The Iberian Position in European News Networks: A Methodological Approach

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In terms of geography, Spain occupies a position on Europe's periphery. This is a position that it shares with the other country of the Iberian Peninsula, Portugal, a country that, incidentally, began to publish a significant amount of periodical newssheets from the time of its independence from the kingdom of Philip IV of Spain in 1640. With respect to the production of printed and handwritten news stories, Spain was long thought not to have had a regular production of weekly miscellaneous gazettes until the publication of the Madrid-based (later printed in Saragossa) *Gazeta Nueva*, from 1661 onwards, which was regarded as having a monopoly over the development of commercial news in the Peninsula. Such beliefs have, however, been profoundly revised in recent years, with the emergence of a picture of the news trade in the Peninsula that is far richer, more varied, plural and complex than what had been accepted by Spanish scholars for over a century—since the original publication of Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch's *Apuntes para un catálogo de periódicos madrileños (1661–1870)* in 1873, and, almost a century later, of a facsimile with a good historical introduction to the newspaper itself by Eugenio Varela Hervías.¹

At the very least, this picture, which was closely followed by the first foreign researchers interested in this specific aspect of Spanish history, was in need of revision.² First, some periodical newspapers can be found prior to 1661, as Carmen Espejo's recent research has highlighted; at least as early as 1619 there was a periodical newssheet in Spain, published not in Madrid, but in Valencia.³

- 1 A facsimile of Hartzenbusch's work, prepared on the basis of the records of the National Library of Madrid—ignoring all other libraries and private collections in Spain and abroad, and all the titles other than those published in Madrid—was published in 1993: Juan E. Hartzenbusch, *Apuntes para un catálogo de periódicos madrileños* (Madrid: Ollero y Ramos, 1993). Eugenio Varela Hervías, *Gazeta Nueva, 1661–1663. Notas sobre la historia del periodismo español en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: CSIC, 1960).
- 2 See, e.g., Henry F. Schulte, *The Spanish Press, 1470–1966: Print, Power, Politics* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1968).
- 3 Carmen Espejo, 'El primer periódico de la península Ibérica: la *Gazeta de Valencia* (1619)', *Obra Periodística*, 2 (2012), <www.upf.edu/obraperiodistica/_pdf/El_primer_perixdico_de

Secondly, other newspapers were published in Madrid during the last decades of the century; in fact, the *Gazeta Nueva* was initially published in the capital of Spain, though later it was published for some years in Saragossa, under different titles, following the movements of its creators, Juan José de Austria—illegitimate son of Philip IV and half-brother of the king, Charles II, the last of the Spanish Habsburgs, at the time still a minor—and his secretary Francisco Fabro Bremundán.⁴ Some periodical newspapers, weekly or bi-weekly, were published in Seville, Valencia, Saragossa, Barcelona and San Sebastián. Thirdly, some periodicals in Spanish were published outside Spain: for instance in Brussels (*Noticias Principales y Verdaderas*) and in Amsterdam (*Gazeta de Amsterdam*, published by the Sephardic community of the town and with no relation to the Spanish monarchy but to the Republic of the House of Orange). Finally, we now have a little knowledge about the mechanisms of information flows with Spanish America, about how news came and went from one continent to the other.⁵ All of which, needless to say, leads us to reconsider the position of Spanish-language news flows in relation to the Western world: i.e. to what extent news was translated, adapted, copied, and finally disseminated to or from other countries; and what the importance of the aforementioned publishing places was as nodes of the information trade with Europe and America.

It was not until almost the end of the last century that some scholars in the country's newly created communication faculties focused on the information market and practices in the early centuries of the modern era and revised some commonly held notions on the emergence of periodical news in the Iberian peninsula. This paper—since its author is one of those scholars who are trying to explain the position of the Spanish-language, and not merely the Spanish-based, newssheets during the seventeenth century within the international networks, from a transnational point of view—is logically a continuation of those efforts. There has thus been a renewal of the Spanish bibliography

_la_peninsula_ibérica_la_gazeta_de_Valencia_x1619x_-_Obra_Periodística.pdf > [20/09/13]. For a more complete and up-to-date statement on this specific topic, see Carmen Espejo, 'Gacetas y relaciones de sucesos en la segunda mitad del XVII: una comparativa europea', in *Géneros editoriales y relaciones de sucesos en la Edad Moderna*, ed. María E. Díaz Tena (Salamanca: SIERS, 2013).

- 4 This period of the publication of the *Gazeta* in Saragossa is relatively well documented: see María Pilar Lamarque, 'Cartas de Francisco Fabro Bremundans al Dr. Diego J. Dormer', *CHJZ*, 23–4 (1970), pp. 191–201.
- 5 For a model, see Antonio Hohlfeldt, *et al.*, 'Imprensa das colônias de expressão portuguesa: Visão de conjunto', *Curitiba*, 22.2 (2011), pp. 1–15; Jorge P. Sousa and Maria É. Lima, 'O Brasil no Mercúrio Português (1663–1667): entre a esperança e o empolgação', *Curitiba*, 2.2 (2011), pp. 1–14.

on the topic, but, at the same time, much work remains to be done to reorientate or redirect our research and our focus, which ranges from a national or even local point of view to a transnational approach.

Since, for example, the Spanish-language press was not solely produced in Spain, nor only for Spaniards—the case of the Sephardic *Gazeta de Amsterdam* is the clearest example—we can gain no more than a limited knowledge by investigating only the titles published within the borders of Spain. In short, we are dealing with shifting frontiers: the newspapers published in Brussels were republished in San Sebastián or Barcelona, so it is debateable whether or not these were Spanish publications. Catalonia, on the other hand, was not Spanish during the period 1641 to 1652. During these years the territory was independent for some months and belonged to the kingdom of France for more than ten years. This had a great influence on the journalistic models adopted by the Catalan printers: Jaume Romeu's *Gazeta*, 1641, is thought to have been a translation, or at least an adaptation, of Théophraste Renaudot's *Gazette de France*. Printer-syndication was a common practice—and a topic requiring further research in our case—in both England and Catalonia, and probably elsewhere. Finally, we need to investigate not just the news published by those newspapers, whose origin was not Spain for the most part, but the news from Spain, or (re)elaborated in Spain, that was published in several other languages, countries and newspapers all over Europe—and perhaps in some parts of America as well. It is from this perspective, which requires a dialogue with other researchers in order to form a stable network with continuous interchange and standard protocols, that it will be possible to pursue the research lines we set out in the following pages. This is more than just wishful thinking, it is a work plan for coming years.⁶

A Typology of Documents to Be Studied

A first requirement, a first decision to take in relation to this topic, is to define the object of our research interest. Generally speaking, one could say that we are dealing with papers of news (and not merely, or solely, with *newspapers* in the modern sense of the word, meaning a periodical publication with several news stories from different parts of the world ordered in sections) and, more generally, with the dissemination of news in written form in the modern Western world. We would probably benefit from considering news production *outside* the Western world, for instance in Asia, and, more concretely and for

⁶ This is the subject of ongoing research by the group IBEMNEWS, headed by Carmen Espejo.

the specific period we are dealing with, in Japan.⁷ At least, the image of the Western world, in civil, political, commercial or religious terms—if it was possible to clearly distinguish amongst those spheres at that time—projected in the Japanese newssheets before contact with Europe was closed until the nineteenth century, deserves better treatment than it has received to date.⁸ The

7 Probably the best work on the Japanese press, or at least the best prepared for Western eyes, is Christiane Séguy's *Histoire de la presse japonaise. Le développement de la presse à l'époque Meiji et son rôle dans la modernisation du Japon* (Paris: Publications Orientalistes de France, 1993). In Seguy's opinion, newssheets appeared in Europe for economic reasons, and due to both economic and social problems in a fragmented Japan, at that time under the dominion of the *shoguns* or, to put this in Western terms, feudal lords. Hideo Ono, one of the first Japanese scholars on this question, who published a book on the history of the press in his country in 1922, is also of the opinion that European culture had economic roots while Japanese culture had a more political origin, and that it is interesting to compare them for this reason: Hideo Ono, *Nihon Shinbun Hattatsu-shi (History of the development of the Japanese Press)* (Osaka: Osaka Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1922), pp. 5–6. In fact, the motto of the Edo period is 'Tami wo shite kore ni yorahimu beki, kore wo shirashimu bekarazu' (The people must be given shape, not information). During the first years of the seventeenth century and of the so-called Edo period, newssheets with no periodicity (an idea that was to be 'imported' from the Western world only in the nineteenth century), called *yomi-uri kawaraban* (読売瓦版), printed off wooden plates, were very popular since they were sold in theatres and other entertainment establishments in the new capital of the country, Edo (now Tokyo). The first of these newssheets, printed in Kyoto, were *Ôsaka Abe no gassen no zu* and *Ôsaka natsu no jin*, a couple of accounts of the battles which gave victory to Tokugawa Ieyasu over the followers of Hideyoshi in 1615. There are some parallels, first of all in the production data, that can be drawn between the Japanese *yomi-uri kawaraban* and the European *avvisi*, *relaciones de noticia*, *Neuzeitungen* or *corantos*. As in Europe—at least, in Spain—this kind of printed material flourished especially in the decade of 1680, during the Genroku era (1688–1703), when more than 3,000 different titles—approximately one thousand of which are still extant in Japanese libraries, most of them at the Dieta Library of Tokyo—were published. As in several parts of Europe, they were (unsuccessfully) prohibited in 1648, 1713, 1718, 1721 and 1722, allegedly because of the immorality they showed. Unlike the European news-sheet, usually of at least four to eight pages, the Japanese ones were just a single sheet, with a wooden engraving on the verso and some text on the back. A facsimile reproduction of the most popular ones can be found in *Kawaraban / shinbun—Edo / Meiji sanbyaku jiken (Newsprints / Newspapers—Three hundred relevant events from Edo to Meiji)*, Heibon-shi, Taiyô collection, 4 vols. (Tokyo, 1978). See also Gerald Groemer, 'Singing the News: Yomiuri in Japan During the Edo and Meiji Periods', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 54.1 (1994), pp. 233–61.

8 With some exceptions, since some Dutch traders were allowed to continue doing business in Japan. As a consequence, a special kind of writing appeared in the country, the so-called [*Oranda*] *fûsetsu-gaki*, confidential reports translated from Dutch to Japanese, written by the captains of the ships that were allowed to have commercial relations with Japan.

difficulties of language and culture—the question of access to the papers themselves is less problematic in this time of increasing digitisation—are of course obstacles to focusing on this concrete topic, but nevertheless it is one for consideration in the future, and a gateway to greater collaboration beyond the frontiers of Europe—and of the European-language speaking countries of North and South America.⁹

During the seventeenth century we find a confusing lexicon used throughout Europe—and of course in Spain—to refer to the great variety of printed and handwritten newsheets (a question highlighted recently by two of the most important scholars involved in studying and researching those forms of information in the Iberian Peninsula, Henry Ettinghausen and Carmen Espejo), an inconsistency in the terms (*gazeta*, *aviso*, *relación de noticias*, *nuevas*—in English, *gazettes*, *avvisi*, *corantos*, *news[sheets]*) and a lack of univocal correspondence with some other names given to such products in other countries of Europe and America.¹⁰ In our opinion, what is required is a typology of newssheets before we can design a consistent database—and a catalogue—of these items and their content to be further analysed from a transnational (or, using Henry Ettinghausen's phrase, *pan-European*) perspective.¹¹ Our

9 Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725), a well-known Japanese statesman, wrote in his *Seiyō kibun* (*Notes on the Western World*), in the section devoted to Brazil: “It seems that in the secret files of our government there are some *kuranto* from Europe. One can read there about the wars and the victories of Holland. In European language (sic), *kuranto* means the events that have happened and that are explained, illustrated, commented on, and printed for the general knowledge of every man”. See Elias Antunes, ‘Arai Hakuseki—Um literato e pensador do período Edo’ (2004), 11 *Jornada de Estudos Japoneses 2004—Literatura* <estudosjaponeses.com.br/downloads/arai_hakuseki.pdf> [2/08/13].

10 For handwritten newsletters as a form of communication, see Zsuzsa Barbarics and Renate Pieper, ‘Handwritten newsletters as a means of communication in early modern Europe’, in ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 53–79; Henry Ettinghausen, ‘The news in Spain: *Relaciones de sucesos* in the reigns of Philip III and IV’, *European History Quarterly*, 14 (1984), pp. 1–20; Ettinghausen, ‘Politics and the press in Spain’, in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London, 2001); and especially Ettinghausen, ‘Los *avvisi a stampa*: las relaciones de sucesos italianas, en relación con las españolas’, and Carmen Espejo, ‘El Mercado de las noticias en España: *La Gazeta de Roma*’, both in *Proto-giornalismo e letteratura. Avviso a stampa, relaciones de sucesos*, ed. Gabriel Andrés (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2013), pp. 13–24 and 25–53. See also Ch. 3, above.

11 See Ettinghausen, ‘Los *avvisi a stampa*’, p. 13. In this paper, Ettinghausen underlines the importance of the *relación de noticias* or newssheet dealing with just one event as one of the main forms of communication in Spain. This vision needs to be completed with the

proposal is to consider the criteria that should be employed in classifying all of this immense mass of handwritten and printed items.

The first criterion, in our opinion, is whether they are handwritten or printed matter.¹² Needless to say, handwritten news is extremely important in the panorama of news production and dissemination in Europe, especially in countries like France and Italy, where it went under the usual names of *nouvelles à la main* and *avvisi* (it is discussed under these names by François Moureau and Mario Infelise).¹³ In the Spanish case it is clear that there was some circulation of such manuscripts. An Italian student in Salamanca at the beginning of the seventeenth

recent contributions on the field of periodical newssheets by, amongst others, the author of these lines (see Díaz Noci, 'The Dissemination of News in the Spanish Baroque', *Media History*, 18.3–4 [2012], pp. 409–21) and, especially, Espejo (see her chapter in Andrés, ed., *Proto-giornalismo*).

- 12 For methodological purposes, we should not overlook these references: Heiko Droste, 'Degrees of Publicity: Handwritten Newspapers in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *LIR Journal*, 1.11 (2011), pp. 67–83, <ojs.ub.gu.se/ojs/index.php/LIRJ/article/view/1011/882> [25/09/14]; André Belo, 'Notícias impressas e manuscritas em Portugal no século XVIII: Horizontes de leitura da *Gazeta de Lisboa*', *Horizontes Antropológicos*, 10.22 (2004), pp. 15–35; André Belo, 'Between History and Periodicity: Printed and Hand-Written News in 18th-Century Portugal', *e-JPH*, 2.2 (2004), pp. 1–11.
- 13 François Moureau, ed., *Répertoire des nouvelles à la main: dictionnaire de la presse manuscrite clandestine, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1999). See also Brendan Dooley, 'De Bonne Main: les pourvoyeurs de nouvelles à Rome au XVII^e siècle', *Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales*, 54.6 (1999), pp. 1317–44; and Mario Infelise, *Prima dei Giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2002). In English, see Mario Infelise, 'Roman Avvisi: Information and Politics in the Seventeenth Century', in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 212–28, and 'From merchants' letters to handwritten political *avvisi*: notes on the origins of public information', in Bethencourt and Egmond, eds., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 33–52. Infelise's view has been published in several other European languages, and the influence of his work widely recognised. See, for example, 'Los orígenes de las gacetas. Sistemas y prácticas de la información entre los siglos XVI y XVII', *Manuscrits*, 23 (2005), pp. 31–44; 'Gazettes imprimées et information politique dans l'Italie du XVII^e Siècle', *Des moulins à papier aux bibliothèques* (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry de Montpellier III, 2003), pp. 463–77. The handwritten newssheets were not just brought out during the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries, but also during the eighteenth century: Mario Infelise, 'Europa. Una gazzetta manoscritta del '700' in *Non uno itinere. Studi storici offerti dagli allievi a Federico Seneca* (Venezia: Stamperia di Venezia, 1993), pp. 221–39. Some other Italian scholars have done some work on the topic: Filippo de Vivo, 'Paolo Sarpi and the Uses of Information in Seventeenth-Century Venice', in *News Networks in Seventeenth Century Britain and Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 35–49.

century, Girolamo di Sommaia, makes no less than seventy references to the loan, copying and translation from Spanish to Italian, and vice versa, of the following titles, given here as recorded by Di Sommaia: *Gaceta de Roma*, *Gaceta de Italia*, *Gazzetta*, *et Relatione*, *Gazeta Spagnuola* and *Nuoue di Valladolid e di Salamanca* (*News from Valladolid and Salamanca*).¹⁴ The latter title is of greater importance to us since it seems to have been a paper published (or hand copied) originally in Spanish, containing local news, which was unusual at the time in Spain.¹⁵

We should also consider the possibility that Di Sommaia refers to news relayed by private correspondence, not intended in principle for publication but somehow permitting circulation in the form of (semi) private lending amongst a reduced circle of trustworthy people (just five friends, or clients, in Sommaia's case), as seems to have been the case here.¹⁶ None of these titles, as far as we are aware, is known to be extant today in any public library in Spain, but it seems probable that more such papers existed during this period. The discovery of this *Gazeta Spagnuola* would be extremely important, since it would help us to determine whether this was a serial or periodical title published in Italy, or one published in Spanish, or, more probably, a set of newsheets containing news on Spain proceeding from Italy. We have some other traces and testimonies of publishing activity concerning news, for example a couple of mentions of how in 1655 two French travellers met a rich local banker in Saragossa—his name is not given—who had a subscription to the *Gazette de France* and to some other handwritten *avvisi* from Europe, probably Italy.¹⁷ Such indications of news consumption, although undoubtedly very important,

14 This last title was lent to him by one don Ambrosio; all these titles seem to us to indicate a common origin; they were probably sent to Girolamo di Sommaia regularly; we do not know whether they were several handwritten *avvisi*, most of them from Rome, or several *avvisi a stampa*, or whether they were printed.

15 Girolamo di Sommaia, *Diario de un estudiante de Salamanca*, ed. George Haley (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1977). There is information about a news account concerning Valladolid translated into Italian from a text (*Relación de lo sucedido en la ciudad de Valladolid*) attributed to Miguel de Cervantes, see Frederick de Armas, and Armando Maggi, 'An Early Translation of a Text Attributed to Cervantes: Cesare Parona's *Relatione di quanto è successo nella città di Vagliadolid*', in *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 25.2 (2005–6), pp. 303–6. The *relación* is accessible through Europeana: <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k51486w.r=.langES> [3/10/13].

16 See Irene Baldriga, 'The Role of Correspondence in the Transmission of Collecting Patterns in Seventeenth-Century Europe', in ed. Bethencourt and Egmond, *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange*, pp. 187–217.

17 Mentioned in José Altabella, *Fuentes crítico-bibliográficas para la historia de la prensa provincial española* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1983), p. 27.

are extremely difficult to round out because of the paucity of such references, but we need to continue with the search.¹⁸

We need further and deeper knowledge about the nature of handwritten news in Spain. However, some work has been done in this respect. The handwritten (which is in no sense synonymous with unpublished) news of three *avisadores*, or 'newsmongers', is well known. Andrés de Almansa published some 'letters' or 'newsletters', some of them handwritten, some of them finally printed, from 1621 to 1627, whose corpus has been excellently edited by Henry Ettinghausen and Manuel Cordero.¹⁹ José Pellicer de Tovar wrote a series of *avisos* from 1639 to 1644.²⁰ It is known that there was great rivalry and competition between the latter and Almansa, since one of the major poets of the time in Spain, Francisco de Quevedo, mentions Pellicer as being a superior couranteer to Almansa—who was incidentally also a minor poet.²¹ Quevedo mentions how he receives and reads several news items proceeding from letters, from Lisbon for example, or in printed forms from France and Germany (in Latin). Jerónimo de Barrionuevo published (by which we mean that he circulated) news from 1654 to 1658, allegedly addressed to "a dean in Saragossa". We cannot rule out that this was a subterfuge to present his news on the Spanish Court as being addressed to a real individual as such correspondence had more credibility.²²

What is absolutely certain is that most of these handwritten news-letters, and most of the single-event newssheets, *avisos* or *relaciones* in Spain, were presented in the form of a letter, either a real, private one addressed to a flesh and blood person, or one addressed privately and subsequently published (usually amongst a group of people on whom the newsmonger could rely), or one addressed to a fictitious character.²³ Let us consider some other recorded

18 Like the ones that can be found for the following century, see Elisabeth Larriba, *Le public de la presse en Espagne à la fin du XVIII^e siècle (1781–1808)* (Paris: H. Champion, 1998).

19 Henry Ettinghausen and Manuel Cordero, eds., *Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza. Obra periodística* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 2002).

20 See Henry Ettinghausen, 'Pellicer y la prensa de su tiempo', *Janus*, 1 (2012) <www.janusdigital.es/articulo.htm?id=9> [3/10/13].

21 A lot of reference to the news and the circulation of newsletters can be found in F. de Quevedo's correspondence, in *Obras Completas* (both the Castalia and Aguilar editions). Quevedo himself used this genre on at least one occasion, in 1638. The complete newsletters by José Pellicer de Tovar were published in the early twenty-first century: Jean-Claude Chevalier and Lucien Clare, eds., *Avisos*, 2 vols. (Paris: Editions Hispaniques, 2002).

22 Jerónimo de Barrionuevo, *Avisos del Madrid de los Austrias y otras noticias*, ed. José María Díez Borque (Madrid: Castalia, 1996).

23 Fernando Bouza, 'Letters and Portraits: Economy of Time and Chivalrous Service in Courtly Culture', in *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange*, ed. Bethencourt and Egmond,

examples of handwritten news in Spain; there are probably many others. From 1617 onwards, Luis de Góngora, another great Spanish poet of the period, maintained a supposedly private correspondence, consisting mainly of news from the Court of Madrid, with people of his birthplace, Cordoba, in the south of the Peninsula. In some of those letters, Góngora complains about the dissemination of some news items in printed form. This is why this kind of printed newssheets were sometimes called *relaciones particulares*, or private news. This origin supposedly guaranteed a more reliable information source, and it was a well-known phenomenon all over Europe: for instance, Peter Topsen, a newsmonger from Hamburg who regularly provided Axel Oxenstierna with news from 1606 onwards, informed his client that “henceforth, the ordinary newspapers [will be] printed”.²⁴ Góngora was informed of this by Almansa, his usual newsmonger, and this is the reason why Quevedo—his literary enemy—preferred Pellicer as a source of news.

Handwritten and printed newssheets coexisted throughout the seventeenth century in Spain, as is demonstrated by a couple of examples we will briefly mention. The secretary of King Philip IV, Gerónimo Gascón de Torquemada—a professional courtier and a supporter, as was Quevedo, of the *valido* of the monarch, the Count-Duke of Olivares—wrote a set of handwritten news items, probably commissioned by the guild of blind men, a mighty lobby which held a quasi-monopoly on the commercialisation of news in Madrid from 1605 to 1637. Most of these were gathered with some other news covering five decades (1600–1649) and bound in a book, a sort of chronicle, significantly titled *Gaceta y Nuevas de la Corte de España* (*Gazette and News from the Spanish Court*).²⁵ The simultaneous existence of handwritten and printed newssheets is even more intense at the end of the century. In 1941 a Spanish researcher, Joaquín Espín, discovered a collection of handwritten newsletters of weekly periodicity then in a private family archive of Lorca. It is a large set of news stories about the affairs of the Court addressed to people outside Madrid, covering the years 1670, 1671 and 1672. Today 26 of those manuscript sheets are extant.²⁶ We should recall that in those years in Spain it was very common for weekly printed gazettes to have a regular periodicity, and that the most important title

pp. 145–62, and *Corre manuscrito. Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2001).

24 Mentioned in Droste, ‘Degrees of Publicity’.

25 Published by Alfonso A. de Ceballos: Gerónimo Gascón de Torquemada, *Gaceta y Nuevas de la Corte de España desde el año 1600 en adelante* (Madrid: RAMHG, 1991).

26 Joaquín Espín, ‘Publicación periódica manuscrita del siglo XVII’, *Correo Erudito*, 2 (1941), pp. 31–2.

of the period, the *Gazeta Nueva*, had begun appearing in Madrid in 1661. By the decades between 1660 and 1680, there were many centres of news gathering and production in the Peninsula, including Lisbon, Seville, Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona and San Sebastián—not counting the Spanish-language weekly or bi-weekly gazettes printed in Amsterdam and Brussels.²⁷ Two bi-weekly gazettes, on alternate weeks, were published in San Sebastián, a small town near the border with France, and another handwritten gazette, called *Novedades de la Europa* (1690) is known to have circulated there.

In order to make a complete catalogue of newssheets in Spain, then, the first criterion to be considered is whether they were handwritten or printed newssheets and what communication was maintained between the two. The second of the formal criteria is to focus on whether they were newssheets containing just one or several news stories, or, more concretely, whether they were individual or miscellaneous-event newssheets. Usually, the first type were called *relaciones* or even ‘news’, usually similar to the so-called *avvisi* (handwritten or *a stampa*) from Italy, a region that had a good relationship with Spanish newsmongers.²⁸ Terminology can be confusing here: *gazeta* is most commonly used to refer to the miscellaneous printed products and *relaciones* to single-event newssheets, but, especially at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the first term is found in any kind of printed item considered newsworthy. Another very common term, *aviso* (taken undoubtedly from the Italian *avviso*) is used, alongside some other kinds of titles (*carta*, *carta de nuevas*, *relación de avisos*) for both forms. Even so, contemporary writers seem to distinguish both genres clearly. Baltasar Gracián, a best-selling writer of the time, said in the third part of his *El Criticón*: “Lo venidero, lo venidero querría yo ver, que esso de lo presente y lo pasado cualquiera se lo sabe; hartos estamos

27 See Díaz Noci, ‘Dissemination of News’.

28 The first printed newssheets were called *nuevas* (‘news’): *Carta de las nuevas grandes buenas y ciertas embiada a nuestro. S. padre león. x. (Letter of great, good and truly News sent to our saintly father Leon x)* (Valencia, 1517), USTC 344377; *Relación de las nuevas de Italia: sacadas de las cartas que los capitanes y comisarios del Emperador y Rey han escripto a su magestad (News from Italy: Taken from the letters sent by our Emperor and King’s captains and commissioners)*, 1525, USTC 346926. The first printed newssheet in Latin America was *Relacion del espantable terremoto ... en una ciudad llamada Guatimala (Story of the Awful Earthquake ... in a town called Guatelama)* (Mexico, 1541), USTC 344171. In Catalan, one of the first known newssheets is a couple of printed sheets titled *Còpia de les noves de Itàlia (Copy of the news from Italy)*, in 1557, USTC 351566. See Frederick John Norton, ‘Las primeras manifestaciones periodísticas en España: Una carta de noticias originales impresa en Valencia (1517)’, in *Libro homenaje a la memoria de Antonio Pérez Gómez*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1979), pp. 107–12. On the differences and similarities of Spanish *relaciones* and Italian *avvisi*, see Ettinghausen, ‘Los avvisi a stampa’.

de oírlo, cuando una victoria, un buen suceso lo repiten y lo vuelve a cacarear los franceses en sus gacetas, los españoles en sus relaciones, que matan y enfadan". ("I wish to know about the future, because about past and present anyone knows well; we are sick of hearing about victories and good events, which French people in their gazettes and Spanish people in their *relaciones* repeat and boast about".)²⁹ According to Gracián, gazettes or periodical news-sheets were more a French genre, differing from the one preferred in Spain, the individual newsletter (*cartas novas*). Even the first periodical newspaper, the *Gazeta Nueva* published by Francisco Fabro Bremundán on behalf of Juan José de Austria, was called *Gazeta Nueva y Relación* in its first number, probably because periodicity was unclear at that moment.

Periodicity is, therefore, another criterion to be considered in building a proper typology of newssheets. The aforementioned example clarifies the extent to which it is not always easy to determine whether a specific title was periodical or not. Seriality is another criterion. There were occasional and periodical publications (most of them, but not necessarily all, miscellaneous or containing several news stories from different parts of the continent), but there is another kind of newssheet to be considered: those that were linked to a concrete event (e.g., the siege and liberation of Hondarribia on the frontier with France in 1638), which resulted in the publication of two, three or more individual newssheets (usually called *Primera relación*, *Segunda relación*, etc.) Examples of this were *Relación de los sucesos de Inglaterra, y Escocia* (*News of the events from England and Scotland*; 1685), and *Nuevas Extraordinarias del Norte* (*Extraordinary News from the North*; 1684), both published in Madrid by Sebastián de Armendáriz; the latter contained news about the wars in the North of the Continent,³⁰ and its publication ceased once the conflicts were over. It complemented the regular *Nuevas Ordinarias del Norte, Italia y España*, published from 1684 to 1695. We find, on the other hand, surprises. The *Gazeta de Roma*, receiving no more than a mention in most bibliographies on the topic, was considered until recently an occasional newssheet, but further research conducted by Carmen Espejo has shed some more light on it, and she concludes—having identified eleven consecutive issues—that it was a periodical miscellaneous newssheet, or what we usually consider a gazette.³¹ So it is clear that much more research and library-based searches are needed if we are to produce a good map of news dissemination in Spain.

29 Baltasar Gracián, *El Criticón*, Part III (Madrid, 1657), Ch. 10.

30 See Grezegor Bak, 'Noticias del Norte: La Polonia de los años 1683–1703 en la prensa española de la época', *Eslavística Complutense*, 1 (2001), pp. 371–9.

31 See the references to Carmen Espejo, n. 10, above.

Catalogues

In our opinion, the combination of these three criteria will shed further light on the ways news was disseminated in Spain, and ultimately on the reasons why some specific news stories were communicated through letters, private, semi-private or public; or given to the press; or accompanied by another set of weekly news items proceeding from different parts of the Continent on different topics. These news stories could be published in periodical or occasional newssheets, using the same title or not, depending on the case; or serialised when it was considered that they could be better sold by inviting the reader to learn more about an up-to-the-minute topic (or, at that time, at its best 'up-to-the-day' or 'up-to-the-week'), usually concerning war or religion.

Next, we need catalogues or dictionaries. We have some partial ones, but none that covers all the typology of newssheets mentioned, not even the periodical ones. There are also models available to us. The first great model is Folke Dahl's seminal work, *The Birth of the European Press* (1960).³² Mention should be made of a couple of Italian catalogues by Sandro and Tullio Bulgarelli: *Gli avvisi a stampa in Roma nel Cinquecento. Bibliografia, Antologia* (1967) and the more modern and updated *Il giornalismo di Roma nel Seicento. Avvisi a stampa e periodici italiani conservati nelle biblioteche romane* (1988). Both are about printed newssheets extant in the Roman libraries, giving us not a catalogue of such printed products of Rome or Italy, but just the ones currently conserved in Rome. Incidentally, we must mention that in the latter catalogue an example appears of the kind of issues we need to solve in a transnational way: there is a newssheet titled, *Relazione della pressa fatta dale Galere del serenissimo gran Duca di Toscana*, printed in Barcelona in the Italian language for export to Italy.³³ Together with a plethora of newssheets which indicate that they have been translated from one language to another, we face the problem of it being quite impossible to determine the state of the art of the news trade in a particular language or country without considering the news *on* this country published in other languages and countries of Europe, the news *proceeding from* that country and the news *written in or translated to and from* that language. So, unquestionably in our opinion, we need to build on standards that are agreed upon with other scholars and groups in Europe and that employ a transnational point of view; otherwise any attempt will not only be partial, or national, but *incomplete*.

32 Folke Dahl, ed., *The Birth of the European Press* (Stockholm: The Royal Library, 1960).

33 Mentioned by Ettinghausen, 'Los avvisi a stampa', p. 21.

For the Spanish case, we have some models, but nothing definitive and nothing—for the seventeenth century—like the catalogues of English periodicals by Ronald Salmon Crane and F.B. Kaye of 1927 and the more up-to-date information of Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe's catalogue, of sixty years later.³⁴ In a certain way, the only catalogue on the early periodical press of Spain, that of Francisco Aguilar Piñal, is similar, but it is confined to the periodical press of the eighteenth century. We have partial Spanish catalogues for the seventeenth century, which concentrate more on the main foci of news production than on giving a general vision of what the Spanish press was. We will discuss Jaume Guillamet's book on the early Catalanian press later. Seville was another important focus, so it has merited a couple of partial catalogues.³⁵

These provide us with a good model of how the fields of our database and catalogue ought to be.³⁶ Needless to say, those fields should include identification references, such as title (and variations on it), relations with other titles, in the case of serial publications especially, place of publication (and, if there is any false indication, both the indicated place of publication—i.e. Antwerp—and the real one—i.e., Amsterdam), year, language(s), publishers, editors, authors—if known—and libraries, public and private, in which items can be found, in order to complete the collections.³⁷ The latter is an absolutely essential field, and one of the most difficult ones, if we intend to complete, and even digitise and transcribe, the whole set of stories of a specific newspaper. In any case, we have enough models to consider, as well as a further development of the straightforward catalogue: a dictionary of newspapers and periodicals, a

34 Ronald S. Crane and F.B. Kaye, *Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals 1620–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1927) and Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1641–1700: A Short-Title Catalogue* (New York: PMLA, 1987).

35 Aurora Domínguez Guzmán, *La imprenta en Sevilla en el siglo XVII. 1601–1650 (Catálogo y análisis de su producción)* (Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1992), and Carmen Espejo, *Relaciones de sucesos en la BUS, antes de que existiera la prensa* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2008), which concentrate on the issues extant in the library of the University of Seville.

36 Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *La prensa española en el siglo XVIII. Diarios, revistas y pronósticos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978).

37 For examples from the Low Countries, see Folke Dahl, 'Amsterdam: Earliest Newspaper Centre of Western Europe. New Contributions to the History of the First Dutch and French Corantos', *Het Boek*, 25.3 (1939), pp. 161–98; Otto Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', and Paul Arblaster, 'Policy and publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1585–1690', in *Politics of Information*, ed. Dooley and Baron, pp. 151–9, 179–98.

model which usually includes, in addition to the catalogue record, a short history of the birth, evolution and characteristics of the periodicals included in it.³⁸ There is an extraordinary example in Europe: the *Dictionnaire de Journaux* under the direction of Jean Sgard.³⁹ Much more difficult, owing to the lack of information on the authors—meaning the writers and translators of the news items—is a dictionary like the other published under Prof. Sgard's direction, the *Dictionnaire des Journalistes* for the same period, 1600–1789.⁴⁰ In our opinion, prosopography is a relevant discipline here.⁴¹ It would be possible, in the light of the knowledge we have of Spanish-language newspaper production for the seventeenth century, to prepare a dictionary of publishers—this would not be in any sense a minor effort—that could be presented, like Sgard's, both in a printed (and thus, more 'definitive') version and online (an on-going work to be updated as more light is shed on those names). In fact, in spite of having available several very good monographs on some aspects, periods and places of seventeenth century journalism in Spain (or in Spanish), we lack a general vision of professional news communication in the Spanish-language territories, and how news stories from Spain were disseminated in Europe and America during that time.⁴² Why not a history of the first (or, if preferred, and to employ a term that is fashionable in some other areas of knowledge like music, *ancient*) Spanish-language journalism?

38 See also, for the Portuguese case, the research done by Jorge de Sousa's team: *A Gazeta da Restauração*, 2 vols. (Covilhã: LabCom, 2011) and *Estudos sobre o Mercúrio Português* (Covilhã: LabCom, 2012). For the Catalan case, see Jaume Guillamet, *Els orígens de la premsa a Catalunya. Catàleg de periòdics antics (1641–1833)* (Barcelona: Arxiu Municipal de Barcelona, 2003); this latter is based on an adaptation of Jacques Kayser's catalogue proposed in his *Le Quotidien Français* (Paris: A. Colin, 1963), a model that has mainly been followed by Spanish researchers.

39 Jean Sgard, ed., *Dictionnaire des Journaux (1600–1789)*, 2 vols. (Paris: Universitäts, 1991). Jaume Guillamet's aforementioned book of 2003 is a dictionary of periodicals as well.

40 Jean Sgard, ed., *Dictionnaire des Journalistes (1600–1789)* (Paris: Universitäts, 1992). See also the website of the same name: <dictionnaire-journalistes.gazettes18e.fr/auteur/jean-sgard> [3/10/13].

41 We have a basis for such kind of biographies, see Carmen Espejo, and Antonio Alias, 'Juan Serrano de Vargas, impresor y mercader de noticias', in *Las noticias en los siglos de la imprenta manual*, ed. Sagrario López Poza (A Coruña: SIELAE, 2006), pp. 233–55.

42 For the Catalan case, see Guillamet, *Orígens de la premsa*, and the several works by Henry Ettinghausen referring to individual newssheets or *relaciones de noticias*. For the case of Seville, the works of Carmen Espejo are the final word on this question. On the Basque Country, and concretely San Sebastián, see Javier Díaz Noci and Mercedes del Hoyo, *El nacimiento del periodismo vasco. Gacetas donostiaras de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (San Sebastián: Eusko Ikaskuntza - Basque Studies Society, 2003).

In the Spanish case, we have detailed information about the individual newssheets owing to the extraordinary work done by a research group on the so-called *relaciones de sucesos* (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries), under the direction of Sagrario López Poza and accessible through a website which includes both the catalogue and the digitisation of many items.⁴³ Henry Ettinghausen has published in facsimile a great number of individual newssheets from Barcelona (1612–28) and those related to the pre-independence period of Catalonia.⁴⁴

There are some other Spanish and European collections and repositories we can work on. Where they are online and publicly accessible they are most useful, but these kind of digital repositories are far from being either entirely reliable or complete. Let us consider a couple of examples: *Europeana*, the huge virtual repository created in 2008, gathers the digitised collections of most of the European public libraries. This is, beyond any doubt, a major effort and a great cause for hope amongst researchers. One can find many items there—the surviving examples of a single newspaper are not usually found in just one library, but dispersed over many places—but the collection of any one of the national libraries and, more disappointingly, its digitisation, is far from complete. It is sometimes possible to learn through (online) catalogues which titles and numbers any library has, but this does not necessarily mean that those titles are digitised and, when they are, they are not necessarily *completely* digitised. A clear example of this is the case of the National Library of Spain. They are in the process of digitising all their newspaper collections. They have begun, however, from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, without following any chronological order. When asked about the reasons for this, the answer is clear: the paper of those last two centuries is of considerably worse quality than the cloth-made paper of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, prior to when cellulose became the main raw material in printing paper. The later paper is more fragile and breakable than that produced in the old paper mills of Europe. Most of the digitisation projects follow the same consideration, and have begun converting the more recent newspaper production into digital form. Fortunately enough, on its website the National Library of Spain makes available to us some of the seventeenth century newspapers, for example the *Gazeta General* and the *Nuevas Ordinarias de los Sucessos del Norte*. Nevertheless, similar approaches are needed in some other libraries, like the so-called Hemeroteca

43 <www.bidiso.es/relaciones/> [3/10/13].

44 Henry Ettinghausen, *Notícies del segle XVII: La premsa a Barcelona entre 1612 i 1628* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2000); and *La Guerra dels segadors a través de la premsa de l'època*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Curial, 1993).

Municipal (City Council Newspaper Library) de Madrid. They have a couple of catalogues which cover their whole collection, but as far as we know none of those titles has yet been digitised.⁴⁵ And most of the Spanish newspapers, those that were sent to the public libraries because of the legal requirement of depositing a copy there, ended up not in the National Library, but in the Hemeroteca Municipal instead. The same situation we describe is also happening in the case of some autonomous communities in Spain, like Catalonia: the National Library of Catalonia has decided to begin with the most modern newspapers, and the City Council Archive of Barcelona has a website where one can check their availability, but not consult digitised documents, except for the shared collection ARCA (Arxiu de Revistes Catalanes Antiques, or Archive of Ancient Catalan Newspapers), which includes titles from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Digitisation and, moreover, digital preservation is important, since it places in our hands (or, more literally speaking, before our eyes) a digital facsimile of the material we need, and saves us time by making those documents available to us without our having to go to the place where they are physically found.⁴⁶ The facsimile alone, as an image (in tiff or compressed jpeg format, for instance) or a PDF document, is not enough however. Needless to say, meta-data is required, which can be accumulative and used for both cataloguing and content descriptions.

While we avail ourselves of the facilities of having instantaneous access to digital copies of the documents we simultaneously face several problems deriving from the unequal development of the projects: fragmented, dispersed or incomplete collections; lost references and lost issues; and lack of meta-data.⁴⁷

45 Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid, *Publicaciones periódicas y relaciones de noticias de los siglos XVI a XVIII*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2000).

46 See D. Cohen and R. Rosenzweig, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), and its website: <chnm.gmu.edu/digitalhistory/> [3/10/13]; Edward Higgs, ed., *History and electronic artefacts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Marilyn Deegan and Simon Tanner, eds., *Digital Preservation* (London: Facet, 2006); Ross Harvey, *Preserving Digital Materials* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

47 Sometimes, due to the lack of digitisation of the issues we need, we decided to proceed with this task ourselves. We did this on a couple of occasions, which at the same time presented us with new problems—and solutions. For example, we had to digitise the three gazettes of San Sebastián (1688–1728), which we afterwards published as a facsimile with an introductory study in our aforementioned book co-authored with Mercedes del Hoyo. All of them are to be found in the archives of the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid. This centre generously provided us with a microfilm of those issues, whose original was sometimes not in the best possible condition due to the usual problems of ancient documents: ink bleeding, washed-out parts, spots of different sizes, paper transparency, etc. We had to deal with all of

When meta-data is available, it is without following the usual standards of digital preservation: OAI-PMH (Open Archive Initiative-Protocol for Metadata Harvesting) protocol, ALTO, an extension of METS, which keeps the facsimile and indicates the coordinates of the page elements, and SKOS (Simple Knowledge Organization System).

Transcription of Documents and Preparation of *Corpora* for Corpus-Driven Analysis

When we confront the need to construct the corpora, it would be extremely useful for us to have not just a simple image of the document, but a searchable and reliable transcription of it. These digitised collections do not have this kind of searchable documents, so we need to develop our own transcription strategies for them, or projects for transcribing the original copies consulted in their place of conservation. This is the central part of our proposal: if we intend to carry out a discourse or content analysis based on the news published in Spanish (from Spain or from other publishing centres in Europe, like Brussels and Amsterdam, or America, especially Mexico) or about Spain, we need a systematic and complete database with every single news item we are able to find, digitise, transcribe, treat, translate and finally analyse.⁴⁸ If we are

these problems after digitising the microfilms, so we could obtain a clean copy—carefully avoiding any mistakes that might lead to a misreading of the documents—for printing. This was done with the permission of the archive, considering that, quite literally, we were using a transformative right protected under the copyright legislation and then the right of publication, since we were not merely publishing the content of those gazettes, which entered the public domain centuries ago, but a modified (and improved) version of the physical property of which the archive is custodian and owner. It is, of course, a different question to publish it on the Internet, which involves a different right—the right of public communication and the disposal right—which obviously corresponds to the institution. The second case was the digitisation of some of the newsheets from our own personal collection, now accessible through Archive.org at the address <<http://web.archive.org/web/20070821231215/http://www.ehu.es/diaz-noci/hemeroteca/>> [3/10/13]. The technical aspects of the digitisation project—which was needless to say a very limited and rudimentary effort, but one intended to serve the scholarly community and to set out some of the problems and needs considered in this paper—were explained in J. Díaz Noci, 'La noticia individual (relación) entre los siglos XVII y XVIII: Tres tipologías, tres textos recuperados', in *IC. Revista Científica de Información y Comunicación*, 3 (2006), pp. 169–87 <[institucional.us.es/revistas/comunicacion/3/art%2010.pdf](http://www.institucional.us.es/revistas/comunicacion/3/art%2010.pdf)> [3/10/13].

- 48 The first content analysis on news was conducted in the nineteenth century: Randall S. Sumpter, 'News about News. John G. Speed and the First Newspaper Content Analysis',

considering conducting quantitative research, and we have excellent models of this in the works by Stéphane Haffemayer in France and the group led by Jorge Pedro Sousa in Portugal, to mention only two examples, or carrying out an analysis of word or sentence frequencies or concordances, or we are thinking about a more qualitative analysis, in our opinion we are headed towards an analysis that is corpus-driven rather than corpus-based.⁴⁹ Following Elena Tognini-Bonelli,

In a *corpus-driven* approach the commitment of the linguist is to the integrity of the data as a whole, and descriptions aim to be comprehensive with respect to corpus evidence. The corpus, therefore, is seen as more than a repository of examples to back pre-existing theories or a probabilistic extension to an already well defined system.... Examples are normally taken verbatim, in other words they are not adjusted in any way to fit the predefined categories of the analyst; recurrent patterns and frequency distributions are expected to form the basic evidence for linguistic categories; the absence of a pattern is considered potentially meaningful.⁵⁰

So, if we accept that we have to take some firm steps towards a corpus-driven analysis, and not merely use “the corpus mainly to expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study”, then we must determine which publications and which news items will be classified and treated for their proper

Journalism History, 27.2 (2001), pp. 64–72; for content analysis of Spanish-language news from the Low Countries, see Theo Luykx, ‘The First Amsterdam and Antwerp Newspapers’, in *International Communication Gazette*, 10 (1964), pp. 230–6. For Latin America there is a seven-volume reference work: Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed., *Documentos para la Historia de México* (Mexico, 1853). The three first volumes contain many of the news-sheets published in Mexico from 1648 onwards. For the Peruvian case, María Mendoza Michilot, *Inicios del periodismo en el Perú. Relaciones y noticiarios* (Lima: Universidad de Lima, 1997), who refers (p. 24) to how the first individual newssheet was published in Lima in 1594, which was about the attack on the town by captain Hawkins (called ‘Juan de Aquines’ in the Spanish text): *Relacion de lo que hizo don Beltran de Castro y de la Cueva en la entrada de Juan de Aquines ingles por el estrecho de Magallanes y mar del Sur*, USTC 344112.

49 Stéphane Haffemayer, *L’information dans la France du XVII^e siècle. La Gazette de Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002); for Sousa’s work see n. 38, above.

50 Elena Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus linguistics at work* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2001), p. 84.

incorporation into a database. We need, to quote E. Tognini-Bonelli once again, “a large and structured set of text that can be stored and analysed electronically”.⁵¹ In short, we need machine-readable texts.

Once again, we are fortunate in having models. Just to mention a couple, there is the Zurich English Newspaper Corpus (ZEN) by Fries and Schneider, which covers the period from 1661 to 1791, and the Florence Early English Newspapers (FEEN) and Lancaster Newsbook Corpus, by Nicholas Brownlees.⁵² In any case, the process for producing the machine-readable texts is not such an easy one. First, we have to copy them either manually from the original, or from hard copies or digital copies, a process that can be performed with a scanner and Optical Character Recognition software. OCR is generally adapted to modern typography and can give rise to problems when faced with early texts—not to mention handwritten documents—and will at least require further manual revision and correction. We will also require a modernisation of the text, so we have a common and uniform spelling of the words, if we intend to use some kind of content-analysis software based on frequencies and concordances. Secondly, we need further conversion protocols, from image to PDF, and to text, and then to XML text, incorporating tags that signal the different categories of the textual and paratextual elements (e.g. headlines, data, etc.), and metadata, containing information about the document itself. Finally, if we want to compare and analyse our texts in relation to other texts published elsewhere, we need to translate them consistently into a common language that could be shared by a network of international researchers. Today, this language is English. To that general *corpus*, composed of several *corpora* nourished by the text of the news of a concrete publication or period, for instance, we can apply any kind of methodology, from a rhetorical analysis to, say, a narratological one, with, it is to be hoped, highly satisfactory results.

For the time being, I am completing the database of the news published in the *Gazeta de Amsterdam*, especially the issues for the year 1675 (the only near complete set of the extant numbers), and analysing it for the date and place of the events, date and place of delivery, date of publication (so as to determine the time it took for a news item to arrive from one point of Europe to another), the places, events and personae mentioned, and other related things that help us to sketch a better panorama of the dissemination of news all over the Continent—and from beyond, since there is news proceeding from the Dutch colonies overseas, from Brazil and from China.

⁵¹ Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus linguistics*, p. 65.

⁵² ZEN is accessible at <www.es.uzh.ch/Subsites/Projects/zencorpus.html> [5/04/15]; both FEEN and the Lancaster Corpus are accessible at <cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk> [5/04/15].

Some dedicated software can be used to analyse the resultant corpora, for instance WMatrix; but also some other kinds of programs, such as those used by forensic linguistics and to detect plagiarism, like CopyCatch, based on a comparison of the recurrences and of the style of a set of texts.⁵³ All the aforementioned software applications, and many others, could shed some light on the authorship of news published, republished, adapted and translated all over Europe. We have some *corpora* on which we can immediately work: for example, the abovementioned news by Pellicer, Barrionuevo and Almansa; or the gazettes published in San Sebastián (although, we need to be cautious, as we still do not have complete knowledge of entire publications, years and issues, both because we do not know whether more issues could be discovered in public or private archives, and because in some of the extant collections some issues, even though complete years, are lacking); or the complete collection of the *Gazeta Nueva*, published electronically (but not, unfortunately, as a searchable text) by the Official Gazette of Spain, the so-called *Boletín Oficial del Estado* (simply because the *Gazeta Nueva* was, over the years, converted into an official newspaper by the Spanish kingdom); but many other publications need to be completed (if not detected, so once again, we need an exhaustive catalogue of publications) and treated before we can perform these text-conversion protocols.

It is only in this way, in our opinion, that we can hope to shed some light on the topics treated, the style used, the rhetorical, argumentative and narrative strategies employed by our first journalists. We have few references in Spain like those detailed English ones.⁵⁴ We do not know to what extent the description of a newsroom given by Ben Jonson in his *Staple of News* of 1626 is fictional or realistic.⁵⁵ But we do have a satirical description of the work done by those first newsmongers provided by another Spanish writer, a contemporary of Quevedo and Góngora, Baltasar Gracián. In his *Criticón*, he said that

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- 53 One of the qualitative models of such an integral approach should be Paul-Jacques Guinard, *La presse espagnole de 1737 a 1791. Formation et signification d'un genre* (Paris: Institut d'Etudes Hispaniques, 1973). See also Pierre Rétat, 'Bilan et perspectives des recherches sur les gazettes', in *L'information à l'époque moderne* (Paris: Association des Historiens modernistes des Universités, 2001), pp. 5–24.
- 54 Though see Dr Mercedes del Hoyo's chapter in *El nacimiento del periodismo vasco*. Amongst other findings, she concluded that the text of the gazettes was not a translation from French, a language that the printers (Pedro and Bernardo de Huarte) must have known well, since they studied the profession in Bordeaux.
- 55 Jonson's play has been translated into Spanish, with an introduction, by the author of this paper: Ben Jonson, ed. and trans. Javier Díaz Noci, *El comercio de noticias y Noticias del Nuevo Mundo descubierto en la Luna* (Bilbao: University of the Basque Country, 2000).

newssheets have nothing to do with history (“not all nations have an inspiration for history”) and judged all Spanish newsmongers (“antiquarian and coranto-makers”) as producing “material and mechanical” news, “with no trace of good judgement nor wit”, coranto-coiners who, producing periodical gazettes or individual newssheets, are no more than liars; a very similar assessment to the ones made some years earlier by James Shirley in his *Schoole of Complement* (1637) or by Richard Brathwaite.⁵⁶ We have some other testimonies, for example a manuscript note by an anonymous contemporary of Francisco Fabro Bremundán, who was granted the exclusive privilege by the crown of printing gazettes in 1677.⁵⁷ It is a mocking and contemptuous opinion:

The new job of newsmonger has been today the general target of laughter. It is rather remarkable how there is someone who wants to spend his money on this kind of nonsense ... It would be a great job if, as the privilege forbids the printing of news, it were also to prevent private newsletters so no one could advise his friends about the news of the court and outside it, so this new job was of no value under these circumstances!⁵⁸

Other references to the activity of news workers themselves would allow us to attempt a social history of news reporting in this period.⁵⁹ One can be found in a Spanish-language gazette of Brussels, *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas*. Owing to an accident suffered by the person who was supposedly the only writer in charge or ‘journalist’ of this bi-weekly gazette, a note is included in the issue of 1691:

Por el grave accidente que sobrevino al Autor el día 11. de Junio, no se dieron las Noticias de 15. dias el correo passado, que agora se resumen brevemente, con las que después se han adquirido. Y para el 15. del corriente, ô poco mas adelante, se promete la primera parte de la Historia

56 ‘Mienten las relaciones y mucho más las gacetas’, in Baltasar Gracián, *El Criticón*, Part II (Madrid, 1653), ch. 4; James Shirley, *The Schoole of Complement, as it was acted by her Majesties Servants at the Private house in Drury Lane* (London, 1637); Richard Brathwaite, *Whimzies: Or, A New Cast of Characters* (London, 1631). A critical edition exists by Allen H. Lanner, *A Critical Edition of Richard Brathwaite’s Whimzies* (New York: Garland, 1991).

57 On Francisco Fabro Bremundán, see Eulogio Varela Hervías, ‘Francisco Fabro de Bremundans (1621–1698)’, in *Cincuentenario de la Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 1968).

58 Quoted in Altabella, *Fuentes crítico-bibliográficas*, p. 29.

59 David Paul Nord, ‘Intellectual History, Social History, Cultural History ... and Our History’, *Journalism History*, 67.4 (1990), pp. 645–8.

abreviada de este primer año de la ultima Decada del siglo de hierro, con distinción y brevedad, que se proseguira si fuera bien recibida.⁶⁰

(Due to the serious accident that befell the Author on 11th June, the news for the fortnight was not given in the last letter, which is now briefly summarised, together with those acquired subsequently. And for the 15th of the current month, or a little earlier, the first part of the abbreviated History of this year of the last Decade of the iron century is promised, with distinction and brevity, which will continue if it is well received.)

Furthermore, we have more evidence on the hard conditions of this trade. In an issue in 1686, it is stated that:

El limitado despacho de estas Noticias, y las pocas assistencias de quien las recoge, sufocan los grandes desseos que tiene de satisfacer à la curiosidad publica, como tambien le impossibilitan à sacar a luz muchas obras, en que incessantemente se fatiga, no obstante sus achaques, y edad, entre ellas la Recopilacion historica de los sucessos y guerras de Ungria, desde su principio, hasta el año presente.⁶¹

(the limited dispatch of these News Stories, and the scant assistance provided to he who gathers them, smother the great desire to satisfy public curiosity, and also make it impossible to publish many works, on which fatiguing labor is incessantly done, despite ailments and age, amongst them the historical compilation of the events and wars of Hungary, from their start until the current year.)

We wish more ‘accidents’ of this kind would appear, enabling us to learn more about the conditions those newsmongers worked in. Although they are scarce today, we cannot rule out the discovery of further witnesses like this one. First, however, we need a complete knowledge of all the texts published in the Spanish-language gazettes, and further research must be done on the literature and in the archives in search of more contemporary evidence on this question.

In the absence of more of such kind of documents that could allow us to do some ethnographic-historical research on news, like that which is fashionable for today’s media organisations and that was attempted for the nineteenth century Parisian newspaper by Michael Palmer, we have nothing but texts—or “words, words, words, they’re all we have to go on”, as Tom Stoppard writes in

60 *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas* (16 January 1691).

61 *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas* (2 April 1686). See also Díaz Noci, ‘Dissemination of News’.

Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead, 1966.⁶² So it is probably a good idea to work on this foundation to try to make progress, and to develop a detailed plan for the coming years with the idea of encouraging young researchers to join in this effort. Only a coordinated programme, using well-known and significantly improved methods and models, like the ones we have mentioned in this paper, and longitudinal-based systematic research, can provide us with more evidence of the production, reproduction and dissemination strategies, news focus, relations and networks used by newsmongers across Europe and America, and how news items moved and were modified as they travelled through the continent.⁶³

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- 62 Michael Palmer, 'Parisian Newsrooms in the Late Nineteenth Century: How to Enter from the Agency Back Office, or Inventing News Journalism in France', *Journalism Studies*, 4.4 (2003), pp. 479–87.
- 63 On the networks, see Carmen Espejo, 'European Communication Networks in the Early Modern Age', *Media History*, 17.2 (2011), pp. 189–202.