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Word Salad? Printed news texts, early modern translation practices and names as sites of multilingualism

Sara Barker

When Michel de Montaigne turned his attention to the consideration of names, he opened his reflections with a rather cheeky aside: 'No matter how varied the greenstuffs we put in, we include them all under the name of salad. So too here: while surveying names, I am going to make up a mixed dish from a variety of items'. In 'On Names', Montaigne certainly presented a 'mixed dish'. He reflected on the popularity of particular names in certain contexts, the power that people gave to names, the idea of 'good' and 'bad' names, and the practical problems a society, namely his own, encountered when they used land holdings as a basis for developing family names. All it took was one sale of an estate for a family name's *raison d'être* to be disconnected from the place it drew upon, and from there, it became hard to trace true family descents and relatively easy for tricksters to pretend to illustrious lineages they did not deserve.[1]

Montaigne's concern about the power of names reflected other early modern people's convictions about their significance. What you called yourself, what other people called you and what you called other people mattered. It mattered when all Protestants were lumped together as Lutherans, or when French Protestants were officially referred to as adherents of the *religion prétendue reformée* (so-called Reformed Religion).[2] It mattered to John Calvin and his supporters when people in Geneva presented their children for baptism requesting names that the Company of Pastors deemed to be superstitious, so the pastors replaced these with names that they considered to be suitable. It certainly mattered to the parents of these children, who presented their infants to be christened using names with family significance (albeit ones that also linked to local saints) such as Claude and Martin, only to be told their child was going to be called Abraham or another suitably Old Testament designator: on more than one occasion, they turned to violence, furious at what they considered to be a foreign imposition.[3] Montaigne's reaction to hearing of such confrontations was to turn to heavy-handed mockery, noting that the Reformation 'went so far as to fight against our ancient Christian names of Charles, Louis and François, so as to people the earth with Methuselahs, Ezekiels and Malachis, names so much more redolent of our Faith!'[4] Clearly not everyone was so willing to give up their name as Romeo Montague or Juliet Capulet, perhaps the most famous literary musers on the significance of names, who are able to separate themselves from the burden of their family names.[5]

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[1] Michel de Montaigne, 'On Names', Book I Essay 46, *The Complete Essays* translated by M.A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2003), pp. 308-313.

[2] For a useful introduction to the issues around studying early modern names and naming practices, see Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer and Joel F. Harrington (eds.), *Names and Naming in Early Modern Germany* (New York: Berghan Books, 2019).

[3] W. G. Naphy, 'Baptisms, Church Riots and Social Unrest in Calvin's Geneva', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26 (1995), pp. 87-79.

[4] Montaigne, 'On Names', p. 309.

[5] Romeo and Juliet, Act II Scene II. See also Murray J. Levith, *What's in Shakespeare's Names?* (Abingdon, Oxon & New York, NY: Routledge, 2021).

Names were particularly important when it came to the development of one of the sixteenth century's emerging literary genres, that of printed news texts. In a world where the value of information tended to be calculated based on one's opinion of the conveyor of that information, anonymous pieces of print telling tales from near and far, which were hard to verify using traditional information exchange mechanisms, faced an uphill struggle.[6] In this unstable emerging genre, who the story was about and where it took place were core components feeding into the text's interest levels and potentially their credibility. Making names prominent within the text was one of the methods producers had at their disposal to give their readers something to grab on to, something to orientate themselves. By the mid-sixteenth century, title pages had largely settled into the form of having the main title and any explanatory detail about the composition of the text in the top part of the title page, followed usually by a gap, a relevant image or a printer's device in the middle of the page, with the commercial details of the item's publication hopefully included at the end of the title page, in the imprint. Names featured both as part of the title 'proper' and as part of the imprint, and this chapter will discuss the translation of both. The importance of names for news itself can be seen in how frequently they appear as part of the title being presented to the reader: the name of a person or of a place typically appears within the first part of the title, as part of the key content set out to attract the reader, as in an account of one of the encounters during the Long Turkish War (1593-1606), when Maximilian III was able to take the Hungarian town of Hatvan after a three-week long siege:

> DISCOVRS || DV SIEGE || ET PRISE DE || HATVAN ET SANGIACATO || villes tres-fortes du Royau- || me des Hongries, par le sere- || nissime Archiduc Maximi- || lian, sur les Turcs, le troisies- || me de Septembre, 1596. || *Traduict d'Italien en François.* || A PARIS, || 1596. || *Iouxte la coppie imprimee à Rome*.[7]

Here the names of the locations where the action happened are important enough to be capitalised.[8] In other instances, names featured as part of the clarifying detail, as in a 1583 account of apparitions in the sky:

> PRODIGES || MERVEILLEVX || APPARVS AV CIEL || le mercredy deuxième || Mars 1583. || * || *Feux tombez du ciel auec impetueux tonner-* || *res & horrible tempeste, tant en Piedmont,* || *Sauoye, que Dauphiné, à mesme* || *iour & heure.* || ❧ || [Typographical ornament] || A LYON, || PAR IEAN PATRASSON. || - || 1583. || Auec Permission.[9]

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[6] David Randall, *Credibility in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Military News* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008).
[7] *Discours du siege et prise de Hatvan et Sangiacato villes tres-fortes du royaume des Hongries* (Paris: s.n., 1596), USTC 11926.
[8] Hatvan is readily identifiable, but Sangiacto is harder to interpret, and shows us how names and terms might be misinterpreted. In the text itself, we are told 'Hatuan, ville tresforte au mesme endroit de l'Hongrie & proche de ladite ville de Pest, à laquelle elle sert de boulleuart & fortress. (Hatvan, a very secure town in the same region of Hungary and close to the said town of Pest, for which it served as rampart and fortress)' *Ibid*., A3v-4r. The work goes on to say that Hatvan had not been particularly famous before this conflict but that 'les Turcs l'ayans fortifiee à cause de la situacion fut appelle Sangiacato (the Turks had fortified it because of the situation known as Sangiacato)' *Ibid*. A4r. 'Sangiacto' appears to be a French rendering of 'Sanjak', the term for an administrative division of the Ottoman Empire, which has been erroneously interpreted as being the name of a town between the main text and the title page and subheading.
[9] *Prodiges merveilleux apparus au ciel le mercredy 2 mars 1583. Feux tombez du ciel avec impetueux tonnerres et horrible tempeste tant en Piedmont, en Savoye, que Dauphiné* (Lyon: Jean Patrasson, 1583), USTC 12851.

In this pamphlet, the initial focus is on the event (the apparitions and the date on which they appeared) and the names of the locations affected are included as part of the further particulars, set in smaller, italic type. A name of a person or a place would appear in one of these places on the title page in pretty much every news text, and in many instances, both kinds of name would appear. Capitalising names or placing them at the start or end of lines, as in the examples above, was extremely common. The ultimate value of these works lay in what they could communicate about people and places: names were thus central to the communication of news.

The importance of names within news texts has a knock-on consideration: many of these texts were translated into other languages, and therefore decisions had to be made about how to handle the people and places being discussed within the works. They were after all the key draw for the text, or at least were presented as such, and it was imperative that audiences knew who and where was being talked about. A survey of translated news texts, however, shows that the treatment of names of both people and places varied over the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In some cases, names and titles were translated; in other cases they were explained; and in yet more they were left mostly untouched.

Relatively little sustained attention has been paid to the translation of news texts, both within the history of news and communication studies and within the history of translation. This is not entirely surprising: these are largely separate disciplines, albeit both ones that have gone from strength to strength in recent years. Within the history of news, it is only in the last few decades that a largely nationalist approach has been replaced by a recognition of early modern news being something that moved relatively seamlessly between countries and communities, and that circulated in many different ways: in songs, in pamphlets, in letters, both printed and manuscript, and other forms besides.[10] Even declaring a prose item to be 'news' can be challenging: whereas some works might be quite straightforward to identify as news, such as an account of a battle or a natural disaster, others can be debated as to their newsworthiness. Scholars might choose to exclude a government edict from their survey of news because it deals with the workings of government, preferring to categorise it as 'official print' or something similar. At the other end of the credibility scale, there are the accounts of monstrous births and strange apparitions, which do tend to be counted as news, albeit with the hardworking modifier 'sensational' appended. There are then the accounts of processions, entries, festivals, marriages and funerals and the like, which enjoy their own sustained scholarly attention, but which have titles and indeed contents which come across as quite news-like.[11]

As awareness of the wide variety of types of early modern news has grown, it has not been feasible to say 'and what about translation' for each sub-field, although, happily, that does leave much room for future scholarship. From a translation studies perspective, the explanation for this

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[10] See for example the wide range of items discussed in Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (eds), *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

[11] My own remit tends to be inclusive rather than exclusive, primarily because when we start with the translated product, we can see that items which might not be considered news in their home territory have been translated because they are considered to be newsworthy in another place, such as edicts. This approach contrasts with that of Richard Streckfuss, who discounted broadsheets and 'official government proclamations' from his oft-cited study. Richard Streckfuss, 'News Before Newspapers', *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 75 (1998), pp. 84-97. See also the chapters in this volume by Barnaby Culen and Arthur der Weduwen.

relative (but by no means complete) neglect is explained by the practicalities of the field: are both source and destination text available to study, or have what tend to be physically delicate objects fallen foul of the many accidents that can plague a poster or pamphlet over the course of several centuries?[12] Can a single source text be identified? Pinning down a clear origin text is particularly tricky when looking at English translations of French works, given the decentralised nature of the French printing industry. Items that were ripe for translation had often gone through many editions, produced by different printing houses in different cities, making it challenging to identify a single source text if that information was not conveyed on the translation's title page. The English account of Henri IV's victory at Ivry, for example, notes on the title page that it has been produced 'Out of French into English' and is 'Seene and Allowed'. However, when we try to trace a source text for this work, we discover that there are at least ten items which could have been a potential original, given the information presented on the English title page.[13]

Although this example is particularly complicated, given the significance of the battle of Ivry, it is not unusual: out of the more than 120 English pamphlets based on French news items produced between 1561 and 1601 that I have identified so far, over half have multiple potential source texts.[14] Even if these criteria can be fulfilled, and modern technology allows for digital comparison of works which are held oceans apart, what is there to say about the translation itself? These kinds of prose texts tend to be short, relatively to the point, and information dense, names being a vital part of that information. There is not the same room for linguistic manoeuvre or flourish that comes when one translates literature, for example, or the high stakes inherent in biblical translation. The translation being undertaken in news pamphlets was highly practical, and relatively time sensitive. These works

[12] Falk Eisermann memorably described the likelihood of whether or not an item would be lost over the course of time or not as 'survival of the fattest'. Falk Eisermann, 'The Gutenberg Galaxy's Dark Matter: Lost Incunabula, and Ways to Retrieve Them', in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds), *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 29-54, p. 53.

[13] *A discourse and true recitall of everie particular of the victorie obtained by the French king, on Wednesday the fourth of March, being Ashwednesday* (London: Thinas Orwin for Richard Oliffe, 1590), USTC 511391. The English text makes no mention of the author, nor is one attributed or suspected as per the English Short Title Catalogue: https://datb.cerl.org/estc/S119814. The French original is usually attributed to Etienne Pasquier, including in the following USTC records: *Discours veritable de la victoire obtenue par le roy en la bataille donnee le 14 mars 1590* (s.l.: s.n., 1590), USTC 79300*; Discours veritable de la victoire obtenue par le roy en la bataille donnee prez le village d'Yvry* (s.l.: s.n., 1590), USTC 54911; *Discours veritable de la victoire obtenue par le roy en la bataille donnee pres le village d'Evry* (Tours: chez Jamet Mettayer, 1590), USTC 19228; *Discours veritable de la victoire obtenue par le roy en la bataille donnee le 14 mars 1590* (Langres: s.n., 1590), USTC 35644; *Discours veritable de la victoire obtenue par le roy en la bataille donnee pres le village d'Evry* (s.l.; s.n., 1590), USTC 75403; *Discours veritable de la victoire obtenue par le roy en la bataille donnee pres le village d'Evry* (Tours; chez Jamet Mettayer, 1590), USTC 63064; *Discours veritable de la victoire obtenue par le roy en la bataille donnee pres le village d'Yvry* (s.l.; s.n., 1590), USTC 66916; *Discours veritable de la victoire obtenue par le roy en la bataille donnee pres le village d'Yvry* ([Châlons-en-Champagne; Claude Guyot], 1590), USTC 67967; *Discours veritable de la victoire obtenue par le roy en la bataille donnee pres le village d'Evry* (Tours: chez Jamet Mettayer, 1590), USTC 2725 and *Discours veritable de la victoire obtenue par le roy en la bataille donnee pres le bourg d'Ivry* (Caen; chez Jacques Le Bas, 1590), USTC 3121.

[14] Around a quarter have a single possible source text, and many cases, no source text as yet has been found. All of these figures need to be understood in recognition that survival rates of pamphlets are not particularly robust, and that much material on both sides of the translation process will have been lost in the intervening centuries. I will explore these issues further in future publications.

do not include long meditations on the translator's craft: often, they do not include the translator's name at all.[15] Working out what is going on with these translations is a little like panning for gold.

The names in these works are potentially very shiny nuggets indeed. Proper names are part of a language's cultural heritage just as much as words in the broader vocabulary.[16] Studying names grants later generations insight into popular cultural norms of a given period. As a constant feature of news texts, no matter what the sub-genre, the large number of names which appear in these works give us a wide range of material to work with when it comes to working out both how these mysterious translators went about their work, and how these works reflected the linguistic complexities of the societies into which they were being launched. Working mainly with examples taken from French and English prose news texts from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in this essay I suggest that one way to explain the lack of a consistent approach how to translate (or not to translate) names in news texts is to think about these features as an example of early modern multilingualism: a multilingualism which was perhaps not always overtly acknowledged or discussed but which demonstrates both the linguistic complexity of early modern publishing milieus and the reach of the emerging international news culture of the age. Most existing discussions of the relationship between multilingualism and translation focus primarily on literary texts, as indeed does much of the scholarship on name translation. As we shall see, early modern non-literary texts have much to offer us in this regard too.[17]

What's in a name?

Names are tricky things to pin down, whether we are thinking about the names of people or places. The sixteenth century was a period of relative name stability, after several centuries of change. In both France and England, naming tendencies communicated the complicated linguistic heritages brought about by the countries' individual and shared histories. France's names reflected that it had been a Roman province which subsequently had been both Christianised and subject to invasion by Germanic tribes after the retreat of Roman elites. French baptismal names might have classical roots or Germanic origins or reflect Christian values and characters. Hereditary given and family names had begun to appear in the thirteenth century, becoming relatively fixed by the fifteenth century. In England, it was the arrival of the Normans in 1066 which had the most long-lasting impact on naming traditions, as the knights accompanying William across the Channel brought with them designators that spoke to their roles within his entourage, where they came from back in Normandy, or their

[15] It would appear that much news translation was undertaken in or around the print shop, with printers farming out work to those who they knew had the appropriate language skills, rather than as a fully separated process.

[16] Albert Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France* (Paris: Larousse, 1951), p. v.

[17] See for example Rainier Grutman, 'Multilingualism', in Gabriela Saldanha and Mona Baker (eds.), *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies,* 3rd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), pp. 341-346. Reine Meylaerts does discuss non-literary settings for exploring multilingualism and translation, in particular the complexities of trying to use traditional terms like 'source' and target' when looking at multilingual institutions such as the European Union: Reine Maylaerts, 'Multilingualism as a Challenge for Translation Studies', in Carmen Millán and Francesca Bartarina (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 519-533, p. 524.

personal attributes or nicknames.[18] The use of a surname then spread through the various English social ranks, in both rural and urban settings, until the end of the thirteenth century, by which time most people in England had a surname (although it took longest to catch on in the north).

In both France and England, surnames fell into several distinct groups. There were those that were based on place names, from townships to local features within a given community. There were those that reflected a family's ethnic origins, the relationships between ancestors or traditional professions. English names demonstrated legacies from Scandinavian dialects as well as Old English, influencing a nomenclature which was predominantly shaped by Anglo-French customs. Occupational names in particular drew on the urban economies of the emerging English market towns, with 'English' or 'French' terms for particular kinds of employment both finding their way into common usage: Arrowsmith and Fletcher; Glover and Ganter; Chapman and Marchant; Wright and Carpenter.[19] Although we are not (yet) in the realms of translation, the long history of family names in England does underscore the longstanding linguistic overlap between English and French, in particular French influence over English. This shared heritage is particularly important when it comes to considering approaches to name translation and multilingualism. Having linguistic touchstones in common does not necessarily make the choice to translate easier, but it does perhaps lower the stakes and remove frictional boundaries if one does decide to translate.

Many of the people whose exploits would come to be discussed in written form might have names which reflected their territorial holdings: they were known as people by places. The history of place names in Europe is as complicated as that of people's names and similarly reflects the multiple social groups who have historically had influence in a given area. Although geographical features often play a significant role in how places are identified, it of course matters who then went on to do the identifying: Latin-speaking Romans, Norse invaders who settled, Celtic or Germanic tribes. Often the origins of place names were hard to establish: in the letter to the reader of his *Britannia*, William Camden acknowledged that that whilst he had left out etymological explanations that he found to be too outlandish, 'Many happily will insult over me for that I have adventured to hunt after the originals of names by conjectures, who if they proceed on to reject all conjectures, I feare me a great part of liberall learning and humane knowledge will be utterly out-cast into banishment'. Camden was quick to point out that his 'conjectures' had been influenced by his detailed study of British and Welsh languages but he was drawing attention to the tricky place that names hold in our understanding, as things which are often challenging to evidence but which nonetheless tell us much about people and places.[20] Although place names might not carry the same emotional resonance as people's names, they were nonetheless important factual signifiers, and they could change: both between languages, and over time.

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[18] Much of the following discussion is based upon Patrick Hanks, Richard Coates and Peter McClure (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: OUP, 2016), 'Introduction', in particular section 3 'Origins and development of family names in Britain', (online publication, no page numbers).

[19] Whilst initially there was substantial variation in spelling and pronunciation, from around 1450, even family names with different origins and spellings but which sounded similar began to coalesce into more standardised spellings and pronunciations.

[20] William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adioyning* trans. Philemon Holland (London: George Bishop and John Norton, 1610), STC 4509, USTC 3004367 [fleuron] 4r-v.

What to do with names?

Translation is not a simple process. It is not just a case of moving words from one language to another, which becomes even more tricky with names, where sometimes the spelling is different (Jacques/James or Stephen/Etienne, for example) and sometimes it is only the pronunciation that changes (Thomas or Sara, to use an Anglo-French example with which I am personally familiar). Quite apart from the language skills one needs to have developed in order to undertake translation work, there are considerations to be made about the extent to which one keeps the tone and features of the original text, or how far one tries to achieve a translated product which seems as though it was written in the target language, commonly understood as 'domesticating', as well as decisions about register, tone, form and abridgement. Names, bearing the cultural loads discussed above, are particularly significant in this regard. There is not one simple, agreed way as to how to approach the translation of proper names. We know this ourselves as historians, when we include explanatory notes about our naming conventions to our readers at the start of our own texts: have we chosen to use the names our subjects would have heard in their own lives or have we decided to use terms perhaps more familiar to an Anglophone, Western audience?

When discussing the treatment of proper nouns in literary texts, there is a school of thought which suggests that names, as factual points of reference within a text, do not need to be translated, in much the same way as they do not tend to appear in general dictionaries or to be accepted as legitimate contributions to word games. An opposing approach contends that names carry great significance within a text, conveying knowledge, engaging the reader and setting the emotional context of a piece of writing, and thus they need to be approached carefully and with respect and understanding for both the source culture and the target culture. Furthermore, it is worth considering the cultural and linguistic distances between source and target as part of the 'environmental' features which contribute to deciding which strategy might be appropriate when approaching the translation (or not) of names.[21] Early modern English and French shared a lot of cultural touchstones, and the realms' shared history would have been obvious to many, particularly those who engaged in writing, printing and reading the kinds of texts under discussion here. That common culture could easily bleed over into how names were rendered.

This dilemma is not a new one: Theo Hermans suggested that Sir John Trevisa's dedicatory epistle in his 1387 translation of Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon*, where names are noted as being things which are 'set', is one of the earliest considerations of the untranslatability of names, although Hermans himself pointed out that names can be and often are language-specific.[22] Anastasia Parianou has noted that fiction writers deliberately pick names in a way that is 'motivated and meaningful'. Because these terms can be very hard to render between languages, translators often choose to keep proper names as they were originally given, which can give rise to the impression that names are less important within the process of translation than other component parts of a text.[23] The reader potentially misses out on other decisions the author may have made, around plays

[21] Nanashon A. Nyangeri and Rachel Wangari, 'Proper Names in Translation: Should They be Translated or Not?', *Eastern African Literary and Cultural Studies*, 5 (2019), pp. 347-365.
[22] Theo Hermans, 'On Translating Proper Names, with reference to *De Witte* and *Max Havelaar*', in M. J. Wintle (ed.), *Modern Dutch Studies: Essays in Honour of Professor Peter King on the Occasion of His Retirement* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), pp 11-24, p. 11-12.
[23] Anastasia Parianou, 'Translating Proper Names: a Functionalist Approach', *Names*, 55 (2007), pp 407-416, pp. 409-410.

on words or onomatopoeic qualities too. For this reason, Parianou advises the translator to think carefully about their audience, and to adopt pragmatic solutions which can vary from translator to translator. Osamu Hanaoka's approach focuses on the proper names themselves, rather than the texts in which they appear. Proper names typically fit into one of three categories: they are known to a limited community who share precise cultural reference points (the fans of a particular book or song, for example); the name is known widely within the cultural setting of a particular nation and members of that nation understand the wider connotations of what that particular name means (for British people, 'Eastenders' or 'Mayfair' have particular resonances); and then names which are known across cultures, like Barbie or Mozart.

It is the second category, where proper names might appear frequently in national media or when talking with native speakers of a language, which cause the most headaches for translators and interpreters: and of course, that was where a lot of the names in early modern news texts sat.[24] Hermans categorises names firstly as being 'conventional', whereby they have no significance other than that of designating a particular person, or 'loaded', whereby the chosen designator is meant to convey further meaning to a reader: furthermore, these 'loaded names' sit on a spectrum from 'suggestive' to 'expressive', and can include nicknames as well as given names.[25] What actually happens when a translator of one of these texts encounters a proper name? Hermans identifies four main ways of approaching this issue, which might be used separately or combined: copying the term given from the source text to the target text; transcribing (including transliterating and tweaking spelling); substituting an unrelated name; and finally actually translating a name, where it is seen to have a particular cultural significance within the text which presumably needs to be conveyed to a new audience.[26] In the material discussed in this essay, we tend to see copying, transcribing and translating, with few instances of substitution, which is perhaps not surprising when we remember that making these works dealing with culturally and geographically distant people and places appear credible and trustworthy was a key aim of producers.

Words at play – evidence for non-news name translation

Name translation was common and expected in some areas of early modern European culture, alongside which our news texts were circulating and from where producers might have been expected to draw inspiration. Translations, and works written in languages other than one's mother tongue, were a steady feature of early European print: religious, philosophical and scientific texts written in Latin saw their authors' names latinised as a matter of course. We can see this when we use a modern library catalogue or project database or peruse the index of a scholarly monograph. We are frequently presented with a number of alternative names for one individual. The online catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France is particularly helpful in this regard: clicking on the author name in any given entry brings up the 'Notice de personne', which gives a brief outline of the author's country of origin, predominant languages, sex, birth and death information and a quick overview of the person's role. The 'Notice de personne' also lists both the accepted versions of the

[24] Osamu Hanaoka, 'Proper Names in the Media: Problems for Translators/Interpreters and L2 Learners', *Interpretation Studies*, 2 (2002), pp. 28-42, pp. 36-37.
[25] Hermans, 'On Translating Proper Names', p. 13.
[26] Hermans, 'On Translating Proper Names', pp. 13-4.

author's name used in the catalogue and rejected forms, and these provide a wealth of insight both into the complexities of modern cataloguing and the intricacies of early modern names.

Nostradamus is catalogued under his 'pseudonyme forme internationale', with eight variant forms of his French name listed as 'formes rejetées.[27] The Protestant theologian Jacobus Arminius is presented using the international form of his name, and his Dutch name, Jacob Hermans, is listed under the rejected forms, along with Jacques Arminius and James Arminius.[28] Some authors' names are accepted in more than one form: the founder of the Jesuit order can be searched for as either Ignacio or Ignace de Loyola (but not as Iñigo or in Chinese transliteration), and the celebrated anatomist Andreas Vesalius can be found using the Latin or French version of his name, but not Andries van Wesel.[29] However they are rendered for ease of searching in modern catalogues today, these authors translated their names or saw their names translated in their own lifetimes in order to take their place in the transnational but predominantly Latinate intellectual community of scholars.

Translating one's own name could also offer literary writers linguistic opportunities in the maelstrom of early modern confessional conflict. Antoine de Chandieu, French Protestant theologian, pastor and committed literary magpie played with name translation as he developed his own pseudonyms over his career. Starting with his own family name, which helpfully contained the component 'dieu' (God in French), he tweaked the initial 'Chan' to either 'Chant' (song) or 'Champ' (field), giving either 'Chant-de-Dieu' (Song of God) or 'Champ-de-Dieu' (Field of God), both of which suited the ends of a combative Calvinist eager to engage in literary discussion with his religious foes over a range of formats. Chandieu then translated his own name to Zamariel (a Hebraic rendering of 'Song of God'), or Sadeel (translating 'Field of God' in the same way) depending on which genre he was using. When he went toe to poetical toe with Ronsard at the height of the first French War of Religion, Chandieu used Zamariel in his *Response aux Calomnies contenues au Discours & Suyte du Discours sur les Miseres de ce temps* (Response to the Calumnies contained in the Discourse and the follow on Discourse on the Miseries of this Age).[30] Sadeel would be used for his later theological works.[31] Such pseudonyms may have hidden the original author briefly, but it did not take huge

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[27] The list of rejected forms is quite exhaustive: Michel de Nostredame; Notredame, Michel de; Nostredame, Michel de; De Notredame, Michel; De Nostredame, Michel; Nostradamus, Michel; Nostradamus, Michael; Nostre Dame, Michel de. Notice de personne 'Nostradamus' http://ark.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb11887127b.
[28] Notice de personne 'Arminius, Jacobus', http://ark.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb122113300.
[29] Notice de personne, 'Ignace de Loyola', https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb11908177n; Notice de personne 'Vésale, André', http://ark.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb119280900.
[30] This high-profile riposte to Ronsard was printed several times. Surviving copies in USTC include: Antoine de Chandieu and Bernard de Montméja, *Response aux calomnies contenues au discours et suyte du discours sur les miseres de ce temps* (s.l.: s.n., 1563), USTC 19612; Antoine de Chandieu and Bernard de Montméja, *Response aux calomnies contenues au discours et suyte du discours sur les miseres de ce temps* (s.l.: s.n., 1563), USTC 89731; Antoine de Chandieu and Bernard de Montméja, *Response aux calomnies contenues au discours et suyte du discours sur les miseres de ce temps* ([Orléans: Eloi Gibier], 1563), USTC 34253; Antoine de Chandieu and Bernard de Montméja, *Response aux calomnies contenues au discours et suyte du discours sur les miseres de ce temps* (Lyon: s.n., 1563), USTC 295; Antoine de Chandieu and Bernard de Montméja, *Response aux calomnies contenues au discours et suyte du discours sur les miseres de ce temps* ([Orléans: Eloi Gibier], 1563), USTC 1365; Antoine de Chandieu and Bernard de Montméja, *Response aux calomnies contenues au discours et suyte du discours sur les miseres de ce temps* ([Orléans]; Eloi Gibier, 1563), USTC 34254.
[31] See for example Antoine de Chandieu, *Locus de verbo Dei scripto adversus humanas traditiones* (Morges: Jean Le Preux, 1584), USTC 450826 and Antoine de Chandieu, *Locus de unico Christi sacerdotio et sacrificio* (Geneva: Jean Le Preux, 1581), USTC 450887, both of which name him as A. or Antonio Sadeele on their title pages.

linguistic skill to uncover the original author and to judge the connected work accordingly: Ronsard certainly knew who he was writing about when he hauled Chandieu over the polemical coals in their bitter exchange of poems in the 1560s.[32]

Name wordplay like that employed by Chandieu indicates that for some writers, at least, names held value because they could be made to work in the same way as 'normal' words and relatively minor linguistic tweaks could be employed to promote further the core aims of their writing: in Chandieu's case, the promotion of the Protestant cause. This was quite different to cases where pseudonyms were used to hide people's identities for reasons of safety and security, as with the author of the *Vindicae contra Tyrannos*, who used the effective 'Stephanius Jurius Brutus', thus disguising the author and setting up some spirited academic theorising. When we have such tantalising mysteries on offer, it is understandable that the comparably straightforward name translation being undertaken in news texts does not get so much attention. But working out what is happening on the page and how that might reflect wider societal practices gives us another potential way of trying to unpick the intellectual drivers and linguistic complexities of Europeans learning to use print to report on and learn about themselves.

Visible or invisible equivalents

Names appeared in news texts within the title, as part of the intellectual content of the work, but also as part of the information shared about the production of the material object. Given the uncertainty around printed news, printers would do what they could to inspire trust and confidence in their work for readers. David Randall has discussed this in terms of the replication of sociability standards, which gave the reader the feeling of being brought into an exchange of information between two (or more) defined people, about whom judgements could be built.[33] With translated news, we have another possible source of credibility: printers could and did make reference to their own source material, pointing out that they were working from an item previously printed in another place and often by a named printer. The French translation of a 1603 edict from James VI and I, published in Rouen, noted on its title page not only that it had been translated from English by an official translator in the King's service, but that it was 'Iouxte la copie imprimée à Londres par Robert Barquer, Imprimeur de sadite Majesté, anno Dom. 1603' (According to the copy printed in London by Robert Barker, the said Majesty's printer).[34] 'Barquer' is, as this particular author is well placed to confirm, a good written rendering of how many French people pronounce 'Barker' today, and so it would seem, at the start of the seventeenth century. When a French publication about the Hampton Court conference appeared under Barker's name in 1604, his name was not transcribed in this way, although London was translated to 'Londres'.[35]

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[32] Chandieu's pseudonyms, and his polemical combat with Ronsard, are discussed in S.K. Barker, *Protestantism, Poetry and Protest: The Vernacular Writings of Antoine de Chandieu (c.1534-1591)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), especially chapter 4.

[33] Randall, *Credibility*, in particular chapter 4.

[34] *Edict du Roy d'Angleterre par lequel deffend de faire la guerre aux subjets du Roy d'Espagne* (Rouen: chez Jean Petit, 1603), USTC 6812752.

[35] William Barlow, *La conference tenuë à Hamptoncour, entre les Evesques Anglois & les Puritains, au mois de Ianuier 1603, en la presence du Roy d'Angleterre & d'Escosse* (London [=France?]: Robert Barker, 1604), USTC 3001730.

Whereas Chandieu was playing with the possibilities of his own name in his literary and theological works, here we have evidence of other people deciding how a name should be rendered on the page and ending up with a transliterated version, as per Hermans' categories. Such examples force us to consider how often the names we see on pages of printed works are evidence of how people were hearing the names spoken around them, and working out how to get these down on the page. *An act or decree of the Court of Parliament of Paris, made the 26. and executed the 27. of Iune. 1614. Against a booke printed at Cologne this present yeere* notes that it was 'Translated out of the French Copie, printed at *Paris*, by F. MOREL and PETER METTAYER, *the Kings Printers and Stationers in Ordinary*, with his Maiesties priuiledge, 1614.'[36] This section comes before a visual break in the title page provided by a mini fleuron border. In its typicality, it reveals a lot about how translation producers understood their source texts. It shows that printers found it useful, where possible, to include both the names of source printers and their positions, even if these positions might have to be tweaked for English readers.

But as much as these choices seem to have been partly about inspiring trust, that trust could also be abused. *A spectacle for vsurers and succors of poore folkes bloud* (1606) is an intriguing work on many levels.[37] It only survives in one copy, held in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. The version on Early English Books Online (EEBO) fails to render the original's red and black title page, being one of the old digitisations from microfilm which formed the original bedrock of the digital resource, but which understandably has been superseded in later years by much more refined digitisation processes.[38] Colourisation is not the only thing that this pamphlet is hiding. It is in fact a combination work, with the cover story of a nasty money lender being eaten by rats after abusing a widow near Aix-en-Provence being swiftly followed by a story about a young man hanged for killing his mother in Savoy. Where the title page goes for shock value, with a loaded title and a dramatic woodcut of the money lender meeting his fate, further source information is moved to the headings for each story. The money lender story is presented on leaf A2r as being 'According to the *French* Copie, printed at *Lions* by *Leger Bonhomme*', whereas the matricidal youth's tale is described as appearing 'According to the *French* Copie printed at *Thoulouse* by *Peter Chantenefue*'.

There were printers with the name Bonhomme in early modern Lyon, notable Macé Bonhomme, but as yet, I have not found a 'Leger Bonhomme'. There are French versions of the Savoyard murder pamphlet, including one held in the BNF in Paris which has an imprint stating that

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[36] *An act or decree of the Court of Parliament of Paris, made the 26. and executed the 27. of Iune. 1614. Against a booke printed at Cologne this present yeere, intituled Francisci Suares Granatensis è Societate Iesu Doctoris Theologi, defensio fidei Catholicæ & apostolicæ, aduersus Anglicanæ sectæ errores; containing diuers principles and propositions repugnant to the soueraingne power of Kings, ordayned and established by God, the safetie of their persons, and the peace and tranquilitie of their states* (London: [Thomas Snodham] for John Barnes, 1614), USTC 3006216. USTC lists a Parisian copy (USTC 6001551) which the BNF catalogue notes as being 'jouxte la copie imprimee chez P. Mettayer', a version in French, Latin and German attributed to Morel and Mettayer which survives in a single copy in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (USTC 2094660) and a French copy printed in Den Haag by Hillebrant Jacobsz van I Wouw, again as an acknowledged copy of the Parisian Morel & Mettayer original (USTC 1021517). Other Morel and Mettayer publications of the same period see them using the phrase 'Imprimeurs et Libraries Ordinaries du Roy' in their imprint, as in USTC 6001642.

[37] *A spectacle for vsurers and succors of poore folkes bloud* (London: John Wright and George Eld, 1606), USTC 3002519.

[38] A helpful overview of the early initiatives to catalogue and scan early English books is found in Andrew Pettegree and Arther Der Weduwen, *Proquest's Early Modern Books: A Celebration* (2021), https://proquest.libguides.com/ld.php?content_id=65497014.

that particular copy was 'Suivant la coppie Imprimee à Tholose, par Pierre de Chanteneufve'.[39] USTC shows us that Toulouse printing at the time was heavily dominated by the Colomiès family, and no Chanteneufve appears to have their own imprint there. We need to ask ourselves if this work was a legitimate translation of works presumed to be by Pierre or Peter Chanteneufve, and an actual Bonhomme, or if some enterprising printers had decided to use a recognisable family name and to do some over-zealous translating of Pierre to make a rather suspicious tale appear to be all that more plausible to an international audience. It certainly would not be the only time that a printer used a distant locale to give a veneer of authenticity to a sensational tale.[40]

Typically, when printers of translations decided to include the publication details of their source material, they tended to move this information from the imprint at the bottom of the page, instead placing it after the main title and any information known about authorship or translation. Practically, this move made sense, as the imprint was supposed to convey information about where the work in question had been produced, and the circumstances of its production, rather than its predecessor. The inclusion of this information provided another layer of information for audiences about the origins of the works they were reading, and if they so wished, they could use these details to track down a copy of the original and compare and contrast the versions, language skills permitting. In this way, providing the name of the original print producer sits alongside other credibility strategies found in early news prints, such as the adoption of letter formats and prominent use of terms such as 'True', 'Vrai' or 'Veritable' in the titles. In the context of name translation, however, this straightforward repositioning of practically-orientated data has an added consequence. By transposing the source imprint data to the part of the page where readers expected to find clarifying information about the text, rather than about the printed product, the original imprint became a textual aspect that needed to be translated, or rendered understandable for a receiving audience.

In order to translate a word, the expectation is that there is an equivalent word in the destination language that can be used to render the meaning of the original.[41] In some circumstances, handling this information was quite simple. London became Londres in French, Edinburgh became Edimbourg and so on. The same applied for people's names: Jean easily became John and Pierre Peter.[42] Other examples demonstrate more complex linguistic and political histories.

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[39] *Discours veritable de l'execrable cruaute commise par un enfant de Remilly en Savoye, lequel a pendu et estrangle sa propre mere* ([Paris]: s.n., 1606), USTC 6014542.

[40] We see similar slight of hand in other works, such as letters purporting to be from the Sultan to European rules, including *The great Turkes defiance: Or his letter denuntiatorie to Sigismond the Third, now King of Polonia, as it hath beene truly aduertised out of Germany, this present yeere, 1613. With the King of Poland his replie, Englished according to the French copie, by M.S.* (London: Melchisedech Bradwood for William Aspley, 1613) USTC 3005813. For more contextual explanation of this episode, see Daniel Clarke Waugh, *The great Turkes defiance: on the history of the aprocryphal correspondence of the Ottoman Sultan in its Muscovite and Russian variants* (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1978). I am also grateful to Chloe Akers-Brewer for drawing my attention to the parallels with the 'nun's love letters' attributed to Mariana Alcoforado.

[41] On the rich issue of 'untranslatability', see for example Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (London: Verso, 2013).

[42] See for example *An edict or statute lately set foorth by the French King, concerning the prohibition and punishment of single and priuate combats Published there in the Parlament, Iune 27. 1609. And first printed at Poictiers by Iohn of Marneff the Kings printer, 1609. with his Maiesties priuilege or licence* (London: William Hall for Richard Boyle, 1609), USTC 3004043. Although EEBO gives 'Marness' in their information, the digitised version of the work clearly shows 'Marneff', referring to the early seventeenth-century member of the Poitiers printing Marnef clan, Jean V de Marnef. The BNF's printer information page notes that Marnef himself played

In English texts, 'Rouen' could be rendered as 'Roan', as in the 1556 broadsheet publication of the Treaty of Vaucelles, entitled *The Copie of the Publication of the trewse made between the most Cristien Kynge Henry second of that name Themperour[sic]; and the Kynge of Ingland his sonne published at roan on thursday the xx. daye of February*.[43] This spelling was repeated in the text. 'Roan' was a variant of the name 'Rouen' used in England between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, and occasionally in French, as on the maps found in François de Belleforest's edition of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographie Universelle* of 1575.[44] This spelling is unusual in French: French does not figure in a USTC search for 'Roan', which turns up mainly English results, with a few German ones too, whereas 'Rouen' brings back many thousands of hits, both in titles and publication details. The Vaucelles broadsheet shows how complicated proper noun translation and spelling choices could be. Blois is spelled 'Bloyes', not too dissimilar from the commonly used 'Bloys'. A range of approaches are used when it comes to people. Jacques Brevedent, a member of the King's counsel, sees his first name untranslated, but then William Fautrell's name is given in an English form. Fautrell is accompanied by the 'Cinquantaine', a post that Cotgrave would feel necessary to define in his 1611 dictionary as 'A certain officer, or Magistrate in Paris, that somewhat resembles, in his authoritie, our Aldermans Deputie; also, a Captaine, or Commander, of fiftie men'.[45] Maybe over the course of half a century, when the English had lost their foothold in France, some of the technical knowledge of Rouannais life had been lost. But the piece as a whole is intriguing. It would appear that some names and terms did not need to be translated, or were understood in both languages, whereas other nouns did.

Other placenames can be delightful in their translated renderings. In a bilingual poetical epitaph celebrating the life of Wolfgang, Count Palatine, Zweibrücken appeared in French as Deux-ponts and in Latin as Bi-ponti.[46] These versions are possible because the name is made up of the geographical features discussed earlier, and there is an equivalent word to use. Even quite small subsections of a name can be translated. In the 1561 French account of the storm which severely damaged Old St Paul's in London, we are told about 'l'eglise S. Martin dedans Luthgate' as well as the 'Temple de Sainct Paul'. Such modifications are only allowable so far: one of the men advising the mayor is named as 'M. Vvinter': evidently, 'Monsieur Hiver' was a linguistic step too far.[47] Whilst Benoît Rigaud used 'Jappon' in some publications, in *Advis venus nouvellement de Rome touchant l'entree au consistoire public de deux ambassadeurs*, the rendering 'Giapon' carries a strong sense of

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with his name, printing under an anagram in 1602. As yet, the Marnef version of the 27 June 1609 edict has not been traced, although USTC does list versions printed in Lyon (USTC 6901186), Paris (USTC 6018505), Rouen (USTC 6812636) and Troyes (USTC 6802150).

[43] *The Copie of the Publication of the trewse made between the most Cristien Kynge Henry second of that name Themperour[sic]; and the Kynge of Ingland his sonne published at roan on thursday the xx. daye of February* ([London: William Copland, 1556]), USTC 505327.

[44] +roan, n[3] *Oxford English Dictionary* 2nd Edition (1989), as reported at https://www.oed.com/oedv2/00207606; 'Roan' can be found on the map of Europe directed to be inserted after leaf 1 and on the map of Germany in the second volume, directed to be inserted after leaf 866. Sebastian Münster, *La Cosmographie Universelle* edited by François de Belleforest (Paris: Michel Sonnius, 1575), USTC 1592.

[45] Randale Cotgrave, *A dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611), USTC 3004892, f. R8v.

[46] Antoine de Chandieu, *Epitaphe de la mort de tres illustre prince Wolfgang, comte Palatin du Rhin* (s.l.: François Perrin pour Jean Durand, 1569), USTC 16646.

[47] *Brief discours de la tempeste et fouldre advenue en la cité de Londres* (Paris: Guillaume Nyverd, [1561]), USTC 16234, ff. A2v & B2r.

the pronunciation that would have been heard in the print shop and on the streets.[48] In Claude de L'Aubespine's account of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, English and Scottish names proved to be a bit of a challenge. Stuart becomes 'Stouard', which does reflect French pronunciation. Other modifications are less instinctive and again seem to reflect struggles around both rendering oral communication into written language as well as moving names across and between languages. Robert Beale is given as 'Monsieur Belé', the brother-in-law of 'Vvalsin-Han', who takes the death warrant to the 'Conte de Chersbery de Heaut et de Rotoland' and the other gentlemen at 'Socteringhan' – presumably a garbled version of Fotheringhay, and maybe even an example of the ever-present risk of mixing up an F and a long S.[49]

It is not hard to imagine that the words that appear on the page to us now are the end point of a complicated transmission process which started with someone speaking an unfamiliar name in a context where it was written down by someone making a concentrated effort to capture the sounds they were hearing, and that this best approximation was then preserved in written, printed versions. John Gallagher notes that educational manuals emphasised correct pronunciation, and that speaking was considered to be a core aspect of learning a foreign language. [50] Where Gallagher asks 'How did print lead to speech?', the evidence of these news works encourages us to consider how speech, and multilingual speech at that, led to print. They give us a print echo of the multilingual news world of the early modern era.

Often, as in so much with early modern translation of popular print, the process by which these decisions were arrived at is not commented on. In the few explanatory paratextual sections which are included in these works, the focus is predominantly on why things were translated rather than how. In fact, it is quite jarring when attention is drawn to the process. When the Jesuit Henry Garnet was executed in 1606 for his connection to the Gunpowder plot, the French account of his trial was printed the next year as *Le Proces de Henri Garnet*.[51] The fact that proper nouns and other key terms had not been translated was highlighted in a prominent note on the title page, included directly after the details of the subject of the work, their occupation and geographical remit. The location of the subject's execution is given as 'Londres'. This detail is then immediately followed by a new paragraph, made typographically distinct by switching from italic to roman, noting that the work has been 'tourné mot à mot de l'Anglois, en gardant les noms propres, & les terms du language: pour mieux en representer la verité' (turned word by word from the English, keeping the proper names and language terms to better represent the truth).

Here, maintaining proper nouns in their original form is presented as allowing for a greater level of 'truth'. That this comment is made, and is included on the title page, suggests that in this case at least, the producers were concerned with rendering their text as close to the sense of the original as possible, and that names were recognised as a potential site of divergence and confusion.

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[48] *Advis venus nouvellement de Rome touchant l'entree au consistoire public de deux ambassadeurs* (Lyon: Benoît Rigaud, 1585), USTC 11779.

[49] My thanks to Stephen Alford for confirming the personalities and places involved in the controversial delivery and application of Mary Stuart's death warrant. *Edict du Roy d'Angleterre par lequel deffend de faire la guerre aux subjets du Roy d'Espagne* (Rouen: chez Jean Petit, 1603), USTC 6812752.

[50] John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford: ~~OUP~~Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 79-81.

[51] *Le Procès de Henri Garnet, provincial des Jésuites d'Angleterre. Executé à mort en la ville de Londres, Le XXVIII jour de Mars 1606* (s.l.: ~~,~~ s.n., 1607), USTC 6025867.

Why, then, ‘Henri’ and ‘Londres’ had indeed been translated on the title page is open to question: was this a way of easing French readers in to a text where they would soon be confronted by Leonard Holliday ‘maire de Londres’ (again, instinctively translated, it would seem), ‘Iusticier Yeluerton’ and ‘Monsieur Crook’. We can infer from the inclusion of the note on the title page that this kind of translation decision was anticipated to be of interest to readers, even if the actual rendering of the words appears to be more evidence of the historical and practical affinities between the two languages than of actual considered translation.

Conclusions

Early modern prose news texts might seem simple at first glance, but they were deceptively complex, in terms of their production, which we often have to piece together, and in how they captured both events and cultural moments at a given point in time, particularly when they moved between languages. They do not easily fit into the boxes that we want to put them in, in terms of genre and composition. But they do give us a chance to think about how at least some people were using language. These texts are not multilingual in the same way that other kinds of texts are (a polyglot bible, a teaching text): they are far more muddled than that. Often the names we encounter in these works make most sense when spoken aloud, as they would have been when a text was being dictated to a scribe, or a frustrated compositor was sounding out a name to themselves or their print shop colleagues. These names speak to the awareness of other cultures on quite a granular level. Is it helpful to think of these works as multilingual? When it comes to names, I think it can be. They indicate the tricky balance between domesticating and exoticizing a translated text, and remind us of the multiple hybridities at play in so many early modern print shops: between oral and written, manuscript and print, multilingual and translation. They give us access to people and places: the ones being written about and the ones doing the writing. As such, they are as valuable to modern scholars as a good name was to Montaigne and his generation.