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School of English (Kent)

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Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (Kent)

Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies (Porto)

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Ph.D. dissertation

Englising *The Lusiad*. Richard Fanshawe's translation of *Os Lusíadas* and its relation with the contemporary English political context

Tiago Sousa Garcia

Supervisors:

Professor Bernhard Klein (University of Kent)

Professor Zulmira Santos (University of Porto)

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Abstract

Os Lusíadas, by the Portuguese poet Luís de Camões, was first translated into English at a time of profound social and political uncertainty. Published in 1655 during the Interregnum, and translated by Sir Richard Fanshawe (1608-1666), a loyal royalist and courtier of Charles I, *The Lusiad* became the first translation of the epic to be made outside of the Iberian Peninsula, and the first major literary exchange between Portugal and England. In addition to its foundational role in bringing Portuguese literature into England, the timing of *The Lusiad*'s publication and the political allegiances of its translator raise the possibility that, in its first iteration in English, Camões's epic was re-shaped by the political context in which it was produced.

This thesis re-visits the first English translation of *Os Lusíadas* in order to ascertain to what extent and in what way the Portuguese epic was shaped by the British political environment of the 1650s. It closely examines the life and career path of Richard Fanshawe that led to the choice of Camões's epic as an object of translation and how that choice changed his life in the aftermath of the Restoration, effectively making him the ideal candidate for the post of Ambassador to Portugal. It performs a close reading of the translation and its accompanying paratexts in relation to the context of the publication, identifying and highlighting the elements that Fanshawe consciously refashioned to address the specific problems Britain faced in the mid-seventeenth century.

Englishing *The Lusiad* argues that Richard Fanshawe performed a specific kind of appropriation of its object by subtly redirecting themes and scenes in the original Portuguese text towards the events of the English Civil Wars and the Interregnum.

Resumo

A primeira tradução inglesa de *Os Lusíadas*, do poeta português Luís de Camões, chegou à Grã-Bretanha num tempo de profunda incerteza política e social. Publicada em 1655, durante o Interregno, traduzida por Sir Richard Fanshawe (1608-1666), um cortesão *royalist* leal a Carlos I, *The Lusiad* tornou-se na primeira tradução da epopeia a ser publicada fora da Península Ibérica e na primeira grande troca literária entre Portugal e Inglaterra. Para além do seu papel fundador em trazer literatura Portuguesa para Inglaterra, o *timing* da publicação de *The Lusiad*, em conjunto com a aliança política do seu tradutor, levanta a possibilidade de que, na sua primeira forma em inglês, a epopeia de Camões tenha sido reformada pelo contexto político em que foi produzida.

Esta tese revisita a primeira tradução inglesa de *Os Lusíadas* para averiguar até que ponto a epopeia portuguesa foi transformada pelo ambiente político da década de 1650. A tese examina minuciosamente a vida e carreira de Richard Fanshawe, os eventos que levaram à escolha da epopeia de Camões como objecto de tradução, e de como essa escolha influenciou a vida de Fanshawe na sequência da Restauração, tornando-o no candidato ideal para o posto de embaixador em Portugal. A tese efectua uma leitura próxima da tradução e dos paratextos que a acompanham, relacionando-os com o contexto de publicação, identificando e realçando os elementos que Fanshawe conscientemente transformou para visar problemas especificamente Britânicos no século XVII.

Englishing The Lusiad procura provar que Richard Fanshawe reconfigurou o texto criando subtis ligações entre cenas e temas do original português e acontecimentos da guerra civil inglesa e do interregno.

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Introduction – The foreign epic of our current troubles

In 1655, an established London stationer, Humphrey Moseley, registered and published *The Lusiad, or Portugall's Historical Poem*,¹ translated from the Portuguese by one 'Richard Fanshawe, Esq.' The publication of this book – how and why it was translated into English at that moment in history – as well as its repercussions in the life of its translator Richard Fanshawe, are the subject of this thesis. In a word, this is an attempt at writing the micro-history of *The Lusiad*. Why this micro-history is necessary and interesting can better be understood by first considering some contextual elements surrounding it, essentially a short primer on *The Lusiad* and its translator Fanshawe, as well as the original *Os Lusíadas* and its author, the Portuguese poet Luís de Camões.

Luís de Camões is unanimously considered the foremost poet of the Portuguese language – at least from a Eurocentric perspective. Born c. 1524-5 into a family of the lower nobility, Camões was the first early modern western European poet to visit Africa and the East, the places he would memorialise in his writing. Like many poets of his age whose legacy would be recognised mostly after death, there is relatively little documentary evidence of his life: two near-contemporary biographies, five autograph published letters and a few official documents, including a grant given by the king for having written *Os Lusíadas*. It is likely that he studied in Coimbra, at the Santa Cruz college, although there is no evidence that he ever pursued an university education at the famous Portuguese university. It is also known that at some point during his youth he incurred the wrath of the court by fighting with another young man of superior noble status. He was issued a pardon, but it has been suggested that Camões and was forced to join the Portuguese army as a condition, to escape further persecution. In those first years of his adulthood, he was stationed on the northern African town of Ceuta, where he famously lost his right eye in combat. From then on, he travelled the Portuguese ruled world, spending the majority of the next twenty years of his life in Southeast Asia, where he would regularly get into trouble with the law and spend time in prison. During those years, he wrote the bulk of *Os Lusíadas*, the epic of the Portuguese discovery age. He would eventually return to Lisbon in 1568, where in 1572 he would publish his famous book, and eventually die in poverty shortly before Philip II's triumphant march into the Portuguese capital in

¹ Luís de Camões, *The Lusiad, or Portugall's Historical Poem*, trans. Richard Fanshawe (London: printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1655).

1580. An often repeated anecdote, has Philip II asking after Camões upon his entrance in Lisbon, with the purpose of rewarding his literary talent, only to be grieved by the news of the poet's recent death.²

Os Lusíadas itself uses the voyage of Vasco da Gama as a narrative frame to retell the history of Portugal until 1497 (the date of Gama's departure) and prophesise the Portuguese feats following that inaugural journey. Written in the Portuguese equivalent to *ottava rima* – eight decasyllables in ABABABCC rhyming scheme – it is a *tour de force* of Renaissance literature. Divided into ten cantos, the reader encounters the Portuguese fleet first on the Eastern Coast of Africa dealing with hostile natives (Canto I). The narrative then follows the Portuguese to Melinde, where the sailors are jubilantly received, and where Gama takes over the narration to tell the local ruler about the history of Portugal (Cantos II, III, IV). Canto V sees the Portuguese conquering the fearful Cape of Good Hope, near the southern tip of Africa, where they encounter the mythical Adamastor, Camões's own creation, a mixture of Greco-Roman mythology, the ghost of the unknown, and the folklore surrounding past shipwrecks in the area. From there, the Portuguese need only to brave a fearful storm (Canto VI) to reach their objective, India (Cantos VII and VIII). In Canto IX, the Portuguese are rewarded with a stop at a non-existent island of pleasures on their journey home, where Vasco da Gama is told of the world that the Portuguese will conquer and rule for the coming decades (Canto X).

The internal structure of the poem can be divided into four different levels, each with its own narrator, narrative voice and objective. The Poet's level is identified whenever Camões speaks in his own voice, either to obey the classical rules of epic poetry – such as invoking the muses or dedicating the poem – but also to comment on the action and its influence on Portuguese history, and to criticise contemporary Portuguese society. The voyage's level is defined by a third-person narrator that accompanies the Portuguese voyage to India itself. The level of Portuguese History is first narrated by Vasco da Gama (cantos III and IV), later by his brother Paulo da Gama (canto VIII), and lastly by a nymph who foretells the future to Gama (canto X). Finally, the level of the gods encompasses a secondary narrative, opposing Bacchus, who attempts to prevent the Portuguese from reaching their objective, and Venus, who aids them. This division is not without its

2 This is a brief sketch in broad strokes of what is generally accepted to have been the trajectory of his life. There are many biographies of Camões available, with varying degrees of accuracy. For a recent, concise and balanced approach to the poet's life, see Maria Vitalina Leal de Matos, "Biografia de Luís de Camões" in *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, ed. Vítor Aguiar e Silva (Lisboa: Caminho, 2011), 80-94. For more on *Os Lusíadas* see Vítor Aguiar e Silva ed., *Dicionário de Luís de Camões* (Lisboa: Caminho, 2011) and Vítor Aguiar e Silva, *A Lira Dourada e a Tuba Canora: novos ensaios camonianos* (Lisboa: Cotovia, 2008). For more on seventeenth-century Camões's criticism, see Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires, *A Crítica Camoniana no século XIII* (Lisboa: Instituto Cultura Língua, 1982) and Isabel Almeida, 'Pedro de Mariz' in *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, ed. Vítor Aguiar e Silva (Lisboa: Caminho 2011), 572-577.

flaws: distinguishing between Camões speaking as poet, or as narrator of the voyage is not always easy, necessary or helpful; the final two cantos are not strictly historical nor mythological. Nonetheless, it pervades the teaching of the poem to pupils in schools, and has asserted itself as a shorthand to identify – and sometimes dismiss – the conflicting feelings Camões displays for the history of the Portuguese expansion.

While the significance of these events for Portugal is clear to anyone, it is also of interest to note that *Os Lusíadas* is an important milestone in western literary history. Camões's epic influenced writers such as Milton and his *Paradise Lost*, Melville and Wordsworth.³ It became the *de facto* symbol of Portugal within the literary world, and the model against which all Portuguese writers would be judged. C. M. Bowra famously called it 'the epic of Humanism';⁴ building on Bowra's assertion, Richard Helgerson added: 'in being the epic of Humanism it is also the epic of an intense conflict in cultural values made more intense by the Portuguese expansion'.⁵ In this, Helgerson is not referring to the obvious cultural clash between western Europe and what came to be called the 'new world', but of a turning point within European history itself, the epicentre of a change in the way society functions: no longer the remnants of feudal Middle Ages, but on the brink of a new mercantile, bourgeois order. Helgerson identifies this societal tension within Camões's poem itself 'as an extension of intra-Iberian rivalry and of anti-Moorish warfare, Portugal's penetration into the Indian Ocean fits the heroic pattern of its feudal history and thus deserves the epic representation Camões gives it. But as a commercial venture, it undermines the very basis of aristocratic Portuguese self-understanding'.⁶ The publication of *Os Lusíadas* exposes the turning point in history when people's lives were no longer – or not only – controlled by those who were born into the nobility, but also by those who had the money and the will to create more wealth.

Arguably, at the time of the first translation of *Os Lusíadas* into English, Britain was in the midst of a similarly tremendous change in its social fabric. By 1655, the British witnessed the trial and execution of their monarch, endured nine years of Civil War (1642-1651) opposing royalists and parliamentarians, experimented with proto-democratic parliamentary rule (the Rump Parliament, 1648-53), and saw Oliver Cromwell nominated Lord Protector. The translator of *Os Lusíadas* experienced first-hand these transformations. Richard Fanshawe was born in 1608, the fifth surviving son of Sir Henry Fanshawe of Hertfordshire. He studied under the famous

3 George Monteiro, *The Presence of Camões: Influences on the Literature of England, America, and Southern Africa* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996), 2–4.

4 C. M. Bowra, *From Virgil to Milton* (London: Macmillan, 1945), 138.

5 Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992).

6 *Ibid.*, 161.

schoolmaster Thomas Farnaby, joined Jesus College Cambridge at a time when the college master, Roger Andrewes, was one of the translators of the King James' Bible.⁷ At Jesus, his tutor William Beale encouraged the young Fanshawe's first attempts at poetry.⁸ Later, in 1626, Fanshawe joined the Inner Temple, with the intention of following a career in law. However, at his mother's death in 1631, and armed with a corresponding inheritance of £1000, the young Fanshawe left the Inner Temple and travelled through Europe. Unfortunately, there are no records of his travels except for his wife's memoirs that reveal that he travelled through France and Spain.⁹

Upon his return Fanshawe was appointed secretary to the English ambassador in Madrid, Lord Aston. Between 1635 and 1638 Fanshawe served the ambassador in what would be his first diplomatic assignment, later becoming *chargé d'affaires* in Madrid for a few short months in 1638, effectively an interim ambassador, when Lord Aston was recalled to Britain and before his successor Arthur Hopton reached the Spanish capital. Upon his return from Spain, and during the troubled years of the civil wars, Fanshawe served in a number of posts on the royalist side: secretary to the council of War in Ireland under the Earl of Strafford, remembrancer of the exchequer, secretary of war to the Prince of Wales and treasurer of the Navy. He was eventually captured at the royalist defeat of Worcester, 1651, and spent most of the 1650s with his free movement severely curtailed by Parliament. Shortly before the Restoration, Fanshawe finally received leave to travel to the continent, where he promptly joined the exiled Charles II. At the Restoration he was made Secretary of the Latin tongue, master of requests, MP for Cambridge University and was sent as an envoy extraordinary to Portugal to finalise the marriage treaty between Charles and Catherine of Braganza. Following the Queen's safe arrival in Britain, he was once more sent to Portugal as ambassador (1662-63), and later to Spain (1664-1666), where he died shortly after being recalled to Britain in June 1666. In recognition of his services to the crown, Fanshawe was made a Baronet in 1650, and knighted in 1660.

This is one possible narrative of Richard Fanshawe's life. Another would be that he was one of those poets who used to be described as associated with Cavalier Poetry, a literary historical term no longer widely accepted. He could be described as the translator of Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (1647-8), translator of Horace, Martial, Virgil, Gongora, António Hurtado de Mendoza, and, of course, the first English translator of *Os Lusíadas*. One could try to separate these two narratives, but the two lives of this English seventeenth-century diplomat and poet are profoundly intertwined.

7 Arthur Gray, *Jesus College* (London: F. E. Robinson, 1902), 84.

8 Peter Davidson, 'Fanshawe, Sir Richard, first baronet (1608–1666)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9149>, accessed 27 July 2017].

9 John Clyde Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 112–13.

As I shall demonstrate in the chapters that follow, his poetic endeavours more often than not only occur during periods of comparative calm in his political life, which reveal Fanshawe as a true *amateur* of literature – that is, a true lover of the art – but one who saw its urgent relevance to the world surrounding him.

Yet this thesis is not a biography of the translator, even if Fanshawe's biography plays a rather large and interesting part in the discussion. This thesis is about his translation of *The Lusiad* – how it came to be, what it wanted to say, and what the consequences of its publication were. Perhaps the ultimate question of all that this thesis attempts to answer is *what can we learn from it?* Or better yet, what do we *want* to learn from *The Lusiad*?

Learning from Fanshawe's translation

The central question that this thesis answers is why and how was *Os Lusíadas* translated in mid seventeenth-century England. The discussion pays a considerable amount of attention to the context surrounding the publication history of *The Lusiad*. One of its conclusions is that the translation is connected, to some extent, to the events surrounding its production. However, the objective of this thesis is not simply to establish that the relation between context and product exists, but rather what the nature of that relation is. In other words, the question is why 1655, rather than 1640 or 1660. Why that precise moment in history? This is a particularly relevant question considering that, as is discussed in chapter 1, Fanshawe probably knew of *Os Lusíadas* since at least the late 1630s – which implies that an external factor contributed to the timing of the translation.

The external factor that finally compelled Fanshawe to undertake the translation of the Portuguese epic was the turmoil of the civil wars in the 1640s and the new, king-less political society of the 1650s. The life of Fanshawe, a dedicated courtier who fought for the royalist side in the conflict and was captured and considered an enemy of the state, was profoundly affected by the events surrounding him. This is not to say that the English Civil Wars and Interregnum were the *only* factors that could have prompted this translation. One of the dangers of this approach is its inherent reductionist tendency: because I am looking at the elements that relate to these events, it may seem as if my argument is that they were the *sole* reason behind this translation, but this is not the aim of my research. There are multiple possible reasons as to why the translation was undertaken. Miguel Martínez, for example, makes a compelling case for Fanshawe's appropriation

of *Os Lusíadas* as an early call for British colonialist aspirations.¹⁰

Furthermore, there are infinite personal reasons known only to the translator himself: he may have been particularly fascinated with Camões from a purely literary point of view – which he most likely was, as it would be hard to explain why one would devote any time to a text one did not enjoy. Another possible explanation is that Fanshawe was attempting to contribute to a construction of a national, vernacular literature, by showing how another nation crafted its own space in the Republic of Letters. None of these factors is exclusive, and most likely all of these and many more contributed to Fanshawe's decision.

Therefore, my argument is not that the translation of *Os Lusíadas* was solely motivated by the Civil Wars and the Interregnum but rather that, with its publication at such a critical point in British history, Fanshawe was responding to the contemporary context. The social and political changes in British reality in those years were of such magnitude that the translation simply *could not* be unrelated to the events surrounding its production. Literature is one of humanity's most political acts, even when it professes itself apolitical.

Os Lusíadas is nothing but political in its original context, and it would be unusual if it was not similarly political in its translated context. Fanshawe foregrounded the political significance of his translation by titling it 'Portugall's historical poem'. History is inherently political, and as discussed in chapter 2, doubly so in the context of *The Lusiad's* publication. Consequently, if the *why* of the translation is to respond to the context of its production, the *how* is to explain the way in which this response was constructed by the translator – by someone using someone else's words. The essential question is how was this *appropriation* achieved?

To a large extent, the two parts of *why* and *how* are intimately related – one needs to explain *how* the politicisation was done to prove that it was done and propose a hypothesis as to *why* it was done in this way. In answering this dual question, many other auxiliary issues arise that will be addressed throughout the thesis, all of them contributing to clarify this seminal question. The thesis explores the publication process of *The Lusiad* and the copy-text used by Fanshawe in his work, discusses the paratextual elements of *The Lusiad* and its role in framing the Portuguese epic, makes a close comparative reading of the alterations introduced by Fanshawe in his translation and analyses them in relation to his contemporary context. Finally, it comments on *The Lusiad's* influence in Anglo-Portuguese literary exchange, later translators of *Os Lusíadas* and the diplomatic relationship between the two countries in the 1660s. In answering these questions, the thesis contributes not only to enhancing our knowledge of the first English translation of *Os Lusíadas*, but

¹⁰ Martínez, 'A Poet of Our Own: the struggle for "Os Lusíadas" in the afterlife of Camões', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10 (2010).

also add some insights about the context surrounding its publication, the history of translation in the seventeenth century, the book market in Interregnum Britain and the relationship between Portuguese and English literatures.

Translation then and now: theory and practice

Fanshawe did not write a single line explaining his theoretical or practical approach to translation. The closest thing to any rationalisation about his process comes in the form of a throwaway remark to his friend Edward Hyde in which Fanshawe implies that he translated Camões to learn a new language.¹¹ Fanshawe's apparent lack of interest in thinking about translation itself led Paul Davis to exclude him from the excellent *Translation and the Poet's Life*.¹² However this is not to say that Fanshawe was mindless in his pursuit of englishing the continental poets of his age, particularly in the case of Camões. Fanshawe put a lot of thought into his version of the Portuguese poet's epic, even if he declined to expand theoretically on his methods.

Fanshawe's silence with regards to translation theory and practice is not unique. Even to this day, the vast majority of professional translators keep their thoughts on the matter to themselves. However, Fanshawe worked in a particularly fertile period of translations in the English language. Davis claims that: 'Over this period [civil war to early eighteenth century] English poets of the first rank devoted more and more of their time and creative energies to translating than they had ever done before and have done since'.¹³ According to Davis, this is particularly true of royalists, and he goes on to establish a connection between exile and translation activity: 'The wave of expatriations that followed the defeat of the King's party in the Civil War may be said to have played a key role in instigating what is now generally recognised as the golden age of poetic translation in English culture'.¹⁴ Indeed, much like his friend John Denham or other royalist translators such as Abraham Cowley, Fanshawe undertook translation work precisely during periods in which he saw himself in some kind of exile – in the case of *The Lusiad*, Fanshawe's detention and subsequent house arrest in Yorkshire, as chapter 2 discusses.

11 In Roger M. Walker, 'Sir Richard Fanshawe's "Lusiad" and Manuel de Faria e Sousa's "Lusiadas Comentadas"', *Portuguese Studies* 10 (1994): 46.

12 Paul Davis, *Translation and the Poet's Life: the Ethics of Translating in English Culture, 1646-1726* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 13.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., 21.

If Fanshawe had written about the process of translation, it would not make him a unique case amongst his peers and contemporaries. The mid seventeenth century was not only a booming time for translation into English, but a period in which translation theory became more commonly discussed in prefaces and other paratextual material. In fact, as Lawrence Venuti notes, this is the period in which one of the main strategies for translation into English first establishes itself as the canonical method of translation: fluency. ‘Fluency’, writes Venuti, ‘emerges decisively in English-language translation during the early modern period, a feature of aristocratic literary culture in seventeenth-century England’.¹⁵ According to Venuti, fluency is the main criteria by which anglophone critics evaluate the quality of translations. It is a process in which ‘the translator works to make his or her work “invisible”, producing the illusory effect of transparency that simultaneously masks its status as an illusion: the translated text seems “natural”, that is, not translated’.¹⁶ This desire for invisibility shows itself even in Fanshawe’s nearly non-existent self-reflection on his process. Writing to his patron the Earl of Strafford, Fanshawe claims to have ‘turn’d [Camões an] *Englishman*’.¹⁷

Fanshawe’s ambition, the *renaturalisation* of the foreign author – turning him English – can be understood as an extension of another common trope for translators of the period, the teacher of English. Time and again translators in the seventeenth century present their work as the teaching of a foreign great to speak in English. William Lathum in his translation of Virgil’s *Eclogues*, for example, says in his note ‘To the worthy reader’ that ‘the language vvhich I have taught him [Virgil] [...] appeales unto your curtesis’.¹⁸ Lathum, like Fanshawe, implies that the transformation of the foreign author into an English speaker is achieved for the benefit of its audience, rather than the author itself, which in turn suggests that English and English language literature can still *learn* from foreign authors, particularly the classics. John Brinsley bluntly puts it as contributing to the ‘growth in our English tongue together with the Latin’,¹⁹ in his own translation of the *Eclogues* aimed specifically at being taught in schools.

Interestingly, the trope of the foreigner author as student of English also serves as a defensive mechanism to divert any criticisms of the translation. Robert Stapylton, for example, in his translation of the *Aeneid*’s book IV, writes on the dedication to Lady Twisleton that ‘The Queene of

15 Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility: a History of Translation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 35.

16 *Ibid.*, 5.

17 Peter Davidson, ed., *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), vol. 2, 7.

18 William Lathum, ‘To the Worthy Reader’ in *Virgils Eclogues Translated into English*, trans. William Lathum (London: William Iones, 1628), fol. ¶6v.

19 John Brinsley, ‘A Plaine Direction to the Painfull Schoolmaster’ in *Virgils Eclogues, vvith his booke De Apibus*, trans. John Brinsley (London: Thomas Man, Paul Man and Ionah Man, 1633), fol. A3v.

CARTHAGE hath learned English to converse with you : be pleased now to esteeme her as a Native, but in the errors of her language, still remember she was borne a Forraigner'.²⁰ Although Stapylton's warning may appear to shift the blame towards Virgil – as if the Roman author was not capable of learning perfect English, or rather, as if his verse could not be perfectly translated into English – any contemporary reader would readily understand that Stapylton was in fact begging forgiveness for not being capable of making the virgilian verse as perfect in English as it is in its original Latin. In other words, Stapylton seems to be surrendering to a common fear expressed by translators and readers of translations alike: that translation carries a necessary and unavoidable loss. This fear entails an invisible ideological mark – translation as derivative unoriginal work, which might be the default position of many readers. Yet, as this thesis shows, translation can often add layers of meaning to an original work, and as such, be considered just as creative an act. The idea that his epic could have been used in a completely alien political context as a defence of monarchy could not have been further from Camões's mind.

The metaphor of the translator as a teacher of English to a foreign author was relatively common amongst Fanshawe's contemporaries. Fanshawe took it a step further by not only teaching Camões to speak English, but to make him a '*Native of YORKSHIRE*'. John Denham, when translating the second book of the *Aeneid*, adds another dimension to the role of the translator: 'And therefore if Virgil must needs speak English, it were fit he should speak not onely as a man of this Nation, but as a man of this age'.²¹ In other words, one should not be able to identify Virgil in translation as a foreigner. What Denham prescribes is, in essence, the regime of *fluency* that remains the norm for English-language translation to this day. Denham's warning against attempting to historicise a foreign text has a direct target in some recent Italian and French translations of Virgil, and the metaphor through which Denham explains why this is wrong is another common trope of the period: dress. Rather than teaching a foreign author to speak English, Denham explains translation as dressing a foreigner in English clothes:

And as speech is the apparel of our thoughts, so are there certain Garbs & Modes of speaking, w^{ch} vary with the times; the fashion of our clothes being not more subject to alteration, then that of our speech [...] the delight of change being as due to the curiosity of the ear, as of the eye; and therefore, if *Virgil* must needs speak English, it were fit he should

20 Robert Stapylton, 'The Translator' in *Dido and Aeneas the Fourth Booke of Virgils Aeneis*, trans. Robert Stapylton (London: William Cooke, 1634), fol. A2r.

21 John Denham, 'Preface' in *The Destruction of Troy, an Essay upon the second book of Virgils Aeneis*, trans. John Denham (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1656), fol. A3r-A3v.

speaking not only as a man of this Nation, but as a man of this age; and if this disguise I have put upon him (I wish I could give it a better name) fit not naturally and easily on so grave a person, yet it may become him better than that Fools-Coat wherein the French and Italian have of late presented him.²²

The dress metaphor used by Denham explains the significance of *fluency*: the foreign author is not to be made to appear strange, for that would be exposing a great writer to ridicule. The cloth metaphor is another common trope of the age. Henri Rider, dedicating his translation of Horace's Odes and Epodes to Lord Rich, writes that he presents 'the same Poet, but in an English dresse'.²³ He then goes on to expand on his note to the 'judicious reader' that

Translations of Authors from one language to another, are like old garments turn'd into new fashions; in which though the stuff be still the same, yet the die and trimming are altered, and in the making, here something added, there something cut away.²⁴

In making use of the clothing metaphor, Rider like Denham admits that translating an author is like updating one's fashions. This effort, as Denham explains, is to make sure that the author of the work appears familiar to the reader, as with any other work by a contemporary. Denham and Rider instinctively understood that, as George Steiner observed: 'Time and language are intimately related: they move and the arrow is never in the same place'.²⁵

Steiner's understanding of translation rests on the basis that all translation is in essence interpretation, and that interpretation is 'that which gives language life beyond the moment and place of immediate utterance or transcription'.²⁶ Interpretation for Steiner is what allows language to transcend its chronological barriers, and the corollary of this position implies a transformation between the original text and the translated text. In simple terms, the translated text is someone's interpretation of what the original text is. The translators of the seventeenth century, however, did not understand the act of translation as such. As the clothing metaphor implies, although the outward dress of a foreign author has been modified – he is dressed as an Englishman of the present age – underneath the clothes, the foreigner remains true to himself. Rider expressly writes that,

22 Ibid.

23 Henry Rider, 'The Translator to the Judicious Reader' *All the Odes and Epodes of Horace*, trans. Henry Rider (London: Robert Rider, 1638), fol. A3v.

24 Ibid., fol. A5r.

25 George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 18–19.

26 Ibid., 28.

despite the alterations, ‘the stuff be still the same’.

Rider and Denham are implicitly conveying the idea that there is something in a text that can either be maintained or lost during translation. In other words, that each text has a spirit that is unique to itself, and that uniquely identifies the text, whether original or translated, as itself. This idea of a text’s *spirit* is at the centre of the age’s great argument about translation: whether it is best to translate word by word, or sense by sense. That is precisely what Denham is referring to in his poem to Richard Fanshawe when he writes ‘[t]hat servile path thou nobly dost decline / Of tracing word by word, and line by line’.²⁷

The spirit of the text, which is in itself a metaphor, can be understood to be akin to a Christian soul – that which makes the individual unique, that which is imperishable. As such, a text’s or line’s spirit would go on to live beyond translation – Virgil will always be Virgil, regardless of the language in which he is read, and any loss can only be the fault of the translator. However, Denham adds yet another layer to this metaphor which allows him to justify the alterations, cuts and differences that Rider talks about in terms of dress. The *spirit* of the text becomes an *alchemical* spirit, a volatile substance that, when mixed with other elements, creates new substances. In the same preface to his translation of Virgil, Denham writes:

Poesie is of so subtle a spirit, that in pouring out of one Language into another, it will all evaporate; and if a new spirit be not added in the transfusion, there will remain nothing but a *Caput mortuum*.²⁸

The *caput mortuum* is the useless residue left over from an alchemical operation. Literally, a dead head, a dead substance. Denham argues that a translation *must* infuse its original with a *new life*, a new spirit, that will create a useful translated object, rather than one which is dead long before reaching publication. Lawrence Venuti notes that Denham’s idea of ‘the “new spirit” that is “added” with this free approach involves a process of domestication, in which the foreign text is imprinted with values specific to the receiving culture’.²⁹ As such, the spirit added to the translator is, at least in part, yet another weapon in the fluency strategy.

The necessity to add a new spirit to give the translation life is also the ultimate justification for Denham’s translation method, that of a free translation, as opposed to a literal one. A famous case of a contemporary literal translation is Ben Johnson’s translation of Horace’s *Ars Poetica*

27 John Denham, *Poems and Translations with the Sophy* (London: H. Herringman, 1668), fol. I4v.

28 Denham, ‘Preface’, fol. A3r.

29 Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility*, 40.

(1640), which includes a warning precisely against that type of translation: ‘nec uerbo uerbum curabis reddere fidus / interpres’ (‘[do not] make it your business as a faithful translator to render word for word’.³⁰) Denham makes explicit reference to Horace’s line by referring to literal translations as the fallacy of the *fidus interpres*. In Denham’s view, this is a

vulgar error in translating Poets, to affect being *Fidus Interpres*; let that care be with them who deal in matters of Fact, or matters of Faith: but whosoever aims at it in Poetry, as he attempts what is not required, so he shall never perform what he attempts; for it is not his business alone to translate Language into Language, but Poesie into Poesie.³¹

For Denham, translation is not a matter of finding equivalent words in the target language, but rather their *spirit*, both in the sense of soul *and* substance. Later in the seventeenth century, Dryden will attempt to systematise these contradictory methods of translation. Dryden calls them *metaphrase*, or ‘turning an Author word by word, and Line by Line, from one Language into another;’³² *paraphrase*, in which the author ‘is kept in view by the Translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly follow’d as his sense’,³³ and *imitation*, ‘where the Translator (if now he has not lost that Name) assumes the liberty not only to vary from the words and sence, but to forsake them-both as he sees occasion’.³⁴ In Dryden’s view, translation practice is essentially a continuum between the extremely literal word-for-word substitution, and the mere inspiration given by an author. Unsurprisingly, Dryden places his own method firmly in the middle of the continuum, even if he admits to having ‘transgress’d the Rules which I have given’.³⁵ What may be slightly more surprising is the fact that, despite all Denham’s talk of *spirit*, Dryden accuses him of mere imitation, that is, of ignoring his author so completely as merely to attempt to write in his style.³⁶

Dryden may have been unfairly harsh towards his predecessor, but he does seem to pick up on something that, much later in history, Lawrence Venuti accuses Denham of doing: *domesticating* his author. For Venuti, the continuum of translation theory is not between a *free* and a *literal* translation, but rather between *domestication* and *foreignisation*. The terms free and literal imply a politically innocuous approach, but as Venuti demonstrates, translations and translation strategies in particular

30 Horace, *Satires and Epistles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 109.

31 Denham, ‘Preface’, fol. A2v.

32 John Dryden, ‘Preface to Ovid’s Epistles’ in *Ovid’s epistles translated by several hands*, ed. John Dryden (London: Jacob Tonson, 1680), fol. R8r.

33 *Ibid.*, R8r.

34 *Ibid.*, fol. R8r.

35 *Ibid.*, fol. a4r.

36 *Ibid.*, fol. a1v.

are far from apolitical. According to Venuti, domestication is the prevalent approach in the anglo-american translation culture, masquerading as a criterion of fluidity, similar to that advocated by Denham and his contemporaries, in which, though the stuff be still the same, the foreign author must be dressed as an Englishman so as not to appear ‘ridiculous’ to the reader. However, as Venuti writes, there is more to this than meets the eye:

By producing the illusion of transparency, a fluent translation masquerades as a true semantic equivalence when it in fact inscribes the foreign text with a partial interpretation, partial to English-language values, reducing if not simply excluding the very differences that translation is called on to convey.³⁷

The domesticating approach to translation that first established itself in the seventeenth century and that would grow to become the dominant approach in English-language translation is not, as Denham and most of his contemporaries would argue, the less intrusive method. By *normalising* the foreign text, translators also remove the elements that make it foreign in the first place. A case in point is the success of Scandinavian crime thriller novels in Britain and the United States, in which, given the characteristics of the genre, the most foreign element is little else than the odd place name.³⁸ Furthermore, *domestication* occurs necessarily along ideological lines. *Normality* is defined by the society in which one lives, and something appears normal only insofar as it abides by the accepted social rules.

At a time in which social values have been massively disrupted, such as the period of the English Civil Wars and the Interregnum, a translation theory in which the values of the receiving context are reinforced rather than questioned becomes attractive to those who want to recall the context that *preceded* the disruption. Therefore, a domesticating strategy during the mid-seventeenth century became the perfect vehicle by which political commentary can be made with relative safety. In other words, royalists took to domesticating foreign authors under the mask of *fluency*. John Denham himself, despite all his commentaries about translation, makes use of this strategy to great effect in his translation of book II of the *Aeneid*, *The Destruction of Troy*. As Venuti notes,

37 Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 16.

38 ‘Merely in terms of narrative form, much of the foreign crime fiction that comprises the recent wave of English translations is so familiar that the decision to translate it can hardly be said to introduce any significant difference into British and American cultures. Despite the foreign settings and names, these novels tend to follow the conventions of the genre, especially the police procedural’. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 159.

By removing the character and place names in the Latin text (ll. 542-9) ('Priami', 'Troiam', and 'Pergama', the citadel at Troy) and referring only to 'the King', Denham generalizes the import of the passage, enabling Priam's 'headless Carkass' to metamorphose into a British descendant's, at least for a moment, inviting the contemporary English reader to recall the civil wars – although from a decidedly royalist point of view.³⁹

By removing character names, Denham offers the reader empty categories – the king, the city – that can readily be filled by his readers with contemporary elements. While the specific action of removing character names was not common at the time, Denham's tactic of taking over of a foreign text to comment on his contemporary context was widespread. Fanshawe and many of their contemporaries did the same, as Venuti notes: 'Denham's translation shared the same impulse towards political allegory that characterized [...] royalist writing generally during the years after Charles's defeat, including Fanshawe's translation of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (1647) and Christopher Wase's translation of Sophocles's *Electra* (1649)'.⁴⁰ Venuti implies that royalist translations during this period *all* made use of the same translation strategies of fluency, with a tendency towards domestication.

However, as Venuti himself acknowledges, domestication begins at birth, that is to say, in the choice of object: 'Denham's intention to enlist translation in a royalist cultural politics at home is visible both in his selection of the foreign text and in the discursive strategies he adopted in his version'.⁴¹ The discursive strategies employed by Denham such as the removal of original character and place names allow for liberality in interpretation. For example, if Priam is not Priam but just a 'king', then any king can be Priam. The choice of object – a book from Virgil's *Aeneid* – contributes to the domestication because it is a text *already known* to most of its readers, and as such, from the outset, there is little to it that would come as strange or novel to any learned man of the period. However, unlike Denham's, Fanshawe's choice of text is *foreignising* rather than *domesticating*.

This is not to say that Fanshawe did not employ domesticating strategies in his translation, but rather that the theory upon which he translated *Os Lusíadas* differs from that of the majority of his comrades and contemporaries. Portugal may be a relatively familiar and close nation, but its history and literature, as pointed out in chapter 1, are farther away from most readers's minds than ancient Greece or Rome. By choosing to translate *Os Lusíadas*, Fanshawe introduces a completely new epic into the English marketplace, a mostly unknown literary culture, and crucially, a foreign *history*.

39 Ibid., 43.

40 Ibid., 43–44.

41 Ibid., 41.

The decisive key necessary to read *The Lusiad* in the context of the 1650s is not to read it as only an epic poem, but as a *history* as well. Histories, by their very nature, offer themselves to reflection, contrast and comparison with current affairs. During the economic crash of 2008 and the global crisis that followed, it was common to hear commentators referring back to the stock market crash of 1929 and the great depression. In the early modern period, histories were also often used to comment on the contemporary context. Translation of histories became a special case of the phenomenon that Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia called *cultural translation*, a process in which *ideas* as well as *texts* are passed from one culture to another.⁴² For Burke and Hsia, therefore, most translations carry a certain degree of *foreignness*, to use Venuti's terms, that inform both the original and the translated text. The process of translation itself, rather than simply carrying the text, carries all the cultural elements that contributed to its original production. Histories are a particular case because they allow us to infer what 'the needs, interests, prejudices and ways of reading of the target culture, or at least some groups within it'⁴³ were. In other words, a history identifies what a target culture considers relevant to itself in another country's narrative. As such, by identifying *The Lusiad* as 'Portugals Historicall Poem' Fanshawe is already framing the way in which a reader should approach the text – by looking to Portugal for analogues that are relevant to the contemporary context.

Furthermore, by adding the alternative title of 'Portugals Historicall Poem', Fanshawe also offers a clue as to how he approached the translation. The 'historical poem' is not only an instruction to the reader to look for comparative events between Portugal and England, but a clue for Fanshawe's translation process itself. In englishing *Os Lusíadas*, or rather, in turning Camões into an Englishman, Fanshawe is not merely parroting the usual metaphors employed by the translators of the period: he is not teaching Camões how to speak English, nor dressing him in English clothes, nor adding a new spirit to the mix. Instead, Fanshawe looks for the elements that are *already* English in Camões and highlights them: this occurs at a historical level by a process which I refer to as *merging histories*.

As chapter 2 discusses, the engravings of Vasco da Gama and Prince Henry of Portugal are two perfectly clear visual examples of the process that Fanshawe undertook for his translation. Vasco da Gama is made to wear a hat that does *not* mark him as a foreigner, which is reminiscent of the clothing metaphors of Rider and Denham. The very presence of an engraving of Henry can only

42 Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia, introduction to *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3.

43 Peter Burke, 'Translating Histories', in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 133.

be explained by his connection with England. These two visual examples expose the structure on which Fanshawe's translation project is built: that Portugal and England have many elements in common, and that those elements can be emphasised for the translation to work. In other words, Fanshawe's translation practice can only be understood if one is to consider *Os Lusíadas* to be a history as well as an epic.

Within the text, there are multiple examples of this history-writing, particularly whenever England is directly alluded to. The episodes of the Portuguese civil war and the romance narrative of the Twelve of England are the clearest demonstrations of this process. By stressing these elements – and significantly emphasising their *Englishness* – Fanshawe attempts to re-frame the whole of the narrative into one of contiguity. The implication of this process is that 'Portugals Historical Poem' does not appear from a vacuum, but rather that Portugal is part of another country's history, in this case England. The corollary is that England's history – and the context of Fanshawe's translation in particular – is also part of a much larger picture which can be better understood by taking a step back and observing its other elements. Fanshawe translated a Portuguese epic loaded with Portuguese historic and cultural elements to comment on English contemporary issues because he understood the two contexts as intimately connected, and furthermore, developed his translation strategy according to the same vision: not so much a case of comparative but of *shared histories*.

Fanshawe's translation of *Os Lusíadas* does not entirely fit the methodologies of his contemporaries because he moves beyond the dichotomy of the literal and free translation methods. Even Venuti's continuum of domesticating or foreignising translations would struggle to place *The Lusiad* on either side of the spectrum. The reason for this uncertainty is that Fanshawe's approach to Camões's epic lies, for the most part, outside the realm of literary considerations. Friedrich Schleiermacher's famous dichotomy helps to explain Fanshawe's method: 'Either the translator leaves the writer in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him'.⁴⁴ What Fanshawe did was to move the author's country's history towards the history of the country of the reader, and at the meeting of the two, extract readings relevant to mid seventeenth-century England.

This is not to say that Fanshawe's work in *The Lusiad* was completely different from that of his contemporary translators. Denham did praise his free translation of *Il Pastor Fido*, and the same praise could easily be applied to *The Lusiad*. There are certain elements in Fanshawe's translation that can be easily ascribed to a domesticating approach. An example of that would be when

⁴⁴ Friedrich Schleiermacher, 'On the Different Methods of Translating', in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 2012) 49.

Fanshawe paraphrases the Portuguese ‘padrão’ as ‘the *Land-mark* of A CROSS’, (V.78.5) or more comically when nearly all references to cattle in the original Portuguese text – oxen, cows – are substituted for ‘sheep’ in Fanshawe’s translation. Religious elements are often de-catholicised, and Portuguese names, although not completely Anglicised, are spelt in variously different ways. Fanshawe, within the few lines in which he wrote of his translation methods, made use of the same metaphors that his contemporaries did: he made Camões a native Yorkshireman, to converse with his readers. However, at the same time, other elements point towards a foreignising translation, such as the choice of object itself, and fluency can hardly have been a criterion guiding the *The Lusiad*, given the complexity of the original syntax and the faithfulness of Fanshawe’s syntactic conversion.

A more productive way to think of Fanshawe’s translation of *Os Lusíadas*, rather than trying to decide whether it domesticates or foreignises its object, whether it is fluent or not, is to think of it in terms of what André Lefevere has termed *refraction*:

A writer’s work gains exposure and achieves influence mainly through ‘misunderstandings and misconceptions,’ or, to use a more neutral term, refractions. Writers and their work are always understood and conceived against a certain background or, if you will, are refracted through a certain spectrum, just as their work itself can refract previous works through a certain spectrum.⁴⁵

Lefevere’s concept, while focusing on translations, goes well beyond that realm, into a near all-encompassing theory of literary influence. It is similar to the concept of *intertextuality* proposed by Julia Kristeva and Roland Barthes discussed in chapter 2, but goes beyond the strictly literary scope of literature into the realms of interpretation, adaptation, hearsay, reading and misreading. Essentially, the concept of refraction dismisses the usual understanding of literary influence as a misconception. Influence is not passed down from writer to writer, or from cultural agent to cultural agent, in a pure, unadulterated form. Rather, the ‘misunderstandings’ are just as significant, if not more significant, to the history of literature and culture than a ‘proper’ reading. Think, for example, of Joyce’s *Ulysses*, and how the Greek hero was transformed into a curious Irishman roaming the streets of Dublin on a summer day in 1904. Refraction occurs whenever a work is interpreted, be it from a translation, a critic, a film adaptation, a literature class, or just someone’s opinion on the streets.

45 André Lefevere, ‘Mother Courage’s Cucumbers. Text, System and Refraction in a Theory of Literature’, in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 2004), 234.

A translation is the refracted work *par excellence*. It incorporates all of the translator's readings into itself, and is, therefore, intimately related to the context of its production. Lefevere suggests that 'Producers of both refracted and original literature do not operate as automatons under the constraints of their time and location. They devise various strategies to live with these constraints, ranging hypothetically from full acceptance to full defiance'.⁴⁶ In *The Lusiad's* case, this means that the translation refracted Camões original work not only through a different language, but also and more significantly, through the medium of a different author, who himself read and wrote under different conditions from those of Camões. The idea of refraction may appear to some as a malignant degeneration of a previously pure literature. Yet it is the process that allows for the continuing regeneration of old literature into the purview of new living beings. Fanshawe took it upon himself with his translation of *The Lusiad* in 1655. I have attempted to do the same for his translation of the great Portuguese epic.

Methodology and organisation

This investigation cannot be limited by the boundaries of one single discipline. While this is, in a sense, a history of one book, this study is not only a work of book history. Similarly, while a considerable space is devoted to reading *The Lusiad* and extracting possible meanings from it, it is not a book-long exercise in literary criticism. Fanshawe's life may play a significant role in my research, but this is not his biography. The instruments of other subjects will also make appearances throughout the thesis – marginalia studies, cultural studies, history, translation studies, literary history, literary genetics, print history and criticism, reception studies – yet neither the methods employed nor conclusions reached can be uniquely ascribed to any one field. In the broadest of terms, the methodologies of this thesis fall within the remits of literature and history – or rather, precisely at the point where history and literature meet. The main concern of this thesis is to explore the interplay of cultural production and its surrounding context, and particularly how both mutually influence, shape, determine, each other.

The Lusiad is, perhaps, the perfect object to apply this methodology. By its very nature, it sits at the crossroads of History and Literature, and any serious study of this translation demands that the connections between these disciplines be at the forefront of one's concerns. Therefore, Richard

46 Ibid., 244.

Fanshawe's translation of *Os Lusíadas* is at the centre of this investigation. The organisation of this thesis also reflects this concern: rather than a traditional teleological disposition, the chapters reflect not so much a chronological progress but rather different aspects of the same problem. If one were to think of this process as a museum display, a glass cube at the centre of which would be a copy of *The Lusiad* itself, the chapters that follow are the four different faces of that exhibit, each allowing the reader to view a specific angle of Fanshawe's translation, none giving a perfectly clear picture of the object inside, but all contributing to a more complete image. It follows that there is no finally, determinably *correct* order in which to have written, or to read this thesis – each face of the glass cube displays its own unique angle of the object, but there is no need to observe the cover before diving into the reading of the translation itself.

This is not to say, however, that there is no connecting line between chapters. In fact, there is one very loose chronology ordering the chapters of this thesis – or rather two. Chapters 1 and 4 analyse what happened before and after the translation came into being. Chapters 2 and 3, on the other hand, approach *The Lusiad* in much the same way a reader might while picking up the book – first looking at the object itself, then actually reading its content.

Chapter 1 deals with the genesis of the translation of *The Lusiad*. Following in the footsteps of previous scholarship,⁴⁷ adding to and questioning it, it discusses what copy text Fanshawe may have used for his translation, how and when he may have first encountered Camões's masterpiece, what was the context in which the translator undertook his task, and what can be learned from the publication process – from the characters involved in it to the timing of the book's printing in 1655. Broadly speaking, the first chapter deals mainly in book history concerns, however, employing its methods and techniques to reach some unusual conclusions. The chapter's main preoccupation is to establish the period when Fanshawe may have heard of *The Lusiad*, and to question why it was published at that particular time by those specific men. By looking at issues of *timing*, this chapter concludes that *The Lusiad* was published with a sense of immediacy, as an eager participant in a contemporary debate.

The second chapter opens the book itself, yet looks at everything that is not *The Lusiad*. It analyses each of the paratexts included in the original 1655 edition of Fanshawe's translation and attempts to explain how these elements *frame* and *present* the epic and its Portuguese author to the reader. It explains how the engravings reveal a very conscious awareness of British kinship with the Portuguese epic, how the letter dedicatory gives a number of very disguised clues as to how Fanshawe wanted readers to approach his work and, significantly, shows how the translation of

47 Roger M. Walker, 'Sir Richard Fanshawe's "Lusiad" and Manuel de Faria e Sousa's "Lusíadas Comentadas"', *Portuguese Studies* 10 (1994).

Petronius's *Satyricon* very directly takes part in a contemporary literary debate with political undertones. Chapter 2 goes on to conclude that *The Lusiad* was a very deliberate and carefully arranged project in which literary preoccupations and projects mingle by design with contemporary literary and political arguments and a sense of affinity between Portuguese and British histories and literatures – and more significantly, that all these elements can be found in the paratexts that frame the reading of the English translation of *Os Lusíadas*.

The third chapter delves into the text itself. To some extent, it offers the most conventional approach within the thesis, limiting itself mostly to the field of literary criticism – or rather comparative literature and translation studies. It is, in fact, the study of the translation, albeit focusing on those elements that may reveal some direct or indirect connection with events contemporaneous with, or relevant to, Fanshawe. As such, it is not an exhaustive chapter by any means: there is no effort to cover the whole of the *The Lusiad*, which would be a mammoth task, but rather to attempt to understand how Fanshawe's translation relates to his context. The methodology sustaining the chapter is rather simple: a comparative reading of the original Portuguese with its English translation. By undertaking this side-by-side reading, the specific choices made by Fanshawe become apparent, and they in turn reveal a larger but subtle refashioning of the Portuguese epic. In many ways, this chapter is at the heart of the investigation: the possible reading of *The Lusiad* put forth in this chapter confirms the hypothesis of the thesis, that Fanshawe's translation bears more than a coincidental relationship to the times in which it was published.

Chapter 4 returns us to the context surrounding the publication of the book, this time specifically at its aftermath. The aim of the chapter is in the simplest terms to establish how the publication of *The Lusiad* changed or influenced the world around it. It attempts to demonstrate and evaluate the small but definitive influence that *The Lusiad* had on its translator's personal life, his and the book's literary heritage, and the national histories of Portugal and Britain. The direct relationship between the publication of *The Lusiad* and Fanshawe's appointment to Portugal is explored in this chapter, as well as Fanshawe's influence over the next generation of writers. The chapter delves into the translator's contemporary reputation amongst his fellow countrymen, and the part that *The Lusiad* played in it, as well as echoes of Camões in later English literature of the seventeenth century. A brief history of English translations of *Os Lusíadas* reveals how Fanshawe influenced the men who followed in his footsteps. Finally, the few examples of contemporary marginalia in copies of the 1655 *The Lusiad* are examined and some conclusions sketched about how readers engaged with the text. The chapter's methodology is spread through a number of disciplines – history, biography, book history, marginalia studies and literary history – all of which

are employed to answer the same question: what mark did *The Lusiad* leave?

These are the four steps of this investigation. Returning to the glass cube metaphor for a few more lines, it is plain to see that a cube has six faces, not four. The general introduction and conclusion may be thought of as the missing faces: the introduction being the top-most side, giving an aerial view of the object under study, and the conclusion its bottom, revealing some of the underlying issues present throughout the thesis and pointing towards new avenues of inquiry.

Throughout this thesis there is one term that will return time and again: the englishing of *Os Lusíadas*. This would have been a familiar term to contemporaries of Fanshawe, used at face value to indicate that something had been translated into English. When I first started researching, I used the term simply as a period-adequate synonym for translation. As the investigation progressed, the englishing of the Portuguese epic became a defining term for my thought. It stands for a subtle but definitive substitution of foreign elements by English ones.

Englising suggests a soft form of appropriation in which the original work's characteristics are not erased nor relegated to the background. As the following chapters will argue, Fanshawe's redirection of *Os Lusíadas* would only become clear to someone looking for it. In addition, as this thesis demonstrates, many of the strategies employed by Fanshawe in englishing the Portuguese epic are not so much an erasure of its original features, but rather an effort to approximate and mingle characteristics that are common to both English and Portuguese traditions. As discussed above, Fanshawe's englishing of *The Lusiad* implies not strictly a translation method, but rather a translation method in which a sense of *history* plays a significant and defining part.

To conclude, a few short words about some of the more formal aspects of this thesis. When quoting from either the Portuguese text or the English text, I give the traditional indication of canto (in Roman numerals), verse and lines. This allows for cross-referencing between different textual editions, and most translations (exceptions in English include William Atkinson's 1952 prose translation for Penguin classics,⁴⁸ and William Julius Mickle's 1776 heavily edited translation).⁴⁹ Therefore, a notation such as II.43.2 refers to canto II, stanza 43 line 2. For the Portuguese text of *Os Lusíadas*, quotations are from the 2003 edition published by the MNE / Instituto Camões, ed. by A. J. da Costa Pimpão with an introduction by Aníbal Pinto de Castro.⁵⁰ Quotations from all of Fanshawe's works, including *The Lusiad*, are from Peter Davidson's two volumes of *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*,⁵¹ published by Oxford University Press in 1997 and

48 William Atkinson, trans., *The Lusíadas* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973).

49 William Julius Mickle, trans., *The Lusiad: or the Discovery of India: an Epic Poem* (Oxford: Jackson and Lister, 1776).

50 Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas* (Lisboa: MNE / Instituto Camões, 2003).

51 Peter Davidson, ed., *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University

1999, except in the case of *Il Pastor Fido*⁵² and when otherwise noted. The edition of Ann Fanshawe's *Memoirs* used, one of the main sources for Richard Fanshawe's biography, is John Loftis's 1979 volume.⁵³ Other primary works, contemporary to Camões or Fanshawe, are quoted from their original editions, unless otherwise noted, such as Manuel de Faria y Sousa's *Las Lusíadas de Luís de Camoes*.⁵⁴ These works are all freely available online in facsimile, either from databases such as EEBO,⁵⁵ or from national libraries such as the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.⁵⁶ Unless a particular feature of an extant copy of the seventeenth century is being discussed, their location has not been recorded.

The final guiding words must be reserved for taxonomy. When dealing with multiple versions of a text in multiple languages, some confusion is bound to occur. As a rule of thumb, whenever *Os Lusíadas* is mentioned, the citation is either the original Portuguese text or aspects of the text that are not edition specific – when dealing with narrative arches, for example. *Las Lusíadas*, or the Spanish edition of *Os Lusíadas*, refers to Faria y Sousa's 1639 edition. *The Lusiad* – note the singular – refers *specifically* to Fanshawe's 1655 translation, and not any other English version of Camões's epic.

Press, 1997-1999).

52 Walter F. Staton and William E. Simeone, *A Critical Edition of Sir Richard Fanshawe's 1647 Translation of Giovanni Battista Guarini's Il Pastor Fido* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

53 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*.

54 Manuel de Faria y Sousa, *Lusíadas Comentadas de Luís de Camoes* (Madrid: Iuan Sanchez, 1639).

55 <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>

56 <http://purl.pt/index/geral/PT/index.html>

1. How *The Lusiad* got English'd

Introduction

Establishing when the name of Luís de Camões, or the title of his epic *Os Lusíadas*, was first heard in England is a near impossible task. In many ways, finding when the English *were not* told of the Portuguese prince of poets is much simpler: there is no reference to Camões in Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* for example, and the first full narrative of Vasco da Gama's voyage, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, translated into English and published in 1582, makes no mention of Camões's epic enterprise.¹ The first written mention of Camões in English appears rather late in time, and only through a translation of Miguel de Cervantes. Thomas Shelton, in his 1620 translation of the second part of *Don Quixote*, forty years after Camões's death, provides the earliest mention of his name in the English printing press: 'two Eclogues we haue studied, one of the famous Poet *Garsilasso*, and the other of that most excellent Poet *Camoës* in his own Mother Portugall Tongue'.² The earliest reference to *Os Lusíadas* appears only 25 years after that, by the Latin pen of a Portuguese author, Antonio de Sousa Macedo, in a propaganda work written in defence of the restored Portuguese monarchy, *Lusitania Liberata ab injusto Castellorum dominio* (1645): 'de Lusitania dixisset Virgil [...] ac Ovid [...] addidit poetica de more elegantia Camonius *Lusiadum cant. 7.oct.14 \ E se mais mundo ouvera, la chegara \ quod si mundus esset maior, in omnem dilataretur Imperium Lusitanorum*'.³

To limit oneself to works written or published in English is to misunderstand how early

1 In any case, Castanheda himself could not refer to Camões, as the first book was published in 1551 and the Portuguese historian passed away in 1559, thirteen years before the publication of *Os Lusíadas* (Lisbon, 1572).

2 Thomas Shelton, trans., *The Second Part of Don Quixote by Miguel Ceruantes* (London: Printed for Edward Blount, 1620), sig. Cc3r.

3 António Sousa de Macedo, *Lusitania Liberata* (London: Richard Heron, 1645), sig. G3r.

modern Europe worked. Latin was still widespread enough that an international audience could be expected for works written in that language, the Habsburg Empire – that extended through almost all of Europe in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries – had Madrid as its centre and Spanish as its court language, and major annual events such as the Frankfurt Book Fair helped to create what Andrew Pettegree identified as the birth of the European Book Market.⁴ From its first publication in 1572, until its first English translation in 1655, *Os Lusíadas* had numerous editions in Portuguese, Spanish and, crucially, Latin, some of which were likely to have found their way to an English readership. In fact, as will be demonstrate later in this chapter, it seems very probable that at least one copy of one such Spanish edition of *Os Lusíadas* found its way to London in the mid-1650s – and played a crucial role in the first English translation. Even if none of the epic's numerous wandering translations and editions managed to reach the British Isles before being finally translated into English by Sir Richard Fanshawe, its fame, the comparisons between Camões and other early modern poets such as Ariosto, or the praises lauded to Camões by other well known contemporary British-favoured authors, most famously Torquato Tasso, were bound to have reached at least a couple of well-meaning, welcoming British eyes.

We do not know when Richard Fanshawe may have first heard of *Os Lusíadas*. In the absence of a dated holograph note mentioning the Portuguese epic, or at the very least a record of his library displaying one of the many previous editions of the book, little else can be offered than an educated guess. However, tracing the probable path of *Os Lusíadas* from its first Portuguese edition, through the monumental 1639 Spanish edition and commentary, to the 1655 English edition that is unquestionably indebted to that 1639 work, is a much more manageable task.

This chapter will follow the trajectory of the Portuguese epic from its first appearance in 1572 Lisbon to its first English incarnation in mid seventeenth-century London. In order to do that, it will look closely at its translator, Richard Fanshawe, and the first years of his adult and professional life, when he possibly acquired, or at least heard of, the 1639 *Lusíadas de Luis de Camoens, Principe de Los Poetas de Espana. Al Rey N. Senor. Filipe Qvarto El Grande. Comentadas por Manvel de Faria i Sousa, Cavallero de La Orden de Christo, I de la Casa Real*.⁵ This is the edition that, according to the findings of Roger Walker,⁶ was used by Fanshawe to help him in his own translation. It will then look more closely at the parallels between the Spanish edition and its English counterpart, furthering our understanding of how the process of translation might have

4 Cf. Andrew Pettegree 'The creation of a European book market', in *The Book in the Renaissance*, Andrew Pettegree (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 65-90.

5 Manuel de Faria y Sousa, *Lusíadas Comentadas de Luís de Camoes* (Madrid: Iuan Sanchez, 1639).

6 Roger M. Walker, 'Sir Richard Fanshawe's "Lusíad" and Manuel de Faria e Sousa's "Lusíadas Comentadas"', *Portuguese Studies* 10 (1994): 44-64.

happened in the troubled years of 1653-54, a time when the parliamentary experience began to implode, with Cromwell expelling the Rump Parliament, the nomination and dissolution of the Barebones Parliament, and the creation of the Protectorate. This chapter will contextualise the translator's relationship with the text(s) and with the unsettled England surrounding him. Finally, this chapter will follow the process of printing *The Lusiad*, from Fanshawe's manuscript to its final book form, a modest but significant folio published by Humphrey Moseley in 1655. In a word, this chapter will try to understand how *The Lusiad* got 'English'd'.

Fanshawe goes to Spain

In 1994 paper, Roger Walker proved beyond doubt that Fanshawe had in fact read Faria y Sousa's Spanish edition of Camões, and used it to create his own version of the Portuguese epic. Walker's tentative conclusion is that Fanshawe did not translate from the Portuguese text but rather from Faria y Sousa's prose version of *Os Lusíadas*,⁷ which, as will be discussed below, is a simplification of a much more complex process in which the English translator likely made use of all the elements available to him in the Spanish edition: Portuguese text, Spanish translation and line by line commentary. For now, however, I would like to focus on how and when Fanshawe might have come across the Spanish edition, something that Walker himself muses on in his article:

It is highly likely that Fanshawe could have met Faria at the Spanish court and through him have been introduced to the great Portuguese poem on which the latter was working. [...] It is distinctly possible that Faria either gave him a proof copy [because Faria y Sousa's edition would not be published until 1639, after Fanshawe left Spain] whilst he was still in Spain or sent him a published one when the book appeared.⁸

There are a number of problems with Walker's suggestion: one, as he himself acknowledges, is the fact that Faria y Sousa's *Lusíadas Comentadas* was not published until 1639, months or even a year after Fanshawe left the Spanish court (August 1638). Another issue is the fact that while Walker works from the assumption that Fanshawe and Lord Aston (the English ambassador, for whom

⁷ Ibid., 63.

⁸ Ibid., 60.

Fanshawe served as secretary) ‘met some of the great authors of the time, such as Francisco de Quevedo (the King’s secretary), Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, and the young Pedro Calderon de la Barca’,⁹ he presents no evidence in support of Fanshawe’s relationship with the artists at the Spanish court, which while probable, lacks the certainty of proof. The third problem is the fact that there is no evidence that Fanshawe ever met or corresponded with Faria y Sousa, and while Walker offers D. Francisco Manuel de Melo – Portuguese seventeenth-century poet, soldier and diplomat, one of the most significant voices of the Iberian Baroque – as an intermediary,¹⁰ he does not establish that Fanshawe and Melo knew each other before the publication of *The Lusiad* in 1655 – the only significant contact between the two happening much later, in 1666.¹¹

The aim of this first section is to ground Walker’s hypothesis that Fanshawe had contact with Faria y Sousa’s edition of *Os Lusíadas* in the late 1630s, by presenting concrete documentary evidence that a) Fanshawe did have contact with some of the great names of the Spanish Golden Age, and b) that Fanshawe and D. Francisco Manuel de Melo did meet, if not before, then some time in 1638; and c) that if not by some other means, it would have been possible for Fanshawe to contact Faria y Sousa through Melo. Doing so will also help to clarify Fanshawe’s last months during his first diplomatic assignment – when he was nominated by Charles I as a temporary ambassador to the Spanish court for a brief period of five weeks before returning home to England.

The major and primary source for the events in Richard Fanshawe’s life is his wife’s memoirs, dictated by her in 1676, for the benefit of their son, named after his father. The young Richard was only one year old at the time of Fanshawe’s death in 1666, and Lady Ann wanted him to learn of his father’s distinguished career as a diplomat and a royal servant:¹²

I have thought it convenient to discourse to you (my most dear and only son)¹³ the most remarkable actions and accidents of your family, as well as those of more eminent ones of your father and my life, and necessity, not delight nor revenge, hath made me insert some passages which will reflect on their owners, as the praises of others will be but just, which is my intent in this narrative. I would not have you be a stranger to [it], because by the

9 Ibid., 45.

10 Ibid., 60.

11 Roger M. Walker, ‘A Rediscovered Seventeenth-Century Literary Friendship’, *The Seventeenth Century* 7 (1992): 15-24.

12 There is little or nothing regarding Fanshawe’s life as a poet and translator. The one notable exception refers, significantly, to *The Lusiad*, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

13 Though the young Richard Fanshawe was Lady Ann’s only son left alive in 1676, the couple had had the repeated misfortune of losing many children, mostly as infants and newborns. Lady Ann gave birth to fourteen children, of whom only five reached adulthood.

examples you may imitate what is applyable to your condition in the world, and indeavour to avoyd those misfortunes we have passed through, if God pleases. [...]. Remember your father, whose true image though I can never draw to the life unless God will grant me that blessing in you, yet because you were but ten months and ten days owld when God took him out of this world, I will for your advantage show you him with all truth and without partiality.¹⁴

Unfortunately, for the purposes of this chapter, Lady Ann's description of Richard Fanshawe's life pre-marriage is pitifully short. After a lengthy naming of who's who in the Fanshawe and Harrison families,¹⁵ and the narrative of their wedding in 1644,¹⁶ she finally summarises Richard's life from birth (1608) to marriage in one page. Of the period with which we are here concerned, Lady Ann says:

After a year's stay in Paris he travelled to Madrid in Spain, there to learn that language. At the same time for that purpose went the late Earle of Carnarvan, and my Lord of Bedford, and Lord John B[erkeley], annd severall other gentlemen. Afterward, having spent [about two] years abroad, he returned to London, and gave so good account of his travells that he was about the year 163[5] made Secrettary of the Ambassy, when my Lord Aston went ambassador. During your father's travells he had spent a considerable part of his stock which his father and mother left him. In those days, where there were so many younger children, it was considerable, being 50 pounds a year and 1500lb in money. Upon the return of the Embassador, your father was left resident until Sir Arthur Hopter went embassador, and then he came home about the year [16]37 or [163]8¹⁷.

Lady Ann's account may be sparse, but it does give us a gist of Fanshawe's life pre-wedding, and enough room to fill with more details. Following his mother's death in 1631, Fanshawe left the Inner Temple where he was studying to become a barrister – following a distinguished academic

14 John Clyde Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 101–102. Throughout this and the following chapters I will refer to the text established by the latest scholarly edition of Lady Ann's *Memoirs*, edited by John Loftis. Occasionally, however, I will also refer to the 1907 edition, edited by H. C. Fanshawe, whose comprehensive notes offer documentary evidence that has now been lost, H. C. Fanshawe, ed., *Memoirs of Ann, Lady Fanshawe* (London: John Lane, 1907).

15 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 101–107.

16 *Ibid.*, 111–112.

17 *Ibid.*, 113.

career, first as a teenager in Mr. Farnaby's¹⁸ school, then in Jesus College Cambridge¹⁹ – to go on a grand tour of Europe. He visited France and Spain, spending between two and three years abroad. On returning to England, he was made secretary to Walter Lord Aston, a veteran in the Spanish diplomatic corps. Lord Aston had been the resident Ambassador to Spain in two separate occasions before, most notably in the 1620s when he tried to negotiate Charles's marriage to the Spanish Infanta. His embassy of 1635-1638 would be his last. The ambassador died in 1639, months after his return from Spain. In 1638, between Aston's departure and Sir Arthur Hopton's arrival, Fanshawe was left as the most senior English official in Spain, effectively an interim ambassador.

Throughout the remainder of this section, I will focus on these last few years of Fanshawe's first stay in Spain. The reasons for it are twofold: unfortunately, we have no records of Fanshawe's European tour – no correspondence, diaries, receipts, other than the brief account left by Lady Ann; and while during his tour it may be more probable that the young man would have had more time to dedicate himself to cultural pastimes, the period in which he worked for the English ambassador gives him a more obvious and unimpeded access to the Spanish court, and puts him directly in contact with the *grandees* of Spain, and probably with those *grandees's* protégés, the authors and artists of the Spanish Golden Age.

The majority of the extant records from Fanshawe's time in Spain as secretary to the ambassador are official in nature: almost all of them can be found in the State Papers collections (a small amount can also be found in the Clarendon state papers), and almost all of them are comprised of the usual diplomatic trading in rumours: the ambassador reporting on who has been to see the king, what their intentions were said to be, what military movements have been made in the

18 Anthony Wood called Farnaby 'the most noted schoolmaster of his time' (Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford. To which are added the fasti, or annals of the said University*, ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols., [London: T. Bensley, 1813], vol. 3, 213). Fanshawe's later distinguished career as a Latinist can be traced back to Farnaby's influence: in addition to several books on Latin grammar, the schoolmaster also published editions of Juvenal, Martial, Virgil and Ovid amongst others, all later translated by Fanshawe. For more on Farnaby's famous school, see Fanshawe, *Memoirs of Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 336.

19 Although there is little evidence of whom Fanshawe might have associated with at Jesus, his contemporaries included Lionel Gatford, who would write a pamphlet in defence of the rights of kings (Jason Mc Elligott, 'Gatford, Lionel (d. 1665)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10450>, accessed 27 July 2017]) and Thomas Hodges, who would become chaplain to the House of Lords and may or may not have been preaching antinomianism (Ian Atherton, 'Hodges, Thomas (c.1600–1672)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66142>, accessed 27 July 2017]). The college master at the time was Roger Andrewes, one of the translators of the King James Bible, and Fanshawe's tutor was William Beale, a royalist who went with Edward Hyde and Lord Cottington to Spain in 1651 as chaplain. Beale is said to have encouraged Fanshawe's first poetic efforts, and Andrewes presence in the college may have contributed to an atmosphere in which translation could flourish. Virtually at the same time that Fanshawe was at Jesus, Milton was at Christ's College, so it is possible that the two poets saw each other in the streets of Cambridge. However, their differing colleges and social classes makes any closer association between the two unlikely. (Fanshawe, ed., *Memoirs of Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 337.

past few weeks, and how all of this affects British foreign policy and interests. Phrases such as 'there is news come to this court', 'the word here is' or 'they do here make me believe that' abound. While these periodic diplomatic missives do help us understand who the ambassador – and possibly his retinue – knew, who they deemed worthy of mention, and suggest who the closest contacts and confidants of the British were, such characters are usually fellow diplomats, foreign aristocracy, and the Conde Duque of Olivares, the minister of Philip IV and his favourite in the late 1630s. There is little evidence to ascertain to what degree any of the British diplomats might have been involved in the Spanish cultural world, other than an overall sense that both diplomats and artists under patronage would have probably met at court.

Occasionally the State Papers there are certain elements that hint at the British officials's personal interest and involvement with the Spanish cultural milieu. From the period with which we are here concerned, namely 1635 to 1638, a couple of interesting references surface. We learn, for example, that the British ambassador, Lord Aston, served as a kind of cultural procurer for some of his friends in England. In 1635 Sir Kenelm Digby writes to Aston:

There is a litle thinne booke in 8° (or rather in 12°) printed att Madrid in the yeare 1630 [...] entituled, *Vida y muerte misteriosas del grande sieruo de Dios Gregorio Lopez* [...] This booke, j beseech you gett me; of both the editions, or of as many as haue materiall differences among them, or addition. [...] A copy of this comentary j exceedingly desire to haue, what rate soeuer it cost to procure.²⁰

Later in 1680, when George and Kenelm Digby's library was put to auction, the printed catalogue lists '11 [Vida] Del Siervo de Dios Gregorio Lopez, por Aonso Remon. Madrid 1630' and '12. Idem Iterum. Ibidem'.²¹ The copy of the catalogue at the British Library also includes hand-written prices next to each item, either of sale or base bidding, which informs us that the copy number 11 was set at 21 pence, and copy 12, together with two other books, at 1 shilling. The same catalogue also lists Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad* (though the edition of 1664) at 4 shillings 8 pence²² and, most significantly, both volumes of Faria y Sousa's 1639 translation and commentary, together with *Informacion sobre la Censura que sehizo a los Coment de Las Lusiadadas*, for 1 pound

20 'Sir Kenelm Digby to [perhaps] Walter Lord Aston, Ambassador in Spain', SP 16/308 f.140. Digby and Aston were both known Catholics, which might help to explain the preserving of this rather mundane letter in the State Papers archives.

21 Anon., *Bibliotheca Digbeiana* (London: H. Brome and B. Tooke, 1680), sig. K2r.

22 Ibid., sig. Mr.

18 shillings.²³ From this wealth of information there are several conclusions to be drawn: that there was a way of getting foreign books into England; that, other than Fanshawe's, there was at least one copy of Faria y Sousa's translation in London at roughly the same time (though a quite expensive luxury), and that Lord Aston, the British ambassador and his company, *were* involved in cultural affairs in Spain.

Similarly, two other personal letters found in the state papers collections point to Aston's secondary role as a surrogate *marchand d'art*. On the 19th of January 1636 [29th January 1637],²⁴ the Earl of Arundel wrote to Aston to ask him for 'an office book wth many pictures of liminges in it [...] if it may be had for a small matter I shoulde be gladdde to have it or any of y^e like nature'²⁵ and later on the 24th of January [3rd of February] for 'many antiques in marble, in a house in Madrid which belonged to the old Duke of Lerma, which might be had at very easy rates'.²⁶ In this last missive, Arundel makes clear that his previous letter was carried 'by M^r Fanshaw', which places the young secretary within this network of Spanish book-buying for the English aristocracy, and suggests that, like Aston, Fanshawe might have been seen among the bookstalls, artists and writers of Madrid. Arguably, it is even more probable that Fanshawe, as a fairly low-level servant of the English ambassador, was the one sent on small errands such as this.

Occasionally, the diplomatic letters offer precious descriptions of life at court, where the mingling of diplomats and artists is not only probable but *certain*. On the 20th [30th] of June 1636, Lord Aston wrote in his usual missive to the Secretary of State John Coke:

The 19th of this moneth the King and Queene remoued to y^e Buen Retiro to enioy the pleasere of the Conde Duques curious gaddens and new water works, where their Ma:^{ties} have been entertayned wth great variety of fiestas amongst the w^{ch} there was one upon Missomer night of the greatest ostentacion and curiosity as I haue seen of the kinde. I hadde the hono^r to be invited to it, and had an extraordinary favor and respect shewed me in the place that was giuen me; the entertainment was a play that was made on purpose to be acted by three severall Companies of Players of this Court the invention whereof was soe good, the place where it was acted sett out wth three sevall sceanes of soe much ostentation and the disposition of the lights soe full of nouelty and delight, that I am hugely tempted to giue yo^{re}

23 Ibid., sig. Kr.

24 Dates within square brackets have been adjusted to the modern gregorian calendar. This is particularly relevant for communications between England, who still used the 'old style' in the early seventeenth century, and Spain, who had already adopted the 'new style'.

25 'Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, to Walter, Lord Aston, Ambassador for His Majesty, Madrid', SP 16/344 f.78.

26 'Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, to Walter, Lord Aston, at Madrid', SP 16/344 f.174.

honor a larger description of it, but that it would prove to be business enough for a large lot.²⁷

That play, according to N. D. Shergold, was Calderon de La Barca's *Los tres mayores prodigios*, 'printed in Part II of the latter's plays, with a heading indicating that it was performed on this occasion',²⁸ and the three companies of actors were headed by Tomas Fernandez, Pedro de la Rosa, and Antonio de Prade.²⁹ I feel confident in affirming with Peter Davidson that Fanshawe 'did see a performance of a comparable court spectacle [referring to *Querer por solo querer*], when Lord Aston and his suite from the English Embassy attended a performance of Calderon's *Los tres mayores prodigios* at the Buen Retiro in 1636'³⁰ even though Aston's letter mentions nothing of the company he kept on that 23rd of June. There are two reasons to corroborate this. On the one hand, Aston sent his letter to Coke via Fanshawe, whom he dispatches as a courier to England at the request of the Spanish king: 'I send this bearer my secretary upon this Kings request and charge his departure is so pressed upon mee y^t I haue no time for more',³¹ which, despite Fanshawe's frequent back and forth between London and Madrid in those years, firmly places him with the ambassador at the time of the performance. On the other, it would be usual for an ambassador, when officially invited to an entertainment, to be accompanied by his retinue, as can be seen from Fanshawe's own experience in the 1660s, when he was ambassador in Spain. Lady Ann's *Memoirs* reveals that 'On the 27th of October [1664] we went with *all our traine* to see the Escuriall',³² a train that included a certain Mr. Whycherley, probably the English dramatist William Whycherley and whose plays have a distinctive Spanish influence. She then goes on to say that '[The Spanish] delight much in the feasts of bulls, and in stage plays, and take great pleasure to see their little children act before them in their own houses, which they will doe in perfection',³³ and mentions numerous occasions when the family was invited to attend such events. If this was the rule in the 1660s, it seems not only probable but almost certain that Fanshawe was with Lord Aston at the Buen Retiro play of 1636. Conversely, it is possible to conclude that Fanshawe and Lord Aston would have met there the great

27 'Aston to Coke', SP 94/38 f.139.

28 N. D. Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times until the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 285.

29 Ibid.

30 Peter Davidson, commentary to *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 2 vols., ed. by Peter Davidson (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999), vol. 2, 665.

31 'Aston to Coke', SP 94/38 f.139.

32 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 167, my emphasis.

33 Ibid., 173. Making the children perform a play for guests at the house is a habit that the Fanshawes happily appropriated, as can be seen by one of Sir Richard's letters to his wife of the 22nd of February 1666: '[Sir Robert Southwell's] stay being so short, I wish my gerles will give us their *Querer* [por solo *Querer*, translated by Fanshawe] over againe; & that dick [his infant son] allso lugg his new puppy by the eares very unconcerned' in Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 578.

Calderon de La Barca, as well as other great names of the Spanish Golden Age.

These small hints have helped to establish a number of particularly relevant facts for the theory first proposed by Roger Walker: that both Fanshawe and Lord Aston were knowledgeable of the book market in Spain, having been enlisted to search for copies on behalf of their friends; that both met, and mingled amongst, the artists and writers at the court of Philip IV; and that a common way to bring foreign books to England would simply be to order them through acquaintances posted in those countries. What is still missing, however, is a clear link that would connect Fanshawe to Faria y Sousa. It should be made clear that there is no absolute necessity for this link – after all, Sir Kenelm Digby certainly did not know the hermit who authored the book he was searching for in 1635. What such a link will do is to help date the rough time when Fanshawe might have first come across the copy text for his translation, Faria y Sousa's *Lusiadas Comentadas*, and that dating, in turn, will have serious implications for the interpretation of the motives behind the translation of *Os Lusíadas* into English: it is not the same thing to translate a book simply because it was the last one to arrive in the post, and to translate a book that has been with you for the past 15 years.

One of the candidates to create a link between Richard Fanshawe and Manuel de Faria y Sousa is the Spanish statesman Conde-Duque de Olivares, Gaspar de Guzman. Olivares is one of the dedicatees of Faria y Sousa's commentary on *Os Lusíadas*,³⁴ and the two were certainly acquaintances on the Spanish court. Olivares was also Philip IV's favourite, and the Spanish prime minister during the period in which Fanshawe served as a secretary to Lord Aston. Aston, as English ambassador, had extensive contact with Olivares which suggests that as his secretary, Richard Fanshawe was also known by the Spanish grandee. It is not impossible that the Conde-Duque may have introduced, or mentioned, Faria y Sousa and Camões to the young English diplomat. However, there is no evidence that Olivares and Fanshawe ever corresponded about literature, which weakens the Conde-Duque's possible role in this literary drama.

The one character that does have a history of discussing literature with Fanshawe, and Camões in particular, is the Portuguese poet, diplomat and soldier D. Francisco Manuel de Melo. It is by no means the only possible connection, but given the scarcity of other evidence, it is the clearest proof extant of a connection between the two translators of Camões. D. Francisco Manuel de Melo knew Faria y Sousa by the mid-1630s: the two corresponded, with Melo publishing three of his letters to Faria y Sousa in his 1664 *Cartas Familiares*.³⁵ All three of the published letters date

34 Faria y Sousa, *Lusiadas Comentadas*, fol. †4r.

35 Literally means *Family Letters*. In the most recent modern edition these are the letters numbers 11, 12 and 16, cf. Francisco Manuel de Melo, *Cartas familiares* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1981). Significantly, Melo also corresponded with Manuel de Severim Faria, the first biographer of Camões, and one of Faria y Sousa's sources.

from 1637, within the period with which we are concerned. The question to be addressed is did Fanshawe and D. Francisco Manuel de Melo know each other in the late 1630s?

The answer is buried amidst the dry diplomatic missives of the English ambassador in Spain. Through Melo's published correspondence, it is possible to place him in Madrid in March 1638,³⁶ but the poet's dating is frequently skewed. In addition, it must be taken into account that only the published letters survive, which necessarily creates gaps in the chronology that cannot be filled without holograph manuscripts of other letters. Did Melo have any contact with the English retinue at the Spanish court? Based on a letter from Lord Aston to Secretary Coke the answer seems to be yes. On the 3rd [13th] of March 1637 [1638], four days after D. Francisco Manuel de Melo's letter from Madrid, Aston writes:

Don Francisco Melo is lately arrived in this Court hath kissed the Kings hands seemes much respected by the Conde Duq^e and is already Called to their Cabinet Counsell he hath likewise wth very good satisfaction given an Accoumpt in Counsell of what he hath negotiated wth the Princes of Italy and in Germany in his last ymploym^{ts}.³⁷

While both Aston and Melo's letter appear to place the latter in Madrid at the same time, Aston might not be referring to the Portuguese poet at all. 'D. Francisco Melo' was a common enough name for Portuguese officials working at a high level of government at the time. There are, at least, three different men with the same name,³⁸ and Aston can be referring to any of those. The most likely contender is the Conde de Assumar, given that later in the same letter Aston claims to hear that they are 'to send [...] Don Francisco Melo to Milan'.³⁹ However, Edgar Prestage's biographic draft of the poet corroborates the location in D. Francisco Manuel de Melo's letter, placing him in Madrid in the middle of 1638.⁴⁰ Furthermore, there is no evidence that what Aston heard [i.e., sending Melo to Milan] was actually enacted. What seems to have happened is, therefore, that D. Francisco Manuel de Mello *was* in Madrid at roughly the same time as Richard Fanshawe. In addition, according to Prestage, Melo was sent to La Coruña in the summer of 1638:

36 Cf. letter number 20 in *Ibid.*, 72., 'Ao Conde de Linhares Dom Miguel de Noronha, sobre negocios que lhe competiam', dated 9th of March 1638, in Madrid. The letters immediately before (24th of February) and after (27th of June) are both from Lisbon.

37 'Aston to Coke', SP 94/40 f.34.

38 Other than the poet, those are the Conde de Assumar, who would be made Viceroy of Sicily in 1639 and governor of the Low Countries in 1641, and Francisco de Melo e Torres, later Conde da Ponte, Marques de Sande, and Portuguese ambassador in England.

39 'Aston to Coke', SP 94/40 f.34.

40 Edgar Prestage, *Dom Francisco Manoel de Mello: his life and writings* (Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 1905), 11.

It happened that about this time [the middle of the year 1638] the Cardinal Infant D. Fernando, Governor of Flanders, was pressing the Court of Madrid to send him reinforcements, and, in pursuance of this request, the Council of State decided to collect all the available troops, including the new levies, for embarkation at Carthagena and Corunna, and shortly after his arrival at the latter place, Mello found himself appointed colonel of a mixed regiment of 1,170 men, partly Portuguese, partly Spaniards.⁴¹

Sometime in the middle of 1638, D. Francisco de Melo made his way from Madrid to La Coruña. This is particularly relevant because Fanshawe made the exact same trajectory. In a letter of 1st [10th] of July 1638, Fanshawe writes to Coke:

Hee [Sir Arthur Hopton, the new ambassador to Spain] is now arrived in this Court & tells mee that y^r Hon^r gave him order to send mee presently home w^{ch} I humbly obey & suddaynly after his Lo^{ps} Audience is past intend by the grace of God to begin my Journey towards the Groyne [La Coruna] & embarque my selfe in Capt: Mence [Mennes] his ship w^{ch} is now likewise arrived.⁴²

Even if Fanshawe did not meet D. Francisco Manuel de Melo at the time when he was the interim Ambassador at Madrid (28th of April⁴³ to 10th of July⁴⁴), it is very likely that the two would have crossed paths with each other at La Coruna, where Fanshawe arrived sometime in August 1638,⁴⁵ where Melo can be safely assumed to be stationed at the same time.

Therefore, even if the poet D. Francisco Manuel de Melo was not the same D. Francisco Melo mentioned by Aston in his letter, he was both in Madrid and La Coruña at the same time as Fanshawe. Their friendship probably dates to those days of 1638, if not before. The two might have met again in 1641, when D. Francisco Manuel de Melo visited England on a diplomatic mission for the newly crowned Portuguese monarch, D. Joao IV.⁴⁶ As their later correspondence attests, the two men shared an interest in poetry, and crucially, the poetry of Camões.⁴⁷ It seems all the more likely

41 Ibid.

42 'Fanshawe to Coke', SP 94/40 f.111.

43 'Aston to Coke', SP 94/40 f.66.

44 'Fanshawe to Coke', SP 94/40 f.111.

45 'Fanshawe to Capt. Mennes', SP 94/40 f.170.

46 Cf. Prestage, *Dom Francisco Manoel de Mello*, 15. and Francisco Manuel de Mello, *Aula Politica, Curia Militar* (Lisboa: Mathias Pereyra da Sylva e Joam Antunes Pedrozo, 1720), sig. F[5]v.

47 Cf. Walker, 'A Rediscovered Seventeenth-Century Literary Friendship'. In the letter, D. Francisco Manuel de Melo thanks Fanshawe for sending him a copy of his translation and highly praises it: 'Portugal, Camoens y Gama, son ahora mas dichosos que en su primera edad; quando se ven en esta reeternicados por beneficio de la sublime Musa

then, that Melo somehow put Fanshawe in touch with Faria y Sousa, or at least told the Englishman about his monumental edition of *Os Lusíadas*.

The possibility first offered by Roger Walker in 1994 – that Fanshawe first came into contact with Faria y Sousa's Spanish edition of *Os Lusíadas* – seems to hold true. So far this chapter established that Fanshawe and Lord Aston were involved in acquiring Spanish books and art objects for their friends in England, that the diplomats were personally acquainted with the cultural circle surrounding the court at Madrid in those days, and that there is a clear link between Fanshawe, D. Francisco Manuel de Melo, and Manuel de Faria y Sousa. In all probability, upon his return to England in September 1638, Fanshawe carried with him either an advanced copy of Faria y Sousa's *Lusíadas Comentadas*, the promise of such copy, or, at the very least, the knowledge that the book's publication was very near. If that is so, then why wait until 1653, almost fifteen years later, to start his translation?

Translating in Yorkshire

In 1653 Richard Fanshawe found himself essentially exiled into the West Riding of Yorkshire, in Tankersley Old Hall, a sixteenth-century manor at the centre of Tankersley park,⁴⁸ leased by William Wentworth, the 2nd Earl of Stafford. This section of the chapter has two main objectives: to contextualise the period in which Richard Fanshawe translated *Os Lusíadas* into English, with particular attention to how he found himself in Yorkshire after over two decades of constant travel within the British Isles and the continent; and to explore and establish exactly how Fanshawe's translation relates to its Spanish 1639 counterpart. Unlike the previous section where the bulk of effort was put into investigating and grounding suspicions raised by other scholars, this section has the luxury of building on solid ground, working from two established facts: that *The Lusiad* was translated between 1653 and 1654 in Tankersley Park, and that Fanshawe *did use* Faria y Sousa's 1639 translation of the Portuguese epic, according to Roger Walker's findings. The questions to be answered here, therefore, are not *when* and *where* but *why* and *how*.

de *Vuestra Excelencia*', in *Ibid.*, 16.

48 'History of Tankersley and the Old Hall', accessed 9th of February 2015, <http://www.tankersleypc.org/history-of-tankersley-old-hall/>

That Fanshawe translated *The Lusiad* in Yorkshire, we know from both the mouth (or pen) of the man himself *and* his wife's corroboration. In his dedicatory letter to William Wentworth, the 2nd Earl of Stafford, who was leasing the Yorkshire estate to the Fanshawes, Richard writes that '[Camões] is so truly a *Native* of YORKSHIRE, and *holding* of your *Lordship*, that, from the hour I began it, to the end thereof, I slept not once out of *these Walls*'⁴⁹ of Tankersley Park, as his signature makes clear.⁵⁰ Lady Ann confirms this on a rare – even if brief – account of her husband's literary endeavours:

In March [1653] we with our 3 children, Ann, Richard, and Betty, went into Yorkshire, where we livd an innocent country life, minding only the country sports and the country affairs. Here my husband translated Luis de Camoens, and in October the 8th [18th], 1653, I was delivered of my daughter Margaret.⁵¹

By singling out *The Lusiad*, Lady Anne draws attention to its significance in Richard Fanshawe's life. Not only is the Portuguese epic the only of Fanshawe's literary works mentioned in her memoir, it wasn't even the only work produced during their stay at Tankersley. In the same short period Fanshawe translated *Querer por Solo Querer* and *Fiestas de Aranjuez*, both by the Spanish dramatist Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza and published posthumously in 1670,⁵² as well as Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*⁵³ into Latin, published in 1658. He also wrote a prefatory letter to John Evelyn's translation of the first book of Lucretius *De Rerum Natura*,⁵⁴ dated 27th of December 1653 [6th of January 1654], in which he says he has just finished reading Theodore Bathurst's Latin translation of Spencer's *Shepherds Calendar*. That is an awful lot of activity for one man to undertake in just over a year in Yorkshire.⁵⁵ Having so much to choose from to summarise their time

49 Richard Fanshawe, trans., *The Lusiad, or Portugals Historicall Poem* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1655), sig. A2v.

50 Ibid. sig. A3r. The dedicatory letter is dated from the 1st of May 1655, which implies that the family was still living there at that time. As we know from Lady Ann's *Memoirs* this is not true as they moved from Tankersley the week following the 20th [30th] of July 1654 to Hamerton, Cambridgeshire (cf. Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 136.) Roger Walker assumes that the misdating is the result of a printing error (cf. Roger M. Walker, general note to *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, ed. Peter Davidson, 582), but I will be challenging this assumption on the final section of this chapter.

51 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 136.

52 Richard Fanshawe, trans., *Querer por Solo Querer: To Love Only for Love Sake: a dramatic romance* by Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza (London: William Godbid, 1670).

53 Richard Fanshawe, trans., *La Fida Pastora* by John Fletcher (London: G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1658).

54 Richard Fanshawe, dedicatory letter to *An Essay on the First Book of Lucretius De Rerum Natura* translated by John Evelyn (London: G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1656), sig. B3v-B5r.

55 So much so that it has led some to cast a doubt on Fanshawe's own assertion that he undertook and completed his translation of *The Lusiad* from start to finish while staying at the Earl of Stafford's estate. H. C. Fanshawe, for example, considers that '[i]t seems hardly possible, however, that the work should have been actually commenced

at Tankersley, Lady Ann's unique mention of *The Lusiad* implies a recognition of the importance of her husband's translation. That importance, judging from the absolute desert of references to Fanshawe's other literary works in her memoirs, stems more from the translation's impact on the family's life rather than its significance in the world of letters. Writing more than two decades after the event, it could not have escaped Lady Ann that this translation had probably been the deciding factor in Richard Fanshawe's appointment as ordinary ambassador to Portugal in 1663.⁵⁶ Furthermore, it is possible that Lady Ann saw her husband's translation of Camões as connected with their own personal situation at the time and the political and social situation of the country. The three – the translation, the time when the translation was made, and the Interregnum – I argue, are all profoundly interconnected.

At a very literal level, the moment in which Fanshawe decided to undertake and publish the translation of Camões and his personal standing within England are intimately related simply because that period was the first in over ten years in which Fanshawe had the time available to dedicate to such a great task. Between his return to England in 1638 and his capture following the battle of Worcester in 1651, Fanshawe had been almost constantly employed in the service of his royal masters, which frequently saw him travelling within the British isles and abroad.⁵⁷ During that period, his only poetic output was the publication of *The Faithful Shepherd*, a translation of Batista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* together with a collection of his poetry.⁵⁸ The translation itself probably dates from his time at Oxford with the King in 1643-1644,⁵⁹ and the vast majority of his poems can

there [at Tankersley] [...] as it consists of 1102 stanzas of eight lines each, or 8816 lines in all' (cf. H. C. Fanshawe, notes to Fanshawe, *Memoirs of Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 230). Monumental as *The Lusiad* may be, it is still not the longest of epics, and one with which Fanshawe had been acquainted with, as proposed in the previous section of this chapter, since the late 1630s or early 1640s. It seems even more probable when considering that Fanshawe used Faria y Sousa's Spanish edition that, other than a translation, also included an extensive line-by-line commentary of the text.

- 56 The relationship between Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad* and his later diplomatic work is discussed in chapter 4.
- 57 Between 1639-1641 he is Secretary to the Council of War in Ireland, first under the Earl of Strafford and then under Lord Ormond; in 1643 he goes to Oxford to join the King; in 1644 he is made Secretary for War to the Prince of Wales, a placement that he will occupy effectively until 1648, when he is made Treasurer of the Navy in Ireland, and (at least) nominally until the battle of Worcester in 1651. During this period he travels to Bristol (1645), Jersey (1646), London (1647 and 1649), France (1647, 1648 and 1650), Ireland (1648 and 1649), Holland (1649 and 1651), Spain (1650) and Scotland (1651). Cf. the chronology of the Fanshawes's lives in Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 95–99.
- 58 Richard Fanshawe, trans., *Il Pastor Fido, The Faithful Shepherd* (London: Ruth Raworth, 1647). A second edition was published in 1648 with the addition of his poems and some of his Latin translations, Richard Fanshawe, *Il Pastor Fido. The Faithful Shepheard. With an addition of divers other Poems* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1648).
- 59 'A reasonable guess as to the date of its composition is 1643-4. [...] the relative leisure of his two-year stay [at Oxford] in the midst of an otherwise busy period of his life would have provided an excellent opportunity for undertaking a 5,500-line verse translation. It might also be argued that since Fanshawe published the work at his first opportunity after joining the King's cause [he would not be in London until 1647] [...] he wrote it for publication and that, had he finished it before 1643, he would have published it earlier', Walter F. Staton and William E. Simeone, introduction to *A Critical Edition of Sir Richard Fanshawe's 1647 Translation of Giovanni Batista Guarini's Il Pastor Fido*, ed. Walter F. Staton and William E. Simeone (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964),

be traced back to his University days and the period before the beginning of the Civil Wars. It is a sad thought that a major civil war and a complete change in people's lives and society had to occur for the Portuguese epic to be translated into English, but that seems exactly to be the case. In his book *Translation and the Poet's Life*, Paul Davis notes that

It is no accident that Denham, Vaughan, Cowley, Dryden and Pope all practiced translating at moments of crisis or transformation in their lives, when they were in dire straits or at a fork in the road. My primary concern [...] is to uncover the part translation played in posing and resolving these personal dilemmas.⁶⁰

The same, I would argue, could be said of Fanshawe.⁶¹ The dire straits in which Fanshawe saw himself was his own final and personal defeat in the Civil War, his arrest at the battle of Worcester, the last significant royalist effort to overtake the parliamentarians in power. While the Prince of Wales is famously said to have escaped capture by hiding in an oak tree, Fanshawe was not so lucky. His name was printed in the list of prisoners given in the *Mercurius Politicus* of 4-11 September,⁶² as well as in several pamphlets published at the time.⁶³ Unlike the majority of other arrests, who appear merely as numbers to be tallied, Richard Fanshawe is usually identified as 'Mr. Fanshaw, secretary to the King of Scots', which suggests the prominence in his post in parliamentary eyes. Lady Ann's laudatory account of her husband's life certainly gives him a primary position amongst the royalists. During a near-arrest in Ireland, she narrates – how she might have heard this is beyond me⁶⁴ – Cromwell's reaction to Fanshawe's flight and the loss of his papers:

xviii–xix.

60 Paul Davis, *Translation and the Poet's Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 15.

61 Interestingly, Davis himself writes that 'only one [poet-translator] who would otherwise fall within my remit has had to be excluded [...]: Sir Richard Fanshawe, whose most achieved renderings can stand comparison with those of Denham and Vaughan, if not Cowley, Dryden, or Pope, but whose disinclination to reflect on his own poetic practices disqualifies him from extended treatment in these pages', *Ibid.*, 13. As discussed in the conclusion, while Richard Fanshawe may have not written extensively about his own poetic practices, he certainly thought deeply about translation and saw its practice as intimately connected with his own life and times.

62 John Hall, *Mercurius Politicus*, 4-11 September 1651. Lady Ann probably refers to this when she writes that 'the fatal news which at last came in their newsbook, which mentioned your father a prisoner', in Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 134.

63 Such as Anon., *A list of the princes, dukes, earls, lords, knights, generals, maior generalls, &c. and colonells, of the Scots Kings party slaine and taken prisoners* (London: Robert Ibbitson, 1651); Robert Stapylton, *A More Full Relation of the Great Victory at Worchester* (London: Edward Griffin, 1651).

64 Although the Fanshawes and Cromwell were distant relatives (cf. Melitta J. Cutright, 'Sir Richard Fanshawe: The Elegant Amateur', PhD diss., Northwestern University, 11.) and Lady Ann pleaded with Cromwell directly for Richard's release, it seems unlikely that Cromwell would have admitted to preferring the capture of the man to that of the important town of Cork.

when the rebels went to give an accompt to Cromwell of their meritorious act, he immediatly asked them where Mr Fanshawe was. They replied, he was that day gone to Kingsale. Then he demanded where his papers and his family were, at which they all stared one at an other, but made no reply. Their Generall sayd, 'It was as much worth to have seised his papers as the town [Cork]; for I did make account by them to have known what these parts of the country were worth'.⁶⁵

Eventually Fanshawe was brought back to London and sent to Whitehall, where 'in a little room yet standing in the bowling green he was kept prisoner, without the speech of any so far as they knew, 10 weeks, and in expectation of death'.⁶⁶ The prison took its toll on the King's secretary, and Richard grew ill with scurvy that 'brought him almost to death's doore'.⁶⁷ Following Richard's instructions, Ann pleaded with Cromwell himself 'who had a great respect for [him] and would have bought him off to his servise upon any termes'.⁶⁸ Richard was eventually released upon bail of 4000lb,⁶⁹ and surprisingly, not made to take the engagement.⁷⁰ Ann attributes this decision to Cromwell himself, and claims that he gave a rather witty quip about the matter in the Council of State: 'I never knew that the ingagement was a medecine for the scorbutte'.⁷¹ Fanshawe is then set free, with the status of his parole being periodically reviewed by the Council of State. He is allowed to go out of London and, eventually, in 1652, his friend the Earl of Stafford offers his estate in Yorkshire to the Fanshawes. Despite Ann's description of the Earl as Richard's 'good friend,⁷²' the offer came with the price tag of 120 pounds per year.⁷³ Isolated in the north of the country, with his freedom effectively curtailed – one could describe him as being almost under house arrest at that time – forbidden to take part in political discussions and to contact fellow royalist exiles, Fanshawe finally has the time, leisure, and, perhaps, the will to tackle Camões; and he does so with the help of Faria y Sousa.

That Fanshawe undoubtedly made use of Faria y Sousa's edition of Camões has only been established comparatively recently. In 1994, Roger Walker unearthed two documents that effectively prove that Fanshawe used Faria y Sousa. These are a Latin document with notes taken

65 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 124.

66 *Ibid.*, 134.

67 *Ibid.*

68 *Ibid.*, 135.

69 *Ibid.*

70 A statement of loyalty to the Commonwealth.

71 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 135.

72 *Ibid.*, 136.

73 *Ibid.*

directly from Faria y Sousa's 'Vida del Poeta', specifically a famous anecdote about Philip II who, upon entering Portugal, was very sorry to hear that Camões had died two weeks before. These Latin notes, found amongst Fanshawe's papers now housed at the Valence House Museum,⁷⁴ are directly taken from Faria y Sousa and, according to Walker, are in the hand of a professional amanuensis but 'the interlinear corrections are undoubtedly in Sir Richard Fanshawe's hand'.⁷⁵ While the Latin did not find its way into Fanshawe's English translation, those notes reflect key-passages on Fanshawe's paratexts. The second document that confirms Fanshawe's use of Faria y Sousa's edition consists of notes taken by the translator himself while reading the Spanish edition. These are held at Leicestershire Record Office,⁷⁶ and are both in English *and* in Fanshawe's hand,⁷⁷ mostly in the form of place-names found in *Os Lusíadas* and their descriptions in Faria y Sousa's commentary. I agree with Walker when he sees this document as 'a fragment of the working notes which Sir Richard Fanshawe made prior to beginning his translation of the *Lusíadas*',⁷⁸ but I find his assertion that Fanshawe's translation 'is more a rendering into English of Faria e Sousa's Spanish than a direct translation from the Portuguese'⁷⁹ simplistic, and, to be blunt, simply wrong.

Walker's argument is faulty because it obfuscates the giant leap from 'taking notes from the commentary' to 'translating the Spanish prose'. The documents do prove that Fanshawe read Faria y Sousa, but not that he translated directly from Spanish. Even though he claims that this 'can be shown by comparative textual evidence',⁸⁰ Walker does not present any examples. His dismissal of the traditional understanding that Fanshawe took the translation as a way of learning Portuguese is similarly weak, claiming that the translator would be able to pick up a reading knowledge of the language 'very quickly [...] via his knowledge of the Spanish'.⁸¹ In fact, Fanshawe famously wrote to Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, that 'What I have most studied ever since my captivitie has been foreign languages; and the most that I have published other men's matter: viz., a portingall poem of Luis de Camoens, englisht'.⁸² Fanshawe deliberately places learning foreign languages and translating *Os Lusíadas* on the same plane. There is no record of Fanshawe translating anything in a language he hadn't mastered during the 1650s other than Camões's poem – which implies that the two are connected. It appears that Fanshawe did take on the translation with this objective in mind.

74 Barking and Dagenham Archives and Local Studies Service, M51-286, Doc. N. 685.

75 Walker, 'Sir Richard Fanshawe's "Lusíad" and Manuel de Faria e Sousa's "Lusíadas Comentadas"', 47.

76 Leicestershire Record Office, DE 316/39.

77 Walker, 'Sir Richard Fanshawe's "Lusíad" and Manuel de Faria e Sousa's "Lusíadas Comentadas"', 52.

78 *Ibid.*, 59.

79 Walker, 'General Note', 582.

80 *Ibid.*

81 Walker, 'Sir Richard Fanshawe's "Lusíad" and Manuel de Faria e Sousa's "Lusíadas Comentadas"', 63.

82 Fanshawe quoted in *Ibid.*, 46. Fanshawe was under house arrest following his imprisonment after the battle of Worcester, where he fought for the losing Royalists.

This argument is, by its very nature, indisputable – i.e., you cannot prove that Fanshawe did not try to learn Portuguese simply because there is no evidence that he succeeded; he might simply have failed to acquire sufficient control of the language. If anything, using a Spanish translation which is also a rich compendium of explanatory notes as an intermediary only corroborates this hypothesis: when not understanding something, simply turn to the commentary for enlightenment. Walker also feels that it is ‘reasonable to assume that Fanshawe never progressed much further than a reading knowledge of Portuguese’⁸³ but fails to explain how this is synonymous with translating directly from the Spanish.

One document reveals exactly Fanshawe’s level of knowledge in Portuguese. In 1662, at the start of his first diplomatic assignment in Portugal, Fanshawe writes to Antonio de Sousa Macedo, secretary of state, asking in which language should the two communicate, saying about his Portuguese that: ‘verum illam, quamvis impressam aliquatenus intelligo, manuscriptam propter abreviationes non Lego, pronunciatam (nisi id fiat lente et clare) vix, et, saepissime, ne vix quidem’.⁸⁴ Fanshawe’s profession of proficiency in Portuguese has never been discussed before. While largely confirming Walker’s assumption that Fanshawe could not entirely master the Portuguese language, it still does not prove that Fanshawe translated *The Lusiad* directly from the Spanish. The question remains: what is the relationship between Fanshawe’s and Faria y Sousa’s translations?

The first thing to take into account is that Faria y Sousa’s translation is hardly anything else but a literal transposition of Portuguese verse into Spanish prose, with the occasional rearranged syntax, such as the translation of I.1-2 shows:

As Armas e os Barões assinalados, Que, da Occidental praia Lusitana, Por mares nunca de antes navegados Passaram ainda além da Taprobana, Em perigos e guerras esforçados, Mais do que permitia a força humana; E entre gente remota edificaram Novo Reyno, que tanto sublimaram;	De África e de Ásia andaram [devastando, E aqueles que por obras valerosas Se vão da lei da Morte libertando: Cantando espalharei por toda a parte, Se a tanto me ajudar o engenho e arte. Si el ingenio, i arte me ayudaren a tanto, cantando esparcirè por toda parte, las armas, i los varones señalados, que desde la Occidental playa Lusitana, por mares nunca	navegados antes, passaron aun allá de la Tapobrana: i que esforçados en peligros i guerras, más do lo que prometia la humana fuerça, edificaron entre gente remota un nuevo Reyno que tanto sublimaron: i tambiẽ cantarè las gloriosas memorias de aquellos Reyes que fueron dilatando la Fè, e el Imperio por la Africa, i Asia, mientras anduvieron devastando sus viciosas tierras: i aquellos Heroes que por valientes acciones se van libertando de la ley de la muerte, i olvido.
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83 Walker, ‘General Note’, 582.

84 ‘it is true that, to some extent, I understand [it] printed, though do not read manuscripts on account of the abbreviations, being pronounced, (unless it be done slowly and clearly) hardly, and very often not at all’. ‘Sir Richard Fanshawe to Antonio de Sousa de Macedo’, SP 89/6 f.41. The same letter quotes from *The Lusiad* in Portuguese and will be analysed closely in chapter 4.

<p><i>Armes, and the Men</i> above the vulgar File, Who from the <i>Western Lusitanian</i> shore Past ev'n beyond the <i>Trapobaninan</i>-Isle, Through <i>Seas</i> which never <i>Ship</i> had sayld before; Who (brave in <i>action</i>, patient in long <i>Toyle</i>,</p>	<p>Beyond what strength of <i>humane</i> nature bore.) 'Mongst <i>Nations</i>, under <i>other</i> <i>Stars</i>, aquir'd A <i>modern Scepter</i> which to <i>Heaven</i> aspir'd. Likewise those <i>Kings</i> of <i>glorious memory</i>, Who sow'd and propagated where they past</p>	<p><i>The Faith</i> with the <i>new Empire</i> (making dry The <i>Breasts</i> of <i>ASIA</i>, and laying to waste Black <i>AFFRICK'S</i> vitious <i>Glebe</i>) And <i>Those</i> who by Their deeds at <i>home</i> left not their names defac't, My <i>Song</i> shal spread where ever there are [Men, If <i>Wit</i> and <i>Art</i> will so much guide my <i>Pen</i>.</p>
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Faria y Sousa's version is not a translation in verse, unlike Fanshawe's. Faria y Sousa's use of prose in itself does not disprove that Fanshawe took the Spanish text as his primary source, but it does inform us that he at least consulted the Portuguese original. Another significant detail not usually commented upon is the structure in which Faria y Sousa's translation is organised: translation, then line-by-line commentary, but before it all, in a larger typeface, is the original Portuguese text (fig. 1). The line-by-line commentary, significantly refers not to the translation but to the Portuguese text itself. The commentary of the above stanzas, therefore, starts by explaining 'As armas e os barões assinalados' rather than Faria y Sousa's transposed syntax of 'Si el ingenio i arte me ayudarem'. This implies one important thing: that anyone who wished properly to study Faria y Sousa's commentary, as Fanshawe did, would be *forced* to *engage* with the original text.

The example above demonstrates quite clearly that Fanshawe did in fact engage with the Portuguese text rather than rely entirely on the Spanish translation. Faria y Sousa rightfully recognised that the two first stanzas of the poem form a unit and decided to translate them together, changing their syntax in order to increase the readability of the text. In doing so, he lost the most significant element of those stanzas, the Virgilian echo in the first line, the 'Arma virumque cano' (though he noted it in his commentary). Faced with opting between classical allusion and legibility, Fanshawe clearly chose the former. His translation, unlike Faria y Sousa's, attempts to mimic the convoluted syntax of the Portuguese text, albeit with the occasional permutation of verse or graphic help in subordinate clauses. However, suggesting that Fanshawe consulted the Portuguese text is not tantamount to declaring that he ignored the Spanish translation altogether. The process of Fanshawe's translation is at once more complex and more organic than previously suggested. Like many modern translators, Fanshawe most likely wanted as many resources as he could find to help him in his task. Commentaries, other translations, secondary literature, biographies, apologies: these are all helpful sources to any translator in any time; Faria y Sousa's edition offered them all in a neat little two-volumed, 1200 pages-long package.

Despite his reliance on Faria y Sousa's work, it is clear that Fanshawe did not always follow

or agree with the Spanish text's suggestions. Possibly the clearest example is Fanshawe's dismissal of Faria y Sousa's interpretation of the Council of the Gods as an allegory for the Catholic trinity. Faria y Sousa interprets the scene by substituting Jove in place of God, Venus in place of the Virgin Mary, Baccus standing in for the devil. Faria y Sousa's reading of the council of the gods is clearly based on Catholic theology. In Fanshawe's translation of *Os Lusíadas* there is no hint that the Englishman subscribed to this interpretation. What is left of it is simply the idea that the Council of the Gods can be read allegorically. In Fanshawe, the Council suddenly becomes a model parliament, with Jove enthroned as a kingly ruler, and all the other deities as MPs taking their turns and deferring to the King, a change that will be discussed at length in chapter 3.⁸⁵

Another, perhaps less obvious example, can be seen in II.42.7-8. In this stanza, Camões describes the end result of Venus pleading in favour of the Portuguese with Jove in two particularly racy lines. Jove approaches Venus wiping the tears from her face and then Camões declares: 'De modo que dali se só se achara, / outro novo Cupido se gerara'.⁸⁶ Camões clearly implies that Jove's love for Venus has crossed the boundaries from pity to sexual desire. Faria y Sousa recognises this and keeps it in his translation, 'de suerte, que alli si se hallará solo, se engendrera otro nuevo Cupido'. He goes on to explain in his notes that 'con esto no tienen que ver lascivias de Iupiter i Venus, Gentilicos: i buelvo a dezir, que el Gentil, i dañado, es quien lo piensa: porque el P[oeta] no lo pensó'⁸⁷. Fanshawe, on the contrary, not only thought of that, but also agreed that Camões thought of that himself. His response is to censor the passage. In its stead, Fanshawe writes: 'had he hated PORTUGAL before, / Would now have lov'd it meerly on *her* score'.⁸⁸ In Fanshawe's translation it is Portugal who becomes the subject of Jove's love, not Venus. Peter Davidson in his commentary on Fanshawe suggests that 'The custom of reading in the family circle may lie behind this censorship'.⁸⁹ Regardless of the reason for the bowdlerisation, it proves that Fanshawe had a keen understanding of the text, the mythological allusions and their potentially subversive implications, most likely the result of a combination of reading the Spanish translation, the original Portuguese text and the commentary in Faria y Sousa, in the light of his own knowledge of classical mythology.

Fanshawe was not shy about adding his own classical allusions where he found Camões

85 'Thus JOVE: when in their course of *Parliament* \ The *Gods* reply'd in order as they Sate, \ And to an fro by way of Argument \ Upon the matter calmly did debate'. (I.30.1-14), in Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 36. I will discuss the implications of this translation in chapter 3.

86 A possible literal English translation would be 'so that from their encounter / a new cupid would be born'.

87 Faria y Sousa, *Lusíadas Comentadas*, sig. Pr-P2r. ['There is nothing lascivious about this between Venus and Jupiter, gentiles; and I say it again, that gentile and damned is who thinks of it in that manner, because the Poet did not'.]

88 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol 2, 68.

89 *Ibid.*, 603.

lacking. For example, in V.63.1-2, Camões describes an encounter with the African population on the east coast of Africa. In the original text, the women are simply ‘em cima / dos vagarosos boys’,⁹⁰ while Fanshawe is keen to make clear the parallel of Europe arriving in Crete on top of Jupiter in the form of an ox. As an aside, Fanshawe adds ‘(like EUROPA)’.⁹¹ Faria y Sousa keeps the translation reference free, but adds the parallel in the commentary in a throwaway aside. Again, Fanshawe engages with both the text and the commentary.

Although these isolated examples of textual indebtedness show to some extent how the English translation relates to the Spanish one, there are several paratextual elements that might further illuminate this relationship.

The first edition of *The Lusiad* in England was a slim volume; printed in folio, with some paratextual material but no encomiastic texts to the translator, and only three engravings: one of Camões himself (fig. 2), one of Vasco da Gama (fig. 3), and one of Henry the Navigator (fig. 4). I will discuss the plate of Henry the Navigator further in the next section of this chapter, but for now I will concentrate on the other two. They are improved copies from plates originally found in Faria y Sousa (fig. 5 and 6). Both the bust of Camões and Gama’s portrait replicate the same pose and the same elements as those in the Spanish edition, although with greater detail that does not just derive from the use of a newer plate, but from a different original and engraving technique altogether. In Faria y Sousa the lines are coarse and simple, while in Fanshawe’s they are richly textured. Vasco da Gama’s portrait is signed by an engraver, T. Cross, although Faria y Sousa’s are clearly the earlier depictions, not only because they obviously predate the publication of Fanshawe, but because the translator claims that both were made on purpose for his monumental commentary: ‘El retrato del P[oeta] se sacó bien parecido a otro que era original, mandado hazer por su amigo el Lic. Manuel Correia’, and Gama’s, similarly, copied from an original in the Goa palace.⁹²

The similarities do not end here. In Faria y Sousa’s edition, Camões’s bust is placed alongside a bust of Faria y Sousa himself; below each of the woodcuts, there is a fair amount of encomiastic poems to both of them. Camões is praised by Tasso, Diogo Bernardes, Faria y Sousa himself and others; while Faria y Sousa has Lope de Vega, who also wrote a lengthy preface to his book, and others. Significantly, the Valence House Museum manuscript found by Roger Walker mentions precisely this page. Fanshawe writes, in Latin, ‘I find the following royal appreciations of the poet and the poem, amongst a countless number by lesser people’ and at the bottom of the page: ‘The great Tasso echoes this praise from the other Hisperia, so you, reader, may see what the Prince of

90 ‘On top of the slow oxen’.

91 Ibid., 173.

92 Faria y Sousa, *Lusiadas Comentadas*, sig. †6r-†6v.

Italian poets thought of the Hispanic poet'. In fact, Tasso's famous celebratory poem of Camões is one of the paratexts included in Fanshawe's edition, with the original Italian followed by his translation. Clearly, as his note suggests, Fanshawe was only interested in the praise of someone as relevant as Torquato Tasso. The shedding of the praises from poets such as Diogo Bernardes is more than understandable, they would be completely unknown to an English audience. Fanshawe clings to the only international endorsement that can give credibility to the epic in England. However, one single throwaway poem to celebrate the genius of the Portuguese poet was clearly not enough, particularly when facing the dozens of pages in the Spanish translation. Accordingly, under the bust of Camões, Fanshawe decided to write his own poem, a fairly famous piece, in the voice of Camões himself. That poem offers some brief notes about the life of the Portuguese poet, introducing and praising his work to an English audience.⁹³

The relevant fact in Fanshawe's sonnet on Camões, as Roger Walker demonstrated, is that Fanshawe's poem is clearly derived from the biographical note written by Faria y Sousa in his translation. Particularly the lines 'Philip a Cordiall, (*the ill Fortune see!*) \ To cure *my Wants when those had new kill'd me*', are a clear rendering of an anecdote written by Faria y Sousa in which Philip II, upon entering Portugal to take control of the country in 1580, asked to see the poet in order to reward his talent, only to learn that Camões had died a couple of weeks before. Faria y Sousa contrasts this benevolent and generous act of the Spanish crown with the abandonment by the Portuguese court of the poet, who eventually died in poverty. Fanshawe mimics this interpretation on the last two lines of his poem, softening it with a suggestion of mutual glorification: '*My country (Nothing – yes) Immortal Prayse / (So did I, Her)*'.

Turning our attention to Vasco da Gama's portrait, there is another slight detail that can add to our understanding of the relationship between the two texts. In Faria y Sousa, Gama's depiction follows II.98, a description of Vasco da Gama's clothes, and is an appropriate visual representation of what the captain might have worn. However, a major discrepancy can be seen between what the poet writes and what the reader sees. Camões mentions a cap and plume, and in Faria y Sousa there is no plume to be seen. In Fanshawe's version of the engraving, by contrast, the captain's hat sports what appears to be an ostrich feather. This ekphrastic relationship between text and the visual representation of Vasco da Gama in the English edition suggests that Fanshawe significantly engaged with Faria y Sousa's work in ways other than a simple copy-text. It also suggests that Fanshawe might have been involved to some degree in the production of the 1655 book, as it will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

93 Fanshawe's poem on Camoes will be discussed at length in chapter 2.

I have chosen to end my very brief analysis of the connections between these two texts with this engraving because it perfectly illustrates the complex relationship between the two most significant translations of *Os Lusíadas* in the seventeenth century. That Fanshawe knew of, used, possibly even as its main source, Faria y Sousa's work is undeniable; but these elements are, like Vasco da Gama's portrait, simply a base to be worked upon and developed. Faria y Sousa's work informs but does not contain Fanshawe's effort. Fanshawe was a resourceful and independent translator. He did not feel the need to fill his translation with countless commentaries; he realised that a multiplicity of encomiastic poems from Iberian authors would be meaningless to an English audience, kept only Tasso's and supplied one himself, which is both a celebration and biographical note all rolled up into sixteen dexterous, simple lines. He took the two images from Faria y Sousa's translation that he deemed most useful – discarding the other eleven engravings of the Portuguese governors of India and the several coats of arms of the Portuguese monarchs.

There is still a considerable amount of work to be done on the relationship between the Spanish and English translations of *Os Lusíadas*. A proper comparative analysis of the two texts is still needed better to establish to what degree Fanshawe's translation is dependent on Faria y Sousa's Spanish version and commentary. However, it can be concluded that Fanshawe's engagement with Faria y Sousa's work is remarkably complex and, in many ways, modern. Resorting to Faria y Sousa's translation was the wisest thing that an Englishman with little to no knowledge of Portuguese culture and history could do. The complete absence of any helpful notes in Fanshawe's edition allows its potential readers greater freedom in interpreting the Portuguese text by separating it from its historic and national roots. This points to an ultimate objective that might have nothing to do with Portugal whatsoever.

Fanshawe's edition does not mention at any point Faria y Sousa's work. While the 1655 text does not mention that it was *directly* translated from the Portuguese, it does not deny it either. The erasure of any Spanish traces was also a deliberate act on Fanshawe's part. By 1655, Portugal was still at war with Spain, and its independence was just fifteen years young. He was certainly aware that no English translator had undertaken the work before, and he could probably guess that if it was made public that his main source had been Faria y Sousa's translation – not only a Spanish translation, but a translation made by a Portuguese who had been collaborating with the Spanish government prior to the Restoration – its reception in Portugal would be less kind, perhaps even less than kind.

The argument that Fanshawe relied solely on Faria y Sousa's translation, while interesting to

consider, does not have sufficient evidence to support it. This approach endangers the study of the English translation for its own sake and on its own terms. As a consequence of such preoccupation with the Spanish translation, Fanshawe's work becomes diminished in its effort and achievements. Fanshawe's relationship with the Spanish version is much more complex and much more interesting than a simple twice removed second class translation of the Portuguese epic.

Printing The Lusiad

So far we have seen how and when Richard Fanshawe might have first come across Faria y Sousa's 1639 translation of and commentary on *The Lusiad*, what circumstances in his personal life afforded him the time and willingness to undertake such a task, and how and to what extent those two translations of the Portuguese epic may be genetically connected. All that is missing from *The Lusiad's* travel through space and time from its first appearance in Lisbon to its first English translation in 1655 London is precisely that last leg of the journey. How did Fanshawe's manuscript find itself printed instead of being circulated in manuscript through welcoming and like-minded hands? Was it really, as the editor of Fanshawe's 1701 printed letters claimed, a pirated edition, without the knowledge or intervention of the author?⁹⁴ Who was involved in the publication? Perhaps most significantly of all, did it have to be published in that particular year?

These are the questions that the last section of this chapter will address and attempt to answer. In doing so, it will take a close look at those whose names – and there are very few – feature in the published book. It will also propose a temporal window for the publishing of *The Lusiad* and explore what contemporary events might have precipitated its printing process.

Humphrey Moseley registered his rights to the English translation of *The Lusiad* on the 16th of August 1655.⁹⁵ Moseley paid sixpence for the registration, and in the same day he registered eighteen other books, of which he would only publish eight, and of those only five in that same year of 1655. There is no connection between those nineteen titles that Moseley entered into the

94 'during the unsettled Times of our *Anarchy*, some of his Manuscripts falling by Misfortune into unskilful Hands, were Printed and Publish'd without his Consent or Knowledg, and before he could give them his last finishing stroaks. Such was his Translation of *The Lusiards*, a celebrated Poem of *Luis de Camoens* from the Portugueze', in Abel Roper ed., *Original Letters of His Excellency Sir Richard Fanshaw, during his embassies in Spain and Portugal* (London: Abel Roper, 1701), sig. A4r-A4v.

95 George Eyre ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Woshipful Company of Stationers, 1640-1708 A.D.*, 3 vols. (London: Privately Printed, 1913), vol. 2, 7.

Stationer's register on that day: some are translations, some not; their subjects are entirely different, and so are their authors. The relationship between those books, however, is most likely incidental: we know from the Register that Moseley tended to enter his books in bulk, making maybe a couple of trips per month to register the manuscripts he had acquired in the meantime.

The reason why I have begun with this incidental relationship between names on a page is because this section is about the seemingly incidental relationships between the names on a book, *The Lusiad*, and how these incidents might tell us something about the origins of the book itself. *The Lusiad* contains exactly four names of contemporary people: Richard Fanshawe, the translator; Humphrey Moseley, the publisher; William Wentworth, the 2nd Earl of Strafford, to whom the translation is dedicated; and Thomas Cross, the engraver of at least one of the three plates included in *The Lusiad*.

For any student of seventeenth-century literature, Moseley is a familiar name. Saying that Moseley was the most significant publisher of his time is hardly an exaggeration. He published the best and brightest, and, as some critics have argued, he is responsible for recognising, developing and establishing 'a market for literary works'.⁹⁶

We know very little about the details of his personal life: he was born c. 1604, his father was a cook; Humphrey took his apprenticeship with Matthew Lownes – who published both Sidney and Spenser. After becoming a freeman of the company, he went into business with the bookseller Nicholas Fussel, a partnership that would last until c. 1636, after which Moseley worked mostly on his own, give or take a couple of isolated partnerships with other publishers (as happened with the works of Beaumont and Fletcher published in 1647). He died at the start of 1661, leaving his business to his wife Anne Moseley, and his only surviving daughter, also named Anne.⁹⁷

Between 1636 and 1661, Moseley published about 300 books. More significant than their number, however, is Moseley's efforts to create a recognisable brand of literary quality. In a 1659 preface to Sir John Suckling's *Last Remains*, Moseley writes that he has '(now for many yeares) annually published the Productions of the best Wits of our own, and Foreign Nations',⁹⁸ an intention that had already been voiced early in his career in a preface to Milton's *Poems*, in 1645: 'it is the love I have to our own Language that hath made me diligent to collect, and set forth such *Peeces*,

96 David Scott Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley and the Invention of English Literature', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Baron, Eric Lindquist and Eleanor Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), p. 113.

97 The best account of Moseley's life and work to date can be found in John Curtis Reed, *Humphrey Moseley, Publisher* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, Proceedings & Papers, vol. 2, pt. 2, 1929). All the details of Moseley's work discussed in this section are derived from Reed's article.

98 John Suckling, *The Last Remains of Sr John Suckling* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1659).

both in *Prose* and *Vers*, as may renew the wonted honour and esteem of our English tongue'.⁹⁹

Moseley is also usually regarded as a royalist publisher. Lois Potter, for example, writes that Moseley's particular kind of royalist propaganda 'appeals to nostalgia for a pre-war England which was also a Stuart England; it assumes a shared set of values on the part of his reader; and it whets their appetites for finding hidden meanings in polite literature'.¹⁰⁰ It is not hard to see why: the poets published by Moseley were, by and large, royalist poets,¹⁰¹ and those who were not were quickly rebranded in this way. A well-known case is that of Beaumont & Fletcher's works of 1647, which was prefaced by dozens of commendatory poems of known Royalist poets, a veritable who's who on the side of the king. Lois B. Wright called it a 'literary manifesto of Cavalier writers'.¹⁰²

Moseley's curious mix of literary and royalist agendas has many peculiarities. He has commendatory poems written to him, he wrote numerous prefaces to his own publications (29), mostly commending the worthiness of the author, but similarly mirroring the preoccupations of modern editors. For example, in the cases where the author was dead, he makes a point of claiming that his edition is an exact copy of the author's perfect original. He clearly and repeatedly shows a clear sense of authorship, even when he is justifying the publication of a book without the author's consent or knowledge. Often, Moseley mentions the contemporary woes of the Civil Wars and Interregnum, and particularly how that context affected his business. In that same Milton preface, Moseley wrote that 'the slightest Pamphlet is now adayes more vendible then the Works of learnedest men'.¹⁰³ Even more commonly, a small list of *errata* is included within the preface itself, with Moseley offering himself in contrition to the reader.

Contrary to Moseley's usual habits, *The Lusiad* was published with no paratextual elements other than those supplied by Fanshawe himself. This lack of boasting by the publisher, combined with the numerous misprints – most famously the misspelling *Luciad* on the running headers of the book – has led some early critics, such as the editor of Fanshawe's letters quoted above,¹⁰⁴ to claim

99 John Milton, *Poems of Mr. John Milton* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1645).

100 Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing Royalist Literature, 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 37.

101 A notable exception is the publication of John Milton's *Poems*, in 1645, with some critics claiming that Milton had been sequestered into a Royalist coup by Moseley. While one must admit that a collaboration between the most significant Republican writer and the most significant Royalist publisher of the time is baffling, to say the least, I am inclined to agree with Steven N. Zwicker that noted that, by the fall of 1645, Moseley's identity as a Royalist writer was yet to be established, 'indeed he had hardly any identity as a publisher at all'. in Steven N. Zwicker, 'The Day That George Thomason Collected His Copy of the "Poems of Mr. John Milton, Compos'd at Several Times"', *The Review of English Studies* 64 (2013): 233. Once that identity had been established – helped by books such as Beaumont and Fletcher's, or even Richard Fanshawe's 1647 translation of *Il Pastor Fido*, dedicated to Charles II – Milton never published with Moseley again.

102 Louis B. Wright, 'The Reading of Plays during the Puritan Revolution', *The Huntington Library Bulletin* 6 (1934): 82.

103 Milton, *Poems of Mr. John Milton*.

104 See note 96.

that the 1655 edition was a pirated one. I will be challenging this assumption in the conclusion of this chapter, but for now I would like to turn the focus onto William Wentworth, to whom the translation was dedicated.

Wentworth, the 2nd Earl of Strafford, despite his noble rank, is in many ways a mystery. His main claim to fame is to be the son of Thomas Wentworth, the 1st Earl of Strafford.¹⁰⁵ Compared with his famous father, William is virtually unknown.¹⁰⁶ He is barely mentioned in the contemporary press, and then only in connection with his father. He is occasionally visiting, or being visited by, John Evelyn between 1650 and 1654. After the Restoration, his main occupation seems to have been petitioning the king to recover the lands that once belonged to his father in Ireland. He died in 1695. By all (lack of) accounts, William Wentworth was a very minor figure in the history of Britain.

Yet, somehow, he managed to place himself in an interesting knot of this network of personalities surrounding the printing of *The Lusiad*. The reason why Fanshawe dedicated his translation to him is in one sense perfectly clear: as discussed in the previous section, Fanshawe was living at Wentworth's estate in Yorkshire at the time of writing the translation. The dedication implies that this is the main reason for the gesture. Like much else in Wentworth's life, his relationship with Fanshawe can be seen in the shadow of his father:¹⁰⁷ they met at the time when Fanshawe was Secretary to Strafford in Ireland, and they seem not to have kept close contact other than during the time in which the Fanshawes lived in Yorkshire for about a year and a half, and even that act of kindness came with the price tag of 120 pounds *per annum*,¹⁰⁸ despite the Earl being his

105 Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, was lord lieutenant of Ireland between 1632 and 1639 and one of Charles I's favourite ministers and counsellors. He was impeached, tried and convicted by parliament of treason and executed in 1641. He was seen by royalists at the time as the first martyr of the civil war. At first, Charles had refused to sign his execution order, but eventually agreed in attempt to appease the increasingly hostile House of Commons. Fanshawe, who served under him in Ireland, wrote a poem about the Earl's execution, 'On the Earl of Straffords Tryall' (Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 1, 129–30) comparing his trial to the assassination of Julius Caesar. For more on Wentworth's life see Ronald G. Asch, 'Wentworth, Thomas', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

106 His only appearance in his own name in the English press of the 1640s, is in a 1642 pamphlet entitled *A Barbarous and inhumane speech spoken by the Lord Wentworth*, in which he is credited with having stopped a brawl between two Royalist regiments by asking them to redirect their violence against not only their enemy, but the enemy's wives and daughters as well. Cf. William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, *A Barbarous and Inhumane Speech spoken by the Lord Wentworth* (London: I. H. and William Sommerset, 1642).

107 The traditional power-balance between patron and client does not seem to apply to the relationship between Fanshawe and Wentworth. While Wentworth's Earldom is hierarchically above Fanshawe's recent Baronetcy, Fanshawe was a much more active member of the Royalist resistance, which eventually secured him the governmental and diplomatic positions he enjoyed after the Restoration.

108 'In this winter [1652?] my husband went to waite on his good friend the Earle of Straford in Yorkshire, and there my Lord offered him a house of his in Tankersly Parke, which he took and payd 120lb a year for. When my husband returned, we prepared to goe in the spring to this place, but [were] confined that my husband should not stir five miles from home without leave', Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 136.

'good friend'.¹⁰⁹

Yet Fanshawe's dedication might be more than a returned favour. I have come across only six works dedicated to the William Wentworth, including *The Lusiad*, four of those between 1652 and 1655. Of those four, three can be said to be connected to Portugal: two translations from Portuguese and one play with Portuguese characters. The play, James Shirley's *The Court Secret*, appears in the 1653 edition *Six New Playes*, also published by Humphrey Moseley. While seemingly fictional, it includes a Portuguese Prince called Antonio.¹¹⁰ Shirley's dedication, of course, can be explained away in much the same way as Fanshawe's, through Wentworth's father Strafford whose patronage Shirley had enjoyed in Ireland. However, Shirley does not dedicate anything else to William Wentworth, and when put together with the other two cases points to a passing interest of the Earl in Portuguese matters. The translation of *The Lusiad*, then, could have been dedicated in this spirit, and the same would be true of the other translation from the Portuguese published and dedicated to William Wentworth at the time, Fernão Mendez Pinto's *Travels*, or *The voyages and adventures of Fernand Mendez Pinto, a Portugal*, translated by a Henry Cogan, Gentleman, and published in 1653.¹¹¹ Pinto's *Travels*, together with *The Lusiad*, constitute perhaps the most significant texts of early modern Portugal in terms of readership, cultural significance and international reception: translated two years apart and both dedicated to William Wentworth, 2nd Earl of Strafford.

Frustratingly, who exactly this Henry Cogan is, is unknown. The only records of him are his translations, five to be exact, and all published within two years of each other, between 1652 and 1654. The translations are an eclectic bunch: two Italian, one French, one Latin and one Portuguese text.¹¹² Cogan does not offer any clue as to what his connection with Wentworth might be, and it would not be completely unreasonable to think that this was a one-way relationship: an aspiring wit knocking at every door he could think of in hopes of securing patronage from anyone. The five translations are all dedicated to five different patrons, and there is nothing else published with his name after 1654.¹¹³ While Cogan did not repeat patrons, he did repeat publishers: Moseley, although

109 In Ann Fanshawe's diary the only other mention of Wentworth seems to be an impromptu reception for Richard and Ann's return from France in 1648.

110 The name Antonio might have rung a few bells in English minds. The original Prince Antonio was one of the pretenders to the Portuguese throne in 1580, when Philip II took control of the country. Antonio went into exile in England in the late 16th century, where he attempted to gather support for his claim to the Portuguese crown.

111 Fernão Mendes Pinto, *The Voyages and Adventures of Fernand Mendez Pinto, a Portugal*, trans. Henry Cogan (London: Henry Cripps and Lodowick Lloyd, 1653).

112 In origin but certainly not in language of translation. According to Pinto's most recent English translator, Cogan translated from the French, which in its turn had been mostly translated from the Spanish, not from the original Portuguese text. Cf. Rebecca Catz, 'A Translation of Three Chapters from the "Peregrinação" of Fernão Mendes Pinto, with a Summary of the Work and a Note on Previous Translations', *Portuguese Studies* 4 (1988).

113 Given the nature of Cogan's other translations – one romance, one history, and two anti-Catholic treatises – the hypothesis of him being a jobbing translator – a translator whose work has been commissioned by a publisher – should not be discarded either, which would also explain Cogan's disappearance, possibly into some other trade

the translation of Fernão Mendez Pinto was published by Henry Cripps and Lodowick Lloyd.

While Cogan's dedicatory letter gives us no hint as to what his relationship is, it reveals some of the Earl's personal preferences – and perhaps other readers of his time:

So that the most curious Wits, which delight in reading of rare Books, will, I believe, find all the satisfaction they can desire, in this same of [Mendez Pinto]; where, without so much as stirring out of their Studies, or running the danger of Shipwrack, they may traverse the Seas, view the goodliest of Provinces of the World, entertain themselves with stupendious and unheard-of things; consider in the manner of those peoples living, whom we term Barbarians [...] and, in a word, represent unto themselves, as in a picture, all that is most exquisite, and of greatest marvel, in the extent of Europe, Africa, and Asia.¹¹⁴

This passage, which Cogan presents as a summary of the Travels of Pinto, could just as well have summarised *The Lusiad*. The Earl himself appears to have shared the age's taste for travel narratives.¹¹⁵

The third in this name-checking exercise is Thomas Cross. Cross is the engraver of at least one, if not all three, of the book's plates. Depending on the concept of authorship, the answer might be that Cross authored all three or none of those plates. He was certainly a productive artisan, being credited in Hind's engravings catalogue with 144 plates, including two of the three in *The Lusiad*. He seems to have been 'the most prolific engraver of the period'¹¹⁶ and to have been employed 'generally, if not exclusively, by book publishers'.¹¹⁷

Vasco da Gama's (fig. 3) portrait is the only one included in *The Lusiad* carrying Cross's signature: *T. Cross Fecit*. This is probably the earliest British representation of the Portuguese navigator, and is certainly reminiscent of traditional Portuguese portraits of Gama. We have already come across the reason for this in the previous section of this chapter: Cross's portrait is a copy from a portrait included in the 1639 Spanish translation of *The Lusiad*. Having a print copied from another supposedly faithful source is nothing new or unique; engravers did it all the time. However, looking closely at the two engravings, as discussed before, it is noticeable that Cross's is not an

where his linguistic knowledge could have been put to more financially secure use.

114 Pinto, *The Voyages and Adventures of Fernand Mendez Pinto, a Portugal*, sig. (a)r-(a)v.

115 On the history of travel narratives see for example Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'From the "History of Travayle" to the History of Travel Collections: The Rise of an Early Modern Genre', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Claire Jowitt and Daniel Carey (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2012).

116 Arthur Mayger Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).

117 *Ibid.*

exact copy: Cross's Gama has a distinctive feature, a feathered hat. This visual detail could have been easily dismissed as a pointless embellishment by the English engraver, were it not for the fact that the detail comes straight from the original text. Describing the outfit of the Captain, Camões says (in Fanshawe's translation): 'A *Sword* of massive *Gold*, in *Hanger* tyde: \ A *Cap* and *Plume*; the *Cap* set a *toe side*'.¹¹⁸ What this detail reveals is that Fanshawe himself may have been closely connected with the printing process: he certainly used the Spanish translation as his source; he most likely gave his copy of the Spanish edition to the engraver, so that Cross could make this print; and either he, or Moseley, instructed Cross to add the feathered cap detail, in a process that can only be explained as authorial *intervention*.

Camões's bust (fig. 2), which is also an almost exact copy of the one found in the Spanish translation, is not signed. Hind's catalogue attributes it to Cross all the same, and the Pforzheimer catalogue in commenting on Gama's portrait concludes that 'it is not unlikely that Cross engraved the other plates'.¹¹⁹ While neither catalogue presents any evidence confirming the attribution of the Camões bust to Cross other than the fact that it is to be found within the same book as Gama's signed one, their common source in the Spanish translation of *The Lusiad* certainly points in that direction: it is unlikely that there were many copies of the Spanish edition around London in 1655, neither Camões nor Gama seemed to have been portrayed before in Britain, and having paid one engraver for one of the plates, and lent one copy of the Spanish edition to him, it seems doubtful that Moseley or Fanshawe would have repeated the process with another engraver.

The final print included in *The Lusiad* has a completely different origin. The other character portrayed in the English translation of Camões's epic is Prince Henry of Portugal, 'the navigator' (fig. 4), the very embodiment of the Portuguese age of exploration. Immediately, three things strike as odd in this portrait: 1) anyone who is familiar with Portuguese history will confirm that this is not a common representation of the prince; 2) this engraving seems markedly different from the other two included in *The Lusiad*; and 3) its origin is clearly different, for even though there are dozens of portraits included in the Spanish edition, Henry is not one of them. Where did this engraving appear from?

The answer is rather interesting: from a 1625 single-sheet print of Edward the Black Prince, by Thomas Cecill (fig. 7). This is a phenomenon known as *altered plates*, and the reasons behind it are typically rather pragmatic: portraits of a particular individual quickly go out of fashion, and so

118 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, II.98.7-8.

119 William A. Jackson and Emma Va Unger ed., *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library, English Literature, 1475-1700* (New Castle and Los Angeles: Oak Knoll Press and Heritage Book Shop, 1997).

altering the plate slightly gives them a new life and a new contemporary relevance,¹²⁰ likely at a much reduced price. It is also a particularly useful way to represent foreign characters, whose characteristics would be, at best, only vaguely known by the British public.

The inclusion of this altered print of Edward the Black Prince is particularly interesting because, much as with Vasco da Gama's feathered cap, it points towards some sort of authorial intervention. Not only was there no absolute need to include a third print in the English translation, but even if there was, a plethora of other characters were available to be copied from the Spanish translation, which was already in Fanshawe's, Moseley's, or Cross's hands. Making a point of including Henry the Navigator is also establishing a clear connection between Portugal and England: not only was Henry half-English (his mother was Phillipa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt and sister of Henry IV); he was the embodiment of the maritime expansion that had been the golden goose of the Portuguese economy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and he was also a proud member of the Order of the Garter, as can be seen by his coat-of-arms in the top right-hand corner, of which Edward the Black Prince (who was also Henry's grand-uncle) had been a founding member. The inclusion of this print is a deliberate act, connecting the two countries's histories and missions. Such an intention can only be ascribed to Fanshawe himself, which again places him at the centre of the printing process.

There is still the question of who altered the plate (as Cecill had been inactive, and probably dead, since 1640), and how it came to be in the possession of the printer. The immediate candidate for the alteration itself is Cross, who would have had little trouble with the task. The actual owner of the plate, however, is still difficult to ascertain. Cecill had at least three plates which were altered to represent someone else: Edward the Black Prince cum Henry the Navigator (fig. 7); Sir John Burgh turned into Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden (fig. 8 and 9); and John Weever transformed into William Forster (fig. 10 and 11). Tracing the fates of those other two altered plates gives us a clue as to who owned them by 1655. John Burgh's plate altered to become Gustavus Adolphus was published in M. de Scudery's *Curia Politiae*. This appeared in 1654, printed by none other than Humphrey Moseley, which confirms that Moseley had at least those two original plates of Cecill in his hands in the mid 1650s.¹²¹

The other known case of a Cecill altered plate, John Weever into William Forster, was published in 1667 and 1673, in Forster's *Arithmetick*, both published by George Sawbridge.

120 George Somes Layard, *Catalogue Raisonné of Engraved British Portraits from Altered Plates* (London: P. Allan & Co., 1927).

121 M. de Scudéry, *Curia Politiae, or the apologies of severall princes justifying to the world their most eminent actions by the strength of reason and the most exact rule of policie* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1654).

Looking back at Camões's bust in *The Lusiad*, the commendatory verses under it, starting 'Spaine gave me noble Birth, Coimbra, Arts: / Lisbon, a high-place't loue and, Courtly parts', are reminiscent of the commendatory verses engraved under the original portrait of John Weever: 'Lanchashire gaue him breat, / And Cambridge education. / His studies are of Death / Of Heauen his meditation'. While commendatory poems under portraits were not exactly rare, and as discussed previously, Fanshawe's verses are derived from biographic notes in Faria y Sousa's edition, the similarities between the two cases certainly pose the possibility that: 1) Moseley also owned this plate by Cecill, along with the other two that we know of in the mid-1650s, 2) he might have suggested that Fanshawe compose a similar commendatory poem to the one in Burgh's plate. By 1667, when the altered plate first appeared in print, Moseley had been dead for 6 years, his estate falling to his wife and daughter, who could have easily passed or sold some of Moseley's possessions to other stationers. If this scenario were to be proven true, it would completely change the two ideas long established about the publication of *The Lusiad*: that it was a pirated edition; and even if it wasn't, that Fanshawe was not involved in the process.

Even by Moseley's prolific standards – the more impressive considering that Moseley printed primarily literature and history, considerably more time consuming to print than pamphlets – 1655 was a year of unprecedented voluminous output, with about 30 books arriving at the market with his imprint.¹²² Even by modern standards, to publish 30 books in one year is an outstanding feat for any small sized publishing house, and Moseley had, at the most, only three apprentices working with him. From the perspective of a booksellers, then, there seems to be no absolute reason to assume that publishing *The Lusiad* had to happen in that year of 1655.

Furthermore, previous critics mentioned that Fanshawe was away from London in 1655, and that, because of this, the edition had been either pirated or not supervised by him. However, according to Ann Fanshawe's diary, this is not true. The Fanshawes left the Earl of Strafford's estate in late July 1654, for Ann's sister's house in Huntingdonshire. In early 1655, Fanshawe was sent to London to present himself at the High Court of Justice, and was ordered 'not to goe five miles of that town',¹²³ where they stayed until Christmas 1655. Their lodgings were at Chancery Lane, which is a lot less than five miles away from St. Paul's Churchyard where Humphrey Moseley had his shop. According to the terms of Fanshawe's imprisonment, then, Roger Walker's justification for an unsupervised printing that 'he was still technically a prisoner and was largely confined to his

122 The other two higher volume years were 1651 and 1654, with 21 books apiece, in Reed, *Humphrey Moseley, Publisher*.

123 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 136.

lodgings in Chancery Lane'¹²⁴ is unproven. Fanshawe was indeed technically a prisoner, but there is no legal reason to suspect that he could not go to St. Paul's Churchyard in order to review proofs, or at the very least have the proofs sent to him. There is certainly evidence that Fanshawe could not 'be present to overlooke the Press', as he writes in a 1659 letter to Edward Hyde, but this, I posit, was not so much because he was ill or somehow unable to review proofs, but because the whole of the printing process was rushed. The rush was because at least one of the two central characters in the printing process, Fanshawe or Moseley, wanted this book to be published immediately.

Moseley's incredible output for 1655 means that there is no financial reason for *The Lusiad* to be published that same year; Moseley published no prefatory material of his own, unlike what he had done previously with his other publications of the same type; Fanshawe was not in London before 1655, so he could only have supplied the manuscript at that time; the entry in the Stationer's Register, although not binding, points to an acquisition of the manuscript late in the year by Moseley; only three plates were printed with the book, and of those one was merely a simple alteration; when looking at other dedications to the Earl of Strafford, we concluded that there seems to have been a contemporary interest in either Portuguese literature, or travel literature; the *ekphrastic* nature of the plates included with *The Lusiad* points to an authorial intervention in the printing process that somehow did not translate into a revision of the proofs: putting all these traces together, it seems that the printing of *The Lusiad* was a carefully designed project whose actual type-setting and finishing was rushed to meet a possibly authorial deadline. Or, in other words, that Fanshawe wanted the book to be printed in a certain way, by a certain time. Certainly, there are enough presentation copies extant¹²⁵ that can safely be said that, despite Fanshawe's dismay at the printing errors, he was still happy enough to give a copy to his friends and relatives.

If the printing of *The Lusiad* was indeed rushed, the one big question remaining is why? The answer to it, unfortunately, cannot be more than conjecture, yet a conjecture that should be addressed. A helpful clue would be the exact or near exact date of publication but, unfortunately, our best source of publication dates for the period, Mr. George Thomason, was not interested in the Portuguese epic (or did not come across it), and therefore did not buy it. In the absence of absolute proof, an educated deduction can be made. It is absolutely certain that *The Lusiad* was indeed published in 1655 old style, which means that the date of publication was certainly after the 25th of

124 Walker, 'General Note', 584.

125 Davidson, in his critical edition of *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* counts at least six presentation copies, of which whereabouts only four are known. It is entirely possible that more presentation copies would have been in existence: it seems unbelievable that Fanshawe did not offer a copy to his good friend and protector Edward Hyde, or to his royal master Charles II. Cf. Davidson, introduction, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, xvi.

March of that year. It is also certain that at least one copy of it had been produced by the 2nd of August 1655 and was with its author. That copy, known as the Leventhorp copy,¹²⁶ carries the inscription 'For my honble. Nephew / Sir Thomas Leventhorp / July 23d [August 2nd] 1655 / Ric Fanshawe'.¹²⁷ This gives us an already fairly small window for publication, but there is still one other known date that has been consistently discarded: the date at the bottom of the dedication to the Earl of Strafford.

That date, the 1st of May 1655, or in our terms, the 11th of May 1655, has been discarded as a printing error. This is because Fanshawe signed it '*From your Lordships / Park of Tankersley*', which, as we have seen, is wrong by all accounts: the Fanshawes had left the Yorkshire estate in mid 1654, and were in London from sometime after February 1655 until Christmas that year. From this account, Roger Walker concludes that 'there must be an error in the date given in the dedication. [...] as seems likely, it should be read as "1 May 1654"'.¹²⁸ However, none of Fanshawe's autograph corrections in any of the presentation copies seen by Peter Davidson for his critical edition, nor the ones I have seen myself, corrects what Walker dismisses as a printing error, even when Fanshawe corrects errors on that same page, as he does in the Leventhorp copy. I would argue, then, that the dating is quite deliberate, and so is the location that goes with it. On one level, locating the dedicatory letter as penned from Tankersley Park goes with Fanshawe's overall assertion that he was effectively a prisoner in the estate while translating *The Lusiad*: 'from the hour I began it, to the end thereof, I slept not once out of *these Walls*'.¹²⁹ Fashioning himself as a prisoner serves, for Fanshawe, a double purpose: it sends a signal to his royalist friends in exile or hiding that he is still alive and well, and willing to fight for the cause; and most significantly when put together with the dating of 1655, it says to his enemies that he is unable to be part of any uprising. Not any hypothetical uprising – a very definitive, concrete and contemporary one.

If one is to take the dating of the dedicatory letter as real, then Fanshawe was writing only days before the execution of John Penruddock, beheaded at Exeter on the 16th of May 1655.¹³⁰ Penruddock was the leader of what became known as the Penruddock uprising, a small but the most significant royalist military action after Worcester. Their action in the south of the country was part of a series of concerted efforts orchestrated by an underground royalist organization known as 'The Sealed Knot'. The attacks had been initially planned for the 8th of March, with small risings

126 Held at the Lilly Library in Bloomington, Indiana.

127 Davidson, introduction, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, xiii.

128 Walker, 'General Note', 582.

129 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 6.

130 Christopher Durston, 'Penruddock, John', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

appearing near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, York and Nottingham, but the majority were quickly foiled, with another in Cheshire not even materialising. Penruddock had delayed and modified his attack upon hearing that the garrison in Winchester – his initial objective – had been reinforced. In the night of 11th of March 1655, Penruddock and a small garrison of soldiers briefly took the city of Salisbury, but were quickly defeated and the ringleaders captured and tried. Their trial in April of 1655 created a flurry of publications: pamphlets and newsbooks and personal accounts that could not have escaped Fanshawe's attention in London.¹³¹ Fanshawe's dedicatory letter, when considered to be dated from the 1st of May 1655, appears written at a crucial point: just before the execution of the leader of the uprising, amidst the passionate accounts of his trial, and the first legislative answers from the Parliamentary regime. The Penruddock uprising, though quickly crushed, would have lasting effects, it was the direct cause of the Cromwell's government most aggressive controlling manoeuvre: 'The decision to send out major-generals to govern England in the autumn of 1655 was a direct response to Penruddock's rebellion'.¹³²

If one were then to take the dating of Fanshawe's dedicatory letter as accurate, within this context of crushed rebellion, the indication that it had been written in Yorkshire makes complete sense. By the 1st of May, it would have been clear to anyone that the revolt had failed and no more action was forthcoming; it would also be clear that anyone suspected of involvement would have certainly paid the price. Fanshawe distances himself from the rebellion itself, but with a publication window of May to end of July 1655, together with the rushing of the book through the printing process, it seems too much of a coincidence to assume that the two are unrelated. It is therefore entirely possible that Fanshawe wanted a quick publishing of the translation so that its appearance would still be relevant in the context of the rebellion's aftermath. As Fanshawe writes in the dedicatory letter, Camões does indeed appear 'on a *truer* and more *Modern Frame* of *Story* and *Geography*'¹³³ indeed, transplanted from its original context in a declining Portuguese Empire, to a war-torn, new political order in mid seventeenth-century London.

131 Among others, Anon., *The Tryal and Sentence of Death* (London: G. Horton, 1655); Anon., *The Tryal of Col. Grove* (London: John Fielding, 1655); Unton Croke, *A Letter to His Highness the Lord Protector* (London: Henry Hills and John Field, 1654 [1655]); Unton Croke, *A Second Letter to His Highness the Lord Protector* (London: Henry Hills and John Field, 1654 [1655]); Oliver Cromwell, *A Letter from His Highnesse the Lord Protector* (London: Robert Ibbitson, 1655); John Ley, *A Letter to Dr. E. Hyde* (London: n/a, 1655).

132 Durston, 'Penruddock, John'.

133 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 7.

2. How to frame a foreign epic

Introduction

There is no such thing as a book without a cover in the twenty-first century. Even in the current digital age, when digital books, *Kindle* books, audio books, digital audio books reign supreme, all of these types of books sport some sort of cover: ranging from the traditional covers adorning the first page of all types of digital books to the web page from which one can download the audio version of the latest best seller read by the high profile celebrity of the day. Contrary to the popular saying, a book *can* be judged by its cover or, at least, its reception can certainly be informed by it. Paratexts – title pages, apologies, encomiums, prefaces, dedications, pictures, biographies, footnotes, endnotes, reviews, interviews, correspondence, chapter titles, table of contents and even the pragmatic indices – all these elements contribute to the way in which a book's reception can be framed by its author and publisher, whether consciously so or not. This chapter will analyse all the paratextual elements in *The Lusiad* and attempt to understand the ways in which they frame (or attempt to frame) its reception in 1655, from its context within contemporary discussions on the nature of the epic to a very literal palimpsest of Portuguese and English histories and beyond.

Early modern books were usually sold unbound and owners would commission the binding themselves.¹ Therefore a cover – as it would be normally understood today – is not a part of the usual set of early modern paratexts. Yet there much to gather about an early modern book before the first line of the main text.

¹ See Francis X. Connor, *Literary Folios and Ideas of the Book in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 7. Book collectors would also frequently bind books with their coat of arms or other distinctive marks as an early modern *ex-libris*. Francis Connor is just one recent example of an author giving a healthy reminder on book binding. However, long known assumptions are best served being constantly questioned: Jeffrey Todd Knight, for example, explains that the selling of pre-bound volumes was more common in the late 16th century than previously thought. See Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 170–171.

The concept of *paratext* itself entered the technical jargon of literary criticism in the early 1980s through the work of Gerard Genette. In *Paratexts*, Genette defines the concept as follows:

A literary work consists, entirely or essentially, of a text, defined (very minimally) as a more or less long sequence of verbal statements that are more or less endowed with significance. But this text is rarely presented in an unadorned state, unreinforced and unaccompanied by a certain number of verbal or other productions, such as an author's name, a title, a preface, illustrations. And although we do not always know whether these productions are to be regarded as belonging to the text, in any case they surround it and extend it, precisely in order to *present* it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to *make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its 'reception' and consumption in the form (nowadays, at least) of a book. These accompanying productions, which vary in extent and appearance, constitute what I have called elsewhere the work's *paratext*.²

Genette's lengthy and precise definition gives a clear description of what a paratext may be, yet, at this point in his introduction, it does not explain why and how such an element might be of any importance. Later, he clarifies his definition by providing an example: 'To indicate what is at stake, we can ask one simple question as an example: limited to the text alone and without a guiding set of directions, how would we read Joyce's *Ulysses* if it were not entitled *Ulysses*?'³ Genette's example is striking in its clarity. I will appropriate and adapt it to my own object: how would we read Richard Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad*, if he had not added the subtitle *Or Portugals Historical Poem*? In fact, as we shall see later on in this chapter, Fanshawe's explicit definition of *The Lusiad* as a historical poem – rather than, say, an epic – does effectively change the way in which a reader might approach it, and more, it contributes to a very relevant contemporary debate whose repercussions extend far beyond the literary matters that it seemingly discusses. That debate centred on the *Pharsalia*, or *The Civil War*, by the Roman (poet? historian?) Lucan, and whether or not it could be considered an epic. We shall return to this question in more detail later on in this chapter.

Returning briefly to Genette's concept, the French critic is cautious in adding a small caveat to his definition – he maintains that this is valid 'nowadays at least', but that is perhaps because the concept of paratext as defined by him goes beyond those elements within the book itself (what he names as *peritexts*) into those elements that lay outside the covers of the book, such as interviews

² Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.

³ *Ibid.*, 2.

with the author, reviews, correspondence, etc. (or *epitexts*), which are more easily available for modern literature. Yet paratexts by any other name – names such as *marginalia* studies or patronage studies for example – have long been a mainstay of early modern academia. The reason why I have introduced Genette's notion of *paratexts* into the mix is because this chapter will deal not only with the more historical questions generally posed by the established or emerging fields within early modern paratextual studies, but with the more literary preoccupations embodied in Genette's definition. As I shall demonstrate in this chapter, the paratexts of *The Lusiad* do tell a lot about the contextual history of its first publication, but they also add a good amount of clues to some literary questions – questions which, in turn, shed a bright light on the history of the events surrounding its publication.

I should also clarify – since I am using highly precise concepts – that this chapter will exclusively focus on *The Lusiad*'s peritexts, that is, those elements found in every 1655 copy of the book: title page, engravings (three in total), epistle dedicatory, encomiastic poems, a translation of an excerpt of classic literature (Petronius's *Satyricon*) and a translator's postscript. These are all recurring features in seventeenth-century books (with the translation of Petronius's being, perhaps, the oddest one out), and there is one glaring omission, a preface which could potentially give more direct information regarding Fanshawe's translation philosophy, *The Lusiad*'s position in the contemporary book market, or even its relation to contemporary politics. Yet, despite the absence of an informative preface, *The Lusiad*'s paratexts offer a wealth of information to harvest.

In what follows, rather than examining each paratextual element separately, I have divided my analysis into thematic groups. This is because each of these elements is usually in conversation with one another and participates in different discussions at the same time, so a thematic approach allows for a more in-depth analysis, a more lively discussion of the issues at stake and, crucially, highlights the process of composition itself – Fanshawe did not neatly divide his paratexts into discrete and singular entities, rather, his concerns found expression in multiple sections of the paratextual elements of *The Lusiad*. In the broadest of strokes, then, I have divided the thematic discussion into the elements that *introduce* Camões and the subject matter of his work, or rather, the way in which Camões's authorship is constructed before an English public; the elements that contribute to the contemporary *discussion* of Lucan and his own epic – or historical? – poem, which give rise to questions of genre, both for Lucan and Camões; and finally the elements that reveal one of Fanshawe's clearest *purposes* for his translation, its connection with the ancient tradition of a mirror for princes. This approach means that the dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Strafford, for example, will make appearances throughout most sections, so that by looking at the same element in different

contexts – sometimes even the same passage or detail – it will be possible to highlight their complexity and contribute to a deeper understanding of *The Lusiad* and the role of its paratexts.

Englishing Camões

To some extent, all the paratexts in *The Lusiad* contribute to one single, seemingly simple task: to acquaint the seventeenth-century English reader with Luis de Camões. As I have mentioned in chapter one, there are barely any references to the Portuguese epic before Fanshawe's translation, and although a certain number of *connoisseurs* might have been familiar with the Portuguese poet, undoubtedly the vast majority of potential readers was not. Therefore, at a simple and informative level, the paratexts included in *The Lusiad* tell the reader who Luis de Camões was – his life, his times, his face, his country and language, which writers were influenced by him and who praised his talent. However, in doing so, Fanshawe's paratexts also do something of a more complex and rather more interesting nature: they appropriate him. In a word, in introducing Camões to the English readership, Fanshawe quite literally *makes him English*.

These are not my words. In his dedication to the Earl of Strafford, Fanshawe calls Camões 'my PORTINGALL',⁴ claims that Camões is 'truly a *Native* of YORKSHIRE, and *holding* of your *Lordship*'⁵ and that 'he turn'd *Englishman*'.⁶ This gradual renaturalisation effected by Fanshawe on Camões is more than a simple trope of a proud translator. As Miguel Martínez observed, in these passages as elsewhere throughout *The Lusiad*, 'Fanshawe operates a subtle erasure of the original language and authorship of *Os Lusíadas*'.⁷ This is a very different process than simply claiming original authorship of a text by a translator (not unheard of). Fanshawe does not claim in any way to have written *The Lusiad* on his own. What he quite clearly does is claim the *English Lusiad* as his own, to have given it a 'second *life*, or rather *Being* it hath from [him] in the *English Tongue*'.⁸ Fanshawe clearly states that were Camões to have written in English, he would have done so in exactly the same fashion as Fanshawe did. In positioning himself as the revitalising force behind Camões's new life in England, Fanshawe makes himself simultaneously invisible to the reader –

4 Peter Davidson, ed., *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), vol. 2, 6.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 7.

7 Miguel Martínez, 'A poet of our own: the struggle for *Os Lusíadas* in the afterlife of Camões', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10 (2010): 80.

8 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 6.

this is Camões speaking English – and identifiable with the Portuguese poet. This dual role creates a degree of personal identification between Fanshawe and Camões, as if the English translator saw himself in the same position in the (exiled) English court as Camões had been upon his return to Portugal in the late sixteenth century. This is not a simple interpretative leap, but something that is warranted both by Fanshawe’s own personal situation at the time of composition and publication, and by some elements in the paratexts included in *The Lusiad*.

Perhaps the clearest example of this sense of kinship is to be found in the biographic sonnet printed below the bust of the Portuguese poet:

SPAINE *gave me noble Birth: Coimbra, Arts:*
 LISBON, *a high-plac’t love, and Courtly parts:*
 AFFRICK, *a Refuge when the Court did frowne:*
 WARRE, *at an Eye’s expence, a faire renoune:*
 TRAVAYLE, *experience, with noe short sight*
Of India, and the World; both which I write:
 INDIA *a life, which I gave there for Lost,*
On Mecons waves (a wreck and Exile) tost;
To boot, this POEM, held up in one hand
Whilst with the other I swam safe to land:
 TASSO, *a sonet; and (what’s greater yit)*
The honour to give Hints to such a witt:
 PHILIP *a Cordiall, (the ill Fortune see!)*
To cure my Wants when those had new kill’d mee:
My Country (Nothing – yes) Immortal Prayse
(so did I, Her) Beasts cannot browze on Bayes.⁹

As discussed in the first chapter, Fanshawe harvested the biographic details of Camões’s life from Faria y Sousa’s commentary. In addition, there is extant a document in Fanshawe’s hand with notes relating to the anecdote retold by Faria y Sousa of Philip II’s disappointment upon learning of Camões’s death when entering Portugal. Even if Fanshawe’s biographical piece does not offer any new data about the life of the Portuguese poet, an analysis of the facts and factoids included by the translator yields interesting results. The first obvious characteristic is that Fanshawe opted for a first-person point of view, effectively replacing his own voice – the poetic subject – by that of a

⁹ Ibid., 5.

ghostly Camões (note that within the poetic time, the Portuguese has already passed away). In doing so, Fanshawe may be evoking an established trope of early modern English drama where a character comes on stage and presents himself – for example Marlowe’s Barabas in *The Jew of Malta*, or Richard in Shakespeare’s *Richard III*. In using this technique, Fanshawe appropriates not only Camões’s voice but his life as well. Notice the sonnet’s emphasis on travel (and travail) in Camões’s life: in the first eight lines of the poem the reader jumps from Coimbra to Lisbon, to Africa, to India and to the waters of the Mekong river in modern day Vietnam, where the poet was shipwrecked – fear of which Fanshawe experienced many times during his travels.¹⁰ Camões’s well-travelled life is particularly relevant when considering Fanshawe’s many years of permanent wandering during the Civil War period.¹¹

While Camões’s biography is still sketchy at best, Fanshawe did have more elements to choose from than those mentioned by him in the poem. There is no mention of any of Camões’s other literary works, for example. The point is that what was excluded of Camões’s life is as important as what was included while discussing this biographic sonnet. One of the most interesting exclusions, for example, is Camões’s imprisonment as a young man for assaulting a nobleman in Lisbon. This is the reason behind Camões’s first stint in the Portuguese army, why he was sent to the African wars and partly why Fanshawe thinks of the Portuguese poet as an exile. Fanshawe does point to a misdemeanour on the part of Camões (l. 3), but there is no indication as to what exactly the court frowned upon, that is the supposed altercation with another young nobleman. In other words, Fanshawe excludes this detail in order not to tarnish the reputation of the poet – but also to paint him as a model courtly servant who has temporarily fallen out of favour with the court but whose heroic actions in Africa had brought him back into the court’s good graces.

This refashioning of Camões as a courtly do-gooder is, I argue, a function of a sense of kinship expressed by Fanshawe in his translation. When looking to the elements of Camões’s life that Fanshawe *did* include in his sonnet, a certain number of interesting parallels between the two authors begins to emerge. None more so perhaps than Fanshawe’s emphasis on the dichotomy court/exile, particularly relevant because Camões was never in his life a traditional courtly poet.

Faria y Sousa, from whom Fanshawe took the biographical details of Camões life, has not much to say about the Portuguese poet’s time in Lisbon, between leaving Coimbra and going into exile: ‘Con estas letras, i adornos, juntos a las calidades de Cavallero, i galan, i entendido sobre modo, passando a Lisboa llevo tras si lo mehor de la Corte; i principalmente la hermosura, porque

10 See John Clyde Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 130, for a description of a near shipwreck that the Fanshawes experienced in the Bay of Biscay.

11 See footnote in page 46 above.

fue muy estimado, i favorecido de las damas'.¹² So the *courtly parts*, that Fanshawe implies is a certain nobleness of spirit, or even a position as a court poet, is in fact Camões's reputation as a ladies man, according to Faria y Sousa. Fanshawe sharply contrasts this idyllic position in court with the terrible fate of being away from it, in exile. In Fanshawe's poem, when Camões took refuge from the court in Africa, what he found was war, shipwreck, travail (and not only travel), near death, and crucially *exile*. Camões's time at court (or rather, before displeasing the court) was a time of peace, prosperity, learning; when the court did frown, Camões found nothing but pain, merely soothed by the writing of his poem about India and the world. In other words, Fanshawe alludes to a court life that is essentially a life of peace and learning, and once one gets disconnected from it, there is little else to do than write poetry. This is, arguably, allusively parallel to Fanshawe's experience: once imprisoned following the battle of Worcester, Fanshawe was effectively cut away from the court, a time of immeasurable pain¹³ for the English translator, whose only refuge had been the translation of Camões's poem. Within this dichotomy of blissful court and troublesome exile, there may be a hint of a synthesis between the two terms as well – courtly exile, or rather, the court itself in exile, powerless to do much if anything about its situation, wrecked and trying to swim safely to shore, like Camões, holding out with one hand what was left of its former glory.

Fanshawe had already written about the effects of moving away from court earlier in his career in perhaps one of his most famous poems, 'An Ode Upon occasion of His MAJESTIES Proclamation in the yeare 1630. Commanding the Gentry to reside upon their Estates in the Country',¹⁴ published for the first time with the 1648 re-edition of *Il Pastor Fido*, but probably circulated in manuscript since its composition in the early 1630s.¹⁵ The royal proclamation that occasioned Fanshawe's Ode, as the title suggests, was an ordinance issued by Charles I in 1630 requiring those courtiers with country estates to return to them, similar to previous proclamations made by James I in 1622, 1623 and 1624.¹⁶ Charles's orders were met with protest from his

12 'With these letters [his Coimbra education], together with his qualities of gentleman and gallant, and very knowledgable, moving to Lisbon he took the best of the Court, and mainly his handsomeness, because the ladies were very fond of him and favoured him much', Manuel de Faria y Sousa, ed., *Lusidas de Luis de Camoens* (Madrid: Iuan Sanchez, 1639), sig. A7r.

13 Not only emotional but very physical pain as well. Fanshawe had had several serious illnesses after his arrest in 1651, which directly relate to his transfer from the cold damp cell at Whitehall to the house arrest situation he was in while translating *The Lusiad*. See Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 134–136.

14 Peter Davidson, ed., *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), vol. 1, 55–59.

15 The poem is to be found in several manuscripts among other examples of Fanshawe's poetry, notably British Library Add. MS 15,228 – two notebooks probably belonging to Fanshawe himself, dating from before 1637 (cf. Davidson, introduction to *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 1, xvii–xviii) – and Bodleian Library MS Firth c. 1 – a presentation copy of Fanshawe's poetry, dating from before the publication of *Il Pastor Fido* in 1648 (cf. *ibid.*, xxi).

16 Gerald M. MacLean, *Time's Witness: Historical Representation in English Poetry* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 91. James Loxley, on the other hand, suggests that Fanshawe's ode 'more closely correlates

courtiers. It has been suggested that the proclamation was an early attempt at silencing the troubles arising from the early years of Charles's personal rule, and to do away with the troublemakers of the 1628-29 parliament.¹⁷ Ostensibly, Fanshawe's Ode is a celebration of the first years of Charles's reign, praising the English peace and the pleasures of Charles's peaceful spring against the backdrop of the Thirty Years' War raging in the continent. Fanshawe describes Charles's as the 'Augustus of our world to praise / In equall verse [to Virgil], author of peace / And *Halcyon* dayes',¹⁸ and urges the city dwellers to consider how much more pleasurable the country side is 'Free from the griping Scriveners bands, / And the more byting Mercers books; / Free from the bayt of oyled hands / And painted looks?'¹⁹

Fanshawe's Ode and his biographical sonnet on Camões share at least one common idea – that a forcible exile from court will aid the poetic effort: 'And if the Fields, as thankfull prove / For benefits receiv'd, as seed, / They will, to quite so great a love, / A *Virgill* breed'.²⁰ David Norbrook commenting on these lines, notes that they are completely opposed to the idea of political literature: 'The new Virgil will grow organically from the countryside: poetry is cut off from the political debate of the city and made an emanation of a spontaneous monarchism'.²¹ Norbrook's reading broadly echoes the critical consensus of Fanshawe's early career, which incorporates him in the *Cavalier* poetry of pastorals, tragicomedies, and a sense of longing for the peaceful days of Charles's personal rule – which is in itself a political act as well. This is not to say that Norbrook does not see Fanshawe's Ode as a political poem – he would not discuss it if that was the case – but that the poem presents itself as being completely free of politics, in true absolutist fashion, placing the onus of political action solely on the King's divine hands. Gerald MacLean, on the other hand, while still arguing that Fanshawe is broadly endorsing the crown's proclamation, does attribute to Fanshawe's poem a more active – and perhaps more critical – view of its contemporary society. MacLean notes that:

with an edict of 20 June 1632, nearly two years later. "A proclamation commanding the Gentry to keepe their Residence at their Mansions in the Countrey, and forbidding them to make their habitations in London, and places adjoining" was addressed solely to the issue which concerns the poem, and when we read the two texts in conjunction we can see how Fanshawe's "Ode" actually models itself on the royal utterance'. James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: the Drawn Sword* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 47.

17 Syrithe Pugh, 'Fanshawe's Critique of Caroline Pastoral: allusion and ambiguity in the "Ode on the proclamation"', *The Review of English Studies* 59 (2008): 382–383.

18 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 1, 57–58.

19 *Ibid.*, 58.

20 *Ibid.*, 57.

21 David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 66.

2. How to frame a foreign epic

In this version of the pastoral, Fanshawe documents the fragmentation of the realm into various contending factions – court versus city, city lawyers and merchants versus the landowning nobility, with women, the mob, and the country ‘clowns’ confined to the margins of social being.²²

According to MacLean the poem goes on to analyse the causes of the contemporary discomfort, rather than solely endorsing the *cavalier* view as Norbrook argues. In other words, Fanshawe’s poem attempts to *explain* why is it that the King’s decree ends up being a good act, in a way that rather suggests that Fanshawe is trying the *explain away* the problem. Fanshawe’s position might not be one of happy content with the King’s order of enforced exile into the country, which is precisely the view taken by Syrithe Pugh:

While on the surface, then, Fanshawe seems to depict Charles’s peace as a returned Golden Age, the gentry residing on their private estates as shepherds who, like Tityrus, owe a debt of gratitude and even divine worship to the King, the subtext presents a darker picture of England in a state of unrest already prompting comparison to civil war, and a population excluded from public life, forced to relinquish traditional duties and rights and to become passive subjects of an absolute monarch.²³

Pugh’s conclusion comes not only from an analysis of Fanshawe’s classical allusions,²⁴ but also from a contextual analysis of the circumstances of the poem’s first publication (in 1648, when the halcyon days were long gone), its first circulation – ‘There is an uneasy gap, then, between the real England of 1630 and the home of “everlasting” peace pictured in the Ode’²⁵ – and a close attention to Fanshawe’s choice of vocabulary that indicates a certain subtextual outrage at the forced exile: ‘Unlesse hee **force us** to enjoy / The peace hee made’, ‘Nor let the Gentry **grudge to goe** / Into those places whence they grew’.²⁶ Pugh ties all of these elements into an underlying discussion, in which Fanshawe participates with this poem, between the virtues of *otium* versus *negotium*, key terms in the Stoic debate over the merits of *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*.²⁷ Pugh argues that Fanshawe sees Charles as violently enforcing the *otium* of the *vita contemplativa*, almost linking it

22 MacLean, *Time’s Witness*, 91.

23 Syrithe Pugh, *Herrick, Fanshawe and the Politics of Intertextuality: Classical Literature and Seventeenth-Century Royalism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 113.

24 Further explored in Pugh, ‘Fanshawe’s Critique of Caroline Pastoral’.

25 Pugh, *Herrick, Fanshawe and the Politics of Intertextuality*, 111.

26 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol 1, 57–58, my emphasis.

27 See Pugh, ‘Fanshawe’s Critique of Caroline Pastoral’, 383, and note 8 on the same page.

to Philomela's rape (alluded to by Fanshawe in the lines 'How prettily she [the Nightingale] tells a tale / of rape and blood'),²⁸ and that Fanshawe's Ode is itself akin to Philomela's tapestry, woven with metaphors of pleasantry while hiding the poet's true feelings underneath. For Fanshawe, then, 'The imposition of pastoral *otium* is dehumanising, and to comply with it is not only to turn oneself into some passive plant or beast, but to bequeath that status to future generations'.²⁹ Pugh's interpretation radically differs from Norbrook's, actively attributing to Fanshawe, through the many allusions in the poem, a combative – rather than celebratory – stance in his ode.

To return to Fanshawe's bio-sonnet on Camões then, it seems that Fanshawe's celebration (Norbrook), acute observation (MacLean) or muted criticism (Pugh) of the pleasures of country exile in the 1630s have blown up into an open frustration with the tragedies brought by the isolation from court, the Warres, Travails, Shipwrecks and general Wants that took Camões to an early grave. Time certainly played a part in Fanshawe's open longing for the courtly days, and Fanshawe's effective isolation from service to his king must have made Yorkshire feel as far away as Africa or India, where powerlessness could only be softened by the writing (or translating) of epics.

Those wants that eventually killed Camões, according to Fanshawe's sonnet, could have been fulfilled if only Philip II had entered Portugal sooner. Fanshawe alludes here to the neglect to which Camões had been relegated upon his return to Portugal during the final years of his life, after the publication of *Os Lusíadas*. Camões did in fact die forgotten and in poverty, yet, once again, the inclusion of this detail in Fanshawe's sonnet points beyond the simple retelling of Camões's life into another – this time very clear – parallel with the Englishman's own condition. The appearance of Philip – which most readers would readily identify as Philip II of Spain, England's favourite enemy – carrying a cordial to cure Camões's illness neatly mirrors another usurping kingly figure saving the life of another destitute poet. As discussed in the previous chapter, when Fanshawe was arrested following the battle of Worcester, he was thrown in jail at Whitehall where his health quickly deteriorated almost to the point of death. If his wife's memoirs are to be believed, it was only through Oliver Cromwell's personal intervention that Fanshawe was allowed to leave prison.³⁰ If Fanshawe is creating a parallel between Camões and Philip II *vis-a-vis* his own relationship with Oliver Cromwell then this allows for a troublesome conclusion. Particularly when taken into account that the closing lines of the sonnet chastises Camões's country for abandoning the Portuguese poet – '*My Country (Nothing – yes)*' (l. 15) – and his countrymen for being philistines not capable of properly appreciating his poetry – '*Beasts cannot browze on Bayes*' (l. 16) –

28 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 1, 59.

29 Pugh, 'Fanshawe's Critique of Caroline Pastoral', 388.

30 See chapter 1 and H. C. Fanshawe, ed., *The Memoirs of Ann, Lady Fanshawe* (London: John Lane, 1907), 134–135.

Fanshawe's reappropriation of Camões's last years reveals a begrudging acknowledgement that he himself had been abandoned by his friends and faction, and only the mercy of Cromwell saved him from a certain death. This is not the same as saying that Fanshawe suddenly changed his allegiance – much like Camões, Fanshawe still gives *'Immortall Prayse'* to the royalist cause – but it says much about Fanshawe's self-image as an exile within his own country.

A final suggestion of shared purpose between Fanshawe and Camões can be found both in the sonnet and in the engraving above it. Fanshawe's evocation of the image of a poet – a man of letters, knowledge, wisdom and wit – fighting in bloody, brutish war is an echo of a common humanist trope of the complete man, the man who can wield quill and sword with equal artistry. It is also an echo of both Virgil's opening line in the *Aeneid*, 'Arma virumque cano'³¹ and, more specifically, the opening line of *The Lusiad* that itself quotes Virgil: '*Armes, and the Men* above the vulgar File'.³² And finally, it is also perhaps Camões's most enduring trait in the readers's minds, present not only in the few biographic details of Camões – the war in Africa where the poet lost his right eye – but celebrated by the poet himself in much of his work, including in *The Lusiad* itself: '*My Pen in this, my Sword in that hand hold*'.³³

This representation of Camões as the soldier-poet is further emphasised in the engraving above the biographic sonnet. The *ersatz* coat-of-arms³⁴ on the plinth has a quill and a sword surrounding a phoenix (a phoenix, by the way, also features in Richard Fanshawe's coat-of-arms), and it becomes very clear that, if one were to reduce Camões to the minimum of descriptions, that could have been the warrior poet. The same could be just as easily said of Fanshawe: Fanshawe participated in battle, and survived through the long bloody period of the English Civil Wars. It is unclear, however, whether Richard ever picked up a sword and actually fought. The only record of Fanshawe having participated in a confrontation with the New Model Army was at the battle of Worcester in 1651, and at that time Fanshawe was secretary to the Prince of Wales. He was captured as such, and there is no mention of any sort of bravery or cowardice on his part. Most likely, his role

31 'I sing of the Arms and the Men'.

32 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 28.

33 *Ibid.*, 232, (VII.79.8).

34 There is no coat-of-arms extant for Camões – as he probably never had one. As discussed in chapter I, the engraving of Camões was copied from Faria y Sousa's 1639 commentary. The design of Camões's bust closely models that of Faria y Sousa himself and was printed next to it in the same page. Faria y Sousa did have a coat-of-arms, and probably felt compelled to give Camões no fewer honours than himself. In his lengthy introduction and biographic sketch, Faria y Sousa discusses the many different possible coats-of-arms of Camões's ancestors (cf. Faria y Sousa, introduction to *Lusíadas*, sig. A5v-A7r), but offers no explanation to the one featuring in his engraving of the Portuguese poet. In all likelihood, Camões coat-of-arms is a creation of Faria y Sousa himself, and is easily understandable: the quill and sword are part of the humanist model of a perfect man; the laurel surrounding the shield crowns Camões as the prince of poets; and finally the phoenix can be understood as the poet's everlasting fame, his continuous rebirth throughout the ages.

on the battlefield would have been as clerical as it always was. Yet the self-representation of Fanshawe as a man of letters who had been forced to wield a weapon still stands; and likely, his emphasis on Camões's similar profile represents yet another instance where Fanshawe heavily identifies with Camões – almost to the point of having the Portuguese as a stand-in for himself.

On a more literal level, however, the sonnet and the other paratexts dedicated to Camões serve a simpler purpose: they introduce the Portuguese poet to a foreign audience who probably had never heard of him. The engraving of Camões's bust does it in as straightforward a manner as possible: it represents the Portuguese poet with a laurel crown, his name behind him on the background, replicates the lost eye mentioned by Fanshawe in the sonnet (which, like the original in Faria y Sousa, has Camões blinded in the wrong eye), and presents him in what seems like a typical sixteenth-century armour and ruff. While these elements may quench the curiosity of readers trying to find out who Camões was or what he looked like, perhaps the most significant gesture while introducing a new author in the seventeenth century is the *encomium*, a praise by an authority that justifies the literary significance of the new author.

Fanshawe's first praise for Camões appears in the title page, with a quotation that he attributes to Horace: '*Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori; / Carmen amat quisquis, Carmine digna facit*'. These lines are in fact from two different authors. The first, appears in Horace's Ode 8 from his fourth book of *Odes*. Fanshawe had previously translated these lines in his 1652 *Selected Parts of Horace* as 'A man that hath deserv'd t'have praise, / The Muse embalms',³⁵ although a more literal translation of the line on its own would be something like 'The Muse forbids the death of a man worthy of praise'. The message is clear enough: Fanshawe claims that Camões is one of those poets destined to be remembered forever through his muse-inspired work. The second line furthers this sentiment while also justifying the act of translation itself. 'Carmen amat quisquis, Carmine digna facit' does not come from Horace, as the title page claims, but from Claudian's preface to Book III of *On Stilicho's Consulship*. The line printed in the title page of *The Lusiad* differs only slightly on the last word – instead of *facit* Claudian had *gerit*³⁶ – but the general sense of the Roman author holds true. In the Loeb classical library, the line is translated as 'he loves song whose exploits

35 Richard Fanshawe, trans., *Selected Parts of Horace, Prince of Lyricks and of All the Latin Poets the Fullest Fraught with Excellent Morality: concluding with a piece out of Ausonius and another out of Virgil; now newly put into English* (London: Gabriel Bedel and T. Collins, 1652), sig. I3r.

36 It is not clear whether the misquotation in the title page was intended by Fanshawe or not. *Facit* would be easily mistakable for *Gerit* in manuscript, so it is not unlikely that the typist might have introduced an error in it. On the other hand, as far as it is known, none of the copies extant corrected by Fanshawe have been marked in this case; in addition, while the substitution has little impact on the translation, the latin verb *facio* has connotations of physical labour that *gero* has not: *gero* is closely tied to managerial speak, meaning 'govern', 'minister', or 'achieve'; *facio*, on the other hand, means 'make', 'do', or, crucially, 'compose'. If Fanshawe's misquote was purposeful, it seems that he was aiming Claudian directly at Camões's trade, the maker of songs.

deserve the meed of song'.³⁷ The quotation from Claudian here both praises Camões's artistry by implying that only someone who loved verse could write as well as he does, but perhaps more significantly, it also praises Fanshawe himself as the new singer of Camões's own epic deeds. Fanshawe's translation becomes, quite literally, the epic of Camões – not only the epic that Camões wrote, but also the epic that reveals Camões's great literary feat.

By referring to these two classical authors, Fanshawe both praises Camões poetry as immortal and the man himself for his superhuman gift of poetry. Nonetheless it remains Fanshawe's praise. Despite coming from the mouths of respected authorities, they were not originally directed at Camões. In the biographical sonnet, however, Fanshawe does clearly state that Camões was praised by his contemporaries as well: 'TASSO, a sonet; and (*what's greater yit*) / *The honour to give Hints to such a witt* / PHILIP a Cordiall, (*the ill Fortune see!*) / *To cure my Wants when those had new kill'd mee*' (l. 11-14). As we have seen above, Philip's appearance in the sonnet seems to echo more of Fanshawe's life than Camões'; however, its other main function is, undoubtedly, one of appraisal for the Portuguese poet. Fanshawe implies that Camões's work is great enough to impress a King as great as Philip II. However, the greatest advertisement comes undoubtedly from Torquato Tasso. The Italian poet is mentioned not only in the sonnet as we have seen, but again in the dedicatory epistle and one of his sonnets (about Camões no less) is translated by Fanshawe and incorporated into the paratexts of *The Lusiad*. Before moving on to Tasso's sonnet itself, it is worth considering a rather extensive passage from Fanshawe's dedication to the Earl of Strafford:

My good Lord, I can not tell how your Lordship may take it, that in so *uncourted a language*, as *that* of PORTUGALL, should be found extant a *Poet* to rival your beloved TASSO, How *himself* took it, I *can*; for he was heard to say (his great JERUSALEM being *then* an *Embrio*) HE FEARED NO MAN BUT CAMOENS: Notwithstanding which, he bestow'd a *Sonet* in his praise. But, admitting the TUSCAN Superiour; yet, as *He* (with some anger) of GUARINI, when he saw, by the unquestionable *Verdict* of all ITALY, so famous a LAUREATE as *himself* by that man's PASTOR FIDO outstript in the *Dramatick* way of *Poetry*; SE NON HAVUTO VISTO IL MIO AMINTA – (because indeed the *younger*, for a *Lift* in this kind, was *beholding* to the *Elder*): So, and for the same cause, might my PORTINGALL have retorted upon *Him* with reference to his own *Epick* way; IF HE HAD NOT SEEN MY LUSIAD, HE HAD NOT EXCLL'D IT.³⁸

37 Maurice Platnauer, ed., *Claudian*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press and W. Heinemann, 1922), vol. 2, 39.

38 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 6.

Tasso had been very successful in England. His works were published at least fifteen times before 1660,³⁹ with many more copies available in Italian or Latin through imports; his *Gerusalemme Liberata* had been available in a translation by Edward Fairfax since 1600; Sidney cites Rinaldo, one of the characters in the *Liberata*, as an example of morality in epic poetry;⁴⁰ he influenced many significant English poets, such as Dryden⁴¹ and Milton;⁴² and, if Fanshawe's dedication is to be believed, he was a personal favourite of William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. Camões could not have wished for a better sponsor in his first venture in England.

I use the word sponsor very deliberately: Tasso's purpose in Fanshawe's paratexts is more patronage than praise. It is telling that in the first paragraph of the only paratext included in *The Lusiad* which is actually signed by his translator that Camões only appears as a function of Torquato Tasso, and even in this comparison, remains – as Fanshawe admits – inferior to the Italian. The fear voiced by Tasso – according to Fanshawe, that is – reveals as much: Tasso fears Camões as a rival for his position in the international pantheon of Epic poets, but is not dethroned by him, for fear is only fear so long as the threat is not confirmed; Fanshawe, once more speaking for Camões, has the Portuguese jealously admitting Tasso's superiority. The same is implied in the sonnet, when Fanshawe through Camões's voice claims what an honour it is 'to give hints to such a wit' as Tasso. It is, then, a clear form of patronage in all its scope: Tasso, the patron, sponsoring the abilities and virtues of Camões, with possibly a hint of jealousy, but not threatened by any challenge.

Another significant element from this section of the dedication is the careful lineage that Fanshawe traces between Camões, Tasso, and, significantly, Guarini. Tasso, says Fanshawe, owes his *Liberata* to Camões and *The Lusiad*; Guarini owes his *Il Pastor Fido* to Tasso's *Aminta*. Between all three poets there is a sense of evolution and direct inheritance: if Tasso had not seen my *Lusiad*, he would not have done it better says Camões; I fear Camões, and if Guarini had not seen my *Aminta*, he would not have done his dramatic triumph, implies Tasso; Guarini does not say anything, yet, one might infer, would have had a similar response to Tasso as Tasso had to Camões.

This lineage is significant because Fanshawe translated Guarini in 1647. Therefore, Tasso also plays the role of a connecting pin between Guarini and Camões in this universe which, in its turn, connects Fanshawe's two main translation projects. Fanshawe implies through this section of the dedication that translating Camões is not simply a past-time of a bored poet but part of a larger project begun during the English Civil Wars with the publication of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*. The

39 See the English Short Title Catalogue.

40 Philip Sidney, *The Defence of Poesie* (London: William Ponsonby, 1595), sig. F1v

41 See John C. Sherwood, 'Dryden and the Critical Theories of Tasso', *Comparative Literature* 18 (1966).

42 Judith A. Kates, 'The Revaluation of the Classical Heroic in Tasso and Milton', *Comparative Literature* 26 (1974).

existence of such a project is in itself tremendously interesting – it confirms that Fanshawe saw his translation work as an integral part of his literary output – and has implications in the way in which one can interpret the function of *The Lusiad* in the overall historic context of its publication, as we shall see below in the last section of this chapter.

For now, let us turn our attention to Tasso's sonnet, included as one of the paratexts of *The Lusiad*. Fanshawe printed it in its original Italian followed by his own translation into English:

Vasco, whose bold and happy ships against
 The Rising Sun (who fraights them home with day)
 Display'd their wings, and back again advanc't
 To where in Seas all Night he steeps his Ray;
 Not more then Thou on rugged Billows felt,
 He that bor'd out the Eye of POLYPHEME;
 Nor He that spoyl'd the HARPYES where they dwelt,
 Afforded Learned Pens a fairer Theam.
 And this of Learn'd and honest Camões
 So far beyond now takes it's glorious flight,
 That thy breath'd Sailes went a less Journey, Whence
 To Those on whom the Northern Pole shines bright,
 And Those who set their feet to ours, The boast
 Of thy Long Voyage Travails at his Cost.⁴³

As George Monteiro has noted, Fanshawe's translation of Tasso effectively began a tradition in England of presenting the two poets together: 'Both Fanshawe and Mickle [...] chose to include in their books Torquato Tasso's encomiastic sonnet on Camões [...]. Tasso's "handsome tribute" [...] was the first such tribute to Camões in all Europe. With its appearance in Sir Richard Fanshawe's 1655 edition of his translation, it entered into the English language at the same time Camões did'.⁴⁴ Mickle, Camões eighteenth-century English translator, likely harvested the idea of including Tasso's sonnet as a paratext in his translation from Fanshawe; Fanshawe, in his turn, had very likely taken the idea of quoting Tasso from Faria y Sousa's commentary, as Roger Walker noted.⁴⁵

43 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 27.

44 George Monteiro, *The Presence of Camões: Influences on the Literature of England, America and Southern Africa* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 7.

45 See Roger M. Walker, "'True to His Sense, but Truer to His Fame'": Sir Richard Fanshawe's Versions of Tasso's

Yetwhile Tasso's tribute might be seen as a great honour for the Portuguese poet, in seventeenth-century Portugal his was only one amongst many possible praises:

No nosso seculo XVII, panegirista de Camões, o soneto de Tasso nao repercutia contudo solitario, como louvor de um estrangeiro ao genio de Camões. A par se recordavam, com redobrado orgulho, os louvores a Camões tecidos por Lope de Vega ou Herrera. Não menos, com desvanecedora vaidade, a versão de *Os Lusíadas* ja em língua castelhana.⁴⁶

Why Tasso's sonnet might not have been given pride of place amongst Portuguese critics of the seventeenth century, other than the fact that the Spanish *encomia* may have been closer to heart and home, may be explained by a simple characteristic of the Italian sonnet: Tasso's real subject is not Camões but Vasco da Gama. Gama is the *you* of the poem with Camões relegated as the *he*. Camões is praised insofar as he chose a worthy a subject for his epic, Gama's first voyage to India. He is certainly called '*Learn'd and honest CAMOENS*'⁴⁷ (l. 9), but for Tasso, Camões's great feat is in taking Gama's voyage '*So far beyond*' its original destiny. Tasso's greatest compliment to Camões is perhaps a subtle comparison between the Portuguese poet, Homer and Apollonius of Rhodes,⁴⁸ yet this comparison only comes about, once more, through Gama. Gama's feats, Tasso says, are no less than 'He that bor'd out the Eye of POLYPHEME' (Odysseus, l. 6) nor 'He that spoyl'd the HARPYES where they dwelt' (Jason, l. 7), and therefore, no less worthy of an epic song. Tasso may grant Camões the power to take Gama's voyage as far as the North Pole or the Antipodes, where the navigator never went, and acknowledge that he carries 'The boast / Of thy Long Voyage Travails at his Cost' (l. 13-14), but Gama remains the unmistakable subject of Tasso's praise.

If Tasso's sonnet is more about Gama than Camões, one might ask why it is included at all? Despite Gama being the focus of attention, Tasso does name Camões – learned and honest Camões – and he does highly praise his choice of subject. One of the main rules of epic poetry is precisely the appropriate choice of subject and action: 'Epic poetry resembles tragedy in so far as it is a

Sonnet on Camões', *Portuguese Studies* 11 (1995): 79.

46 José da Costa Miranda, *Camões/ Tasso: Um Confronto e Algumas Semelhanças Segundo a Crítica Portuguesa* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 1985), 390. ['In our seventeenth-century, so praising of Camões, Tasso's sonnet did not sing alone as a foreign tribute to Camões's genius. Together with it, and with more pride, were the praises given by Lope de Vega or Herrera remembered. And with no less vanity the Spanish version of *Os Lusíadas*']

47 An interesting little piece of cultural translation: while in Tasso's original Italian sonnet he refers to Vasco and Luigi (their given names), Fanshawe preferred Gama and Camões in his translation. This might also give rise to the idea that Tasso, as an epic poet in his own right, might have felt more familiar with the subject and the author of another epic poem than Fanshawe did, however cultural differences between England and Italy certainly play a more significant role in this.

48 Author of the *Argonautica*.

representation in verse of superior subjects'.⁴⁹ Furthermore, as previously stated, Tasso was a strong favourite in seventeenth-century England, which makes his patronage of Camões carry weight.

Tasso's sonnet also serves a different purpose in Fanshawe's paratexts: his praise of the hero Gama serves as an introduction to Gama himself as the subject of Camões's poem. In fact, one might look at Tasso's sonnet as a sort of early modern blurb: we learn who the hero is – Gama – and the overall plot – a voyage towards the rising sun; we learn that the author – Camões – was learned and good, that he chose a worthy subject and is comparable to great Greek epic poets such as Homer and Apollonius.

Two other paratexts included by Fanshawe can be seen to contribute to this *blurb effect*: the engravings of Vasco da Gama and Prince Henry of Portugal. Both engravings play a similar role to Fanshawe's sonnet on Camões, Camões bust, and Tasso's sonnet on Gama and Camões: at a superficial level, they introduce key characters in Portuguese history to the unaware English reader, revealing their likeness, dress and, in the case of Prince Henry in particular, tell something about his life. Yet, I argue, both engravings do more than that – Gama and Henry are *Englished* by their representation.

The portrait of Vasco da Gama included in *The Lusiad*, as we have seen in chapter I, is an almost identical copy of one found in Faria y Sousa's commentary. Most of the accessories worn by Vasco da Gama were already present in the earlier engraving, and they tell a comprehensive story about the sitter: the richness of his dress suggests his high social status, reinforced by the presence of a sword; the staff Gama carries in his right hand is probably associated with his office as Viceroy of India; and he is shown wearing the grand cross of the Order of Christ, Portugal's most powerful institution and, by Gama's time, under direct rule of the crown.⁵⁰

The one notable difference between Fanshawe's and Faria y Sousa's Gama is, as noted before, his headgear. In chapter 1, I have demonstrated how this alteration comes from an ekphrastic relationship between the engraving and a passage in *The Lusiad* that describes Gama's hat as carrying a feather. In this context, however, the relevant fact is not whether Gama wears a feather in his hat or not, but the *style* of hat itself with which he is depicted in the engraving of *The Lusiad*. Gama is shown wearing a wide brimmed beret with jewels sewn on the underside of it, topped with feathers (or potentially one single ostrich feather). It is the same type of hat as that worn by Francis I of France in a famous representation by Joos van Cleve⁵¹ and copied a number of times through

49 Aristotle, *Poetics*, ed. Anthony Kenny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 22.

50 The Order of Christ, with Prince Henry at its command as Grand Master, was one of the earliest financiers of the Portuguese Age of Discovery of the fifteenth century. Manuel de Faria y Sousa was also a proud member of the Order.

51 Currently in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Cat. 769.

the ages. That type of hat, however, has one other famous wearer, and one whose likeness would be readily available to an English engraver of the mid seventeenth century. That wearer is King Henry VIII, particularly in his more famous representation by Holbein, after which countless copies were made. In fact, the English monarch was so associated with that type of hat that at least three separate prints from the seventeenth century in the *British Printed Images to 1700* database depict the monarch as wearing *both* a crown *and* the trademark feathered hat.⁵²

I am not suggesting, however, that Gama's hat was intentionally and uniquely modelled on that of Henry VIII. As Mary Hayward says, during the reign of Henry VIII, 'For elite men, bonnets of silk velvet decorated with a range of aglets, brooches, buttons and feathers were an essential part of any outfit'.⁵³ John Stow in his *Survey of London* also reminds us that 'Henry the eight (towards his latter raigne) ware a round flat cap of scarlet or of veluet, with a bruch or Jewell, and a feather, *diuers Gentlemen, Courtiers, and other did the like*'.⁵⁴ Therefore, as it so often happens with monarchs, it seems that Henry VIII popularised this style of beret amongst his courtiers and subjects. However, as Hilda Amphlett notes, by 'the 1560's the beret with flat brim was passing out of fashion and has never, since then, returned to favour for men'.⁵⁵

In depicting Vasco da Gama with that particular type of hat Fanshawe does three different things: he accommodates Gama's likeness to the description given by Camões, as discussed before; he attempts to historicise Gama by dressing him in apparel that by the 1650's had gone out of fashion for almost a century; and finally, and more significantly, the hat given to Gama is of a type that had been very popular in England and associated with one of its most memorable monarchs. Fanshawe, quite literally, *makes Gama wear his English hat*. Obviously, it is impossible to ascertain if this transformation was made with any degree of consciousness, and that would be, in any case, besides the point. What becomes clear is that no effort was made to *foreignise* Vasco da Gama. Instead, his image is subtly re-naturalised into that of an English hero – even more, into that of an English monarch. By depicting Gama in Henry VIII's hat – for lack of a better term – much like he does with Camões, Fanshawe has effectively *English'd* Gama.

No such englishing is needed for Prince Henry – he was already of English stock, the natural son of John I of Portugal and Phillipa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt and sister to Henry IV. Henry was nephew and cousin of English royalty and this connection may well have contributed

52 See the database at <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk/jsp/> (accessed 22/10/2016), and particularly items bpi5058, bpi5522 and bpi6730. Virtually all prints listed as depicting Henry VIII in the database have him wearing a similar type hat.

53 Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 122.

54 John Stow, *A Suruay of London. Conteyning the originall, antiquity, increase, modern estate, and description of that city, written in the yeare 1598* (London: Iohn Windet, 1603), sig. Nn1r, my emphasis.

55 Hilda Amphlett, *Hats: A History of Fashion in Headwear* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003), 94.

to his famous crusading spirit: ‘Henry’s consciousness of his Plantagenet descent may very well have provided a spur which would drive him to seek to emulate the chivalric fame of his English ancestors and cousins on the battlefield’.⁵⁶ His likeness in the engraving of *The Lusiad* is not strictly his and, as discussed in chapter 1, the original plate was meant to represent his ancestor Edward the Black Prince. Yet if one were to remove the identifying traits – the name of the prince and ‘Ceuta’ on the background, the Prince’s coat-of-arms and the other Portuguese insignia – the armed knight could well have been used to represent any late medieval, early modern, western European military commander. Furthermore, there is no accepted contemporary representation of the Prince,⁵⁷ so the English engraver might be excused to have him made after his English ancestor. Therefore, at face value, a case might be made for a reverse process of that to which Gama’s engraving had been subjected: that the portrait of an English knight had been *Lusofied* to represent Henry of Portugal. If one were to leave the analysis at this point, even this would suggest a tremendously interesting process of intermingling between the histories of Portugal and England. However, the process is still slightly more complex.

The first and the single most important question to ask is why the engraving of Henry was included in the paratexts of *The Lusiad*. There was no such engraving found in Faria y Sousa’s edition, so no argument of convenience can be made. Henry’s engraving, much like Gama’s revamped hat, represents a deliberate act on Fanshawe’s part, particularly when considering Henry’s role within *The Lusiad* – he is virtually absent from Camões’s epic. Unlike Gama who is the major character and – depending on one’s interpretation – the singular hero of *The Lusiad*, Henry appears in a total of *seven lines* in the whole of the text.

His first appearance is within Gama’s narrative of Portuguese history: ‘See those new *Isles*, and clymates near; which brave / PRINCE HENRY shewd unto the *world* before’.⁵⁸ Later he returns in Paulo da Gama’s gallery of Portuguese heroes: ‘Two *Princes* here (PEDRO, and HENRY) see / [...] / *T’other* [Henry], to trumpet *Him* through the wide SEA / For *it’s* *discov’rer*; and (his *Pen* by thrown) / Makes enter’d CEUTA see on t’other side / His *Lance* can prick the bladder of her *Pride*’.⁵⁹ If Henry is barely visible at all in *The Lusiad*, why is his engraving included in its paratexts? The answer is quite simple: because he represents the perfect embodiment of the intermingling of the histories of Portugal and England. More significantly, he would have been known as such by the English reader:

56 P. E. Russell, *Prince Henry ‘the Navigator’: A Life* (New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), 14.

57 See *ibid.*, 4, and note 6 on that page.

58 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 157 (V.4.3-4).

59 *Ibid.*, 245 (VIII.37.1,5-8).

both at home and abroad were the Portugals indebted to the English; [...] but in nothing more, then that English Lady before mentioned, whose third sonne *Don Henry* was the true foundation of the Greatnesse, not of Portugall alone, but of the whole Christian World, in Marine Affaires, and especially of these Heroike endeouours of the English (whose flesh and bloud hee was).⁶⁰

Purchas is here with full blown English pride claiming Henry's achievements as a direct consequence of his English heritage. Unlike most other Portuguese characters, Prince Henry was not completely unknown to the English, and his English stock was highly celebrated. When looked at in close detail, the engraving in *The Lusiad* perfectly mirrors this sentiment. The clearest sign of this can be found in Henry's large coat-of-arms on the top right hand side of the image. Strictly speaking, however, these are not Henry's arms, but an English recreation of what they might be. Henry's coat-of-arms as Duke of Viseu, his principal title, did sport the garter, but imposed on the Portuguese shield rather than surrounding it; furthermore, within the castles of the Portuguese shield are four *flour-de-lis*. The coat-of-arms as represented in the engraving of *The Lusiad*, greatly emphasises Henry's status as a Knight of the Garter. The garter itself is clearly visible on Henry's left leg, with part of the *motto* clear enough to be read. Henry was proud of his membership, as Peter Russel notes, 'Henry perhaps attached more importance to his membership of the famous order of chivalry established by his English great-grandfather than did [his] brothers or his nephew',⁶¹ yet this great emphasis on the Order – almost implying it as a direct influence in his conquest of Ceuta – is vastly under-warranted by any Portuguese source or the text of *The Lusiad* itself.

The sparse lines of verse in *The Lusiad* about Henry do find their way into the engraving: note that the Portuguese prince is depicted in Ceuta, holding a lance, just as described by Camões in V.37.5-8. On the top left side are the instruments of his trade: the books representing his vast knowledge; instruments of navigation and gauntlets and other pieces of armour for his crusading spirit, which echo both the other short descriptions in Camões *and* the image of Henry in England as described by Purchas. A final element firmly ties Prince Henry of Portugal to England, and the histories of both countries together. A reminiscence of the original print of Edward the Black Prince, Henry is shown wearing a sash with a small badge against his hip; that badge depicts St. George slaying the dragon. St. George, as it is widely known, is the patron saint of England, and his flag

60 Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes In Fiue Bookes. The First, Contayning the Voyages and Peregrinations Made by Ancient Kings, Patriarkes, Apostles, Philosophers, and Others, to and Thorow the Remoter Parts of the Knowne World* (London: Henry Fetherstone, 1625), sig. Aa3r,

61 Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator'*, 356.

remains the English flag until this day; less known, however, is that St. George is *also* the patron saint of Portugal. The harmony with which Portuguese and English elements cohabit in Henry's engraving, coupled with the fact that the engraving itself is a perfect palimpsest of English and Portuguese histories, reveal the overall tendency of the paratexts discussed so far – not only to *Anglicise* Portugal, its history and its epic, but to *make them English*, that is to say, not simply to make the Portuguese elements palatable and understandable to an English audience, but to mix the two so as to make their origins indiscernible and irrelevant, creating a new frame that presents the Portuguese epic as naturally created and adequate for the English climate.

Epic or History? Lucan, Petronius and the English politics of the Roman Civil War

When it came to identify the genre in which *The Lusiad* was to be classified, Fanshawe (or someone on his behalf) appears to have defined it as history. The title page reads *The Lusiad, or, Portugals Historical Poem*. Within its paratexts, however, Fanshawe would go on to complicate greatly the epic's generic identity. Truthfully, the English translator never at any point refers to *The Lusiad* as an epic – though making note of Camões's 'epick way'⁶² – and yet he also never refers to Camões as a historian but only as a poet. Finally, in a most enigmatic paratext, he claims that Camões follows Petronius's advice closely, by creating a poem that is 'of a *mixt nature* between *Fable* and *History*'.⁶³ In this chapter I will examine Petronius's advice, its context and how it is used by Fanshawe, but before it is necessary to take a closer look at the genesis of this advice: the *Civil War* or *Pharsalia*, by the Roman poet Marcus Annaeus Lucanus.

Lucan's *Civil War* is a first century poem about the Roman Civil War opposing the forces of Julius Caesar to those of the Senate, led by Pompey, the war that effectively terminated the period of the Roman republic and created Imperial Rome. Lucan himself writes his poem less than a century after the event, at Nero's court. Lucan was a favourite of the emperor, however the two had a falling out, Lucan was implicated in a plot to dethrone the Emperor, and was forced to commit suicide. At least the first three books of his poem had been circulated during his lifetime, and all ten survive to our day. The *Civil War* is an unfinished poem, whose nature has been the subject of much debate. As MacLean notes, '[f]rom Servius in the fourth century through the Renaissance, critical

62 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 6.

63 *Ibid.*, 26.

commentators debated whether this historical epic on the Roman civil wars more resembled history or poetry'.⁶⁴ Perhaps no more so than during the lead-up to, and the years of, the English Civil Wars.

Long before that time, practical-minded critics have noted the inherent futility of deciding whether Lucan was a poet or a historian. Thomas Nashe, for example, writes in 1589:

Hence commeth to it to passe that many make toyes their onelie studie; storing of trifles, when as they neglect most previous treasures: and hauing left the Fountaines of truth, they folow the Riuers of opinions. I can but pittie their folly, who are so curious in fables and excruciate themselues about impertinent questions, [...] whether *Lucan* is to be reckoned amongst the Poets or Historiographers, [...] in all which idle interrogatories they haue left vunto vs not thinges found, but things to be sought, and peraduenture they had founde necessary things if they had not sought superfluous thinges.⁶⁵

In typical Nashe style, the English author compares the usefulness of ascertaining Lucan's definition to 'whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were older, whether *Achilles* or *Patroclus* more ancient, in what apparrell *Anacharsis* the *Scithian* slept'.⁶⁶ Nashe was not alone in voicing this sentiment. John Harington, in a preface to his translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* claims that 'least of all do I purpose to bestow any long time to argue whether Plato, Zenophon, and Erasmus writing fictions and Dialogues in prose may iustly be called Poets, or whether Lucan writing a story in verse be an historiographer'.⁶⁷ Both authors voice an exasperation with the futility of such questions. What does it matter if Lucan is a historian or a poet?, they say, just enjoy the poem. In both Nashe and Harington, the underlying concern is not with the subject matter of Lucan's work – the history of the Roman civil war – but with the form in which it is written: verse. For both, Lucan's use of verse confuses the generic identification and focuses the debate on a trivial matter that Aristotle had long ago put to rest, that verse is neither a necessary nor a defining element of poetry:

people attach the name 'poetry' to the verse-form, and speak of elegiac poets and epic poets. But this classification has no regard to the representative aspect of their poetry but only to the metre they share, so that writers are so described even if they publish medical or scientific treatises in metrical form. In fact Homer and Empedocles have nothing in common

64 MacLean, *Time's Witness*, 26.

65 Thomas Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie* (London: Thomas Hacket, 1589), sig. C3r.

66 Ibid.

67 John Harington, trans., *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse* (London: John Norton and Simon VVaterson, 1607), sig. ¶3r.

except their metre; the former can be called a poet, but the latter should be termed a scientist.⁶⁸

The discussion surrounding Lucan's place within poetry or history that both Nashe and Harington dismiss in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century is, therefore, an echo of a much earlier debate already addressed by Aristotle. However, by the mid-seventeenth century, during the English Civil Wars and the Interregnum, the fight over Lucan's generic identity transformed into a debate over the contemporary partisan context. During the period of the English Civil Wars, claiming that Lucan was a poet or a historian was almost akin to an oath of allegiance.

The anti-Imperialist character of the *Civil War* made Lucan's influence highly felt on the parliamentary side of the English Civil Wars. Lucan, as Catherine Carroll Cliff confirms, while probably known by most English school boys, never really had a lasting influence in English literature: 'despite the fact that Lucan had been part of most school *curricula*, despite the florescence of other, very well received Latin authors in translation which appeared in England at the turn of the century, this particular Latin text [...] had seemed somehow beyond English ken, alien and removed'.⁶⁹ In fact, there were no complete readily available⁷⁰ English translations of the Latin poem until Thomas May's translation of 1626.

Thomas May is best remembered for being the translator of Lucan's *Civil War*, and for being a courtier who became a republican. His changing allegiance might appear as a surprise, but it also shows how misleading some preconceptions about the English Civil Wars can be. It exemplifies how complex and messy categories such as Royalist or Parliamentarian really are. As John Morrill writes, 'Political choices were frequently constrained, and that the sources for identifying and labelling men "royalist" and "parliamentarian" distorted more complex realities'.⁷¹ As the old *dictum* goes, there were as many reasons to be a royalist or a parliamentarian as there were men, and today we can only hope to grasp the many straws of complexity that played a part in that decision. Similarly, it is also a tall order to understand how a now almost forgotten Roman epic played such a big part in forming the minds of the men who would eventually dethrone a king and institute a completely novel form of statecraft in a country whose government had evolved organically from the feudal states of the late medieval period and as such, had never known a

68 Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Anthony Kenny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 19.

69 Catherine Carroll Cliff, 'Thomas May: The changing mind of Lucan's translator' (PhD diss., University of Yale, 1999), 24.

70 Christopher Marlowe had translated book I of Lucan's *Civil War* in 1600. Arthur Gorges translated the complete ten books in 1614, but his translation gained virtually no traction.

71 John Morrill, 'Introduction: County communities and the problem of Allegiance in the English Civil War', in *The Nature of the English Revolution*, John Morrill (London and New York: Longman), 180.

government without a king.

May's translation of Lucan was a tremendous success, going through at least six separate printings between 1626 (its first edition) and 1660. For May himself, as Cliff notes, the publication of the epic was a career defining moment, 'whose effects would be evident in each subsequent stage of May's career from the beginning of Charles's Personal Rule until the author's death during Cromwell's ascendance'.⁷² May would go from being one of Charles's courtiers in the late 1620s to become one of the English Civil Wars's first official partisan historians with the publication of *The History of the Parliament of England: Which began November the third, MDCXL* (1647), but Lucan's influence remained the centrepiece of his literary life. Like Fanshawe and Camões, a certain superimposition of the Lucan and May's identities would not be too far fetched: 'For both, conflicting loyalties are the subject of the lives they wrote about as well as the lives they lived. Each one becomes, seemingly, the subject of his writing'.⁷³ May clearly felt a kinship between him and Lucan: in 1630 he took it upon himself to write *A Continuation of Lucan's historicall poem*, where May finishes the story that Lucan started, adding seven more books to the Roman's original epic and concluding with the assassination of Julius Caesar. When from the twenty first century we look back knowing what demise awaited Charles I in 1649, it seems almost prophetic that May dedicated his *Continuation of Lucan* to the monarch.

May would go on to create a Latin version of his addenda to Lucan entitled *Supplementum Lucani*, published in 1646, still dedicated to Charles, and with the addition of several encomiastic poems from his contemporaries, including Richard Fanshawe.⁷⁴ The two men had been friends since their time at the Inns of Court where they shared a room.⁷⁵ They seem to have remained good friends until sometime in 1642, at the start of the first civil war. At that point, no doubt for political reasons, they seem to have had an argument and fell out according to Aubrey's account: '*Amicus* [of May]: Sir Richard Fanshawe. Mr. Decretz heard (was present at) the debate at their parting before Sir Richard went to the king [at Oxford], where both camps were most rigourously banded'.⁷⁶ According to David Norbrook, echoes of that discussion may have found their way into May's 1642 pamphlet *A Discourse concerning the successe of former Parliaments*.⁷⁷

We have seen how influential Lucan was for one parliamentarian in particular – Thomas May – and how Fanshawe found himself associated with Lucan's work due to his personal connections

72 Cliff, 'Thomas May' p. ii.

73 Ibid., 1.

74 Thomas May, *Supplementum Lvcani Libri VII* (London: M. Flesher, 1646), sig. *6v-*7v.

75 Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 65.

76 John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark, 2 vols., ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), vol. 2, 55.

77 Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 81.

with May. However, Lucan's influence on the Parliamentary side goes well beyond a simple career turn for a recognisable supporter of Parliament. It is clear how an epic poem about a civil war – and one so clearly anti-Imperial and critical of the dangers of tyranny as Lucan's – could have gained relevance during the period. As Nigel Smith notes, Lucan's penetration into the discourse of both sides of the conflict became almost commonplace: 'Scattered throughout pamphlet literature are allusions to and quotations from Lucan's poem'.⁷⁸

The debates over the nature of Lucan's poem continued. During the Renaissance, as MacLean notes, 'Literary theorists [...] were concerned more, it would appear, with [Lucan's] ambiguous generic status than its republican critique of arbitrary power'.⁷⁹ If this may have been true at certain points and places in history, MacLean goes on to demonstrate how it became less so in England during the Stuart dynasty. He explains how the 'debate over the formal and aesthetic components of representation constitutes a struggle for control over the means of producing "history", a struggle over the objective position of the historian'.⁸⁰ This discussion, so reminiscent of Aristotle's ancient definition of poetry as *not truth* but what could have been, would eventually find its perfect touchstone in Lucan. Defining his poem either as history or as fiction would have been akin to adding or removing to the poem's power to influence its readers – history carries the myth of impartiality while fiction does not. In the growing tensions of Charles's personal rule, defining Lucan as one or the other is not part of a vacuous academic debate; instead, 'the critical debate over Lucan's antimonarchist *Pharsalia* was [...] a struggle for control over the status and meanings of historical poetry'.⁸¹

David Norbrook agrees with MacLean that the generic debate over Lucan was not a generic debate at all, but a political one: 'Lucan was indeed so disrespectful to epic convention that he was often criticized for being more of a historian than a poet. Behind that charge, however, lay an unease with the poem's politics'.⁸² Lucan's disrespect for epic convention – the use of separate episodes rather than a global narrative, the absence of gods, his adherence to the historical record, its ambiguous heroes – created the basis for many of the attacks on his generic definition. Yet the underlying politics of his epic – most notably a fierce criticism of tyranny, the sorrow at the end of the Republic, its anti-Imperialism – were perhaps more of a factor for any polemics than his genre-defying antics. The combination of these two different strands transposed Lucan from his Roman setting firmly into mid seventeenth-century English politics. Norbrook emphasises how 'Lucan was

78 Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 204.

79 MacLean, *Time's Witness*, 27.

80 Ibid., 44.

81 Ibid.

82 Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 28.

the central poet of the republican imagination, and his traces can be found again and again amongst leading Parliamentarians'.⁸³ Lucan was thus made a partisan of the combating sides of the English Civil Wars. Even if declaring a literary admiration for the Roman poet did not a Parliamentarian make,⁸⁴ the underlying ideas of his poem became more and more the stronghold of the supporters of Parliament, particularly those of true Republican stock. As Norbrook notes, the 'emergence of secular and religious republicanisms can be traced in the reception of Lucan'.⁸⁵ The *Pharsalia* may be a poem which graphically and frighteningly depicts the terrors of civil war, yet it also justifies its necessity when the people are faced with an out-of-control, all powerful tyrant, a sentiment shared by many on both sides of the British divide. So much so that discussing Lucan's poem was tantamount to discussing the contemporary British context of civil war.

It is in this context that Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad* participates in the discussion surrounding Lucan's epic. An argument could be made that translating an epic poem in itself might be a way of balancing the literary scales, after the parliamentary adoption of Lucan's as their own. The royalist side already had some attempts at celebrating in song their side of the conflict. First, there had been Abraham Cowley's unpublished and unfinished poem on the civil war, abandoned by the author following the crushing defeat at the battle of Newbury. The whole three books of Cowley's poem would not see the light of day until the twentieth century, although a fragment of the first book was published posthumously at the end of the seventeenth century. As Nigel Smith notes, Cowley's aborted attempt at a royalist epic is a curious testament to Lucan's lasting influence on both sides of the divide.⁸⁶

The second royalist attempt at creating its own epic comes from William Davenant's 1651 attempt at an 'Heroick POEM' called *Gondibert*, a poem more well-known for its programmatic neo-classicist preface (and Thomas Hobbes's answer to it, printed with the book) than for its literary qualities. Robert Wilcher underlines that Davenant's ambitions of becoming the new Homer, Virgil or Tasso were not to be, and that the poem was '[i]n his own day [...] mocked for its pretensions in a volume mischievously entitled *Certain Verses written by severall of the Authors Friends, to be Re-Printed with the second edition of Gondibert*',⁸⁷ in what appears to have been mainly the work of Sir John Denham, another royalist poet that, like Davenant, was exiled in Paris at the time but that, unlike the would-be Homer, kept away from the coterie surrounding the Parisian court of Queen

83 Ibid., 24.

84 Ibid., 36.

85 Ibid., 39.

86 Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660*, 207.

87 Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism, 1628-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 320.

Henrietta Maria.⁸⁸ So, if Fanshawe intended *The Lusiad* to be seen as the royalist's answer to Lucan, he may not have been the first to the plate, but neither was the fight already over. Fanshawe actively participates in the fight over Lucan – and he does so through two paratexts. The first is a translation of a fragment out of Petronius's *Satyricon*; the second a 'Translator's Postscript' about that same fragment.

The fragment of the *Satyricon* translated by Fanshawe is a passage that is now widely known in literary criticism as the *Bellum Civile*, and glosses the same subject matter as Lucan's Civil War. The passage is spoken by Eumolpus, a poet himself, where he stipulates the rules of a good epic poem and considers how difficult a task it is to create something worthy of such a great subject as the civil war; he then goes on to explain why previous attempts at it have failed, and composes a lengthy impromptu example of how the start of the civil war should have been celebrated in verse. What concerns us here is precisely this introduction, and specifically certain passages of it (in Fanshawe's translation):

Therefore, those who have got the practice of pleading or declaiming in publike, have frequently fled to the tranquility of versifying, as to a gentler port: believing it easier to compile a Poem, than an Argument embelish'd with little sparkling Sentences. [...] Behold a great Task, THE CIVIL WAR? [sic] Whoever will touch that burthen (unless abounding with letters) shall sink under it. For not things done should be comprehended in verse, (which is much better performed by Historians) but the free spirit must throw it self headlong in digressions, and in personatings of Gods, and in fabulous ornaments upon the rack of invention: that it may seem rather an ebullition of some prophetick truths, amidst a world of pleasant extravagancies, from a breast inflamed with fury; than a deposition, as of sworn witnesses to tell the truth, all the truth, and nothing but the truth.⁸⁹

Fanshawe interprets this fragment as a criticism of Lucan's epic, who famously did not impersonate the Gods nor added any ornaments 'upon the rack of invention'. In this interpretation, Fanshawe anticipates by a few centuries one of the most lively discussions in literary criticism about Petronius: whether or not this is a direct criticism of Lucan.

Petronius, like Lucan, had also been a courtier of Nero, and the two poets knew one another (and in this they curiously parallel Fanshawe and May), but Petronius seemed to have survived for longer within Nero's inner circle than Lucan did. To blatantly accept this passage as a criticism of

88 Ibid.

89 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 9.

Lucan is dangerous, however, as there are a lot of factors to be taken into account. The most crucial of which is the context surrounding it in Petronius's *Satyricon*. The two main factors are, really, quite obvious: the *Satyricon* is the satirical novel *par excellence*, and no doubt any and every seemingly clear assertion within it must be taken with a pinch of salt; the second, and also very significant trait, is the character of Eumolpus itself, a poetaster that thinks of himself as a great artist, while everyone else in the novel seems not to share this opinion; his thoughts on poetry should be followed at one's own risk. Furthermore, according to some critics, unlike previously thought, there are not many direct allusions to Lucan within Eumolpus's version of *The Civil War* for it to be an undoubted parody of the epic; and lastly, that Eumolpus's poetry itself is far from better than anything Lucan has to offer. Modern criticism is, for these reasons and many more, somewhat divided on whether Petronius is or is not directly criticising Lucan's epic poem.⁹⁰

Now, with the benefit of hindsight in judging the adequacy of using Petronius's to criticise Lucan, Fanshawe's use of the fragment from the *Satyricon* may seem misguided. However, the Petronius that we in the twenty-first century know is very different from that of the seventeenth century. The *Satyricon*'s publication history throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance had been tremendously fragmentary. Trimalchio's banquet, for example, which is now one of Petronius's most recognisable scenes, was not published in print well into the second half of the seventeenth century, in 1664.⁹¹ Fanshawe seems to have worked from a particularly fragmentary copy of Petronius, possibly an obscure 1626 edition published in Amsterdam,⁹² where even the *Bellum Civile* does not appear in full. With this in mind, Fanshawe does make a correct use of his authorities, quoting from a well known and well regarded classical author with valid critical points about Lucan. Finally, Fanshawe's postscript to his translation of Petronius does make clear that Lucan – and everything that Lucan represented in mid seventeenth-century England – is the primary object of criticism. Given the convoluted syntax of the postscript, I quote it in full:

Here PETRONIUS breaks *off* abruptly, *thereby* as well as in many *imperfect places* of his *own Copy*, proving as good as his word, that he had *not added thereto the last hand*. In which thing alone I have translated him to the life, for neither have I added *mine* to the *English*: onely making so much use thereof, as to shew the *Rule* and *Model*, which (*indubitably*)

90 For the complete refusal that there is any direct link between Petronius's fragment and Lucan, see, for example, P. A. George, 'Petronius and Lucan De Bello Civili', *The Classical Quarterly* 24 (1974). For the opposite argument, see Georg Luck, 'On Petronius' *Bellum Civile*', *The American Journal of Philology* 93 (1972).

91 Anthony Grafton, 'Petronius and Neo-Latin Satire', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990).

92 Fanshawe's reference at the top of his translation 'Out of the Satyr of *Petronius Arbiter*, pag 48' matches this edition.

2. How to frame a foreign epic

guided our CAMOENS in the raising his GREAT BUILDING, and which (except *himself*) that I know of, no POET ever *followed* that *wrought in great*, whether *ancient*, or *modern*. For (to name no more) the *Greek* HOMER, the *Latin* VIRGIL, *our* SPENCER, and even the *Italian* TASSO (who had a *true*, a *great*, and *no obsolete story*, to work upon) are in effect wholly *fabulous*: and LUCAN (though *worthily admired*) is as much censured by *some* on the other side, for sticking too close to *truth*. As FABIUS for one; – LUCAN *full of flame and vigour, and most perpicuous in his Sentences*: yet (*that I may speak what I think*) rather to be reckoned amongst the ORATORS than the POETS. And SERVIUS for another, with less manners in his expression; *That which I said, that the Art of Poetry is forbidden to set down a naked story, is certain: for LUCAN deserved not to be in the number of POETS, because he seems to have compiled a HISTORY, rather than a POEM*. Amounting to the same which is *objected* above in the *Introduction*⁹³ to this *Essay*⁹⁴ (which glanceth particularly at LUCAN) and *mended* (as the *Author* thereof conceived) by the *Essay* itself, which is of a *mixt nature* between *Fable* and *History*.⁹⁵

Fanshawe mentions Lucan's name four times – more than any other author in this short postscript, including Camões – making crystal clear who the real object of his translation of Petronius is. Fanshawe categorically states his position in the Lucan debate: he is an orator, not a poet; and he is not to be counted amongst the poets because he compiled a History, not a Poem. Keeping in mind the context of this argument, discussed above, we know that this is not merely a literary debate but a very political one, and within this context Fanshawe positions Camões as a royalist Lucan. This postscript is as metaliterary as Fanshawe ever gets in *The Lusiad* and, at the same time, is the clearest exposition of his politics. Coupled with the translation of Petronius, Fanshawe demonstrates with these two paratexts where Lucan is wrong and, as Nigel Smith recognises, propose the royalist epic aesthetic:

Fanshawe's preference for Petronius' dicta begins to look like a turning away of the sublime from the association with free spirit and liberty [...], and a linking of it with a more obviously royalist aesthetic, '*amidst a world of pleasant extravagancies, from a breast inflamed with fury than a deposition as of sworn witnesses to tell the truth*'.⁹⁶

93 From Petronius, the prose introduction to Eumolpus's version of the *Civil War*.

94 Eumolpus's version of the *Civil War* itself.

95 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 26.

96 Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660*, 228, quoting Fanshawe's translation of Petronius in Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 9.

The promise of a royalist aesthetic is then fulfilled by Camões in Fanshawe's translation. The emphasis on the 'mixt nature between *Fable* and *History*' offers, as Smith also notes, a degree of 'idealising wish-fulfilment',⁹⁷ moving beyond the longing more commonly found in the pastoral Cavalier poetry for the Halcyon days of Charles's early reign into a period in which the royalist focus begins to look forwards into the future. This shift from a pastoral to an epic aesthetic, which is not exclusively royalist, expresses itself in spatial terms as well, as Gerald MacLean noted: 'a concern for international politics that entails a shift in historical perspective from one concerned exclusively with the national past to one that engages with the future by looking beyond national borders to the world at large'.⁹⁸ Fanshawe's translation of *Os Lusíadas* embodies a break with the past royalist pastoral aesthetic: the history in its narrative is heroic and future-facing, presenting not a representation of what went wrong in the Civil War but the way forward.

By offering Camões as levelled with Homer, Virgil, Spenser and Tasso – or even surpassing them according to Petronius's propositions – Fanshawe is also claiming the desirability of royalism itself, over the mere history offered by Lucan and his partisans. As MacLean and Norbrook deem it, the generic debate over Lucan is a debate over Lucan's politics and Fanshawe recognised this. Though admiring of Lucan's ability, he places himself and his Camões on the other side of the fence – if Lucan is to be the republican epic poet, Fanshawe wants to make Camões the royalist one. It appears, then, that the subtitle appended in the title page to *The Lusiad* as 'Portugal's Historicall poem' may not have been proposed by Fanshawe at all. The translator makes it clear in these paratexts that *The Lusiad* is no mere history, though it may certainly be historical, and in this superior to Lucan's *Civil War*. In choosing to make *The Lusiad* the royalist epic, Fanshawe follows the lead of Spenser, by presenting a historical fiction as a narrative that may teach at the same time it delights. In a letter to Walter Raleigh appended to the first edition of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser writes: 'The generall end therefore of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline: Which for that I conceiued shoulde be most plausible and pleasing, being coloured with an historical fiction, the which the most part of men delight to read, rather for variety of matter, then for profite of the exsample'.⁹⁹

As discussed in chapter 1, the printing process had been rushed and Fanshawe did not review any proofs, so it is not impossible that Moseley added the subtitle as a helping hand for the less knowledgeable reader browsing through the new titles in his shop. On the other hand, none of the

97 Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660*, 228.

98 MacLean, *Time's Witness*, 126.

99 Edmund Spenser, letter to Walter Raleigh in *The Faerie Queene Disposed into Twelue Books, Fashioning XII. Morall Vertues* (London: William Ponsonbie, 1590), fol. Ppr.

copies that carry Fanshawe's manuscript corrections have any markings about this subtitle, which implies that the translator was not entirely troubled by it. In a way, a *historical poem* is still different than a *history in verse*, which he considered Lucan to be, and as we shall discuss in the next section of this chapter, considering *The Lusiad* as a historical poem, if not a history, also has its advantages.

In discussing Lucan, Fanshawe may also have been trying to continue the conversation with his old friend Thomas May. Even if the translator of Lucan had already passed away by 1655, his influence certainly lived on until, at least, the end of the Commonwealth. David Norbrook had seen this happening before, in 1647, when both May's *History of the Parliament* and Fanshawe's *Il Pastor Fido* were published.¹⁰⁰ When writing about and against Lucan in 1655, it is not unreasonable to imagine that Fanshawe had in mind his old friend May; and that despite the opposite sides in which both translators fought, their warm discussion continued through the centuries, carried by two great poets of western literature.

Advice, then and now

The third and final aspect that I would like to discuss concerning *The Lusiad's* paratexts relates to the possible function that Fanshawe imagined his translation of the epic performing. This function is, I argue, thought out in the ancient tradition of the genre of *mirror for princes*, books directed at the education of a young monarch. The implication is that Fanshawe had one particular reader in mind when translating the epic, the future Charles II, at the time in exile on the Continent. There are no records to confirm that Charles did indeed receive the book from the translator's hands. Whether Fanshawe did or did not gift his translation to Charles does not in any way relate to how he envisioned his work's function. Even if Charles – either as Prince of Wales or Restored Monarch – never read *The Lusiad*, that it is no impediment to Fanshawe's imagining of the Portuguese poem as an education tool to his future king.

I have expressly situated *The Lusiad* in a specific genre of writing, the *education of princes*, or, as some would prefer, *the mirror for princes* genre. This genre has a long and rich tradition going back all the way to classical antiquity. The middle ages had a particular tendency to produce such literature. Hundreds of *specula principum* were written during that period. Einar Jónsson offers a possible definition for the genre in this period: 'A "mirror-for-princes" is a treaty written for a

100 Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 159.

specific prince – and usually dedicated to him – which has as its primary objective the description of the ideal prince, his behaviour, his role and his place in the world'.¹⁰¹ Jónsson, though, will go on to admit the generic issues inherent to this grouping, noting for example that most treatises have little else in common apart from the title. When including the early modern period even titles become less uniform. One thinks of such apparently obvious examples as Erasmus *Education of a Christian Prince*¹⁰² or Machiavelli's *The Prince*¹⁰³ and, in those cases, not only titles, but objectives, scope, and precepts could not be more divergent. Yet both works are usually paired under this same heading, both works share the same aim and expect the same outcome: to educate a ruler in the best possible principles of kingship, for their authors to be considered as learned advisers and for the prince to take their advice into account.

To propose a definition for a genre of *mirror for princes*, even to propose that such a genre exists in early modernity, with all the genre specifics that one might expect to encounter and define, is a difficult, if not impossible, task, and one that I shall not attempt here. Instead, I propose a non-generic working definition, and definitely a non-literary one, based on the expected outcome of such writing. I will group Erasmus, Machiavelli and, as I am trying to argue, Camões and Fanshawe, under this same title: advice to princes, that is, a text that to some extent, embodies the humanist spirit of the learned counsellor, and aims at influencing the monarch's decisions.

Even with such a wide ranging definition, it might be hard to understand *Os Lusíadas*'s position in it, mainly because it so neatly fits with a different established genre, the epic. One must bear in mind that the early modern epic is usually composed of four parts, the preposition, the invocation, the dedication and the narration – respectively the exposition of the subject of the poem, the invocation of the muses, the dedication of the poem to a distinguished person and the narrative itself. This division is clearly made in *Os Lusíadas*, canto 1: stanzas 1 to 3 explain the theme of the poem, 4 to 5 request the muses help in the task, 6 to 18 dedicates it to King Sebastian and from 19 onwards the narration takes place.

The dedication of *Os Lusíadas* is surprisingly long, and one of the reasons for its length relates to the inclusion of several instances of advice to the young monarch. In other words, Camões does not merely praise Sebastian's qualities – because his reign had been short, there was not that much to praise – but sets forth what the nation expects of him: to be as great as, if not greater than, his forefathers. In this, one can link Camões's position to Erasmus writing to the future Emperor

101 Einar Már Jónsson, 'Les "Miroirs aux princes" sont-ils un genre littéraire?', *Médiévales: Langue, Textes, Histoire* 51 (2006): 5.

102 Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, ed. Lisa Jardine, trans. Neil M. Chesire and Michael J. Heath (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

103 Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. Peter E. Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Charles V. Erasmus writes that ‘this small book [*The Education of a Christian Prince*] is dedicated to one who, great as are the hopes he inspires, is still very young and recently invested with government, and so has not yet had the opportunity to do very much that in other princes is matter for praise or blame’.¹⁰⁴ In other words, Camões, like Erasmus, will not so much praise the prince as show him what a prince should be. In fact, Camões does not address Sebastian directly solely in its dedication; throughout the poem there are numerous clear references to what Sebastian should do, and many more indirect references to what he should correct around him, a number of them relating to his choice of advisers, something for which Sebastian was severely criticised in Portuguese society at the time.¹⁰⁵ I suggest that *Os Lusíadas* in its original incarnation can be linked to Erasmus’s *Education of a Christian Prince* and Machiavelli’s *The Prince*. The three aim at being listened to by their respective monarchs and, to some degree, educating him. Erasmus achieves this mostly by clearly stating the precepts to follow, Camões mostly by presenting historical examples to follow, and Machiavelli by synthesising the two modes.

Yet if this sense of audience can be fairly easily ascertained as far as Camões and Sebastian are concerned, Fanshawe’s translation presents new problems. Because this is a translation, and a translation of a near contemporary at that, any possible one-to-one relationship between characters in *The Lusíad* and contemporary figures is complicated, if not dangerous. One could read *The Lusíad*, at least in part, as a history, and work from the assumption that, as Blair Worden writes, ‘the study of history became ever more the study of high politics’¹⁰⁶ and that, ‘[s]ince all history was essentially alike’, according to the Renaissance view of history, ‘the writers and readers who sought contemporary instruction from it moved easily from one period to another’.¹⁰⁷ In fact, as Peter Burke suggests, ‘The interlingual translation of historians was at the same time a form of cultural translation, in other words, an adaptation to the needs, interests, prejudices and ways of reading of the target culture, or at least some groups within it’.¹⁰⁸ Yet there is an impossibility here: Fanshawe is adamant in his classification of *The Lusíad*. As discussed in the previous section, *The Lusíad* is not to be grouped with Lucan’s *Civil War*, but is ‘of a *mixt nature*, between *Fable* and *History*’,¹⁰⁹ or, in other words, it should not be read as Lucan, that is, as a history, but as an epic following the precepts put forward by Petronius. The question to ask is can a translated fable teach a monarch? There is enough precedent to think that it would be possible for a fiction work to be considered part

104 Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, 4.

105 Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, *D. Sebastião* (Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 2009), 220-233.

106 Blair Worden, ‘Historians and Poets’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68 (2005): 78.

107 *Ibid.*, 79.

108 Peter Burke, ‘Translating Histories’, in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 133.

109 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 26.

of the mirror for princes tradition. Camões and *Os Lusíadas* very clearly set out advice for King Sebastian of Portugal. In England, Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, in its figurative discussion of the princely virtues is openly directed at Elizabeth. As to whether a *translated* fable would function in the same vein, Fanshawe's work before *The Lusiad* proves that it can be done.

Fanshawe's most celebrated work during his lifetime is the translation of Batista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*,¹¹⁰ *The Faithful Shepherd*. The manuscript version circulated amongst Fanshawe's circle of acquaintances since the early 1640s, and was finally published in 1647, at the height of the Civil War, by Ruth Raworth, and republished in 1648 by Humphrey Moseley, the same publisher of *The Lusiad*, together with a collection of some of Fanshawe's translations from Horace and a number of his original poems. More significantly, both editions were dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales, the future Charles II. The dedicatory epistle of 1647 is clear enough in its aims. One can divide it into three sections: the first alludes to a painting hanging on the wall of the French Chancellor's office, composed of hundreds of little faces that, when looked at through perspective, compose the face of the Chancellor himself. Through it, Fanshawe expressly alludes to the notion of the body politic of a king, 'demonstrating, how the *Body Politick* is composed of many *naturall ones*; and how each of these, intire in it self, and consisting of head, eyes, hands, and the like, is a head, an eye, or a hand in the other'.¹¹¹

The second section of the dedication, describes how Guarini himself used his poem as an advice to his own royal spectators: 'Just so our Author (exposing to ordinary view an Enterlude of Shepherds, their loves and other little concernments, with the stroke of a lighter pencill) presents through the *perspective* of the *Chorus*, another and more suitable object to his *Royall Spectators*'¹¹² and goes on to explain Charles Guarini's take on marriage alliances, '*So much depends upon the marriage of Princes*'.¹¹³

The third section could not be clearer about Fanshawe's expectations for his translation: 'I thought it not improper for your Princely notice at this time, thereby to occasion your Highness, even in your recreations, to reflect upon the sad *Originall*, not without hope to see it yet speedily made a perfect *parallell* throughout; and also yourself a great Instrument of it'.¹¹⁴ In this dedication Fanshawe urges Charles to think of himself no longer as a simple individual, but as composed of many, as the head of the *body politic* of the nation; he claims that Guarini used this play to teach a

110 Walter F. Staton and William E. Simeone, *A Critical Edition of Sir Richard Fanshawe's 1647 Translation of Giovanni Battista Guarini's Il Pastor Fido* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

111 *Ibid.*, 4.

112 *Ibid.*

113 *Ibid.*

114 *Ibid.*, 5.

thing or two to his sovereign and explains how to read the play in this way; and finally asks the future king to read and reflect upon the play as more than a simple carefree pastoral tragicomedy.

The 1648 edition adds another dedicatory epistle to Charles, this time referring to him as ‘The hope and lustre of Three Kingdoms’, and excuses the addition of his own poetry with the good reception his translation received in the previous edition. Peter Davidson notes that ‘The thematic unit of the book [the 1648 edition] is simple and compelling: the Prince is urged to prepare himself for the just government of his people at the same time as he is presented in the role of potential healer of his people’s disorders’.¹¹⁵ Syrithe Pugh writes that ‘The humanist didacticism underlying the recreative nature of Fanshawe’s translation of *Il Pastor Fido* exploits this sense of instrumentality: the pleasure the Prince may derive from the entertainment as a private person is only a means to what Fanshawe is the true end of poetry, the education which will fit him to govern well, serving his country’s good’¹¹⁶ and that ‘The volume as a whole aligns itself with the distinctively English humanist tradition of handbooks for the education of princes, but greatly amplifies the authority of the poet-tutor at the expense of royal authority’.¹¹⁷ Though I disagree with this supposedly distinctive Englishness of the poet-tutor, as exemplified above with one Dutch, one Italian and one Portuguese example, Pugh’s overall assertion that Fanshawe aims at educating the young prince with *Il Pastor Fido* is undisputable.

Proving that Richard Fanshawe had aimed at the education of his prince in the past, though a step towards plausibility, does not prove that the same intent is shared by his 1655 translation of *The Lusiad*. There is no direct mention of Charles in *The Lusiad*. The translation is dedicated to William Wentworth, not to the exiled prince. However, if read carefully, I argue that this dedication can be interpreted in much the same way as a dedication to Charles would. As discussed above, the bulk of the dedication refers to his lordship’s love of Tasso and the suggestion that, because Camões was so praised by the Italian, his lordship might come to appreciate Camões as well. It is what Fanshawe has to say regarding the translation process itself that reveals some of his aspirations for the Portuguese epic. As we have seen in the first section of this chapter, Fanshawe explains his translation as one of appropriation or renaturalisation, which means that the text of *The Lusiad* no longer speaks solely to or about Sebastian of Portugal. The question is *who is it speaking to now?*

There is a multitude of reasons for the cloaking of a direct relationship between the publication of *The Lusiad* and Charles. The possibility of censorship and Fanshawe’s own predicament of being under house arrest are the two main motives that explain the absence of any

115 Davidson, commentary to *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 1, 355.

116 Pugh, *Herrick, Fanshawe and the Politics of Intertextuality*, 126.

117 *Ibid.*, 11.

references to Charles. Expressly dedicating his work to Charles would most likely result in the impossibility of publishing it altogether – to make a clear statement that this work should be read by the prince would amount to a direct violation of the terms of his imprisonment. If Fanshawe wished to speak to Charles II through his translation of *The Lusiad*, he would have to do so under the cover of some disguise, and the dedication to the Earl of Strafford has precisely a hint of that. Fanshawe populated the dedication with Latin quotations from Horace, quotations diligently translated by him into English in all cases but one: ‘ – *Et quamvis plebeio tectus, Amictu, / Indocilis privata loqui*’.¹¹⁸ These verses are in fact from Lucan’s *Civil War*, though slightly altered. Lucan’s original reads: ‘*quamquam plebeio tectus amictu indocilis priuata loqui*’. They appear in book five, lines 538-539. These lines, in May’s translation appear as ‘Thus *Casar* though disguis’d forgetts the tone / Of priuate men’¹¹⁹ and in Nicholas Rowe, Lucan’s eighteenth-century translator, ‘Thus he, and though in humble vestments dressed / Spite of himself his words his power expressed’.¹²⁰ This refers to Caesar who, disguised, seeks the help of a seaman to cross to Italy. However disguised, his words – specifically his promise of rewards – betrays him and the disguised identity of the Roman is revealed.

In this context, these verses may be read in multiple ways. Fanshawe could simply be trying to ascertain that, despite the roughness of his translation, Camões’s virtuosity would shine through, in a similar spirit to what Fanshawe writes just above the Latin quotation: ‘Whether this *Poet* also (however *dis-figur’d* in the *translating*, yet still reteining the old *materials*, both *Politically* and *Moral*, on a *truer* and more *Modern Frame* of *Story* and *Geography* than *that* of HOMER’.¹²¹ The actualisation of Homer in *The Lusiad* than can also be read as an actualisation of *The Lusiad* itself into the English context. Fanshawe clearly states that while his translation may have disfigured the original text, the materials – both political and moral – remain just as effective in this new modern frame of story and geography.

The actualisation of the materials of *The Lusiad*, now turned English, also neatly ties with the other possible reading of the Lucan quotation: it can also imply that *The Lusiad* itself was the simple cloak hiding the true message, and that message would be clear to anyone listening attentively. In other words, Fanshawe had disguised his advice to Charles with a cloak of a foreign epic. The seventeenth-century use of secret codes is well established, and, as Lois Potter noted, these codes did not stop in simple cyphers: literature itself becomes a code. Potter writes that

118 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 7.

119 Thomas May, trans., *Lucan’s Pharsalia: or The Civill Warres of Rome, betweene Pompey the Great, and Iulius Caesar* (London: Thomas Iones and Iohn Marriott, 1627), sig. I2v-I3r.

120 Nicholas Rowe, *The civil war*, ed. Charles Martindale and Sarah Annes Brown (London: Everyman, 1998), 142.

121 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 7.

Humphrey Moseley, the printer behind both the publication of *Il Pastor Fido* and *The Lusiad*, had a particular kind of propagandistic agenda: ‘it appeals to nostalgia for a pre-war England which was also a Stuart England; it assumes a shared set of values on the part of his reader; and it whets their appetites for finding hidden meanings in polite literature’.¹²²

If Fanshawe did intend his readers to find hidden meanings in his translation of *The Lusiad*, what did he want them to find? Specifically, what did he want Charles to find? Arguably, most of the advice Camões directs at Sebastian can be unproblematically redirected to Charles. Even without the topical references specific to the Portuguese context, Camões’s advice remains true in the English context. Portuguese history can be seen as a series of *exempla* for any king, at least in the way it is portrayed by Camões and Fanshawe; multiple calls to beware of ill advice – and consequently to be careful when choosing advisors – are a common trait of most early modern advice for princes; instructions on how to command – ‘with *sugard* phrase / (Which are the pow’rfullest *commands* of kings)¹²³ and encouragement to take pride in his subjects: ‘judge, which is the greater *Honour* Then / To be *King* of the *World*, or of *such Men*’.¹²⁴ Many more instances of hidden messages can be found in Fanshawe’s translation, as it will be discussed in chapter III, and the implications of those for the contemporary English context will become apparent.

What Fanshawe expected as a personal reward for his troubles is hard to know with any certainty. One can safely assume that, like so many other writers before him, Fanshawe expected to show himself available to assume a position in Charles’s court. Lisa Jardine notes that ‘[t]he genre of “advice to princes” is pragmatically linked to the practical project of finding a generous and committed patron’¹²⁵ and that these texts were ‘perceived by those who hoped for jobs in the corridors of power as the kind of portfolio of personal accomplishments in the field of political thought which could win them public office’.¹²⁶ The fact that Charles had no offices to give away at the time of the publication of this translation makes this hypothesis less likely. More likely is the scenario whereby Fanshawe aims at signalling his continuing allegiance to the royalist cause, despite his imprisonment. By publishing a translation that could be read, in many ways, as a royalist manifesto, a support of monarchy and a call for the Restoration of Charles to the throne, Fanshawe might have reasonably expected to make his position clear enough for his allies, and doubtful enough for his enemies. It was, after all, just a translation of a Portuguese epic.

122 Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing. Royalist Literature, 1641-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 37.

123 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 147.

124 *Ibid.*, 30.

125 Lisa Jardine, ‘Introduction’ in Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, ed. Lisa Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1997), xviii.

126 *Ibid.*, xxiv.

3. Reading *The Lusiad* in Interregnum Britain

Introduction

So far in this investigation we have seen how *The Lusiad* travelled from its first publication in 1572 Portugal to mid seventeenth-century England, in what conditions the translation process was undertaken, and explored some of the possible scenarios of its printing and publication. We have also discussed and analysed the paratextual elements framing and presenting this novel work to the English reading public of the Interregnum, and how those elements balanced their traditional role of giving as much background information as possible about the original work, its author, and its position in the early modern literary canon, with its intervention in contemporary English politics. This chapter will attempt to *become* the seventeenth-century English reader and understand exactly what this translation of Portugal's greatest epic would say about England's contemporary political situation and its recent history of civil strife and regicide.

This chapter will perform a close reading of *The Lusiad* in Fanshawe's translation paying particular attention to the occasions in which the translator either slightly deviates from the original Portuguese text, or in which the contemporary English political context enables readings not present in the original Portuguese text. Directly comparing Fanshawe's translation with the original words of Camões allows for the identification of tendencies and ideas emphasised by the English translation – for example, the undeniably excessive presence of vocabulary associated with monarchy, or the equation and reduction of nearly all foreign structures of power to monarchical systems.

New readings arising from the English political context generally operate in larger portions of text, in which full episodes are transformed, or its argument reinforced, by the mid seventeenth-century English political situation. These two strands are connected: as we shall argue later in the chapter, the use of a single word – 'Parliament' – allows for a complete re-evaluation of a long

section of Canto I, the episode commonly known in Camões studies as the ‘Council of the Gods’. The analysis of these two strands of divergences between original and translation will allow us to draw some conclusions about how the Portuguese epic could have been read in seventeenth-century England.

The basis for the analysis in this chapter is a current of literary criticism known as *reader response*, theorised and popularised by authors such as Roland Barthes, Wolfgang Iser and, with particular significance to this chapter, Stanley Fish, whose concept of *interpretive communities* is fundamental for this approach.

Reader response theory, in its simplest terms, shifts the emphasis of critical analysis from the author to the reader, arguing that text produces meaning only when read (i.e. interpreted). The author’s intention and the reader’s understanding are necessarily connected and essentially two sides of the same process. In Fish’s words, ‘intention and understanding are two ends of a conventional act, each of which necessarily stipulates (includes, defines, specifies) the other’.¹ This approach allows me to go beyond the letter of the text itself into the readings it may have prompted in the readers’s minds, which in turn suggests a more comprehensive picture of its place in seventeenth-century, politically-engaged literature. Fish’s concept of interpretive communities offers a base on which to build some conclusions of both literary and historical significance:

Interpretive communities are made up of those who share interpretive strategies not for reading (in the conventional sense) but for writing texts, for constituting their properties and assigning their intentions. In other words, these strategies exist prior to the act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read rather than, as is usually assumed, the other way around.²

The ‘reading in the conventional sense’ that Fish refers to is the mechanics of reading itself – that is, how one interprets the printed symbols on a page to form sentences in a natural language. Writing refers to the interpretive act of reading – what those sentences mean. Within the context of Fish’s argument, reading is writing, sometimes very literally so, as literary critics will physically write their own readings. What Fish’s definition shadows is the fact that all reading *is writing*, in the sense that all readers, either professional critics or not, will interpret a text according to their own interpretative strategies.

¹ Stanley Fish, ‘Interpreting the “Variorum”’, *Critical Inquiry* 2 (1976): 476.

² *Ibid.*, 483.

Fish's concept of interpretive communities is fundamental for my analysis because of the nature of these *interpretative strategies*: they are the characteristic of an *interpretative community*, which means that they are shared by a set of individuals and consequently not completely relativistic. Because they exist 'prior to the act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read',³ it follows that the context in which a text is read shapes the reading itself. An interpretative community does not demand member exclusivity: individuals might belong to several of these communities, and their individual readings will vary depending on the interpretive communities of which they are members. In the specific case of *The Lusiad* in the seventeenth-century, it means, for example, that an English reader who experienced the Civil War and has a working knowledge of Portuguese history would be able to read *The Lusiad* both in what it might say about the English context as well as in its original Portuguese context. Therefore, the definition of an interpretative community is always a reduction to its minimum constituting parts, while the reconstruction of a single reader's response by a critic is always impossible.

This chapter will attempt to reconstruct the interpretative strategies – or ways of creating meaning – that Fanshawe's reading public used in mid seventeenth-century Britain. This approach composes a picture of how individuals felt, experienced and understood the events surrounding them, in the absence of written evidence for their specific thoughts, and just as significant to the understanding of a historical event as the date on the top of a manuscript letter. Literature and other art forms can preserve those atmospheric elements, perhaps better than any other historical artefact. In reading *The Lusiad* through this approach, this chapter intends to contribute to a clearer picture of life in mid seventeenth-century Britain.

Fanshawe's Royalist lexicon: general tendencies

The most common way in which Fanshawe's surrounding context becomes apparent is in isolated incidents, vocabulary choice, and the recurrence of elements specific to British political thought, such as the doctrine of the divine right of kings, that reveal how the recent history of Britain influenced the translation of the Portuguese epic, and how the epic subtly – perhaps even mostly unconsciously – participated in contemporary polemics.

3 Ibid.

This is akin to a process known in literary criticism as *intertextuality*, a term first introduced by Julia Kristeva: ‘any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another’.⁴ Kristeva’s concept of *intertextuality* is usually used in a strictly literary context – texts are influenced by other texts, even if they are not considered *sources* in a literal sense. The same principle can be applied to non-literary sources, as Roland Barthes demonstrated in his dichotomy between work and text:

The plural of the Text depends, that is, not on the ambiguity of its contents but on what might be called the *stereographic plurality* of its weave of signifiers (etymologically, the text is a tissue, a woven fabric.) The reader of the Text may be compared to someone at a loose end [...]; what he perceives is multiple, irreducible, coming from a disconnected, heterogeneous variety of substances and perspectives: lights, colours, vegetation, heat, air, slender, explosions of noises, scant cries of birds, children’s from over on the side, passages, gestures, clothes of inhabitants near or far away. All these *incidents* are half-identifiable: they come from codes which are known but their combination is unique [...]. So the Text: [...] woven entirely with citations, references, echoes, cultural languages (what language is not?), antecedent or contemporary, which cut across it through and through in a vast stereophony.⁵

Barthes adds a more complex dimension to text: a text is not simply a flat surface, but a *texture*, a complex interwoven matrix in which many extra-literary elements are incorporated. In Fanshawe’s *The Lusiad*, that texture contains the world in which Fanshawe translated. These are the half-identifiable incidents that Barthes writes about, the colours smells and noises that are left behind every time a text is produced, and picked up and added to every time a text is read. For a seventeenth-century reader of Fanshawe, the elements relating to the contemporary troubles would be the easiest to recognise.

The clearest manifestation of these extra-literary elements is demonstrated in vocabulary choice. For example, at one point, Fanshawe clearly uses lexicon that is tremendously charged with meaning to a contemporary reader, such as ‘Parliament’, as it will be discussed later in the chapter, or when he expressly identifies the Portuguese sailors with his own faction in the English Civil Wars: ‘The *words* full of unfeign’d *Sinceritie*, / Which the KING sent the noble *Cavaleers*’⁶ (II.76.3).

4 Julia Kristeva, ‘Word, Dialogue and Novel’ in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 37.

5 Roland Barthes, ‘From Work to Text’, in *Image Music Text*, Roland Barthes (London: Fontana Press, 1993), 159–60.

6 Peter Davidson, ed., *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), vol. 2, 77. All quotations from *The Lusiad* in this chapter are from Davidson’s edition and will only be identified by

In the context of the epic, the ‘King’ refers to the king of Melinde, an African ruler who will become Vasco da Gama’s audience for his history of Portugal; the ‘cavaliers’ are the Portuguese sailors aboard the ships, and the ‘word’ is for the men to come to land, ‘Where they shall have his *Realms* at their command’. (II.75.8) In isolation these lines can be read very differently, specifically and meaningfully tying together a king and a group known as cavaliers. The lines’s relevance to the English context is only apparent in isolation from the rest of the text, and they operate in a similar way to many other isolated lines that introduce royalist lexicon in Camões’s original text.

Fanshawe’s introduction of royalist lexicon manifests itself by the appearance of words or constructions relating to royalism or monarchy that are absent from Camões’s original, or under a different, culturally specific name. For example, most foreign rulers in Fanshawe’s translation are simply called kings, while Camões differentiates between their cultural specificities. Even more tellingly, Fanshawe almost always adds elements that heighten the rulers’s majesty, and offers more respect and reverence to the various kings than Camões ever does. Similarly, while Camões has many words for one’s country – land (‘nação’), earth (‘terra’, akin to the English country), country (‘país’), fatherland (‘pátria’), kingdom (‘reino’), realm (‘domínio’) – Fanshawe almost always prefers kingdom or realm. When not referring to kings, heads are almost always ‘crowned’ with hats or other headgear.

At its simplest level, Fanshawe’s royalist inclinations substitute everyday vocabulary with words relating to monarchy. On a number of occasions, however, not just words but entire royalist tropes are used. One such trope is the continuous emphasis on ‘obedience to kings’. For example, when Gama refuses the king of Melinde’s offer to come to land, he does so because he was ordered by the Portuguese king not to set foot ashore until India. In Camões’s original, it is implied that that obedience comes from Gama’s own qualities as a good and obedient soldier while in Fanshawe there is a slight shift in which Gama’s obedience stems from the king himself: “‘But the true reason, why he stayd behind, / “Was, that in *all* he might obedient be / “Unto *his* KING;’ (II.83.6-7). The difference is small but marked – the message is that kings are owed obedience by virtue of their natural position. In Fanshawe’s translation this emphasis comes up again and again.

Another instance in which a royalist trope creeps into Fanshawe’s translation of *The Lusiad* relates to the Stuart belief in the divine right of kings. Kings whose power is divinely ordained come in all sorts and shapes, and are characteristics of all types of kings, including mythological ones. A clear example is when Venus pleads with Jove to help the Portuguese in Canto II. In Camões’s original, Jove’s authority comes from the ‘Olimpo puro’, the pure Olympus. Fanshawe

canto number, stanza number and line in the body of the text to facilitate cross-reference with Portuguese editions of *Os Lusíadas*.

translates the lines as “*Most high and mighty King, to whom the pure* / “And incorrupted JUSTICE from Above / “Gave’ (II.79.1-3). This is a clear and unwarranted addition by Fanshawe, who greatly expands on the original line to skew Jove’s power origin from the Olympus to a higher, divine Justice.

Other allusions to the divine right of kings are more subtle. When Vasco da Gama tells of the death of Portugal’s first king, Afonso, Fanshawe has the dead monarch exchanging ‘his MORTAL CROWN’ (III.83.4), where Camões makes no mention of crowns, mortal or otherwise. Fanshawe’s small capitals imply that this is a significant moment in the narrative, and the use of ‘mortal’ implies that the king possessed another kind of crown, an immortal one, which could not be rested from his head by death. The doctrine is taken one step further when the Christian God himself is given by Fanshawe one of the symbols of kingship, the sceptre. In the tenth canto, Fanshawe completely deviates from his original in X.118.6 when he writes ‘For *Thee*, whom God did comfort with his Rod’. The identification between gods and kings is complete, and though subtle, it clearly implies that a king’s power derives from God himself.

There are many more instances of small, isolated occasions where Fanshawe clearly echoes the context surrounding him, too many to be itemised. There is, however, one occasion that begs mentioning, though independent from any other general tendency in Fanshawe’s translation. When Vasco da Gama is being interviewed by the Samorim of Calicut, he briefly describes the several Portuguese explorations around Africa. At one point, he boasts that people who never left their land were seen by the Portuguese: “Th’*Inhabitants* of AFFRICK, That frequent / “Her SOUTHERN CAPE, and never saw CHARLS WAYN, “Were seen by *These* [Portuguese]’ (VIII.72.5-6). The primary referent is a constellation, or rather a portion of a constellation – ‘the plough’, also known as ‘the big dipper’, part of Ursa Major. ‘The plough’, as it is now known in Britain, was historically known as Charles’s Wain. It is composed of seven stars, and resembles a wagon or a cart – hence wain, meaning wagon or cart. In his original text Camões does refer to this constellation, calling it ‘as Sete flamas’⁷ (VIII.72.5), the seven flames. In this occasion, while Fanshawe remained faithful to Camões’s text, at the same time he used it to say something else. It should be noted that, in Fanshawe, ‘CHARLS WAYN’ appears exactly as it is show here, in large capitals, one of the very few occasions where this happens, unlike the very common use of small capitals. ‘Charles wain’ is also a homophone of Charles’s wane – where wane means ‘To decrease in size or extent; to dwindle’ (OED). In which case, the line would now read ‘The inhabitants of Africa, that frequent

⁷ Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda: 2005), 281. All quotations from the Portuguese text are from this edition and will be identified by canto number, stanza number and line in the body of the text to facilitate cross-reference with the English translation.

her southern cape, and never saw Charles's wane'. Fanshawe's use of large capitals in this instance is a clear attempt at drawing the attention of the reader to this homophony: the southern Africans never had to see Charles I's rule wane, disappear. There is a sense of delusional primitivism in Fanshawe's version of these lines – though it is never explicitly said, it is implied that these are a people who never saw the northern hemisphere, that never left their homes in southern Africa, are happier than the rest because they never witnessed Charles's wane. Fanshawe's translation of these lines carries a sense of underlying sadness which is impossible to isolate but that is evident to other contemporary royalist sympathisers.

When it comes to religion, Fanshawe is usually keen on downplaying the Catholic nature of Camões's epic. References to the Virgin Mary, for example, are almost always erased, and religion appears in connection with God himself, or the Bible, rather than, as Camões often puts it, the Holy Church. There are also a number of occasions when Fanshawe performs a small cultural adjustment to facilitate his countrymen's understanding of Camões. For example, he has to paraphrase what Camões meant by a 'Padrão' as 'The *Land-mark* of A CROSS' (V.78.5), which the Portuguese usually left behind in newly discovered lands during their voyages of exploration.

Nonetheless, all other differences between Fanshawe's translation and Camões's original pale in comparison with the sheer amount of elements that relate directly to the Englishman's contemporary context, and specifically his Royalist affiliation. Throughout the text, Fanshawe punctuated the Portuguese exploits with innumerable references to kings, crowns, realms, kingdoms, and repeatedly alluded to the divine right of kings and represented the king as the head of the body-politic.

I am not arguing that Fanshawe consciously set out to populate his translation with words and concepts relating to political context surrounding him: I argue that that context unconsciously permeated Fanshawe's efforts and infiltrated his translation of *The Lusiad*, creating what Roland Barthes called the 'plural of *demonical texture*'⁸ of the text, the echoes and half-identifiable citations that creep in on one's writing or, crucially, reading. With the right context and frame of mind, readers could easily pick up on these references. While the royalist lexicon may not have been intentionally placed by the translator – rather being a reflection of the times and conditions in which the translation was composed – the sections that follow will make clear that Fanshawe had a definitive plan for *The Lusiad*, and that through his efforts, Camões was transformed from a foreign poet into someone with something to say about England and its contemporary situation. Larger sections of *The Lusiad*, as the following sections of this chapter will discuss, are clearly and

8 Barthes, 'From Work to Text', 160.

decisively adapted to the English situation.

The English in The Lusiad and advice to kings

References to England or Englishmen in *Os Lusíadas* are few and far between, and often not particularly flattering. In his translation, Fanshawe often adds as much as possible to Camões's original lines, and disguises or softens any criticism directed at his native land or its people. Two small examples illustrate this careful rewriting, and help to understand how Fanshawe envisaged his translation as a true englishing of a Portuguese text. A short mention of Henry VIII (contemporary of Camões) and the romance narrative of the 'Twelve of England' are both reworked to present the English in a better light than in the original Portuguese.

The twelve of England are neither English nor, in some versions, twelve. The narrative predates Camões by at least one century, and is likely based on older oral narratives circulating in Portugal before its first extant written version, the *Cavalarias de Alguns Fidalgos Portugueses*.⁹ It narrates the adventures of twelve (or thirteen, depending on the version) Portuguese knights who travel to England to defend the honour of twelve ladies in the English court against twelve English knights in tournament. They are summoned by John of Gaunt for the bravery displayed by the Portuguese knights fighting alongside him in his campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula, and because the twelve ladies were unable to find a native champion to defend their honour. Eleven of the chosen knights sail from Porto to London, but one, known as Magriço, decides to travel by land in search of adventure. The Portuguese knights defeat the English, with Magriço arriving only at the last moment, and are celebrated by the Duke of Lancaster. It is a classical tale of chivalric romance which, at first, may be thought to be somewhat out of place in *Os Lusíadas*. Its position within the narrative is crucial to understand its inclusion.

Amélia Hutchinson notes that 'The Twelve of England crystallizes an ideal, perhaps imaginary moment of glory and international recognition for Portugal, highlighting its knights' chivalric valour as a national trait'.¹⁰ Glory and international recognition are key terms in this, and so is the national trait of chivalric valour. In *Os Lusíadas* the narrative is told by one of the seamen,

9 Amélia P. Hutchinson, "'Os Doze de Inglaterra": A Romance of Anglo-Portuguese relations in the later middle ages?', in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages, 12th-15th Century*, ed. María Bullón-Fernandéz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 169.

10 Ibid., 168.

Veloso, to his compatriots aboard one of Gama's ships, just before the largest storm in the epic. The storm is the last obstacle before the Portuguese reach India, which turns Veloso's tale into a prophetic rising of his companions, inspiring them to brave the troubles ahead: "For we [...] / "Are only born to *horror*, and *distress*: / "Our *future* dangers whisper me no less' (VI.41.7-8) prophesies Veloso. Like Portugal at the start of the romance narrative, the mariners are enjoying a surprising period of peace aboard their ships, and the suggestion to trade stories comes out of boredom. While some would prefer more entertaining and pleasurable tales of love, Veloso advises that the sailors should be kept on their toes for the future difficulties they may encounter. At a narrative level, Veloso's advice is accurate: because the sailors are yet to reach India, the pleasures of the Island of Love to which Camões and Venus will steer them in Canto IX are still out of their reach. Veloso takes it upon himself to tell the honourable story of 'the *Twelve* of ENGLAND's glory'. (VI.42.8)

In the context of Fanshawe's translation this episode's significance is twofold: it is the only episode of *Os Lusíadas* that relates directly to England; and the portrayal of the English is not favourable at all, with the exception of John of Gaunt, an exception that makes all the difference. Camões's criticisms of England itself are far from damning, yet Fanshawe still carefully and subtly neutralises any ounce of imperfection. At the start of the episode, for example, Camões introduces England in the following terms: 'Lá na grande Inglaterra, que da neve / Boreal sempre abunda' (VI.43.5-6) – 'there in great [or big] England, always full of Boreal [northern wind] snow'. Camões's usual description of England is its perceived cold climate, not a particularly offensive accusation, and short-hand for a southern European such as Camões who spent most of his life in the Orient and never visited England. Despite the tameness of the criticism, Fanshawe rewrites it into more palatable lines: 'In merry ENGLAND (which, from *Cliffs* that stand / Like Hills of *snow*) once ALBION's name did git) [sic]' (VI.43.5-6). This is characteristic of Fanshawe's light beautification of references to England in *The Lusiad*: it retains the allusion to snow, but in the translation it works as a simile (like snow) used to describe the white cliffs of Dover, and re-employs it into the condensed foundational myth of Albion.

A similar transformation occurs further along in the episode, when the eleven knights that travelled by boat from Porto to Britain arrive at the northern isle: 'Mas dos onze a ilustríssima companhia, / Cortam do mar do Norte as ondas frias; Chegados de Inglaterra a costa estranha, / Para Londres já fazem todos vias'. (VI.57.3-6) – 'the illustrious crew of the eleven, sail across the cold waves of the Northern sea; arrived at the strange [or foreign] coast of England, towards London all make their way'. There is nothing inherently critical in Camões original text – except perhaps the mention of the cold water, and the possible meaning of 'estranha' as strange – but Fanshawe took

the opportunity to rewrite the lines in order to maximise the Portuguese awe at the great country of England: ‘But our lev’n *Worthies* the salt *Ocean* enter, / And to the *Northern Climate* plough their way. / Arriv’d in the first *Port*, to the great *Center* / Of populous ENGLAND (*London*) travail’d They’ (IV.57.3-6). The crucial transformation is, of course, in the ‘great *Center* of populous England (*London*)’. Although subtle, Fanshawe’s rewriting gives England a sense of dimension and centrality that surpasses that of Portugal, akin to European world maps always placing Europe at the centre. The English translator took the small opportunity given by the Portuguese poet and transformed the geography presented in the original text. The implication is that England is larger than Portugal, and its capital more significant than Portugal’s. It may be a small boast but it exemplifies the minute and subtle ways by which Fanshawe alters the representation of his native land in *Os Lusíadas*.

While Fanshawe’s correcting brush applies to most of the episode’s references to England, the same is not true when it comes to the erring English knights themselves. It might be expected that the accusations of lack of chivalry Camões makes against offending English knights would be softened as well. However, on the contrary, Fanshawe exacerbates them. At the start of the episode, when describing the contention, Fanshawe does not mince words: ‘The *Courtiers* (though the *Courtship* is but short / That gives reproachful terms to any *Dame*) / “Said: They would prove, that such, and such of *Them* / “Had been to lavish of their *Honor’s* gem’. (VI.44.5-8) Camões, by contrast, is more restrained, both in the accusations of lack of courtly manners – he merely says that it was either opinion or challenge (‘*Ou foi opiniao ou foi porfia*’) – and, crucially, on the insult itself. Camões’s only admits that the English knights accused the ladies of lacking the appropriate honour and fame for their position. While the spirit of the insult is similar, Fanshawe’s blunt translation of the contention almost spells out that the courtiers called the ladies harlots, which only highlights the lack of courtesy on the part of the English nobles.

The criticism of the English court as a whole is taken further when, in the following stanza, the reader learns that the knights were ‘*great* / And *potent* in the Kingdom’ (IV.46.1-2) and for that reason ‘neither *Kin*, / Nor *humble servant*, durst their *Cause* abet, / As their *Fame’s Champions*, which they should have bin’ (IV.46.2-4). Not only are the English courtiers criticised for not acting according to their position, but the rest of English society is at fault for not correcting the wrongdoing as it should – from the humble servants to the highest peer, everyone is at fault – except the Duke of Lancaster.

John of Gaunt is the ladies’s last resort. Like the references to England itself, the verses which refer to Gaunt are greatly embellished in the English translation. In the Portuguese original Gaunt is

never named and only mentioned as ‘Duque de Alencastro’ (Duke of Lancaster) or ‘Ingles potent’ (powerful Englishman). Fanshawe, in his translation, describes Gaunt and his valour with great inventiveness. Gaunt is the ‘DUKE OF LANCASTER’ – note the small capitals – the ‘experienc’t *Duke*’ (VI.50.1), the creator of the ‘*Lancastrian* List’ (VI.51.8), and the ‘famous JOHN OF GAUNT’ (VI.53.4) – note the small capitals once again. He is also noted for being a careful diplomat in internal affairs for his refusal to intervene directly, at the same time that Fanshawe implies that he had the strength and the courage to defend the ladies’s honour himself – ‘(loath to give them ayd with his own Hand, / Lest, so, he should foment a *civil flame*)’ (VI.48.1-2). Finally, Fanshawe also praises Gaunt for his celebration of the Portuguese victors: ‘With *Balls* the *Duke*, with *Feastings*, and with *joy*, / Treats the *twelve Victors*, in his *Palace faire*’ (VI.67.1-2). If the twelve English knights who insulted the twelve ladies are represented as anything but courteous, the Duke of Lancaster is the epitome of the brave, just, generous, strong, and, in a word, *magnanimous* perfect courtier. The characteristic that differentiates Gaunt from the offending English knights is, I would argue, his royal line. Not only is Gaunt the father in law of the Portuguese king – ‘to that *Land* his daughter he did call; / With those bright *Beautie*’s beams our *Monarch* strook, / The vertuous *Princess* for his *Consort* took’ (VI.47.6-8) – he is also the son, brother, uncle and father of kings.

Fanshawe’s most significant departure from Camões in his translation of the episode focuses upon precisely John of Gaunt’s royal lineage. While Camões merely writes ‘Era este Ingles potente’ – this Englishman was powerful – Fanshawe transforms the whole line and emphasises his relationship with the royal family: ‘This puissant *Branch*, of ENGLAND’s *royal Tree*’ (VI.47.1). On one hand, in doing so, Fanshawe restores Gaunt to his natural high position within the English court, reminding the reader that the old Englishman was potent and famous for a reason: he was close to the monarch. This reference is completely incidental to the romance narrative itself, and Camões leaves it out entirely. Reminding the reader that John of Gaunt was not only powerful but closely related to the English monarchs carries particular significance for an English audience. On the other hand, and even more significantly, rather than honouring Gaunt by stressing his connection to the royal family, Fanshawe seems to be operating in the opposite direction: he praises the royal family for having amongst its members such an admirable and respected figure as John of Gaunt, the only Englishman celebrated by a foreigner in a national epic. Gaunt becomes a symbol of something larger than himself: he represents the values of a true courtier, and stands for the whole of the British monarchy. It takes a very small leap to jump from this ‘puissant *Branch*’ of the English royal tree – now dead – to a much newer, still green and alive one: the exiled Charles. Gaunt becomes a stand-in for the entire royal family – from which Charles is a descendent – and if

taken one step further, for British monarchy itself. The association between Charles and his long gone ancestor is further emphasised by the use of the ‘royal tree’ metaphor, which highlights the belief that good rulers sprout from good rulers, and reminds the reader that the current exiled ruler is also a branch from that tree.

If the badly behaved English knights – even if brave and strong – represent a state of disarray and uncourtliness in the English kingdom, the antidote can only be found in the newest branch of the English monarchy, Charles. Though subtle, Fanshawe’s translation of the ‘Twelve of England’ episode creates a very simple and straightforward message: there is nothing wrong with the land itself; however, a group of hoodwinks can and will create troubles, and because they are so strong and powerful, no one will dare to stand up against them. Finally, and most importantly, the only way to correct their wrongs is to call on the monarchy itself.

The other direct reference to England in *Os Lusíadas* is to an English monarch: Henry VIII. The allusion appears at the start of the seventh canto, when the Portuguese finally reach the coast of India: ‘Wellcom, O wellcom (Friends) to that good LAND’ (VII.1.1). The first few stanzas of the canto are spent praising the Portuguese above other European nations. The Germans, the French and the Italians are all unfavourably compared with the triumphs of the Portuguese – though, interestingly not the Spanish, who could boast similar achievements. In the original Portuguese, the criticisms made by Camões to the English king are quite damning and clear:

Vede’lo duro Ingles, que se nomeia
Rei da Velha e santíssima Cidade,
Que o torpe Ismaelita senhoreia
(Quem viu honra tao longe da verdade?).
Entre as Boreais neves se recreia,
Nova maneira faz de Críandade:
Para os de Cristo tem a espada nua,
Nao por tomar a terra que era sua

Guarda-lhe, por entanto, um falso Rei
A cidade Hierosólíma terrestre,
Enquanto ele nao guarda a santa Lei
Da cidade Hierosólíma celeste.
(VII.5 – 6.1-4)

[See the tough (or rough) Englishman, calling himself the king of the old and holy city, which is now led by the vile Ismaelite (who ever saw an honour so far away from the truth?). Amongst the Boreal snows he dwells, creating a new way of Christianity: for those of Christ his sword is ready, but not to retake the land that was once his own. // In the meantime, a false king keeps the earthly city of Jerusalem, while he himself does not keep the holy law of the heaven's Jerusalem.]

Camões's criticism of Henry VIII is simple: he is no true king (because he defected from the Catholic Church and was excommunicated by the Pope), despite calling himself the King of Jerusalem.¹¹ There more references to the British cold climate, and, most damning of all, the accusation that Henry VIII prefers to wage war against other Christians – i.e., Catholics – rather than against the enemies of Christendom, the Ottomans. The four lines of VII.6 summarise Camões's criticism of Henry VIII: while another (infidel) king effectively rules the earthly Jerusalem that Henry claims as his own, he refuses to abide by the rule of the heavenly Jerusalem, that is, to obey the Catholic Church. It is easy to understand why these lines create several problems for Fanshawe: it is a criticism of one of the most celebrated English kings; it is also fiercely pro-Catholic and anti-Protestant; and finally, it accuses Henry of being lazy and / or content with having his dominions (Jerusalem) ruled by non-Christians. Fanshawe's translation not only attempted to mask all of these criticisms but, as we shall see below, reworked these lines to say something very different:

'See ENGLAND's *Monarch*, styling himself yit
'For deeds long past KING of the HOLY TOWNE,
'The filthy ISMAELITE possessing it
'(What a *reproaching* Title to a CROWNE!)
'How in his frozen Confines he doth sit,

11 Despite the whole stanza referring clearly to Henry VIII, accusing him of renouncing the Catholic faith, Camões is mistaken: it seems that Henry VIII never claimed the title of King of Jerusalem. The only British monarch to claim the title was, in fact, not British at all, but the Spanish Philip II. When marrying Mary I, the daughter of Henry, the royal pair took the style 'Philip and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England and France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily; archdukes of Austria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol'. See George Bowyer, *The English Constitution: A Popular Commentary on the Constitutional Law of England* (London: James Burns, 1841), 164. Either Camões has read somewhere the mistaken assumption that the claim derives from Richard I, or it points to a composition date of the stanza between 1554 and 1558, when Philip was King of England, and Camões assumed that the style King of Jerusalem came from a British rather than Spanish claim.

‘Feeding on empty smoake of *old* Renown;
‘Or gets him *new*, on *Christian* Foes alone,
‘Not, by recov’ring what was once his own!

‘Meane time an UNBELEIVER is for *Him*
‘*Head* of JERUSALEM on *earth*, whilst love
‘Of *Earth*, hath made him an unusefull *lim*
‘Of the JERUSALEM which is *Above*
(VII.5-6.1-4)

While a cursory glance gives the impression that Fanshawe kept his translation faithful to the original text, when closely analysed, the many small differences spell out a different story, particularly when taking into account the contemporary English context, and the political affiliations of Fanshawe himself.

Fanshawe is severely more respectful of (nominally) Henry VIII: he is not rough, or tough, nor merely an Englishman, but England’s Monarch. The king also does not play in the snow (as implied by the Portuguese ‘recreia’, to amuse oneself), but merely sits, and crucially, not amongst snow but in ‘frozen Confines’, the significance of which will become apparent further on. Fanshawe erases almost completely the reference to the heretic (from Camões’s perspective) Reformation – the line ‘Nova maneira faz da Cristandade’ is taken out entirely, and only the reference to other Christian enemies remains. The new ruler of Jerusalem is not a ‘false King’, but rather an ‘Unbeleiver’ [sic] who is not a king at all but simply the ‘head of Jerusalem on earth’. The English monarch no longer despises the law of the heavenly Jerusalem, but is merely an ‘unusefull *lim*’ in his inactivity. All of these alterations remain true to the spirit of the Portuguese original when considering that they are in reference to Henry VIII, even if most of the tough language used by the Portuguese poet has been toned down, and the most serious accusation – that Henry was an heretic more intent on destroying Christendom than the Ottoman enemy – has been all but erased.

Despite all this, when Fanshawe’s translation was published, ‘England’s Monarch’ might just as well refer to someone else, the exiled Charles II. When reading the stanza as referring to Charles, it becomes an almost direct call to arms aimed at the royalists and, in particular, at the exiled monarch himself. Jerusalem can easily stand for London, or even the whole of Britain, in which case its reconquering becomes the cry for a new royalist campaign. Reading the stanza through this contemporary viewpoint it is surprising how easily it fits Charles: though he calls himself King of

Britain, this is no longer the reality, someone else is effectively governing the realm – which, in itself, is damning to the monarchy. The allusion to frozen confines can be understood either as the condition of exile or, much like in modern day money-speak, frozen assets. Though Charles nominally possesses the land, there is nothing he can do with it. The empty smoke of old renown may well be the only quality that keeps the exiled monarch alive and well, floating from court to court in northern continental Europe on the graces of his princely nature. The head of the earthly Jerusalem being named an unbeliever can be read as a particularly poignant attack on Cromwell, whose piety is well known, but who refuses to recognise the king as divinely ordained. This, in turn, ties up with the closing lines of the passage, in which ‘England’s monarch’ is an ‘unusefull lim / of the Jerusalem which is above’ – that is to say, if a British monarch is divinely ordained by God yet is prevented from exercising his power on earth, he becomes useless to God until he regains control of his kingdom.

The one line in the whole extract that causes some difficulties when applied to Charles is the only line left-over from the original text which refers to the Reformation: ‘Or gets him *new* [Renown], on *Christian* Foes alone’. Reading the stanza as directed at Charles II, many possible options arise, none clear – it may refer to Charles’s complicated and troublesome relationship with the French court in the first years of his exile, it may refer to some internal quarrel amongst royalists. Or it may be something else entirely – *The Lusiad* is after all a translation, not an original text and Fanshawe can selectively re-appropriate certain sections of the text to his own purposes without rewriting it completely. In any case, taken in its entirety, this excerpt from Fanshawe’s translation reads very clearly in its contemporary context: it is time for the English monarch to take back ‘what was once his own!’, his kingdom.

These are two non mutually exclusive ways of reading Fanshawe’s translation: it is a toned down, spiritually faithful translation of Camões’s original criticisms of the English monarch Henry VIII – who is also, like John of Gaunt, one of the king’s ancestors; and it is a direct reference to the contemporary context in which the English monarchy saw itself, king only in name and only recognised by its faction, in need of urgent action. Which of these interpretations would be more evident would depend heavily on the type of reader: a historically minded one, who would be aware of the time in which Camões was writing, would possibly be more inclined to identify the English monarch with the original Henry VIII. I argue that a contemporary reader, particularly one with royalist tendencies, would immediately think of Charles II, rather than his ancestor, even if conscious that Camões could not possibly have had him in mind when writing. If the reader was Charles II himself, it would be impossible not to hear Fanshawe speak to him directly through

Camões, in this particular excerpt, as well as many others throughout *The Lusiad*.

Camões originally wrote *Os Lusíadas* with the newly crowned king Sebastian of Portugal in mind – in many ways, the epic of Portuguese history is a handbook of historical *exempla* for the young king to follow, punctuated with many direct lessons for the young monarch. Fanshawe may have seen his role towards Charles II as akin to that of Camões towards Sebastian – the translator’s past works have often followed the tradition of the poet-tutor, as discussed above in chapter 2. It was not a hard task simply to redirect towards Charles the many pieces of advice Camões included to Sebastian – most are generic enough that can be easily applied to any ruler at any point in history. In these two short excerpts – the twelve of England, and the criticism of Henry VIII – Fanshawe took advantage of the references to England already included in *Os Lusíadas* and transformed them into pieces of guidance for Charles, in line with the advice to kings already included by Camões.

Two small substitutions at the end of the epic make clear that Fanshawe indubitably substitutes Sebastian for Charles in his translation. In X.146.5-6, Fanshawe writes ‘*You then, O King! Whom Heav’n reserv’d t’advance / At this time to the Throne to scoure our Rust*’, while Camões only had ‘*Por isso vós, ò Rei, que por divino / Conselho estais no régio sólio posto*’ (therefore you, oh King, that by divine counsel are in the royal throne). The difference is one of chronology: for Camões, Sebastian is *already* the king ruling his country; for Fanshawe, the king is reserved by heaven to advance *only now* to the throne and clear the rust of the land. It clearly signals to Charles: this is the time to reclaim your rightful position. Similarly, in the penultimate stanza of the epic, Fanshawe again subtly changes the reference point from Sebastian to Charles. Camões’s line, ‘*Olhando a vossa inclinacao divina*’ (looking at your divine inclination) – a reference to Sebastian’s famous piety, is transformed by Fanshawe into ‘*By what I see now in your tender Age*’, (X.155.8) a much more appropriate call to Charles, who was not particularly pious and only 25 years old at the time *The Lusiad* was published.

Unlike Camões, Fanshawe clearly positions himself within the poem as a teacher. In the last Canto of *The Lusiad*, when Tétis shows Vasco da Gama the ‘Machine of the World’ – a Ptolemaic vision of the universe in which concentric planets are surrounded by the fictional gods, created by men to explain the world, and those below the Christian God himself, who allows those fictions to teach men – Fanshawe includes the lines ‘*Now comes THE POET, who would teaching please, / An pleasing teach, and mix variety*’ (X.84.1-2). These lines are completely absent from Camões who speaks of a painting, which now entertains, now teaches. The teaching poet, I argue, is how Fanshawe saw himself in relation to Charles: teaching and entertaining the king with the variety supplied by the Portuguese Camões.

(Un)civil wars: Portugal v. Spain, Britain v. Britain

The scenes of war opposing the Portuguese against the Spanish in Canto IV of *Os Lusíadas* would immediately attract the attention of Fanshawe's contemporary readers. The murky nature of the conflict, part war of resistance, part civil war, enables readings relevant to the contemporary conflicts in Britain. Even if those scenes do not offer any identifiable position or overall comment on the English Civil Wars, Fanshawe's translation of Canto IV contributes significantly to the overall englishing of *The Lusiad*, and to a clearer definition of the atmosphere that surrounded its production and publication.

The war waged during the crisis of 1383-85 was, simultaneously, the first civil war in Portugal; one of the major elements in the definition of Portuguese identity and its differentiation from the Spanish; and the foundation of a new ruling dynasty, the Aviz, who would rule Portugal during its wave of exploration. It originated the still-standing treaty of Windsor, also known as the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, the oldest alliance in the world; created national heroes who are often referred to by Camões, namely D. Nuno Alvares Pereira; and heavily features the English, particularly John of Gaunt, as allies to the national cause. It could be argued that by the time of the first publication of *Os Lusíadas* in 1572, the succession crisis was the most significant event in Portuguese history after the foundation of the kingdom in 1143 and the maritime voyages of exploration.

The significance of these events to Portuguese history and identity is mirrored in the sheer space their narrative occupies in *Os Lusíadas*, almost half of Canto IV (1-47). The Portuguese Civil War is narrated by Vasco da Gama to the king of Melinde (Cantos III and IV), and immediately follows the very short account of Ferdinand's reign, whose death precipitated the events. Its position at the start of the canto signals a break with the previous medieval order of the Burgundy dynasty that occupies the whole of Canto III, marking the beginning of a new era in Portuguese history.

In *Os Lusíadas*, the conflict itself is portrayed not as a civil war, but as a war of independence – as expected – with a number of isolated references to brothers fighting brothers, and the few Portuguese within the Spanish hosts deemed as traitors. In Fanshawe's translation this emphasis remains mostly unchanged, yet a number of passages acquire new meaning when read within the English context. The episode could be easily transposed and simply read 'as the Portuguese fought, so do we', however, there are a number of direct references that lead the reader to form a slightly more nuanced view of how the Portuguese civil war relates to the English context. Fanshawe falls

shy of directly naming one side or the other as royalist or parliamentarian, yet, as it will be discussed below, John I's supporters's vociferous loyalty to their king clearly identifies them as royalist, while the Portuguese on the Spanish side are constantly referred to as traitors or rebels. If the supporters of John I stand for the royalists, and the Spanish for the Parliamentarians, there is a clear discrepancy between what one reads in *The Lusiad* and the English state of affairs: in *The Lusiad*, the supporters of John I won.

Judith Graham reads Fanshawe's translation of the Portuguese civil war as a 'stirring call to arms to Stuart sympathizers, as [Fanshawe] makes the most of opportunities to exalt kings and denigrate rebels'.¹² Graham is right, to some extent: in the civil war episode, as well as throughout the whole of *The Lusiad*, Fanshawe certainly takes every opportunity to exalt loyalty to kings, and upbraid those who betray him. Yet, by 1655, the time of fighting had long passed away, and even the recent Penruddock rising was met with apathy and neglect by those who were meant to rally to its cause. The Portuguese civil war differs from the English conflict by a number of elements, not least of which is its cause: a king. Camões unequivocally blames King Ferdinand for the war, the last king of the Burgundy dynasty, whose death created the vacuum that allowed the Spanish to claim the Portuguese throne. Camões's criticism of Ferdinand begins just before the end of Canto III, in which his weak reign is identified as the direct cause of the troubles that followed:

From the just PEDRO, and severe (Behold
How *Nature* sometimes can prevaricate!)
Sprang the remisse, the Carelesse, the sheep-sold
FERNANDO: who set all of a Flame straight.
Whence the CASTILIAN entring uncomptrold,
Went wasting so the weake disnerved *State*,
That at last gaspe it lay: For its seen oft,
'A soft KING makes a valiant *People*, soft.

Whether it were God's Judgement, for his sin
[...]
Or that faynt *Vice* [...]
Made him all *Pap* within: For, tis as true,
'*Unlawfull* fires make Valiant KINGS soft too.

12 Judith Graham, 'Sir Richard Fanshawe's Works as Public Poetry' (PhD diss., University of Maryland College Park, 1984), 208.

(III.137-139)

If one were to follow Graham's interpretation of the civil war episode, its major cause – the weakness of King Ferdinand – would create an insurmountable difficulty. Camões is clear in his accusations of Ferdinand: his sin (the king fell in love with the wife of one of his courtiers and made her his queen, Leonor Telles), and his suspected homosexuality were the reasons for his weakness, and the direct cause of the succession crisis that followed. Even if softening the blow by mentioning that love can turn people unreasonable (III.143), the Portuguese poet makes clear that Ferdinand's reign was a dark time for the Portuguese realm, and his death the dawn of a new, happier, era (IV.1). Therefore, reading the civil war episode within the English context as a simple call to arms, while ignoring the criticisms of the causes of that civil war, lacks the refinement and reason that Fanshawe demonstrates in his translation of *Os Lusíadas*. Instead, I argue that the English translator did not intend a mere call to arms, but rather presented the reader with a model of how things should have happened in Britain.

In 1655, when *The Lusiad* was published, Charles I like Ferdinand, had passed away, and the royalist hopes rested with his son, Charles II. Like Camões, Fanshawe appears to have wished for a new dawn following the death of the belligerent monarch and the ascension of his successor. From that point of view Fanshawe turns the civil war episode not just into a call to arms, but also into an example of how the king and his followers should have proceeded in the days following Charles I's death. It is as much a call to arms as a criticism of the royalists themselves. Graham is correct in interpreting the Portuguese civil war as a call to arms directed at the royalist faction, but that reading only withstands scrutiny in isolated lines of the epic. When read as a whole, specifically in blaming the conflict on a king, the civil war episode in *The Lusiad* conveys a criticism of the royalist faction, presenting examples of how the troops and leaders should have acted in the years following the execution of Charles I, and significantly attributing part of the blame to Charles I for the conflict.

The civil war episode read through this perspective falls in line with Fanshawe's sense of his relationship to his new king, Charles II: the poet-tutor. As Pugh notes, this is evident in Fanshawe's 1648 re-edition of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, in which his own poems coupled with the translation, form a complete package whose main objective is to educate the then young prince of Wales: 'The volume as a whole aligns itself with the distinctively English humanist tradition of handbooks for the education of princes, but greatly amplifies the authority of the poet-tutor at the expense of royal

authority'.¹³ With *The Lusiad* Fanshawe saw himself in a similar role, attempting to replicate Camões's advice to his king Sebastian, as Walker writes: 'Fanshawe saw his own role vis-a-vis Charles as mirroring that of Camões vis-a-vis Sebastian'.¹⁴ With this context in mind, it becomes clear that Fanshawe's translation of the civil war episode is not a call to arms but an example of how events should have unfolded directed at his king in exile, Charles II.

The clearest piece of advice given by Fanshawe to Charles II in the civil war scene was that he lacked a heroic commander, in the vein of the Portuguese D. Nuno Álvares Pereira. Unlike the parliamentarians who found in Cromwell or Fairfax both great military leaders and inspirational characters, the royalist army lacked a general of similar abilities. History remembers Prince Rupert of Rhineland, Charles II's cousin, as the archetype of the royalist soldier, yet he was far from consensual amongst the royalist army, and an easy target for parliamentary propaganda to ridicule. Nuno Álvares Pereira, on the other hand, was a model soldier, a brilliant and experienced general, and, literally, a saint, everything Rupert or any other royalist commander was not. His rising speech at the outset of the battle of Aljubarrota (IV.15-19), as related by Camões, is a model of patriotic pride and loyalty to the king. In the translation of the first stanza of Nuno Álvares speech, Fanshawe carefully but precisely changes the tone of the Portuguese hero:

'What? 'Mongst the *Portingal*-Nobility
 'Shall there be any less then *Sons* of MARS?
 'What? in *this* Realm (victorious far and nigh)
 'Shall there be born, That shun *defensive* wars?
 'That will their *Hearts*, their *Hands*, their *Heads* deny
 'At such a pinch, their *Fortunes*, and their *Stars*?
 'Or who, for any cause that can be thought,
 'Will see their *Coutrey* in subjection brought.
 (IV.15)

The changes Fanshawe made to his original are small but significant. Although Camões's overall message remains untouched – words to the effect of 'how can there be any Portuguese who would refuse to fight for their country?' – Fanshawe reworks the details to fit the English context. Camões

13 Syrithe Pugh, *Herrick, Fanshawe and the Politics of Intertextuality: Classical Literature and Seventeenth-century Royalism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 11.

14 Roger Walker, general note to *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, ed. Peter Davidson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 584.

makes no mention of ‘Nobility’ – he has the ‘illustrious people of Portugal’ (*gente ilustre Portuguesa*), which, while it may refer to the nobility specifically, it is a wording commonly used throughout *Os Lusíadas* to mean the courageous Portuguese people. By restricting the addressees to the nobility, Fanshawe reminds the royalist hosts that their life – and their life’s position – is directly connected to the king, and the king’s fortunes.

The use of the word ‘realm’ has a similar function, it connects the land and its prowess with the king himself, and is, once more, absent from Camões’s original, which has ‘*provincia*’ (province). The use of ‘country’ in the last line performs a similar operation, though in reverse. In this instance, Camões does use the word ‘*Reino*’ (kingdom, or realm), yet by choosing to translate it as country, Fanshawe connects the land (country) to the political institution above (realm), implying that without a king, the land cannot but be brought to subjection.

The lines ‘their *Hearts*, their *Hands*, their *Heads* deny / At such a pinch, their *Fortunes*, and their *Stars*?’ is completely absent from Camões. The original lines refer to the Portuguese courageous character: ‘*Quem negue a Fé, o amor, o esforço e arte / De Portugues*’ (those who deny the faith, love, effort and character [literally art] / of being Portuguese’. Fanshawe’s transformation of these lines imbued with meaning particularly relevant to the English context. The overall sense is, of course, shared between the English and the Portuguese texts: it is an accusation of apathy against those who were not willing to lend their full support to the cause. Yetwhile in the Portuguese text this goes against the very core of the Portuguese character, in the English version it reminds the reader that the fountain of all of the nobility’s blessings *was* the king. The reference to fortunes in particular sits very close to Fanshawe’s heart: like many other royalist supporters, Fanshawe spent a considerable sum in support of the cause, in addition to the properties seized from him by Parliament.¹⁵ Fanshawe implies that the lack of support to the royalist cause was aided by individual avarice, and fear of disappearing fortunes.

The mention of hearts, hands and heads also brings Nuno Álvares’s speech closer to the British reality by alluding to the doctrine of the king as the head of the body politic, a trope often added by Fanshawe to the Portuguese text, significantly in the words of John I of Aviz himself, later on at the end of the battle: ‘*See me, your King, your Fellow, and your Head*’ (IV.38.1). Those who deny their body to combat, Fanshawe implies, deny the king himself.

In addition to these changes, another significant adjustment made by Fanshawe comes in the form of the description of the type of war being waged: in Fanshawe’s translation, the civil war is a

15 ‘Because of his support of King Charles, Fanshawe, like many other Royalists had been declared a delinquent and his property and offices had been sequestered or confiscated by Parliament’. Melitta J. Cutright, ‘Sir Richard Fanshawe: The Elegant Amateur’ (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1973), 75.

defensive war. The notion that the civil war was defensive bears little resemblance to the Portuguese reality. Camões's original text does include the word 'defesa', however its use is specific to the battle of Aljubarrota itself, undertaken to defend the marching of the Spanish battalions towards Lisbon, already under control of John I of Aviz.

The Portuguese civil war, while righteous in Camões's eyes, has never been one of defence, but of restoration of Portuguese independence. The royalist position, on the other hand, is of defence of the monarchy, particularly in the post-regicide period in which Fanshawe translates these lines. Fanshawe's translation of the civil war episode transforms the traitors mentioned by Camões – the Portuguese who defend the Spanish claim to the throne – into rebels who want to overthrow the rightful king. The distinction may be small, but it furthers the identification between the Portuguese context and the English recent past.

The transformation of Portuguese traitors loyal to the Spanish crown into rebels is quite consistent throughout Fanshawe's translation of the civil war episode. Fanshawe is conciliatory in his terms – by falling short of calling the opposite side traitors – while simultaneously using a common word for the parliamentarians in the royalist press. The use of 'rebels' implies the greatest crime committed by Parliament supporters: the breaking of the oath of loyalty their king. The clearest substitution occurs in IV.32, when Fanshawe translates the Portuguese 'arrenegados' (traitors) to 'revolters':

Of these *Revolters* many did present
Themselves in the first Ranks: And *who* so hot
 To kill their *Friends*, as *They?* so kindred Hoasts
 Of yore incountred in *Pharsalian* Coasts.
(IV.32.5-8)

As in IV.15 before, Fanshawe subtly alters the allusions in the original Portuguese text readjusting it to the British reality without changing the overall meaning of the stanza. The most relevant difference is the alteration from treason to rebellion. The reference 'ranks' is equally significant and critical of the Parliamentarians: Camões mentions that the traitors can be found in the first battalion of the Spanish attack, implying that they would be the most eager to fight the hosts of John I. Fanshawe's use of 'ranks' maintains this meaning while adding a critique of social climbing. Fanshawe implies that some among the rebellious parliamentarians are motivated by the opportunity to better their social standing, being made of the first ranks, whether in the New Model

Army or in political life, commoners made rulers. The allusion to the *Pharsalian Coasts* operates in a similar way, maintaining Camões's allusion to the Roman civil wars – 'nas guerras civis de Júlio e Magno' (on the civil wars of Julius and Magnus) – at the same time that it reminds the readers of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, the great epic of civil wars and, as discussed in chapter 2, a matter of great significance for the English context.

Fanshawe does eventually use the word 'Traytors' in his translation of the episode, but only after establishing the enemy's primary role as 'revolters', and only in a stanza comparing the rebel Portuguese with some of classical history's famous examples, Cataline, Sertorius and Coriolanus: 'Tell them (to cloake the horreur of your sin) / Some *Portingalls* sometimes have *Traytors* bin' (IV.33.7-8). Furthermore, it is clear that while rebellious, the crime of the opposite camp is only elevated to treason for their greatest sin is not questioning the government, but refusing loyalty to the King:

There want not such, as, ev'n against that *Cause*
They follow, Reasons do insinuate:
Whose sence with a *Castilian* Byas draws
From all that's *Portingal* degenerate.
Whom *Fear* so freezes, and so overaws,
That *natural love* it doth exterminate.
Their *King*, and *Countrey*, they deny: and wou'd
With PETER too, for fear deny their GOD.
(IV.13)

There is little change from Camões's original in this stanza because Camões's already says everything Fanshawe might have wished to say: to revolt against one's king is unnatural, a moral sin and, crucially, akin to denying God himself. Camões's text makes a perfect vehicle for another allusion to the Stuart doctrine of the divine right of kings, and the only significant change Fanshawe inserts in his translation of this stanza furthers that cause: where Camões writes of 'natural fidelidade' (natural faithfulness or, in this context, loyalty) Fanshawe has '*natural love*'. As God's representative and chosen leader on earth, every Englishman, in the royalists's eyes, owes his monarch the same love owed to God. Such love is not only a duty, but, as Fanshawe's translation makes clear, natural. The implication, of course, is that the rebels are unnatural beasts who deny the very essence of their humanity, love to their God, king and country. The sense of 'degenerate' – also

absent from Camões – works in a similar way, accusing the rebellious parliamentarians of being less than human in their lack of love for their King. Fanshawe’s translation of the scene masterfully, and subtly, equates rebellion against the king with lack of religion – which would hit hard the puritan faction of Parliamentarians – and almost animal-like savagery.

The few descriptions of battle in Camões and in Fanshawe’s translation expand on the wilderness trope. However, criticism of the atrocities of civil war extends to both sides of the divide. From the start of the scene, Camões – and Fanshawe – condemn the killings made by both sides, even if understanding that the country is in a confused state: ‘Such, at this time, was the confus’d Estate / Of the poor *Realm*, and the mad *People*’s spleen; / That (to disburthen their conceived Hate) / Flat *Cruelties* in ev’ry part were seen’ (IV.4.1-4). The very brutal nature of a civil war is further emphasised by pitting brother against brother, kin against kin. In *Os Lusíadas* this becomes particularly striking because its the very brothers of the hero Nuno Álvares who fight for the other side – ‘his *Brothers* (whom he dearly lov’d) / Take t’other side’ (IV.14.2-3) – and one of them actually attacks the commander: ‘Loe now his *Brother*’s swords against him bent / (Cruell, and ougly)! But *Hee* wonders not. / For they, who “gainst their *King*, and *Countrey* went, / Would never stick to cut a *Brother*’s Throat’ (IV.32.1-4). While the implication is that going against one’s kin is unnatural – and therefore, only the rebels could commit such an atrocity – the cruelties of war are the work of both sides. At the end of the day, the battlefield is covered in death: ‘With deaths, with groans, with blood, with gashes dire, / The battail cruel above measure grows. / The multitude of men, that here expire, / Makes *all* the *Flow’rs* in colour like the *Rose*’ (IV.42.1-4). There are no victors in a civil war, only survivors.

While royalists may have lacked a hero in the mould of D. Nuno Álvares Pereira, the one thing they had in common with the winning Portuguese faction was the king. In John of Aviz, Fanshawe finds the perfect model of a warrior monarch to present to Charles II. John’s speech during the battle of Aljubarrota is an example of leadership that Charles could learn from:

‘O brave *Camrades*, noble as are your Ends,
 ‘(How in your matchless *Valour* I rejoyce)!
 ‘Defend your *Countrey*, and defend your *Lands*:
 ‘The Hope of *Freedom* in your *Lances* stands.

‘See *me*, your *King*, your *Fellow*, and your *Head*,
 ‘Mongst *Darts*, ‘mongst *Arrows*, and thick *Pikes* among,

‘Rush on the Foe! Nor are you sent, but led.

‘Shew, fighting, to what Countrey ye belong.

(IV.37.5-38.4)

John’s speech is a prime example of the kind of leadership many royalists would have liked to have witnessed during the civil wars. At the words ‘Nor are you sent, but led’, many a reader would think of the way in which Charles II evaded capture at the battle of Worcester in 1651, the battle in which Fanshawe was arrested. Hiding inside, or on top, of an oak tree is hardly an example of bravery, even if it was the only way of securing the continuity of a royalist claim. The example John I of Portugal offers an alternative to Charles’s years of exile that Fanshawe seems to be keen for his monarch to take: lead from the front line against the enemy.

The major difference between the original Portuguese text and Fanshawe’s translation is the allusion to the king as the head of the body politic. In Portuguese, John says: ‘Vedes-me aqui, Rei vosso e companheiro’ (you see me here, your King and Companion), which in itself is already a strong message of leadership. By adding the reference to the king as the head of the body politic, Fanshawe reinforces this message – at the same time it reminds the rebels of the lack of head of state in their government – and reminds Charles that, without him, without the head, the body will not stand. The significance of the body-politic metaphor in Fanshawe’s political outlook is marked and well known. In his preface to the 1648 edition of *Il Pastor Fido*, dedicated to the Prince of Wales, the future Charles II, Fanshawe reminds him of his role. After alluding to a picture of a chancellor in Paris that is made up of many small pictures of the population, Fanshawe comments:

the *Body Politick* is composed of many *naturall ones*; and how each of these, intire in it self, and consisting of head, eyes, hands, and the like, is a head, an eye, or a hand in the other: as also that mens *Privates* cannot be preserved, if the *Publick* be destroyed.¹⁶

In *Il Pastor Fido* Fanshawe intended to remind his Prince of the role that awaited him, and the responsibility that he would stand to inherit on his father’s death; in his translation of *The Lusiad*, with the speech of John I, Fanshawe attempts to demonstrate both the necessity of Charles’s presence for a victorious royalist movement, as well as warn him that the absence of the head of state will effectively undermine any attempt at Restoration. It is significant that John’s words are

16 Walter F. Staton and William E. Simeone, ed., *A Critical Edition of Sir Richard Fanshawe’s 1647 Translation of Giovanni Battista Guarini’s Il Pastor Fido* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 4.

the necessary catalyst for the Portuguese victory at Aljubarrota: 'For (loe)! His men with honorable shame / Are kindled new and with noble Ire' (IV.39.1-2). Without Charles, fighting is useless.

While Graham's conclusion that the Portuguese civil war is the perfect moment for a renewed rallying cry directed at the dormant royalist supporters in the middle of the Interregnum is far from wrong, the Portuguese context also offered Fanshawe an opportunity to reflect on the troubled years of the English Civil Wars, criticise the parliamentarians for their unnatural hatred of the king, the royalist commanders for their lack of heroic example, and the king himself for his absence, and at the same time a meditation on the horrors of the war itself. The historical English connection with the victorious dynasty of Aviz in Portugal reminds the reader of what English values were meant to be.

Fanshawe's translation of the Portuguese civil wars, as well as the twelve of England episode discussed above, also works on a metapoetic level by bridging the histories of Portugal and England closer together. It falls short of creating a simple substitution exercise – the Portuguese are not a masked version of the heroic royalists, nor are the Castilians foreign-sounding parliamentarians. Fanshawe's small departures from his original text highlight the many points of connection between the histories of both countries, and, in doing so, allude to the similarities between them. Fanshawe presents the reader with a model of how English history itself may one day be written and creates clear points of contact that explain how the history of Portugal can be read as an example for the English.

The Olympian Parliament and the anti-parliament

The episode known as 'the council of the gods' appears almost at the very start of Canto I. Before the episode, Camões had only presented the argument of the epic, invoked the Tagus's nymphs, and dedicated the poem to his reigning monarch, King Sebastian of Portugal. The council of the gods appears at the very outset of the narrative, almost before the reader even notices the ships sailing on the main. Like much of *The Lusiad*, the council of the gods is heavily influenced by Virgil, particularly Book X of the *The Aeneid* when all the gods of the Olympus gather and Jupiter decides to put an end to their intervention and allow the humans to battle for themselves (X.1-117).¹⁷ Like Jupiter in *The Aeneid*, Camões's Jove assembles all the gods in Olympus and presents

17 Virgil, *Aeneid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

them with a problem to consider. Jove opens the proceedings by claiming that the Portuguese are destined to take control of the East, and are at that precise moment travelling in their ships around Africa. He then proposes that, considering all the difficulties they had to face so far in their journey, they should be made to find a safe harbour in Africa, where they may rest, gather victuals for the remainder of their trip and be allowed to proceed unharmed.

Jove presents the Portuguese conquest of the East as ultimately unchangeable, since that is what the fates predicted, and the only question put to the gods is whether the fleet should be welcomed in Africa or not. The floor is then open to the gods's opinions, and Bacchus emerges both as the opponent of Jove's plan, and the major antagonist of the Portuguese enterprise. Venus replies in favour of the Portuguese, and Mars joins his voice to hers, interestingly claiming that the meeting is pointless because Jove has already made known what the final outcome will be and in any case it is his decision to take. Jove ends the discussion agreeing with Mars and disbanding all the gods.

Both in *The Aeneid* and *Os Lusíadas*, the council of gods serves a different function than that of actual deliberation by the powers that be. In Camões's epic, the narrative function of 'the council of the gods' can broadly be understood as an introduction: the reader learns that the Portuguese are destined to take control of the East and rule the seas; that they are now in the middle of their groundbreaking voyage; that Venus and Mars are both on the side of the Portuguese enterprise, with Jove taking a more malleable, though still favourable, role; and that the main enemy of the Portuguese is Bacchus.

Within the original publication context of *Os Lusíadas*, the 'council of the gods' episode has been read as a commentary on contemporary Portuguese politics. When taking into account that the episode immediately follows a lengthy dedication to King Sebastian I of Portugal, the superimposition of the king of the Olympus, Jupiter, and the King of Portugal, Sebastian, would be foremost on the readers's minds. The 'council of the gods' makes a good stand in for the King's Conselho do Rei, roughly equivalent to the British Privy Council, made up of a small number of aristocrats very close to, and with tremendous influence on, the King. Sebastian's closest advisers were severely criticised both at the time and throughout history as exercising too much power on the king, particularly his faithful Jesuit confessor and former tutor, Luiz Gonçalves da Câmara, who was repeatedly accused of manipulating the young monarch like a puppet.¹⁸ Father Câmara is almost certainly the direct target of many of Camões's lines warning the King to be cautious when selecting his closest advisers. The lines 'num pobre e humilde manto, / Onde ambição acaso ande encoberta'¹⁹ (VIII.55.3-4) are a clear reference to his, and the Jesuits', power in Sebastian's

18 See Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, *D. Sebastião* (Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 2009), 220–233.

19 'as some, who in a simple Coat / Have trust an *Hypocrite* (a *preying Foule*)' in Fanshawe's translation.

Portugal.

The ‘council of the gods’ can therefore be read as a commentary on Portugal’s mode of government. It presents a king hearing the opinions of his advisers in council and then making his ruling based on what had been discussed. The superior authority of the king is still emphasised, particularly when Mars concedes that Jove does not need to hear more: ‘Nao ouças mais, pois és juiz direito²⁰’ (I.38.7), which effectively turns the council from a quasi-democratic institution into the absolute monarch’s sounding board, providing that monarch be a good and just judge. Camões’s ‘council of the gods’ can then be understood as a model council, not what the Portuguese council is but what could have been, had the King been strong-willed and his advisers honest. The critique of government may seem mild in comparison with other instances in *Os Lusíadas*, but it is present nonetheless.

As far as the English translation is concerned, this episode might have played a similar function of benign critique of English government, were it not for the presence of a single word that will force the reader to approach the whole episode differently. After Jove’s welcoming speech to his fellow deities, Camões writes: ‘Estas palavras Jupiter dizia, / Quando os Deuses, por ordem respondendo, / Na sentença um do outro diferia, / Razões diversas dando e recebendo’ (I.30.1-4), which can be roughly translated as ‘As Jove finished speaking, the Gods, in order, replied with different answers one from the other, giving their different reasons’. Fanshawe’s translation has it slightly different: ‘Thus JOVE: when in their course of *Parliament* / The Gods reply’d in order as they Sate, / And to and fro by way of Argument / Upon the matter calmly did debate’. The crucial word in this passage is *Parliament*, and it should be noted that the emphasis on the quotation is not mine, but Fanshawe’s. Fanshawe’s use of italics, small capitals and full size capitals is complex and frequent, but not random or devoid of meaning.²¹ Capitals are often used for place names, for example, and italics often add emphasis to significant words in the verse; they may also suggest emphasis while reading aloud. Yet even if the word *Parliament* was not emphasised in italic script, it would be impossible to ignore its significance.

The word ‘parliament’ entered the English language sometime in the eleventh or twelfth century, with the Norman conquest of British. Parliament means a ‘formal conference or council, *esp.* an assembly of magnates summoned (usually by a monarch) for the discussion of some matter

20 ‘Then hear no more (since thou’rt a *Judge* upright)’, in Fanshawe’s translation.

21 The few extant copies of *The Lusiad* that carry extensive manuscript corrections from Fanshawe prove just that. For example, the copy in the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library carries many underlining in Fanshawe’s corrected verses, indicating that this was more than just a graphic embellishment of the text. The attention given by Fanshawe in his corrections can be seen by his painstakingly correction of the misprint ‘The Luciad’ on the header of every *recto* of the book into ‘The Lusiad’. Similar significance can be attributed to the double quotation marks at the beginning of verses containing *sententiae*, also painstakingly corrected by Fanshawe in presentation copies.

or matters of general importance'. (OED) It comes from the old French 'parlement', meaning discussion, conversation, meeting or negotiation. The Portuguese word for *Parliament* – 'parlamento' – is nowhere to be found in the Portuguese text. Neither in this passage, nor anywhere else in the text. The closest term is the word *concílio*, used at the start of the episode: 'Quando os Deuses no Olimpo luminoso, Onde o governo está da humana gente, /Se ajuntam em concílio glorioso / Sobre as cousas futuras do Oriente' (I.20.1-4). Fanshawe translates this as '*Council*' (his italics), which can either be a seventeenth-century spelling of 'council', as in, a political institution or an assembly, or a form of the verb 'to counsel', to advise. Both possible definitions of the word used by Fanshawe fail to grasp a semantic dimension that is clearer in Catholic Portugal: *concílio* (council), differs from *conselho* (also council), in as much as *concílio* refers primarily to an *ecclesiastical council*, rather than a secular, political, or governmental one. Therefore, the 'council of the gods' in Camões is, primarily, a religious congregation, rather than a political one, even if it has political undertones. From the outset of the scene, Fanshawe removes any hue of divinity from the gods' reunion in the Olympus. This may be caused by the different semantic charges of the words in Portuguese and English, but Fanshawe expands it by transforming the holy meeting of the gods into a clearly secular and political one. It is no longer a *concílio* but a council that will soon be promoted to *parliament*.

The inclusion of the word *parliament* in Fanshawe's translation is also significant because there was no equivalent institution in Portugal at the time of Camões or at the time of the translation. The closest were the *Conselho do Rei* – in effect a privy council – and the *Cortes* – essentially a constitutive parliament. *Cortes* were rare, only being called at the acclamation of a new king (and even then only if there was any major dispute), or significant changes to the law, such as the levy of new heavy taxes. During the reign of Sebastian, *Cortes* were only called once, in 1562, by the Queen Regent Catharine of Austria, in order to request a new regent for the young king. The *concílio* that Camões had in mind in writing this episode had very little relation to any Portuguese political institution, other than, at a superficial level, the king's privy council. What Fanshawe creates by designating the assembly as a parliament is an instance of what could be understood as cultural translation, that is, transforming an occurrence that would be alien to an English reader into something more familiar.

However, to take the use of *parliament* as a simple cultural translation is simplistic. There would be no absolute necessity to perform any sort of cultural translation in this instance. If Fanshawe so wished, he could have simply nudged the text into embodying a privy council – which already does in the original Portuguese. Councils and parliaments have different roles in politics. A

council's primary function – even the ecclesiastical council that may have been imagined by Camões – is advisory, that is, to advise a ruler in the right course of action but ultimately leaving the final decision to the ruler himself. A parliament, however, is a legislative body who has the power to create its own policies and make its own decisions. As a political body, the function of Parliament in Britain changed throughout the ages, from the barons forcing King John to sign the Magna Carta to today's maximum body of government. This is particularly true during the seventeenth century, which saw an unprecedented number of parliaments exercising different roles within the structure of British politics. The parliament's power was reduced to nothing during the years of Charles I's personal rule, while the English Commonwealth placed it at the centre of decision-making for a few brief years after the regicide and before the Protectorate. Therefore, while in Camões Jove calls a council to advise him on the better course to take, in Fanshawe the convocation of a Parliament carries the weight and history of a more powerful political institution whose functions changed constantly in the seventeenth century.

Consequently, Fanshawe's use of the word *parliament* in *The Lusiad*, following the civil war opposing king and parliament, after the regicide and the beginning of the protectorate, is significant. In all likelihood nearly all contemporary readers would have no idea that Camões had not used the word in his original text; most readers would be unaware that Camões had linked the meeting of the gods to an ecclesiastical council; and all but those who had direct knowledge of the political organisation of Portugal would be unaware that Portugal had no parliamentary equivalent. All readers, on the other hand, would immediately jump at the sight of the word 'Parliament' during the Interregnum, regardless of their position in the divide. Someone as involved in the conflict as Fanshawe would be aware of this, and its use could not be accidental. By transforming the 'council of the gods' into the Parliament of the Gods, the scene was set to say *something* about the contemporary English context.

The word *parliament* in Fanshawe's translation alters the way in which the scene is read by a contemporary English reader. It changes the understanding of what came before and will come after its use on stanza 30. Jupiter's convocation is not directed at his privy councillors, but to his MPs; and, at least at face value, Jupiter is not looking for advice, but for a true decision to come out of the reunion. The gods's are no longer giving their different 'sentenças' (in the sense of judgement), but *arguing* and *debating* (I.30.3-4), towards a common *ruling*. An element that becomes more evident once the scene is read as a *parliament* is how much Jove is characterised as a king. The references are numerous, and particularly so on stanza 22:

With an austere and high *Majestick* grace
Upon a *Christal Throne*, with *stars* imbost,
Sublime THE FATHER sate (worthy that place)
[...]
A *Scepter* in his *Hand*, and his *Head* crown'd
With one stone, brighter than a *Diamownd*.
(I.22, italics and small capitals are Fanshawe's, underlinings are mine)

Fanshawe's emphases are not too different from my own. His deviations from the Portuguese original also add to Jove's kingly nature: Camões, although still characterising Jove as the king of the gods, emphasises his divinity above all else; there is no mention of *majestic* grace or of any *throne*, for example. In Fanshawe, Jove is called 'great JOVE' (I.31.6), he is deemed 'Judge upright' (I.38.7), gives 'with a nod the SOVEREIGN Assent' (I.41.2) and is greeted by the other gods, as they take their leave, 'Making a low obeysance to the *Throne*' (I.42.7).

In Fanshawe's translation, Jove, though magnificent, more resembles an earthly king presiding over his earthly parliament than a divine god as *primus inter pares*. Jove's divinity remains in the translation, although slightly transformed and informed by the Stuart belief in the divine right of kings. Fanshawe's Jove is divine but only because all kings are divine in the sense that their power is directly granted from God, not from the people. In fact, Camões's own structure supports this reading: the gods are only given the power they wield because it was given to them by 'The HIGHEST POW'R [...] / The HIGHEST POW'R, who with an eye-brow steers / The *Earth*, the raging *Ocean*, and the *Heav'n*'. (I.20.2-3), i.e. the Christian God. The power-structure of the gods in Fanshawe, and to a lesser extent Camões as well, is vertical, with all power coming directly from God through his chosen king, and from the King to his courtiers and subjects.

This sense of hierarchy is further developed in the repeated allusions to order and precedence, and particularly when those allusions intertwine with the British political scene. The gods are assembled 'at the THUNDERER'S [Jove] command / By *Him* That bears the *Caduceian Wand* [Mercury]' (I.20.7-8). Mercury is the messenger of the gods but, significantly, this synecdoche of Mercury being the one that bears the Caduceian Wand is not in Camões. Camões refers to him periphrastically as the grandson of the Titan Atlas. Fanshawe's use of the Caduceus – the rod of staff used by Mercury and many other messengers in other mythologies – has a twofold implication. Like any good symbol of power, it serves as a metonymy for Mercury's function within the narrative – to call the other gods into assembly; on the other hand, it recalls another more earthly

official in the British Isles, the Black Rod.

The association between Mercury and the Black Rod is made clearer later on in the epic, when Fanshawe expressly puts a *black rod* on the god's hand: 'Now swift CYLLENUS²² cuts it through the *Ayre*: / Now to the *Earth* his winged feet declin'd. / Badge of his office, *the black Rod* he bare' (II.57.3). The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod was first an officer of the Order of the Garter, whose duties later extended to Parliament's House of Lords. Black Rod's original duties were to act as a jailer and arresting officer to delinquents in the House of Lords, but also, and more significantly, serving as a messenger from the King to the Commons and, by extension, to the people. In Fanshawe's mythologised Parliament, Mercury embodies the Black Rod's functions as a messenger of the king, in this case Jove.

The superimposition of Mercury with the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod further contributes to a reading of the Council of the Gods as a model of Parliament in Fanshawe's translation. The presence of a Black Rod-like figure adds to the sense of hierarchy conveyed by Fanshawe's translation of the Parliament: a higher power gives the authority to the King/Jove, who then grants the power to the other gods; King/Jove summons the other gods through his messenger/Mercury/Black Rod; the gods, upon departure, '[Make] a low obeysance to the *Throne* / As they past by in Order one by one' (I.41.7-8).

The true measure of the significance of order, precedence and hierarchy is seen when the gods arrive for their meeting. Describing the gods's seating arrangements, Fanshawe translates: 'The other *Deities* were placed low'r [than Jove's throne], / As *Reason* and the Herald *Order* would' (I.23.3-4). This is remarkably close to Camões's original, except for the inclusion of the word 'Herald' that introduces a more formal hierarchical backdrop to the meeting. In Camões, the *reason* and *order* by which the Gods are seated is one of age and honour: the older gods are seated before the younger ones, implying the wisdom of old age. Fanshawe's inclusion of an *Herald Order* creates a pun that doubles the allusion to the power of Jove over the other Gods: the Gods are seated according to the *Herald's order*, that is, according to a herald proclaiming the will of the King. At the same time, it also alludes to another royal institution of hierarchy, the Heralds's College, or the College of Arms as it is now known.

The Herald's College is the institution responsible for the 'granting of new coats of arms',²³ which is paramount for the legitimisation of a new title of nobility given by the King. The Herald's College also establishes the order of precedence of the various titles, therefore enshrining the hierarchy of the nobility before the crown: 'The Heralds advise on matters relating to the peerage

²² Another name for Hermes, the Greek counterpart of Mercury.

²³ 'About Us', College of Arms, accessed 29th September 2016, <http://www.college-of-arms.gov.uk/about-us>

and baronetage, precedence and ceremonial'.²⁴ Fanshawe's allusion to the 'Herald Order', therefore, is also an affirmation of the ultimate power of the king over his subjects, both by implying that they are seated at the command of the king through his herald, and by subtly reminding the reader that the gods's pedigree only exists for the king's will. The king Jove in Fanshawe's translation becomes the giver of fortunes and the ultimate ruler above all.

If Jove is a figure of kingship and the ultimate fountain of all legislation and benefits, the crux of the scene is to understand the reason why is the parliamentary debate held at all. Fanshawe's use of democratic vocabulary makes clear that the gods enact a theatre of debate. 'By way of argument', the gods 'upon the matter calmly did debate' (I.30.3-4), with Bacchus presenting the arguments for one side, and Venus holding up the 'contrary Theam'. Fanshawe's translation anticipates the transformation of parliamentary politics into a bi-partisan system that would eventually develop from the fractures first shown during the civil war, in which groups with wildly different interests join together as a block against another block of individuals with wildly different interests. Partisanship, as Robert Wilcher has observed, is born out of a polarisation of opinions:

The term royalist, in fact, was not needed until the governing class polarized into parties engaged in an ideological and military contest over the locus of supreme power in the state: on the one side, those who wanted to preserve the ancient prerogatives of the crown; on the other, those who wanted to make the monarch answerable to a parliament which had executive as well as merely legislative authority.²⁵

Fanshawe's translation of the scene does not directly represent one half of the gods as royalists and the other as parliamentarians. What it does represent is the polarisation of a space of debate into two separate factions – parties – with opposed views. Within the universe of *The Lusiad*, there are the gods who want to prevent the Portuguese from reaching India and those who want to aid the Portuguese.

What transpires from Fanshawe's reconfiguration of the council of the gods into a partisan parliament is a critique of parliamentary factions. Carrying it over from Camões's original text, Fanshawe exposes the reasons behind the division of the gods's opinions. On Bacchus's side, his position comes from that 'His Fame ith' EAST must suffer an eclipse / Should *there* arrive the *Lusitanian-ships*' (I.30.7-8). Venus, on the other side, supports the Portuguese because they remind

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism, 1628-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 5.

her of ‘her old ROME’ (I.32.4). More telling is the position of Mars, who seconds Venus’s appeal, and whose reasons solely rest on his past history with the goddess: ‘Whether it were for old *Affection*-sake, [for Venus] / Or for this valiant *People’s own* desert / (His look confest him vext before he spake)’ (I.36.3-4). Therefore, none of the three gods whose position was voiced had any reasons other than personal. What this implies is a critique of partisan parliamentary politics: no-one puts the common good before their own interests. When Mars eventually returns the onus of decision-making to the king Jove, this gesture is not an admission that the king has absolute power over parliament, but rather a request that he act as an arbiter capable of putting the interests of the common good above personal disputes – hence why Jove is deemed the ‘*Judge* upright’ (I.38.7) rather than the absolute ruler.

The model that Fanshawe’s translation of the council of the gods offers is one of an idealised parliamentary monarchy, in which the king presides over parliament and in which the king’s function is one of mediation and arbitration rather than absolute tyrannical will. This is not unlike the view of a faction of moderate royalists known as ‘constitutional royalists’, particularly active during the start of the first English Civil War, and responsible for the King’s answer to Parliament’s famous *Nineteen Propositions*. Constitutional royalists are often described as ‘moderates’, and while they are by no means a uniform or clear-cut group, they shared the objective of leading the king to peace with parliament by admitting to some of parliament’s demands. While dormant during the interregnum, constitutional royalists played a significant part in the 1660 Restoration, something attested to by the appointment ‘of all those [constitutional royalists] who survived to senior public office in 1660’.²⁶ Defining what exactly constitutional royalism entails is no easy task. Wilcher summarises its basic premisses as:

that royal powers and constitutional government were inherently compatible; that Charles I could be trusted to rule legally and abide by the safeguards against non-parliamentary government erected in 1640-1; that limitations on his power to choose advisers and military commanders were antithetical to monarchy; and that the existing structures of the Church of England were an intrinsic part of the constitution.²⁷

The more challenging premisses to a twenty-first-century reader – that royal powers and constitutional government are compatible, and that the king can be trusted to rule without self-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

interest – are precisely what Fanshawe’s translation of the council of the gods addresses. Fanshawe’s alignment with constitutional royalists is well-known: not only was he a close friend of one of the leading figures of the movement – Edward Hyde, later the Earl of Clarendon – as Syrithe Pugh notes, elements of constitutional royalism are evident throughout his original poetry as well:

the 1648 edition of his translation of Guarini’s *Il Pastor Fido* [which includes much of his original poetry], clearly indicates his belief in the necessity of limiting the monarch’s power, in the rule of law, and in the desirability of a negotiated peace and a balanced settlement.²⁸

The same, I argue, is true of Fanshawe’s translation of the ‘council of the gods’. In his version of Camões’s scene, Fanshawe is careful to describe Jove as an almighty king whose power is above all others, yet willing to hold parliament, seek council from his MPs, and abide by their judgement. It is only when the discussion of the gods/MPs turns into the pursuit of personal interest over common good that Jove makes use of his power to override his parliament of gods and protect the people, i.e., the Portuguese sailors. Fanshawe’s re-imagining of the ‘council of the gods’ is reminiscent of *His Majesties answer to the XIX propositions of both Houses of Parliament*, the most widely diffused document of constitutional royalism. The answer to the nineteen propositions was written by the leading figures of the movement – Hyde, Falkland and Culpeper²⁹ – and through the voice of Charles I himself, defines the role of the parliament:

Our Parliament should debate, resolve, & transact such matters as are proper for them, as far as they are proper for them: And We heartily wish, that they would be as carefull not to extend their Debates and Resolutions beyond what is proper to them.³⁰

To parliament what is parliament’s, to the king what is royal prerogative – this is the general sentiment of the constitutional royalists’s answer to the nineteen propositions. In Fanshawe’s model parliament, this is codified in the strict hierarchical division of the council of the gods, and particularly in the figure of Mars, who reminds the other gods both that Jove is the judge, and, more significantly, Jove himself of his royal prerogative: ‘From the determination thou hast took /

28 Pugh, *Herrick, Fanshawe and the Politics of Intertextuality*, 4.

29 Ronald Hutton, ‘The Structure of the Royalist Party, 1642-1646’, *The Historical Journal* 24 (1981): 555.

30 Charles I, *His Majesties Answer to the XIX Propositions of Both Houses of Parliament* (London: Robert Baker, 1642), fol. A4r.

Recoyle not' (I.40.2-3). Mars's appeal that Jove be led not astray by Bacchus's reasons, for he 'sees by a false light' (I.38.8) has similarities to one of parliament's roles within a constitutional monarchy:

the impeaching of those, who for their own ends, though countenanced by any Surreptitiously gotten command of the King, have violated that Law, which he is bound (when he knows it) to protect, and to the protection of which they were bound to advise Him, at least not to serve Him in the contrary.³¹

Mars is the mouthpiece to Parliament's role within the constitutional royalism proposed in Fanshawe's reconfiguration of Camões's council of the gods. Simultaneously, Mars draws attention to the dangers of Parliamentary rule – the self-interest of its members – at the same time that it defends its role within the idealised version of government presented by Fanshawe's translation.

The council of the gods read as a model of an ideal constitutional monarchy is reinforced by the existence of a parallel representation of a bad form of parliamentary monarchy further on in *The Lusiad*. At the start of Canto VI, also the start of the second half of the epic, Bacchus, displeased with the decision taken by the gods in the Olympus, decides to take his grievances elsewhere and look for support amongst the maritime deities. Bacchus's descent into Neptune's court also coincides with a turning point in both *The Lusiad* and the voyage of Vasco da Gama. It follows the Portuguese encounter with the Adamastor in Canto V, an original creation of Camões that personifies the southernmost tip of Africa previously known to Portuguese sailors as the Cape of Storms. Camões turned the cape into a Titan-like figure of both danger and melancholy, and its rounding signalled the move from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. The appearance of Adamastor in the middle of Canto V becomes the literal turning point in the epic, when the Portuguese embark upon previously uncharted waters. As Josiah Blackmore writes, the cape personified by Adamastor represents, amongst many other things, 'the *ne plus ultra* of knowledge and travel, now placed in southern, rather than northern, Africa'.³² The titanic dimensions of the creature devised by Camões to personify this turning point, coupled with its threats and prophecies of shipwrecks to come, are also the last natural obstacle standing in the way of the Portuguese objective: India. Bacchus's descent into Neptune's court is a literal last resort, when all other obstructions to the Portuguese mission have been overcome.

31 Ibid., fol. B2r.

32 Josiah Blackmore, *Moorings: Portuguese Expansion and the Writing of Africa* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 122.

The episode known as the ‘council of the maritime gods’ is the antithesis of the gods’s parliament in Canto I, devised by Camões as a counterpoint to the opening scene. If the first council opens the first half of the narrative and sets the scene for the Portuguese fortunes that follow, the council of the maritime gods opens the second half of the narrative, hinting at the trickery and difficulties brought by Bacchus to the first arrival of the Portuguese in India. The councils can be seen as mirror images of each other: the first representing good procedure, fair argument, good rulings, presided over by a benevolent and sympathetic god/king; the second, born out of jealousy, anger and fear, dominated by a sweet talking usurper who influences the decision beyond reason.

Because Camões devised the two scenes as a complementary contrast, Fanshawe’s translation follows suit, and once again, a council of gods becomes a parliament. Fanshawe uses the word ‘parliament’ at the end of the scene, refocusing stanzas that preceded it, transforming them into a description of a parliamentary meeting. At the start of stanza 38, Fanshawe translates: ‘Whilst in the DEEP was held this *Parlament*’ (VI.38.1). ‘Parlament’ this time translates the Portuguese ‘conselho’, rather than the ‘concílio’ of the first canto, a difference that is more than accidental and that did not escape Faria y Sousa in his commentary:

¶*Conselho*. Con atencion [...] llama el P[oeta] *Conselho*, a este Ayuntamiento que se hizo en el mar a ruego de Baco, por diferencia de aver llamado Concilio al que se hizo en el cielo en el cãto I. mostrando hasta con la eleccion de las palabras, lo sagrado, i divino del uno, i lo profano del otro: porque si bien Concilio en rigor es generalmente Consejo, se ha hecho particular de la junta de personas sacras, a tratar de la mejora de las cosas, principalmente divinas: i Consejo es junta inferior, como profana, conduzida a diferentes intentos del gobierno seglar³³

The variant spelling ‘parlament’ that Fanshawe employed in this episode may well be an attempt to replicate the different meanings of ‘concílio’ and ‘conselho’ in the original Portuguese, since it was never altered in any of the copies known to be corrected by Fanshawe. Although ‘parlament’ was a possible spelling in the mid-seventeenth century, it was uncommon, and the contrast with the previous spelling ‘parliament’ in Canto I, does imply an intentionality that carries meaning. In this

33 Manuel de Faria y Sousa, ed., *Lusidas de Luis de Camoens, Principe de Los Poetas de Espana*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Iuan Sanchez, 1639), fol. Ccc6v. [‘¶*Conselho*. Knowingly, the Poet calls this meeting called by Bacchus in the sea *Conselho*, in order to differentiate it from that meeting that was held in the skies in Canto I, showing with his choice of words, the sacred and divine nature of one, and the profane of the other: because, even if Concilio is generally the same as Consejo, it means in particular the meeting of sacred people in order to take care of the improvement of things, mainly divine: and Consejo is a meeting of inferior people, therefore profane, used with different intents of secular government’.]

episode, ‘parlament’ is the anti-parliament, a parliament that is, quite literally, lacking. However, the truly meaningful element in this is the noted difference between the godly – and good – example in Canto I, and the secular – and bad – example in Canto VI. The near identical nature of both scenes only renders more poignant the profound differences between them.

While both episodes share the same overall structure – a description of the hall, gods being summoned by a messenger, an introductory speech about the issue to be discussed, and a final decision – the similarities are punctuated by striking, sometimes grotesque, differences. From the outset of the scene, the council of the sea gods is set as diametrically opposed to the council of the Olympus. Bacchus is shown forsaking the rightful power of the Olympians in favour of more sympathetic ears: ‘[Bacchus] OLYMPUS doth forsake, / To seek *below* what *There* he could not gain’. (VI.7.5-6). This dichotomy between the high Olympus and the deepness of the court of Neptune is carried throughout the scene, often emphasised by Fanshawe in ways not warranted by the original. The ‘DEEP’ – always in small capitals – becomes the antithesis of the Highest Heavens where the first parliament sat, a clear allusion to Christian theology and the opposition between heaven and hell.

The Christian echo is pushed further by the somewhat primal and *unpolished* qualities of Neptune’s court. His palace gates, of massive gold, are decorated with creation scenes. Bacchus’s eyes first encounter ‘old CHAOS (in it own selfe lost) / Varied with proper *shadowes*, doth excell’ (VI.10.5-6), and later the four elements (VI.10.7-8 – VI.12), as well as some of Neptune’s accomplishments (VI.13). The presence of these primal elements, even in sculpture, does signal that Neptune’s court is a remnant of an older order, far removed from the airy and civilised nature of the Olympus. Neptune’s power is one of violence, Jove’s one of peace.

The nature of the scene carries on with a description of Neptune’s herald. Unlike Mercury’s winged feet, and the stately nature of his post symbolised by his staff of office, the ‘*Caduceian Wand*’ (I.20.8), Neptune’s messenger is described as ‘a great nasty *Clown* with all that boast: / His *Father’s Trumpet*, and his *Father’s Poast*’. (VI.16.7-8) Triton, the son of Poseidon, the Greek equivalent of Neptune, is described in Ovid as ‘sea-hued, his shoulders barnacled / With sea-shells’³⁴ (I.333-334), yet Camões’s description of the sea-herald goes well beyond that. In *The Lusiad*, Triton has a ‘thick *bush-beard*’ (VI.17.1) and long unkempt hair made of ‘spungy *Weeds*’ (VI.17.1-3) and covered in mussels of ‘their own filth bred’ (VI.17.6). His hat, a lobster shell (VI.17.8), and his body naked with his genitals covered with ‘*Maritime little Animals* / By Hundreds’ (VI.18.3-4).

34 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 11.

Triton fulfils the same function as Mercury: he is the messenger of the (maritime) gods, and by blowing his shell, summons the MPs to his father's, Neptune, presence. Like in the earlier, polished, parliament on Olympus, the sea gods are seated below the king Neptune, yet amongst themselves, there is no longer any distinction of rank or herald order, but merely of gender: 'Seated (in short) the *Powers* that rule the *seas* / In the great *Hall*, majestick and divine; / On gorgeous *Cushions* first the *Goddesses*, / The *Gods* in carved *Chayres* of *crystall* fine, / The *King* with gracious gestures *All* did please' (VI.25.1-5). The lack of (herald) order, as well as Neptune's conciliatory nature, are in opposition to Jove's strict hierarchical assembly early in the first canto. While there is no direct connection – as there wasn't one in Camões to begin with – this *equality* amongst peers, and the subservience of the king leading them, adds to the creation of the anti-model of parliament, and relates to the lack of discussion further on in the scene.

Neptune's welcoming and subservient nature towards his MPs and even Bacchus himself, with whom he divides his throne (VI.25.6), echoes a recurrent trope within *The Lusiad*: the weak king. Weak kings are, for Camões, a country's greatest plague. While narrating the life of Ferdinand, whose death precipitated the 1383-85 crisis of succession, and a major war with Spain trying to take control of Portugal, Gama as the narrator of the history of Portugal criticises the weakness of Ferdinand, accusing him of causing the crisis and of betrayal of the Portuguese people: 'A soft KING makes a valiant *People*, soft' (III.138.8). With his conciliatory demeanour, and willingness to host Bacchus in the same throne as himself, Neptune fits the cast of the weak king, unable to bring reason and justice to the affairs. When Bacchus speaks, he is immediately and totally convinced, and the passion in his breast turns only in the direction carefully chosen by the god of wine.

In truth, Bacchus's speech is a masterclass of rhetoric that would be hard to refute. As John de Oliveira e Silva observed, Bacchus's intervention in the maritime parliament's procedure is a 'rhetorical success. His audience is so persuaded and moved to anger against the Portuguese that [...] they take action without any hesitation [...]. Bacchus's is another instance of rhetoric that cannot be resisted'.³⁵ His intervention begins by flattering Neptune 'Prince who (*of right*) from one to t'other *pole* / The angry *sea* dost awe and dost command' (VI.27.1-2) and the sea-gods themselves, 'that wont not to permit / Your *Kingdom's* high *prerogatives* be broke;' (VI.28.1-2), only to quickly accuse them of being tame and lethargic against the Portuguese affront (VI.28.5). He then goes on to enumerate the Portuguese crimes against the sea, invading it 'with *Sail* and *Oare*' (VI.29.4), and concluding that if this is allowed to carry on, '*Men*, will be called *GODS*; and

35 John de Oliveira e Silva, 'Moving the Monarch', *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 748.

but *men*, WEE’ (VI.29.8). He then wonders how such a ‘*little* Generation’ came to be allowed to go farther than the ‘Roman Eagles’ ever flew (VI.30), and warns how their success will cause havoc on the sea gods’s fortune (VI.30.7-8).

Bacchus’s greatest rhetorical trick comes when he unleashes his criticism of the Olympian assembly, in essence accusing it of ignoring the needs of the gods in favour of men. He ‘forsook the COURT SUPERN’ not simply to alert the sea gods of their injury but also because he himself is a victim of both the Olympian decision and the fates that ‘teach *sorrow*, ev’n to *Gods*. ‘Tis good / *We* too, are *slaves* to their *prepostrous* Will; / Which gives *Ills* to the *Good*, *Goods* to the *Ill*’ (VI.33.6-8). In other words, Bacchus frames his appeal to the sea gods not as a rebellion against Olympus, but rather as seeking redress for an unjust decision against himself and the maritime deities. Throughout Bacchus’s speech, his move is to convince the maritime gods that they share his personal injury, and re-frame his actions into a justice crusade, rather than spiteful rebellion. The *coup de grâce* comes when, in his concluding remarks, Bacchus almost literally throws himself at the mercy of the court and breaks out in tears:

‘Now therefore from Olympus am I tost,
 ‘To seek some *Cure*, some *Balsome* for my *wound*:
 ‘To see, if that *esteem*, I *there* have lost,
 ‘May happily within *your Seas* be found.
 More would have said: But *Tears* the passage crost,
 Which (trickling down his Cheeks in *Ropes*, that bound
 His *words*) with suddain fury did inspire
 And set the *watry Deities* on fire.
 (VI.34)

Bacchus’s performance was so successful that Neptune immediately gave orders for the release of the winds against the Portuguese fleet. The sea gods erupted in a tumult in support of Bacchus, and the only dissenting voice – Protheus – was immediately silenced. There was no ‘to and fro by way of Argument’ (I.30.3) as in the Olympian assembly, but simply passionate reaction against a perceived wrong-doing, by the Olympians, and threat, by the Portuguese.

Considering this scene from a distance, it becomes clear how filled with shortcomings the assembly of the maritime gods is. It begins with Neptune’s lack of authority over Bacchus and the other sea deities. His weak hand cannot, unlike Jove, set the wrongs of the procedure right. His

weak will is easily bent by Bacchus, and his strong passion easily manipulated. Bacchus's speech, by shamelessly seducing Neptune and his compatriots, exposes the 'ills of democracy', as the constitutional royalists put it through the king's mouth, 'Tumults, Violence and Licentiousnesse'.³⁶ His rhetorical intervention had the sole purpose of convincing his audience to do his bidding. The reasons he presented were pure self-interest, and the appeals made to the audience reminded them of their own personal loss. Crucially, there was no debate, and the only voice of dissent was quickly silenced by the majority. The result was violent action against the Portuguese fleet, and, in effect, rebellion against the decisions of Olympus.

Camões designed the two councils to stand in opposition to each other, as examples of good and bad government; Fanshawe's subtle refashioning into parliaments gave the scenes a new lease of life in the English seventeenth-century context. In the good parliament, the session is presided over by a just king, to whom the other gods pay reverence, and everyone knows exactly their place, quite literally, thanks to the herald order; in the bad parliament, the king's affability muffles his authority; in the good parliament, the king introduces the problem and asks for a discussion; in the bad parliament, an usurper takes control of the proceedings with the sole intention of commanding the power of the institution by himself; in the good parliament, a healthy discussion is had, in which both sides are heard and in which, ultimately, the just king decides the tie-break; in the bad parliament, all dissent is silenced, and the king makes use of his absolute power to protect his own self-interest. Read together, these scenes imply that Fanshawe had no particular target in mind – that is to say, his critique is not of the short parliament of 1640 or the long parliament that followed it, but rather of parliamentary procedure itself, and, significantly, how its power should be held and managed from a constitutional royalist perspective. Similarly, Jove is not meant as a flattering portrayal of Charles I, nor are Bacchus and Neptune parliamentarian leaders, but rather figures of correct and wrong practice, example and cautionary tales. It follows that Fanshawe may be conceding that the king was not exempt from blame for the civil wars, a position that is in accordance with other constitutional royalists of the time, particularly his friend Edward Hyde. At the outset of the civil war, the discontent regarding the king's absolutist tendencies were not exclusive views of future parliamentarians; as Robert Wilcher notes,

it was not only puritan gentry and opposition lords who were eager to get rid of unpopular ministers and redress the political balance that had swung too far in favour of the royal prerogative: they were joined by 'a body of future royalists', including Hyde, Falkland,

36 Charles I, *His Majesties Answer to the XIX Propositions of Both Houses of Parliament*, fol. B3r.

Digby, and Culpepper, who 'were as deeply opposed to the king in 1640 as his long-standing opponents'.³⁷

In his translation of these two scenes, Fanshawe clearly aligns himself with the small circle of constitutional royalists, ascribing a certain degree of guilt to the king who was not capable of keeping his own will in check. In transforming the two scenes into examples of good and bad parliamentary procedure, Fanshawe presents his own view of what a parliamentary monarchy should and should not be. In Camões he found the perfect excuse – and the perfect cover – to publish his take on the matter.

With the two parliaments of the gods, Fanshawe created models of good and bad parliaments; with the Portuguese Civil War, he demonstrated that Royalists lacked a larger than life hero in their campaigns, urged Charles to take up the example of the Portuguese John of Aviz and lead from the front line, and reminded him, through his alteration of the stanza mentioning Henry VIII, that it is time to take back his kingdom. John of Gaunt's gallantry is used as an example of how a strong and just monarchy should behave, at the same time that it also reminded readers that Charles was one of his descendants.

Fanshawe did not create a mere translation, but rather english'd *Os Lusíadas*. Fanshawe made it possible for the Portuguese epic to be read in ways different from any Camões ever intended, by a different, English audience. Fanshawe made Camões speak English not because he translated the Portuguese words into English, but because the Portuguese poet now had something to say that was particularly directed at his English audience. As we shall see in the next chapter, this incredible feat of making a sixteenth-century Portuguese poet speak English to English people would not go completely unnoticed.

³⁷ Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism, 1628-1660*, 41. The quotations come from Conrad Russell, *The Crisis of Parliaments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 333.

4. The afterlife of *The Lusiad*

Introduction

‘Nor lack I now an *Eye*, you’ve given me one / [...] / An English Eye and English Tongue so sweet / *Phaebus* himselve might learne to speake by it’.¹ These words are spoken by the ‘genius’ of Camões to his English translator Richard Fanshawe, now in his position as the English envoy extraordinary to Portugal. The lines were part of a small entertainment put forward for the reception of the English envoy at the English College in Lisbon, probably around the time of his first visit to the country in 1661. Not only are these words the greatest possible compliment that could be paid to the translator who had promised to turn Camões into an Englishman,² they also encapsulate the way in which Fanshawe’s translation of *Os Lusíadas* profoundly influenced his later life, as well as the histories of Portugal and England.

This chapter will focus on the afterlife of Fanshawe’s translation of the Portuguese epic. Moving from the literal pages of *The Lusiad* further in space, it will begin by examining the marginal responses from contemporary readers of Fanshawe’s translation, as well as printed reactions from literary circles close to Fanshawe. It will then comment on the re-evaluations of Fanshawe’s translation by later translators of the epic, namely Mickle and Burton, and will conclude by identifying the consequences of the translation in Fanshawe’s personal life and career, as well as in the relationship between the restored monarchy of Portugal, and the restored monarchy of Britain. The scope of this chapter goes beyond the immediate political context of the 1650s into the history of the early 1660s and onwards.

Measuring the impact of a single book in history is no straightforward task. Few books gathered such momentum that actual verifiable transformations can be directly ascribed to their

1 Peter Davidson, ed., *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), vol. 2 575.

2 *Ibid.*, 7.

dissemination. Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad* is obviously not in the same order of magnitude. Instead, the impact of Fanshawe's translating effort can only be deduced by observing the transformations that it produced at a small, even individual level. *The Lusiad* did not inspire a new royalist uprising in the mid 1650s, but its publication had other measurable effects. As this chapter will discuss, Fanshawe's translation of Camões's epic was a direct influence on his appointment first as envoy extraordinary to Portugal, then in his appointment as ordinary ambassador to Portugal, and finally in his transfer as ambassador to Spain. The influence of the translation in his relationship with the Portuguese authorities and in his reception in Portugal will also be studied. In literary history terms, the impact of the translation can be understood not only as the first major exchange between Portuguese and English literatures, but also in terms of the long lasting effect it produced in succeeding translators of *The Lusiad*, each, like Fanshawe, tailoring the Portuguese sixteenth-century epic to his own times and agenda. Either by completely rejecting Fanshawe's foundational role, or borrowing from his work, later translators of Camões are undeniably indebted to Fanshawe's initial attempt.

In the following pages, I will demonstrate the ways in which its influence can be spotted, understood and measured. The effects vary in dimension – from the personal to the international – and subject – from personal curiosity to diplomacy. The examples of contemporary marginalia in *The Lusiad* demonstrate how Fanshawe's translation unearthed a curiosity for Portuguese history in his readers; the printed responses to his work reveal an appreciation of the translator himself; later translators attest to Fanshawe's inaugural and long-lasting influence on literary exchanges between the two countries; and finally, the very identifiable effects the translation produced in Fanshawe's diplomatic career prove how the literary and historical worlds intermingle and influence one another. Taking all these strands together, this chapter will argue that Fanshawe succeeded in englishing *The Lusiad*, that is, that his translation became more than a mere footnote in European literary history and went on to acquire significance – political, historical, literary – in its own right in England, as well as in England's foreign relations with the Iberian Peninsula.

Readers of The Lusiad – marginalia, historical and textual

Marginalia studies is an emerging field in early modern scholarship in recent years, with tremendous relevance to a considerable amount of different perspectives: material culture, textual

criticism, philosophy, history and social history to name a few. Because marginalia is, essentially, writing (though not exclusively), and humans write about everything, there is not a single subject to which marginalia may not be relevant. In this section, I will look at a few examples of first edition copies of *The Lusiad* that contain contemporary marginalia that engages with the text. The objective is to understand how individual readers *read* Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad*, and to ascertain what role the translation played in the readers's individual lives.

The main advantage of the study of marginalia is also its greatest drawback – the immediacy and uniqueness that characterises it, while revealing, also prevents generalisations about readers's reactions. If, like in one of the cases under scrutiny in this section, one reader seems obsessed with Portuguese history, this does not mean that all readers were equally interested in it. Conversely, it allows for the certainty that at least one person was particularly interested in *The Lusiad* for its compendium of Portuguese history, which, in turn, might be a result of a more general trend.

A difficulty that must be addressed in this section is its limited scope: this is not an exhaustive survey. Constraints of time and funding prevented a full examination of all the known available copies of the 1655 *The Lusiad* – not to mention the few that occasionally surface for direct sale or at auction. Therefore, this section does not provide definitive evidence of any one trend, but rather presents a small number of case studies that help illuminate the ways in which *The Lusiad* was read at the time of its publication.

The objective of this section is to examine the *readers's* reaction to Fanshawe's translation, and as a consequence, the copies in which the only marginalia available is autograph (or directly derived from autograph copies) have been excluded. There several extant copies containing autograph corrections or alterations to the text, and a small number in which the corrections, while not by Fanshawe's hand itself, are known to be copied from autograph corrections. These have already been studied by Peter Davidson for his critical edition of *The Lusiad*, and are readily available in collation form for any reader interested in them.³ Davidson's 'Textual Introduction'⁴ was of great use both in eliminating some of the copies found with corrections as authorial (such as the British Library's G.11385 copy), as well as focusing research on more profitable copies, such as the copy with the most non-authorial amount of marginalia, the New York Public Library copy in the Berg collection (no call number).

Finally, copies containing marginalia that does not relate to the text – such as one of the copies held by the United States Library of Congress, which had a list of linen items on the inside of the cover and the backplate – will not be covered. While interesting in themselves, those elements

3 Ibid.

4 Peter Davidson, textual introduction to *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, ix–xxi.

do not contribute directly to the objectives of this chapter and will therefore not be analysed. Similar destiny awaits copies with non-contemporary marginalia and copies with non-verbal marginalia (such as underlinings, ticks, and similar elements, with the exception of manicules which were not found in any copy) because of the difficulty in dating them in the absence of other elements.

Of the eleven copies that I examined personally, after applying the criteria described above, three copies with relevant marginalia remain: the copy in the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library – which contains the largest amount of marginalia; the copy number two at the Library of Congress (PQ9199.A2 F3 1655 copy 2), which contains one single marginal manuscript note correcting an apparent translator error on the part of Fanshawe; and the copy at the library of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto (821.134.3-1), that also contains one single manuscript note, giving a clue to the possible contemporary price of *The Lusiad*. The different nature of each set of marginal notes illuminates different aspects surrounding the experience of Fanshawe's first readers.

The copy at the New York Public Library included in the Berg collection (hereafter the Cox copy, as it is identified in Davidson) is undoubtedly the most significant of the three. Its provenance history is relatively well documented. One of the paper slips containing bibliographic information inside the volume suggests that the copy may have been 'Fanshawe's own copy', based on the multiple autograph corrections and a cancelled inscription on the title page that seems to read 'E[x] [...] aucthoris', from the author. Peter Davidson disagrees with this attribution based on another possible reading of the inscription as 'E[x dono] aucthoris', a gift from the author, and the amount of autograph corrections which suggest that the Berg copy may have been intended as a presentation copy – a copy hand-corrected by Fanshawe and given to his friends and relatives, of which there are several examples. Taking into account the nature of the other set of annotations found in the copy, which appear to be contemporaneous with Fanshawe and in a different hand as it will be discussed below, I agree with Davidson's conclusion. The Berg copy appears to be a presentation copy, given by Fanshawe to a relative or friend. About that early gift nothing is known, but the copy would eventually find its way into the library of Ladbroke Hall, in Warwickshire, from which it was probably purchased by the book collector E. M. Cox, and from him by the poet John Drinkwater in 1920. The copy would eventually enter the Berg collection in the early 1980s.⁵

E. M. Cox was the first to identify the marginalia in the copy as autograph. John Drinkwater, one of the previous owners, wrote in the bibliographic slips within the volume:

⁵ Ibid., xvi.

Dr. Cox, whose judgement in these matters is of the best, was clear from the time he acquired the book as to the authenticity of these writ. notes, but it was not until he had certified himself beyond question at the British Museum when he was dispositive of his books that he altered his note at the end from ‘appear to be Fanshaw’s own’ to ‘are Fanshaw’s own’. But, beyond this, the character of the notes themselves is conclusive enough as evidence.

In conversation with NYPL staff, both via email and in person, the contents of Drinkwater’s note are represented as being considered to be accurate: the marginalia in the copy is in Fanshawe’s hand. However, the information given by the previous owners – Drinkwater and Cox – is incomplete. Both identify the hand in the copy as Fanshawe’s, but do not distinguish between the interlineal corrections (which are, in fact, in Fanshawe’s hand) and the other marginalia (annotations on the margin of Canto III, which are not). Either Cox mistakenly identified both hands as Fanshawe’s or, what seems more likely, ignored the annotations in favour of the interlineal corrections, and correctly identified *only those* as Fanshawe’s.

In examining the copy, I was able to ascertain that the hand in which the interlineal corrections are made is quite different from the hand that produced the marginal annotations, even if they both appear to be near contemporaneous with each other and the copy itself. If the corrections are Fanshawe’s, as is assumed, the annotations are certainly not. Davidson agrees with my findings and writes that ‘A system of marginal annotations, mostly consisting of short historical biographies, found in [the Cox copy], most consistently in Canto III, is not in Fanshawe’s hand’.⁶ Furthermore, when Drinkwater writes in his bibliographical note that ‘the character of the notes themselves is conclusive enough as evidence’ that they are Fanshawe’s, he must be referring to the corrections *only*. The other set of marginalia, the marginal annotations in Canto III, would make little sense in Fanshawe’s hand. The historical marginalia is not Fanshawe’s, but rather the product of an interested, and to us, most interesting, reader.

As Davidson writes, the marginal notes in Canto III are mostly short historical biographies of the characters, some only descriptive. For example, in III.23.1, the reader underlined ‘Alphonso’ and wrote on the margin ‘Alphonso the Sixt, King of Lion’ (Cox copy, H1v). Similarly, in III.25.1, the reader underlined ‘Henry’ and clarified it as ‘Henry of Lovein’ as well as adding the explanation to III.25.5-6 ‘And the same King [of Leon] did his own *daughter tye / to Him* [Henry]’ that read ‘his base daughter Terasa / Anno Dej 1099’ (H2r). What these two notes reveal, from the outset, is a

6 Ibid., xx.

carefully researched, though slightly mistaken, interest in the history of the foundation of Portugal. Henry was not of Louvain, but of Burgundy, and though Teresa was an illegitimate daughter of Alphonso VI of Leon, the marriage between the French count and the illegitimate (therefore base) princess occurred in 1096, not 1099.

The reader's interest in the foundation and chronology of Portugal and its monarchy is further revealed in signatures H3r and I1r. In H3r, starting next to III.46.8, which in Fanshawe's translation reads 'FOR GREAT ALPHONSO KING OF PORTUGALL', the anonymous reader writes a short biography of the king's reign:

He reign'd fro[m] first to Last
 72 years 27 years
 as Earle . 45 as King . Being
 raised to this Tytle by his
 subiects after he gained the
 battaile of Obrique A^o 1139
 The Armes of Portugal by him
 given upon the defait[?] of the
 5 moorish kings . 5 shields, In
 each 5 pence[?], the price paid for
 Christ. The midmost being ----
 reckn'd twice. In all 36.
 (Cox copy, H3r)

The anonymous reader of Fanshawe's translation is broadly correct in his historical annotation. The significant element in this is that, with the exception of the dates and the years of reign, all other information can be gathered from Fanshawe himself. The acclamation of Alphonso as King is given in the very stanza which is annotated (III.46); the location of the battle, Ourique, appears in III.42; the five defeated kings are mentioned in III.53.8, and the description of the Portuguese arms in III.54. The maths error of $5 \times 5 + 5 = 36$ rather than 30 may be explained by either a mistake in the transcription of the note or a mistake in the note itself. The content of the note suggests that the reader is interested in the history of Portugal, particularly in its foundation history and that the reader had access to other sources about the history of Portugal, from where he gathered the dates and the duration of Alphonso's reign. The nature of these annotations reveals that either the reader

wrote along the text as a form of summary notes (he derived the factual data from the text) or the need for auxiliary support in reading *The Lusiad* (in which case the factual data is a comprehension aid and not a summary).

The marginalia on 11r is the most impressive of the copy's annotations. Its visual effect on the page itself is astonishing: a column along the margin of the page from mid to bottom next to the stanzas, and a full mass of notes underneath the printed text in the footnote area. The whole note is continuous from one section to another, and presents a selective chronological history of the kings of Portugal from Alphonso II (the third King of Portugal) to John IV (the first king after the break of the Iberian Union). The note starts next to a stanza describing the conquest of Lisbon by Alphonso II:

Lisbon taken in A° 1247 by Alphonso 2.^{def[?]} this was made the royall Seat And the kingdome is extended as farr as Algarve.

Alphonso the 3^d added Algarve w^{ch} he gott partly by sword & partly by marriage.

Alphonso the 4th confederat wth Alphon the 5^t of Casteel over=threw the Moores army consistg of 470000 Horse & foot. An 1325 began his reine.

He had Pedro

Pedro had Ferdinand

And in him ended the Lawfull issue of Henry of Lorrein.

For he was succeeded by his base son John ; who sett aside the right Lyre, & supported himself by marrying the daughter of John of Gaunt of Enld of the Howse of Lanc^{ce}, who then pretended to the Crown of Casteel. ex

He & 4 succeeding Kings were maed Kn^{ts} of the Garter.

Johns Second Son Henry encouraged the Portugais in the discoveries at Sea. The Islands of Azores Capo Verde et. & of the Coost of Africk as farr as Guinea. He was by H 6 of Engld Ao 1444 made Kn^t of the Garter. He died Ao 1465. Alphonso the 5 took from the Moores the Townes of Tanger Alcaser & Arzilla

John the 2^d. in his reigne the Portugals fully seatd themselfves in Guiney & the Realms of Congo & discovered Africk as farr as Cap: bone Sper Ao 14[8?]7 . planting & fortifying as they past. Emanuel who rainged A° 1495. In his tyme the discovery of the East Indias & Brasil, & wth the discomfiture both of Turkish Armeis, & others in Africk of the Sultan of Egypt.

A° 1557 Sebastian Grandchild of Emanuel slayed in Africk And soon aft^{er} Philipp the 2 of Spain

1636 John Duke of Braganza proclaimed King. Co.
(Cox copy, 11r)

The note's length disguises one of its most interesting features: despite covering over four hundred years of Portuguese history, the annotator leaves out seven monarchs: Sancho II, Denis I, Edward I, John III, Henry I, the Spanish Philip III and Philip IV. With the exception of Sancho II, the one thing all these kings had in common is that they are not known for their expansionist tendencies. Denis I is mostly known as a medieval poet and the founder of the University of Coimbra; Edward I is known as the Philosopher King, famous for writing *O Leal Conselheiro* (The loyal counsellor), a moral and ethical treatise; John III is best known as an administrator, the first Portuguese king to inherit the empire after the Portuguese reached India; Henry I reigned for less than two years after the death of his nephew Sebastian, died childless and left the kingdom in a succession crisis, the Spanish Philips administered Portugal as another province of their huge Hapsburg empire.

Sancho II is the only king of those excluded from the reader's notes that has some claim to military fame: he conquered a fair amount of cities in the south of the country during the Reconquista and consolidated the Portuguese position in the region. However, he was also the first monarch in the young kingdom of Portugal to have been deposed and replaced by his brother, Alphonso III.

By contrast, the kings included by Fanshawe's reader in the notes are all attached to either an event of expansion of the kingdom – either the Reconquest or Age of Exploration – or to some event that changed the course of history: like Ferdinand, who provoked the crisis of 1383-85, Sebastian who died in Africa and provoked the ascension of Philip II, or John IV who restored Portugal as an independent kingdom. This selection suggests that Fanshawe's reader seems particularly interested not only in the foundation and monarchy of Portugal, as some of the previous smaller notes indicate, but particularly in the development and expansion of its dominions, from the period of the Reconquista up until its colonial empire. The inclusion of some elements that are absent from *The Lusiad* – not only dates, but the numbers of enemy armies, and particularly the references to the history of Portugal *post* publication of *The Lusiad* (the death of Sebastian, ascension of Philip II of Spain, and the restoration of the independence by John IV) confirms that the annotator had access to, and was curious or careful enough to look for, other sources for the history of Portugal.

The only historical character named in this note who is not a king of Portugal is Prince Henry, 'the Navigator'. The annotator's reference to Henry, particularly when considered in conjunction

with the Portuguese prince's conquests on the west coast of Africa and nearby islands, is further evidence that the reader of the Cox copy was particularly interested in the expansionist dimension of Portuguese history. In addition to this, it also suggests that the reader was attuned to the connections between Portuguese and English histories. As discussed in chapter 2, Fanshawe made a point of foregrounding Henry's role in Portuguese history by including an engraving of him in his edition of *The Lusiad*, despite the prince's near absence from Camões's epic. In Fanshawe's vision of *The Lusiad*, Prince Henry embodies the cross between the history of England and the history of Portugal. The readings offered in chapter 3 regarding Fanshawe's translation of episodes featuring English characters, notably in the case of John of Gaunt, give further strength to the hypothesis that the intersection between Portugal and England was at the forefront of Fanshawe's concerns in translating the epic. The reader of the Cox copy appears to have picked up on this facet of Fanshawe's translation. The attention given to Henry may well have been a direct consequence of the full-page engraving of the prince. The detailed annotations on the genesis of the Portuguese dynasty of Aviz demonstrate a considerable preoccupation with its connection to England. The phrasing of the note itself is significant in this regard: the 'base [...] John [...] supported himself by marrying the daughter of John of Gaunt of England', implies that all of John's future fortunes are the direct consequence of English support. This connection is further stressed in the note through all its mentions of English kings 'making' Garter knights out of Portuguese monarchs. What the note tells us is that the bond between Portugal and England is well established in the reader's mind. Portugal's expansionist history is implicitly shared by the English through the House of Lancaster and the Order of the Garter.

The reader's chronological summary of the history of Portugal stops with John IV, which tantalisingly suggests a possible date for the annotations: between 1655, when *The Lusiad* was published, and 1656, when John IV of Portugal died and his son Alphonso VI inherited the kingdom. While this is not evidence enough to guarantee certainty, the suggestion carries some weight: if the annotator was the original recipient of Fanshawe's presentation copy, it is to be expected that the annotator would have access to it early on in its history, from the hands of the translator himself. Ending with John IV implies that he is the reigning monarch at the time of the annotation. In addition, the final letters of the annotation, 'Co', although not common, may be an abbreviation for 'current', 'contemporary', or 'contemporaneous', meaning the reigning monarch, in which case, it would undoubtedly date the annotation from between 1655 and 1656. Finally, and most significantly, there is no mention of Catherine of Braganza, the daughter of John IV who became Queen of England.

The absence of any references to Catherine is all the more striking when taking into consideration all the effort made by the commentator in joining up the histories of Portugal and England: the references to John of Gaunt, his daughter Philippa, and his grandson, Henry, as well as the succeeding Portuguese kings who were members of the Order of the Garter, and the mention of the English king Henry VI. Catherine's absence, the strongest link between Portugal and England, most likely places the date of the annotation sometime before her marriage to Charles.

Although the reader of the Cox copy is the most prolific contemporary annotator of *The Lusiad*, the written notes stop here. All other marginalia in his or her hand is only found in Cantos III and IV, precisely those that more directly relate the history of Portugal. After the lengthy marginal note of IIr, only underlinings exist in the reader's hand, and curiously, all but one are the names of the kings of Portugal, including those who are absent from his chronology. The one exception is the underlining of '*Yron-Indies*' in IV.11.6, a line that refers not to India, but rather to the Asturian iron mines. Considering the nature of the annotator's other marginalia – historical, expansionist – it may be that the line was misread at first, which would also explain why the underlining looks incomplete, covering only part of the two-word compost, as if the reader had realised in the process that these '*Yron-Indies*' had nothing to do with India.

The reader of the Cox copy appears to be particularly interested in the monarchy and expansionist history of Portugal. From the notes alone, it is next to impossible to identify any auxiliary bibliography that the reader may have used – their telegraphic and chronological nature does not identify a clear source. The misdating of events may help pinpoint at least one of the sources: John IV was not proclaimed king in 1636, but in 1640;⁷ Sebastian did not die in Africa in 1557 as it appears to read from the marginalia (although he was acclaimed king at that time, so if the date is of reign it is correct) nor was he the grandson of Manuel, but rather his great-grandson. If any one book contained all these inaccuracies it would almost certainly be this reader's source, but I was unable to identify it in this investigation.

Despite the imprecisions, the reader of the Cox copy was undoubtedly interested in Portuguese history. Whether his notes are auxiliary to his reading – i.e., to identify the historical character in *The Lusiad* – or whether they are the product of further curiosity is impossible to ascertain. In either case, it can be concluded that Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad* awakened an interest in Portuguese history for at least one of his readers, and that that reader was clearly tempted to draw connecting lines between Portuguese history and the history of England.

If the reader of the Cox copy was interested in *The Lusiad* for its historical dimension, the

⁷ Rui Ramos, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa and Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, *História de Portugal* (Lisboa: Esfera dos Livros, 2009), 295.

reader of the Library of Congress copy (hereafter LoC2 copy) appears to have been much more concerned with Fanshawe's faithfulness to the original Portuguese text. The LoC2 copy has no known provenance history and only one single marginal note in folio H2r. The copy is in perfect condition, despite being incomplete, as the leaf with Tasso's sonnet is cropped – which points to a later insertion – and is missing the engraving of Camões.

The marginal note in the LoC2 copy is, at first, somewhat baffling. The anonymous reader underlined the word 'FRANCE' in III.25.2 ('Amongst These HENRY (saith the History) / A younger son of FRANCE') and wrote 'Hungary' next to it (figs. 12 and 13). The hand-writing appears to date from the seventeenth century, or possibly early eighteenth century.

The stanza refers to Count Henry, the first ruler of the then 'Condado Portucalense' (County of Portugal) from where the Kingdom of Portugal originated. Count Henry, the father of Alphonso I was French, from Burgundy, from where the first dynasty of Portuguese kings derives its name. Therefore, the marginal note in this copy appears, at first, to be mistaken. However, the reader's correction was not historical but textual. Camões's original Portuguese text reads 'Destes Anrique (dizem que segundo / Filho de um Rei de Hungria experimentado)' (III.25.1-2), of these Henry (some say the second son of an experienced king of Hungary).

The reader of LoC2 either had access to the original text of Camões, or, less likely, to an early source that could have corroborated Camões's mistaken birthplace for Count Henry. The latter is more unlikely because, as Faria y Sousa notes in his commentary concerning the line in question, of the histories available in Camões's time, only that of Duarte Galvao in his *Cronica do Rei D. Afonso Henriques* (Chronicle of the king Alphonso I) had the Count Henry as the son of an unnamed king of Hungary.⁸ Popular opinion, according to Faria y Sousa, also assumed that Count Henry was Hungarian. However, by the time Fanshawe wrote (and Faria y Sousa before him), a manuscript thought to be contemporary with Count Henry had been published in France that confirmed that the father of Alphonso I was, in fact, from Burgundy. Faria y Sousa writes that, based on this finding, most people know that Henry came not from Hungary but from France.

It is, therefore, much more probable that the reader of LoC2 had access to the original text of Camões, and his correction is not based on historical fact but on textual fidelity. This raises the question of *why* is this the only correction made by this reader to Fanshawe's many deviations from Camões. There are many possible circumstantial factors for the uniqueness of this marginal note: the reader may have only stumbled upon it or he may have been investigating the origin of Henry. The reader of LoC2 may have been reading the translation of *The Lusiad* within the logic of

⁸ Manuel de Faria y Sousa, *Lusiadas de Luis de Camoens, Principe de los Poetas de Espana* (Madrid: Iuan Sanchez, 1639), fol. Bb1v.

contemporary translation, in which the importance of the act lay in the spirit of the conversion, rather than a word for word correlation. In that case, Fanshawe's active correction of Camões would have been his only major mistake according to this reader. In correcting Camões's historical inaccuracy, Fanshawe is not exercising his poetic freedom but modifying the original against the spirit of the line, which clearly states the hearsay nature of the information: 'dizem que', some say. By annotating this line, the reader may be taking issue with Fanshawe's translation practice.

The marginal note demonstrates that Fanshawe, at least to some extent, saw *The Lusiad* as a history of Portugal, and felt the need silently to correct an obvious historical mistake on the part of his source. This corroborates the impetus of the reader of the Cox copy, which appears to have treated *The Lusiad*, at least partially, as a history of Portugal. It also demonstrates that the reader of LoC2 did not see *The Lusiad* primarily as a history, but rather as *fiction*, which it is, and in which historical inaccuracies are perfectly acceptable. The two examples of marginalia taken together offer a comprehensive spectrum in which many possible readers could have searched for many possible readings, from absolute history to absolute fiction. It also suggests that English readers seem to be more attracted to the historical side of *The Lusiad*, as all marginalia focus on Cantos III and IV.

The final example of contemporary marginalia in a first edition copy of *The Lusiad* may not come from a reader at all, but rather from a seller or reseller. The copy housed at the library of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto (hereafter the FLUP copy) has the distinctive feature of including, in what appears to be a seventeenth-century hand, a possible price: 's⁴d⁶', four shillings and sixpence. Despite handwritten prices being notoriously misleading when it comes to establishing the sale price of a book, in this particular case it appears to be close to the contemporary reality. The catalogue of the sale of George Digby's library in 1680 lists the 1664 edition of *The Lusiad* as being sold for 4 shillings and eight pence,⁹ a sum remarkably close to that in the title-page of the FLUP copy.

The three case studies discussed could not have been more distinct: a chronology of Portuguese history, a correction to the translator's historical correction, and contemporary price of sale. They contribute to an understanding of how *The Lusiad* was received at the time of its publication. Its relation to Portuguese history appealed to certain readers, while others were interested in Fanshawe's translating method. Its low price also suggests that most literate Englishman could have afforded it, which in turn suggests a considerable number of copies in circulation – something supported by the rather large number of first edition copies still extant

⁹ Anon., *Bibliotheca Digbeiana* (London: H. Brome and B. Tooke, 1680), fol. Mr.

today (at least forty one copies according to the ESTC, not counting multiple copies in the same library nor copies known to exist in private collections). If that is the case, it is possible that *The Lusiad* was much more widely read in seventeenth-century England than previously thought.

Fanshawe's admirers and successors

'The *Virgil* of this Age, that thrice worthy Mr. *Richard Fanshaw*, Translator of the renowned *Pastor Fido*, and Secretary to his Majesty'.¹⁰ Fanshawe's greatest compliment – the *Virgil* of the age – appeared not in a book about contemporary literature, but in a history of the recent troubles, John Dauncey's pre-Restoration¹¹ *History of His Sacred Majesty Charles the II*. Dauncey's chosen literary reference is not *The Lusiad*, but the earlier *Il Pastor Fido* which 'was reissued at least four times before the end of the seventeenth century'.¹² As Walker notes, *Il Pastor Fido* received wider readership and stronger praise than *The Lusiad*. The most elegant accolade was by Fanshawe's friend, John Denham, who wrote 'To Sir Richard Fanshaw, Upon His Translation Of "Pastor Fido"', in which Denham praises Fanshawe for his methodology 'That servile path thou nobly dost decline / Of tracing word by word, and line by line', and his ability to reinvigorate the translation with a truer sense of faithful originality:

[other translators] but preserve the ashes, thou the flame,
True to his sense, but truer to his fame:
Fording his current, where thou find'st it low,
Let'st in thine own to make it rise and flow;
Wisely restoring whatsoever grace
It lost by change of times, or tongues, or place.¹³

With the hindsight of history, critics are quick to re-appropriate and redirect Denham's eloquent

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- 10 John Dauncey, *The History of His Sacred Majesty Charles the II, Third Monarch of Great Britain, Crowned King of Scotland, at Scoone the First of Ianuary 1650 Begun from the Death of His Royall Father of Happy Memory, and Continued to the Present Year, 1660* (London: James Davies, 1660), fol. P5r.
- 11 'published in 1660 before the Restoration', Stephen Wright, 'Dauncey, John (fl. 1660–1663)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- 12 Roger M. Walker, general note to *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, ed. Peter Davidson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 585.
- 13 John Denham, *Poems and Translations with the Sophy* (London: H. Herringman, 1668), fol. I4r–I5r.

praise of Fanshawe's *Il Pastor Fido* towards *The Lusiad* because direct references to his translation of the Portuguese epic are few and far between. The majority of contemporary responses to Fanshawe's work focuses on his translation of *Il Pastor Fido*, and a significant number refer only to his political and diplomatic work, not to his literary accomplishments. The same Dauncey who called Fanshawe 'the Virgil of our Age', for example, must have been aware that the same contemporary Virgil had translated the Portuguese one, when later in 1661 he published *A Compendious Chronicle of the Kingdom of Portugal*. However, there are no references to Fanshawe, Camões or *The Lusiad* in Dauncey's history of Portugal. The fact that Dauncey's praise of Fanshawe appears in a *history*, and that both Dauncey and Denham only mention his translation of *Il Pastor Fido* suggest how Fanshawe's contemporaries regarded the translator of *The Lusiad*: first and foremost, Fanshawe was in the service of his king and a somewhat significant actor during the civil wars, if not the Interregnum, and that his most significant literary work was the translation of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*. The first half of this section investigates the reasons behind the shunning of *The Lusiad* by Fanshawe's contemporaries, as well as offering a few under-explored printed reactions from those who most directly felt the influence of his literary work. There is one significant contemporary evaluation of Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad* that will not be discussed in this section, the oration by John Salter for Fanshawe's reception in Lisbon. Although highly praising of Fanshawe and his translation, Salter's oration was never published and there is no evidence that it circulated in manuscript. Its audience was, therefore, limited to those present at the time, which disqualifies it from being grouped together with other writings about Fanshawe's work. Salter's oration will be discussed further in the third section of this chapter.

Roger Walker speculates that the apparent lack of interest in *The Lusiad* by Fanshawe's contemporary readers might be the result of

its being a translation from 'so uncourted a language', to its being, on Fanshawe's own admission, 'ill written and ill printed', to its running counter to the prevailing taste for the more romantic and fanciful epics of the Italians and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, or to a combination of all these factors.¹⁴

Walker repeats Fanshawe's qualification of Portuguese as an 'uncourted' language, but the meaning of 'uncourted' is far from clear. Walker does not expand on his understanding of the term, merely quoting Fanshawe's phrasing. In Walker's list of reasons for *The Lusiad*'s lack of popularity,

¹⁴ Walker, general note, 585.

‘uncourted’ seems to be portrayed as a judgement on the language itself, implying that Portuguese is not capable of producing any work of interest in the eyes of seventeenth-century readers, because their tastes were more attuned to the style of the Italian epics and Spenser’s *Faerie Queen*. Fanshawe’s use of the term in my reading, however, is more akin to *neglected*, meaning that Portuguese is a language that has not received the attention it deserved. While the OED does not offer any definition of ‘uncourted’, the dictionary defines its antonym ‘courted’ as that ‘That is wooed or sought’. In the context of Fanshawe’s dedication, Portuguese is an ‘uncourted language’ because it has not been wooed or sought, meaning that it has not received sufficient attention in Britain, i.e., it has not been read, studied or translated enough. The characteristics of the language itself – its adequacy to be the language of an epic – do not play a part in the translated work’s reception, at least in Fanshawe’s dedication.

The other elements listed by Walker are more relevant to the reception of *The Lusiad*. To these I would add a lack of interest in Portuguese culture and, crucially, its history. In 1655, when *The Lusiad* was published, only a handful of works had been published about Portugal in English. This trend was briefly reversed in the early 1660s, no doubt as a consequence of the marriage between Charles II and Catherine of Braganza in 1663, when an abnormal amount of titles about Portugal and its history was published, including Dauncey’s *Compendious Chronicle of the Kingdom of Portugal*. Prior to Catherine of Braganza becoming Queen of Britain, however, *The Lusiad* stood nearly alone as a work relating to the history or culture of Portugal. This points to a lack of interest by seventeenth-century English readers about the country. The annotations in the Cox copy suggest that those who did read Fanshawe’s translation either became curious about the history of Portugal because of *The Lusiad*, or saw it as an obstacle that needed to be overcome for the enjoyment of the epic.

In addition, it is important to take into account the circumstances in which *The Lusiad* came out – following the civil wars and the regicide, in the middle of a new political order that was quickly followed by the return of the exiled monarch. Perhaps because the Civil War and the Interregnum so defined the years between 1630 and 1660, few non-specialist modern readers recognise any of the authors of the period with the exception of John Milton. Fanshawe’s translation of *The Lusiad* was overshadowed by the civil tumult in which it was published.

The sum of these elements – the rushed printing of *The Lusiad*, its inadequacy to the contemporaneous literary taste, the unfamiliarity with Portuguese language, literature and history, and its overshadowing by the political events of the time – goes a long way to explain the lack of contemporaneous critical reception. The few extant critical pronouncements on *The Lusiad*, on the

whole, give the impression that the Portuguese epic was regarded as a small and almost accessory part of its translator's career. Writing some twenty five years after the death of Fanshawe, Gerard Langbaine writes in his *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*:

Nor was it out of these Languages only that he translated what pleas'd him; but even so uncourted a Language as he terms that of *Portugal*, employ'd his Pen during his Confinement; For he translated *Luis de Camoens* (whom the *Portugals* call their *Virgil*) his *Lusiad*, or *Portugal's* Historical Poem. This Poem was printed fol. *Lond.* 1665. and dedicated to the Right Honourable *William* Earl of *Strafford*.¹⁵

Because Langbaine was mostly interested in the lives of the *dramatic* poets, his reference to *The Lusiad* appears only after a lengthy account of Fanshawe's biography, his translation of Guarini, his posthumous translation of *Querer por Solo Querer*, as well as allusions to Fanshawe's translations from Virgil, Martial, Horace and his own poems. *The Lusiad's* appearance only at the closing stages of Langbaine's description of Fanshawe's *ouvre* signals a comparatively lesser importance attributed by the critic to the Portuguese epic than to his other works.

What the English critic says about the Portuguese epic and Fanshawe's translation redresses some of its downplaying of *The Lusiad's* significance. Langbaine recognised both the significance of *The Lusiad* to Portuguese literature, as well as Fanshawe's foundational role in bridging the English and the Portuguese worlds of letters, making a point of affirming that the Portuguese think of Camões as *their Virgil* – even if the construction implies doubt regarding its veracity. Langbaine's paraphrasing of Fanshawe's dedicatory, claiming Portuguese as 'so uncourted a language', not only plays on its relative virginity in English translation (Portuguese is uncourted because translating from it into English was not common) but also suggests that Langbaine had access to a copy of Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad* while writing his *Account*. Either Langbaine himself possessed a copy of it, or was able to consult one, implying that *The Lusiad* was still available for anyone interested in it thirty-six years after its original publication. The longevity of the translation cements Fanshawe's position as the foremost English authority in Portuguese literature at the end of the seventeenth century.

As Walker makes clear, despite *The Lusiad's* lack of immediate commercial success, Fanshawe's reputation as a writer was not to blame: 'This apparent dearth of contemporary interest

¹⁵ Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, Or; Some Observations and Remarks on the Lives and Writings of All Those That Have Publish'd Either Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Pastorals, Masques, Interludes, Farces or Opera's in the English Tongue* (Oxford: George West and Henry Clements, 1691), fol. N2v.

in the *Lusiad* is no reflection on Fanshawe's general standing as a translator and poet'.¹⁶ Fanshawe's name appears again and again with superlative epithets. In Winstanley's *England's Worthies* he is called 'that admirable poet, [Charles II's] Secretary Fanshaw'.¹⁷ Winstanley is but one example, like Dauncey's above, in which historical works comment on Fanshawe's abilities as a man of letters.

Fanshawe's legacy as a translator of poetry, particularly in Italian, is demonstrated by John Dancer's translation of Tasso's *Aminta*. In his note to the reader, Dancer confesses his admiration for Fanshawe's translation of *Il Pastor Fido*: 'I must confesse I envyed, but cannot fancy to have reach'd the Happinesse of *Fanshaw's* Stile'.¹⁸ The recognition of Fanshawe's ability as a translator reflects his standing as one of the greats of his age.

Fanshawe was regarded as a brilliant translator and poet by his contemporaries, even if that reputation was not directly acquired by his translation of *The Lusiad*. Another element that must be considered in this context is Fanshawe's direct influence on the poets and authors of the generation that immediately followed him, the men who read Fanshawe and his contemporaries as young adults and, in particular, the young men who actually met him. A famous case is that of the playwright William Wycherley. In Wycherley's case, Fanshawe's influence came through a very direct medium: as retold by Fanshawe's widow, Wycherley was part of the retinue that accompanied the Fanshaves in their Embassy to Spain. In Ann's diary she lists one 'Mr. Witcherly'¹⁹ who sailed with them from Portsmouth towards Spain. Wycherley's plays have a distinct continental flavour that appears to be partly the result of his time on Fanshawe's retinue, as Peter Dixon remarks, 'The nature of his debts to Calderón in his first two plays [...] shows that he knew his sources in their original languages, and knew them well'.²⁰ Wycherley is probably the most famous of Fanshawe's influenced proteges. Fanshawe offered him the opportunity to witness those works that would become his models.

Fanshawe's influence on the succeeding generation of writers can be best ascertained by examining the tributes of three men who explicitly identify the translator of *The Lusiad* as an influence: Thomas Philipot, Philip Ayres, and Peter Wyche. All three are particularly influenced by Fanshawe's knowledge of Iberian history, literature and culture and follow in Fanshawe's pioneering footsteps in bringing Portugal and Britain closer together.

16 Walker, general note, 585.

17 William Winstanley, *England's Worthies. Select Lives of the Most Eminent Persons from Constantine the Great, to the Death of Oliver Cromwel Late Protector* (London: Nath. Brooke, 1660), fol. Mm4v.

18 John Dancer, trans., *Aminta of Torquato Tasso* (London: John Starkey, 1660), fol. A6v.

19 John Clyde Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 153.

20 Peter Dixon, introduction to *The Country Wife and other Plays* by William Wycherley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), vii.

In *The Original and Growth of the Spanish Monarchy* (1664), a history of the expansion of the Spanish empire, Thomas Philipot significantly dedicates his work to ‘The Learned and Judicious Sir Fanshawe’, who at the time of the publication was bound to Spain as the new Ambassador. Philipot writes:

My Lord, Your Experience and practical Observation being the best Comment on those Annals and Registers which have an Aspect on this ensuing Treatise; Give me leave to offer it up to be Scann'd and Winnowed by your particular scrutinie.²¹

While dedications are hardly the measure of a man’s standing in Restoration Britain, Philipot’s dedication to Fanshawe stands out by a number of reasons: it appears to be the only work ever dedicated to Fanshawe; it alludes to Fanshawe’s current position as the British ambassador to Spain; and finally, because Philipot’s work touches on the relationship between Spain and Portugal, it identifies Fanshawe as the ultimate expert in those matters. Philipot falls short of expressly stating what makes Fanshawe an expert in the subject. Fanshawe’s recent experience as Ambassador to Portugal, and his new assignment in Spain, are likely to be the main reasons. In addition, supporting Fanshawe’s recent diplomatic experiences, is the translation of *The Lusiad*, a crash-course in Iberian relations, history and culture. Philipot does not make any explicit reference to the translation, yet Fanshawe’s experience in translating the work is the implicit foundation of his knowledge about Portugal and Spain.

Philip Ayres quotes Fanshawe as a direct influence in translating from the Iberian and Italian languages. Like Wycherley, Ayres seems to have been part of Fanshawe’s retinue in Spain, with Ann Fanshawe listing one ‘Mr. Ayres, Steward’²² amongst those who accompanied Fanshawe from Madrid to Portugal in 1666. In his preface to *Lyric Poems*, Philip Ayres places the translator of *The Lusiad* amidst very exclusive and distinguished company:

For many eminent Persons have published several things of this nature, and in this method, both Translations and Poems of their own; As the famous Mr. *Spencer*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Richard Fanshaw*, Mr *Milton*, and some few others.²³

21 Thomas Philipot, *The Original and Growth of the Spanish Monarchy United with the House of Austria Extracted from Those Chronicles, Annals, Registers, and Genealogies That Yeild Any Faithful Representation How the Houses of Castile, Aragon and Burgundy Became Knit and Combin'd* (London: R. Taylor, 1664).

22 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 180.

23 Philip Ayres, *Lyric Poems, Made in Imitation of the Italians of Which, Many Are Translations from Other Languages* (London: Jos. Knight and F. Saunders, 1687), fol. A5v.

Ayres significantly emulates Fanshawe's approach of mingling his own poetry with translated pieces. This demonstrates how Ayres, and before him Richard Fanshawe, considered their translations as integral parts of their *oeuvre*, rather than as simple side-jobs. Translation was regarded in itself a measure of one's wit. Denham suggests as much in his poem dedicated to Fanshawe, and the royalist historian David Lloyd reinforces this judgement when, in his brief sketch of Fanshawe's life, he writes: 'A Gentleman of great and choice Learning, and of great Wit, appearing in *Lusiad*, and on other poems as well Originals as (a) Translations', the note expanded below in a reference to Denham's poem, in which Lloyd writes 'Translations the Arguments of his ability as well as modesty'.²⁴ Translation, for Ayres, Fanshawe, and other poets of the age, became as significant as any of their more 'original' works, and the selection of what to translate played an important role in the appropriation process. Ayres, in listing the (near) contemporary authors from which he translated, clearly states that he chose them

from the most celebrated in each Language: The *Italians* were, *Fra. Petrarca, Cav. Marino, Girolamo Preti, Cav. Guarini, Alessandro Tassoni*, and others; The *Spaniards*, *Garci Lasso de la Vega, Don Francisco de Quevedo, Don Luis de Gongora, &c.* The *Portugueses*, *Luis de Camoens, &c.* But for the French I could scarce find any thing amongst them of this sort, worth my pains of translating.²⁵

Ayres publishes a translation of one of Camões's sonnets, 'Verdade, Amor, Razão, Merecimento', which the English poet titles as 'The vanity of Unwarrantable Notions'. Though the translation itself is hardly memorable, Ayres's is the first English translation of any of Camões's works since Fanshawe's *The Lusiad*. Fanshawe's influence looms over his decision to translate the Portuguese poet. The inclusion of Fanshawe's name amongst those of Sidney, Spenser, and Milton, when coupled with the inclusion of one of Camões's sonnets amongst the collection, clearly indicates that Fanshawe's previous work in translating from the Portuguese poet is a defining influence in Ayres's choice. Ayres's collection, published in 1687, twenty-one years after Fanshawe's death, demonstrates how Fanshawe's groundbreaking incursion into the poetry of Camões produced a long-lasting effect on English literature.

24 David Lloyd, *Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings & Deaths of Those Noble, Reverend and Excellent Personages That Suffered by Death, Sequestration, Decimation, or Otherwise, for the Protestant Religion and the Great Principle Thereof, Allegiance to Their Sovereigne, in Our Late Intestine Wars, from the Year 1637 to the Year 1660, and from Thence Continued to 1666 with the Life and Martyrdom of King Charles I* (London: Samuel Speed, 1668), fol. Tttt4r.

25 Ayres, *Lyric Poems*, fol. A6r.

If Wycherley's case proves how Fanshawe's personal influence may steer one's career, Philipot was influenced by Fanshawe's historical and cultural facets, and Ayres responded to Fanshawe's discovery of Portuguese literature and Camões, one man's reaction to Fanshawe's influence would synthesise all these different aspects of Fanshawe's afterlife: Peter Wyche. Unlike Wycherley and Ayres, Peter Wyche was not part of Fanshawe's retinue in either Portugal or Spain. At some point between the Restoration and the 2nd of April 1662, he is the paymaster general to the English forces in Portugal – at which point he is bound to have met Fanshawe, then newly arrived in Portugal. That the two men actually met is further evidenced by the fact that Wyche served as the courier of at least one letter sent from Fanshawe to the Earl of Clarendon in which the English Ambassador recommends the 'bearer, Sir Peter Wyche. [Wyche] desires work in any part of the world to restore his fortune'.²⁶ As a part of that same effort to restore his fortune, Peter Wyche publishes a translation of *The Life of Dom John de Castro* in 1664, the famous Portuguese vice-roy of India, dedicated to the new queen, Catherine of Braganza.

Wyche is as decorous as possible in his effort to ingratiate himself with the new queen by flattering her country and its history: 'I have thought it suitable to my Zeal, and first Imployment had in *Portugall*, to tell my Fellow-Subjects in plain English, the Greatness and Glory of that Crown and Kingdome'. Wyche's decorous plea is further sweetened by the fact that the original work is dedicated to Catherine's brother, the late Prince Theodosius, and his memory and the original author's dedication emboldened Wyche to request 'for the Translation, your Sacred and Auspicious Patronage'.²⁷

Wyche's flattering of Catherine through her country and its history is aided by mentioning Camões. In an introduction of his own penning, Wyche calls him 'the *Virgill of Portugal Luis de Camoens*'. He then quotes – in the original Portuguese – from III.53-54, and immediately adds Fanshawe's translation of the stanzas, introducing the translator briefly but positively: 'Which the Right Honourable Sir *Richard Fanshaw* late Embassadour to *Portugal*, in his Excellent Translation of that Heroique Poem thus renders'.²⁸ Wyche's nod to his contemporary and acquaintance is more than a simple exercise in name-dropping. Not only is it one of the very few direct appreciations of Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad* that exists, but in Wyche's flattering of the new queen, Fanshawe's name may also have played a part: Catherine is said to have been very fond of the

26 H. O. Coxe et al., *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers Preserved in the Bodleian Library*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869), vol. 5, 278.

27 Peter Wyche, *The life of Dom John de Castro, the fourth vice-roy of India wherein are seen the Portuguese's voyages to the East-Indies, their discoveries and conquests there, the form of government, commerce, and discipline of warr in the east, and the topography of all India and China: containing also a particular relation of the most famous siege of Dio, with a map to illustrate it* by Jacinto Freire de Andrade (London: Henry Herringman, 1663).

28 *Ibid.*, fol. *v.

Fanshawes when they first met in Portugal to arrange her passage to Britain.²⁹

The most significant aspect of Wyche's allusion to Fanshawe's translation is how it demonstrates that Fanshawe effectively created a connection between the histories of Portugal and Britain, of which the new Portuguese queen is the living embodiment. By quoting from Fanshawe's earlier foray into Portuguese history and literature in his own work, Wyche is at once acknowledging Fanshawe's primacy on the matter, and making a claim to continuing the 'late Ambassador to Portugal's' mission: to spread the literary and cultural presence of Portugal in England. As Wyche himself says regarding his dedication to the Queen, 'the Praises of your Native Country, will come with advantage to the Eyes and Ears of the English'.³⁰ Wyche's primary objective with his translation may have been one of personal gain, but the implications of its publication go beyond a mere immediate reward, and build upon, as Wyche himself acknowledges, Fanshawe's previous literary and diplomatic work.

It remains undeniable, however, that *The Lusiad's* reception at the time of its publication and the years that immediately followed it is somewhat quiet, although not as quiet as previously thought. Despite the lack of direct critical responses to *The Lusiad* – in contrast to Fanshawe's translation of *Il Pastor Fido* and the centuries of literary criticism that perpetuated this focus on the translation of Guarini's play – Fanshawe's translation of the Portuguese epic had a considerable effect on his contemporaries and literary heirs, as demonstrated in particular by the cases of Philipot, Ayres and Wyche. These three authors recognised Fanshawe as the major authority on Portuguese literature and culture in 1660s Britain.

The reasons offered by Roger Walker for the low profile of *The Lusiad* – its ill-printing, the age's lack of taste for Virgilian epics – in combination with the reasons ventured earlier in this section – the lack of familiarity with Portuguese language, culture and history, the political context of its publication – certainly played a part in *The Lusiad's* reception. A final speculative element may also have contributed to the under-appreciation of Fanshawe's epic: its political subtext. As discussed in chapter 3 and argued throughout this thesis, Fanshawe's translation of Camões follows a clear programme of political engagement with the contemporaneous context. Particularly in the years before the Restoration, overt praise or discussion of a royalist work was a dangerous activity, even if *The Lusiad's* intervention in the political discussion of its time was so carefully disguised by Fanshawe. In addition to this, those who were likely to eagerly sing the praises of Fanshawe's effort were either in exile or, like Fanshawe, barred from making any significant contribution to national

29 See the letter of November 1661 from Catherine to Charles in *The Manuscripts of J.M. Heathcote, Esq., Conington Castle*, ed. S. C. Lomas (Norwich: Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1899), 23.

30 Peter Wyche, *The Life of Dom John de Castro*.

life. Fanshawe's effort to *English The Lusiad* may have condemned the translation to a silent reception in the 1650s.

The influence of Fanshawe's translation would remain significant for one particular and exclusive group well beyond the years immediately following his death. Nearly all of Fanshawe's successors in translating *The Lusiad* into English, including the latest translator, Landeg White, mention Fanshawe's initial work and, in some way or another, define their personal attempt at rendering *Os Lusíadas* into English against Fanshawe's. Here, we will only consider briefly two of those successors: William Julius Mickle, whose eighteenth-century translation became an unexpected success and who produced the best known English version of Camões poem; and Sir Richard Francis Burton, the nineteenth century explorer, who owned a copy of Fanshawe's 1655 translation that Burton heavily annotated in preparation for his own version of *Os Lusíadas*. Mickle and Burton's translations have been selected for discussion because they represent different steps in the history of the reception of Camões in Britain, because theirs was the most successful translation of *Os Lusíadas* of their era (eighteenth century and nineteenth century), and most significantly, because they wrote extensively about Fanshawe's translation.

Mickle's 1776 translation of *Os Lusíadas* is remarkable in its own right because it performs one of the most astonishing acts of literary appropriation in history. Mickle grandly titled his translation as *The Lusiad, Or the Discovery of India. An Epic Poem*. Little question remains that the 'discovery of India', in Mickle's colonialist vision, is the relevant element in Camões's epic. In his introduction, Mickle has no qualms in renaming *The Lusiad*: 'may the Lusiad be named the Epic Poem of Commerce'.³¹ Mickle's transformation of Camões's poem into an epic of commerce is well-known and well-studied, and its misguidedness has been amply covered: Helgerson, for example, notes that for Camões, his poem being labelled as an epic of commerce would seem a 'ridiculous paradox',³² although Helgerson himself notes how *The Lusiad* walks a fine line between the age of chivalry and the age of commerce. Despite Mickle's appropriation, what concerns us here is how he defines his work against Fanshawe's.

'Against' is certainly the right term: Mickle shows no kindness to his predecessor. In Mickle's lengthy introduction to his translation, Fanshawe is alluded to sparingly, but forcibly. While reviewing translations of *The Lusiad* already published, Mickle says about Fanshawe:

31 William Julius Mickle, introduction to *The Lusiad* of Luís de Camões, trans. William Julius Mickle (Oxford: Jackson and Lister, 1776), i.

32 Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 190.

Nor does Sir Richard Fanshawe's English version, published during the usurpation of Cromwell, merit a better character [than the French translation]. Though stanza be rendered by stanza, though at first view it has the appearance of being exceedingly literal, this version is nevertheless exceedingly unfaithful. [...] Nor had he the least idea of the dignity of the Epic style, or of the true spirit of poetical tradition. For this, indeed, no definite rule can be given. The translator's feelings alone must direct him, for the spirit of poetry is sure to evaporate in literal translation.³³

Mickle's criticism of Fanshawe is somewhat contradictory, first accusing him of being exceedingly literal, then exceedingly unfaithful. Mickle goes on to wax lyrical about how his own translation sheds the vulgarity of being a mere literal transposition into English, and how his method captures the true spirit of Camões. The irony is, of course, that this is precisely what contemporaries of Fanshawe praised in his translation method, particularly Denham in his poem dedicated to the translator. And as we have seen in this investigation, Fanshawe's translation is hardly literal or unfaithful. Mickle's reference to the timing of the translation, 'published during the usurpation of Cromwell' offers the distinct possibility that the political subtext of Fanshawe's translation was still palpable to an eighteenth-century reader. Mickle does not elaborate the point, but the accusation of unfaithfulness lunged at his predecessor may be partly motivated by the liberties Fanshawe took in englishing *The Lusiad*. The reference to Cromwell certainly hints at this, as it places the earlier translation not only chronologically but in a specific political context. Without explicitly stating it, Mickle hints that Fanshawe's unfaithfulness and the time of its publication during the 'usurpation of Cromwell' are somehow connected.

On a footnote to 'Epic style', Mickle furthers his argument with a disclaimer, defending his critique of a translation that was published without proper revision by stating that he is not trying to attack Fanshawe but simply defend Camões. He writes that 'Fanshawe is indeed so obscure, that in dipping into him, into parts which he had even translated, the present Translator has even been obliged to have recourse to the Portuguese, to discover his meaning'.³⁴ Obscurity may be Fanshawe's most grave fault in Mickle's eyes, although Mickle seems not to be quite certain of what he means exactly by it. At points he accuses Fanshawe of 'never hav[ing] enough of conceits, low allusions, and expressions' while at the end of the footnote he protests that 'the version of Fanshawe, though the *Lusiad* very particularly requires them, was given to the Public without one

33 Mickle, introduction, cxlix.

34 Ibid.

note'.³⁵ From these fragments of criticism, it can be concluded that Mickle deems readability a necessity for an 'Epic style'. Mickle is correct to a certain point – an epic must be understood to be powerful – but he failed to understand that the concept of readability is contextual, and while Fanshawe's may be not the most fluid of styles, he is faithful to Camões's own conceit-full Portuguese original in accordance with the conventions of his age.

In Mickle's eighteenth century, Fanshawe's adapted *ottava rima* may have seemed antiquated, which justified the revisionism. Mickle's major grievance with Fanshawe is not directly related to Fanshawe's inability to *properly* translate Camões, but rather with the consequences of Fanshawe's failure – in Mickle's opinion. Specifically, Fanshawe becomes the scape-goat for Voltaire's criticisms of *The Lusiad*. In addressing Voltaire's critique of the Portuguese epic, Mickle essentially excuses the French thinker of having had the best possible text to read because '[Voltaire's] knowledge of the *Lusiad* was entirely borrowed from the bald, harsh, unpoetical version of Fanshaw'.³⁶ Mickle then quotes from Voltaire's criticisms extensively and adds to Voltaire's delightful misreading of the Portuguese epic his own delightful misreading of Voltaire's essay. Where Voltaire writes that 'almost in every page there is something to laugh at, and something to be delighted with',³⁷ Mickle ignores the delight and focus only on the laughter, which he assumes as scorn, commenting that this can only be derived from Fanshawe's translation, in which, according to Mickle, 'in every page, there are puns, conceits, and low quaint expressions, uncountenanced by the original'.³⁸ Fanshawe's crime was to mislead Voltaire.

In Mickle's insurmountable amount of paratexts, Fanshawe's appearance is but a speck in a large constellation. The criticisms that Mickle directed at Fanshawe, however, appear justificatory of his own endeavour: where Fanshawe was unclear, Mickle clarifies, where Fanshawe was short, Mickle adds mountains of footnotes and explanations. Where Fanshawe misrepresented Camões, Mickle restores his true image. In effect, when comparing his own work with Fanshawe, Mickle accuses the earlier translator of being unfaithfully literal, which becomes Mickle's basis for his own spirited – and even more unfaithful – take on the Portuguese poem.

Sir Richard Francis Burton's translation of *The Lusiad*, although very successful, was far from enjoying Mickle's bestselling status. The nineteenth-century adventurer, while still critical of Fanshawe, is on the whole much more generous to the first translator than Mickle, and the marginalia that he left in his own copy of Fanshawe's 1655 translation reveals a careful and

35 Ibid., cl.

36 Ibid., cxxi.

37 Ibid., cxxix.

38 Ibid.

attentive reader, and one much more in tune with Fanshawe's circumstances.

Burton's copy of Fanshawe's translation is now housed at the Huntington library (call number 634587, hereafter Burton copy), and contains an impressive amount of marks and annotations by Burton. His short, tight, italic hand is at times impossible to decipher, and mostly consists of symbols rather than expanded commentaries. Often there are exclamation marks (!) or question marks (?) close to what appears to have been for Burton a particularly puzzling passage. Occasionally Burton notes Fanshawe's innovation (not in C.[amoes]), sometimes accompanied by a value judgement (good). A comparison of Burton's marginalia in his copy of Fanshawe's translation with his own translation and commentary would greatly illuminate the polymath's translation process.

About two hundred and odd years separate Fanshawe and Burton's translations, but more significantly, also six complete or partial translations of *The Lusiad* – Mickle, Musgrave, Quillinan, Mitchell, Aubertin, Hewitt and Duff. Unlike Mickle who only had Fanshawe to rise against, Burton has a wealth of other contenders which perhaps explains his considerable softness towards what he sees as Fanshawe's faults. Mickle himself appears to be one of Burton's main adversaries: 'As a translator, Mickle deserves the severest blame'³⁹ are possibly the kindest words Burton has for Mickle. Burton also rivals the eighteenth-century translator in his breadth of research – his translation of *The Lusiad* occupies two volumes, fully annotated, and his commentary became a book itself, *Camoens: his life and his Lusiards* (1881), also in two volumes. Burton distinguishes himself from Camões's other translators by the complete, almost blind, devotion which he dedicated to the Portuguese poet. At the start of his translation, Burton prints a poem of his penning which he dedicates 'To my master Camoens'. Undoubtedly, Burton saw in the Portuguese poet his soul mate, a poet and soldier who travelled the world and saw much more than most of his contemporaries.

Burton's reaction to Fanshawe's earlier translation is a mix of superiority and benevolent condescension. He synthesises Fanshawe's faults as being

on the surface. Rugged, harsh, and, at times, bombastic, he gives no echo of the buoyant and rarely broken melody of one of the most polished and musical poets. The epigrammatic lines which end the stanzas in the short incisive style adapted to subtle shades of expression, become in Fanshaw trite or pedantic moral maxims.⁴⁰

39 Richard Francis Burton, *Camoens: his Life and his Lusiards. A Commentary* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1881), 150.

40 *Ibid.*, 141.

In his criticism of Fanshawe, therefore, Burton ends up echoing the accusations of Mickle of ruggedness, lack of elegance, and a penchant for puns. For Burton, Fanshawe is a caricature of a cavalier – carefree, jolly, *bon-vivant* – claiming that the ‘laughable passages, which are easily picked out and are too numerous to quote, may be attributed [...] to the high spirits of the jolly and genial cavalier’.⁴¹ Yet, despite all this, Burton is perhaps the one successor of Fanshawe who had the most admiration for the seventeenth-century translator, even if this is tempered by an almost comical caricature of a Victorian amateur scholar: ‘His work is that of a gentleman, a scholar and a soldier’.⁴² His praises of Fanshawe follow in much the same condescending voice: ‘Even the second-rate Elizabethans and quasi-Elizabethans had their especial merits’.⁴³ Specific (or rather less general) praises have a certain impressionistic and generalising nature:

If Fanshawe made great faults he also showed high deserts. [...] The sprightly gallant style, the gay and lively tilt, the spring and swing of the verse show that he enjoyed his task. He has life with movement; and the rude energy of his poetic vein has still the power to please because we feel he is swimming with the stream. Often comic, inverted, savage, [...] he can be as sweet as Camoens himself; and, when at his best, he is stirring and spirited, dignified and dramatic.⁴⁴

Ultimately, Burton considered Fanshawe’s translation as the best possible result of an earlier, less refined age than his own. Burton demonstrated a condescending soft-spot for his earliest antecessor, nowhere near the bile reserved for Mickle’s translation and his nearer contemporaries. Fanshawe’s influence in Burton’s work is not as visible – nor as confrontational – as what can be identified in Mickle’s remarks. Yet the extensive marginalia left by Burton in his copy of Fanshawe’s translation prove that the nineteenth-century translator studied Fanshawe’s work carefully. Influence is a fleeting element, and its effects go well beyond a recycled turn of phrase inherited from generation to generation of translators. Fanshawe’s influence – regardless of how successful his efforts are deemed as being – will forever be felt by successive generations of English translators of *The Lusiad*: Fanshawe was the first to bring the Portuguese epic into the English language, and his translation became the first port of call for every successive translator, likely a source to consulted alongside the original Portuguese text, either to illuminate a doubtful passage, or to exemplify the

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., 143.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

interpretation of a near-contemporary of Camões.

The influence that Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad* exerted in others is, therefore, undeniable. Later translators of the Portuguese epic recognise their debt to Fanshawe's first attempt, either by writing against his failures, or by embracing his ingenuity. Contemporaries praised his translating prowess, followed his example in bringing Portuguese literature into England, recognised how translation became a part of his literary work, and some even modelled their literary careers by his example. Fanshawe's politically minded version of *The Lusiad* may be the reason why contemporaries, for the most part, remained in a telling silence about the merits of his translation. Later generations, no longer constrained by an hostile political regime, have progressively given Fanshawe's translation greater attention and elevated it to a pivotal position amongst translations of *Os Lusíadas*. Landeg White, Camões's latest English translator, writes that Fanshawe's translation is the one 'whose version still best captures the intellectual vitality of the original'.⁴⁵ For Mickle and Burton time played a part in their appreciation of Fanshawe's effort. Mickle's age was less interested in local politics and more concerned with colonial mercantilism. Fanshawe's translation does little to extol the virtues of trading, which creates an opportunity for Mickle's re-appropriation of *Os Lusíadas* into an epic of commerce. Burton, translating during the zenith of the British Empire, can afford to return the epic to purely literary concerns and re-examine Fanshawe's translation for its literary merits. While many factors contribute to the reception of literary works through history, the specific context of each re-examination is fundamental in shaping the critic's approach to the text.

Fanshawe's name was written into history by his contemporaries for his role in the civil wars, the interregnum and the restoration: but almost all of those interested in Fanshawe's political role acknowledge the significance of his literary endeavours. Ironically, perhaps, in spite of the limited evidence of reception we have for Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad*, it would be this work that would have the greatest influence on the translator's own life.

Translating one's own destiny, or how The Lusiad defined Fanshawe's later life

It is a truth universally acknowledged by scholars of Fanshawe's work that his translation of

45 Landeg White, 'Translator's note', in *The Lusíadas* by Luís de Camões, trans. Landeg White (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), xxi.

The Lusiad was decisive in his appointment as Ambassador to Portugal. Like many truisms, this appears self-evident, though factual traces of connections between the two sides of the equation remain elusive. Roger Walker – to mention only the most prolific recent scholar of Fanshawe – notes at various points how the translation was *probably* the reason for Charles's choice, for example stating that 'Charles and his senior ministers not unnaturally took the *Lusiad* as an indication that [Fanshawe], probably alone of all the court, actually knew the Portuguese language'.⁴⁶ While *The Lusiad*'s influence in Fanshawe's later life is unquestionable, the link between translation and appointment has never been established. There is, however, some trace evidence that hints at this connection.

After the Restoration, the Fanshawes never really desired a life of nomadic diplomacy. In Ann Fanshawe's account she makes clear that, while at the Hague, just before the Restoration, Charles II had promised her husband 'he should be one of the Secrettaryes of State, and both the now Duke of Ormond and Lord Chancellor Clar[endon] were witnesses of it'.⁴⁷ The promise was indeed made, if one is to believe the Fanshawes's version of the story, however it greatly predates the timeframe suggested by Ann Fanshawe. In his letters to his friend and patron Edward Hyde, when Fanshawe was finally allowed to leave England, he asks Hyde to remind the king of the promises he made, to which Hyde replies that

when I read your letter to the King [reminding him of a promised post], he was the most out of countenance I ever saw him, and had as absolutely forgot, indeed remembered no more of his engagement to you than of anything was done the day he was born; and I must again tell you, it cannot be enough wondered at that you would not, during the time of your stay in England, when you had frequent opportunities, or at your first coming over [to France], be sure that the King should be put in mind of your pretence, which had deterrmined all other.⁴⁸

In subsequent letters (which no longer exist), Fanshawe appears to have repeatedly appealed to Hyde to intercede in his favour with the King, and Hyde replied repeatedly that Fanshawe is to blame for not keeping the memory of the promise alive in the king's mind:

nor will I retract one word of my chiding in the former, which, notwithstanding all you say in

46 Walker, general note, 586.

47 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 140.

48 Hyde to Fanshawe, 30/04/1659 [10/05/1659], in Lomas, *The Manuscripts of J.M. Heathcote, Esq., Conington Castle*, 7.

defence, and the delay in the delivery of yours from England, which was not your fault, you do very richly deserve, for without doubt you ought, and had opportunity enough to have done so, let your friends know what you had in justice to expect, and which you could not reasonably presume would be enough remembered.⁴⁹

The position for which Fanshawe was pleading was that of Secretary of State, which the king apparently promised to save for him ‘as soon as *that place falls* [secretary of state], *which it will do ere long, it shall infallibly be yours*’.⁵⁰ In the meantime, Fanshawe had to make do with the position of Secretary of the Latin Tongue, and sundry other placements. Fanshawe’s desired secretariat of state would eventually fall to Sir William Morice, apparently at General Monck’s request: ‘Charles II wrote both to Monck and to Morice on 6 April 1660 NS, and during April agreed to Monck’s proposal, relayed again by Sir John Grenville, that Morice be appointed secretary of state (in the process embittering one old royalist, Sir Richard Fanshawe, who had confidently expected the post for himself)’.⁵¹

Fanshawe’s wrangling for the position of secretary of state may suggest that the ‘old royalist’ never desired to move away from Court again, certainly an understandable wish given the family’s years of wandering through Europe. Yet it was not to be, and Fanshawe would be sent twice to Portugal – first as a special envoy to arrange the passage of Catherine of Braganza to Britain, and later as Ambassador – and then to Spain, where he died.

That *The Lusiad* played a part in his appointment appears, once more, suggested by his wife, Ann Fanshawe. While Lady Fanshawe does not draw a clear connection between the translation and the appointment, she singles out *The Lusiad* amongst all of her husband’s works for mention in her memoirs. This is relevant because Ann writes her life-story in 1676, long after the translation process in the early 1650s, and her husband’s death in 1666, by which point she would likely have a bird’s-eye view of Richard’s career and the moments that revealed themselves as decisive later on. Consciously or unconsciously, in Ann’s mind and understanding of the situation, the translation of *The Lusiad* would result in her husband’s appointment to Portugal.

Likely, the translation was not the single reason for Fanshawe’s appointment. As Ann herself admits, Fanshawe’s first mission to Portugal to arrange the passage of Catherine of Braganza, the future Queen, ‘was an employment any nobleman would be glad off’,⁵² which suggests that the king

49 Hyde to Fanshawe, 21[31]/05/1659, in *ibid.*, 8–9.

50 Hyde to Fanshawe, 4[14]/06/1659, italics were in cypher in the original manuscript, in *ibid.*, 9.

51 Paul Seaward, ‘Morice, Sir William (1602–1676)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

52 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 142.

may indeed have tried to compensate Fanshawe for not giving him the position as Secretary of State. Catherine herself may have played a part in the decision to make Fanshawe Ambassador: on her initial letters to Britain, when Fanshawe was in Portugal for the first time, she writes to her soon to be husband requesting a position in her household for both Richard and Ann, probably at the request of the couple themselves:

My lord and husband, I shall take it for a particular favour that your Majesty for my sake would be pleased to bestow upon the bearer hereof, Sir Richard Fanshaw, some considerable office in my household, the which he himself may propose unto your Majesty, being such as your Majesty shall find him capable of, for the well (*sic*) that his deportment hath appeared to this court, and the cheerfulness wherewith he undertakes this voyage at my command for the service of this crown. And likewise that your Majesty would be pleased to grant unto his wife, Donna Anna, the office to be that woman of my bedchamber, unto whom it belongs also to be Lady of the Jewls, and that this favour may be granted her, as well for the services of her husband, whom your Majesty doth so graciously own, as for her much virtue and particular qualifications, which, I am informed, are found in her person for the discharge of that employment.⁵³

For some unknown reason, Charles does not acquiesce in Catherine's request. It is possible, as Lady Fanshawe suggests, that the king's design had always been to make Fanshawe ordinary ambassador to Portugal – 'the design from that time forth [his first mission to Portugal] was to fixe him there'.⁵⁴ This is further corroborated by Fanshawe's return to England before Catherine's departure to her new home, apparently disobeying his orders. This is suggested by a letter from Edward Hyde in which the Earl of Clarendon softly admonishes Fanshawe and requests his opinion as to who would be better suited to be resident in Portugal:

I will not be so unkind as to dissuade you from anything you think good for yourself, nor will you take it ill of me for not thinking as you do, so I do not hinder you from doing as you desire, only I pray think of some person fit to be sent thither as soon as you come away, for it will be absolutely necessary always to have a minister in that court [of Portugal].⁵⁵

53 Catherine of Braganza to Charles II, 18[?]/11/1661, in Lomas, *The Manuscripts of J.M. Heathcote, Esq., Conington Castle*, 23.

54 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 142.

55 Hyde to Fanshawe, 6/12/1661, in Lomas, *The Manuscripts of J.M. Heathcote, Esq., Conington Castle*, 23.

Fanshawe returned to England before the queen's departure, and was present at the marriage. Unfortunately, we have no hint as to who Fanshawe might have suggested could replace him as ambassador, yet it was clear that his advice was not accepted. Fanshawe's final appointment comes when they are at Hampton Court, 'in the Request lodgings'⁵⁶ (one of Fanshawe's positions was as master of requests), and immediately following 'promises of her future favour'⁵⁷ by Catherine of Braganza to Ann Fanshawe. It appears that, while the king's desire had always been to fix Fanshawe in Portugal, Fanshawe initially defied the appointment and returned to England against the advice of his friend Edward Hyde.

The appointment was later confirmed, possibly at the insistence of Catherine, who undoubtedly saw the position of ambassador in her native country as advantageous and prestigious, certainly in keeping with her promise of 'future favour' for the Fanshawes. It is possible that Catherine's affection for the Fanshawes was at least partially derived from the perceived respect Fanshawe had for Portugal and its culture, proven by his translation of *Os Lusíadas*. None of this evidence, however, is sufficient to trace a determining link between the appointment and the translation.

There is one possible link that has been, so far, ignored. Coming from the pen of Charles II himself, it possesses the best authority possible. Charles writes to his brother-in-law Alphonso VI of Portugal on the 7th of August 1662, three days before the date in which Ann Fanshawe says her husband 'received his dispatches for ambassador to Portugall.'⁵⁸

I, for my part, will not fail in my promised succours, so that if one thing fails the other will be more than sufficient. Those which were lacking when your Majesty wrote have now [...] duly arrived, and I cannot fear either that they will fail to imitate the valour of *their* ancestors in the service of your crown or your Majesty the generosity of *yours* in your treatment and rewarding of them, the bearer of this, my ambassador, Sir Richard Fanshaw, serving as a reminder for both and giving himself entirely to your royal service.⁵⁹

The 'succours' to which Charles refers are English troops that, as part of the marriage treaty, England had promised Portugal in aid of its continuing war with Spain following the restoration of 1640. Charles's gentle reminder of the Portuguese king's duty to reward the English troops is also a

56 Loftis, *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, 143.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid.

59 Charles II to Alphonso VI, 7/08/1662, in Lomas, *The Manuscripts of J.M. Heathcote, Esq., Conington Castle*, 30–31.

topical piece of advice: Alphonso VI had recently taken the power from his mother's hands, the queen regent, and Charles reminds him to follow his mother's example of good governance. However, the most significant element for our purposes is the last lines of Charles's letter, in which he identifies Richard Fanshawe as the embodiment of the memory of both the English history of helping Portugal, and Portugal's history of rewarding English aid.

In other words, Charles characterises Fanshawe as representing the very intersection between English and Portuguese histories. The English king does not explain the reason behind this, but it appears to be an allusion to Fanshawe's translation of *Os Lusíadas*, possibly even more specifically to the Portuguese crisis of 1383-1385 in which John of Gaunt supported the Portuguese king John I. By implying that Fanshawe represents the entangled destinies and histories of the two countries, Charles explains why his new ambassador is the best possible choice for the job – to both Portuguese and English, Fanshawe becomes a living link between the ancestries of both countries. In this letter, Charles gives us the clearest suggestion that Fanshawe's translation of *The Lusiad* was in fact a very significant factor in his appointment as ambassador to Portugal.

If, on the English side, the translation appears to have been significant for Fanshawe's appointment, on the Portuguese side it is clear from the beginning of his time in the country that *The Lusiad* was a defining factor of his reception by the Portuguese court. Fanshawe himself was not shy of putting to use his experience in translating Camões in order to ingratiate himself with the Portuguese elite. In one of the very first letters that Fanshawe sends to his primary correspondent, António de Sousa Macedo, the Portuguese secretary of state at the time of his embassy, the English diplomat explicitly quotes from Camões, and in Portuguese, in an attempt to flatter by exhibiting the beauty of the Portuguese language. Writing in Latin, on the same letter in which he admits his own difficulties with spoken and manuscript Portuguese, Fanshawe quotes from I.33.8: 'con pouca Corrupcã cré que he latina'.⁶⁰ Fanshawe's use of Camões in this context could not be more deliberate. In *The Lusiad*, Camões's quote is attributed to Venus as part of her personal justification in supporting the Portuguese: she sees in them the heirs to her favourites the Romans, even in their language 'Which *she* thinks *Latine* with small *dross* among'. (I.33.8, Fanshawe's translation). In his letter to Sousa Macedo, Fanshawe is precisely apologising for being incapable of conducting his diplomatic business solely in Portuguese, and asks if it be possible to do it in Spanish or Latin instead. By quoting directly from Camões in Portuguese, however, Fanshawe is also reminding Sousa Macedo that he translated the Portuguese poet into English, and consequently, he has the utmost respect for the country and its culture, while at the same time he attempts to flatter the

60 'Sir Richard Fanshawe to Antonio de Sousa de Macedo', SP 89/6 f.41.

Portuguese through displaying the beauty of their language, and the purity of its Latin heritage.

What is even more significant is that Sousa Macedo acquiesced in Fanshawe's flattery. In his response to the English diplomat, not only does he agree to communicate in Spanish – even if implying that Fanshawe would be better off learning Portuguese, 'se optime linguam nostram callere' (it would be best [for you] to understand our language) – but he praises Fanshawe for having translated *The Lusiad*: 'cum nobis decorum sit, primum Lusitanorum (ne dicam totius Europae) poema a tanto viro tam luculenter, et egregie translatum in sapientium manibus versari'⁶¹ (Since it is beautiful for us that the greatest Portuguese (nay European) poem arrives so clearly to so many men, and so beautifully translated by [your] wise hands). Sousa Macedo immediately recognised the allusion to Camões, and understood it as a sign of good will on Fanshawe's part. It is clear that upon his arrival at the Portuguese court, Camões's poem was definitely decisive in placing Fanshawe in a positive light. This was, after all, the man who translated *The Lusiad* so beautifully.

Further evidence of how the translation of *The Lusiad* contributed to Fanshawe's good reception in Portugal can be found in the collection of his personal papers now housed at the Barking and Dagenham Archives (number 64). It consists of a Latin oration, probably addressed to Fanshawe on his first visit to the country (1661), given by what appears to be an Englishman, John Salter (Joannes Salterus). The oration was published in its entirety with a translation into English by Roger Walker and W. H. Liddell,⁶² and the authors suggest that its highly fanciful Latin style may have been put to Fanshawe as an amused challenge from one expert Latinist to another.⁶³ What I would like briefly to consider, however, is not why one Englishman would address another in Latin – although it seems to me that an international audience may well be the main reason – but the content of what Salter said, specifically, what he said about Fanshawe's abilities as a translator.

Salter's allusions to Fanshawe's translation of *Os Lusíadas* are spread throughout the oration, which begins by immediately addressing Fanshawe as 'a Prince of letters from England',⁶⁴ a play on the moniker by which Camões is commonly addressed, 'Príncipe dos Poetas', not the least of which in Faria y Sousa's translation. Significant as well is Salter's emphasis on characterising Fanshawe as 'Learning personified',⁶⁵ and in his ability to translate and learn from foreign languages: 'one delights in the translation of books into the vulgar tongue, another pants with the heavy toil of

61 'Antonio de Sousa de Macedo to Sir Richard Fanshaw', SP 89/5 f.127a.

62 Roger Walker and W. H. Liddell, "'Mercurius Anglus: Sir Richard Fanshawe's Receptions as Ambassador in Lisbon', *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1990), pp. 128-133.

63 *Ibid.*, 136.

64 *Ibid.*, 129.

65 *Ibid.*

composing something new; one is content to become skilled in one language, another applies unremitting toil to acquire many. You alone have surpassed them all'.⁶⁶

On his first visit to Portugal, Fanshawe is then praised for his linguistic skills – the skills which differentiate him from other men and, it is implied, make him the perfect choice to become the ‘English Mercury’,⁶⁷ the messenger from the English Jove to the Portuguese one. What is most remarkable about Salter’s welcoming oration, however, is his open praising of Fanshawe’s qualities, and particularly his clear allusion to the diplomat as the English translator of *Os Lusíadas*:

If I speak of your translation of books into the vulgar tongue, what in you is more illustrious, what more splendid? Let there attend as witness the Prince of Poets Camoens who, although Portuguese by birth, nevertheless was taught by you with consummate skill to sing in the English tongue.⁶⁸

Salter’s praise, although repeating a common trope to which translators everywhere aspire, is also taking a cue from Fanshawe himself who in his dedication to the Earl of Strafford claimed to have turned Camões an Englishman. By acquiescing to Fanshawe’s self-praise, Salter also confirms its truthfulness – because the oration happened in Portugal, it effectively confirmed Fanshawe’s ambition of having turned Camões into an Englishman, of having, quite literally, englished Camões.

Walker and Liddell wonder why an Englishman should receive another Englishman in Latin. While we have no information about the audience present at the reception, it is to be expected that Portuguese representatives would be attending, particularly if the reception took place at Fanshawe’s first visit to Portugal, when the Portuguese authorities were careful to please the English party, so as not to jeopardise the marriage agreement so near its conclusion. If the audience was, in fact, at least partially composed of Portuguese representatives, it is tempting to see this not merely as a reception of and for Fanshawe, but also as an introduction of him to the Portuguese: this is the man, Salter seems to say, that translated your great poem into English. Although conjectural, it is certainly possible that the reception of Fanshawe was part of a larger political theatre in which the Portuguese flatter the English at the same time that the English flatter the Portuguese. If, as Walker and Liddell suggest, the small English play with which I opened this chapter took place at the same time as this reception, then this possibility becomes even more probable. Seeing Camões himself – likely the actor was dressed as the Portuguese poet, a ruff, an eye patch, a laurel crown –

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., 131.

68 Ibid.

address the English stranger in his own language sends a strong message: here is the man who made me speak English.

At a certain point, Salter says: ‘For here today you have received a prize appropriate for such great writing, a laurel wreath fitting for such great genius, a stage not unworthy of such great qualities’.⁶⁹ It is certainly possible that the laurel wreath is more than metaphoric, and Fanshawe may well have received it from the hands of the Camões-player himself with the words ‘Nor lack I now an *Eye*, you’ve given me one / [...] / An English Eye and English Tongue so sweet / *Phaebus* himselfe might learne to speake by it’.⁷⁰ If that was the case, it would be a tremendous piece of political theatre for Portuguese eyes and ears: here was the Portuguese prince of poets crowning the foreigner.

Whether the laurels were real or metaphoric, Fanshawe’s translation of *The Lusiad* played an important part in the reception of the English diplomat in Portugal. Translating *The Lusiad* was Fanshawe’s career-defining moment, even if it was not intended as such. Its reception amongst contemporary *literati* may have been small but its effects on the translator’s life are clear to see. Fanshawe’s inaugural effort, as attested by nearly all later translators, did not go unnoticed. In fact, it played an important political role at a crucial time in both countries’s histories. It was not a factor in the marriage contract between Charles and Catherine, but it was essential in the first years of the renewed alliance between two recently restored monarchies, helping Fanshawe to construct a rapport with the Portuguese officials. In translating *The Lusiad*, Fanshawe symbolically intertwined both countries’s histories, cultures and literatures by re-appropriating the Portuguese epic and turning it into an English work. Fanshawe succeeded in making of Camões an Englishman – politically, Fanshawe *became* the English Camões.

69 Ibid., 133.

70 Davidson, *The Poems and Translations of Sir Richard Fanshawe* vol. 2, 575.

Conclusion – ‘That servile path thou nobly dost decline’

John Denham’s 1647 panegyric ‘To Sir Richard Fanshawe, Upon his translation of *Pastor Fido*’ goes to great lengths to separate Fanshawe’s translation work from that of lesser mortals. Unlike other translators that, lacking creative talent, butcher foreign genius, Denham declares that Fanshawe’s career is one of choice, as he is the equal of those whose works he translates. He famously declares Fanshawe the creator of ‘A new and nobler way [...] / To make translations and translators too’.¹ Fanshawe, Denham praises, declines the servile path of ‘tracing word by word, and line by line’² and instead chooses to show his fidelity to the original author, remaining ‘True to his sense, but truer to his fame’.³

Denham’s poem is not an over the top compliment to Fanshawe’s capabilities as a translator, but rather a way of presenting Denham’s own theory of translation to the reader. Only insofar as Fanshawe’s work follows that theory is he worthy of praise, according to Denham. Denham’s theory of translation is synthesised in the metaphor of ‘transplanted wit’.⁴ In its original context, the concept of ‘transplanted wit’ is less than complimentary:

Nor ought a Genius less than his that writ,
Attempt Translation; for transplanted wit,
All the defects of air and soil doth share,
And colder brains like colder Climates are:
In vain they toil, since nothing can beget
A vital spirit, but a vital heat.⁵

Denham equates translation with a plant being moved from a warm climate to a colder one. While the intention of bringing something new and exciting home may be laudable, the effort falls flat unless the conditions for its growth are met. The mastery of the translator, in Denham’s metaphor, is

1 John Denham, *Poems and Translations with the Sophy* (London: H. Herringman, 1668), fol. I4v.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., fol. I4r.

5 Ibid., fol. I4r-I4v.

the greenhouse that will allow the foreign work to flower in colder Britain. This metaphor is particularly apt for Denham's original object – Fanshawe's translation of *Il Pastor Fido* from the Italian – but works just as well for *Os Lusíadas*. Both works originate from the minds of hotter temperaments than those of the British, and would soon die if the greenhouse that harbours them is not adequately attuned to their characteristics.

Therefore, 'transplanted wit', in Denham's metaphor, is not a quality but a defect of the act of translation. If the proper conditions are not met, the translated work will soon die out, and its wit wither in the cold infertile climate of the British literary scene. Despite this, the idea of 'transplanted wit' in itself is a perfect metaphor for Fanshawe's translation of *Os Lusíadas*, as read in this thesis. Fanshawe's work does not, in itself, introduce any new elements to *The Lusiad*: there is very little in Fanshawe's translation unwarranted by Camões's original text, no diversions from the original narrative, no transformation of characters into recognisable contemporaries of the translator, nor even any significant change in the characters's names, other than an expected degree of Anglicisation. Therefore, all that is expressed by Fanshawe in *The Lusiad* is Camões's original wit, transplanted to a new climate. The various readings offered in the previous pages are only possible not because Fanshawe created a *new Lusiad*, but because his translation offered the Portuguese epic the conditions necessary to flower in the contemporary British climate. The greenhouse that Fanshawe built around and within *The Lusiad* – the paratexts that framed the epic, the careful choice of equivalent words in the target language – did not introduce any novelty, but rather allowed the original fruits of Camões's work to be seen in a new light, by a new audience.

Of the two main research questions posed at the outset of this investigation – why and how was *Os Lusíadas* translated into English in 1655 – the previous chapters have already confirmed the working hypothesis for the former: that *The Lusiad* was translated and published in 1655 as an intervention by Richard Fanshawe in his own contemporary context. The Interregnum and the fall of the monarchy in Britain are crucially connected to the translation of *Os Lusíadas*, and one of the main catalysts for its publication.

Chapter 1 demonstrated how the genetic history of the translation suggests that the timing of its publication is anything but accidental. If Fanshawe likely knew of, and probably had access to a copy of *Os Lusíadas* since the late 1630s, it means that for about 15 years he chose *not* to translate it, which implies that something had changed during that period of time. This is corroborated by the conclusions reached in the final part of that chapter that point to a carefully composed work that would see the final segment of its printing rushed, possibly in an attempt to respond to the recent events of 1655. The paratexts discussed in chapter 2 corroborate this, particularly in the case of the

translation from Petronius which directly addresses the contemporary debate surrounding the generic identity of Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, and how that debate maps perfectly onto a partisan argument between royalists and parliamentarians. Finally, the fourth chapter explained how the connection between *The Lusiad* and the events surrounding its publication is, in fact, one of reciprocity, as I showed how Fanshawe’s translation became a decisive factor for his later diplomatic appointments in life, particularly his mission to Portugal.

The second half of the main research question – *how was The Lusiad translated in connection with its context* – was also addressed throughout the thesis, although a synthetic answer to this is far more complicated. By providing a close comparative reading between Fanshawe’s translation and the original Portuguese text, chapter 3 highlighted the many, varied and subtle ways in which the translation applies *Os Lusíadas* to the royalist defeat in the Civil War, as well as fleshing out Fanshawe’s own ideological standpoint, glimpsed through his translation choices. In addition to this, the examination of *The Lusiad*’s paratexts in chapter 2 confirmed that Fanshawe’s translation aimed at presenting the Portuguese epic in a certain way to its reading public – a way in which the narrative of Portuguese history and exploration would become relevant. The methods by which that relevance was gifted to the foreign text are essentially two: the translation itself, and a conception of history and the world that tends towards a mingling of the histories of Portugal and England, essentially understanding the two countries as actors with similar and often linked roles on the world stage. Needless to say, these two aspects of how Fanshawe translated *The Lusiad* are intimately connected, yet their roots are in completely different fields, translation theory and historical perspective.

The concept of englishing used throughout this thesis juxtaposes these two strands of Fanshawe’s translation methodology: the literary choice of words and the historical perspective that informed it. Englishing, thus, is not the translated text itself, but the process that took the original Portuguese text and made it English by translating and applying that translation to the English historical context. Fanshawe does this, as discussed before, not only by substituting Portuguese words and syntax with English ones – that is, the translation itself – but specifically in his choice of lexicon and in the elements used to frame *Os Lusíadas*: paratexts such as subtitles (‘Portugalls historical poem’), the dedicatory epistle to William Wentworth, the translations of Tasso and Petronius, the post-script to that translation and, of course, the engravings of Camões and the Portuguese heroes Gama and Henry. The engravings, none truly original, are an excellent visual explanation of Fanshawe’s process, adopting elements from both Portugal and England. Englishing mixes Portuguese and English elements so as to make their origins indiscernible and irrelevant,

creating a new frame that presents the Portuguese epic as naturally born of, and adequate for, the English context. In translating *Os Lusíadas*, Fanshawe ‘English’d’ it through an historical perspective.

This systematic description of Fanshawe’s translation approach is one of the main strengths of this thesis, but in the process many other valuable contributions have been made. Chapter 3, for example, offers the first comprehensive comparative reading of Fanshawe’s translation and the original Portuguese. Fanshawe’s manipulation of the gods’s councils in particular has never been read in connection with the translator’s ideological position on the role of parliament. The engravings of Camões, Gama and Prince Henry, have never been read semantically in conjunction with the translation itself, and were rarely considered a relevant part of the work. The thesis also engaged with previous scholarship on Fanshawe, questioning and furthering some assumptions about his translation of Camões, namely on its source-text, and on its influence in Fanshawe’s appointment as ambassador to Portugal. It provides a clear, and much more detailed, publication history than ever before, offers an explanation to its timing and rushed printing, and explores Fanshawe’s influence in later translators of Camões. In a word, although there is still more to be said about *The Lusiad*, this thesis is a near-complete primer on the history of its publication and afterlife, and offers a possible reading of its role in the 1655 English book market that takes into account the text and its paratextual framing.

At its core, this thesis makes a definitive and detailed contribution to our knowledge on the reception of Camões in Britain, in particular in its first English translation. Fanshawe’s pioneer translation has often been overlooked in favour of W. J. Mickle’s popular translation of the eighteenth century. Before Mickle’s reappropriation of *Os Lusíadas* as an epic of commerce, Fanshawe applied the Portuguese poem to an English context. This thesis offers enough detail on Fanshawe’s work so that his contribution to Anglo-Portuguese literary exchange needs no longer be relegated to a footnote on the history of Camões in England, nor simply summarised as the ‘first English translation’. Fanshawe’s translation can now be accurately placed within its own context, as an active participant in the life of the seventeenth century English book market.

Englishing The Lusiad also offers a modest but important contribution to our knowledge of civil war and interregnum literature. In offering an in-depth reading of Fanshawe’s translation, its paratexts and their dialogue with contemporary literary and political debate, its carefully planned structure but rushed printing, and the reactions of contemporary readers and annotators, this study adds to our knowledge of how ‘polite’ literature reacts to the seismic shifts in the English political landscape in the seventeenth century. Significantly, it returns political agency to a translation from

vernacular by an important, but mostly forgotten, poet and diplomat of the age. It contributes to our knowledge of Fanshawe’s poetic work, suggesting that his translation activity – not only in *The Lusiad*, but in translating from the Spanish, the Italian and Latin – was an integral part of a larger poetic programme and not a simple collection of miscellaneous translations. In following Fanshawe’s appointment as ambassador to Portugal in 1663, this study demonstrates how *The Lusiad* was not only an important factor in Fanshawe’s selection for the post, but how both Portuguese and English diplomats made use of the translation to flatter and ingratiate themselves with one another.

Insofar as this is a study about translation, it contributes significantly to our understanding of translation practices in mid seventeenth-century England and, more broadly, to our thinking about translation itself. This study concludes that Fanshawe’s translation practice slightly drifts away from the contemporary tendency of a domesticating translation. Fanshawe’s translation approach adds a historical perspective to the process of translation, and it domesticates Camões only insofar as it blurs the lines between what is strictly Portuguese and what is strictly English history.

There are, of course, limitations to this study’s approach. The most obvious one is an unfortunate by-product of this detailed discussion of a single small object in time. The focus on *The Lusiad* risks blurring the historical context in which it was published. Events of the English Civil Wars do not get the attention they deserve unless its discussion is of absolute necessity to the argument at hand, for example on Penruddock’s possible role in precipitating the printing of the translation, or on Fanshawe’s views on a constitutional monarchy and his parliaments of gods.

Similarly, Fanshawe’s contemporary poets and translators and their responses to the civil war and the interregnum are not discussed, with the exception of Thomas May’s translation of Lucan, to which Fanshawe alludes indirectly in the paratexts of *The Lusiad*. If read on isolation, this study might give the impression that Fanshawe was the only poet and translator to be influenced by the wars and the revolution, which, of course, could not possibly be true. Fanshawe’s work may appear alone in this thesis, but is surrounded by a multitude. Many other critics have in recent years studied the poetic production of the mid seventeenth-century: David Norbrook, Nigel Smith, Robert Wilcher, James Loxley, and Gerald MacLean, to name a few. In the light of these studies, anything that I could say on Fanshawe’s contemporaries would offer little in terms of originality.

Fanshawe’s other poetic creations do not receive any extensive reading, whether original creations or other translations. An updated, original reading of all of Fanshawe’s poetic output is urgent. Peter Davidson’s complete edition of Fanshawe’s work went some ways to redress this, but

not only did it not include Fanshawe's translation of *Il Pastor Fido*, it did not offer any systematic reading of the whole of Fanshawe's works, rather limiting itself to discrete commentary. Other critics, myself included, focus on only one or one subsection of Fanshawe's work.

These limitations are inherent to a shallow-focused approach such as the one I took in studying *The Lusiad*. A shallow-focused approach, as in photography, focus on one object in the foreground bringing its details into sharpness while blurring the background. The reason why my thesis was forced to take this approach was precisely the lack of any detailed, sustained and systematic analysis of *The Lusiad* before it. With few exceptions, in surveys of translations of *Os Lusíadas* in English, Fanshawe's translation was hardly ever more discussed than as 'the first'. And while Fanshawe's other works would receive some attention from scholars of Civil War literature, *The Lusiad*'s position in the literature of the Interregnum was always vaguely sketched, vaguely understood to be relevant, but rarely explained. This thesis can therefore help further research into Civil War literature and the history of Camões in English by offering a solid basis from which to consider Fanshawe's translation of *Os Lusíadas*.

Further Work

In this investigation I have attempted to look as extensively as possible into one single object, only to be left with several leads that should be developed in future work, perhaps by other researchers. In the following paragraphs I sketch three such possibilities.

I have attempted to read *The Lusiad* through a political context that was unique to any translation of *Os Lusíadas*. However, this was obviously not the only possible way of reading a translation of the Portuguese epic at the time, in England. *Os Lusíadas* is, after all, at least in part a *travel narrative*. It would be very productive to investigate its position within that genre at the time in England, particularly in the wake of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, or Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his pilgrims*. Travel narrative in the early modern world, particularly in seventeenth-century England, is strongly connected with colonialist ventures, and *The Lusiad* would have certainly played a part in that game. Miguel Martínez, for example, has argued that Fanshawe appropriated Camões's epic to call for more British colonialism.⁶ A later translation of Camões, W. J. Mickle's in the eighteenth century, was certainly used as a vehicle to promote colonialist ventures

⁶ Miguel Martínez, 'A Poet of Our Own', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10 (2010).

and the new mercantile economy, so it would be relevant to discover to what extent Fanshawe’s translation played a part in discussions of the merchant ventures of his time.

Related to this, but deserving attention on its own, is the study of Fanshawe’s translation in the history of *Os Lusíadas* in English literature. I have lightly touched upon this in the fourth chapter, but a detailed analysis of how Fanshawe influenced later translators, and how he contributed to the dissemination of *Os Lusíadas* and Portuguese literature in general in the English language, is called for. There are a small number of studies in Portuguese dedicated to this, but nearly all completely bypassing Fanshawe in favour of the more famous Mickle translation.⁷ George Monteiro’s *The Presence of Camões* is brilliant in regards to the influence of the epic in English-language literature, but is focused for the most part on American authors, and gives little attention to individual translations of *Os Lusíadas*.

While I have examined the relationship between Fanshawe’s translation and the British context, it was always a part of my project to look at the other side of this relationship, between the translation and the Portuguese context. By this I mean how *The Lusiad* may have served as *propaganda* for the newly independent Portuguese monarchy. When Fanshawe published his translation of Camões, Portugal had only been independent from Spain for 15 years, and in fact was still at war with its neighbour. There was a distinct possibility that Fanshawe’s work may have contributed to an increased awareness of the small peripheral country’s struggles. A vast majority of living men had never seen an independent Portugal before 1640, so that the publication of an epic celebrating the country’s achievements *pre-Spanish* domination would have certainly been informative for an English audience, and even invited support amongst the English. The evidence for this particular form of reception, however, is scarce and remains intangible. The amount of time required to substantiate this suspicion eliminated it from consideration for this research, but it remains a viable option for further inquiry.

These are just a few examples of how the knowledge of Fanshawe’s translation of *Os Lusíadas* could be developed further, and more research lines could certainly be pursued. In this investigation, I have striven to substantiate a claim that was often made in passing by authors describing *The Lusiad*, but never developed in depth: that Fanshawe’s translation could be read as a commentary on the contemporary British political context. This research defined and demonstrated how *The Lusiad* relates to the world in which it was published, in the London of 1655. The close

⁷ For example Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa, ed., *Camões em Inglaterra* (Lisboa: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1992). For a more updated take on the history of Camões in England see João Almeida Flor, ‘Receção de Camões na Literatura Inglesa’, *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, ed. Vítor Aguiar e Silva (Lisboa: Caminho, 2011) and José Augusto Cardoso Bernardes, ed., *Camões nos Prelos de Portugal e da Europa (1563-2000)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2015).

examination of the text and the elements surrounding the text reveal that *The Lusiad*, in Fanshawe's translation, is not a footnote in literary history, but rather a carefully thought out product relevant to its time and to our current understanding of the period, offering a vision of history and literature that differs significantly from that of the majority of its contemporaries. *The Lusiad* is not simply the first translation into English of Portugal's greatest early modern work, but rather an agent moving back and forth between the histories, literatures and cultures of both countries.

Appendix: Images



Fig. 1: A page from Faria y Sousa's *Lusiadas Comentadas*



Fig. 2: Camões in *The Lusiad*, 1655.



Fig. 3: Vasco da Gama in *The Lusiad*, 1655.



Fig. 4: Henry the Navigator in *The Lusiad*, 1655.



Fig. 5: Camões and Faria y Sousa in *Lusiadas Comentadas*, 1639.



Fig. 6: Vasco da Gama in *Lusíadas Comentadas*, 1639.



Fig. 7: Edward the Black Prince, Thomas Cecill, 1625.



Fig. 8: Sir John Burgh, Thomas Cecill, 1627.



Fig. 9: Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, in *Curia Politiae*, 1654.



Fig. 10: John Weever, Thomas Cecil, 1631.



Fig. 11: William Forster in *Arithmetick*, 1667

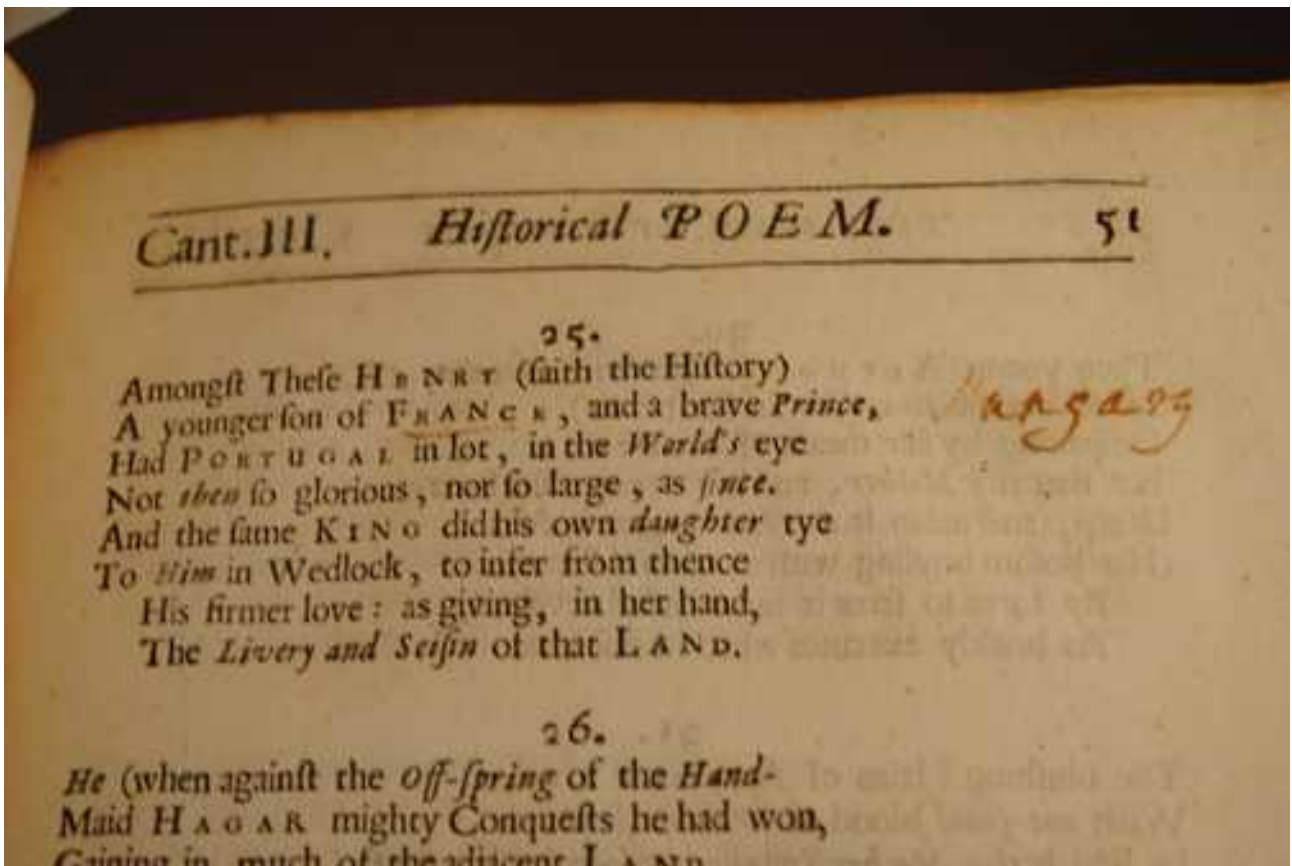


Fig. 12: Underlining and marginal note in *The Lusiad*, Library of Congress, copy 2.

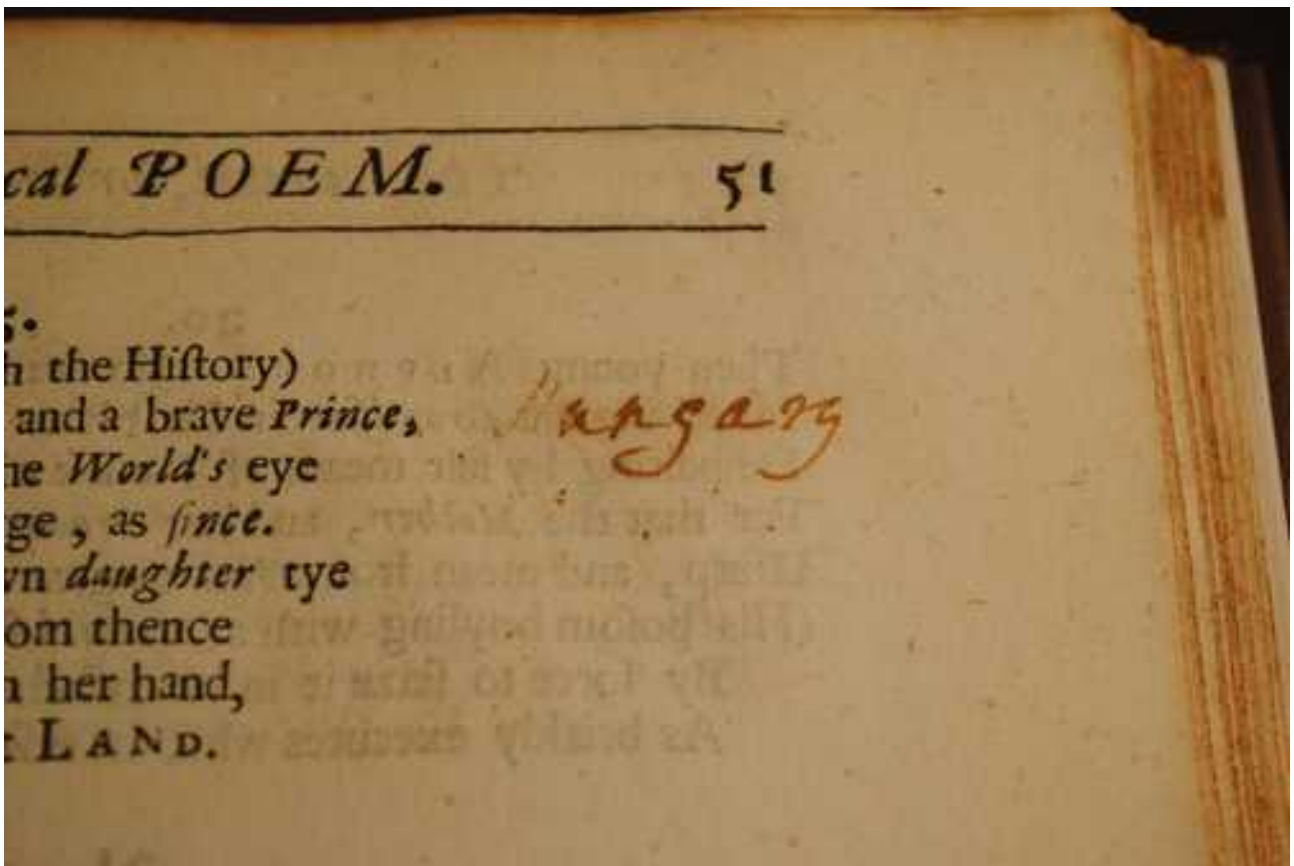


Fig. 13: Close-up of marginal note in *The Lusiad*, Library of Congress, copy 2.

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