

# News from the border: San Sebastian as an information hub in Early Modern Europe

(Noticias desde la frontera: San Sebastián como centro de información en los inicios de la Europa Moderna)

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*Bada liburu bat Donostian agertutako lehenbiziko egunkaria aztertzen duena eta XVII. mende bukaeran Bartzelonako astekari batean agertutako Donostiako berriak jasotzen dituena. Artikulu honen helburua da ekarpen hori osatzea; izan ere, agertutako zenbait frogaren arabera, Donostian jasotako berriak XVII. mendearen bukaeran eta XVIII.aren hasieran lehenbizi Zaragozan eta gero Bartzelonan argitaratu zirela esan daiteke.*

*Gako hitzak: Kazetaritzaren historia. Euskal Ikasketak. Europa Modernoaren hasiera. Donostia.*

*Existe un libro que estudia el primer periódico que apareció en San Sebastián, recogiendo las noticias de dicha ciudad que se publicaron en un semanario de Barcelona a finales del siglo XVII. El objeto del presente artículo es completar dicha contribución, ya que han aparecido nuevas pruebas de noticias tomadas de San Sebastián que se publicaron por primera vez en Zaragoza y luego en Barcelona a finales del siglo mencionado y primeros del siglo XVIII.*

*Palabras clave: Historia del periodismo. Estudios vascos. Inicios de la Europa Moderna. San Sebastián.*

*Il existe un livre qui étudie le premier journal qui est apparu à Saint-Sébastien, reprenant les actualités de cette ville qui ont été publiées dans un hebdomadaire de Barcelone à la fin du XVIIe siècle. Le but du présent article est de compléter cette contribution, vu que de nouvelles preuves d'informations relevées à Saint-Sébastien qui sont apparues ont été publiées pour la première fois à Saragosse puis à Barcelone à la fin dudit siècle et au début du XVIIIe siècle. ndépendants*

*Mots-clés: Histoire du journalisme. Études basques. Débuts de l'Europe Moderne. Saint-Sébastien.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

News hubs and information flow in European Early Modern journalism

The specific aim of this article is to explain the importance of San Sebastian, and other places nearby, in the dissemination of news in the Iberian Peninsula during the last decades of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, at the light of some new evidences we have found. Concretely, we will try to demonstrate the dependence of the news from the border managed around San Sebastian, an important place since the postal system from Flanders through France passed through the city, and how a Trans-Pyrenean news hub appeared to supply news to Spain. The relation of printers from San Sebastian (and other related places) with Saragossa, first, and secondarily with Barcelona, will be stressed too.

We are interested in placing our modest research effort in a wider framework, the information flow in Early Modern Europe, since journalism cannot be considered an isolated phenomenon at all. It is quite well known that Spanish-language newspapers were produced far beyond the borders of Spain, for instance in Brussels and in Amsterdam (Díaz Noci, 2012). Some of those titles, concretely *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas*, first launched in Brussels by Pedro de Cleyne and after his death by his widow, was punctually reproduced in San Sebastian by the Huarte family. Some others, like *Gazeta de Amsterdam*, published from 1672 onwards by a converse Jew from Portugal, David de Castro, was used some times as an information source in Spain, as we will mention later. Using several methodological tools, in the next future we intend to develop a wider research study on the history of Early Modern journalism in the Spanish languages in transnational perspective. This is, however, a much more modest contribution, but still framed in the activity of the so-called Ibernews (Iberian Early Modern News) group, alongside with Carmen Espejo and Francisco Baena, from the University of Seville. We have fixed our methodological options and scopes (Díaz Noci, 2016), devoted to the study of Early Modern journalism in the Iberian world, in several chapters of the book published as a result of that project, in which 35 scholars from 15 different countries have published our contributions (Raymond and Moxham, 2016).

As a step forward in one of the scopes of Ibernews group, to determine the relations between different actors in the news market in the Iberian world during the seventeenth century (and beginnings of the eighteenth century even) we present this paper, which takes as a starting point some of the conclusions presented at the XV Congress on the History of Barcelona, held in October, 2017. In this occasion, it is our purpose to exemplify how some collaboration was made in different foci of that information market in Spain to, at least, share information and, more concretely, which was the importance of San Sebastian in the European news market, since it was, as we will try to demonstrate in the following pages, a place in which many news from Central Europe were received in Spain and then distributed and replicated in some other relevant and, in the case of Barcelona - much lesser in the case of Saragossa, by the way -, well known news publishing cities in the Iberian Peninsula.

This paper will serve to exemplify how news agents worked in Europe at that time. We cannot simply rely all the importance in the news publishing activity on the shoulders of printers, even if they were, undoubtedly, a very important piece in the complex mechanism of news dissemination, and the best known. Some other agents, from authors of news themselves to editors, remain in the shadow of anonymity. Some news editors or publishers of the period are documented, for instance Thomas Gainsford, the author of *The secretaries' studie* (London, 1616) in England and publishers of some of the first *corantos* of the country (Eccles, 1982), not to mention the creation of an original news reporting style (Brownlees, 1999, 2007, 2011). But many others are not, although it is clear that many hands were used to produce a single issue of every newspaper at that time. Some references in those newspapers may help us to see that there were many people involved in the production of news at the beginning of journalism, and reporting, as we know it.

News were produced at some point, whose ultimate origin is difficult to determine, and reproduced, verbatim or adapted in some ways, with or without permission many times. This is also the case of the news sent from San Sebastian to other places and publishers. It is equally difficult to know faithfully if there was any kind of agreement amongst publishers or we are in front of purely piracy. Once again, some references mentioned in the news items themselves may help us to decide that, at least in some cases, clearly enough when news sent from Guipuzcoa (and Navarre) to Saragossa, and not so evident when those same news, and the whole issue in which they were contained, were reproduced in Barcelona. Anyway, Barcelona (like London, just to mention another example) was a city in which joint ventures were usual amongst printers and booksellers to produce and sell newspapers (Ettinghausen, 2005; Expósito, 2014; Camprubí, 2016), but still there is much work to be done on the relations between news agents in a broader context. If we are right and there was a quite continuous flow of news from San Sebastian to Saragossa, this is probably the best documented, to this point at least, initiative of its kind. It was not surprising, since this seems to be a rather usual strategy in many cases of Early Modern European newspaper publishing. Thus, it is possible to affirm that work specialization and separation of functions was not unusual in that period, and that not necessarily all the things to do when publishing a newspaper - printing, editing, translating, adapting, adding, or, as we will try to explain, supplying news items to other colleagues in some other places - were concentrated in just one individual person: the printer, who was the only one, in many occasions, who appeared at the imprint.

These conclusions will let us propose a partial historiographical revision of the origin of journalism in Spain which, according to our interpretation, was spurred by the particular initiative of printers in many occasions. Spanish printers decided to collaborate in many ways during the seventeenth century, not only in a specific place, but beyond cities' boundaries as well. This is a commercial vision of journalism history which has been too many times set aside in favor of a more political interpretation of the propaganda aims behind the publication of newsheets. In this paper, we intend to

depict a portrait of the collaboration strategies and news flow in Spain focusing on which was the entrance gate from Central Europe to the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the seventeenth century.

## **2. WAS SAN SEBASTIAN A NEWS HUB IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY? NEWS FROM THE FRENCH BORDER TO BARCELONA (THROUGH SARAGOSSA): THE CASE OF NOTICIAS GENERALES DE EUROPA**

### **2.1. The Huarte family, printers of Guipuzcoa**

This section continues the work started some years ago, in one of our previous works, a facsimile edition of the first newspapers published in the Basque Country, and concretely in San Sebastian, by the only printers of the province, the official ones, Pedro de Huarte and his half-brother Bernardo, in which we published a series of news items dated in the Guipuzcoan main town and probably gathered in the French border around Hondarribia [Fuenterrabía, following the contemporary name]. When we published the facsimile and a short contextual research on the first newspapers published in San Sebastian (those of the Huarte family) from at least 1688 until at least 1728, approximately four decades of presumably continuous activity, we included in the book some addenda with the transcription of a handwritten gazette dated on October 14, 1689, and preserved in the archive of the city of Hondarribia<sup>1</sup>. That handwritten gazette, whose title was *Novedades de la Europa*, was dated October 14, 1689 (just eleven days before Pedro de Huarte published a news item dated in San Sebastian too).

Based on some issues published in Barcelona of the series entitled *Noticias Generales de Europa venidas a Barcelona por el correo de Flandes* preserved in the Library of the University of Barcelona (1684-1686) and in the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid (1692), we were able to recover many news sent from San Sebastian during those years of intense news publishing activity in both cities, and in Saragossa too.

A decade later, Xevi Camprubí successfully defended his PhD dissertation on Rafael de Figueró, printer of the aforementioned gazette, and explained that, actually, *Noticias Generales de Europa venidas a Barcelona por el correo de Flandes* was a reproduction of a newspaper published first in Saragossa. We have consulted many issues of both newspapers (the original one printed in Saragossa and the reprinted numbers in Barcelona) and have been able to recover a good number of items dated in San Sebastian and in Navarre, in which evidences of a news reporting organization can be traced back, from 1684 to 1706 at least. Those news items were gathered and elaborated in the north (Bayonne, San Sebastian and Pamplona), sent to Saragossa and reprinted in Barcelona by Rafael Figueró. This sheds

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1. Archivo Municipal de Hondarribia, AMH E. 1, I, 11. Once again, we thank Carlos Rilova for letting us know this document he discovered in his hometown.

some light on the importance of both San Sebastian and Saragossa in the informative flow of those final years of the seventeenth century.

The Guipuzcoan case shows many interesting particularities. First of all, its main cities, Irun, Hondarribia and San Sebastian, were at the so-called Flemish courier way, the line which linked Central Europe with Spain. This is our main hypothesis, and our aim: to underline the importance, even in the first times of journalism, of this place as a very important, and undervalued, news hub.

It all started with Martin de Huarte. In 1667, he applied himself as the first *official* printer of Guipuzcoa, through a license given by the Juntas Generales so he achieved a monopoly to publish any kind of printed sheets. He was not, instead, the first printer who operated in San Sebastian, because Pedro de Borgoña, a bookseller, established a printing press in the town between 1584 and 1586, but in spite of his insistence, he never managed to be appointed as the official printer of the Province (Ferández de Casadevante, 2012).

Whilst Venice was the destination of the most important printers of the moment (Camprubí, 2016: 18) for their sons and heirs to learn the skill, the Basque printers preferred France, concretely Bordeaux, for this purpose, since it is documented that Pedro de Huarte, Martín de Huarte's favorite son, was sent to that French town to improve the skills first learnt with his father. Amsterdam was the place to purchase typefaces. According to documents extant in the archive of this institution, precisely, we do know that Martin de Huarte paid 300 ducats in exchange of a typographical set (Múgica, 1934), actually Martin de Huarte's first known printed document, in 1668, is entitled *Memorial de Martin de Huarte a la Provincia de Guipúzcoa manifestándole los gastos que ha hecho para traer de Ámsterdam letras nuevas y cajas en virtud del nombramiento que se le dio de Impresor de la Provincia, y pide una ayuda de costa y salario como tal impresor [Memorial by Martin de Huarte to the Province of Guipuzcoa explaining the spending done to bring new typefaces and printing boxes from Amsterdam due to the appointment as the official printer of Guipuzcoa, and asks for a help and a salary as such printer]*.

Ten years later, in 1677, Martin de Huarte died, and the Province appointed his widow, Francisca de Aculodi, as his successor, just until one of Martin's sons "would arrive to a state of being able to manage" the press, which happened in 1688, when Pedro de Huarte was nominated as the *future* official printer of the Province (and, which is more important since it ensured the assignment of all printed stuff, of its institutions, especially the Guipuzcoan *Juntas Generales*). The younger brother, Bernardo, certainly Francisca de Aculodi's son -Pedro de Huarte's second name, that from his mother María, Martin's first wife, was Manterola, instead- was proposed by his mother for the same charge, allegedly because she had maintained him at Bordeaux learning French, Latin and the typographical art, and was successful since Bernardo de Huarte was appointed official printer of Guipúzcoa in 1691.

This family situation could explain why some of the issues of the two alternative newspaper they published in San Sebastian, *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas*, a reprinting of a gazette published in Spanish language in Brussels by Pedro de Cleyn, first, and his widow later, and another biweekly gazette entitled *Noticias Extraordinarias del Norte*, were printed by Pedro de Huarte or by Bernardo de Huarte and his mother Francisca de Aculodi. Actually, her activity as a printer alone is scarce. Regarding the newspapers we studied, she appears as the only printer just in six imprints and issues in 1688. One of those issues, even, was published twice, the one of *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas* dated October 25, 1688<sup>2</sup>, and an original paragraph was added in Pedro's version. So it seems clear that at one point there were two printing press in San Sebastian: the one managed by Francisca de Aculodi and his son Bernardo, and the one managed by Pedro de Huarte, whose first product went out of his press in 1683. It is probable, according to María Dolores Fernández de Casadevante, that Bernardo was the printer of the Province and Pedro the printer of the town. All two brothers and Francisca de Aculodi were in good relation, or at least had common interests, since it is documented that they litigated between 1693 and 1697 against Maria de Huarte, probably Martin de Huarte's sister, because of his inheritance. They appeared, at that point, as residents of Huarte-Araquil (Uharte Arakil in Basque language), a village placed in Navarre half way between San Sebastian and Pamplona where Martin de Huarte was born (Fernández de Casadevante, 2012: 74)<sup>3</sup>. Francisca de Aculodi left the charge and the half-brothers continued working both in San Sebastian and in Pamplona, so it is quite clear that, at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they controlled a good part of the news flow in that part of the Iberian Peninsula. From 1707, Pedro de Huarte was again the official printer of Guipuzcoa, since his half-brother Bernardo had left the town and established another printing press in Pamplona. He kept on working in San Sebastian until 1729, when Pedro de Huarte died. At that moment, he was publishing another weekly newspaper, a more elaborated one, *Extractos de Noticias Universales* (some few numbers of 1727 and 1728 are extant), clearly addressed to the healthy bourgeoisie and the emerging enlightened elite around the so-called Compañía Guipuzcoana de Caracas, which is proved because the bursar was that of the Real Casa de Misericordia and

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2. The week in which that gazette was not published, Huarte published another bi-weekly newspaper, *Noticias Extraordinarias del Norte*, which, seems not to be a simple reproduction of any other gazette, so some kind of, so to say, journalistic elaboration, for instance gathering and adapting news from some other undetermined sources, to this point at least. It is documented, on the other side, that handwritten gazettes were produced in Hondarribia (Fuenterrabía, as it was name at that time), at least in 1689. It is significant, in our opinion, to underline how this is the same year in which news using correspondence from abroad were used in San Sebastian to be added to *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas*, as a prove of an incipient fully journalistic activity of not merely collecting, printing and reprinting, but also newswriting.

3. See Pedro de Huarte, Bernardo de Huarte y Francisca de Aculodi, curadora de Francisca de Huarte, cesionaria de Martin de Huarte, vecinos de Huarte-Araquil, contra Maria de Huarte, viuda de Juan de Irañeta, y Lorenzo de Irañeta y otros, vecinos de Huarte-Araquil, sobre cumplimiento de sentencias relativas al derecho y posesion de la herencia de Martin de Huarte, vecino de Huarte-Araquil. Corte Mayor de Navarra, reference ES/NA/AGN/F146/241069.

one of the main shareholders of the Company, Juan Antonio de Claessens, of Dutch origin by the way.

The situation of the Huarte printers was, as previously said, very different from the competition in which printers and booksellers of more populated Spanish places were obliged to developed more sophisticated entrepreneurial strategies, from joint ventures to complaints to courts and institutions not only to print but to sell books and booklets -a separated activity legally imposed in the case of Barcelona, for instance, since Rafael Figueró did not achieve such a monopoly until the Succession War, when he was appointed by Archduke Charles of Austria.

In this sense, it is meaningful to consult the imprint of many issues of the gazettes we study, *Noticias generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes*, in which Rafael de Figueró, printer and thus not allowed to sell books, announced that Father Vieira's works in four volumes were sold at his and printers Antonio Lacavalleria's, Jacinto Andreu's and Joseph Llopis' staples<sup>4</sup>. This happened in 1685. Six years later, in 1691, the imprint of his newspaper announced another book, *Flos Sanctorum* by Alonso de Villegas with some more pious imagery (a specialty of printers those times, since it was a good selling product of the press), for sale at his and Juan Solis' staples. Those strategies included, like it happened at the beginning of his journalistic activity in Amsterdam in the case of the first printer who published a Spanish-language gazette from 1672 until 1702, David de Castro Tartás<sup>5</sup>, financial aid and management. *The Jewish Encyclopedia* says that Jacob, probably David's youngest brother, 'participated in the management of the printing-office'<sup>6</sup>. As we will mention later, at least in 1695 this small gazette was used as a source of information in Spain.

Coming back to San Sebastian, it is uncertain to affirm roundly that there was an office which produced news items in San Sebastian, and equally uncertain whether that hypothetical office was placed in the same store in which Pedro de Huarte's printing press was located, besides St Vincent's parish in the city. It is true that Pedro de Huarte managed to publish some news of his own, produced and dated in San Sebastian, added to those directly republished from the original newspaper *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas* published every fifteen days in Brussels, and a week later in the Guipuzcoan town. For instance, there is one news item added to the issue published in San Sebastian on June 28, 1688. About the birth of

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4. *Noticias generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes* à 28 de Setiembre del año de 1685. Barcelona: Rafael Figueró

5. Actually, David de Castro decided to retire from printing and leave Amsterdam in 1697. Later on, from 1697-1698 onwards, the Gazeta was printed by David de Castro's successor Moses Mendes Coitinho until 1702, at least, and from then onwards by Manuel Texeira.

6. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4134-castro-tartas-david-b-abraham>, accessed March 5, 2014. The Encyclopedia follows Johann Samuel Ersch and Johann Gottfried Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* (Leipzig, 1818-1889), part XXVIII. 28: 67.

the Prince of Wales “by the extraordinary post with the news to Madrid”, and another one on October 25, 1689, using “letters from Germany”<sup>7</sup>. We do know that they worked occasionally with some other newsmongers to publish individual newssheets or *relaciones*. At least, they published four of those:

Relación Verdídica, Varios festines, Corridas de Toros, y banquetes. Fiestas que la nobilissima ciudad de San Sebastián hizo al nacimiento de D. Sebastián Baltasar Carlos Calders y Rojas, hijo de D. Phelipe Ramon de Calders y Marimon, y de Doña Catalina de Rojas y Sosa, à los doze y treze de junio de 1672. San Sebastian: Martin de Huarte, 1672

Relación de los nuevos alborotos sucedidos en Constantinopla, segun lo que refiere un capitán de la Nacion Francesa, que partio a 6 de Mayo ultimo, y luego a Venecia a primeros de abril. Added to Noticias principales... San Sebastian, May 3, 1688.

Breve relación de lo que sucedió en la N. y L. Ciudad de San Sebastián el día 7 de Diciembre del año 1688. Impreso en la Ciudad en casa de don Pedro de Huarte, junto a la Parroquia de San Vicente.

Relacion del tránsito del Señor Phelipe Quinto Rey de España por el mes de Enero del Año de 1701. Por los términos de la muy Noble y muy Leal Provincia de Guipuzcoa. San Sebastian: Bernardo de Huarte, 1701<sup>8</sup>.

## 2.2. News supply from San Sebastian to other places of Spain

A regular commercial relation in the supply of news between the different places of Spain is proved, even news supply from Barcelona to Madrid is also proved during the last decades of the seventeenth century. For instance, in *Noticias Ordinarias del Norte, Italia, España y otras partes*, a serial, semi-periodical gazette published by Vicente de Armendáriz, “librero del Rey Nuestro Señor y Curial de Roma” (the official editor of both the Crown and the Catholic Church, since the printers vary being the most constant one Antonio Román) it is continuously mentioned how news were supply by the see from Genoa through Barcelona, which took a week to arrive and be published<sup>9</sup>. These *Noticias Ordinarias del Norte, Italia, España y*

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7. “Las ultimas cartas de Alemania, traen la feliz noticia, de que haviendo sido socorrido el Serasquier con nuevo resfuerço, tuvo segundo choque Luis de Baden, donde derotto à los Turcos, y se apodero de la plaça de Nissa, y passado con su exercito à la de Sofia, esperanse con ansia las circunstancias de tan gloriosos sucessos”.

8. A couple of individual newssheets published in the Basque country or written and sold there are known before the Huarte family's activity period, both of known authors: Juan de Neyra, *Relación verdadera que trata del lastimoso suceso, y desgracia que sucedió en la Villa de San Sebastián de Vizcaya, Puerto de mar, en este año de 1630*. Burgos: Pedro de Udobre, 1630, and Martín de Aspilqueta, *Relación de todo lo sucedido en Fuenterrabia, desde que el príncipe de Condè la puso cerco, hasta que se retiró con afrentosa huida*. Bilbao: Matías Marés.

9. News came from “vna embarcacion, que ha llegado oy [October 1, 1695, published in Madrid ten days later, October 11] de Genova, en ocho dias, se ha tenido noticia que los Venecianos han derrotado en los Mares de Scio la Armada del turco [...]. Las demas



*otras partes* (in 1695-1696, at least) included news dated in San Sebastian, but were usually published under the heading "Madrid", which usually gathered news from many places of Spain, like, once again, Saragossa, Barcelona, Pamplona, but also Málaga, Ceuta, Melilla or Cadis. There are at least two that need to be added to that list: Saragossa and San Sebastian.

Regarding to Saragossa, main town of the Kingdom of Aragon, it is well known the news publishing activity after the Thirty Years' War. In 1648 Pedro Pascual printed a newsheet entitled *Gazeta del sitio y socorro de Orbitelo*. The heirs of Pedro Lanaia y Lamarca, printers of the Crown and the University, published in 1650 another non-periodical newsheet, whose title was *Copia de vna carta venida de Roma de tres de Ivnio de 1650. Dase noticia en ella de las armadas de su Magestad, y de los sucessos que passan en Roma en este año del Santo Iubileo*. It also well known the activity of Jerónimo de Barrionuevo, who on Saturdays from 1654 and 1658 sent with the ordinary post news letters from Madrid to a Dean of Saragossa to be shared with some other important people of the city. It is documented how in 1655 two French travelers met in Saragossa a rich banker who received punctually gazettes and handwritten *avvisi* from Paris. The continuation of the first weekly newspaper edited in Madrid by Francisco Fabro Bremundan on behalf of Juan José de Austria, the *Gazeta Nueva*, had a continuation in Saragossa<sup>10</sup> when the king's bastard was appointed General Vicar of the Crown of Aragon, so Bremundan published there from January to September of 1676 36 issues of a weekly periodical, *Avisos ordinarios de las cosas del Norte*. Bremundan was an editor, not a printer, so he worked with and commissioned some printer to publish his newspaper. In Saragossa, he chose Diego Dormer. His heirs, and some times another printer named Pedro Argayón, published from 1683 onwards a usually weekly newspaper whose title was *Noticias generales de Europa venidas a Zaragoza por el correo de Flandes* (sometimes por la vía secreta de Flandes; por los correos ordinarios de Flandes e Italia; por los extraordinarios de Alemania y Milan). During the last years of the century, some other titles were added, usually upon a non-periodical basis, informing about the events happened in Catalonia: *Gazetilla Extraordinaria, en que se refieren las noticias, que se tuvieron de Italia, y Cataluña*, at least three issues published by Jayme Magallón, continued by *Noticias mas expresivas de los sucessos de Cataluña y asedio de Barcelona*, by *Diario Puntual de lo sucedido en el asedio de la Ciudad de Barcelona* (1696) and by *Diario y noticias conseqventes de los svcessos de Catalvña (June–August 1697)*, all printed by Pedro de Argayón. Some other periodical or semi-periodical titles were published as well: *Mercurio veloz y verídico de los sucessos y noticias más principales y generales de Europa, por medio del correo de Flandes, que llegó a esta Ciudad de Zaragoza* by Domingo Gascón from 1697 onwards, and most especially the *Gazeta de Zaragoza*, which was first published by Pedro Argayón in 1696 and

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circunstancias de tan sangriento combate, se esperan saber con el Correo de Italia, que se espera con impaciencia".

10. Some reprintings of the Madrilian *Gazeta Nueva* were produced in Saragossa the very first year they were published in Madrid, 1661.

finished in 1782. Pedro Argayón, at the same time in 1701-1703, published another periodical newspaper, *Noticias vltimamente uenidas a Zaragoza y publicadas en ella oy*. The activity around news gathering and printing was, thus, very intense in Saragossa from 1648 onwards.

We do not need to explain the activity of news publication in Catalonia, especially Barcelona, during all the seventeenth century. The aforementioned works by Expósito and Campubí, and before them by Jaume Guillamet and Henry Ettinghausen, have established an extremely depth explanation on how journalism was in Early Modern history in Barcelona, a “media hub” as defined by Henry Ettinghausen.

The relation of these three cities (San Sebastian, Saragossa, Barcelona), and the people involved in the business of journalism in Early Modern history, is quite evident as based in the evidence we will provide. Moreover, their influence was projected to other news hubs of the time, singularly Madrid, since letters of news to be published in the newspapers of the Spanish Court passed from the border of Guipuzcoa and were known first in Hondarribia or San Sebastian than in Madrid, and Barcelona, in which one of the most important printers and news entrepreneur of the time, Rafael de Figueró (alone or with some other colleagues) republished with some regularity news from the French border using the newspapers published in Saragossa. On the other hand, news from Barcelona were published in the Saragossan edition<sup>11</sup>. Who was the sender is unknown, but that same news item gives us a clue of it: a “daily journal” planned to be published on the events in Catalonia from November 22 to December 3, 1689, the publication of which was subject to a license to be printed. Another mention to the commercial relationship amongst printers from Barcelona and Saragossa (meaning: Rafael Figueró and the Dormer family) is mentioned too<sup>12</sup>.

It is quite well known that a newspaper published first in Aragon and then in Catalonia, *Noticias Generales de Europa*, used with some regularity items dated in both territories of the Basque Country placed in both sides of the border: Bayonne and San Sebastian. San Sebastian, main town of Guipuzcoa, and Hondarribia, were crucial passing points of the postal

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11. See, e.g., the item dated in Barcelona, December 4 1689, published just three days later in Saragossa, *Noticias generales de Europa, venidas a Zaragoza por el Correo de Italia miercoles a 7 de Deziembre de 1689*. University Library, Seville. A 112/045(38). “Hallase este Pais enteramente pacificado, con el desengaño patente de los pueblos comovidos, por la declaración de la Diputacion, y por la fuga de Henrique de Torres, vno de los Autores del solevamiento; y finalmente por la muerte del otro Cabo llamado Anton Soler, del Lugar de Samboy, la qual se executò de orden de Su Excelencia del Señor Duque Vi-Rey, por Iuan Petit, Paisano de Sarrià, assistido de vn Soldado natural de Madrid, y de vn criado suyo Bizcaino con sumo valor, è industria. Su Cabeza traída por el referido Petit a S. Exc. Viernes dos del corriente a las 7. de la mañana se colgó dentro desta Ciudad, en el paraje llamado de los Traydores, y sus quartos se pondrán en las Puertas principales, para publico escarmiento.”

12. “Vn Diario que se avia ideado de todo lo sucedido en esta Comocion posar desde 22. De Noviembre hasta tres de Deziembre, no ha dado aun a la Estampa, y si se alcançare licencia para imprimirlo, se remitirà a los correspondientes desta Ciudad de Zaragoza para repetir su impression.” *Noticias generales de Europa, venidas a Zaragoza por el Correo de Italia miercoles a 7 de Deziembre de 1689*.

system, which took the letters from Flanders and France and brought it through Bordeaux (Arblaster, 2005: 21). It is not known whether news from Bayonne were sent directly to Saragossa, and then published again in Barcelona, or that passed them through San Sebastian as well. If this is the case, is not unusual that items dated both in Bayonne and San Sebastian, in different days, were published in *Noticias Generales de Europa*.

Let us explain how news flowed from San Sebastian and ended up in Barcelona through Saragossa. The conjunct of news items dated in San Sebastian, Bayonne and Pamplona will help to explain some characteristics of it. The first news item dated in San Sebastian we have found was published in *Noticias Generales de Evropa, pvblicadas a 1. de Ivlio de 1684* [s.l.]: [s.e.], an issue extant in the library of the University of Barcelona, presumably published in the Catalan capital. It is, instead, a much better product than the rest of the issues of *Noticias Generales de Europa* published by Figueró, and sometimes other printers too, much more modest printed sheets. That news item from San Sebastian is dated on June 13, two weeks before the publication of the gazette, a long period if it were a direct source and not a reprinting taken from another gazette of Saragossa. It contains news about Bayonne, the main city of the French Basque Country, whose relation both by sea or by land with San Sebastian and with some other cities of the Spanish Basque Country was and is fluid. The news explains how the French army was preparing an attack on San Sebastian and was concentrating a great amount of bombs. On the other hand, San Sebastian was fortifying itself to prepare a defense. News directly from San Sebastian and on the city itself closed the piece, since twelve French merchant ships had been taken in the Bay of the Guipuzcoan town. The same issue offers another news item dated in a Spanish news hub, from the extraordinary post from Madrid, about the war against the Turks. We lack more issues of *Noticias Generales de Europa*, both its version of Saragossa and Barcelona, so it is not possible, to this extent, to determine whether more news from San Sebastian were used that year. This happens too in 1685, since we just know one news item from the Guipuzcoan city, which appeared in *Noticias generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes à 28 de Setiembre del año de 1685*, on a concentration of French war ships in the bay of Hondarribia during the summer. The item is dated back on September 18, ten days before the publication of the gazette. Since the original issue published in Saragossa is not known, we cannot compare, to this point, how many days took the information from San Sebastian to be known for the first time.

We know much more news from Guipuzcoa published in 1689, especially during the month of September. In this case, we get the original versions published in Saragossa, so we can assure that news from San Sebastian took a short while to be published, just four days average. News from San Sebastian sent on September 20 were received in Saragossa on September 24. The title of the newspaper is meaningful enough: those news items were

added to the ordinary post from Flanders<sup>13</sup> which passed to the French-Spanish border of Guipuzcoa and was regularly sent to Saragossa. Someone in San Sebastian took charge of it and possibly added some fresh news too. Were them the printers of the Guipuzcoan gazettes? That particular issue (*Noticias generales de Europa: venidas à Zaragoza por los correos ordinarios de Flandes, è Italia, el sabado à 24 y por dos extraordinarios de Alemania, y Milan, que llegan domingo à 25 de setiembre de 1689*) demonstrate which were the main sources of information at that time: the aforementioned post from Flanders through Guipuzcoa, and, as we know by the last news item published in that issue and dated in Saragossa the same day of the publication, September 25, 1689, the postal service to Madrid (“Oy han pasado a la Corte de Madrid vn Extraordinario del señor Emperador, y otro del Governador de Milan a su Magestad”) which passes through Aragon. That way, Saragossa and San Sebastian were taking advantage of their privileged geographical situation.

In addition to ordinary and extraordinary post<sup>14</sup> with more or less public news (*avisos*), particular letters could also be used as a source of information, as stated in the news dated in Bayonne on September 26, 1689, and published the first of October in Saragossa (“después de los avisos que se passaron a España...se han tenido más recientes noticias por cartas particulares”), and on October 22, 1691, in this occasion received from Rotterdam, the Netherlands<sup>15</sup>. Usually, the main destination of the post from Flanders was not Saragossa or Barcelona, but Madrid. Having a good contact in San Sebastian, the printers of Saragossa ensured that news were first known there, copied and, if necessary, some others of their own added<sup>16</sup>.

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13. Varias Cartas de Flandes dizen...”, *Noticias generales de Europa venidas de Zaragoza por el correo de Flandes Sabado a 14 de enero de 1690*. Saragossa: [s.e.], 1690. University Library, Seville, A 112/045(44).

14. “Han pasado esta semana dos Correos Extraordinarios del Norte para Madrid, y sobre la confirmación de la grande victoria de Imperiales contra Turcos ca la Ribera Morava, y rendimiento de Moguncia, añaden, que también se tomó la Ciudad, y Plaza de Bona por las Tropas Brandemburgesas, y Monasterienses” (*Noticias generales de Europa: con las particulares del rendimiento de Moguncia, y Bona, confirmacion, y prosecucion de la batalla de los imperiales contra turcos, y victoria de las armas de su magestad en Flandes, venidas por el correo de allà à Zaragoza Sabado à 1. de Octubre de 1689*. Saragossa: Herederos de Diego Dormer, 1689. University Library, Seville. A 112/044(41bis))

15. “Por cartas particulares escritas de Rotterdam de 8. del corriente, avisan, acabava de llegar noticia de Inglaterra, en q[ue] participavan de como aviendo juntados los Irlandeses, para entrar socorro en Limerik, avian sido derrotados por las Tropas del Rey Guillermo enteramente, en particular la Cavalleria, y que la Infanteria se avia retirado a las montañas; que en la Plaça avia brecha abierta por donde podian passar 50. hombres de frente, y aun añaden, que el Governador pedia capitulacion” (in *Noticias generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes à 2 de Noviembre de 1691*)

16. E.g., this news ítem published October 18, 1686 :” Ha passado vna Posta á Madrid, que se dize lleua la nueva de la rota del Visir, y ocupacion del Puente de Essec por los Imperiales, y dicha Posta ha dexado aquí la copia siguiente de vna Carta que el Baxá de Buda escrivià al Serenissimo Señor Duque de Lorena, el dia 31. de Agosto”. We just know the versión published in Barcelona in *Noticias Generales de Evropa, y particlvares de la Conquista de Napoles*

News dated in San Sebastian about information handled from the post from Flanders included news from Germany, the Netherlands, England and of course France (see, for instance, *Noticias generales de Evropa, venidas a Zaragoza por el Correo de Italia, Martes à 25 y por el de Flandes Sabado à 29 de Octubre de 1689*. Saragossa: [s.e.], “con licencia”, 1689 (University Library, Seville, A 112/045(32)). Normally, information from the Flemish and from the Italian posts were published separately, giving birth to two different serial or periodical newspapers, *Noticias Generales de Europa venidas a Zaragoza* [when republished in Catalonia, a Barcelona] *por el correo de Flandes* and *Noticias Generales de Europa venidas a Zaragoza* [when republished in Catalonia, a Barcelona] *por el correo de Italia*. A third one was published in Barcelona, *Noticias Generales de Europa venidas a Barcelona por el correo de Francia*, as X. Camprubí has checked, a translation into Spanish of the Gazette of France. Still, Rafael Figueró published or republished in *Noticias Generales de Europa venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes*, most probably reproducing the Saragossan gazette, news items dated in Paris, especially in 1689. Letters from Flanders were the main information source gathered in San Sebastian and then sent to Saragossa to be finally republished in Barcelona (see, for instance, *Noticias generales de Europa venidas de Zaragoza por el correo de Flandes Sabado a 14 de enero de 1690*. Saragosssa: [s.e.], 1690. [University Library, Seville, A 112/045(44)]: “Varias Cartas de Flandes dicen...”). But letter from the South, and not exclusively from the North, were used too in San Sebastian. In the issue of *Noticias Generales de Europa* (re)published in Barcelona on February 29, 1692, dated in San Sebastian, February 18, 1692. an item echoing news from Cadis is given. The final source ended up being a well-known typology of informers: a military, “el Capitàn de vn Patache” who detailed the movements of the French, English and Dutch war ships<sup>17</sup>.

That year of 1692 is the one in which the gazette we examine published more news from San Sebastian. Many news items collected in the Guipuzcoan town near the French border dealt with military movement in the coasts and in inner territory in Europe, for instance in the Netherlands<sup>18</sup> and

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*de Romania por las Armas Venecianas, venidas à Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes à 18. de Octubre. Y vá al vltimo vna Carta escrita del Baxà de Buda, al Serenissimo Señor Duque de Lorena,*

17. *Noticias Generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes, à 29 de Febrero de 1692*, p. 4.

18. See, for instance, the item published in *Noticias Generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes, à 18 de Março de 1692* “Avisase de todas estas Fronteras, que aviendo corrido la voz del viaje del Rey de Francia con el Delfin a los Payses baxos, el Rey Guillermo con esta noticia avia despachado yà a aquellas partes todo su Carruage con vn gran tren de Artilleria; y assimismo avia embarcado muchos Morteros, para tirar bombas, y otros instrumentos militares; y assimismo quinze mil Carcassas, avisando el Rey Guillermo, estaria en el Pays baxo con mucha brevedad.”

Flanders<sup>19</sup>. News from the war front in the Rhin river in Germany, gathered in Köln, were given too<sup>20</sup>.

News letters came to San Sebastian mainly from Brussels, most probably altogether with Pedro de Cleyn's (or, later, his widow's) Spanish-language gazette, published in the capital of the Spanish Flanders, *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas*, promptly reproduced in San Sebastian just one week after its publication in Brussels (news from Spain were removed, though). It took approximately ten days from Brussels to arrive to San Sebastian and to be once again sent, elaborated as a news item, to Saragossa (and then to Barcelona), as it is clearly stated in a news item dated in the Basque town on August 18, 1692: at the beginning of the news item, it is said that "there is a letter from Brussels to this City, August 7..." about a military event happened four days before. on August 3. The news item was published in Barcelona (we have not been able to, this point, to consult the original *Noticias Generales de Europa* printed in Saragossa, if there is one in this case) on August 20, 1692, just 17 days after the events it explains, 13 days after it was sent first from Brussels, and just two days after it was sent from San Sebastian<sup>21</sup>.

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19. "Avisan de todas estas Fronteras, que aviendose sabido en Francia la Llegada del Duque de Baviera a Flandes, se hazian grandes prevenciones en toda la Francia, juzgandose que S. M. Christianissima estaria en Flandes, para hazer la campaña el primero de Mayo; y assimismo, noticioso S. M. de la grande Armada de Inglaterra, y Olanda, y que esta trata mucha gente de desembarco, para echarla en tierra de Normandia, avia nombrado el Rey de Francia al Mariscal de Bellafont con Exercito a parte, para que vele sobre estos designios; y que la Armada de Francia, numerosa de quarenta Navios, Galeras, y otras embarcaciones, avia salido de Tolon, y Marsella con su comandante el Mariscal de Etré, que avia passado por frente Ibiza, encaminandose a la Normandia, para guardar aquellas costas e impedir los designios de Igleles, y Olandeses, y assimismo, que en Bayona se han levantado 15000. hombres para guarnecer aquella Plaça, y los recién convertidos en Francia se huyen de sus tierras, y passan a servir ak Rey Guillermo. Dizese tambien, queda en estrecha prision en Bruxelas, de orden del Rey Guillermo el Marques de Gastañaga, Governador que fue de los Países Baxos, se ignora la causa." *Noticias Generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes, à 25 de Abril de 1692.*

20. *Noticias Generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes, à 8 de Agosto de 1692.* Barcelona: [Rafael de Figueró]

21. "En esta Ciudad ay carta de Bruxelas de 7. de Agosto con las noticias siguientes: El dia 3. del corriente el Duque de Lucemburgo estava acampado, y fortificado más acá de Enguien con 40000. hõbre, y las Tropas de Anover han llegado a nuestro Exercito, y dos Regimientos que han servido en Irlanda, que consta cada vno de mil y ochocientos hõbres; y todos los dias nos vienen Regimientos Alemanes, de forma que tenemos vn Exercito muy numeroso para desalojar los Franceses, y emprender algun sitio. A dos de este mes hubo consejo de Guerra, para atacar a los Enemigos, y el Principe de Valdec lo contradixo, fundando su razon en que no avia disposicion de terreno, porque el a la drecha de nuestro Exercito estava toda en desfiladeros; y el Rey Guillermo ardiente en presentar la batalla quiso atacarlos, hizo marchar su Exercito el dia 3. a las dos de la mañana, y mandò marchassen doze Regimientos de las Tropas suyas, como son Ingleses, Escoceses, Daneses que vinieron de Irlanda, y Alemanes, y Olandezes, para atacar vn puesto que los Franceses tenian muy fortificados sobre vna eminencia, y los Aliados a cuerpo descubierto los desalojaron de esta, ganando a los Enemigos siete plazas de Artilleria; si bien en esta funcion perdimos muchos Oficiales, y luego fueron socorridos los Aliados por el General Macay, que obrò en este lançe milagros, esto ha escrito vn caballero que se hallò en el choque; y como avia corto terreno, nuestra Cavalleria no pudo jugar. Los Franceses se

Which is important to be stressed, though, is the fact that on that period San Sebastian was not just a hub through which news letters passed, but a news production, and not merely reproduction, center in the Iberian Peninsula, even if an incipient one, which supply news to other places of Spain. The news item dated in San Sebastian on September 22, 1692, is in its integrity gathered and written *in situ*: “From this City they sail to privateer ten frigates with ten cannons” which captured some French and Danish ships<sup>22</sup>.

Beyond the publication of news from San Sebastian in the aforementioned *Noticias Generales de Europa* newspaper, both in its editions of Saragossa and Barcelona, the collaboration arrived until the first years of the next century. News from the border of France (the axis Bayonne-San Sebastian) still appeared in another newspaper published by Rafael Figueró in Barcelona with news from (or through) Saragossa: *Mercurio veloz, y veridico de noticias venidas a Barcelona dia 16. de julio por el Correo de Zaragoza*, which affected the Succession War in which the Catalans were actively involved by that time, so Figueró needed fresh news from Europe by

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retiraron a vn bosque cercano, y los Aliados los siguieron hasta el mismo bosque que era muy espesso, y los Franceses avian sembrado en èl tres carretadas de granadas, y polvora a la altura de las granadas, y dando fuego estas hizieron grande destrozo en los Aliados, y el General Macay murió, y los Franceses bolvieron à recobrar la eminencia, y artilleria que los Aliados avian ganado. Los exercitos se retiraron, el de Francia à la parte de Enguien, y el de los Aliados à Al. Vn Proveedor General, que lo es del rey Guillermo, y Olanda dize, que en los carros que llebava para la conduccion de viveres recogió en el campo hasta 4000. y siete heridos para llevarlos a los Hospitales, y que de muertos serian hasta 3000. El choque durò desde las onze de la maña[na] hasta las seis de la tarde, y de la desgracia de los Aliados fue el que tuviesen el viento contrario, pues la grande cantidad de humo los sufocava. Los Franceses dizen, que ha sido tanta su perdida como la de los Aliados; y otros dizen que ha sido mas de parte de Francia, y que de estos han muerto los Cabos siguientes. El Duque de Chatres primogenito del Duque de Orliens, el Principe de Turena primogenito del Duque de Bullon, el Marques de Bellefons, el Señor de Pulier, el Marques de Tillader, el Marques de Alegre, el Marques de Blainville, el Conde de San Florentin, el Cavallero de Murce, el Marques de Porsegut, el Marques de Vins, el Señor de Surlanbe, el Cavallero de Estrades, el Señor de Bernevil, Monsiur Firladit, Monsiur Colbert, el Marques de Tournay, el Marques Thianges, el Marques de Puisegar, el Señor de Lanregat, el Señor de Bantebis, el Señor de Estoppe, sin otros muchos, que se ignoran; a mas de esto quedò desecho enteramente el Regimiento de Orliens, y dos batallones de Mosqueteria de los Regimientos de el Rey enteramente desechos, y otros Regimientos muy maltratados; han tomado los Aliados vn Estandarte, y segun el aparato que ay està en animo de bolver à las manos; al Mariscal Duque de Lucemburgo le mataron dos cavallos, y de los dessertores Franceses que se escaparon a toda brida aseguran, que quedò herido el Marques de Bufers que entrò de refresco en la batalla vna hora despues que estavan en ella. A diez de este mes salieron al mar las Armadas Inglesa, y Olandesa en numero de ducientas velas con gente de desembarco, llevan en ella provisiones, y viveres para seis meses, van en drechura a los Puertos de Francia, ignorase donde caerà el rayo de esta fuerte Armada. Dizese mucho està sitiado Namur por el Elector de Brandemburgo, y que el Governador de esta Plaça Conde de Guiscar haze transportar muchas provisiones, y viveres al Castillo, por si es atacado, que los Exercitos del Rin no tardaran en obrar, y corria mucho sitiariàn a Filisburgo, que Franceses quemar; y abrassan todos los caminos por donde passan. Hablase mucho de pedir paces al Rey de Francia, restituyendo quatro Ciudades desmanteladas.” *Noticias Generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes, à 20 de Agosto de 1692*

22. *Noticias Generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes, à 3 de Octubre de 1692*. Barcelona: [Rafael Figueró].

the post from Flanders, as usual, as it is evident by a couple of news items dated in San Sebastian, July 3, 1706<sup>23</sup>, and Bayonne, July 6, 1706. That same issue contains news from Madrid, dated June 29, and Saragossa, July 13. The Catalan printer, who had by the time the monopoly on any kind of prints, included news and gazettes, granted by Archduke Charles of Austria, still kept in touch with their colleagues in Aragon, since, for instance, he republished some news from Pamplona, half way from the French border in Guipuzcoa and Saragossa, dated on August 9, 1706, in the issue of the *Mercurio Veloz de Noticias* published on August 17, 1706, by Francisco Revilla, official printer of Aragon in that period.

### 3. AS A WAY OF CONCLUSION (WITH LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH)

To the extent it is possible to this point, we have dealt in this paper with the varied strategies we have been able to discern based on the evidence we have about the reproduction of news in several news hubs in the Iberian Peninsula, and we have tried to stress the importance on focusing our research efforts in these aspects of Early Modern journalism. We have dealt also with the limitations of such an effort, considerably different depending on the period studied. Much further research must be done, and the use of ontologies to tag and interrogate huge masses of newsheets has been designed, and it is aimed to be implemented as a following step<sup>24</sup>.

To this point, however, we have been able to explain the importance of several news hub in the Iberian Peninsula, some of them to be added to the most studied ones (Seville, Barcelona and Madrid). Singularly, the importance of San Sebastian (and its connections with Bayonne and Navarre, so to configure an informative Trans-Pyrenean region even in such an early period of journalism history) and Saragossa is underlined, linked

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23. “Las noticias que se han podido alcanzar de Bayona, y Fronteras de Francia, suponen la grande consternacion, y desorden de sus pueblos, bolviendo los ojos àzia la adversidad de sucessos, que por todas partes han experimentado este año, viendo frustradas las maximas, y designios del Gavinetto, y este deshecas las acerbas crueldades, que amenaçaban para castigo de los Cathalanes, y tambien para nuestro aviso, y escarmiento, y para su desengaño, pues deviera advertir, que el Español genio no se doma con el azote, sino con el alhago.”

24. See Francisco BAENA SÁNCHEZ, Carlota FERNÁNDEZ TRAVIESO, Carmen ESPEJO CALA, Javier DÍAZ NOCI. Codificación y representación cartográfica de noticias. Aplicación de las humanidades digitales al estudio del periodismo de la Edad moderna. *El Profesional de la información* 2014; 23(5), pp. 519-526.; Carmen ESPEJO CALA, Francisco BAENA SANCHEZ, Carlota FERNÁNDEZ TRAVIESO,

Emerging Journalistic Discourse in Spain: a Proposal for XM-TEI Encoding of Early Modern Gazettes.. In: *Shaping Reality in News Reporting from Early Modern English to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century*. Lisbon: Media XXI, 2017, pp. 1-15; Francisco BAENA SANCHEZ, Carmen ESPEJO CALA, En busca de un vocabulario compartido para describir y representar el periodismo de la Edad Moderna. In: *La invención de las noticias: las relaciones de sucesos entre la literatura y la información siglos XVI-XVIII*. Trento: Università Degli Studi di Trento, 2017, pp. 1-25.. On the other hand, content and discourse analysis is used as well (see DÍAZ NOCI, Javier. Narrative strategies in the origin of journalism: An analysis of the first Spanish-language gazettes. *Anàlisi quaderns de comunicació i cultura* 2017; (56).



to the relationship that both Barcelona and Madrid had with both hubs at the time: San Sebastian was the place through which many news from Central Europe and from the British Isles passed, and the existence of a family of printers of Navarrese origin was of extreme importance to ensure the flow of such a commodity and to supply with news other places of the Iberian Peninsula. The dependence on this hub is clear: Saragossa got many news from the region beside Aragon, Navarre and Guipuzcoa either, and those news were reproduced (actually: full newsheets were) in Barcelona, so to combine those news from the post of Flanders, through Saragossa and San Sebastian (and, once again, Navarre and Bayonne too) with the series of newsheets with news from the post of France (probably a reimpression of the *Gazette de France*) and from the post of Italy, by the sea. Moreover, Navarre was an alternative way to achieve important news “from the border”: for instance, this news item dated in Pamplona, December 3, 1689, “con noticias adquiridas por la Via secreta de Francia”: “Las cartas de Bruselas que correspondian a 15. del passado, faltaron Sabado, por lo qual se carece al presente de las noticias de aquellos Países, si bien por Navarra avisan, por las que alli de Bayona han tenido...”. Even in 1695 some evidences are to be found in the gazette from Saragossa reproduced in Barcelona we have dealt with, which mentions the “secret way from Navarre”<sup>25</sup>. Uharte Arakil, the village in which the Huarte family had their residence (although they worked in San Sebastian), could be an important place as well in this commercial activity.

It is important to underline the variety of sources used in those news items from San Sebastian:

1. *Avvisi*: “Tenemos aviso, que el Francès ha embiado à Bayona cantidad de bombas, y granadas...”, in *Noticias Generales de Evropa, pvblicadas a 1. de Ivlio de 1684*. [s.l.]: [s.e.].
2. Other newsletters: De San Sebastian: Por relacion de Brusselas 14 de Septiembre avisan assi: Despues de la media noche, este instante acava de llegar un Correo Extraordinario despachado del Principe de la Per, y Tassis a su Exa. N. Governador General, desde Augsburg à los 9 deste mes con la noticia de que à 29 de Agosto S.A. Serenissima el Principe Luis de Baden [...] passo con su Exercito la Moraba con intencion de ir à Nissa, donde los enemigos tenian sus mas considerables almacenes. Los Turcos la passaron tambien al mismo tiempo [...] y S.A. haviendo llegado à saber estas noticias por sus espias, en vez de continuar en marcha, se postò à lo largo de la ribera del rio Moraba [...]. Los atacó con tanto valor, que los derrotó enteramente [...]” *Noticias Principales y Verdaderas, San Sebastian*: Pedro de Huarte, September 27, 1689.
3. Particular letters from abroad: “Por cartas particulares escritas de Rotterdam de 8. del corriente, avisan, acabava de llegar noticia de Inglaterra...”, in *Noticias generales de Evropa, venidas a Barcelona*

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25. “...segun los avisos que por via de Navarra se han obtenido... “.

por el Correo de Flandes à 2 de Noviembre de 1691; “*Varias Cartas de Flandes dizen...*”, in *Noticias generales de Europa venidas de Zaragoza por el correo de Flandes Sabado a 14 de enero de 1690*. Saragossa: [s.e.], 1690; “En esta Ciudad ay carta de Bruxelas de 7. de Agosto con las noticias siguientes...”, in *Noticias Generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes, á 20 de Agosto de 1692*. Sometimes some relevant letters were published completely: Copia de carta escrita de los Payses Baxos españoles con fecha del lunes 30 de abril de 1691. San Sebastian: Pedro de Huarte, 1691.

4. Ordinary post and letters on their way: “Ha passado vna Posta á Madrid, que se dize lleua la nueva ...”, in *Noticias generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes à 28 de Setiembre del año de 1685*.
5. Extraordinary post: “Han pasado esta semana dos Correos Extraordinarios del Norte para Madrid...”, in *Noticias generales de Europa: con las particulares del rendimiento de Moguncia, y Bona, confirmacion, y prosecucion de la batalla de los imperiales contra turcos, y victoria de las armas de su magestad en Flandes, venidas por el correo de allà à Zaragoza Sabado à 1. de Octubre de 1689*. Saragossa: Herederos de Diego Dormer, 1689.
6. Information collected *in situ* (“Han pasado esta semana dos Correos Extraordinarios del Norte para Madrid...”, in *Noticias generales de Europa: con las particulares del rendimiento de Moguncia, y Bona, confirmacion, y prosecucion de la batalla de los imperiales contra turcos, y victoria de las armas de su magestad en Flandes, venidas por el correo de allà à Zaragoza Sabado à 1. de Octubre de 1689*. Saragossa: Herederos de Diego Dormer, 1689) or elaborated in San Sebastian (“Sabese por el Capitàn de vn Patache, de aviso...”, in *Noticias Generales de Europa, venidas a Barcelona por el Correo de Flandes, à 29 de Febrero de 1692*), and some other Spanish-language newspaper printed abroad, and until recently believed not to have a real penetration in the Spanish market.

It is extremely relevant to mention here the *Gazeta de Amsterdam* published in the Netherlands by a Jewish printer, David de Castro Tartás, the one we have mentioned some pages before, whose product was known and used in the Iberian Peninsula, as stated by a mention found in *Noticias Generales de Evropa, venidas a Zaragoza por diferentes partes, y publicados en ella oy Martes a 20. de Setiembre de 1695*. Saragossa: Jaime Magallon, con licencia: “Por los que con la Gazetilla de Olanda se han tenido de Venecia de 22. del mismo por diversas Embarcaciones...”. It is for sure that this “small gazette from the Netherlands” is David Castro's one: the issues we have consulted in several libraries in Europe were printed *in octavo*.

All these evidences lead us to start depicting a more complex panorama of connected *avisadores* in the Iberian Peninsula, a network of interlinked interests. It is obvious that much more work is to be done, and many other

sources should be consulted, following the path initiated by Xevi Camprubí and Ricard Expósito in their PhD dissertations, examining contracts, agreements and other documents extant related to the printers' and booksellers' activity, and this that must be combined with a study of the content of the newsheets themselves, after completing a full catalogue and a corpus of them. This is the way we intend to work in during the following years.

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