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**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**

Eduardo R. del Río

## Contents

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<b>The Context of Translation: Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse</b> . . . . .	6
Abstract . . . . .	6
Works Cited . . . . .	35
Notes . . . . .	39

## **The Context of Translation: Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**

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### **Abstract**

Compared to French and Italian, Spanish poetry was almost completely ignored by English translators during the seventeenth century. The limited amount of poetry that was translated, however, reveals important historical and social forces at work. Specifically, the deep resentment and fear that Protestant England held toward the “evil popish forces” of Catholic Spain played an essential role in guiding translators’ choices. This essay examines contemporary accounts of Anglo-Spanish relations in England, and argues that the fear of popery was a determining principle behind the choices of at least one translator of Spanish poetry, Sir Richard Fanshawe. Richard Fanshawe’s interest in Spanish literature, however, was also a personal one. His diplomatic assignments in that country made him acquire a taste for

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

the language and culture of that land. Fanshawe's close relationship with the Stuart monarchy -a monarchy that itself showed ambivalence toward Spain- is one more factor to consider when attempting to understand his translating choices.

A new and nobler way thou dost pursue  
To make Translations and Translators too.  
Sir John Denham

**C**ommenting on James Mabbe's seventeenth-century translations from the Spanish, P. E. Russell (1953: 84) noted many years ago that Mabbe succeeded "at a time when the pursuit of Spanish letters in England was liable to carry greater risks than it does today". Russell is referring to the widespread anti-Spanish sentiment in England during the seventeenth century. But why, then, did Mabbe choose to devote himself to the pursuit of a potentially dangerous field of study? Ironically, it is Russell (1953: 84) himself who provides a possible answer, by admitting, somewhat grudgingly, that Spain held some interest for English writers who had "a certain curiosity concerning Spaniards".

England's interest in Spanish literature during the period is perhaps best illustrated by the translations that took place. Most students of the period are familiar with Richard Crashaw's connection to the Spanish Golden Age and his homage to

Santa Teresa de Jesus, the Spanish mystic and saint. But Crashaw was not the only writer to turn his attention to Spain. In fact George Umphrey (1945: 479) notes that several factors induced writers of the period to actively pursue Spanish translations, among them “the prestige of Spain among European nations in the sixteenth century; the rivalries and intermarriages between English and Spanish ruling families; [and] the quantity and high quality of Spanish literature of the Siglo de Oro”. **(note 1)** The appearance of several Spanish grammars and dictionaries during the period further illustrates this point. In 1599 Richard Percival (1599a: 4) published his Spanish Grammar which professes to contain “all the Irregular and hard verbes in that toong” and that same year Percival (1599b) published his *Dictionary in Spanish and English*.

While it is true that Spanish poetry was indeed translated during the seventeenth century, Joseph Fucilla (1934: 44) has noted, however, that “Spanish, as compared to French and Italian poetry...never attained a vogue of any considerable magnitude among the English speaking world”. **(note 2)** Thus, while English translators during the period were caught up in the air of discovery that surrounded them, they were more reluctant to appropriate Spanish verse than that of other nations. In order to understand this ambivalence, we need to



**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

return to P.E. Russell's remark regarding James Mabbe: "he was obviously a success at a time when the pursuit of Spanish letters in England carried greater risks than it does today". This fear was the result of many years of struggle between these two cultures.

Although James made peace with Spain in 1604, and the treaty of Madrid was signed during Charles' reign, Englishmen were not about to divest themselves of their animosity quite so easily. The "black legend" of Spanish cruelty that was so popular during Elizabeth's reign was brought into the seventeenth century and incorporated into the literature of anti-popery. In 1642, for example, a pamphleteer identifying himself only with the initials G.B.C. published *Plots, Conspiracies and Attempts of Domestick and Forraigne Enemies of the Romish Religion*. In this tract the author (1642: 2) traces Spain's intervention in English affairs so that the reader "mayest evidently see by this ensuing discourse, what are the fruits and effects of Popery". Similarly, James Wadsworth (1629: A3) in his *English Spanish Pilgrim* recounts his early life in Spain, and his subsequent conversion into the Protestant religion, denouncing the popish forces in Spain that had "seduced" his father and afterwards "entrapped" his mother. It is important to note that to the English reader such literary references to Spain was for

all practical purposes a reference to the popish, anti-Christian forces of paganism, since the two -Spain and Catholicism- were inexorably intertwined in the Protestant mind.

As with the animosity toward Spain, the fear of popery in England during the seventeenth century is not a phenomenon that occurred overnight. During Elizabeth's reign the Catholic threat was a continuous presence. In the early years the source was the possibility of a revolution centered on Mary Queen of Scots. Later in the century the danger of invasion by Catholic Spain continued to fuel the fire of anti-Catholic sentiment. But contemporary literature in the form of sermons and pamphlets is what truly helped direct and shape the country's stance towards Catholics. In his seminal study, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation*, William Haller (1963: 14) credits the martyrologist with providing the country with the sense of national fervor it needed at a time of crisis. Haller has shown, in fact, that Foxe's ideology provided the country with a sense of national identity it had heretofore lacked.

The effect on the country in terms of its sense of itself as a united entity through discourse which denounced Spain's Catholic beliefs as heretical was extremely important. Peter Lake (1989: 77) notes the impact this type of propaganda had on the Protestant nation: "Thus the whole Protestant view of

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

popery not only associated it with a ritual-based vision of ignorance, superstition and unthinking traditionalism but it also appropriated for Protestantism an essentially word-based vision of rationality, enlightenment and knowledge". In essence the effect of such an appropriation continued to solidify England's view of itself as the elect nation by creating a sense of "otherness". This sense of otherness in turn allowed Protestants to incorporate another characteristic of popery into their discourse: its foreign nature. **(note 3)** Thus, any specific reference to Spain, as occurs in many Spanish poems, for example, was in effect an affront to the unity that the English nation had so desperately tried to establish.

It has been argued elsewhere that the translations of the seventeenth-century poet Thomas Stanley display a sense of ambivalence regarding Spain. **(note 4)** The ambivalence that seventeenth-century English people felt toward Spain is perhaps best illustrated, however, in the life of a more prominent translator of Spanish verse during the period, Sir Richard Fanshawe. We can form a fairly clear picture of Fanshawe (Fanshawe, H.C., 1907: 102):

He was of the highest size of men, strong, and of the best proportion, his complexion sanguin, his skinne exceeding fair, his hair dark brown, and very curling, but not very long, his eyes gray and penetrating, his nose high, his countenance gracious and wise, his

motion good, his speech cleare and distinct. He never used exercise but walking, and that generally with some book in his hand, which often-times was poetry, in which he spent his idle hours... He was very obliging to all, and forward to serve his master, his country and friends...

This description of Sir Richard Fanshawe by his wife Lady Ann may be somewhat biased, especially her depiction of his physical attributes and manners. However, her account does accurately reflect the dual role that Fanshawe played throughout his life: a student of poetry who felt at ease with a book in his hand, and a skilled diplomat who would readily put aside that book if his King called him to service.

Even a brief summary of Richard Fanshawe's life reveals his strong attachment to the Stuart dynasty; an attachment, I will argue, which is the guiding principle behind Fanshawe's decisions as translator of Spanish verse. The connection between the Fanshawe family and their rulers was established well before Richard was even born, for his father Henry Fanshawe, also knighted, was the Remembrancer of the Exchequer. It seems almost destined that Richard would become closely associated with the Crown, first with Charles I, and then with his son. Fanshawe's loyalty to Charles I, especially during the Civil War years, is unequalled. Lady Ann recounts her hus-

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

band's departure to Bristol in 1645, shortly after he has been named Secretary of War (Fanshawe, H.C., 1907: 114):

...[Sir Richard] went to Bristol with his new master, and this was his first journey, which because he left me behind him, I then lying in of my first son Harrison Fanshaw...as for that it was the first time we had parted a day since wee married, he was extreemly afflicted even to tears, though passion was against his nature.

Lady Ann (114) continues this narration by emphasizing that her husband would not have left her “with a dying child, which did dye 2 days after, in a garrison town, extreame weak and very poor” unless he absolutely had to. This single event leaves no doubt about the loyalty Fanshawe felt toward Charles I. ([note 5](#))

Fanshawe was as well regarded by the Prince as he had been by his father, and Charles II requested that Fanshawe be at his side in Scotland while preparing to regain control of the monarchy. Charles' confidence in Fanshawe did not help them defeat the roundheads at Worcester, however, and Fanshawe was taken prisoner. His allegiance to Charles bought him ten weeks of incarceration at Whitehall in a room which Lady Ann describes as “close and small” and which caused him to become extremely ill. After securing his release, the Fanshawes retired to Yorkshire for a period of seventeen

months, but shortly after Cromwell's death Sir Richard again left England at the request of Charles II.

When Fanshawe arrived in Paris in 1658 as Latin Secretary, he brought with him the support of Charles II. As his father had done a few years before, the new King makes continual references to Fanshawe's loyalty and integrity. In a letter to Ormonde (Fanshawe: 307) , for instance, the Prince says that Fanshawe is "a person...who hath served me with great affection, and is in himself of extraordinary integrity, and parts fit for any trust". Thus, it does not seem surprising that although the Fanshawes were issued a ship for their return to England in 1660, Lady Ann (Fanshawe, H.C., 1907: 140) makes it clear that "his Majesty commanded my husband to waite on him in his own ship". Their trip and arrival in England is described by Lady Ann (Fanshawe, H.C., 1907: 141) as "glorious", and she makes a point of showing how her husband was held in high regard by the King because he gave Sir Richard "his [the King's] picture sett with small diamonds" of him as a child which was "a great rarity, because there never was but that one".

Richard Fanshawe's final role as the King's servant would be as ambassador to Spain. Charles sent Sir Richard there in 1664 hoping to have peace restored between Spain and Por-

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

tugal, as well as having him negotiate a commercial treaty between Spain and England. William Simeone (1950: 124) concludes his summary of this part of Fanshawe's life by making it clear that while the mission as a whole was important for England, the "matter of a commercial treaty was not regarded as urgent". Simeone (1950: 124) also points out, however, that if the Spanish were not quick to respond to England's offer, Fanshawe was to remind them that "they were no longer a maritime (or any other kind) of power". This last remark reminds us that while Spain and England were not at open war during this time, the animosity between the two peoples was ever-present. But if this is true, why would Charles attempt to establish a commercial treaty with Spain in the first place? It was of course important to attempt to have Spain grant English merchants more concessions, especially in the West Indies. But could it also be true that the ambivalence that is displayed by the monarch's subjects is a reflection of the feelings of the monarch himself? We have seen the simultaneous fascination and fear English people felt toward Spain. These mixed feelings are not confined to the populace, however; they are also an integral part of the entire Stuart dynasty. This ambivalence toward Spain displayed in this instance by Charles II is not an isolated occurrence. In fact, this fluctuating attitude did

not originate with the Prince of Wales, but had been established long before.

Even before Charles I had assumed the throne he had already initiated an interest in Spanish affairs. The precarious peace that had been achieved in 1604 was always in danger of crumbling, and by 1612 both pro and anti-Spanish factions had been established in James' Court. G.M.D. Howat (1974: 20) notes that James was not opposed to such groups, for "they counter-balanced each other, strengthened his own position, and allowed him to pursue his *equivocal* [my emphasis] role towards both Spain and the Protestant powers". (note 6) By 1614, however, due to his serious financial problems, James was intent on securing a marriage alliance with Spain. Negotiations were slow, and in 1623 the young Prince Charles decided to take matters into his own hands. Accompanied by Buckingham, and travelling incognito, Charles made his way through France to Spain. They spent half a year there, during which time Charles only had access to the Infanta in the presence of the court. Perhaps because of this lack of personal contact, his trip proved unsuccessful, and this event seemed to mark the beginning of Charles' animosity toward Spain that would last, at least on the surface, for the next several years.



**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

Most of the London populace was not as eager to join forces with Spain as Charles had been. In fact there was great jubilation in London when Charles returned safely from Spain, but as Thomas Cogswell (1989: 126) notes, the elation was mostly due to the fact that he returned without a Spanish bride:

The pandemonium over Charles's return, once set in context, assumes a much different, almost cathartic nature, exorcizing the dark fears which had haunted many about the Infanta's impact on England and Europe. To be sure, the crowds were celebrating the Prince's safe deliverance from the foreign perils, but they were also celebrating their own deliverance from Spain.

Interestingly, the reaction was the same in Madrid. During Charles' visit the city was full of revelry and excitement, but eventually the matter ended in an Anglo-Spanish war. These reactions of both excitement and fear by both the English and Spanish populace are a reflection of the same ambivalence their leaders felt toward each other. More importantly, this ambivalence toward Spain exhibited by Charles I will be manifested by many of his loyal subjects, including Richard Fanshawe.

Like the rest of the English populace, Richard Fanshawe held a simultaneous fascination of and fear toward Spain. He clearly had a life-long interest in Spanish affairs. Like many of

his contemporaries, Fanshawe ended his formal education by touring the Continent. After spending about a year in France he arrived in Madrid around 1633, so that he could learn the language. He learns it so well that two years later Lord Aston, the Spanish ambassador, appoints him as his secretary. Fanshawe's stay in Madrid, 1635 to 1638, must have allowed him to gain a deep appreciation for Spanish literature, especially at a time when the arts were influential in that country. Gareth Davies (1977: 93) describes the attitude of the Spanish court to literature during this period:

It was now the court of Philip IV, given to a love of poetry, drama and music. It was the Madrid of Lope de Vega and Calderón. Luis de Góngora, king of the so-called 'new-fangled poetry', had died as recently as 1627. Antonio de Mendoza, a king's and a favorite's favorite had made himself unofficial Poet-Laureate.

In 1664 Fanshawe renewed his bond with Spain as England's ambassador to that country. Lady Ann's *Memoirs* (Fanshaw, 1907: 172) depicts scenes from Spanish life during this period revealing the Fanshawes' attitude toward their hosts:

They are civill to all, as their qualities require, with the highest respects; so that I have seen a grandee and a duke stop his horse, when an ordinary woman passeth over a kennel, because he would not spoyle her cloathes, and put off his hat to the meanest woman that makes reverence, though it be their footman's wives.

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

Based on the fact that Fanshawe translated Spanish poetry and that he was clearly interested in the country's culture and language, Lady Ann's remarks might serve to solidify the notion that Fanshawe had nothing but deep respect for the Spanish people. But Gareth Davies (1977: 99) reminds us that sometimes the perspective provided by Lady Ann is not entirely accurate:

In the Calendar of State Papers, in particular the reports of the various Venetian ambassadors, we see the characters of Sir Richard and his wife in profounder perspective—a touch of guile and subtlety in her; an unexpected venality in him, as well as a love of extravagant display. His *hauteur* in the treatment of Spaniards—which in the opinion of Ambassador Zorzi was 'more worthy of correction than acceptance,' and only tolerated because 'one does not offend him whom one fears'—seems at variance with his obvious love of things Spanish.

Ambassador Zorzi's comment confirms the notion that the feeling of animosity between the two countries was not one-sided, as we saw earlier in the account of the failed Spanish match. More importantly, Davies's comments regarding Fanshawe illustrate the ambivalence Sir Richard felt toward Spain that I have been attempting to establish. Thus, while Fanshawe may have been interested in translating Spanish

verse into his native tongue, he may have had to alter those sources if he had any hopes of political success.

In the 1648 edition of *Il Pastor Fido* Fanshawe included some additional poems, several of which were taken from Spanish sources. Specifically, this edition contains ten sonnets rendered into English. Fanshawe was particularly interested in Luis de Gongora's work. It is not surprising then, that he would include translations of Gongora's poetry in his 1648 edition. What is surprising, however, is that Fanshawe would choose to translate the poems that he did. The first of these poems is titled "A Un Arroyo" (1582) (note 7) which Fanshawe called "A River". As the title implies, the poem is a tribute to a gently flowing stream in which Gongora in his usual manner employs mythology -in this case a reference to Neptune- to make his point. In another poem, this one called "A un ruiseñor", (1584) -translated by Fanshawe as "The Nightingale"- Góngora details the lovely sounds of the songbird. In a similar vein Fanshawe translates a poem he calls "The Spring" (1609) which contains lines paying tribute to "blancos lillios" ("whiter Lilies") and "frescas rosas" ("blushing Roses"). As these examples suggest, Fanshawe chose to translate only Góngora's sonnets, and more significantly, sonnets which are seemingly innocuous. It is important to make this distinction because

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

Gongora wrote many sonnets with a clear religious or political motif, sonnets which Fanshawe chose to disregard. **(note 8)**

In 1582, for example, the same year Góngora wrote “A Un Arroyo”, he wrote the following sonnet:

Of pure honesty sacred temple  
Whose beautiful foundation and gentle wall,  
Of white pearl and hard alabster  
Was by divine hand created;  
Small door of precious coral,  
Clear luminary of of sure sight,  
That to the fine emerald of pure green  
You have for your own use usurped;  
Proud roof, whose swaying of gold  
To the clear sun, is in its turn gyrating,  
Adorn with light, crown with beauty;  
Beautiful idol, which humbly I adore:  
Have pity on he whom for You sighs,  
Your hymns sings, and your virtues prays to. **(note 9)**

This untitled poem in the Chacón manuscript, which was published in 1605, is religious in its tone and imagery. The poet initially praises the sacred temple (“templo sagrado” [1]) which has been created by divinity (“divina mano fabricado” [4]). **(note 10)** This holy language is continued in the next

lines where the temple door made of precious coral (“coral preciado”) is further described. The temple is adorned with a beautiful crown (“coronan de belleza” [11]) around which the sun revolves (9). In this temple the beautiful idol (“idolo bello”) is worshipped humbly by the poet (12). Finally, the poet asks the idol to hear his hymn (“himnos”) and his prayer (“reza” [14]). In some modern editions, this poem appears with the title “Descripción de Una Dama”, or “Description of a Lady”, and it is, of course, possible to read this poem as a lover complimenting his lady through the analogy of a religious man praising the Church. But one might also argue that the “idolo bello” of the poem is representative of a kind of secular Virgin, thereby reinforcing the poem’s Catholic subject matter. At the very least, the poem clearly employs language with distinct religious connotations, and it is reasonable to assume that Fanshawe avoided because he was aware of England’s attitude toward Catholicism.

In 1621 Gongora wrote several sonnets which Fanshawe must have had access to but chose not to include in his translations of 1648. One of these, titled “En el Tumulo de las Honras del Señor Rei D. Philippe III”, is an elegy commemorating the death of King Philip III of Spain. In it, Gongora lavishly praises the deceased king for his humility and his courage. After sev-

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

eral lines expressing the poet's grief for the death of the King, Góngora's poem concludes as follows:

A feast of light is now his sole repast!  
O Love, so will't, by heaven's true command  
That, to his luminous bride conjoined at last,  
By love divinely seared with holy brand,  
He shall -crowned Eagle of the Northern Skies-  
To the true God reborn, a Phoenix rise! **(note 11)**

These lines recount the King's exploits in Africa, but also make it clear that he constructed altars to God ("i a su Dios altares" [11]). The next lines continue the poem's religious references with the comment about relics ("reliquias" [12]), and the poem concludes by assuring the reader that the king's death is a temporary one. Mack Singleton's (1975: 13-14) modern translation of the final lines of this poem is reminiscent of Fanshawe's "The Escuriall ": "He shall -crowned Eagle of the Northern Skies-/ To the true God reborn, a Phoenix rise!" The allusion to the mythological bird that Fanshawe employed in his poem praising the Spanish palace is here employed by Singleton to emphasize the sonnet's religious context. **(note 12)** Thus, while Fanshawe's interest in Spanish affairs, as well as Charles' sometimes friendly association with that country, allowed him to produce such poems of

praise as “The Escuriall”, he would have avoided a poem that so explicitly praises a Spanish Catholic King and that views that King as a true servant of God who will receive an eternal reward. What we begin to see, then, is the ambivalent state of things described before: it was possible -and perhaps even in Fanshawe’s best interest- to translate Spanish poetry because of Charles’ connection with Spain, but there remained a counter ideology, an ideology that required caution toward anything -including literature- related to popish elements.

The Spanish-Catholic element is perhaps more evident in some of Gongora’s other sonnets which Fanshawe ignored. In 1612, for instance, Góngora wrote a sonnet titled “A D. Antonio Venegas, Obispo de Pamplona”, a panegyric to the Bishop of Pamplona, Don Antonio Venegas. While praising the bishop for his life of service to God, Góngora employs religious words such as “sacro” (sacred), “Deidad” (Deity), and “habito” (habit) to describe the bishop’s unwavering life of devotion. In 1623 Gongora wrote a sonnet which he called “Infiere, de los Achaques de la Vejez, Cercano el fin a que Catholico se alienta”. Loosely translated, this reads “What aids the elderly Catholic when death is at hand”. In this obvious appeal to the Catholic faith, Gongora leaves no doubt about his religious allegiance. Significantly, the poem is addressed



**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

to “Licio” or “Lycius”, Góngora’s poetic name for himself. Perhaps Fanshawe chose to ignore these sonnets because they might remind his Protestant readers of Góngora’s penchant for religious poetry, as well as the Spanish poet’s connection to the Catholic Church.

This is not to say that all of the eight sonnets Fanshawe did translate from Góngora deal with innocent themes. We have seen that three of these, “A River”, “A Nightingale”, and “The Spring”, deal with harmless topics, as their titles imply. Fanshawe translated five more of Góngora’s sonnets, four of which are called “A Cupid of Diamonds Presented”, “A Rich Foole”, “Constancie”, and “A Rose”. Like the other three, these poems do not contain either a political or religious message. The final sonnet, however, titled “The Fall”, is considered by some critics to be Fanshawe’s account of the death of the Earl of Strafford. **(note 13)** Strafford was Charles’ most trusted counselor and Fanshawe had served under Strafford in Ireland in 1640. Strafford was tried for treason in 1641 and executed, despite the King’s efforts to save him.

Góngora’s poem, “En La Muerte de D. Rodrigo Calderón”, appears in the Chacón manuscript immediately after the sonnet commemorating the death of King Philip III. There is much evidence that Fanshawe’s translation of this poem is sugges-

tive of the Earl of Strafford's trial, providing him an opportunity to overtly or subtly display his long affiliation with, and support of, the monarchy. However, as we have seen, a Spanish poem which contained both political and religious significance (or a translation which displayed both features) was too dangerous to pursue. What is striking in Góngora's poem to Don Rodrigo is that it lacks any type of religious allusion whatsoever. It was written the same year as the poem that Fanshawe ignored commemorating the death of a Spanish King. If Fanshawe was interested in making a subtle political statement which included a royal motif, could the poem for King Philip not have served as well? If the content of the King Philip poem was not suitable for a poem on Strafford's death, could it not have served as a guide for a poem on the death of Charles several years later? What prevented Fanshawe from utilizing the "King Philip" poem was the obvious religious language the poem contains, which is not present in this poem. This argument is even more compelling when we examine the other poem that Góngora wrote commemorating the death of Don Rodrigo.

Appearing in the Chacón manuscript immediately after the poem Fanshawe translated, and also dated 1621, is a poem titled "Al Mismo", or "To the Same". This poem also describes

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

the fate that befell Calderón, but its focus is not on his death, but on his spiritual rebirth. As such, it employs religious language throughout. The soul's ascent into heaven is recounted, and Calderón is described as one with "christiano valor" (Christian valor) and "fe ardiente" (burning faith). With its clear spiritual theme and religious language, this is not a sonnet that Fanshawe would have felt comfortable with, and he therefore chose to ignore it.

The other two sonnets that appear in the 1648 edition of *The Faithfull Shepherd* are from one of Góngora's contemporaries, Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola. (note 14) As with Góngora's work, Fanshawe probably became acquainted with Argensola's poetry during his stay in Madrid in the 1630's. Out of the hundreds of poems Argensola produced, many of them sonnets, Fanshawe decided to translate only two. The first of these sonnets is directed to his brother Lupericio, whom he called Fabio. Like some of Góngora's sonnets which Fanshawe decided to translate, this poem does not contain any political or religious allusions. It is simply a warning to his brother not to assume that the present situation will not change. (note 15) The other sonnet that Fanshawe translated from Argensola reveals the Spanish poet's interest in, and knowledge of, classical literature. It is addressed to a

lady who is looking at a portrait of Caius Marius, one of the subjects of Plutarch's *Lives*. Marius' escape from the ruins of Carthage to Africa is recounted by the poet, in order to convey the idea to the woman that time will eventually extinguish her beauty as well. Fanshawe uses the same translating method that he did in the poems he translated from Góngora's works: he stays fairly close to the original, but alters some of the words as he goes. A detailed analysis of this translation, which he called "The Picture", would allow us to make some conclusions about the product of Fanshawe's translation practices, but not about the process. For that we need to examine, as we did with Góngora, which of Argensola's poems Fanshawe chose to ignore.

Argensola was a very prolific poet, and some of his poetic endeavors were of a deeply religious nature. Specifically, like his more famous contemporary Góngora, Argensola wrote several holy sonnets. Their titles will suffice to confirm that their subject is sacred: "En la Fiesta del Nazimiento de Nuestro Señor" (In the Feast of the Birth of Our Savior), "A La Resurrección de Christo Nuestro Señor" (On the Resurrection of Christ Our Savior), and "Al Santisimo Sacramento" (To the Holy Sacrament). The subject of these poems is such that Fanshawe could not have followed the close paraphrase

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

method he employed in the other translations. In order not to offend his king and country, Fanshawe would have had to completely change the sense of these poems, something he usually did not do. These, of course, are not the only sonnets which Argensola wrote. But even those sonnets which do not have a clear divine theme would have proven problematic for Fanshawe's translations.

Appearing in some manuscripts immediately preceding the poem Fanshawe translated as "The Picture", for instance, there appears another poem addressed to Bartolomé's brother. Unlike the poem addressed to Lupercio which Fanshawe *did* translate, this one begins by invoking "el Padre soberano" (Our sovereign Father), and, recalling Milton's *Paradise Lost*, proceeds to describe how God gave us the freedom to choose our own fate. In another of his sonnets, Bartolomé depicts the Drake expedition to Cadiz in 1587. This poem begins by calling Fanshawe's country "¡o Bretaña ingrata! (Oh ingrate Britain), and continues by expressing the poet's anger toward that country in no uncertain terms. The conclusion we must arrive at, then, regarding Fanshawe's translation practices is that his decisions were based on more than the quality or style of the original poem. Other more compelling contextual

factors necessitated that he also consider the subject of the original Spanish poem.

Fanshawe's renditions of Góngora and Argensola's sonnets do not exhaust his translations from the Spanish. Another notable Spanish writer whom Fanshawe may have had an opportunity to meet during his days in Madrid was Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza. Mendoza was born in 1586 and like Fanshawe was closely associated with the monarchy since his youth. He served as a page to the Duke of Saldaña, who instructed him in the subtle art of being a courtier. By 1623 he was involved in almost every aspect of Court politics, and by 1625 he was knighted and named Secretary of the Inquisition. In 1641 he was appointed Secretary of Justice, and this position demanded that he be even more closely associated with the matters of the Court. By the time he died in 1644, however, his influence and fame had greatly diminished. But during his heyday he was well respected by poets such as Lope de Vega, Montalvan, and Quevedo. Thus, it is not surprising that Fanshawe, who was well acquainted with both the politics and literature of Spain, would choose de Mendoza's work for translation.

Perhaps as a way to strengthen his position within Court circles, de Mendoza wrote a play in 1623 called *Querer Por*

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

*Solo Querer*. Written in iambic pentameter couplets, *Querer* was occasioned by King Philip's birthday. Richard Fanshawe translated the work in 1654 as *To Love Only for Love's Sake*. De Mendoza's play, which was performed for the King in 1623 at Aranjuez, is concerned with the notion of Platonic love, as the title implies. But the story primarily focuses on the military exploits of the young king of Persia, Felisbravo (literally, "happy brave"). Because of this, it seems pretty clear that the play is meant not only to entertain, but also to court royal patronage. (note 16) For Fanshawe, however, displaying allegiance to *his* king was not quite that simple. We should recall that in 1654 Fanshawe was under house arrest at Yorkshire, and Cromwell's rule was at its apogee. Thus, any overt attempt by Fanshawe to display his royalist loyalties might have brought him further sanctions and even death. However, as he had done with other translations, Fanshawe managed to work with a Spanish text that intrigued him, while still heeding both the concrete and less tangible ideological forces that surrounded him.

The first act begins with a description of the sea battle that has just been won, which Fanshawe describes in terms of a leader at the head of an army: "Thou (to receive this Storm where e're it falls) / Stay'st must'ring on the Shore thy fearless

Bands: / in head whereof, thou Marchest bravely Mounted / In silver Arms: writ in thy Face, and Star, / The Son of Fortune by the God of War" (2). While these lines are not an explicit description of Charles leading his fleet in 1648, they do lend themselves to such an interpretation. It is in fact true that throughout Fanshawe's translation there are many instances where there is a direct parallel between the adventures of de Mendoza's fictitious king and the recent events in England. For instance, there are many references to civil disturbances in *Querer*. Prince Floranteo is depicted as a hero for squashing the rebels, who in turn are portrayed as evil usurpers of a rightful throne. Judith Graham notes that this view "is typical of the Cavalier Fanshawe" and that he used de Mendoza's play as "a vehicle of royal propaganda inspired by political intentions very similar to his own" (216). If this notion is true, and there is ample evidence that it is, then why would Fanshawe undertake such a risk at such a precarious time in his life? The answer lies not in the text itself, but in the four title pages which precede it.

As noted above, Fanshawe and his wife were residing in Yorkshire in 1654. One possible answer to the question posed above is seen in the fact that Fanshawe did not attach his name to the translation and simply included his initials, R.F.



**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

This may be further evidence that he was wary of having his name attached to such a bold statement supporting the exiled Prince. But the second title page also makes it clear that the translation was written: “by him during his Confinement to Tankersley Park in Yorkshire”. A reader could hardly believe that this translation, composed at a place and time that correspond to Fanshawe’s life, and designated as R.F.’s, was composed by anyone other than Sir Richard. Furthermore, the title page also states that the author was confined there by “Oliver, after the battle of Worcester”, which as we know is exactly what happened to Fanshawe. It seems then, that while Fanshawe may have been somewhat concerned that someone in the Cromwellian camp might identify him as the work’s author, there can be no doubt that it was in fact him. It is still not clear, then, why Fanshawe would not only risk his life by showing his royalist sympathies, but provoke the ire of his fellow Protestant countrymen by publishing a work that clearly indicates it was “Represented at Aranjuez before the King and Queen of Spain to Celebrate the Birthday of that King”. Fanshawe himself provides the answer in the following title page.

In what seems to be a genuine act of modesty, especially based on what we know of the man, Fanshawe informs his

readers that the translation should be distributed “amongst those who ask it, for I have not the presumption to offer it to any”. This self-deprecating remark is made because Fanshawe firmly resolves that “this Comedy I consent not to the *Printing* [my emphasis] of”. While de Mendoza’s play was written in 1623 and Fanshawe translated it in 1654, it was not printed in England until 1670, four years after his death. This fact is highly significant, because it confirms the possibility that there were some real concerns on Fanshawe’s part that this display of royalist support might cause him great harm. It also confirms my claim that the ideology of fear regarding Spain present in seventeenth-century England helped shaped the nature of translations from that language. While Fanshawe’s translation of *Querer* reflected much of the English populace’s genuine interest in Spanish culture and literature, his failure to attach his full name to the translation, as well as his reservations about having it printed, demonstrate the caution with which many translators of Spanish literature needed to approach their subject.

Henry Thomas (1920: 255) concludes his essay on translations from the Spanish during the seventeenth century by noting that while Fanshawe’s output was limited, “of [his] choice there is nothing to complain”. What Thomas fails to see, and

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

what I have tried to show, is that Fanshawe's choices give us cause to complain because they offer only a partial view. What Thomas fails to see is that the process of translating Spanish poetry in seventeenth-century England was guided by other, more powerful ideological forces than simply "poetic inspiration" or linguistic kinship. A translation is not produced in isolation; it is the result of author(s), text(s), and culture(s) combining to produce an entirely new product. As we have just seen, for Anglo-Spanish translations in the seventeenth century, this product is the result of a relationship between two cultures which have a long history of fascination and fear towards each other.

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**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

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**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

1. E. M. Wilson (1958: 47) has noted, for instance, that Donne and Herbert probably read Spanish poetry, and James Mirolo (1963: 252-54) has made a case for Lord Herbert of Cherbury's knowledge of Lope de Vega's work. For Crashaw's connection to Spain see Young (1982), *Richard Crashaw and the Spanish Golden Age*, esp. pp. 47-50.

2. There are important reasons why Italian and French poetry are not as neglected by English translators as Spanish, even though both of these countries were also predominantly Catholic. In the case of Italy, the reason for this lack of aversion is connected to that country's position as the seat of classical learning. It was standard fare, for instance, for a young seventeenth-century Englishman to conclude his formal education with a trip to the Continent. Rome, the source of western literature, was usually the first stop on this trip for a Renaissance writer. The reason French poetry was translated far more often than Spanish is grounded in cultural considerations. Because of their common cultural heritage, the French were not regarded as alien and therefore as threatening as the Spanish. Both France and England were more closely allied through language and even geography than Spain and England, and Charles I's marriage to a French woman further solidified this bond. Thus, while both Italy and France were Catholic strongholds, because of Spain's history of open hostility toward England, and their being perceived as more "alien" than these two countries, English translators had a more compelling reason to alter some of Spain's literature.

3. Much of the anti-Catholic sentiment during the period was directed at a specific target: the head of the Roman Church, who came to be

identified as the antiChrist. In one of his sermons, *Antichrist Arraigned*, Thomas Thompson (1618: 89) expresses this conviction by leaving no doubt that the antiChrist and the pope are one and the same: "... we have noted of the Great Antichrist, that we may well conclude them to be both one, so truly, and fully, as that now the Pope of Rome is the only Great Antichrist and the Great Antichrist is only the Pope". In a pamphlet titled *The Popes Deadly Wound*, Thomas Clarke (1621: 12-39) echoed this view, and found it necessary to respond (in laborious detail) to any possible objections to this position. The proliferation of anti-Catholic literature is so widespread, in fact, that in a 1625 pamphlet titled *An Antidote Against Popery*, John Mayer (A3) begs the reader to forgive his "over-indulgence in writing so much...upon a subject so thoroughly canvased already in divers bookes of learned Authors".

4. As I have argued elsewhere (1999: 71) "any favorable reference to Spain in Stanley's sources was a cause for concern and may have influenced Stanley's decisions regarding how and what he translated". Thus, it seems possible to begin to see a pattern emerge regarding Anglo-Spanish translations during the period.

5. There seemed to be more than a king-subject relationship between Charles and Sir Richard. Fanshawe was with Charles at Hampton Court shortly before his execution, and Lady Ann (1907: 120) recounts what transpired the last time they saw the King alive:

Then turning to your father, [Charles] sayd, 'Be sure, Dick, to tell my son all that I have sayd, and deliver those letters to my wife... Thou hast ever been an honest man, and I hope God will bless thee



**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

and make thee a happy servant to my son, whom I have charged in my letter to continue his love and trust to you,'adding, 'And I doe promiss you both that if ever I am restored to my dignity, I will bountifully reward you both for your service and sufferings.'

**6.** Although a detailed analysis of James' attitude toward Spain is beyond the scope of this essay, it is interesting to note that the ambivalence toward Spain we will see in the later Stuart rulers was already at work here.

**7.** These dates are those of composition, not publication, and are taken from Foulché-Delbosc's edition. They were compiled from the Chacón manuscript, a document which consists of all of Góngora's poems which he himself provided to Antonio Chacón over a period of several years. While these dates, then, are fairly accurate, they are being provided mainly to establish that Fanshawe did not base his translating decision on whether or not he had access to only one particular manuscript or printed text. He chose to translate a poem based on its content, not on its date of composition or publication.

**8.** Of the five hundred poems which Góngora wrote, ninety-nine were published during his lifetime. However, the majority of his works were published posthumously in 1627. Fanshawe's three-year stay in Madrid shortly after (1635-38) gave him ample opportunity to become familiar with Góngora's verse.

**9.** This, and the translation of Argensola's poem, are my own. I have aimed at a literal rather than poetic rendition to illustrate how Fanshawe avoided poems containing religious language.

**10.** The line numbers in brackets refer to Arroyo's (1978) edition of Góngora's sonnets.

**11.** This is Mack Singleton's (1975) modern rendition.

**12.** "The Escuriall" is the only piece of original extant verse which displays Fanshawe's life-long interest in Spanish culture. The poem appears in the 1648 edition of *Il Pastor Fido* and is printed in both English and Latin. Fanshawe describes the splendor of the palace that was built by King Philip II from 1563 to 1584, which Fanshawe had visited during his stay in Spain in the 1630's.

**13.** For example, Bawcutt (1964: 104-09) says that when reading this poem "Fanshawe may have been struck with its applicability to the Earl of Strafford" (98-99). Judith Graham makes insightful remarks in her discussion of this poem as a political instrument by comparing it to Mack Singleton's modern rendition.

**14.** Bartolomé was born in Barbastro, Spain in 1561, two years after his brother Lupercio, also a poet and man of letters. He composed at least 282 poems, many of which are long love poems of more than three hundred lines. He only published two of them during his lifetime, however, and authorized another two for publication. This is not to say that his work did not circulate in court circles. In fact, Jose Blecua (1950: xxviii) notes that there was an abundance of manuscript copies during the period.

**15.** A literal translation shows the poem is devoid of political or religious language:

**The Context of Translation:  
Richard Fanshawe and Spanish Verse**  
Eduardo R. del Río

---

Fabius, hope is not a bad thing;  
And you with so much applause court it  
That oracles forced from prophets  
And in some current monuments it is equalled.  
Know that against time Pallas is armed,  
Against time's inconstants and treacheries;  
He is such that trips on his own crutches  
When asked to use his wings.  
And so never in the future tense  
Nor in the present, if you are wise, say  
That there is time that Time itself is sure of;  
That when you force Time  
To do your bidding, he puts a wall  
Between the sickle and the spikes.

**16.** De Mendoza was successful since less than a year after the play's production he was named Secretary to King Philip.