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NEWS FROM ITALY (VIA FRANCE) – INTERMEDIARY LANGUAGES AND NEWS TRANSLATION IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND*

*** NOTA DI RINGRAZIAMENTO DA METTERE IN FONDO ALLA PAGINA, PRIMA DELLA NOTA 1:**

* I would like to thank the attendees of the *Translating News, Politics and Commerce* conference organized by ISI Florence and the "Università di Firenze" (21 February 2020), whose comments and questions – particularly about Italian news production – were particularly helpful as I brought these ideas together. The final version of the text was composed in the spring of 2020, when so many of us have had to adapt to rapidly changing situations, and where keeping up to date with international news (particularly in my case the exchange of news between Italy and the United Kingdom) has become an essential part of everyday life. This situation has had a practical impact on the final version of the text, in that access to various library materials has been impossible. The emotional impact of writing during a global pandemic is probably for others to identify.

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ABSTRACT • Although it is widely understood that early modern news pamphlets were a genre of print that travelled easily and were often translated and then retranslated into further languages, it is not always clear how that process happened. This article addresses two main concerns. Firstly, it examines the process of translating news from Italian to English via French. It considers when and why translation through one or more languages was made visible to potential readers, and when it was deliberately obscured. Secondly, it considers the materiality of news publications, and how that was affected by translation – understanding translation as much as a commercial, practical and material process as a linguistic and cultural one. Ultimately, it places news pamphlet translation and retranslation in the broader context of the communities living in linguistically diverse cities like London and Paris.

ABSTRACT • Sebbene sia ormai un dato acquisito che le raccolte di notizie all'inizio dell'epoca moderna costituiscano un genere di materiale a stampa dalla rapida circolazione e sottoposto a varie fasi di traduzione in diverse lingue, non è ancora del tutto chiaro come ciò accadesse. Questo saggio si concentra su due aspetti in particolare. Il primo è il processo di traduzione dall'italiano in inglese passando attraverso il francese. Così facendo, l'autrice discute i casi in cui la versione tramite una o più lingue veniva palesata agli eventuali lettori e quando, al contrario, era intenzionalmente nascosta. Il secondo aspetto principale preso in esame è la forma di tali stampe e in quale misura questa fosse condizionata dalla prassi versoria (intesa come un processo al contempo commerciale, pratico e materiale, oltre che linguistico e culturale). Infine, la ricerca qui svolta inserisce le raccolte di notizie tradotte (una o varie volte) nel più vasto contesto delle comunità attive in centri linguisticamente diversi quali Londra e Parigi.

KEYWORDS: Translation, Print, Pamphlets, News.

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Scholars of early modern news often think about where news came from and where it ended up, but how that news got from one place to the other can be hard to trace. Even when our

focus is on the manuscript and printed news, which has left more of a material trace than the oral news (which undoubtedly furnished most people with their impressions of the changing world of early modern Europe), it can still be unclear how stories were sourced, and how they moved from place to place. Translation was a visible feature on the title page of many news prints of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.[1] But, as we shall see, that visibility could mask the complexity of how the final product had been achieved. Some news pamphlets had been translated from originals which were themselves translations of works initially produced in yet another country or language. Intermediary translation is well-known as a feature of early modern literature, but its role in the spread of early modern news is far less clearly understood. This article will address two main concerns. Firstly, it will look at the process of translating news from Italian to English via French, in particular, when and why translation was made visible to potential readers, and when it was obscured. The second aim is to think about the materiality of news publications, and how that was affected by translation – understanding translation as much as a commercial, practical and material process as a linguistic and cultural one. It will also try to place news translation within the broader context of the communities living in cities like London and Paris, with their linguistic diversity.

1. Printing and translating news in early modern Europe

The news book itself was essentially an invention of the print age. News – information about current or recent events – had certainly existed before the age of print in oral and manuscript forms. After the invention of the printing press and the commercial development of local, national and international printing industries, news would continue to be shared in face to face exchanges and in letters both personal and professional. Scholars of news are increasingly aware of the complex ways in which different formats of news worked alongside each other, often overlapping in terms of their content and their consumption.[2] Yet the technical possibilities prompted by the mass reach that could be achieved through printing stories did offer something new to the world of news. News became a commodity marketable not just to those with deep pockets and particular interests, but to any one with the financial means to buy a short book of a few printed gatherings. It became a way for those with something to say to reach a wider market. And it became a way for printers to try to make money.

How much news was there in the early modern print world? This question is of course largely impossible to answer, given the poor survival rates of ephemeral materials like broadsheets and pamphlets, but we can get some hints as to the density and circulation of printed news using a combination of modern catalogues and our collective knowledge of archival holdings. The Universal Short Title Catalogue gives us the fullest overview of print

[1] For a preliminary overview of translated news in early modern England, see S.K. BARKER, *Newes Lately Come: European Newsbooks in English Translation*, in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473-1640*, ed. by S.K. Barker and B.M. Hosington, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2013, pp. 227-44. The publications arising from the Cultures of Diplomacy project hosted at the University of Oxford consider the movement of texts in elite circles, in particular the essays in the volume *Cultures of Diplomacy and Literary Writing in the Early Modern World*, ed. by T. Sowerby and J. Craigwood, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019. A fuller picture of the processes and role of translation in the production of early modern news in England and France will emerge in my forthcoming work, *New and True: Translation, News and Pamphlets in Early Modern England and France*.

[2] A useful introduction to the world of early modern European news can be found in A. PETTEGREE, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about itself*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 2014.

production in the first age of print.[3] A search for the term 'News' shows us that print news production increased fairly steadily over the first two centuries of print, with a massive adrenaline shot provided by the outbreak of the Thirty Years War. Each country's news trajectory differs according to the technological sophistication of their printing industry and the internal and external events in which that country had an interest. German printers, for example, embraced news as a genre in the early sixteenth century and thereafter production seems to have been fairly steady, albeit with massive peaks in 1620 and 1630, again linked to the events of the Thirty Years War. France's news output was first bolstered by the events of the French Wars of Religion, and further compounded by both internal strife and the wider political situation in the first decades of the seventeenth century.[4]

The wealth of data gathered by the Universal Short Title Catalogue can help us to get an admittedly speculative sense of how prominent news was within different European print cultures, if we compare the number of news items listed with the total number of items printed. There are of course some rather large caveats to consider alongside the basic figures. As well as acknowledging the different ways in which libraries have listed news material in their individual catalogues, we need to remember that early modern news prints are some of the print works most vulnerable to loss over the course of the intervening centuries. News prints – we can say with a large degree of certainty – need to have been preserved deliberately. Both their content and their material form were seemingly not designed for long term use: news stories – we understand – were composed to record a particular moment in time almost as it happened and could quickly be superseded by the next event of significance, and the physical format of the pamphlet – usually one or two printed sheets folded to quarto or octavo – demonstrates both the rapidity with which such items were produced after an event had happened and the disposable nature which news was understood to have. But even a very general estimate of news density within different print cultures is useful. Of the materials which survive and are catalogued, news publications appear to have played a relatively significant role in the German, Spanish and Dutch print worlds, making up around 8-10% of total known and catalogued publications up to 1650, and around 4% of production for French. As currently catalogued, news prints made up around 1-2% of production in Italian, English and Latin.[5] The aforementioned caveats notwithstanding, and with every hope that fuller catalogues of ephemeral material will emerge in time, allowing us to better understand the relationship between news and print, it is still useful to recognise that news did not necessarily have the same prominence in different linguistic print cultures, and to ponder the relative densities of printed news with individual language cultures as we move to consider the processes of translation which then saw news stories move between languages. To understand the imperatives behind translating news in the early modern period, particularly if the process of translation involved an intermediary language, we have to take into account the news cultures of which those translations were a part.

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[3] The Universal Short Title Catalogue (www.ustc.ac.uk) is an on-going project, and its records are somewhat dependent on the accuracy of the catalogues of the individual libraries being used. Unfortunately, cheap print, ephemera and pamphlets tend to be the kind of work which is either easy to miscatalogue or has historically been simpler to overlook. So, whilst the USTC's records are extremely helpful for the kind of comparative work being undertaken here, for a granular understanding of the different news cultures of Western Europe, archival familiarity remains essential.

[4] Search 'Subject – News Books' at www.ustc.ac.uk, then filtered by language/place of publication.

[5] The proportion for Italian has always struck me as confusingly low. The audience at the *Translating News, Politics and Commerce* conference were similarly sceptical, and suggested that the discrepancy might be due to variant cataloguing practices in Italian collections, which means that the data for Italian news publications of this period has not made it fully into broader cataloguing projects. Following up on this suggestion was unfortunately not possible given the various constraints of how and when this article was produced, but I hope that it will be addressed in the future, by specialists of Italian news print, if not by me personally.

2. *Intermediary translation in England*

England provides us with a particularly interesting perspective in the ways news could move around early modern Europe via translation. England was peripheral to the rhythms of European printed news both in terms of the stories it shared and the language it used. By and large, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, news was translated into English, rather than the other way around. Up to 1640, there were around five hundred printed translations of current-events related stories produced in England.[6] Of these, just under forty items either state or suggest that they reached English via an intermediary language, including works from Latin, Dutch, and German as well as Italian. Eighteen of these works were made using French as the intermediary language, and ten were made using Dutch. Of the thirty two English news prints listed in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* which originated from Italian works, at least five came via a French intermediary – to date, French is the only intermediary language for Italian news works coming into English that I have been able to identify.

In some ways, an Italian-French-English pipeline should not surprise us. French was a significant language for intermediary translation into English in the early modern period. As Peter Burke has noted, references to what he termed translation «at second hand» were made very openly – and without shame – on the title pages of early modern works.[7] Andrea Rizzi and Cynthia Troup have noted that translations, being a reworking of a pre-existing text, are never 'first' but are always subject to the influences of other sources and are frequently 'reinterpretations', particularly once retranslations are brought into consideration.[8] The process whereby a text moved from being a translation of an original to itself being the source text for a further translation reminds us that printed books were 'live' products in early modern Europe, which could be taken up and reused in ways that the original translator – let alone the original author – could not have foreseen. One of the most challenging and yet most rewarding efforts for scholars of early modern translation is re-establishing the relationships between different works, between different printers and translators, when so many of these links have been lost to us forever.[9] *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* lists over three hundred items which reached English via French from other original languages, including works of literature, health and medical texts, religious controversy, and philosophy.[10] The *Amadis de Gaule* cycle was translated from the French translations by Nicolas de Herberay des Esaarts, and it was these origins which were highlighted to English readers, rather than the original Spanish: Joyce Boro has examined how the complexity of Anglo-Spanish relations in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries mean that in some instances, it was preferable to obscure the linguistic origins of texts, and to draw attention instead to the 'safer' intermediary

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[6] The figures discussed in this paragraph were drawn from the *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue* (https://www.dhi.ac.uk/rcc/).

[7] P. BURKE, *Cultures of translation in early modern Europe*, in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* ed. by P. Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 7-38: 27.

[8] A. RIZZI – C. TROUP, *Introduction*, in *Trust and Proof: Translators in Renaissance Print Culture*, ed. by A Rizzi, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2018, pp. 1-9: 4-5.

[9] For a new approach to understanding early modern printed translations, one that foregrounds the role of the translator as a key cultural agent within a variety of networks, see M.-A. BELLE – B.M. HOSINGTON, *Translation, history and print: A model for the study of printed translations in early modern Britain*', in «Translation Studies», X, 1, 2017, pp. 2-21.

[10] *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads Catalogue* (https://www.dhi.ac.uk/rcc/), advanced search for 'Intermediary language – French'.

language.[11] In many of these works, the fact that the English translations had been made via a French adaptation was clearly stated on the title page. Take, for example, North's version of Amyot's Plutarch. The first edition, which appeared in 1579, included a detailed explanation of the intermediary translation chain as the second feature on the title page, after the indication of the contents and original author:

Translated out of Greeke into French by IAMES AMYOT, Abbot of Bellozane, ‖ Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Kings priuy counsel, and great Amner ‖ of Fraunce, and out of French into Englishe, by ‖ *Thomas North*.[12]

More space was given to establishing the credentials of the translator of the intermediary text than to introducing the English translator: Amyot was presumably more illustrious than Thomas North, the younger brother of the courtier and diplomat Roger, second Baron North, but also the foreigner demanded such recognition both because of his elevated social position and his potential unfamiliarity to an English audience.[13] This formulation outlining intermediary and final translator was kept in the second edition of 1595: it was only in the 1603 edition which added in Charles de l'Écluse's lives of Hannibal and Scipio that North was noted to be '*Sir Thomas North Knight*'.[14] Intermediary translation here was prominent and celebrated.

3. *The (in)visibility of intermediary translation from Italian*

But news circulation and translation did not always exactly mirror the established forms set up in other parts of the international book world. Soko Tomita and Masahiko Tomita decided to largely exclude news and newsbooks from their survey of early seventeenth-century Anglo-Italian printing on the basis that authorship is frequently unknown, and it is not always clear if news about Italy had originally been written in Italian. As they further note, «News and newsbooks, however, have characteristics that are peculiar to their genre and quite different to those of other printed works».[15] Knowing that French pamphlet producers frequently drew on Italian sources, and that English news producers made many translations from French, when approaching this topic I was initially somewhat surprised to find that there were not all that many obvious translations of news pamphlets made from Italian to English via French.[16] But tracking translation can be a particularly complex and frustrating

[11] J. BORO, *Spain in Translation: Peritextual Representations of Cultural Differences, 1614-1625*, in *Thresholds of Translation: Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473-1660)*, ed. by M.-A. Belle and B. Hosington, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 101-36.

[12] PLUTARCH, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, translated by Thomas North via Jacques Amyot, London, Thomas Vautrollier, 1579 (STC 20065).

[13] On the career of Sir Thomas North, see the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20315

[14] PLUTARCH, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes* translated by Thomas North via Jacques Amyot, London, Richard Field for Thomas Wight, 1595 (STC 20067.5); PLUTARCH, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*, translated by Thomas North via Jacques Amyot, London, Richard Field for Thomas Wight, 1603 (STC 20068).

[15] They do include a handful of news pamphlets which meet their other criteria, and also include a handy appendix of News and Newsbooks on Italy printed 1603-1642. *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books Printed in England 1603-1642*, ed. by S. Tomita and M. Tomita, Abingdon, Routledge, 2016, pp. 3-4.

[16] Brenda Hosington has recently examined the works produced by the prolific printer-bookseller John Wolfe, noting that he was particularly engaged in printing Italian books, including news texts, and his engagement with translation on his title pages, as part of a series of case studies exploring title translation. See B.M. HOSINGTON,

business, even when one is only looking at translations between two languages, before one thinks of adding in an intermediary language. Details about language transformation often hide and frustrate as much as they illuminate and explain.

Occasionally, the links seem quite straightforward and informative. The title page of *Good Newes from Florence* – a 1614 publication by Edward Griffin for Nathaniel Butter, recounting a victory against the Turks in May 1613 – noted clearly that it was based on the French copy produced in Paris, itself a translation of a Florentine publication, in the paragraph establishing the pamphlet's origins:

Translated faithfully into English out of the ‖ French copie, printed with priuiledge at *Paris* ‖ and taken out of the Italian discourse printed at *Florence*.[17]

We can see how this work has made its way from Italy to England via a French copy. The italicisation of «Paris» and «Florence» was a fairly standard approach in such cases: it cannot have been an accidental decision, given the practicalities of the print shop and the need to store different type separately. Given how frequently the italicisation of place names occurs with news texts and English print more broadly, we might conclude that the compositor was following established trends rather than making an individually profound typographical statement. Nevertheless, the reader's eye is drawn to these details within the section, even on a relatively full and typographically busy title page. Whilst roman and italic are mixed extensively throughout the title page, the other instances predominantly italicise entire lines of text, rather than individual words, the only other exceptions being the names of the commanders involved, who are distinguished in small capitals, and the names and business premises of the printers. The effect is to emphasise the geographical and commercial stops that the text has made on its journey from Italy to England, to make the reader aware that they are part of a much wider network sharing in the details of this story, that this work has already been packed and presented to Italian and French speaking audiences, and that sitting in England, they are still part of a readership that stretches from Tuscany to the Thames. Furthermore, the French privilege mentioned on the title page is reproduced within the text to give that further sense of authenticity and to confirm that the French version was itself a translation of an Italian copy printed (unsurprisingly given the subject matter and title) in Florence.[18]

A few years later, we find London and Edinburgh editions of a translation from French of a Milanese publication, detailing recent devastation in northern Italy: the London and Edinburgh publications had different layouts and the Scottish version was published the year after the English account, but the texts are the same, apart microdifferences usually

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Textual Standard-Barers: Translated Titles and Early Modern English Print, in *Thresholds of Translation*, cit., pp. 75-100.

[17] *Good Newes from Florence*, London, Edward Griffin for Nathaniel Butter, 1614 (STC 11091). The French intermediary was *Victoire obtenue contre les Turcs. Avec la prise de la fortesse et port de Seleucie dicte Agliman en Garamanie, et de deux galleres capitanes, et autres vaisseaux Turcs*, Paris, Chez Pierre Poitier & Jean Laquehay, 1613 (USTC 6015858). The Florentine original was produced by the Giunta family: *Relazione della presa della fortezza, e porto di Seleucia, detta Agliman, in Caramania, e di due galere capitane, & altri vasselli turcheschi*, Firenze, Nella stamperia Giunta, 1613 (USTC 4023007 or 4026122). A further Italian edition was produced at Bologna by Vittorio Benacci (USTC 4027538).

[18] The French privilege to *Peter Porter*, the English translation of Pierre Poitier, is given on C4r, and is dated 30 July 1613.

relating to spelling.[19] Both note on the title page that they are «faithfully translated out of the French Copy ‖ printed at Paris. 1618».[20] The preamble makes reference to other pamphlets about recent European disasters which had been translated for the English market, including the fire which destroyed the Paris Palais in 1618 and flooding in Spain in 1617 – readers were expected to know of these events, and to have thought collectively and comparatively about their significance. Luckily, English accounts of the said disasters were indeed available for discerning readers, translated from their original languages.[21] It is only when the reader gets to the main body of the translation (on B2r in the London edition and A3r in the Edinburgh edition) that they are told that the original text was an *aviso* printed in Milan. «*Aviso*» is used in the heading, presented as a term with which the reader should be familiar.

The examples of intermediary news translation from Italian to English via French give us insight into how news travelled, but also how the business and presentation of news was changing rapidly in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. *News Come Lately from Pera*, published in 1561, was an English translation of a letter by Andrea Buonaccorsi. The title page was laid out in blackletter as follows:

Newes come || latle frō Pera, of two most mighti || Armies as wel of Fotmē as of Hors || mē, trāslated out of Italien, to Frē= || che and so into Engleshe. And first of ‖ the great Duke of Moscouia & of the ‖ Soffy, And y othere of an Hebrewe || people neuer spoken of before, foūde || not lōg ago commin from y Moun= ‖ taines called Caspii, with a newe in= || uenciō of Weapons, with y number || of y Squadrons, and with the names ‖ of two Earles & Capitaynes. And the ‖ cause of whi y great Turk hath forbyd= || dē wyne, with many other newes ne= || uer hard of. || [woodcut image of a battle, showing the opposing sides engaged and on horseback, weapons raised].[22]

Strikingly, the translation journey of this account is one of the first things that the reader learns about the pamphlet, featured so prominently in the first sentence, just after the details about the two armies.[23] The immediate focus on the process of linguistic transformation is

[19] *Newes from Italy*. London, N.O. for Nathaniel Newbery and John Pyper STC 14283; *Newes from Italie*. Edinburgh, Andro Hart, 1619 (STC 14284). The Edinburgh text includes the year of the Paris fire, 1618, for example, as it was printed in the following year.

[20] The transcription cited is taken from the title page of STC 14283. The Edinburgh version differs only very slightly in terms of format and spelling: «*Faythfullie translated out of the French Copie,* || Printed at PARIS, 1618» (STC 14284).

[21] The flooding in Spain was communicated both in English translation and with some striking woodcuts in *A Trve Relation of the Lamentable Accidents, caused by the Inundation and rising of Ebro, Lobregat, Cinca and Serge, Riuers of SPAINE. Together with a Narration of a fearfull Storme, which happened the third of Nouember, in the yeare 1617, in the Hauen and Port of BARCELONA*, London, William Blackwall, 1618 (STC 20860.5). This was a translation of *Daños causados por las crecientes de los rios Ebro, Lobregat, Cinca y Segre: con la grande tempestad que huvo a tres de noviembre deste presente año de 1617 en la playa y puerto de la Ciudad de Barcelona*, Valencia, Felipe Mey, 1617 (USTC 5111427). The English translation of the account of the Paris fire can be found at *Newes from France. Or a relation of a maruellous and fearfull accident of a disaster, which happened at PARIS the seuenth day of March, this present yeare 1618, where by meanes of a terrible fire, all the Pallace was burnt and consumed*, London, William Jones for Nathaniell Browne, 1618 (STC 11281). This was a translation of an original published by the Du Carroy printshop in Paris, *Accident merveilleux et espouventable du desastre arrivé le 7. jour de mars de ceste presente année 1618. d'un feu inremediable lequel a bruslé et consommé tout le Palais de Paris*, Paris, Jean du Carroy, 1618 (USTCs 6017821 and 6012159). For a fuller exploration of the evolution of early modern news coverage about natural disasters from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, across a range of news media, see C.H. CARACCIOLO, *Natural Disasters and the European Printed News Network*, in *News Networks in Early Modern* Europe, ed. by J. Raymond and N. Moxham, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2016, pp. 756-78.

[22] A. BUONACCORSI, *Newes come latle from Pera*, London, William Copland, 1561 (STC 4102.3).

[23] Pera was a district of Constantinople. Now known as Beyoğlu, and found on the European side of modern-day Istanbul, in the sixteenth century it was home to communities of European merchants, particularly from Genoa and Venice. See Matthew Dimmock on how this pamphlet and others like it were often combinations of truths

particularly striking as it would soon become unusual to find that kind of detail discussed at this stage of the title page. In 1561, news publications were still an emerging genre in English print, and as such, the stylistic norms of title-page presentation were as yet somewhat in flux. As title pages began to settle into standard layouts in the later sixteenth century, we tend to find the upper sections of the title page given over to establishing intellectual content – for a news pamphlet, that will usually be an indication of the kind of event being discussed, some signalling of the personalities or groups involved, their geographical location, a sense of when the event took place, and an indication of initial understandings about outcomes. Authorship might make it into this opening section, or it might appear as part of a subsequent subsection, alongside details of editors, translators and their source texts. This pamphlet was produced before these norms set in, and as such, gives us an insight into how important the linguistic transformation was understood to be to the process of creating a new work, before it got boxed into a standard location on the title page.

Intriguingly, this pamphlet was reprinted four decades later, in a very different format. In 1606, John Roberts and Henry Gosson published an updated version of the text with a slightly modified title:

Newes from Rome. || Of two mightie Armies, aswell footemen as horsmen: The ‖ first of the great Sophy, the other of an Hebrew people, till this time not disco- ‖ uered, coming from the Mountaines of Caspij, who pretend their warre is to ‖ recouer the Land of Promise, & expel the Turks out of Christendome. With ‖ their multitude of Souldiers, & new invention of weapons. ‖ Also certaine prophecies of a Iew seruing to that Armie, called *Caleb Shilocke*, ‖ prognosticating many strange accidents, which shall happen ‖ the following year, 1607. ‖ Translated out of Italian into English, by W.W. ‖ [Woodcut image of soldiers in dark hats and boots, wearing knee length tunics, led by a commander holding a large sword and wearing a plumed helmet] ‖ Printed by I.R. for Henry Gosson, and are to be sold in Pater ‖ noster rowe at the signe of the Sunne.[24]

Whereas before, the pamphlet's information was advertised as news coming from Pera, a neighbourhood of early modern Constantinople, now the geographical grounding had shifted. This news was from Rome: perhaps the English reading audience was felt to be more interested in – or more trusting in – news from Rome rather than news from the Ottoman Empire, even if the subject matter concerned said Empire. Readers are still informed that they are going to be told about two armies, made up of both footmen and cavalry. The first army is now simply that of the «Great Sophy», whereas in 1561 it had been of the «Great Duke of Moscouia and the Soffy». The second army under discussion is still that of a «Hebrew people» who come from the Mountains of Caspij – in 1561, they were introduced as «never spoken of before» because they had not long been discovered (presumably by westerners), which makes the 1606 claim that they were «till this time not discouered» all the more jarring to a modern eye. By 1606, however, the second army's aims are being announced on the title page – they wish to «recouer the land of promise, & expell the Turks out of Christendom». Both versions make reference to the «new weapons» being used by this army, presumably on the understanding that forewarned might literally be forearmed. Additional content has also been added – the prophecies of a Jew called Caleb Shilocke, predicting events to come in the

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and exaggerations, designed to engage and exploit people's prejudices about non-Europeans: M. DIMMOCK, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2016. On the wider influence of Buonaccorsi's letter, see S. ADAMS, I.W. ARCHER and G.W. BERNARD, *A 'Journall' of Matters of State Happened from Time to Time as well within and without the realme from and before the death of King Edw. The 6th untill the year 1562*, in *Religion, Politics and Society in Sixteenth Century England*, ed. by I.W. Archer et alii, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (Camden 5th Series, 22), 2004, pp. 35-136.

[24] *Newes from Rome*, London, I.R. for Henry Gosson, 1606 (STC 4102.5).

year 1607.[25] When the pamphlet was reissued again the next year, the focus shifted again – this time, the prophetical angle was positioned as the focal point of the work:

A ‖ Iewes Prophesy, ‖ OR ‖ *Newes from Rome.* ‖ Of two mightie Armies, aswell footemen as horsmen: The ‖ first of the great Sophy, the other of an Hebrew people, till this time not disco- ‖ uered, coming from the Montaines of Caspij, who pretend their warre is to ‖ recouuer the Land of Promise, & expelle the Turks out of Christendome. ‖ Translated out of Italian into English, by W.W. 1607. [Woodcut image of soldiers in dark hats and boots, wearing knee length tunics, led by a commander holding a large sword and wearing a plumed helmet] ‖ Printed by W.I. for Henry Gosson, and are to be sold ‖ in Pater noster rowe at the signe of the Sunne.

The readers might not have a named prophesier anymore, but they can be in no doubt as to where this information came from, and to make religiously-motivated judgements accordingly. The pamphlet's presentation has become increasingly antagonistic and tense over the years. All versions of this pamphlet (from 1561, 1606 and 1607) feature dramatic woodcut scenes of soldiers on the title page – engaged in battle in 1561, ready for deployment, stern and fully armed in the seventeenth-century reprints. But it is the rewording and the refocusing of the attention which really demonstrates a news industry gaining in confidence. The later editors thought nothing of revising the date and place given at the end of Buonaccorsi's letter, from Pera on 1 March 1561 to Rome on 1 June 1606, so that it better fitted the framework being presented.[26] This repacking suggests that novelty was prized when putting together news works, or works that were presented as news, but the actual information could easily be recycled from a previous work. It also suggests that news producers did not expect former versions of pamphlets produced several years before to be readily available for purchasers to make such comparisons.

It is striking that in the seventeenth-century versions of the pamphlet, there is no longer any reference to linguistic modification happening via French. The *News from Rome* texts, referring to translation in the now expected title page location, after the main content details, heavily imply that this work is the result of a translator we only know as W.W. working from an Italian original. The layout of the 1606 title page could possibly be read as the translation details referring solely to the prophecies of Caleb Shilock, but in other instances, producers did not shy away from mentioning multiple language source texts. Only a year later, William Ferebrand would publish *A Letter of a Baker of Boulougne, sent to the Pope*, castigating the Pope for the Venetian Interdict, noting that it was originally from an Italian copy published in Florence, which noted that it had been translated into French and Dutch before finding its way into English.[27] English publishers frequently did include precise details about which items had been used as source texts for news translations, although sadly not as systematically as those of us tracking translation through modern databases might like. Instead, the *News from Rome* publishers appear to have been using translation information –

[25] Tomita and Tomita note in their entry for this work that Caleb Shilocke is but one of the possible sources for the character from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, which had first been performed at the end of the 1590s; see *A Bibliographical Catalogue of Italian Books*, cit., pp. 79-80. Alexandra Walsham has also pointed out the links to the «medieval anti-semitic myth» of the wandering Jew; see A. WALSHAM, *Providence in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 176.

[26] The date is found on []6v of STC 4102.3 and on B1r of STC 4102.5 and 4102.7. PLEASE PROVIDE PAGE NUMBER: []6V SEEMS ODD.

[27] [decorative header] A ‖ LETTER ‖ of a Baker of ‖ *Boulougne*, sent to the ‖ Pope. ‖ Translated out of the Italian Copy ‖ *(printed at Florence) into French and* ‖ *Dutch and now into* ‖ *English.* ‖ [Printer's device]‖ *LONDON* ‖ Printed for William Ferebrand, and are ‖ to bee solde at his Shope in the Popes- ‖ head=Pallace neere the Royall ‖ Exchange. 1607. (STC 3218.7). No French, Dutch or Italian versions have so far been found; however Edward Allde did produce a Latin version (STC 3218.5), also in 1607.

specifically withholding some of that information – as a way of obscuring their process, most likely because they were hiding that they were repackaging old news.

In other cases, the processes of translation are even more nebulous and fraught. In *Practices touching the state of France, discovered by an Italian, a gentleman of Florence*, the opening address is made to «all princes, Lordes Gentlemen and other good and legitimate frenchmen» – the English reader therefore knows as soon as they start the main text that they were not the intended audience.[28] The address turns out to be from the French translator, and we are treated to a rather emotive vignette of how he has come to render this work into French. Whilst travelling from Florence to Milan in May 1574, he chanced to meet a Florentine gentleman who he had known back in France, who immediately insisted on showing the traveller hospitality, lodging him for two days and providing him with funds for his onward journey. The Frenchman states that he did not know how he would repay this generosity, until the Florentine handed him «two leaues of paper written in Italian speach and letter», his commentary on the current state of affairs in France, which he wished to see translated and distributed amongst the Frenchman's friends. The translation is thus an act of gentlemanly duty, as well as a chance to stop the cruel and tyrannous happenings in France. The translator addresses all Frenchmen, regardless of status or religion, asking them to consider the truths contained within the subsequent pamphlet.

English readers were presumably meant to see this as simply another stage in a text's journey around Western Europe. This introduction seemingly gave them insight into the French translation on which their own English work was based. As yet, however, it is not clear that there ever was a French translation or Italian source, which could explain why there is no mention of translation on the title page, which is almost brutally anonymous.[29] Readers were often made to feel like they were sitting in on a network of correspondences and exchanges criss-crossing the continent, made visible by print, often in the guise of information being shared by anonymous «friends» or «gentlemen», as in *A Letter lately written from Rome, by an Italian Gentleman, to a freende of his in Lyons in Fraunce.* Here for once the translator is known – the redoubtable John Florio – but the mysterious correspondents have geographical locations but no names.[30]

The process of translation, in particular the direct links made to previous versions of the text printed in other cities, was often used as a way to give news texts some form of solid grounding, when they might otherwise be seen as suspicious, slight or difficult to verify. We see in these examples that whilst drawing attention to intermediary translations could work in that way, either on the title page or within paratexts such as privileges and headings, printers could just as easily hide the steps in the translation chain if they wanted to obscure a text's origins.

4. The Material Presentation of News Prints and the Implications of Translation

In the previous sections, I have drawn attention to the linguistic changes highlighted and hidden in news texts moving between Italian and English via French. But whenever we think about translation, we need to think about the material presentation of the works in question, and how these were also affected by the translation processes. Images are an obvious area affected by the material translation of news material. The Pera/Rome title pages all feature

[28] [fleuron border] PRACTISES ‖ touching the state of ‖ FRANCE, disco- ‖ uered by an ITA- ‖ LIAN, a gentleman ‖ of FLORENCE. ‖ *Printed*. 1575. ‖ [fleuron border]‖[London], [T. East], 1575 (STC 11287).

[29] I would be delighted to be made aware of any possible source texts for this work.

[30] *A Letter lately written from Rome, by an Italian Gentleman, to a freende of his in Lyons in Fraunce*, London, John Charlewoode, 1585 (STC 21292a).

the kinds of dramatic woodcuts that frequently adorned English news texts, but which were much less a feature of French works. On the other hand, the French intermediary used by *Good Newes from Florence* as its source included a map of the encounter. This feature was prominently advertised on the title page, with the line «AVEC LA CARTE DE LADICTE FORTRESSE» included after the acknowledgement of the Florentine original and the key explaining the different locations was reproduced on the reverse of the title page.[31] No such map appears to have been included in the English translation, presumably because of the expense of reproduction. Therefore, translation has affected the text materially as well as linguistically, providing French and English audiences with very different reading experiences.

The different countries of Europe also formatted their news in different ways. France appears to have made limited use of broadsheet placards to circulate news and information. Andrew Pettegree has pointed out that relatively little broadsheet publishing survives for France, certainly compared to the Holy Roman Empire and the Italian States. Of what has survived little was produced in the key printing centres of Paris and Lyon. It could of course be that broadsheet material simply has not survived for France, although Pettegree suggests that this is «a real phenomenon, rather than an accident of survival», because extensive field work in libraries and archives has not turned up any undiscovered caches of broadsheet material.[32] He points out that this should remind us how important local preferences were for driving how printers responded to the market in different parts of Europe. Investigating news translation further underscores how printers had to keep an eye on local preferences even as they sourced material internationally. In the British Isles, as in the Holy Roman Empire, news books usually appeared as quarto works, whereas in France, they were overwhelmingly presented in octavo.

These choices were not accidental, and had ramifications for the resulting space and layout constraints that printers had to work with. Space does not permit me to fully investigate here the typographical preferences of different news cultures within Europe, although these too had to be negotiated when translating. Put simply – pamphlets from different countries look very different, going through processes of physical as well as linguistic translation. With intermediary translation, these adaptations happen more than once, and draw attention to the stories shared across linguistic and political borders even as the physical presentation of the works embedded them within different language and cultural groups across the continent.

5. *Broader perspectives on news, language and translations in early modern Europe*

When thinking about early modern translation generally, and about early modern news translation in particular, we need to keep in mind why items were translated – what need was there for that particular story or pamphlet to be rendered into another language? When translators and editors were kind enough to tell their readers directly why they had undertaken such works, they usually spoke in terms of the information being shared having a didactic or cautionary purpose: they wanted readers to pay heed to good news and good behaviour, and to be shocked and appalled by bad behaviour – and to act accordingly in their own lives in both cases. There were of course separate business cases to be made in support

[31] The exemplar from the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon found on also includes the map, at the end of the pamphlet. *Victoire obtenue contre les Turcs.* USTC 6015858. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k100875z.

[32] A. PETTEGREE, *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print. Typology and Typography*, in *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print*, ed. by A. Pettegree, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2017, pp. 3-32: 11-12.

of translating news works, for those putting up the money for such endeavours. Some publishers began to specialise somewhat in producing this kind of material – people like Benoist Rigaud in Lyon and John Wolfe in London.

Here, I have suggested that notwithstanding the losses of cheap print that we will never be able to fully quantify, it would seem that different countries experienced different levels of news saturation. Factoring in translation, the situation becomes even more complicated. For a printed news story to travel, it had to find reader relevance and potential commercial value in not one but at least two of these print cultures – three, when we include intermediary translation.

We would also do well to remember that early modern countries were not monoglot nations, a reality which was particularly significant for early modern England. John Gallagher's recent book, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* notes that as well as the various languages spoken by the people who might consider themselves native to the British Isles, who spoke «Irish, Welsh, Scots, Gaelic, and others», there were – and are – substantial groups of people who had ended up in England for short or long periods of time who spoke other languages; as Gallagher introduces them «migrants, refugees, exiles, slaves and visitors».[33] And as he goes on to demonstrate, language learning was rife in this society. The multi-lingual reality of early modern London feeds into news production in a number of ways. It perhaps lessened that crucial need for translations of news pamphlets to be made in the first place – early modern news texts were short and relatively simple on a linguistic level, exactly the kind of work on which budding language students might well want to try out their emerging linguistic competencies. Were some people simply reading the originals of these texts? This might be more viable for French and Dutch texts than for Italian ones, which would have had to have travelled that much further, but I think it is a distinct possibility. It also reminds us of the enduring vitality of oral news communication, particularly in a society where many languages rubbed up against each other, where literacy was uneven and where printed news was only just starting to carve out a place for itself.

What do these tell us about how stories moved between languages? It is not always easy to track exactly how stories moved, partly because so many pamphlets have been lost over time. But also we have to recognise that as much as printers and publishers could employ details about translation to make their publications seem grounded and based in truth, they could also gloss over certain details, or leave them out, if they wanted to create a sense of ambiguity – either because they were repackaging old material to sell again, or perhaps because they themselves were less than convinced about the absolute veracity of the material in front of them. Nevertheless, we can see that a European news community was apparent by the early seventeenth century, and English readers were presented with a vision of themselves, through the title pages, prefaces and running titles of the news pamphlets they read, as sharing news that had often been read by not one, but two, different language communities. The reader, in fact, was often far more prominent than the author, or the translator, as a participant in multi-lingual news Europe. Above all, these cases demonstrate the complexity of printed news translation in early modern Europe, and remind us that each story that moved between one or more languages represents a wealth of cultural, political, business, linguistic and design decisions.

[33] J. GALLAGHER, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019, p. 2