauf biß hieher bezahlt und euch darin auf das [Villinger antwort] oder in ander

⁴⁶¹Hans von Auersperg (c.1470–1529), captain (Landeshauptmann) of Carniola 1501–1529.

⁴⁶²Sigmund von Dietrichstein (1484–1533), influential courtier and captain of Styria from 1515–1533. Cf. Drexel, 1995, 126–130.

^adeleted: Mochtet ir mir dann die vier ubrigen oxsen sunst in ander weg herauf schicken, daran tettet ir mir auch guet gevallen. ^bdeleted: der regenten und.

weg genediglichen verwise. Und ist demnach der heren vom regiment ernst und vleissig begeren, ir wellet sy zum furderlichsten berichten, was die ii^c zentten salitters [mitschreiben] dem fuerlon herauf gesteen werden. So wellen sy euch das gelt von stundan darauf herab verordnen. Doch vermainen sy ain zentten umb zehen gulden rheinisch sein zu teur, daz ir moglichen vleis ankeret, den aufs nechst zu bestellen und das man sonderlich die ii^c zentten noch disen herbst auf dem wasser herauf bringen mocht. Und so die heren solh underricht, wievil der salitter aufs nechst mit den fuerlon bringen wurdet, von euch haben wellen, sy euch darauf an verziehen weitem beschaidt und das gelt zuschicken. Mittler zeit verhoffen sy inen werde von ksl. Mt. umb die ubrigen ii^c zentten auch guter beschaidt und antwort zukomen, dan sy euch alsdann wol weiter berichten werden. Und tragen warlich die heren des regiments hir ob eurm angekerem vleis in diser sachen sonder gar wolgefallen.

Dann ferrer als ir schreibt daz ir den heren des regiments zu Wien yezuzeiten ein sachen anzusaigen willig weret, so sein ir ye nur zwen, 3 oder vier etc. stelle ich allzeit zu eurem willen und wolgefallen. Wie euch die sachen furfallen, darnach mugt ir euch halten.

Das furnemen der vom swebischen pundt gegen den fridprechern ist auf dem yetzigen tag zu Ulm angestellt worden biß auf den ersten tag May schiristkunfftig.

Der von Gurgg ist auf dem weg gen Rom. Wie er seinen abschid von dem vicere und ksl. Mt. haubtleuten genomen und all sachen hinder sein verlassen hat, auch all ander sachen des italischen kriegs halben diser zeit steen, des wil ich euch in kurtz nach lengen berichten. Damit allzeit was euch lieb und dienst ist.

Dat. Insprugg xviii tag September anno etc. xiii

A.18 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 20 September 1513

Vienna, 20 September 1513.

TLA / Maximiliana / 13.256, IX.50a, original.

Genediger herr,

Eurn gnaden schreiben mir yetzt bey e. g. dienner der oxsen halben getan hab ich vernomen unnd fueg e. g. zuvernemen, das ich nach allem meinem vermogen e. g. mit dem höchsten vleis des pessten viech und meines bedungen gar in gueten kauf viertzig oxsen gekauft, dieselben e. g. dienern guet unnd gerecht mitsampt den annderen darumben mir e. g. geschribenn hat uberanntburt, und habe umb solich viertzig oxsen deßgleichen e. g. ausrichter die bestymbten oxsen hinaufzubringen ausgeben laut der particular zettl⁴⁶³ so ich e. g. hiemit zuvernemen zueschickh und noch daruber zwen oxsen in dem kauf wie e. g. sechen wiert.

Genediger herr, euer gnad hat mir zumermalln geschriben unnd annzaigt, wie mir e. g. auf die vorgemellten oxsen bey Georgen von Egkh vitztumb in Crain zwayhundert gulden reinisch verordent unnd zweigestellt habe. Mag e. g. vernehmen, das mir bißher desshalb kain haller oder puechstamb von im seyder er bey e. g. zu Ynsprugkh gewesen zuekumen ist. Nichtsdestmynder hab ich e. g. zu nutz

⁴⁶³A version of this receipt survives in HHStA / Maximiliana, 45-2-2-17, including a short message from Saurer: Genediger herr, hiemit schick ich eur g. die raitung der oxsen, inmasen ich euren g. auff der post auch gethann hab. Thoman Kiennast hat diser zettl pegert, darumben ist sy getopliert worden. Ich hoff euer genad wert genedigs gefallen daran tragen, dan es ist ain guets vich und in ainem rechtu kauff. Damit der eur. [Signature].

unnd gevallen den kauf volpracht, das gelit dargestregkht unnd pit e. g. als meinen genedigen herren wo ich was von e. g. wegen weiter hanndln soll, mich auf annder dann in zuverweisen. E. g. vindt Wenndl Yphofer oder annder die mir bas gelegen sein, auch mich baß darauf verlassen mag. Genediger herr, dieweill mir e. g. in e. g. schreiben annzaigt, das e. g. solich gelit so ich von e. g. wegen ausgeben wiert dem Yphofer zu Ynsprugkh uberantburten well, demnach bit ich e. g. als meinen g. herren damit nicht verziechen dann ich annder wechsl darauf gemacht unnd bemelltem Yphofer das rest uber zwayhundert gulden rheinisch, soverr ich die von dem Egker emphach wie oben laut, zue stellen. Was ich dann e. g. fueran weyter dienen khan bin ich allzeit gehorsam unnd gantz willig.

Verrer habe ich allerlay in e. g. schreiben vernommen das khain veranntburtung darf, sonnder mir e. g. auf meine schreiben antburt und unndterricht gibt. Das alles habe ich e. g. als meinem genedigen herren dem ich mich hiemit thue bevelchen im pesten nicht welln verhallten.

Genediger herr, ich hab nach bevelch r. ksl. Mt. unnser allergenedigisten herren die erhebung yerer ksl. Mt. hren unnd vatern kayser Friderichen⁴⁶⁴ hochloblicher gedachtnus mit allen dingen zuegericht. Desgleichen der hochwierdig herr, herr Georg Zlakonia⁴⁶⁵, r. ksl. Mt. capellmaister yetzt bischove zu Wienn, sein erst bischofflich ambt zu erhebung ksl. Mt. thain wiert. So bin ich von babstlicher heyligkait unnd von ksl. Mt. mit allen dingen genuegsamlich versehenn. Darzue den muninch so die verganngen jar sovill pranndt gethan zu degradiern unnd verrer was recht ist mit ime zuhanndln lassen.

Verrer so bin ich in taglicher uebung nach bevelch ksl. Mt. ainen gotzagkher hie zu Wienn, in massn wie zu Ynsprugkh, aufzurichten, unnd damit vast zum ende fertig. Nun hat mir die r. ksl. Mt. zu mermallenn geschriebl unnd annzaigt, ir ksl. Mt. welle mir die indulgents, inmassen wie der gotzagkher zu Ynsprugkh versehen ist, auf den hieigen von der babstlichen heilighait erlangen unnd herschickhen, das dan bescheen ist innhalt des briefs so e. g. aus beyligunder copey vernemen wirt, das mir Jacobus de Bonissis zuegeschikht unnd von Rom khummen ist. Desselben rechtn originall wart ich von ksl. Mt. auch alletag zuhaben.

Dieweill ich sonnst mit aller hanndlung die nacheinander zu volpringen geschikht bin, bitte ich darauf e. g. als meinen g. herren welle mir zu fuerdrung der sachen der wull unnd indulgentz, damit der gotzagker zu Ynsprugkh begabt ist, ain vidimus, deßgleichn des erdtrich so man von dem gotzagker von Rom gen Ynsprugkh pracht hat in ainer puchsen oder scatl auf das pelldest herschikhen, damit ich nach bevelch ksl. Mt. den bestimbten gotzagkher durich die bischof unnd prelaten, so zu erhebung ksl. Mt. hochloblicher gedachtnus herkhumen weren, consecriern, und die indulgentz verkunden lassen möge, auch mir den act wie unnd in was gestallt man den gotzagker zu Insprugkh gewicht hatt abschreiben lassen auch sonnderlich herab verordnen, dann ich vier tag nacheinander schen sollennitet hallten will. Nemblich den ersten tag die consecracion und weichung des bischofs. Den anndern tag die erhebung des kaysers und sein bischofambt zu singen. Den dritten tag den gotzagker zu weichenn. Den vierten tag den munich degradieren lassen. Werden schoner actus vier der ksl. Mt. erhebung zu ern. Demnach bitt ich e. g. mich damit nicht zu saumen unnd von stundan herschikhen. Das will ich umb e. g. als dem ich mich hiemit thun bevelchen gernn unnd willig verdienen.

Geben zu Wienn den xx tag des monats Septembris anno tredecimo.

[Signature]

⁴⁶⁴Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor (1415–1493).

⁴⁶⁵Georg Slatkonja (1456–1522), bishop of Vienna from 1513, from 1514 also a member of the Lower Austrian Regiment. Cf. Starzer, 1897, 416.

A.19 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 21 September 1513

Vienna, 21 September 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 29-4-49, original in Saurer's own hand.

Genediger herr,

Eurer g. schreiben mir gethann betrefennt die Hungern das eurn genaden zuegeschriben sey als soltten sy mit zwayen hören in der ksl. Mt. erblannden fallen, wellen darauff mein vleissig erkunden zuhaben. Nun hab ich anverziechen allenthalben ausgeschickt und mich gruntlichen in den sachen erfragen, aber so vill ich auff heuttigen tag bericht bin, kann ich warlich nichts vornemen, gib im auch ganntz kainen gelauben. Ich hab herr Jann von Möseritsch auch geschriben und vertreulichen angezaigt, wiert mir nichts vorhalten. So mein bot widerkumbt auch anndern ennden da ich guet und gewiß kuntschaft zuhaben verhoff, will ichs euren g. an als verziechen zueschicken. Ich kann nit annderst gedenncken dan die rōden sein auss disen ursachen erwachsen, graff Petter von Posingen⁴⁶⁶ hat sich uber seiner brueder verschreibung nun etlich jar her wider recht unnderstannden von den burgern auss der Neustat und Brugk an der Lewda das neunt im lösen zu nemen auff seinen grunten darauff iere weingarten ligen. Das ist der neunt emer den zechennten mues man in zechennt geben, das den purgern von x emern nicht mer dan viii emer gepuren. Solhs in schwer und ganntz unleidenlich wer, darauff wier bissher bey kunigklicher wuerde zu Hungern vill gehandelt, auch ier wurde zu vilmallen geschriebe, solhs abzustenn aber bissher nicht beschehen, gewalttigklich genomen und [gesöchsnet]. Nun hiet man sich lanngst ainer gegenwer zuthain unnderstannden, das aber allain durch ksl. Mt. mercklich kriegssuebung damit ier Mt. die jar her beladen, unnderlasen, dieweill nun der annstannt mit den Turcken doch nicht lennger dann auff ain quottember angestellt worden ist, last sich bemelter graff mercken im werden leut ankumben und welle das neunt einnehmen. Nun haben wier auff heuttigen tag vor k. wurde in Hungern mit im ainen verhortag. Was da peschlossen wiert, will ich euren g. von stundan verkunden. Auss dennen reden möcht etwas vernomen sein, sunst kann ich warlich nichts verstenn. Versiech mich doch, ich hab auch guet kuntschaft gein Unngern. Graff Hanns auss dem Zybs⁴⁶⁷ und graf Petter practicieren miteinander, dann graff Petter mues etwas ansachen es ist sunst nit vill hinder im, die narung will sich nimer erstrecken. So pald mir meine poten kumben, will ich eurer g. gruntlich und lautter berichten. Docter Cuspian ist hie und nit zu Hungern ist aller erst kumben. Der schreibt euren g. hiemit auch, damit einer siecht das es nichts ist dann ksl. Mt. sachen das ich enntlich verhoff ganntz woll sten möchten. Wier e. g. mit sambt der ksl. Mt. nur ain mall hiehoben wer der hofnung wolten nutzlich und guet ding practicieren, damit dise lannd gegeneinander in ewig frid und rue gesetzt wurden und on sorg miteinander lebten. Es weren jetz guet weg vorhanden, annder leut feyern auch nicht wie euer g. alles pass dan ich anzaigen kann zu erwegen wisen, wier sein warlich aines gueten nachpauren an den ennden notturtig.

Genediger herr, euer g. schreibt mir allzeit die herren vom regement auch neuzaitung zuperichten. Wolt ich gern thain, aber der minder taill hie, muest vill potten

⁴⁶⁶Péter count Szentgyörgy és Bazini (d. 1517), influential courtier at the Hungarian court, voivode of Transylvania from 1498–1510 and royal court judge (judex curie regis) from 1500–1517. Cf. Neumann, 2019, 176.

⁴⁶⁷John Zápolya (1487–1540).

lonnen. Aber was mir euer g. geschriben hat und noch kunftigklich schreiben wiert, soll bey mir sunder zweifl woll bewart sein, dan Got wais das ich ksl. Mt. sachen gern guet sechen wolt, auch mein leib und guet daruber auffgen lasen biss in mein ennde, irer ksl. Mt. sunder arglist oder ainicherlay gedanncken noch meinem höchsten vermugen thienn. Ich bin der genedigen und vertrautten reden, so euer g. zu Augspurgk in euer g. camer mit mir gethann, woll inngedenck, wais auch dieselb bey mir woll zupehalten. Wan es dermasen gehandelt wurde, wer ksl. Mt. merckhlich nutz. Wolt Got, ich möcht ain klaine zeit bey euren g. sein, wöst euer g. vill gelegenhait zuperichten. In suma, es seindt nit alle mennschen der natur ksl. Mt. sachen zu peherzigen. In euer g. stet mein hoch und gross vertrauen, dann ich wais das e. g. ksl. Mt. sachen allenenthalben gern guot sechen, alles das ier gedenncken mugt mir muglich zuthain ist soll an mir nichts erwinden.

Ich dannck euren g. mit höchstem fleis der neuzeitung so mir euer g. zuegeschriben hat. Wills noch umb euer g. gern und willig wie mich euer g. wais verthienn. Bit auch euer g. mein nicht zuvergesen damit genedigklich versehen. Der almechtig wais was ich gern thain wolt damit ksl. Mt. sachen recht und nach geluck stundt so vill an mir gelegen ist. Damit will ich mich euren g. als meinem g. heren allzeit bevolhen haben.

Ich schick hiemit etlich prieff an der ksl. Mt. hoff, bitt euer g. dieselben zuferttigen verschaffen. Bedarft darinen furderlicher anntwurt.

Datum zu Wienn den xxi tag September 1513 jar.

[Signature]

A.20 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 26 September 1513

Innsbruck, 26 September 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 29-4-55, draft.

Annotation, most likely a probatio pennae: Sym sym symach.

Mein frundtlich diennst seien euch zuvor lieber^a viztumb.

Als ich euch jungst auf der post geschriben unnd anzeigt, wie die Sweitzer mit iren pauern auf Pisannz⁴⁶⁸ unnd furter von dannen [mitsamt] den 1^m grossen pferden unnd artellerey, so inen ksl. Mt. verordnet, auf den kunig von Frannckhreich unnd in das herzogthumb Burgunnden ziehen werden. Wie dann dieselben mannschafften, darauff ich mich hievor referirt, solchs weiter inngehallten haben, darauff fueg ich euch zu vernemmen, das den heren regennten hie unnd mir ain eillendt post von ksl. Mt. obristem haubtman unnd landtvogt im Elsass, hern Wilhelms hern zu Rappoltstein⁴⁶⁹, auch stathalltern von Lothringen des regimments von Ensisheim, desgleichen von hern Ulriches von Habsperg⁴⁷⁰ als dem so den Sweitzern von ksl. Mt. wegen auf iren zug zugeordennt gewesen zuekommen ist. ^bDieweil ich euch dann jungst zu Augspurg vill geheimer ksl. Mt. sachen als dem darzue euch aus sonnder vertrauen sey, anzeigt hab, demselben nach so schikh ich euch^b

⁴⁶⁸Besançon.

⁴⁶⁹Wilhelm von Rappoltstein (1468–1547), master of the household (Hofmeister) 1512–1519 and head of the Ensisheim Regiment from 1510–1519. Cf. Hollegger, 1983, 136, 269–270.

⁴⁷⁰Ulrich von Habsberg, captain of the four Waldstädte on the Upper Rhine.

^adeleted: frundt. ^{b-b} inserted.

derselben schrifftten hiemit lautter copeien, daraus ir vernemen werdet, wie die Sweitzer ainen friden mit dem kunig von Frannckreich gemaht haben. Ists gut, so kan ichs nit versteen. Mich wil aber bedunkhen die Sweitzer haben nit wol, sonder ubl fur ksl. Mt. auch derselben lanndt unnd leit gehandlt, wie ir dann bey euch selbst auch ermesen mugt. Daz hab ich euch [dannocht]^a aus obangezeigten vertrauen^a nicht wellen unangezeigt lassen mit beger, nach dem die sachen etwas gross und beswerlichen sein, ir wellet bemelten schrifftten nyemand weiter sehen oder heren lassen, sonnder in geheim hallten, dieweil sich dann die Sweitzer dermassen wancklmutig und ksl. Mt. und derselben landt und leit zuwider hallten, muess ir ksl. Mt. [dannocht] besehen und 1 weg furnehmen, wie sich ir ksl. Mt. auf ir der Sweitzer handlung halten welle, damit irer mt. lanndt und undertanen von inen nit beschedigt noch uberzogen werden.

Und gleich als ich dise post fertigen wellen, ist mir von euch ain post komen, auf diselb will ich euch noch heit und sonderlichn des Gotzackher halben auch furderlichen antwort und bescheid geben. Des wolt ich euch guter meynung nit verhallten.

Datum Insprugg 26 7tembris 1513.

A.21 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 1 October 1513

Vienna, 1 October 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 30-1-1, original in Saurer's own hand.

No external address.

Genediger herr, mein ganntz unngespart willig diennst sein euer genaden allzeit bevor.

Euer g. schreiben, mir gethann des dat. zu Ynnsprugk den xviii tag Septembris [A.17], hab ich hie denn xxi tag ditz monats emphanngen. Hiemit antwort und verrer was nott thuet.

Annfenncklichen vernomen, das euer g. genedigs gefallen tregt, das ich alle brieff an die ennde dahin sy gehen uberantwort hab. Euer g. bedarff kainen zweifl tragen was mir euer g. bevilht, es soll kain not haben, sunder mit fleis aufgericht werden. Wolt Got es thet alle menschen treulich und mit fleis was ksl. Mt. nutz beruert etc.

Betrefendndt die oxsen hatt euer genad nun guet beschaid in meinen geschriften vernomen, dan ich die sachen euer g. gar klar angezaigt hab, in hofnung e. g. werde genedigklich damit zufinden sein. Der vitzthumb in Krain hat mir nie kainen puechstaben geschriben. Wann er mich bezallen well, will des wechsel mit dem gelt schonn geschweigen, seiner bezallung halben het ich euren g. nicht vill oxsen geschickt. So mir euer g. hinfuer etwas zuthain bevelhen wurt, bit ich euer g. mich auff in nit zuverweisen etc. Ich welt gern gueten gelauben haben.

Den kaiserlichen pasbrieff hab ich von stundan eyllendt hinnach zu den oxsen geschickt, versiech mich er sey dem ausrichter zuekumben.

Weitter als ich euer g. vormallen geschriben hab des sallitter halben bis in vier hundert cennten zuschicken. Nun bin ich auss euer g. schreiben bericht, das mein g. herr von Gurck nicht in die bezallung bewilligen will, darauff euer g. begeren, das ich zway hundert cennten kauffen, bezallen und mit der fuer hinauff versechen, mich des von dem vitzthumamt widermalen bezallen. Wer ich willig wann ich

^{a-a} inserted.

mier die und annder bezallung darinen west, nichtstesterminder will ich die zwayhundert cennten darstrecken. So bezalt euer g. die annderen zwayhundert, denn zennten nit hoher dan umb sechs gulden und die fuer auff all vierhundert hinauff, damit euer g. und annder mein g. heren vom regement bey euer g. sechen das ich in nichte kainen fleis sparen well uber mein vermugen. Demnach so verr es e. g. also geliebt, lass mich euer g. auff der post eyllendt und anverziehen wisen, ich will euer g. den kauff lasen dan ich im lannd haben mag und den auss dem lanndt, so hoher ist, selbst bezallen, damit ksl. Mt. auch e. g. damit geholffen wert. An mir so vill muglich ist soll warlich nichts erwinden, wie mich ungezweifelt euer g. erkennndt. Sopald mir anntwurt kumbt, will ich den sallitter hinauff ferttigen, das geld erlegt mir hinder den Yphover, der wais mirs hie woll zuverornen. Den Schefman bezall euer g. oben, will in piss hinauff mitler zeit woll pringen. Es get nit jederman ksl. Mt. sachen zu hertzen, die zeit der bezallung versaumbt niemant aber zuhanndlen stet in seinem wert.

Euer g. hat mir die dax der cannczley hie auff ii^m gulden rh. daxiert, wiert mir bey viii^c gulden [die weniger zeit seint] die herren beieinannder. Bey dem Tettenhainer⁴⁷¹ ii^m gulden rh. wiert mir gar nichts. Bey dem vitztum⁴⁷² ob der Ennss iii^m wiert mir nit halbs. Nichtstesterminder will jederman bezalt sein, nuer ich soll die purt tragen. Nun kann ich ire auch nit verer dann ich mag und annder schwarer sachen vill mer damit ich euer g. nicht beladen will biss euer g. zu ksl. Mt. kumbt, aber nichtsdesterminder hab ichs euer g. als meinem genedigen vertrauten und lieben herren nicht verhalten wellen.

Das mein genediger herr von Gurck auff dem weg gein Rom ist hab ich gern vernomen. Verhoff sein g. werde mit unnseren heilligen vatter pabst so vill practeciern, das ain enntlicher frid aufgericht werde und wier von dem krieg kumben möchten. Bit euer g. mit allem höchsten underthenigen fleis, euer g. wolle mich mit den neuzeitungen allenthalben genedigklich versechen lasen. Hab Anndre Wisinger⁴⁷³ gepetten mein getreuer sollucitator zu sein. Ich wills mit aller gehorsam umb euer g. verthienn. Ich bin all stundt guetter neuzeitung von euren g. gewarttunt wie es umb die ksl. Mt. und den kunig von Enngelanndt stee.

Dann betrefennt die Unngern mag mir euer g. enntlich gelauben, das kain grunt dachinder ist, dan allain auff die mainung mit graff Petter von Pesing und seiner gesellschaft wie ich euer g. vormallen geschriben hab. Aber meinen getreuen fleis und guette kuntschaft will ich geprauchten was ich vernimb euer g. von stundan an als verziehen verkunnden. Sunst dieser zeit nichts besonders dann ich bevillh mich euren g. als meinem besonderen genedigen und gunstigen lieben herren wie dann mein vertrauen zu euren g. stet.

Dat. zu Wienn den ersten tag Octobris anno etc. dredecimo.

Ich bit euer g. mich meinen g. herren vom regement bey euren g. auch unnderthanigklich bevelhen etc.

[Signature]

A.22 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 3 October 1513

Innsbruck, 3 October 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 30-1-7, draft.

⁴⁷¹ Possibly Ägidius Tetteneheimer, toll collector at Engelhartszell and Linz.

⁴⁷² Georg Sigharter, vidame of Upper Austria from 1502–1519.

⁴⁷³ Andreas Wisinger, a scribe in the court chancellery.

Mein frundtlich diennst seien euch zuvor lieber vicktumb.

Ich hab euer schreiben dessen datum steet zu Wienn am xx^{ten} tag des negst verganngen monats Septembris [A.18] emphanngen unnd anfenngklichen daraus verstannden, wie ir mir in gueten kauff xl oxen gekaufft unnd auf mein schreiben, so ich euch derhalben gethann, [dem so ich dannoch geschikhten] uberanntwurt, solches eurs angekernten vleiss, den ir hierinn von meinen wegen gehabt, sag ich euch fleisigen dannckh und wil dasselbe zusampt der bezallung umb euch beschulden. Hab auch dabey ain rechnung und particular zetl, darauff ir mir anzeigt was die oxen gesteen und ir dem so sy treibt gegeben, emphanngen, unnd vernym unnder anderen aus berurten eurm schreiben, das Jorg von Egg, viktumb von Crain, euch die ii^c gulden rheinisch meinem anzeigen und schreiben nach noch nit erlegt hab und kain heller noch puechstab deshalb von ime zuekomen sey etc., das mir gantz misfellig ist und dishalben nit wol zufriden mit ime bin, dann er mir hie in seinem abschaid glaublichen unnd enntlichen zugesagt hat, euch auch solchs selbst zugeschriben, solch ii^c fl. zu schickhen. Dieweil ich aber es eurm schreiben wie obsteet verstee, das solchs [...] bescheen ist, demselben nach hab ich benannten viktumb ernstlich und treffentlichen widerumb geschriben, wo solch ii^c fl. durch in noch nit zu eurn hannen erlegt weren, daz er dann dieselben nochmallen furderlich und anverziehen erlegen soll, deshalb ich mich gennzlichen verseh, wo solchs bisher nit bescheen were, er werdt es nochmall gewislich tun. Wo er aber solchs nit tet, so wil ich euch solch ii^c gulden rheinisch eurm anzeigen nach mitsamt der ubermass darauff hinder Wendl Yphofer zu erlegen und damit nit verziehen. Versich mich auch die berurten oxen sollen numallen taglichen hie ankommen. Unnd als ir mir weiter anzeigt von wegen zwaier oxen die ir mir noch in den kauff uber die obberurt anzall zuschicket, denselben artigkel kan ich nit lautter versteen. Beger diselbe eurer underrichtung wie irs damit maint und ich aigentlich versteen sol. Verer so versich ich mich gentzlichen mein passbrief auf die oxen von ksl. Mt. sey euch worden, darzue auch daz ir herr Bartlmeen von Firmian die xii oxen auch kaufft und die lxx gulden rheinisch durch den wexl von Wendl Yphofer darauff emphanngen habt. Wellet mich berichten, wie vil daruber man zu ganzer bezallung berurter xii oxen noch sey. So soll euch diesselbe auch hinder den Yphofer furderlichen erlegt und entricht werden.

Und als ir mir in berurten eurm schreiben anzeigt, ir habt allerlay schreiben von mir empfangen und vernomen, darauff kainer verantwortung not sey etc., solchs lass ich bleiben.

Dann als ir mir weiter schreibt daz ir vier fesst und sollennitet halten wellet, nemlichen die consecration und weyhung des bischofs, die erhebung kaiser Fridrichs etc. hochloblicher gedechtnus, das bischoflich ambt zu singen, den gotzackher zu weihen und den munch so prent hat zu degradiren, das alles hab ich mit mererm inhalt vernomen und dessen sonder gut wolgefallen. Und fug euch darauff zu vernemmen, daz ich verstanden auf eur schreiben und begeren hie bey den burger der stat hab lassen fragen umb babstlicher heiligkeit bull, so sein heiligkeit von wegen des gotsacker hie gegeben hat. Und schikh euch demnach hiermit derselben bull ain lauttere copi desgleichen ain puxn vol mit ertrich zum berurtten gotzacker, so von Rom hieher bracht worden ist, desgleichen den act, wie man denselben in consecrirung des gotsacker hie gepraucht hat, alles lautter und clar und mangellt nichts in solchem act, dann allain was ain weichbischof deshalb tun soll, dasselb haben der pfarer und burger hie nit haben, auch bey inen oder anderen nit finden noch [...] kunnen. Aber der pfarer hie ist ain gelerter, verstenndiger man. Der hat mir auf mein ansuechen unnderichtung gegeben, daz ain yegklicher suffraganeus oder weichbischof wol wiss, wie er ainen gotsacker und ander dergleichen ding mer consecrieren und weyhen soll. Demnach zweiflt mir nit, der weihbischof zu Wien so ir zu dem

gebrauchn und haben werdt, sey desselben genugsamlichn bericht und weiss es. Wo aber sach wer, das der weichbischof zu Wien desselben nit wissen het wie er damit umbgeen und berurten gotzacker consecriren soll, wellet mich dass eilends auf der posterey wissen lassen. So wil ich alsdann von stundan den weichbischof gen Brixen hiebey solchs von im wie es sein sol in schrift erlangen und euch ferer auf berurter post furderlichen widerumben zusenden und wissen lassen. Dann wie ich etwas guts zu furdrung diser sachn tun kan oder mag, sol ksl. Mt. zu undertenigen gefallen und euch zu guten dinstlichen willen hierzu gantz nichts an mir erwinden. Es hat auch ain glaubwürdiger notarii die copeien berurter babstlicher heiligen brief und anzeigen wie ir sehet asentirt und mit aigner handt unterschriben daz diess dem rechten originall gleichlaut. Das hab ich eur guter maynung nit unangezeigt welln lassen.

Dat. Innsprug iii tag octobris a^o etc. xiii.

A.23 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 4 October 1513

Innsbruck, 4 October 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 30-1-10, draft.

Mein fruntlich diennst seien euch zuvor lieber vitztumb.

Ich hab eur schreiben des datum stet zu Wienn den xxi tag Septembris [A.19] yzo vergangen, so ir mir mit aigner hanndt getan, emphanngen, und auf mein schreiben, so ich euch hievor der Hungarn furnemmen halben gegen ksl. Mt. erblannde ^ain gehaim getan und^a zugesandt eur underricht daz ir anverziehn allenthalben ausgeschikht und euch gruntlichn in den sachen erfragt, auch daz ir dem herrn von Moseritsch geschriben und verer treulichn angezeigt eurs bedunkhens, wo er etwas von dem wiss euch dessen nit verhalten werde, und ander ende mer etc., auch von wem ir vermeint, das solh geschrey herkommen were, seins innhallts vernomen. Und gib demselben wie ir in eurm schreiben meldet, darauf ich mich [...] und referir genntzlichn glauben unnd will demnach der handlung auf yzigen tag wie dieselben zwischen graf Petern von Posingen und seinem prueder, auch den burgern zu der Newenstat und Prugg an der Leutta gehandelt und beslossen wirdet, von euch gewartenndt sein. Unnd wer nit pos sonnder es bedeucht mich guet sein, wo der henndel gutlichen hingelegt und vertragen werden mecht. Es will mir auch aus villerlay ersehen nit fur gut ansehen, daz man sich ytzmallt deshalb ainicher gegenweer gegen den Hungern gebrauchte oder in denselbig begeben wie ir dann solhs in eurm schreiben, und sonderlichen das ksl. Mt. diser zeit verr von disen landen ist, weislichen und gnugsamlichen anzeigt.

Nu hab ich solch maynung der Hungern furnemmen inmassen mir von Sigmunden von Ditrichstein, silbercamer, zugeschriben worden ist und ich euch, wie obstet, auch anzeigt hab, ksl. Mt. gleicherweiss zugeschriben unnd zuerkennen geben. Auf solchs hat ksl. Mt. mir widerumb anntwurt schreiben lassen, wie sein ksl. Mt. solch der Hungern furnemmen diser zeit kainen glauben gebe, als ich dann bey mir selbst auch gethan, inmassen ir aus meinem schreiben vernommen. Aber was ich euch zugeschriben, das hab ich im pessten und auf ain fursorg ksl. Mt. zu gutten getan und ander practica bey Venedig, Pollen und anndern [mier] besorgt wie dann vorig mein schreiben solhs weiter ingehallten, darauf ich mich referir.

Aber nichtdestmynnder so hat mir die ksl. Mt. ainen brief an bemelten heren Jhan von Meseritsch lauttend zugeschikht, den ich euch dann hiemit, zusambt ainer

^{a-a} inserted.

copi wie derselbe laut, zusennde, wie ir sehen unnd vernemen werdet. Bedunckht euch gelegenhait berurter sachen nach gut sein, daz man dem heren von Moseritsch berurten brief zuschikken soll, so wisst ir diss wol zutun, meint denselben zu verhallten doch so stell ich solchs zu eurm gutbedunnckhen und wolgefallen. Mich will aber noch zurzeit nit not sein bedunckhen, daz man im solchen brief uberantwortt, dann wo derselbe etwo weiter in ander hende kommen sollt, mecht diss ksl. Mt. nachtail geperen und bringen. Aber das ir sonst bey im und andern, wie ir in eurem schreiben meldet, gut kuntschaft habt, das lass ich mir wol gefallen. Wie ir [auch deshalb achten] darzue notturfftig oder zu swer sein wurd, disselben wollet auch berichten und wissen lassen. So will ich alzeit mein muglichen vlys darinn haben und ankeren und euch widerumb antwurten ^aund mein gutbedunckhen^a wissen lassen.

Verer doctor Johann Cuspinians brief hab ich auch emphanen und vill unnderrichtung seiner handlung die er bey k. wurde zu Hungern zu practiciren und aufzurichten gehebt, vernommen, wie ir dann disselben alles an zweifl von ime auch eigentlichen bericht worden seiet. Und wil im in kurz darauff widerumb antwort geben und dasselbe euch dabey auch schreiben. Und wie ir in gedachtem eurm schreiben anzeigt daz ir vermaint daz guet wer daz sich ksl. Mt. [...] disen landen [...] und furter gen Osterreich [tet] weret ir der hofnung vill nuzlicher und gueter ding zu practiren damit irer ksl. Mt. Niderosterreichische lande und die cron zu Hungern gegen einander in ewig frid und rue gesetzt wurden und an sorg miteinander lebten und ytzo guet weg verhanden were etc. wie dann eur schreiben solhs weiter inhalt. Solchs wie in eurm schreiben und hieoben angezeigt wirdet, bedeucht mich auch guet und nit unfruchtper sein und fall euch hierinn gentzlichn zue, das solchs irer ksl. Mt. derselben land und leut nuzlich, erlich und gut were. Aber ich gib euch dabey zuerkennen, daz solchs, daz ksl. Mt. bald hinab kumb, kan diser zeit nit wol sein und darumb so tuet mitler zeit allenthalben wie bisher das pesst und so ksl. Mt. sich disen landen oder dem reich widerumb nahend, als ich mich versich kurzlichen bescheen werde, alsdann wil ich allen ernsten und muglichen vleiss haben und ankeren, damit seine ksl. Mt. hinabkumb, dann es säch mich in alweg wie ir anzeigt auch fur guet an, das ksl. Mt. und der kunig von Hungern [...] zusammen kämen und ir landt und leut gegeneinander in ain gute verstentung auch frid, rue und ainigkeit stellten.

Dann als ir mir anzeigt ich schreib euch alzeit die hern vom regiment daniden der neuzeitungen so ich euch yezuezeiten zuschreib zu berichten, daz ir dass gern thun aber derselben der weniger taill in Wien sey und alwegen vil potenlon darauff haben muesst. Nu hab ich euch alwegen dabey geschriben und haimgestellt, was ir wellt und vermaint gut seyn, daz man inen anzaig, das sollt ir tun. Bedeucht euch aber etwas nit gut seye, so sollt ir diselben underwegen lassn. Derselben maynung bin ich noch, bedurfft kein potenlon sunders darauff ausgeben, daz ich pey mein vertrauen in solchem allein zu euch etc. ^bIr wist im wol recht zuthuen.^b

Ferer der redt halben, die ich jungst in Augspurg in der herberg^c mit euch getan hab bin ich noch wol ingedenkh und zweiflt mir gantz nit inmassen wie ich euch anzaigt hab und ir mir zuschreibt, also behalt irs und lass bey euch bleiben. Und mecht demselben nach wol leiden und wolt vasst gern daz wir ainmall beyeinander weren und von den und anderen sachen, wie dann die ksl. Mt. ytzmalen an vil orten wie ir wisst treffelichn obligen hat, disputirten.

Verer schikh ich euch hiemit etlich abschrifften neuer zeitungen sovil mir der [dero] ytzmall von ksl. Mt. hof und andern enden zukommen seien, die wellet

^{a-a} corrected from und beschaid. ^{b-b} marginal insert. ^c deleted: in einer kamer.

verlesen. Daraus werdet ir vernemen wie die engllischen der schotten bey x^m mann zu tod geslagen und derselben ain grosse treffliche anzall und sonderlichen von heren und adl gefanngen, auch der kunig von Schottland⁴⁷⁴ in aigner person auf der waldstat [furworden] und erschossen worden ist, auch wie ksl. Mt. und der kunig von Englland bisher mit der stat Dornegg⁴⁷⁵ gehandelt und dieselbe erobert haben. Und nachdem ich euch vor der Sweitzer handlung und fridens halb, dem sy^a [...] [bruch] gemacht, geschriben und copien zuschikht hab, darauff schikh ich euch hier denselben vertrag und ir werdt fur ksl. Mt. nit vil guts darauf versteen oder finden, und bedunkht mich die Sweitzer haben nit wol fur ksl. Mt. in disem fall gehandelt wie ir daz daraus wol versteen werdet. Denselben vertrag wellet in geheim hallten und sonst nyemants sehen lassen. Unnd es wirdet auf heut dato ain tag zu Zurich gehalten, darauff ist Schenk Cristof von Limpurg⁴⁷⁶, herr Hans von Landaw⁴⁷⁷, herr Ulrich von Habsperg und ander mer von ksl. Mt. wegen und handeln treffentlich mit den aidgenossen. Was ksl. Mt. und sy die aidgenossen uber solchen vertrag den sy mit Frannckreich gemacht haben furter wider Frannckreich hanndlen unnd tun wellen, was mir deshalb zuekumbt wil ich euch zu seiner zeit auch nit verhallten.

Der vicerex ist mit ksl. Mt. und seinem kriegsvolkh wider auszogen aber nit der maynung fur die stet zubegeren sonder ainen zug an das mer zu tun und alles das pennen, rauben, todschlagen und nemmen, was er begreifen und ankeren kan, und will sich dannach in kurz zum winter lager richten.

Was sich deshalb und anders mer begibt will ich euch alzeit berichten. Dis wolt ich euch nit unangezeigt lassen.

Dat. Insprug 4 Octobris 1513.

A.24 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 4 October 1513

Innsbruck, 4 October 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 30-1-11, fair copy.

Mein fruntlich diennst sein euch zuvor lieber vitzthumb.

Ir habt gut wissen waz ich euch von wegen des saliters halben geschriben, unnd sonnderlichen so hab ich euch jungst angetzaigt, daz mein gnediger herr von Gurgkh abgeschlagen hab, das gelt von der jungst bewilligten steur zubetzallung sechshundert centen saliters nit verfolgen zulassen, darauf die hern regenten hie ksl. Mt. widerumb geschriben unnd mit irer ksl. Mt. hanndlen lassen, darauf sein ksl. Mt. euch hiemit abermals schreibt von dem einkomen ires ksl. Mt. vitzthumbambt eurer verwesung zwayhundert cennten saliters zubetzalen, wie dann solchs derselb bevelch, deßgleichen der herren regennten schreiben so sy euch hiemit deßhalb thun, weiter außweist unnd ir aigenntlichen daraus vernemen werdet.

Zum anndern habt ir auch gut wissen, daz ich euch geschriben hab, daz die herren regennten hie von der camer auch ii^c cennten saliters betzallen wellen. Das alles wer vierhundert cennten, aber die bemelten herren regennten und camer hier sein yetzo an [gellt] mercklichen emplöst, deßhalb sy solch zweyhundert cennten saliters nit gleich bar betzalen kunden. Sy slahen euch aber etlich zall oder

⁴⁷⁴James IV of Scotland (1473–1513).

⁴⁷⁵Tournai.

⁴⁷⁶Christoph Schenk von Limburg (died c.1515).

⁴⁷⁷Hans von Landau (c.1450–1513), diplomat.

^adeleted: wider ksl. Mt.

termyn für, innhalt irs schreiben, auf welchen sy euch betzallung darumb thun wolten, wie ir dann solichs aus irem schreiben eigentlicher vernemt. Nun haben mich die gedachten herren regennten auch ersuecht unnd gebeten, daz ich euch dabey schreiben welle damit ir deßhalbten guten vleys habt unnd ankert. Demselben nach ist mein fleissig begern an euch, ir wellet hierinn daz pesst thun, wie ir dann noch bißher in anndern sachen auch getan habt und darinnen gutwillig halten und ertzaigen unnd die heren regennten mit berurtem salitter, angesehen daz solichs die mercklich notdurfft erfordert und euch zu mermallen angetzaigt worden ist, nit lassen, des sy sich dann on zweifl zu euch genntzlichen versehen. Aber sy, die hern regennten, haben ain beschwerung darin unnd ist die, daz sy vermainen, daz der cennten salliter umb die zehen guldin reinisch zu teur sey, unnd were demselben nach ir beger unnd maynung daz ir hanndlet, ob ir den [nahner] möchtet erlangen und zuwegen bringen. Darumb was ir euch hierinn entschleusst und thun wollet, desselben wollet mich auf der posst furderlichen berichten unnd wissen lassen, dann die herren regennten sehen gern, daz merbemelter salitter noch vor der winterzeit unnd kellen herauf käme.

Item die lanndtschafft des furstenthumbs Steir ist willens yetz auf Martini schristkomend etlicher irer mercklicher sachen halben unnd sonnderlichen ains tags halben gegen dem ertzbischof von Saltzburg⁴⁷⁸ ain bottschaft zu ksl. Mt. zuschicken, daz aber ksl. Mt. aus ettlichen beweglichen ursachen diser zeit aufsiebt. Demnach so schickh ich euch hiemit brief an Andreen von Spanngstain, verweser in Steyr, wie ir sehen lauttent mit beger, ir wellet ime dieselben bey ainem aigen poten furderlichen zusennden. So wirdet bemelter von Spanngstain daz pottenlon darumb außrichten und zallen und mir widerumb antwurt schreiben. So euch die zuekumbt, wellet mirs furter auf der posst auch zusennden.

Weiter ist mein beger an euch, daz ir mich berichten wellet, ob euch ksl. Mt. beschaid geben hab oder nit, wohin ir seiner ksl. Mt. die hausen und annders, so ir seiner mt. bestellt habt, schicken und damit hallten sollet, dann ich desselben gern wissen haben wollt. Daz will ich umb euch beschulden.

Dat. Innsprugk am iiii tag Octobris anno etc. xiii.

A.25 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 4 October 1513

Innsbruck, 4 October 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 30-1-12, draft.

Lieber freundt vitztum,

Die r. ksl. Mt. hat mir ein dreyling osterreichischen weins aus g. verordnet und deshalb einen bevelh auf eu verfertigt, den ich euch hier zuesende wie ir vernemen werdet. Bit ich euch gar freundlichen auf das sonder vertrauen so ich zu euch trag, ir wellet mich mit ainen guten dreiling weins versehen und den mit dem salitter so ir yetzo herauffertigen werdet oder sonst bey ainer gewissen fur hieher schicken und verordnen, bey den scheffleuten oder bey denen so ir zu solhem verordnen werdet daz solher wein am fuern nit verderbt werde, noch sy daraus tringen verwassert [...] wie ir gewonheit ist, damit mir der gut und gerecht herkomme, als ir das zu tun wol wisset und wo ir dehalben fur den wein und das furlon laut des geschäfts ein quittung wolt haben, wellet dieselben stellen und mir zuschickhen, will ich dieselben vertigen und euch ferrer zusennden.

⁴⁷⁸Leonhard, bishop of Salzburg (c.1442–1519).

Herr Hanns Gewman⁴⁷⁹, hochmaister zu Mulstat, hat mir ain vertröstung getan als er auf Augspurger reichtag zu Augspurg gewesen ist, daz er mir ain gueten hungrischen wein seins gewächs geben welle. Ist an eu mein vleissig bitt, ir wellet gedachten Gewman deshalben von meinen wegen mit dem beyligenden brief so im meiner diner ainer schreibt erinnern und wo er euch solhen wein geben wirdet, so wellet mir denselben mitsamt obgemelten dreyling herauf fertigen. Und habt der sachen gutten vleis, als mir zweifelt ir nit werdet. Das wil ich wider zubeschulden geflissen sein.

Dat. Innsprug am iiii tag Octobris a^o etc. xiii.

A.26 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 9 October 1513

Innsbruck, 9 October 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 30-1-29, fair copy.

Mein frundtlich diennst seyen euch zuvor lieber vitzthumb.

Ich hab eur schreiben des datum steet zu Wienn am ersten tag dits monats [A.21] emphanngen unnd anferngklichen daraus vernomen, das euch meine schreiben die ich euch hievor getan geantwortet worden seien unnd desselben sonnder guet gefallen.

Weiter als ir mir anzeigt, daz ich nit zweifel bedurff tragen, was ich euch bevell es soll kain not bey euch haben, sonnder mit fleiss aufgericht werden etc. Desselben hab ich sonnder guet gefallen von euch unnd wais woll was euch von mir oder anndern zukumbt, das ir dasselb mit gutem vleiss auch willigklichen und gern aufricht, dann ich hab euch solange zeit her von jugent auf erkennt, daz ir in allen allen [*sic*] euren sachen guetwillig und fleissig gewesen seit unnd derselb eur gueter will und fleiss hat euch in disen stannd unnd wesen pracht unnd erhebt. Unnd bin der hoffnung, ir werdet damit noch heher komen unnd erhebt werden, das ich euch dann woll gonnen, auch sovil in mir unnd muglichen ist euch darzue treulichen helffen unnd furdersam sein.

Betreffenndt die oxen hab ich eur schreiben mir derhalben getan emphanngen unnd euch darauff widerumb zuvor unnd ee mir berurt eur schreiben zukomen ist anntwurt geben unnd darinn etlich artickel in den ich irrung gehebt angezeigt unnd eurer unnderricht begert. Bin on zweifel dasselb sei euch numalls geantwortet worden unnd will also eurer ferrer anntwurt unnd underricht deshalben darauf erwarten unnd hab ab eurn angekten fleiss den ir damit gehebt sonnder guts gevallen und bin des kauffs unnd aller hanndlung wol zufriden. Unnd als ir mir anzeigt, daz euch der vitzthumb in Crain nie kain puechstaben geschriben hab wann er euch bezalen will, desselben bin ich ubl zufriden auf in, in ansehung das er mir solhs in seinem abschaid enttlichen zugesagt, desgleichen euch auch zugeschriben. Ich hab ime aber sider des negsten malls nachmalls ganntz ernstlichen widerumb geschriben solich gellt zuerlegen oder aber mich zuberichten was solhs thu, damit ich mich furter darinn gegen euch weiss zu hallten. Wo er euch nu berurt gellt nit erlegt, so will ich euch dasselb mitsamdt dem ausstanndt innhalt meins negsten schreiben unnd eurm anzeigen nach hannden Wenndel Ypphofer hie erlegen und damit nit verziehen. Wil euch auch furohin nymer auf gedachten vitzthumb, noch annder so die sach vertziehen, verweisen. Darumb habt mitlertzeit gedullt, so wil ich auch fleiss ankeren, damit ir an eurm glauben nit gehynndert werdet, dieweil

⁴⁷⁹Hans Geumann (c.1467–1533), grand master of the Order of Saint George.

ir mir die sachen mit berurten ochsen so treulichen und vleissigklichen gehandelt habt.

So hab ich guet gefallen, daz euch der passbrief von ksl. Mt. worden ist unnd ir denselben eillent hienach zu den ochssen geschickt habt unnd will dasselb mitsambt annderm umb euch beschulden

Des salliter halben habt ir in einem anndern schreiben [A.27] von mir beschaidt, dabey lass ichs bleiben.

Verrer als ir mir antzeigt ich hab euch die tax der canntzley daniden auf ii^m gulden rh. taxirt unnd euch bey viii^c worden seyen und die herren regennten die weniger zeit beyainannder, bey dem Tettenhaimer ii^m gulden rheinisch werde euch gar nichtz unnd bey dem vitzthumb ob der Enns iii^m gulden werde euch auch nit halber thail und nichtdestmynnder yederman betzallt sein will unnd ir die burd tragen musst etc. Wie dann des artickel weiter innhalt unnd eur beschwerung deßhalben antzaigt, darauff lass ich euch wissen, daz ich den stätten nach so ir mir jungst zu Augspurg angetzaigt unnd mit mir daraus geredt wol wais, daz ir mit den und anndern mercklichen und treffennlichen außgaben uber eur vermugen von ksl. Mt. und ander beladen und darumben nit verwißen noch versichert seit und daz ir merthuet dann eurer vermugen und dasselb wol etwaz bescherlichen ist unnd daz amt eur verwaltung nit alles ertregt. Aber sobaldt ksl. Mt. etwo wider zu lanndt käme und sich dem teutschen und obren lannden nahende oder an den Rein käm, versich ich mich baldt zu seiner ksl. Mt. zutziehen, alsdann wolt ich allen muglichen vleis haben unnd ankern, damit sein ksl. Mt. euch ein ordennlichen stat machen ließ, wie ir euch furter darinn hallten sollt, auch daz ir umb daz ubrig notdurfftigklichen verweisen unnd versichert wurd. Darumb habt mitler zeit deßhalben gedult, dann dieweil ksl. Mt. diser zeit so weit von lannd, ist meins bedunkens nichtz fruchtpars zuhandlen, dann waz ich euch zu furderung und guten handlen kan bey ksl. Mt., soll an mir nit erwynnen. Will auch danntzumall ksl. Mt. solichs notdurfftigklichen antzeigen.

Dann als ir antzaigt, daz ir gern hört daz mein herr von Gurgg gen Rom ziehe, derselb ist noch nit da, sonnder unnderwegen, wirdet aber meins bedunkens kurtzlichen dahin komen und den winter daßelbst bleiben. Waz er handlen und practiarn, desselben werdet ir on zweifl zu seiner zeit auch bericht.

Verrer als ir begert euch allenenthalben mit den neuentzeitungen zuversehen, dasselb hab ich noch bissher gethann, wils auch furohin mit gutem fleys gern thun unnd euch berichten, waz mir derselben zuekomen. Hab euch auch bey der negsten posst vill und allerlay derselben zugesandt, welchen ir on zweifl nunmalls emphanngen unnd vernomen habt. Darauf ich mich heunt referier. Und schickh euch demselben noch abermals neutzzeitungen, die mir seider der negsten posst zukemen sein wie ir vernemen werdet. Unnd solle euch genntzlichen versehen, waz mir von neutzzeitungen zukomen, daz ich euch derselben allzeit berichten will. Ain der Hungern halben hab ich [aus] negst und daz yetzig schreiben vernomen und daz nichtz an der sach ist, hab ich gern gehört. Doch so wellet darauf gedacht sein und gute kuntschafft haben wie ir dann zuthun wol wist und bißher gethan habt.

Den hern regennten hie hab ich euch innhalt eurs schreiben bevolhen, merckh nit annders dann daz sy gute willen zu euch traget. Daz alles hab ich euch nit wollen verhallten.

Dat. Innsprugg am viiii tag Octobris a^o etc. xiii.

A.27 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 9 October 1513

Innsbruck, 9 October 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 30-1-20, fair copy.

Mein frunntlich dinst sein euch zuvor lieber vitzthumb.

Eur schreiben, desselben datum steet zu Wienn am ersten tag ditz monnats [A.21] mir gethan, hab ich emphanngen und desselben innhalt vernomen. Unnd als ir mir unnder annderm schreibt von wegen des Saliters und antzeigt, daz ir eurm negsten schreiben nach biss in vierhundert cennten schicken wellet und aus meinem negsten schreiben ainen bericht worden seitt, daz mein herr von Gurgg nicht in die betzalung bewilligen und ich an euch begert, daz ir ii^c cennten kauffen, bezallen und mit der fuer hiher verschikhen unnd euch desselben von dem vitzthumbambt widerumben betzallen sollt, des ir zuthun willig weret wo ir annders die unnd annder betzallung darinnen westet. Doch nicht destmynnder wollet ir die ii^c cennten darstrecken und daz die herren regennten und von der camer hie, die anndern ii^c cennten ainen nit hoher dann umb sechs guldin unnd die fuer auf all iii^c centen herauf betzallen, damit die herren regennten und ich sehen, daz ir hierinn kain fleis sparren wellet uber euer vermugen und daz ir den kauff solichs salitter den herrn regennten hie lassen wellet. Wie ir in daniden im lanndt haben mugt und den so aus dem lanndt und hoher ist selbst bezallen wellet etc.

Wie dann solchs berurt aigenntlicher noch lenngs aussweist, darauf gib ich euch zuerkennen, daz ich den herren regennten hie solich eur schreiben unnd erbieten angetzaigt, die desselben mitsampt mir sonnder guets gevallens gehabt und tragen wellen, auch dasselbig mit gutem willen und fleis umb euch beschulden und verdiennen, in ansehung daz ksl. Mt., auch diser lanndtschafft, der graffschafft Tirol unnd regiment hie, nit klain daran gelegen ist. Unnd nemen darauf die herren vom regiment also die ii^c cennten, nemblichen yegklichen cennten umb vi gulden rheinisch und dartzue daz fuerlon von Wyenn herauf biss hieher gen Innsprugg auf all vierhundert cennten salliters zubetzalen, an, unnd umb die uberigen zweyhundert cennten salliters die ir aus dem vitzthumbambt eur verwalltung betzallen werdet, daz hat sein gestallt unnd auf solichs so schreiben euch die herren vom regiment und raitcamer hiemit wie ir sehen und vernemen werdet.

Unnd wiewol sy euch die betzallung der zweyhundert cennten auf Weihe-
nechten und Sanndt Jorigen tag negstkomend stellen, so bedenncken sy doch eur gutwilligkait darinn ir euch ertzaigt. Unnd wo euch dieselben termyn unnd zil zu lanng wern, so wollen sy sich mit derselben betzallung nach eurm gefallen guetwillig hallten unnd ertzaigen. Und darumben was ir desshalben darinnen leiden mugt, desselben wellet mich auf der posst widerumben berichten und wissen lassen, dann solche betzallung wirdet also innhalt eurs schreiben unnd begern zuhannden Wenn-
del Ypphofer hie bescheen. Verrer des fuerlones halben mugt ir euch genntzlichen darauf verlassen unnd den schifman vertrossten sobaldt er hieher kumbt, daz ime solhe betzallung vom salliter von stundan bescheen soll. Und wiewol in der herren regennten unnd von der raitcamer brief steet, daz sy solich fuerlon zu dem Ypphofer erlegen wellen, so ist doch darinnen geirrt und man wirdet dem fuerman, wie vor steet, solich fuerlon von stundan betzallen und enntrichten unnd daran kain mangl oder vertzug sein.

Unnd dem allen nach ist berurter herrn regennten und mein begern an euch, daz ir solich vierhundert cennten saliters von stundan aufgeben und mit der fuer angeen

lassen wellet, damit dieselben noch vor winter unnd der keltten hieher komen mochten. Des wellen sich die benanten herren vom regiment und ich genntzlichen zu euch versehen.

Dann der passbrief halben auf merbemelten saliter werdet ir desshalben in der herren regennten schreiben beschaid finden.

Die herren vom regiment unnd raitcamer hie haben mir auch weiter bevolhen, euch zu schreiben ob muglichen were, daz sy auf kunfftigen frueling noch ii oder iii^c cennten salliter den cennten umb vi gulden rheinisch haben mochten. So welten sy fleis haben und ankeren die betzallung desshalben darauf zu erlanngen und wellet mir desshalben mit der zeit auch anntwurt geben, ob ir denselben ankemen unnd zubestellen findet, und ir sollt sehen, daz die herren vom regiment und ich solh eur guetwilligkait erkennen und verdienen wollen. Daz hab ich euch nit wellen verhallten.

Datum Innsprugg am Sonntag den viiii tag Octobris a^o etc. im dreitzehennden.

A.28 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 15 October 1513

Vienna, 15 October 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 30-1-28, original in Saurer's own hand.

Marginal annotations, numbering each paragraph from A-Z and aa-ff.

Genediger herr, mein ganntz unngespart willig diennst sein euren genaden allzeit von mir bereit.

Eurer genaden vier schreiben seint mir auff der post zuekumben der dat. zu Ynnsprugk den verten und funften tag ditz monats October, darinen gelegenhait aller hanndelung vernomen. Hiemit anntwurt und verer was nott thuet, bit ich euer g. genedigklich zuvernemen.

Vonn erst [A.22] betrefennt den ochsenkauff, das euer g. ain genedigs gefallen darab tregt, bin ich sunderlich erfreudt, wolt iee gern mein pöst thain. Das aber euer g. nicht vernemen kann auss meinen vorgethannen schreiben der zwayer ubrigen ochsen halben, hat es die gestalt in der kaufsuma hat man zwenn ochsen aufgenommen die er uber den kauff darzue an alle pezallung geben soll, kumben euren g. vergebens, wie der metzker so sy hinauff getriben hat euer g. nunmallen ungezweifelt bericht. Do bin ich sunder zweifl euer g. hab Wenndl Yphover die lxi gulden rh. enntrichten lassen, aber von dem vizttum auss Krain noch nichts emphanngen oder geschriben auff was zeit ich doch die ii^c fl. haben möcht etc.

Den pasprieff hab ich von stundan hinnach geschickt, damit deshalben auch kain mangl erschein.

Dann von wögen des gotzackers hie zu Wienn hab ich die collatiniert copey der wullen, auch das erdrich, das woll wenig genueg ist zu ainem solhen grosen gotzacker, mitsamdt der ordenung zu der weich alles emphanngen und wais nichts das mir nun zu den vier vösten, die warlich schonn zu sechen werden als ich sy zuerichten will ab Got, dann das die wull des gotzackers also schlechtlichen vidimiert ist, dan das breve von pabstlicher heilligkait referiert sich auff ein gelaubwierdig vidimus. Nun mues man bemelt vidimus neben dem breve an stat der wullen umbtragen. Hat euer g. selbst zu ermesen, das dise copey darzue nicht thiennstlich ist. Demnach bit ich euer genad, durch den abt von Wilda⁴⁸⁰ und sein convent auff pergamen unnder sein und des convents insigl vidimieren lasen, dan es neben dem

⁴⁸⁰Leonhard Klinger, abbot of Wilten Abbey.

breve zu ewiger gedechtnus da ligen mues und mir dasselb mit naggster post hieher schicken, dan ich grose zeit hab zu den vesten wie oben vermelt ist publiciern zu lasen neben annderen indulgenntz. Demnach bit ich euer g. mich damit nicht zu versaumben. Ich möcht sunst den act nicht halten und annder zuerichtung mitsambt dem kosten verlaren, demnach mich euer g. woll zuversehen wissen. Ich mues es onverziechen haben.^a

In dem annderen euren g. schreiben [A.25] beruerennt ain vas guets weins hinauff zuschicken, bin ich auff ksl. Mt. bevelh und euer g. pegern willig zuthain, wiewoll der wein hie ganntz nichts geratten ist, auch sunst niemant weder auff provisen noch gescheft nichts zugeben vermag. Gedennckt kain man in dem lannd sölch verderben der wein, man schennckt sy hie umb vier und funff kreutzer. Euer g. kann ich nit lasen will mich woll und recht haltten mit dem sallitter hinauff pringen wie ich dan vormallen auch gethann hab.

Herr Hanns Gewman ist hie bey mir gewesen, dem ich euer g. brieff selbst uberantwurt hab. Dapey guetter procorator gewesen, das er mir zuegesagt hat euren genaden ain vass zu geben. So ich das scheff anziehen wiert, Will ich darnach hinaus schicken und hereinpringen lasen, kumbt es mit annderen dingen hinauff, damit euer g. meinen furgekerten fleis spuren und abnemen mug.

Weitter [A.24] schreibt mir euer g. und mein genedig herrnn von dem regement zu Ynnsprugk von wegen des sallitter, dapey ainen kaiserlichen bevelh das ich von dem einkumben des vitzthumbambts meiner verwesung zwaihundert cennnten mitsambt dem fuerlonn hinauff bezallen soll. Nun stet mein ausgab gegen dem emphanng wie euer g. selbst wisen tragen. Hab zu watten genueg, das ich mich hindurch reiss. Nichtstesterminder will ich die zwaihundert zennten hinauff verorrenn und noch zwayhundert auff die mainung wie ich euren g. und meinen genedigen herren von dem regement hiemit schreib, damit durch mich nichts versaumbt werde. Got wais das ich allenthalben gern mein pöst mit ganntzen treuen thain wolt, die zeit auff Sannd Jörgen tag ist mir zu lanng, helff euer g. auff weinachten, da ligt vill bezallung auff mier. Ich will ingeleich anziehen lasen den Leopolt von Assah, der vormallen auch all ding hinein gefuert hat, damit es vor wintter hinauff kumben möcht des ich sunder zweifl bin peschechen werde, darnach wais sich euer g. woll zurichten.

Die prieff an den verweser in Steyer Anndre von Spanngstain hab ich vonn stundan hinein geschickt mit ainem aigen potten damit sy gewislichen geantwurt werden.

Belanngent die hausen, wo ich der ksl. Mt. dieselben hinschicken wiert, hab ich noch kainen beschaid aber euer g. damit nit vergessen, auch euer g. unverkunt nit lasen. Ich schreib hiemit der ksl. Mt. umb ainen peschaid. Bit euer g. welle dieselben brieff fuderlich hinwegfertigen lasen etc.

Das viert euer genaden schreiben [A.23] betrefennt die unngrisch hanndlung, wie ich euren g. mit aigner hannt geschriben, hab mein fleissig aufsehen und kuntschaft zu haben, des euer g. ain genedigs gefallen trag. Nun schick ich euren genaden hiemit zwo copeyen von zwayen brieffen so mir von herrnn Jann von Messeritsch, auch herrnn Lasla von Tschorneho von der Treben⁴⁸¹ zuekumben sein. Pitt euer g. dieselben sunst niemant anzaigen dan sy sich baid woll in mich vertrauen. Darauss euer g. gelegenhait der sachen zuvernemen haben. Ich mues sy baid mit den pösten fuegen unnderhaltten, damit sy in dem vertrauen gegen mir peleiben

⁴⁸¹ Ladislav Černohorský z Boskovic (1455–1520). Cf. the scarce information in Palacký, 1867, 292; cf. also Hlobil and Petrů, 1999, 153–157.

^aadded by a different hand: Cito Cito.

auss ursachen euer g. wais das ich mit herrnn Jann von Meseritsch und denselben herrnn in der hanndlung bin. So hat herr Lasla ain annder partey, hertzog Käsko⁴⁸² und her Albrecht Renndl, die vermainen sy haben bey baiden kunigen Ungern und Pollen⁴⁸³ auch derselben lanntleut desgeleichen zu Pecham vill vertrauens. Wollen sich auch in die hanndlung schlachen der heytrat und gerhabschaft halben mit dem jungen kunig⁴⁸⁴ und kunigin⁴⁸⁵. Zwischen disen henndln ist meines bedunckens nott ain fleissig aufsechen zuhaben. Bin enntlich der hofnung mich allzeit gelegenhait der sachen zu erkunden, was mir zuekumbt euer g. zuperichten. Der ksl. Mt. pevelh an herr Jann von Messeritsch will ich im diser zeit nicht zueschicken. Er möcht wie e. g. schreibt in annder hennde kumben. Es ist auch on nott, diser zeit will warlich nichts versaumen und euren g. albeg zueschreiben. Mit graff Petter von Pösingen ist die hanndlung zwischen der von der Neustat und Prugk an der Leutta noch nit ertragen, seint noch zu offen. Sopald sy wider ankumen, will ich euer g. dieselb hanndlung zueschicken, dann alle sachen und reden sich darauss begeben haben, inmasen ich euren g. vormallen angezaigt, darauff ich mich hiemit refferier. Graf Petter hiet auch gern ain partey. Helt sich mit graff Hannsen auss dem Zibs, wer im etwas geb, dann er ist armb, des partey belib er. E. g. sey sunder zweifl so er gleich ainen gewalt mit den von der Neustat und Brugk anfang, will woll darvor sein, jetz kain gegenwer fuerzunemen. Ist dennacht nichts darann versaumbt, ksl. Mt. hat die spruch umb den fräfln und gewalt allzeit bevor. Wolt Got, das ksl. Mt. auch euer g. ainst herab komen zu gelegner zeit. Damit wurden die posen practicen all abgethan mit guetter verstenntnuss und ainigung. Gelaub mir euer g., solt der kinig abgeen, es wurt sich warlich vill zuetragen. Nun ist er stets kranck, trinckt vast, zupesorgen der schlag möcht in nochmals perueren. Das alles euer g. bass dann ich zupewegen wisen.

Ich bedannck mich auff das hochst des genedigen vertrauen so euer genad in mich setzt und gern wolt das ich bey euren genaden sein sold, der ksl. Mt. schweren henndln und sachen mit mir davon zu disputiern, wiewoll ich nit fast verstenndig bin. Jedoch wolt ich euren g. mein guetbeduncken anzaigen und nach gelegenhait der leuff die sachen pewegen, dann ich diser zeit mein fleissig aufmercken hab.

Genediger herr, ich dannck e. g. mit aller unnderthenigkait der neuzeitung so mir euer g. zuegeschickt hat, darinen befunden den gelucklichen sig, so der kunig von Enngelanndt wider den kunig von Schotten gehabt. Nun trag ich die fuersorg, ob der kunig von Enngelanndt gedacht nach disem sig das kunigreich Schotlannd zu erobern und mit seinem volck von ksl. Mt. abzuziehen, oder ob er sein hör bey ksl. Mt. lasen und selbst mit seiner personn zu dem anderen hör, so sein stathalter⁴⁸⁶ hat, zu ziehen fuernem. Solche baide meines bedunckens hoch zupewegen werden, damit ksl. Mt. nicht geferlichkait darauss erfolgt. Fuer das erst, solt der künig abziehen wurt Frannckreich nicht feiern. Solt dan das her bey ksl. Mt. beleiben und der kunig nit, wolt fuer mein personn nicht ratten, das sich ksl. Mt. in frembt hennde begeb, dan die practicen in manig weg zupedencken sein, was sich zuetruueg. Het sich der kunig von Enngelanndt guet zu enntschuldigen. Bit euer g. welle solh mein anzaigen inn g. aufnehmen, dann mein höchste sorg allain fuer der ksl. Mt. personn ist. Und sunderlich so die Schweiczzer also pestlich abgezogen sein, den vertrag hab ich gelösen, befind wenig guets fuer die ksl. Mt. darinen. Solhen vertrag hatt man getruckten hieher in die stat pracht. Wo er nur ausganngen ist,

⁴⁸² Possibly referring to Casimir II, duke of Cieszyn.

⁴⁸³ Sigismund I of Poland (1467–1548).

⁴⁸⁴ Louis II of Hungary (1506–1526).

⁴⁸⁵ Anne of Bohemia and Hungary (1503–1547).

⁴⁸⁶ This is most likely referring to the Earl of Surrey, Thomas Howard (1443–1524), See Head, 2004.

kann ich nit erfarnn. Ich will gern vernemen, was auff dem yetzigen tag zu Zurch von neuem gehandelt wiert. Es ist aber kain vertrauen darein zusetzen, dann sy bisher nicht vill gehalten haben etc.

Das der vicire mit dem kriegsfolck widerumben ausgezogen ist halt ich ganntz darfur er werde die wintter zerung erobern, wer am ersten nicht übell gehandelt. Wann man die stet nidergeprochen und das lannd geschlaipft het, die leut genomen auss den stöten, die reichen herabgeschickt, das lannd damit gestift.

Geleich als ich euren g. disen brieff geschriben het, kam mir abermallen ain post von euren g., darinen vier prieff der dat. zu Ynnsprugk denn viiii tag October [*letter unavailable*], annfenncklichen betrefennt euer g. dreiling, auch das vas von herrnn Hannsen Gewman. Hat euer g. hievor beschaid, soll dermassen aufgericht werden.

Mit dem probst von Klosterneuburg will ich von eurentwegen hanndlen. Margkgraff Ernnt hat im ain lötz hinder sein gelasen, das er in pillich in sein memory schreibt. Bin mein tag bey vill hanndlung gewesen, aber die sachen seint seltzam zu horn.

So verr die hausen vor der zeit, ee und das scheff geladen wiert, herkumben, will ich dem bevelh nach so mir e. g. gethann hat geloben und mit dem annderen hinauff verornen.

Die zwöspen seind noch nit von Merhen kumben, aber mein fleissig aufsehen zu haben und in allen obgemelten artickl guetten fleis geprauchen alles particular zueschicken, damit euer g. dasselb dem Yphover zuverornen wiss, wie euer g. pevelh vermag, auch mit dem knecht an dem scheff verschaffen sein fleisig aufsehen zu haben, damit kain schaden daran pescheh.

Ich dannck euren g., das mich euer g. mit ainer reichen wittfrau versehen will. Ich bedurft ier gleichwoll vill lieber reich dann armb. Ich hab ainen kosten, darnach will mich euer g. in allem guetten getrosten. Es hat noch woll sein zeit.

Betreffent den gotzacker hab ich euren g. auch hievor peschaid geschriben umb ain recht vidimus der bullen. Bit euer g. noch mir dieselb anverziechen zu schicken.^a

In dem anndern e. g. schreiben [*A.27*] von wegen des sallitter hab ich euren g. hievor auch beschaid zuegeschriben und will meiner g. herrnn von dem regement und euer g. schreiben gelöben, nur mit der zeit die ist mir zu lanng, last sy auff Sannt Thomans tag und Weinachten stöllen. Seind auch zwenn termin aber nit weid voneinander. Was ich erleiden möcht, wolt ich gern thain. Bedenncks euer g. selbst auff Weinachten das recht zill und dem Schefman seinen lonn so er hinauffkumbt wie e. g. auch der hernn vom regement schreiben vermag.

Des kamermaister⁴⁸⁷ schultprieff umb die xii^c gulden rh. wolle euer g. hinder Wenndln Yphoffer erlögen oder in annder wög zufriden stöllen, damit mir bemelter Yphoffer zueschreib der obangezaigen xii^c gulden rh. vergnuegt und mir pezallen well, alsdann hat es kain nott.

Mit pasprieffen biss gein Ennghartzzell wais ichs woll abzuverttigen und versehen darnach werden sy die annderen zu Ennglhartzzell woll finden.

Euer g. pegeren ob ich auff kunftigen frueling etwas von sallitter erlanngen möchte, euer g. zuperichten, will ich meinen muglichen fleiss geprauchen.

Verer in dem dritten euer g. schreiben [*A.26*] hab ich vernomen euer genaden genedigs gemuet, das mir euer gnaden erzaigt mir durch meines getreuen fleiss willen, in allen meinen hanndlung auch zu mereren und grosern ernn verholffen zu sein. Ich hab bissher all mein tag von jugennt auff von euren g. besunder genadt

⁴⁸⁷Ulrich Möringer (died c.1521), Kammermeister in Innsbruck.

^aadded by a different hand: Cito Cito.

gehabt, in hofnung dermasen zu halten damit die von mir nimer abgewennt werden, auch mit getreuen fleis umb euer g. verthienn. Euer g. mag sich auch enntlich zu mir versechen und getrosten, ksl. Mt. sachen woll erberlich und fruncklich wie ich das gegen Got dem almechtigen und ksl. Mt. zu verantworten wais ausrichten. Will mich in allen sachen euren g. als meinem g. herrn bevelchen.

Des gelts halben bey dem vitzthum in Krain hab ich euren g. hievor geschriben, das ich noch weder brieff noch gelt von im empfanngen, dapey lass ichs noch peleiben.

Belanngent das regement hab ich euren g. auss disen ursachen angezaigt, dan ich sy zu kunftiger quotttembris nicht bezallen mag und ob klagen über mich komen, damit euer g. das ain wisen trag. Wann man sold geb wie mann thiennt, so wurt sich etwo ainss solt nicht hoch lauffen. Herr Erhart von Polhaim ist mir auch veint das ich im gesagt hab, er nemb seinen sold und verthienn in doch nicht. Der wiert jetzt zu euren g. kumben, sich vielleicht auch peklagen. Nun kann ich nicht verer dan ich vermag. Wann aber bey dem regement wie bey euren g. gethiennt wirt, het ich meren fleis etwas fuerzustrecken. Kann selbst woll ermesen, das jetzt nichts bey ksl. Mt. in disen sachen auszurichten ist, dan all burden auff mich von annderen herumb zuladen wer mir schwer etc.

Der zug durch meinen genedigen herrnn von Gurck gein Rom hab ich auss disen ursachen gern vernomen, das ich verhoff sein genad werde mitsamdt dem babst dise wintterzeit ainen friden zwischen den kristenlichen kayser und kunigen tractieren, damit wier doch ain mall zu friden und rue komben, etwas neus anfahen möchten.

Zum lesten in dem vierten eurm schreiben [*letter unavailable*] vernomen von wegen meines schuldprieff so herr Pauls vom Liechtenstain von mir hat umb vierzechenhundert gulden rheinisch die ich im bezalt hab, das euer g. denselben zu hannden nemen will und mir zueschicken, bit ich euer nach wie vor will ich das totprieff dagegen hinauss anntwurten, dann schultprieff leben lanng wie euer g. wisen tragen, ain refers oder totprieff möcht verloren werden.

Sunst schreibt mir euer g. in dem selben prieff annderst nit dann neu zeittung. Derselben und aller annder neu zeittung sag ich euren g. unnderthanigen dannck. Ist mer dan zuvill, wais umb euer g. nicht zuverthienn. Damit bin und pleib ich euer g. williger und gehorsamer dienner, inmasen ich all mein tag gethann hab.

Dat. zu Wienn denn xv tag Octobris anno etc. dredecimo.

Bit euer g. diss mein lanng schreiben in genaden anzunemen. Hab euren g. all artickl verantworten muesen, daneben annder notturft auch.

[Signature]

A.29 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 15 October 1513

Innsbruck, 15 October 1513.

TLA / Maximiliana / 13.256, IX.57, fair copy.

Mein freuntlich diennst sein euch zuvor lieber vitzthumb.

Als ich euch bey der negstenn posst was mir datzumall vonwegen der slacht mit den venedigern zukommen gewesen zugeschickht, bin ich sonnder tzweifel solh mein schreiben sey euch numalen zukommen und ir habt dasselb seins inhallts vernommen. Nu ist aber der hern regenten hie unnd mir seiderher vonn ksl. Mt. obersten velthauptleuten und kriegsreth berurter schlacht halbenn ain rechter unnd lauter bericht zukhomen. Damit ir aber den gluckhlichenn sig unnd that, den die unnsern in solher slacht begeben unnd ergangen ist, aigenntlicher

und gruntlicher, auch wievil leut auff der walstat belibenn unnd den venedigern umbkhommen und gefangen worden sein, vernemmen mugt, demselben nach so schickh ich euch hiemit ainen außzug davon, wie ir sehenn unnd vernemmen werdet. Das hab ich euch auff obberurt mein schreibenn nit wellen verhalten unnd mugt solh neuzeitungen den hernn vom regiment daniden und andern euren gueten freunden, den ir vergont nach gestalt unnd gelegenhait ains yeden person wie euch gut bedunckht, anzeigen. Unnd Got der almechtig hat ksl. Mt. unnd seinen leuten die bey solher schlacht gewesen groß gnad gethan, dan wo solhe slacht verloren worden sein solt unnd die unnsere nidergelegen, so wär Bernn⁴⁸⁸ auch gewißlichenn auch verloren gewest unnd dis lannd hie dardurch ain grosse geferlichait, auch zu schaden unnd nachtail wie ir woll bedenckhenn kundt, khomen. Aber den obberurten geschichten unnd nach erobrunng diser slacht hoff ich zu Gott dem almechtigen, das unnsere gluckh unnd sig widerumb angeen und gegen unnsere veindten den venedigern ettwo vill gutt gehandelt unnd außgericht werde. Unnd versich mich genntzlichen, das mein g. herr vonn Gurgg, der vicere unnd ander ksl. Mt. veldhauptleut nuzumall beyainander seien unnd werden ratslagen unnd besliessenn, was weiter auf berurte handlung furzunemmen unnd zuthun sey. Dann man mueß nuzumal den leuten dhain rue lassenn, [unntz] daz man sy zu ainem gueten friden unnd rachtung bringt.

Gebenn zu Ynnsprugg am xv tag Octobris anno etc. xiii.

[Signature]

A.30 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, 23 October 1513

Innsbruck, 23 October 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 30-1-45, fair copy.

Mein frundtlich diennst sein euch zuvor lieber frundt vitztumb.

Ich hab eur schreiben mir gethann desselben datum steet zue Wien am funtzehernden tag dits monats [A.28] empfanngen und nach der lenngs vernomen, und wil euch demnach hiemit auff all artigel beschaidt unnd antwort geben.

Anfengklichen betreffend den ochsenkauff bedannckh ich mich eurs getreuen gutten vleiss den ir hierinn gehebt unnd will solhs umb euch zu verdienen geflissen sein. Darzue auch so will ich daz gellt, die ainundsechtzig gulden reinisch innhalt eurs schreiben von stundan hinnder Wenndel Yphofer hie erlegen. Ich hab auch eur unnderrichtung mir berurts ochsenkauff gethan notturfftigklichen vernomen und bin derselben woll zufriden.

Und als ir mir daneben anzaigt, daz ir noch zurzeit von Georgen von Egg, vitztumb in Crain, nichts nit emphanngen, weder gelt noch schrifft, das mich etwas hoch, seinem abschid nach den er von mir alhie genommen unnd ich euch zu mermallen in meinen schrifften hievor angezeigt, befrembdt unnd desselben nit klain beswerung, von deßwechen ich ime auch gar treffenlichen unnd ernstlichen schreiben hab, was mir gegen euch an der sachen gelegen sey. Unnd fug euch hierauff zuvernemen, daz mir nechsten spat auf solichs von ime antwurt zuekomen ist, der ich euch dann hiemit ain abschrift zusennde wie ir sehen unnd vernemen werdet. Daz er mir darinn lautter unnd klair anzeigt, wie er euch von Villacht aus solh zwayhundert gulden reinisch in wexl gen Wien gemacht, darauf ich ime auch von stundan ganntz ernstlichen widerumb geschrieben und angezaigt hab, wie euch

⁴⁸⁸ Verona.

bisher solhs noch nit worden sey, zusambt der beswerung die ir deshalbn habt unnd daz er solich zwayhundert guldin reinisch noch furderlichen zu eurn hann-den gen Wienn in wexl oder in ander wege erleg unnd euch derhalben zufriden stelle unnd damit nit vorziehe. Bin der zuversicht er werde solh gelt wo das noch nit beschehen were nachmalls furderlichen unnd onverzogenlichen erlegen.

Von wegen des paßbriefs, daz ir denselben damit deshalbn kain mangell erse-hen von stundan hinach geschickht, des hab ich ein guts gefallen.

Dann von wegen des gotsacker zu Wienn, daz ir die collationirt copey der babst-lichen bullen, auch daz ertrich daz wol wenig genug zu ainem solhen grossen gots-acker, mitsambt der ordnung der weich alles empfanngen unnd an nichts mangl habt, dann daz die bull des gotzacker also slechtigklichen vidimirt sey, dweil sich daz breve von babstlicher heiligkeit darauf referirt etc. wie dann das artickel in eurm schreiben weiter außweist, darauff gib ich euch zuerkennen, daz ich vermaint hab es soll unnder aines offen notarii hanndtzeichen unnd signet genug gewesen sein. Darzue so ist der abbt von Wilten desgleichen der abbt⁴⁸⁹ von Stams derselben zeit nit anheim, sonnder in iren sachen unnd wymat an der Etsch gewesen, deshalbn ich mit inen nit hanndlen mugen hab lassen. Aber so ich zwayerley aus eurm schreiben verstee, daz ir das vidimus wie obsteet unnd mer ertrichs haben muesst, darauf thu ich euch zu wissen, sobalt mir bemelt eur schreiben worden ist hab ich von stundan mit dem stattrat hie lassen hanndlen von wegen der berurten bull, damit dieselb vidimiert mocht werden, darinn sy sich dann gutwillich erzeigt. Als sy aber die bull gesuecht, hat ir burgemaister dieselb am negsten nit widerumb in ir behalltung oder gewalt gelegt, sonnder dieselb in seinem hauss gehebt unnd hat nyemannt gewisst wo oder an welchem ende. So ist er, der burgemaister, nit hie gewesen, sonnder ausgeritten unnd allererst freitags nachts spat mit den sluseln widerumben komen unnd die bulle herfurgeben. In der zeit ist bemelter abbt von Willtein auch anheim komen, darauff ich ime dann solich bull von stundan zu vidimieren zugeschickt hab unnd ist derselb abbt mit seinem convent solch bull zu vidimieren ganntz willig gewest unnd hab demselben nach gestern sambstags die bull schreiben lassen und anheut dau [*sic; for dato*] versiglen, die ich euch dann hiemit wie ir sehen werdet zusennde.⁴⁹⁰ Unnd versich mich genntzlichen, daz derselben also genug sey unnd hab im anfang unnd eingang darein stellen lassen, daz ir solhs durch Wilhelmen Butschen⁴⁹¹, secretarien, bey gedachtem abbt von Wiltein, ersuchen habt lassen.

Dann des ertrichs halben hab ich auch mit fleiss bey den von Innsprugg hanndlen lassen unnd schickh euch demnach hiemit sovil ertrichs, sovil sy desselben noch gehebt haben. Mer hab ich nit kunden erlangen bey inen zuwegen bringen oder finden, dann es ist kains mer verhanden gewesen. Darumb nembt mit dem vor guet, dann wo desselben mer da gewesen wer, euch auf mein ersuechen unnd begern unversagt gewesen unnd die von Innsprugg in massen wie obstat haben sich in dem allen ganntz guetwilliglich gehallten unnd erzeigt. Unnd bedunckht mich demnach ir mugt numalls mit obemelttem gotzackher wol furfaren, dann alles so ich zu solchem guts tun kund unnd fordern mocht desselben wie ich zuthun geneigt unnd guetwillig.

Berurennd den dreyling weins so mir ksl. Mt. bey euch laut seiner mt. bevelh verordennt hat unnd ir mir daneben anzeigt wie der wein heur ditz jar in Osterreich ubel geraten unnd teur sey etc. Doch unangesehen desselben, so wellet ir mich

⁴⁸⁹Christian Bedrot (d. 1524), abbot of Stams Abbey.

⁴⁹⁰The charter from 20 October 1513 today lies in the Archive of the Archdiocese of Vienna and is available online, signature: [15131020](#). Cf. also Zajic, [2017a](#).

⁴⁹¹Wilhelm Putsch (c.1480–1551), imperial secretary. For his legacy as proto-archivist see Head, [2019](#), 160–174.

damit recht und woll hallten unnd mit dem selben hirauf schicken. Solhes eurs gutwilligen erbietens sag ich euch fleissigen tanngkh und hab nie kainen zweifel gesetzt, sonnder hab mich altzeit alles gueten zu euch versehen. Unnd ist demnach mein begert an euch, ir wellet mir solhen dreyling weins mit dem saliter innhalten eurs schreiben herauff verordnen unnd schicken unnd guets versehung tun, damit mir derselb inmassen ich euch vorgeschriben hab wol verwaret hieher kum. Willet mich auch berichten, wie ich euch darumb quittiren soll, so will ich euch dieselb quittann fertigen unnd furter zuschicken.

Lass euch wissen, daz der wein an der Etsch auch nit allenthalben woll geraten hatt, dann allain gegen ist mit allem fleiss, hanndlen unnd practiciren will ists muglichen unnd ir mt. zeit haben mag hoff ich es soll bescheen, dann ich will irer mt. vill gueter gegründten ursachen anzeigen unnd dardurch understeen ob ich ir mt. hinab zu ziehen bewegen mocht unnd was mir in dem begegnet. Daz will ich euch zu seiner zeit nit verhallten unnd willet demnach mitler zeit die heren von Moseritsch, Tschernaher unnd annder so ksl. Mt. perthey sein inmassen wie obstet wie ir dann woll zuthun wisst mit den pessten fugen unnderhallten, darab mir auch ganntz nit zweifelt. Unnd ir hab weislichen tan, daz ir heren Jhann von Moseritsch seinen brief nit geschickht habt unnd ist mein guttbeduncken, daz ir denselben bis auff weitem bevelh oder beschaid verhalltet.

Dann von wegen graf Peters von Posingen acht ich darfur wie ir anzeigt, wer im gelt gab derselben parthey wer er. Aber ir mugt ine dannocht als vil als euch gutbedunckht und muglichen ist unnderhallten aber doch dennoch die anndern gueten partheyen damit nit ertzurnen, dann mich bedunckht noch zurzeit, das kain rechter grunt auf in zu setzen sey unnd mugen die irthumben zwischen ime unnd denen burgern von der Newnstatt unnd Prugg ander Leyta ksl. Mt. on schaden unnd nachtail hinglegt werden, so hatt es woll sein gestalt. Wo aber dasselb ye nit sein mocht, so acht ich doch darfur, graf Peter werde kain gewallt nit furnehmen. Wo es aber ye geschach oder sich darzue begeben wollt, alsdann wellet alles ain mitler hanndlen, damit dasselb abgestellt unnd furkumen werde. Dann ich acht ganntzlichen darfur, daz wir yetzo kains kriegs mer notturfftig sein. Ich beweg auch enndern dieweil k. wurde von Hungern, wie ir mir in eurm schreiben anzaigt, nit vasst starckh ist, ye ee dann ksl. Mt. hinab gen Osterreich zuegt unnd die sachen wie obleut furneme, ye pesser unnd nutz bedeucht mich dasselb seien. Ich wills auch ksl. Mt. gnugsamlichen furter anzaigen unnd darumb was mir in den sachen allen begegnet, desselben will ich euch berichten. Hinwiderumb ist mein begert an euch daz ir dasselb gegen mir auch thun wellet.

Weiter als ir euch gegen mir bedanckht der neuzeitungen so ich euch zugeschickt unnd darinn den glucklichen sig erfunden, so der kunig von Enngelland wider den kunig von Schottlannd gehabt etc. unnd dabey etlich weg unnd ursachen warumb ksl. Mt. sich solhen hanndlungen nach mit nichte mit ir mt. personn in gevarlichait stellen unnd anndere frembde hennde begeben soll, wie dann euer schreiben solhs weiter ausweist: Darauff fueg ich euch zuvernemen, daz ich euch jungst hab anzaigt, wie ksl. Mt. unnd der kunig von Enngelland von ainander abgescheiden seien, wie aber dieselb abschidt ist, dass weiss ich nicht unnd der kunig von Enngelland ist noch nit haim. Aber als vil mir geschriben unnd antzaigt wirdet, so ist er noch willenns vor disem wynnter anheim zutziehen. Doch so will er ainen grossen zusatz in der stattor [fuegg] lassen, wie oder waz gestallt kann ich auch noch zurtzeit nit wissen unnd ob der kunig von Frannckhreich desselben zufriden unnd ine disen winter ruen lassen wirdet. Mich bedunckht auch selbst nit guet sein, daz bemelter kunig von Enngellandt heim ziehe, dann nach meiner

opinion unnd gedenncken so stet ksl. Mt. hertzog Karlen⁴⁹² und den Niderlannden vil geferlichait darauf. Aber ksl. Mt. wirdet on zweifl die hohen wol bedenncken. Unnd bedunckht mich, Schottlanndt bring den kunig von Enngellannndt vasst haim unnd wegen die grossten ursachen sachn, aber daz darumb gut oder zu thun sey, daz sich ksl. Mt. in annder frembde henndt unnd geferlicheit begeben, bedunckt mich auch nit vasst retlich sein unnd ist nymer gut, unnd ir ksl. Mt. bedarff unnd soll sich hierinn wol bedenncken, daz an irer ksl. Mt. person am maisten gelegen ist.

Ich siech wol kainen rechten grunt bey den sweitzern, sonder es steet noch alles zum gluckh bey inen unnd wie ir in ainem anndern meinem schreiben hieneben vernemen werdet, so wirdet man auf dem kunftigen tag, so auf Symonis unnd Juda nechst zu Zurich gehalten werden soll, sehen unnd vernemen waz ir wil und gemuet weiter sey. Dann mich bedunckt, sy muessen sych yetzo auf ainan oder den anndern weg declariren unnd was der besluss desselben tags sein wirdet, den will ich euch auch nit verhallten sonnder anzaigen unnd wissen lassen.

Unnd als ir mir antzeigt, daz der Sweitzer tractat den sy mit Frannckhreich vor Disyon gemacht unnd beschlossen haben, getruckt zu Wyenn verkaufft sey werden, dasselb ist nit guet. Wann man wisst wer solhs than het, glaub ich ksl. Mt. wurd den oder dieselben so daran schuldig unnd ursacher sein ungestrafft nit lassen, dann es beschicht irer ksl. Mt. zu kainen guten unnd klainen eren.

Der vicere von Neapels hat sich ganntz wol gehalten wie ir dann aus den neuzzeitungen vor unnd yetzo hiebey vernemen werdet unnd sein er, der von Gurgk, Triennt unnd annder wie ir aus ainem annderm schreiben von mir [A.29] versteet beyainannder gewest unnd haben ainen abschid gemacht, waz weiter wider die veindt die venediger furtzunemen sey. Derselb abschaid ist nur noch nit zukomen, bin sein aber all stundt gewartenndt. So ich denselben hab, will ich euch desselben auch von stundan berichten unnd verhoff genntzlichen, der vicere werd sich recht und gar woll hallten.

Dann als ir mir verrer schreibt als ir obberurten brief fertigen habt wellen, sey euch aber ain schreiben von mir zuekomen von wegen des dreyling weins unnd des weins bey herrn Hannsen Geyman von deswegen, habt ir hievor in zwayen artickln beschaidt unnd antwurt. Dabey lass ichs beleiben.

Unnd als ir mir weiter antzaigt, daz ir von meintwegen umb den wein bey dem brobst von Closterneuburg hanndlen wollet unnd daz marggraf Ernst im ain letz hinder sein gelassen hab, bedannckh ich auch eurs gutwilligen erbittens, daz ir mit dem brobst von meintwegen umb den wein hanndlen wellet unnd sover ir ainen erlanngt von im, wellet mir den zusambt dem anndern wein und saliter wiewor begriffen ist herauf schicken unnd darinn auch gute fursehung thun, darob mir dann ganntz nit zweiflt. Unnd so ich mit der zeit zu euch kumb, will ich dannocht gern hörn, waz bemelter marggraf Ernst demselben brobst zu letz lassen hab.

Verrer zaigt ir mir an, sover hausen vor der zeit ee und daz scheff geladen wirdt gen Wienn komen, daz ir mir meinem begern nach dieselbe herauf verordnen wollet: Daz gefallt mir wol, sover irs yetzo haben und schicken mugt. Wo aber solhs diser zeit nit sein kundt, so wellet dasselb thun wann es zeit unnd euch muglichen ist.

Das die zwespen von Merhern noch nit komen und ir eurer fleissig aufsehen darauf haben unnd nur dieselben unnd anders alles aigentlichen inhaltt meins schreibens zuschicken wollet etc. des trag ich sonnder gefallen gegen euch unnd ist darauff mein beger, waz ir mir allwegen und zu ainer jeden zeit bestellt und kaufft, daz ir mir dasselb allzeit zuschreibt waz gestee unnd antzaigt, so will ich

⁴⁹² Archduke Charles (1500–1558).

euch meinem nesgten schreiben nach allwegen in zehen oder zwelff tagen daz gelt hinder Wenndl Ypphofer erlegen unnd geben und bedannckh mich abermalls eurs guten vleis den ir damit haben unnd ankeren wollet.

Weiter als ir euch bedannckt, daz ich euch mit ainer reichen wittibfrau versehen welle, darauf will ich euch mit der zeit antzeigen wer dieselb wittib ist. Dann ich kan wol gedenncken, daz ir nur ain reiche wittib, doch die nit zu allt sey, haben muesst.

Dann von wegen des gotzackers, saliter, des camermaister schuldtbrief umb die ii^c gulden reinisch hinder Wenndl Yphofer zu erlegen, und passbrief halben, darvon ir widerumb in eurm schreiben meldung gethan, darauf habt ir hiefor anntwurt unnd beschaidt.

Des saliters halben so ir auf kunfftigen fruling erlanngen und bestellen sollet, wollet deßhalben auch allen muglichen unnd ernnstlichen fleiss haben und ankern, ob ir noch mer solichs salitter kundt oder mocht erlanngen. Dann warlichen bey disen leuffen und auf ain kunfftige not were man desselben ganntz notdurfftig, und mich desshalben mit der zeit wann es fug hat anntwurt wissen.

Verrer so habt ir in ainem sonndern brief von mir [A.26] verstannden mein guts gemut unnd vertrauen so ich zu euch trag unnd daz ich euch umb eurs getreuen fleiss willen in allen eurn hanndlungen zu noch merrern und grossern eren verhelffen sein welle etc. Solichen Artickl hab ich euch wie oben stet zugeschriben. Dabey lass ichs beleiben unnd wais woll, daz ir all sachen fleissigklichen, treulichen unnd ganntz gut maint und darumb so bedarffs nit weiter schreibens davon. Ich hab euch jungst zu Augspurg in eurm abschaid mein maynung antzaigt, dabey lass ichs beleiben und soll darauf besteen. Und sollt euch auch genntzlichen zu mir versehen. Wo ich euch in allem dem, daz euch zu ere, nutz und aufnehmen raichet, gediennen kan, daz ich dasselb mit getreuem willen unnd gern thun will.

Von wegen des gelts bey dem vitzthumb in Crain habt ir vor in ainem artickl beschaidt unnd anntwurt.

Belanggend daz regiment dasselb lass ich auch bey eurm schreiben beleiben und ob klagen über euch kämen, so will ich eurs schreibens inngedennkh sein. Unnd dartzue bedunnckht mich, daz wol not tet in solhen grossen wesen guete ordnung zu hallten unnd daz die personen des regiments allzeit beyainander weren.

Des von Gurgs zug gen Rom daz ir denselben gern gehört habt unnd auß den ursachen daz ir verhofft, sein gnad werde mit dem babst disen wyntter ainen friden zwischen dem cristenlichen kayser und kunigen tractiren etc. dasselb were gemainer cristenhait gut wo es umb unnd umb fridt wurd. Ich siech aber noch nicht vasst dergleichen, daz es sich darzue schicken welle.

Von wegen des schuldbriefs so herr Pauls von Liechtennstain seliger gedechnus umb xiiii^c gulden von euch hatt etc. Solher schuldtbrief soll euch gewisslichen werden. Und hett euch denselben gern bey diser posst geschickht, so ist der jung her Cristoff Philips von Liechtennstain⁴⁹³ nit hie, der dann auch ainen slussel zu der truhen hat darinn berurter schuldt unnd annder brief ligen. Aber er wirdet innerhalb funf oder sechs tagen hieher komen, alssdann will ich denselben suchen und euch furderlichen zuschicken. Dann es bedeucht mich billich, daz man euch solhen euern schuldtbrief widerumb zuhandden stell unnd gebe. Darinn ich auch guten fleiss haben will.

Und als ir euch bedannckt der neutzeitungen so ich euch geschickt hab, sollt ir sonnder zweifl sein waz dero an mich gelanngen und mir wissen sein, daz ich euch derselben nit verhallten will, sonder allzeit antzaigen.

⁴⁹³Christof Philipp von Liechtenstein und Kastelkorn, son of Paul von Liechtenstein.

Dann als ir mich bitt, eur lanng schreibens gutem anzunemen, dann ir mir all artikl verantwortten habt müssen. Dasselb hat kain not nit, sonnder bedannckh mich solhs eurs schreiben. Unnd wann es noch lennger gewesen were, so welt ichs auch gelesen haben, dann ich kan wol erkennen unnd wais daz solichs sein muss und die notdurfft erfordert. Daz alles hab ich euch nit wellen verhallten noch unangetzaigt lassen. Damit all zeit waz euch lieb sey.

Dat. Innsprugg am Sonntag den xviii tag Octobris anno etc. xiii^o.

A.31 Zyprian von Serntein to Lorenz Saurer, October 1513

Innsbruck, October 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 30-1-45, fragment of a draft.

[beginning is missing] Dem welhischen lannde daselbst ist vasst vill [...] worden.

Verer als ir hern Hannsen Geyman meinen brief selbst zu Wien geantwortet habt und gueter procurator gewesen, daz er euch zugesagt, mir ain vas mit wein zugeben und ir dasselbe zu euren handen [furn] und bringen lassen und bericht den anderen wein wie vorstet auch herauff schikhen wellet, bedanckh ich mich abermalls eurs guten ankerten fleiss den ir hierzu gehabt und will solhs und anders umb euch willig beschulden.

Betreffend den saliter hab ich den herrn vom regiment und raitcamer hie eur schreiben geantwortet, auch inen dabey anzeigt, was ir in demselben geschriben habt und kan euch in warhait schreiben, das die yzgemellten herren eurs gutwilligen erpitens und fleiss sonder guets gefallen haben. Und sollt warlichn darfur achten und glauben, kunden oder wisten sy euch auch hinwiderumb zu dienen, sy werden dasselbe mit geneigtem guten willen [gerathen], dann sy kunden eur gutten und grossen fleiss, den ir in diser sachen gethan habt wol bedenken und ingedenkh sein.

Dann von wegen zil und zeit der zallung berurten saliters habe ich den berurten herren regenten eur beswerung anzeigt, die dann solchen [...] und zeit mit der bezallung auf weihenneckten negstkunfftig gestellt haben und wirdet hernach der camermaister hie, Ulrich Meringer, sein obligation wie irs begert von stundan hinder Wendl Yphofer erlegen, auch so die zeit kumbt das geltt dagegen bezallen. Und ist demnach not, das ir ain quittung herauffschikhet, das ir solch geltt erstbenanten Meringer emphanen, dann er diselbe unser raittung wie ir zubedenken habt legen muss. Und bedurfft kain zweifl nit haben, die bezallung wirdet gewislichen auff [obestimbte] zeit beschen und daran kain mangl.

Item des furlons halben dis wirdet [dem] schifman alsbalt er mit berurtem saliter herkumbt vonstundan und [ungewaigerten] bezallt, wie ir dann solches alles aus der [hierligenden] schreiben [hierneben] vernemet. Und bit euch demselben nach mit allem vleiss zuerfugen, damit solher saliter furderlichen herauff kem, ee und die [gefriesst] und kellen anget. Ich will auch ksl. Mt. euren guten, willigen vleiss, den ir des salliters halben gehabt, anzeigen. Bin ungezweiflt seine Mt. werde desselben ain gnedigs gefallen haben.

Verer habe ich vernomen daz ir Andreen von Spangstein, verweser in Steyr, seine brief inmassen ich euch geschriben bey ainem aigen poten zugeschickt, desselben hab ich auch gut gefallen.

Belangend die hausen, das ir mein damit nit vergessen auch unverkunt nit lassen wohin ir ksl. Mt. die [...] schikhen werdet mich desselben mich berichten wellet, als hab ich [...] guts gefallen und ist mein begert das ir fleis ankert ob ir [...]

bey berurtten schiff heraufffuren mecht. Hab ich ksl. Mt. eur briefe inhalt des artigkls furderlichen zugeschikht. Versich mich es werde euch furderlichn bescheid darauff zukommen.

Dann vonwegen der hungerischen handlung etc. hab ich denselben artigkl merer seins inhaltls verstanden und dabey zwo copien wie euch die herren von Meseritsch und Tschernahor geschriben, emphanen, und daraus die gelegenhaiten vernommen. Und bedunckht mich ir handlt in diser sach gantz wislichen, damit ir dieselben zwen heren bey guten willen behallt. Darin wellet solhen also behalten und disselben [...] mit allem fleys so euch zutun muglichen und zimlichen ist und sy mit gutem willen underhalten, dann mich bedunckht das sy baid ainen guten grunt haben und ksl. Mt. sachen gern gut sehen.

So verstee ich auch das herzog Kaschko und herr Albrecht Rendl auch ain sonnder practiken haben und sich auch gern in dise hendl slagen, der heyrat und gerhabschafft halben. Dan ist wol zubedenken, daz ksl. Mt. sich mit den sachen weislichen hallten soll und bedunckht mich mag auch nit [...] schreiben das ich nit pass verstee, dann das ksl. Mt. [rechts nutzens] oder pessern kunde tun, dann daz dis ir mt. in aigner person ain zug gen Osterrich tet und alles das so biss der heyrat halben und gerhabschafft wegen gehandelt ist, volschtreckhet, auch ain rechts gruntlichs und glaubwirdigs verstecken mit Hungern, Bolhann und Pechaim machet und die landt dermassen gegeneinander in frid, rue und einigkeit stellet, damit ain rechts guts vertrauen, ain bestendiger friden und wesen yzo und kunfftigen furgenommen und beslossen werde. Und an dem allen zweifelt mir nit es were zu erlangen wis welt ksl. Mt. nutzers oder pessers fur ir mt. auch derselben enichl und ir landt und leut thun dann disselben es werde auch irer mt. und derselben [...] auch ir land und leut alsdann aller sorgfelligkeit entledigt und damit abgestellt und ainen grossen trost bringen dann ir werd sonst sehen, das durch dise und dergleichen practica so yzwer [...] nichts fruchtpers auszurichten. Es wirdet auch kain rechter grunt und vertrauen nit da sein und die widerwertigen partheien die werden fur und fur handeln und darinn nit feyrn und wirdet seine ksl. Mt. nit wissen worin sein Mt. ist und ye lenger dise sachen aufzogen und angehengt werden, ye poser wirt es, wie ir dann dis alles wol ferer wisst zubetrachten. Nu ist [...] der ksl. Mt. ist auf dem zug zum neu ausgeschriebenen reichstag als man mir schreibt. Wo nu ir mt. solchen reichstag [...] furnymbt bin ich der hofnung, sein mt. sollt solhen reichstag balt ein ende machen und danach so mocht ir mt. wol ain zug gen Osterrich tun, das ich auch bey irer ksl. Mt. als vil mir imer muglichen [*end is missing*]

A.32 Lorenz Saurer to Zyprian von Serntein, 24 October 1513

Vienna, 24 October 1513.

HHStA / Maximiliana, 30-1-47, original in Saurer's own hand.

Genediger herr, mein ganntz ungespart willig diennst sein eurn genaden allzeit bevor.

Ich hab auff der nagsten zwaiien posten drey brieff von eurn genaden emphanen, der dato Ynnsprugk den xi [*letter unavailable*] und xv tag October [A.29], darinen annfenncklich vernomen den gelucklichen sig, so der almechtig der ksl. Mt. kriegsfolck gögen den Venedigern verlichen hatt. In hofnung, es werde sich nun zu ainem gelucklichen friden auch schicken, meines bedunckens grose zeit. Und bedannck mich der und annder neuzeitung mit dem höchsten des particular wie es ergangen inhalt, euer g. schreiben bin ich gewartunt.

Ich bin von hertzen fro, das die nagsten prieff so mir euer g. geschickt und auff der bost kumen sein mit dem dato zu Namur stenn, damit ksl. Mt. personn auss den gefarlichen ennden kumben ist. Aber wie es nun mit dem ennglischen hör stenn wiert, verhoff ich hernach von euren g. zuvernemen.

Genediger herr, ich hab die phenning, so mir der muntzmaister⁴⁹⁴ von Hall zuegeschickt hat, emphanngen. Nun ist es nindert die mainung, so ich von ksl. Mt. selbst mündlich bericht bin, auch deshalb vill geschriften von irer ksl. Mt. emphanngen. Nun schreibt mir der müntzmaister euer g. haben nit erlauben wellen, ksl. Mt. pevelh nach zu machen. Trag fuersorg ksl. Mt. werde des gross misfallen haben, dan e. g. wisen wie ksl. Mt. gemuet in disen henndlen stenn. Hiet ich nur die stempff, wie sy ksl. Mt. dem stempflschneider angeben hat, wolt selbst die muntz machen lasen, dann es mag hinnach nimer sein wann der stain gelegt wiert. Warlichen meines bedunckens ist es nicht woll gehandelt, ksl. Mt. hats zu ainem ewigen ding verordennt, doch lass ichs meinthalben auch beschechen. Wer die schuld darinen hat, wiert sich woll veranntwurten.

Genediger herr, ich wart nun alle tag auff das vidimus von wegen des gotzackers, damit es mir fuderlich zuekumb und durch den abt von Wiltta und sein convent vidimiert werde, möcht ich dan des heilligen ertreich mer haben wie ich auch daneben geschriben hab, wer mir fast not dan der gotzacker hie ist fast so gross als halb Ynnsprugk.

Weitter hat mir der herr von Mösseritsch mit ainem aigen potten verkundt, das ime die k. wuerde zu Hungern geschriben hab, ksl. Mt. gewisslichen in den frid mit den Turken zupeschliessen, der dan jetz enntlich auff ain zeit lanng aufgericht werden soll. Aber sein guotbeduncken wer, das ksl. Mt. dem pischhoff von Funfkirchen⁴⁹⁵ geschriben het, damit er bey kunigklicher wuerde mit guettem fleis gehandelt het. Das wer der sachen fast diennstlichen.

Auff euer g. schreiben und pevelh schick ich euren g. die iiij^c cennten sallitter. Will ich euren g. mit nagster post alle kostung klar zueschreiben. Bitt aber euer g. welle verschaffen, damit mir der schultprieff zuekumb, auch das fuerlonn oben pezalt wert. Trag kainen zweifl er kumbt vor der gefrier hinauff. Euer g. siecht und empfindt das an mir kain versaumbnus ist.

Euren g. schick ich hiemit den treiling wein auch ain vasl von herren Hannsen Geyman und zway klaine von herr Jorgen, Probst zu Klosterneuburg. Er hat warlich nicht mer wann sy auff das aller pest geraten. Wiert im des weins nicht ain halber treiling. Ich schick euren g. ain vasl mit zwespen, auch zway vasl mit saukoppffen, aber die hausen hab ich jetz nicht gehalten mugen.

Sunst diser zeit nichts besonders, in eyll geschriben. Bit euer g. dise post anverziehen genn zulasen und nicht aufhalten, damit mir etlicher sachen halben eyl-lundt widerumben beschaid zuekumben mug. Damit will ich mich euren g. als meinem besonderen g. herren allzeit bevolchen haben.

Dat. zu Wienn den xxiiii tag Octobris anno etc. dredecimo

[Signature]

⁴⁹⁴Bernhard Beheim (1483–1547), Münzmeister in Hall from 1507–1523.

⁴⁹⁵György Szatmári (1457–1524), bishop of Esztergom.

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