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The information sources of the first Spanish Newspapers (1618-1635): the construction of information credibility

Abstract

This paper analyses the information sources used in a large corpus of news items published in Spanish printed newspapers between 1618 and 1635. The initial aim is to determine how information credibility was constructed in both historical and rhetorical terms. To this end, the rhetorical construction of credibility in the news stories are analysed by focusing on the information sources that these reveal or conceal. And in order to determine whether or not these sources were deliberately concealed, the frequency with which ‘on deep background’ attribution appears is examined. The methodological approach on which this study is based is Historical News Discourse, which applies the conclusions and methods of critical discourse analysis to newspapers of the past, in addition to contextualising and explaining the results in terms of journalism history and communication approaches (Conboy, Brownlees and Broersma, among others). In this work, we contend that the discourse analysis of the first printed newspapers is essential for gaining further insights into how the journalistic profession consolidated its position in Spain thanks to a new form of *auctoritas* based on discourse competence. The gazetteer or journalist emerged as a new kind of writer, whose credibility and reputation depended on his ability to access, organise and reveal –according to rhetorical patterns recognisable to readers– the information sources available to him.

Keywords

News items, Modern Age, history of journalism, information sources, information credibility, on deep background attribution, journalistic profession.

1. Introduction

Between the last years of the sixteenth and the first decades of the seventeenth century, a market for the first newspapers, which were normally called “*relaciones de avisos*”, i.e. news pamphlets, or “*gazettes*” –among others– and which here we will call “multi-thematic publications”, emerged on the Iberian Peninsula. These publications¹ were those that included

¹We have defended the designation of “multi-thematic publications” in *Gacetas y avisos informativos: género, redacción y práctica profesional entre 1618 y 1635*, a PhD thesis defended by Rafael Soto Escobar at the University of Seville in 2017. We believe that it is necessary to introduce this new term in the lexicon of the history of journalism so as to

more than one story, corresponding to more than one event. During the first centuries of the Modern Age, this publishing genre included publications that were not necessarily periodical, including news pamphlets, gazettes and *avvisi*. Precision is important here for the mono-thematic publications differed substantially in both content and structure.

For gathering news, multi-thematic publications depended on international networks of “correspondents” throughout the European continent and in more distant lands, whose main hubs were to be found in the major European cities (Dooley, 2001; Chartier & Espejo-Cala, 2012; Petitjean, 2013; Raymond & Moxham, 2016). These correspondents sent information to those nodes or to agents in less relevant localities in handwritten letters, each containing brief paragraphs offering information on one or several related events, including where the event or events had taken place, the main actors involved, etc. Each one of these brief stories was called an “*avviso*” in the information parlance of the period. When printed, their narrative and visual independence, which was the defining trait of these multi-thematic publications, was respected. Serial stories still predominated over the periodical kind, insofar as the latter became widespread in Central Europe in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, but not so in Spain until the end of the same century (Díaz-Noci, 2002; Espejo-Cala & Baena-Sánchez, 2015).

The initial objective of this study is to determine how information credibility was constructed, in both historical and rhetorical terms, in news stories published between 1618 and 1635. Unlike literary texts, in the information kind there was a sort of unwritten “contract,” by virtue of which “a convention of trust is established between the sender and receiver of a message as to its credibility (i.e. telling the truth)” (Greimas & Courtés, 1982, p. 90). This contract was based on a piece of evidence or persuasion which, at any rate, was underpinned by the beliefs of the sender of the message. Therefore, credibility was gained through a series of factors that, as established in classical rhetoric, rested on three elements: the sender, the message and the receiver.

It should be borne in mind that, as regards their circulation among the public at large, the news publications in which these stories appeared represented new discursive genres that did not enjoy the prestige and credibility inherent to the classical texts inherited from previous ages. Nor did they have the credibility that, then as now, derives from the reputation *–auctoritas–* of the author since the vast majority of these multi-thematic publications and the stories that they contained were anonymous. Accordingly, the new information genres were obliged to build their credibility on the basis of new criteria, among which recourse to a standard layout—i.e. the first tentative steps in newspaper design—was one of the most effective (Broersma, 2010; Espejo-Cala, 2016). Another normal expedient, underscored by many historians, was the declaration of authenticity in the title of the publications themselves, proclaiming to be “true” or “very true” –although this was more common in occasional news pamphlets than in periodical or semi-periodical gazettes (Pena-Sueiro, 1999).

Thus, this work analyses an aspect to which little attention has been paid hitherto: the rhetorical construction of credibility in the news stories themselves, specifically the information sources that these reveal or conceal. What is understood here by sources are “persons, institutions and bodies of all kinds that provide the media with the information that they need to produce news”, according to De-Fontcuberta (1993, p. 58).

The historiographical approach employed here is that of Historical News Discourse analysis which has been widely used by contemporary researchers in the field of the history of European journalism (Schneider, 2005; Jucker, 2009; Broersma, 2010; Brownlees, 2011). This

offer a more precise classification of news publications, since the lack of a clear terminology for the period under study hinders the understanding of the first journalistic phenomena. We propose a classification pursuant to the drafting of the texts: on the one hand, mono-thematic publications –containing only one story– such as news pamphlets, among others; and on the other, multi-thematic publications –containing several stories– such as gazettes, reports and *avvisi*. For a more in-depth analysis of this issue, see Soto-Escobar (2017).

approach involves applying discourse analysis methods to newspapers of the past, with an eye to identifying connections between the linguistic evolution of news texts and the history of journalism. In other words, it studies how the discourse employed to tell the news has changed over time to adapt to the producers, formats, consumers, etc., of newspapers.² Historical news discourse, as a methodological approach, is theoretically based on discourse analysis applied to news language.

Departing from the observation made by Díaz-Noci and del Hoyo (2003, p. 85), who claim that there is a lack of interest in the sources employed by the first newspapers of the Modern Age, the intention here is to confirm whether or not those sources were intentionally concealed. To this end, the focus is placed on the frequency with which the on deep background attribution appears, to wit, those cases in which an imprecise and, by and large, unofficial source, whose information is not literally reproduced, is mentioned (Mencher, 2002; Vázquez-Bermúdez, 2005).

Our corpus includes all those multi-thematic publications from the period which we have managed to compile after an exhaustive review of digital libraries and catalogues and on-site research in archives. In total, thirty-five multi-thematic publications produced in Seville, Valencia, Madrid and Barcelona between 1618 and 1635 were identified, whose references can be consulted in Section 5 of this paper. According to available historical statistics, these were the four cities with the most productive printing presses on the peninsula during the period under study (Fernández-Travieso & Pena-Sueiro, 2013). From these thirty-five publications, a total of 471 news stories were retrieved;³ a representative sample equivalent to an average of 2.05 publications and 27.7 stories per year.

These news stories published in Spain during the first decades of the seventeenth century –the first in which the serial publication of news pamphlets began to take root, thus resulting in a stable market for current affairs writers– encompass a vast array of historical events. Although all of them cover different international stages, through the successive reading of these publications it is possible to identify their main focus of attention. During the first years included in the sample –roughly between 1618 and 1620– it was mostly the Ottoman Empire's onslaughts on the Eastern frontier and in the Mediterranean that made the headlines. But, thenceforth, the Turks were displaced, although without disappearing altogether, in the minds of the first newspaper readers in Spain by the geopolitical and religious wars being waged in the heart of Europe, after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The wars in Flanders and the disputes between the Spanish monarchs and their French and English counterparts, and the conflicts with the fickle Italian governments at the time, moved centre stage in what can certainly be described as a news universe that diminished as the Habsburg Empire began to lose its international prestige. What the news stories told is doubtless just as revealing as what they kept under wraps. For those researching on the Spanish press during the Modern Age, what is striking is the absence of news from America in those first newspapers (Espejo-Cala, 2019). At the beginning of the seventeenth century, that vast territory whose conquest had required such a huge effort was for the Spanish state a source of wealth that was already beginning to show the first signs of depletion, as well as proving to be a permanent seedbed of political instability. Hence, the court's information policy was aimed at restricting access to American news sources.

2. The rhetorical construction of credibility

The first newspapers of the Modern Age built their credibility on the basis of a limited series of rhetorical devices, the most popular consisting in mentioning the publication's

² For a good example of a historiographical review in which this methodological approach has been employed, see Conboy (2007).

³ Indeed, the number of news stories is larger: some of the publications are re-editions of the same work, meaning that the contained stories are identical, for which reason they have only been tallied once.

provenance—but not necessarily its authorship, because, as already noted, most of them were anonymous—and the acknowledgement of the stories that they contained, in such a way as to create the impression, rhetorically speaking, that everything that was being told had reached their author through an explicit and bona fide source. However, as will be seen below, this rhetorical device in which the sources were not always—or practically never—revealed provided information that would have allowed readers at the time—or nowadays historians—to pinpoint their exact provenance.

First and foremost, an attempt will be made to study the origin of the publications per se, for it is interesting to determine whether or not this is indicated and, if so, where they came from, in order to distinguish between those news stories attributed to a source and those that are not. Finally, the attributions identified according to an adaptation of the types of attribution devised by Mencher (2002) will be analysed. Since this involves applying contemporary concepts to seventeenth-century texts, it has evidently been necessary to adapt them to this analysis and to dispense with those that do not adjust to the period under study, as shown below in Table 1.

Table 1: Categories of analysis.

Direct attribution (on record)		The source is clearly mentioned in the text
Attribution with reservations		The source is not mentioned explicitly, but ambiguously
	On background	The public or private source is precise, but not attributable to a specific person
	On deep background	The source is imprecise and not even of a collective nature

Source: Mencher (2002) and Vázquez-Bermúdez (2005).

2.1. Provenance and authorship of the multi-thematic publications: “sent by an inquisitive gentleman”

The information that the multi-thematic publications provide on their provenance, in terms of written discourse, reflects the constant flow of information through courier services since the beginning of the Modern Age.

Of the thirty-five multi-thematic publications analysed here, in twelve there is a vague hint as to who has provided the original text—handwritten or printed—which would then be copied or reedited time and again: these account for 34% of the corpus. Thus, five of these twelve publications have a clearly identified author, although three of them are re-editions of the same publication, i.e. *Traslado de una carta...* [The copy of a letter...] (1624), signed by Rodrigo de Lara. The other two are different publications by the same author: *Vitoria del exercito...* [Victory of the army...] (1629) and *Vitoria famosa que ha tenido...* [Famous victory obtained by ...] (1629), signed by Juan Quirós de Montoya.⁴ These are the only authors identified in the corpus, one a secretary and the other, if not one, with a similar role.

Judging by the full title of the multi-thematic publication *Relacion y avisos verdaderos... [True relation and news...]* (1624), we know that it was written by a spy and filtered by the secretary to Luis Bravo de Acuña.⁵ In this case, there seems to be no doubt that the source is self-serving and of an official character. In *Relacion embiada a un personaje de esta ciudad avisandole de...* [Relation sent to figure of this city informing him...] (1625), the title itself also indicates that the text was sent by a prominent figure in Madrid. While in *Carta embiada de Flandes a un cavallero desta ciudad...* [Letter sent from Flanders to a gentleman of this city...]

⁴ In this work, titles are abbreviated for ease of reading. Complete references can be found in Section 5.

⁵ Luis Bravo de Acuña was Viceroy of Navarre between 1631 and 1633. <http://dbe.rae.es/biografias/21008/luis-bravo-de-acuna> [accessed 6 August 2018].

(1635), this was also the case, the recipient now residing in Barcelona. For its part, the *Gazeta Romana... [Roman Gazette...]* (1618) claims that the information was “embiada por un curioso cavallero Sevillano, que asiste en Roma, a otro, tambien curioso, que asiste en la ciudad de Sevilla [sent by an inquisitive gentleman from Seville presently in Rome, to another also inquisitive gentleman in the city of Seville].” These are all indications of the exchange of information so common at the time, due to vassalage, interests or friendship, and may reflect either a real epistolary relationship or a mere rhetorical device (Díaz-Noci, 2017).

Table 2: Origin of the documents.

Origin of the documents	Absolute frequency
Gentlemen and “figures”	4
Secretaries	5 (2)
Spies	1
Others	2

Source: Own elaboration.

In the group of twenty-three multi-thematic publications in which the document's provenance is not mentioned, 57% (thirteen) of them indicate the epistolary origin of their content. Italian cities (mainly Rome, but also Genoa) are repeatedly indicated as the place of origin, although it was also normal to mention more than one, thus highlighting the international character of the news told, as is the case in *Relacion de avisos de Roma, Flandes, Sicilia, Alemania, Francia, Florencia y Argel* [Tidings from Rome, Flanders, Sicily, Germany, France, Florence and Algeria] (1621).

2.2. The attribution of the source: “it is noted that ...”

Attribution is the way in which journalists reveal that their information has come from a specific source (Vázquez-Bermúdez, 2005, p. 138). In current newsroom practice, its use is unavoidable so as to lend force and credibility to new stories, as well as for expressing opinions and points of view or for drawing conclusions or making statements on a topic. Moreover, the attribution of information covers the writer when he has doubts about its veracity (Mencher, 2002, p. 47-50). Accordingly, attribution plays a fundamental role in news credibility.

2.2.1. Direct attributions

Of the 471 news stories analysed in the corpus of seventeenth-century newspapers, 71.06% contain one or several types of attribution.

Table 3: News stories with attribution.

	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (%)
With attribution	334	71.06
Without attribution	137	29.15

Source: Own elaboration.

Direct attributions are exceptional and, borrowing again from the terminology proposed by De-Fontcuberta (1993), the sources are practically always second- or third-hand. There are two cases of direct attribution among the news stories analysed here, the first being *Relacion de avisos de Roma, Flandes ...* [Tidings from Rome, Flanders ...] (1621):

Asi mismo refiere el Pater Magister Frater Juan de Santiago (conventual del conven[-] /to de nuestra Señora de la Merced de Sevilla, Difinidor y Redentro de /la Provincia de Andalucía) que vino ahora de hacer rescate de setenta /cautivos Cristianos (por particular

mandato y orden de su Magestad /Catolica nuestro señor, y Rey Don Felipe III.) que yendo Alonso de Tor[-] /res (cautivo, natural de Madrid,) por una calle de Argel, con otro cautivo, le dijo un Morisco (mesonero que fue en Valladolid, llamado Juan de /Padilla, y en Argel, Mahomat Hazenumeya) Cristiano, no se me dá un /ochavo de tu ley [In the same vein, *Pater Magister Frater* Juan de Santiago (friar of the convent of Our Lady of Mercy in Seville), *definidor* and redeemer in the province of Andalusia, who has arrived after ransoming seventy Christian prisoners (under the mandate and orders of His Catholic Majesty our lord and king Philip III), tells how Alonso de Torres (a prisoner, born in Madrid) walking down a street in Algiers, with another prisoner, was told by a Christian Moor (who had been an innkeeper in Valladolid, called Juan de Padilla, and in Algiers Mahomat Hazenumeya), that he did not give a damn about his Christian faith].

The source is doubtless institutional, for he was a distinguished member of a religious order. The second case of direct attribution is to be found in *Relacion de avisos que se saben en Roma, venidos con este ultimo Ordinario...* [Tidings from Rome, arriving in the last ordinary post...] (1619):

A los 29. paso por aqui un Camarero del Virrey de /Napoles de paso para España, del cual se supo que aquel /Virrey havia hecho prender con licencia del Cardenal /Arzobispo trece hombres que estavan retirados en la Iglesia de Santa Marta. Que a Bertoldo su truhan, sacando- /le a ahorcar, por haver metido mano a la espada contra /el Auditor General del Campo, le hizo gracia [...] [On the 29th a steward of the Viceroy of Naples passed through here on his way to Spain, from whom it was known that, with the permission of the Cardinal/Bishop, the viceroy had ordered the arrest of thirteen men who had withdrawn to the church of Santa Marta. That he pardoned the knave Bertoldo, who had been taken out to be hanged for having drawn his sword against the Auditor General del Campo (...)].

Since the information came from a servant of the Viceroy of Naples, it is also an institutional source of a political nature. So as to insist on the fact that the information had been gathered in Rome, the editor uses the deictic “here,” very commonplace in multi-thematic publications. The rest of the cases of direct attribution are from second -or third-hand sources. An example of these can be found in *Nuevas ciertas y fidedignas de la Vitoria que ha alcançado Don Fadrique...* [True and trustworthy news of the victory that Don Fadrique has obtained...] (1629):

DE Sevilla escribe el /Obispo, de Ibona /Juan de la Sal, y el /Padre Luis delos Ca[-] /meros de la Compa[-] /ña de Jesus. Su fe- /cha a dos de Deciem[-] /bre, que han recibido /do cartas de Ingala- /terra, su fecha a dos /de Noviembre, que el señor don Fadrique de /Toledo aviendo tomado los siete Navios que to[-] /mò de los Olandeses, [...] /Esto se ha sabido por via de /Inglaterra, y tambien por via de Francia, y tam- /bién lo tenian ya escrito otras personas muy /principales [The Bishop of Ibona Juan de la Sal and Father Luis de los Cameros of the Company of Jesus write from Seville. On the 2 December, they received letters from England, on 2 November Don Fabrique of Toledo having taken the seven ships that he had seized from the Dutch, [...] this has been known via England and also via France and other very important people had already received word about this].

The primary sources are totally credible –the Bishop of Ibona [Hiponia, Algeria] and a Jesuit, besides other “very important people”– but it is not first-hand information, for they speak in light of letters that they have received. Let us now take a look at another example in *Relacion de avisos que se saben en Roma...* [Tidings from Rome...] (1618):

Llego aqui Domingo de Setiembre un correo de /Florencia, con aviso a su Santidad de aquel gran Duque, /que havia recibido otro Correo, con nueva: que el Conde /de Bucoy havia dado una grande rota al ejercito Bohemo, /cuyo general el Conde de la Ferre, se havia retirado con /mucho daño de su gente; dejando señor de la campaña a di-/cho Conde de Bucoy [On a Sunday in September, a letter from Florence arrived here with news for His Holiness from that grand duke, who had received another letter containing news: that the Count of Bucoy had done much damage to the Bohemian army, whose general the

Count de la Ferre had retreated after suffering many casualties; leaving the said Count of Bucoy as the campaign's victor].

The deictic “here” appears yet again to give the impression that the information provided by the editor is his own. However, we only know that he possesses a letter from the Duke of Florence to the Pope; we do not know, for example, who delivered it.

2.2.2. Concealed sources

Besides the few cases of direct attribution described above, the rest of the attributions in the sample can be classified as “on deep background,” for an imprecise and generally unofficial source is mentioned, whose information is not reproduced literally (Vázquez-Bermúdez, 2005, p. 138).

Table 4: Types of attributions.

Type of attribution	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (%)
Direct attribution	8	2.21
Attribution with reservations	On background	0
	On deep background	354

Source: Own elaboration.

In the 334 news stories containing one or several attributions, there are 362 express or implicit ones, of which 27.07% omit or syntactically connect the sentences with the attributions of other previous stories. A good example of implicit attribution appears in *Relacion venida de Roma. Dase quenta, de como el Turco...* [Relation arriving from Rome. Telling how the Turk...] (1620). Through coordination, two different stories are syntactically connected, while sharing the same attribution. In this case, on deep background, for someone (unmentioned in the discourse) wrote a letter from Frankfurt describing several developments in Bohemia, while touching on others occurring in Lorraine:

De Francfort de veintiocho de Henero, que la Cava-/lleria de la union estaba alojada en el Obispado de Espi-/ra: y que allí cerca se entretenían mil y docientos Cava-/llos, y tres mil Infantes, con trecientos carros de muni-/ciones, y trece piezas de artillería, para unirse con la/gente Boemia. Y que en Lorena se hacían tres mil Infan-/tes, y mil caballos a favor del Emperador [From Frankfurt, on 28 January, the cavalry of the union was quartered in the diocese of Speyer: and that 1,200 cavalry troopers and 3,000 infantrymen, with 300 munition carts and 13 pieces of artillery, were to be found close by in order to join forces with the Bohemians. And that in Lorraine 3,000 infantrymen and 3,000 cavalry troopers were being mustered in favour of the Emperor].

As regards the on deep background attributions, five verbs are used in 64.92% of the cases:

Table 5: On deep background attributions.

Typology	Absolute frequency	Relative frequency (%)
<i>Avisar</i> [notify]	141	38.95
<i>Escribir</i> [write]	30	8.29
<i>Dicir</i> [say]	39	10.77
<i>Tener nueva/noticia</i> [receive news]	16	4.42
<i>Omitida</i> [omitted]	98	27.07
<i>Otros</i> [others]	21	5.80
<i>Saber</i> [know]	9	2.49
<i>Directa</i> [direct]	8	2.21

Source: Own elaboration.

Thus, it can be seen that the use of other expressions barely accounts for 5.8% of the total. The verb “*avisar*” [notify] is by far the most used, thus expressing that the information has been received by letter.⁶ The verb “*decir*” [say], coming in a distant second place, represents 10.77% of the total. Here are some examples:

De Persia escriben que los Tartaros unidos con los Tur-/cos, havian sido desbaratados del Persiano, con gran mor-/tandad (*La Gazeta de Roma, venida con este Ordinario....*, 1619) [From Persia they write that the Tartars together with the Turks have been defeated by the Persians, with great slaughter (The Gazette of Rome, arriving by ordinary post ..., 1619)].

Tambien se a traído aviso a esta Corte, como las fa-/mosas Galeras de la Encomienda de Malta, an tomado y/saqueado a sancta Macura [...] (*Famosa relacion en que se avisa de como en una grande refriega que uvo entre la cavalleria de Milan, y Ginoveses, mataron al contrario*, 1625) [This court has also received news about how the famous galleys of the Order of Malta have taken and sacked sancta Macura [...] (Famous relation of a great skirmish between the cavalry of Milan and Genoa ..., 1625)].

El Cardenal Richelieu dicen que està reti-/rado, porque le quieren quemar en Francia,/juzgando los mayores aver ocasionado este/Principe los daños que experimentan, y los pe-/ligros en que se ven [...] (*Carta embiada de Flandes a un caballero desta ciudad, en la qual se refiere una famosa vitoria que el Rey de Ungria....*, 1635) [They say that Cardinal Richelieu has retired because they want to burn him in France, the majority judging that this Prince of the Church has caused the damage and dangers that they are experiencing [...] (Letter sent from Flanders to a gentleman of this city, in which reference is made to a famous victory that the King of Hungary ..., 1635)].

3. Conclusions

In light of the results of this study, we can claim that, in the main, in the first Spanish newspapers there was not any real interest in identifying sources, despite the fact that the texts that they contained and their titles constantly strove to appear credible.

The news stories of the corpus used here contain no more than eight direct attributions (2.21%), versus the 354 occasions (97.79%) on which an on deep background attribution is used. We can thus conclude that there was an interest in concealing sources. So, and by means of a standardised rhetorical devise which would predominate in newspapers until the eighteenth century, the gazetteer “recounts what he has learned from a source,” but without offering information allowing readers to pinpoint it accurately.

In the eyes of the reading public, the credibility of these newspapers therefore rested on a mere rhetorical device with which he who informed claimed that he was doing so not on the strength of his own knowledge of the events, but thanks to his capacity to receive or intercept,

⁶ For the etymology and uses of the verb “*avisar*” and the noun “*aviso*”, see Soto-Escobar, 2017.

order and rewrite an important number of news stories coming from all over the known world. Taking into account yet again that the majority of multi-thematic publications were anonymous, this capacity did not stem from the status or personal prestige of the editor, but from a new form of *auctoritas* which the first professional journalists, i.e. the gazetteers, had begun to enjoy.⁷

Analysing the discourse of the first newspapers is therefore essential for gaining further insights into how the journalistic profession was consolidated in Spain thanks, among other factors, to the credibility that these professionals gained among their first audiences. And all this in the first decades of the seventeenth century, before the progressive formalisation of journalism attempted to sanction that credibility by imposing state control. Accordingly, we would like to urge researchers in the field to replicate this same study using other corpuses, in order to confirm the conclusions reached here and to gain a deeper understanding of the journalistic discourse during the Early Modern Age in Spain and Europe.

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⁷ The formality of most of the multi-thematic publications –expressed by noble or ecclesiastic coats of arms displayed on many of their front pages– was also doubtless a way of gaining credibility. Similarly, the authority of the consolidated printers, specialising in publishing these types of texts in each Spanish locality, might have been an element favouring the credibility of these newspapers.

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Corpus

1. *Gazeta romana, y relacion general, de avisos de todos los Reynos y Provincias del mundo.*
Sevilla, Juan Serrano de Vargas, 1618.
2. *Relacion de avisos que se saben en Roma, desde ocho de Setiembre deste año 1618. hasta hoy. En los quales se da cuenta, de como las Galeras del Papa, Malta, Florencia, y Napoles, estan aguardando al Marques de Santa Cruz con las Galeras de España; el cual en llegando, su Excelencia del Duque de Osuna partira a la determinada Empresa*. Valencia, Felipe Mey, 1618.
3. *La Gazeta de Roma. En la qual vienen diferentes avisos de los passados, assi de la sangrientas guerras, como de casos muy señalados que han sucedido por diversas partes del mundo.*
Venida con este Ordinario de Roma, que luego aqui a Valencia a 3. de Enero, deste Año 1619.
Valencia, Felipe Mey, 1619.
4. *La Gazeta de Roma, Venida con este Ordinario, que luego aqui a 7. de Março deste Año 1619.*
Venida con este Ordinario de Roma, que luego aqui a Valencia a 3. de Enero deste Año 1619.
Valencia, Felipe Mey, 1619.
5. *Relacion de avisos que se saben en Roma, venidos con este ultimo Ordinario, que llegò aqui a 30. de Julio, Año 1619.* En Valencia, en la Impression de Felipe Mey, 1619.
6. *La gazeta de Roma, venida con este Ordinario, que luego aqui a los postretros deste mes de Setiembre, deste Año 1619. En la qual vienen muchas, y muy diferentes nuevas de las pasadas; tanto de cosas tocates al Imperio, como de otras tocantes a la Armada*. Valencia, Felipe Mey, 1619.

7. *Avisos de Roma, venidos en este ultimo Ordinario que llego aqui a los postreros deste mes de Octubre, deste 1619. Dase quenta de la Estratagema, y hazaña que los Uscoques usaron a los Turcos, enfrente de Vestri.* Valencia, Felipe Mey, 1619.
8. *Relacion venida de Roma en este ultimo Ordinario, que llego a los postreros del mes de Noviembre, deste Año 1619. Avisase del nuevo Cometa que se aparece en el cielo, y dos ejercitos que combaten en el aire.* Valencia, Felipe Mey, 1619.
9. *Relacion. Venida de Roma, en este ultimo Ordinario. Que llegó aqui a los primeros deste mes de Febrero del presente Año 1620.* Valencia, Felipe Mey, 1620.
10. *Relacion venida de Roma en este ultimo Ordinario. Dase quenta, como el Conde Palatino Hereje, Rey injusto de Boemia, ha hecho quitar de la Iglesia de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesus, y de otras Iglesias, todos los Altares, e Imágenes de los Santos, y las Cruces de los caminos, con otras grandes herejías que ha usado, dignas de gran dolor y sentimiento en los corazones de los Christianos: por los cuales trabajos, que padece nuestra santa madre Iglesia, concedio nuestro santo Padre, este Jubileo universal, para aplicar la divina Justicia.* Valencia, Felipe Mey, 1620.
11. *Relacion venida de Roma. Dase quenta, de como el Turco ha publicado guerra contra España, y de la poderosa armada que prepara; y como ha mandado a Argel, Túnez, y demas puertos, armasen todos los Vageles de guerra.* Valencia, Felipe Mey, 1620.
12. *Relacion de avisos de Roma, Flandes, Sicilia, Alemania, Francia, Florencia, y Argel.* Sevilla, Juan Serrano de Vargas y Ureña, 1621.
13. *Relacion de las cosas del Imperio.* Sevilla, Francisco de Lyra, 1621.
14. *Relacion y avisos verdaderos de veinte y cinco de Junio deste año 1624. que a dado el confidente o espia secreta que ay en Constantinopla, de las cosas que pasan, asi en la Asia como en la Europa, que confinan con los Estados del Gran Turco: el qual aviso llegó a manos de Don Luis Bravo de Acuña del consejo de guerra del Rey Nuestro Señor, que se halla oy en Genova, para recibir al Archiduque de Austria, y un Secretario del dicho Don Luis tiene imbiada copia autentica a una ilustre persona desta Ciudad: y por ser de tanta importancia, y que cuenta la opresion de tan cruel enemigo de la Christiandad, el gran Turco, es bien salga a luz para consuelo de Christianos.* Barcelona, Sebastian y Jaime Matevad, 1624.
15. Lara, R.: *Traslado de una carta en que declara todo lo sucedido en los Estados de Flandes, desde fin de Agosto, hasta 20. de Octubre de 1624.* Madrid, Juan Delgado, 1624.
16. Lara, R.: *Traslado de una carta en que declara todo lo sucedido en los Estados de Flandes, desde fin de Agosto, hasta 20. de Octubre de 1624.* Barcelona, Sebastian y Jaime Matevad, 1624.
17. Lara, R.: *Traslado de una carta en que declara todo lo sucedido en los Estados de Flandes, desde fin de Agosto, hasta 20. de Octubre de 1624.* Sevilla, Juan de Cabrera, 1624.
18. *Relacion embiada a un personage de esta ciudad, avisandole de algunos ordinarios que de Italia, y otras partes an venido a la Corte de su Magestad, y de la muerte de Iacobo Rey de Inglaterra, y Coronacion de su hijo.* Sevilla, Juan de Cabrera, 1625.
19. *Famosa relacion en que se avisa de como en una grande refriega que uvo entre la cavalleria de Milan, y Ginoveses, mataron al contrario ciento y cinquenta ombres de a cavallo y otros muchos soldados, entre los quales mataron al Principe Tomás, hijo del de Saboya, y otros avisos. Año de 1625.* Sevilla, Juan de Cabrera, 1625.
20. *Avisos de Genova de onze de Julio de la venida del excellentissimo Duque de Feria de Alexandria de la Palla en la Señoria de genova con veinte mil Infantes y quattro mil cavallos, y se ha puesto delante de una villa del Monferrato que se llama Axiqui, donde tenia el Duque de Saboya plaza de armas, y los parejos de guerra, como arcabuzes, mosquetes, polvora, balas, cordaje, artilleria y mucha plata.* Barcelona, Sebastian y Jaime Matevad, 1625.
21. *Relacion verdadera de las vitorias y felices sucessos que ha tenido el señor Duque de Feria con los ejercitos del Duque de Saboya, en los estados de Italia.* Sevilla, Simón Fajardo, 1625.

22. *Relacion verdadera de las treguas y paces que el Principe de Orange, y las islas reveladas de Olanda y Gelanda tratan con la señora Infanta doña Ysabel, y del presente que aquel Principe ha hecho a su Alteza de todo el omenage de casa, y, recamara que se avia dejado en el castillo de Breda, que es de gran estima y valor.* Sevilla, Simón Fajardo, 1625.
23. *Retirada del Duque de Saboya a su Corte de Turin, y como la cavalleria polaca de el Duque de Feria, le corren la tierra hasta sus murallas, por cuyo temor, se an salido de la Corte su muger y hermana del Principe del Piamonte año 1625.* Sevilla, Juan de Cabrera, 1625.
24. *Relacion de la gran victoria que ha tenido el Emperador de Alemania contra el Rey de Dinamarca, el ejercito que le ha desbaratado el Conde de Tilli su Capitan General, con muerte de dos mil cavallos, y prision de muchos grandes de su Corte.* Sevilla, Simón Fajardo, 1625.
25. *Rota que el Emperador de Alemania tuvo con el General del enemigo llamado Albestad, en Dinamarca. Y presa que los Navios de Dunquerque hizieron a los Olandeses. Año de 1626.* Sevilla, Juan de Cabrera, 1626.
26. *Verissima relacion en que se da cuenta en el estado en que estan los Catolicos de Inglaterra por parte de los hereges, y con el zelo que la Reyna los favorece.* Sevilla, Juan de Cabrera, 1626.
27. *Relacion cierta de las novedades del Reyno de Inglaterra, y su Corte, embiada por un Catolico de la Ciudad de Londres a Paris Corte del Rey de Francia.* Madrid, Bernardino de Guzmán, 1626.
28. *Relacion en que se da cuenta de las grandiosas presas que los Navios de Dumquerque (de los Estados que govierna la Serenissima Infanta doña Isabel de la Paz) traen cada dia a sus Puertos.* Sevilla, Juan de Cabrera, 1626.
29. *Relacion de lo que ha sucedido en Alemania, Ungria, Flandes, Italia, y otras partes, desde 20. del mes de Octubre, hasta 26. de Noviembre deste presente año 1626 por avisos de Roma, &c.* Barcelona, Sebastian y Jaime Matevad, 1627.
30. *Vitoria que el Marques de Espinola a tenido en Inglaterra entrando, y saqueando la isla de Lycuria, y cogido en ella gran cantidad de ganado, y otras cosas.* Sevilla, Juan de Cabrera, 1627.
31. *Nuevas ciertas y fidedignas de la Vitoria que ha alcançado Don Fadrique de Toledo General de la Armada del Catolico Rey de España nuestro Señor, de ochenta y siete Vaxeles de Olandeses en la Isla de San Christoval cerca de la Auana, con otras nueuas dignas de ser sabidas.* Barcelona, Estevan Liberos, 1629.
32. Quirós de Montoya, J.: *Vitoria que el exercito de el Emperador de Alemania tuvo en la entrada de la Bartolina.* Sevilla, Juan de Cabrera, 1629.
33. Quirós de Montoya, J.: *Vitoria famosa que a tenido el exercito de el Rey nuestro señor sobre las Islas reveladas de Olanda, y la gente q' les ha muerto, y fuertes que les à cogido, y despoyos q' hallaron en el saqueo de la Villa de Huçen, y otras facciones.* Sevilla, Juan de Cabrera, 1629.
34. *Carta embiada de Flandes a un cavallero desta ciudad, en la qual se refiere una famosa vitoria que el Rey de Ungria, y Galaço han tenido contra los Franceses el mes de Setiembre pasado, y otro buen sucesso de su Alteza en Flandes.* Barcelona, Sebastian y Jaime Matevad, 1635.
35. *Nueva, y verdadera relacion de avisos llegados a la muy illustre, y noble ciudad de Roma, desde treynta de Julio hasta veinte y siete de Agosto desde año 1635 y agora nueuamente en Barcelona por la Gazeta. Contiene felices discursos, vitorias contra Franceses, y otros enemigos de la Magestad Cesarea de Felipe III. que Dios nos mantenga, con vn grandioso milagro que mostrò la Virgen santa de Loreto en la ciudad de Espoleti, en comemoracion de semejantes, y otras vitorias que se sirue conceder tan a menudo a sus fieles.* Barcelona, Gabriel Nogues, 1635.