CORA Cork Open Research Archive
Cartlann Taighde Oscailte Chorcaí

Title	International news flows in the seventeenth century: problems and prospects
Authors	Dooley, Brendan
Publication date	2016
Original Citation	Dooley, B. (2016) 'International news flows in the seventeenth century: problems and prospects', in Raymond, J. and Moxham, N. (eds.) News Networks in Early Modern Europe. Leiden: Brill, pp. 158-177. doi:10.1163/9789004277199_007
Type of publication	Book chapter
Link to publisher's version	10.1163/9789004277199_007
Rights	© 2016, Brendan Dooley. This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-NoDerivatives 3.0 Unported (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0) License, which permits any noncommercial use, and distribution, provided no alterations are made and the original author and source are credited. - https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/
Download date	2026-10-05 12:22:41
Item downloaded from	https://hdl.handle.net/10468/3920

UCC
University College Cork, Ireland
Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

CHAPTER 6

International News Flows in the Seventeenth Century: Problems and Prospects

Brendan Dooley

We know quite a lot about the modalities of news transmission—diplomats, postal services, scholars, diasporic ethnic and religious communities, merchants and so on—yet, in spite of the evident promise of this Braudelian theme, we know less about the overall patterns of news transmission. The availability of new corpora and new approaches suggests new routes to discovery. Here I would like to examine what has been done and point out what could be done to trace the European news networks of early modern times using a combination of methodologies. An important tool for tracing news flows is the measurement of textual borrowing across media, i.e. the study of intertextuality on a massive scale. Another approach would be to compare the stylistic aspects of journalistic prose across several cultures. I shall give examples of both. Centering on the basic unit of news and showing its transformations, I attempt a preliminary picture of news flows.

In a recent article in *Annales Histoire Sciences Sociales*, Will Slauter stated that

> although specialists know that the gazettes and journals of the early modern period contained mainly foreign news, the movement of this news across linguistic and political boundaries remains very little studied.

As an example to the contrary he very kindly cited the recent volume published by the Bremen-based research group 'Culture and Exchange', *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of 'Contemporaneity' in Early Modern Europe* (2010).[1] But the work of that volume is very far from done. Indeed, the

1 Will Slauter, 'The Paragraph as Information Technology. How News Traveled in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales,* 67 (2012), pp. 253–78, at 256. Other works cited there include Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows, and Edmond Dziembowski, eds., *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). In addition, concerning international news flows, there is my 'Die Entstehung der Gleichzeitigkeit in der Frühmoderne', in *Presse und Geschichte. Leistungen und Perspektiven*

© BRENDAN DOOLEY, 2016 | DOI 10.1163/9789004277199_007
This is an open access chapter distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-NoDerivatives 3.0 Unported (CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0) License.

problems we raised there might lead one to think that 'very little studied' really means 'impossible' or 'too difficult'. Joad Raymond in the journal *Media History* in 2012 acknowledged, with resounding emphasis, that for writing the history of international news flows in the seventeenth century:

> there are profound obstacles not only in method, but also in the practical methods historians in different traditions use to collect and assess data, not to speak of significant and underexplored asymmetries between the contents and the cataloguing of the relative archives in the relevant countries.[2]

Nevertheless he stated that international news networks are 'probably the most pressing and promising issue in the history of early media today'. The question is, what have we learnt over the last couple of years and what can we do with it? On the one hand the intervening time has more than confirmed Raymond's suggestion that "there are profound obstacles"—on the other hand there are also signs that the obstacles may be temporary although the question remains "very little studied", and here I would like to examine what has been done and what could be done to trace the European news networks of early modern times using a combination of methodologies involving text mining and network analysis.

---

der historischen Presseforschung, ed. Holger Boening *et al.* (Bremen: Edition Lumière, 2008), pp. 49–66. I examine the topic briefly in the Epilogue to Brendan Dooley, ed., *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of 'Contemporaneity' in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), where I cite one of the originators of this problematic, namely, Jürgen Wilke, 'Foreign News Coverage and International News Flow Over Three Centuries', *International Communication Gazette*, 39 (1987), p. 147. Cross-cultural transfer in the wider sense is a Braudelian theme which has been explored more in detail in the series 'Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe' ed. Robert Muchembled and William Monter, of which perhaps the most relevant titles are Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, eds., *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007); and Florike Egmond and Francisco Bethencourt, eds., *Correspondence and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Herman Roodenburg, ed., *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

2 Joad Raymond, 'Newspapers: a National or International Phenomenon?', *Media History*, 18 (2012), pp. 249–57, at 251. More in general concerning the English papers, *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Joad Raymond (London: Routledge, 1999), and Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks, 1641–1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

An important tool for tracing news flows is the measurement of textual borrowing across media, i.e. the massive study of intertextuality. And one such tool is the Crouch program developed by Andrew Hardie and his team at Lancaster, named after John Crouch, an early English newsbook writer and satirist.[3] And in their chapter for *The Dissemination of News* Hardie and his team used this program to show patterns of textual borrowing between several mid-seventeenth century British news publications, so that, for instance, a significant percentage of news in the 1654 *Moderate Intelligencer* published in London appeared to be derived from the *Weekly Post*, also London-based:

> [Joseph] Frank describes ModIntell171#2 [i.e., *Modern Intelligencer,* issue published Wednesday 5th April 1654] as a counterfeit; but what the text reuse analysis makes clear is that its similarity was to a closely contemporaneous text also printed by [Robert] Wood, not the text by [George] Horton that (according to Frank) it counterfeits. In fact, we find it hard to accept this as a straightforward case of counterfeiting, since this incident came at the end of a period when Horton and Wood had been printing alternate issues of the third title they shared/competed over, *The Faithful Scout* (by late April, they settled on it being published with the attribution 'printed by Robert Wood, for G. Horton'); they also went on to alternate their publication of *The Moderate Intelligencer* and *The Weekly Post*. The precise motivations of the two printers are probably not now recoverable in full, although amusingly, both Horton's and Wood's versions of issue 171 of the *Weekly Post* carry the attribution, 'Printed by [name of printer]; to prevent all false copies'.[4]

As the team clearly showed, there are many possible relations between texts that are not necessarily wholesale borrowing. But when any such borrowings occur across state and linguistic borders we refer to news flows—i.e. we add a geographical vector to the textual vector. So the first step in tracing news flows is to compare typical texts.

---

3 Scott S.L. Piao and Tony McEnery, 'A Tool for Text Comparison', in *Proceedings of the Corpus Linguistics 2003 Conference* (Lancaster: UCREL, Computing Dept., University of Lancaster, 2003), pp. 637–46. Other approaches are discussed by Stéphane Haffemayer, 'Analyse quantitative et presse d'Ancien Régime', *Bulletin de l'Association pour le Développement de l'Histoire Culturelle*, 11 (2012), pp. 13–16.

4 Andrew Hardie, Tony McEnery and Scott Songlin Piao, 'Historical Text Mining and Corpus-Based Approaches to the Newsbooks of the Commonwealth', *Emergence of Contemporaneity*, ed. Dooley, p. 273.

Florence, State Archive, *Mediceo del Principato*, filza 3088a, fol. 3v, 'Di Venezia li 3 luglio 1621. . . Sabbato notte in questo porto sendo andati alcuni con una Peota armati alla nave nominata Toro Negro, che carica di diverse riche merci stava di partenza per Cost.li, salitisi sopra uccisero il Massero, gettandolo in acqua, et poi levarono delle palle di pannine doro, e di seta, dando fuoco ad essa nave che nell'abbruggiarsi si accese anco fuoco nel Gran Galione Balbi, che si fracassò ieri vicino, mettorno il tutto abbruggiato . . . già sono stati presi 3 imputati complici al tal maleficio'.	*Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Bohemia, Spaine and Dutchland*: 'From Venice the 6 of July 1621: On Sunday at night, certain men with Shippes well appointed, set upon the Ship called the Toro Negro, that lay richly laden to sayle to Constantinople, and having slaine the Massaro, and cast him overboard, and taken certain Balles laden with cloath of gold, silke and some Chests of Rials of Plate, they set fire on the Ship, whereby the great Gally called Balby, that lay not farre from it, was also fired, and much spoyled: there are five men taken that were Actors therein. . .'

FIGURE 6.1 *Comparison between Florence newsletter of 1621 from the Florence State Archive [=ASF] and English coranto of the same year from the Florence Early English Newspapers corpus [=FEEN]*

A collaborative project emerged when Nick Brownlees, convinced that the newsletters in the Florence state archive might be a good place to look for the original material that showed up in the early seventeenth century corantos, found the match shown in Figure 6.1. The text on the right is evidently a translation of the text on the left. Brownlees's evidence suggested a flow pattern something like the following, where we imagine a story originating in Venice about mischief occurring in Venice harbor, which by some means, we assume by newsletter, gets transmitted to associates in the Caspar van Hilten shop in Amsterdam, who in turn write it up in their coranto entitled *Courante uyt italien Duytsland* etc., which is in turn translated and printed probably by Nathaniel Butter or Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer in London (see Figure 6.2). So far the original Dutch coranto has not turned up; instead what we have are the English paper and the Venice newsletter collected by the Medici court in Florence. Whether the original information went from Venice directly to Holland or traveled via Florence is still not clear.[5]

5 Concerning the Dutch papers, see Ch. 15 in this volume; also Clé Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries, c. 1550–1630* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), ch. 6; Paul Arblaster, 'London, Antwerp and Amsterdam: Journalistic Relations in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', in *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-trade, 1473–1941*, ed. Lotte Hellinga *et al.* (Utrecht: Hes & de Graff, 2001), pp. 145–50; Otto Lankhorst, 'Newspapers in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Politics*

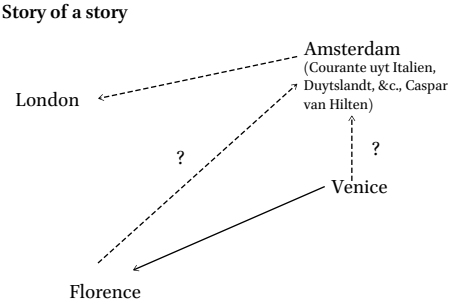

FIGURE 6.2
Hypothetical path of a story in 1621

The next steps will be to collect enough data to establish the main movements from year to year and publish the tabulated results. Matters are not quite so simple as they may appear. The connections between one medium and another, say between script and print and between different print publications, are not altogether easy to find. The problems involved in analyzing large masses of material are formidable; and so at least in early modern studies the Crouch system of Hardie and his team has been applied only to texts in the same language, although potentially it can be used much more broadly. Large corpora for inter-linguistic and inter-textual comparison simply do not yet exist and must be formed—largely by entering text manually as Hardie and his team have done with the Lancaster corpus—and the same obviously goes for the manuscript newsletters. The corpora we are looking for must contain near-complete texts produced over long periods of time containing large numbers of distinct stories, not just samples useful for drawing conclusions about linguistic usage in a given period. Until we devise a mechanical way to carry out the comparisons on a massive basis we have to rely on an eclectic method of looking up texts within certain time frames (since dates are not always reported accurately and calendars differ from place to place).[6]

Some enticing questions are simply not answerable in the current state of research. We know that at least in the German-speaking world Johann Carolus in Strasbourg was the first to start regularly printing up the newsletters he had around his shop beginning in around 1605.[7] We simply do not know which newsletters they were—also because no printed numbers of his *Relation aller*

of Information in Early Modern Europe, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron (London: Routledge, 2001), ch. 6.

6 On this aspect, see my 'Introduction' to *The Dissemination of News*, pp. 5–7.

7 Johannes Weber, 'The Early Modern Newspaper—A Medium of Contemporaneity', in *Dissemination of News*, 69–82, and 'Straβburg 1605. Die Geburt der Zeitung', in *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte*, ed. H. Böning, A. Kutsch, R. Stöber, vol. 7 (Stuttgart, 2005), pp. 3–26.

Zeitung auß Cöln/ vom 8. Jenner Anno 1609.

Auß Andorff vom 26. Decemb.

Auß Rom / vom 20. Decemb.

Auß Venedig / vom 26. Dito.

FIGURE 6.3 *First pages of the 1609 Strasbourg* Relation *showing stories from Cologne, Antwerp, Rome, Venice* (*courtesy of University of Heidelberg Library*)

Fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien exist before 1609 (see Figure 6.3). In any case for this number relating to 1609, we can imagine a flow pattern something like Figure 6.4. Not in this case but certainly in many others in the *Relation*, stories said to emanate from particular cities actually come from elsewhere, so care must be taken in interpreting a story to determine the real origin.

The flow pattern of information from newsletters to gazettes is still a matter of conjecture, as Mario Infelise pointed out when he presented plausible argument for the relation between a Venetian newsletter and the newspaper of Genoa.[8] By a fortunate coincidence, we know the relation between a Venice newsletter from 1648 and the printed *Gazzetta di Bologna* of the same year—because

8 Mario Infelise, *Prima dei giornali. Alle origini della pubblica informazione* (Milan: Laterza, 2002), p. 88. On this theme, note also Pierangelo Bellettini, 'Periodici romagnoli di antico regime: gazzette, giornali dei letterati, almanacchi', in *Storia del giornalismo in Emilia Romagna e Pesaro: dagli albori al primo Novecento* (Bologna: Grafis, 1992), pp. 319–62. Concerning Italian journalism more in general, my *The Social History of Skepticism: Experience and Doubt in Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), ch. 2 and relevant bibliography.

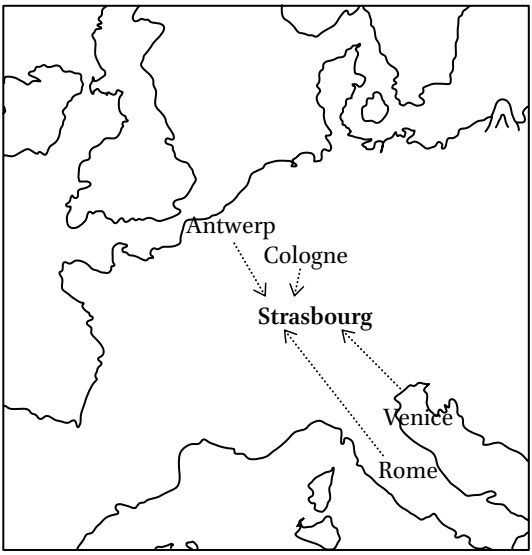

FIGURE 6.4
Flow pattern of stories in 1609
Relation

March 7, 1648 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [=BAV], Ottob. latini, 2450, fol. 97r): 'Venezia... Giunse sin da Borenica Caiccho partito da Scardona con avviso che dopo il successo seguito nella campagna di Bernizza nella forma che fu scritto la passata si fossero portati alcuni Turchi ad una serra di questi signori quivi vicina a detta di Cassiano, e ci havessero uccisi cinque persone malate e fattane prigioni da cinquanta altre tra putti e donne, et altra gente e condottivi circa da venticinque bovi. . . . S'avvisava ancora che il scritto luogo non fosse tanto facile, poichè sta posto sopra d'una colinetta, la quale viene fatta forse da due fiumi, che la circondano, Crinia l'uno e l'altro Tinio, e che vi fosser dentro cinque pezzi di ferro'.	*Gazzetta di Bologna* March 11, 1648 (BAV, Ottob. latini, 2450, fol. 101v): 'S'intende di Venezia che dopo lo scritto successo nella campagna di Dernissa, havessero i Turchi nella Terra di S. Cassiano nel Dominio Veneto ucciso cinque persone, che erano malate, con haverne fatto da cinquanta altri prigioni, e condotti via da venti bovi. . . . Per essere il luogo di qualche considerazione rispetto al sito, poichè sta posto sopra una colinetta in mezzo due fiumi, si credeva che fossero ivi per fortificarsi i Veneti, havendovi trovato cinque pezzi di ferro'.

FIGURE 6.5 *Comparison between Venetian newsletter and Bologna newspaper (underlining mine)*

both were collected in the same volume of the Codici Ottoboniani in the Vatican Archives. Figure 6.5 shows a typical story from that volume.

The underlined place names in these texts suggest an interesting fallacy as well as an interesting itinerary. The stories about Turkish incursions in Venetian Dalmatia attempt to situate the action in a particular geographical space. This is not quite so simple as it seems. Place names are somewhat misleading, as we may see by comparison with a selection from the Venetian historian Giovan

Battista Nani, referring to the action in question, where he talks about Dernis, not Bernizza or Dernissa:

> Uniti poi appresso Scardona dou'egli stesso si portó con Gio: Francesco Giorgio Proveditor de' Cavalli, e col Conte Ferdinando Scoti, sei mila huomini, gli spinse à Dernis Castello, che domina un'ampio territorio, e che di qui da' Monti serviva di magazeno a' nemici. Passato sopra un ponte il fiume Citola, che per le pioggie cadute gonfio correua, i Morlachi precorrendo con la vanguardia arsero tutto ció che trovarono per la campagna, onde i difensori del Castello dalla fama discacciati l'abbandonarono, fuggendo insieme con gli habitanti …[9]
>
> (Joined together at Scardona, where he himself came with Giovanni Francesco Giorgio, Provediror de' Cavalli, and with Conte Ferdinando Scoti, six thousand men, he had them go as far as Castle Dernis, which dominates a wide area and which from there to the mountains served the enemy as a magazine. Having crossed a bridge over the Citola river, swollen by the rainfall, the Morlachs, moving with the vanguard, burned everything they found in the countryside, whereupon the defenders of the Castle hearing the news evacuated and fled with the inhabitants …)

Judging from the Blaeu Atlas from just these years (and interpolating playfully the de' Barbari map of Venice), the news must have made a trip something like Figure 6.6.[10] How the news travelled from Dernis or Dernischi, located just north of Mocuo, to Scardona, and from San Cassiano just south of Zara, and then on to Scardona, where this ship was docked, we don't yet know. Anyway its bearer apparently then boarded the ship at Scardona and made way for Venice, whence the Venetian newsletter traveled down to Bologna.

A still more speculative itinerary regards a story about the 'favorite' of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed IV: see Figure 6.7. From Constantinople the news went over to Venice where presumably it was written up. The news reached Hamburg, Paris and London, though we cannot tell in what order. Just the bare dates suggest Paris came first, even keeping in mind that the English calendar was eleven days behind. The French and English texts are almost identical, with one key difference: the girl is only a 'favorite' in England but becomes a 'favorite Sultana' in France, as also in Germany. We will not speculate on why. The German version is missing important aspects, so perhaps depends on a

9 Giovan Battista Nani, *Historia della Republica Veneta* (Bologna, 1680), p. 89.

10 'Sclavonia, Croatia, Bosnia cum Dalmatiæ parte', *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus in quo Tabulæ et Descriptiones Omnium Regionum*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1645), unpaginated, of which the Wikimedia Commons version was used, made from the UCLA copy.

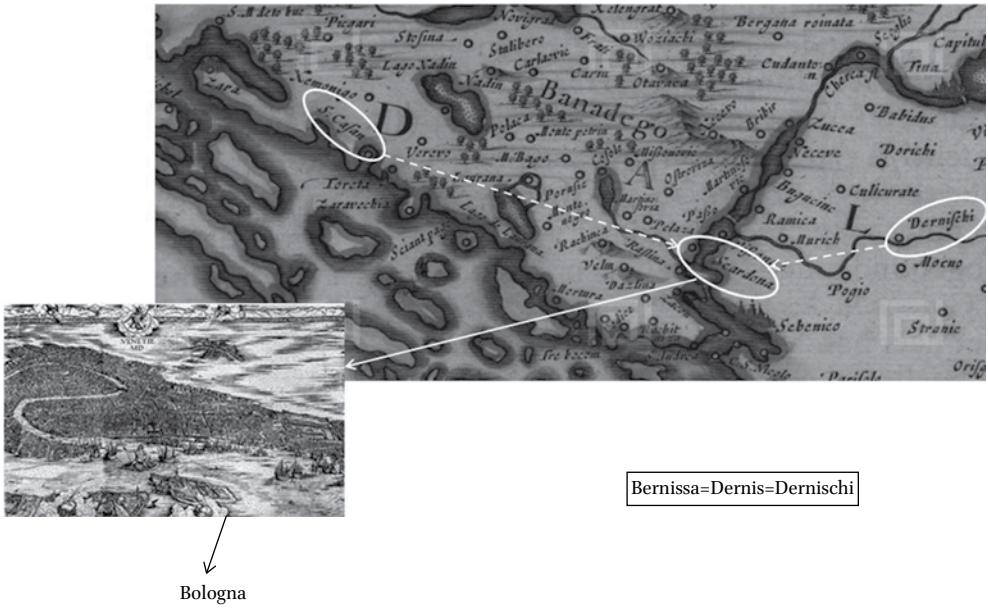

FIGURE 6.6 *Hypothetical itinerary of news story in Bologna newspaper, using Blaeu Atlas (courtesy of UCLA) and Jacopo de' Barbari map of Venice (Wikimedia Commons)*

'We have received a confirmation of the retreat of the Turkish fleet at Constantinople, where the general Bashaw hath made his peace though for a while he was under a cloud. The report is, that having presented to the young Emperor a young Virgin of extraordinary beauty, who is of the Greek Nation that thereupon he was received into favour, and the young Maid like to be his chief Favourite'. 11.2.1653, Venice. *Several Proceedings of State Affairs*	'Der Türckische gewesene General zur See hat Gnad und Perdon erlangt. Dieser sol dem Türckischen Käyser eine überaus schöne Griechische junge Tochter mitgebracht/und diese das Glück gehabt haben/daß sie Sultane und des Käysers Ehegemahlin worden'. 20.1.1654, Venedig, *Sambstägige Zeitung 1654, Hamburg*
'On nous confirme la retraite de l'armée Otoman ... [du] port de Constantinople, chargée du butin qu'[on a pris].... dans les Isles de l'Archipel; et que le Bassa gen[eral].... [du] mer n'estoit pas si mal à la Porte, qu'on le [dit] ....[le] Grand Seigneur le traitant assez bien depuis [le don] .... qu'il luy a fait d'une ieune fille Grecque tres-be[lle]...[que Sa] Hautesse recüe avec tant de satisfaction, que [l'on dit].... qu'elle l'a declaré la favorite Sultane, mesm[e qu'elle].... doit etre bien tost couronnée.' De Venise ledit jour 19 Janvier 1654. *Gazette,* no. 20, dated Lyons, 10 Feb. 1654, p. 146.	

FIGURE 6.7 *Comparison of Ottoman news in London (Lancaster News Corpus [=LNC]), Hamburg (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen [=SuUB]) and Paris (Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon [=BML]) in 1654*

missing original from Venice. Figure 6.8 shows a possible itinerary. If the Venice report indeed came out on 19 January as the French paper suggests (see Figure 6.7), the later-dated London report appears to be derivative, but the connection either to the French paper or the German papers is unclear (hence the missing arrow heads).

Examples abound. Our research team, working in the news archive in the Bremen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, has produced a long list of

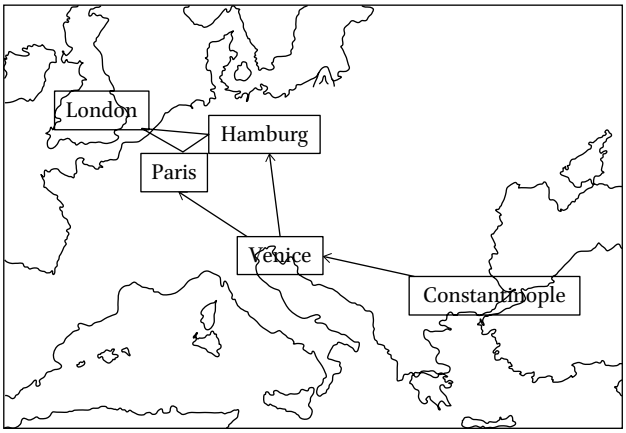

FIGURE 6.8 *Possible itinerary of Ottoman news in early 1654*

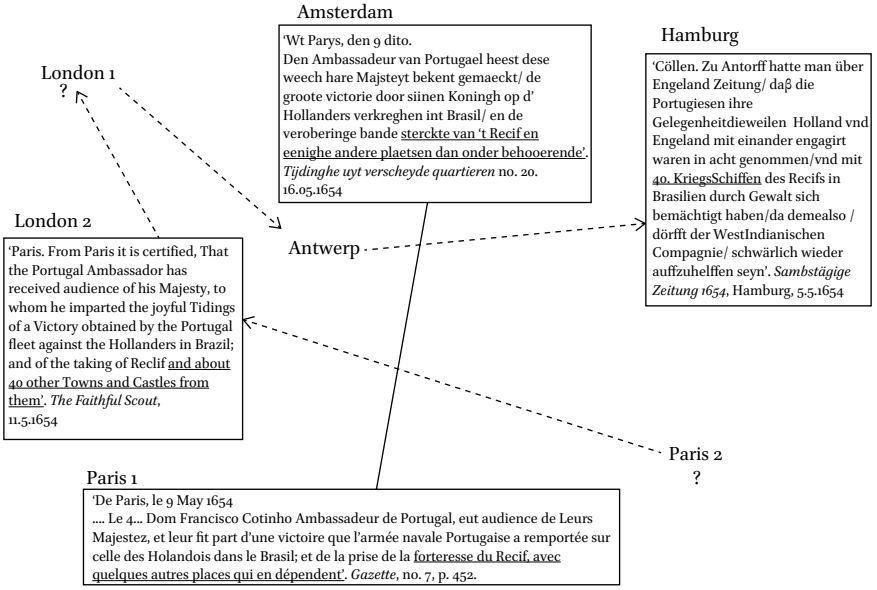

FIGURE 6.9 *European reporting in 1654 concerning the Battle of Recife, Brazil. Crucial portions underlined. Sources are BML, LNC, SuUB and National Library of the Netherlands at The Hague* [=NLN]

intertextualities between the English and German papers by comparing these to the Lancaster news books; and these we have matched with the respective numbers of the French *Gazette* and sometimes the Dutch corantos. A typical story regards the battle of Recife in Brazil, an episode in the global dimension of the colonial struggle between Holland and Portugal, reported in four papers, visualised in Figure 6.9.

The number 40 occurs in the Hamburg paper and the London one, although in different connections, and no ships or towns are mentioned in either the French or the Dutch papers. The Dutch paper seems almost identical to the account given at Paris; but there is no clear indication of which way the news was traveling. As for the other accounts the German one claims to get the information from Antwerp by way of England; but it is crucially different from the news printed in the English newspaper, which claims to get the news from Paris—obviously not the same *Gazette* as the one that resembles the Amsterdam paper, but some other news source.

Another story from the same time might be called the Diamond Cross Affair. The matter in question concerns a gift by Pope Innocent X to Lucrezia Barberini, grandniece of the previous pope, a significant sign of favor whose purpose has unfortunately not been recorded. Between the reporting in *Several Proceedings* and the *Sambstagige Zeitung* and the *Perfect Diurnal* we note significant similarities, illustrated in Table 6.1:

Here the first three clauses are the same across the sample, whereas the fourth appears only in these two different numbers of *Several Proceedings*. We now take the last example from the *Perfect Diurnal* from the rightmost column of Table 6.1 and compare it to a fifth paper, the French *Gazette*: this is shown in Table 6.2.

Quantitatively we would get a near perfect score according to Hardie's Crouch tool, indicating such a high degree of textual borrowing that one is practically a translation of the other—in this case most probably from French into English.

Applying the same criteria to another story of somewhat greater import, namely the flight of the British King Charles I from Hampton Court at the end of 1647, during the English Civil War, we get the results shown in Table 6.3. First we have the *Weekly Intelligencer* version, and, below this, that of the Bologna newspaper. The diverse numbered sections show which portions of the story are picked up, presumably going from London to Bologna. There are some crucial differences. The London version mentions the discovery of three letters, which become four in the Bologna paper; in addition, in the London paper the letter informing about the Parliament's plan to kill the King is signed E.R., whereas in Bologna this letter is supposed to be unsigned.

An aggregation of many more such examples could form the basis for a realistic picture of the news networks of early modern Europe. The preconditions for such a study would be the availability of some more of the crucial collections: readable corpora of the newsletters of Venice and Rome, and more than scattered numbers of the Dutch corantos. Results could be tabulated in terms

TABLE 6.1 *Reporting on the Diamond Cross Affair, 1654, parallel portions numbered* (LNC *and SuUB*)

13 Apr 1654 Rome. *Several Proceedings of State Affairs*	6 Apr 1654, Rome. *Several Proceedings of State Affairs*	11 Apr 1654 Rohm. *Sambstägige Zeitung* 1654	3 May 1654 Rome. *The Perfect Diurnal of some Passages and Proceedings.*
1. The Lady Lucretia Barbarina receiving a cross of Diamonds of a Present from the Pope worth 5000 Crowns,	3. The Signora Lucresia Barbarina hath taken her leave of the Pope going to marry the Duke of Medene. [The King of Spain forbad]	2. [Vorgestern ist die] Donna Lucretia Barbarina von hier nach Loretto verreist/	3. The Lady Lucretia Barbarina, contracted to the Duke of Modena, being come to take her leave of the Pope,
2. went yesterday towards Lorretra,		3. sich alda mit dem Herzog von Modena trawen zu lassen/	1. who presented her with a Cross of Diamonds, worth 15 hundred pounds sterling, [went out of the City with a very great number of followers among others were the Cardinals Barberini her Kinsmen, with the Cardinals Collona and de Este, who having brought her on her way about three miles left the Cardinal her Brother to bring her to her intended Husband,]
3. and is to marry with the Duke Of Modena.		1. dero der Pabst ein gülden Creutz mit Diamanten versetzt/ auf 5000 Cronen wehrtverehret. [Im Sicilianischen Meer ist das Schiff Avanzino von Genova / vnnd der Holländische Pellican von Lisabona vnd Cadice kommend/über anderthalb Million Goldes wehrt / vor die Genuesische Kauffleut obhabend / durch Ungewitter mit Menschen vnd Gut zu Grund gangen.]	2. who is to meet her at Lorretto, [and there the Nuptials are to be consummated by the Cardinal Facchinet.]
4. The Pope is high against Spain; he had sent Signior Massini's Nuncio to the King, [and Trivaltio sent a Gentleman of his from Rome along with him, who understanding his Instructions got before him and told the King his Errand, and thereupon the King sent to stop him in his journey. Trivaltio is used hardly by the Pope for it,] and the Pope hath recalled his Nuncio	4. Sir. Massini the Nuncio [to come to Madrid,] the Pope hath recalled him, being much incensed thereby against the Spaniards, [and doth use Cardinal Astalli hardly, on whom they intend to bestow the Archbishopric of Toledo, because he is out of favour with the Pope:]		

TABLE 6.2 *Diamond Cross Affair, 1654: reporting from London and Paris, parallel portions numbered* (LNC, BML)

3 May 1654 Rome. *The Perfect Diurnal of Some Passages and Proceedings*	*Gazette* no. 57, p. 447, Rome, 13 April 1654
	[Le 9]
1. The Lady Lucretia Barbarina, contracted to the Duke of Modena, being come to take her leave of the Pope,	1. la Signora Lucretia Barbarina Duchesse de Modéne, apres avoir pris congé du Pape,
2. who presented her with a Cross of Diamonds, worth 15 hundred pounds sterling,	2. qui la régala d'une croix de diamans estimée plus de 5000 ecus,
3. went out of the City with a very great number of followers among others were the Cardinals Barberini her Kinsmen, with the Cardinals Collona and de Este, who having brought her on her way about three miles left the Cardinal her Brother to bring her to her intended Husband,	3. partit avec une belle suite, accompagnée des Cardinaux François. Antoine et Charles Barberins, Colonna et d'Este, le Prince de Palestrine et ses autres parens, lesquels la laissérent à demi lieuë de cette ville, excepté ledit Cardinai Charles Barberini son frére, qui la
4. who is to meet her at Lorretto,	4. condüit jusqu'à Nostre-Dame de Lorette:
3. and there the Nuptials are to be consummated by the Cardinal Facchinet.	3. où elle sera receuë par le Prince Alfonce filce Luigi d'Este, [qui s'y doit rendre à cette fin avec les principaux de la Cour de cette Altesse:]
	3. que l'on dit avoir donné charge au Cardinal Facchinetti de faire la ceremonie des espousaille [en cette Eglise de Nostre Dame de Lorette.]

TABLE 6.3 *Flight of King Charles I, viewed in two news sources, parallel portions numbered* (*LNC and Early English Books Online*)

Weekly Intelligencer 1647, no. 234, 9–16 Nov., p. 628, report from 11 Nov.:

1. This evening His Majesty departed from Hampton Court,
   [he was not so pleasant at dinner as usually and]
2. spent most part of this day in writing in the Bed-chamber privatly with himself only;
   [About four a clocke at night his Majesty called for lights,]
2. and desired to be private,
   [and said that he would not sup that night:]
3. After supper one of them knocking, his Majesty answered not; then the Commissioners went in
   [and Collonel Whalley and]
3. found
   [his Majesties cloake there and]
3. *three Letters*
   [lying on the table,]
4. with this Declaration:
   [*His Maiesties most gracious declaration left by him on his Table at Hampton Court Nov. 11, 1647*: ... Liberty being that which in all times hath been but especially now is the common Theame and desire of all men; common Reason shews that Kings, lesse then any, should endure Captivity; and yet I call God and the world to witness with what patience I have endured a tedious restraint, which so long as I had any hopes,]
4. that this fort of my suffering might conduce to the Peace of my Kingdomes,
   [or the hindering of more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergo; but now finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued Patience would onely turn to my Personall Ruine, but likewise be of much more prejudice then furtherance to the Publick good;]
4. I thought I was bound as well by naturall as Political Obligations to seek my safety, by retiring my self,
   [for some time, from the publick view both of my friends and enemies: .... Nor would I have this my retirement misinterpreted; for]
4. I shal ernestly and uncessantly endeavor the settling of a safe well grounded Peace, wherever I am or shall be;
   [and that (as much as may be) without the effusion of more Christian Blood, for which ho many times have I desired, prest to be heard? and yet, no Eare given to me: and can any reasonable man think that (according to the ordinary course of affaires) there can be a settled Peace without it? Or that God will blesse those who refuse to heare their own King? Surely no. Nay, I must farther adde, that (besides what concerns My Self)]

TABLE 6.3 *Flight of King Charles I, viewed in two news sources, parallel portions* (cont.)

4. unlesse all other chiefe interests have not onely a hearing, but likewise, just satisfaction given unto them (to wit, the Presbyterians, Independants, Army, those who have adhered to Me, and even the Scots) I say there cannot (I speak not of Miracles, it being in My opinion, a Sinfull presumption, in such cases, to expect or trust to them) be a safe or lasting Peace.
[Now as I cannot deny, but my Personall security is the urgent cause of this my Retirement; so I take God to Witnesse, that the Publick Peace is no lesse before my Eyes: And I can find no better way to expresse this My Profession (I know not what a Wise man may do) then by]
4. desiring and urginging, that all chief interests may be heard, to the end, each may have just satisfaction: As for example, the Army, (for the rest, though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the Liberty of their consciences, have an Act of Oblivion or Indempnity , (which should extend to all the rest of My Subjects) and that all their arreares should be speedily and duly Payed:
[Which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindered from using such lawfull and honest meanes as I shall chuse. To conclude,]
4. let me be heard with freedome, honour, and safety, and I shall (instantly) break through this cloud of retirement and shew my self really to be *Pater Patriae*.
[Hampton Court the 11 Novem. 1647.]
p. 730, report dated Friday Nov 12:
5. … amongst the letters which his Majesty left upon the table was this one.
['May it please your majesty: In discharge of my duty, I cannot omit to acquaint you that my brother was at a meeting last night with eight or nine adjutators who in debate of the obstacle which did most hinder the speedy effecting of their designes, did conclude it was your Majesty and that so long as your Majesty doth live you would be so, and therefore]
5. resolved for the good of the kingdome to take your life away.…
[I wish with my soule Your Majesty were]
5. at my house in Broad Street …
[Your M's dutifull subject, E.R.']
… The other letter was to Collonell Whaly.…

Gazzetta di Bologna, cod. Ottob. 2450, fo. 2, dated 1 Jan. 1648:
1. La scritta fuga del Re d'Inghilterra di Hampton Court nell'Isola di Vieth viene raccontata in questa forma:
[che alli 22 novembre, dopo haver detto maestà dato udienza segreta alli Commissari di Scozia, et ad un perincipale Signore del detto Regno, havesse spedito un salvacondotto per 4 de' suoi gentiluomini, sotto finta che volessero uscire di quel regno,]

2. et il doppo pranzo poi si fosse ritirato nel suo gabinetto
   [a scrivere,]
3. e lasciato ordine ai suoi Camerieri che non lasciassero entrare persona da lui, anzi havesse fatto rispondere ad uno dei suoi Commissari, che li voleva parlare, ch'era occupato.
   Onde insospettiti detti commissari di quella ritiratezza, fossero tornati avanti cena et entrati nel gabinetto non vi havessero trovato detta Maestà, ma solo in sua vece *4 lettere*;
5. una aperta, scritta a S.M. da Londra *senza sottoscrizione*, nella quale veniva avvertiata che la Camera Bassa trattava di farlo morire;
4. l'altre erano di suo pugno, in una delle quali venivano espresse le cagioni della fuga; e cioè che havendo conosciuto che la speranza della pace di quel Regno, per la quale haveva sofferto la prigionia passata, riusciva sempre più vana, si era procacciato la sicurezza della sua persona, per impiegarsi poscia in quella di suoi sudditi, si dichiarava che per la pace di detto Regno egli era di senso, che si dovesse osservar una buona giustizia in dar soddisfazione ai Presbiteriani, agli Indipendenti, all'Armata et a' Scozzesi, et inolge aggiungeva che si dovesse permettere libertà di coscienza, e pubblicare il perdono generale. Quando il Parlemento havesse inclinato nel detto suo senso, s'offeriva con modi leciti pagar l'armata, et ogni altro privato. In fine, proponeva di andar egli medesimo a trattar questo interesse con detto Parlamento, ma in luogo che fosse libero e sicuro; perche gli havrebbe fatto conoscere con gli effetti che esso sempre sarebbe stato Padre della Patria'.

---

of vectors from place to place and from time to time. Finally, there would have to be a clever way of representing the results, something like what the projects at Stanford and Oxford are attempting to do for learned correspondence.[11]

Even then, we would only be scratching the surface: because next comes the virtually unstudied issue of comparative prose stylistics across several news cultures, using the same texts just examined. Clearly, if the early media functioned as a content delivery system, they did so by conveying particular concepts through grammar, word usage, sentence structure, and every feature of rhetoric. The question then is what are the forms of journalistic narrative in the seventeenth century? Brownlees has offered some very suggestive conclusions regarding narrative in English corantos and news books, differentiating basically between two more or less coexisting approaches to delivering news—namely, the continuous narrative approach and the discontinuous narrative approach.[12]

11 <republicofletters.stanford.edu/>; <www.culturesofknowledge.org/>; see also <sixdegrees offrancisbacon.com/> [24/06/14].

12 Nicholas Brownlees, 'Narrating Contemporaneity: Text and Structure in English News', in *Emergence of Contemporaneity*, pp. 225–50. In addition, Brownlees, *The Language of*

The Brownlees model works rather well for cross-border analyses; and in this context the two accounts in Table 6.3 concerning the flight of the King from Hampton Court are highly relevant. The London version breaks up the narration with what purports to be an original document—in this case a letter written by the King to justify his flight to the Isle of Wight. The story in the Bolognese *Gazzetta* is formulated according to the typical rhetorical conventions not only of the newsletter but also of the printed news story. This type of continuous narrative raises numerous stylistic questions. The grammatical structure seems to favor long run-on sentences, although any measurements, especially ones based on counting punctuation marks, are highly misleading, especially as punctuation practices varied widely in the mid-seventeenth century. The 311-word selection contains four full stops, producing an average sentence length of 77 words, although the maximum length here is 153 words, comparable with the average sentence length in other narrative texts produced in Italy at the same time. A 2488-word extract from Book Three of Pietro Giovanni Capriata's 1644 *Historia* yields an average sentence length of 46.9 words, with a maximum of 147:[13]

Number of words: 2488	Number of commas: 279
Average word length: 5.36 letters	Avg number of commas per sentence: 5.264
Number of sentences: 53	Avg sentence length: 46.94 words
Min sentence length: 9 words	Max sentence length: 147 words

A short story from Maiolino Bisaccioni published in 1664 yields an average sentence length of some 75 words with a maximum of 335 words, greatly surpassing the number of the journalistic example.[14]

Number of words: 2635	Number of commas: 316
Average word length: 4.81 letters	Avg number of commas per sentence: 9.029
Number of sentences: 35	Avg sentence length: 75.29 words
Min sentence length: 6 words	Max sentence length: 335 words

These brief excerpts obviously do not fit the criteria for a corpus-based approach; but they may suggest corpora that could be constructed for the purposes of analysis along such lines.

Periodical News in Seventeenth-Century England (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 87–96.

13 Pietro Giovanni Capriata, *Dell'historia: ne' quali si contengono tutti i movimenti d'arme successi in Italia dal MDCXIII fino al MDCXXXIV* (Geneva, 1644), vol. 1, pp. 143–54.

14 Maiolino Bisaccioni, *Il Porto* (Venice, 1664), pp. 397–406.

Now, examining journalistic texts like the one from the *Gazzetta di Bologna*, what ought to be the unit of analysis? I mean, what makes up a text—apart from the words? Slauter has proposed the 'paragraph' as the unit of news in the early modern, although in his article in the *Annales* he focuses on the eighteenth century, not on the earlier period. Looking at the question from the standpoint of the very origins of news, namely, the letter and eventually the newsletter, and keeping in mind the examples just proposed, I would argue that the material seems to be more often laid out in what at the time would have been called a 'period' rather than the more vaguely defined notion of paragraph. 'Paragraph' must be understood of course in context. The concept of 'paragrafo' appears already in Dante as a metaphor for a highlighted text drawn from the legal tradition of scholars marking off sections of the law, i.e. paragraphs, by a sign or 'paragraphós'. On the other hand according to the definition in Giuseppe Manuzzi's 'corrected' edition of the Florentine vocabulary of the academicians of the Crusca, which he published in Florence in 1838, a period is 'a certain number of words formed of several members or clauses [*incisi*] the union of which gives a complete sentence'.[15] This seems like a more suitable definition for what we see in the text of the *Gazzetta di Bologna*. Let us keep in mind that the Crusca *Vocabolario* of 1691 gave the following definition of a period: to wit, "a certain composition of words which circulate [raggirono]" as the word 'periodós' would suggest, and the dictionary entry points to the early seventeenth century Segni translation of the fourth century BC rhetorical handbook by Demetrius Phalereus which elaborates in some detail on the characteristics of a period.[16] What seems common to all definitions is the concept of segmentation, in contrast to continuousness. A period always involves a concatenation of elements.

We shall now examine some of our examples from the standpoint of the concatenation of elements or clauses in a discourse. Here we are not referring to anything so sophisticated as the situating of events in a chronological sequence, which Brownlees has identified in his corantos and newsbooks. We are interested in quantity, not quality. And the concatenation of items in the *Gazzetta di Bologna* example appears in Figure 6.10.

Connections are made not just by the frequent commas and semicolons, but also by the frequent uses of the word 'che'—a simple functional which in this case I think is highly significant keeping in mind all the caveats of Hardie

15 *Vocabolario della Lingua Italiana,* vol. 2, pt. 1 (Florence, 1838), p. 456.

16 *Demetrio Falereo della locuzione volgarizzato da Pier Segni accademico della Crusca detto l'Agghiacciato. Con postille al testo, ed esempli toscani, conformati a' greci* (Florence, 1603), pp. ii, 12, 13, 18, 19, 215–7, 220, 237, 260. In addition, *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*, vol. 3 (Florence, 1691), p. 1190.

La scritta fuga del Re d'Inghilterra di Hampton Court nell'Isola di Vieth viene raccontata in questa forma:

che alli 22 novembre, dopo haver detto maestà dato udienza segreta alli Commissari di Scozia, et ad un principale Signore del detto Regno, havesse spedito un salvacondotto per 4 de' suoi gentiluomini, sotto finta che volessero uscire di quel regno,

et il doppo pranzo poi si fosse ritirato nel suo gabinetto a scrivere, e lasciato ordine ai suoi Camerieri che non lasciassero entrare persona da lui, anzi havesse fatto rispondere ad uno dei suoi Commissari, che li voleva parlare, ch'era occupato.

Onde insospettiti detti commissari di quella ritiratezza, fossero tornati avanti cena et entrati nel gabinetto non vi havessero trovato detta Maestà, ma solo in sua vece 4 lettere; una aperta, scritta a S. M. da Londra senza sottoscrizione, nella quale veniva avvertiata che la Camera Bassa trattava di farlo morire; l'altre erano di suo pugno, in una delle quali venivano espresse le cagioni della fuga;

e cioè che havendo conosciuto che la speranza della pace di quel Regno, per la quale haveva sofferto la prigionia passata, riusciva sempre più vana, si era procacciato la sicurezza della sua persona, per impiegarsi poscia in quella di suoi sudditi, si dichiarava che per la pace di detto Regno egli era di senso, che si dovesse osservar una buona giustizia in dar soddisfazione ai Presbiteriani, agli Indipendenti, all'Armata et a' Scozzesi,

et inoltre aggiungeva che si dovesse permettere libertà di coscienza, e pubblicare il perdono generale. Quando il Parlemento havesse inclinato nel detto suo senso, s'offeriva con modi leciti pagar l'armata, et ogni altro privato. In fine, proponeva di andar egli medesimo a trattar questo interesse con detto Parlamento, ma in luogo che fosse libero e sicuro; perche gli havrebbe fatto conoscere con gli effetti che esso sempre sarebbe stato Padre della Patria.

FIGURE 6.10 *Discourse fragments in* Gazzetta di Bologna, *1 January 1648, ASVat., MSS Ottoboniani 2450, fo. 2, emphasis added*

and Brownlees about allowing too many noisy functionals to spoil our data. We have in essence a series of subordinate clauses related to the opening gambit, which is that letters have come in from a certain place. Roughly chronological order appears to have been maintained, after the initial announcement of what the story is about ('la scritta fuga del re').

Looking across various examples, we find that in the Italian media these features fit a common pattern. Here, in the upper portion of fig. 6.11, is another example from Italy, this time from the section devoted to 'Avvisi' in the Vatican Archive. We see a period composed of several elements, each adding to the story. I have separated out the clauses and numbered them from 1 to 4. All four clauses then appear in the bottom example, which is the *Gazzetta di Bologna* carrying the same story, but in a different order. The difference does not seem to be so much in chronology as in emphasis, suggested by the order of elements. For the manuscript newsletter above, the big story appears to be the Turkish arsenal worker who escaped because of the workload; in the printed gazette below, the big story is the arrival of the Venetian fleet in the Dardanelles. Each example contains material not found in the other. The top one, after the four points about the Turks, goes on in the same vein. The bottom example changes the subject completely and reports at least three other stories, all in green. In different media where there is copying across the media, we find that the concatenation of elements may change depending on the circumstances.

According to Will Slauter, it was precisely in the aspect of mobility that the paragraph asserted its particular usefulness in the eighteenth century: easily

ASVat, Avvisi 19, c. 98, avviso, Venezia 5 maggio 1646

1. 'Dicono che havendo il Turco ordinato al Chiaia almirante dell'Arsenale una quantità di galere impossibili a fornirsi per il primo tempo,

2. 'questo temendo della sua testa se ne sia fuggito da Costantinopoli con una quantità di quei capi operari di detto arsenale,

3. 'il che e dall'esser comparso avviso in quella città dell'incaminamento nella nostra armata verso i Dardanelli, pubblicatosi in maggior numero, havesse alterato talmente quei principali ministri e giannizzeri,

4. 'et il popolo che molto volentieri interamente desideravano la pace, li primi per il buon governo dell'impero Ottomano, li secondi risoluti quasi di non voler andar a servir sopra l'armata marittima,

'et questi per timore di qualche grande carestia stante che tutti i vivai con quali si mantiene quella popolatissima città, che dall'arcipellago et altri luogi del mar Bianco arrivano devono passare per quello stretto, ove si trova la nostra armata, tenevano non di meno quei principali di parlar al Barbaro per la gran minaccie di esso a chi le parlasse di pace, aspettavano però, con gran desiderio, l'ambasciatore del re di Francia, pubblicatosi colà di presto arrivo, et di dover passar uffizio e pretesta, per parte del suo re, sopra l'ingiusta guerra non intimata et tirannica che all'ora poi haverebbe secondati gli uffizi dell'ambasciatore con destrezza per indurlo all'accomodamento'.

Ibid., c. 101, Gazzetta di Genova 5 v 46

3. 'Di Venezia scrivono confome già s'è accennato,che l'armata di quella Repubblica molto numeroso, s'era incamminata verso le bocche di Constantinopoli per impedir l'uscita di quello del Turco,

4. 'e che havutosi di ciò qualche sentore in quella città, cominciava il popolo a tumultuare; tanto più veggendo molti sforzati dal Gran Signore a remigar sulle galere.

1. 'Che non di meno il Turco affretava a più potere l'armamento, assistendo con tanta premura egli stesso nell'arsenale,

2. 'che riuscendo la faccenda a molti operai non meno pericolosa che di tedio, se n'erano fuggiti molti di essi col Maestro principale.

'Che il Generale Grimani haveva presi 4 vascelli Ragusei, che carichi di pece, e sale, andavano dalla Vallona a Costantinopoli, e che in Andrianopoli sendosi acceso un gran fuoco, haveva abbruciato gran quantità di munitioni da guerra da diverse provincie, colà adunate, con notabilissimo danno anco della città. E che il Turco afflitto non meno di quest'accidente che da i Cosacchi che cominciano a far gran danno nel Mar Negro sarebbe forzato a rivolger il pensiero alla difesa di se medesimo'.

FIGURE 6.11 *Comparison of discourse elements in a Venetian* avviso *and in the* Gazzetta di Bologna*, emphasis added*

detachable from its moorings in a specific text and transportable lock stock and barrel into another text, it might be embedded in an entirely different context, surrounded with entirely different ideas. We find that in the Italian cases the clauses of a period have the same utility. Easily movable from place to place, removable and exchangeable, they are the building blocks of stories, the seeds of narrative, and ultimately the stock in trade of the vast stream of exchangeable information coursing through the networks of early modern news.[17] Like the packets of data passing through the Internet, maybe also through the silos of the cyberspooks in Fort Meade, MD, they can be traced—although this will clearly require some time and a good deal of machinery.

17 I offer some more bibliography and reviews on current research methodologies in my article, 'Media and History: Cultural Concerns', *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 15 (2015), pp. 11-18.