

Report of the Conference "Comunicazione, politica e gestione dell'emergenza nella Monarchia ispanica. Secoli XVI-XVIII"¹

Università di Napoli Federico II $7^{th} - 8^{th}$ June 2021

7th June 2021 Session I - Instruments and shapes of communication

Chair: Massimo Rospocher (FBK Istituto storico italo-germanico, Trento)

Fernando Bouza (Universidad Complutense, Madrid)

Calamities, communication and the public sphere between manuscript and print: from prayers to financial aid

The presentation of Prof. Bouza was at the intersection of three different perspectives: communication, disaster and the history of publication. In this regard, Bouza focused above all on the foundation of the memory of the catastrophe, on the relationship between printed and manuscript texts (in the framework of the history of printing) and the dissemination of knowledge. The scholar also pointed out the major role played by orality in the context of the public discourse about natural catastrophes in the Early Modern period. Bouza mentioned several case studies, like the historical link between the Almada cloister in Lisbon and the management of the 1569 plague (even though its foundation dates to the XIV century), or the particular event of Luis de Mercado's book published in Madrid in 1599. The professor then highlighted how calamities used to generate, in the past as they do today, new kinds of writer, new forms of knowledge and new types of news dissemination.

Chiara De Caprio (Università di Napoli Federico II) **Annachiara Monaco** (Università di Napoli Federico II)

The circulation of news and the "relazioni": a linguistic perspective

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Prof. De Caprio and Dr. Monaco presented the results of a linguistic analysis conducted on a corpus of forty "relazioni" printed in Italian between 1609 and 1703 regarding several disasters, to highlight some aspects of their textual and rhetorical structure. The scholars pointed out the main features which characterize this printed Early Modern genre aimed at both informing and entertaining the public. This double dimension is reflected in the texts by the adoption of linguistic and rhetorical characteristics linked to the truth on the one hand, and the extraordinary on the other. To deliver an informative and precise account of the disasters, the writers adopted, for example, the lexicon of news and often reported the sources of their information, along with indicating the events through laconic lists. On the other hand, a strong emotional component is shown in these texts: in particular, the adoption of words from the semantic fields of fear and horror, of exaggerated metaphors, of repetitive syntax and reported speech with a dramatic aim can be noticed.

Gennaro Schiano (Università di Napoli Federico II)

"El año del diluvio": the narration of floods in the relaciones de sucesos (Salamanca-Sevilla 1626)"

Dr. Schiano delivered a presentation about the communication of the floods of the Tomes and Guadalquivir rivers that struck respectively the cities of Salamanca and Seville at the end of January 1626. The researcher highlighted that these two disasters not only occurred in the same period, but also were characterized by an important flow of information and a great number of witnesses. Both the floods received unprecedented media attention, well testified by numerous editions of "relaciones de sucesos" on these natural calamities that are still preserved today in several copies (12 for the Tormes and 10 for the Guadalquivir). These case studies allowed Schiano to point out the difference between the narration of floods and that of other disasters. As a matter of fact, he noticed that in some of the "relaciones", a slightly controversial commentary about the prevention and the management of the disaster can be found along with religious implications of the catastrophe, whereas for other sorts of calamities the latter aspect is the only one to be taken into account.

Domenico Cecere (Università di Napoli Federico II)

Communication and politics in emergency management at the end of the seventeenth century

Prof. Cecere focused his attention on the different circuits through which the news of the earthquake that struck the city of Lima in 1687 spread in Europe, and in particular on the methods of description and the involvement of the authorities in the management of the emergency. The analysis of the different narratives about the disaster highlights the interests and aims of the institutional actors who tried to legitimize their actions at the expense of other authorities. Cecere stressed in particular that the information disseminated by the Viceroy Duke of Palata and his central position in the *relaciones* reveal his desire to affirm and exalt his role compared to that of the archbishop. The negligible space dedicated to the latter hides some institutional contrasts between the two main authorities of the viceroyalty of Peru which, however, emerge clearly within the institutional circuit.

Session II - Politics and circulation of information in colonial contexts

Chair: Giuseppe Marcocci (University of Oxford)

Guillame Gaudin (Université Toulouse-Jean Jaurès/Framespa)

Communicating the event at a very long distance: the case of the crises in the Philippines at the beginning of colonization (1580-1610)

Prof. Gaudin focused his intervention on the complex and varied system of communication between the Philippines and the territories of the Hispanic Monarchy highlighting the interweaving and overlapping of networks and routes (western and eastern) to transmit information from Manila to the Court of Spain. Gaudin stressed the different communication methods activated after the massacre of the *Sangleyes* in 1603, who rebelled against the Spanish authorities. The crisis generated an intense institutional (through the sending of papers and memorials as well as messengers to the court) and extra-institutional communication circuit thanks to the production of some *relaciones* published not only in Spain but also in China, where the disaster assumed a considerable significance compared to the Spanish sources.

Valentina Favarò (Università di Palermo)

Defence of public health or maintenance of political balance? Communication strategies of Viceroy Francisco Fernandez de Castro (1650-1652)

Prof. Favarò focused her attention on the role assumed by the viceroy Francisco Fernandez de Castro, count of Lemos, in the management of public order and in the maintenance of the political balance with the local authorities during the epidemic crisis that struck the Kingdom of Sardinia in the mid-seventeenth century (1655-57). In particular, Favarò highlighted the necessary redistribution of donations and the consequent decision to relieve the centres most affected by the plague from payment, dividing the figure among the other less affected places on the island. Next, she analysed the lack of responsibility in the management, prevention and containment of the contagion by the viceroy who, crossing the island and not immediately denouncing the presence of the disease, facilitated the spread of the infection not only within the Kingdom of Sardinia but also in the rest of the Italian peninsula. The mismanagement of the court, emphasized the contrast between their actions and those of de Castro, who was consequently relieved of his role by the king.

Chair: Manuel Herrero Sánchez (Universidad de Olavide, Sevilla)

Virginia García-Acosta (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Atropología Social, Messico)

Management and handling of the agricultural wheat crisis of 1770-1771 in New Spain

Prof. García-Acosta analysed the role of local authorities and consumers during the agricultural crisis that struck the territories of New Spain in the second half of the 18th century. Since wheat was an indispensable product in Spanish and indigenous food, the making of wheat for the production of bread depended on the *Real Audiencia* and precisely on the *Tribunal de la Fiel Ejecutoria* which controlled its quality, consumption and sale. During the agricultural crisis of 1770-71 - caused by periods of drought and above all by the attack of insects harmful to wheat - the royal and municipal authorities intervened immediately and with relevant measures to manage the famine: in fact, they not only paid for the grain and its transportation to the mills, but also regulated its price in order to avoid speculation.

Rocío Moreno Cabanillas (Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla)

Paper, rifles and revolts. Postal communications in New Granada in troubled times in the 18th century

Prof. Moreno Cabanillas focused her attention on the circulation of information and postal communication in the Viceroyalty of New Granada during the crises due to war at the end of the 18th century. In 1764 the Bourbon government established a periodic postal service through the publication of legislation containing instructions and ordinances relating to the organization and operation of postal routes between the different centres of the colonial empire. The aim of Moreno Cabanillas was to highlight the strategies and transformations of the postal service during the Anglo-Spanish conflict (1796-1802) when, even more than in ordinary contexts, it became necessary for the Hispanic government to achieve a rapid and constant communication. In 1802, the management of American maritime correspondence passed under the jurisdiction and control of the *Real Armada*, which, through new provisions, tried to ensure a regular functioning of the postal service, especially by protecting this from interceptions and incursions by enemy fleets.

8th June 2021

Session III - Comunicazione, strategie e pratiche politiche

Chair: Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

Ida Mauro (Universitat de Barcelona)

Parlare dell'emergenza ai piedi di Sua Maestà. Forme e agenti di rappresentazione di interessi locali a corte all'indomani dei disastri naturali (XVII secolo)

The second day of the congress was devoted to political communication and secular and religious rites following an event with catastrophic consequences. The third session, entitled *Communication, strategies and political practices*, was chaired by Prof. Antonio Álvarez-

Ossorio Alvariño (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid). It included presentations by Ida Mauro (University of Barcelona), Gennaro Varriale (Federico II University of Naples), Valentina Sferragatta and Valeria Enea (both from Federico II University of Naples) and Carmen Espejo (University of Seville).

Ida Mauro's presentation, entitled Parlare dell'emergenza ai piedi di Sua Maestà. Forme e agenti di rappresentazione di interessi locali a corte all'indomani dei disastri naturali (XVII secolo), focused on an analysis of the communication in the territories of the Hispanic Monarchy between the king and his ministers after different types of catastrophes. In particular, Mauro highlighted a study of the provincial delegations sent to the Court to report on the effects caused by wars, epidemics, floods, and famines in the kingdom of Aragon and in the duchy of Lombardy. The aim of these delegations was to obtain "avudas de costa" to cope with the emergency. Through various examples, Mauro proved the osmotic, polyphonic and multidirectional nature of this communication, based on the circulation of manuscript, printed and oral texts. The city and its delegates did not hesitate to connect their misfortune with the losses that a disaster could generate for the Hispanic Monarchy in any case when the requested aid was not provided. To illustrate this fact, Mauro offered several examples, such as that of the border city of Perpignan whose wall was seriously damaged by heavy rains in 1628. For this reason, the allegations of the viceroy of Aragon and the city's attorney at the Court recalled the importance of intervening to repair the wall. Otherwise, the city would remain "open" and, therefore, would enable an enemy invasion. The lecturer not only illustrated the phenomena of emergency management and communication, but also related them to the environmental vulnerability that some of the territories formerly belonging to the Crown of Aragon still suffer today.

Gennaro Varriale (Università di Napoli Federico II)

Sfruttare il disastro. L'intervento degli Asburgo nel terremoto di Ragusa (1667)

After Prof. Mauro's lecture, Gennaro Varriale presented a paper entitled Sfruttare il disastro. L'intervento degli Asburgo nel terremoto di Ragusa (1667). Varriale developed some of the aspects of political communication regarding an earthquake in Croatian Ragusa on April 6th 1667. The earthquake, despite occurring beyond the borders of the Hispanic Monarchy, received enormous media attention from the peninsular institutions at a critical moment for the Monarchy. It coincided with the war of Candia and the last phase of the conflict with Portugal. Through an analysis of the different news reports of the earthquake that were disseminated, Varriale highlighted the multidirectional nature of the communication with Madrid. Indeed, the Court received information about the event through indirect channels, such as the Hispanic embassy in Venice and the viceregal court of Naples. At the same time, the speaker illustrated other informal channels for the circulation of news, such as that provided by the mercantile networks that guaranteed greater agility in the transmission of information. Varriale emphasized the polyphony that characterized these communication processes and the importance of interpersonal networks in determining which agents would manage the emergency. Evidence of this was the designation of the State Councilor Pascual de Aragón as the person at the Court who was to be in charge of planning aid for Ragusa. Likewise, the lecturer highlighted the opposition that some of the measures applied generated in other territories of the Hispanic Monarchy, as evidenced by the criticisms that took place in the Council of Aragon. Varriale concluded his presentation by pointing out how the solutions adopted to manage the emergency and its communication responded to a clear objective: to maintain the *status quo* in the Mediterranean. In fact, these solutions aimed at avoiding the suspicions of Venice and containing the Turkish Empire and, therefore, protecting Christendom, at a time when the Monarchy was unable to intervene militarily on new fronts.

Valentina Sferragatta (Università di Napoli Federico II) Valeria Enea (Università di Napoli Federico II)

Meccanismi e strategie di comunicazione durante l'eruzione dell'Etna del 1669

The following presentation (*Meccanismi e strategie di comunicazione durante l'eruzione dell'Etna del 1669*), given by Valeria Enea and Valentina Sferragatta, dealt in depth with communication strategies and their mechanisms in times of emergency. Through a historical (Enea) and a linguistic-philological (Sferragatta) approach, the lectures analysed the reaction to the volcanic activity of Etna that took place in the first weeks of March 1669. As Enea pointed out, the study of this event through the analysis of various handwritten and printed documents ("relationes") makes visible the multitude of voices that participated in its narration as well as the discrepancies that this event generated between Palermo and Catania. For example, the *relationes* of Catania dedicated little space to the measures adopted by the Palermitan institutions and by Stefano Riggio, prince of Campofranco, appointed vicar general by the viceroy of Sicily.

On the contrary, these documents exalted the activity of the Senate of Messina. The contrasts between Palermo and Catania were manifested in various ways in the sources of the catastrophe, for example in Catania's strategy of acknowledging to St. Agatha an essential role in their salvation during the eruption. They granted a municipal identity to this saint that would distance Catania from any link with the city of Palermo. In this sense, in the Catanese texts there was a proliferation of terms that confirmed that this saint belonged to their own territory. The aim was to enhance her role in the cessation of the eruptive activity. To prove this, Enea referred to how the local institutions, on the one hand, minimized the damage suffered by the city during the eruption, since these could call into question the salvific power of the saint. On the other hand, the local institutions did not hesitate to exaggerate the damage in those memorials addressed to the viceroy in order to obtain additional aid. The issues raised by Enea were subsequently the subject of a detailed textual analysis by Sferragatta. She revealed how the narratives could be manipulated to convey a specific image of the event. The lecturer illustrated the textual differences present between the Catanese and non-Catanese narratives. According to Sferragatta, the Catanese narratives offer more detail and, as a consequence, are longer. Furthermore, they have a narrator who does not hesitate to be present as a witness of the event (while in the non-Catanese narratives, the narrator is absent or has a limited appearance). Finally, the catastrophe constitutes a simple narrative pretext to refer to other issues, such as the people's devotion. In short, Sferragatta's analysis of these aspects shows how the different narrative strategies are indicative of the different treatment that the *Catanese* and non-*Catanese* texts attributed to the intercession of Saint Agatha in the protection of the population.

Carmen Espejo (Universidad de Sevilla)

Estrategias para el fact checking en el periodismo de catástrofes del siglo XVIII. Las noticias sobre el terremoto de Lisboa de 1755 en la prensa española

The third session closed with the presentation of Carmen Espejo Estrategias para el fact checking en el periodismo de catástrofes del siglo XVIII. Las noticias sobre el terremoto de Lisboa de 1755 en la prensa española. In her lecture, the professor stated that the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 contributed to establish a new trend in Spanish journalistic publications, that of collecting precise and computable data on earthquakes in order to be able to verify them subsequently. Despite the importance of this event in the development of a new journalism in the Iberian Peninsula, Espejo pointed out that this evolution would have been impossible without the previous existence of a European network for the exchange of news. This network was enhanced due to the period of intense seismic activity that affected Europe in the 1750s. In fact, these earthquakes had led to the creation of tables and lists of earthquakes that circulated throughout Europe before the Lisbon earthquake. The media coverage of this event took the form of an omnipresence in European gazettes and in private correspondence, both in the cultured and popular spheres. The professor recalled that the immediate reaction of the Spanish press was no different from that of other countries: divine punishment continued to be referred to as the ultimate cause of the earthquake. However, the providential interpretation was not an obstacle for the development of fast checking practices. Espejo also emphasized the intense contacts existing between the popular texts that reported the earthquake and those coming from the cultured sphere. The former could incorporate telluric tables or refer textually to fragments of official sources. This practice allowed factual information about the earthquake to reach all segments of the population and to be evaluated and discussed. The limitations of that time in terms of communication, in fact, did not prevent the information from flowing quickly and precisely. This can be explained by virtue of the fact that the necessary resources for data collection had already been developed on a European scale before the Lisbon earthquake occurred.

Session IV - Religione, riti e gestione politica dell'emergenza

Chair: Anna Maria Rao (Università di Napoli Federico II)

Alessandro Tuccillo (Università di Torino)

Le conseguenze dell'ira divina e le prerogative della Chiesa nella Monarchia ispanica alla fine del XVII secolo

The fourth session of the congress was dedicated to *Religion, rites and the political management of the emergency* and was chaired by Professor Anna Maria Rao. It included presentations by Alessandro Tuccillo (University of Turin), André Godinho (University of

Lisbon), Pasquale Palmieri (Federico II University of Naples) and Armando Alberola (University of Alicante).

Alessandro Tuccillo's presentation, entitled Le conseguenze dell'ira divina e le prerogative della Chiesa nella Monarchia Ispanica alla fine del XVII secolo, focused on an analysis of the main role played by the Church in the aftermath of calamitous events. As the lecturer argued, the study of the news that circulated in the institutional ecclesiastical circuits (the correspondence between the pontifical secretary of state and the nunciaturas) in a specific context (the Sannio earthquake of June 5th 1688) allows us to shed light on the silent conflicts that existed between the various social agents. The first information about the earthquake reached the Pope's Secretary of State, Alderano Cybo, from the nuncio in Naples, Pappazzurri. Through the study of the correspondence between Pappazzurri and Cybo, Tuccillo points out the singular role exercised by the former in the reconstruction of the city of Benevento, which would eclipse the functions of the governor of that city. Furthermore, an analysis of the correspondence between Rome and the nuncio in Madrid (represented by Cardinal Durazzo) shows how the earthquake was used as an instrument of pressure against the Hispanic monarch. The aim was to ensure that the sovereign put an end to the violation of the prerogatives of the Church which, according to his vicars, in recent times had been greatly threatened. Specifically, Tuccillo mentions the ancient privilege of the Regia Monarquía of Sicily that established a model of dependence of the spiritual power (the Church) to the temporal (the Hispanic sovereign). In one of the letters sent by Cybo to Durazzo, the Sannio earthquake appears, together with other calamities that in those years affected the Hispanic Monarchy (the war with Catalonia, the attacks of corsairs, the revolts in Orán, etc.), as proof of the punishment that God was inflicting on the catholic king for the lack of respect that he was showing towards the Church. Shortly afterwards, in another despatch sent by the Secretary of State to the nuncio in Madrid, the former related the Lima earthquake of October 20th 1687 to the punishment of God who was always ready to unleash his wrath against sinners or against those who threatened the Church. In this way, Tuccillo's paper demonstrated how the providentialist paradigm could play in favour of the objectives of papal diplomacy. At the same time, he highlighted the importance of studying the mechanisms of institutional communication in times of emergency in order to properly understand the more or less veiled conflicts present in the societies of the Ancien Régime.

André Godinho (Universidade de Lisboa)

"Aren't the wonders you cause in the heavens enough?": framing disaster and ritual in early modern Lisbon

Contrary to Tuccillo's intervention, which focused on the more institutional aspects of religion, André Godinho's lecture ('Aren't the wonders you cause in the heavens enough?': framing disaster and ritual in early modern Lisbon) addressed issues more related to the rites and ceremonies developed by both secular and religious authorities after an event with catastrophic effects. Specifically, his aim was to shed light on the connections between disasters and rituals by analyzing the written culture (memorials and relations) of early modern Lisbon (16th and 17th centuries). The aforementioned methodology allows Godinho to show how these events could be used as pretexts for the transmission of certain moral, social and political discourses. Among the sources used by the lecturer were the memorials

of Pero Roiz Soares (1565-1628) in which some of the disastrous events that struck Lisbon are recorded. These included the destructive rain and hailstorms that afficted the city in 1599 and 1600, coinciding with the feast of St. John. These storms allow Godinho to explain how the causes of such disasters were explained and how the respective narratives were constructed. Thus, for example, Roiz Soares transcribed in his memorial some of the verses that circulated at the time of the aforementioned storms. In these, the saint was asked why the wonders he had shown in heaven were not sufficient ('Aren't the wonders you cause in the heavens enough?) and why he had felt the need to manifest them on earth as well. The verses continued with the saint's reply stating that he wished that his wonders were also visible on earth and that the thunder would act as the echo of his voice. Roiz Soares' memorial gives an account of other calamities, such as the plague that struck Lisbon in 1569. When the disease reduced its virulence, Lisbon prepared with sumptuous festivities to welcome the sovereign. But the monarch did not come. This situation contributed, as Godinho asserted, to the dissemination of a specific narrative - very important in relation to the successive events - highlighting how the political authorities tended to abandon the city when it needed them most. With this and other examples, Godinho made it clear how a calamitous event could be inserted in a context of deep political discontent. The lecturer ended by pointing out the ways in which political rituals appropriated images of disaster (fire allegorically represented) and how these rituals could also be the cause of disasters (as evidenced by the use of pyrotechnics at feasts and the fire hazards they generated).

Armando Alberola Romá (Universidad de Alicante)

Desastre y percepción personal: el terremoto de Calabria de 1783 según el relato del cardenal Antonio Despuig y Dameto

The congress then continued with a presentation by Armando Alberola entitled *Desastre* y percepción personal: el terremoto de Calabria de 1783 según el relato del cardenal Antonio Despuig y Dameto. His presentation focused on the earthquakes and tsunamis that affected Calabria and northern Sicily between February and March 1783. Specifically, Alberola based his considerations on the analysis of these phenomena by Cardinal Antonio Despuig y Dameto, a direct witness of the event. This religious leader from Palma de Mallorca stood out for his intellectual activity and scientific interests. His observations on the Calabria earthquake resulted from a trip he undertook from Naples to the islands of Sicily and Malta in January 1783. However, the strong currents he encountered on his journey forced him to disembark at Tropea. Here he witnessed the aforementioned earthquake. In his diary, Despuig wrote mainly descriptive notes in which a clear "scientific spirit" is evident. His sources were his own experience, the witnesess he consulted and some occasional letters received from the city of Reggio. In his analysis, he explained exactly the meteorological and environmental circumstances, provided an extensive list of place names and paid attention to the state of mind of the people affected by these natural calamities. He also commented on the political reaction of Tropea and showed interest in the archaeological ruins and artistic representations. Popular religiosity, although present in his text, has a limited importance. The "hand of God" does not seem to be behind the explanation of the event either. The characteristics of the description reveal, according to Alberola, that his text was the product of an enlightened mind. Likewise, this case study is a clear example of how narratives created by people who have an intellectual education can be complementary to and enrich the information coming from official sources.

Pasquale Palmieri (Università di Napoli Federico II)

Il dibattito sulle cause della carestia e dell'epidemia a Napoli nel 1764

The last presentation (Il dibattito sulle cause della carestia e dell'epidemia a Napoli nel 1764) was given by Pasquale Palmieri and focused on an analysis of the famine and the subsequent epidemic that affected Naples in 1764. Among the policies adopted by the government, Palmieri highlighted welfare, commercial and police measures. The political agenda was enriched by debates on the encumbrance of ecclesiastical and feudal property and on possible means to counteract this, such as the liberalization of the market. The news transmitted by the ambassadors disseminated the image of a city such as Naples, chaotic and difficult to govern. In fact, the context in which the crisis occurred was critical: Charles III had abandoned the kingdom in 1759, leaving this to the regency council of his son Ferdinand, and Bernardo Tanucci acquired a fundamental importance in this council. Palmieri analyses the effects of the famine and the epidemic on the social and political configuration of Naples through sources whose purpose was not precisely to report on the dimensions of the disaster. He studies the judicial sources from the Segreteria di Affari Ecclesiastici and the Delegazione della Real Giurisdizione that dealt with misto foro proceedings (i.e. those involving religious and secular authorities). Through a study of these sources, Palmieri shed light on the prominence of these processes in public debates. As the lecturer asserted, some of these cases left an indelible mark on the public sphere that were able to contribute to transmitting a certain image of the Monarchy. Likewise, the enormous publicity that certain trials achieved constituted a serious threat to the image of the Church in Naples. Palmieri's study of the correspondence of the nuncio of Naples in Rome proves the diplomat's concern in this regard. In one of his letters, referring to the murder of a friar, the nuncio affirmed that Tanucci already had the necessary evidence to identify who was guilty of this crime. However, the minister decided not to make an immediate statement because, in this way, the friar's story could continue to circulate and to undermine the prestige of the Church. When the emergency situation required an immediate response, Tanucci's attitude towards these processes contributed to legitimizing the actions of the political powers. Thus, as Palmieri concluded, the solution to the crisis could come only from the State authorities and from the inspiration of the king.

The following discussion opened with Anna Maria Rao's considerations on the importance of the relationship between sources from administrative organizations and scientific treatises in the study of the 1783 Calabria earthquake. Professor Rao also recalled the importance of the scientific recording of catastrophic events, not only to carry out emergency policies, but also for the prevention of disaster. Virgina García Acosta insisted on the need to continue the collaboration between American and European researchers due to the existence of great coincidences between the way in which American and European catastrophic events were managed and communicated.

Several very interesting comments and questions arose during the debate and the conference closed with the conclusions of Domenico Cecere and Alessandro Tuccillo. Finally, the

organizers announced the publication by Peter Lang of the results of the conference. They said that the forthcoming volume would include also articles written by researchers not participating in this initiative, but whose research is closely related to the contents of the DisComPoSE project.