

## Appendix: The Influence of *Don Quixote* on the Romantic Movement

Este gran cavallero de la cruz bermeja háselo dado Dios a España por patrón y amparo suyo . . . y, assí, le invocan y llaman [los españoles] como a defensor suyo en todas las batallas que acometen, y muchas vezes le han visto visiblemente en ellas, derribando, atropellando, destruyendo y matando

IV, 230, 9-17

This Order is an institution of Chivalry, Humanity, Justice, and Patriotism; embodying in its genius and principles all that is chivalric in conduct, noble in sentiment, generous in manhood, and patriotic in purpose . . .

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE KU KLUX KLAN<sup>1</sup>

WHILE THE HISTORY OF interpretation of *Don Quixote* has been the subject of much comment, the only part of the book's influence which has received recent attention is the key role it played in the development of the novel. That almost nothing is said about its influence on literature in general, on ideas, culture, customs, and indirectly even on politics, leads me to the suspicion that there is a great deal to be said about it. A proper place to focus our examination of *Don Quixote*'s influence is on the Romantic movement; this is both because of the great

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in Stanley Frost, *The Challenge of the Klan* (1924; rpt. New York: AMS, 1969), p. 68. (The Ku Klux Klan is a semi-secret organization of the extreme right, primarily active in the South of the United States. It is devoted to the resistance by violence and threat of violence to what its members see as a threat by blacks and secondarily by Jews to the interests of white Christians.) Along the same line, a newspaper article on bombers of abortion clinics in Florida begins thus: "They called themselves knights, their emblem was a mask they had printed on T-shirts bearing the motto 'Protectors of the Code,' and their mission was to defend the ideals of chivalry" (*New York Times*, January 18, 1985, p. 12).

impact of Romanticism, which in many ways is with us still, and because of the recent controversy over "the Romantic approach to *Don Quixote*."<sup>2</sup>

Inquiry, however, is pointless if we are dealing with misinterpretation by the Romantics, in which case their use of Cervantes is merely a footnote to the movement as a whole. It would seem, however, that this is not the case. We owe them a great deal: the birth of modern Cervantine studies,<sup>3</sup> which, along with the birth of Hispanism in general is, if not inseparable from the birth of Romanticism, very closely linked to it. The Romantics were the first to suggest the work's complexity, different levels, and self-reflective nature;<sup>4</sup> they were

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Close's book of this title has produced more commentary than any Cervantine study of the present generation. While the center of his book, the history of the Romantic approach, has received only occasional scrutiny (e.g., Lowry Nelson, Jr., "Chaos and Parody: Reflections on Anthony Close's *The Romantic Approach to 'Don Quixote,'*" *Cervantes*, 2 [1982], 89-95), much criticism has focused on the interpretative comments which precede and form a context for his history. Regrettably, this criticism has been divided along national lines. In Spain the book was not reviewed, and has been omitted even from the extensive bibliographical section of *Anales Cervantinos*. In England the reviews have been unanimously favorable, with not a single major objection: E. C. Riley, *TLS*, June 9, 1978, p. 639; R. W. Truman, *BHS*, 57 (1980), 349-50; Frank Pierce, *MLR*, 74 (1979), 477-78. Perhaps behind this division is the fact that Close says relatively little about the errors of English Romantics, and a great deal about what he sees as misinterpretation by Spaniards.

In the United States the reaction to Close's book has been between these two poles: praise combined with significant reservations. Besides the review article of Nelson just cited, the most important published reactions are the reviews of John J. Allen, *JHP*, 3 (1978 [1979]), 92-94, Ruth El Saffar, *MLN*, 94 (1979), 399-405, Richard L. Predmore, *MP*, 77 (1979), 257-60, T. R. H[art], *CL* 31 (1979), 305-06, Alexander Welsh, *Novel*, 13 (1980), 326-30, Henry W. Sullivan, *Canadian Journal of Comparative Literature*, 7 (1980), 114-18, and the review article of Pierre L. Ullman, "Romanticism and Irony in *Don Quixote*: A Continuing Controversy," *PLL*, 17 (1981), 320-33. The book was also the subject of a program organized by Elias Rivers at the Modern Language Association convention, December 28, 1979; one of the papers presented at that program has been published in revised form; it is Inés Azar's "Meaning, Intention and the Written Text: Anthony Close's Approach to *Don Quixote* and its Critics," *MLN*, 96 (1981), 440-44, and deals primarily with Close's approach to intention.

<sup>3</sup> "Toutes les grands questions que se pose la pensée actuelle à l'endroit de Cervantes ont été levées par la critique romantique" (J.-J. A. Bertrand, *Cervantes et le romantisme allemand* [Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1914], p. ii). With the obvious exception of the ontological problem examined by Américo Castro in his *Pensamiento de Cervantes*, this statement is still largely valid.

<sup>4</sup> "The chief character in the second part of *Don Quixote* is the first part. It is, throughout, the work's reflection on itself.' *Don Quixote* has, and any novel desires, two centers and two levels of meaning. First comes the level of action: part one of *Don Quixote* consists of the violent adventures that befall Don Quixote and, with more serious consequences, the characters associated with the inserted novellas. Then follows the level of reflection, the second part of the novel,

the ones who pointed out that the *novelas intercaladas* are indeed an integral part of the book (Close, *Romantic Approach*, p. 31). They were also "the first to describe the linguistic finesse of [Cervantes'] writings" (Bergel, p. 324), the first to see Cervantes' use of lower-class characters as a positive feature.<sup>5</sup> Finally, they were also the first to understand Cervantes' complex views on chivalry: that while attacking untruthful chivalric literature, he was defending what he understood to be true chivalry, and had considerable sympathy for some of the books he was attacking, if only they were presented and understood as literature ("poetry"), instead of history.<sup>6</sup>

consisting largely of prepared charades reflecting and playing on the adventures of the first part. In this second part are unfolded the significance, depth, and, as Schlegel calls it, personality of the actions." (Marshall Brown, *The Shape of German Romanticism* [Ithaca and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1979], pp. 203-04.) The quotation is from Friedrich Schlegel's *Literary Notebooks*; his description of *Don Quixote* "could be applied without alteration to several of the most important romantic novels" (p. 203).

<sup>5</sup>Gerhart Hoffmeister, *España y Alemania. Historia y documentación de sus relaciones literarias*, trans. Isidro Gómez Romero (Madrid: Gredos, 1980), pp. 171-72.

<sup>6</sup>There has been much talk about the Romantics and *Don Quixote*, but less reading of what they actually wrote about the book; the only general collection of their writings, besides the fragments in Rius, III, Chapter 9, is the obsolete *Cervantes und seine Werke nach deutschen Urtheilen. Mit einem Anhang: Die Cervantes-Bibliographie*, ed. Edmund Dorer (Leipzig, 1881); an up-to-date anthology of their writings on Cervantes, like the volume *The Romantics on Milton* (ed. Joseph Anthony Wittreich, Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve, 1970) would be most useful. As illustration, I am going to reproduce, in the translation of Rius (III, 223), a comment of August Wilhelm Schlegel on Part II. "Se ha dicho que la Parte Segunda del *Quijote* era muy inferior a la Primera. La injusticia de este aserto aparece en el mismo instante en que uno se hace cargo de la relación de esta parte con el todo y de lo que en ella debe esperarse dada la naturaleza de la materia. Don Quijote ya no podía ni debía chocar tan violentamente como al principio con el mundo externo, y, para evitarlo, el poeta supo aprovechar la circunstancia de que la Primera Parte de la historia había salido mucho tiempo antes; las locuras del caballero se presuponen ya conocidas, y por consiguiente son más moderadas. Cuanto más había durado la chanza de sí mismo, tanto más, naturalmente, se burlan los otros de él; a medida que la historia se va desarrollando, Don Quijote es más pasivo y en consecuencia representa Sancho papel más principal, llenando así el vacío que de otro modo se hubiera hecho evidente. Hacia el fin se observa en Don Quijote un estado como el del abatimiento que sigue a una calentura; la recién ideada apacible manía de establecer una arcádica vida pastoral, que ya en la Primera Parte previó el Ama (tanto sabe preparar el profético Cervantes), es casi su último canto; y su muerte, que, para quedar la obra satisfactoriamente redondeada, debía ser tranquila, está perfectamente traída. Y aun cuando comparemos sus graciosas aventuras, ¿qué ventura tiene la de los molinos de viento sobre la de los batanes, y la batalla de los rebaños de ovejas sobre la destrucción de los títeres? Ninguna más que el haber acontecido antes. ¿Y qué puede igualarse en fantasía y en arte al sueño de la cueva de Montesinos? Con el pie forzado de tener que repetir muchas veces acciones y palabras de los dos personajes principales, ha sabido Cervantes ayudarse, cual diestro músico, por medio de infinitas varia-

The stereotyped view of the Romantic interpretation of *Don Quixote*, that the Romantics ignored the work's humor, is not supported by the writings of the early Romantics: "se fija la atención de los románticos [en] el carácter profundamente cómico de la novela."<sup>7</sup> The first true histories of Spanish literature, those of Bouterwek and Sismondi, are also the main transmitters of German Romantic ideas about *Don Quixote* to the rest of Europe.<sup>8</sup> Bouterwek, whose history of Spanish literature had a profound influence<sup>9</sup> and rapidly became a classic,<sup>10</sup> said that *Don Quixote* was "the undoubted prototype of the comic novel. The humorous situations are, it is true, almost all burlesque, which was certainly not necessary, but the satire is frequently so delicate, that it escapes rather than obtrudes on unpractised attention" (p. 239). He called the work a "comic romance" (p. 237), full of "a series of comic situations of the most burlesque kind" (p. 236). As evidence that Cervantes did not want *Don Quixote* "merely to excite laughter," he cites the interpolated material of Part I.<sup>11</sup>

In his *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, first published in 1813, Sismondi wrote that "no work of any language ever exhibited a more exquisite or a more sprightly satire, or a happier vein of invention worked with more striking success" (p. 218). After arguing against taking the work as melancholic, he pointed out that "a satire, written without bitterness, may still be a gay and lively production . . . . If it be true that 'to ridicule oneself is the highest effort of good taste,' we find much in Cervantes to display the ridicule which

ciones; Sancho Panza en la Segunda Parte se adelanta a sí mismo y es aun mucho más gracioso que en la Primera." (From a review of Tieck's translation [1799], published in *Jenaischen allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung*, Nos. 230 and 231 [1801], and often reprinted, first in his *Charakteristiken und Kritiken* [Knigsberg, 1801], II, 309-33; also in his *Sämtliche Werke*, 11 [Leipzig, 1847], 408-26; I have used the edition in his *Kritische Schriften*, ed. Emil Staiger [Zurich and Stuttgart: Artemis, 1962], pp. 294-307, at p. 298.)

Not everything in that statement, surely, we would want to agree with. But considering it was published in 1801, I think it is worthy of respect.

<sup>7</sup> J. J. A. Bertrand, "Renacimiento del cervantismo romántico alemán," *ACer*, 9 (1961-62), 143-67, at p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> Close, *Romantic Approach*, pp. 41 and 104; Franco Meregalli, "La critica cervantina dell'ottocento in Francia e in Spagna," *ACer*, 15 (1976), 121-48, at pp. 124 and 135.

<sup>9</sup> Bertrand, *Cervantes et le romantisme allemand*, p. 629.

<sup>10</sup> Bertrand, "Figures d'hispanologues," *BH*, 24 (1922), 343-60, at p. 358.

<sup>11</sup> "The essential connexion of these episodes with the whole has sometimes escaped the observation of critics, who have regarded as merely parenthetical, those parts in which Cervantes has most decidedly manifested the poetic spirit of his work . . . . The charming story of the shepherdess Marcella, the history of Dorothea, and the history of the rich Camacho and the poor Basilio, are unquestionably connected with the interest of the whole. These serious romantic parts . . . are not, it is true, essential to the narrative connexion, but strictly belong to the characteristic dignity of the whole picture" (p. 238). (Quotations from Friedrich Bouterwek are from his *History of Spanish Literature*, trans. Thomasina Ross [London, 1847]; the German original was first published in 1804.)

might attach even to his most generous attempts. Every enthusiastic mind, like his, readily joins in pleasantry which does not spare the individual himself, nor that which he most loves and respects, if at the same time it does not degrade him" (pp. 220-21).<sup>12</sup>

The men called Romantics, far from having a single interpretation of the work, disagreed among themselves considerably.<sup>13</sup> What they shared, it would seem, is the view that *Don Quixote* should not be considered as merely a burlesque of *libros de caballerías*, that while it began as such, it has transcended its original purpose. From this book it can be seen that I believe they were correct, in which case the examination of *Don Quixote's* influence on the movement is a legitimate question.

It would seem, right from the very start, that its influence must have been considerable. *Don Quixote* was the novel in eighteenth-century England,<sup>14</sup> in which novel was the genre. "Practically every aspect and phase of German life between 1750 and 1800, so far as it is reflected in literature, is directly or indirectly related to *Don Quixote*" (Bergel, p. 309). Spain was the favorite country of the early Romantic movement in both England<sup>15</sup> and Germany,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Quotations from J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi's *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, are from the translation already cited in the Introduction, that of Thomas Roscoe, 4th edition, II (London: George Bell, 1885). On Sismondi, see J. J. A. Bertrand, "Génesis de la concepción romántica de Don Quijote en Francia [Part I]," *ACer*, 3 (1953), 1-41, at pp. 3-8.

<sup>13</sup> "En fait, il n'y eut pas une interprétation ni une imitation romantiques; chaque écrivain a compris Cervantes selon son tempérament" (Bertrand, *Cervantes et le romantisme allemand*, p. 631).

<sup>14</sup> *Don Quixote* was "the single most important literary influence on the eighteenth-century novel," "the archetypal novel for Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, and a host of lesser writers" (Frederick R. Karl, *A Reader's Guide to the Eighteenth Century English Novel* [New York: Noonday, 1974], pp. 54 and 67); "no national literature assimilated the idea of Don Quixote more thoroughly than the English" (Staves, p. 193). "There is no Library, Book-case or Shelf, without one Edition or other, of *Don Quixote*," wrote Thomas Percy (in his letter to Lockyer Davis of early March, 1761, published in Percy's *Ancient Songs*, p. xi); the bookseller Davis called *Don Quixote* "their [the public's] favourite" (letter to Thomas Percy, March 20, 1761; Boston Public Library, MS Eng. 154(1)). "That he is worth reading, is evident from his being read by all with pleasure," wrote John Bowle (*A Letter to Dr. Percy*, p. 47).

<sup>15</sup> "Englishmen . . . are to a man deeply interested in the past and present History of the Spanish Nation" (from an anonymous review of Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid, Gentleman's Magazine*, 79 [1809], 237-45, at p. 245). "'Oh, sweet and romantic Spain,' cried [Thomas] Campbell in 1808; and after 1808 many other writers followed Southey in this picturesque new field" (Frederick E. Pierce, *Currents and Eddies in the English Romantic Generation* [New York: Yale University Press, 1918], p. 93).

<sup>16</sup> Spain was "el país que los románticos alemanes buscaban con toda su alma" (Hoffmeister, p. 169); "para los románticos de Alemania, España llega a ser otra patria de adopción. Español y romántico eran con frecuencia términos sinónimos"

and *Don Quixote* its favorite book.<sup>17</sup> Virtually all of the contradictory themes

(Arturo Farinelli, *Ensayos y discursos de crítica literaria hispano-europea* [Rome, 1925], I, 88, cited by Herbert O. Lyte, *Spanish Literature and Spain in some of the leading German Magazines of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, 32 [Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1932], p. 8). For Friedrich Schlegel, who is discussed below, Spain was "el país poético por antonomasia" (Dietrich Briesemeister, "Entre irracionalismo y ciencia: los estudios hispánicos en Alemania durante el siglo XIX," *Arbor*, 119 [1984], 249-66, at p. 256).

To some extent this was because Spain was seen to be a "Gothic" country. (For example, see Spain as the origin of "Gothic" architecture in a lengthy footnote to one of Pope's epistles, in *The Works of Alexander Pope, with notes and illustrations by Joseph Warton, D.D. and Others* [London, 1822], III, 271-72; on Christian Spain's self-image as a Gothic country see Carlos Clavería, "Reflejos del 'goticismo' español en la fraseología del Siglo de Oro," in *Studia Philologica. Homenaje ofrecido a Dámaso Alonso por sus amigos y discípulos con ocasión de su 60.º aniversario* [Madrid: Gredos, 1960-63], I, 357-72.) It thus had certain ethnic or racial links with Germany, and it was furthermore a country in which medieval ("Gothic") culture, thought to have celebrated honor and combat, survived longer and was to some extent still alive. That Spain is a Gothic or Germanic country (i.e., that the characteristics which make Spain Spanish both existed prior to the Islamic invasion of the eighth century and were brought to the country by the small number of Germanic conquerors) is today a controversial position.

It is worth noting as well that in a widely-held though controversial seventeenth- and eighteenth-century view, Spain was believed to have been the country which introduced romances into Europe. On the one hand, what Spain introduced were thought to have been "Gothic" romances. On the other, because of the *romances* in Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada*, which was by far the principal source of information about Moorish Spain in the eighteenth century, considering the Arabs' reputation as story-tellers, and sometimes confusing "Moorish" and "Gothic," the romances Spain allegedly introduced to Europe were believed to have been based on Arabic models; a modern descendent of this position is the theory that troubadour poetry and "courtly love" arrived in Europe from Islamic sources via Spain. See "Theories of the Origin of Romance: Huet to Caylus" and "Warton to Scott" in Arthur Johnston, *Enchanted Ground. The Study of Medieval Romance in the Eighteenth Century* (London: The Athlone Press, 1964), pp. 13-21 and 51-59; Raymond Immerwahr, "'Romantic' and its Cognates in England, Germany, and France before 1790," in *"Romantic" and its Cognates. The European History of a Word*, ed. Hans Eichner (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 17-97, at pp. 52 and 63; the chapter "Gothic Romance" in Samuel Kliger, *The Goths in England. A Study in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), especially pp. 231-35; Montague Summers, *The Gothic Quest. A History of the Gothic Novel* (London: The Fortune Press, [1939?]), pp. 37-38; Lovejoy, "The First Gothic Revival and the Return to Nature," *MLN*, 27 (1932), 419-46 (reprinted in his *Essays*, pp. 136-65); "Gothic, Gothicism, and Gothicists," Chapter 7 of Karl's *Reader's Guide*, especially p. 242. On the link between Moors and Goths, see in addition Paul Frankl, *The Gothic. Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 365, 376, 389, and 456; for the modern theory alluded to, María Rosa

which have been found in the Romantic movement<sup>18</sup> are ones which the Romantics said they found in Cervantes.<sup>19</sup>

Menocal, "Pride and Prejudice in Medieval Studies: European and Oriental," *HR*, 53 (1985), 61-78.

To some extent this confusion about romance is due to what William Warburton called was "the *equivoque* of a common term": the linguistic imprecision of the word, which as a literary category designated such different works to the Spaniards (brief works in verse), Italians (lengthy works in verse), and the French and English (works in prose). (Warburton's comment is found in his little-known "Dissertation on the Origin of Books of Chivalry" [also "A Supplement to the Translator's Preface"], which is the beginning of modern study of Spanish books of chivalry. It was first published [according to the *National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints*, Vol. 101, p. 528] in the "second issue" of a 1742 edition of Jarvis' translation of *Don Quixote*; in later editions of the same translation [such as the Dublin, 1747, edition, I, (xxii-xxxiv)], it is attributed to "A learned writer, well known in the Literary World" [neither of these seen]. I have read it in *The Works of Shakespear . . .*, ed. Mr. Pope and Mr. Warburton [1747; rpt. New York: AMS, 1968], II, 8 unnumbered pages between pp. 288 and 289; it is also found, together with a lengthy answer by Thomas Tyrwhitt, in *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare . . .*, ed. Edmond Malone [1790; rpt. New York: AMS, 1968], II, 438-48.)

Warburton was among those who identified "romances" as an Arabian type of literature, introduced to Europe through Spain. He was supported by Thomas Warton, "Dissertation on the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe," in his *History of English Poetry from the Twelfth to the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, first published in 1774 (ed. W. Carew Hazlitt [London: Reeves and Turner, 1871], I, 92-93 and 137); in addition to Tyrwhitt, who attacks him directly, he was also answered more obliquely by Thomas Percy, "On the Ancient Metrical Romances," in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (the text varies in different editions; in that of Henry B. Wheatley [London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1910], III, 339-76, see pp. 342-46). See also A. W. Evans, *Warburton and the Warburtonians. A Study in some Eighteenth-Century Controversies* (London: Humphrey Milford, for Oxford University Press, 1932), pp. 120-21.

<sup>17</sup> "A very comprehensive description of readers" would be "the admirers of Cervantes" (from an unsigned review of Southey's translation of *Palmerin de Inglaterra*, *Critical Review*, 3rd series, 12 [1807], 431-37, at p. 436).

<sup>18</sup> Such as the idealization of nature, the individual in conflict with society, and the interest in the Middle Ages. See, even with his reservations (for he says the movement is undefinable) the list given by Ernest Bernbaum, *A Guide through the Romantic Movement*, 2nd ed. (New York: Ronald, 1949), pp. 301-03.

<sup>19</sup> The case for influence of *Don Quixote* is not undermined by the subsequent rediscovery of other parts of Spanish literature, in particular Calderón ("a Romantic poet") and Spanish *romances* or ballads. Certainly it is not by the attention paid to Cervantes' other works. Scholars quoted later, such as Burkhard, discuss the *Novelas exemplares*; the image of *La Galatea* and especially the

It is no easy matter, however, to specify the influence of a book which was perceived contradictorily,<sup>20</sup> sometimes by a single person,<sup>21</sup> on a movement of which there is no definition.<sup>22</sup> Without entering into the controversy over the

*Persiles*, the latter translated into German eight times between 1746 and 1839 (Tilbert Stegmann, *Cervantes' Musterroman "Persiles"* [Hamburg: Hartmut Ldke, 1971], pp. 224-25), remains unexamined. *La Numancia*, believed lost, was published for the first time in 1784. Shelley called it "divine," and it was produced in Spain to stimulate resistance to Napoleon (Enrique de Gandía, *Orígenes del romanticismo y otros ensayos* [Buenos Aires: Atalaya, 1946], p. 36; also Bertrand, *Romantisme allemand*, pp. 410-17); the cult for it "llega . . . a una verdadera locura" (Arturo Farinelli, "España y su literatura en el extranjero," in Farinelli's *Divagaciones hispánicas* [Barcelona: Bosch, 1936], I, 11-51, at p. 39 [first published in *La Lectura*, 2 (1901), 523-42, 834-49 (not seen)]).

<sup>20</sup> Scott, who will be discussed shortly, was called "Scotland's Cervantes" for promoting chivalry (E. Allison Peers, *A History of the Romantic Movement in Spain* [1940; rpt. New York and London: Hafner, 1964], I, 107), and Twain was called "America's Cervantes" for attacking Scott (Fraser, *America and the Patterns of Chivalry*, p. 4).

<sup>21</sup> Persons associated with Romanticism who, at different times, saw *Don Quixote* in contrasting ways would include Goethe, who made of the book a "detailed and continued study" (Bergel, pp. 317-20, the quotation on p. 318), Heine (Rius, III, 263-64; Maelsaeke, "The Paradox of Humor," pp. 37-41), Herder (Bergel, pp. 313-15), and probably Tieck (see Alfred E. Lussky, "Cervantes and Tieck's Idealism," *PMLA*, 43 [1928], 1082-97). (I have avoided the difficult topic of Cervantine influences upon Goethe, who himself had a great influence on the Schlegels and Tieck. Maelsaeke says on p. 34: "We are not allowed to read into Goethe's own achievements like *Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister* even the slightest direct influence of Cervantes' work, but the relationship of the poet of *Faust* to the author of *Don Quixote* must be found in those strange affinities which, beyond the borders of ages and countries, will always give evidence of a human, too human tendency underlying all great works of art. We cannot but recognize the strong similarity in the superior ironical attitude of both Goethe and Cervantes to heroes like Wilhelm Meister and Don Quixote.")

<sup>22</sup> "Romantic, a word for which, in connexion with literature, there is no generally accepted definition" (*Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. Sir Paul Harvey, 4th ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967]; the 5th edition, by Margaret Drabble [1985], deletes this and adds a long article on Romanticism, emphasizing its diversity). While in 1963 agreement on elements of a definition was claimed (René Wellek, "Romanticism Reexamined," in *Romanticism Reconsidered*, ed. Northrop Frye [New York: Columbia University Press, 1963], pp. 107-33, at p. 131; quoted and endorsed by Henry H. H. Remak, "Current Research on Romanticism," in *'Romantic' and Its Cognates. The European History of a Word*, ed. Hans Eichner [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972], pp. 475-500, at p. 490), in 1965, "romanticism is still the most vexing problem in literary history" (Morse Peckham, "Romanticism: The Present State of Theory," in his *The Triumph of Romanticism* [Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970], pp. 58-83, at p. 58 [first published in *The PCTE* (Pennsylvania Council of Teachers of English) *Bulletin*, No. 12 (December, 1965), pp. 31-53]). The modern debate was begun by Arthur O. Lovejoy, "On the Discrimination of Romanticisms," *PMLA*, 39 (1924), 229-53 (reprinted in his *Essays in the History of Ideas* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press,

definition of the Romantic movement,<sup>22a</sup> I will limit my comments to showing that the Germans and Englishmen who shaped the Romantic movement had the greatest admiration for *Don Quixote*.<sup>23</sup> I focus on Germany and England because those are both the countries in which *Don Quixote* was at the time the most popular,<sup>24</sup> and in at the very least a curious coincidence, the countries in

1948], pp. 228-53), answered by Wellek in "The Concept of 'Romanticism' in Literary History," *CL*, 1 [1949], 1-23 and 147-72 (reprinted in Wellek's *Concepts of Criticism* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963], pp. 128-98); the debate was taken further by Peckham, "Toward a Theory of Romanticism," *PMLA*, 66, No. 2 (March, 1951), 5-23 (reprinted in *The Triumph of Romanticism*, pp. 3-26), who then repudiated most of what he said in "Toward a Theory of Romanticism: II. Reconsiderations," *Studies in Romanticism*, 1 (1961), 1-8 (reprinted in *The Triumph of Romanticism*, pp. 27-35). The state of affairs is summarized thus by Hans Eichner, "The Rise of Modern Science and the Genesis of Romanticism," *PMLA*, 97 (1982), 8-30, at p. 8: "Although there is anything but full agreement on the meaning of this elusive term, the number and importance of the proposed definitions have greatly decreased. At long last, it appears, scholars have realized . . . that any definition capable of encompassing Keats's sonnet 'To Sleep,' Novalis' *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, and Hugo's *Hernani* must be so broad as to be meaningless."

<sup>22a</sup> However, note the Cervantine overtones in a recent statement: "Common to the thinking of the whole movement was an awareness in the Romantic mind of a conflict between two worlds: 'One was the world of ideal truth, goodness, and beauty; this was eternal, infinite, and absolutely real. The other was the world of actual appearances, which to common sense was the only world, and which to the idealists was so obviously full of untruth, ignorance, evil, ugliness, and wretchedness, as to compel him to dejection and indignation.'" (Ernest Bernbaum, quoted by William Emmet Coleman, *On the Discrimination of Gothicisms* [New York: Arno, 1980], pp. 232-33; Coleman also provides a summary of recent thought on the definition of Romanticism.)

<sup>23</sup> Indeed, those who had less interest in Cervantes, such as Novalis, were more tangential to the movement.

<sup>24</sup> In eighteenth-century Spain Cervantes was less popular, and his status was often controversial. Early in the century the royal librarian and *académico* Nasarre defended the superiority of Avellaneda's Part II over that of Cervantes. To defend Cervantes as Spain's greatest author (by implication denigrating Lope, Calderón, etc.) was to open oneself to the accusation of lack of patriotism, with which Mayáns, Cervantes' first biographer, was indeed charged, and a position revived in 1939 (Julio Rodríguez Puértolas, "Ideología y realidad. La mitomanía casticista de los 'Siglos de Oro,'" *Nuevo Hispanismo*, 1 [1982], 77-102, at p. 89). As Tubino pointed out (p. 196), the esteem for *Don Quixote* as a classic did reach Spain from abroad.

Feijoo does not even mention Cervantes (nor for that matter any prose fiction) in the "Glorias de España" essay in his *Teatro crítico universal*; in none of the early Spanish histories of literature is he given anything near the role he was to have later, in part a peninsular reflection of the esteem for him abroad. "The literal-minded [Spanish] eighteenth century was apt to regard the *Quijote* as a gigantic piece of allegory and to misread, misuse and underestimate it accordingly" (I. L. McClelland, *The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain* [Liverpool: Institute of Hispanic Studies, 1937], p. 268; for an example, Gilbert Smith, *Juan Pablo Forner* [Boston: Twayne, 1976], p. 75). The earliest indication

which the Romantic movement began and with which it is most often associated.<sup>25</sup> I will subsequently discuss two themes.

The two men more than anyone else credited with starting the Romantic movement are the brothers Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel. The younger Friedrich is the movement's spiritual and philosophical father; to him is ascribed "the discovery of the whole romantic theory and the first use of the term 'romanticism' as the designation of a distinct phase in literary history."<sup>26</sup> He found in Cervantes "le véritable artiste romantique," "inspiré et conscient."<sup>27</sup> "*Don Quixote* is [for him] the model of the novel" (Wellek, *History*, II, 28), and the novel, "patrimonio de los españoles,"<sup>28</sup> is *the* romantic genre.<sup>29</sup>

known to me of a changing interpretation is found in Cadalso's *Cartas marruecas*: "En esta nación hay un libro muy aplaudido por todas las demás. Lo he leído, y me ha gustado sin duda; pero no deja de mortificarme la sospecha de que el sentido literal es uno, y el verdadero es otro muy diferente" (ed. Lucien Dupuis and Nigel Glendinning [London: Tamesis, 1966], p. 131). According to a note of Ribero y Larrea published in 1792, "Cervantes' popularity was rapidly growing . . . . Strangely enough, though the eighteenth century suffered from many mysteriously unfavourable illusions concerning native genius, it preserved the tradition of Calderón, it retrieved Lope and Tirso from neglect, and it *began* to visualize Cervantes as sovereign over Spanish literature" (McClelland, p. 269; italics mine). On the various readings made of *Don Quixote* in eighteenth-century Spain, see Francisco Aguilar Piñal, "Anverso y reverso del quijotismo en el siglo XVIII español," *Anales de Literatura Española* [Alicante], 1 (1982), 207-16, and "Cervantes en el siglo XVIII," *ACer*, 21 (1983 [1984]), 153-63; on the controversy surrounding Cervantes, Antonio Mestre's introduction to his edition of Mayáns' *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Clásicos Castellanos, 172 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1972), Gilbert Smith, "El cervantismo en las polémicas literarias del siglo XVIII," in *Cervantes. Su obra y su mundo*, pp. 1031-35, and R. Merritt Cox, "Cervantes and Three *Ilustrados*: Mayáns, Sarmiento, and Bowle," in *Studies in the Spanish Golden Age: Cervantes and Lope de Vega*, ed. Dana B. Drake and José A. Madrigal (Miami: Universal, 1978), pp. 12-20.

<sup>25</sup> I cannot resist quoting the following example of Cervantine influence in the United States: "Thoreau believed that 'it required a direct dispensation from Heaven to become a walker.' 'The chivalric heroic spirit which once belonged to the Rider,' he remarked, 'seems now to reside in, or perchance to have subsided into, the Walker—not the Knight, but Walker Errant.'" (Schenk, *The Mind of the European Romantics*, p. 173).

<sup>26</sup> Alfred Lussky, *Tieck's Romantic Irony, with Special Emphasis upon the Influence of Cervantes, Sterne, and Goethe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Bertrand, *Cervantes et le romantisme allemand*, pp. 120 and 627. It must be mentioned that according to Bertrand (pp. 102-03), Cervantes confirmed for Friedrich Schlegel conclusions he had already reached; on the origins of Schlegel's theory of Romanticism see Lussky, *Tieck's Romantic Irony*, especially Chapters I and II, and Raymond Immerwahr, "The Subjectivity or Objectivity of Friedrich Schlegel's Poetic Irony," *Germanic Review*, 26 (1951), 173-91, at p. 185, n. 55.

<sup>28</sup> Herder, quoted in Hoffmeister, p. 129.

<sup>29</sup> Wellek, *History*, II, 51. "Within this supreme genre of the novel *Don Quixote*

Less original, but a very important popularizer, both within and outside Germany, of the ideas of his brother is August Wilhelm Schlegel. As an indication of his importance, he is responsible for the famous distinction between classic and romantic; although he "did not invent the contrast, he formulated it in a manner which gained general acceptance and spread widely in Germany and beyond" (Wellek, *History*, II, 57). He proclaimed *Don Quixote* the "perfect masterwork of higher romantic art."<sup>30</sup>

It is Ludwig Tieck, however, who "is usually considered the head of the German romantic school" (Wellek, *History*, II, 93); though his prestige has shrunk, he was at the time a man of great influence and stature.<sup>31</sup> Tieck is also the first German to take a special interest in Spanish literature in general (see Wellek, *History*, II, 96), of which he accumulated a remarkable library.<sup>32</sup>

Tieck's "friendship with Cervantes was [as a youth] sealed for life"; *Don Quixote* "was for a long time his daily companion."<sup>33</sup> *Don Quixote* is "surely the only book in which humor, pleasure, jest, seriousness and parody, poetry and wit, the greatest imaginary adventures and the harshest realities of life have been raised into a genuine work of art."<sup>34</sup> Tieck translated *Don Quixote* into German (1799-1801); his daughter, at his suggestion, translated *Persiles* (1837), for which translation he wrote an introduction.<sup>35</sup>

The study of Cervantine influence on English Romanticism is more difficult. There is unfortunately no survey of Cervantine or other Spanish influence on English literature during this period, akin to Violet Stockley's *German Literature*

was to Friedrich the greatest example" (Ralph Tymms, *German Romantic Literature* [London: Methuen, 1955], p. 131). The equation of Romanticism with a type of lyric poetry is both late and restricted to English literary history.

<sup>30</sup> *Vorlesungen ber philosophische Kunstlehre*, quoted by Wellek, "The Concept of 'Romanticism' in Literary History," p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Close, *Romantic Approach*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>32</sup> *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque célèbre de M. Ludwig Tieck qui sera vendue à Berlin le 10. Décembre 1849 et jours suivants par MM. A. Asher et Comp.* (1849; rpt. Wiesbaden: Martin Sndig, 1970).

<sup>33</sup> "[Seine] Freundschaft mit Cervantes war [as a youth] frs Leben geschlossen"; *Don Quixote* "lange Zeit war er sein tglicher Begleiter" (Kpke, quoted in Lussky, "Cervantes and Tieck's Idealism," p. 1084).

<sup>34</sup> "Wohl das einzige Buch, in welchem Laune, Lust, Scherz, Ernst und Parodie, Poesie und Witz, das Abenteuerlichste der Phantasie und das Herbste des wirklichen Lebens zum echten Kunstwerk ist erhoben worden" (*Kritische Schriften*, quoted by Lussky, *Tieck's Romantic Irony*, p. 122).

<sup>35</sup> "He . . . gives us the reason why he so venerates Cervantes above all prose-writers . . . : It is that fine balance between Cervantes' loving esteem of his famous hero, and smiling at his weakness" (Roger Paulin, *Ludwig Tieck. A Literary Biography* [Oxford Univ. Press, 1985], p. 313). There is a critical edition of Tieck's translation by H. Rheinfelder (Dsseldorf: Rauch, 1951), according to Kurt Reichenberger, "Cervantes und die literarischen Gattungen," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift*, Neue Folge, 13 (1963), 233-46, at p. 243; Reichenberger also cites Rheinfelder's *Berichtigung zur Tieck'schen Übersetzung des "Don Quijote,"* 1944, which I have been unable to locate.

as *Known in England 1750-1830* (London: George Routledge, 1929), or the various studies of the Hispanic influence in the United States<sup>36</sup> as well as in Germany. The most complete survey, Martin Hume's *Spanish Influence on English Literature* (1905; rpt. New York: Haskell House, 1964), scarcely goes beyond the seventeenth century, the possibility of influence on the English Romantics seemingly never having occurred to the author, and Edwin B. Knowles, Jr., while helpfully studying *Don Quixote* in England during the period 1605-1660,<sup>37</sup> correctly points out that "it is the only period which has been thoroughly combed for Cervantes' influence."<sup>38</sup> However, we can mention, as a start, the case of Wordsworth, the author of "the manifesto of the English romantic movement, the signal for the break with the age of neoclassicism" (Wellek, *History*, II, 130). He himself gave *Don Quixote* a central place in his autobiographical *Prelude*.<sup>39</sup>

To strengthen the case for influence, setting aside such potentially rewarding topics as Cervantes' influence on the Romantic idea of the hero or view of nature or love,<sup>40</sup> I will limit my comments to two particularly confused areas,

<sup>36</sup> Miguel Romera-Navarro, *El hispanismo en Norte-América: exposición y crítica de su aspecto literario* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1917); Merrill F. Heiser, "Cervantes in the United States," *HR*, 15 (1947), 409-35; Stanley Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), of which there are important reviews by Lewis Mumford Jones, *CL*, 7 (1955), 272-75 and 'Ángel del Río, *RR*, 47 (1956), 197-205; Frederick S. Stimson's *Orígenes del hispanismo norteamericano* (Mexico: de Andrea, 1961); and Joseph Harry Harkey, "Don Quijote and American Fiction through Mark Twain," Diss. Tennessee, 1967 (abstract in *DA*, 29 [1968], 229A).

<sup>37</sup> "The Vogue of *Don Quixote* in England, 1605-1660," Diss. New York University, 1938; an excerpt, together with Knowles' "Don Quixote through English Eyes," *Hispania*, 23 (1940), 103-15 and "Allusions to *Don Quixote* before 1660," *PQ*, 20 (1941), 573-86, may be had in the author's *Four Articles on "Don Quixote" in England* (New York, 1941). See also his article "Cervantes and English Literature," already cited.

<sup>38</sup> "Cervantes and English Literature," p. 273. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century influence has subsequently been reviewed by John Ledger Skinner, "Changing Interpretations of *Don Quixote* from *Hudibras* to *Pickwick*," Diss. Cambridge, 1973, and Edward Lee Niehus, "The Nature and Development of the Quixote Figure in the Eighteenth-Century English Novel," Diss. Minnesota, 1971 (abstract in *DAI* 32 [1971], 3319A-20A).

<sup>39</sup> Edward Dudley, "Cervantes and Wordsworth: Literary History as Literature and Literature as Literary History," in *Cervantes. Su mundo y su obra*, pp. 1097-1104; Glenn W. Most, "Wordsworth's 'Dream of the Arab' and Cervantes," *English Language Notes*, 22, No. 3 (March, 1985), 52-58.

<sup>40</sup> It is tempting, however, to see Cervantine influence in such a Romantic view as the following: "Where the Romantics differed most fundamentally from the attitude of the preceding century was in their conception of love. What they envisaged was nothing less than a perfectly harmonious union between man and woman. This implied, above all else, that the sexual impulse and spiritual love were no longer to be dissociated as they had tended to be during the previous

in which aspects of the birth of Romanticism seem inexplicable without the direct and indirect influence of *Don Quixote* and the *libros de caballerías* for which Cervantes' text served as introduction. The first of these is the revival of interest in medieval literature ("romances"): the term "Romantic" was applied to the movement because it meant "in the spirit of romances,"<sup>41</sup> and the recognized expert on romances, author of what the younger Schlegel called "the most romantic of romances,"<sup>42</sup> was Cervantes.

epoch . . . . [A formulation of Friedrich Schlegel and Shelley]: 'The time will come when the inner beauty, the inner life of the soul will be the first and foremost attribute of a woman. Without this inner beauty a woman cannot even physically be attractive' (H. G. Schenk, *The Mind of the European Romantics. An Essay in Cultural History* [New York: Frederick Ungar, 1967], p. 153); on the homosexual counterpart to this see Tymms, pp. 130-31. James D. Wilson, although never mentioning Cervantes in his *The Romantic Heroic Ideal* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), has chapters on "The Romantic Love Object: The Woman as Narcissistic Projection" and "The Aesthetic Quest for Self-annihilation," and also discusses the sense of divine mission of the Romantic hero.

<sup>41</sup> Immerwahr, "'Romantic' and its Cognates," especially pp. 18-19, and "The Word *romantisch* and its History," in *The Romantic Period in Germany*, ed. Siegbert Prawer (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), pp. 34-63, especially pp. 39-40 and 48-51; also Lovejoy, "The Meaning of 'Romantic' in Early German Romanticism," in *MLN*, 31 (1916), 385-96 and 32 (1917), 65-77, reprinted in his *Essays in the History of Ideas*, pp. 183-206, at pp. 190-91 and 205 of the reprint. As Immerwahr points out, the birth of the term "romantic" in the sense that interests us was in England, where "'romantic' mean[t] 'as in a romance,' and thus 'medieval' and 'chivalric'" (Tymms, p. 3). "The fact is that the term Romance as applied to a story or a work of fiction did not convey in the middle of the eighteenth century quite what we should understand by the term. The distinction, such as it is, may be vague; but a Romance in 1750 often carried with it uncertain suggestions of the Sagas of Chivalry, Amadis, the Palmerins, Tirante the White . . ." (Summers, p. 25); the Cervantine inspiration for the selection of these titles is obvious.

<sup>42</sup> *Literary Notebooks*, cited in Immerwahr, "The Word *romantisch*," p. 54. The term "romance" applied to *Don Quixote* has different generic overtones in a Germanic context than in an English one. In England "romance" had been for some time seen as subordinate to its successor, "novel"; in Germany, where *Roman* meant novel (see Stuart Atkins, "*Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*: Novel or Romance?," in *Essays on European Literature in Honor of Liselotte Dieckmann* [St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1972], pp. 45-52), the novel or *Roman* was opposed to its successor, epic. (Inasmuch as medieval epics were all but unknown, the common modern view that the romance is a descendant of the medieval epic did not exist.)

In both cases, the romance is the older genre, the resurrection of which, or the

Johann Jakob Bodmer offered in 1741 "the first German critical analysis of *Don Quixote*."<sup>43</sup> He was also "the discoverer of German medieval literature" (Wellek, *History*, I, 147), publishing Wolfram's *Parzival* in 1754 and a partial edition of the *Nibelungenlied* in 1757.<sup>44</sup> The revival was continued by those Cervantine enthusiasts, the Schlegel brothers and Tieck (Wellek, *History*, II, 26, 39, and 96-97). Friedrich Schlegel desired progress through return to the Golden Age of chivalry and fanciful literature ("das Zeitalter der Ritter, der Liebe und der Marchen"), in which romanticism allegedly began (Tymms, pp. 8-9 and 126). If one ignores the different religious context and the preference for imaginative instead of historical literature, it is the same impossible dream as that of Don Quixote.

In England, Thomas Percy initiated the revival of medieval literature and shaped contemporary English poetry with his very influential *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), which went through four editions by 1794.<sup>45</sup> Although it is known to have been in preparation in 1761,<sup>46</sup> Percy's study of Spanish literature was earlier, and more important than his better-known projects involving Scandinavian, Oriental, and Hebrew literature.<sup>47</sup> In his earliest extant letter (1755) he refers to his use of "editions" of *Don Quixote*,<sup>48</sup> which he

extracting of some qualities of which, was perceived as desirable. Spain was Romantic because it was medieval, variously understood as Catholic, sentimental, irrational (see Van Maelsaek, p. 34; on the religious sense of the Romantic interest in the Middle Ages, Wilson, *The Romantic Heroic Ideal*, Chapter 3: "The Romantic Communal Impulse: A Search for Providential Order").

<sup>43</sup> Oscar Burkhard, "The *Novelas exemplares* of Cervantes in Germany," *MLN*, 32 (1917), 401-05, at p. 405.

<sup>44</sup> On his place in German Cervantine history, see Bergel, p. 313, and W. Daniel Wilson, *The Narrative Structure of Wieland's "Don Sylvio von Rosalva"* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1981), pp. 123-27. A very sensible excerpt from Bodmer's *Kritische Betrachtungen ber die poetischen Gemlde der Dichter* (Zurich, 1741) is translated in Rius, III, 197-99; Wilson (p. 123, n. 4) gives references to editions of the German text.

<sup>45</sup> "Few books have exerted such extended influence over English literature as Percy's *Reliques* . . . Scott made his first acquaintance with the *Reliques* at the age of thirteen, and the place where he read them was ever after imprinted upon his memory. Wordsworth was not behind Scott in admiration of the book. He wrote: '. . . I do not think there is an able writer in verse of the present day who would not be proud to acknowledge his obligation to the *Reliques*.'" (Henry B. Wheatley, introduction to his edition of the *Reliques*, I, xci.) Wordsworth said that Percy's volumes had "absolutely redeemed" English poetry (quoted by Johnston, *Enchanted Ground*, p. 1). Percy's *Reliques* also had a significant impact in pre-Romantic Germany: see Elsie I. M. Boyd, "The Influence of Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* on German Literature," *MLQ*, 7 (1904), 80-99.

<sup>46</sup> Wheatley, I, lxxv. The idea of editing it was not yet his in November of 1757 (Bertram H. Davis, *Thomas Percy* [Boston: Twayne, 1981], p. 76).

<sup>47</sup> Brooks, "Thomas Percy, *Don Quixote*, and Don Bowle," pp. 246-47.

<sup>48</sup> Cited by Smith, in the introduction to Percy's *Ancient Songs*. This letter has not been published; see Beutler, *Thomas Percy's spanische Studien*, p. 79.

called repeatedly his favorite book.<sup>49</sup> He collected the books ("romances") in Don Quixote's library, with a view to publishing annotations of to the book, as well as a revised translation;<sup>50</sup> Percy's collection was used not only by Samuel Johnson,<sup>51</sup> but by the first scholarly editor of *Don Quixote* and inheritor of Percy's annotation project, John Bowle.<sup>52</sup>

Southey, intimate of Coleridge, during this period named, through Scott's influence, poet laureate of England, felt that it was only because "these Spanish histories of chivalry were so villainously rendered [translated] that they

<sup>49</sup> "Don Quixote has always been my favorite Book" (the letter to Lockyer Davis of early March, 1761, in Percy's *Ancient Songs*, p. x); in the first sentence of his *Letter to Dr. Percy*, John Bowle refers to "our favourite writer Cervantes." Several additional comments along the same line are found in the Percy-Bowle correspondence.

<sup>50</sup> See the letter to Lockyer Davis of early March, 1761, in Percy's *Ancient Songs*, pp. xii-xiii. Percy's "Bibliotheca Quixotiana" was referred to as a collection in 1761, and he owned such books as *Palmerin de Oliva* in Spanish and *Tiran Le Blanc* in French in 1759. The exchange of letters with Davis concerns Percy's desire to use expensive books he could not afford to purchase, in exchange for which Davis was to have first refusal rights to publication of the results of Percy's Cervantine researches; from Davis' bill to Percy, enclosed with his letter of March 28, 1761 (Boston Public Library, MS Eng. 154(2)), we see that the books in question were *Polindo*, *Las Sergas del* [sic] *Esplandian*, *Amadis de Gracia* [sic], and *Felix Marte de Yrcania*, all at £2.2 each; also on the bill were *Amadis de Gaule* in 3 volumes (£1.5), *Diana of Montemayor* (0.7.6), *Palmerin of England* (0.7.0), *Roland L'Amoureux* in 2 volumes (0.3.0), and Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote* (0.2.6). See also Beutler, *Thomas Percy's spanische Studien*, p. 349, who reconstructs and annotates the "Quixotic Library" on pp. 367-400, A. Watkin-Jones, "A Pioneer Hispanist: Thomas Percy," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 14 (1937), 3-9, and the chapter on Percy in Johnston, *Enchanted Ground*, especially p. 91. Although Percy's library was not sold until 1969, when it was purchased in block by Queen's University of Belfast (*The Library of Thomas Percy, 1729-1811* [London: Sotheby & Co., 1969]; a copy is in the Florida State University library), almost all of his chivalric and other Spanish books were long ago separated from it (see Watkin-Jones, p. 9).

<sup>51</sup> See Mack Singleton, "Cervantes, John Locke, and Dr. Johnson," in *Studia Hispanica in Honorem R. Lapesa* (Madrid: Cátedra-Seminario Menéndez Pidal-Gredos, 1972), I, 531-47.

<sup>52</sup> In Bowle's *Letter to Dr. Percy*, he states at the beginning that he addressed himself to Percy because "you are so conversant in every branch of polite literature, especially that which has ingrossed so much of my time and attention" (p. 1, emphasis added), and then adds that "it is not at present my intention to trouble you with extracts from those *Libros de Cavallerias*—the Romances, which, by your assistance, I have had the patience to toil through" (p. 3; emphasis added). At the beginning of his edition, Bowle wrote "Se deben principalmente Agradecimientos al Reverendo Señor el Dr. Thomas Percy, Dean de Carlisle, que de su Librería Cavalleresca de Quixote me regaló el uso de quantos Libros tuvo, necesarios para ilustrar su Historia" (quoted by Smith in the preface to Percy's *Ancient Songs*, p. xv). In the Percy-Bowle correspondence one can see further how Percy was, of the pair, the one more interested in the Spanish romances, which, as in his letter to Bowle of July 15, 1781, he wished to see reprinted.

produced so little effect upon our literature."<sup>53</sup> To remedy this deficiency, he published English versions of *Amadis* (1803) and *Palmerin of England* (1807);<sup>54</sup> a copy of his translation of *Palmerin* had a considerable influence on the poetry of John Keats, who also knew *Amadis*.<sup>55</sup> These works were followed by Southey's translation of the *Chronicle of the Cid* (1808),<sup>56</sup> and his own work on Rodrigo (1814).<sup>57</sup> It was immediately afterwards (1816) that the first edition of Malory in nearly two centuries was published, giving birth to Arthurian scholarship in England and beginning the revival of Arthurian literature that has lasted to the present day.<sup>58</sup>

A further development which would seem inexplicable without Cervantes' influence is the great cult of chivalry in nineteenth-century England and Germany and to a lesser extent in the South of the United States, today almost forgotten because so embarrassing, and so disastrous in its final product.<sup>59</sup> The

<sup>53</sup> Introduction to his edition of *Palmerin of England* (London, 1807), I, xlv. Southey goes on to point out one exception to this lack of influence: *Amadis de Grecia*, of which he claims influence on Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare.

<sup>54</sup> Brief excerpts from the translations of *Amadis* and *Palmerin* are included in the Ormsby-Jones-Douglas translation of *Don Quixote*, pp. 848-80. The 1872 edition of Southey's *Amadis* is available from University Microfilms, order number A7G-OP62574.

<sup>55</sup> Charles I. Patterson, "The Keats-Hazlitt-Hunt Copy of *Palmerin of England* in Relation to Keats's Poetry," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 60 (1961), 31-43; Thomas, p. 297.

<sup>56</sup> The *Chronicle of the Cid*, a conflation from various sources, as Southey explains in his preface, is available with an introduction by V. S. Pritchett (New York: Heritage Press, 1958).

<sup>57</sup> On Southey's Hispanism, see Ludwig Pfandl, "Robert Southey und Spanien. Leben und Dichtung eines englischen Romantikers unter dem Einflusse seiner Beziehungen zur pyrenischen Halbinsel," *RHi*, 28 (1913), 1-315. Three pieces in Southey and Coleridge's *Omniana*, all of them by Southey, refer to *libros de caballerias*: "Lions of Romance" (pp. 85-87), which mentions *Palmerin de Oliva*, "Amadis and Esplandian" (pp. 90-91), and "Tirante el Blanco," already cited in Chapter III. The two former were first published in *The Athenaeum*, 4 (1808), 30-31 and 125-26 respectively.

<sup>58</sup> While in Spain there was a *Belianis literario* from the mid-eighteenth century (McClelland, pp. 58, 62 n. 2, etc.), the first edition of *Amadis* since 1587 was not until 1838. On the new editions of Malory, see Johnston, *Enchanted Ground*, pp. 190-92; on the revival of Arthurian literature in English, see the final two chapters of Stephen Knight, *Arthurian Literature and Society* (New York: St. Martin's, 1983) and Raymond H. Thompson, *The Return from Avalon: A Study of the Arthurian Legend in Modern Fiction* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1985). The pioneering study was by Nathan Comfort Starr, *King Arthur Today: The Arthurian Legend in English and American Literature, 1901-53* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1954).

<sup>59</sup> Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), in an astonishing final chapter, credits it with some of the responsibility for the First World War. Twain's accusation (in *Life on the Mississippi*) that it had a role, through "Southern chivalry,"

revival of chivalry in England is primarily attributable to Sir Walter Scott, as Girouard shows.<sup>60</sup> He was the most famous living author in the world in the early nineteenth century,<sup>61</sup> the one who, incidentally, Spanish authors have imitated more than any other;<sup>62</sup> he was also the favorite author of king George IV (Girouard, p. 34). At one point five dramatic adaptations of *Ivanhoe* were running in London simultaneously (Girouard, p. 90).<sup>63</sup>

Scott had "the most unbounded admiration for Cervantes";<sup>64</sup> he "compared

in setting the stage for the American Civil War is well known. Also well known is the role of chivalry in stimulating German nationalism, and with it the German military machine, in the expansionist and aggressive age of Bismark (Tymms, p. 9); through Wagner, it had an influence on the National Socialist movement.

<sup>60</sup> Scott's revival of chivalry played a significant role in the birth of the modern concept of Scotland. "A pre-Romantic drama, Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen*, had already inaugurated the tradition of chivalry plays, but it was not until the Romantic era itself that the literary *genre* of the chivalric novel originated, and, owing to the imaginative gifts of Sir Walter Scott, immediately gained the widest appeal. Scott, partly Celtic by origin, ingeniously combined the patriotic and feudal nostalgias. In both his evocative efforts he was greatly helped by the fact that the age of heroic ideals he contrived to resurrect was far less remote in Scotland than in most other countries. For it was not so long ago, perhaps a mere generation before his birth in 1771, that clanship had been predominant in the border society to which his ancestors belonged. And retrospective patriotism could fasten on so comparatively recent an event as Bonnie Prince Charlie's Jacobite attempt of 1745-6 which, in Scott's first novel *Waverly*, is invested with all the glamour of a lost cause. Obviously, nostalgia for the past and sympathy for defeated causes often go hand in hand." (Schenk, *The Mind of the European Romantics*, p. 34.) On the topic, see Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 15-41.

<sup>61</sup> Girouard, p. 30; also Pierce, *Currents and Eddies*, Chapters V and VII. "Para encontrar un éxito universal semejante al que tuvo *Amadís de Gaula*, es menester llegar en el siglo XIX a las novelas de Walter Scott" (Ángel Salcedo Ruiz, *La literatura española*, II [Madrid: Calleja, 1916], 386).

<sup>62</sup> Peers, *A History of the Romantic Movement in Spain*, I, 107. Among Spaniards influenced by Scott was Milá y Fontanals, who said that Scott was his favorite author and the one who had introduced him to medieval studies (Philip H. Churchman and E. Allison Peers, "A Survey of the Influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain," *RH*, 55 [1922], 227-310, at pp. 261-62). Scott is therefore a key predecessor in the scholarly tradition which was to produce Menéndez Pidal's exaltation of Spanish medieval heroism, on whose consequences see María Eugenia Lacarra, "La utilización del Cid de Menéndez Pidal en la ideología militar franquista," *Ideologies & Literature*, No. 12 (1980), 95-127, and "Consecuencias ideológicas de algunas teorías en torno a la épica peninsular," in *Actas del séptimo congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1982), pp. 657-66.

<sup>63</sup> "The impact of Scott's work was hardly less prodigious than that of Lord Byron. Manzoni, Alfred de Vigny . . . , and Balzac, too, notwithstanding his criticism, admitted that he had been influenced by Scott." (Schenk, *The Mind of the European Romantics*, p. 35.)

<sup>64</sup> Lockhart's life of Scott, quoted in W. U. McDonald, Jr., "Scott's Conception of *Don Quixote*," *Midwest Review*, No. 1 (March, 1959), pp. 37-42, at p. 37.

himself to Cervantes as an author."<sup>65</sup> While it was the *Novelas* that had first inspired him "with the ambition of excelling in fiction,"<sup>66</sup> he "knew *Don Quixote* well. He read it in the original, and apparently used it as a Baedeker for his extended tour into the land of romance books . . . . At one point he seriously contemplated doing an English translation."<sup>67</sup> Over 100 allusions to *Don Quixote* in Scott's works have been collected.<sup>68</sup>

Clara Snell Wolfe has observed that "a very extensive phase of Scott's writing—the choice of medieval chivalresque material for his novels—may owe much to his reading of Spanish . . . . That the typically chivalresque in Scott finds its counterpart in *Don Quixote* and likewise in *Amadís*, its model, is manifest" (p. 310). The beginning of Scott's Waverley novels, in general his shift from writing chivalric verse ("The Lay of the Last Minstrel") to prose was his contact with *Amadís*, through Southey's translated text.<sup>69</sup> In his review of that book,<sup>70</sup> he remarks that "the fame of *Amadís de Gaul* has reached to the present day, and has indeed become almost provincial in most languages of Europe. But this distinction has been attained rather in a mortifying manner:

<sup>65</sup> Skinner, p. 335. He continues: "The existence of important parallels between Cervantes and Scott was clear even to the latter's contemporaries, and the distinguished Swedish critic C. A. Hagberg elaborated on these connexions, as early as 1838." In a note Skinner cites Ch. Aug. Hagberg, *Cervantes et Walter Scott. Parallèle littéraire* (Lund, 1838).

<sup>66</sup> James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *A New History of Spanish Literature* (1926; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), p. 283; Aubrey Bell, "Scott and Cervantes," in *Sir Walter Scott Today. Some Retrospective Essays and Studies*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson (London: Constable, 1932), pp. 69-90, at p. 70. (According to Stanko B. Vranich, Sigmund Freud had also read the *Novelas exemplares* in Spanish while in his teens, identifying with the dog Cipión, who listens therapeutically to Berganza's history of his sufferings in a sick society. See Vranich's "Sigmund Freud and 'The Case History of Berganza': Freud's Psychoanalytic Beginnings," *The Psychoanalytic Review* [Spring, 1976], pp. 73-82; reprinted in translation as "Sigmund Freud y 'El historial clínico de Berganza': Los comienzos psicoanalíticos de Freud" in Vranich's *Ensayos sevillanos del Siglo de Oro* [Valencia: Albatros Hispanófila, 1981], pp. 105-14.)

<sup>67</sup> Knowles, "Cervantes and English Literature," p. 286.

<sup>68</sup> Clara Snell Wolfe, "Evidences of Scott's Indebtedness to Spanish Literature," *RR*, 23 (1932), 301-11; more superficially, Aubrey Bell, "Scott and Cervantes." A few parallels were pointed out by Thomas, *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 298-99.

<sup>69</sup> Staves, p. 214. This position can be contrasted with a study such as that of Jane Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), which has nothing whatever to say about Cervantes, *Amadís*, or even Southey, or the historical confusion found in an article in which *Amadís* is at least mentioned: Jerome Mitchell, "Scott's Use of the Tristan-Story in the Waverley Novels," *Tristania*, 6, No. 1 (1980), 18-29. Pierce, *Currents and Eddies*, has a lot to say about Scott and cannot avoid dealing with Spanish material, but equates Spanish influence with writing about Spanish topics, and is unsympathetic.

<sup>70</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, October 1803, pp. 109-36. This was the first book review Scott ever published (Margaret Ball, *Sir Walter Scott as a Critic of Literature* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1907], pp. 37 and 162).

---

for the hero seems much less indebted for his present renown to his historians, Lobeira, Montalvo, and Herberay,<sup>71</sup> than to Cervantes."

At the very least, Cervantes' influence deserves considerable further examination.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Vasco de Lobeira was formerly believed to be the author of an original Portuguese redaction of *Amadís*, now lost, and is so credited in Southey's introduction; the theory of Portuguese authorship is today somewhat out of favor though not vanished. Montalvo produced the version we have. Herberay is the work's French translator.

<sup>72</sup> While *Amadís* had an independent life (see, for Germany, Sigmund J. Barber, "*Amadís de Gaule*" and the *German Enlightenment* [New York: Peter Lang, 1984]), mention of *Tirant* and especially *Palmerín de Inglaterra* is an infallible sign of Cervantine influence. For example, they and others are mentioned by Daniel Schiebeler in his "Anmerkung zu Lisuart und Dariolette," (1767; summarized by Gloria Flaherty, *Opera in the Development of German Critical Thought* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978], p. 255). They are also found (along with *Perceforest* and *The Knight of the Sun*) in Matthew G. Lewis, *The Monk*, ed. Louis F. Peck (New York: Grove, 1952), pp. 147 and 258; see Edgar G. Knowlton, Jr., "Lewis's *The Monk* and *Tirant lo Blanc*," *Notes and Queries*, New Series, 30 (1983), 64-65. However, one need not rely on such names to detect Cervantine influence, which is everywhere in this important Gothic novel. *The Monk* itself was an influence, according to John Berryman's introduction to the Grove edition (pp. 25-27), on Byron (especially Byron's concept of the hero) and Scott, both of whom Lewis advised, and also on Shelley, Wordsworth, and Southey.