

**Local publishing, local knowledge, local communication:**

**The case of *La Floresta Andaluza* (Seville, 1843–1844)**

Prof. Dr. Christiane Schwab

*Institute for European Ethnology and Cultural Analysis, Ludwig Maximilian University  
Munich, Germany*

Room 130, Oettingenstrasse 67

80538 Munich, Germany

c.schwab@ekwee.uni-muenchen.de

This work was supported by the European Research Council (grant agreement 802582)

## **Local publishing, local knowledge, local communication:**

### **The case of *La Floresta Andaluza* (Seville, 1843–1844)**

This article investigates the multiple functions of a periodical as a format of knowledge produced by and for the educated population of a middle-sized Spanish town. Situated between media and knowledge history, the purpose of this study is twofold: First, it discusses the contents and editorial circumstances of *La Floresta Andaluza*. Secondly, it looks into the connections between media, knowledge, space, and social configurations by investigating the periodical as an agent of public communication that addresses (and makes up) its audience as a knowledge milieu and politically responsible group. As a consequence, the article contributes to a new understanding of media history from the periphery and explores the relationships between editorial activities, the production of knowledge, and sociopolitical transformations in nineteenth-century Spain.

Keywords: Spain, periodical literature, nineteenth century, history of knowledge

#### **1. Introduction**

Throughout the nineteenth century, tens of thousands of periodicals were founded from Lisbon to St Petersburg. The transformation of publishing into a lucrative industry was owed to diverse factors: a cheaper production of paper, the rise of the steam press, growing literacy rates, and increasing liberalization of censorship.<sup>1</sup> The miscellaneous journal *La Floresta Andaluza*, which was published between April 1843 and July 1844 in the Spanish town of Seville, represents one example of this proliferation of periodical literature. Published for an educated urban elite, *La Floresta Andaluza* featured texts on local and national history, archeology and architecture, biographies of men of politics, essays on scientific advancements, as well as original pieces of poetry and prose. Furthermore, with its local audience in mind, it regularly commented on the playbill and musical events in the city of Seville.

The goals of this article are twofold. First, it discusses the contents and editorial circumstances of an individual publishing enterprise in a peripheral European town. Secondly, it examines the periodical *La Floresta Andaluza* in relation to the local circumstances of knowledge production and looks into the connections between media, knowledge, space, and

---

<sup>1</sup> Certainly, these developments varied in different regions. On the emergence of industrial publishing in France, England, Spain, German-speaking countries, and Spain see Mainardi 2017; Osterhammel 2011, 63–67; Boening 2004; Pereira, Castañares, and García Sanz 1986.

social milieu. Consequently, besides contributing to a new understanding of media history from the periphery, the article explores the relationships between editorial activities, the production of knowledge, and social transformations in the context of nineteenth-century Spanish and European history.

Although expert research has already provided many-sided perspectives on the social and epistemic embeddedness of knowledge production since the 1970s (Longino 2019; Knorr-Cetina 1999; McMullin 1992), the interdependencies between geographical space and knowledge have become an issue much more recently. Especially scholars of urban studies have been increasingly concerned with locally bounded preconditions and dynamics of knowledge production as a factor of urban and regional development (e.g., Bradford and Nelles 2014; Matthiesen and Mahnken 2009). Hessler and Zimmermann (2008), for instance, have adapted the "creative class" (Florida 2002) concept on historical circumstances to demonstrate how diverse factors such as physical proximity and social heterogeneity have favored the rise of "creative" city districts and milieus in different regions of Europe. The volume *Science and the City* (Dierig et al. 2003) brings together the fields of science history and urban studies, suggesting that (scientific) knowledge evolves first and foremost in the context of urban institutions and networks. The articles featured in this volume focus on how scientific activity is embedded in the social and material infrastructures of different cities; the interdependencies between science, politics, and everyday life; and "science's role in the cultural representation of the city" (ibid., 1). The volume *Horizons of Ethnographic Knowledge*<sup>2</sup> (Dietzsch, Kaschuba, and Scholze-Irrlitz 2009) provides another pertinent contribution to the study of knowledge production in urban settings. It examines the production, medialization, and political uses of ethnographic knowledge on different geographical scales. The working concept of "knowledge milieu", as outlined in the volume, is particularly relevant for this article. Approaching "relatively homogenous, yet internally differentiated context[s] of interaction and communication" (ibid., 12), the concept sheds light on the social circumstances of knowledge practices in urban spaces, as well as on the transformative forces these practices may provoke.

Besides examining locally bounded dynamics of knowledge and cultural production, this article also connects with scholarship on media history. Concerning the evolution and differentiation of a European print market, editorial developments in France and England,

---

<sup>2</sup> German titles and quotes were translated by the author.

particularly in the cultural metropolises of London and Paris, have been researched extensively (e.g., Easley et al. 2018; Mainardi 2017; Boening 2004). However, only a few works deal with the history of publishing in peripheral regions and medium-sized towns (see, for an exception, Matthews 2017). With regard to Seville, the fundamental work exploring the history of the local press continues to be Manuel Chaves' study *Historia y bibliografía de la prensa sevillana* (1896). Besides this comprehensive study on the different periodicals that appeared in this town from the seventeenth century onwards, two surveys on individual publishing projects of the 1830s and 1840s have assisted this research. The first one is Begoña López Bueno's (1972) study of *La Floresta Andaluza*, which consists of an index of all the articles that the journal featured throughout its publication. More than a decade later, Marta Palenque (1987) published a very similar overview on the weekly periodical *El Cisne*, which appeared in 1838 and was primarily authored by writers who, several years later, would contribute to *La Floresta Andaluza*. In their introductions, both studies discuss the respective periodicals as expressions of a particularly "Sevillian" aesthetic tradition. Looking at the publications as compendia of *belles lettres*, Palenque and López Bueno contend that the locally based writers strongly related to the city's literary and artistic boom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a consequence, the periodicals are regarded as conservative counterparts to a rather liberal and rebellious conception of Romanticism that prevailed in the Spanish capital and other parts of Europe.

In contrast to the aesthetic perspective pursued in these two surveys, this article takes a different path. It focuses on the nonfictional parts of *La Floresta Andaluza*, most of which are dedicated to discussing different knowledge areas. Correspondingly, these contributions are analyzed as formats of local knowledge production and situated in the context of a consolidating network of communication, which would provide what Habermas calls the "training ground for a critical public reflection" (Habermas 1991, 29). This article poses the following questions to explore *La Floresta Andaluza* as a format of knowledge production and an agent of sociopolitical empowerment: Which contents do the nonfictional texts of the periodical address? How are these contents constructed? How are they customized to the frames of reference of a readership in a specific middle-sized town? How does the periodical act, through the construction and dissemination of knowledge, as a catalyst of communication and (bourgeois) identity building? Accordingly, the article investigates how the periodical systematizes and discusses different knowledge areas in the context of local "milieus of knowledge production" (Dietzsch, Kaschuba, and Scholze-Irrlitz 2009, 12) and how it might

be considered a medium of social and political reflection for "practitioners of civil society" (Hoffmann 2003, 275).

To contextualize the publishing conditions of *La Floresta Andaluza*, I will first introduce the socioeconomic structures and intellectual activities of Seville at the outset of the nineteenth century. Subsequently, I will present the periodical in more detail, discussing its formal characteristics, surveying its nonfictional contents, and, if available, providing information on the respective writers involved in the city's diverse intellectual-artistic circles. In a further step, I will examine selected texts in light of the contexts and dynamics of local knowledge production. This entails looking at how particular strands of knowledge are constructed and how they oscillate between local experience and "universal" bodies of knowledge.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, I will explore how the periodical contributed to the consolidation of a local sphere of communication by debating local issues and appealing to the readers' judgment. The conclusion resumes the research, reflects on its shortcomings, and proposes further perspectives for a history of knowledge and media in the context of nineteenth-century sociopolitical transformations.

## **2. Social reconfigurations in Seville at the outset of the nineteenth century**

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Spain, and especially its extreme South and West, became increasingly removed from political and socioeconomic developments in other parts of Europe (Lawrence 2019; Braojos Garrido 1993). Although some authors, such as David Ringrose (1996) and Juan Pablo Fusi and Jordi Palafox (1997), disagree with the widespread notion of Spanish "backwardness", they acknowledge that the Spanish modernization process was marked by particular frictions and discontinuities. The Peninsular War (1808–1814) left a severely impaired economy with insufficient opportunities for growth in commerce and agriculture. Moreover, violent turnarounds between liberal and conservative forces affected the country's social stability and economic growth opportunities. In Seville, similar to many other cities in Europe at that time, the population rose from 81.875 in 1823 to 112.529 in 1856 (Braojos Garrido 1993, 122). However, this development was less the result of economic prosperity, but rural pauperism (ibid.). The limitation of resources to promote the

---

<sup>3</sup> In the context of critical discourse theory, local discourse strands can be understood as discourse elements that emerge from local dispositifs of knowledge production, dissemination, and application (e.g., learned societies, periodicals, policies) (Keller 2005). Certainly, also the elements of so-called academic or evidence-based knowledge, even the most abstract philosophical theory, once evolved within sociospatially bounded social networks and material conditions. On the circulation of knowledge contents between local and translocal networks of knowledge, see Müller 2004.

urban economy's revitalization went hand in hand with inertia prevailing among the dominant classes. The historian María Álvarez Pantoja speaks of a lack of "espíritu de empresa o tal vez grandes capitales que hubiesen hecho factible la creación de nuevas industrias con las últimas innovaciones técnicas" (Alvarez Pantoja 1979, 17). Accordingly, until far into the second half of the nineteenth century, Seville did not fundamentally change "su viso de ciudad manufacturera de artesanos y pequeños mercaderes [...] de funcionarios, de profesionales libres y de jornaleros" (Braojos Garrido 1993, 126).

Despite this pervading feeling of stagnation, the city's cultural activities experienced considerable vitality in the 1830s and 1840s. This phenomenon was largely due to the rise of a bourgeoisie of money, resulting from the secularization processes that occurred after the end of the absolutist reign of Ferdinand VII (1833) (Martínez López 1996; Braojos Garrido 1993). In Seville, this social group primarily invested in agriculture and real estate rather than promoting industrial development, and quickly allied with the long-established urban aristocracy (Braojos Garrido 1993). In its search for a sociopolitical identity, these reconfiguring sectors (involving members of the liberal professions and civil servants) developed alternative, fashionable ways of cultural expression, which connected with transnational tendencies of bourgeois sociability, association building, scholarship, and publishing (see Hoffmann 2003; Kocka and Mitchell 1993).<sup>4</sup> The years between 1833 and 1847 witnessed the opening of 12 new theatres (Moreno Mengíbar 1998). The rise of learned societies and literary circles, as well as an increased editorial activity (77 new periodicals were launched between 1833 and 1849),<sup>5</sup> is also to be considered in this light (Román-

---

<sup>4</sup> Jürgen Habermas describes how, in the eighteenth century, the city formed the context for the bourgeois intellectual and the aristocrat to come into contact to participate first and foremost in "an early public sphere in the world of letters whose institutions were the coffee houses, the *salons*, and the *Tischgesellschaften* (table societies). The heirs of the humanistic-aristocratic society, in their encounter with the bourgeois intellectuals (through sociable discussions that quickly developed into public criticism) built the bridge between the remains of a collapsing form of publicity (the courtly one) and the precursor of the new one: the bourgeois public sphere" (Habermas 1991, 51). In the Spanish context, due to the relatively late emergence of the "bourgeois intellectual", this development stretches until the second half of the nineteenth century. The book *The Configuration of the Spanish Public Sphere* (Jiménez Torres and Villamediana González 2019) provides a series of case studies which use Habermas' theory to newly evaluate sociomedial and political developments in Spain from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.

<sup>5</sup> Among these publications figured *El Imparcial Sevillano* (1835–1836), *Diario Noticioso Sevillano* (1836–1837), *El Sevillano, Periódico Político y Literario* (1837–1843), *El Lartigazo Sevillano* (1837), *El Paraíso* (1838), *El Cisne* (1838), *Revista Andaluza* (1841), *El Correo de Sevilla. Diario de Noticias. Periódico Industrial, Mercantil y Literario* (1843), and *Semanario Instructivo* (1845). Among the journals that worked on specific topics figured *El Semanario de Agricultura y Artes* (1832–1833), *Biblioteca Médica Sevillana* (1841), *Revista Médica Andaluza* (1842), *Museo Industrial Sevillano* (1844), and *Boletín del Teatro* (1837), which focused on the urban theatre scene. See Chaves 1896, 68–121.

Gutiérrez and Palenque 2008; Braojos Garrido 1993). As in other urban centers of Europe, this search for new spaces of communication and the formation of a "bourgeois" identity involved the reorganization of social barriers. While on the one hand, new forms of sociability contributed to blurred boundaries with the long-standing aristocracy;<sup>6</sup> on the other, it created new ones between the upper-middle and the lower classes (Hoffmann 2003, 285).

As a result of the reduced size of the Sevillian upper and upper-middle classes, this group of the urban population was not strictly divided into different sociocultural networks (Braojos Garrido 1993; López Bueno 1972). In contrast to the heterogeneous cultural and academic scene in metropolises such as London or Paris (Harvey 2003; Fox 1992), we have to conceive of the Sevillian upper and upper-middle classes as a relatively coherent cultural network (or knowledge milieu, respectively). This is shown, for example, in the growing but uniform theatre and music scene (Moreno Mengíbar 1998; Sentaurens 1989) and the multiple intersections between learned societies and publishing enterprises (Román-Gutiérrez and Palenque 2008; Braojos Garrido 1993). Moreover, the involvement of exemplary individuals in diverse intellectual-artistic circles points to a close-knit network of cultural production. The historian and writer Amador de los Ríos (1818–1878) and the lawyer Juan José Bueno (1820–1881), for instance, who figured among the most prolific writers of *La Floresta Andaluza* (the former was also its editor), collaborated in nearly all literary-artistic activities going on in the city by the mid-nineteenth century. Both men participated in the foundation of the association *Liceo Artístico Sevillano*, established in 1838 (Román-Gutiérrez and Palenque 2008), which was organized in different sections oriented towards literature, music, and figurative art. The *Liceo* gave birth to the periodicals *El Cisne* (1838) and *La Revista Andaluza* (1841), to which Amador de los Ríos and Juan José Bueno made multiple contributions (Álvarez Cañibano 1991). At the end of the 1830s, both men would be elected into the *Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras* (founded in 1751), a relic of aristocratic scholarship which was experiencing an intellectual boost by the admission of numerous new members (see Rey 1992, 191). While Amador de los Ríos would gain a national reputation as a scholar of history and literature,<sup>7</sup> Juan José Bueno later became a member of the city council (1847) and the director of the university library (1854–1857).<sup>8</sup> Long after the publication of *La Floresta Andaluza*, Bueno himself would host an important literary-artistic salon, out of which would

---

<sup>6</sup> See note 4.

<sup>7</sup> His most successful book was *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos de España* (1848). Like Juan José Bueno, Amador de los Ríos was elected a member of the *Real Academia de la Historia* (1848).

<sup>8</sup> López Bueno 1972, 61–62.

result the publication *Tertulia Literaria* (Bueno 1861). He would also become a member of the *Real Academia de Nobles Artes* (1855),<sup>9</sup> which managed the historical heritage released in the course of the sale of ecclesiastical property (Besa Gutiérrez 2016, 194), and he was actively involved in the planning of the *Museo de Bellas Artes* and in the *Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla* (Besa Gutiérrez 2016).

In conjunction with the rise of numerous learned societies and circles in Seville after the end of the reign of Ferdinand VII (1833), an increased editorial activity also played a crucial role in the reconfiguration of the upper and upper-middle classes as a milieu of knowledge. As with the *Liceo Artístico Sevillano*, it was frequently the same associations that founded new periodicals to disseminate their activities and discussions to the local public (Palenque 1987; López Bueno 1972). Chaves' (1896) survey on the history of the press in Sevilla points to this expanding yet largely coherent sphere of local communication, in which the same individuals contributed to many different publications launched in the city.<sup>10</sup> Interpreting *La Floresta Andaluza* as one of these backbones of a consolidating public sphere, the periodical grants insight into the dominant classes' knowledge practices and concerns in a middle-sized town at the European periphery.

### **3. *La Floresta Andaluza* (1843–1844): editorial contexts and contents**

Printed by the Imprenta de Alvarez y Compañía, the periodical *La Floresta Andaluza*<sup>11</sup> changed its format three times. Throughout April 1843, *La Floresta Andaluza. Dario de Literatura y Artes* appeared as a four-page journal daily. From May 1843 onwards, it was edited in weekly issues as *La Floresta Andaluza. Periódico Semanal de Literatura y Artes*, and from January 1844 throughout June of the same year, in monthly 48-paged issues (*La Floresta Andaluza, Revista Mensual de Literatura, Ciencias y Artes*). After these three periods, *La Floresta Andaluza* was published in two volumes with 248 and 336 pages,

---

<sup>9</sup> In 1836, the *Academia de Bellas Artes* had been raised to the level of *Real Academia de Nobles Artes* (De Besa Gutiérrez 2016, 194).

<sup>10</sup> José Amador de los Ríos, for instance, before editing *La Floresta Andaluza* had contributed to periodicals such as *El Cisne* (1838), *El Paraíso* (1838), *El Nuevo Paraíso* (1839) and *Revista Andaluza* (1841). Juan José Bueno (1820–1881) likewise had contributed to *El Paraíso* (1838), *El Nuevo Paraíso* (1839) and *Revista Andaluza* (1841), and had been editor of *El Cisne* as well as the newspaper *El Correo de Sevilla. Diario de Noticias. Periódico Industrial, Mercantil y Literario* (January 1843 until September 1843). In 1844, Juan José Bueno and José Amador de los Ríos would collaborate in the publication of another literary journal, *El Agua* (Chaves 1896, 101).

<sup>11</sup> The term “floresta” is associated with two concepts. It first refers to a grove, secondly, to an arrangement of pleasant things (López Bueno 1972, 37–38).

respectively. The first volume displayed an index of contents, which enabled the readers to look up particular topics of interest. We do not know exactly why the publication ended.<sup>12</sup>

*La Floresta Andaluza* was supposedly founded by a Seville-based network of learned men (and women)<sup>13</sup> as an outlet for their intellectual and literary efforts (López Bueno 1972, 37). This suggestion is based on the observation that nearly all of the signed<sup>14</sup> texts were written by men involved in the city's various intellectual circles and published in their respective periodicals. López Bueno thus states that the writers of *La Floresta Andaluza* count among "los más representativos del movimiento cultural de la capital andaluza, pues repasando la prensa sevillana entre los años 1840–1850 los vemos continuamente figurar entre las listas de colaboradores" (López Bueno 1972, 60). Although *La Floresta Andaluza* positioned itself as a non-political periodical,<sup>15</sup> multiple comments reveal a moderately conservative tendency,<sup>16</sup> representing large sectors of the local elites in Southern Spain (Braojos Garrido 1993). Concerning the distribution range of *La Floresta Andaluza*, we only have a list of libraries through which readers could subscribe to the periodical outside Seville (besides Madrid, only towns in Andalusia are listed).<sup>17</sup> The price of the weekly journal was 8 reales, 10 reales outside Seville.<sup>18</sup> Based on this information and its contents, *La Floresta Andaluza* is considered a periodical produced by and for the educated middle and upper classes of Seville and other urban centers in Southern Spain.

Even though *La Floresta Andaluza* featured numerous pieces of original lyrics and prose, it was created as a publication that discussed the evolution and contents of various knowledge

---

<sup>12</sup> López Bueno notes that it was rather unusual for periodicals to last for long periods of time and that their very "proliferación podría ser causa de su misma brevedad" (1972, 41). Another reason was probably the lack of money to fund printing. These suggestions are endorsed by Chaves' chronology of local periodicals, which testifies the appearance of multiple short-lived periodicals especially from the 1830s until the 1850s; it also corresponds with the dynamics of the market of periodicals in other European regions of that time (see Drabble 2006, 191).

<sup>13</sup> There might well have been women among both founders and contributors. All authors' names refer to male persons; however, since a good number of articles in *La Floresta Andaluza* were signed with initials, we do not know who the actual writers were. Until today, approximately 60 contributors have not been completely identified (López Bueno 1972). Also, many women published under male pseudonyms at that time (Ezell 1993).

<sup>14</sup> See note 13.

<sup>15</sup> In number 31, the editor, probably Amador de los Ríos, announces that the periodical "se desentenderá absolutamente de cualquiera provocación periodística, que no se enderece a ilustrar un punto científico o literario, cuya polemicidad pueda prestar alguna utilidad a las ciencias, a la historia, o a la literatura" (n.p.).

<sup>16</sup> For example, several comments can be found in favor of the reign of Isabel II (López Bueno 1972, 38).

<sup>17</sup> *La Floresta Andaluza*, number 31, 2.

<sup>18</sup> See *ibid.*

areas. The periodical's conception as a format of knowledge becomes manifest in the fact that historical, archeological, and scientific studies and the discussion of literature and artworks fill more than half of its pages. Until the end of the apparition of the weekly issues in December 1843, the individual contributions were organized in three sections named *Historia*, *Artes*, and *Literatura y Filosofía*. Between January 1844 and July 1844, the named sections disappeared. The periodical's educational orientation also materializes in the index of the collected first volume, which, like an encyclopedia, enabled readers to search for specific information provided by the individual articles.<sup>19</sup>

To highlight *La Floresta Andaluza's* qualities as a format of knowledge, I will now provide an overview of its diverse nonfictional contents. The articles published within the first section (*Historia*) cover the discussion of historical figures and events, state and regional history, monastic history, and the history of science and knowledge. Many texts adopt the scheme of biographic narration, as shown in the series of articles on Frederick the Great from Prussia<sup>20</sup> and a sequence titled "Apuntes biográficos de Cristóbal Colón, descubridor del Nuevo Mundo"<sup>21</sup>. Another recurring form of presentation is the survey-like description, which is used, e.g., in articles on the evolution of the Templars,<sup>22</sup> the Order of Saint John,<sup>23</sup> and the development of the French Revolutionary Wars.<sup>24</sup> History of knowledge and science is covered, for instance, by a survey on the development of geographical research (starting with historical techniques of cartography of the ancient Greeks and Romans).<sup>25</sup> An article on the

---

<sup>19</sup> With regard to the second volume, the reader has to scroll the table of contents of each issue.

<sup>20</sup> The series starts in number 14 (author: anonymous). The fourth part (number 32) informs the reader that the series' contents have been taken directly from the *Edinburgh Review* (without indicating the date of original publishing).

<sup>21</sup> Number 26 (authorship: S. del P.).

<sup>22</sup> Numbers 7, 9 (authorship: T. del C.) and 12 (authorship: Luis de Olona). Besides pieces of prose and theatre reviews, the author Luis de Olona y Gaeta (1823–1863), who is rather known as a playwright, also contributed scientific articles to *La Floresta Andaluza*. I could find no other connection to intellectual networks in Seville apart from the friendship between Olona and the Sevillian painter Antonio María Esquivel (1806–1857), whose work is mentioned several times in *La Floresta Andaluza* (among others, Amador de los Ríos himself praises him as a "distinguido artista" (de los Ríos 1843b, n.p.) in number 19. Antonio María Esquivel, who had moved from Seville to Madrid in 1831, represented Olona in his famous painting and homage to his befriended writers, "Los poetas contemporáneos" (1846).

<sup>23</sup> Number 34 (authorship: Teodoro Valverde).

<sup>24</sup> Numbers 40 and 41 (authorship: anonymous), 42 and 44 (authorship: F. S.), and 45 (authorship: F. S. C.).

<sup>25</sup> The authorship of the serial contribution (numbers 5, 11, 15, 23, and 29) is shared between M. del R., Anonymous, and R. U. G.

refinement of archeological knowledge,<sup>26</sup> which provides an account of the education and professional life of Louis-Charles-François Petit Radel and his research on the ancient Greek population on the Iberian Peninsula, is a second example.<sup>27</sup>

The second section (*Artes*) covers texts on the history of painting and figurative arts, but also on the domains of agriculture and commerce.<sup>28</sup> Several contributions on figurative arts adopt the popular format of the travel account and thereby connect with contemporary reading preferences.<sup>29</sup> There are, for example, the series "Viajes artísticos. Florencia"<sup>30</sup> and "España artística"<sup>31</sup>, which expose the artistic heritage of Florence, and, respectively, of the Andalusian town Andujar. The series "Agricultura entre los antiguos"<sup>32</sup> refers to the fields of historical economy and agriculture. It consists of five individual contributions, which give a historical account of viticulture and cattle breeding and thereby go back into antiquity. The sequence "De la Astronomía entre los antiguos"<sup>33</sup> in turn deals with the evolution of the science of astronomy and underlines the importance of astronomic knowledge for the advancement of commerce and agriculture.

The third section of *La Floresta Andaluza (Literatura y Filosofía)* includes original lyrics and prose composed by mainly local authors, theatre reviews, and literary criticism pieces. Furthermore, articles on the history of literature play a significant role, such as R. García's and A. de L.'s "Apuntes sobre el origen y la historia del teatro español"<sup>34</sup> and José Amador de los Ríos' "Apuntes sobre la influencia de los árabes en las artes y en la literatura españolas"<sup>35</sup>. The section also includes a considerable number of scientific and philosophical essays. "Ciencias filosóficas. La psicología [sic]"<sup>36</sup>, for instance, deals with the evolving field of

---

<sup>26</sup> Number 39. The author Manuel de la Corte y Ruano Calderón in 1838 became a member of the *Real Academia de la Historia* and was nominated *Inspector de Antigüedades* in Andalusia. He carried out this duty until 1842 (Maier 2003, 37).

<sup>27</sup> The text also assesses the meaning of the French archeologist's work for the advancement of historiographical, antiquarian, and geographic research.

<sup>28</sup> This broad conception points to the contemporary permeability of the notion of "arts" (the Latin origin of the word "art" [ars] refers to "skill" and "craft" in our contemporary understanding) and the intersections between different knowledge domains throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. On the specialization of knowledge and the role of learned societies, academies, and journals in the first half of the nineteenth century, see Burke 2012, 160–184.

<sup>29</sup> On the popularity of travel literature in the nineteenth century, see, e.g., Anghelescu 2004.

<sup>30</sup> Numbers 28, 31, 33, and 34 (authorship: anonymous).

<sup>31</sup> Numbers 3, 6, 10, and 15 (authorship: José Amador de los Ríos).

<sup>32</sup> Numbers 1 and 4 (authorship: Luis de Olona), numbers 9, 12, and 16 (authorship: M. de R.).

<sup>33</sup> The series starts in number 27 and continues in number 30 (authorship of both articles: M. de R.).

<sup>34</sup> Number 9.

<sup>35</sup> Numbers 36, 38, and 40.

<sup>36</sup> Number 31 and 34 (authorship: C.M. Paffe). There is no information either on the original context of publication (supposedly French) or on the translator.

psychology and its relations to philosophy. The article “Ciencias naturales. El calórico”<sup>37</sup> explains the (today outdated) caloric theory and discusses different techniques to measure heat changes, thereby connecting with the latest discoveries in science.

#### **4. *La Floresta Andaluza* as a local format of knowledge and agent of public communication**

As the previous examples illustrate, a good number of nonfictional articles in *La Floresta Andaluza* could easily have appeared in a miscellaneous journal from Barcelona, Naples, or Leipzig. However, around half of the periodical’s contents refer to local knowledge strands and/or sociospatial infrastructures.<sup>38</sup> In the following discussion of a selection of these texts, I will look at how general, “universal” knowledge contents are reformatted according to local bodies of knowledge and frames of experience, thereby exploring relationships between different sociospatial scales of knowledge production. Secondly, I will analyze selected texts as agents of an urban sphere of communication, opinion-building, and social empowerment.

Concerning the presentation and discussion of knowledge in connection with “local” contents and schemes, I start with a two-part study on the history of currency. The first article of the series “Numismática”<sup>39</sup> deals with the emergence of coins to facilitate commerce on the one hand and the importance of numismatics for the study of history on the other. The second article<sup>40</sup> transfers these thoughts of general scholarship on the ruins of a Roman town, Itálica, situated around five miles from Seville. The author (D. L. R.) asserts that most of the existing information on the ancient foundation of Itálica was gained through the analysis of the coins minted there. He then interprets several examples of these coins relating them to imperial Roman history. The series thus makes historical knowledge and current scholarship on antiquity accessible to a local readership who was familiar with the archeological site. A further example of articles that connect with “local material” is given by José María Fernández’ sequence “Poetas Sevillanos”<sup>41</sup>. It starts with a presentation of playwrights at the beginning of the sixteenth century and acknowledges Lope de Rueda’s (1510–1565) importance with regard to the renewal of theatrical representation (Fernández 1843, 12). Subsequently, the series covers various authors with local acclaim, thereby relating

---

<sup>37</sup> Number 4 (authorship: José Martínez Gática). The author of this contribution, the physician José Martínez Gática, acted as the vice-president of the *Real academia de medicina y cirugía de Sevilla, Córdoba y Extremadura* in the 1830s, see *La Gaceta de Madrid*, number 151 (1834), 655.

<sup>38</sup> See note 3.

<sup>39</sup> Number 2 (authorship: Luis de Olona; on Olona, see note 23).

<sup>40</sup> Number 25 (authorship: D. L. R.).

<sup>41</sup> The sequence was published in numbers 31, 33, and 35 (authorship: José María Fernández).

“scholarly” standards of criticism and discussions on the history of literature, on the one hand, to the reference frame of a local readership, on the other. Also, the series “Sevilla”<sup>42</sup>, which processes data of national and urban history, exemplifies the production (and dissemination) of knowledge through the mediation between “universal” and “local” contents and schemes. Amador de los Ríos opens the series with an account of Seville's foundational myths and its military heroes; claiming a scholarly approach by quoting a dissertation held at the *Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras* in 1752. The following articles deal with the city's architecture, its popular traditions, and its commercial functions as the port to the Americas. Throughout the series, the authors link general historical expertise (on, e.g., architecture, arts, or the relationship between Spain and the Americas) with local data and circumstances, thereby connecting with a local readership's reference frame.

*La Floresta Andaluza* did not only process information with a specific readership in mind, but, like other infrastructures of exchange that emerged in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century city (the salon, the café, the theatre), it engaged with its audience to reflect and communicate on the contents it provided. Accordingly, *La Floresta Andaluza* is to be considered an agent in the consolidation of what Habermas designated the “early public sphere in the world of letters” (Habermas 1991, 30).<sup>43</sup> I will now provide a few examples of how the periodical acted as a catalyst for public reflection and discussion. First, nearly every issue included various theatre reviews, which discussed the stage production and the actors' performance and provided information on the playwright and the play's production history.<sup>44</sup> These pieces of art criticism, according to Habermas, had a particularly important function for the development of a sociopolitical consciousness, as they promoted the organization of the “lay judgment of a public that had come out of age, or at least thought it had” (ibid., 41). Furthermore, *La Floresta Andaluza* made public the events and debates of various urban associations, including governmental circles, and motivated its readership to participate in and comment on ongoing discussions. For example, one text (Anonymous 1843) reviews an art exhibition organized by the *Sociedad Económica de Sevilla*. It deliberates about the numerous exhibited objects by both local and national artists and reflects on the various problems the society has faced in organizing the exhibition. In another article, José Amador de los Ríos

---

<sup>42</sup> The series was featured in numbers 1 (authorship: José Amador de los Ríos), 4 (authorship: Rafael María Baralt), 23 (authorship: M. J. J.), 11, and 19 (authorship for both articles: José Amador de los Ríos).

<sup>43</sup> This early public sphere, according to Habermas, carried in itself the seed of the “sphere which mediates between society and state” (Habermas 2001, 102).

<sup>44</sup> See, e.g., Olona 1843; J.M.F. 1843.

(1843c) laments how the city administration had been neglecting the historical buildings of the *Alcázar*, which dates back to the fourteenth century. He discusses the importance of art conservation for both educational motives and the development of a nation's historical consciousness and concludes the article demanding to continue the public efforts of restoration of the Royal Palace.<sup>45</sup> A further example is Juan Bautista Novallac's (1843a, 1843b) two-part review of several lectures held at a conference organized by the *Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras*. In these reports, the author (who was also the secretary of this learned society) touches on domains as diverse as the history of poetry (José Amador de los Ríos), church history (Francisco García Camero),<sup>46</sup> law (Francisco del Cerro),<sup>47</sup> economic history (Manuel Campos y Oviedo),<sup>48</sup> and the current state of medicine (José Martínez de Gática).<sup>49</sup> Dealing with these diverse topics through the voice of prominent figures of the urban knowledge milieu, Bautista Novallac does not only convey abstract information, but he also achieves to personalize the contents and involves the readership in the society's intellectual exchange.

The last example to illustrate how *La Floresta Andaluza*, through the dissemination of diverse knowledge contents, acted as an agent of urban communication is provided by the article "De la navegación entre Córdoba y Sevilla" (Cárdenas 1844). Its author, Francisco Cárdenas, who in the late 1830s worked as a professor of moral philosophy, logic, and grammar at the University of Seville, had been a member of the *Liceo Artístico Sevillano* together with Amador de los Ríos and Juano José Bueno. As such, in 1841, Cárdenas co-founded *La Revista Andaluza*,<sup>50</sup> in which also Juan José Bueno and José Amador de los Ríos collaborated. In his eleven-paged contribution to *La Floresta Andaluza*, Cárdenas advocates for the improvement of the navigation infrastructure between Córdoba and Seville, which, much to his regret, had been a "necesidad que ha sido desatendida por todos los gobiernos que han mandado en este siglo" (ibid., 246). At the beginning of the article, Cárdenas gives an account

---

<sup>45</sup> On the heated debates between liberal politicians and members of the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* about the educational meaning of historical heritage, see Gilarranz Ibáñez 2019; on the creation of a "national" historical imaginary in visual arts, see Pérez Vejo 2002.

<sup>46</sup> García Camero was the secretary of the section *Historia* of the *Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras* at that time (Cerro 1843, 379).

<sup>47</sup> Del Cerro acted as the director of the *Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras* and was a professor of canon law at the University of Seville (Aguilar Piñal 1988, 52).

<sup>48</sup> In the 1840s, Campos y Oviedo taught political economy at the University of Seville (Robledo Hernández 2005, 391). He acted as secretary of the *Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras* from 1881 to 1889 (*Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras* n.d.).

<sup>49</sup> See note 38.

<sup>50</sup> I took these biographic notes from Díaz Díaz 1983, 142.

of the history of transport in Spain. According to historiographical sources from the al-Andalusi period, there had once existed a profitable navigation system between the cities of Córdoba and Seville. Cárdenas then discusses various projects that had been developed in the past to revitalize the Guadalquivir as a route of transportation. He then pleads for the construction of a canal and the adoption of technologies used in England (ibid., 249), and presents a construction model conceived by the public engineer Agustín Larramendi.<sup>51</sup> Based on data calculated by the *Sociedad Económica de Sevilla*, Cárdenas discusses the costs and the economic profit the realization of this model would entail and demands the government to develop a proposal for a canal that meets the requirements of the latest technologies of construction and transport (ibid., 253). Cardenas finishes advocating for a profound public debate on this issue and thereby underlines the importance of the press to shape public opinion. New proposals of this kind, he writes, shall be made available to the public “a fin de que la prensa pudiera analizarlo y discutirlo. Obras de esta importancia no deben emprenderse nunca sino después de un exámen maduro y de una meditación muy detenida” (ibid., 255).

Like the previous examples of discussions on the local art scene, intellectual meetings, and governmental practices of art conservation, this text illustrates *La Floresta Andaluza's* functions in the context of locally bounded dynamics of knowledge production. Apart from processing information that mediates between “universal” scholarship (engineering, history of transport) and local conditions, it demonstrates the periodical’s role as an agent in the development of a public network of communication. Cárdenas discusses historical, economic, and technical data and explicitly appeals to the judgment of his readership. With this request, he transcends the world of letters and situates the periodical in a transition phase towards a politically informed public sphere.<sup>52</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

This article has intended to determine the functions of a periodical as a format of knowledge produced by and for the educated population of a middle-sized Spanish town. To consider Seville as a particular locus for the production and distribution of knowledge and for the formation of a public sphere, I have first discussed the city’s economic and sociocultural features in the first half of the nineteenth century. These were defined by the reconfiguration of the urban middle and upper classes, which was caused by the growth of an upcoming

---

<sup>51</sup> On the planning of architectural infrastructures as national prestige projects in nineteenth-century Spain, see Martykánová and Pan-Montojo 2020.

<sup>52</sup> See note 4.

(mostly agrarian) bourgeoisie. This newly organizing urban population was connected in close-knit networks of intellectual exchange and scholarship, featuring theatre houses, semi-private salons, and a handful of literary-artistic associations. In the context of the nineteenth-century development of commercial printing, and particularly in the 1830s and 1840s, many of these associations issued miscellaneous, often short-lived periodicals. One of these publishing enterprises, *La Floresta Andaluza*, has then been explored as an agent of public communication and a format that mediates between “universal” knowledge and sociospatially bounded intellectual schemes and materialities. In this regard, I have shown how the periodical made public the practices of knowledge and concerns of different urban associations and circles, how it presented different kinds of information to appeal to the judgment of its readership, and how it actively addressed the public as a milieu of knowledge and a politically responsible group. Accordingly, I have demonstrated how a periodical like *La Floresta Andaluza* provides rich material not only concerning research gaps in the history of media, which traditionally neglects cultural developments at the “periphery”. It also presents a window into a particular setting of knowledge production and points to the meaning of bourgeois publishing in relation to new practices of knowledge and the sociopolitical empowerment of new urban milieus. Exploring a periodical like *La Floresta Andaluza*, therefore, enables us to grasp the significance of publishing and knowledge in the context of political transformations in nineteenth-century Europe.

This article has approached one specific periodical from various perspectives – media history, the study of knowledge, urban history, and nineteenth-century social transformations. Future analysis would gain considerably from in-depth discussions of single aspects, and from a comparative perspective. To investigate different periodicals and their conditions of publishing in a variety of geographical contexts, and in relation to specific political circumstances on both a regional and national scale, would provide a new window not only on local specificities of knowledge production but on the whole experience of urbanization processes and the cultural formation of a bourgeoisie in different European regions.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, comparative approaches to dynamics of knowledge in the context of urban history could illuminate path dependencies in particular towns and regions.<sup>54</sup> Concerning the

---

<sup>53</sup> With regard to the latter, a pioneering study has been done by Koeka and Mitchell (1993).

<sup>54</sup> Is, for example, the sparse number of scientific articles in *La Floresta Andaluza* and comparable periodicals based in Seville related to the city’s economic and technological development? Is it a coincidence that, until today, Seville is struggling with attracting high-tech companies, while the branch of cultural tourism flourishes as one of the major branches of the urban economy? On spatially bounded path dependencies, see, e.g., Hessler and Zimmermann 2008; Lee 1997; on the specific case of Seville, see Schwab 2013.

history of knowledge, in turn, a comparative approach would enable us to understand better how contents and formats of knowledge migrate between adaptation and readaptation on different scales, as well as their political potential in different sociogeographical contexts.<sup>55</sup> Understanding how knowledge production works in both past and present under different sociospatial conditions and through different media continues to be a significant research question in a world in which knowledge and information are considered critical categories for economic and political stability.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> In anthropological research, “local” knowledge has become a central topic, since “indigenous” knowledge systems are increasingly perceived at risk of becoming extinct (see, e.g., Rezaul Islam 2012; Nakashima and Roué 2002). Many of these studies, however, tend to neglect interdependencies between local and translocal knowledge in favor of investigating particular characteristics of “indigenous” knowledge (intuitive vs. analytical and spiritual vs. mechanistic are current interpretative frames). Christine Müller (2004), instead, has analyzed the circulation of knowledge between different networks on local or translocal levels (e.g., a women’s village meeting and a national women’s congress). She shows how new knowledge is created via induction (from the local to the national and global level) and deduction (from the translocal to the local level). Accordingly, the local produces the global and vice-versa in an interdependent system.

<sup>56</sup> On the political necessity of integrating “indigenous knowledge” into global knowledge systems, see, e.g., Scientific Advisory Board of the United Nations Secretary-General 2016.

## References

- Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras. 2019. "Presidentes." Accessed November 26 2019. [http://www.realacademiabellasartessevilla.com/?page\\_id=635](http://www.realacademiabellasartessevilla.com/?page_id=635)
- Aguilar Piñal, Francisco. 1988. *Temas sevillanos (Segunda serie)*. Sevilla: Universidad.
- Álvarez Cañibano, Antonio. 1991. "Academias, sociedades musicales y filarmónicas, en la Sevilla del siglo XIX." *Revista de Musicología* 14 (1–2): 63–69.
- Alvarez Pantoja, María José. 1979. "Los orígenes de la industrialización sevillana. Las primeras máquinas de vapor (1780–1835)." In *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía: Andalucía contemporánea (siglos XIX y XX)*, Vol. 1, 7–18. Córdoba: Cajasur.
- Anghelescu, Mircea. 2004. "Romantic Travel Narratives." In *Nonfictional Romantic Prose: Expanding borders*, edited by Steven P. Sondrup and Virgil Nemoianu, 165–180. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Anonymous. 1843. "Esposición de la sociedad económica sevillana." *La Floresta Andaluza. Periódico Semanal de Literatura y Artes* 35 (11.6.1843): 69–71.
- Besa Gutiérrez, Rafael Manuel de. 2016. "La Academia y su museo: Criterios académicos en la gestión de los fondos del Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla." PhD diss., University of Seville. <https://idus.us.es/xmlui/handle/11441/45146>
- Boening, John. 2004. "The Unending Conversation. The Role of Periodicals in England and on the Continent during the Romantic Age." In *Nonfictional Romantic Prose: Expanding borders*, edited by Steven P. Sondrup and Virgil Nemoianu, 285–301. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bradford, Neil and Jen Nelles. 2014. "Innovation in an Ordinary City: Knowledge Flows in London, Ontario." In *Innovating in Urban Economies: Economic Transformation in Canadian City-Regions*, edited by David A. Wolfe, 175–196. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Braojos Garrido, Alfonso. 1993. "La Sevilla romántica. (Aproximación a sus rasgos políticos y sociales)." *El Gnomo. Boletín de estudios Becquerianos* 2: 119–134.
- Bueno, Juan José. 1861. *Tertulia literaria. Colección de poesías selectas leídas en las reuniones semanales celebradas en casa de Don Juan José Bueno*. Sevilla: Imprenta de el Porvenir.
- Burke, Peter. 2012. *A Social History of Knowledge II: From the 'Encyclopédie' to Wikipedia*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Cárdenas, Francisco de. 1844. "Intereses materiales de Andalucía. De la navegación entre Córdoba y Sevilla." *La Floresta Andaluza. Revista mensual de Literatura, Ciencias y Artes* 4 (30.04.1844): 245–255.
- Cerro, Francisco del, ed. 1843. *Memorias literarias*. Volume II. Sevilla: Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras.

- Chaves, Manuel. 1896. *Historia y bibliografía de la prensa sevillana*. Sevilla: Impresora Rasco.
- D.L.R. 1843. “Numismática, Artículo segundo: Medallas y Monedas de Itálica.” *La Floresta Andaluza. Diario de Literatura y Artes* 25 (25.4.1843): n.p.
- Díaz Díaz, Gonzalo. 1983. *Hombres y documentos de la filosofía española*. Volume 2. Madrid.
- Dierig, Sven, Jens Lachmund, and Andrew Mendelsohn, eds. 2003. *Science and the City*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Dietzsch, Ina, Wolfgang Kaschuba, and Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz. 2009. “Horizonte ethnografischen Wissens.” In *Horizonte ethnografischen Wissens. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, edited by Ina Dietzsch, Wolfgang Kaschuba, and Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz, 7–15. Köln: Böhlau.
- Drabble, Margaret. 2006. *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*. 6th revised edition. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Easley, Alexis, Andrew King, and John Morton, eds. 2018. *Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press: Case Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Ezell, Margaret J. M. 1993. *Writing Women’s Literary History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.
- Fernández, José María. 1843a. “Poetas Sevillanos. Artículo primero.” *La Floresta Andaluza. Periódico Semanal de Literatura y Artes* 31 (12.4.1843): 11–14.
- Fernández, José María. 1843b. “Poetas Sevillanos. Artículo tercero.” *La Floresta Andaluza. Periódico Semanal de Literatura y Artes* 35 (11.6.1843): 71–74.
- Florida, Richard. 2002. *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.
- Fox, Celina, ed. 1992. *London – World City: 1800–1840*. New Haven: Yale University.
- Fusi, Juan Pablo and Jordi Palafox. 1997. *España: 1808-1996, El Desafío de la Modernidad*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Gilarranz Ibáñez, Ainhoa. 2019. “De ‘Monumentos venerables’ a ‘baluartes de la intolerancia’: confrontaciones conceptuales sobre el patrimonio nacional en España (1833-1844).” In *Au-delà de la dualité: repenser les antagonismes de l'Espagne contemporaine (XIXe-XXIe siècles)*, edited by Rubén Cabal Tejada, Hélène Frison and Mercedes García Plata-Gómez. 318-334. Paris: Université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3.
- Hoffmann, Stefan-Ludwig. 2003. “Democracy and Associations in the Long Nineteenth Century: Toward a Transnational Perspective.” *The Journal of Modern History* 75 (2): 269–299.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1991. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

- Habermas, Jürgen. 2001. "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article." In *Media and Cultural Studies: KeyWorks*, edited by Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner, 102–107. Malden: Blackwell.
- Harvey, David. 2003. *Paris, Capital of Modernity*. New York: Routledge.
- Hessler, Martina and Clemens Zimmermann, eds. 2008. *Creative Urban Milieus: Historical Perspectives on Culture, Economy, and the City*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.
- J.M.F. 1843. "Gaspar el ganadero, drama en cuatro actos, traducido del frances y representado en la noche del 24 de Abril." *La Floresta Andaluza. Diario de Literatura y Artes* 27 (27.4.1843): n.p.
- Jiménez Torres, David and Leticia Villamediana González. 2019. *The Configuration of the Spanish Public Sphere*. New York/Oxford. Berghahn.
- Keller, Reiner. 2005. "Analysing Discourse. An Approach from the Sociology of Knowledge." *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung* 6 (3): n.p. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0503327>
- Knorr-Cetina, Karin. 1999. *Epistemic Cultures: How the Sciences Make Knowledge*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kocka, Jürgen and Allan Mitchell, eds. 1993. *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Oxford: Berg.
- Lawrence, Mark. 2019. *Nineteenth Century Spain: A New History*. London: Routledge.
- Lee, Martyn. 1997. "Relocating Location: Cultural Geography, the Specificity of Place and the City Habitus." In *Cultural Methodologies*, edited by Jim McGuigan, 126–141. London: Sage.
- Longino, Helen. 2019. "The Social Dimensions of Scientific Knowledge." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/scientific-knowledge-social/>
- López Bueno, Begoña. 1972. *'La Floresta Andaluza': Estudio e índice de una revista sevillana (1843–1844)*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial.
- los Ríos, José Amador de. 1843a. "Sevilla, Artículo primero." *La Floresta Andaluza. Diario de Literatura y Artes* 1 (1.4.1843): n.p.
- los Ríos, José Amador de. 1843b. "Sevilla, Artículo quinto." *La Floresta Andaluza. Diario de Literatura y Artes* 19 (19.4.1843): n.p.
- los Ríos, José Amador de. 1843c. "El Alcázar de Sevilla." *La Floresta Andaluza. Diario de Literatura y Artes* 5 (5.4.1843): n.p.
- Maier, Jorge. 2003. "La Comisión de Antigüedades de la Real Academia de la Historia." In *250 años de arqueología y patrimonio: Documentación sobre arqueología y patrimonio histórico de la Real Academia de la Historia*, edited by Martín Almagro-Gorbea and Allenda Jorge Maier, 27–52. Madrid: Estudio general e índices.
- Mainardi, Patricia. 2017. "The Invention of the Illustrated Press in France." *French Politics, Culture and Society* 35 (1): 34–48.

- Martínez López, David. 1996. *Tierra, herencia y matrimonio. Un modelo sobre la formación de la burguesía agraria andaluza. (Siglos XVIII–XIX)*. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén.
- Matthews, Rachel. 2017. *The History of the Provincial Press in England*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Matthiesen, Ulf and Gerhard Mahnken, eds. 2009. *Das Wissen der Städte: Neue stadregionale Entwicklungsdynamiken im Kontext von Wissen, Milieus und Governance*. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Martykánová, Darina and Juan Pan-Montojo. 2020. “Los constructores del Estado: los ingenieros españoles y el poder público en el contexto europeo (1840-1900).” *Historia y Política* 43: 57–86.
- McMullin, Ernan, ed. 1992. *The Social Dimensions of Science*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Moreno Mengíbar, Andrés. 1998. “Los teatros y la vida social en la Sevilla contemporánea.” In *Los espacios de la sociabilidad sevillana*, edited by Alberto González Troyano, Isabel González Turmo, and Francisco Vázquez García, 121–208. Sevilla: Fundación El Monte.
- Müller, Christine. 2004. “Vom lokalen Wissen zur globalen Wissensarchitektur.” In *Lokales Wissen: Sozialwissenschaftliche Perspektiven*, edited by Nikolaus Schareika and Thomas Bierschenk, 209–232. Münster: Lit.
- Nakashima, Douglas and Marie Roué. 2002. “Indigenous knowledge, peoples and sustainable practice.” In *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change*, Volume 5, edited by Peter Timmerman, 314–324. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.
- Novallac, Juan Bautista. 1843a. “Literatura. Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras. Conferencia literaria, del 31 de marzo.” *La Floresta Andaluza. Diario de Literatura y Artes* 8 (8.4.1843): n.p.
- Novallac, Juan Bautista. 1843b. “Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras. Continuación de la conferencia literaria, del 28 de abril, sobre la civilización española del siglo XIV.” *La Floresta Andaluza. Periódico Semanal de Literatura y Artes* 31 (12.4.1843): 15–16.
- Olona, Luis de. 1843. “Revista Teatral. Simón Bocanegra. Drama original de D. Antonio García Gutiérrez.” *La Floresta Andaluza. Periódico Semanal de Literatura y Artes* 33 (26.5.1843): 44–48.
- Osterhammel, Jürgen. 2011. *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Palenque, Marta. 1987. “‘El Cisne’, Periódico Semanal de Literatura y Bellas Artes (Sevilla, 1838). Descripción, Estudio e índice de un periodic romantic sevillano.” *Archivo Hispalense* 70 (213): 141–177.
- Pereira Castañares, Juan Carlos and Fernando García Sanz. 1986. “Prensa y opinión pública madrileña en la primera mitad del siglo XIX.” In *Madrid en la sociedad del siglo XIX*, Volume 1, edited by Luis Enrique Otero Carvajal and Ángel Bahamonde Magro, 211–228.

- Pérez Vejo, Tomás. 2001. *Pintura de historia e identidad nacional en España*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense (thesis).
- Rey, Juan. 1992. "Manuel María del Mármol y la Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras (Segunda Epoca)." *Boletín de la Real academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras* (20): 185–195.
- Rezaul Islam, M. 2012. "Indigenous or global knowledge for development: Experiences from two NGOs in Bangladesh." *International NGO Journal* 7 (1): 9–18.
- Ringrose, David. 1996. *Spain, Europe, and the "Spanish Miracle", 1700-1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Román-Gutiérrez, Isabel and Marta Palenque. 2008. *Pintura, literatura, y sociedad en la Sevilla del siglo XIX: el álbum de Antonia Díaz*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla.
- Schwab, Christiane. 2013. *Texturen einer Stadt. Kulturwissenschaftliche Lektüren von Sevilla*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.
- Scientific Advisory Board of the United Nations Secretary-General. 2016. *Indigenous and Local Knowledge(s) and Science(s) for Sustainable Development: Policy Brief by the Scientific Advisory Board of the UN-Secretary-General*. SC/2016/USAB/ILK. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002461/246104E.pdf>
- Sentaurens, Jean. 1989. "Le lieu théâtral à Sévillla au XIXe siècle. Tradition et modernité." *Bulletin Hispanique* 91 (1): 71–110.