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THE TRAGEDY OF JOHN BOWLE

R. Merritt Cox (1939–1987): Pioneer of John Bowle Studies
GEORGE GREENIA AND DANIEL EISENBERG 5–8

The Rev. John Bowle's Quixotic Woes Further Explored
R. W. TRUMAN 9–43

Las *Anotaciones* de Bowle, que le han merecido elocuentes elogios de parte de los cervantistas, llegaron a ser objeto de un ataque feroz por parte de Giuseppe Baretti. Éste formó una alianza de rencor con John Cruickshanks, antiguo capitán en la Armada Británica y, más recientemente, entrañable amigo y dedicado colaborador de Bowle, por haber sufrido ambos por parte de él, y de una manera muy pública, una falta de sensibilidad y de buen juicio personal que tenía forzosamente que provocar un resentimiento profundo. Se rastrean aquí las causas y etapas del creciente enfrentamiento entre Bowle y los otros dos, aprovechándose, entre otros, de materiales de suma rareza existentes en la Biblioteca Bodleiana de Oxford. Todo culminó en el *Tolondron* de Baretti, libro lleno de desprecio y oprobio por la labor que había ocupado a Bowle durante tantos años. Un amigo de Bowle escribió que *Tolondron* le había causado una profunda pena, minándole la salud y abreviándole la vida, pero no antes de que perdiera la amistad de su colaborador más apreciado, John Dillon: otra obra de sus dos antagonistas.

La edición del *Quijote* de John Bowle. Sus dos emisiones
DANIEL EISENBERG 45–84

In some reference works Bowle is said to have published two editions of *Don Quixote* in 1781: one in London and the other in Salisbury, one in four volumes and the other in six. A comparison of both states reveals that they are different emissions of a single edition, with changes only in the title pages and the opening leaves of Volume 1. Many copies have been bound with the separately-distributed title pages placed incorrectly. The same content can be found in two, three, four, and six-volume sets.

The Grangerized Copy of John Bowle's Edition of *Don Quixote* in the Cushing Memorial Library, Texas A&M University
EDUARDO URBINA AND STEVEN ESCAR SMITH 85–118

El Proyecto Cervantes de la Cushing Memorial Library, Texas A&M University, ha comprado un ejemplar extrailustrado de la edición del *Quijote* (1781) de John Bowle: su comprador hizo encuadernar en su ejemplar quince ilustraciones, tomadas de fuentes diversas. Se describe el ejemplar y se analizan sus ilustraciones en relación con la iconografía textual del *Quijote* en el siglo dieciocho.

Correspondence
JOHN BOWLE 119–140

Se publican cuatro cartas de Bowle a Juan Antonio Pellicer, cuatro cartas del librero Gabriel de Sancha con tres respuestas de Bowle, cuatro cartas a *Gentleman's Magazine*, una de las cuales cita una carta en castellano que probablemente es de Juan Sempere y Guarinos, y dos a señores ingleses al parecer interesados en *Don Quijote*.

Tolondron. Speeches to John Bowle about his Edition of *Don Quixote*, together with Some Account of Spanish Literature

JOSEPH BARETTI 141–274

Ataque saladísimo y cruel a Bowle, negando la necesidad y utilidad de su edición comentada. “Cantad y bailad, / Bailad y cantad / De nuestro Mosén Bolo / Chichirichólo, / Chichirichón, / De cabo en rabo Tolondrón.”

ARTICLES

Teresa Panza's Character Zone and Discourse of Domesticity in *Don Quixote*

LOUISE CIALLELLA 275–296

Con el marco teórico del cuerpo carnivalesco y el discurso proverbial bajtinianos, se le enfoca a Teresa Panza como mujer trabajadora (re)productiva dentro de una economía agraria. La presencia a distancia de Teresa y su discurso de la domesticidad influyen especialmente en las reescrituras hechas por Sancho en la Segunda Parte de algunos de los proverbios usados por su mujer y en el diálogo entre Sancho y Don Quijote sobre el amor y el matrimonio. Entre el discurso dialógico de Sancho y Teresa y el ideal monológico de Don Quijote, el dialogismo cervantino crea espacios domésticos que metafóricamente están abiertos o cerrados, productivos o no productivos. Pero en último caso se quedan sin trazar definiciones restrictivas de lo masculino y lo femenino que aislarían al cuerpo carnivalesco del mundo vital, renovante y renaciente, con el que estaba todavía conectado.

De nuevo sobre Cervantes y Heliodoro. La comunicación lingüística y algunas notas cronológicas

MÁXIMO BRIOSO SÁNCHEZ AND HÉCTOR BRIOSO SANTOS 297–341

Cervantes' acquaintance with Heliodorus's work was no earlier than the conclusion of *Don Quijote* Part I. Composition of *Persiles y Sigismunda* cannot, therefore, have begun before 1605.

Apuntes para una solución: La narración de Rutilio

REYNALDO C. RIVA 343–355

This article focuses on the marvelous adventure of Rutilio, the dance instructor whose tale involving lycanthropy presents, in *Persiles y Sigismunda*, a problem of verisimilitude. Tracing the etymology of his name to the color red, and reviewing the negative associations of red in humans, this article maintains that Rutilio is indeed a liar, a character whose puzzling story is a challenge Cervantes sets to his discerning readers.

Novelas ejemplares. Cuestiones ecdóticas (IV)

CARLOS ROMERO MUÑOZ 357–377

Difficult points in “La fuerza de la sangre,” “El celoso extremeño,” and “La ilustre fregona” are studied.

Cervantes in the German-Speaking Countries of the Twentieth Century

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Se examinan cinco adaptaciones de *Don Quijote* y “El coloquio de los perros,” en Alemania Occidental y Oriental, Austria y Suiza.

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Laughter Tamed

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ALICIA DE COLOMBÍ-MONGUIÓ 450–456

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R. Merritt Cox (1939–1987), Pioneer of John Bowle Studies

There had been little scholarly attention given to John Bowle's landmark 1781 edition of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* when R. Merritt Cox entered graduate studies at the University of Wisconsin, where he worked with Mack Singleton. His dissertation, "The Rev. John Bowle, First Editor of *Don Quixote*," on the figure called by Julio Casares the "verdadero fundador de la crítica erudita del *Quijote*," was published as *The Rev. John Bowle. The Genesis of Cervantean Criticism* (1971). This first book-length appreciation of Bowle's grand accomplishment was expanded during Cox's early faculty appointments, first at Wisconsin and then at Duke, and grew during his tenure at the College of William & Mary (1972-1987) into a companion volume dedicated to Vicar of Idmiston's life and publishing career, *An English* Ilustrado*: The Reverend John Bowle* (1977). The lasting contributions of these two monographs are well documented by the fresh research presented in this issue of *Cervantes*.

Merritt's roots in Richmond, Virginia—the second colonial-period capital of this Commonwealth after Williamsburg—were deep. A native son, he did his undergraduate work at the University of Richmond, and even after he decided on Spanish literature as his area of professional specialization he chose to focus on the same era as that of Virginia's pre-eminence in eighteenth-century Amer-ica. That century is still the most neglected in Spanish literary studies, but Merritt laid out the intellectual territory for his

peers in solid volumes on the then still-undervalued authors *Tomás de Iriarte* (1972) and *Juan Meléndez Valdés* (1974), and finally in a comprehensive panorama of *Eighteenth-Century Spanish Literature* (1979). He also explored the political and literary relationships between Spain and the American Colonies during that formative century. His attainments as a researcher won him the distinction of becoming the youngest person ever elected a Corresponding Member of the Hispanic Society of America.

It's a little curious to compose a biographical note on a colleague who died sixteen years ago. Merritt was then a precocious eminence in my department, an admired researcher who was also a cherished friend gifted with a wickedly droll sense of humor and a passion for his adopted century of study. He was honored even in historic Williamsburg for his purchase and loving restoration of an eighteenth-century home in Smithfield, Virginia. My memories are still fresh of the sudden onset of the cancer that finally took him and all the details of the quiet heroism that surrounded his final days. There was valid reason for disappointment in the medical care he received: lost X-rays never transmitted among his various doctors, a bothersome case of diverticulitis which led his physicians to stop checking on his incipient prostate cancer until it became systemic and untreatable. But Merritt never allowed his justified pique at some of his medical consultants to undermine his warm relations toward his friends, colleagues and students. Despite the uncontrollable growths attacking organs throughout his body, Merritt gamely hobbled the halls of our modern languages building as he doggedly continued to teach Spanish literature through his final semester. His partner, Dick Austin, supervised the streams of traffic through their household and sagely organized the troops of family and friends who delivered gifts of food, happy conversation laced with raunchy jokes, and words of fond encouragement day by day. Death came on yet another crisis trip to the hospital, but swiftly and without rancor.

After Merritt's passing, on July 2, 1987 at age 48, we gathered outdoors in a Richmond cemetery under an oppressive heat,

fogged and unfocused and hoping to feel his spirit one last time. The presider was no help at all: a stray Baptist minister who had visited his room during one of Merritt's hospitalizations and who admitted during his remarks that they had only met once—and not by any invitation from the patient. His words were generic and saccharine, and not at all what would have comforted us, until he stumbled into a delicious misquotation from (of all things) Lewis Carroll's "Jabberwocky." We were told that although they had never met before, their sole conversation had allowed the minister and "Ralph" (as he continued to call him, to our distress) "to speak of many things, of cabbages and queens." Merritt's intimates, both gay and straight, desperately avoided each other's gaze for fear of breaking into howls of laughter on the spot, something we did with joyful relief later on as we conducted our own memorials over drinks.

Merritt died as a true Alonso Quijano el Bueno after a life of noble striving, stumbles which never defeated him, and even a mock theatrical funeral service which left his admirers grinning at the transcendent humor of it all.

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Merritt and I met in 1971, when he was at Duke and I at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. This was the time when, after an article in the UNC-based *Studies in Philology*, the UNC Press published his first book on Bowle. Merritt and I shared stories about our mistreatment by our respective institutions—he telling me, incredibly, how Richard Predmore had

asked if he knew enough about Cervantes to teach a course on him. We were both on the job market simultaneously, and he turned down, on Ted Beardsley's good advice, an offer at City College of New York—subsequently offered to me, seven years Merritt's junior and at that time without a published book. Merritt went to William and Mary, and I lasted one year at CCNY, in the midst of New York City's bankruptcy and severe and open intradepartmental warfare.

Merritt and I had more contact when I edited Bowle's correspondence with Thomas Percy, and Merritt was very generous in sharing both materials and his expertise. In fact the project would have never happened, would never even been thought of, but for Merritt. He had a microfilm of the Bowle letterbooks from Cape Town, and he let me have it copied. I was offered Merritt's work materials after his death, but they never arrived and now cannot be located.

Merritt and I saw each other at MLA meetings, and I recall his frustration that Bowle's edition of *Don Quijote* could not be reprinted, a frustration that grew after the 1977 facsimile of the Academia's 1780 edition. Some steps toward this end have been made: a microfilm of Bowle's edition can now be purchased, and a digital facsimile will be available from the Proyecto Cervantes.[1] Perhaps Merritt's dream of a reprint on paper will become possible in 2005.

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[1] For information on these resources, see note 3 of my article in this issue.

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The Rev. John Bowle's Quixotic Woes Further Explored[1]

R. W. TRUMAN

ne cannot imagine that John Bowle will ever receive a warmer tribute than he did recently in the great Barcelona edition of *Don Quixote*. There Francisco Rico writes: "Nos faltan palabras para alabar la tarea de don Juan (como gustaba llamarse…), la documentación, amplitud, exigencia, acierto y sobriedad de su comentario: con que nos contentaremos con decir que se halla en la raíz de todos los posteriores y que son abundantes las glosas que ningún cervantista parece haber querido llevar más allá de donde las dejó Bowle" (Rico 1: ccxvi–ccxvii).

It would be nice to think that Bowle had received some comparable recognition of his achievement in his own lifetime. After all, he repeatedly writes of what a wearisome labour it had often been to get through the reading necessary to enable him to write

[1] This article is a revised version of "The Revd John Bowle's *Quixote*—and What Went Wrong," a paper presented at the Taylor Institution Graduate Seminar in Spanish, 29 May 2001 (http://www.ox.ac.uk/gazette/2000-1/weekly/170501/lecs.htm, 15 March 2003), and "The Sad Story of John Bowle's Edition of the *Quijote*," a paper presented at the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland Annual Conference, Cork, April 13, 2002 (abstract at http://www.ukc.ac.uk/secl/spanish/ahgbi/abstracts.htm, 14 March 2003).

those three hundred pages of annotations and indices that accompany his edition of *Don Quixote*. So, when he had been at the task for several years, he writes to Thomas Percy in October 1777: "With my accustomed Perseverance I have toild, & turmoild thro *El verdadero suceso de la famosa batalla de Roncesvalles, con la muerte de los doze Pares de Francia*, por Fr. Garrido de Villena, en Toledo, 1583. 4to, Six and thirty as dull & tedious cantos as ever merited Fire, or perpetual Oblivion" (Percy-Bowle 49). And nearly three years earlier: "I have gone thro the dry desert of the many thousand lines of the *Morgante Maggiore* of Pulci, &, fortifyd with a proper share of Patience—Bowle was always strong on the subject of his patience and perseverance—have traversed the less fertile & more ungrateful soil of Alamanni in his *Gyrone il Cortese*: In both I have discoverd that Cervantes went this road before me."[2] Fortunately, Bowle did enjoy Ariosto. His list of works consulted in preparing his annotations contains well over 200 entries. When, in early 1776 or perhaps a little before, he discovered Sebastián de Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, he settled down to read the work right through and spent a month and more on it.[3] And yet the very labour that he put into all this research became the main object of a 300-page (and more) onslaught on him that finally put paid to any hopes he might have had of success for his edition in his own country. After he died, in 1788, a friend of many years wrote (as we shall see) that the impact of this attack certainly shortened Bowle's life.

Bowle very largely brought this unhappiness upon himself—by a singular act of imprudence in print and, still more strikingly, by a remarkable act of insensitivity towards his most devoted friend and collaborator in the mid-1770s, when his whole life was taken up with the preparation of his edition. This collaborator was a former naval captain, John Crookshanks.

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[2] Letter to Percy of 11 February 1775 (Percy-Bowle 36).

[3] Letter to Percy of 25 March 1776 (Percy-Bowle 42). Bowle repeats this claim in his *Letter to the Reverend Dr. Percy*, of 1777 (p. 23 of the original edition, 114 of the modernized one by Eisenberg).

Much of Bowle's life and literary activities as they relate to his *magnum opus* has been extensively covered by R. Merritt Cox and Cleanth Brooks in particular;[4] and, of course, we have the invaluable edition of Bowle's correspondence with Thomas Percy by Daniel Eisenberg in the Exeter Hispanic Texts, to which reference has already been made. There remains, though, something more to be said, I think, especially as regards Bowle's dealings with Crookshanks ("the elusive Mr Crookshanks," as Cox calls him) and their consequences for Bowle, especially when Joseph Baretti became involved.

Bowle had shown his interest in literary scholarship when he was still only in his mid-twenties. It was then that he received a highly flattering mention from the Rev. John Douglas (later, Bishop of Salisbury) in his *Milton Vindicated from the Charge of Plagiarism brought against him by Mr. Lauder, and Lauder himself convicted of Several Forgeries and gross Impositions on the Public* (1751) for having "the justest Claim to the Honor of being the *Original Detector* of this ungenerous Critic."[5]

The Percy-Bowle correspondence shows how Bowle came to take over what was initially Percy's own project of producing an extensively annotated edition of *Don Quixote*. Presumably, Percy had himself been encouraged to envisage such a project by the impressive scholarly editions and studies of Chaucer and, above all, Shakespeare being produced in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, especially in the 1760s, and that by people with some of whom Bowle was himself to have direct contact. Although he lived his life mainly in his handsome vicarage in the

[4] My present study owes a large debt to the second of Cox's books especially. All subsequent references to Cox will be to this work, *An English* ilustrado.

[5] Douglas writes that Bowle "has been so kind as to communicate to me, by the Hands of a Friend, what he knows relative to *Lauder's* Forgeries. And no body knoweth so much as this Gentleman, who long before I examined the *Bodleian* Library, had collected materials for an Answer to *Lauder*…. I thought this Acknowledgement due from me to Mr *Bowle*, who will, also, I flatter myself, have the Thanks of the Public" (52). As early as March 1750, Bowle had written from Oxford about Lauder's forgeries to Edward Easton, the Salisbury bookseller and publisher, whose son Edward was to print Bowle's *Quixote* (Cox 29).

village of Idmiston, a few miles north of Salisbury, he was often in London and was very much in touch with the scholarly literary life of his time. He refers to the work of Theobald, the first scholarly editor of Shakespeare, of whom David Nichol Smith long ago wrote that "he endeavoured to explain and illustrate Shakespeare by the writings of his contemporaries. He recognized that the time had come for an English classic to be treated like the classics of Greece and Rome."[6] This aim was explicitly applied to *Don Quixote* by Bowle.[7] He shared the general high regard for Richard Farmer's *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*, of 1767, though not seeing it as in all points beyond criticism.[8] Late in his life, we find him mentioning to the great Shakespeare editor, Edmond Malone, the "3 vols of Shakespeares quarto playes" which he had lent to another editor of Shakespeare, Edward Capell, back in the mid-1760s.[9]

[6] Smith 41; see also Brooks 261. For Bowle's reference, see his Preface to his *Miscellaneous Pieces of Antient English Poesie*, fol. A2^{v}. He had recorded purchasing "Theobald's Shakespeare" in December 1750, just at the time he was meeting Douglas in London (Cox 29).

[7] "I cannot give over all thoughts of a Classical Edition of this great work, & should reluctantly make publick in a Translation what the Author perused in the Originals, which should be pointed out" (letter to Percy of 31 March 1774; Percy-Bowle 34). Again, "From the commencement of my intimacy with the text of *Don Quixote*, I was induced to consider the great author as a Classic, and to treat him as such" (*Letter to Dr. Percy*, p. 1 of the original edition, p. 98 of the modernized one). Compare Percy to Bowle, 2 April 1768: "I shall sometime attempt, if not a new edition, of the Original: yet an improved Translation with large Notes & Illustrations: as well containing Criticisms on the Spanish Phraseology of the Author, as large Extracts from the old Romances by way of a Key to his Satire" (Percy-Bowle 13).

[8] He begins the paper he read to the Society of Antiquaries of London in November 1779 by remarking: "Among the several writers who have exercised their talents on that inexhaustible fund of criticism the works of Shakespeare, Dr Farmer in his Essay on his learning confessedly stands the foremost," but goes on to argue against an observation of Farmer's on the history of French pronunciation ("Remarks on the Antient Pronuntiation" 76).

[9] Bodleian MS Eng.Letters c.15 ("Letters and Papers 1734–1833, mainly addressed to Edmond Malone"), fols. 23^{r}–24^{v} (fol. 23^{r}). Bowle notes that Capell had made a transcript of the edition during the nearly twelve months that he

In his fifty-page trailer for his edition of *Don Quixote*—the *Letter to Dr. Percy*—Bowle sets his own project in this larger context, remarking that Shakespeare's plays had recently been much examined with a view to establishing the genuine text. Boccaccio, he adds, had received similar attention in the Giunta edition of the *Decameron*. He continues: "it may be hoped, therefore, that an Edition of *Don Quixote*, executed with equal fidelity in this particular [that is, "as being a Re-impression of the true and most approved text, page by page, and line by line, with the same orthography and punctuation"] may prove equally acceptable."[10] Another editorial model that he had in mind was the French "Dauphin Classics."[11] It was not until the end of 1778 that he learned of what the Spanish Benedictine Martín Sarmiento had written on the importance of reading what Cervantes had read if one was to understand *Don Quixote*, but he quotes his words at length in the Prologue to his own edition (1: iii–iv).[12]

It was after Percy discovered that Bowle shared his own devotion to *Don Quixote* that Bowle became, in effect, his collaborator and assistant. But Percy was chaplain to the Duke of Northumberland and had other calls on his time, and by a point not very far into the 1770s the *Quixote* edition had become Bowle's project. In this he was to find his own devoted collaborator in

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had kept it. A richly illuminating recent account of the character of English literary scholarship at this time is given by Walsh.

[10] Bowle is here quoting (26 of the original edition, 116 of the modernized one), as he admiringly points out, words from Nicola Francesco Haym's "Al Lettore," in his edition of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (London: Tonson & Watts, 1724). He later remarks that "As it is my ultimate wish to have the text pure and genuine, I would spare no pains to effect this" (33 of the original edition, 122 of the modernized one).

[11] *Letter*, 45 of the original edition, 130 of the modernized one. What he picked out for praise here was the provision of maps showing "the travels of their heroes."

[12] In the Postscript to his *Remarks on the Extraordinary Conduct* (of 1785), he quotes, in support of his own approach to *Don Quixote*, Thomas Warton's comment in a note on Spenser: "If Shakespeare is worth reading, he is worth explaining" (45).

Captain John Crookshanks. "I look upon you as a cooperator with me in my intended work," Bowle wrote to him on 14 January 1777.[13]

The correspondence between the two of them kept in the British Library begins in July 1774.[14] In August Crookshanks was writing to Bowle: "If I can do anything for you here [in London], pray don't spare me"; and a fortnight later, "I have & shall always have a pleasure in any commission you will give me," and he clearly meant it.[15] So, for example, he went looking in London for the books Bowle said he needed; he sent him "Trueman's Catalogue" (August 1775); he took things to Percy at the Duke of Northumberland's London home (4 April 1776), and in that same month put himself to trouble to interest the Spanish consul in London, Don Miguel de Ventades, in the enterprise; he worked with the draftsman preparing maps for the edition, helping him "to understand your last directions and corrections, some of which he could not make out," and at the same time helped Mr. Ben White, the Fleet Street bookseller, with proofs.[16] He shows himself a man of tact and good sense. In June 1776 one finds him writing to Bowle about his *Letter to Dr. Percy*:

> I shall go or send to Mr Ben White before I leave this & bring anything he has to send. There is an expression in the last sheet I saw that I can't get out of mind, it comes across me continually, viz. "Cervantes perhaps with the *undistinguishing Herd* of his countrymen"—might not this be softened, even preserving the sense [?] Mr White did not like it better than myself, that expression, & the best reason he gave for not altering it, for I own I would have done so, was, this Ques-

[13] British Library Add. MS 23143, fol. 54^{v}.

[14] Add. MS 23143. However, Bowle "first saw Captain Crookshanks" a full year earlier, on 4 July 1773. This fact is recorded by Bowle in an autograph note dating from not earlier than the end of June 1786 and headed "A CARD" (Bodleian MS Eng. misc. d.244, fol. 108^{r}).

[15] Fols. 6^{r} (11 August), 8^{r} (23 August).

[16] Fols. 18^{r}, 32^{r}, 34^{r}.

> tion, may not Mr Bowle think we take too great Liberties with his Diction[?] I answered[,] Mr Bowle is master to determine at last; we mean as his friends to defend him from Cavillers or Criticks when it is made publick, & some, nay often, times a cool reader is more aware, than the writer can be, especially a head so fraught with abundant various matter as that of our friend Mr Bowle[.] Pray think of this before the sheet is work[ed] of[f]. If I am wrong when you have reflected, me hincaré de rodillas."[17]

It should be added at once that, just two months *before* Crookshanks had sent him these thoughts, Bowle had expressed himself very differently in his *Letter to Dr. Percy*: "I profess the highest reverence and esteem for that Country which has produced so wonderful a Genius [and] I can find no excuse for Father Feijoo's total silence of his name in his *Glorias de España*, of which he was so great an ornament" (47–48 of the original edition, 134 of the modern one).[18]

Bowle and Crookshanks invited each other to their houses. In the middle of this correspondence we find Bowle writing on 15 February 1776 to express pleasure at Crookshank's promise to visit him: "The sooner the better. Both larders are pretty well stored. Food for the Body, Food for the mind, and the last bottle of Narbonne at your service." The following month, in another warm letter—this time about visiting Crookshanks—he signs

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[17] Fol. 44^{r}. The point was taken: "herd" became "multitude." Benjamin White (1725?–1794), having originally been a partner with John Whiston, carried on an extensive bookseller's business of his own at Horace's Head, Fleet Street, from the mid 1760s and made a speciality of books on natural history and expensive books of other kinds. He has been said to be the brother of Gilbert White, author of the celebrated *Natural History of Selborne*. See Plomer 261 and Maxted 244.

[18] A week before his letter to Bowle just quoted, Crookshanks had written: "I am just come from White's who will send you back [the] last sheet this Post we have worked to correct[. W]e have taken liberties, with great good wishes for your and the public's approval[;] you can easily alter again if you disaprove. This we are sure of, we have made it more easily intelligible to common readers, & more musical to our London ears" (fol. 42^{v}; 9 June 1776).

himself "your Affectionate Friend." Invitations from Crookshanks urging Bowle to visit him at his home in Penton in Hampshire (only a dozen miles or so from Idmiston) are no less warm and a good deal more frequent. So he writes in September 1776: "If in the current of next week you will like to take bed & board at Penton, I hope you are sure, I shall rejoice to see you." Meanwhile, if Bowle would like him to send a two-dozen hamper of the Narbonne wine he has now got, he will gladly do so. He had practical advice for wintery weather: "keep your head doubly warm in Bed & my life for it you will drive away the cold." In the last of these letters, after offering Bowle sound advice on the steps he should take to get his edition well known in Spain, he writes: "I wish you all & every species of satisfaction in your pursuit—pleasure, honour, credit, profit. De dicho al echo [sic] se va gran trecho. Non obstante, if any Co-operation of mine can be of any use or significance, my pleasure will reward & gratify me highly, and you may depend on me for the best I can do."[19] It was in harmony with this disposition that Crookshanks subscribed for five copies of Bowle's *Quixote*: more than any other of the subscribers listed.

"Many happy new Years to Mr Bowle and his fireside," he had wished him at the start of that same month of January 1777.[20] We now move on to 1785, four years after Bowle's edition of *Don Quixote* had appeared, and find that relations between them had radically changed. Now, in a forty-four-page work dated January of that year and published soon afterwards, Bowle quotes from what he says was his final letter to Crookshanks (no date is given): "What a man must I have been, after your many professions, after acquainting you with my progress, and accidental lucky discoveries, if it could have entered into my thoughts, that you was treasuring up a load of concealed malevolence, to be discharged against me at a certain season, when there was a prospect of do-

[19] Fols. 25^{v} (February 15, 1776); 28^{r} (March 17, 1776); 48^{r} (January 9, 1776); 11^{r} (February 15, 1775); 56^{r-v} (January 25, 1777).

[20] Fol. 58^{r}.

ing me essential injury? I should loath and detest myself, if such had been the frame of my mind." These words appear in his *Remarks on the Extraordinary Conduct of the Knight of the Ten Stars and his Italian Esquire, to the Editor of* Don Quixote (41; henceforth *Remarks*).[21] What had happened to so poison relations between Bowle and Crookshanks when they had been such good friends? Bowle himself leads us to an answer in this same work.

First, as he acknowledges here, he had failed, in the Prologue to his edition, to include any word of gratitude to Crookshanks for his collaboration, or indeed even to mention him. This contrasts with the effusive thanks that Bowle offered here to another person, John Talbot Dillon, who had no part at all in the enterprise until late in 1777, when he wrote from Rome offering Bowle (as Bowle reported to Percy) "a very large Collection of Notes critical historical with Illustrations of Don Quixote, explaining all the hard words & difficult passages."[22] The two quickly became frequent correspondents and admiring friends. On 1 October 1780, Bowle wrote to Dillon: "I have particularly made choice of this day to answer your last favour, it being the anniversary of an event, to me the most agreeable of all others in the annals of my correspondence: and that is your first letter from Rome 1777" (Cox 81). Dillon assisted Bowle's work on his *Quixote* in other

[21] The full title of this work concludes: "*in a Letter to the Rev. J.S. D.D.*" The only copies known are in the Bodleian Library. Cox (95–96) is surely right in revising his earlier view of the identity of "the Rev. J.S. D.D." and concluding that "we can now be fairly certain" that this was "the Rev. Dr Simpson"—this on the basis of a brief memoir of Bowle, written after his death, where reference is made to Bowle's "letter to Dr Simpson." (See also *infra*, p. 33.) This identification seems beyond reasonable doubt. The Rev. Joseph Simpson matriculated at The Queen's College, Oxford, in 1728, became a fellow there in 1736, took his D.D. in 1761, and from 1756 until his death in 1796 was rector of Weyhill, near Andover, in Hampshire (which was a college living); see Foster 4: 1300a. That means that he was a close neighbour of Crookshanks, at Penton. It seems, too, from other evidence that he was regarded as an informed admirer of Cervantes. All this gives point to the fact that Bowle made "the Rev. J.S. D.D." the addressee of this self-justificatory epistle. He sent him two copies of his *Remarks* early in February 1785 (Cox 95).

[22] Letter to Percy of 27 October 1777 (Percy-Bowle 50).

ways too, as we shall see; so thanks were indeed due to him, but it is understandable that Crookshanks should have been greatly offended at being totally ignored—all the more so, perhaps, since he and Dillon had come into contact with each other through Bowle. It seems that the three occasionally met together socially. And if Dillon could report to Bowle in October 1780 that he had taken steps to advertise his *Quixote* in the *Gazette du Bas Rhin*, Crookshanks (as Bowle reported to Dillon that same month) had "been very earnest in my business whilst abroad, and has given an account of what I have done to a Marquis de St. Simon of Utrecht." Bowle added that he had sent Crookshanks "Sheets A, B, and T of my Anotaciones. This last includes part of the forty-eighth, all the forty-ninth, and part of the fiftieth chapters of the First Part" (Cox 82).

It may well be that Crookshanks was all the more inclined to react angrily in a situation where he felt himself to have been affronted and unjustly treated because of a lingering resentment over another—very public—affront that he had suffered many years before, in 1747, in an episode of his naval career which had continued to be a matter of public dispute long afterwards. When he, in command of one ship, in company with another British warship, failed to capture a 70-gun Spanish vessel on single passage across the Atlantic, his fellow commander in the other ship (which had suffered severe damage from the Spaniards) saw to it that Crookshanks—his senior officer—was brought before a court-martial in Jamaica. The outcome was that Crookshanks was dismissed the Service, and although it was expressly recorded (as one reads in Charnock) that there was no suggestion of cowardice or want of zeal on his part in failing to engage the enemy, he was left with a deep sense of injustice and a determination to clear his name.[23]

[23] For an account of the whole episode, see Charnock 5: 149–60. In the entry—by J. K. Laughton—on Crookshanks in *Dictionary of National Biography* it is claimed that the account of him given in Charnock was contributed by Crookshanks himself and that it contains "many statements which are grossly partial and sometimes positively untrue,"among these being the statement that

As early as 1749 he had submitted a Humble Petition to the King asking that the verdict of the court-martial be reviewed. However, a decade later, and after repeated applications from him had gone before no less than five Boards of Admiralty, he had not obtained any redress. He therefore brought things into the open by publishing, in December 1758, an account of the unhappy episode as he saw it: *The Conduct and Treatment of John Crookshanks, Esq.* This quickly caused a stir and did bring results. Admiral Knowles, who had been Commander-in-Chief in the Caribbean and whom Crookshanks charged with gross impropriety in his handling of the whole episode of the court-martial, answered in print with the anonymously published *A Refutation of Capt. Crookshanks' Charge against Admiral Knowles.* This soon brought *The Reply of John Crookshanks, Esq. to a Pamphlet lately set forth by Admiral Knowles. In which Reply that Charge is supported; and the Partiality and Injustice of the Admiral are Further Proved.* Beyond this exchange, in that same year of 1759, a "Gentleman in the Country" published *A Letter…to a Member of Parliament in Town, containing remarks upon a Book lately published, intitled* The Conduct and Treatment of John Crookshanks, Esq.—this Letter having been written in response to the M.P.'s request for information on the matter. The "remarks" of this writer (who is unnamed) amount to a strongly argued protest at Crookshanks' treatment: "There never was a more glaring Instance of a confederate Kind of Partiality to destroy the Reputation of a Man, than what appears throughout the whole of this Affair"; and he invites the M.P. to read Crookshanks' own account.

There was a further contribution (for our present purposes the most relevant of all) to this war of words more than a decade later, in 1772. Crookshanks had made it very clear, at the end of the 1750s, that he was almost as indignant at the conduct of the

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the court-martial "did, by a unanimous resolve, acquit him even of the suspicion of cowardice, disaffection, or want of zeal." No specific evidence is adduced, and the whole account of him given here is notably hostile. Whatever judgement on Crookshanks' naval career may be the right one, it is clear that this entry is erroneous on some points of fact and in certain other respects is misleading.

Judge-Advocate involved in the court-martial—one Robert Kirke—as he was at Knowles' behaviour. In 1771, in an action before the Ecclesiastical Court, a Lady Warren charged this Robert Kirke with having been "one of the Persons hired by Sir George Warren [her husband] to carry off Lady Warren" from the protection of her father's home, where she had sought refuge, Kirke being "a Person of a most infamous Character." Crookshanks was brought in as a witness on the side of Lady Warren. As to Kirke's character, he declared—on oath—"that from the unfair and partial Manner in which the said Robert Kirke proceeded against the Deponent [= Crookshanks] on the said Trial [his court-martial] in the Year 1748, he has ever since looked upon, and doth still look upon him, the said Robert Kirke, to be a Man whose Heart is capable of bad Acts." Kirke's revenge was to publish the entire official record of the court-martial, followed by the questions put to Crookshanks in the Warren case, together with his answers, and a detailed commentary by himself on those answers. For good measure, he dedicated the work to the Earl of Sandwich, First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty.

This commentary is both informative and, in one respect, highly damaging. It tells us that the Lords of the Admiralty (stirred at last into decisive action—clearly—by the publicity suddenly acquired in 1758–59 by the Crookshanks *affaire*) submitted a report, dated 26 October 1759, to the King-in-Council declaring that they had "carefully examined" and "maturely considered" the Minutes and Resolutions of Crookshanks' court-martial and had concluded that the sentence passed on him—that he be dismissed the Service—"was just." Nevertheless, they recommended that now, when twelve years had elapsed, "Crookshanks be placed on half-pay according to his rank at the time of his dismissal." The recommendation was approved at a Privy Council on 9 November 1759. What, however, is contended—and stressed—by Kirke (who had evidently been at some pains to consult the relevant documents, from which he quotes) is that Crookshanks was *not* restored to his rank of Captain, even though he continued to be treated with that title and, in the Warren case,

stated on oath, in reply to a direct question on the point, that he was so reinstated.[24] And Kirke's book was known to Bowle.

He had already read it by the time he "first saw Capt. Crookshanks" in July 1773. As he also noted in his "Card": "June 27. 1786. I *first knew* Captn *Crookshanks* from Mr *Kirke's* publication of the Minutes & Proceedings of his Court Martial Lond. 1772. 8vo. then lent me by a Gentleman: which I believe to be true: having received at his hands together with Mr Kirke, *Hatred without cause & malice without end* p. 143."

As regards Crookshanks' insistence ("he swears") that he had been restored to his rank, Bowle asks here: "Is this true?" The following February he was referring bitterly to Crookshanks as "the no Captain" (Cox 101). It is abundantly clear that, by this time, he had long since come to share the hostility towards Crookshanks that Kirke had expressed in his book of 1772. How far the latter coloured Bowle's view of Crookshanks in those earlier years of their collaboration on the *Quixote* must remain uncertain; but the fact that Bowle had the knowledge that he did of the episode of Crookshanks' court-martial as presented by Kirke may help to explain his otherwise puzzling silence about Crookshanks in the Prologue to his edition. This was not a person—he may have thought—to place in the company of "Señor D. Juan Talbot Dillon, Barón y Cavallero del s acro Romano Imperio" (as he had be-

[24] See Knowles, *Refutation* 21; Crookshanks, *Reply* 4, 32–33, 40, and 43; *Letter…to a Member of Parliament* 1 and 16; Kirke vi, 138–39, and 162–66. It should be noted that Crookshanks also asserted in the clearest terms in a letter addressed to the King, George III, no less (asking that he might be restored to active service "as this is a time of war," though he was then past sixty) that "in consequence of a report from the lords commissioners of the said board [of Admiralty] made to his [late] majesty in council, he [George II] was farther graciously pleased to order that your petitioner should be restored to his rank, which is now done, and his name stands in the naval books, in the list of captains according to his rank of seniority." According to Charnock, this letter (which he prints) went as an appendix to another letter (which he also prints) addressed to the same Earl of Sandwich to whom Kirke dedicated his book. In this letter, dated simply 1771, Crookshanks yet again restates his position as regards the incident that led to his court-martial. It emerges that he had recently had a meeting with the Earl and that his reception had been frosty. See Charnock 5: 158–60.

come) and the other luminaries to whom he was here expressing his gratitude and admiration.

On the other hand, this background of Crookshanks' professional misfortunes that brought his service in the Navy to an unhappy end may offer a partial explanation of why his response to the snub he perceived himself (as we can take it) as having suffered from Bowle was so disproportionately fierce. Another part of the explanation for this was, of course, the alliance of resentment against Bowle that, from the early 1780s, formed between Crookshanks and Joseph Baretti, as he was known in London.

The immediate cause of Baretti's hostility was a remark of Bowle in his *Letter to Dr. Percy* advertising his forthcoming edition. Here, at the point where he acknowledges his debt to Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua*, he adds, quite needlessly, that "Baretti's account of it, and of Spanish Literature [in] general, is egregiously defective and erroneous" (24 of the original edition, 114 of the modernized one). This was a gratuitously offensive remark, for Baretti acknowledges and indeed stresses more than once, in the account that he gives of Spanish literature, the limits of his knowledge of the matter. "I write down what I know on the subject of Spanish literature as it comes into my head. Being but little, it is not worth the while to think of throwing it into method; and I rely on your indulgence for the want of it" (*Journey* 3: 44). He explains that "I have had Spanish enough these many years (he was writing in 1760) for common converse, and can even feel many of its elegancies and prettinesses, but could never apply [myself] to it with any great degree of vigour, never having been possessed of any considerable number of books at any time."[25]

[25] *Journey* 3: 17–18. He describes here the extent of his reading in Spanish literature: "*Don Quixote*, some lyrick poetry by Boscán and Garcilasso, some plays of Calderón and De Vega, the histories of De Solis [=Antonio de Solís, author of *Historia de la conquista de México*, Madrid, 1684 and much reprinted], Sandoval [presumably Prudencio de Sandoval's *Primera parte de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos Quinto*, Valladolid, 1604], and Herrera [=Antonio de Herrera Tordesillas, author of *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas i Tierra firme*

Bowle would have been wise to show the indulgence for which Baretti asked. Had he been able to read the references to him in Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, he would have realized that any offence given in that quarter was likely to bring a violent response. In October 1769, Baretti stabbed and killed a man in the Haymarket in a confrontation with three ruffians. When he went on trial for murder at the Old Bailey, Johnson was one of those who gave testimony on his behalf, as did Edmund Burke, Garrick, and others, and he was acquitted. Boswell records Johnson's words of praise for Baretti the previous year: "His account of Italy is a very entertaining book; and, Sir, I know no man who carried his head higher in conversation than Baretti. There are strong powers in his mind. He has not, indeed, many hooks; but with what hooks he has, he grapples very forcibly."[26] Bowle was

del mar Océano, Madrid, 1601–15, and of the three-part *Historia general del mundo*, Madrid, 1601 and thereafter], half a dozen Books of chivalry, with *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the poem of the *Araucana*, and the Translation of *Orlando Furioso*, [which] make near the whole of my Spanish reading." At the end of the account of Spanish literature that he nevertheless undertakes, moved by his interest in the subject and his conviction that it should be much better known, he writes: "I have little more to add with regard to the Spanish Literature, because I know but little more" (3: 87). Such candid remarks on Baretti's part no doubt encouraged the learned and toiling literary scholar that was Bowle to regard him as no more than a light-weight.

[26] Boswell 394–95 and 419. Johnson was more generous to Baretti than the latter to him. The following year (before Baretti went on trial), at a dinner party given by Boswell, when another guest "regretted that Johnson had not been educated with more refinement, and lived more in polished society," Baretti had replied: "No, no, my Lord, do with him what you would, he would always have been a bear" (Boswell 400). A native of Piedmont, Giuseppe Baretti (1719–89) had first come to London in 1751, after making serious trouble for himself at Turin with a satirical piece directed at a professor of literature there. Having returned to Italy in 1760 (via Portugal, Spain, and France), he wrote and published between 1763 and 1765 a fortnightly review at Venice, *La Frusta Letteraria*, whose stinging satirical manner in its treatment of books which Baretti judged to be worthless got it banned by the Venetian censors. He then returned to London. See Hainsworth and Robey, *The Oxford Companion to Italian Literature*, *s.vv.* "Baretti, Giuseppe Marc'Antonio," and "*Frusta Letteraria*"; and Cooper. Johnson's reference here is to Baretti's *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy* (London, 1768).

now to find this out for himself.

His relationship with Crookshanks (at least, face to face) could not have lasted long after the publication of his *Quixote* in June 1781. Already before its publication, in early April of that year, Bowle was putting into a letter to Dillon: "I gave Mr Crookshanks your letter in Salisbury the 3rd and he was with me the 6th. He has been of late much in the negative mood."[27] Looking back to this year, Bowle noted in his "Card ": "Oct.13.1781 was the last time I saw him at Penton, where Baretti then called, & this was the only time I ever met him under the Captain's roof." It must have been a difficult social occasion, with Baretti smarting over the put-down he had received in Bowle's *Letter to Dr. Percy* and Crookshanks resentful over being ignored in Bowle's Prologue and possibly suspecting too that the reason for this lay in Bowle's thoughts about the publicity that had attached itself over the years to Crookshanks' court-martial.

The situation now deteriorated sharply. In March 1782 Bowle wrote to Dillon: "I am sorry to inform you that I have too much reason to pronounce Mr Crookshanks's late (I fear I may say with truth whole) conduct towards me to be unfriendly and injurious. What wonder? He is now the pupil of Baretti for Italian, who is also his confidential friend, and my constant reviler" (Cox 92). On 19 May 1783, Bowle wrote to Crookshanks: "that man [Baretti], by the uniform account of all that know him, is a bad man; which I believe, that I may not affect a singularity of sentiment." Baretti himself quotes these words in his *Tolondron*, of 1786 (246); clearly Crookshanks had let him see the letter. In 1784–85 Bowle published, under pseudonyms, a series of letters of complaint against both men in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. The first and longest of these begins:

> As I have within a few days past discovered some very unfair practices respecting the admission of an account of my edi-

[27] Cox 85. Cox points out that this sentence is crossed out in Bowle's draft of the letter, so we can take it that it was not in the letter sent.

> tion of Don Quixote into two periodical publications, to which I had some reason to think I was entitled, and have found the perpetrators of them to have been a false friend, and another, whose encomium I should regard as an affront and real slander; the one as fond of the grossest flattery, as the other ready to give it, and both alike wholesale dealers in abuse and detraction…[28]

However, it is in his *Remarks on the Extraordinary Conduct of the Knight of the Ten Stars, and his Italian Esquire, to the Editor of* Don Quixote, undertaken, Bowle insists, as an act of self-defence, that one finds the full force of his anger and sense of betrayal.

> From my outset to the exhibition of my *Prologo* to him [Crookshanks], as far as I can recollect, I had his concurrence. On shewing him this, when set up for revisal, the weather-cock of his opinion veer'd about, and he at once told me *it* would damn my whole work:… Had he said, if it stands as it now does, *I* will damn your whole work, he had spoke out, and more to the purpose. But it had not then been told him, that I had been more grossly deceived by him, than by any man I ever knew; he had not then been directed not to look into Tom Jones, B[oo]k II, Chap. 1, for the odious character of a Slanderer; nor did it enter my thoughts, that in conjunction with his colleague, he would have gone the lengths he has.[29]

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[28] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 54 (1784): 565–66. The letter is dated 17 August. For the other letters of Bowle's here, see: 55 (1785): 497–98, 608, 675, and 760. [Ed. note: the first letter is reproduced in the selection of Bowle's letters, and the following four in notes to Baretti's *Tolondron*, both in this same issue of *Cervantes*.]

[29] *Remarks* 2. (The reference is no doubt to Captain Blifil in Fielding's *Tom Jones* and in particular, it seems, to Book II, Chapter 2.) Much later in this work Bowle refers to "*that railing, that vulgar, abusive language*, those genuine effusions of *Wapping* oratory, and *Billinsgate* rhetorick, with which he [Crookshanks] has larded his letters to me; the last of which, I hope, came back safe to his hands, unanswered" (42–43). Bowle writes further that he knows that "the *animata maledicenza* [sic] of the Italian has received fuel from him [Crookshanks] and that he [Baretti] has been his agent for his defamatory purposes" (43).

The thought of referring to Crookshanks and Baretti in terms of "the Knight of the Ten Stars and his Italian Esquire" seems to have been prompted by a work of Baretti himself. This was his *Dissertacion epistolar acerca unas obras* [sic] *de la Real Academia Española*, where he sets forth his views (in often flawed but nevertheless lively Spanish) on the 1780 four-volume Spanish Academy edition of the *Quixote*. He was critical alike of the system of orthography employed there and of the successive pronouncements on Spanish orthography made by the Academy over the preceding decades. He tells us that he proposed to leave to that institution his copy of its edition of *Don Quixote*, so that it might profit from his annotations. For the Academy *Dictionary* (the *Diccionario de autoridades*) he also had much criticism (together with some praise) on grounds of both orthography and lexicography. Furthermore, he recommends that the Academicians should learn from Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*, with its briefer and more succinct definitions of terms.[30] (One may note here in passing that the position which Baretti adopts now as regards such matters differs strikingly from the practice he followed in his revision and enlargement of Giral del Pino's *Dictionary* of 1763, where, as he writes of himself: "As to the orthography, he had adhered to Johnson and the Academicians, without the least deviation." He also remarks that "he has added little less than ten thousand words, and made many erazures."[31])

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[30] See 16–17 and 19–20. The only known copy is in the Bodleian library, and bears the author's MS. corrections. The Bodleian catalogue gives it the impossible date of 1734, which is an error for 1784.

In his *Tolondron* Baretti explains his particular motives in writing this twenty-three-page pamphlet, which "I printed here in London, at my own expense, about three years ago, and made a present of near the whole edition (which was not large, as you may imagine) to the well-known Spanish bookseller and printer, *Señor Antonio Sancha*, who happened to be in England at that time; that he might show his countrymen, the Academicians, and other good folks in Spain, what were the thoughts and ideas of a foreigner about their orthography and lexicography: two districts of their academical province, which, to me, seem, as yet, but poorly cultivated" (*Tolondron* 270–71; see further 271–98).

[31] See Giral del Pino, *A Dictionary, Spanish and English…*, "Advertisement."

However, this work of Baretti's has two points of more immediate interest. First, it is addressed "Al Señor Don Juan C**********," where the asterisks clearly stand for the letters of Crookshanks' name.[32] Secondly, there is a mocking reference here to Bowle. The occasion may well seem trivial: the fact that he has followed the Spanish Academy's *Quixote* in banishing "la pobrecita de la *ese doblada*" from his own. "Señor Don Juan, yo no creo que Usted querrá jamás apadrinar a essa reforma tan monstruosa, como hizo el tolondrón de Juan Bowles [sic]"—since to do so is to "matar a palos la pronunciación y la etimología juntas."[33] What is of more interest is the fact that Baretti here applies to Bowle the term—"tolondrón"—which was to serve as a leitmotif of mockery running through the work that he wrote now with such destructive and unpitying polemical power in response to Bowle's *Knight of the Ten Stars* and where it would stand first in its title: *Tolondron. Speeches to John Bowle about his Edition of* Don Quixote; *Together with Some Account of Spanish Literature*.[34]

It is ironical that, in what appears to be Bowle's earliest recorded reference to Baretti, in April 1772, he writes to a London bookseller that, if Baretti ever thinks of publishing a Spanish-English dictionary, "I will send him an exact list of several omissions in Delpino of genuine Castillian words which occur in Cervantes, Aleman, and others." "My respects to that gentleman" (Cox 58–59).

[32] In the Bodleian copy of this work, at the head of the text on page 3, the name "Crookshanks" is supplied in a MS annotation to the "C**********" (with the additional information: "formerly a Post Captain"). This annotation appears to be in the same hand as a series of marginal annotations revising the spelling of a number of words in the text. These, it seems, may well be in Baretti's own hand.

[33] *Dissertacion* 10. For Bowle's comments on this work, see his *Remarks* 20–40. He makes ironic play (at p. 33) of the term "tolondrón" as applicable, in Baretti's eyes, to the Academicians who had produced their great Spanish dictionary.

[34] Under "Tolondro o Tolondrón," the *Diccionario de autoridades* first gives the literal meaning of "a bump on a part of the body, especially the head, caused by a blow," and then gives the metaphorical sense: "Llaman [tolondro o tolondrón] al desatentado, desatinado, o que no tiene tiento en lo que hace." The verb "atolondrarse" brings out more of the meaning: "Metaphóricamente vale confundirse, atontarse, turbarse, assí en los discursos y operaciones intelectuales como en los movimientos de pies y manos sin saber acertar en cosa alguna."

His attack on Bowle, sustained over chapter after chapter with a mastery of English that is indeed remarkable, has two main aspects. He sets out to destroy, in the eyes of his readers, Bowle's personal reputation and any claim he might have been thought to have to respect as a student of Spanish literature; and he ridicules the aims that Bowle set himself in producing his edition (especially as regards its volume of textual annotations).

Baretti takes the case of Bowle's Prologue to his edition. Here —he recognizes—was the root of the enmity that developed between Bowle and Crookshanks. Bowle had shown Crookshanks the text of this Prologue and Crookshanks had responded by declaring: "Master Bowle, this *Prologo* will damn your edition at once" (*Tolondron* 238). At this Bowle had taken deep offence, and, from then on, adopted an attitude of deep hostility towards Crookshanks. Baretti adds that the latter had advised Bowle to take his text to his friend Dillon, who was fluent in Spanish, for correction. Bowle should then write it out again and, as a further precaution, put this before the eyes of a Spaniard. After all that, he could publish his Prologue as his own work. "This, Mr John Bowle, is, within a hair's breadth, what Captain Crookshanks has told me with regard to you and your *Prologo*, when I asked him the reason of your actual great enmity to him, after having been very good friends during many years" (240). Baretti at once goes on to cite the passage (quoted *supra*, 25) on this point in Bowle's *Remarks*. As Baretti comments, these words in Bowle's *Remarks* do offer corroboration of what Crookshanks had told him.

In this part of his attack on Bowle, Baretti was mostly on strong ground. The Spanish of the Prologue stood and stands in need of correction and revision at numerous points. Dillon, moreover, as he himself mentions elsewhere, had lived "many years" in Spain in his youth,[35] so he was an obvious person to approach for help. However, Baretti's account of the matter is itself at fault in claiming (allegedly on the authority of Crook-

[35] Letter of Dillon to Mr. B. White, Bowle's London bookseller, of 1 October 1777 (Cox 68).

shanks) that Bowle did no such thing. In fact, on 18 January 1781 he wrote to Dillon: "I send you for inspection and correction the first part of my Prologo. What is strictly my own will probably want more of the latter; the rest which I have carefully extracted [from other writers] may probably be found not very erroneous." The following 4 April he could write to Dillon: "Mi prologo á las Anotaciones I have at length compleated, and the part which I communicated to you is at the press" (Cox 83 and 86). It was nevertheless unwise of him (even though now he was under pressure of time) not to get the entire Prologue corrected—all the more so when one of Bowle's reasons for writing his Prologue in Spanish must have been to present his edition to Spanish readers and elicit their interest. Baretti's account of the matter suggests that Crookshanks concluded that Bowle's Prologue as it stood would damn his edition in Spanish eyes.[36] He may also have thought that a Prologue in Spanish was likely to put off potential English buyers—even those who knew Spanish and felt some interest in Cervantes' text. Apart from linguistic issues, Crookshanks may have judged—with some reason—that the general shape and character of the Prologue (so far as it extended at the time he saw it) lacked appeal.

Bowle claims, in his *Remarks*, that his omission from his Prologue of any mention of Crookshanks had been "inadvertently" done (41). This is unconvincing. After showing Crookshanks the text of the Prologue "when set up for revisal," he could easily have inserted some richly deserved words of thanks to him. Moreover, it is clear from his letters of January and April 1781 to

[36] On the other hand, it is clear from occasional passages in Spanish in Crookshanks' letters to Bowle, and especially in a letter of his written entirely in Spanish to the Spanish consul, Ventades, that he himself had only limited competence in the language. Indeed, in his letter to Ventades, of late 1775 or early 1776 (of which he made a copy for Bowle), he refers to himself—then in his late sixties—as "un Pobrete Moço Estudiante en la Lengua Castellana" (Bowle-Crookshanks Correspondence [*supra*, n. 14], fol. 25^{r}). His capacity, therefore, to recognize the weaknesses of Bowle's Spanish is open to question—as also, in consequence, is the sense of the remark of his to which both Bowle and Baretti refer.

Dillon that he had given careful thought to the question of whom he should thank in his Prologue. So, in the second of these letters: "I have made my acknowledgements to Dr Percy, Mr Tyrwhit, to yourself, D. J. A. Pellicer, y D. Casimiro de Ortega." The fact that he still made no mention of Crookshanks seems to signify a petulant resentment at the latter's response to the text (as well as, one suspects, the deeper motive already suggested here).

At all events, Baretti made this the occasion to wield his stick:

> But, what use, Master Bowle, did you make of the captain's good advice? Conceited, infatuated, ridiculous Tolondron! Positively sure, lapideously sure, that your *Prologo* was a diamond of the first water.—A *Prologo* not a jot inferior to that of Cervantes to the *Desocupado Letor*.—You rejected scornfully the captain's advice, turned your back upon him, went away in the dumps, began to mutter about, that he was not the man you took him for, and grew sparing of your visits at Penton. Your spleen began thus to simmer in the caldron of disappointment: and to make it bubble up, not a word of praise from any quarter; and what was still worse, no body called with poor three guineas in his hand, for Bowle's *edition of Don Quixote*, either in London, in Salisbury, at Idmistone, or any where else in this world.…By gander! John Bowle of Idmistone will have no good advice from any body in breeches, or with petticoats on! Ay! but what will John Bowle of Idmistone have? Have! What a question! He will have approbation and admiration. Do you hear him, you individuals of this nation! Give him approbation and admiration without the least hesitation; or everyone of you shall suffer laceration and amputation in his reputation, by calumniation and misrepresentation from the arrantest dolt throughout the creation![37]

[37] *Tolondron* 241–42 and 245. Another charge brought against Bowle by Baretti is that, when Baretti "went to spend a summer in your neighbourhood" to give lessons in Spanish to two pupils—young friends of Crookshanks', it seems—Bowle resented that fact that Crookshanks would drive over to "hear my Spanish lessons to them." Baretti claims that this was one of the things that

Sixty pages further on, Baretti addresses himself with fullest energy to Bowle's—and the Benedictine Sarmiento's—conviction that (in Baretti's words) "one needs to have read all that Cervantes had read, in order to understand Don Quixote" (307). From a much longer diatribe the following quotation will serve to show Baretti's response to this and the force of his mockery.

> But, to be serious, if it is possible to be serious when about so merry a matter: whatever the learned Benedictine may have said, or the unlearned Tolondron may have believed, Don Quixote is a book that wants no *Comento* but what may be contained in two or three pages, as very few are the things in it that want explanation and clarification. …
>
> Far from harbouring any such idea, or hinting that, to understand his *Don Quixote*, we were to read the chivalry and other silly books he had read himself, Cervantes condemned them all to be burnt by means of the Curate: and the few that he did not doom to the flames were not saved with a view that they should assist readers to understand *Don Quixote*, but out of partiality to this and that, on some other account. Fling you, Mr John Bowle, fling into the fire your *Comento* likewise; as I tell it you again, that there is not *one line* throughout *Don Quixote* in want of any of your explanations; or point out *only one* that you have explained better than any Spanish girl could have done. …
>
> What then signifies all your foolish erudition, brought into your foolish *Comento*, for the sole foolish purpose of showing your foolish self off? and what becomes of that immense farrago of quotations from your dictionaries, from your poems,

---

lay behind Bowle's *Letter to the Rev. J.S.D.D.*, "wherein you laid before your Doctor, and the public, your reasons, why you know Spanish, and I know it not" (243–44). Baretti was by this time all the less inclined to accept any such imputation, now that, as we have seen, he had presented himself to the world as the reviser of Giral del Pino's *Dictionary* (and without Bowle's assistance).

> songs, and chivalry-books, that illustrate nothing, expound nothing, and clear up nothing at all? …
>
> You were much in the right, no doubt, in choosing the fastuous motto: *Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps*, *Non aliena meo pressi pede;*[38] as no body but a *Princeps Tolondronorum* would have attempted the princely *undertaking* of treading and wading through the spacious bog of miry nonsense you have trod and waded through during *fourteen years*, foundering knee-deep at every step, and with an admirable mulish fortitude, that you might bless us at last with as doltish and despicable a work as ever was seen since Noah's coming out of the Ark on the Armenian mountain![39]

We have seen that, back in 1760, Baretti was willing to acknowledge in print the limitations of his knowledge of Spanish literature.[40] He acknowledges them again twenty-five years later in his *Tolondron*.[41] However, his continuing sense of these limitations did not stay his hand in making a mockery of Bowle's devotion to the task of presenting the literary sources behind the *Quixote*, above all those of chivalric romance. In Baretti's view, the romances of chivalry were nonsensical and worthless, and so, therefore, was Bowle's *Comento*. Baretti's conviction that he had a

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[38] "I was the first to plant free footsteps on a virgin soil; I walked not where others trod" (Horace, *Epistles*, I, xix, 21–22). Bowle makes this an epigraph on the title-page of his volume of *Anotaciones* (vol. 5 of his edition), adding a quotation from *Don Quixote*: "Por caminos desusados, por atajos, y sendas encubiertas." Baretti, in his allusion here, makes play of the meanings of "princeps."

[39] *Tolondron* 308–12.

[40] See *supra*, n. 25.

[41] "Of the Spanish Literature in particular, I said but little [i.e. in the *Journey from London to Genoa*], and that little with fear and trembling, as I knew but little of it, which, to my sorrow, is still the case, and will surely be as long as I live, for want of books and conversation, that I may not say, for want of sufficient brains. …But, Jack! A word in your ear. Have you any idea, any conception, any clear notion, of what *an Account of Spanish Literature* must be, not to be *an imperfect and erroneous* one?" (*Tolondron* 180).

better knowledge of Spanish than Bowle made him all the less inclined to question his own belief on the point.

The impact of Baretti's onslaught on Bowle is described in the unsigned Note mentioned at the outset (14 n. 14). The writer, "the Rev. J. Baverstock,"[42] refers to Bowle as "my old friend" and recalls, at the conclusion of this note, that "I became acquainted with him in the year 1760 and he seemed always pleased to see me, when we used to meet at the Salisbury Music Festivals." Bowle, he tells us, gave him his "Card" in September 1786, when Baretti's *Tolondron* had just appeared. His own Note, on the reverse side, reads:

> This paper was given to me Sep[tember] 1786 by my old friend The Revd John Bowle.
>
> We dined together at Ned Eastons [= Edward Easton, the Salisbury printer of Bowle's *Quixote*] during the time he [= Bowle] stayd with us, which was till near seven o'clock (when I went to the Music Meeting). He was in constant irritation, in consequence of Baretti's Book "Tolondron" just then published. He could allow himself to talk of Nothing else, and though we did all in our power to divert his attention to other Subjects, even Ned Eastons ludicrous stories had no effect on him and he constantly reverted to Crookshanks and Baretti.
>
> Indeed the failure, or rather the cool Reception, which the public gave to his Edition of Don Quixote, and the very severe attack made on his Book by Baretti, which it must be owned, he had in great measure occasioned by his Letter to Dr Simpson, had a visible effect on his general habit; instead of that ruddy and chearful Countenance which he was wont to wear, he appeared wan, emaciated and dispirited, gradu-

[42] This identification is taken from an MS annotation in one of the Bodleian copies of Bowle's *Remarks* and the *Tolondron*, Bodleian Vet.A5.e.216.

> ally lost his appetite, his flesh and sleep, and I firmly believe never recovered either these or his Spirits afte[rwar]ds.[43] He died in October 1788. on the day on which he compleated his 62nd [= 63rd] year.
>
> It has been asserted by the Literati that Milton, by his "Responsio pro populo Anglicano" in answer to Salmasius's "Clamor sanguinis" was the occasion of the death of Salmasius. It may be as truly asserted that Baretti's "Tolondron" was the efficient Cause of the Death of poor John Bowle.
>
> Peace to his Manes! [...]

Beyond the impact of Baretti's *Tolondron* in itself, Bowle had now to bear the loss of the friendship of Dillon, which he had so greatly valued. It was a loss that he attributed to what must have been said about him to Dillon by Crookshanks, aided by Baretti. A deeply pained expression of Bowle's feelings about this is found in what Cox regards as probably the last letter written by Bowle to Dillon (whether or not it was sent) and dating, apparently, from May in the last year of Bowle's life:

> I will venture yet once more to write to you and just hint my uneasiness for your change of conduct towards me. I cannot but often scrutinize my own and ask what I have done to merit that coldness, that unwonted reserve which I received from you and your brother when last in town and which I impute to the suggestions of a bad man. In that point of view I must regard him whom I introduced to your knowlege. This was a gentleman of as much candour as he is of superior knowlege and learning to most men I have had the luck to know. The arrows of his malevolence, assassin-like (for I will apply that term to him) shot against me when my back was

[43] Baretti refers, early in *Tolondron* (25–26), to the physical decline evident in Bowle as something that had been widely noted.

> turned, dipt in Baretti's venom, missed their aim and fell to the ground. Shall they meet with better success with my friend Mr D.? Heaven forbid.[44]

In this same letter Bowle refers to the fact that Crookshanks had twice attempted a reconciliation between them. Bowle angrily rejects any such approach: "Cursed be the day that brought me to the knowlege of such a man, for cursed is he who smiteth his neighbour secretly" (Cox 102). The pain inflicted by Crookshanks' secret betrayal (as Bowle saw it and of which he frequently speaks) is clearly as deep as ever. Crookshanks, for his part, wrote that same month to Bowle: "I tried with some industry to invite you to a reconciliation, but a nasty, vindictive, rotten heart and a Tolondron head would not let you accept a well-meant offer" (Cox 102). This, surely, must have been the last contact between them. By the end of that summer Bowle had died.

The Rev. J. Baverstock—or whoever was the old friend of Bowle's to whom he gave his "Card" —concluded his Note:

> John Bowle was a Man of more than common attainments in Literature, possessed of strong natural powers, and well skilled in languages. His great error, both as an editor and a Critic, was too fond an acquiescence in his first thoughts and a stubborn unyielding temper that would not allow him to submit to the slightest Retractation.[45]

It would be interesting to know just what the writer had in mind here. The conclusion to Bowle's *Anotaciones* strikes a very different note from what this suggests. Here he acknowledges the limitations of his work in terms that he takes over, as he points out, from an earlier writer, Hernán Núñez "El Comenda-

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[44] Cox 101–02. Bowle is here implicitly referring back to his *Remarks*, where he had asserted that it was not himself but Crookshanks who had referred to Baretti as the "Italian Assassin" (*Remarks* 1).

[45] Bodleian Ms Eng.misc.d.244 (fol. 108^{v}).

dor Griego," at the end of his glosses on Juan de Mena's *Las trescientas* (or *Laberinto de fortuna*):

> Esto es, Doctissimos Lectores, lo que se me ofreció que dezir sobre la Historia de *Don Quixote de la Mancha* del famoso *Poeta* (1.497.13)[46] MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA. No soy tan arrogante, ni me atribuyo tanto en la doctrina que piense en tan varia obra como es esta aver satisfecho á todas las dificultades y lugares escuros, que en ella ay: bien sé que se pudiera mas dezir, y que avre ignorado algunas cosas que fueran necessarias para la declaracion della, y por el consiguiente errado en otras muchas. No es maravilla; ca no todos podemos todas las cosas, y como dize *Ausonio*.
>
> Alius alio plura invenire potest, nemo omnia.[47]
>
> …Y si toda via por el juyzio de los scientes y doctos hombres (á la correccion de los quales en todo me someto) fuera aprovado aver sido este mi trabajo vano y inutil, y no oviere alcanzado el fin de mi proposito, podre alomenos dezir aquel dicho *Ovidiano*,
>
> Si desint vires tamen est laudanda voluntas.[48]
>
> IDEMESTONE, *en su Estudio*,
> *Y Octubre 26*, M.DCC.LXXX.[49]

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[46] This reference, to Part I, p. 497, line 13 of Bowle's edition, recalls the concluding sentence of *Don Quixote* I, 47: "la épica tan bien puede escribirse en prosa como en verso."

[47] "One person can discover more than another; no one can discover everything."

[48] "Even if a man's capabilities fall short, his intention still merits praise."

[49] 5 [*Anotaciones*]: II 166–67. At the end of his *Letter to Dr. Percy* (48–49 of the original edition, 134–35 of the modernized one) Bowle had quoted and translated similar sentiments from Dr. Alfonso Villadiego's "Advertencias" to his edition of the *Fuero juzgo* (Madrid, 1600).

As to the remark of Bowle's friend on the "failure, or rather the cool reception which the public gave to his edition," one finds striking support for this statement in a note at the end of the Catalogue printed for the sale of Bowle's library after his death in 1788. It reads: "The remaining copies of Mr. Bowle's elegant edition of *Don Quixote*, in the original Spanish, with his Notes and copious Indexes, in 6 vols. 4to. will be sold at the *very low price* of *one Guinea*, in boards; and the large paper copies *one Guinea and a half*."[50]

This Catalogue, which lists 12,779 items, is a less helpful guide to Bowle's library than one would wish because it incorporates the contents of "several other collections." However, it seems safe to conclude that it was Bowle who had Montaigne and Machiavelli and an Italian version of *Paradise Lost*; he also had Cipriano de Valera's Spanish version of Calvin's *Institutes*, Dr. Constantino's *Doctrina christiana* of 1555 (soon to be placed on the *Index*), the Spanish *New Testament* of Casiodoro de Reina, but also Ignatius Loyola's *Exercises*. He had three copies of the ten-volume Johnson-Steevens edition of Shakespeare, and also Malone's supplement to it; and three copies too of the Spanish Academy's 1780 edition of *Don Quixote*, along with three copies of the corrected edition of 1782. But among all these works there seems not to have been a single Spanish romance of chivalry—even though Bowle had been so eager to examine them in order to elucidate Cervantes' chivalric sources and help the reader see what was being done with them. Their absence from this sale catalogue emphasizes the extent to which Bowle had benefited from—and, indeed, relied on—loans from what Percy called his "Quixotic Library," his partial re-creation of the library of Don Quixote, books "which I have bought, latterly as much for your

[50] *A Catalogue of the Library of the Rev. John Bowle, M.A., F.S.A* [Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries], *late of Idmiston, near Salisbury, and Editor of* Don Quixote *in Spanish, with Notes and Various Readings: with Several Other Collections. The sale will begin on Tuesday, January 19, 1790. By Benjamin White & Son*. It is available on microfilm on Reel 5135 of the series *The Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge, CT: Primary Source Microfilm, 1982–).

use, as my own."[51] From Crookshanks, we learn, he had borrowed *Las sergas de Esplandián*.[52] For the rest, almost all the dozen or so romances of chivalry in Bowle's list of "Autores citados en las Anotaciones" were Percy's.[53] That so avid a book-collector and so devoted a Cervantine editor as Bowle did not, as it seems, exert himself to acquire such works for himself is intriguing and leads us back to the question of just what it was about "this great work" of Cervantes that drew from him such long dedication and, in the end, brought him so much pain.

Bowle's dedication and achievement as a Spanish scholar found only sparing recognition in the memorial tablet commemorating him in the chancel of his little church at Idmiston:

[51] Letter to Bowle of 6 April 1772 (Percy-Bowle 22). In the "Prólogo del Editor" of Bowle's edition: "Se deben principalmente Agradecimientos al Reverendo Señor el Dr. Thomas Percy, Dean de Carlisle, que de su Librería Caballeresca de Quixote [sic] me regalo el uso de quantos Libros tuvo, necessarios para ilustrar su Historia" (5 [*Anotaciones*]: I, xi). Percy of course was a medievalist in his interests, and thought of Don Quixote's romances as medieval works. Bowle found the romances boring, he speaks of "the drudgery of such painful reading" (*Letter to Dr. Percy*, p. 3 of the original edition and p. 99 of the revised one), and his beloved Cervantes had of course condemned them.

[52] Letter of Crookshanks to Bowle of 30 December 1776 (Bowle-Crookshanks correspondence [*supra*, n. 14], fol. 54[r]).

[53] A "List of the Romances which have in numerous instances illustrated the text of *Don Quixote*" is found in Bowle's *Letter to Dr. Percy*, p. 67 of the original edition and p. 145 of the modern one.

Litteris Graecis et Latinis
Linguarum Gallicae Hispanicae et Italicae
peritiam adjunxit.
In omni fere Literarum genere versatus
praesertim studio Antiquitatis trahebatur.

Die 26.Octobris.An.Dom. 1788
Aetatis suae 63[54]

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[54] "To [his learning in] Greek and Latin literature he added skill in the French, Spanish, and Italian languages. Adept in almost every kind of literature, he was especially drawn to the study of Antiquity. [He died] October 26, 1788, at the age of 63."

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La edición del *Quijote* de John Bowle (1781). Sus dos emisiones.[1]

DANIEL EISENBERG

> *Es muy apreciable el minucioso trabajo del doctor Bowle.*
>
> Leopoldo Rius (1: 46)

> *En la paginación y distribución de las signaturas de este volumen se tomó el impresor toda clase de libertades; otro tanto ocurre con la serie de portadas intercaladas que en él se advierten, colocadas casi todas fuera de su lugar.*
>
> Gabriel-Martín Río y Rico (40)

Preliminar: terminología.

En este artículo, utilizo "tomo" y "volumen" con sus significados actuales. Dice la vigésima segunda edición del *Diccionario* de la Real Academia Española que el tomo es "cada una de las partes, con paginación propia y encuadernadas por lo común sepa-

[1] Les agradezco su ayuda especialmente a Eduardo Urbina, Alicia Monguió, Helena Percas de Ponseti y Francisco Rico; y a Barry Taylor de la British Library, Steven Smith de Texas A&M University, María Cristina Guillén Bermejo de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Victòria Casals de la Biblioteca de Catalunya, Miguel Marañón Ripoll del Instituto Cervantes, Helen Williams de West Sussex, Inglaterra, Julie Home, Clerk to the Idmiston Parish Council, y a todos los bibliotecarios citados en las notas.

radamente, en que suelen dividirse para su más fácil manejo las obras impresas o manuscritas de cierta extensión." En cambio, el volumen es el "cuerpo material de un encuadernado, ya contenga la obra completa, o uno o más tomos de ella, o ya lo constituyan dos o más escritos diferentes." Por lo tanto un volumen puede contener más de un tomo, pero no lo contrario.

Así utilizan estos términos los bibliógrafos Givanel, Palau, Río, y Santiago. En cambio, el bibliógrafo Rius y—a veces—los encuadernadores y escritores del siglo XVIII, inclusive el mismo Bowle, usan estas palabras en sentido opuesto.[2] En este artículo, tal uso siempre irá entrecomillado.

Excelencias y deficiencias de la edición de John Bowle.

La edición de *Don Quijote* de John Bowle nunca ha sido reimpresa y ahora es pieza de bibliófilo. Merece una reproducción en facsímil, meta del desaparecido R. Merritt Cox, primer campeón moderno de Bowle.[3] Se trata de la primera edición con notas ex-

[2] Por ejemplo, en mi ejemplar, los lomos rezan "Vol. I. II., Vol. III. IV., Vol. V. VI." En el ejemplar de la Cushing Memorial Library de Texas A&M University, los lomos rezan "Tom 1, Tom 2, Tom 3." En los ejemplares de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, rezan "1-2, 3-4 5-6" (Cerv/782–784), "TOME I, TOME II, TOME III" (Cerv.Sedó/869–871), "1, 2, 3" (Cerv.Sedó/877–879), "Tom. I-II, Tom. III-IV, Tom. V-VI" (R/32607–32609) y "I, II, III" (U/1650–1652), según carta de la bibliotecaria María Cristina Guillén Bermejo, 22 septiembre 2003.

[3] Véanse los recuerdos de Greenia y Eisenberg. Dentro de poco estará disponible un facsímile digital en la Biblioteca Digital Cervantes del Proyecto Cervantes (http://www.csdl.tamu.edu/cervantes/esp/textos/The%20Cervantes%20Project.htm).

En el momento de escribir estas líneas, en agosto de 2003, está disponible en microfilme: el ejemplar 635.l.15 de la British Library está reproducido en los rollos 2639 y 2640 de la serie *The Eighteenth Century*, serie en microfilme publicada a partir de 1982 por Research Publications, Woodbridge, CT, EE.UU. Hay guía impresa de la colección: *The Eighteenth Century: Guide to the Microfilm Collection*, Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1984–. La empresa Research Publications ahora es parte de Primary Source Microfilm (20 marzo 2003, http://www.galegroup.com/psm/about.htm). Se ha anunciado la digitalización de esta colección, según el editor el mayor proyecto de digitalización que se ha hecho jamás (http://www.galegroup.com/servlet/ItemDetailServlet?region=9&imprint=745&titleCode=GALEN7&type=4&id=190607, 24 mayo 2003).

tensas, con líneas numeradas, índices y mapa, así como la primera que lista sistemáticamente las variantes entre ediciones. Nadie antes que Bowle notó que en 1605 Cuesta imprimió dos ediciones de la Primera Parte, aunque sólo tuvo acceso a la segunda de ellas.[4] Fue también el primero en apreciar el valor de la edición de 1608, de la que se sirvió como texto base de la Primera Parte,[5] y de las dedicatorias y aprobaciones (*Letter* 119). Truman (9) cita el elogio de Francisco Rico del trabajo de Bowle (Cervantes 1: ccxvii); Ticknor escribió correctamente, hace más de un siglo, "there are few books of as much real learning, and at the same time of so little pretension."[6]

Al mismo tiempo, cambió el título de la obra, no atribuyéndole importancia,[7] y decidió usar el castellano para sus anotaciones.

Las anotaciones de Bowle están transcritas en la tesis de Cox, pero no figuran en el libro basado en ella.

[4] Según información que amablemente me proporciona Eduardo Urbina, fue Salvá quien en 1829 determinó acertadamente el orden de las dos ediciones de Cuesta de 1605 (conocidas pero confundidas por Navarrete en 1819). El primer editor que se valió de esta información y realizó un cotejo serio fue Hartzenbusch (1863).

[5] Rechazadas las variantes de la edición de 1608 en años recientes, Francisco Rico vuelve a darles valor, en su historia del texto de la obra (Cervantes 1: cxcic–cc).

[6] III, *437. También Amezúa elogia calurosa y extensamente a Bowle (citado en Percy-Bowle xi–xii y n. 16).

[7] En el siglo XVIII los editores no solían usar los títulos originales, *El ingenioso* hidalgo *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Primera Parte; énfasis siempre mía) y *El ingenioso* cavallero *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Segunda Parte). Pero Bowle tampoco utilizó el título más frecuente en aquel momento, *Vida y hechos del ingenioso cavallero don Quixote de la Mancha*. Explica en su *Letter* a Percy, p. 119, que "the commencement of the history is not till about his fiftieth year…. The *Vida* then cannot with any propriety be retained, as the history does not contain more than the sixth part of it." En la *Letter* (97) usa *Historia del* valeroso *cavallero Don Quixote de la Mancha*, y su edición apareció con el título *Historia del* famoso *cavallero*, *Don Quixote de la Mancha*. El título original se restauró en la edición académica de 1780. (Cómodamente se puede seguir la evolución de los títulos en la lista de ediciones de la Talfourd P. Lynn Cervantes Collection Guide, comp. John M. Bennett: http://www.lib.ohio-state.edu/rarweb/finding/cervantes.html#1a, 21 agosto 2003.)

Este comentario de Bowle sobre los títulos es parte de una serie de críticas

Autodidacta en esta lengua, su manejo de ella no estuvo a la altura de su proyecto. Bowle nunca visitó España, como informa a sus lectores;[8] no tuvo maestro ni persona con quien conversar en castellano. Aunque su vocabulario es adecuado y a veces elegante, usa arcaísmos sin saberlo—escribe "ca," "oviere" e "Ingalaterra," por ejemplo—y comete abundantes errores sintácticos y gramaticales, tanto morfológicos como sintácticos. Hay un buen ejemplo en las láminas 3 y 4: Bowle hizo imprimir "primero tomo" y "tercero tomo" en sus portadas.[9]

Su amigo John Dillon sabía el castellano mucho mejor que él y le corrigió una parte del prólogo,[10] pero Bowle, descuidado, no recurrió a Dillon ni a nadie para efectuar una revisión sistemática de sus prólogos y notas (véase Truman 28–29). Veía el castellano

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suyas de la mejor edición hasta entonces, la lujosa de Tonson (Londres, 1737), cuyo editor Pineda, entre otras cosas, suprimió las dedicatorias al Duque de Béjar y al Conde de Lemos (*Letter* 116–20).

Sobre los títulos de la obra, véase Rico.

[8] "En mi vida jamas he visto ninguna parte de España" (5: II, 166).

[9] Otros ejemplos de errores evidentes en su edición: "Efectuar á esto, conforme á lo que aconsejava *Sarmiento*, se ha estudiado con diligencia Declarar la propriedad [sic] de las palabras, explicar el verdadero sentido del contexto, averiguar las circunstancias de los dichos, í [sic] de los hechos" (5: I, v); "Al mismo tiempo evitaranse repeticiones" (5: I, v); "Ilustraránse asimismo las Palabras de la *Glosa* reciprocamente por el mismo camino, y quiza mucho mejor en uno lugar que en otro" (5: I, vi); "Sera bien dar un resumen de su vida, como sacóla a luz con toda puntualidad el sobredicho Don Juan Antonio [Pellicer]" (5: I, vi); "comencé primeramente en el año de 1769 á leer la Historia de *Amadis de Gaula*; y los otros libros de la misma casta los siete años siguientes. Lo que citáse [sic] aqui desto [sic] MS mostrará el uso de la *Glosa*, y la necesidad desta clase de lectura" (5: I, iii); "Como en la disposicion de las Anotaciones un principal intento ha sido aliviar el trabajo del Lector, aclarando las dificultades del texto sin divertir su atencion, sino quando sea necesario recorrer á las" (6: ii).

[10] Entre las cartas conservadas en la biblioteca de la University of Cape Town, hay cuatro páginas de correcciones sugeridas por su amigo Dillon sobre lo que parece haber sido una prueba o manuscrito del "Prólogo del Editor" (5: I, i–xiv). Le advierte que en vez de decir "romance," debe decir "castellano"; en vez de "naturales, estraños" "I should prefer nacionales, y extrangeros"; en vez de "si hallanse," "si se hallan"; en vez de "publico la," "la publicó," etc. Llevan la nota de Bowle, "Recd. Jany. 30 81," es decir cuando su edición estaba muy avanzada.

desde la perspectiva del latín, y ya había aprendido francés e italiano.[11] El castellano le parecía sencillo,[12] y en su biblioteca no figuraba ningún libro para estudiantes de español, como sí había para el italiano (Cox, "Library"). Al mismo tiempo, hay que reconocer que además de *Don Quijote*, muchos libros de caballerías y la historia de Mariana, Bowle había leído el *Tesoro* de Covarrubias en su totalidad, y poseía el *Diccionario*, la *Gramática* y la *Ortografía de la lengua castellana* de la Real Academia, como también *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana o romance* de Aldrete (Cox, "Library"). No sé qué materiales hubiesen sido adecuados para su propósito. En todo caso, a la luz de las correcciones que Dillon le envió y los consejos de Crookshanks (Truman 28), su empeño en escribir en castellano sin efectuar una revisión lingüística sólo puede calificarse, en mi opinión, de una trágica ceguera.

Una edición bien documentada.

Se trata también de una edición cuyo comienzo y desarrollo están extraordinariamente bien documentados. El mismo Bowle publicó, cuatro años antes de su edición, una extensa *Letter* a su amigo Thomas Percy. En ella, con el fin de conseguir suscriptores, describe en detalle y con ejemplos de notas, índices y mapa, su proyecto editorial.

Como anticuario que era, Bowle pegaba en albums las cartas

[11] "He took up French initially but soon became more intrigued with Italian, notably the epic romance of the sixteenth century. He possessed a great facility for languages and quickly learned their grammatical idiosyncrasies" (Cox, "Cervantes and Three *Ilustrados*" 16–17).

[12] "Como me dixo un Fulano, que seria cosa muy facil para quien sabia el Latin, me determiné á aprender la Lengua Española" ("Correspondence" 122). Lo mismo en el "Prólogo del editor" de su edición: "el adquirir conocimiento bastante para empezar á leer con facilidad el Castellano (*y todo es comenzar*) está en poder de cada uno que sabe bien el Latín, y desea alcanzarlo" (5: I, i). Hay un paralelo con Rolfe Humphries, traductor de Lorca. También latinista, se creía capaz de traducir *Poeta en Nueva York*, valiéndose, como confiesa, de un diccionario y muchos amigos, y en consecuencia cometiendo "errores garrafales" (Eisenberg, *Poeta* 42–43). Rafael Carretero Muñoz prepara un estudio del castellano de Bowle.

recibidas, con sus sobres, y escribió en un cuaderno los borradores de las que enviaba. Afortunadamente se han conservado, y están en África del Sur, en la colección Bowle-Evans de la University of Cape Town.[13] El autor de estas líneas publicó el extenso carteo entre Percy y Bowle (Percy-Bowle), que trata principalmente de su edición, aunque quedan cartas inéditas también interesantes para el cervantista. En varias de ellas se comentan las notas o el mapa de Bowle.[14] En la British Library[15] y en la Bodleian Library de Oxford,[16] entre los papeles de los eruditos a los

[13] La biblioteca conserva el *Epistolarium Bowleanum*, *Bibliotheca Bowleana*, *Travelling Book*, y *Green Book*. Los dos primeros están encuadernados con la piel de su perro, llamado "Perro Grande" (Immelman 10). Véase la contraportada de este número, donde se reproduce el impreso encontrado en el *Epistolarium Bowleanum*.

[14] *Green Book*, pp. 145–47: "Algunas observaciones essenciales, que hace el Geografo de S. M. C^ca^ que abaxo firma, sobre la *carta general de España*, que acomoda a la *Historia de Don Quixote* el señor J.B.: 1ª Tiene dos grados mas de Longitud la carta del Sor J. B. cuyo exceso merece correccion, porque asi lo presencian las nuevas observaciones astronomicas. 2ª Pone á Castilla la Vieja, donde ha de estar el Reyno de Leon. 3ª Castilla la nueva, La escribe en donde ha de estar Extremadura. 4ª La Alcarria está mal puesta, pues siempre se ha tenido Guadalaxara por su centro. 5ª Zulema, que pone entre Cuenca, y Guadalaxara, no sé que rango ocupa en la Geografia de España: [ilegible] no la he oido nombrar. 6ª Antequera, no es puerto de Mar como lo expresa la mencionada carta: esta apartada del Mediterraneo tierra adentro en el Reyno de Sevilla mas de siete leguas. 7ª Alcala está al occidente de Cordova. … 17ª El Rio Pisuerga nunca pasó por Zamora: ni Xarama por Segovia. … Madrid, y Febrero 13 de 1777, Firmado Tomás Lopez" (se trata de una copia hecha por Bowle).

El mapa primitivo que López comenta fue publicado con la *Letter to…Dr. Percy*, p. 143 de mi edición. El mapa que acompaña la edición incorpora muchas, aunque no todas, de las sugerencias de López. El mapa lo comenta Hilton en su capítulo 6, "Le Cervantisme Anglais au 18ème Siècle."

[15] Cartas al Dr. John Douglas, obispo de Salisbury, 1750 (Egerton MS 2185 ff. 21 y 27); notas sobre Shakespeare, dirigidas a Edmond Malone (Additional MS 12116); cartas de y a John Crookshanks, 1774–77, discutidas por Truman (Additional MS 23143); carta a Thomas Warton, autor de la *History of English Poetry*, 1783, y otra a su hermano Joseph Warton, 1783 (Additional MS 42561, ff. 131 y 132). "Warton particularly owed Bowle much appreciation for his help in compiling Warton's edition of Milton's poetry" (Cox,"Library" 24).

[16] Su correspondencia con J. C. Brooke en la Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS Eng lett c 221-27, e 98-99; misc a 13, c 455; Top gen e 99-128; Yorks c 75, NRA

cuales escribía, se conservan otras cartas de Bowle, así como de sus corresponsales.

El ejemplar del *Quijote* sobre el que trabajaba Bowle, en el cual hacía sus apuntes e insertaba sus páginas de anotaciones, se ha conservado también. Se trata de la edición de Padilla de Madrid, 1750, y el ejemplar lo custodia en Nueva York la Hispanic Society of America.[17] En Manchester, Inglaterra, se conserva el manuscrito de su "Vocabulario Cervantesco."[18] En África del Sur se conservan dos tomos de su "Índice general del texto," fechados en 1767–72 y 1773 respectivamente,[19] y en la British Library

14027 Brooke. Le agradezco a Helen Williams esta información.

[17] "Casi diez años pasados enquaderné con hojas blancas las dos partes de la Historia, en las quales he escrito gran parte de mis Anotaciones" ("Correspondence" 122). Sin embargo, me comunica Francisco Rico que el original que Bowle entregara al cajista de Eduardo Easton, tiene que haber sido un ejemplar de la edición de Tonson (comunicación personal, 25 de septiembre de 2003), dato que concuerda con una carta a John Dillon, en la cual explica que su índice verbal, producto de dos años de trabajo, "in two large quarto volumes correspond[ed] in size to Lord Granville's edition to which I adapted it" (Cox, *Ilustrado* 69; Granville fue el mecenas de la edición de Tonson). Según el catálogo de la venta de su biblioteca (*infra*, n. 22), poseía tres ejemplares de esta edición, uno de los cuales está en la University of Cape Town (*infra*, n. 23).

[18] "Vocabulario Cervantesco. Mss index in Spanish to *El Ingenioso Hidalgo don Quixote de la Mancha* copied into an interleaved copy of *Vocabulario Espanol e Italiano*. Arranged in columns." Se encuentra en Chetham's Library, una biblioteca pública de Manchester, Inglaterra (12 marzo 2003, http://www.chethams.org.uk/A3.htm#A.3.63-64.)

[19] Immelman 15. En el *Catalogue of the Bowle-Evans Collection* de la University of Cape Town Library, tienen el número 16, y sólo la fecha 1767.

Según email de la biblioteca Tanya Barben, 30 septiembre 2003, la portada del primer tomo reza: "INDICE GENERAL DEL TEXTO, Y De Todas Las Palabras, y Cosas mas Notables en la VIDA y Hechos Del Ingenioso Hidalgo DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA. Divid[id]o et tres Partes. En la Primera Hallanse Todos los Nombres de Hombres, Mugeres, Lugares, y otras material en entrambes partes. En la segunda Todas Las palabras de la Primera Parte de la Historia: En la Tercera Todas las palabras de la Segunda. Tomo Primero. El Todo Recopilado por El Industria, labor, y Perseverancia del Reverendo Don Juan Bowle, Graduado A.M. por Oxford; J.A.S. [?] en Londres, natural de Idemstone en el Condado de Wilts en Ingalaterra, y en su Libreria alli. Años 1767, 8, 9, 1770, 1, 2."

un "commonplace book" de 1773–84.[20] Existen tres catálogos de su biblioteca. El primero es la *Bibliotheca Bowleana*, ahora en la colección Bowle-Evans de la University of Cape Town; el segundo, también de Bowle mismo, es el *Catalogus Librorum, Libellorum, et Manuscriptorum qui Pertinent ad Revdum. Johannem Bowle A. M.*, en la British Library,[21] ambos estudiados por Cox ("Library"); y el tercero, que Cox no vio, es el de la venta de su biblioteca, publicado por un librero en 1790.[22] Sin embargo, sólo se han localizado unos pocos de los libros que figuraron en la biblioteca de Bowle.[23]

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[20] Additional MS 22667: "LIBER MEMORANDORUM et referentiarum;, 1 Jan. 1773-1 Nov. 1784: the commonplace-book of the Rev. John Bowle, of Idemerstone, co. Wilts; with an alphabetical index at the end" (5 septiembre 2003, http://molcat.bl.uk/msscat/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=c!\inetpub\wwwroot\mss\data\msscat\html\24211.htm&Search=Add+22667&Highlight=F)-

[21] Add. MS 30,374: "CATAL0GUE of the library of the Rev. John Bowle, M.A., of Idmerston, co. Wilts., 27 Sept. 1756 ; with additions to circ. 1788. At the end, f. 78 b, are memoranda of books lent to various persons, 1750-1785" (5 septiembre 2003, http://molcat.bl.uk/msscat/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=c!\inetpub\wwwroot\mss\data\msscat\html\18608.htm&Search=Add+30374&Highlight=F). Ocupa 81 folios.

[22] *A Catalogue of the Library of the Rev. John Bowle, M.A., F.S.A* [Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries], *late of Idmiston, near Salisbury, and Editor of* Don Quixote *in Spanish, with Notes and Various Readings: with Several Other Collections. The sale will begin on Tuesday, January 19, 1790. By Benjamin White & Son*, Londres, 1790; incluido en la serie en microfilme *The Eighteenth Century*, rollo 5135 (véase *supra*, n. 3). Este catálogo contiene 384 títulos en español, muchos de más de un tomo (cómodamente agrupados por lengua).

Sería útil que se publicara un catálogo razonado de la biblioteca de Bowle. Las dos fuentes aludidas no están en ningún orden y como es frecuente en inventarios antiguos de bibliotecas, varios títulos están mal descritos y es necesario una pesquisa para identificarlos con seguridad.

Una pequeña parte de su biblioteca quedó en poder de sus descendientes hasta la segunda mitad del siglo XX. La entonces dueña la llevó a África del Sur, adonde había emigrado en 1946, y la compró en 1957 la University of Cape Town (Immelman, "Foreword," sin paginar y 4).

[23] La colección Bowle-Evans de la University of Cape Town posee los albums de Bowle, pero casi ninguno de sus libros impresos. Una excepción, que lleva su ex-libris, es uno de sus tres ejemplares de la edición de *Don Quijote* de Tonson (Londres, 1737). No puede ser el ejemplar que Bowle preparara para el cajista de Eduardo Easton (*supra*, n. 17), pero según emails de la bibliotecaria Tanya Barben, 3 abril y 30 septiembre 2003, "I am afraid that the volumes we have do not

Confusiones en cuanto a la impresión.

Con todo esto, carecemos de documentación de la impresión de su edición. No existen (o no se han localizado) contratos de impresión, ni carteos con los libreros, ni comentarios sobre el proceso o las condiciones de impresión, aparte de una descripción pintoresca de Bowle en una taberna corrigiendo una página que el mozo del impresor le llevara (Baretti 146–47), y una nota a Dil-lon sobre los "sheets" enviados a Crookshanks (Truman 18). Hay un apunte que sugiere que la tirada fue de 750 ejemplares.[24] Aunque Bowle dijo que sólo imprimiría los ejemplares necesarios para cubrir las subscripciones (véase lámina 1), cuando falleció

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have the handwritten corrections that you were hoping it would. However, all volumes have been re-bound and have additional pages inserted onto which illustrative material has been adhered. Pages 1-103 (which follows some preliminary pages) of the first volume contains a life of Cervantes, viz: '*Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, autor Don Gregorio Mayans I Siscar.' Following this biography some pages have been inserted. These contain a manuscript 'Indice a la vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.' On the penultimate and last pages of this insert there appears a few paragraphs of 'Adiciones a la Vida de Miguel de Cervantes.'"

El ejemplar de Bowle del *Ensayo de una bibliotheca de traductores españoles* de Juan Antonio Pellicer (Madrid, 1778) se custodia en la John Rylands University Library, Manchester, Reino Unido; su ejemplar de Aldrete (*Del origen, y principio de la lengua castellana o romance*, Roma, 1606), con notas manuscritas suyas, está en la biblioteca de King's College, Londres; su ejemplar de *A Year's Journal through France, and Part of Spain* de Philip Thicknesse (Bath, 1777), está en la University of Toronto; y su ejemplar del *Apology for Mr. Lauder* ("written by himself," Londres, 1751) está en la British Library. Aunque figura ahora en una colección de manuscritos, el *Vocabulario español e italiano* mencionado *supra*, n. 18, tiene que ser la obra de Lorenzo Franciozini. El ejemplar de Bowle de las *Guerras civiles de Granada* de Pérez de Hita, firmado "Juan Bowle, Junio s.[?] 1769," con una lista manuscrita de Bowle de los romances incluidos en la obra, donado a Cox por el profesor Edward Wilson en 1972 (según nota de Cox en el ejemplar y Cox, "Library" 25 n. 2), ahora lo posee la hermana de Cox, Judy Cox Patch de Glen Allen, Virginia (le agradezco a George Greenia esta noticia). Un manuscrito firmado por Bowle en la f. 1, "Medical Recipes," se encuentra en la British Library, Add. MS34210 (5 septiembre 2003, http://molcat.bl.uk/msscat/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=c!\inetpub\wwwroot\mss\data\msscat\html\26726.htm&Search='34210'&Highlight=T).

[24] Véase n. 32, *infra*.

en 1788 quedaron ejemplares sin vender.[25] Los suscriptores no llegaron ni a 150.[26]

Y ciertos detalles de la edición de Bowle confunden a más de un bibliógrafo. Las portadas de unos ejemplares del primer tomo rezan Londres, y las de otros, Salisbury. ¿Dos ediciones o tiradas, como dicen Río y Rico, Palau, Casasayas y otras fuentes? ¿Sólo del primer tomo, que es, según todas las fuentes y ejemplares, el único que reza "Londres"? Y ¿de cuántos tomos es su edición? ¿Dos, tres, cuatro, seis? Las descripciones difieren entre sí. No sorprende, pues el proyecto de Bowle sufrió importantes modificaciones. También hizo imprimir diferentes portadas para una única edición, al parecer repartiéndolas a los compradores para que las colocaran en lugar debido, cosa que algunas veces no supieron hacer.

Sólo por confrontación de ejemplares de su edición, ha sido posible establecer sus detalles. Esto se ha hecho a base de mi ejemplar y los de la Hispanic Society of America y la Central Research Library de la New York Public Library, combinados con fotocopias de otros ejemplares y consultas a través de bibliotecarios.[27]

Contenido uniforme de todos los ejemplares.

Dejemos constar, para comenzar, que todos los ejemplares completos de su edición contienen los materiales siguientes: la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote*, de paginación continua; la Segunda Parte, que vuelve a comenzar con la página 1, también de paginación continua; el tomo de *Anotaciones*, que otra vez comienza con 1 y vuelve a comenzar con 1 para las notas a la Segunda Parte; y el tomo de *Índices*, sin paginar.[28] Constituyen cuatro unida-

[25] *Catalogue of the Library* (*supra*, n. 22), 380.

[26] Givanel (*Catálogo*) da la cifra de 104 (1: 391).

[27] Las únicas otras bibliotecas que poseen las dos emisiones son la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid y la Biblioteca de la Real Academia Española.

[28] Casasayas se equivoca cuando indica que los tomos 5 y 6, las *Anotaciones* e *Índices*, sólo se publicaron en la "segunda edición" londinense. Según el ejemplar, las *Anotaciones* e *Índices* pueden estar en los volúmenes 2, 3, 3 y 4, ó 5 y 6.

des: *Primera Parte*, *Segunda Parte*, *Anotaciones* e *Índices*. Sin embargo, hay bastante diversidad en la manera de disponer este contenido común entre los tomos y volúmenes de la edición. Hay diferencias en las portadas de todos los tomos y en las primeras hojas del primer tomo, como veremos. Hay diferencias también en cuanto a materiales "periféricos": el mapa, una anteportada, la fe de erratas, la lista de suscriptores.

Dos emisiones de una sola edición.

No hubo una segunda edición o tirada, ni en Londres ni en Salisbury. La portada del primer tomo cambia, eso sí (láminas 3 y 4), pero el cambio es de Salisbury como lugar de impresión, a Londres como lugar de *venta*:

> En Londres: Se hallarán [sic] en las Librerias [sic] de B. White, P. Elmsley, T. y T. Payne, y J. Robson. M.DCC.LXXXI.

Cuando se confrontan ejemplares de las dos emisiones de la edición, la impresa en Salisbury, según la portada del primer tomo, y la vendida en Londres, se ve fácilmente que sólo se distinguen en las portadas y en la carta a Francis Earl of Huntington que sigue la portada en el primer tomo. La carta está compuesta con tipos en la emisión Salisbury (lámina 5); grabada, con una escena y un escudo, en la emisión de Londres (lámina 6). La londinense, más elaborada y costosa, tiene que ser posterior, como siempre se ha pensado. Pero la totalidad de la edición fue impresa en Salisbury.[29]

El motivo de la nueva emisión.

Una carta revela que el nuevo diseño de las portadas era de Bowle mismo, quien especificó incluso que los árboles fueran un

[29] Por un momento pensé que la portada caballeresca del tomo 1 y la versión grabada de la carta a Francis Earl of Huntington pudieran haber sido impresas en Londres. Pero la misma orla caballeresca se usó en todas las seis portadas de la segunda emisión, y un londinense no hubiera impreso las otras cinco portadas que rezan "En Salisbury: En la imprenta de Eduardo Easton."

alcornoque y una encina, y que la portada mencionara a los libreros londinenses (Cox, *Ilustrado* 84). Esta carta está fechada en marzo de 1781, pero la última fecha hallada en los preliminares de las dos emisiones es el 23 de abril ("St. George's Day"). De ello se concluye que los ejemplares de la variedad Salisbury, con la portada sencilla, son posteriores a la *idea* de la portada caballeresca.

Se puede suponer que el encargo de los grabados refleja una ayuda recibida del noble Francis Earl of Huntington, quien, según la lista de "Subscribers" que Bowle incluyó en el tomo 6, suscribió cuatro ejemplares. (Sólo Crookshanks suscribió más; véase Truman 16). La carta dedicatoria de Bowle ha sido copiada por un calígrafo y grabada en cobre, con la añadidura de una escena firmada "Page Sculp" (lámina 6).[30] Se supone también que la portada caballeresca, con escenas de la obra (lámina 4), a que volveremos en breve, es producto del mismo artista y formaba parte de un solo proyecto.

La mención de los libreros londinenses puede reflejar un deseo de estimular la venta por informar sobre dónde adquirir su edición.

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[30] "Francis Hastings, 10th Earl of Huntingdon [se halla el nombre tanto con "t" como con "d"] (1729–1789), son of Theophilus Hastings, 9th Earl, and of Selina, founder of the sect of Calvinistic Methodists known as 'the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.' Educated at Westminster School, London, and at Christ Church, Oxford, Francis went on to hold posts at Court: Master of Horse to George, Prince of Wales (1756–60), and to George III (1760–61); Groom of the Stole (1761–70, the title of a high officer of the King's household). He was appointed Privy Counsellor in 1760. It appears that he was also a man of intellectual interests, being elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1758 and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1768. Bowle himself became a Fellow of the latter in 1776. This perhaps explains why he chose the Earl to be the dedicatee of his edition… Sources: *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*, 106th ed., 2 vols. (London: Burke's Peerage, 1999), i: 1475; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 29 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1910–11), xiii: 950." "Though he did not get a degree, Hastings coincided at Christ Church with Percy (July 1747–January 1749), and this may have been the contact through which Bowle met him; see Mason." (Emails de R. W. Truman, 13 18 y 20 agosto 2003, quien desea hacer constar la ayuda de Mrs. Judith Curthoys, archivera de Christ Church.)

La emisión Salisbury no fue solamente para suscriptores.

Podría pensarse que la emisión Salisbury fue para los suscriptores, y ya cancelados estos compromisos, la emisión Londres se confeccionó para conseguir nuevas ventas. Tal suposición es insostenible. Entre los ejemplares cuyos poseedores conocemos están los de Thomas Tyrwhitt y James Dawkins, suscriptores los dos, y son de la variedad londinense.[31]

Hubo pocos ejemplares de la emisión Salisbury.

El censo de ejemplares que se detalla al final de este artículo revela 10 ejemplares de la emisión Salisbury, y 79 de la londinense. Ya que suscriptores tan importantes como Tyrwhitt y Dawkins no recibieron la primera emisión, el cambio de emisión tuvo lugar antes de enviar los ejemplares, o todos los ejemplares, a los suscriptores. Es posible que los ejemplares de la variedad Salisbury nunca estuvieran en comercio, sino que sirvieran para el uso de sus colaboradores, entre ellos Dillon y Crookshanks, o para enviar a posibles mecenas. También es posible que las portadas y primera hoja de la variedad Salisbury fueron desechadas, después de usar sólo unas pocas de ellas. Una tercera posibilidad es que ejemplares con la primera portada fueron enviadas a suscriptores, pero las portadas y primera hoja revisadas siguieron tan rápidamente que llegaron antes de que los suscriptores hubieran encuadernado sus ejemplares, desechando ellos, entonces, las hojas de la variedad Salisbury.

Sea como fuere, la subvención que permitió el encargo de grabados habría llegado poco después de repartir los primeros ejemplares.

Dos series de portadas.

La orla usada en la emisión Salisbury (lámina 3) es más sencilla que la caballeresca de la emisión londinense (lámina 4). Esta

[31] Tyrwhitt era uno de los primeros suscriptores (carta de Percy a Bowle del 22 mayo 1777 (Percy-Bowle). Su ejemplar es el 635.l.15 de la British Library. El ejemplar de Dawkins es de Christ Church, Oxford; le agradezco a R. W. Truman esta información.

misma orla caballeresca se encuentra también en las portadas de los otros cinco tomos, aunque recen Salisbury. Es decir, hubo un total de doce portadas: seis con la orla sencilla, con Salisbury en todas ellas, y seis con la orla caballeresca, con Londres en la primera y Salisbury en las restantes. Cada una de las seis que he denominado "caballerescas" contiene un pequeño grabado, diferente en cada una, con una escena de la obra, y las de los primeros cuatro tomos incluyen también la viñeta de Juan de la Cuesta. En ambas series, la portada del tomo 6 añade la nota "a costa del editor."

Las doce portadas, de las dos series, indican los siguientes contenidos:

> PRIMERA PARTE. PRIMERO [sic] TOMO.
> PRIMERA PARTE. SEGUNDO TOMO.
> SEGUNDA PARTE. TERCERO [sic] TOMO.
> SEGUNDA PARTE. QUARTO TOMO.
> ANOTACIONES…
> INDICES…

Repito: cada portada aparece de dos formas, una con la orla sencilla y la otra con la orla caballeresca; once rezan Salisbury y una Londres. Cada ejemplar de la obra contiene las portadas con la orla sencilla, o las de la orla caballeresca. No se mezclan en ningún ejemplar.

No se conoce portada que diga nada como "Tercer Tomo, Anotaciones" o "Quarto Tomo, Indices." Los tomos tercero y cuarto, según las portadas, siempre contienen la Segunda Parte.

Además, aunque la portada "Segunda Parte Quarto Tomo" a veces falte, porque no se entendía qué hacer con ella en una edición de tres volúmenes, siempre está presente la portada "Segunda Parte, Tercero Tomo." Este dato es importante, y a él volveremos.

Primer plan: cuatro tomos.

Según su *Prospectus de Subscripción* sin fecha, pero probable-

mente de 1777 (lámina 1),[32] Bowle anunció su edición como consistente de "quatro tomos en quarto": "La obra se dividirà en quatro tomos: el primero, y segundo contendràn el texto puro, y sin variacion alguna: el tercero, y quarto comprenderàn las Notas, Glosas, varias Observaciones, è Indices."

Este plan no corresponde a ningún ejemplar conocido.

Aunque se conocen ejemplares de cuatro volúmenes, ninguno corresponde a este esquema en su plan primitivo. Es decir, aun los ejemplares en cuatro volúmenes tienen—según sus portadas—seis tomos.

Como no hay ejemplar sin la portada "Segunda Parte, Tercero Tomo," se sigue que el texto de la Segunda Parte no podría estar en el segundo tomo, ni las Anotaciones en el tercer tomo.

Tampoco corresponde a la emisión Salisbury.

Una suposición lógica, pero errónea, sería que este primer plan en cuatro tomos correspondiera a la emisión Salisbury, que entonces consistiría de cuatro volúmenes, y la emisión en seis tomos correspondería sólo a la emisión londinense. La encontra-

[32] Nótese que el texto inglés y el español no coinciden en unos detalles.

Se reproduce el ejemplar de la Williams Allen Clark Memorial Library de la University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA), que está encuadernado con la *Letter* a Percy. Le agradezco a esta biblioteca su autorización y copia. También se encuentra en la British Library (Cup.21.g.15/43) y este ejemplar, en la serie en microfilme *The Eighteenth Century*, Rollo 10449 (véase *supra*, n. 3).

El catálogo de la biblioteca Clark da a este prospecto la fecha de "hacia 1780," pero es más probable que fuera de 1777. En su *Letter to…Dr. Percy*, p. 146, anunció que el prospecto se publicaría en breve, y hay menciones del recibo de suscripciones en las cartas de Percy a Bowle de 22 mayo 1777, 8 noviembre 1777 y 29 agosto 1778 (Percy-Bowle).

En el ejemplar de la British Library, junto a las palabras "No se imprimiran mas exemplares, que los que precisamente bastaran para suplir a los gastos de impresion," hay una nota manuscrita que dice "viz. [*videlicet*, "es decir"] 750." Junto a las palabras "The text to be faithfully and correctly printed from the Original Editions, in Two Volumes, from which no Variations shall be made without acquainting the Reader," de la misma letra, "there have been many aye many." (Le agradezco a Barry Taylor de la British Library esta información.)

PROPOSALS

FOR PRINTING BY SUBSCRIPTION, IN FOUR VOLUMES QUARTO,

LA HISTORIA DEL FAMOSO CAVALLERO

DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA;

WITH

COPIOUS ILLUSTRATIONS, GLOSSARY, AND INDEXES.

CONDITIONS.

I. THE Text to be faithfully and correctly printed from the Original Editions, in Two Volumes, from which no Variations shall be made without acquainting the Reader.

II. The Third and Fourth Volumes to contain the Annotations, Indexes, and Miscellaneous Matter.

III. The Price to Subscribers to be Three Guineas, Half to be paid at the Time of Subscribing, and the Remainder on the Delivery of the Books in blue Covers.

IV. The Names of the Subscribers to be printed; and they may be assured there will be no more Copies, than shall be necessary to defray the unavoidable Expence.

BY THE REV. JOHN BOWLE, M.A. F.S.A.

To be had of Messrs. B. WHITE, ELMSLY, PAYNE and son, BAKER and LEIGH, ROBSON, and HOOPER, Booksellers in London.

PROSPECTUS DE SUSCRIPCION

PARA LA NUEVA EDICION

DE LA

HISTORIA DEL FAMOSO CAVALLERO

DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA;

EN QUATRO TOMOS EN QUARTO,

Ilustrada con NOTAS, GLOSAS, è INDICES.

Condiciones para la Suscripcion.

1ª. LA Edicion será correcta, hermosa, y clásica, ajustada fielmente á las ediciones originales echas en España.

2ª. La obra se dividirá en quatro tomos; el primero, y segundo contendrán el texto puro, y sin variacion alguna: el tercero, y quarto comprenderán las Notas, Glosas, varias Observaciones, è Indices.

3ª. Se imprimirán los nombres de los suscritores; y el papel, caractères, margenes, y forma serán como las de este prospectus.

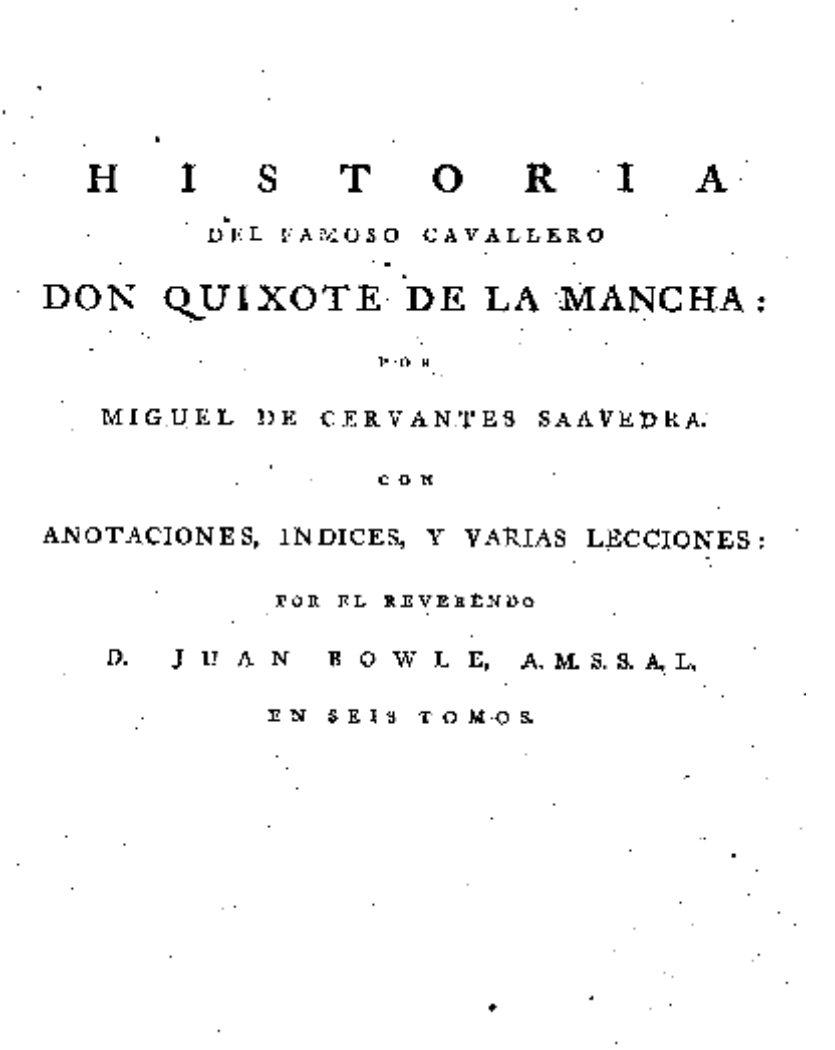
4ª. No se imprimirán mas exemplares, que los que precisamente bastarán para suplir á los gastos de la impresion.

5ª. Al tiempo de suscrivir se pagarán *treinta, y seis pesetas* moneda de España; y echa la entrega de los quatro tomos, se pagarán otras 36 *pesetas*. La encuadernacion será á la rustica, y las cubiertas de papel pintado.

La Suscripcion se recivirá en Londres en Casa de los Libreros B. WHITE, ELMSLY, PAYNE è Hijo; BAKER y LEIGH, ROBSON, y HOOPER.

Por toda la España se suscrivirá en Madrid en Casa de Dn ANTONIO SANCHA.

Lámina 1. Prospecto de la edición, con ejemplos del texto, notas e índice (4 pp.). Nótese que hay diferencias entre el texto inglés y el español. Ejemplar de la Clark Memorial Library, UCLA. "M.A. F.S.A." es "Master of Arts, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries."



HISTORIA

DEL FAMOSO CAVALLERO

DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA:

POR

MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA.

CON

ANOTACIONES, INDICES, Y VARIAS LECCIONES:

POR EL REVERENDO

D. JUAN BOWLE, A.M.S.S.A.L.

EN SEIS TOMOS.

Lámina 2. Anteportada, que anuncia que la edición consta de seis tomos. Ejemplar de Eisenberg. A.M.S.S.A.L. es "Artium Magister Socius Societatis Antiquariorum Londiniensis" (le agradezco esta explicación a R. W. Truman).

HISTORIA

DEL FAMOSO CAVALLERO,

DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA.

POR

MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA.

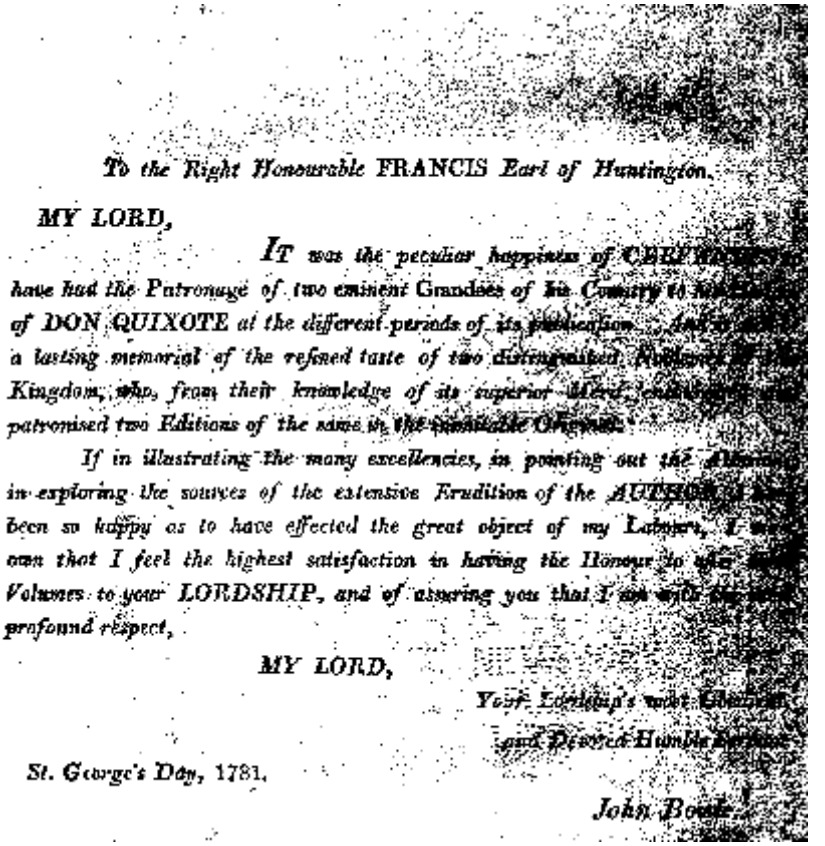
PRIMERA PARTE. PRIMERO TOMO.

EN SALISBURY:

En la Imprenta de EDVARDO EASTON. M.DCC.LXXXI.

Lámina 3. Primera emisión, con orla sencilla y Salisbury en el primer tomo. Ejemplar de Widener Library, Harvard University.

Lámina 4. Segunda emisión, con orla caballeresca y Londres en la portada del primer tomo. Ejemplar de Centre College.



To the Right Honourable FRANCIS *Earl of Huntington.*

MY LORD,

IT was the peculiar happiness of CERVANTES to have had the Patronage of two eminent Grandees of his Country to his Work of DON QUIXOTE at the different periods of its publication ... and as a lasting memorial of the refined taste of two distinguished Noblemen of this Kingdom, who, from their knowledge of its superior merit, encouraged and patronised two Editions of the same in the Spanish Original.

If in illustrating the many excellencies, in pointing out the Allusions, in exploring the sources of the extensive Erudition of the AUTHOR, I have been so happy as to have effected the great object of my Labours, I can own that I feel the highest satisfaction in having the Honour to offer the Volumes to your LORDSHIP, and of assuring you that I am with the most profound respect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most Obedient and Devoted Humble Servant,

St. George's Day, 1781. *John Bowle.*

Lámina 5. Carta a Francis Earl of Huntington, primera emisión. Ejemplar de la New York Public Library.

To the Right Honorable FRANCIS Earl of Huntington:

MY LORD

It was the peculiar happiness of CERVANTES to have had the Patronage of two eminent Grandees of his Country to his History of DON QUIXOTE at the different periods of its publication: And it will be a lasting memorial of the refined taste of two distinguished Noblemen of this Kingdom, who from their knowledge of its superior Merit, encouraged and patronized two Editions of the same, in the inimitable Original.

If in, illustrating the many difficulties, in pointing out the Allusions, or exploring the sources of the extensive Erudition of the AUTHOR I have been so happy as to have effected the great object of my Labours, I must own that I feel the highest satisfaction in having the Honour to offer these Volumes to your LORDSHIP; & of assuring you that I am with the most profound respect,

MY LORD

Your Lordship's most Obedient, and Devoted Humble Servant

John Bowle.

St. George's Day 1781.

Lámina 6. Carta a Francis Earl of Huntington, segunda emisión. Ejemplar de Centre College.

mos en bibliógrafos como Palau y otros que le siguen, quienes se equivocan ante una confusa emisión que muy posiblemente no habían visto. Los ejemplares de la emisión Salisbury tienen la misma estructura interna que los de la emisión londinense. Existe un ejemplar de la emisión Salisbury en cuatro volúmenes, uno de los de la New York Public Library, y sus portadas demuestran que hubo seis tomos en los cuatro volúmenes.

La emisión Salisbury consta de seis tomos, igual que la emisión londinense. Se encuentran encuadernados en tres, cuatro o seis volúmenes.[33]

Plan definitivo: seis tomos.

Ya cuando su edición se distribuía, la concepción de Bowle había cambiado de cuatro tomos a seis. Una hoja que así reza (aunque dice "seis volúmenes") aparece como anteportada en algunos de los ejemplares (lámina 2). Las referencias más antiguas a la edición también la describen como consistente de seis tomos. Juan Sempere y Guarinos, en una carta de 1784 a Bowle, se refiere a "los seis volumenes de que consta la Historia de D. Quixote reimpresa por vmd."[34] Baretti, en *Tolondron* (1786), la describe como de "six quarto Volumes" (254), y en el ya citado catálogo de venta de la biblioteca de Bowle (1790), se encuentra que "the remaining copies of Mr Bowle's elegant edition of *Don Quixote*, in the original Spanish, with his Notes and copious Indexes, in 6 vols. 4to. will be sold at the *very low price* of *one Guinea*, in boards; and the large paper copies *one Guinea and a half*."[35] En el mismo catálogo, al enumerar los "Libros Espannoles, Portu-

[33] La emisión londinense también se encuentra en dos volúmenes.

[34] "Correspondence" 137.

[35] *Catalogue of the Library of the Rev. John Bowle* (*supra*, n. 22), p. 380. El precio original para abonados, según el anuncio de hacia 1777 (lámina 1) era "three Guineas."

Existe un ejemplar de la "large paper issue," cuyo "double inner margin measures about 8 cm." según el catálogo en línea, en la Houghton Library, Harvard University (*SC6 C3375 B617d 1781a). La misma biblioteca también posee la "ordinary paper issue" (*SC6 C3375 B617d 1781), en cuyo caso la "double inner margin measures 6.2 cm."

gueses, &c.," la edición consta de "6 vol. in 3" (155). En el texto que acompaña el dibujo de Bowle reproducido en la portada de este número, de autoría incierta, se señala otra vez que su edición constó de "Six Quarto Volumes."[36]

Sospecho, sin tener seguridad, que este cambio se le ocurrió a Bowle cuando se dio cuenta, durante la composición de sus originales manuscritos, de la diferencia de tamaño entre los dos tomos del texto de *Don Quijote* y los dos que contendrían su "comento" e índices. Éstos son aproximadamente de la mitad del tamaño de los dos tomos del texto. Entonces un ejemplar de cuatro tomos, sería de tomos de muy desigual anchura.

Los originales de Bowle eran muy diversos. Para organizar sus anotaciones utilizó la ya mencionada edición de Padilla, Madrid, 1750, ejemplar que se custodia en la Hispanic Society of America. Para sus anotaciones, hizo encuadernar hojas en blanco en este ejemplar, y cuando excedían este espacio las escribió en fichas o papeles sueltos. Sólo comenzó a sacar en limpio sus anotaciones después de imprimir su edición del texto, según veremos. Dado también que tanto para Bowle como para su impresor (sin duda ignorante del español) se trataba de un proyecto insólito—el único otro libro de Bowle, de 1764, es una reproducción de unos textos literarios ingleses[37]—, es fácil suponer que a Bowle le sorprendió la desigualdad de los tomos. Supongo también que tal desigualdad le molestaba, y para que resultara un juego más uniforme, dividió los dos volúmenes del texto en cuatro tomos, para hacer un total de seis, de más o menos similar extensión. Es una hipótesis, pero no se me ocurre otra.

Las dos partes del texto, ya impresas, divididas en cuatro tomos.

Las notas de Bowle se refieren a páginas y líneas del texto—hacia entonces una novedad para un texto en castellano—y para prepararlas para la imprenta, imprimió el texto antes de preparar

[36] Hoare, entre 62 y 63.

[37] Bowle, *Miscellaneous Pieces*. Este libro, supongo que por incluir un texto atribuido a Shakespeare, fue reimpreso en 1972.

el manuscrito de sus notas e índices.[38]

Parece, pues, probable que decidiera dividir en cuatro los dos volúmenes del texto ya impresos, lo cual explicaría que las portadas se imprimieran después del texto y que en éste no hubiera ningún punto determinado donde los tomos 2 y 4 comiencen. En algunos ejemplares se escogió arbitrariamente el final de un capítulo, y no el mismo capítulo en todos. En otros ejemplares el encuadernador colocó, equivocadamente, la portada del segundo *tomo* al principio del segundo *volumen*.

La encuadernación contemporánea.

Las alusiones a la encuadernación de la edición también difieren. En sus *Proposals* de hacia 1777 (lámina 1), Bowle dijo que la segunda parte de la cuota se pagaría "on the Delivery of the Books in blue Covers." En el texto español, "la encuadernacion serà à la rustica, y las cubiertas de papel pintado." En el catálogo de la venta de su biblioteca ya citado, se lee que las copias restantes de la edición se venderán "in boards."[39] Por último, la encuadernación de uno de los ejemplares de Harvard está descrita, ignoro con qué fundamento, como "Original half vellum & blue-gray boards."[40]

Confusión y diversidad al momento de encuadernar.

Las portadas, como dijimos, debieron imprimirse por separado, es decir, ya impreso el contenido de los tomos. El primer pliego de los libros, "a," comienza con el texto, señalando que la por-

[38] Una carta de 1778 (Bowle, "Correspondence" 120) sugiere que el texto ya se imprimía ("I am plunged into the Printers sea of Ink"). En febrero de 1779 la Primera Parte estaba acabada ("Correspondence" 121) y según otras dos cartas, se acabó la impresión de la Segunda Parte en 1779 e Bowle hizo encuadernar un ejemplar de trabajo del texto de las dos partes (Cox, *Ilustrado* 75). En cambio, las anotaciones todavía no estaban totalmente en la imprenta en marzo de 1781 (Cox, *Ilustrado* 84), y la edición estaba realmente acabada y lista para enviarse en junio (Cox, *Ilustrado* 86).

[39] Para el catálogo, véase *supra*, n. 22. Hay dos alusiones a las "boards": pp. 155 y 380.

[40] Houghton ejemplar *SC6 C3375 B617d 1781, según el catálogo en línea.

tada sería algo tipográficamente diferente.

Parece que las portadas se repartieron, o a los compradores o a libreros, como un juego. Es probable que se incluyeran y repartieran también de esta manera las otras hojas sueltas: el mapa (en papel de otro tamaño, que tenía que doblarse), la fe de erratas, y la anteportada que anuncia que la edición consiste de seis tomos. Sólo así se explica la confusión y diversidad que existen en los ejemplares: algunos tienen todas las seis portadas, otros no; se colocan en lugares diferentes, según el ejemplar; el mapa, fe de erratas y anteportada tampoco están siempre presentes, ni en los mismos lugares. Sin embargo, y es un detalle importante, no se conoce ejemplar que use una combinación de portadas, es decir, unos tomos con la orla sencilla y otros con la caballeresca. Son siempre todas de una variedad.

Los libros antes del siglo XIX no se encuadernaban de la forma normal hoy en día: uniformemente por el editor. Al contrario, los libreros hacían encuadernar los libros, en pequeñas cantidades, o bien se vendían sin encuadernar o en rústica, para que el comprador los encuadernara según sus gusto y bolsa.[41] Al menos algunos de los compradores o libreros hacían encuadernar sus ejemplares sin que el encuadernador supiera colocar bien todas las hojas mencionadas en el párrafo anterior. No hay nada que indique dónde, en la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote*, se había de incluir la portada del tomo segundo; tampoco, en la Segunda Parte, dónde incluir la portada del cuarto tomo. La paginación y los cuadernos forman una unidad continua. En cuatro ejemplares están, a lo que parece, donde corresponde: la portada "Primera Parte Segundo Tomo" después de la p. 256 del primer volumen, entre los capítulos 27 y 28, y la portada "Segunda Parte Quarto Tomo" después de la p. 266 del segundo volumen, entre los capítulos 33 y 34.[42] Más o menos a la mitad de los volúmenes,

[41] Le agradezco a Steven Smith la orientación en este campo (email 17 julio 2003); recomienda el libro de Gaskell como orientación sobre la encuadernación de libros en el siglo XVIII.

[42] Así están en el ejemplar de la emisión londinense de la New York Public Library, en los cinco ejemplares de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, según me

se valen de un capítulo que acaba en una página par.

Pero bastantes ejemplares las tienen mal colocadas. En el mío, por ejemplo, y en el ejemplar 74783–84–85 de la Hispanic Society of America, la portada que reza "Primera Parte Segundo Tomo" se encuentra no al principio del segundo tomo, sino al principio del segundo *volumen* (i.e., el tercer tomo, con la Segunda Parte del texto). La portada que reza "Segunda Parte Tercero Tomo," que debía de estar allí al principio del segundo volumen y tercer tomo, se encuentra al principio del tercer volumen (quinto tomo), seguido inmediatamente por la portada de las *Anotaciones*. En mi ejemplar, la portada "Segunda Parte Quarto Tomo" se encuentra en la mitad del segundo volumen—antes de la portada del tercer tomo.

Otros ejemplares exhiben parecidas confusiones. Los ejemplares *SC6 C3375 B617d 1781a de la Houghton Library, Harvard University, y el 107686 de la Huntington Library,[43] son idénticos al mío con la excepción de que la portada "Segunda Parte Quarto Tomo" se encuentra como "added title page" al tomo 6, el de los índices. Uno de los ejemplares de la New York Public Library coloca la portada "Segunda Parte Quarto Tomo" al principio del tomo de Índices, seguida de la portada Índices.[44] En este caso, el tomo de Índices, el tomo 6 según el plan de Bowle, es el volumen cuarto.[45]

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comunica María Cristina Guillén Bermejo de la sección de Manuscritos, Incunables y Raros de dicha biblioteca, en el ejemplar de Christ Church, Oxford, según me comunica R. W. Truman y el ejemplar que fue de Rius y Bonsoms, desde 1915 en la Biblioteca de Catalunya, coincide en la colocación de la portada del segundo tomo después de la p. 256, pero no en la del cuarto tomo, que se encuentra entre las pp. 324 y 325, algo después de la mitad del volumen.

[43] Según email del bibliotecario Stephen Tabor, 24 marzo 2003.

[44] Los libros de la New York Public Library tienen un sistema único de signaturas. Este ejemplar de cuatro volúmenes, de la emisión Salisbury, está descrito por la signatura: *NGI (1781) (Cervantes. Historia del famoso cavallero, Don Quixote de la Mancha (Salisbury)).

[45] Otros ejemplares con portadas mal colocadas, según los catálogos en línea, son los de la Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, la University of Michigan ("some title pages misplaced"), y la Biblioteca Nacional de Argentina (dos tomos,

Conclusiones.

Sólo hubo una edición y una tirada de la obra. La supuesta segunda edición no es sino una nueva emisión, con diferencia en las portadas y las en las hojas preliminares del primer tomo. Aunque Bowle pensó al principio en una edición en cuatro tomos, la cambió a seis tomos antes de distribuir ningún ejemplar, posiblemente antes de acabar la impresión de los tomos de anotaciones e índices. Preparó dos series de seis portadas, pero las entregó a libreros o compradores sin indicar su lugar debido. Por confusiones entre volúmenes y tomos, varios ejemplares tienen portadas mal colocadas.

La tabla en la página siguiente presenta estas conclusiones.

los dos numerados como tercero; "sic" en las descripciones en su catálogo en línea). En el ejemplar Cerv.Sedó/877–879 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, la anteportada está al principio del vol. 3, en vez de vol. 1, según información de la bibliotecaria María Cristina Guillén Bermejo (email del 12 marzo 2003).

Primer plan ("quatro tomos en quarto")	Portadas del plan final (seis tomos; según el ejemplar, encuadernados en 2, 3, 4 ó 6 volúmenes)	Contenido	Errores hallados en algunos ejemplares (portadas mal colocadas)
Tomo 1	"Primera parte, primero [sic] tomo" "Primera parte, segundo tomo"	Carta a Francis Earl of Huntington ("St. George's Day" [23 abril] 1781); *Don Quijote*, Primera Parte	
Tomo 2	"Segunda parte, tercero [sic] tomo" "Segunda parte, cuarto tomo"	*Don Quijote*, Segunda Parte	Primera parte, segundo tomo
Tomo 3	"Anotaciones…" [Quinto tomo]	"Prólogo del Editor" (23 abril 1781); sus anotaciones o "comento"; "A los lectores" (26 octubre 1780)	Segunda parte, tercero tomo; Anotaciones (dos portadas)
Tomo 4	"Índices…" [Sexto tomo]	"Prólogo a los Índices" (23 abril 1781); "Subscribers"; "Índices de nombres propios, de palabras más notables y varias lecciones"	Segunda parte, quarto tomo; Índices (dos portadas)

CENSO DE EJEMPLARES

Este censo está basado en WorldCat (http://newfirstsearch.oclc.org, éste y los otros URL en este párrafo verificados el 2 de agosto 2003), el catálogo RLIN (http://www.rlg.org), el Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español (http://www.mcu.es/ccpb), Red de Bibliotecas Universitarias (españolas, http://rebiun.crue.org), COPAC (bibliotecas académicas del Reino Unido e Irlanda, http://copac.ac.uk/copac/), AMICUS (bibliotecas canadienses, http://www.nlc-bnc.ca/7/2/index-e.html), los catálogos en línea de la British Library, Library of Congress, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Biblioteca Nacional de España y visitas a la Hispanic Society of America y a la New York Public Library. Dejo de mencionar otras fuentes consultadas que no produjeron resultados. He consultado los catálogos en línea, si existen, de cada biblioteca especificada como poseedor de un ejemplar, y conseguido información de varias o por carta o por visita de un amigo. También he hecho uso de las listas de ejemplares facilitadas por Cox (*Rev. John Bowle* 50 n. 2), la *Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica* de José Simón Díaz y el catálogo de Casasayas.

Aviso: dadas las confusiones de la edición y los consecuentes errores de catalogación (varios de los cuales ya han sido corregidos), este listado, basado principalmente en catálogos en línea, puede fácilmente contener errores inadvertidos.

Primera emisión. Primer tomo Salisbury; orla sencilla.

En tres volúmenes:

Chile
Santiago: Biblioteca Nacional

EE.UU.:
Boston, MA: Boston Public Library (ejemplar de George Tick-

nor)[46]
East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University (folio PQ6323 .A1 1781; falta el tercer volumen)[47]
Nueva York, NY: Hispanic Society of America (74783–84–85)

Francia:
París: Sorbona (LE e pr4o in 4 ; sin confirmar)[48]

España:
Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional (Cerv/251–253)[49]

En cuatro volúmenes:

EE.UU.:
Nueva York, NY: Public (*NGI (1781) (Cervantes. Historia del famoso cavallero Don Quixote de la Mancha (Salisbury)))

En seis volúmenes:

EE.UU.:
Cambridge, MA: Harvard, Widener Library (Harvard Depository KF 31407)[50]

España:
Madrid: Real Academia Española (2–V–26 a 2–V–31)
Vitoria-Gasteiz: Seminario Diocesano-Facultad de Teología

[46] Según email de la bibliotecaria Roberta Zonghi, 4 marzo 2003.

[47] Según email del bibliotecario Randall Scott, 16 junio 2003.

[48] "v. 3 only. Shelved with v. 1–2 of 'Historia del famoso cavallero, Don Quixote de la Mancha', Salisbury, 1781," según el *English Short-Title Catalogue*, consultado por Barry Taylor a través del servicio Eureka del Research Library Group (20 julio 2003, http://www.rlg.org/eureka.html).

[49] Según email de la bibliotecaria María Cristina Guillén Bermejo, 12 marzo 2003.

[50] Según emails del bibliotecario Robinson Murray, 6 y 20 marzo 2003.

Segunda emisión. Primer tomo Londres; orla caballeresca.

En dos volúmenes (el segundo volumen comienza con la portada "Segunda Parte, Quarto Tomo"):

Reino Unido:

Cambridge: Queen's College (E.24.20–21)[51]

Londres: British Library (86.h.16–17, ejemplar de la biblioteca del rey George III)[52]

En tres volúmenes:

Alemania:

Bonn: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn (Fd 4' 361)

Gotinga: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (8 FAB II, 658:1 hasta :6)

Argentina:

Buenos Aires: Biblioteca Nacional (TES 3 A 12 4 2 07–08–09)

Canadá:

Toronto: University of Toronto, Robarts Library (LS C419d 1781)

Toronto: University of Toronto, St. Michael's College Library (PQ6323 .A1 1781)

EE.UU.:

Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan (PQ6323.A1 1781)

Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins (Peabody 863.32 D6 1781 QUARTO)

Berkeley, CA: University of California (PQ6337 .A1 v.17–19, ejemplar de Rudolph Schevill)

Binghamton, NY: University (dos ejemplares, uno de ellos, PQ6171.A1. 1781, con sólo los tomos 5 y 6, pero encuadernados juntos; el otro, PQ6171.A1.1781b, incluye un ejemplar de

[51] Según email del bibliotecario Dr. Ian Patterson, 17 julio 2003.

[52] Según email del bibliotecario Dr. Barry Taylor, 6 marzo 2003.

la *Letter* de Bowle a Percy al principio del volumen tercero)[53]
Boston, MA: Atheneum (VHXF +C3 +d +2)
Cambridge, MA: Harvard, Houghton Library: dos ejemplares, uno "ordinary paper issue" (*SC6 C3375 B617d 1781), el otro "large paper issue" (*SC6 C3375 B617d 1781a). Véase *supra*, nota 35.
Chicago, IL: University (PQ6323.A1 1781)
Cincinnati, OH: University (PQ6323.A1 1781)
Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve (PQ6323.A1 1781)
Clifton Park, NY: Eisenberg[54]
College Station, TX: Texas A&M, Cushing Memorial Library (PQ6323.A1 1781)[55]
Hanover, NH: Dartmouth (PQ6323 .A1 1781)
Ithaca, NY: Cornell (dos ejemplares: Rare PQ6323.A1 1781 [falta el volumen tercero]; Rare PQ6323.A1 1781+)[56]
Los Angeles, CA: University of California (UCLA) (Southern Regional Library Facility; antes *PQ6323.A1 1781)
Northampton, MA: Smith College (865 C33i 1781)[57]
Nueva York, NY: Hispanic Society of America (25932–33–34)
Nueva York, NY: Public (*NGI (1781) (Cervantes. Historia del famoso cavallero Don Quixote de la Mancha (London)))
Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania (868 C33D.yBo; sólo el tomo 3)[58]
Princeton, NJ: Princeton (Ex 3170.33.12)
Rochester, NY: University of Rochester (PQ6323 .A1b; solamente

[53] Según email de la bibliotecaria Beth Kilmarx, 5 marzo 2003, y conferencia telefónica el 22 de agosto de 2003.

[54] Está prevista la adquisición de este ejemplar por la Swem Library del College of William and Mary, donde enseñó Cox muchos años.

[55] Véase Urbina y Smith. Les agradezco a los dos sus respuestas a varias consultas mías.

[56] Según email de la bibliotecaria Katherine Reagan, 22 julio 2003. (El ejemplar sin el volumen tercero, puede haber sido encuadernado en cuatro volúmenes.)

[57] Según email del bibliotecario Martin Antonetti, 25 marzo 2003.

[58] Según email de la bibliotecaria Lynne Farrington, 29 julio 2003.

el volumen primero, con los tomos 1 y 2; posiblemente parte de un ejemplar de cuatro volúmenes)
San Marino, CA: Huntington (107686)[59]
Washington, DC: Library of Congress (PQ6323 .A1 1781 Pre-1801 Coll)

España:
Alcalá de Henares: Biblioteca Pública Municipal
Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos
Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya (83–4º–148–149–150, *olim* R–228.101–102–103, ejemplar de Juan Givanel Mas)[60]
Madrid: Biblioteca Histórica Municipal
Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional (cinco ejemplares: Cerv/782–784, Cerv.Sedó/869–871, Cerv.Sedó/877–879, R/32607–32609, U/1650–1652)[61]
Madrid: Real Academia Española (F 100–26–1 a F 100–26–3)
Oviedo: Universitaria[62]
Peralada: Palau[63]

Francia:
París: Bibliothèque Nationale (Y2–476, 477, 478)
Versailles: Bibliothèque Municipale (ejemplar de Alfred Morel-Fatio)

Irlanda:
Dublín: Trinity College (R–k–35/37)[64]
Dublín: University College (25.Y.11–12–13)

Reino Unido:
Birmingham: Central Library (Store A863.3232)

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[59] Según email del bibliotecario Stephen Tabor, 24 marzo 2003.

[60] Según email de la bibliotecaria Victòria Casals, 13 agosto 2003.

[61] Según email de la bibliotecaria María Cristina Guillén Bermejo, 12 marzo 2003.

[62] Según email de la bibliotecaria Ángeles Llavona, 5 marzo 2003.

[63] Según Casasayas 34.

[64] Según email del bibliotecario Shane Mawe, 29 julio 2003.

Cambridge: Trinity College (G.1.26–28)[65]
Londres: British Library (635.l.15, ejemplar de Thomas Tyrwhitt). Este ejemplar se incluye en la colección en microfilme *The Eighteenth Century*, Rollos 2639 y 2640.[66]
Londres: King's College (PQ6323.A1 D81)[67]
Manchester: John Rylands (dos ejemplares: SC7982C [*olim* 863.32 B 27 Q]; 7462)[68]
Oxford: Balliol College (0193 g 012–013–014)[69]
Oxford: Christ Church[70]
Oxford: Taylor Institution (dos ejemplares: VET.SPAN.II.C.3–5 y VET.SPAN.II.C.12–14)

En cuatro volúmenes:

EE.UU.:

Berkeley, CA: University of California (788g.d.1781)[71]
Philadelphia, PA: Library Company (Rare O Span Cerv Quix 1781 1992.Q)

España:

Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya (Cerv. 2–VI–1/4, ejemplar de Rius y Bonsoms)[72]
Madrid: Museo Cerralbo (incompleto)[73]

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[65] "Imperfecto," según el *English Short-Title Catalogue* (véase n. 48 *supra*).

[66] Véase *supra*, n. 3.

[67] Según email de la bibliotecaria Katie Sambrook, 17 julio 2003.

[68] Según emails de la bibliotecaria Julie Ramwell, 22 y 24 julio 2003.

[69] Según email de la bibliotecaria Jane Smith, 17 julio 2003.

[70] Según emails del profesor R. W. Truman, 6 y 7 de agosto 2003.

[71] Según email del bibliotecario David Kessler, 5 marzo 2003.

[72] Rius lo describió como una obra en tres volúmenes. La encuadernación es posterior a la fecha de publicación, y puede ser de Bonsoms, ya que en el *Catàleg de la Col lecció Cervàntica* de Givanel, 1: 1781, se cita un cuarto volumen (con mención de la portada de Bowle "Segunda Parte Quarto Tomo") y se cuestiona la descripción de la obra en tres volúmenes (según emails de la bibliotecaria Victòria Casals, 13, 18 y 20 agosto 2003.)

[73] Una carta a este museo no recibió contestación. No está claro, por el Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español, cuántos ejemplares tiene

Reino Unido:
Cambridge: University Library (Ee5.1-)
Londres: British Library (Cerv. 321, ejemplar de H. S. Ashbee)[74]

En seis volúmenes:

Alemania:
Berlín: Staatsbibliothek (4" Xl 1649)[75]
Weimar: Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek (DD 9:3(n), DD9:3(o), DD9:3(p), DD9:3(q), DD9:3(r); falta el último tomo)

Canadá:
Kingston, Ontario: Queen's University (PQ 6323. 1781)

EE.UU.:
Danville, KY: Centre College (PQ6323.A1 1781; sólo los tomos 1 y 2, pero encuadernados aparte)
Lewiston, ME: Bates College (PQ6323.A1 1781)[76]
New Haven, CT: Yale (He53 08)
San Francisco, CA: California State Library, Sutro Library (863.C 1781; sólo tomo 3)[77]

España:
Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia[78]

México:
Monterrey: Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores[79]

(¿dos?), si son completos ni cómo están encuadernados (¿en 4 volúmenes?).

[74] Según email del bibliotecario Barry Taylor, 6 marzo 2003.

[75] "Kriegsverlust möglich" (posiblemente perdido en la guerra), según el catálogo en línea.

[76] Según email de la bibliotecaria Elaine Ardia, 20 febrero 2003.

[77] Según email de la bibliotecaria Martha Whittaker, 1 agosto 2003. La portada del tomo reza "Segunda Parte, Tercero Tomo," así que fue separado de un ejemplar encuadernado en seis volúmenes.

[78] Según email de la bibliotecaria M.ª Esther González-Ybarra, 2 marzo 2003.

[79] Según emails del bibliotecario Ricardo Elizondo Elizondo, 17 diciembre 2003 y 8 enero 2004.

Reino Unido:
Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales (Llanelwy 1547–1552; ejemplar de la St. Asaph Cathedral Library)[80]
Cambridge: Emmanuel College (332.3.48 a 323.3.53)[81]
Manchester: John Rylands (832.32.1.CER (Ashburne))[82]
Nottingham: University (S/PQ6323.A1 D81)[83]

Sin determinar la encuadernación:

EE.UU.:
San Marino, CA: Huntington (sólo los dos primeros tomos: 343377)[84]
Santa Barbara, CA: University of California (sólo el tomo 5: PQ6323 .A1 1781)[85]

España:
Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya (A 83–8º–6834, *olim* R–66.040; sólo el tomo 5)[86]

Reino Unido:
British Library (Boston Spa): qE/00046 (sólo el primer tomo)

8 Brookview Court
Clifton Park, NY 12065
daniel.eisenberg@bigfoot.com

[80] Según email del bibliotecario Timothy Cutts, 6 marzo 2003.
[81] Según email del bibliotecario H. Carron, 21 julio 2003.
[82] Según emails de la bibliotecaria Julie Ramwell, 22 y 24 julio 2003.
[83] Según email de la bibliotecaria Rebecca Johns, 18 julio 2003.
[84] El bibliotecario Stephen Tabor no consiguió localizar este ejemplar (emails de 24 marzo y 21 julio 2003).
[85] Según email del bibliotecario Tony J. Lewis, 30 julio 2003.
[86] Según email de la bibliotecaria Victòria Casals, 13 agosto 2003.

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The Grangerized Copy of John Bowle's Edition of *Don Quixote* in the Cushing Memorial Library, Texas A&M University

By: Eduardo Urbina and Steven Escar Smith

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The Grangerized Copy of John Bowle's Edition of *Don Quixote* at the Cushing Memorial Library, Texas A&M University

EDUARDO URBINA and STEVEN ESCAR SMITH

The Cushing Library of Texas A&M University recently acquired at auction for its Cervantes collection a copy of the rare and influential edition of *Don Quixote* prepared by the Reverend John Bowle and published in 1781, in three beautifully bound volumes.[1] Bowle's edition marks the beginning of serious Cervantine scholarship, and constitutes a landmark in the textual and critical history of *Don Quixote* for several reasons. It was the first extensively annotated edition published anywhere, produced after more than ten years of careful study and extensive readings of Cervantes' chivalric, classical, and Italian sources, and incorporated the results of the first significant attempt to

[1] *Historia del famoso cavallero Don Quixote de la Mancha* (London: B. White, P. Elmsley, T. y T. Payne, y J. Robson–Salisbury: Edvardo Easton, 1781), 3 volumes 4to. Only the first tome of Volume I appeared in London. Bowle's edition appeared twice in 1781 in two issues, as described by Palau 52025, Casasayas 86–87, and most recently by Eisenberg. The Cushing's copy is an example of the second issue, but perhaps because of the grangerizing described here it lacks the initial title page and the map of Spain and Africa mentioned by Suñé 61.

collate several editions of the novel in order to identify textual variants and emend possible errors. Furthermore, Bowle's edition greatly contributed to the establishment of *Don Quixote* as a literary classic, a text now deserving and requiring a set of critical annotations and commentary in order to comprehend its complex allusions and meanings. Finally, Bowle's annotations soon became the obligatory starting point for all subsequent annotated editions and have been frequently borrowed by other editors, most often without attribution.[2]

The Cushing's copy, in its original binding[3] and in almost perfect condition, constitutes a unique grangerized edition.[4] It includes several large, high-quality engravings which have been folded, pasted, and inserted in various places throughout the

[2] A list of editions of *Don Quixote* in Spanish that have used or copied Bowle's notes would include: Leipzig: Juan Sommer, 1800, with reprints; Berlin: Henrique Frölich, 1804; Paris: Carlos Hingray, 1844, with reprints; New York: Appleton, 1853, with reprints; and Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1898. As can be observed, none were published in Spain. A few English translations also used Bowle's notes: Edinburgh: Hurt, Robinson & Co., 1822; Boston: Little, Brown, 1854; and London: C. Kegan Paul, 1881. Bowle's edition and annotations competed in Spain with the text established by the Spanish Royal Academy (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1780) and with the notes by José Antonio Pellicer included in his editions (Madrid: Gabriel Sancha, 1787, 5 tomes in 8vo, and Madrid: Gabriel Sancha, 1788 9 vols. in 12mo). It is worth noting that Pellicer, nine years before the publication of his first edition and notes, expressed his awareness and approval of Bowle's project in a letter to Bowle dated July 20, 1778, included in Bowle's edition (Volume III, xii–xiii). It is clear then that Bowle's edition elicited, before and after its publication, considerable interest in Spain, as evidence in the Academia's and Pellicer's own annotated editions.

[3] During the handpress period books were normally supplied by the printer to the retail bookseller in quired but unbound sheets. Although booksellers might hire out the binding of their stock of a particular title in a manner that anticipates modern edition binding, complete edition binding on behalf of the publisher did not begin until the 1820s. See Gaskell 146–53 and 231–50.

[4] After the practice established by James Granger in his 1769 *Biographical History of England* of including blank leaves for the addition of portraits, etc. The terms "grangerized" and "extraillustrated," like much of the vocabulary of the antiquarian bookworld, have been used variously over the years. Some book collectors and bibliographers may take exception to our use of it here. We use "grangerized" in the broad sense of a book to which items not printed with it originally were later added by an individual owner. No other term, defined strictly or broadly, applies to the circumstances we describe. See Carter 94–95.

three volumes. These engravings number fifteen in total, do not form a series, are not homogeneous in size, and appear to proceed from at least six different published sources. Most include in their captions information about the author and engraver, but some do not.

At least eleven are engravings after the designs of the famous French court painter Charles Antoine Coypel (1694–1752),[5] whom around 1714 was commissioned to create twenty-eight drawings on stout paper or cartoons from which to produce a series of tapestries based on *Don Quixote*.[6] The tapestries were manufactured at the famous Gobelins' factory, and all of the surviving cartoons now hang in the Château of Compiègne.[7] Coypel's paintings depict a rather fanciful interpretation of the characters, episodes, and adventures of *Don Quixote*, taking place in an elegant baroque Versaillesque setting, reminiscent more of an eighteenth-century salon than of La Mancha's austere landscape. Nevertheless, because of their artistry and dramatic qualities they became immensely popular, were copied and engraved many times, and were included as illustrations in numerous editions of Cervantes' masterpiece during the 1700s.

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[5] Coypel's cartoons were painted between 1715 and 1751 in several stages. The tapestries went through nine weavings between 1715 and 1778. The first weaving completed in 1717, consisting of 15 tapestries, was sold at Christie's in June 1993; *The duc d'Antin* Don Quixote *Tapestries*, Christie's Catalogue 110 (London, 1993). Thus, by 1717 Coypel had painted 15 cartoons, and 24 by 1727, with 3 more done between 1731 and 1734, and the last one in 1751. Since three of the paintings were never engraved, no edition or collection of plates contains all 28 of his designs. For additional information about Coypel see Thierry Lefrançois 147–374. See also Horst.

[6] Givanel 115–22. See also Clements. The sparse bibliography related to Coypel's *Quixote* engravings includes, in chronological order: Guiffrey, Cain, Jamieson, Bardon, Seznec, Hartau, and Schmidt 38–46.

[7] The *Manufacture Royale des Gobelins* in Paris was established in 1664 by Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's Minister of Finance. For samples of Coypel's *Quixote* tapestries at the Getty Museum, see http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o6608.html (2 August 2003), "Sancho's Feast on the Island of Barataria" (1772), and http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/o6609.html (2 August 2003), "Sancho's Entry on the Island of Barataria" (1772). Several of the original cartoons have disappeared and most have suffered extensive retouching; see Lefrançois 135–484.

Coypel's designs were first engraved in copper and published in Paris in 1724.[8] Thus, twenty-two engravings, although not all after Coypel, appeared in a large folio album under the title *Les aventures de Don Quichotte de Cervantès peintées par C. Coypel, Boucher et Nic Cochin, gravées par MM. Surugue, Cochin, Ravenet*.[9] Twenty-two years later, Pierre de Hondt published in The Hague another collection of the engravings, this time accompanied by brief explanatory selections from Cervantes' work, under the title *Les principales avantures* [sic] *de l'admirable Don Quichotte, représentées en figures par Coypel, Picart le Romain et autres habiles maîtres avec les explications des XXXI planches de cette magnifique collection, tirées de l'original espagnol de Miguel de Cervantès*.[10] The engravers this time were Bernard Picart, J. V. Schley, P. Tanjé, and S. Fokke, but only twenty-five of the thirty-one plates included were by Coypel.[11] Other similar collections con

[8] Paris: Surugue, Ravenet et Dupuis, 1724, 22 plates, 35 x 40 cm. Palau 52726 indicates in error 31 plates. Louis Surugue (1686–1762) received in 1721 an exclusive license for the printing and sale in France of Coypel's engraved designs, which he produced until 1744. He was a disciple of Bernard Picart and became a member of the Académie Royale in the 1730s. The Library of Congress lists in its rare book catalogue a copy of this edition as (Paris, 1723–24?), with 22 plates, 35 x 40 cm (ND553.C96 A45; LC control no. 63057554, but not in Aguirre's *Works*). The British Library includes in its catalogue a "series of 25 engravings illustrating the adventures of Don Quixote, engraved by G. Van der Gucht," published in 1725? (shelfmark D–1753.a.9), and Oxford University's Worcester Library lists a copy of the same series as published in 1726.

[9] By 1724, according to Lefrançois' "catalogue raisonné," Coypel had completed only 21 cartoons, of which one depicting the adventure of the wineskins was never engraved (P 13, pages 150–52), thus the two extra engravings by Boucher and Cochin announced in the title. It is important to notice, furthermore, that the engravings based on Coypel's designs were produced and sold as single plates and collected then in albums throughout the 1730s and 1740s.

[10] The Hague: Pierre de Hondt, 1746, viii + 330 pp., 31 plates, 34 cm. Only 25 of these plates are after Coypel; the remaining 6 plates are by François Boucher (1), Pierre-Charles Trémolières (2), Jacques-Philippe Le Bas (1), and Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils (2). Palau 52734, Suñé 554, Aguirre 645. A similar edition but with only the 25 plates by Coypel was also printed in France in 1747 when he was named "peintre du roi" (Paris: chez Jacques-François Chereau, 1747).

[11] Of the 28 cartoons painted by Coypel 3 were never engraved, thus 25 is the maximum number of engravings present in any publication or edition, and most include between 22 and 24. In addition to the one about the adventure of

taining an abbreviated text suited to the subject matter of the engravings were printed in The Hague (1746, in Dutch), London (1775), Liège (1776), and Brussels (1795), all in large quarto volumes.[12]

Coypel's original cartoons were repeatedly copied and included as small size illustrations in many eighteenth-century editions of *Don Quixote*. The first editions containing copper engravings of Coypel's paintings appeared in England in 1725 and 1731.[13] Both were editions of Shelton's translation, in four small 12mo volumes printed in London, and both included "a curious set of cuts from the French of Coypel" consisting of 22 illustrations executed by the famous engraver Van der Gucht.[14] In France, the first *Quixote* edition containing some copies by Bonard of Coypel's drawings was published in Paris in 1732.[15] From that time on, and until its popularity was eclipsed early in the nineteenth century by the illustrations of Johannot and others,[16] numerous French editions of *Don Quixote*, as well as others

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the wineskins mentioned in note 9, the two others are "Don Quichotte au bal chez don Antonio Moreno" (1731) and "Don Quichotte servi par les filles de l'hôtellerie" (1751); see Lefrançois 252 and 372.

[12] The Hague: Pieter de Hondt, 1746, quarto, in Dutch with the same 31 plates as the French 1746 edition; London, "Sold by G. Vanderguscht in Queen Street," 1775, folio rpt. of Coypel's 1746 designs with English text; Liège: Bassompierre, 1776, including explanatory texts, 39 cm.; and Brussels: Le Franq, 1795, copy of the Liège edition.

[13] London: R. Knaplock *et al.*, 1725, 4 vols., 12mo, with folded plates. Neither Palau nor Suñé lists this edition, but the Library of Congress has a copy (LC control #06022262, Aguirre 345). London: J. Walthoe *et al.*, 1731, 4 vols. 12mo, 22 folded plates.

[14] G. Van der Gucht was also the engraver for 65 of the 68 designs by Vanderbank included in the famous Spanish *Quixote* edition, commissioned by Lord Carteret and published by J. and R. Tonson in London in 1738, 4 vols. 4to. (Suñé 42, Palau 52010, Aguirre 101). These same plates were included also in the English edition published by Tonson in 1742, and The Cervantes Project owns a grangerized copy of Tonson's 3rd edition (London, 1756) which includes in addition to the 68 illustrations by Vanderbank the 31 plates by Coypel and others from the 1746 French edition mentioned in note 10 above.

[15] Paris: Compagnie des Libraires, 1732, 6 vols., 12mo, 40 illus. Suñé 545, Palau 52728, Aguirre 583.

[16] Paris: J.-J. Dubochet et Cie., 1836, 2 vols., 4to. Over 800 "vignettes" by Tony Johannot accompanied the new translation by Louis Viardot. Previously,

published in Germany, Holland, Denmark, England, and Spain, included sets of Coypel's drawings copied by different engravers, generally printed in multivolume 12mo editions, and exhibiting various degrees of quality.[17]

An examination of the fifteen plates inserted in the Cushing's grangerized copy of Bowle's edition (five in Volume I, eight in Volume II, and two in Volume III) reveals several possible groupings and provenances. Note that the plate numbers, in the discussion that follows, reflect the sequence of the illustrations in the edition. They are discussed by grouping rather than by their order in the edition.

Figure 1, Plate I.

I. *Figure 1, Plate I.* A nineteenth-century drawing by the English artist Henry Thomas Alken, engraved by John Zeitten. This plate, "Don Quixote at his library," has been inserted as the frontispiece of Tome I, and comes from a three-volume collection of engravings published by Henry Alken and John Zeitten entitled *Illustrations of* Don Quixote (1831). It depicts a somewhat mad-struck knight sitting at a table by a window, surrounded by his arms and

other new French editions appeared with illustrations by Lefevre and Lebarbier (1799) and Devéria (1821).

[17] Other eighteenth-century French editions of *Don Quixote* which include copies of Coypel's drawings in reduced size: Francfort, en Foire: Chez J. L. Bassompierre à Liège, 1750; Paris: Bordelet, 1754; Paris: Leclerc, 1754; Francfort, en Foire: Chez Bassompierre, à Liège, 1757; Amsterdam and Leipzig: Arkstée & Merkus, 1768; The Hague: Chez Bassompierre à Liège, 1768 and 1773; Paris: Bleuet, 1773 and 1774; Liège: Bassompierre, 1776; Lyon: Amable Leroy, 1781; Liège: Bassompierre, 1782; Lyon: Amable Leroy, 1793; Brussels: B. Le Franq, 1795; and Paris: Fr. Dufart, 1798. *In English*: Dublin: S. Hyde & S.J. Dobson, 1733; London: D. Midwinter, 1740; London: D. Midwinter, 1743; London: W. Innys, *et al.*, 1749; Dublin: Daniel Grainsberry, 1783. *In Spanish*: The Hague: P. Gosse y A. Moetjens, 1744; Amsterdam and Leipzig: Arkstée & Merkus, 1755. *In German*: Leipzig: Gaspar Fritsch, 1767. *In Danish*: Copenhagen: Gyldendals, 1776.

books, and staring at a copy of the chivalric romance *Don Belianís* lying at his feet on the floor, and with Feliciano de Silva erroneously named as its author.[18] The legend accompanying the illustration is a quote from an English translation, and reads: "He would draw his sword & fence back stroke & fore stroke with the walls; and when he was heartily tired, would say he had killed four Giants, as tall as so many Steeples."

II. Two plates by Coypel with English captions, engraved by Van der Gucht, must come from the first series of folio engravings done by Van der Gucht around 1725, and sold at his shop in Bloomsbury, rather than from the series later included as folded plates in the edition published in England (London, 1775), a mere six years before Bowle's edition. They are Plates II and IV in the Cushing copy.[19]

Figure 2, Plate II

Figure 2, Plate II is inserted in Volume I, Chapter 2, page 13, and depicts the mock knighting of Don Quixote at the inn. It is entitled "Don Quixot believes he is to Receive in the Inn The Order of Knighthood." The legend states "Car. Coypel pinx" at the left-hand side, and in the right bottom corner a notice reads, "Sold by G. Vander Gucht in Queen Street Bloomsbury." The paper is thin and the engraved image shows a slight evidence

[18] The complete title of *Belianís*, by Jerónimo Fernández, is *Historia del magnánimo, valiente e invencible caballero don Belianís de Grecia*. It is mentioned in the first chapter of *Don Quixote* as one of the Spanish chivalric romances in Alonso Quijano's library responsible for inducing his madness. It was published in four parts, Parts I–II in Burgos (1547) and Parts III–IV also in Burgos (1579). There is a modern edition by Lilia E. F. de Orduna, and also a MS of a Part V (incomplete) in the National Library in Madrid. See Eisenberg and Marín Pina 263–73.

[19] Lefrançois makes no mention of Van der Gucht engravings, citing only in his documentation the reductions done in 12mo in the Spanish edition published by Gosse and Moetjens (The Hague, 1744) and in 4to in P. Hondt's editions (1746).

of embossing. It measures 330 x 330 mm and has been trimmed at the top and folded twice in both directions.[20]

Figure 3, Plate IV has been inserted in Volume I, Chapter 28, page 73 and depicts the burlesque petition of Micomicona, "The pretended Princess of Micomicon petitions Don Quixote to restore her to her Kingdom." It carries the same legend as the previous one but has been more radically trimmed and backed with a heavy paper stock. It measures 272 x 286 mm and it has a one inch tear at the right margin.[21]

Figure 3, Plate IV

III. The next group of plates is the most numerous and consists of six designs by Coypel, done by different engravers; they are Plates V, VII, X, XI, XII, and XV. There is at least one of these plates in each of the 3 volumes. They are slightly different in size because of the trimming they have undergone in the grangerizing, and have a somewhat diverse look and style due to the fact that they were produced by four different engravers. They can be identified as of a common provenance by their French captions and legends, as well as by the similar paper stock and printing quality. Given the common association with Louis Surugue, all six must come from the first series of engravings based on Coypel's designs published in Paris in 1724, although the reference to volumes and chapters could indicate that they were to be inserted as folded plates in one of the editions in 4to divided into four volumes.[22]

[20] This engraving is based on the first cartoon finished by Coypel in 1715–16, and was published by Surugue in 1724 as engraved by Charles-Nicolas Cochin père (Lefrançois 147–49).

[21] The cartoon was painted in 1716 and engraved first by Surugue in 1723–24 (Lefrançois 155–56).

[22] See notes 10 and 12 above.

Figure 4, Plate V

Figure 4, Plate V, "Don Quichotte attaché a une Fenestre par la malice de Maritorne," is inserted in Volume I, Chapter 43, page 457, although the engraving indicates its original placement in Volume II, Chapter 39. It indicates that the artist is indeed Coypel—"Ch. Coypel invenit et pinx"—and that the engraver in this case was F. Joullain.[23] The legend at the bottom reads: "AParis chez Surrugue rue des Noyers vis-à-vis S. Yves." The dimensions of the plate in its present condition are 316 x 301 mm. It is printed on a thicker stock than the one used in the English edition for the two plates by Van der Gucht. The inking is dark and there is little evidence of embossing.

Figure 5, Plate VII

Figure 5, Plate VII, "Le bachelier Sanson Carasco [sic], sous le nom du Chevalier des Miroirs, est vaincu par Don Quichotte qui lui ordonne d'aller se jetter [sic] aux pieds de Dulcinée," has been inserted in Volume II, Chapter 12, page 83, although again the engraving itself indicates that in the original abridged version it accompanied Volume III, Chapter 14. The engraver in this case was Nicolas-Charles Silvestre.[24] The legend reads "a Paris chez Surrugue rue des Noyers vis a vis S. Yves." The plate measures now 333 x 285 mm and is printed in heavy paper, embossed and with dark inking.

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[23] The cartoon dates from 1717 and the engraving by Joullain was done in 1724. François Joullain engraved a total of 3 of Coypel's paintings (Lefrançois 163–64).

[24] Although the original cartoon has been lost, it was engraved by Silvestre in 1723–24. Nicolas-Charles Silvestre (1699–1767) belongs to the famous Silvestre family of artists and engravers and was the nephew of Louis Silvestre, who was elected Director of the Académie Royal after Coypel's death in 1752.

Figure 6, Plate X

Figure 6, Plate X, "Don Quichotte fait demander par Sancho a la Duchesse la permission de la voir," is inserted in Volume II, Chapter 30, page 231 of Bowle's edition but illustrated Volume III, Chapter 343 [sic] at one time. The engraver of this plate is Surugue and it dates from 1723. Although the legend in this case reads "Se vende a paris chez Surugue au bas de la Montagne Ste. Genvieve, avec privilege du Roi," and could thus signal a different printing, all other features, including size, paper, appearance, and inking would seem to indicate that this plate also comes from the 1724 Paris series of Coypel's designs produced and sold by Surugue between 1724 and 1744. The plate measures in its present condition 325 x 313 mm.[25]

Figure 7, Plate XI

Figure 7, Plate XI, is entitled "Poltronerie de Sancho a la Chasse," and has been inserted in Volume II, Chapter 34, page 269 (Volume IV, page 34 in its original placement). It was engraved by C. N. Cochin[26] and carries the following legend, "Sevend a Paris chez Surrugue rue des Noyer avec Privilege." This is a very rich and very detailed engraving, slightly larger in size and printed on coarser paper. The general appearance, embossing, and dark inking are, however, the same as those in the previous three plates. The indication of a page in the text with which it was originally associated, instead of a chapter

[25] The cartoon was finished in 1716 but in contrast with many of the others it was woven into a tapestry only once, in 1717 (Lefrançois 152–53).

[26] Charles-Nicolas Cochin père (1688-1754) was the husband of Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels (1688-1767) and the father of Charles-Nicolas Cochin *fils*, both of then also engravers associated with Coypel's *Quixote* series.

number, could also indicate different provenance. Nevertheless, because of its size and quality we are inclined to believe that the differences are due to the engraver and not the edition. The trimmed plate measures now 328 x 354 mm.

Figure 8, Plate XII

Figure 8, Plate XII, was engraved by F. Joullain, the engraver of Plate V, and carries the title "Memorable Jugement de Sancho." It is now inserted in Volume II, Chapter 45, page 343 of Bowle's edition, (Volume IV, Chapter 45 in the original edition). It depicts the conclusion of one of Sancho's veridicts at Barataria. It is a magnificent engraving, full of movement and expression, finely executed. The paper is thicker than in the previously described plate in this group; the inking is lighter and there is evidence of embossing surrounding the engraved image. It measures 325 x 342 mm, and has a more extensive legend, "AParis chez Surugue graveur du Roi rue des Noyers vis-avis S. Yves avec privilege du Roi."[27]

Figure 9, Plate XV

Figure 9, Plate XV, the last in this grouping and in the edition, is entitled "Entrée de L'amour et de la Richesse aux Noces de Camache." It appears in Volume III as a frontis to the title page for the *Índices*, and thus not in correspondence with the Cervantes' text, but it accompanied at one time Chapter 20 of Part II. This time the engraver is Marie-Magdeleine Horthemels, and the paper quality, dimensions, and inking are similar to those of the other

[27] The now lost cartoon was completed in 1727 and engraved in folio by Joullain c. 1731, and as such could not have been part of the collection of engravings published by Surugue in 1724, all of which shows that the illustration inserted in Bowle's edition must have been published as a separate single plate, as the legend perhaps indicates (Lefrançois 213–15).

engravings in this group. The plate, however, appears to have lost, due to severe trimming, the usual legend at the bottom indicating the printer and place where it was offered for sale. It also shows signs of foxing throughout, and its present measurements are 295 x 330 mm.[28]

IV. A fourth group of plates also based on Coypel's paintings, and comprising illustrations numbers VI, IX, and XIV in our sequence, omit any mention of the engraver's name and any reference to the printer or location where they were sold. Instead an elaborate cursive initial is present at the right bottom margin of the plate. The letter appears to be a *P* or a *T* and refer to a common engraver; however, Lefrançois indicates these three plates were engraved twice, by two different artists, Surugue and Poilly.[29] On the other hand, features such as paper, size, and caption type are consistent among the three and identical to the ones included in the previous group.

Figure 10, Plate VI

Figure 10, Plate VI, is entitled "La Doloride affligée de sa barbe vient prier Don Quichotte de la Venger," carries the inscription "Car Coypel pinxit," and is inserted opposite the title page for Volume II of Bowle's edition as a frontis. Since it does not have any correspondence with the text as an illustration, and since no indication of a particular

[28] The cartoon probably dates from 1718 and was first engraved by Horthemels in 1723–24. It was made into a tapestry only once, in the first weaving. See note 5 above.

[29] The following artists were the engravers of Coypel's designs between 1724 and 1746: Nicolas-Dauphin de Beauvais (2), Charles-Nicolas Cochin père (3), Marie-Madeleine Horthemels-Cochin (2), Jean-Baptiste Haussard (1), François Joullain (3), Bernard Lépicié (1), François de Poilly le jeune (1), Simon-François Ravenet (1), Charles-Nicolas Silvestre (1), Louis Surugue (8) and Nicolas-Henri Tardieu (2) (1724–1735); Jacob Folkema (12), S. Fokke 8) and P. Tanjé (4) (1744); and B. Picart, (12) J. V. Schley (13), P. Tanjé (5) and S. Fokke (1) (1746).

volume, chapter, or page is given, one could conclude that this print was not produced for any particular edition and was instead sold as a separate engraving. It is printed in thick paper with dark inking, and has evidence of embossing in spite of the trimming that has occurred along the top. In style and execution the figures resemble those appearing in Surugue's other engravings, particularly in Plate X above (Figure 6).[30] In its present condition and grangerized state it measures 312 x 318 mm.

Figure 11, Plate IX

Figure 11, Plate IX, depicts the final scene of Maese Pedro's episode, in which Don Quixote attacks the puppets, and the title caption reads "Don Quichotte prenant des Marionnettes pour des Maures croit en les combattant secourir deux amants fugitives." The same initials mentioned before appear in the lower right portion of the engraving, but this time a reference is included to the corresponding part of the text—Volume 3, Chapter 26—which is indeed where the action depicted occurs. In our copy of Bowle's edition it is also inserted in the right place at the end of Part II, Chapter 26, page 211. The author of this folio engraving was in fact François de Poilly le jeune, the only one he did in the series. Like the previous plate, it is printed on heavy paper; the image is embossed and the ink impressions are dark. It measures now 309 x 338 mm.

Figure 12, Plate XIV

Figure 12, Plate XIV, the final engraving in this group, is an allegorical design by Coypel entitled "Don Quichotte conduit par la Folie et Embrasé de l'amour extra-

[30] Surugue's engraving was made in 1724, based on Coypel's 1716 cartoon (Lefrançois 158–59).

vaguant de Dulcinée sort de chez luy pour estre Chevalier Errant." It has been inserted at the beginning of Volume III facing the title page for the *Anotaciones*. As in the case of Plate VI, no textual reference is given for the illustration, and no indication as to where it was executed or sold. Although the name of the engraver is not included, this first folio engraving of Coypel's painting was made by Surugue in 1723–24.[31] The only other writings in it are the caption "C. Coypel pinx" and the initial already mentioned above. It does not show any evidence of trimming, and measures now 320 x 333 mm.

Figure 13, Plate III

V. *Figure 13, Plate III*, represents a single instance of an engraving (showing Sancho's tossing in the blanket at the inn) with no indication of title, authorship, or engraver, and it has no text or caption at all. The artist is in fact Pierre Charles Trémolières (1703–1739) and the plate was engraved by Jacques van der Schley, as it appears identified in the French 1746 edition, being one of the six engravings there included not authored by Coypel. It has been correctly inserted in Volume I, Chapter 16, page 117 in Bowle's edition. The figures are larger and less well defined, particularly the faces, the scene and characters are more rustic, and the representation in general is more realistic and has an atmosphere more English than French. The paper is thinner than in the plates described above, and the ink impression somewhat lighter. It is larger than the plates by Coypel, measuring 313x360 mm .

VI. The last two plates, VIII and XIII as published, form a separate and distinct group. There is no notice of an artist or engraver in either one but both have a reference to the printer

[31] This was the last of the first set of 15 cartoons made by Coypel by 1717 which were to become part of the first weaving. See note 5 above.

and place sold, "A Paris chez Radigues rue St. Jacques avec Privilege du Roy."[32] The most notable characteristic of these two plates is their extended double captions in French and Spanish. They are not exact quotes from *Don Quixote* but rather abstracts of the pertinent content or episode that is the subject of the illustration. They do not correspond with any of the six additional engravings included in the 1746 edition published in Paris by Hondt. These are the two largest engravings in the set.

Figure 14, Plate VIII

Figure 14, Plate VIII, somewhat recalls Coypel's figures and style but does not correspond to any of his 28 designs. It depicts a supposedly enchanted Don Quixote, imprisoned in a cage, being returned to his village by the priest and the barber, and it has been inserted in Volume II, Chapter 17, page 121 by the grangerizer; a most inappropriate place, since that chapter deals rather with don Quixote's encounter with don Diego de Miranda and the adventure of the lions. Significantly, the legend at the center of the two captions reads "Don Chichotte. Ch. dernier de la Second partie, Chapitre XLIV," although in fact the episode of the cage does not begin until Chapter 46 of the First Part. Its measurements are 315x430 mm.

Figure 15, Plate XIII

Figure 15, Plate XIII illustrates Sancho's reunion with his rucio after renouncing to his island, and is entitled, "Comme Sancho Revient du gouuernement dune Ile." The caption also includes a reference to the place in the text it is supposed to accompany, "volume 3, chapitre IX," although, again, the event does not occur

[32] Antoine Radigues (1721–1809) was an engraver born in Paris, and became a member of the Académie in 1794. He worked in London, Holland, and since 1764 in St. Petersburg, where he died (*Le Mercure de France,* 1739).

until chapter 53 of the second part, where it is correctly inserted in Bowle's text, between pages 416 and 417. There is also a similar indication as to the person and place where the engraving originated, "AParis chez Radigue Rue Sr. Jacque avec priuilege du Roy." As in the case of Plate III by Trémolières, the figures and their appearance, as well as the setting and mood of the scene, are not the refined ones characteristic of Coypel's designs. Since the paper of this second plate is much thinner, one could conclude that in spite of other similarities these two plates belong to different engravers and were part of an abridged edition with different format and chapter numbers.[33] This engraving has not suffered any trimming, the printed imaged is embossed, and it measures 330x425 mm.

Since almost all the engravings described are by Coypel, have in general the same size and printing characteristics, and since even those that are not by Coypel were published in similar collections or in the same editions in which Coypel's designs appeared, it would be safe to conclude that the Cushing copy of Bowle's edition was grangerized with the intention of including a set of engravings by Coypel, and that this effort was undertaken with such primary goal in mind, even when plates had to be collected from different sources, English and French. On the other hand, however, two of the plates—numbers VIII and XIII—do not share the key stylistics and physical characteristics of Coypel's engraved designs and could thus be part of engravings done and sold by Radigues after Surugue's *privilège* expired, and thus not included in the 1724 album or part of the 1746 French edition with works primarily by Coypel. Given the above facts and analysis, we believe reasonable to assert that 1) the grangerizing was performed expertly, with care and knowledge of the text, 2) the individual(s) had access to various sources of engravings and engraved editions, 3) it was

[33] Other editions in quarto with folded plates and with French text captions to be considered as possible sources of these two engravings are Liège: Bassompierre, 1776, and Bruxelles: B. Le Franq, 1795.

performed after 1831, and 4) there is a clear intention to collect and include engravings based on Coypel's designs.

As to the why, it is important to remember that between 1780 and 1787 three textually and critically significant editions of *Don Quixote* were published in Spain and England, in chronological order: the first edition of the Spanish Royal Academy in 1780; Bowle's edition in 1781; and Pellicer's edition in 1787.[34] The Academy's edition included, among other materials, four frontis and 31 plates, while Pellicer's "nueva edición corregida de nuevo, con nuevas notas, con nuevas estampas, con nuevo análisis, y con la vida del autor nuevamente aumentada," included 36 plates. Bowle's edition, other merits aside, was not published with plates.[35] This lack must have become obvious to the owner of our copy, as an absence needing to be remedied, and may have led to its grangerizing by a well-informed and dedicated reader. And indeed, with the insertion of the 15 plates herein described, Bowle's edition gained the one element that perhaps made it seem inferior to the Academy's and Pellicer's editions, a set of engraved plates—a common occurrence by then. It is equally curious and worth noting that the plates chosen, with one exception (Plate I), all came from collections of large engravings done primarily after designs by the French painter Charles Antoine Coypel, published between 1724 and 1775, and very distinct in spirit and style to that of Bowle's academic and critical edition. One fact seems undeniable: the coming together of Cervantes' classic Spanish tale, edited, annotated, and published in England by an English scholar, combined with the rich engravings of a French court painter, have given us a truly unique copy and has added considerable bibliographical value and scholarly interest to an already

[34] Between 1780 and 1819 the Spanish Royal Academy, aware of Bowle's project, and partly in reaction to his edition, published four illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*: 1) Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1780, 4 vols. in large 4to; 2) Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1782, 4 vols. 8vo; 3) Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, 1787, 6 vols. 8vo; and 4) Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1819, 5 vols. 8vo. See note 2 above.

[35] Bowle's edition does contain an engraved dedication page to the Earl of Huntington, as well as some small engraved decorations at the bottom of the title pages.

magnificent and influential edition.

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Smith: Cushing Memorial Library and Archives
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Figure 1, Plate I. "Don Quixote at his library." Henry Thomas Alken, engraved by John Zeitten. Frontispiece of Volume I.

Figure 2, Plate II. "Don Quixot believes he is to Receive in the Inn the order of Knighthood." Coypel–Van der Gucht; 330x330 mm. Volume I, Chapter 2, pages 12–13.

Figure 3, Plate IV. "The pretended Princess of Micomicon petitions Don Quixote to restore her to her Kingdom." Coypel–Van der Gucht; 272x286 mm, Volume I, Chapter 28, pages 272–73.

Figure 4, Plate V. "Don Quichotte attaché a une fenestre par la malice de Maritorne." Coypel–Joullain; 316x301 mm . Volume I, Chapter 43, pages 456–57.

Figure 5, Plate VII. "Le Bachelier Sanson Carasco, sous le nom du Chevalier des Miroirs, est vaincu par Don Quichotte qui lui ordonne d'aller se jetter aux pieds de Dulcinée." Coypel–Silvestre; 333x285 mm. Volume II, Chapter 12, pages 82–83.

Figure 6, Plate X. "Don Quichotte fait demander par Sancho a la Duchesse la permission de la voir." Coypel–Surugue; 325x313 mm. Volume II, Chapter 30, pages 230–31.

Figure 7, Plate XI. "Poltronerie de Sancho a la Chasse." Coypel–Cochin; 328x354 mm. Volume II, Chapter 34, pages 268–69.

Figure 8, Plate XII. "Memorable Jugement de Sancho." Coypel–Joullain; 325x342 mm. Volume II, Chapter 45, pages 342–43.

Figure 9, Plate XV. "Entreé de L'amour et de la Richesse aux Noces de Camache. " Coypel–Horthemels; 295x330 mm. Volume III, frontis to the title page for the *Indices*.

Figure 10, Plate VI. "La Doloride afligée de sa barbe vient prier Don Quichotte de la venger." Coypel–Surugue; 312x318 mm. Frontis title page for Volume II.

Figure 11, Plate IX. "Don Quichotte prenant les Marionnettes pour des Maures croit en les combatant secourir deux amants fugitives." Coypel–Poilly; 309x338 mm. Volume III, Chapter 26, pages 210–11.

Figure 12, Plate XIV. "Don Quichotte conduit par la Folie et Embrasé de l'amour extravaguant de Dulcinée sort de chez luy pour estre Chevalier Errant." Coypel–Surugue; 320x333 mm. Volume III, frontis title page for the *Anotaciones*.

Figure 13, Plate III. Sancho's tossing in the blanket at the inn (untitled). Trémolières–Schley; 313x360 mm. Volume I, Chapter 16, pages 116–17.

Figure 14, Plate VIII. Don Quixote imprisoned in a cage being returned to his village by the priest and the barber. ?–Radigues?; 315x430 mm. Volume II, Chapter 17, pages 120–21.

Figure 15, Plate XIII. "Comme Sancho Revient du gouuernement dune Ile." ?–Radigues?; 330x425 mm. Volume II, Chapter 53, pages 416–17.

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Correspondence of John Bowle

These letters, from which only some quotations were published by Cox, are presented here out of a desire to include material of Bowle in an issue devoted to him, and to illustrate his correspondence in Spanish with Spanish figures. All of the unpublished letters are taken from Bowle's *Green Book*, in the library of the University of Cape Town. Note that it contains Bowle's drafts and possibly erroneous transcriptions he made of the letters to him. The originals, both those he sent and those he received, are unknown and probably lost.

For other letters of Bowle, see Cox, Percy-Bowle, and Truman. Bowle's four pseudonymous letters of 1785 to the editor of *Gentleman's Quarterly* are reproduced in the notes to Baretti's *Tolondron*, Speeches Fifth and Sixth.

I would like to thank R. W. Truman and Eduardo Urbina for their assistance.

Daniel Eisenberg

March 2, 1778

To an unidentified "Revd. Mr. Powel," as published by Hoare, between pp. 62 and 63. On "Mr. Dillon," see Cox and Truman. This letter was not known by Cox, and shows that by 1778 the printing of Bowle's edition (the text only) had begun.

I have begun and am actually embarked in my arduous Quixotick expedition. I am plunged into the Printers sea of Ink, and hope I shall not founder on unseen sholes by unforseen tempests.

Good luck has thrown in my way an unknown ingenious and desireable correspondent, from whom I have received two most valuable letters, the one from Rome, the other from Leghorn, and I am in dayly expectance of another. He has gone in my track before me, and freely offers me every assistance in his power, and indeed much may be derived from it: he has been very open in the account of himself, and is a Mr. Dillon. In his second letter he says, "I rejoice to see the admired Cervantes merge [sic] again from oblivion in his own language, and receive additional lustre from a British pen."

December 10, 1778

This letter replies to the lost first letter of Pellicer of June 20, 1778, referred to in the January 6, 1781 letter to the editor of Gentleman's Magazine. *Note that six months passed before Bowle had the opportunity, through some traveler, to send a reply.*

Señor Don Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada
de la Real Bibliotheca en Madrid

Muy Amigo, y Señor mio:

No quisiera dexar pasar la [oca]sion que se ofrece de escrivir, y agradecer a vm por el favor hecho á mí en el presente de vuestro Libro, acompañado con la carta de Vm, que grandemente ensalza el don. Noticias Literarias deben de ser agradables a los hombres de Letras, y tales serán siempre deudores a Vm por sus tan autenticamente averiguadas, de un tan ilustre Varon como Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: Honor y Gloria no solamente de su patria, pero de todo el genero humano. No permite mi tiempo alargar mucho ahora, aunque tengo que añadir de Cyprian de

Valera: dilato esto hasta que veo nuestro comun Amigo el Señor Baron de Dillon: Guarde Dios a Vm muchos años como sinceramente desea su mas Agradecido Servidor Juan Bowle.
Londres, y Diciembre 10, 1778.

February 25, 1779

Bowle used brackets in this letter, which are represented by { and }.

Al Señor D. Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada
de la Real Bibliotheca en Madrid.

Muy amigo y señor mío:

Como he gastado tantos años en mis estudios, sobre la Historia de Don Quixote, espero que en buena hora saldrán a luz mis labores. La primera parte del Texto esta finalizada, y el Cimiento deste ha sido la Impresion de Madrid de 1608 por Juan de la Cuesta: pero he cotejadole con la del mismo Impresor en 1605, y con la de Valencia del mismo año. Tengo para mi que Esta de 1608 fue corregida, y revisada por el Autor: Hallanse en ella algunas variaciones, y Añadiduras, pero he seguido las dos primeras, quando a mi juicio ofrecieron una mejor leccion, y estas mostraronse al lector, como los inexcusables errores del Majadero Pineda,[1] no mejor calificado para dar una edicion de Cervantes, que el primer gañapan[sic] que pisa las ruas de Londres para hacer lo mismo para nuestro Cervantes, quiero decir Shakespeare.

Es de notarse, que no es mi intención ilustrar á esta Historia solamente para los Españoles, sino para los que quisieren entender un Autor dotado de tales prendas, y de tamaño Ingenio, que casi le ensalza sobre todos los otros que jamás parecieron. Yo pensava, si mi intencion fuera lisonjear la Nacion Española, que no podría tomar un camino mas cierto para este fin; pero nunca

[1] The editor who prepared the text of the London, 1737 edition. See n. 7 below.

fue tal. Leí, muchos años ha, repetidas veces la Historia en una antigua traducción Inglesa: y como me dixo un Fulano, que seria cosa muy facil para quien sabia el Latin, me determiné á aprender la Lengua Española. En este tiempo en los margenes de mi libro note algunas alusiones a los Poetas Italianos, y despues de aver muchas veces leido el original, siendo tan fijado el texto en mi memoria, deseava, si fuera posible, [ ]nar la Libreria del Cavallero otra vez. Y halle primeramente las Ninfas y Pastores de Henares; pero como me precedió mi buen amigo el Doctor Percy, desisti y añadi estas y unos pocos otros a su Tesoro. Finalmente yo me consideré á mí como destinado a semejante empresa. Casi diez años pasados Enquaderné con hojas blancas las dos partes de la Historia, en las quales he escrito gran parte de mis Anotaciones,[2] y para mi tengo que he sido muy feliz en siguiendo las huellas del Autor no solamente entre los modernos, sino entre muchos de los Antiguos, Griegos, y Latinos, que ilustraronle en muchos pasajes.

Poco antes la Navidad [sic] pasada llegava a mis manos la Obra Msta [manuscrita] del Padre Sarmiento de la verdadera patria de Cervantes,[3] y me precio desse que en mis notas he tomado casi el mismo camino que el apunta. Comencé con los quatros [sic] libros de Amadis, y finalizara con ellos. Un buen amigo, muy aficionado a Don Quixote, me ha prestado la Impresion de Sevilla de 1547 en Fol. diferente de la que antes ley. Mas no son menos provechosos para mi asumpto el nunca como se deve alabado Tirante el Blanco,[4] y Olivante de Laura. Estos he leido y dellos he sacado mucho. Mi Glosario enxerido entre las notas se forma principalmente de el su coetaneo Covarruvias, de Aldrete, y del Diccionario de la Academia.

Espero que seran agradables a V. M. las noticias siguientes.

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[2] This was the Madrid, 1750 edition of Padilla. The Hispanic Society of America owns Bowle's copy.

[3] *Noticia de la verdadera patria (Alcalá) de él* [sic] *Miguel de Cervantes*, first published in Barcelona in 1898; edited with introduction by J. L. Pensado (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1987).

[4] Bowle cites Don Quijote's words, from Chapter 13 of Part I.

Parece que Cyprian de Valera vivió muchos años en Londres, de varios Libros suyos alla impresos. Primeramente Dos Tratados. El primero del Papa, y de su Autoridad. El segundo de la Misa. En casa de Arnoldo Hatfildo {Arnold Hatfield} 1588 8vo pp. 496. La Epistola al Letor tiene la fecha de á 15 de Junio de 1588. C. D. V. [Ciprian de Valera] Fue [sic] otra impression deste Libro en Casa de Ricardo del Campo: nombre de Richard Field, Impresor bien conocido de Londres, Hispanizado, en 1599. En 1600 se halla una traducción Inglesa con el nombre del Autor Mr. Cyprian Valera. Imprimió assi el mismo Field, ó del Campo Catecismo que significa forma de Instruccion; que contiene los principios de la religion de Dios, util y necessario para todo fiel Christiano; compuesto en manera de Dialogo, donde pregunta el maestro, y responde el discipulo. En 1596. 12.mo No sé el Autor ni he visto el libro. pero v. Ames. 420. Tengo un Tratado para confirmar los Cativos de Berveria en la fe xo [cristiano] y un enxambre De falsos milagros de su casa de Pedro Shorto {Peter Short} Año de 1594. 8vo.[5] Creo sobre la fe de la sobredicha traduccion, que salió a luz por medio de Cyprian de Valera, aunque su nombre no se halla en el. En Catholico Reformado, Compuesto por Guillermo Perquino, y trasladado en Romance Castellano por Guillermo Massan Gentilhombre, y a su costa imprimido en Casa de Ricardo del Campo en 1599. 8vo. Se halla Epistola al Letor con la fecha de 4. de Julio de 1599. C. D. V.[6] No puedo adivinar porque [sic] Londres fue

[5] *Tratado para confirmar los pobres catiuos de Berueria en la catolica y antigua fe, y religion Christiana: y para los consolar con la Palabra de Dios en las afliciones que padecen por el evangelio de Iesu Christo. ... Al fin deste tratado hallareys un enxambre de los falsos milagros, y illusiones del Demonio con que Maria de la visitacion priora de la Anunciada de Lisboa engaño a muy muchos: y de como fue descubierta y condenada al fin del año de 1588* (London: Pedro Shorto, 1594); available on reel 1612 of the microfilm series *Early English books, 1475-1640* (Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms, n.d. [1975?].

[6] By William Perkins, translated by Valera using the pseudonym Guillermo Massan: *Catholico reformado. O una declaracion que muestra quanto nos podamos. Conformar con la Iglesia Romana, tal, qual es el dia de hoy, en diversos puntos de la religion: y en que puntos devamos nunca jamas convenir, sino para siempre apartarnos della. Yten, un aviso a los afficionados a la Iglesia Romana, que muestra la diche religion Ro-*

omitido en los titulos destos Libros, sino fue con el fin de no prohibir su entrada en paeses [sic] Catolicos, como no admitirá alguna duda que todos ellos estavan de Londres, y los libros que imprimieron pueden se ver en Ames's Typographical Antiquities Lond. 1749 4to.

Nunca saldran de mi memoria mis Obligaciones a mi buen Amigo el Baron de Dillon, y especialmente por lo que comunicava Con V.M. a quien professo sin adulacion y con toda verdad que siempre leo su libro en todas partes con el grandisimo gusto.

Pocos años ha fue regalado a mi Francisco Petrarca con los Seis triunfos de Toscano sacados en castellano. Por mano de Antonio de Obregon. Ympresa en la muy noble y leal cibdad de Logroño por Arnao Guillen de Brocar año de mil e quinientos y doze años. Fol. Letras Goticas. Parece ser algun diferente de lo que refiere D. Nic. Antonio Bib. Hisp. T. 1 115.

Dista mi casa casi ochenta millas de Londres, la qual ciudad visitava al cabo deste mes solamente para gozar la conversacion del Señor Dillon; la qual sucedio muchas veces y siempre como creo a satisfaccion de entrambos, especialmente quando tuvimos insieme un combite con dos otros parcialissimos amigos de Cervantes, con cuyo honrado nombre pintavamos lo de Pellicer, que con tanto juicio ha ilustrada [sic] su vida y fama. Guarde Dios a V.M. Años muchos y felices, como sinceramente dessea su muy obligado y Fiel Servidor Juan Bowle.
Idemestone cerca Salisbury, y Hebrero [sic] 25 1779.

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manaser contra los Catholicos rudimentos y fundamentos del catecismo. Compuesto por Guillermo Perquino licenciado en sancta theologia, y trasladado en Romance castellano por Guillermo Massan gentil-hombre, y a su costa imprimido (London: Ricardo del Campo, 1599), available on reel 1526 of the series mentioned in the previous note.

January 6, 1781

A letter to the editor, Gentleman's Magazine *51 (1781): 22–24.*

MR. URBAN, Jan. 6, 1781
The following account of a writer universally read and esteemed will, I flatter myself, be acceptable to you and your readers, as the several particulars have been but very lately discovered by his own countrymen, and have never yet appeared among us.

THE LIFE OF CERVANTES

It will doubtless appear matter of surprize, that the family, birth, and place of nativity, of a man, who was so great an ornament to his country and mankind as MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, should for such a long period of time have continued unknown. When the learned *Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar*, at the request of the late Lord Granville,[7] collected materials for his account of him, he could learn nothing about his first outset in life, and only guessed, in which he was quite wrong, that he was born in Madrid. These particulars have been very lately cleared up in the most satisfactory fashion, so as to make all future search unnecessary, as there is not the least room to doubt, they being ascertained by authentic evidence. It may not be amiss to state the account of the source of the present information. As I have for many years past regarded *La Historia de Don Quixote de La Mancha* as a classic, and have nearly completed an edition of it as such, a friend, utterly unknown to me but by correspondence, in the course of which I had fully explained my work to him, in

[7] John Carteret, 1st Earl Granville (1690–1763), was the sponsor of the luxurious London, 1737 edition of *Don Quixote*, which Bowle would use as copytext (see Eisenberg 47 n. 7 and 51 n. 17). Mayans was commissioned to write the first biography of Cervantes for this edition; his biography was edited by Antonio Mestre (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1972), and is available online in the Biblioteca Digital Valenciana and the Biblioteca Virtual Cervantes (24 December 2003, http://bv2.gva.es and http://www.cervantesvirtual.com).

June 1778 communicated it at Madrid to DON JUAN ANTONIO PELLICER Y SAFORCADA, of the king's library; and, in a letter dated thence the 20th of that month, enclosed the first leaf of the *Noticias para la vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, then in the press, with a promise from him to present me with a copy as soon as printed.[8] Accordingly, early in November following, the book came to my hands: what added greatly to the worth of the present, is itself truly valuable, as containing much literary history, was a most polite and friendly letter sent with it, in which the author expressed his approbation of my undertaking, modestly rebuking his countrymen for permitting *strangers to come to cultivate their heritage, and to labour in their vineyard.*[9] But to come to the *Noticias*, from which the following is faithfully extracted.

"MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA was born IN ALCALA DE HENARES... [There follows a lengthy summary of Pellicer. There is no closing quotation mark, and no clear point where the summary of Pellicer switches back to Bowle's words.]

This last account of himself[10] with every one of his writings, have confirmed me in my notion, that the goodness of the man was equal to the grandeur of the genius. Sure I am, that good-nature and candour, charity, humanity, and compassion for the infirmities of man in his most abject state, and consequently an abhorrence of cruelty, persecution, and violence, the principal moral he seems to inculcate in his great work, were the glorious virtues and predominant good qualities of his soul, and must transmit his name to the latest ages with every eulogium due to so exalted a character. At length, on the same *nominal* day with his equally great and amiable contemporary WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE [sic], on the 23d of April 1616 died MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, in the 69th year of his age, and was buried in the

[8] This biography is included in Pellicer's *Ensayo de una Bibliotheca de Traductores españoles* (Madrid: Sancha, 1778), reprinted with a prologue of Miguel Ángel Lama (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2002).

[9] Estranos [sic] que vengan cultivar nuestra heredad, y trabajar nuestra vin'a [sic]. [Bowle's note.]

[10] Bowle refers to the prologue to *Persiles*.

church of the Trinitarian Nuns in Madrid. The Spanish Academy are [sic] raising a monument to his memory, in a magnificent and splendid edition of his Don Quixote; and it is humbly presumed that his *Commentator*, in elucidating the obscure parts of his text, in pointing out his allusions, in his indexes, and references to the several corresponding passages, will, on examination, be found to have executed a work not ungrateful to his learned readers. JOHN BOWLE.

June 28, 1781

Al Señor D. Edmund Bott Esqr.
Stowerfield

Muy señor mio. Tiene calzadas las espuelas el Gran Cavallero de la Mancha para ir á besar los pies de V. M. la semana siguiente. Hallará sin duda buen acogimiento, y favor con el dueño de Stowerfield, quien con su solito beneplacito perdonará las culpas del Impresor, y los errores del Editor. Su muy obligado Servidor Juan Bowle.
Idemestone, y Junio 28 1781.

October 19, 1783

A letter to the editor, Gentleman's Magazine *53 (1783): 812–13. This letter, apparently unknown to Cox (see Cox 116), perhaps more than any other reveals Bowle's generous spirit. The Academia edition was in competition with his own; it was arguably costing him money. Another significant fact, confirmed in his letter to Pellicer of August 24, 1784, is that Bowle did not receive a copy of the Academia edition until October of 1783.*

Mr. Urban, Oct. 19 1783
When works of super-eminent merit arise from the press in a

country which, till within these few years, has been notorious for its discouragement of any improvements in literature, it may seem ungenerous to take no notice of such when they do appear. The Spaniards of the present time are shaking off every trace of barbarism, and set the rest of the world a pattern by their most elegant publications. War, amidst its other evils, has, till very lately, deprived us of one of the noblest productions that ever graced the republick of letters. This is the new edition of Don Quixote, *corregida por la Real Academia Espanola. En Madrid*, 1780; in four tomes, Royal Quarto.[11] This work was in hand seven years at least, and, besides what was principally intended by the academy, a very correct text, the impression and its decoration has been made with all possible elegance and magnificence, and the whole fabricated in Spain and by Spanish artists. Three new founts of letter, made for the printing-house of the Royal Library, were presented to the Academy for the purpose of this edition, and do real honour to the founder Don Geronimo Gil.[12] The frontispieces, the head and tail-pieces, the vignettes, are as beautiful as to design and execution as can be wished. The subjects of the several plates have been selected with judgement, and tho all allowance has been made to the designs, yet they all appear to have been confined to reality. Accordingly we are informed that, besides the goodness of the designs and gravings [sic], the dresses have the merit of reality, and are formed from several pictures and portraits of the time of the author in several royal palaces: The arms and armour have been drawn from originals of the same time in the Royal Armoury. The fore part, side, and back of the coat armour are to be seen in the several plates. Sorry am I to add that no portrait of Cervantes has as yet been discovered: one prefixed is given as ideal only. His life, by Don Vicente de los Rios, presents no material difference as to any circumstance to be found in that by Don Juan Antonio Pellicer, printed a few years since, and which, abstractedly, is to be found in your Mag. of Jan.

[11] Reproduced by Editorial Turner, Madrid, 1977.

[12] The original reads "Gib."

1781.

But his "Analysis del Quixote" is a master-piece of criticism; and may entitle him to the name of the Addison of Spain, as he has done that for Cervantes which the former did for Milton, whose name he mentions in several places with due respect and esteem. Had the Academy suppressed this, which I am authorised to say was once in contemplation, they had deprived their country of the honour of having produced a work that will be read with pleasure as long as a real judge of its merit will be found. The distribution of the whole into two parts, agreeable to the plan of the late editor of this work, is here adopted: and as in the original editions there was no division of the second part into books, no notice of such is to be found in this, nor in the former. As some of your literary correspondents may be pleased with the above account, a corner in your useful compilation is requested for the same, by your constant reader, J. B.

July 13, 1784

A letter from Gabriel de Sancha, Madrid bookseller and scholarly publisher, son of Antonio de Sancha. The letter from Pellicer is unknown, though some sense of its contents may be gained from Bowle's reply.

Señor Don Juan Bowle
Muy señor mio:

Mi Señor Padre en su ultima me ha incluido la adjunta del S.^{or} Dn. Juan Antonio Pellicer para Vmd. La que remito por mano del Sor Baron de Dillon mi favorecedor. La respuesta, si es que la tiene, me hara Vmd. el favor de dirigirmela à casa de Mr. Thomas Payne Librero en esta.

A mi llegada à Esta: pregunte à el Sr. Baron de Dillon por Vmd. con el deseo de ponerme á su disposicion y tener la honra de tratarle, pero tuve el disgusto de saber no estaba vmd. en Londres, lo que siento en extremo. por privarme del gusto de su conversacion è instrucciones sobre nuestros buenos libros.

La Nacion Española le esta Vmd y estará, sumamente reconocida por el travajo que vmd. se ha tomado en publicar y aclarar la mayor obra de uno ò el mas ilustre de sus hijos. Y yo en particular le doy las mias rendidas gracias y le suplico me reconozca por su mayor apasionado y seguro Servidor, Q. S. M. B.
Gabriel de Sancha Librero en Madrid
Londres y Julio 13. de 1784.
P.D. El S.or Baron de Dillon me ha encargado de à Vmd. mil expresiones de su parte.

July [18], 1784[13]

Mr. De Sancha
at Mr. Thomas Payne's Bookseller
Mews Gate London.

Señor Gabriel de Sancha

Muy señor mio. Aviendo recebido [sic] ayer vuestro favor, y el del Señor don Antonio Pellicer, determine no perder la primera ocasion de responder á vmd. De no saber el tiempo de vuestra dimora [sic] en Londres, porque, si sea possible, me hare el plazer de gustar la conversacion de vmd. con mi buen amigo el Baron de Dillon sobre la, que tanto estimo, la Literatura Española. Quiza sera en mi poder visitar Londres esta semaña [sic]: pero no puedo decir esto con certidumbre, porque es menester hallarme el martes y miercoles en Winchester. El favor de vuestra respuesta esperare en aquella Ciudad, donde pueda llegar en uno de estos dias, y dexare la jueves en la mañana. Vmd. me reconozca por su mas obediente Servidor Juan Bowle.
Idmiston y Julio [18] de 1784.
P.D. Vmd sera servido hacer mis expresiones al nuestro Amigo el

[13] The date is illegible, but may be determined from Bowle's note on the same page that he received Sancha's letter on the 17th, and Sancha's reply in which he refers to Bowle's letter of the 18th.

Baron de Dillon, y dirigir su Carta – Rev^{do}. Mr. Bowle at Dr. Wartons - College Winchester - My complements to Mr. Paynes [sic].

About July 20, 1784

Revd. Mr. Bowle
at Dr. Wartons
College Winchester.

Muy señor mio: he recebido [sic] su muy estimada de 18 del corriente, en la que Vmd. decirme le avise el tiempo de mi estancia en este pais, para poder proporcionar el honrarme con su visita lo que deseo en extremo. A mi regreso de Oxford, donde voy pasado mañana, tendre la honra de participarselo a Vmd. diciendole poco mas ò menos el tiempo que estaré, que no será mucho, por si a Vmd. se le proporciona el venir à esta, lo que vuelvo à repetir me seria de sumo gusto, por poder tratar un rato sobre nuestra literatura y aprovechar con sus luces en ella. Tambien tendria el de comunicar a Vmd. el pensamiento que tenemos sobre una nueva edicion de Nuestro cavallero de la triste figura, y pedirle algunas noticias para su mayor logro. – de Vmd. Siempre Q. S. M. besa Su mas Seguro Servidor — Gabriel de Sancha.

July 24, 1784

Don Gabriel de Sancha
under cover to Mr. T. Payne Bookseller
Mews Gate, Lond.
[Illegible] R. Thistlethwayte

Muy señor mio.

He recebido el favor de vuestra carta, y embio mi respuesta y una cobertura de posta, solamente informar à Vmd. que sera à mi preciso visitar à Londres cerca la media semaña [sic] siguiente, mi

tiempo siendo ocupado en cosas que hacen mi presencia necesaria en mi casa. Espero que esta noticia sera agradable a Vmd. Serà assi de sumo gusto á mi de encontrar al Señor Dillon. Mi negocio aquí me ha detenido un dia mas que pensava, y voy este momento al lugar de mi residencia. Resto sinceramente grandemente aficionado de la Literatura Española, y he mucho de decir sobre este sujeto, poco conocido entre nosotros. Resto su muy obediente servidor Juan Bowle.
Winton y Julio 23 de 1784.

August 2, 1784

Muy señor mio,

He recibido su muy estimada y deseo con ansia la satisfaccion de ver à Vmd. Mi estancia en Oxford, Blemsink [?] y Stowe ha sido mas que lo que yo pensaba, pero discuvro [sic] estarè en Londres el Sabado proximo. Si Vmd. gusta pasar ò enviar sus señas, esto es, el No. y casa donde Vmd. vive en Londres, en casa del Sor. Thomas Payne, encontinente de mi llegada pasarè à ponerme à su disposicion, y en el inter suplico à Vmd. me tenga siempre Su mas Seguro Servidor Gabriel de Sancha.
Barckley Northamptonshire, Agosto 2 de 1784.

August 5, 1784

For Don Gabriel de Sancha
Under cover as before.

Muy señor mio.

Espectans Expectavi su respuesta cada dia de la ultima semana, y despues de diez demandas para la [sic] en el oficio de Posta en Salisbury vino a mis manos la noche del 3.o corriente. Es mi intencion besar las manos de vmd en casa de Mr Payne el lunes proximo cerca medio dia. En mi castillo en Londres solamente duermo y almuerzo: el resto del dia soy Cavallero Andante bus-

cando Aventuras. No tardaré un momento á mi llegada de apresurarme á su conversacion porque no tengo otro negocio, y á esta sazon tiempo es muy precioso conmigo. Resto con todo respeto su muy obediente servidor Juan Bowle.
Idmiston y Agosto 5 de 1784.

August 12, 1784

Note how casually Bowle lends his "muy raras" "ediciones originales de don Quijote," and tells Pellicer to keep his duplicate copy of the 1615 Segunda parte. *This letter also refers to the earliest known reaction to Bowle's edition in Spain.*

Al Señor D. Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada
de la Real Biblioteca en Madrid
n.b. sent by D. Gabriel de Sancha.

Muy Sr. mio y amigo.

Como Vmd. no dice nada cerca la mia carta de la fecha de Hebrero [sic] 25 de 1779 concluire que no ha llegado à sus manos: y por esta razon repetire la con algunas variaciones, y adiciones.

Informa nos un historiador bueno que Cyprian de Valera… [Bowle repeats the information on Valera from his earlier letter.]

Es de notarse, que no era mi intencion ilustrar La Historia de DQ solamente para los Españoles, sino para los que quisieren entender un Autor dotado de tales prendas, y de tamaño ingenio, que casi ensalza lo sobre todos, que jamas parecieron. Lei, muchos años ha, repetidas veces, una traduccion Inglesa: pero, como me dixo un Fulano, que seria muy facil para quien sabia el Latin, determine conmigo aprender la Lengua Española. En los margenes de mi Libro notava algunas alusiones à los Poetas Italianos, y tuve el pensamiento de readunar [?] la Libreria del Cavallero, aviendo hallado Las Nymphas y Pastores de Henares. Pero aviendo precedido á me [sic] el Doctor Percy, desistí y añadi al su Tesoro.

El aver visto la Edicion de Salustio por el señor Don Gabriel

disminuyo en parte mi admiracion, y dispuso me para la de D. Q. por la Academica [sic]. En lo que he dicho en mis notas, que no corresponde con sus pensamientos, espero que tendran los Academicos la bondad de creer, que jamas vi su grande Edicion hasta el mes de Octubre pasado: y que perdonasenme el aver pensado con el grande Autor de la Historia que los Cavalleros Andantes no tuvieron camino determinado, y que el tiempo de la Accion avia de ser computado de los años del Ama. No fue mi intencion ofender ni a vmd, ni a Don Casimiro de Ortega: espero que miraran entrambos la libertad que tomava con sus nombres, como un testimonio de mi estima y respeto. Yo me fio de la generosidad de la Nacion Española; que asentavan los errores de la estampa, y advertirán, que no tuve alguna ayuda en el corregir la obra del Impresor, totalmente ignorante del lenguaje. Ruego a Vmd ser servido de asegurar a todos, que no he aseverado [?] ninguna cosa que pensava ofendiera ó las leyes, ó la Religion de España: con sumo cuidado he tantado [sic] de evitar todo eso. Que mis notas encuentran la approbacion de Vmd es a mi un sumo placer. Sin adulacion a mi mismo, puedo decir, que sin ellas, muchas partes del texto al numero grande de Lectores deben de ser muy dificiles de entenderse. El trabajo de corregirlas ha sido mucho, y ponerlas pidió naturalmente largo tiempo.

En quanto al Analisis del Quixote se puede decir, que es la mas fina Critica, que ha parecido desde el tiempo de nuestro Addison; y que es en su modo superior á qualquiera de Francia. Leo y releola con gusto infinito. Pesa me mucho, que no puedo en todo convenir con la [sic]: con un amigo docto que tiene la [sic]; y sabe y gusta la Historia en tanto grado que algun otro vivi [sic] entero puedo creer que jamas serán generalmente admitidos al Itinerario del Heroe, y el Plan Cronologico. No soy pertinaz en mis opiniones, pero la edad del Ama parecer ser una objeccion insuperable. Me huelgo de leer que la Academia no adapta como propias las opiniones de Don Vicente, ni toma partido en ellas.

Las Ediciones originales de D. Q. son muy raras entre nosotros: envio a vmd todas que tengo: sera lo servido de retener consigo la segunda parte en Quarto 1615, siendo este un duplicado

conmigo, y volver los otros á su tiempo. Un Gentilhombre, que jamás ví, que vive mas de 300 Millas de mi casa, muy zeloso para la honra de Cervantes, el Ciudadano de todo el mundo, me prestó la del 1608. Esta fue corregida, acaso por el autor mismo; hallanse en el algunas omisiones, el efecto de mucho juicio. Tales son p. 283.24 en el suelo 288.20 que era discreta v. 287.23.[14] La repeticion aqui parece ser inutil.

Tengo de añadir, que no la riqueza de un Fucar me aya tentado de comprender y acabar lo que ha hecho; sino me avian impelido mi mucha Aficion y estima para el Autor, nunca avria salido a luz el todo. Fue mi intencion a ser enviado a vmd un exemplar de mis Labores por Mr. Arthur Stanhope, Secretario de la Embaxada; lo que hago ahora por manos de Don Gabriel de Sancha. En su carta me dixo que "la Nacion Espanola le esta [a] vmd y estara sumamente reconocido por el travajo que vmd se ha tomado." Espero como he gastado mucho tiempo en mis compilaciones, y no poco caudal, que los pocos exemplares seran permitidos de ser vendidos entre los doctos, como si mi informacion fue, como lo creo, verdadera, lisongeava el gusto de todos los eruditos. v. 117. Pocos años ha fue regalado á mí Francisco Petrarca, con los seys Triunfos de toscano sacados en castellano. Por mano de Antonio de Obregon ympressa en la muy noble y leal ciudad de Logroño Por Arnao Guillen de Brocar año de mil y quinientos y doze años. Fol. Letras Goticas. Parece de ser algun diferente de lo que refiere D. Nic. Antonio Bib. Hisp. T.1.115.

El Doctor Lowth, Obispo de Londres, sin ayuda de mi humilde [several words illegible] primero [illegible], y uno de los mejores hombres del Siglo, se le agradó mucho lo que dixo Vmd. cerca dél en su Ensayo. Así me informó un amigo mio quien está patronisado por aquel ilustre varon.

Guarde Dios a vmd años muchos y felices, como sinceramente de ser su muy obligado y fiel servidor Juan Bowle.
Londres y Agosto 12 de 1784.

[14] These are references to Bowle's edition of Part I. The first refers to chapter I, 29, the second two to I, 30.

August 15, 1784

Muy Señor mio y de mi mayor estimacion;

Me alegrare si haya Vmd. restituido à esa su casa sin la menor novedad y haya descansado de la fatiga del Camino. En complimiento de lo que le ofreci à Vmd. a nuestra despedida, remito el Cataloguillo de mis ediciones, advirtiendo que los precios que van puestos en Moneda Francesa son à los que los vendo en mi casa à los Libreros. – Espero que nos continuara Vmd. el favor de las suyas, y que nos participare, si emprehende algun nuevo travajo literario en Español y en el inter quedo rogando à Dios guarde su vida m.º a.ˢ como puede. De Vmd. siempre que S. M. B. Gabriel de Sancha.
Londres y Agosto 15 de 1784.

August 17, 1784

A letter to the editor, Gentleman's Magazine *54 (1784): 565–66.*

MR. URBAN, Aug 17
As I have within a few days past discovered some very unfair practices respecting the admission of an account of my edition of Don Quixote into two periodical publications, to which I had some reason to think I was entitled, and have found the perpetrators of them to have been a false friend, and another, whose encomium I should regard as an affront and real slander; the one as fond of the grossest flattery, as the other ready to give it, and both alike wholesale dealers in abuse and detraction; I beg leave, in justice to myself, to request of you permission to insert the following extract from a letter, which I received last month, dated "Madrid, y Junio 21 de 1784." The writer is personally unknown to me, but stands foremost among the literati of his own countrymen, and is at present engaged in a work somewhat similar to

that of our "Biographia."[15] I cannot but acknowledge my thanks to him for his candid representation. To the original I will annex a translation.

Llegaron con efecto á esta Corte los seis volumenes de que consta la Historia de D. Quixote reimpresa por vmd.[16] Como aca han llegado[17] pocos exemplares, un amigo me hizo el favor de prestarme la obra, que reconoci con gusto, especialmente el tomo de las Notas. Vuelvo á repetir que la empresa de anotar esta celebre Novela de Cervantes, no solo era nueva, sino mas digna de admiracion en un Estrangero. De ciertas Notas diran los Españoles[18] que para ellos eran escusadas; pero vmd[19] dira con razon que no solo escribe para ellos, sino para los lectores de toda la Europa, para quienes son utiles. Pero los mismos Espanoles no podran negar que no pocas de las Notas no solo les dan luz para la inteligencia de esta famosa Novela, sino que son enteramente nuevas."

In English: "The six copies are as yet arrived here, a friend did me the favour to lend me the work, which I acknowledge with pleasure, especially the volume of the notes. I repeat anew, that the undertaking to comment this celebrated Novel of Cervantes was not only new, but more worthy of admiration in a stranger. The Spaniards will say of certain Notes, that as to them they might have been spared; but you will tell them with reason, that you do not write for them, but for the readers of all Europe, for whom they are useful. But the same Spaniards will not be able to deny that not a few of the Notes not only give them light for the understanding of this famous Novel, but that they are entirely

[15] This letter was obviously brought to England by Sancha. The author is apparently Juan Sempere y Guarinos, whose *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de los mejores escritores del reinado de Carlos III* would be published in 1785 (http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaAutor.html?Ref=287, 7 December 2003). "Our 'Biographia'" refers to the *Biographia Britannica*, 6 volumes in 7, London 1747–66, 2nd edition 1778–93.

[16] In the original, "voud."

[17] In the original, "hon Uegado."

[18] In the original, the ñ is written n'.

[19] In the original, "vn'i."

new."

Such as the sentiments of my unknown friend. A desire to impart that pleasure to others, which I almost solely possessed, impelled me to the hazardous work of printing, in which if I have erred once, I may be readily credited, I shall never be guilty of a like offence again.

Yours, &c. John Bowle.

June 9, 1785

A letter to the editor, Gentleman's Magazine *55 (1785): 414*.

MR. URBAN, June 9

I must beg the favour of you to obviate a mistake of yours in your account of Mr. Warton's book, p. 292, in which you represent me as the translator of Don Quixote. This is an undertaking for which I own myself absolutely unqualified. To adopt an expression of Milton's on Shakspeare [sic], I have *too much conceiving* of the merit of the original of *Cervantes*, ever to think of appearing in that character. I own my incapacity of clothing my own ideas in proper language. The difficulties of a translator must arise in proportion to his knowledge of the original: that he may comprehend as fully and satisfactorily as he may his maternal tongue, and yet find it impossible to discover adequate expressions in that for his own conceptions. An obvious reader presents itself; languages are not tautologous, *Industry*, *Industrie*, *Industria*, give very different ideas to an Englishman, a Frenchman, an Italian, and Spaniard. I am Sir,

Yours, J. B.

May 5, 1788

On the "Escoces" (Crookshanks) and Baretti, see Truman.

Señor Don Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada.
Biblioteca Real en Madrid.

Señor y Amigo.

Quando embiava a vmd. por manos del Señor don Gabriel de Sancha las Ediciones de Don Quixote, hicelo sobre mi grande opinion de la Fe Nacional Española. Tenemos un refran, a Spaniards word is of more worth than a Dutchman's bond. La parola de un Español mas vale que la obligacion de un Holandes. Ha sido mi mala ventura de aver experimentado la verdad de uno de vuestros: no ay tal maldad, que es so zelo de amistad. Y vuestro poeta Luis Barahona de Soto me ha dicho

> Nunca un enemigo descubierto ofende tanto
> Como un falso amigo

Tal es un Escoces, el qual, de si mismo incapaz, alquiló un maldiziente e ignorante Italiano, que piensa informar aun los Academicos Españoles: este es el infame Baretti: y como tal esta generalmente reputado entre todos que conocen el vellaco. Gracias a Dios, solamente me precio desto, que ni tengo verguenza, ni temor de la verdad. Aprendi primeramente la Lengua Castellana para leer la Historia del [sic] Don Quixote, y no es para todos, aun sus compatriotas hacer [sic] esto. El titulo de la Segunda Parte va incluida [sic]. Espero oir brevemente, que ha sido util en corrigiendo el texto de la nueva Edicion: hacera [sic] perfeto el tomo, el qual designava como un presente a su merced. Le ruego sea servido de hacer mis besamanos al Señor Don Casimiro de Ortega, cuya erudicion, bien conocida, honoro [sic] mucho; y á Don Gabriel de Sancha, cuyas hermosas impresiones añadiran a su fama. Guarde Dios muchos a.s [años] á su Md. Resto con todo respeto su mas obligado Servidor Juan Bowle.
Londres, y Mayo 5 1788.

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Tolondron. Speeches to John Bowle about his Edition of *Don Quixote*, together with Some Account of Spanish Literature

JOSEPH BARETTI

Cosa digna de embidia
Es el consuelo que gastan
Los Bobos en este mundo,
Y aquella gran confianza
De que imaginan, que son
Sentencias las patochadas.

Antonio de Solis.[1]

London: Printed for R. Foulder, 1786.

[1] Antonio de Solís, *Un bobo hace ciento*, Tercer acto (thanks to Francisco Rico.)

Ad Doctum Milordum

Epistola Cocaiana.

O Macaronei Merlini, care Milorde,
Qui joca fautor armas, capriciosque probas!
Cui, debata inter, Parlamentique facendas,
Gustum est privatis ludere quisquiliis!
Hunc tibi commendo, preclare Milorde, libellum
Scarabochiatum poco labore meo.
Impertinenzas narrat, magnasque bugias
Commentatoris serio-ridiculi;
Qui multas linguas et multa idiomata noscens,
Nescit quam didicit matris ab ore puer:
Qui bravo binas Quixoto praescidit aures,
Nasum Sanchoni sanguinieumque dedit:
Qui, tanquam sutor veteramentarius esset,
Johnsono impegit scommata foeda sopho:
Qui, sine vergognae grano, quasi rana, coaxat,
Innocuas operas vilificando meas.

Hic ego tento suum livorum cotundere iniquam,
Quo mundum totum pestiferare velit:
Tento, si critico randello rumpere dorsum
Mulescum possum, dando, redando bene.
O si Flacceiis mea Musa tocaret iambis,
Et rabies numeris Archilochea foret!
Praecipitem hunc agerem, donec, velut ipse Lycambes,
Fune sibi collum fregerit ante diem!
Anne probent Britones, Scoti, Hibernique libellum
Stregonus tantum vaticinare potest.
At, si Milordum, venesonis instar arostae,
Delectat, bene sit! fin minus, ah, chime![2]

[2] Translated by Hilaire Kallendorf of Texas A&M University (to whom my thanks, and to Eduardo Urbina as intermediary): "To wise My Lord. / Cocaigne Epistle. / O Macaronic Merlin, dear My Lord, / Who earnestly jousts at arms, and tries caprices! / For whom, within debates, and Discourses to be made / It is someone's private pleasure to play! / I commend this scurrilous-mouthed book to you, most illustrious My Lord, / With little labor of mine. / It narrates impertinences, and great lies / Of a serious-ridiculous commentator; / Who, knowing many languages and many idioms, / Does not know that which a child learned from its mother's mouth: / He who foretold two treasures to brave Quixote, / Gave to Sancho a bloody nose: / Who, as much as his vestment was sweaty, /

Just as Bowle's *Letter to Dr. Percy* marks the beginning of modern Cervantine scholarship, this book inaugurates Cervantine controversy. It is not the first written about Cervantes or his works—that honor goes to Edmund Gayton's *Pleasant Notes on* Don Quixot [sic], of 1654[3]—but it is the first book devoted to a Cervantine scholar or Cervantine scholarship. In it, the lexicographer Baretti, whose life was marked by one controversy after another, to the point that he had to leave Italy and settled in England, damns the peaceful John Bowle and his edition up and down.[4] As stated by Truman in his article in this same issue of *Cervantes*,[5]

Impugned Johnson with supreme faith: /Who, without a grain of shame, croaks like a frog, Villifying my innocuous works.

"I try to confound his iniquitous bile, / By which he wants to infect the whole world: / I try, if by critical effort I can break the right muscle, / Giving, giving well again. / O if only my Muse would play flaccid iambics, / And Archiclochea would explore numerous rages! / Precipitously, nonetheless, I do that which Lycambes himself wanted, / He himself will have broken his tail fatally before day! / Britons, Scots, and Irish will try the book through the years / A witch can prophesy as much. / Thus if, My Lord, you resemble roasted venison, / Let it be well! Without end, ah, chimera!"

[3] Available on microfilm in the series *Early English Books 1641–1700*, Reel 145.

[4] "Cet Italien fougueux a entrepris des polémiques semblables presque sans interruption au cours de sa longue vie. …Bowle au contraire était un pasteur paisible qui n'avait jamais d'histoires avec personne" (Ronald Hilton, in Chapter 7, "Un Duel entre Hispanophiles: Baretti et John Bowle," of his *La Légende Noire au 18e Siècle: Le Monde Hispanique Vu du Dehors* (Starkville, MS: HTA [Historical Text Archive] Press, 2002; published online only, http://historicaltextarchive.com/books.php?op=viewbook&bookid=8; 30 November 2003).

There is a considerable bibliography on Baretti, author, among many other works, of *A Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish: containing the Signification of Words, and their Different Uses ... and the Spanish Words Accented and Spelled According to the Regulation of the Royal Spanish Academy of Madrid* (London: J. Nourse, 1778; reproduced in the microfilm series *The Eighteenth Century*, reel 6186). As a start, see Ettore Bonora, "Baretti e la Spagna," *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 168 (1991): 335–74, and the references given by Truman on p. 23 n. 26 of the article cited in the following note.

[5] R. W. Truman, "The Rev. John Bowle's Quixotic Woes Further Explored," *Cervantes* 23.2 (2003): 9–43. Available shortly at http://www.h-net.org/~cervantes/csa/bcsaf03.htm

Baretti's attack contributed to Bowle's demise.

It may be thought strange to reproduce an attack on Bowle, whose accomplishments I have elsewhere praised. That I do so is in part because of its literary quality. In a sense it is also a tribute to Bowle, and allows readers to see for themselves the treatment he received. Its tone is, to be sure, not missing from modern discussions of Cervantine editions, in which we find articles such as "'Por Hepila famosa,' o cómo no editar el *Quijote*,"[6] or "Ahí va otra: Lamentaciones sobre las últimas ediciones quijotescas."[7]

It was a harder decision not to reproduce the two shorter documents referred to in it and in Truman's article. These are what Baretti calls his "Spanish Dissertation,"[8] and Bowle's *Remarks on the Extraordinary Conduct of the Knight of the Ten Stars and his Italian Esquire, in a Letter to the Rev. J. S. D.D.*, or in Baretti's words, his "Letter to a Divinity-Doctor." Both of these, to my knowledge, exist only in the Bodleian Library. However, the topic of Baretti's "dissertation" is Spanish orthography, and *Cervantes* is not the right place for it. Bowle's subject is the shortcomings and errors of Baretti, and these are of much less interest than Baretti's attack on Bowle.

Since orthography and accentuation are issues in this controversy, they have been left exactly as in the original, except for changes indicated in the footnotes.

For their assistance I would like to express my appreciation to R. W. Truman, Nancy Mayberry, Alicia Monguió, Francisco Rico, Eduardo Urbina, and Hilaire Kallendorf.

Daniel Eisenberg

[6] By Francisco Rico, *El País*, *Babelia*, 14 September 1996, 16–17.

[7] By José María Casasayas, announced for the Segundo Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas, Naples, 5 de abril de 1994. Casasayas informs me that it will not be published.

[8] *Dissertacion epistolar acerca unas obras* [sic] *de la Real Academia Española*. n.p. [London]: n.p. [the author], n. d. [1784].

TOLONDRON.

A PREFACE,

Which is no Preface.

To my indubitable knowledge, there is no Bookmaker in all England, and I might as well say in all France, or any other country you please, but what finds it a very puzzling affair to contrive his first page so cleverly, as to make sure of his Reader's good wishes, when on the eve of going a journey to Scribbleland: and this is punctually my case. Tomorrow, or next day at farthest, I am resolved to set out for it, be the roads ever so bad, the season unpropitious, and the hopes of success uncertain: and to bespeak those good wishes, you may well guess, is what I have now mightily at heart, as it is very uncomfortable on such occasions, not to have a friendly soul to bid you good-bye: but, whether that my Fancy has lost the use of her [4] legs by staying constantly at home, these five years, and will not see me a step of the way, or that my queer subject, desirous to be my sole attendant on this jaunt, has locked her up in her dormitory; I question very much, whether she will see me at all before my departure, as she used kindly to do in the days of yore. Well: I will send to her again this afternoon, and try if I can at least induce her to lend me a few words for the above purpose; a favour she can scarcely refuse, considering what intimate friends we have been once. If she comes, well and good; the Reader shall have the customary page; if she comes not, he must endeavour to shift without it, as I cannot do, but what I can do. Mean while, that I may not be quite idle, to beguile the time, and fill up the interim, I will amuse myself with making a Speech to a certain Editor Don Quixote; and, if the by-standers have nothing better to do, I beg they will honour it with their attention. [5]

SPEECH THE FIRST.

Un di costor,[9] *che han l' anima per sale*
Acciocché la carnaccia non si guasti,
Se lo potesse, *mi faria del male.*

Niccolò Forteguerri.[10]

The first time, I ever saw you, my good Mr. Bowle, was at a Tavern in Holborn, where your friend Captain Crookshanks invited me to dine with half a dozen dilettantes of the Spanish tongue, among whom I was to see your worship, a man celebrious for his unbounded learning, who was soon to publish an Edition of Don Quixote in the original language, the very best edition the world had ever beheld; together with a Comment on it, the most marvellous of all comments.

As I took it for granted, that the conversation there was to run in Spanish, I prepared [6] myself for it by a hasty review of my store , in order to bring my mind to think in Spanish, that I might contribute my little share to the satisfaction of the company: but not small was my surprise on finding, that we were to speak in English in compliment to Mr. Editor and Commentator, who declared without blushing, that he could not utter a syllable of Spanish, nor understand a word of it, when spoken. A special Editor (said I to myself) that does neither speak, nor understand the language of the book he is going to publish! How the deuce will he be able to place the accents right on the words of a language, that requires so many as the Spanish does, if his ear, unacquainted with the pronunciation,

[9] In the original, "costor" is capitalized.

[10] "Uno de los que usan el alma como sal, para que no se les estropee la carnaza, si pudiera, me haría mal" (translation by Alicia Monguió). Forteguerri is the author of *Ricciardetto*, "poema giocoso in 30 canti apparso per la prima volta nel 1738 col nome dell'autore grecizzato in Carteromaco a Venezia con il falso luogo di Parigi. L'opera costituisce una divertita dissacrazione del genere del poema cavalleresco, tardiva derivazione del *Morgante* del Pulci e del *Baldus* del Folengo. Il Forteguerri (Pistoia, 1674-Roma, 1735), della stessa famiglia del cardinale Niccolò e dell'umanista Scipione, fu sacerdote, legato apostolico, segretario di Propaganda sotto Clemente XII e sbrigliato poeta satirico." (http://biblioserv1.bibliophile-international.net/servlets/server?_config_=bibliopoly&_action_=MainFrameFromStaticPages&_display_action_=DisplayBook&_book_id_=3900630, 30 October 2003.)

directs him not? —However, I kept that thought to myself, as I was not to answer for the correctness of the edition, [7] and the Editor's reputation was not in my keeping.

On my entering the tavern, you in particular received me with great politeness, and endeavoured to make me recollect, that eight or nine years before, we had met in a Bookseller's shop, where, on your apprizing me of your intended edition, I had been so kind (as you phrased it) to make you a present of I know not what pamphlet, that might be of some little use with regard to your enterprise; to which piece of good breeding I frankly answered, that I merited no thanks at all, having perfectly forgotten the transaction, together with your name and person, having unfortunately never had an opportunity to renew my ideas of you and your edition; and that was really the case. But, Sir, though that was the case, was not my little present [8] (if ever I made it) a proof, that I had conceived no aversion to you and your enterprise, the first time I heard of it from yourself in the bookseller's shop?

Our dinner was jovial, and for a couple of hours we seemed much pleased with each other. Presently after dinner, a Printer's boy brought you a sheet of your edition, and you went to a side-table to correct it. Your talk finished, I begged to give a look to the sheet; and was not a little surprised, on casting my eyes upon the first line, to find, as I had just thought it would happen, that every accent was either wanting, or misplaced. I asked you, whether that was your last revise, and you answered in the affirmative; which made me jocularly advise you to have one more, as sheets were not to be corrected whilst the bottle was in circu[9]lation. My hint was friendly, but was lost; for instead of taking it, and asking me what errors I perceived in your revise, you snatched it out of my hand, telling me with a pretty simper, that *you were sure of your corrections*: and dismissing the boy with it, sat down again with us, mightily contented with your brave performance.

What judgment I formed of you and your abilities, as an editor of Don Quixote, may easily be guessed by this first token you gave me of them. It was plain, that your book would prove perfectly useless to all classes of readers, and even hurtful to all learners of that tongue, if you were to be the Corrector. However, as I said before, your reputation as an Hispanist, and your profits as an Editor, were no concerns of mine, and I was satisfied, that I had not yet subscribed my three [10] guineas, which was enough for me, whatever might be my desire to see a faultless edition of Don Quixote; a thing, that has not yet been effected to this day in Spain, in England, or any where else. Being a perfect stranger to you, I knew not how you would take any advice I could offer without your asking for it:

therefore, I offered none, knowing very well that,

Es cosa de majadero
El meterse a Consejero
Ado vés que no te llaman;

And being likewise but lightly acquainted with Captain Crookshanks, I did not think proper to tell him, that your book would not do; but contented myself with refusing him my solicited subscription, as too dear for my finances: yet feeling an uneasy sensation, as I revolved in my mind the strange blunder you were going to commit, I made one effort more, [11] before we parted company, and tendered you my assistance in the correction of your sheets, as I heard you lived in Wiltshire, and could not, of course, see your printer often: but my offer was declined, because *you trusted your correction to no body, but yourself*, as you emphatically answered. —Well done! thought I again. The man is infatuated with his knowledge: but time will come, that he will find himself in a pretty pickle! —However, was not my tender a second proof, that I was quite friendly to your enterprise? What motive, what shadow of motive could I have, to be inimical to it? I had no edition of my own to sell in competition.

It happened five or six years after that date, that a gentleman invited me to spend a summer at his country-house, and to teach a little Spanish to his two sons, [12] whom he intended to send on their travels, and to Spain in particular. To bring that teaching about, I took with me, among other books, my Don Quixote: but as the reading of three out of one book proved inconvenient, the young gentlemen requested Captain Crookshanks, who lived in the neighbourhood, to help us to one or two examplaries more; and he sent us Tonson's edition, and yours, which I had never seen, nor heard any character of, good, or bad, since I had parted from you in Holborn.

On casting my eye upon yours, I suddenly recollected the sheet I had seen at the tavern, which made me look into it with some eagerness: and your rageful *Letter to the Divinity-Doctor*, wherein you call me an ignorant fellow in point of Spanish, forces me to tell you, (not at all out of pique, whatever you may imagine, [13] but for the mere sake of truth) that I found your edition even worse, than I had preconceived. On a close inspection, dear Mr. John Bowle, I had plenty of reason to wonder at such an editor and commentator! The *Text*, upon an average, has forty or fifty errors (that I may not say sixty or seventy) in every page, mostly produced by your perfect ignorance of the pronunciation, as I shall shew you at large in its due place; and, as to your *Notes* upon it, they are either trifling, or

needless, or absurd for the greatest part, which I will evince clearly enough, when I come to make my comment upon your *Comment*.

But what shall I say to your two *Spanish Prefaces*, the one preceding your *Notes*, the other your *Indexes of Cervantes' words* alphabetically arranged? How could you, Mr. John, take into your head to write them in Spanish? You say in your letter to your [14] Doctor, that the first *has been honoured with the approbation of an Honourable Person*: but have you not mistaken a compliment for an approbation? or, are you sure, that *Honourable Persons* never make game of *Tolondrons*, when they throw themselves in their way? Whatever approbation you may dream of, I tell you in the name of my own *Inhonourable Person*, that your *Honourable Person* would take it very much amiss, were you ever to make so free with his name, as to tell it us in print upon this score; and I will tell you further, in my own name likewise, that such strange stuff, as your two Prefaces, was never penned in Spanish, ever since the siege of Saguntum. Believe quite the contrary, Mr. Preface-maker, if you choose; but believe likewise, that, as long as you shall believe the contrary, I will firmly believe you the arrantest *Tolondron*, that [15] ever put pen to paper, and my readers may possibly adopt my belief, rather than yours, before I dismiss you to your evening prayers.

I ask you now this serious question, Mr. John Bowle. How was I to act with my two pupils, now, that I was to use your edition in teaching them Spanish? They, as I immediately found, had by Captain Crookshanks been both so strongly prepossessed in your favour during some years, that, the eldest especially, could not but think you the greatest man England could boast of in point of Spanish, and almost quarrelled with me, on hearing me call your Edition a bad edition. Yet, how could I leave them in their opinion, had I been ever so willing to spare you? Was it possible for me to read on, and not point out the errors, that were soon to give them the eyesore? 'Tis plain, that this [16] was not practicable by any means, had I even been as clever at a contrivance, as Merlin the magician, or Merlin the machinist. I was therefore driven by the unavoidable circumstance, to let them into a secret, that could not be concealed, and to make them take notice, as we went on, of all your strange doings, by throwing a dash under every word that was mis-accented, or mis-spelt, and writing it the right way in the margin, which was scarce sufficiently spacious for this kind of work, though one of the most spacious that can reasonable be wished.

The two gentlemen advanced in the knowledge of the language with surprising facility and quickness, as they understood already so much of Italian and French, as to read *Ariosto* and *Moliere*, besides their having already a pretty good stock of Latin and Greek; and you know, [17] that

young folks will rapidly learn, when they have from their childhood been well disciplined, and accustomed to learn. Our reading went bravely on, at the rate of six or seven hours every morning; and at night, while I was engaged at whist or piquet, they would still be tooth and nail at Don Quixote till supper-time. My morning work of the *notes in the margin*, though in itself an irksome sort of business, encreased a-pace, and would often cause a hearty laugh, and good fun, as they call it, because of the equivocations, that the omission or misplacing of the accents produced. Had we kept the laughing and the fun to ourselves, you had not possibly written your wrathful *Letter to the Divinity-Doctor*, nor I these pages by way of an answer in the Doctor's stead, who is likely never to answer it himself. But laughter and fun are of a propagating [18] nature, and the urchins would by all means admit Captain Crookshanks (who loves both dearly) to partake in our diversion; a thing indeed unavoidable, except we had been rude to him, as he visited us every morning, had made a present of your book to me, and insisted to be present at my lessons, that he might see how we went on, and clear up at the same time some imperfect notions he had long conceived about the Editor's absurd orthography, and other matters. What can I say, Mr. John Bowle? Other visitors partook, by degrees, of our laughter and fun; and, as you lived not many miles off, were soon informed of my wicked doings by some merry mischief-maker, desirous, no doubt, to encrease that fun and laughter *ad infinitum*.

Little wits are apt to take great offence at little things; witness a certain elderly [19] lady of my acquaintance, who, but t'other day, besmeared the face of her hair-dresser with soft pomatum, because he did not make her handsome, as she knew the villain could, if he had been willing to take pains. But let us not digress from the main purpose, lest I lose any particle of your attention. Lack-a-day, my good friend, I am quite vexed, when I think, that, on your being apprised of my *marginal notes* (the devil take 'em all!) you flew into such a rage, that the king of Sparta's was butter-milk to it, when he first heard the news of his naughty Nelly running away with old Priam's roguish son! The story goes still about Wiltshire and Hampshire, that your first officious informer narrowly escaped a most noxious aspersion, as he, unluckily and unthinkingly, imparted to you the sad tidings while you were getting out of your bed, so much [20] were you galled at some appearance of complacence, by him betrayed while minutely relating the frightful tale. But so it is, that your Mamma begot you while she was scolding her chamber-maid for not having well cleaned the parlour-fender; and that was the cause you came into this world with such a disposition to irascibility, as to make even your dogs shiver, when they happen to bark in your outer-rooms, and interrupt your eternal study of

the Spanish language.

From that unauspicious moment, you conceived, it is plain, such an unquenchable aversion to your luckless *Annotator*, that, in my humble opinion, is by many yards disproportionate to the occasion I accidentally and unavoidably gave for it: and, to let you into a secret, as aversion breeds aversion, I have on my side taken such a dislike to you, that you are now as odious to me, as the fiddle of an old foot[21]man, whom I hear from morn to night scrape and scrape in my next neighbour's kitchen. A vast deal of nonsense you and I are now going to pen against each other, in consequence of our mutual antipathy: but so much the worse for you, that began the battle, which you might as well have done without. Had any wise body been in your skin, he would have acted quite differently on his first hearing of my *marginal notes*. Instead of fretting, and fuming, and swearing, and damning, and opening the gate quite wide to a black and tormentous passion, a wise body would in such a contingency have come straightways to me, and in a bonny tone desired to see some of my iniquitous doings, which had certainly been granted. If then, on the inspection of half a dozen pages, he had found me a silly annotator, he could easily have defended himself and his edition, by evi[22]dent and convincing reasons, and thus exposed me to my two pupils for an archtype of ignorance, dullness, injustice, or capriciousness at least: But if, on the other hand, and contrary to his expectation, he had been persuaded himself by evident and convincing reasons, that he knew little or nothing of the matter, little or nothing of what he had long dreamt he knew thoroughly; he would have handsomely thanked the Annotator for having cured him thus of his long blindness, gone back home on a full gallop, made a heap of the whole edition in his yard, and set it a-fire, as the honest Curate did Don Quixote's chivalry-books, nor even troubled himself afterwards about Spanish language, and Spanish authors.

This is the manner in which any magnanimous Briton would have proceeded [23] upon so trying an occasion. But magnanimity, Mr. John, is not yet to be registered in the catalogue of your manifold virtues; and I am sorry to say, that, among your few foibles, there is such a terrible conceit of your thorough knowledge in point of modern languages, Spanish in particular, that, like musk in an old drawer, has permeated and tainted the most compact parts of your wooden skull; so that, the same wooden skull will now require a good washing and rubbing with soap, sand, and boiling water, to rid it of the stinking effluvia; and that will not be the work of a day, upon my honour. The thorough knowledge of the Spanish tongue is the hobby-horse you have been riding on during such a length of years, that I fear you will never be brought to sell it at half price. The beast is

lineally descended from *Bajardo*, the famed stallion,[11] who [24] could at times speak and hold conversation with his enamoured master about the coy *Angelica*, as I have read, I remember not where: and, being thus highly descended, he too (nasty hobby-horse!) will talk in imitation of his prattling progenitor; and has really talked you into the stubborn persuasion, that you are as superlative a linguist, as Mithridates, king of Pontus, of loquacious memory: hence the lamentable reason that, on the above occasion, you did not act with a becoming British spirit, to the great detriment of your daily business, the incessant turning the leaves of folio dictionaries, and octavo grammars. Lack-a-day! It was by listening to the silly talk of that insidious animal, that your anger has now gotten such a superfetation of wrath, as is absolutely beyond the medical powers of Doctor Munro[12] to remove either; and that, like a bull dis[25]appointed of his white heifer, you now run about the Wiltshire hundreds, loudly bellowing against me, as if I had robbed you of every comfort of life by those notes in your margins. But hark ye, Mr. John Bowle! It is never too late to mend; and there is no hobby-horse upon the face of the earth, but what any editor or commentator will subdue, be his mettle ever so high, if the editor or commentator will but valiantly go about it. Take my advice, Mr. John Bowle: Set only your whole edition, *text and comment*, a-fire in your yard, and place the beast a leeward of the burning pile; and I lay you a Spanish doubloon to a maravedi, the very first whiff of the smoke that enters his nostrils, deprives him of his pernicious power of talking: and the horse once dumb, you are a made man, and recover from your distemper, to the great com[26]fort and satisfaction of your numerous friends and well-wishers, who have long been mourning at the loss of the plumpness, which used to irradiate hitherto your cheeks, and encrease the natural rotundity of your chin.

I say, that, on your first hearing of my *marginal Notes*, you became so frantic and desperate, that, with your wig all awry, you stopped every body in the street, and fell a telling each one of my past, present, and future iniquities, though not one in ten thousand had ever heard of my name, and though you yourself had seen me but once at a tavern, and once at Captain Crookshanks's about a fortnight or three weeks before; of course, knew just as much of my iniquities, or no-iniquities, as you do of the present Kan of the Usbeck Tartars. And what was the consequence of

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[11] A horse in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*.

[12] According to R. W. Truman, possibly an allusion to Hugh Monroe, author of *A Compendious System of the Theory and Practice of Modern Surgery…in the Form of a Dialogue* (London, 1792).

that fran[27]tickness and desperation? Dear bystanders, I will tell you, if you are at leisure to hear it! The Goddess of the hundred trumpets, as chatty a jade as ever was born, quickly apprised me of it; and informed me besides, that the *Tolondron* was actually scheming and compassing no less than my utter annihilation as a man of literature; which annihilation was to be accompanied with circumstances quite direful, tremendous, and never heard of before by man, woman, or child. All this chimney-fire, however, I flattered myself (and who does not flatter himself?) would, in about a week or two, end in smoke, and that, in a sober hour, Mr. John Bowle, like a good Christian, would give up all his ideas of revenge, and bear my *marginal Notes* as other people bear misfortunes, that amount not to the loss of an elbow, a knee, or a great toe: and [28] in fact, three complete years elapsed, that I heard but very seldom of Mr. John Bowle and his misbegotten wrath, in which long interval I had almost forgotten both him and his Don Quixote, and thought of him little more than of the man in the moon. But, oh Jupiter and Juno! Too veridic did he at last make the report of the gossiping Goddess! For, within these seventeen months (some say eighteen) he worked so hard, as to produce the above-mentioned *Letter to a Divinity-Doctor*, quite as dreadful as the Pope's bull *In cœna Domini*,[13] if not more. Zooks! It was in that annihilating letter, that Mr. Bowle, you, you, Mr. John Bowle, said, in an annihilating tone, as how there was in London-town an

> odd fellow, ycleped Joseph Baretti, who to your most positive knowledge, knows no Spanish at all, is a compleat ignoramus in French [29] and in English; and what is quite scandalous, knows no more of Italian than your grey-hound, though it happens to be his native language. True, adds your Tolondronship, that this same fellow, this stupid fellow, this very hateful and very detestable fellow, has proved so malapert, as to scribble a variety of things in each one of those tongues; and that the world, as they call it, has been in general so egregiously foolish, as to look upon him as a kind of linguist: but, what signifies what the world thinks, or says, when I refuse my sanction to what is said, or thought? The real fact is, my Lord, that this fellow's English

[13] "This was a series of excommunications read out each year on the Thursday of Holy week (hence its name) in the churches of Rome and other Italian cities. It particularly aroused the ire of civil authorities by asserting the exclusive rights and authority of the papacy against those of the civil courts as regards ecclesiastical matters. It provoked a great political storm when the Bourbon Powers were pressing for the suppression of the Society of Jesus; it was read for the last time on Maundy Thursday, 1768." (R. W. Truman.)

> swarms with outlandish words and idioms, besides, that it is stuck all over with outlandish conceits, and witticisms outlandish. Then his French is just such as is [30] spoken by the Basque-Peasants, that go to help harvest in the *Pais de Bigorte*, or I know nothing of it: and, as to his Spanish, take my word for it, that the King of Spain's decipherers would hang themselves in despair, were they tasked with the explanation of it. However, the worst of all is his Italian. In my ears, and I will take my oath of it, it sounds exactly like the *High-Dutch* spoken at *Nuremberg*, and in the Swiss Canton of *Underwald*. Oh, what a Talian! *Libera nos*, *Domine* from his Talian!

All this, my sweet Mr. John, you have said with regard to my skill in those languages, and said it to no less a man, than a Divinity-Doctor, who probably knows as much of them as yourself, or thereabouts. True it is, that, in your letter, you have not been quite so clear and ex[31]plicit, as I am here; because, unluckily for your readers, you are as yet but young and raw in your authorship, and a mere novice in the art of epistolary writing: but what is that to any body? Tantamount is tantamount all the world over; and it makes not a farthing difference, if you as yet not gotten the knack of clothing your deep meanings in clear English words and explicit English phrases, especially as you are morally sure, that it will be but the work of some dozens of years to bring yourself to tell your multitudinous thoughts without confusion and without amphibology: but I, that know how to squeeze a lemon, when punch is to be made, have here squeezed out the juice of your sour letter, which, mixed with the water and sugar of my words, makes now such a lemonade, as may be drank at one gulp even by your washer-woman. [32]

Let me now, dear Mr. John, by way of setting clearer off my little skill in expounding your abstruse and intricate ideas, give a short scrap of your genuine style and manner of writing, and try whether I am conjuror enough to make my readers comprehend another passage, rather nebulous than misty, in that same letter of yours, which, in my humble apprehension, they will never attain the sense of, if I forbear approaching my rush-candle, to dispel the thick darkness, that surrounds it.

You, Mr. John Bowle, when composing that fine annihilating letter to your Doctor, thought yourself under the most precise necessity, not only, to deny me all gift of tongues, but, what is almost as unkind, to give a nice cut to my moral character, which, you fancied, stood a little in your way, and kept you wavering in your [33] intended annihilation of my literary one. Under so strict a necessity, as a man that is fertile in expedients, when good purposes are to be brought about, you conceived the noble design of

metamorphosing me into a pickpocket, and charged me with having done no less, than to steal a watch.

To bring this pretty imputation cleverly about, you took advantage (and a fair advantage it was) of a story I told at Penton, the day, that you, and I, and some other gentlemen dined at Captain Crookshanks's, of a man of fortune, who made me once a present of a *Quare*, or *Tompion*, I recollect not which; but, hearing a few months after, (from one of his Huntsmen, who wanted me out of his way for a certain purpose of his own) that I had spoken with contempt of some of his verses, grew at once so angry, as to [34] send for the watch back, on pretence, that he had only lent it me; with which request I instantly complied, giving him however such a hint in my answer, as made him mind the Does in his park a little better than he had done before, and grow ashamed of his ready crediting the Huntsman's tale: and here, by way of corollary, I must add, that I told my story, as one of the company happened to mention the gentleman that lent watches.

I suppose, honest John, that, on your hearing a short while after that conversation at the Captain's, of my *marginal notes* on your edition, and wanting, in the height of your Christian goodness, to give me something more than tit for tat, you thought of a collection of rare anecdotes, that might be serviceable to the intended annihilation: and calling back to your [35] mind my pretty story, presently schemed of turning it to your purpose: but not being able to speak with the identical lender of watches, for the obvious reason, that he had by this time been a good many years in his grave, and meeting no where with any body, that could tell it you with less drollery than I had done at the Captain's table, you bravely resolved to do it yourself; yet, in such an innuendo-way, that no human wit could make any thing of it in that part of this great metropolis, called Westminster. Availing therefore yourself of an account given in my travels through Spain,[14] of two Portuguese chaise-drivers, one of whom made use of the word *furar*, you paraphrased that account with these words.

> Though it may be said with truth of an Italian, who stole his friend's [36] watch, *che furava il oriuolo del suo amico*, yet had we not the irrefragable testimony of the relator, we would rather think, that both, if either, would have used the word *furtar*, that being their verb to steal.

[14] Baretti's *Travels*, to which he will refer several times, are his *A Journey from London to Genoa, through England, Portugal, Spain and France*, London: T. Davies, 1770. See Truman.

Let me put into plain English these cloudy words, that Mr. Bowle's ingenuity and honesty may appear to the best advantage. By substituting my name to the two words *Italian* and *Relator*, the sense of the paragraph will be this:

> It is true, that Mr. Baretti has stolen a watch from one of his friends; and we have his own irrefragable testimony for the fact, as he himself has related it, in mine and other gentlemen's hearing, at Captain Crookshanks's table. And this is what either, or both the chaise-drivers, would have called, not *furar*, which is an Italian word, but [37] *furtar;* which is the Portuguese for *to steal*.

Having now rendered his paragraph intelligible to the meanest capacities, Mr. Bowle will expect, that I put myself to the trouble likewise of confuting the charge it contains: but this, by his good leave, I will decline, as it would in my opinion be quite absurd to contest any point advanced by Mr. Bowle, a man, whose veracity it would be a sin ever to question in the least. This, however, I will say, that it is great pity he has with his veracity mixed so much of his tolondronery, as to affirm that I was myself *the Relator* of my pick-pocketical prank; for, that may, in my opinion, somewhat infirm the credit due to his pretty story, and, were he not the Tolondron he is, his charge would have been rendered greatly more *believable*, had he suppressed [38] that circumstance, as few folks will ever be brought to bolt it down, that I would go wantonly myself to tell half a dozen worthy gentlemen such a story of myself. Dear Mr. Bowle, did you not see, that, by making such an impudent rogue of me, you have made an impudent Tolondron of yourself? And, moreover, what need had you to tell your honest meaning, as it were, in hugger-mugger? Could you not have it out boldly, and without involving it in a silly gibberish, made up of Italian, Portuguese, and English? Why such an interlardation of exotic words with your own main language? Dear Bowle! Leave off in future this tolondron-manœuvre of jumbling languages together, when there is no urgent necessity for it, as in all likelihood you will not find every day and every where, such skilful interpreters [39] as I am, of your tenebrious way of writing.

But my stolen watch tells me, that it is now near twelve: and it is time for me to go to bed. To-morrow I will rise earlier than usual, to make a second speech to your worship. Go you to sleep likewise, that you may be up as soon as I call you. Good night, John Tolondron, good night. [40]

SPEECH THE SECOND.

Con rostro firme, y con serena frente,
Como habla el hideputa y como miente!

Isidro de Figuera.[15]

By the trouble I took last night to explain your passage about the stolen watch, in order to make your honesty and ingenuity shine forth and dazzle the eyes of your readers, you may see, Mr. John Bowle, that I have both your literary and moral interest at heart, and, of course, that I do not quite deserve the charming character you have been pleased to give me in your annihilating letter, wherein you say, and I apprehend with some inconsiderateness, that I have *a super-abundance of gall in my ink*, and that my pen is *dipt in double poison*, *which makes me write with acrimony*, *rancour*, *and virulence*.

But, how came your Tolondronship to dream, that I ever did you the honour to [41] write a line against you, or about you in all my born days? Why will you make yourself of importance in people's eyes, by falsely telling them, that you have been written against, when neither I, nor any living soul, ever thought of such a thing? True it is, that, as chance would have it, I made *marginal notes* on your edition and comment of Don Quixote, for the instruction of two disciples, and threw a multitude of dashes under a multitude of petty errors, committed by you throughout that edition and that comment: but notes and dashes admit of no *gall*, of no *double-poison*, of no *acrimony*, *rancour*, and *virulence;* therefore they could not warrant your calling me a *waspish Reviewer*, *who endeavours to bias people by misrepresentation*, *ignorance*, *and prejudice*, especially as you never would call on us to give them a look, which it was in your power to do. No more did they warrant you to say, that I am *capable of saying any thing;* that I might *cut a figure in the "Parcheles de Malaga,"* which may mean, that I am a rogue and [42] a cheat; that I am *a malignant interpreter of other people's literary labours;* that I have *no regard to truth*; that *my tenets* are *only acceptable to the most feculent part of the human race;* that I am *an evil speaker with a tongue like a razor;* that I am *any body's agent for defamatory purposes;* that I am *cruel*, *barbarous*, *inhuman*, *savage*, and so forth. Indeed, indeed, Mr. John, this senseless rant you will do better by half to abstain from in all your future lucubrations, for the reason, that I have lived the

[15] Sic. There is no such poet.

best part of my life in this your country, and not in Kamtschatka; and am, of course, personally known to a considerable number of your countrymen and countrywomen, for a sober, peaceful, and studious man, who lives the greatest part of his time at home, and has for these many years delighted in nothing but books and amicable conversation. Take care of yourself, you great Tolondron, lest by your senseless rant, you run the danger of being thought, by my numerous acquaintance at least, not a native of their island, [43] but an Ourang-Outang, imported from Borneo in some Dutch ship, and missed on the Hampshire coast by the carelessness of his keeper. Indeed, Mr. Bowle, this same rant of yours, is rather the grinning mutter of that, or some such like beast, than the language of a Briton: and you know but little of the people you live amongst, if you think they will approve of such a phraseology in the mouth of one of their countrymen. Be a poor Tolondron as long as you live: there will be no great harm in it: but assume not the Ourang-Outang any more, if you intend to save your skin from being sent, soon or late, to Sir Ashton Lever's museum, and placed in the most conspicuous part of his gallery.[16]

That I have many and many exceptional qualities, I will easily allow. I am a man, and of course a sinner; and I heartily wish it were otherwise: yet, I cannot by any means persuade myself, that my sins have been increased, when I made *marginal notes* on your *Don Quixote;* [44] nor did ever, as yet, any man of literature or any other reasonable being, dream that he does a wrong and wicked thing, who points out to his pupils in private, or to the world in general, the errors committed by Editors and Commentators of books; nor was ever an inoffensive Critic madly called *inhuman*, *barbarous*, *savage*, *cruel,* for having marked down in his own book, accents misplaced, idioms that are no idioms, verses spoiled in the transcription, or other such ridiculous faults, produced by the stupidity of a proud pedant, who never would stoop to consult, but his own silly self, when going upon an enterprise greatly above his acquired capacities. Print away, my honest Jack; print, at any rate, the most extravagant falsehoods of me. Call me a rogue, a cheat, a pick-pocket, an evil-speaker, a

[16] According to R. W. Truman, Lever (†1788) was born at Alkington, near Manchester, and educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. "He formed a noble museum of natural history, and spared no expense in procuring specimens from the most distant regions. This was removed to London about 1775, and opened for the public in Leicester-house, Leicester-square; but, for want of suitable patronage, Sir Ashton was in 1785 obliged to dispose of it by way of lottery. It was aftewards sold by auction." (H. J. Rose, *A New General Biographical Dictionary*, 12 vols, 1853, as included in the *British Biographical Archive*, microfiche edition [London: K. G. Saur, 1984].)

defamer, a Turk, a Lestrigon, an Anthropophagus,[17] any thing you please. Far from retaliating with similar, or worse names, I will be satisfied with terming you a *Tolondron*, and a *Tolon*[45]*dron* again, until I see you mend for the better.

However, Mr. John Bowle, take not this intended meekness of mine in such a sense, as to believe, that I want, by the indirect means of a mild deportment, to blunt the edge of your wit, when, as you threaten, you shall set about reviewing, *per extensum*, every thing I ever published in any language, and write my Life into the bargain. So far from intending to check your wit and genius, when you shall think proper to arraign my knowledge, or no knowledge, of this, and that, and t'other thing, I exhort you, on the contrary, to do it with as much briskness and vigour as your innate gloominess and tolondronery will permit: for, to tell it you between friends, I naturally hate as much a water-gruel critic, and a controvertist, that has no spunk, as I hate a dunghill cock, that runs into the cow-house, when he spies a kite hovering over the farm-yard. But still! Can't you bring yourself to speak and write, as all well-bred folks do, [46] with temper and good-humour, even when the pot of resentment is boiling? Can't you rally and banter, and be gamesome, instead of playing the Hyena, and endeavour to bite off people's flesh from people's bones? Do you not know, as yet, that it is a most hateful trick to embroider with atrocious lies and calumnies a droll and laughable story, told in a convivial hour? Do you not know, that noting silly errors in the margins of books, is not robbing people of their moral characters, no more than of their guineas and half-guineas? Can't you, in short, carry on a war (and a ridiculous one too) without breaking the laws of hostility to an enemy, who never took, nor ever will take, any advantage of you, but what shall fairly be given him by your malice and tolondronery? Dear Jack, if you will have me be your enemy, be it so, and good speed to me! but let us be gallant enemies, that fight with their coats on, and not stripped to the skin, like ostlers and stable-boys. Let us pull each other's wig and cravat, if coming within [47] grasp, and even give each other a good rap on the knuckles, when either shall awkwardly present his clenched fist to the other's eye or nose; but let us not run a kitchen-spit into each other's guts about accents, or no accents, about idioms, or no idioms, about right-written verses, or wrong-written verses; and other such petty nonsense. I will take my oath of it, that your Letter to your Doctor is a very slovenly specimen of your skill in the art of writing letters to doctors: and had you

[17] Lestrigon and Anthropophagus are mentioned in a stanza of Canto 36 of the *Orlando furioso*.

to deal with an adversary less soft-livered than I, you would doubtless, by the same letter, have brought upon yourself a much sharper animadversion than mine are likely to be. You may possibly recollect a line of Quevedo, that says:

Tiene su velenillo cada mosca,[18]

which I translate with some allowable latitude:

Some flies there are, that will make asses mad.

Quevedo's line is very pretty, though my translation of it is but so so: yet you [48] will not do amiss to imprint both in your memory, in case you undertake to give the world another specimen of your skill in writing annihilating Letters to Doctors. Foul language, foul slander, foul calumnies, foul innuendos, foul rascality, Mr. Bowle, few folk will brook with that stoic indifference, with which I am apt to brook them. Nevertheless remember, good Jack, that Stoics, whatever they may pretend, will not have clumsy fellows tread upon their gouty toes; and mostly repel such frolics, by wielding their crutches at the frolickers' pates. But let me leave off the friendly preacher, and resume the trifling critic, by telling you, that the words *acotan*, *magin*, and *lercha*, a re words absolutely belonging to the Spanish language, though you deny it, by challenging me to prove it. What need have I to prove it? Indeed, I would rather undertake to hop on my left leg from St. James to White-chapel, than set about proving every thing you are willing to deny when I assert! Those three words, you will allow, were [49] spoken by Sancho Panza; and if they were spoken by him, it is incumbent upon you to prove, that Sancho Panza spoke Greek instead of Spanish. Yes, yes: prove you that, and prove it in such a forcible manner, as to carry conviction to my mind, and I will then submit to your opinion, that those three words have no right to claim a place in any Spanish Dictionary. As to the word *Lercha*, I own, that I know

[18] This quote, if genuine, has not been located. "No he encontrado en toda la poesía de Quevedo el verso que cita, ni tampoco en buena parte de su prosa, aunque no toda. Habría que revisar algunas obras en prosa de Quevedo a las que no tengo acceso electrónico, pero si mi intuición de quevedista pudiera ser de alguna ayuda, creo que esa frase no es de Quevedo y, en cualquier caso, no figura en las ediciones de Blecua de su poesía con total seguridad." (Santiago Fernández, consulted on my behalf by Julián Olivares.)

A satirical sonnet of Quevedo begins: "Su colerilla tiene cualquier mosca" (thanks to Francisco Rico for this information).

no more the meaning of, t han a post: but no more do you, cousin John, as you declare in a *Note* to your Letter: and to tell you truth, I am vexed you never knew the meaning of it; for, if you had, 'tis probable you would, some how or other, have explained it in your Comment, or in your Letter: and I, that am not adverse *ab hoste doceri*,[19] as you seem to be, should thus have had the same obligation to you, that you to the gentleman, who gave you the meaning of the word *Jangueses*, which I know not to have been of your own finding out, though you set it down as such: and here, by way of parenthesis, [50] I will tell you, that the only thing I learned from your Comment, was, the meaning of that very word *Jangueses*, which I had searched for in vain these many years. Instead, however, of inferring, as you absurdly do, that the academicians did right in not registering the word *Lercha* in their Dictionary, why did you not join with me in the wish they had, that we both might know what it meant? I know that you would give a good shilling, and even eighteen pence, to have it expounded; and I wish you may have your wish, that you may spare yourself a journey to *Lerici*, on a sleeveless errand: but, if you think, that a wish after that meaning is laudable in you, why do you find it blameable in me? Why do you tauntingly say, that, with regard to the word *Lercha*, I have left you *in the lurch*, when you, Mr. Editor and Commentator, who ought to have helped me to it, have left me in the same forlorn condition? And why, above all, do you face me down, that *Lercha* is no Spanish word, when, far from telling us to what [51] other language it belongs, you cannot give us any thing about it, but an absurd conjecture, and would, if you could, derive it from a town in Italy, where Sancho Panza never was, and of course could not know whether the fishermen at *Lerici* strung herrings by the gills or by the tails? Who ever was so much out of his way, as you have been on account of that same word *Lercha?* Mind me, dear Tolondron! Instead of falling out with me, about a word that neither of us can make any thing of, let us make a bargain, that the first of us who is so lucky as to stumble upon the meaning of it, shall honestly and Christianly impart it to the other, and demand no more than a groat, or a tester, for his trouble.[20] Am I not reasonable in proposing such a bargain? Let me only add for your information, that the word *Sardinas*, linked by Sancho Panza to that of *Lercha*, does not mean *Herrings*, as you have translated: and, if you will open your ears wide, I will pour into them a piece of erudition, that will prove a jewel to you,

[19] "To be taught by an enemy."

[20] According to R. W. Truman, "the groat, not issued after 1662, was equal to four pence; 'tester,' a slang term for a sixpence."

[52] if ever you come to reprint your Comment with additions, as I am confident you will do to-morrow morning. The *Sardinas*, a name derived from the island of *Sardinia*, are fishes not half so large as *Herrings*, which, at a particular season swim in large shoals about that island, as also (possibly in smaller shoals) along several parts of the Spanish coast. The Spanish fishermen, like those of Sardinia, catch as many of them as they can, salt them, stow them in barrels, or in that kind of baskets called by them *banastas*; and they are then sold about. Mr. Pennant, in his account of fishes, mentions the *Sardina*, and describes it; as I am credibly informed by that same gentleman, who gave you the note about the *Jangueses*.[21] The common people in Spain, who are not such good naturalists as Mr. Pennant, by a great many yards, give, possibly with impropriety, the appellation of *Sardinas*, to the fishes called *Pilchards* in England: and I know this, because travelling through Spain in lent-time, I was many times obliged, whether I would or [53] not, to eat them with my bread at dinner for want of roast-beef. The *pilchards* go to Spain from Falmouth, where, if a fish-monger has informed me right, they are caught three times a year in different seasons. The *Herrings* likewise go to Spain in great quantities from Yarmouth and Leostoff,[22] and are called by the Spaniards *Sardinas Arenques*, or *Arenques*, without the addition of *Sardinas*. Of these also, many a meal I did make, when travelling in that country; not seldom without a wish, that it had been in my power to metamorphose them into *Soles* and *Turbots*, fresh from the water. All this wonderful erudition, Mr. Bowle, I impart to you, not with a view to reproach you with ignorance, on account of your having translated *Herrings* for *Sardinas;* but merely to let you know, that I am more of a communicative disposition, than of a *diabolical nature*, t hough a native of Turin. Had I never been in Spain, I might, in point of *Sardinas*, be as ignorant as yourself, without thinking myself a bit the worse for want of such know-[54]ledge: but since chance has stored me plentifully with it, and as I know that you are likewise desirous of being as good an Italianist, as you are an Hispanist, let me tell you further, that the Italians are one degree more happy than the Spaniards, on account of proper names for those fishes, as they call *Sardina* the *Sardina* of the Spaniards, *Aringa* the *Herring*,

[21] According to R. W. Truman, the reference is to "Thomas Pennant (1726–98), educated at Queen's and Oriel Colleges, Oxford, eminent naturalist and tourist. Fellow of the Royal Society 1767. Author of *British Zoology*, first published at London, 1766; republished 1768–70, 4 vols. (London&Chester), with a volume now added on reptiles and fishes. A much printed work."

[22] Lowestoft, very close to Yarmouth on the coast of East Anglia.

and *Salacca* the *Pilchard*. Here, Jack, here is erudition for thee to wallow in, in case thy Comment, as I said, comes to-morrow morning to a second edition! Say now that the Turinese are of a *revengeful disposition*, and *of a diabolical nature!*

You scold me again, Mr. Bowle, for having wished, that the Spanish Academicians had registered in their Dictionary all the rustic words used by Sancho and his wife, and you say with your customary wisdom, or, (as I phrase it) in your Tolondron way, that *the Academicians would have had too much upon their hands, if they had paid particular attention to Sancho's lingo, and paid such a compliment to Madam Teresa.* [55] But, pray Mr. Bowle, where did you learn to apologize for the omissions of others, or your own? How can we strangers come to understand every tittle in Don Quixote, as many of us wish to do, if Dictionaries forbear to pay such compliments and attention to the words of Sancho and *Madam* Teresa, as you scornfully and gallically title that respectable lady of the *Cascajo family?* Indeed I never wished, in my Spanish Dissertation, the Academicians *to pay compliments* to Sancho, to Teresa, to Don Quixote, or to any other imaginary being: but, as the readers of Spanish, and of Don Quixote in particular, are, and will always be, pretty numerous all over Europe, and even out of Europe, I only wished that the Academicians had, in the first edition of their Dictionary, not omitted one word to be found in that book; and I still wish and hope, that in due time they may do it, not in compliment to the readers of Cervantes' work, without minding any Tolondron's opinion to the contrary, and I [56] wish and hope, furthermore, that in a second edition of their Dictionary, they may register every individual word in their language, no matter whether rustic words, cant words, or antiquated words, whatever you may wish in opposition to my wish. A good deal of this they have already done, as you, and I, and every other Tolondron knows, or may know: but *Quevedo* and *Gongora*, among their poets, they have as yet not gleaned with sufficient solicitude; and those are the two that I particularly wish to understand every word of. You have given a hearty horse-laugh at my honestly owning, that I find many passages in *Gongora* difficult, and, in your pretty Tolondron way, define him *an easy pleasing poet, who drank deep of the clear stream of Helicon, and is never obscure.* Laugh heartily, Jack, at a poor adept, that will be obliged still to travel many a weary mile before he reaches you in Spanish knowledge. Laughing drives away care, and is a mighty specific against the splee n: and you are so little addicted to exhilarate [57] your milt with it,[23] that not a few of your neighbours are of opinion you will go

[23] R. W. Truman: "Milt is a very rare word = 'the spleen in mammals and

melancholy at last, which would be a thousand pities: and, to make you laugh again, I will again say, that *Gongora's verses* puzzle me oftentimes, and set my Spanish at defiance, especially in his *Decimas*, *Letrillas*, and *Romances*, possibly because I never looked into any of his Commentators, *who*, as you affirm, *make him obscure by their absurdities*. Permit me, however, to say, that I will not, can not, ought not, to take your word without a pledge, when you say, that his verses give you no manner of trouble, and that you understand them well. The astrolabe of your mighty Comment has given me pretty exactly the altitude of your Spanish learning: and how could you, good man, understand *Gongora*, you, that are as yet so ignorant, as not to know, after being *fourteen years* employed in commenting Don Quixote, that Sancho never speaks any language but Spanish? *A otro* [58] *perro con este huesso*, my good man; and away with your stories! The inhabitants of your parish may credit every word you tell them about your marvellous knowledge of this, and that, and t'other language: but Jack—I am none of thy parish! [59]

vertebrates.'"

SPEECH THE THIRD.

Methinks thou art a general offence,
and every body should beat thee.
Shakespeare.[24]

Casting my eye askance on your Letter to the Divinity-Doctor while my breakfast was making ready, I find that you have for once been so very liberal, as to bestow upon me the appellation of *Fool* without any intricate circumlocution; an appellation, that, if you had not courageously resolved to give me, might in all probability have struck to you *per omnia secula*, in virtue of that right, which Lawyers term *Antonomasia.*

And why did you favour me with such a free-gift? Because I have said in a Spanish dissertation, that "the verb *Deslocar*, in the sense of *to cure of madness*, is not to be found in the Spanish Dictionary, [60] though used by Cervantes in his Don Quixote."

Falling a little too heavy upon that casual assertion of mine, you deny the truth of it in no very smooth English; that is, in the following words: "*Deslocar*, to cure a man of being a *Loco*, or *Fool*, an explanation worthy of a *Loco* only, is *certainly not* to be found in Cervantes."

This, my sweet Editor of Don Quixote, is a period of yours, faithfully copied from your Letter to your Doctor. But, friend John, how could you write it without first covering your face with a dish-clout, that your looking-glass might not reflect your blushes to yourself, if you blushed, as you ought, in the penning of it You yourself, sweet John, a few lines after that period, have been so incredibly clumsy, as to transcribe immediately the very lines out of Don Quixote, in which *Deslocar* is used in the *sense of to cure of folly*, or as you more laconically phrase it, *to cure a man of being a fool.* Cervantes' passage, which I copy after your own tran[61]script, is this: "Temia Sancho si quedaría, o nò, contrecho Rocinante, o *deslocado* su Amo, que no fuera poca ventura, *si deslocado* quedara."

I wish, Mr John Bowle, that after having transcribed this passage,[25] your Tolondronship had favoured us with a translation of it. Understanding the second *deslocado* in the same sense you do the first, what glorious nonsense you would have made of it! But what you have not done I will be at the trouble of doing myself, if you give me leave. Taking both

[24] *All's Well That Ends Well*, Act II, Scene 3: "methinks thou art a general offence, and every man should beat thee."

[25] In the original, a period.

deslocado's in the sense of *dislocated*, a translation ad literam of the passage would run thus. "Sancho was doubtful whether, or no, Rocinante would be maimed, or his master dislocated: yet it had been lucky, if he had been *dislocated.*"

Turn it which way you please, friend John, no other meaning than this will you be able to get from Cervantes' period, if you translate the second *deslocado* in the same sense that the first: and, if you do so, what is the passage, but downright [62] nonsense? Poor Tolondron! Let me help you to the true meaning, which, such is your skill in Spanish, you did not even suspect, after I had given you a cue to it. You have called me *a fool* because I understand the passage, and I must of course call you a *wise man* because you do not even suspect your ignorance of its meaning, and thus return good for evil. I tell you then, that only the first means *dislocated*, *disjoined*. The second, as I said in my Spanish Dissertation, means *sacado de loco*, in English *cured of folly*, *cured of madness*. Cervantes has here punned on the double-meaning, that the verb *Deslocar* has in Spanish. With that second meaning in your intellects, read now the passage over again, and the deuce is in it, if you do not understand it presently. Cervantes says, *it had been great good luck*, *if Don Quixote had been cured of his folly when unhorsed by a hard push of his enemy's lance that put his bones in danger of dislocation:* but you, not knowing the double-meaning of the verb he made use of, because you [63] could not find it in any of your dictionaries, passed silently over the period in your Comment, and omitted quite the verb *deslocar* in either meaning, in your *indexes of Cervantes' words*, in order to get out of t he difficulty. A pretty Commentator you, and a cunning Index-maker! Nor do you reply, as you have done in a note, that Shelton has translated the period in a sense totally different from what I give it; as such a poor shift will only make your tolondronery more and more conspicuous. Shelton, and the other English translators, could not translate a pun, because the English language has not a verb equivalent to the Spanish verb, and expressive of two meanings quite distant from each other: therefore Shelton, and the other translators, turned the passage without the pun, as they could not do what cannot be done: but the duty of a Commentator goes a few steps beyond that of a Translator, if you give me permission to inform you. The Commentator's duty is, to point out the [64] passages in his author, that are not quite obvious, as in the present instance, and explain them clearly. Have you done so in your farraginous Comment with regard to this? No. Have you done it in your letter to the Divinity-Doctor? No. There you called me a *Fool*, for having in my Spanish Dissertation told you the second meaning of the verb in question: and how could you be so monstrous dull, as not to take

my hint towards clearing up to yourself the passage of your author? But such are your most acuminated powers of penetration, that it is an even wager, whether you will be able to perforate the period, and see clearly through it, even now that I have pointed out and explained the pun to your worship. Should that be the case, I will own myself *a Fool* of the very first magnitude, for attempting to make Mr. Bowle comprehend any thing, though ever so easily comprehensible.

But, a-propos of the verb *deslocar*, who told you that, in the signification of to *dislocate*, or in any signification, it is *an* [65] *antiquated verb?* I am sure, that neither Covarruvias, nor any other Spanish lexicographer, calls this verb an antiquated one. How come you then to affirm what you have no authority for affirming? You would have been right, if you had said, that *deslocar*, in the sense of *to dislocate*, is used by the generality; and that the few who affect to speak with courtly elegance, say *dislocar:* but what can my Tolondròn know of these niceties, and of such jemmy distinctions, whereof he never had the least idea?

Having now settled this matter as well as it could be settled, I must go on with some other word that my Tolondròn does not clearly understand; previously asking the reader's pardon, if I prove a little tedious; as no scribbler can help fatiguing a reader, when discussing such trifles, as the meaning of words, and expounding petty passages of this and that author.

Mr. Bowle asks me with an erected comb, "In what noddle did it ever [66] enter that *acostumbrada* signifies *calle*, a *street?*"

See, madam, how a poor fellow foolishly unveils his ignorance of a language he would make people believe himself a great master of! But let me, with a dejected comb, ask him in my turn: How do you, Mr. Jack, explain the following words of the galley-slave in your own edition of Don Quixote? "Este hombre honrado và por quatro años a galeras, haviendo paseado (Cervantes wrote *passeado*) las *acostumbradas* en pompa y a cavallo?" If *acostumbradas* does not mean *streets*, what does it mean? Cucumbers? Mince-Pies? Poached-Eggs? Do, tell us what it means?

I will not be at the trouble of looking into *Shelton*, *Jervais*, *Motteux*, or any other English translator, to see whether they have translated *streets*, or *cucumbers*: but, that it means *streets*, I will prove with an authority nearer at hand, and altogether an authority of such irrefragability, that [67] Mr. Bowle himself will admit as a most excellent one without the least hesitation. And what authority is that? Shall I tell it, or shall I not? Yes, I will tell it, were I to undergo the strappado. Look into your own Comment, Mr. Bowle, and there you will find, that *You yourself are my authority*. Can I produce a better? There, Jack, there you will find, that

you wrote with your own hand, and out of your own noddle, these three oracular words on that very passage —"*Acostumbradas*, quizà *calles*"—that is: *acostumbradas*, perhaps *streets*. This quotation from your own comment, besides proving what I said, that *acostumbradas* means *streets*, proves also, that your noddle, as somewhat thicker than other folks' noddles, could not receive the meaning of that word at one blow: therefore you modified it with your foolish *perhaps*: but my noddle, less thick by a few inches than yours, admitted it at once with out any salvo. Endeavour you to understand it so for the [68] future, Mr. Bowle, and leave off your *perhaps*, which are quite ridiculous in such clear cases as this. Nor do you come, in your absurd way, and artfully dropping the main point of the question, to tell me, that *acostumbradas*, being a cant word (as I assure you it is) the Royal Academicians were right in rejecting it from their dictionary, in spite of my contrary opinion. Such an attempt at retaliation would be but a very silly one, I assure you. The Academicians are not to be blamed, if in a first edition of so voluminous a work as their dictionary, they happened to leave that cant word out of it, along with many others: but, in another edition, it is most likely that they will not omit it, as they know, that the chief purpose of dictionaries is, to register all the words used by writers, that readers may have recourse to them, when they happen not to understand this or that. Having turned the leaves of that dictionary with a diurnal and nocturnal hand, during [69] the *fourteen years* you have been employed in the compilation of your mighty Comment, you ought to know that t he Spanish academicians have not been so absurd, as to reject their cant-words from their work; and you know on the contrary, that they have transcribed into it almost the whole dictionary of those words, c ompiled by *Juan Hidalgo*. But shall I make so free, as to tell you how you came with your crest erected to assure me, that *acostumbradas* meant not *calles*? Your dull brains, when you commented upon that word, laid squat upon Cervantes' passage, and all the English translators were spread open before you, ready to help you to this and that meaning: No wonder, therefore, if you went within a *perhaps* of the meaning of it. But your hernious memory, happening to lose the bandage applied to it by those translators, down went that poor meaning when you wrote the letter to your Divinity-Doctor; and so, like a ruptured Tolondron, arro[70]gantly asked me the silly question you asked. Do not so again, Master Johnny, and look before you jump, lest you break your nose again.

Still with too much arrogance by half, you tell me, that never any body, but myself, made *the sagacious discovery*, that *precios* means *años*, "years."

To convict you again of tolondronery, and still quoting you as my authority, I must tell you, that, in the first edition of Don Quixote, given by Cervantes himself in Madrid, and in the second, made in Valencia, both bearing the date of 1605, there is a passage, that runs thus: "Concluìose [sic] la causa, acomodáronme las espaldas con ciento, y por añadidura tres *precios* de gurrapas." The London Edition by Tonson has this passage in the same words, and so has that of Amsterdam, copied from it. But you, that know Spanish much better than me by a great many yards, leaning on another edition made in Madrid in 1608, and, not [71] understanding the cant-word *precios* in the above period, substituted *años* in your own edition; and this you did silently, without apprising us with the cogent reasons, that induced you to prefer the reading of the third edition of Don Quixote, to the reading of the two first, and of many subsequent ones. A special Editor you, that will not conform to a text given by the author himself, and take the liberty to adopt another, possibly adulterated in other passages, as well as in this, that I have quoted, for the forcible reason, that you understand it not! But pray, master mine, Is your ignorance a sufficient warrant for your not conforming to a text? You may say, yes; but I say, no. You may however answer, in extenuation of your deviation from that text, that when you printed your book, you were not possessed of Don Quixote's *first edition*, and that you thought better to follow any other, than frustrate the world of your Herculean labours, most anxiously expected both in England and in Spain, by e[72]very body, that has a nose in the middle of his face. But, good Jack, urge not so lame an apology, lest I answer, that you tell not truth. You yourself, in a most unlucky hour, have tagged to your edition *the various readings* of the three first editions, and there informed us, that *the first and second* have *precios* instead of *años*. Will you ever have the effrontery to deny the evidence of those *various readings* given by your own self? How came you then stupidly to rail at my *sagacious discovery*, which was no *discovery* at all, except you call a discovery every little peep given to your silly Comment? The sagacious discovery was yours, who, not understanding the word *precios* in the two first editions of Don Quixote, had recourse to the third, which helped you out of our puzzle by the word *años*, whereof the signification is more obvious than the other, and to be found in any Spanish dictionary, which, unluckily for you, is not the case with the word *precios*. Let me tell it you again, Jack: Look before you jump, and suffer [73] to be advised, that henceforwards you must not be in a hurry in contradicting any thing I advance, lest I quote again yourself against yourself, to make your friend Mr. Smith laugh at you in his sleeve.

In spite, however, of my not-at-all-sagacious discovery of your infidelity to Cervantes' text, to which you had solemnly promised, in your *proposals* many years ago, you would most religiously adhere, let me not press very hard on your having preferred one edition to another, as, at the very worst, your reading *años* instead of *precios*, was but a peccadillo, to be washed off, as they say at Rome, with a spoonful of holy water. The story of the Knight and his Squire is not injured in the least by so trifling an alteration as that; and both heroes may still rove on about the Mancha in search of kingdoms and islands without any hindrance. I want not to triumph over so pitiful an adversary as poor John Bowle, [74] in good troth the most pitiful adversary that a man of literature could ever have stumbled upon. By convicting him of great and small mistakes, of great and small deviations from Cervantes' text, I only want to drive into his poor noddle, that he is as yet many furlongs from being the mighty Hispanist he has long taken himself to be; and I want to make him comprehend, if possible, that such a Tolondron as he, must not put too many petulant or fierce questions to me, if ever he resolves to write more letters to his Divinity-Doctor about Don Quixote, about Spanish language, or indeed about any other thing imaginable. Modesty and diffidence will, at all events, do him much more good, than fierceness or petulance, as, by the grace of God, we have two eyes as well as he, and can possibly cut a goose-quill much better than he can, whatever his own haughty tolondronery may make him believe, either in his cups, or out of his cups. I am [75] not, as he says, *capable of saying any thing:* but I am more than capable to say, over and over, and prove it over and over too, that he had done originally much better to mind the improvement of his farm, than to meddle with don Quixote, as he has done *por sus pecados* these twenty years past, to the great annoyance now of every body, that fortuitously happens to hear of it. [76]

SPEECH THE FOURTH.

Quid immerentes hospites vexas canis
Ignavus adversum lupos?[26]
Q. Horatius Flaccus.

You assure me, good Mr. Bowle, and with the greatest gravity, that, among other innumerable faults and blemishes, my Spanish Dissertation has that of not being idiomatically written, that the diction of it is affected, and that it has furnished you with words and phases you never had the luck to meet in twenty years almost daily reading.

To prove all these allegations effectually, what have you done? Oh the mighty Hispanist! Oh the formidable Critic! Oh the immense Tolondron! You have selected out of the Dissertation *one word*, and *two phrases*, none of them half as long as your little finger; and woe to me, if you had thought of pitching upon [77] several dozen as big as your thigh! One of those two phrases is, the proverbial one *de cabo en rabo*, which you will have to be no better, than an Anglicism, because it so happens, that the English say likewise *from head to tail*.

But to what purpose, poor John, have you studied Spanish these twenty years and upwards, when you mistake for an Anglicism, as good an Hispanism as ever was born? You Muses, Nymphs, Dryads, Hamadryads, or what you are, of the Guadixa and the Guadalquivir, come to assist me on this pressing occasion, and, if not prose, give me verse sufficient to convince this Tolondronissimo, that the phrase *de cabo en rabo* is loudly echoed morning, noon and night, along the banks, that keep your crystalline waters from overflowing in dry weather! Huzza! My prayer was heard at this great distance from Spain, and granted so compleatly, that I see verses enough to pick and choose for authorities, dancing and skipping all about me! Here they are the pretty [78] things, and each one written in a genuine Spanish hand. Will you believe me, Master John, that here I have them all before my eyes; or will you put me to the trouble of transcription?

Believe thee, Turinese? No, to be sure! Never will I believe a Turinese as long as I live! Prove away, prove away without any further ado! Quote authorities, I say; or I will swear, that thou tellest nothing but damned

[26] Horace, *Epodes*, II.4: "¿Por qué, perro cobarde, si estás entre lobos, atacas a a los inocentes huéspedes que no lo merecen?" (traducción de Alicia Monguió).

lies.

Jack, you are not goodnatured, indeed, by talking to me in this strain: Yet you are right. I have sworn, (and if I have not, I swear now) that I will never take your affirmation without a pledge; therefore you have a right to demand the same of me. I love fair dealing 'tween man and man, as much as I do apple-tarts and petty-patties; and black upon white is a better security than bare words: therefore I will do here what is generally done on similar occasions; that is, I will produce my authorities, and from such illustrious Spanish writers, that you shall not easily [79] challenge as not sufficiently classical, though you may possibly not find them on the shelves of your library, as I did not see them in the catalogue of the books, with which you decorated your Edition of Don Quixote.

You say, Mr. John, that in the course of twenty years, among other Spanish Authors, you have read *Ribadeneira's Flos Sanctorum:* but have you ever read that other work of the same Author, entitled *Flos Stultorum? Ribadeneira*, in a short *Zarzuela*, entitled *El Editor sin seso*, makes *Mariposa*, a coy *Gitana*, or Gypsy, ask the *Gracioso* this question:

Como llamas a este cero
De cabo en rabo majadero?

To which the Gracioso answers:

Preguntas por el Bolocho
De cabo en rabo tonto y tocho?
Maldito èl si yo lo sé:
Púparo, péparo, paparé.

And here, as a *marginal note* tells us, the Gracioso kicks about, and cuts a great many capers. [80]

Have you any thing to say to this quotation from your beloved *Ribadeneira?* Now for another from the facetious *Chufleteneira*, who, in his second book, chapter the second, page the second, column the second, and line the second, (you see I can be as exact as you in my quotations) speaking of a ball given by the *Alcalde* of *Mofadilla*, upon occasion, that one *Juan Bolo* was chosen *Mosen*, or *Vicar* of that *Aldeguela*,[27] registers a lively *Xacara* that was sung and danced by the boys and girls admitted to partake of that feast.

The Xacara runs thus:

[27] Bowle was vicar of the village of Idmiston.

Cantan las Mozas; that is, *The Girls Sing.*

Vaya vaya de Xácara,
Gallardos Zagalejos,
Si sois los buenos páxaros
Que pareceis de lejos:
Cantad y bailad,
Bailad y cantad
De nuestro Mosén Bolo
Chichirichólo,
Chichirichón,
De cabo en rabo Tolondrón. [81]

Cantan los Mozos; that is, *the Boys sing.*

Vaya vaya de Xácara,
Taimadas Rapazuelas:
Llevad con garbo pícaro
Al aire las chinelas:
Cantad y bailad,
Bailad y cantad
De nuestro Mosen Bolo
Chichirichólo,
Chichirichón,
De cabo en rabo Tolondrón.

These two quotations, Mr. Bowle, ought to satisfy you quite with regard to the legitimacy of my phrase: but, as I am of a liberal, rather than of *a diabolical* nature, as you would make me believe I am, here goes another quotation out of the heroic poem, entitled *El Comentador Charlatan*, lately published by *Don Lope Bufonadaneira*, who calls himself *Muñidor de la devota Cofradia de los Truhanes Manchegos y Estremeños.* Thus does this great Epopeian describe his principal hero, a haughty *Presbiterillo* called *Juanito Bastarduco*, in the second stanza of his second Canto: [82]

No sé si su Merced es hembra, o macho,
Eunuco, hermafrodita, o cuero, o bota:
Si sabe a Inglés, a galgo, o a moharracho,
Si es olla hendida, o calabaza rota:
Si tiene tiña, o sarna, o si vá gacho;
Ni si es zago de iglesia, o de picota:
Si lleva, o no, por calavera un nabo;
Mas sé, que es Charlatan de cabo en rabo.

My dear Mr. John Bowle, believe me when I tell you, that I could, if it were necessary, give you a surfeit of such classical authorities as these, for my phrase *de cabo en rabo*, and without stirring an inch from my writing-table. Dream therefore no longer of my having coined it myself, and ask me not where I have been *groping* for that other phrase *assí assí*, for the word *diantre*, or for any other employed in my *Spanish Dissertation*. Whoever understands Spanish, will find the above quotations apposite enough: but the task would be endless, were I punctually to answer every idle question you may put to me, and adduce authorities for all the words I use, that are unknown to you. You must besides consider, that [83] these my fooleries are to go to you by the same road, that yours came to me; that is, by means of the press; and some crabby reader might possibly blame your indiscretion in thickening interrogatories upon interrogatories on me, and likewise, find fault with foolish me for my tameness in suffering you to do so over and over: therefore, let me prudently avoid these two dangerous rocks, and only take upon me to set you right here and there; explain to you this unknown word, and that phrase unknown, and do for you such other petty jobs occasionally, as Christians do now-a-days for other Christians, when they see them hardly pressed by dire necessity: but to pay at sight all the bills you may draw upon me for large sums of words and phrases, would be to teach you Spanish over again; and that I cannot do now, that age has rendered your noddle as hard as mine, and that your Comment and Letter to your Doctor have convinced me of your sluggishness in learning languages. Study Spanish [84] twenty years longer, Mr. Bowle, and the *diantre* is in it, if at last you do not learn it *assí assí!*

After this good piece of advice given you without fee or reward, I must beg of you not to go any more to inform the world, that I was *bred in Lybia*, where *Serpents gave me suck*, as this is one of those secrets I would not have divulged in any of these three kingdoms, wherein it is still a secret. It is true, I said somewhere, that *proneness to cruelty is inherent in man*, without meaning such men as Mr. Bowle, who has not the least

spice of cruelty in his whole composition; but meaning only man in general, when left to himself, and to his nature not corrected by education.

What made me advance that position, which is far from being an uncommon, or an acute one, was the most obvious notice one may take every day of uneducated children of all ages and sizes, who will wantonly kill flies and earwigs; put out the eyes of sparrows and finches; tie a [85] bladder or a log to a cur's tail to make him run to the devil; apply a red-hot poker to a cat's paw, when she sleeps by the fire-side, to make her make room for those that want to warm themselves; drive oxen furiously along crouded streets, to procure themselves the pretty diversion of seeing men gored, and women tossed up high; or, like the Barcelona Boys in Don Quixote, put slily a handful of furze under an ass, or lean horse's rump, that, by kicking and bouncing, they may endanger the neck of their riders, etcetera, etcetera.

The notice of such or similar tricks, that any man who has two eyes, or even only one, may take every day in the week in many parts of this world, made me unwarily lay down the above position, on which you chanced, I know not how: and as you are always very humane and good-natured to me, you made this very kind Comment upon it for my instruction: *God forbid that it should be so, and depend upon it, that* it *is not so. Could the most savage beast upon* [86] *the mountain ope his jaws, and howl articulately, where could be find fitter words to bring down human nature to a level with his own?*

I need not by this time, gentle she-reader, tell thee, that this ingenious kind of allegory of the *savage beast*, means an humble servant of thine, who, in the days of yore, was far from disdaining the touch of such ruby lips as thine: and what will you say, you studious lads, to whom I give all the books I can spare, when I inform you, that a few lines after my luckless position is termed *a damnable position* by this Jack, who can sometimes *howl articulately* as well, as any *savage beast on the mountain?* And how can I, my boys and my girls, after this specimen of such a Jack's philosophy and philanthrophy, set chearfully about teaching him Spanish, Italian, French, English, or any other good thing ?

However, *quod dixi, dixi;*[28] and I will say it again, that, now and then, I will take the trouble of setting him right, when I *see* him shamefully or ridiculously wrong, [87] and here and there explain him a word or phrase: but to teach him *da capo*, (as musicians say) as if I had nothing better to do, would be like an attempt to drink the ocean dry. He may have, as he says, what I have not a drop of, a full hogshead of the *milk of*

[28] Lo que dije, dije.

human nature running in and out at his *sistole* and his *diastole*: and, of course, shudder, and be horribly shocked, at my *damnable positions* and *diabolical doctrines*: but, for all his courting and coaxing me at this rate, I cannot undertake to teach *da capo* such a milky philosopher, as his tolondronship shews himself, whenever the marginal notes haunt him like hobgoblins.

To tell the truth, Mr. Bowle, you are somewhat more milky, and sugary too, when you anatomize my Portugueze learning, and there you say of me *muita coiza boa*. Indeed I never said, or excogitated, that I ever knew more Portugueze, than what could help me once through the *Lusiada* of *Camoens*, which, however, I own, I never had Bluteau enough to understand so well, as I do the French *Telemaque*. Far [88] from parading away with my Portugueze, as you do with yours, I only dropped a few words of it in the short account I gave of my crossing a part of Portugal, as I happened to hear them from my chaise-drivers, and a few other folks. You, Mr. Bowle, with *Father Bluteau's Dictionary* in your hands, are pleased to inform me, that two or three of those words are not Portugueze, and make a fuss about it (taking even advantage of some error of the press) as if the Scythians and Parthians had just landed at Brighthelmstone, and were advancing to besiege Lewes, or Croydon. But, good Jack, if those words give you any uneasiness, diminish your appetite, or interrupt your sleep, on account of their not being spelt the right way, I have no objection in the world to your correcting them in the margin by the help of your *Father Bluteau*. The exemplary of my *Travels*, which you have bought with your own money at the bookseller's where once we met, belongs to you as much as your garters; and you may burn it, or correct [89] it, as you like best. Suppose you only correct it, we shall then be quit on the score of *marginal notes*, as by your corrections you may vex me full as much, as you chose to be vexed at mine: In this case, however, you may let go untouched the chaise-driver's phrase, *En esta tierra furan todo*, which means, *In this country they steal every thing*. It is true, as you most generously condescended to inform me, that *to steal* is in Spanish *hurtar*, and in Portugueze *furtar:* but let me inform you, that *furar* is also used in some of the Spanish provinces, and I dare say in some of the Portugueze. The chaise-driver who spoke that sentence, was, in all probability, neither a native of Castille, nor of Estremadure [sic]; and it is a thousand pities I forgot to ask him of what province he was, which would have been an important piece of information to my reader: yet depend upon it, that I took down with my black pencil in my memorandum-book those words, exactly as he spoke them: therefore you will certainly commit a great sin, [90] if you change the *furan* into *hurtan*, or

furtaô [sic], either with a *tilde*, as I write it, or, as you do, with a *circumflexo*, *fura* [sic]. Not to prove unthankful for your Portugueze *furtar*, and your Spanish *hurtar*, I will tell you in return, that the same verb *furtar* is also an antiquated Spanish verb, and that you will find it as such, not in the Academical Dictionary, nor in Covarruvias, nor in Ribadeneira; but in many old Spanish books, that in particular entitled, *Las Siete Partidas del Rey don Alfonso el Sabio*, wherein if you turn to the *Setena Partida*, *Titulo* XIII, you will find the same Titulo beginning with these words: *Furtar lo ageno es malfetria, que es defendida a los omes*; that is, *To steal other people's goods is a crime forbidden to men:* a text that, if you had thought of when you invented the story of the stolen watch, would have proved to you a text of gold, as it would have come quite pat to your purpose. By the bye, as I find by the catalogue of your books, that you have that of *Don Alonso*, I exhort you to read it more than you have done *Don* [91] *Quixote;* and I assure you, if you ever come to understand it well, you will reap greater advantage from that, than you did from the other, because Don Quixote makes people good-humoured; and that is what you'll never be: but Don Alfonso makes people honest; and that is what you ought to be.

Not to digress too widely, and returning to your making *notes* in *my margins*, as I did in *yours*, you have my full permission to blot the last *o* in the word *Borracho*, and to put an *a* in the stead, and make it *Borracha*, which, as you say (and you say right) is the true Spanish name of that *leather-bag* so much used all over Spain to keep wine in. Recollect, however, that when I made so free as to call it *Borracho*, I was writing in English, not Spanish: and as the English call it *Borracho*, I called it *Borracho* too. I know full well, that you, who are a scrupulous linguist, and want to promulgate such a notion through your parish, would in my case not have missed the opportunity of rebuking your country[92]men as you do me, for their abominable transformation of a Spanish feminine into an English neuter, and gone even so far, as to wish for a motion in parliament to have it enacted into a law, that "In conformity to the Spanish language, the subjects of this realm be henceforwards compelled to say and to write *Borracha* instead of *Borracho*: and furthermore, that this same nasty *Borracho* be transported for life to Africa, or any other of his majesty's plantations." But, Mr. Bowle, I, that am not quite so fond as you of teaching nations how to speak their respective tongues, and choose rather to err with them, than be right with you, and hate besides all ostentatious pedantry and parade of trifling knowledge, will continue to write *Borracho* in English, and save my *Borracha* for my next Spanish Dissertation, or whatever it may be, notwithstanding any Jack's protest to the contrary: and so will I likewise do with regard to the word *Comment*,

which I will never call *Comento*, as you sillily do when writing Eng[93]lish: *see the Comento; as I said in my Comento*, and so forth. Strut away, Jack, and let the universe be apprised of they vast scientificalness! Teach nations, thou that art equal to the *great undertaking*, and simper prettily at me for looking upon myself as only a *tolerable adept* in Spanish! But, what can I do, if the unlucky star I was born under, made me *ab incunabulis*,[29] so confounded modest, that I never dared to advertise myself as a giant in that tongue, to be seen, at a shilling a head, in the large room over the New Exchange! Would you believe it, milky master Jack, that on presenting a few of my most intimate friends with my *Spanish Dissertation*, most of them stared at it, as at the oddest meteor? and why! because none of them had ever suspected my having sufficient cleverness that way, and capability to write so many Spanish pages. And it was likewise a mere accidental dispute, that induced me to let some folks know, that I was not quite so ignorant of that tongue as they supposed. True it is, that you find that Dissertation [94] little better than a long string of anglicisms, for the cogent reason that you have been these twenty years incessantly reading Spanish, yet could not make out many lines in it: but, be the Dissertation a string of Anglicisms, or Madagascarisms, take this from the Author of it, that you will do yourself no mischief at all, to bring yourself a few pegs down in your high opinion of yourself; as it is a maxim pretty generally received in the literary commonwealth, that all Boasters are Tolondrons of no small magnitude. Were it true, as I apprehend it is not, that in point of languages you are a second Father Finetti,[30] still your talking somewhat smaller, than you have hitherto done, will give you no cholick, nor indigestion: and to tell it you at once without mincing the matter, I should be much ashamed, if, in three or four months teaching, I had not put more Spanish into the heads of my two young gentlemen, (you know whom I mean) than you have gotten into your noddle during the twenty years incessant [95] reading of your *Covarruvias* and your *Ribadeneiras*.

Your eternal bragging of your deep skill in this, and your deep skill in that, being but ridiculous tolondroneries in you, I scruple not, as you see, to make game of them, and expose them in the ludicrous language of comedy and farce. But to be a moment serious, what shall I say of that paltry malevolence you are so unguarded as to betray about my pension? Every body, that knows any thing of me, knows that, during many years,

[29] From the cradle.

[30] A reference to Bonifazio Finetti, author of the *Trattato della lingua ebraica e sue affini*, Venice, 1756.

I have done what I could to throw my little mite into the immense stock of English literature, and would have done more, if my short abilities had permitted. For the little that I have done, your country, which, in bestowing rewards, looks more on her innate generosity, than on people's merits, has bestowed enough upon me, to make my old age easy and comfortable, God be blessed for it: And you, good Mr. John Bowle, you arraign her for it? I will easily agree with you, that from [96] all my writings you never learnt what was worth the thousandth part of a half-penny; and that may likewise be the case of many other bodies: However, your contribution, as a subject, towards my easy and comfortable existence, amounting possibly to less than even the thousandth part of a half-penny, how can you boast of having *the milk of human nature* flowing *à gros bouillons* in your veins, when you grudge it me, and objurgate your noble nation for having taken so invisible, so incomprehensible a part of your property from you, to bestow it upon me, when, as I am informed, you enjoy under her protection the use of much more money, than you know what to do with? Fie upon you, and your natural milk, Mr. John Bowle! How can you utter the humane sentiments of Terence, as if they were your own, and in the same breath vomit the most inhuman ones against your beneficent country? Be guilty of such paltry malevolence no more, my milk master; and, as you know I am on the brink of [97] seventy, comfort yourself in secret, that I cannot keep you long out of your thousandth part of a half-penny, as men so aged have but a short race to run.

But let me hasten away from those paragraphs, wherein you shew yourself in the aspect of a Yucatan-alligator, rather than of an English citizen. To insist any longer on them, would prove with a vengeance, my *damnable position* to be true, *that man*, *unassisted by education*, *is a cruel being*. From those nasty and hateful paragraphs, let us turn to those absurd and ridiculous ones, the exposition whereof may draw from my readers smiles and laughter, rather than contempt and detestation.

In one of those absurd and ridiculous paragraphs you fall upon me with great fierceness, and appear superlatively enraged at the imperfect account I gave in my travels of the editions of Covarruvias' *Thesoro* [sic]; alias *Dictionary*. There I unfortunately said, that I had seen only *two* of those editions; and you put yourself in a [98] passion, because I have not seen *three*. To appease you, my milky man, I fall down prostrate at your feet, and confess with the utmost contrition and attrition to *Vuestra Reverendissima*,

as if you were the Pope's first Penitentiary, that I have been so wretchedly sinful when on my travels through Spain, as never to have seen but *two* of those editions; *two*, and no more. *Vuestra Reverendissima* informs me now, that the Bookseller's Catechism, the only orthodox book I ought to look into, says plainly and intelligibly, that *the editions of Covarruvias' Thesoro are three*, and not *two*, as my heretical and profligate eyes had taught me to believe, when on my travels. Ten thousand thanks from my heart's bottom to *Vuestra Reverendissima* for his soul-saving information; and be your *Reverendissima* sure and certain, if you will, but for this once, pronounce an *Ego te absolvo*, that henceforwards I shall truly and sincerely believe the editions of that dictionary to be *three* and not *two*, what[99]ever my wicked eyes may hear preach, or report to the contrary.

Full as wise is your prolix talk about the same Covarruvias, when you say, that *in my travels* I have exalted him, and depressed him *in my Spanish Dissertation*. I said in my travels, that Covarruvias was a very learned man, and a respectable Etymologist, so far as I could judge by a cursory look given to his book with the hurry of a Traveller: and this was not setting him at the very top of the house. Then, at another period of my life having had occasion to inspect that same book at leisure, I disapproved of his incessant endeavours to trace even the most common words from the Greek and the Hebrew, when he could easily have found them nearer home: and is this sending him down from the garret to the cellar? In the Dissertation I produced two or three examples of his so doing, which I thought sufficient to the purpose I had then in hand: But how did my so doing depress him, and destroy his character as a man of very [100] extensive learning? Where is the sinful contradiction of my two assertions? Does not the second, as well as the first, characterize him as a man possessed of Greek and Hebrew, which in English implies *extensive learning?* Jack, Jack, thou art but a sorry caviler, and hadst better to eat beef and plumb-pudding on Sundays, then play the critic any day in the week! But, suppose that I had fallen even harder on the *Señor Don Bastian*, had I said half so much, as *Quevedo?* You, that have impinguated your *Comento* by transplanting into it thousands of Don Bastian's words along with their definitions, are ridiculously persuaded, that you have been stringing up Oriental pearls: but Quevedo, who understood him certainly somewhat better than you, passed just such a judgment upon him in his *Cuento de Cuento*, as *mutatis mutandis*, I pass upon that silly work of yours. These are *Quevedo's* words: "Tambien se há hecho tesoro de la lengua Española, donde el papel es mas que la razon. Obra grande, y de erudicion [101] desaliñada." That is: *A vast number of Spanish words has Covarruvias hoarded up: but his work is not worth his paper. A large work; but full of slovenly erudition.* Don Balthasar de Acevedo, in his queerly-written *Censura*, prefixed to the Academician's Dictionary, having taken

notice of the immoderate use made by the same Academicians of *Covarruvias' Tesoro*, and obliged not to disapprove them, would make us believe, that Quevedo said, "por gracejo" *by way of shewing his wit*, what he said of that *Tesoro*: but, I am not quite of his opinion, and take Quevedo to have literally said what he thought, without mincing the matter at all, and his words admit not of *Acevedo's* interpretation.

In some parts of my Travels I said, that the Biscayan Dictionary of *Father Laramendi* bears the title of *Trilingue*, because it runs in Castilian, Biscayan, and Latin: and you take me severely to task for so saying, as if I had again been guilty of a second heresy, as big as the other about two and three. But the [102] reasons of your contrary assertion are conveyed in so strange a gibberish, that I cannot absolutely find out what you would be at. What do you mean, when you reply in confutation, that Laramendi's work is entitled *Diccionario Trilingue*, which is neither more not less, than what I said? If you agree with me on this point, what is it, that you find fault with? Is it my having written *Laramendi* with a single r, instead of *Larramendi* with two *rr's?* If this is all your objection, correct that my great error by the addition of another *r*, without any anger, and be satisfied with my humble thanks for your having corrected my English pronunciation of that Lexicographer's name with your more exact Biscayan pronunciation, and so far, done me a monstrous deal of good: and if my humble thanks are not sufficient expiation for my crime, take away the *r* from my own name, and put it to that of the good Jesuit, without any further snarling and barking at a shadow. Can I do more to please you, than give your leave to call [103] me henceforwards *Baetti* instead of *Baretti?* I thank you likewise for having informed me, that the Dictionary of Father *Larramendi*, with two *rr's*, *preceded his Grammar by sixteen years*, as such an important point of literary chronology would probably have been for ever beyond the reach of my intellects without your charitable assistance, as I have neither of the two works in my possession, and could not of course have compared the dates of them at bottom of their Title-pages. Indeed, I had only said, if you had been willing to take exact notice of my words, that next the Dictionary of the Biscayan language, the Grammar of it, as far as I knew, was the most considerable work in it: but this you deny with great wrath, not by apprising me, that there are works in that language *more considerable* than that Grammar, but by informing me, that *the Dictionary preceded the Grammar by sixteen years:* a piece of information of such Colossal magnitude, that I shall certainly place it in my gallery of Biscayan [104] Antiquities, and never lose sight of it as long as I can make use of both my eyes. Faith, Mr. John, you have here, I own, displayed your immense knowledge, and exposed my im-

mense ignorance with such immense wit and ingenuity, that it would now be hopeless to deny your being able to read the dates of the books you have, in their title-pages.

I could nevertheless wish, Mr. John Bowle, that you would forbear to rally me at the rate you do, for having mentioned the five Dialects, into which the Biscayan language is divided, and not congratulate the Biscayans so heartily, for my having, with the few lines I borrowed on that subject, *enabled them*, as you say, *to enter into trade with other nations*. This your first attempt towards sprightliness and jocularity, puts me in mind of the Ass in Æsop, that bounced in his master's lap, to shew he could play as prettily as little Pompey. How vivaciously, dear Tolondron, you expatiate on my total ignorance of the Biscayan Tongue, [105] which, as it is well known, though you keep it a secret, you have at your finger's end! But in the name of common sense, what had Doctor Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, the bad Painters of Italy, and our Royal Academy to do with the five Biscayan Dialects, with the Biscayan Dictionary, with the Biscayan Grammar, and with the Biscayan name of Father Larramendi with two rr's? Will you be so milky, my good Tolondron, as to inform me why you jumbled them all together, and created that chaos of nonsense you have created by that strange hodge-podge? I almost suspect, that you want to recommended yourself by it to our Royal Academy as their *Secretary for the Foreign Correspondence* immediately after my death, as you have so eagerly embraced that opportunity to apprise the President and Members of it, that I fill that post unfitly, on account of my *total ignorance* of foreign languages. But a word in your ear, *Monsieur de Tolondron*. If that is the blank you aim at, I tell you, between [106] friends, that you will not hit it. Look into the English Chronicle, Nov. the 12th of this same year 1785, and you will find that you have been too slow in your application. Another Tolondron, that aims at my emoluments, already corresponds with the Public as a *Volunteer Secretary to the Academy*, and informs us at large in her name, that the Italian Members of the same Academy; that is, Messieurs Cipriani, Bartolozzi, Carlini, and Rigaud, are *shameless*, *indecent*, *partial*, *ungrateful* Members of it, and *of no abilities; depreciators of English merit*, *without honour*, *principle*, *or decorum; a paltry insidious Junto and Faction*, *scandalous*, *malevolent*, *malignant*, *envious*, *despicable*, *and always to be viewed with indignation*, *while there is a spark of dignity in the human heart*. Mr. John, match me such a Pindar for Billingsgatical flights, if you can! There is epistolary sublimity, magnificently dressed in the resplendent robe of poetry? And do you think, you poor, creeping, lousy Jack, fit only to write wretched prose-letters to Divinity [107] Doctors; do you think, that when I am gone, the Royal Academy will choose you in preference

to this brave volunteer, to succeed me in that Secretaryship? Lower your pretensions, you dull Mr. John Bowle, and dismiss all your hopes at the sight of so formidable a Concurrent, of a Candidate of such terrible abilities and expectation! Not a doit would I give you for your chance, (when I am dead especially) as it is a most notorious fact, that Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir William Chambers, Mr. West, Mr. Peters, Mr. Cosway, Mr. Wilton, and every other Academician, instead of endeavouring to add new honours to their country by taking indefatigable pains to raise the fine arts to the highest pinnacle, have thought of nothing else, ever since the institution of their body, but to encourage defamation and tolondronery to the utmost of their powers: and whatever Mr. Bowle's merits may be both ways, my Pindar will be the man, that shall carry all their votes for that Secretaryship *nemine contradicente.*[31] [108]

But what is that other information you impart me, that the Spanish adjective *Británico* ought to be written and pronounced with an *e*, *Bretánico*, instead of an *i*, *Británico*, because it comes from the Spanish substantive *Bretáña?* Is your *Borracho* empty already, Mr. Bowle, or is this another of your witty jokes? Yet, you look as sober and as grave, as a marmotte;[32] therefore I must infer, that you are neither drunk, nor in a droll humour; and it is incumbent upon me to inform you in my turn, that your Etymologicon, as your ill luck would have it, is of a spurious edition, and you must get another, the sooner the better. To convince you of it, Mr. Jack Linguist, I give you notice, that the Italians say *Britannico* not *Bretannico*, though this adjective is lineally descended from their substantive *Bretagna:* that the French say *Britannique*, not *Brétannique*, though this adjective derives its pedigree from their substantive *Brétagne*; and that the Spaniards say *Británico* not *Bretanico,* though an adjective [109] lawfully born of their substantive *Bretaña.* Who the deuce, Mr. Bowle, ever told you, that the mouth of Madam Etymology is no more a pretty mouth, if the very least of its teeth happens to be somewhat loosened in the gum? Don't you[33] know, miraculous Hispanist, that the Spaniards do not think they break the nose of that same Madam Etymology, when they say *Castellano*, with an *e*, though that adjective of theirs be the eldest son of their substantive *Castilla* with an *i?* Burn the treaty, wherein you found your ridiculous *Bretánico,* Mr. Bowle, or make a present of it to some Brother-Pedant, if you choose not to burn it, and kick out of your library your *Aldretes*, your *Covarruvias*, your *Nebrixas*, and your *Ribadeneiras*, if they

[31] If no one disagrees.

[32] A rodent, similar to the American woodchuck; modern spelling 'marmot.'

[33] In the original, "you" is repeated.

teach you no better Spanish than that comes to!

But, hush! Who comes here now to interrupt us? Pray, don't stir as yet, dear Tolondron; for it is only my old stationer, Mr. Inkbottle. [110]

A short Dialogue between Mr. Inkbottle the Stationer, and his Customer.

INK. *Dear sir, I come to you on a very woful errand.*
CUST. *What is the matter, old friend? What has happened?*
INK. *To make short of the matter, sir, here I have brought you four Gentleman's Magazines, in which you are most frightfully abused, and I am heartily sorry for it.*
CUST. *Pshaw! Is that all? Never mind that, Mr. Inkbottle. That is a trick, that has been played me many times in my life: yet I am still alive and well; and nothing very frightful can be said of me now, that I have left off scribbling these five or six years.*
INK. *Ay, you grow fat of late, master; but I apprehend these four Gentleman's Magazines will make you lean again, or I am much mistaken.*
CUST. *That, indeed, may be, as I am apt to take such things very much at heart. However, leave the Magazines here, and if you hear of more in the following months, that abuse me, let me have them all.*

[*Exit Inkbottle, crossing himself.* [111]

Now, Mr. Bowle —But where is he? Upon my word he has given me the slip, while I was talking to the stationer! No matter. It is now late, and I am sure I shall see him to-morrow early; and so, my readers, I wish you all well home. [112]

SPEECH THE FIFTH.

Nunquam scivisti quid sit vergogna, Gajoffe:
Coprit brutturas mascara nulla tuas.
Quando tuos meditor mores, incago bagassis,
Vergognam penitus quoe buttavere viam.
Dens tibi si caderet quoties mandacia prosers,
Jam tua non posset pane ganassa frui.[34]
Merlinus Cocaius.

You, Mr. John Bowle, who have I know not how many porrigers of milk (probably asses milk) mixed with your blood, were greatly concerned last night to see the old Stationer so grieved, as hardly able to suppress his groans and his sobs, which was your reason for sneaking away, lest you should be brought to weep by way of company: and indeed, *Quis talia fando temperet a lacrymis*?[35] Alas! Alas! Did you ever see so doleful dejected an aspect in all your born days, as that of my good friend Mr. Inkbottle? Never, I am sure! [113]

Let me now inform you, milky Sir, of what the *four Magazines* contain, that you may know the quadruple motive the good man had for being so tenderly affected, as he was on my account, who have been these nine and twenty years his constant customer for pens, ink, paper, wafers, and almanacks, besides having been godfather to his daughter Peggy, lately married to an eminent bookbinder in Ave-Mary-lane. Sit you down in this easy chair, my milky Tolondron; and, as you have had, ever since you were but a scrubby boy, a most uncommon longing after odd and surprising stories, collect all the rays of your attention in a narrow focus, that you may not lose a single syllable of that, which I am going to tell: nor do you stir an inch from your seat, until I have done, if you will oblige me.

You must then know, dear Tolondron, that in those *four Magazines* brought me by the Stationer, these are *four Letters*, one in each, written by

[34] You never knew what is shame, Gajoffus: / No mask covers your brutalities. / When I meditate on your ways, I incur baggage; / Troublesome shame, which is to look back the wrong way. / If to you a tooth had fallen out as much as your mendacity deserves, / already your well-cooked bread could not be enjoyed. (Thanks to Hilaire Kallendorf.)

[35] Who, upon saying such a thing, is affected by tears?

four Authors,[36] with [114] whom I really believe you to be as unconnected, as broomsticks are from brooms, though it may be true, that a broom can be a broom, even when connected with the broomstick.

What is most astonishing in this singular affair is, that each of the *four Authors*, thus unconnected with each other, has directed his own letter to the well-known *Mr. Urban:* and as a second accident would have it, each of the four has chosen me for the chief topic of his animadversion: and, accident upon accident, or wonder upon wonder! The style of each of the *four Letters* bears such a family-likeness, in point of bad English and good nonsense, to the *Letter* you wrote the Divinity-Doctor, that one would swear the four gentlemen and you were all born at a litter.

I should not, milky John, adhere strictly to truth, were I to say, that those four letters run in a panegyrical strain, as their Authors seem to delight no better than your milky self, in penning panegyrics [115] upon me. But, how can I help that, Mr. John Bowle? How can I, as the Spanish proverb has it, turn a mule's head to my neighbour's stable, if the stubborn beast will come to mine?

To keep you no longer in suspense, I will copy here for your perusal those *four Letters*, paragraph after paragraph, that you may judge (if I may so call them) of the pretty rascalities they contain: and I beg of you to help me, if you are at leisure to decide, whether or no, they were the genuine productions of four different Jacks, or of one Jack only, as Doctors still differ in settling this knotty point of criticism, which, I am afraid, will require a long and troublesome indagation, before it is adjusted to the mutual and full acquiescence of the contending parties. Let us then begin with the first letter, which is subscribed *Querist*.[37] [116]

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[36] Querist, Anti-Janus, X. Y. (that Baretti refers to as Izzard Zed), and J. C. (that Baretti turns into the vulgar John Coglione). Bibliographical details are given when each is referred to.

[37] *Gentleman's Magazine* 55 (1785): 497–98:

"MR. URBAN,

If it is reckoned among Dr. Johnston's foibles, that he became apologist for two culprits arraigned for atrocious offences at the bar of justice, viz. Messieurs Savage and Baretti. Perhaps his friends will not allow that these undertakings should be imputed to him as blemishes in his character, but rather considered as the mere effects of humanity. But let us consider the circumstances under which the Doctor is supposed to have composed the short speech which Savage spoke before sentence was passed upon him. It need not be mentioned what he has offered in the Life he wrote of that unhappy man in extenuation of his guilt. Mankind will judge very differently of his case, and the Doctor had no right to pass the judgment he has done upon the event of Savage's trial. Savage himself

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

July 1785. p. 497.

T E X T. "MR. URBAN, if it is reckoned among Doctor Johnson's foibles, that he became apologist for *two culprits* arraigned for *atrocious offences* at the bar of justice; that is Savage and Baretti, perhaps his friends will not allow, that these *under-takings* should be imputed to him as blemishes in

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says, that his offence was the effect of a casual absence of reason, and a sudden impulse of passion. Dr. Johnson said, that Savage always denied his being drunk, as had been generally reported. How is this consistent with the casual absence of reason which Savage mentioned at his trial as an apology for his conduct, &c.? What Dr. Johnson said in behalf of Baretti, as it was taken down at the trial, is exactly as follows:

'Dr. J. I believe I began to be acquainted with Mr. Baretti about the year 1753 or 54. I have been intimate with him. He is a man of literature, a very studious man, a man of great diligence. He gets his living by study. I have no reason to think he was ever disordered with liquor in his life. A man that I never knew to be otherwise than peaceable, and a man that I take to be rather timorous.

Q. Was he addicted to pick up women in the streets?

Dr. J. I never knew that he was.

Q. How is he as to eye-sight?

Dr. J. He does not see me now, nor do I see him. I do not believe he could be capable of assaulting any body in the street, without great provocation.'

Observe. The accusation was, that Baretti had murdered a man by stabbing him, and it was in evidence that he had stabbed two men, one of whom died of his wound. What says Dr. Johnson in his defence? 'Mr. Baretti, says he, is a man of letters, and a studious man; he never picks up prostitutes in the street, that I know of; he is short-sighted, and so am I; and, I believe, would not assault a man without provocation.' This puts one in mind of the Dutch printer's defence in answer to Milton's accusations. 'You are a crafty knave, says Milton; but, says the printer, I am a good arithmetician.' 'You fled from your creditors, says Milton, for debt; but, says the printer, I published tables of signs and tangents.'

When his defence of Baretti was mentioned to Dr. Johnson, the Doctor replied, 'I was not alone in that affair.' It was answered, 'Your own conduct was no better for that circumstance, unless you would have been guided by your fellow deponents in every thing else.' But Dr. Johnson's commiseration for unhappy criminals was remarkable. And as he had some success in his operations on Savage's account, perhaps he might think that a little of his benevo[498]lence of the same kind might save Dr. Dodd; but the impunity of Savage and Baretti was not sufficiently edifying to the publick in its consequences to authorise the extending the same indulgence to the unhappy Divine.

Yours, &c. QUERIST.

his character, but rather considered as the mere effects of humanity."

R E M A R K. By this elegant, perspicuous, and long-winded period it appears, that this *Querist* wants to traduce the great Doctor Johnson's memory: and to bring so good a purpose about, he begins his *undertaking* with the most notorious falsehood, that the Doctor *engaged in the undertaking*, of apologizing for *two culprits*, neither of whom had ever a word of apology from [117] him. Who, but a Tolondron, wants to be told, that Savage was *cast* and *pardoned*, not in consequence of any apology, but out of mere Royal Mercy? And as to the other culprit, he was *honourably acquitted:* of course, in no need of an apology, as a free dismission from the bar is a much better apology, than any Doctor could make. I tell it you as a fact, Mr. Querist, that Baretti was acquitted: and I will take my oath of it, for I was present at the trial myself in *propria persona*. But tell me, Master, why do you call the two unfortunate gentlemen by the opprobrious appellation of *culprits?* Have you too a porringer of asses-milk circulating in your body? And why do you term Baretti's accidental misfortune *an atrocious offence*, when you know, that, after a trial of six hours, *an English Jury* found he had committed *no offence at all?*

T E X T. "But let us consider *the circumstances* under which the Doctor *is supposed* to have composed the short speech, which [118] Savage spoke before sentence was passed upon him."

R E M A R K. Dear Querist, what have you done with the *circumstances* the Doctor was *supposed* (I know not by whom) *to be under;* which *circumstances* I was to *consider?* I have read, and read again, this letter of yours from top to bottom, and a plague on the *circumstances* I can find in it! You had drank too much porter, when you folded your letter for Mr. Urban; and not knowing what you were about, forgot to enclose the *circumstances* in it. Pray fail not to send them in a soberer hour, because I want to *consider* them attentively. But who was he vile fellow that told you of the Doctor having composed a *speech* for Savage? Kick the rascal, that told it you; for he told you a shameful lie, as sure as your name is John.

T E X T. "It need not be mentioned what he has offered in the life he wrote of that [119] *unhappy man*, in extenuation of his guilt?

R E M A R K. *Unhappy man*, and *atrocious culprit*, don't agree very well: Yet we will let this pass without observation. But, milky Querist, read over again the Life of Savage, and you will find, that the doctor has not

offered in it a single syllable *in extenuation* of Savage's guilt. All that could be *offered*, was offered at the trial, and offered in vain; for he was *cast:* and the Doctor related the *offered extenuations* with no Bowlean malice, but with his never-swerving veracity.

T E X T. "Mankind will judge very differently in his case; and the Doctor had no right to pass the judgment he has done upon the event of Savage's trail."

R E M A R K. What nonsense is this? What *judgment* has the Doctor past, or not past, upon that trial? Drink less porter, friend, if you will judge of *what mankind will judge*. [120]

T E X T. "Savage himself says, that his offence was a *casual absence* of reason, and a *sudden impulse of passion*."

REMARK. How does this ingenuous confession, made by Savage on his trial, any way invalidate any thing advanced by his biographer?

TEXT. "Dr. Johnson said, that Savage always denied his being drunk, as had been generally reported."

R E M A R K. The Doctor reported what Savage said. Was he to say, that, whatever Savage might say, Savage was certainly drunk?

T E X T. "How is this consistent with the *casual absence of reason*, which Savage mentioned at his trail, as an apology for his conduct."

R E M A R K. If I comprehend well this bad English, *Mr. Querist* means, that there is a manifest contradiction in Savage's two assertions, *that he was not drunk* when the fray happen[121]ed, and *that he had then only a casual absence of reason*. Yet, does his Tolondronship think, that no body, but when drunk, can have an absence of reason? The frigid villainy of this letter almost tempts me to think, that *Querist* was not drunk when he writ it: yet, is it not quite evident, that when he writ it, though he may have been sober, his reason was not at home? But what has Savage done to *Querist*, that he falls so hard upon the poor man's memory? Savage wrote no *marginal notes on Don Quixote*, as far as we can judge by his *Life:* therefore *Querist* might as well have forborne abusing a poor fellow, who has now been many years in his grave. Simpletons! you do not see the clovenfoot of Old Nick! All this wicked nonsense about Savage, is but

dust Nicky throws in your eyes, that you many not perceive his drift. *Querist* wants to impeach Doctor Johnson's goodness and wisdom; well knowing, that one, who was a friend to that wise and good man, will never be thought wicked and foolish, whatever *Querist* may say: therefore [122] says *Querist*: let me first destroy *Johnson:* and I warrant you, that I shall soon annihilate *Baretti*. Not a fig do I care about Savage, continues *Querist:* but this *marginal Annotator!* Oh! If I could but see him scalpid! If I could but cut off from his body one pound of flesh, and eat it raw! what a delicious meal that would prove!

T E X T. "What Dr. Johnson said in behalf of Baretti, as it was taken down at his trail, is as follows.

Dr. Johnson. I believe I began to be acquainted with Mr. Baretti about the year 1753, or 54. I have been intimate with him. He is a man of literature, a very studious man, a man of great diligence. He gets his living by study. I have no reason to think he ever was disordered with liquor in his life. I never knew him to be otherwise, than peaceable, and I take him to be rather timorous.

Q. Was he addicted to pick up women in the streets? [123]

Dr. J. I never knew that he was.

Q. How is he as to eye-sight?

Dr. J. He does not see me now, or do I see him. I do not believe he could be capable of assaulting any body in the street without great provocation."

R E M A R K. If honest *Querist* had dared, he would here have impeached the Doctor's veracity about the character he gave me in the above deposition: but fearing Mr. Urban might smell a rat, and reject his anonymous letter, as a piece somewhat too rascally for publication, this is the way he goes to work.

T E X T. "Observe. The accusation was, that Baretti had murdered a man by stabbing him; and it was in evidence, that he had stabbed **two** men, one of whom died of his wounds."

R E M A R K. So far, so good! The period is very sweet and harmonious to Mr. Bowle's ear. [124]

T E X T. "What says Dr. Johnson in his defence? Mr. Baretti, says he, is a man of letters, and a studious man. He never picks up prostitutes in the street, that I know of. He is short-sighted, and so am I; and, I believe,

would not assault a man without provocation."

R E M A R K. What could the Doctor say, besides this? He was not there as my advocate; but, along with several other gentlemen of the highest distinction in this nation, he came there to depose to my general character and way of life. He said upon oath what he knew of me. So did five or six of those gentlemen, whose friendship I had had the good fortune to merit by my good behaviour, not by my power, or my riches, as I was then poor and powerless, just as I am now. Some of them, namely the Honourable Mr. *Topham Beauclerk* and Mr. *Garrick*, with whom I had lived in intimacy long before I saw them at Venice, said what they had seen and heard of [125] me there, and in other parts of Italy. Only five or six of them were questioned about me, and twice as many would have spoken in my favour, if the Court had not thought the five or six quite sufficient. Why does *Querist* omit the depositions of the those five or six, and fasten singly on the Doctor's? The milky man knows why. So many favourable testimonials presented too large and too thick a front, for him to force his way through. Let us see what an expedient the pretty Rogue has recourse to, in order to invalidate the only one he pitched upon.

T E X T. "This (deposition of the Doctor) puts me in mind of the Dutch Printer's defence in answer to Milton's accusations. You are a crafty knave, says Milton. But, says the Printer, I am a good arithmetician. You fled from your creditors, says Milton, for debt. But, says the Printer, I publish tables of signs and tangents." [126]

R E M A R K. We are told in Don Quixote, that Rosinante galloped once in his life; and so this fellow once in his life has shewn himself witty: but the misapplication of his pretty story in this place, renders it a mere piece of malicious buffoonery; and malicious buffoonery does not validate arguments, especially Bowlean arguments, that are neither in *baralipton*,[38] nor in *frisesomorum*.[39] The Doctor was asked this plain question: *What do*

[38] Luis Vives, in 1519, ridiculed the Professors of the University of Paris as "sophists in *baroco* and *baralipton*." Montaigne (in *Essais*, Book I, Ch. XXV) says "C'est Barroco et Baralipton qui rendent leur supposts ainsi crottez et enfumez." (*Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, ed. Philip P. Wiener [New York: Scribner's, 1973–74], 12 July 2003, http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/cgi-local/DHI/dhiana.cgi?id=dv1-27.)

[39] "Legati ad una cultura soprattutto orale, i logici medievali hanno sviluppato anche tecniche di apprendimento mnemonico che facevano leva sulla condensazione in pochi versi di un elevato numero di informazioni. Un esempio viene

you know of this man? Was he to give no answer, or a Bowlean one? Was he to say, that he knew me but superficially, having dined with me *but twice* by great chance? That he never would be intimate with me, because he had found me to be *totally ignorant* of every thing? That I had no diligence, no industry, but in playing dogs' tricks to every body I could? That I was a notorious whoremonger and a bullying Tom, whether in liquor, or in no liquor? Was he to say, that, instead of living by literature, I lived by stealing watches? That I was such an [127] unconscientious scoundrel, as to affirm the most iniquitous lies of the living and of the dead, no matter what their characters were, or had been? Was he to conclude, that, for all my pretending to be nearsighted, I had such a telescopic eye, that I could see a brother-rogue at the league's distance? Master Querist was not yet an Editor when I was tried. Woe to me, if he had been, and by life had depended on his single testimonial!

T E X T. "When his defence of Baretti was mentioned to Doctor Johnson, the Doctor replied, *I was not alone in that affair.*"

R E M A R K. No more he was, you blasphemous villain! How dare you, by this hellish innuendo make a Doctor Johnson charge himself with want of veracity and willful perjury, and in the same breath accuse of the same crimes, half a dozen of the most respectable men in this land? Was ever such an Ourang-Outang among us? [128]

T E X T. "It was answered: Your conduct was no better for that circumstance, unless You would have been guided by your fellow-deponents in

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proprio dalla sillogistica. Sono attribuiti a Pietro Ispano alcuni versi di facile memorizzazione che compendiano tutta la teoria del sillogismo:

> BARBARA, CELARENT, DARII, FERIO, BARALIPTON
> CELANTES, DABITIS, FAPESMO, FRISESOMORUM;
> CESARE, CAMESTRES, FESTINO, BAROCO; DARAPTI
> FELAPTO, DISAMIS, BOCARDO, FERISON

Le parole non hanno naturalmente alcun significato in latino, ma sono composte di lettere cui è arbitrariamente associato un senso. Senza entrare troppo nei dettagli, le vocali che abbiamo posto in maiuscolo corrispondono ai quattro tipi di premesse e di conclusioni possibili… (C. Marmo, "La semiotica di Peirce," Dispensa supplementare del corso di semiotica a.a. 2003-2003 (Gruppo B), 12 July 2003 http://www.dsc.unibo.it/dsc1/corsodilaurea/materiali_didattici/nuovo_ord/Marmo_%20semio_Peirce.pdf).

every thing else."

R E M A R K. This test is artificially dark, as the wicked Querist does not dare to speak quite intelligibly. Let us throw some light upon it, and give the meaning of it. You, Doctor, had *no good conduct*, says Querist, when you followed the dictates of your own conscience, and give Baretti a good character, as some other gentlemen had done. You ought to have sided and agreed with those rogues, that asserted Baretti had assaulted their gang, whom you were to consider as your *true fellow-deponents*. This is Bowlean doctrine: but is it good doctrine? I am of opinion it is not.

T E X T. "But Doctor Johnson's commiseration for unhappy criminals was remarkable." [129]

R E M A R K. It was out of *commiseration* to be sure, that the Doctor did not join his testimonial to that of his *true fellow-deponents*, as Querist would have done without the least hesitation, having no notion of commiserating writers of marginal notes, that, right or wrong, ought all to be hanged. Pretty Bowlean doctrine, say I again.

T E X T. "And, as Doctor Johnson had success in his operations on Savage's account, perhaps he might think, that a little of his benevolence might save Doctor Dodd."

R E M A R K. Here is another innuendo on Doctor Johnson for commiserating Doctor Dodd, in whose favour he would have been willing to defeat the effects of justice, to shew his benevolence, if it had been in his power. But what were Doctor Johnson's *successful operations* in favour of Savage? Did the Doctor save him from the dread[130]ful verdict? Poor Querist! He is raving, he is in a delirium of madness, whenever the marginal notes present themselves to his pertubated imagination!

T E X T. "But the impunity of Savage and Baretti was not sufficiently edifying to the Public in its consequences, to authorise the same indulgence to the unhappy Divine."

R E M A R K. I say it again, that the milky fellow is out of his senses. What need had Baretti of any *indulgence*; that is, of having *Royal Mercy* extended to him, as it was to Savage ? Baretti was honourably acquitted to your own indubitable knowledge, you worthless Querist. What do you talk then, with regard to him, of Royal Mercy extended to him to the great

scandal of the Public? Ay, you Criminal! You Culprit! Did you not blot Don Quixote's margins? And is not that blotting ten thousand times more *atrocious*, [131] than murder and forgery? What business had you to teach your pupils how to spell Spanish the right way? To let them know, that I am a Tolondron?

The reader is now at liberty to make further remarks on this fine Letter to Mr. Urban, and to judge whether or not the Ourang-Outang's skin is to go to Sir Ashton's Museum, in case Old Nick does not interfere. Whatever be the Reader's opinion on this head, I will here tell a little anecdote of Doctor Johnson, to corroborate the Ourang-Outang's assertion, that the Doctor would have saved Dodd, if it had been in his sole power so to do.

Doctor Johnson, as it is well known, was earnestly solicited by poor Dodd to write a petition for him to the King; and complied with the solicitation. Being in a tête-à-tête with him, I begged of him to repeat that petition to me, as I knew he could, and *ad literam*, repeat any thing, that he had once written in good earnest. He did; and, though that was not one of his highest performances, he spoke it in such [132] a tone, that my eyes glistened: and so would have the Reader's, had he been by. But, said I, (that wanted to know his real sentiments about every thing) were you called to advise the king in this particular case, would you advise him to extend his mercy to Dodd? *No, no*, replied the Doctor hastily, but solemnly. *As a private man it is certainly my duty to bewail the situation of a fellow-creature suddenly plunged in the gulph of wretchedness; nor do I think I act amiss by doing the little I can to help him out of it. But a king's adviser must tell him, that if he pardons Dodd, the hanging of the Perreaus was nothing but a double murder."* This is the account I can give of Doctor Johnson's *commiseration* to poor culprits, and particular *benevolence* to the unhappy Divine. If it does not quite square with the notions of Querist, 'tis not my fault. — But it grows late, and here is another milky rogue, called *Anti-Janus*, with another milky letter in his hand, that runs as follows.[40] [133]

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[40] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 55 (1785): 608:
"MR. URBAN,

As you have mentioned Dr. Johnson's partiality to Mr. Baretti give me leave to observe, that Mr. Baretti is unworthy of any partiality from Britons; for though, in his *English publications*, he speaks of England and Englishmen with that great regard which he, who has been so well received among us, ought, yet, when he returned to his native country, he published a number of familiar letters there, addressed to his two brothers, wherein he says, 'London is the sink of Europe; that the common prostitutes are children of ten years of age; and that on Sundays men are placed at the corners of the streets to hurry away to jail all

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

August 1785. p. 608[41]

T E X T. "MR. URBAN, as you have mentioned Doctor Johnson's partiality to Mr. Baretti; give me leave to observe, that Mr. Baretti is unworthy of any partiality from Britons."

R E M A R K. Give me leave to observe too, that this second Bowlean letter begins with a lie, Mr. Urban never *mentioned* Doctor Johnson's partiality to any body. It was *Querist*, alias *Anti-Janus* himself, that *mentioned* it to Mr. Urban: and *Mr. Urban*, that is, *Messieurs Nichols and Henry*, having given but a hasty glance to Querist's vile letter, on account of their multifarious business, which keeps them both in an incessant hurry, sent it hastily up to their compositor. I am quite confident, that far from writing themselves such a rascally piece of nonsense, as they are here charged by [134] this Anti-Janus with having done, they both would vehemently resent the outrage of having it attributed to them, now, that I have explained it, and made the wicked nonsense quite intelligible. They saw the name of doctor Johnson several times repeated in it: a name that every Englishman reveres, and will hear with exultation for ages to come: and having but seldom reason to fear sly tricks from deceitful correspondents, made room for it in their Magazine. That this was the case, I do no doubt in the least, because, having had in my days many dealings with Printers of periodical publications, am fully conscious, that they often have considerable quantities of crabbed manuscripts to peruse, when they have but little time to spare; and I remember besides, that Mr. Ed. Cave, the first institutor of the Gentleman's Magazine, whose friendship I enjoyed the last three or f our years of his life, was himself now and then subject to such accidents. Instead therefore of expostulating with Messrs. Nichols and [135] Henry about the insertion of that wicked letter in their work,

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kinds of disorderly people.' It is some years since I read those letters, and therefore do not remember many particulars; but, upon the whole, I do aver, that he has represented England, and London in particular, not as it really is, or then was, but as he wished it to be. It was, however, in this sink of Europe, where he stabbed a man to death, and where he was tried and acquitted of murder. —Mr. B. is as adept at a translation, and it si wished he would favour the publick with a translation of his familiar Letters, wherein he gives his *real* opinion of England and of Englishmen.

Yours, &c. ANTI-JANUS."

[41] The original erroneously reads "680."

I will only warn them to be more and more upon their guard for the future against the specious knavery of correspondents, with whose hand-writing they are not well acquainted, lest, instead of promoting the cause of virtue and literature, they assist the purposes of malignity and defamation: and, wishing the Gentleman's Magazine a long continuation of the success it has long deserved, I will turn to my new friend Anti-Janus, who goes on glibly with his witty story.

T E X T. "For, though in his English publications Mr. Baretti speaks of England and of Englishmen with that great regard, which he, who has been so well received among us, ought; yet when he returned to his native country, he published a number of *Familiar Letters* addressed *to his two Brothers*, wherein he says, that London is the sink of Europe, that the common prostitutes are children of ten years of age, and that on Sundays men [136] are placed at the corners of the streets, to hurry to jail all kind of disorderly people."

R E M A R K. Bravo, Jack Anti-Janus! I did not expect you had wit enough to croud so many lies in so narrow a space, as the last lines of your paragraph! This confirms my opinion, that Querist, Anti-Janus, and Mr. Editor, are so incorporated together, as to make but *one Cerberus* 'tween the three. But as Cerberus has been so kind, as *not to quote* from my brotherly Letters any passage to back his assertions, I must be excused, if I do the same, and leave to him the *onus probandi*, as he is the sole accuser of Mr. Baretti, not I. As to me, that am not willing to turn informer against Mr. Baretti, and would rather do him good, than harm, I will only take upon myself the *onus observandi*: that if Mr. Baretti had been so gigantically foolish, as to print, either in Italian, or in the Monomotapa-Tongue, what this triple Jack would make folks believe, no Italian, from [137] the Pope down to the St. Marino's cobblers, but what would have thought Mr. Baretti as mad as a March hare: and many English Reviewer[s][42] besides, when he came back, would have made him dance a brisk horn-pipe, maugre[43] his plaguy gout, and the gravity of his age. Cerberus thinks, that he has but to speak, to be presently believed, and that no man in England understands Italian, except himself. Is not that the case, Monsieur Cerberus?

[42] In the original there is an extra blank space where the "s" would appear, leading to the conclusion that its absence is accidental.

[43] Archaic form of "malgré," 'in spite of.'

T E X T. "It is some years since I read those Letters, and therefore *do not remember any particulars:* but, upon the whole, *I do aver*, that he has represented England, not as it is, but as he wished it to be."

R E M A R K. And so, you *do aver?* You will *aver* any thing to do me good: that I know. Under the signature of Querist, you have *averred*, that I have been guilty of atrocious offences: you have *averred*, that I owe my life to Dr. Johnson's apologies, and to the [138] indulgence, I know not of whom. You have *averred*, that the same Doctor Johnson charged himself and others with want of veracity, and declared himself guilty of perjury to boot. Pretty *averrations* these! Under your own signature you have *averred*, that I stole watches: you have *averred*, that I was a defamer, a savage, an ignorant wicked fellow, etcetera, etcetera: and, what is worse than all, you have repeatedly *averred*, that your Edition and Comment would prove such luminous luminaries, as should dazzle Englishmen's eyes, and Spaniards understandings. Pshaw! What is there, that you would not *aver*, when seized by the fit of *averring?* Forbear *averring*, good Jack, as, were you to *aver* till doom's day, no body, out of the Tolondronic circle, will ever credit your *averrations.* You *aver* here, that you have not read for some years my Italian Letters: but I *aver*, that you have quoted a passage out of them, the very passage, by means whereof you would prove, that I know not a jot of Portuguese. A sweet fellow you [139] for *averring!* What, if I should also *aver*, that you would not have meddled with Don Quixote, but that you are the greatest Tolondron alive!

T E X T. "It was however in this sink of Europe, where he stabbed a man to death, and where he was tried *and acquitted* for murder."

R E M A R K. How gleeful you look, my dear man of milk, when you harp on the string of stabbing and murdering! It seems, as if you delighted in no other music. Would you not be more pleased to hear of some more stabs and murders, than a duo between Signor Babini and Madam Mara? Strange taste! I suspect however, that the words *and acquitted* in your harmonious period, were foisted into it by Mr. Urban's compositor, who did not think it round enough without that kind interpolation. But did he not make the period absurd by his kind interpolation? Did he not give your [140] reader a pinch of snuff, that he might not be offended by the stink of your other words?

T E X T. "Mr. Baretti is an adept at a translation, and it is wished he will favour the public with a translation of his *Familiar Letters*, wherein he

gives his real opinion of England and of Englishmen."

R E M A R K. This is another innuendo cleaver enough: but it will not do neither, as Mr. John Bowle has told us (which we shall see in a following letter to Mr. Urban) as how that work of mine has *already been translated into English*, and has also quoted a passage out of it in his own letter to the Divinity Doctor. What need then of a new translation, by which I should get just as much, as he got by his edition of Don Quixote?

We shall see in the next speech what the other two correspondents of the worthy Mr. Urban have to say of me and of Mr. Bowle. [141]

SPEECH THE SIXTH.

Di darmi una ferita,
Pretaccio, hai la gran voglia!
Mala t' andrà fallita,
Povera e pazza Coglia,
Che nulla sai di scherma,
E t' hai la mano inferma.
Peppe Titreba.[44]

I tell you what, Mr. John Bowle! I begin to be sick of talking to these comrades of yours, and of answering the nonsensical and infamous falsehoods they *do aver*. Nevertheless, that I may not, as the saying is, leave my peacock without a tail, and as it is a shame not to end what is well begun, I will endeavour to give such a reception to the two remaining fellows, as they may never more have the insolence to knock at my door: and I will then go straight to make my Comment upon your comment, which, I know, is [142] what you have been longing after, for this week past, as if the entire happiness of your future life depended solely upon it. Step therefore a little aside, that I may not be interrupted in the dispatching of this ill-looking cur, that you call *Izzard Zed*. Did you ever see such a villainous phiz in all your life?[45]

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[44] "De darme una herida, / Petraccio, tienes muchas ganas. / Te saldrá malfallida, / pobre y loca cogida, / que nada sabes de esgrima / y tienes la mano enferma" (Alicia Monguió).

[45] *Gentleman's Magazine* 55 (1785): 675. (In the copy used, that of the New York State Library, volume 55 is split into two parts, and part 2, in which this letter appeared, also bears on the spine the volume number "58.")
"MR. URBAN,

In extenuation of Dr. Johnson's foibles respecting two of the culprits, p. 497, it may be urged, that though he had been long acquainted with the second, he did not discover the man till very late. It is well known to several of his friends, that for more than the last thirteen months of his life all intercourse betwixt them was at an end, and a renewal, though solicited, was rejected on the part of the Dr. The no-notice of him, either in his will, or at his funeral, farther [sic] corroborates this, if other proof were wanting. In a word, he seems to have consigned him over to the solitary patronage of a man, who, to use his own words, 'if falshood [sic] flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it.'

Yours, &c. X.Y."

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

September, 1785, p. 675

T E X T. "In extenuation of Doctor Johnson's foibles respecting the two *Culprits*, p. 492, it may be urged, that, though he had been long acquainted with the second, he did not discover the man till very late. It is well known to several of his friends, that, for more than the last thirteen months of his life, all intercourse with them was at an end, and a renewal, though solicited, was rejected on the part of the Doctor." [143]

R E M A R K. Here we have a third witness with straw in his shoes, who comes to inform your honour, his name is *Izzard Zed;* that he knows full as well as brother Querist, that Doctor Johnson had foibles *respecting two Culprits;* and that the Doctor was besides such a Tolondron, as not to discover during thirty years and more, the true character of a man, with whom he had lived in the closest intimacy. Strange and insufferable, that such unhallowed Jacks—give them a fitter name,[46] indignant reader!—such unhallowed Jacks, as these *Querists*, *Anti-Januses*, and *Izzard Zeds*, should dare to rub their hides against the monument, wherein the venerable remains of Samuel Johnson are deposited, and not a sexton or an overseer by, to cudgel them away to their filthy mansions!

But, shall I stoop so low, as to confute that part of the above paragraph, that regards *the second of the two Culprits?* "No, no, says Mr. John Bowle with a fluttering voice, and half vexed at this onset}[47] [144] lest you go a little too far for my purpose! No, no, confute it not for the love you bear me, as poor Izzard is not so bad as he looks, and at last, it signifies but little, to do away every misrepresentation and every rascally lie, advanced by this, and that, and t'other anonymous villain."

So far, my good Mr. Bowle, you reason as right as any Plato, no doubt. Nevertheless I will, by telling the right way that story, which you have told the wrong way, assist your Tolondronship with what may be of some use to you, when you come to write the life of the *second Culprit*, which you are soon to set about compiling, for the satisfaction and edification of a curious public: and what may still be thought of greater importance, that my story, rightly told, may be a lesson to eager mortals to mistrust the duration of any worldly enjoyment, as, even the best cemented friendship, which I consider as the most precious of earthly bless-

[46] In the original, "fittername."

[47] So as to avoid confusion, Baretti's brackets are represented with { and }.

ings, is but a precarious one, and subject, like all the rest, [145] to be blasted away in an unexpected moment by the capriciousness of chance, and by some one of those trifling weaknesses, unaccountably engrafted even in the noblest minds, that even shewed to what a pitch human nature may be elevated.

Know therefore, you honest Mr. John Bowle, or Mr. Izzard Zed (chuse which of the two names you please) that about thirteen months (as you say with no very considerable exaggeration) before Doctor Johnson went the way of all flesh, my visits to him grew to be much less frequent, than they used to be, on account of my gout and other infirmities, which permitted not my going very often from Edward-street, Cavendish-square, to Bolt-court, Fleet-street, as it had been the case in my better days: Yet once, or twice every month, I never failed to go to him, and he was always glad to see the oldest friend he had in the world, which, since Mr. Garrick's death, was the appellation he honoured me with, and constantly requested me to see him as often as I could. [146]

One day; and alas! It was the last time I saw him, I called on him, not without some anxiety, as I had heard, that he had been very ill; but found him so well, as to be in very high spirits, of which he soon made me aware, because, the conversation happening to turn about Otaheite, he recollected, that Omiah[48] had once conquered me at chess; a subject, on which, whenever chance brought it about, he never failed to rally me most unmercifully, and make himself mighty merry with.

This time, more than he had ever done before, he pushed his banter on at such a rate, that at last he chased me, and made me so angry, that not being able to put a stop to it, I snatched up my hat and stick, and quitted him in a most choleric mood. The skilful translator of Tasso, who

[48] "Omai, a Tahitian [= Otaheite], arrived in England on Captain Furneaux's ship in 1774 and returned with Cook on the Resolution in 1777. He was an object of fascination to London's high society, meeting with such figures as Mrs. Thrale, Fanny Burney, and Samuel Johnson. He also had his portrait painted by Joshua Reynolds. To the proto-Romantic thinkers, he represented the noble savage, a man untainted and uncorrupted by "modern" European society.

Omai appeared in print in different literary and dramatic productions, including epistles written in his name. These often served more as critiques of London society than as insights into the experiences of a Tahitian in eighteenth-century England. He also appeared in print and on stage as a character in dramatic performances purported to be about his experiences in England and his return to his native land." ("The Voyages of Captain James Cook in the Global Eighteenth Century. Satire Based on Cook's Voyages, Part One: The Cult of Omai," 13 July 2003, http://www.library.ucla.edu/libraries/special/scweb/cookcheck5.htm.)

was a witness to that ridiculous scene, may tell, whether the Doctor's obstreperous merriment deserved approbation, or blame: but such was Johnson, that whatever was the matter in hand, if he was in the humour, he would carry it as far as he could; nor [147] was he much in the habit, even with much higher folks than myself, to refrain from sallies, which not seldom would carry him further than he intended.

Vexed at his having given me cause to be angry, and at my own anger too, I was not in haste to see him again, and he heard from more than one, that my resentment continued. Finding at last, or supposing, that I might not call on him any more, he requested a respectable friend to tell me, that he would be glad to see me as soon as possible: but his message was delivered me while making ready to go into Sussex, where I staid six full months; and then was taken to Bath, where I staid a month longer: and it was on my leaving Sussex, that the news-papers apprised me, my friend was no more, and England had lost possibly the greatest of her literary ornaments. It is more than I can tell, how this Izzard Zed came to stumble upon the information of that casual disagreement between the Doctor and me: and the use he has made of his intelligence, was just such [148] as was to be expected from Bowlean honesty, and Bowlean *averrations*.

T E X T. "The no notice of him, either in his will, or at his funeral, farther corroborates this, if other proofs were wanting."

R E M A R K. Out, out with other proofs, as *other proofs*, will always be *wanting* to *corroborate* any thing you *aver*, or may *aver*! The Doctor could not take notice of every friend he had, in his will, as the task would have been too great: greater at least, than Mr. Bowle's is likely to be, when he comes to think of his. Dr. Johnson, one of the greatest procrastinators the world could show, made his will when life was nearly exhausted, and made it at the repeated solicitations of the very gentleman, that he had charged with his last message to me. Nor is it strange, if he left out of it the name of one, who wanted nothing of what he had, and was besides far from being so great a favourite, as several others, whose names he has no more noticed, than mine. [149] Nor should I have been much pleased, if he had taken notice of us all, and left ever so small a token of his friendship to each of us, as, so far, it would have been a diminution of the little, that he bequesthed my friend Frank, who from his earliest youth served him with the greatest affection and disinterestedness. Had I been in London, no body, I suppose, would have had a right to keep me from attending the Doctor's obsequies along with other of his friends, many of whom

are my friends: but, how could I be at the funeral, being, as I was, struggling with the deep snows, that obstructed the road from Havant to Bath, when the funeral took place? Out, out with other proofs, my good master: out, out, for these two will not do!

T E X T. "In a word, the Doctor seems to have consigned him to the solitary patronage of a man, *who*, to use his own words, *if falsehood flatters his vanity*, *will not be diligent to detect it*." [150]

R E M A R K. The meaning of this last paragraph 'tis not possible for me to unravel, because, whether it be scantiness of merit, gross mismanagement, or lack of luck, I never enjoyed what is called *patronage* from any body, either in Italy, or in England: but I suppose, that my Tolondron, who knows nothing of me and my ways, has here fired a pistol in the air, to terrify the birds, lest I should catch them, and pick their feathers: and the birds in his eye, are the rich and the great, that might patronize the fellow who makes *marginal Notes*. What would I give, old as I am, that his tolondronic apprehensions were realized, by my obtaining the *solitary* (and I should not weep, if it were even the *associate*) *patronage* off some duke, or dukes, or of some lord or lords! What a delicious thing, if one, or two, or ten, or a hundred of them, to vex the fellow, would be suddenly and irresistibly seized by the whim of making me at once as opulent, as an alderman of London, or an Amsterdam-burgomaster! And [151] take this along with you that by so doing, their graces and lordships would stand a fair chance of sharing with me a few more loads of abuse, that the fellow would certainly not fail to lay upon my back in such a case. But – Hush, good folks! – Suppose I take the hint, and here give their graces and lordships an humble petition, inviting them to this meritorious double work! – Faith, 'tis a good scheme, whereof the execution ought not to be deferred a moment! Here then comes petition quite hot from the French baker's oven in Poland-street:

Ducs et Mylors, venez tous sur la brune
Trottant à moi: faisons cause commune.
Point n' écoutez mon Tolondron maudit,
Bouffi de baine, et rouge de dépit,
Qui se pendra peutêtre cette nuit,
Lorsqu' un chacun, sans noise et sans racune,
Bien se garaant de faire trop de bruit,
Chatouillera doucement sa chacune.
Vieux je le suis, Messeigneurs: j' en conviens

Mais à quel age est-on marri des biens,
Qu' amonceller veut chés-nous la fortune? [152]
Ou tôt ou tard, richesse est opportune,
Disoit Montaigne en son patois mignon,
Plus fin d' esprit que n' est pas Tolondron,
Qui moins en a, qu' un canard, qu' une pie.
Ducs et Mylors, chapeau bas je vous prie,
Dévers moi tous, sans barguigner, vénez:
Sacs de guindes à l' envi m' apportez:
Et vous aurez vers, prose, et flatterie
Le double, et plus, qu' en eut jadis mamie,
Tant que direz: cesse donc, c'est assez!
Cela tout fait, en chantant merliton,
Verre pleurant, boirai bien vos santez
En bon Bourgoigne, ou bon jus de Xérez.[49]

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[49] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 55 (1785): 760. (In the copy used, that of the New York State Library, volume 55 is split into two parts, and part 2, in which this letter appeared, also bears on the spine only the volume number "58.")
"Mr. Urban, Sept. 6

I have thought that the following words of Valerius Maximus, lib. ix. c. 2, describe pretty exactly the person of a man who has been mentioned in your two last Magazines. *Truculenta facies, violenti spiritus, vox terriblis, ora minis, et cruentis imperiis referta*. Can we hesitate a moment on whom to fix the following character? *Pieno d'ignoranza, e di scelleragine, e sealtro, e petulante, e sfacciato, e maldicente, e adulatore, e travaccio, e vigliacco, e dissoluto, e matto, e fregiato in somma d'ogni abbominevole dote*; a man full of ignorance and wickedness, sly, petulant, impudent, a slanderer and flatterer, a bully and poltroon, dissolute, fool, and, in short, adorned with every abominable endowment. See *La Frustra Letteraria di Aristarco Scannabue*, p. 287. Though your correspondent Anti-Janus, p. 608, has advanced nothing but what is to be confirmed from the 12th of his "Lettere familiari a suoi tre Fratelli," to his *three* brothers; yet that he is *unworthy of any partialit6y from Britons* is not to be too hastily credited, as some Britons, in this age of affluence, in this total exemption from taxations, have thought him deserving of a pension: and who dares to controvert the propriety of such conduct? A translator from that language, in which this deserving man boasts himself to be an adept, at the same time he arraigned him of total ignorance in it, applied to him Johnson's famous distich of

LONDON! The needy villain's gen'ral home,
The common-shore of Paris and of Rome.

An account of his great worth and learning may be seen in "Some Remarks on the extraordinary conduct of the Knight of the ten Stars," &c. for which see last Monthly Review, p. 156. With some slight variations. his Letters are trans-

GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

October 1785, p. 760.

T E X T. *Mr. Urban*. I have thought, that the following words of *Valerius Maximus* describe exactly the person of a man, that has been mentioned in your two last magazines: *Truculenta facies*, *violenti spiritus*, *vox terribilis*, *ora minis*, *et cruentis imperiis referta.*[50] [153]

R E M A R K. I must own, that the *two*, and even the *three* last magazines, have vexed me, because they have hurted my poor foot as much, as a blister clapt on the heel of my shoe: but this fourth makes me such amends, as I deem sufficient in all conscience. Here, my friends is a fourth, ragamuffin, who calls himself by the odd and characteristic appellation of J.C. that is, *John Coglione;*[51] a ragamuffin of deep thought, *par ma foi*, as he has *thought* of *an exact description* of me out of *Valerius Maximus*, whose works he has read through, and to some purpose, as you will see.

But who is *Valerius Maximus?* Says your hopeful son, just come from Chiswickschool.

Valerius Maximus, my good Dick, was a free-born Italian, and my school-fellow many years agone.[52] It happen once, that quarrelling with me about the true meaning of some verses in the *Secchia Rapita*,[53] he gave me such a thump with his clenched fist in the pit of the stomach, that I fell [154] down backwards, and broke my occiput against one of the school-forms. *Valerius Maximus*, as good-natur'd a lad as your very self, was quite sorry for what he had done, and presently helped me up, seated me on the form, ran for an egg to the master's maid, whose Christian name was *Ancilla;* opened it at the big-end, because he had been brought up in the big-endian religion; dexterously separated the white from the yolk; beat that white in a saucer with a tea-spoon, and applied it on a rag

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lated, and incorporated into his Travels. Yours, J. C.

[50] "Truculenta la cara, violento el ánimo, la voz terrible, boca amenazante y repleta de órdenes (mandatos) sanguinarias" (Alicia Monguió).

[51] Whereas Bowle only used the initials, Baretti has expanded them into the invented and vulgar name of John Coglione ("coglione," cognate to Spanish "cojón," is "testicle" in Italian).

[52] This is all a mystification of Baretti. Valerius Maximus is a Classical Latin author.

[53] A famous mock-epic poem by Alessandro Tassoni, published in 1614.

to my wound with so much care and skill, that he absolutely won my heart for ever after.

On our quitting school, *Valerius Maximus* went to the Levant with one of his papa's friends, one Colonel *Sextus Pompeius*, who had procured him a Lieutenancy in the Duke of Modena's guards: and a brave solder did he look in his regimentals. Presently after his arrival at the place of his destination, many were the battles, in which he had his share, to the great comfort of Colonel *Sextus Pompeius*, who loved [155] him dearly. 'Tis enough to say, that he contributed as much as any other Lieutenant in the army, towards dispossessing the Turks of the Holy land; and it was in one of those battles, that he pluckt off a Bassa's[54] whiskers, which he sent to Rome, there to be hung up in the church of St. Agnes, where we used to go to mass together on Sundays, when school-fellows.

Being once at Damascus, and his winter-quarters affording him leisure, he took into his fancy to write a book in Latin, wherein he collected a good many *memorable sayings and doings*[55] of several Officers of the army, in which he served, as also of many valiant Turks, though they were his country's enemies; as he admired valour, no matter by whom possessed: Nor did he forget to intersperse in his work various of the pretty pranks and frolicks of his school-fellows, among who he highly distinguished me, as one of the most forward in robbing of orchards and vineyards, whenever opportunities offered. It was in that same Latin book, quoted by the [156] learned *John Coglione*, that he delineated my character, calling me by the name of *Sulla*, which was my school-nick-name because at times I was apt to be *sullen*, especially when I had the childblains, and awkward Tolondróns trod upon my sore heels. *Valerius Maximus*' book, dedicated to one *Squire Tibby*, a Major of Grenadiers, was printed at Damascus, and soon after reprinted at Aleppo with ample notes, not by himself, like Mr. Bowle's Letter to the Divinity-Doctor; but by above forty-four of the most erudite members of the Celo-Syrian society, among whom, the illustrious *Isaac Vossius*, an Arab by birth,[56] and the celebrated *Freinshemius*, Chaplain in ordinary to the Hospodar of Antiochia.[57] The four and forty Annotators had previously extolled *Valerius*

[54] "Pasha."

[55] An allusion to the *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri IX* of Valerius Maximus.

[56] Dutch by birth, Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) was a scholar and commentator on many Greek and Latin texts. He moved to London in 1670 and lived there for the rest of his life.

[57] John Freinshemius was a Swedish seventeenth-century scholar who edit-

Maximus' work so high, that the Damascus-Printer gave a good penny for the manuscript, which was no contemptible addition to his scanty pay as a Lieutenant, and enabled him now and then to treat his brother-officers with a bottle of the best Mareotic[58] from Grand Cairo. Nor [157] did any body throughout Asia speak disrespectfully of his work, excepting one *Joe Scaliger*,[59] surnamed the *Waspish Reviewer*, a pretty clever pioneer in the enemy's army, *who seldom approved of any body's literary labours but his own*, and called *Valerius Maximus: ineptus verborum et sententiarum affectator*.[60]

From that book of Sayings and Doings, my friend *John Coglione* extracted the above passage, and clapt it at top of his letter to Mr. Urban. The right meaning of the passage is: that, when I make marginal notes on Spanish Texts or comments, I look quite dreadful: *truculenta facies*. That my spirits move along with great violence, when I rally Tolondrons: *violenti spiritus*. That my voice, when I speak Speeches about the blunders of Editors and Commentators, proves terrible. *vox terribilis:* and that, when I bid any of my pupils to come to read Don Quixote, I do it in such an imperious and threatening a tone, that there is no blockhead in the neighbourhood, but what presently bleeds, at the [158] nose: *ore minis et cruentis imperiis referta:* However, my dear Dick, take this with you, that (as Milton said to the Dutch Printer) this same *John Coglione is a crafty knave:* for, so enviously mean was he, that he suppressed the best part of the good things *Valerius Maximus* said of me in the same book, wherein he recorded, as a most faithful historian, not a few of the best legerdemains I ever atchieved, when with him at school: such as that, for instance, of drowning in the Tiber all the mice and rats I could catch; and t'other of lopping at Preneste (where we used go to spend the holidays) the tails of all the puppies and kittens of the shop-keepers of that country-town; those, especially, that belonged to a canting field-preacher, called by the rabble *The Reverend Mr. Marius*, who once flung the stump

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ed Tacitus and wrote a supplement to Livy.

[58] An Egyptian wine. "The Arva Mareotica mentioned by Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, ix. 73) produced the white grapes, from which was made the favourite beverage of Cleopatra, and mention of which is made both by Horace (*Odes*, i. 37) and Virgil (*Georgics*, ii. 91). The Arva Mareotica were the shores of Lake Moeris" (*Brewer's Phrase & Fable*, 13 July 2003, http://www.bibliomania.com).

[59] An allusion to the famous and ill-tempered humanist, Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558).

[60] "En las palabras inepto y afectado en las sentencias" (Alicia Monguió).

of a cabbage at my head, because I made game of a devout matron the old fellow had a mind to marry, as she had a very considerable jointure. Nor did *Valerius Maximus* forget my skill in giving Cornish-tugs even to the tallest boys in the school at our [159] hours of recreation, and throwing them headlong after a very short struggle; by which means I came to be so much feared by them all, that they dared not to lift a finger against me, as long as I pleased to stay at school. Art thou satisfied now about *Valerius Maximus?* But let us hear what *John Coglione* has further to say of me when my name was *Sulla.*

T E X T. "Can we hesitate a moment on whom to fix the following character?"

R E M A R K. Let us have the following character by all means, especially as it is in Italian, which is another of the languages this Poliglot-John can copy out of his books, sometimes exactly, sometimes but so so.

T E X T. "Pieno d' ignoranza e di scelleraggine, e scaltro, e petulante, e sfacciato, e maldicente, e adulatore, e bravaccio, e vigliacco, e dissoluto, e matto, e fregiato in soma d' ogni abbominevole dote." [160]

R E M A R K. I must apprise the curious reader, that he would be wrong in *hesitating a moment* to apply the best part of this character to my Tolondron, as it is made up of many scraps, that he has carefully pickt out of an Italian work of mine, and sown them together for his own wearing, as you may see by his translation; though, to say truth, I wrote those Italian words long before I knew of the need he had of them.

T E X T. "A man full of ignorance and wickedness, sly, petulant, impudent, a slanderer and a flatterer, a bully and poltroon; dissolute, fool, and, in short, adorned with every abominable endowment." See *La Frusta Letteraria*, p. 287.[61]

R E M A R K. It is not surprising, that, long before I knew this very *John Coglione*, and when I intended to paint another, I should paint him full as well, as Titian himself would have done? [161]

[61] A literary newspaper Baretti published in Venice between 1763 and 1765, full of attacks on those he considered bad authors and books. It has been called the first literary criticism in Italy.

T E X T. "Though your correspondent Anti-Janus, p. 608, has advanced nothing, but what is to be confirmed from No. 12, of his *Familiar Letters to his three Brothers*, yet, that he is unworthy of any partiality from Britons is not to be hastily credited, as some Britons in this age of affluence, in this total exemption from taxation, have thought him deserving of a pension: and who dares to controvert the propriety of such conduct?"

R E M A R K. See what *a crafty knave*, Milton would say, this Anti-Janus is, who, but t'other day, pretended he had not read my Italian Letters; and tells us now, that he has! But if John Bowle, and John Coglione are synonimous, there is no doubt, but Coglione will do what Bowle did, and *dare to controvert* for ever, what was repeatedly controverted by *Bowle* ever since the sad adventure of the *Marginal Notes*.

T E X T. "A Translator from that language, in which this deserving man boasts himself [162] to be an adept, at the same time, that he arraigned him of *total ignorance* in it, applied to him Johnson's famous distich of

> London, the *needy villain's* general home,
> The common-shore of Paris and of Rome."

R E M A R K. The temptation of calling me *a needy villain* was too strong for a Translator from the Spanish; and paltry sinners will yield to every temptation.

T E X T. "An account of his great worth and learning may be seen in *some Remarks on the extraordinary Conduct of the Knight of the ten stars, and his Italian Esquire*; for which see the last Monthly Review, p. 156."[62]

R E M A R K. I have been *to see* that Review, as I was bid; and never was any thing so fair and candid, as what is said in it about the Bowlean Performance. The honest Reviewer acknowledges himself *an incompetent*

[62] "We acknowledge ourselves incompetent judges, as to the real grounds of the dispute or quarrel, which has given rise to these strictures. If Mr. Bowle, to whom the Public hath lately been obliged for a valuable edition of Don Quixote, in the original Spanish, hath been ill-treated by Signior Baretti, or others, he hath here, we apprehend, amply avenged himself on his adversary's character and writings" (*Monthly Review* 73 [1786]: 156, as quoted by R. Merritt Cox, *The Rev. John Bowle: The Genesis of Cervantean Criticism*, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 99 [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976], p. 22, n. 22).

[163] *judge* of the question: but, says he, *if Mr. Bowle tells truth*, he has amply avenged himself on his adversary. The poor Tolondron, that never minds conditional *ifs*, eagerly bolts down the Reviewer's cautious words, as if they were a pretty compliment to him and his shilling-pamphlet. Much good may it do him. As to the Reviewer's calling Mr. Bowle's Edition *a valuable one*, I beg permission to enter my *Liberum Veto*, for reasons best known to myself and friends; and as to Captain Crookshanks' extraordinary conduct, give me but time, *Signor Coglione*, and I shall take notice of it without any doubt: nay, I had already done it, had not you and your comrades come to retard my march.

T E X T *the last*. "With some slight variations, Baretti's *Letters to his Brothers* are translated and incorporated in his English Travels."

R E M A R K. Was ever any mortal so clumsy an advocate *pro domo sua*, as this poor Tolondron! He first wishes I would give the English [164] nation a translation of my Italian Letters, then comes to inform the English nation, that I have already done it! How true the Spanish proverb, that *a liar is sooner overtaken than a lame ox*!

But the business of the day is at last over, and the four Fellows are gone back to Idemstone,[63] rather out of humour, than otherwise. Mr. John Bowle, give them a glass of small beer a-piece, for the good service they have done you: but, next time you come to me yourself, do it without your *quadruple mask* on your face, as, both you and I, begin to be rather too old for masquerades. [165]

[63] Idmiston, where Bowle lived.

SPEECH THE SEVENTH.

Quidquid cogitas vanum est,
quidquid loqueris falsum est,
quidquid improbas bonum est,
quidquid probas, malum est,
quidquid agis stultum est.[64]

Petrarch.

Pardon me, good Mr. Bowle, if, in the two preceding speeches I have proved so incivil to your Tolondronship, as only to speak to you incidentally; and attribute my want of manners to your four gentlemen of the straw in the shoes, who proved so troublesome, and engrossed so much of my talk, that I had scarce time to think of your Tolondronship all the while. It took up two long chatterations before I could force them to forbear telling of lies; and it was at last out of mere lassitude they told no more, and went away hurly burly, as if the devil had been in them. Let us therefore, you and I, resume the interrupted subject of your great [166] knowledge, and my great ignorance, and endeavour finally to settle so problematical a point to our mutual satisfaction, that we may never more be of quite opposite opinions, as, to my great vexation, we have hitherto been, and understand each other better for the future, now that we know each other better than we ever did.

Your Tolondronship has the goodness to inform me, that the Spaniards have *two Tragicomedies and some interludes in prose*: and by producing such a solid piece of erudition, quite unknown to me before, you pretend to have entirely demolished the assertion in my travels, that *all the Spanish Comedies I ever read or heard of, are all in verse.*

Your demolition, however, seems to me as yet not so entire as your fancy, because it so happens, that *Tragicomedies* and *Interludes* are not quite the same thing, that *Comedies*. But as you may reply, that this is a mere subterfuge, and that different appellations change not the intrinsic qualities of dramas, and may insist, that interludes and tragicomedies are tantamount to [167] comedies, I must inform you in my turn, lest you slip thus nimbly through my fingers, that, several years ago, here in London, I bought, and read, a collection of Spanish comedies, that was comprised

[64] "What you believe, is vanity; what you say is false; what you think bad is good; what you think good is bad, what you do is stupid." The quote has not been located and may be an invention of Baretti.

in no less than six and forty quarto volumes, each volume containing twelve of them exactly; the first volume entitled: *Primera Parte de Comedias sacadas de sus verdaderos Originales*, printed at Madrid in 1613, and beginning with a comedy called *La Baltasara*; the last volume, oddly entitled *Primavera numerosa de muchas harmonias lucientes*, printed in 1679, and ending with a comedy called *El Marqués de Cigarral*:[65] and here, by way of parenthesis, let me tell you, it was from this very collection chiefly, that I got the notion Spanish comedies were all *in verse*, as not one in the six and forty volumes is *in prose*. Then, when I came back from Madrid, I brought with me a good number of single comedies, I had bought there for "un real de vellon cada una"; *Anglicé*, *three-pence a piece*, and had them bound in 16 or 17 quarto volumes, ten in each volume, be[168]sides such a number of *Entremeses*; that is, *Interludes*, *Entertainments*, and *Farces*, that, when bound up together, formed eight or nine pretty thick octavo volumes, every title *in verse*. I was besides possessed once, but gave them away, of the comedies of *Don Agustin Moreto* in two volumes quarto, and think they amounted to more than twenty, each one *in verse:* and you know, or ought to know, that *Agustin Moreto*, in the general opinion of the Spaniards, holds the third place among their dramatic poets, the first being occupied by *Lope de Vega*, and the second by *Calderon de la Barca*. Then my two brave disciples, innocent cause of those *marginal notes*, that have kept you this long while from eating with a good appetite, have read with me (but the book is theirs) some of the seventy-three comedies, and the forty-six Feasts (*Fiestas* is the Spanish word) contained in eleven thick volumes quarto, all written by *Calderon de la Barca* aforesaid, printed in Madrid 1760: and, with the same two young gentlemen, as well as without them, I have also read a [169] good number of *Autos Sacramentales* by the same *Calderon* and others, every thing *in verse*, and not *in prose:* and you know, or ought to know, that *Fiestas* means, comedies composed for the private entertainment of the king and his court, and *Autos* means, sacred allegorical plays; the *Fiestas* gone out of fashion this long while, and the *Autos* permitted no longer on the Spanish stage. All the comedies and other theatrical performances of *Lope de Vega*, that I ever read, which are a pretty many, are all *in verse*; and so are those of *Don Antonio de Solis*, printed in quarto, Madrid 1681; the very man, that wrote the well-known

[65] A collection with this title, that ends with the work mentioned, by Castillo Solórzano, is found on reel 11 of the microfilm collection *Spanish Drama of the Golden Age*, based on the collection of the University of Pennsylvania and available from Primary Source Microfilm (http://www.galegroup.com/psm/, 3 November 2003).

History of Mexico, and father to the archbishop of Seville, latterly dead above a hundred years old. I hope besides, whatever you may have slily insinuated to the contrary, in your letter to your Doctor, that you give me credit for having read even more of *Cervantes'* comedies, than are contained in the Madrid edition of 1749: and you may be sure, that they are all *in verse*. I have likewise read a number of [170] *Loas*, *Zarzuelas*, *Sainetes*, and other petty dramas of the Spaniards, and not one of them did I ever see *in prose*, as they are all *in verse*. So are the Comedies of *Juan Bautista Diamante*, numerous-enough: so those of *Fernando de Zarate*, of *Luis de Belmonte*, of *Don Antonio Martinez*, and of *Don Roman*, who was what they call, *Montero de Espinosa*; and here, Jack, you may run to some Dictionary, to see what *Montero de Espinosa* means. All *in verse* are those of *Don Juan de Zavaleta*, and those of Don Francisco de Rojas, or *de Roxas*, thus written both ways in different editions. All *in verse*, likewise are those of *Juan Matos Fregoso*, of *Diego Ximenes de Enciso*, of *Melchor de Leon*, of the three Doctors *Mira de Mescua*, *Felipe Godinez*, and *Perez de Montalvan*; as also those of *Juan de Vera y Villaroel*, and of a great many more, with whose names I could choak you, were I as fond as you, of choaking Christians with names of outlandish Authors. Upon a very moderate computation, I will venture [171] to say, that, in the course of my life, I have read twelve hundred Spanish comedies; and I will take my oath of it, that I never met with one, but what was *in verse*. Ask me not if I liked them, all, lest you force me to say, that there is not one in every hundred I would be the author of, not even excepting those of *Lope de Vega*, and *Calderon de la Barca*. The only two, as I still remember, that pleased me, were *El Familiar sin Demonio* by *Gaspar de Avila*, and *No hai bien sin ageno daño by Antonio Sigler de Huerta*. I don't recollect at present, that I liked any other throughout. Invention, plot, wit, and humour, many of them have here and there, *Moreto* and *Solis especially*: nor do many and many want true and singular characters, which would appear to great advantage, were they *habillez á la Corneille*, as a few of *Don Guillen de Castro's* have been, several of whose Comedies I have read, that I may not forget them. Speaking, however, in general, the Spanish Comedies, in spite of the feeble efforts made in my days by *Don Tomaso de Yriarte*, by *Don Agustin* [172] *Cordero*, by the witty Countess *del Carpio*, by the Marquis *de Palacios*, and by half a dozen more that I could name, the Spanish Comedies (and *Comedia* in Spanish, like *Play* in English denominates both *Tragedy* and *Comedy*) suit not my taste much, though I have passed many mornings and evenings in the reading of them. But what was it to me, their being good, bad, or indifferent? I read them not with a view to learn from them the art of Comedy-making; but only to encrease my stock of Spanish

language: and it was out of them, to tell it here in another parenthesis, that I got above three thousand words [as I said in my *Spanish Dissertation*] not registered in the Academicians' Dictionary, which I have added in the margins of that same Dictionary, to be sent, after I am dead, to their Academy, as I am sure, that an Exemplary, thus augmented, will prove of good use, if ever the Members of it come to give us a second Edition of their Predecessors' Work. Nor have I added only to my Exemplary *three thousand words, and more*; but have also made *Mar*[173]*ginal Notes* to many thousands of their *Words*, *Definitions*, *Etymologies*, *Examples*, etcetera; and I have likewise taken notice in the same way of their *Prolegomena*, telling my opinion freely of every thing I disliked in their Six Volumes, with no more scruples than if they had been so many *Jack Bowles*, which, thank heaven, is far from being the case, because such Jacks are mighty scarce all the world over.

Come now you, Tolondron tolondronissimo, come to tell the by-standers, that the Spaniards, contrary to my assertion, have *Comedies in prose*; and display your vast erudition, by talking (out of Don Quixote and other Works of Cervantes) of *Tragiccomedy* split in two, and of three or four *Farces*, never exhibited on the Spanish Stage, the first *all in prose*, the others *partly in prose, and partly in verse*. A *blanca* for your Tragicomedy: three or four *ardites* for your *three or four* Farces; and twelve hundred *doblones* for my *twelve hundred* Comedies, Fiestas, Autos Sacramentales, etcetera! My Comedies, Fiestas and Autos, have furnished me with such a store of [174] words and phrases, that with many of them I have been able to enrich the margins of the great Spanish Dictionary: but, what have your lank Farces, and your puny Tragicomedy, furnished you with? Wretched things! With all their efforts, they could not even help you to find out *a pun* in Don Quixote: Ay! They could not even help you to the lady-like word *diantre*, to the pretty repetition of *assì assì*, and to the mouth-filling phrase *de cabo en rabo!* Away with your paltry trumpery! away with your *Celestina*, with your *Juez de los divorcios*, your *Guarda Cuidadosa*, and your other small ware! Nor dare you evermore to compare your Pedler-box to my Store-house, that contains half the riches of the Spanish Stage! Was ever such a Tolondron, that comes to make a parade of a few tooth-picks, when I can shew him Norway-masts in plenty! I have no patience with such senseless Tolondronissimos!

You further come to tell me, *Senor Licenciado Bowle* (I have a good mind to make a Spanish Doctor of you, though [175] you are but a poor *Gorrón*) that you have apprised Doctor Percy of my having given in my travels a defective and erroneous account of the Spanish literature. But pray, you monster of nonsense, you *Gorrón de mis pecados!* How could I

help that account being inexact and incomplete, if it was but a sketch, such as a poor traveller could give in a hurry?

I never asserted in any verbal, manuscript, or printed work, that my account was a good account; nor has Doctor Percy, or any other reader of my travels, taken it, but for what it was; that is, a little chit-chat about Spanish literature; an effort, made *en passant*, to induce people to suspect, that the Spaniards have in their language something else, besides Don Quixote; a tap on the shoulder to those, who impudently affirm (they are not few) that in Spain every kind of literature is totally neglected, and has always been. Before I went to that country myself, I had read, in English, in French, and in Italian, more accounts of Spain, than I have fingers on my [176] hands, and found almost nothing else in them, but long descants, no less ridiculous than false, no less petulant than insipid, of Spanish idleness, Spanish ignorance, Spanish superstition, Spanish beggary, Spanish dereliction of all that is good. During my short residence at Madrid, the second time I was there especially, I got notions of a different kind, because I was so lucky, as to be introduced in what they call the best companies, where I could pay at sight my little bills of talk, without borrowing from the Italian or French chat-lenders, as most foreigners are forced to do, that go there with a single *como està usted* in their purse. There it was, that I made my humble bow to the *Senior* Don _ _ _ *Campomanes*;[66] who deigned to converse with me, while his sprightly daughter *Bibiana*, then a bride, (I shall never forget her black eyes) was nimbly dancing Fandangos and Seguidillas with her *Esposo*. There I shook hands more than once with *Father Sarmiento*[67] in his own apartment, three or four pair of stairs[68] up in his convent, and even [177] helped him to feed a multitude of sparrows, that visited him every morning. There I had once or twice a glimpse of *Father Flores*[69] and a few more *Reverendissimos*, that used pretty often to call on the good *Sarmiento*. There I walked more than once in the King's Botanic garden, about half a league out of Madrid, betwixt *Don Bermudes* the botanist, and *Don Domingo Venier*, a learned Navarran, and *Ayuda de Camara* to his Majesty, both willing to turn me into a pretty botanist, but that I cannot remember the names of plants, when they are not of the culinary kind. There I dined twice, if not three

[66] The economist and statesman Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes.

[67] Martín Sarmiento, the *ilustrado* Benedictine.

[68] In the original, "pair of pairs."

[69] Possibly the historian Josef Miguel de Flores, *Secretario perpetuo* of the Real Academia de la Historia and editor of the chronicles of Enrique IV and Álvaro de Luna, published by Sancha.

times, at the geographer *Don Tomaso Lopez*, who showed me many Maps he had himself made, of various provinces and districts of Spain.[70] There, at *Count Gazola's*, General of the artillery, I paid my respects to several engineers, mineralogists, mathematicians, and other such people, who frequently surrounded him, and formed such entertaining company, as I shall never see the like for the future: nor do I, [178] as yet, forget thee, most courteous and most amiable *Abate Romero*, with whom I have so often wished to talk English again of the present state of the Arts and Sciences in thy country! There I went to see the Royal Academy of Painting and that of the Spanish language, and exchanged words with several of their respective members. In Madrid, at Talavera la Reina, Toledo, Guadalaxara, Zaragozza, and in divers parts of Catalonia, I gave running looks to several manufacturies of cloth and divers other things, and heard from divers creditable persons, that, at Valencia they work above three thousand looms in manufacturing silks only, besides a great many, that they have for clothes and silks at Segovia, and other towns, which I had not time or means to go to. I was going to omit, that I saw in many towns many libraries and booksellers' shops, largely furnished with books, many printing-offices abounding with types, that had good eyes, and many hospitals richly endowed, and well attended. If you will [179] form a judgment to what a perfection the arts of paper-making and type casting for the use of printers, has been carried, give but a look to the translation of Sallust, made by one of the Royal Sons, and to the Academicians' quarto and octavo editions of Don Quixote; and tell me then, whether the Spaniards, in that particular, have reason to envy Baskerville, or any other English or French type-caster, or paper-maker. In one word, as in a hundred, I saw with my own eyes, that in Spain there was something more, than superstition, ignorance, idleness, beggary, and dereliction of every thing, as many careless or disingenuous rascals would make me believe before I went there myself. I will not say by all this, that Spain is as yet, upon the whole, so far and so generally advanced in arts and sciences, as France, or England are. I will only say, that her sons are hard at work this very day, and that they take large strides to rival both the English and the French in every thing. My time for viewing and examining so many ob[180]jects, and for ascertaining all the accounts given me of what I could not see, was but short, for the eternal reason, that my purse was short likewise: and, as I had a long journey to come back, I did not choose to run the risk of remaining in pawn for my reckoning at some inn or other on the road: so that, if in my Travels

[70] The famous geographer, with whom Bowle corresponded.

through Spain (made up of observations put together in the two journeys I took to that country) I told but a few of those many things I had seen, or heard of, you might as well have conjectured, that I dared not expatiate, for fear of some cursed mistake or inexactness, that might then bring me to shame, and under the lash of censure, either there or here. Of the Spanish Literature in particular, I said but little, and that little with fear and trembling, as I knew but little of it, which, to my sorrow, is still the case, and will surely be as long as I live, for want of books and conversation, that I may not say, for want of sufficient brains. And you, great Tolondron, you, that have never seen fifty Spa[181]nish books on a shelf, you, that cannot utter one poor sentence of Spanish; you, that have as much brains, as a flower-pot, that I may not say some other pot; you, Mr. John Bowle, go audaciously to tell Doctor Percy, that my Account of Spanish Literature is *imperfect and erroneous*? You want to persuade him, that my knowledge on this head, is nothing, or next to nothing, when especially compared to yours? Oh the mighty Hispanist, that destroys at once the whole of my poor Spanish learning, as the *Sabio Muñaton* did that of Don Quixote, by turning it all into a cloud of smoke! But, Jack! A word in your ear. Have you any idea, any conception, any clear notion, of what *an Account of Spanish Literature* must be, not to be *an imperfect and erroneous* one? Do you know, that, beginning, as one ought, an Account of the Literature from the eighth century, when almost all the knowledge of Europe was centered in Spain, down to the times of the great Don Alfonso; then down to Ferdinand, Charles [182] the Fifth, and Philip the Second; then down to this present day; do you know, I say, that *such an Account* is possibly out of the reach, I will not say, of any single man, but of a great many men of the largest size of knowledge, and of the most indefatigable perseverance in laborious searches? *An Account of Spanish Literature not imperfect, not erroneous!* Poor fellow! An army of such Bowles as thee, though it were as numerous as that of Xerxes, would be far from sufficient for such an undertaking, which would be *a great undertaking* indeed, as thou callest thy wretched *Comento!* Be but so condescending, you immense Tolondron, as to regale the public with the nice dainties you regaled Doctor Percy with; and, when I have tasted, or but smelt them, I will give you and him, I am sure, many and many cogent reasons, and in much more convincing words than yours, whether they are to be served at his, or any body's table, or flung in the dust-hole, for the scavenger to fetch, and inform you to boot, [183] whether you can cope with *Don Antonio Joseph Cavanilles* or only rank with *Monsieur Misson: Don Antonio*, a wise and well informed fellow: the *Monsieur* a silly and impertinent puppy. But, why should I degrade even that French puppy, by put-

ting such a Tolondron as you upon a par with him? When *Misson* speaks of Spain he is a puppy, God knows; and an insufferable one too: but, on other subjects, he knows tolerably well what he is about, and has at least a good language, as well as lively style: but you, when speaking of Spain, or of any other imaginable thing, what are you, but a filthy conglomeration of ignorance, dulness, forwardness, presumption, malignity, and nonsense? You, John Bowle, you dare to think yourself equal to the task of writing an Account of Spanish Literature, or of any Literature! And that, not an imperfect, nor an erroneous one; but such, as to deserve to be read by Doctors and Bishops? *Dii Immortales!*[71] In what a world do we live! Upon my credit, that I am ready to swear like a [184] trooper, and throw both my slippers into the Thames, or the Severn! But let me compose my spirits, too much agitated by such tolondronic vaunts and tolondronical bragging. Let me take a large pinch of snuff, that I may grow so calm again, as to be able to pursue this important subject to my reader's satisfaction and contentment, which is what at present I have most at heart. But, my pinch is up, and half of it in the right, t'other half in the left nostril, and I am sure I shall now be angry no more: therefore, let us go on, chatting and gossiping, like two old Dowagers on an evening walk through Kensington Garden in the month of May.

Now, Mr. John Bowle, I tell you calmly and in good humour, that with regard to Doctor Percy, if you mean him, as I suppose you do, that actually adorns the Bishops' bench in Ireland, I declare to you, and to every body living, that I decline not, nor ever shall, any judgment passed by him on me, while reading your acute Remarks on my obtuse Account of Spa[185]nish Literature. I have had, and not seldom, the honour of sitting elbow to elbow with his Lordship, and have as good an opinion, possibly a larger idea than you have, or may have, of his extensive knowledge, powers of criticism, and good taste in literary matters; nor do I want on these several heads the last information from Mr. John Bowle, or any other good soul. I question however, whether he has not lost his time, when he read both my Account and your Remarks, if he has been so patient, as to go through both. As to my Account, I am pretty confident, that it is not worth a button: but let us, as I said, give but a poor peep at your Remarks, and we will soon see, whether, or no, they are worth a button and a half, or only half a button. That you had scribbled some nonsense, or other, about my account of Spanish literature, I heard long ago: but, as I cared not a fig for it, I should have forgotten it totally, had you not put me in mind of it. Why did you not do the same with

[71] O immortal gods!

regard [186] to my marginal notes, and forgotten them likewise? Why did you go about Hampshire and Wiltshire, abusing me so cordially as you did, which procured you the honour of my naming you in my Spanish dissertation? Strange, that you should think yourself possessed of the exclusive right of abusing me about two counties, and scribble besides whatever you choose about me and my doings; yet be so violently angry at my making *marginal notes* on a work of yours, and dropping a characteristic epithet on your pate, on account of your adopting blindly some absurd orthographic notions! Where the devil, Master mine, is your equity in this proceeding? What claim have you to be totally exempted from the law of retaliation?

Those travels of mine, I find, by your industry in noting down several scores, or several millions, of errors and faults in them, that they stick cursedly in your gizzard, though they be now nearly forgotten by all that read them *in diebus illis*:[72] [187] but little good, I think, will you do yourself, by going to proclaim at Charing-Cross, or at the Royal-Exchange, that in November the 25th, 1779; that is, long before the date of my *marginal notes*, "*a sensible friend* of yours wrote you word that he had *no great opinion* of me, that my travels through Spain are *full of errors and mistakes*; and that when in Italy, he had frequent opportunities of experiencing, how surprisingly *second rate Italians* are warped by prejudices against the *Oltramontani*."

I will not, Mr John, set about guessing, who that *sensible friend* of yours is, with whom you freely communicated your meagre conceptions about me and my works, at a time, that I never thought, or could think of your works, or of you, having seen you but once at a tavern, and never heard of your name before or after, until I saw you again at Captain Crookshanks's. Sure I am, if I chose, that I could point my finger at that *sensible friend*, and say, *Thou art the man*, because you [188] have been so indiscreet (not to say worse) as to give me sufficient hints to make me guess right. But, why should I guess, and make a stir about it? I had written a book, and I had printed it. He had, of course, an undubitable right to tell you and any other body, in his daily conversation, or in his letters, whatever he thought about my book: and none, but Tolondrons, will ever deny any body the exertion of such a right, which is one of the most lawful, that men can have. Flatter yourself not, however, that the gentleman will be much obliged to you for your forgetting yourself so far, as to give the public and me, that part of his letter to you, which has now made more than one, masters of an opinion, that he intended you should

[72] In their days.

keep to yourself. Mr. John Bowle, thou hast here play'd a trick to thy *sensible friend*, that is not a pleasing trick: and, as I am fond of ending disputes by wagers, I will lay thee a goose to a gander, that if ever he reads thy letter to thy Doctor, he reprobates thee for a dangerous correspon[189]dent, that will, when seized by a mad fit, betray the secret of his friends to any body, be the consequence what it will. But, to leave this matter to be adjusted between you and him, I will come to say this, that, if I have not *his good opinion*, I am sorry for it; and this is all, that I can say on his first paragraph: yet, with regard to my travels, I will repeat it again, that, no doubt, I have committed, as he says, *errors and mistakes* in them, through misapprehension, or misinformation; not through wilfulness, of which I do acquit myself with a good conscience. However, that my travels are *full* of errors and mistakes, if he will permit me to say it, I cannot agree with him quite, and will make so free with him, as to tell him, that his word *full*, I take as a mere epistolary word, that ran off his pen unawares, instead of *some*, *few*, or any other monosyllable or dissyllable of a more gentle meaning.

To inform him and you of the reason I have for not entirely acquiescing in his verdict, and for thinking somewhat better [190] of that work of mine, than the word *full* comes to, I must tell you and him a story, or to say better, an anecdote, that in all probability will delight you as much, as any you ever heard to the advantage of Doctor Johnson, from the Sieur Boswell, or Squire Tyer. The anecdote is as follows.

One day at Madrid, the second time I was there, while I was at dinner at the young count Rubion's, who was at that time Sardinian Minister there, a travelling berlin stopt at his gate with a gentleman in it, whose sudden and unexpected appearance surprised and pleased me much. 'Twas Count Scarnasis, I know not how many years embassador from the court of Turin to that of Lisbon, who was returning home from his embassy. On his entering the dining-room, and after having gone through the usual ceremonies on such occasions with Count Rubion, he spied me among his guests, and presently knew me, though we had not seen each other a good long while. "What! Old friend [191] Baretti? Lo! Here is thy book — and drew it out of his great-coat-pocket. — I have had it in my hands all along the road from Lisbon here. I have crossed the towns thou hast crossed; lodged at the inns thou hast lodged; spoke to many thou spokest to; enquired after thy supper at *Yelvas*, where thou didst splice thy English cake for Paolita and the other dancers; asked of *Tia Morena*, who still lives at *Meaxaras*, after thy feast of the *quartillos:* in short, made it a point to probe thy veracity as a traveller to the very bottom; and the devil is in it, but every syllable thou hast written is true, as truth itself."

I need not tell you, good John, that the book Count Scarnasis produced, was the Account of my Travels in Italian, which {as you have observed} is the same I translated afterwards into English. Count Scarnasis after that day, has been in England as Envoy Extraordinary: then went to Paris as Embassador; and there he is still. Your *sensible friend*, I have some notion, knows him; and if he does not, [192] he may, by means of some friend, easily come to the truth of this fact, in case he should doubt it, which I am pretty confident he will not. But you, Mr. John, do you really think, that I can now allow with a good conscience of his epistolary word *full*, as if it had been the production, not of epistolary hurry, but of a long and serious examination? Do you think, that, as you have done, I must swallow it, as the Spaniards say, *a trágala perra?* Whip me, if I do, after such an unsought for and honourable testimonial in my favour by a man of rank, dignity, and knowledge! and, as to what your sensible friend said about *second rate* Italians, far from falling to loggerheads with him about it, as you expect, I will lay you another wager of a turkey to a pigeon, that he is right, knowing myself of my own knowledge, that even *first rate* Italians are *surprisingly warped by prejudices* against *Foreigners*, which is what he means by *Oltramontani*. But do you cross yourself at that, Master John? Indeed, if you do, you know not as yet, that [193] two and two make four! I can vouch, without the least fear of contradiction, that there are many first, second, and *third rate* folks in Italy, as well as in any other country, *surprisingly warped by prejudices* against all countries but their own: and God forbid I should be so simple, on such a score, as to except the English. John Bull and I have been most intimate friends these many years, and I know enough of his *prejudices and warpings!* But, as they chiefly arise from his native simplicity, I do love him the better for them, especially as he happens to be quite right on a few important points, foolishly contested him by those *prejudiced and warped Foreigners*, who have only met him in the streets, or in St. George's-fields, when he happened to be fuddled. I will tell you more, Mr. Bowle, if you will listen. Do you know, that, under different appellations, there are a great many branches of Mr. *John Bull's* family scattered in every country under the sun, of which every member has plenty of *warpings and prejudices?* But, who [194] cares for the prejudices and warpings of the John Bulls of any country? As for me, to tell you my secret, I make game of them all, when I hear them seriously talk of their individual and indubitable superiority over each other, which is the topic, whereon they are constantly willing to expatiate. And why do I laugh at them? Because that I love the great varieties this world exhibits, which would prove too insipid without them; and because I have long adopted as an irrefragable truth the

French saying, that, *même en Normandie il y a des honnétes Gens*. Forget not to inform of these my odd notions your *sensible Friend*, if ever he comes again in your way: and next time you write to your Divinity-Doctor, give the world a few of your wise remarks upon these same odd notions of mine.

After having tried to make me angry at *your sensible Friend*, you awkwardly endeavour to soothe and appease me, by telling me of a very pretty thing said of me by the *most pleasing Author*, as you call him, *of the* [195] *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne:* but, for all this unusual piece of flattery, *mihi obtundere not potes palpum*.[73] That *most pleasing Author* whom I know to be the *Abbé de la Porte*, concerned once with *La Baumelle* in writing the *Volteriana*, many people pretend, never was in Spain; but compiled his *Nouveau Voyage* in Paris, out of mine and other people's travels. Whether this be true, or not, I cannot as yet affirm, because, as yet, I have not read this work. But, true, or not true; and I would not give a coss-lettuce for the difference, I am vastly obliged to you for telling me, that he allows me *de l' esprit:* a gratuitous present, not frequently made to foreigners by the French, who, in general, keep so fast *l' esprit* to themselves, and consider it so much as their sole property, that a poor fellow born out of France must congratulate himself as transcendently fortunate, when he obtains from any *Monsieur* so much of that pickle, as may occasionally render a dish palatable, when served at any table throughout those parts of the [196] universe, that are not included in his king's dominions. True it is, that the *pleasing Author*, a little too Gallically, denies *truth* to my Spanish Travels: but, through I may irreluctantly submit to his opinion, when he thinks me a man of *esprit*, I admit not of his assertion, *that I have not linked wit to truth* throughout my work to the best of my power: and, whatever he may say about *Aranjuez*, I wish you to tell him, next time you see him, that my description of that place is as *true*, as it is true your name is *John*, and your nickname *Tolondron*. As to his affirming, that, both in England and France, there are finer situations, than that of *Aranjuez*, I answer, that 'tis always a mere matter of opinion, whether this and that spot is prettier, than this and that other spot: and so, Peter may prefer *Versailles* to *Aranjuez*, and Paul may prefer *Aranjuez* to *Versailles*, and Andrew may prefer *Windsor* to both, without any of them committing a mortal sin, and without injuring the smallest leaf, that grows on [197] any of their numerous trees. However, I never said, that *the situation Aranjuez* was a *finer situation*, than any in France, or in England. I only described the house and gardens in the most exact manner I could: and, if *Monsieur l' Abbé de*

[73] "A mi con adularme no podrás debilitarme" (Alicia Monguió).

la Porte has described both better than myself, that only proves he has more *esprit*, than I have: and you know, that I am not obliged in law, or in conscience, to have more *esprit* than a Frenchman. I will only remark, that the quotation added to the Frenchman's words by another hand, is a knavish quotation, because the worthless dog, who put that ferret to the Frenchman's cane, suppressed the second half of my words, as it is his constant method never to act fairly: and you may possibly give a guess at the man that I mean, and whose name I suppress.

To put an end, if possible, to your mighty fuss about my *Travels*, now buried in the dust, I must tell you another pretty story: a thing I am fond of doing, when [198] I talk to children, or to tall folks, that have childish intellects. The story is as follows:

Two or three days after the publication of those same Travels here in London, a bag was left for me with my Landlady, together with a short note in Spanish, wherein I was told, that "Doña Paula sent her compliments to me, and that, having found, by my Account of Spain, that I disliked not the chocolate drank at her house, when in Madrid, she made free to send me a few *bollos*, etcetera:" and those few *bollos* filled that same bag, which was a bag of a very decent dimension.

You may well think, Mr. John, that, on receiving a present so rudely made, I presently wanted to know, who this imposing *Doña Paula* was, that saucily dared to personate her, whom I had left in the capital of Spain. Actuated by this curiosity, I set immediately about inquiring after her, fully resolved to find her out, that I might shame her for her assuming [199] the name of another Lady, as I knew for sure, that Doña Paula was not in England. After a most inquisitive search, I fixed my suspicions upon *Don Francisco de Escarano*, a worthy Knight of Santiago, who was then Secretary to the Spanish Embassy, and wrote him word by *Povoleri*, who went often to read Italian with him, that, wanting some explanation of some passages in the Book of *Frai Gerundio*, which I did not well understand, and having heard, that he was a man of literature, and an admirer of that book, I begged of him he would permit me any morning to wait on him, to shew him those passages, and learn of him their meanings. *Don Francisco* presently appointed the next morning for our interview, and I waited on him accordingly with my book in my paw. While he was busily employed in explaining my real, or pretended difficulties, without the least suspicion of the trick I was meditating, chocolate was brought me, as I expected; and at the very first sip I exclaimed [200] with a significant shake of the head: *"Jesus, y que parecido este chocolate al de mi Señora Doña Paula!* Oh, how like is this chocolate to that of Lady Paula"! *Mal superchero,* said he, with a hearty laugh, you have caught me in your

trap! But, for all your *Frai Gerundio*, and your roguery, I give you thanks in *Doña Paula's* name and mine, for having dared to speak honestly of our country, which is what no travel-writer has ever done before you.

Having now been most impertinently prolix about one of my performances, it would be insufferable to talk of the rest, which, along with that, you promise soon to butcher. But, before you set about so useful and meritorious a work, let me, good Doctor Tolondron, humbly deprecate your wrath, by telling you ingenuously, that, whatever I have written in the long course of my life, was all done out of neces[si]ty, rather than choice. Having no houses, no lands, no money in the stocks, no annuity, no salary, nothing in the world to live upon, as presently after the death of my father [201], I gamed away at Faro the little he had left me, I was forced to have recourse to my wits; and thus turned author in spite of my teeth, to keep them a-going. But, as want was incessantly pushing and pushing at my back, whatever I scribble was always done in a most confounded hurry: and it is a miracle, greater, I think, than any St. Anthony ever made, how I came to get bread and cheese, and now and then a beef stake, by my ill-chopt performances. Conscious of the numberless and supreme faults and imperfections of all my poor doings that way, I wish now; and, to my sorrow, I wish it in vain, that every page I ever sent to the press in Italy, or in England, were at bottom of the sea: and, by the bye, I am pretty sure the time is not far, that you will likewise form some wish or other very similar to mine, with regard to your own performances. After this declaration, drawn from the very core of my heart, I give you most ample leave to massacre all my literary offspring, these present speeches [202] not excepted: yet depend upon it, Mr. John Bowle, that, for one fault or mistake you may find out in any one of my publications, I will discover twenty, and even twenty-two, be your sagacity ever so quick-eyed, and your malignity ever so alert; and of this I will lay you a third bet of a fillet of veal to a pork-chop. I say not this, Mr. John, with a view to check your eagerness, or obstruct your diligence in your new *great undertaking*; but, on the contrary, to whip and spur you on, by presenting to your fancy probable hopes of success. Let me, however, caution you, Mr. John Bowle, if you write your new *great undertaking* in English, to do it in better English than that of your Letter to the *Divinity-Doctor*, and better than that of your four silly scraps to *Mr. Urban*.[74] I caution you likewise, with your good permission, to bring all, or almost all, your meanings in your text, weaning yourself of that nasty custom of making the bottoms of your pages heavier than their tops, by

[74] An allusion to the four letters to *Gentleman's Magazine*.

fixing to each of them those [203] pieces of lead, that you term *notes and quotations*. In that letter of yours to your doctor, though it is but a foolish shilling-pamphlet, you have no less than *fifty-eight* of those heavy *quotations and notes*, all numbered — 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, down to 58, and each enclosed in a parenthesis, (1) (2) (3) and so forth, as if they were all cameos and intaglios, to be set to so many rings of gold. Forbear so tolondric a manœuvre as much as possible, for the reason, that not one in a hundred readers, cares to be disturbed by references at bottom of the pages, while in the extasy of reading such sublime works, as your Tolondronship has produced, and may produce. Forbear likewise, if you can, that other lousy trick of your multitudinous *See's: See* Aldrete, *See* Nebrixa, *See* Covarruvias, *See* Ribadeneira, *See* the Frusta, *See* the Travels, *See* the Gentleman's Magazine, *See* the Critical Review, *See* the Monthly Review, *See* the Devil and his Dam! I would by no means have you reject every individual [204] *See* in the world: that is not my intention. But, I take it to be a very great piece of impertinence, to be eternally plaguing people that read, with that saucy imperative *See*, as if they had no other business in the world, but to verify every tittle of your nonsense: besides that, it bespeaks ill-breeding to reproach a reader in each page with his beggary, if he happens to be one of those, that have not a duplicate of each book in your library. Try likewise to write your own thoughts in your own words, rather than copy words and thoughts from others, as you have so often done hitherto: and, whenever you shall mention people, living people especially, say of them what you think yourself, not what *Valerus Maximus* or *Fabius Maximus*, or any other *Maximus* said or thought; because it is my opinion, that none of those old gentlemen ever thought or said much of you, of me, or of any other man living.

To recommend fairness and candour in every thing you write, and beg of you [205] to have always strict truth before your eyes, I know would be absurd, as well as hopeless. I might as well beg of you an addition to my pension out of your own income: and I know besides, that every writer cannot be possessed of every possible perfection. Some desideratum or other every writer is always in want of, that he never can attain, be his industry ever so vigorous, his drudgery ever so indefatigable. Truth, Jack, truth is the grand desideratum you will ever want in your literary performances, if by your past I may judge of your present doings: and on this point you are exactly like me, that am *capable of saying any thing*, as you have acutely observed. However, sticking to truth is but a trifling accomplishment: and you, possessed as you are, of many others of much greater magnitude and importance, you need not blush at the willful and constant want of that: Therefore the best thing you can do, is

to go on in the old track, like a Spanish mule, putting your dirty hoofs exactly in the same [206] holes, in which you put them before. Repeat then, and without stammering in the least, that, besides the already mentioned, I have stolen half a dozen watches more, and all of gold, though to your positive knowledge they be but of pinchbeck: and to make people swallow the assertion easily, say, that I have *related* myself the story in the hearing of half a dozen worthy gentlemen; only taking care not to call any of them to witness your words, for fear of contradiction. Say again and again, that I am an envious and malignant toad, when I set about making *marginal Notes*: through you may know for sure, it is chance, that brings me to make them for the instruction of my young disciples, or for my own pastime. Say, in a tone of fulmination, that I know not a jot of any thing whatsoever, and never shall, were I to spend all my future mornings at my desk, as I have customarily done these many years, but in town and country, and as I actually do, until the maid, or the bell, calls me to dinner. Cry out au[207]daciously, that I am a mere flatterer, a mere sycophant, a mere parasite to the great and the rich, witness my past and present opulence. In short, milky John, say and repeat undauntedly, and without any bashful hesitation, whatever detraction may suggest, and wickedness can invent, with the sole precaution of involving your abstruse meanings in mysterious words, and oracular phraseology, for fear of accidents: and the Devil is in you, if in a short time you do not acquire as great a name, and as extensive a reputation, as Zoilus, Herostratus, Cartouche, or any other sublime genius, that ever shone in ancient or modern times. By thus handling your pen with vigour and vehemence, I warrant you, Jack, that no man shall ever be able to beat it off your fingers with a fillip, through he were as strong as Broughton of muscular memory. [208]

SPEECH THE EIGHTH.

Confiado en que es rico,
No ha caido en que es borrico,
Cervantes.[75]

Y borrico de pujanza,
Como aquel de Sancho Panza.
Baretti.

If my memory fails me not, you have *averred* in one of our preceding interlocutions, that my Italian suits not at all your refined taste, and you have given besides your Divinity-Doctor repeated hints, of your having a stock of that language at home, not only sufficient to qualify you for a Critic in it; but even to make you produce, spick and span upon any sudden call, a five-shilling book, or, at the very least, a nice eighteen-penny-[209]pamphlet, whatever some folks may think, who are, as yet, not so fully acquainted as yourself, with the dimensions of your Italian scientificalness: and, as it happens, that the good Doctor is quite a stranger to the modern tongues, what can he do else, but nod assent and consent to your hints, and admit of your *averrations*, as perfectly unexceptionable? How can he answer you, in the words of our bonny *Don Miguel*,

Pues como de lo que ignoras
Quieres mostrarte maestro?[76]

and how can he repeat to your face with a vigorous tone of voice, that energetic line of my *Luigi Pulci*,

Io non ti crederrè, stu fossi il Credo?[77]

Whether, or no, the Doctor gobbles down whatever you tell him of yourself and of your great knowledge of Italian, I must say it again, that, as to me, to pin my faith upon any thing you *aver*, is [210] what I shall never do on a full gallop, were I even the owner of Mr. Kelly's best race-

[75] Baretti has invented this quotation.

[76] *La gran sultana*, Jornada segunda.

[77] "No te creería, así fueses el mismísimo Credo" (Alicia Monguió).

horses, maugre the high opinion I have and entertain of your unmatchable veracity. Such are the times we live in, (as my good Gammer used to say) that easy believers are too often taken in by your *averring* gentry, and we want now-a-days accurately to spell their eyes and read their phiz, before we credit any thing they *aver*. For this, and other reasons, well known to myself, which I think indecent to give here, as I shall prove more prolix than a gentleman ought to be; and without presuming to prescribe the observation of my rules to others; I do protest in due form, that I will never swerve from that, which I have laid down for myself, of never buying any of my Jack's *averrations*, were he even willing to part with them at the low price of ten for an apple-fritter, as I know of no drug so bad and so useless in this wide world, as those his *averrations*, though they are sometimes[78] as [211] big, as the water-melons at *Pistoja*, and other parts of Tuscany.

Actuated by such a rule, I must frankly tell you, Mr. John Bowle, that though your knowledge of the Italian Tongue were as extensive in breadth and in length, as the *Campagna di Roma*, the very *first specimen* you have given mankind of it, was but a scrubby specimen upon my honour! It was by great chance, that I discovered it in a dark nook of your letter to the Doctor, shrunken up into so short a line, that it does not exceed *seven words*, monosyllables, dissyllables, and polysyllables included: yet, though contracted to so diminutive a size, I will venture to *aver* in my turn, that, in the composing of it, you have committed no less than *three errors grammatical*, and *one idiomatical* over and above: and you must, or ought, to own and acknowledge with much compunction of heart to the whole congregation, that *three errors of grammar*, and *one bad idiom*, are rather too much, than too little, for a pygmy-line, that consists only of *seven* [212] *words*, which, taken in the lump, can scarce number *twelve syllables*. Do not give away to a qualm, my good Tolondron, when you come, as I hope you will, to read this *averration* of mine: and take care, above all things, not to grow angry at it; as anger signifies just nothing at all in such piteous cases as this: but, like a wise man as you are, make virtue of necessity; that is, make your profit of what I am going to remark upon your Specimen; no matter if it proves by the way, that you are as great a *Coglionaccio*[79] in Italian, as you are a *Tolondron*[80] in Spanish; and no matter neither, if it demonstrates undeniably, that the bulbs, you have

[78] In the original, "sometimee."

[79] "A small testicle," perhaps also "a small ball" ("bolo"), based on the Coglione which was Baretti's expansion of the initials "J. C." (see *supra*, n. 52).

[80] In the original, "Talondron."

imported from Italy, are not yet ready to shoot forth into five-shillings-hyacinths, and eighteen-penny-jonquilles, on account of that horrid winter, that makes your intellectual garden look more like the territory of *Guanca-Vélica* in the Audience of *Quito*, than like the environs of the *Concepción* in that of *Chile*:[81] and go you to read the words of *Don George Juan* and his travel[213]ing companion,[82] if you will get at the marrow of my comparisons, similies, and allusions, as I am in a hurry to come to the matter in hand without any further prefacing.

You wanted them to say of an Italian pickpocket, *that he stole his friend's watch*, as you expressed it with these very words in English: and, had you stopt short there, I should have nothing to say to your so saying, and the matter would be soon over, by only calling your pickpocket a sad dog, though a countryman of mine. But the Devil, that owes you more than one grudge, tempted you to go beyond your depth, and made you translate your scrap of English into Italian thus: *che furava il oriuolo del suo amico*; and this is what one may call a divilish bad translation; for, instead of *furava*, you ought in grammar to have said *furò*, because *furava* does not mean *stole*, which indicates an absolute act; but means *was stealing*, which denotes a progressive act; and an absolute act was what you wanted to ex[214]press in Italian, as, by that word *stole*, you had expressed it in English: please then to grant, that, your using *furava* for *furò, and much good may it do you*, – *was a solecism* – Then the article *il* is never in our grammar placed before any noun (no matter whether substantive or adjective) that begins with a vowel. Read over again each one of your *seven and twenty* Italian books, all quoted in your *Comento*, along with all those, that *Fontanini*, and his corrector *Apostolo Zeno*, have noted down in their catalogues of Italian books: and I will submit to have my few remaining grinders to be drawn by any tobacconist, cheese-monger, or rat-catcher of your acquaintance, if you find *only once*, in any one of them, the article *il* placed before any noun that begins with a vowel, as *oriuolo* does. Our grammar, when the article is wanted before such nouns, bids us to use the article *lo*, sometimes abbreviated, sometimes not: and this is a *rule never to be trans-*

[81] Huancavelica (not *vélica*), currently in Peru, is at 12,400 feet (3775 meters) above sea level; Concepcion, Chile, is at sea level.

[82] Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, authors of *A Voyage To South America: Describing At Large the Spanish Cities, Towns, Provinces, &c. on that Extensive Continent, Interspersed Throughout with Reflections on the Genius, Customs, Manners, and Trade of the Inhabitants; Together with the Natural History of the Country, and an Account of their Gold and Silver Mines. Undertaken by command of His Majesty the King of Spain* (Dublin, 1758).

gressed; nor ever was it, indeed, ever since the times of *Guitton d' Arezzo* to the [215] present day, which takes in a space of about five centuries. An Italian ear rejects the harsh sound of *il oriuolo*, *il amore*, *il effetto*, *il universo*, *et sic de caeteris:* therefore you ought to have said *l' oriuolo*, an abbreviation of *lo oriuolo*; and, by so doing, you would have avoided your second solecism. Do you grant this, Jack? – Then, the genitive does not follow the accusative of the verb *furare*, which requires a dative: so that, instead of *del*, preposed to the possessive pronoun *suo*, you ought to have preposed *al*, which would have kept you from breaking the knee-pan of your Italian leg, as you tumbled upon this your third solecism. – Then, the pronoun *suo is unidiomatical*, as well as superfluous in your phrase, besides that it disgusts the ear, on account of the *hiatus* caused by the meeting of the *o* of *suo*, and the *a* of *amico*. – You ought, therefore, to have translated your English pygmy-line grammatically and idiomatically thus: *che furò l' oriuolo all' amico*; a translation so easy and obvious, that nobody, but a *Coglionaccio* like you, could [216] have missed. Let me add to all this, that, if you had even translated your English pygmy-line in the grammatical and idiomatical manner I have done, still you would not have proved a great conjurer, as our verb *furare* belongs to our poetry, not to our prose, because it has an antiquated and Latin look. But let me not be too nice with such a Tolondron as you, and allow, for shortness sake, of the verb you employed, though that of *rubare* had been the proper verb in your case. And now – down on your marrow-bones, you great *Tol* and *Dron*, and humbly thank me for my gracious condescension in stooping so low, as to give a Tol-ro-lol like you so long, so perspicuous, and so useful a lesson of Italian; and confess without any delay, and in an audible tone, to the whole congregation, that all your past vaunting of Italian knowledge, was nothing but an impudent sham, nothing but arrant imposture, nothing but a mountebank's bragging; and that you know little more of it, than an Italian *Gimerro*; as you yourself have here proved [217] beyond all possibility of negation, that you have not yet attained the first rudiments of our grammar, and the first ideas of our idiom, though you have been plodding and plodding a considerable part of your life at your *seven and twenty books*, pompously enumerated in your foolish *Comento*.

Very large is likewise the quantity of Italian verses and bits of Italian prose, transported in that, foolish *comento* from your *seven and twenty* Italian books; the greatest part so wretchedly spoilt in the transportation, that, were the luckless fathers of those verses and proses (pardon me this plural) to see them again, I question whether they would know their respective children, so rife are their errors there, because you have lopped

a letter or a syllable from a word, added one to another, misplaced or omitted this and that accent, and punctuated every thing throughout with such a want of skill, that a country-booby, just come to town to commence carpenter or cobler, could not have [218] done worse. And shall I tell you, that, in the four lines out of Ariosto, quoted in the 25th page of your Letter, you have committed no less, than six sins of orthography? Never did I fret and fume so much in all my born days, as when I found so large a quantity of my unfortunate native language so intolerably mangled and mutilated in your foolish *Comento!* Nay, to reveal to you one of my important secrets, many a time have I been most liberal of strange epithets to Mr. Commentator, while looking at that cursed farrago of quotations, made there by him, for the sole sake of looking very grand in his character of Italianist. Expect not however, that I will set about proving my *averrations* on this head, with a single example out of the cursed farrago; because a pretty large number of those errors I have pointed out to my disciples, while I was reading Don Quixote with them, and noted innumerable in the spacious margins of your edition, which is enough for me: and, if it should not be enough for you, [219] Master Jack, you have but to send any body you chuse, to look at those my marginal notes any day in the morning, from ten till three, during three months after the publication of these sheets, as this, and no more, is what I can do, towards curing you of your dropsical vanity about Italian, if the above correction of your first specimen proves inefficacious. I am not so unskilful an apothecary neither, as to puke my English readers with an account, that would prove useless, of the Italian prose and verse you have chopped and disfigured in your Comment. No English reader, but what has already had patience enough, if he has read all, that I have been writing, down to this cross, that I make here +; and, were I to pester him with an *errata* as long as Bond-street, sure am I, that he would fling my speeches into the fire, with a curse a-piece to you and me: and that is what I will avoid, if I can, that you and I may never have any thing in common. Errata, or no errata, cease you great Tolondron, to wrestle with me [220] on account of the language of Italy, as you shall certainly get nothing, but falls upon falls, and overthrows upon overthrows. You know the meaning of many Italian words, especially when you refresh your memory by recurring every minute to my Dictionary: but, without it, a-ground you are, as sure as a gun. Were you however to get that my Dictionary as well by heart, as the Carmelite Nuns have the *Ave Maria*, still it would be to no purpose, as you have not, nor ever will have, the dexterity of mind, that is required, to put words of Italian, or of any other foreign language, tight together, totally deprived, as you are, of that

natural musicalness of ear, that makes people distinguish in a twinkle, the nightingale and the sky-lark from the owl and the cuckoo. To end this matter at once, and to shew you that I can talk as big as you, and bigger when I am behind the parapet of reason, I command thee, Jack Tolondron tolondronissimo, in the name of the Academy *Della Crusca*,[83] to believe [221] for the future, that in point of Italian, I am an elephant, a rhinoceros, when compared to thee, poor cock-chaser and dung-beetle, that thou art! And so, dare no more to plague me with thy quackish talk about Italian, whereof thou knowest little more, than I could teach a parrot in a twelve-month, were my Dictionary once taken from thee, and fairly flung down a hole in thy back-yard, that I will not name.

You give yourself likewise very great airs, *Monsieur de Tolondron*, with respect to French, and want to make your neighbours in the country believe, that you can even cope with an *Ablancourt*[84] and a *Vaugelas*.[85] To obtain this end, you quote, *à tort et à travers*, French verses and French prose, and give your opinion of French authors with as much audacity, as if you had been heir at law to *Messieurs Baillet*[86] and *Boileau Despreaux*.[87] Fine doings these, *mon cher Marquis de la Tolondroniere!* but, by great goodluck [sic], you never as yet honoured us with the least *petit morceau* of French, [222] out of that much, that you have been devouring these many years: No; we have, as yet, not seen the least *petite fricassée* of our own cookery, though, for what I know, you may be as good a *Cuisinier* as the *Sieur Martialo* of nice-roasting memory: and, so far, *le Baron de Tolondrognac* is as safe, as an *escargot* in his winter-shell. Guessing however at the deepness of your skill this way, by the blunders you committed in copying the French you have quoted here and there; and, what is still a surer plummet, by the general and uniform tenour of your dulness and tolondronery, when you hold forth on the subject of languages; I have reason *à foison* to suspect, that you are as yet far from being a *Nostradamus* in that language, and just as fit, as a Lithuanian Bear, to skip a sprightly *Cotillon*, or pace a graceful *Aimable Vainqueur*, which is an *undertaking*,

[83] The Florentine academy whose *Vocabulario* was a model for the dictionary of the Real Academia Española.

[84] Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt (1606–1664), a seventeenth-century translator of Classical works and member of the French Académie.

[85] Claude Favre de Vaugelas (1585–1650), also a member of the Académie and an expert on French usage.

[86] Adrien Baillet (1649–1706), French historian and biographer.

[87] Nicolas Boileau Depréaux (1636–1711), author of an *Art poétique* and many literary works.

please your Tolondronship, that must be left to your charming English Misses, who have not an once of Bear's fat about their nimble bodies; not to you, that have so many [223] pounds. Believe me, notwithstanding, if you dare, and write and print but one pigmy-line of French, as you have done of Italian: and I will presently let you know, *stans pede in uno*, whether you are sufficiently *frisé et poudré*, for to go and hold converse at Paris *au Caffé de Procope*, or only qualified to be a waiter *à l' Hôtel de Port-Mahon dans la Rue Jacob*.

But, in your opinion, your fort is Spanish: and it is when you talk of Spanish, that you vault, and leap, and curvet, and prance, and kick, and neigh, like a frisky colt *en las dehessas de Andalucia*; Anglicé, *in the launds of Andalusia!* It is when you are in Spain, that you cry out with a joyful exultation: *Mire la mosqueteria, como bien hago my papél! "See, ye Gods above, what a clever fellow I am"!* – It is there, Jack, that the *Fandangos* –

Stop, stop, Domine Baretti! Stop a moment, and recollect yourself! Can't we be calm, and talk like men of sense, without suffering ourselves to be run away with, by silly antipathies, and ridiculous animo[224]sities! You, Baretti, who have long piqued yourself on your unbiased uprightness and absolute candour, whenever you have set about criticizing, or censuring, any body's works, (which, by the bye, is what I never did in writing, but when my indignation was raised to the highest pitch) will you, *Signior*, so far debase your character, as to insist, that John Bowle has *no knowledge at all* of the Spanish Tongue? Will you do as he does, that cuts you down at once with the greatest effrontery, and *assures and avers*, that you know nothing at all of this, nothing at all of that, nothing at all of t'other thing?

No, no, John! Baretti will never be like you in any one thing, if the grace of God fails him not! Never will I speak of friend or foe, when put to it, contrary to what I really think, were I to live upon nothing, but brown bread and musty bacon the years of Methuselah. Never will I listen to passion when reason speaks. No, never, as long as I see God's light. I say therefore of your Spanish, as of your [225] French and Italian, that you know many and many words, possibly (within ten or twelve) all the words in Don Quixote, especially when your Dictionaries are spread open before you: but, granting you thus much is not at all allowing, that you know the Spanish Tongue. To know many words, and to know a language, are two different things, though the second requires the first. The nice craft of clothing your thoughts with Spanish words and phrases, in which the knowledge of a Tongue consists; the Spanish *gracias* and *chistes*, the Spanish *donaires* and *sainetes*; the Spanish *primor* and *gracejo*: in short, the true and genuine Spanish modes of expression are to you impenetrable *barruecos* and *matorrales*, and will be as long as you breathe.

The great secret of *indolem frugum et Hispana femina conservare*,[88] you never could learn, and never will, were you to fag *twenty years* longer about *Aldrete*, *Covarruvias*, *Nebrixa*, *Ribadeneira*, *the Academicians' Dictionary*, and your other Spanish books, with those to boot, that are registered in the *Biblioteca Española* of *Don Nicolas Antonio*.[89] [226] Nature has given you a mind of Portland-stone; and the *Castellano castizo* you will know as soon as you will the Malabaric and the Chinese. Your ridiculous *Comment*, and your most foolish *Preface* to it, are irrefragable proofs of my affirmation; living aside the beggardly poverty of your thoughts and ideas in that Preface, and the miserable misery of your method in impinguating that Comment (subjects, that would have yielded spontaneously luxuriant crops of thoughts and ideas to any other man), and considering only the manner, in which you expressed your few and lousy conceptions, it is scarce possible to keep from growing peevish, and obtain from scolding, as some ladies will do at times, on seeing their finest china broken at once by the awkward elbow of their chambermaids. Your Spanish is worse than that of the Biscayan Groom, who fell by the powerful arm of Don Quixote; as the Groom had a meaning in his broken Spanish, which is what you scarce ever have in yours. Your Spanish is a hodge-podge [227] of words, that never before saw each other so damnably stewed together. No grammar, no idiom, nothing at all, or (to say better) nothing, but a Hottentot-mess that no Spanish esophagus could swallow a spoonful of, without vomiting the bowels. But, again! —How can I, without putting my reader out of all patience, present to his eyes the stinted limbs, the distorted gait, the clumsy attitudes of your monkey-periods! I know you will say, that this is pure invective, the language of malignity, a mere effusion of ill-will, on account of the villainous falsehoods you have told of me in your daily converse, in your epistolary correspondence with more than one, in your Letter to the Divinity-Doctor, and in your four scraps to Mr. Urban. No, no, Mr. John Bowle! You deceive yourself. I am not like you in any thing! I never say of friend or foe, but what I think; and I say it, when violently urged to it, as I am now. Were you my bosomfriend [sic], my panegyrist, my flatterer; as observant of me, as any spaniel of his [228] master's nod, still I would honestly tell you, that your Spanish is a damned Spanish, in case you should ask my opinion of it with affection-

[88] "Conservar la índole y los frutos como la mujer hispana" (Alicia Monguió).

[89] Nicolás Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana sive Hispanorum* (Rome, 1672) was just then being divided into the *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus* and *Nova* (1783–88). One of Bowle's correspondents, the royal librarian and future *Quixote* editor Juan Antonio Pellicer, participated in the updating of the *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*.

ate importunity. No, Mr. Bowle, and no again! On the odd supposition you were my best friend, never would I put it in your power to say, that Baretti approves of your Spanish. After having read your Preface, I would rather be cut into quarters, and broiled on a green-wood-fire by a New-Zealand cannibal, than give my sanction to your Spanish, if asked my opinion in earnest by my supposed friend Bowle: and you may well expect, that, having now taken into your silly numskull to show yourself my foe, I will, whenever occasion shall offer, tell you and every body else, and without any gag, what I think of you and your Spanish. You still insist upon my proving what I advance: but you insist in vain; and, were you twice as Demosthenical, as *Janotus de Bragmardo*, that obtained the restitution of the bells from *Gargantua* by the irresistible force of [229] his unmatchable oration, never could you persuade me to set about doing such a thing; besides, that the nature of the subject scarcely admits of proofs one way, or the other, without embarking on an Atlantic of discussions, to no other purpose at last, but to discover a dreary continent, of which the soil has produced nothing these *twenty years*, but weeds, and vetches, and tares, and burs, and docks, and papaverous flowers, of no use in any thing to any body alive or dead. Take me a reader of spirit and taste, to such a promising land, if you dare! Pox on your preface! It is no more feasible for you to prove it good, than for me to prove it bad! Neither can be done without blotting so many reams, as to make the tax on paper the most productive of all taxes. What expedient shall we then contrive, to settle this mighty affair between us? Let us come to a compromise, Mr. Bowle, and let us choose an umpire. Go you yourself to the Spanish ambassador's house, and ask for any of his people, no matter [230] whether the secretary, the chaplain, the butler, or the cook. You will easily find access to any of them: and the first on whom you light will prove so obliging, as to hear what you have to say. I know the Spaniards better than you, and I can tell you, that they are polite and obliging, ninety nine in a hundred. With your Preface in your left hand, and your broad beaver in the right, (or the reverse if you choose) acquaint with your errand whom you meet first, by telling him, that "there is a person, who wants to know, whether the contents of that paper (quotations excluded) are expressed in Spanish or not, and beg of him to give you in writing, a declaration of his opinion, no matter whether for or against." – Should such a declaration prove in your favour, I promise you that I will knock under, and presently give you another with my name affixed to it, that, as to Spanish, and any thing else you please, I am nothing, but a false pretender, an imposing quack, a tolondron, an ass [231] from head to tail, whatever any body may allege to the contrary. – But, on the other hand, should the declaration go against you, what will you forfeit? A

rump and dozen? No; because I will eat and drink no more with you, as, having done so *twice*, is more than enough. Will you forfeit your Aldrete? Your Nebrixa? Your Covarruvias? Your Ribadeneira? That you will think too great a stake against so trifling a thing as my literary reputation; though it had been greatly better for you, never to have seen their covers, for the good that they have done you. Well! Forfeit but a tester, to be given in alms to the first beggar in your parish you meet, to make him stare at your liberality. Can I propose fairer conditions? But, hold! There is your *sensible friend*, who knows Spanish, as you have hinted: there is *Baron Dillon*, to whom Captain Crookshanks advised you to go, because he speaks Spanish fluently; and there is the *Honourable Person*, who *spoke of your Prologo in term of approbation*, as you affirmed to [232] the same Captain Crookshanks. Send me a declaration from any one of the three in your favour, and you shall have mine forthwith in the above conformity, and without an hour's delay, with my full consent to publish it in the daily papers, or in any magazine you shall please, at my own expence, to reconcile the accumulation of your new honours with your habitual parsimony.

But your Preface, and my having named here Captain Crookshanks, put me in mind, that I have a few words to say to the reader in his behalf, as you have joined him to me in your silly letter to the Divinity-Doctor.

Who is then Captain Crookshanks? Is he a man of literature? Is he a linguist? Is he one of your scribbling gentry? An Editor? A Commentator? A Prologo-monger?

Nothing of all this, you peremptory interrogator! He is a respectable gentleman, ten years older than myself, who am nearer seventy than sixty; a man that [233] reads for his amusement; a man that knows more of French a great deal than of Latin; and a man, that has read many times over in the original, both *Don Quixote*, and the *Novelas Exemplares*: yet of no pretensions at all in the Spanish language, and many leagues far from assuring, that he can fluently read the poetry of *Don Luis de Góngora*, or any other Spanish poetry. As to his other qualifications, he is a true British tar, that speaks his mind roundly, and without mincing matters; loves a good joke as well as a cheering cup; and, please your honours, would also love a pretty lass, if the profound respect, due to his own white hair, and to a few wrinkles on each side of his face 'tween his eyes and his temples, did not absolutely forbid any thing of that there kind: nay, if you are all unanimous in the desire of knowing him as well as I do myself, he has, every day in the week, a better dinner than Don Quixote had on Sundays, prefers Welch mutton to Lancashire mutton, eats his beef-steaks [234] with chalotte, drinks two dishes of strong coffee after his afternoon-nap, and was but t'other day cheapening a forty pounds horse

for his own riding.

But, what brings him this way, and what has he to do with Mr. Bowle, or Tolondron, as you call him?

Poco a poco, Mr. Peremptory, say I in my own lingo, which does not mean *hocus pocus*, as a merry Gloucester-gentleman of my acquaintance explained it t'other day; but means *tout doucement* in French; and is tantamount to *fair and soft* in English. If you will but have half an ounce of patience, and let me speak in my turn, you shall know every thing, from the mast-head down to the kelson.

Did I not hint to you, yesterday abovestairs, that our Mr. Bowle has written a letter to a Divinity-Doctor (probably an ideal doctor) about the *extraordinary conduct of the Knight of the Ten Stars, and his Italian Esquire?* I am sure I told it you yesterday, or the day before, in the drawing-room, or the room adjoining. [235]

Now, my good Sir, you must know, that, by *the Knight of the Ten Stars*, Mr. Bowle means Captain Crookshanks; and, by his *Italian Esquire*, means your most obedient. Why the Tolondron has thus nick-named us, he may tell in his next *Comento*; as in the same letter to his Doctor, this enigma is not deciphered, nor one word said about Knights, about Stars, or about Esquires, that may lead any body to the discovery of the abstruse meaning of the two appellations bestowed upon us in the title-page. Some conceit *à la Tolondronne*, there is no doubt of that: but, what it is, I know just as well as yourself. Be those appellations very witty, or very stupid, with a meaning, or without a meaning, I would not, for half a crown, set about to unriddle riddles, especially a Tolondron's riddles. You see[90] then, my dear, that Captain Crookshanks has as much to do here as Spadille at quadrille, and Pam at loo: and the following story will tell you the cogent reason I had for taking him by the hand, and respectfully [236] presenting him *coram Patrum Conscriptorum maximè colendo timendoque Consessu*;[91] that is, before a club of English Reviewers, ready to broil me upon the gridiron of criticism, *quod Cœlum avertat*![92]

The Captain, in the days of yore, has been an intimate friend to our tolondronic hero: and being, as I said, none of your alembick-critics in Spanish, and hearing Mr. Bowle incessantly descant on his own great skill in that tongue; and finding that the man could talk glibly about Don

[90] In the original, "yousee."

[91] "En persona ante la asamblea de los Padres Senadores, ciertamente temiendo y honrando" (Alicia Monguió).

[92] "No lo permita el Cielo" (Alicia Monguió).

Quixote and Sancho; and moreover, that now and then he could recall[93] the meaning of a Spanish word, that had run away from his capitanick memory; The Captain, I say, took it for granted, that Mr. Bowle was as good an Hispanist as any *marinero viejo*, or *old sailor*, that ever put on trowsers in the good ship *Santa Maria de los Milagros*, and could find his way, if desired, through the *Zahurda de Pluton*, not very topographically described by the whimsical *Quevedo*. –And *Zahurda de Pluton* means no more, than *Pluto's Hogsty*; [237] and Pluto is the god in the kitchen below, very well known to those Eton-boys, that have plunged deep into the waters of mythology, and carefully read the *Gradus ad Parnassum*, *Mr. Ward's Pantheon*, or the *Abbé Robertel's Dieux Des anciens Grecs*, translated into English, I know not by whom, if ever translated into it.

The odd notion, that Mr. Bowle was a confounded good Hispanist, had been so hard hammered into the Captain's *glandula pinealis*, that, wrench it out with your forceps, if you can! No such thing in deed, were you a Cheselden, or a Pott! You could no more have done it, than knockt off St. Paul's cupola with a stroke of your cravat! But Old Nick, who is always on the *qui vive*, to embroil matters between friends – witness Omiah, who, by beating me at chess, was the unthought-of cause.–Zooks! Can't you go on without your nasty digressions? Well then: Old Nick contrived it with such subtilty, that Mr. Bowle wrote his Spanish preface, and carried it to the Captain for [238] his opinion. Can I tell you so much in fewer words?

It is habitual with the Captain, when going to do any important thing, to rub his hands briskly against each other, take a very decent pinch out of his oval silver-box, that always lays by upon his writing-table, and clap then his spectacles on his own nose. Did he do so, or did he not, on his occasion? Historians are quite silent on this particular, and so, I cannot say whether he did, or not; nor know what to believe about it. What I believe is, that he gave the preface an attentive perusal: then returned it to the author with these formal words: "Master Bowle, this *Prologo* will damn your edition at once."

Reader, I will not give what is called in French *a picaillon* for thy imagination, if thou guessest not instantly, how high the man jumped at this unexpected epiphonema. Poor fellow! He quaked and snorted liked a cart-horse, that suddenly treads upon a black snake, and oped both [239] his eyes so wide, that a common tea-cup is not much larger at the upper orifice! However, his vigorous pride and sturdy good opinion of himself, soon bringing about a recovery of his spirits, made him ask with a hollow and globular voice, w hat was the matter with him, that he

[93] In the original, "recal."

treated the *Prologo* with that unaccountable contempt? "Look ye, replied the captain: Contempt has nothing to do here, Master Bowle, as you know, that I could not, for the world, write you a better: and you know too, that I can't point out the errors that are in this, because my store of Spanish runs but short for such an expedition. But, so much will I tell you, Bowle, that this ear of mine (*and probable laid hold of the lower lobe of his left ear*) tells me, that this here *Prologo* is no more Spanish than it is Irish. Go you to our friend Baron Dillon, who has been long in Spain, and speaks the language fluently: Go to him, Master Bowle, with your *Prologo*, beg of him to correct it, and give him [240] *Carte blanche*. Many things in it he will blot, I am sure: but, the more, the better. Then take your *Prologo* back home, write it fairly over again, and carry it to some Spaniard or other, for another correction: then print it in God's name, and welcome. You will have the whole honour of it, Bowle; and no body a whit the wiser."

This, Mr. John Bowle, is, within a hair's breadth, what Captain Crookshanks has told me with regard to you and your *Prologo*, when I asked him the reason of your actual great enmity to him, after having been very good friends during many years: and you yourself, in your Letter to the Divinity-Doctor, strongly corroborate his account by these very silly words: "On showing him *my Prologo*, the weather-cock of his opinion veered about, and he at once told me, that *it would damn the whole work*. On mentioning him *an honourable Person's* speaking of it *in terms of approbation*, he turned a deaf ear. [241] *'Gad*, said he, *if it stands as it now does*, *it will damn your whole work*!"

Find who can, any contradiction in these two accounts, as I am so vastly dull, that I cannot find any. They seem to me to meet each other as nicely, as the two blades of a scissor just come from the grinder. The comedy of the *Simillimi*, by St. Patrick!

But, what use, Master Bowle, did you make of the captain's good advice? Conceited, infatuated, ridiculous Tolondron! Positively sure, lapideously sure, that your *Prologo* was a diamond of the first water. – A *Prologo* not a jot inferior to that of Cervantes to the *Desocupado Letor*. –You rejected scornfully the captain's advice, turned your back upon him, went away in the dumps, began to mutter about, that he was not the man you took him for, and grew sparing of your visits at Penton. Your spleen began thus to simmer in the caldron of disappointment: and to make it bubble up, not a word of praise from any quarter: and, what was still worse, no[242]body called with poor three guineas in his hand, for Bowle's *edition of Don Quixote*, either in London, in Salisbury, at Idmistone, or any where else in the world. Then my unlucky planet managed it so, that I went to spend a summer in your neighbourhood; and the unavoidable

accident of the *marginal notes* came about, that made Sterope, Brontes, and Pyracmon, blow the bellows with such haste and fury, as not only to make the caldron boil over, but set at once the whole house in a conflagration, to the great terror of all the inhabitants, as neither fire-engines, nor fire-men, were within reach, by I don't know how many miles!

Pshaw! Hang your hodge-podges of Greek and English metaphors, or what do you call 'em! Hang Pyracmon and his brethren! Can't you speak plain, and hang you too!

Hush, hush, good people! I will do so anon: but, so crammed with learning am I, that, at times, it will burst out through the crevices of my skin; or ooze, at least, [243] at the pores of it: and I can no more help it, than I can fly, though ever so willing to please you.

Well: you may remember, Master Tolondron, how enraged you were against the captain, on account of his riding out every morning, sometimes on horse-back, sometimes in his little one-horse-chaise, for no other purpose, than to come to my two disciples, that he might hear my Spanish lessons to them: and, as he is a free-spoken gentleman, he made no scruple to approve of them to your very face, and in the very midst of the hop-fair, even when it was most crowded; as by this time he had pretty well found out, that the cock he had thought all along a gamecock was but a dastard dunghill-cock. A horrible grievance this, and by no means to be apathically borne, as my lessons were a manifest encroachment upon your indubitable right, of knowing alone the language of Spain. To vindicate your exclusive patent, and put a stop to so scandalous a violation of that right, you began [244] to scheme, then to broach, then wrote, then printed, then published, that masterpiece of a letter, wherein you laid before your Doctor, and the public, your reason, why you know Spanish, and I know it not; telling them besides, of your old friend's *extraordinary conduct*, and as how he had the ill-manners of giving you a sound and wholesome piece of advice, which, in your well-chewed opinion, was an act little short of high-treason, and well deserving the most serious consideration of King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled.

This, Master John, is the doleful, woeful, mournful, rueful story of your present implacable and unconquerable enmity to Captain Crook-shanks, against whom you have not been able to bring any other charge, but that he gave you good advice: a heinous crime indeed, to assume so princely a prerogative, and well deserving one, two, and even three hecatombs of captains, with a due proportion of lieutenants, on the broad altar of your infernal humility! [245] Good Advice to such a personage as Mr. Bowle! How the devil could a Captain come to fancy and to suppose that John Bowle wanted good advice, especially about a matter of such

magnitude as a Spanish Prologo? Rot his Captainship and his good advice! John Bowle of Idmistone—John Bowle the Editor—John Bowle the Commentator, never wanted good advice from Captains, or from Admirals. By gander! John Bowle of Idmistone will have no good advice from any body in breeches, or with petticoats on! Ay! But what will John Bowle of Idmistone have! Have! What a question! He will have approbation and admiration. Do you hear him, you individuals of this nation! Give him approbation and admiration without the least hesitation; or everyone of you shall suffer laceration and amputation in his reputation, by calumniation and misrepresentation from the arrantest dolt throughout the creation!

However, what your Tolondronship said of the Captain, in words, in epistolary [246] correspondence, and, at last, in print was but gingerbread and barley-sugar to what you said of poor me, when you did me the honour to create me his esquire, after having dubbed him knight! Garlick and onions! Far from being that polite gentleman you had taken and mistaken me for, on our first interview at a bookseller's, I was – What? *That man* (said you in an elegant epistle to the Captain), *that man, by the uniform account of all that know him, is a bad man; which I believe, that I may not affect a singularity of sentiment.* The epistle is dated so far back as May 19, 1783. Do you recollect the penning of it? And, to show your belief of that *uniform account*, which, in my humble opinion, had no origin, but in the exemplary goodness of your incorrupted heart, always averse to slander, and brimful of Christian principles; to show that belief, I say, you fell a calling me, in your daily converse, by all the pretty names in the English language, that begin with an *R* and an *S*; and did it with such a volubility of tongue, as if [247] you had been twenty years professor of Ruffianology and Goddamnology in the celebrated University of St. Giles's. In your epistolary allusions, I was *an Italian assassin*, by the *uniform account* of all that knew me; and in your printed ribaldry, *a man that would say any thing, to serve the purposes of the most feculent part of mankind; a professed sycophant; a general slanderer; a needy villain, a pickpocket*, and an *atrocious culprit, escaped from the gallows by Doctor Johnson's absurd apologies, false depositions, and wilful perjuries.* To corroborate these, and other such *averrations*, you called to witness, not only *Valerius Maximus*, but also Mr. *Warton on Spenser, Bishop Hare's Difficulties and Discouragements, Dryden's Miscellanies, Sir Edward Dering's cardinal Virtues of a Carmelite Friar, Aulus Gellius, Erasmus*, and others, whose names I have now forgotten: and you even produced two or three scraps, *well glued into one*, out of my own *Frusta Letteraria*, written in Italy four and twenty years ago, whereby you proved, that I am *a man full of ignorance and wickedness; a sly, petulant, impudent bully and pol*[248]*troon; a man and dissolute fool; a man adorned with very abominable*

endowment. – And why, my dear, all this desperate delirium? – *Caro Idolo mio*, why all this rant of drunken lunatic? Forsooth! Because I made *notes in the margins* of a Spanish book! Was ever a juster, and a more cogent motive, for a man's making an Ourang-outang of himself!

Let us suppose, notwithstanding, that I have brought *myself in my Frusta Letteraria* an irrefragable testimonial against myself: let us suppose, that *Mr. Warton*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Dryden*, *Bishop Hare*, the *Carmelite Friar*, and the rest, deposed truly to my *abominable endowments:* let us suppose, that the *uniform account* of your learned and polite acquaintance was a faithful transcript of St. Mark or St. Luke's Gospel: let us suppose, that *Valerius Maximus* was as good a prophet as Habakkuk or Jeremiah: What reason had you, Mr. John Bowle, to fall foul of Doctor Johnson? When you paid him the first, and only visit [249] you ever paid him, with a design to turn him, if possible, into a panegyrist and proclaimer of your *great undertaking*, it must be allowed to his eternal shame, that he did not guess slap-dash at your being the most dazzling luminary in the bright constellation of the literary heroes of the day: of course did not exhaust his lungs, as you expected he should, in hyperbolical commendations of you and your *great undertakings*, and only treated you with the respect, that is commonly paid by gentlemen, to other gentlemen, who present themselves dressed in black, with a wig on their heads, and a book of their own inditing in their hands. And you grow angry at such behaviour? And his going no further than that, enrages you to frantickness and desperation? Yet, so it is, that, as soon as gone to the blessed place, where he may possibly never receive a second visit from you, you give way to that frantickness and desperation; and, to be even with him, besmeare his tomb with your bestial ordure. Oh, heavenly powers! [250] Such a man as Samuel Johnson write speeches, and speak apologies, in favour of the most atrocious delinquents! Samuel Johnson tell lies, forswear himself, and accuse some most respectable individuals, of having joined with him in an infamous testimonial? Go, Bowle; go straightways to Westminister-Abbey; prostrate yourself by the sacred stone that covers his revered remains; strike repentingly your hard skull against it, no matter if it cracks; and expiate by ardent prayer and fervourous obsecration, the hellish pollution you have committed; swearing to the injured manes of that good man, that you will endeavour for the future to govern better the wild turbulence of your passions! This is the advice, Mr. Bowle, that a real friend to human nature can give you upon that your *most extraordinary conduct*. Do you receive it more thankfully than that given you by Captain Crookshanks, on an occasion of much less moment: and God be with you with all my heart! [251]

SPEECH THE NINTH.

Ecoutez, Vidaze, que le malubec vous trousse! Je vous prie, qu' entre nous n' y ait débat, ni tumulte, et que ne cherchons honneur, ni applausement; mais la vérité seule.

Rabelais.[94]

The Spanish language, like the French and the Italian, to be read easily and properly, requires accents on many of its syllables; otherwise, a reader will fall at every step into laughable equivocations, and utter altogether a jargon unintelligible: nor can any body place the accents on the right syllables, if not acquainted with the pronunciation, which is also the case in Italian and in French.

To give but a few instances of the necessity, as well as of the power of the accents with regard to Spanish, write, for example, the word *dexo* without one; [252] and it means *I leave*: but place an accent on the *o*, and make it *dexó*, and it means *he left*. Nor is only *the meaning* of the word thus changed by the power of that accent; but also *the pronunciation*; as in the first case, the two syllables *de* and *xo* take an equal time in the utterance, and no kind of stress is laid upon either, but in the second case, a stress is laid on the second syllable *xò;* and we must utter it with more force and quickness than the *do*, which precedes it. Thus, write *séria* and *vária*, accented on the *e* of *se*, and the *a* of *va*, they are both *adjectives of two syllables* each: place the accents on their *i's* and make them *sería* and *varía*, and they are both *verbs of three syllables* each. One instance more: *Hácia* is a

[94] The following information was kindly provided by Barbara Bowen, author of *Enter Rabelais, Laughing* (Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, 2003):

"*Vidaze* (Rabelais *Vietdaze*) is a deformation of *vit d'âne*, donkey's penis—not a compliment!

"Your quote is a conflation of a couple of passages from Rabelais: 'le maulubec vous trousse' or 'trousque' is in the last paragraph of the prologue to *Pantagruel* (Book II in coll. eds.) and of *Gargantua* (Book I). *Maulubec* is a Gascon form of *mauloubet*, ulcer (on legs), and *trousquer* is the Gascon *trousca*, make someone lame. 'Que ne cherchons honneur ny applausement des hommes, mais la vérité seule' is in Tiers Livre (Book III) 17; Pantagruel and Thaumaste are agreeing that they will debate solely to get at the truth."

dissyllable preposition. Write *Hacía*, and you make it *a three-syllable verb.*

My sweet friend Jack Bowle, who, by his own confession, frequently repeated, and in a bragging manner, rather than taking shame to himself: Jack, I say, who never could speak a Spanish sentence in his [253] life, but learnt the little he knows of it, in his closet by himself, nor ever asked anybody's advice about his *great undertaking*; a big name he calls his edition by, as if reprinting and commenting Don Quixote, were a perforation of Mount Caucasus through and through: Jack, I say for the third time, has not even an idea about the Spanish pronunciation nor about the accentuation, that regulates the reading of Spanish: therefore, throughout the edition and the comment, has placed the accents as the teatotum of his grandson directed; for he knew (by looking night and day into Spanish books) that, mean what they will, accents are wanting on many Spanish words: and, in consequence of this acute observation, he placed a good many here and there, as the teatotum directed, throughout the book; and the teatotum, I must say it, to his immortal honour, has sometimes whirled the right way, and turned up the propitious side: but, upon the whole, has proved so untoward, that, in every one of the pages, not one except[254]ed, throughout his *six quarto Volumes*, and pretty often in every line of every page, the accents are all placed in the wrong places, or they are omitted, which is as good an equivalent: and I, who foresaw that this would be the case, when I gave a transitory glance to one of his revises, the day we dined together at the tavern in Holborn, and pitied the blunder he was going to commit, which I was sure would annihilate his edition, made free to offer him my service in the correction of his sheets; and would, for the mere sake of literature, have looked them over with pleasure: but, forsooth! the proud Tolondron, who did not even suspect he had need of such a pair of crutches, rejected the offer, as *he never trusted his correction to any body, but himself*. Well: he has trusted it to his great self, to his knowing self! But, what was the consequence? He laid out several hundred pounds in the purchase of water-bubbles, which are no very merchantable commodity; made his ignorance known to many, to whom it was a secret; quarrelled with his [255] friends, because they would no longer believe him a great Hispanist; and worked himself into a brown humour, that is likely to last to his dying day, if wine and gin copiously drank do not help to remove it. Is this tolondronery, or cauliflower? Give me leave, I beg, to call it tolondronery double-distilled, and no cauliflower at all.

The word *Parecera*, which is *the very first* of the *Prólogo* damned by Captain Crookshanks, happens to be no word at all, because it wants an accent on the last *a*, to inform the reader at once, that it is the third person singular of the indicative future of the verb *Parecer*, which means *to*

appear, *to seem*. Try this simple experiment, if you want to verify this *averration* of mine. Write his word upon a bit of paper, and present it to a Spaniard. The Spaniard will read *Parecéra*, as if it rhymed with *mollera*, *madera*, *calavera*, and other words that end in *era*; and say, that he supposes it the name of something unknown to him. Take your bit of paper back, place the due accent, and make it *Parecerá*; and the Spa[256]niard will presently say, that it is the said future. Without an idea about the necessity and the use of the Spanish accents, were Mr. Jack to read a page of Spanish, what a delightful gabble he would make of it! A Spaniard would no more understand him, than if he were reading the book of necromancy, written in Runish characters by Satan himself, and presented to *Pierro d'Abano*, the famous Salernitan Conjuror: as Mr. Jack would pronounce the vowels in the English way, greatly different from the Spanish way, and utter his syllables in an even and monotonous manner: yet, so thick is the film on his mind's eye, that he never could to this day perceive this colossal error throughout his edition and comment; and how difficult, if not impossible, it is, for any body, Spanish or English, Greek or Pomeranian, Christian or Jew, to read his book fluently; of course, to read it with satisfaction; no body having in his brains that imaginary system of reading, which Jack, somehow or other, must have fabricated in his own. [257]

But, hear him, hear him! He asks me, whether, or not, I can read his book myself? And I answer, that I can read it, and can understand it too. Yet, what does that signify? I can read and understand it, because I have read Don Quixote several times before and after he schemed and executed his edition, and because I can read and understand any Spanish book, full as well as I do any Italian book. This, however, I will have him know, that, if I read Don Quixote in any edition but his, I read on, and never stop a moment: but, if I read it in his, I must stop here and there, on account of the bad orthography (and accenting is a part of orthography), and read this and that passage twice, that I may make out the meaning: and, if his edition stops a veteran reader, who shaved his chin these fifty years, consider how a poor reader must be stopt, that has as yet no whiskers peeping out under any part of his nose!

Yet, the Tolondron stands up stoutly for his edition, as the *ne plus ultra* of per[258]fection, and wonders at folks being so fractious, as not to buy it in a hurry: nor can he bring himself to conceive, that this happens, because the very first glance informs them, that it is the *ne plus ultra* of imperfection: nay, it is an even wager, that he will persist in his notion, even he shall have read these speeches, as his tolondronery keeps constantly a-breast of h is opinion of himself; an opinion so very high, that, if you touch him this string, even with the lightest finger you have in

your hand; far from listening to the sound it emits, he grows gruff that instant, and pouts, and frowns, and squints, and makes such wry faces, as you would think him possessed by half a dozen legions of Astaroths and Asmodees; and starts up and stamps, and blusters, and bullies, and calls you by every name that begins with an *R*, or an *S*: and how can I help calling him Tolondron, knowing all this so well as I do?

Long before the sad accident of the *marginal notes*, and at a time that I was so to[259]tally unacquainted with him, as not even to know his name, I find, by his foolish letter to the Divinity-Doctor, that he bore me a grudge and wanted to give a bad impression of me to his *sensible Friend*, and to *Doctor Percy*, and busied himself about my travels in Spain, and other of my performances: and God knows what wise and learned remarks he has made on my writings to those two gentlemen, and to others! This kind of clandestine hostility on his part, I cannot as yet exactly ascertain when it began, and to what a length he has carried it: but this I know, that it was not very pretty in him to begin it, and carry it on in the dark, as he did. If he had any objections, to my travels especially, I think that he would have done better to apply directly to me in person, or by letter; or even in print; as I might possibly have been able, more than any other, to satisfy him fully on any point that might appear wrong to him, or to any of his acquaintance. But, to behave like a gentleman is not his way as yet, and that [260] may come in time, *poco a poco*, as he goes on, getting fillips under his chin, and raps on his knuckles. Notwithstanding, however, what he has done, and may have otherwise done, to my prejudice and disparagement, at the time I knew not even his name; all was nothing to what he has done since that sad accident of the *notes*; and the reader by this time may possibly have formed some conjecture about the share I have had of his *R*'s and his *S*'s, and of his curses to boot: But, let him curse and call names; who cares? Not I indeed! He may misname me till December next, and curse me seven years running; but he shall not keep me now from telling him in his black mustachos, that he would burn his Edition, if he was not the Tolondron he is; for, the devil a three-guineas will he ever finger from any body, that knows any thing of the matter. The accumulate ribaldry that he has regaled me with, in words and in print, has provoked me to tell him so, without any circumlocution; and I do tell [261] him so; which is what I would never have done, nor dreamt of doing, had he gone his ways, spoken of me as gentlemen speak of gentlemen, not published his foolish Letter to his Doctor, and forbore to write his wicked scraps to Mr. Urban. Oh, oh! but he will bluster and swear a hundred, a thousand, a million of times more, than ever he did, when he shall have read these speeches! Ay! Will he do so? *Dos higas* for it, and *Tolondron* to boot! Were his edition correctly printed

in other respects, which is far from being the case, the paper of it, which is very white, and of a good consistency; the types of it, which have tolerable good eyes; and the margins which are very spacious, would have induced me to buy it; those spacious margins especially, as I have long had the custom to make notes in the margins of all my books: but, to lead me into such a temptation, he ought to have left the accents quite out of his text, as, while reading, I might have placed them myself with my pen: and you know, [262] that several thousand accents are easily placed, as one goes on in the perusal, if one knows the pronunciation: that, on the other hand, take several thousands off with the tip of your penknife, and your work will be endless, besides that you spoil the pages by scratching. A new paroxism of rage seizes Tolondron on hearing me say so, and he foams as if he were in an epilepsy: but foam away, Tolondron; foam to thy heart's satisfaction; and another *higa* for it, and *Tolondron* again! Thou hast dragged me out of that quiet obscurity, in which I had promised myself to live the short remainder of my days; and must take the consequence, if I am now as mad as Don Quixote, and resume the author, and suffer not thy ribaldry to circulate about in magazines and in letters to Doctors, without standing up in my own vindication, were thou to go to Bedlam within the week, and I follow thee fifty years hence. Let me alone, my good friends, and never fear, but I will manage this jade as well as Mr. Angelo does [263] his most mettlesome horses. What is so easy, as to ride on the back of such Tolondrons as this? And before my riding be over, depend upon it, my friends, I will make him aware that, old as I am, I have still so much spirit left, as to expose ignorance, ridicule nonsense, repress insolence, obtund malignity, and chastise brutality, without any assistance from his R's and S's, and without writing one word, but what may be read without a blush by any modest lady about St. James's Square, Berkeley Square, or any other Square. In the sciences of Ruffianology and Goddamnology, I knock under, and humbly acknowledge, that I am unworthy to be even second usher in the Bowlean Gymnasium: but men have different inclinations, pursue different studies: and I am confident, that, in Funnology and in Laughathimology, I can checkmate him at any time, and much faster than Omiah did me, when I had the imprudence to attack him at chess: and I insist upon it, that Funnology and Laughathimology are sciences of more use and profit to man[264]kind than Ruffianology and Goddamnology.

The Tolondron's perfect unacquaintance with Spanish pronunciation; of course, his perfect incapacity of pointing it out to his readers by accent duly placed, is, no doubt, the most glaring, but not the only capital fault in his text. Instead of following in it the orthography of Cervantes, with the only substitution of the *zed* to the exploded *zedilla*, which, at all

events, would have screened him from blame; he took into his muddy fancy to regale us with an orthography of his own, to which I can give no other name, but that of *teatotum-orthography;* or, if you like it better, *fortuitous orthography*. For his many sins, the poor fellow stumbled upon four editions of a small book, entitled *Ortografia Castellana*; that is, the *Orthography of the Spanish Tongue*; all the four printed, at different periods of time, in Madrid, by the Spanish Academicians, who, at the head of their great dictionary (printed about sixty years ago) had already given us a treatise on that [265] part of grammar, which is now in a great measure reprobated by the Academicians of this day (and with good reason), by means of those four new treatises.

The reprobation, however, of that first academical composition, proves as yet of no great use to us; for the reason, that each of those four subsequent ones contains rules and precepts about orthography, that in many points run counter each other: I mean, that some of the rules and precepts laid down in the first of the four are repealed and declared null, by other rules and precepts laid afterwards down in the second: some laid down in the second, repealed and annulled in the third; and some in the third, treated in the same manner by other rules and precepts laid down in the fourth and last. If those repeals and annulations, thus subsequent to each other, mean any thing, they mean, that the members of the Royal Academy, being possibly too many in number to persuade each other, or having some whimsical, and not very intelligent great man amongst [266] them, whom they care not to oppose (which is the most probable conjecture), have not yet been able unanimously to agree about unchangeable rules and unalterable precepts, and have been shifting from rule to precept, and from precept to rule, merely, as it were, to keep themselves a-going. This will appear strange to English critics, who have not turned their attention to the language of Spain: but those that have, know, that the point is very knotty, and very hard to be settled, as it is involved in many peculiar difficulties, not incident to other tongues. The doing away all those difficulties in a complete and satisfactory manner, has perplexed the learned of that nation so long, and to such a degree, since they began to think about it, that the famous Jesuit, *Padre Isla*, (in my opinion, the best, by many cubits, of their modern writers) ridiculed very humourously, in one of his works, all attempts towards ascertaining their orthography; and seemed of opinion, that the best that could be done with regard to the manner [267] of writing their language, was to leave every writer to shift for himself, as it had been done during some centuries, without any great prejudice to their literature on that particular account. But this opinion, which he urged in a ludicrous, rather than

in a serious manner, does not suit the taste of the generality; that wish for rules and precepts as little objectionable as possible, that they may, like other nations, have a fixed orthography of their own. To strike out a reasonable and solid one, has now been rendered possibly more difficult than it ever was, not only by the contradictory rules and precepts prescribed, as I said, at five different periods of time, by the five Treatises of the Academicians, but also by other Treatises of other men of letters, before and after the institution of their academy. Among those who have conspicuously distinguished themselves in this line, that I may not show off too much of my learning this way, I will only mention a *Señor Don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar*, of whom, by the bye, we have a very mea[268]gre *Life of Cervantes*, written on purpose, if I remember well, for Tonson's edition of Don Quixote, wherein is incorporated a prolix criticism on all Cervantes' works; the poorest criticism that ever I read in my days. That same *Don Gregorio* was, no doubt, a man of extensive reading, and far from wanting cart-loads of erudition: but, withal, so wrong-headed was he, so entirely deprived of taste, and so very ostentatious mal-a-propos, that Spain, which has hitherto had her full proportion of ostentatious pedants, can scarcely show another of the same bulk. *Don Gregorio* too, who has been, as I suspect, typified in the *Coxo de Villaornate*, a lame, ignorant, whimsical, and most pedantic schoolmaster, by the witty *Padre Isla*: *Don Gregorio*, I say, would likewise have a system of orthography of his own manufacture, whereof we have a cursed specimen in the above *Life of Cervantes*. But that system was thought at once so bad, so inefficient, so very absurd and ridiculous, that it has [269] procured him but few, if any, proselytes in Spain, and out of Spain.

About all those oppugnating systems of orthography, our poor Tolondron has been plodding and plodding during many years, both before, and while he brooded over his *great undertaking*: and having tumbled them all pell-mell in his poor noddle, made such a hodge-podge out of them all, that one at last was produced, which is *neither here, nor there, nor any where*, as a lady of my acquaintance would phrase it. Tolondron writes sometimes his words as Cervantes did; sometimes follows the Academicians, no matter after which of their five Treatises; sometimes Nebrixa; sometimes Covarruvias; sometimes Don Gregorio; that, little or much, all differ in sundry points; and sometimes follows no body at all: and does this quite unknown to himself, totally ignorant, as he is, of the pronunciation; still whirling the teatotum, and whirling it again, just as he did in the affair of the accents. But, can I, in good conscience, note down [270] here all the inconsistencies of his teatotum or fortuitous orthography, without shooting dead at once, every one of those among my

readers, who know as little of these outlandish matters, as the Tolondron himself? Far from having any thought of shooting them dead, you may believe me without putting me to my oath, that I wish, on the contrary, to multiply their numbers *ad infinitum*. Whether what I wish will take effect or not, give me leave to inform you (and here I get up from my desk, pull off my cap, and make a very low bow to you all); I must inform you, I say, that, having some years pretty well studied this particular point of Spanish orthography, and accurately observed that of the languages, which bear affinity to that of Spain; and being, moreover, vehemently desirous (every one has his hobby-horse) that the Spanish were fixed upon a permanent and unexceptionable footing, I took into my own noddle—or upon myself (that I may speak with more respect of my [271] respectable self)—to write down my ideas about it, in an epistolary dissertation *in Spanish*, which (see Masters and Mistresses, how ungovernable my hobby-horse!) I printed here in London, at my own expence, about three years ago, and made a present of near the whole edition (which was not large, as you can imagine) to the well-known Spanish bookseller and printer, *Señor Antonio Sancha*, who happened to be in England at that time; that he might show his countrymen, the Academicians, and other good folks in Spain, what were the thoughts and ideas of a foreigner about their orthography and lexicography: two districts of their academical province, which, to me, seem, as yet, but poorly cultivated.

As a modest man, and apt to blush, when forced to speak of myself, I ought not to say what I am going to say: but let you pardon me for this once, (here goes another low bow!) and let me brag away, that my *Spanish Dissertation* has been penned with as much liveliness of expression as I [272] could muster up, lest it should prove tedious in the reading; and surely, the daisies and flowers (let me brag, I beseech you) are not few, that I have scattered in it, in order to obviate fastidiousness; which, as you all know, is the chief bane of books, and the ruin of booksellers. But, though I penned it in as brisk a style, as my stock of Spanish language and Spanish ideas could afford, and objected with as much energy and impavidness (*quere* if this word is English) as I possibly could, against several parts of their great Dictionary, and against some of the rules and precepts, laid down by the Academicians, as final, in the last edition of their *Ortografia Castellana*; yet I treated their *Señorias* with the greatest respect, humbly holding my *chapeaubras* under my left arm, every time that I directed my words to them; and there is no manner of need in discussing literary matters, to urge our differing opinions with bludgeons in our hands; or as you may possibly term it, with Bowlean malice, and Bowlean brutality: besides, [273] that, as I take it, the Academicians of Madrid

are a body greatly upon the encrease, and likely to rival in a short time any society of the kind ever instituted in Europe, especially if it comes to be noticed by the long-nosed critics abroad, and given to understand, that the productions of their academy, like those of their vineyards, shall be transplanted and cultivated in their gardens and hot-houses.

Together with my reasons for refusing as yet obedience to some of the rules and precepts prescribed by the Academicians in their last Orthographical Treatise, I have likewise objected, as I said above, to several parts of their Dictionary, the compilers whereof adopted a system of lexicography most obviously defective, that I may not say absurd; as most of the learned men, called up by Philip the Fifth to compose the several divisions of it; instead of sticking to the simple business of defining words, giving their etymologies, and exhibiting, by quotations from their writers, the different way, in which each word is to be [274] used; chose to make a great parade of their respective quantities of learning, and took large excursions into the regions of various arts and sciences, that have little or nothing to do in the dictionary of a language. Had they, here and there, and, when it came quite pat, brought in a savoury bit of learning in this and that *example*, and even in each one of the examples, I should have admired the good choice of their examples: but, I cannot, by any means, bear their ostentation of learning in their *definitions*, which ought always to be as neat and concise as possible, and convey nothing else to the enquirer, but what he enquires after, which is only the signification of this and that word. Have I any need, for instance, to know what *Dioscorides* said about *Lapizlázuli*, when I only want to know, what Lapizlázuli is. What do I care, whether *Café* is the *Bancho* of *Avicenna*, or the *Banca* of *Rasis*, when I only want to know what *Café* means? What need to know, whether the fish, called *Mena*, casts her spawn in [275] March, or in September, which are her powers of fecundity, and at what season it proves good or bad to eat, when I only want to know, whether *Mena* means a fish, or a stew-pan? I want not to be made a lapidary, a naturalist, nor a fishmonger by a dictionary of words; but simply to know the meaning, or the etymology, of those words: and, if ever I come to want a full knowledge of any of the three trades, leave me to my own direction, and I shall soon find the books, or the men, that teach them *ex professo*. It is not the business of the lexicographer to teach arts, or sciences, but only to explain words, and give their etymologies; and even this second duty may be omitted without committing a mortal sin.

That the Academicians of to-day may not proceed on so wrong a plan, in case they resolve to give us a second edition of their great work, and guard against being seduced by the example of their predecessors,

I have made so free, in my *Spanish Dissertation*, as to make some remarks on the several [276] errors, or improprieties (if you like the word better) committed by those their predecessors in too many of their definitions, and apprised, moreover, the present Academicians of the method, incomparably more reasonable, pursued by Doctor Johnson in his English Dictionary; paralleling some of his definitions to some of theirs; endeavouring to make them sensible of the great superiority of the English method over the Spanish, and exhorting them to adopt and follow it, as closely as they can: and I am confident, that, if they shall be willing to do the best, in case of a new edition, they will do me the honour, not to disregard my notions upon so important a subject; and by so doing (all national pride and partiality left aside) bring themselves at once upon a par with other learned nations about orthography and lexicography, which they may possibly do with greater facility, than they are aware.

Our great Tolondron, who has seen my *Epistolary Dissertation*, has mentioned it in [277] his foolish Letter to the Divinity-Doctor; (as he has some other of my performances), and, to be sure, with his usual politeness, affability, good sense, candidness, and veracity. If you will take his honest word, I have treated the Spanish Academicians, as he has done your humble servant. I have pretended to teach them to spell. I have given myself to them as a Magister, under whose ferula they are to quake and shiver. I have coaxed and threatened them by turns; and promised to do this and that for them, and against them, just as my own teatotum shall whirl. What have I not done in that monstrous fetus of my morbid brains! By the decision of his Tolondronship, the Academicians' *Ortografia Castellana* is right in every dot ever so small, in each one of their four editions. No contrariety at all in any of their rules and precepts, that he can see with his vulturine eyes. And, as to their *Diccionario*, not the least speck in any page of six folio volumes: not a comma, but what is as straight, as an arrow: every thing right, [278] tight, prim, trim, consistent, uniform, impeccable. It is an *Ortografia*!—It is a *Diccionario*!—Poh! the Pope, the Emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople, cannot wish better for a birth-day-wearing! And how could a fellow, like that Baretti, of *total ignorance* in the Spanish Tongue, dare to controvert the smallest rule, the most dwarfish precept, laid down by such a set of men, as the Academicians of Madrid in Parliament assembled! Find blemishes, faults, mistakes, deficiencies, superfluities, errors, blunders, in their *definitions*, in their *etymologies*, in their *examples*? Fy upon him, that will not think the Academicians of any country, those of Spain in particular, to be Evangelists every one of them! Fy upon a fellow so very saucy, as to express a desire of having works of any kind, quite perfect of their kind, and ex-

press it in Spanish, and in print! Beat him, whip him, hang him, and excommunicate him! He is a Papist, a Huguenot, an *R*, an *S*, and all the letters of the alphabet! And what can poor I answer to all these [279] charges, to all these just reproofs? Answer? Avaunt, Tolondron! Get thee out of my way this instant! The ox has spoken, and said *mu-uh*. Let me not hear the ox speak again. Dost thou mind me, Tolondron? I will have no more of thy *mu-uh*'s!

Some of my readers may possibly wish me to tell them here, in what the five Academical Treatises on Spanish Orthography agree, and in what they disagree; that is, which are the parts in them confirmed, and which the parts repealed: and I am sensible, that, by so doing, I might give in my way a few more sound lashes to my Tolondron, and expose further to derision his teatotum adoptions, and his teatotum rejections. But, though I need not be told, that, in a country like Great Britain, (where all imaginable kinds of knowledge have numerous votaries) some there are, to whom details of this sort would prove quite intelligible and quite acceptable, I must own, that I have not spunk enough to enter into so unpromising [280] a subject. The lovers of Spanish in England, compared to those, who know little or nothing of it, are but few, if I have counted noses right: and to gratify the few, must I run the risk of teazing the many, that know nothing of Spanish Language and Spanish Literature, and would not even give a rush for either? Most will be diverted by my hitting with my Toledo-foil every button, that a booby has in his waistcoat, without his being able to parry one push: yet, very few care to be acquainted what about the booby and I are fencing. And, as to the booby himself, is it worth my while minutely to note all his fooleries; or anybody's while to have them all accurately told, as they do guineas and bank-notes at Child's, and at Drummond's? Please your Honours, I think not: therefore I must be excused, if I decline such a task for the present; especially, as it would be sinning against the laws of decorum, to treat any literary subject in the light and hasty manner adopted in these speeches; not written with a view to in[281]form or instruct any set of readers; but only to vindicate myself against calumnious aspersions, and, as I proceed, to bring down a little the proud stomach of a Tolondron, that, besides wanting to blast my moral, as well as my literary character, wants also to pass upon his fellow-parishioners his stinking tripes and unwashed pettitoes, for venison-pasties, and perigord-pies. So very sensible am I, that the subject of this very speech will prove tedious to most of the by-standers, that I have almost a mind to end it here abruptly, and cry *mea culpa* for having already made it too long; but, that I am quite in the humour of scribbling just now, have absolutely nothing else

to do, and shall not be sleepy this hour. Let me then bespeak a few more minutes of your indulgence, (and here is another low bow) that I may, before I go to bed, say something satisfactory to those few good souls among you, who have *un poquitillo* meddled with the language of Spain, enough at least to read Don Quixote in the original, or to write, [282] upon occasion, a short letter to a correspondent at Cadiz or Malaga, for a bale of wool, or a pipe of sweet wine.

To those few, therefore, I say, that, whatever rules or precepts may have been enjoined by the Spanish Academy in any of her Five Treatises on Orthography, I will, if they give me leave, heartily laugh at their good souls, as I did at Tolondron in my Spanish Dissertation, (wherein I first called him by this characteristic name) if they shall ever, to please the Academy, choose to write, for example, *Diccionario* with two *c's*, instead of *Dicionario* with a single *c*; because, (mark well my reason) because, when one comes to spell the word, the first *c* of *Diccionario* cannot be joined with the preceding syllable *Di*, and make it *Dic*; as the Spaniards, throughout their language, have not one syllable ending in *ic* in the midst of any of their words. Not joining then that first *c* to the preceding *Di*, it follows of course, that you must join it with the next syllable, which is *cio*, and spell *Di-ccio*; and this would prove an evident [283] absurdity; deserving derision rather than criticism. How then must we write it? I will tell you. The Spaniards pronounce *Dicionario*, and this is a fact, that no Spaniard will controvert: therefore, conform to their pronunciation, and write it *Dicionario*, and you shall be right at once. What I say of this word, I say of all other words of the same stamp, such as *acion*, *satisfacion*, *lecion*, *interdicion*, *bendicion*, *conducion*, *introducion*; and in short of all, that the Academicians direct us to write with two *c's*, for the only reason, that they came in a straight line from such Latin words, as have *actio*, *ectio*, *ictio*, and *uctio* in them. If you write them not as I tell you, you run counter pronunciation, and cannot spell them to boot. Somebody may answer in the Academicians' name, that the two *c*'s in such words, are a kind of etymological substitution to the *ct* in those mother-words, and, that such a substitution gives the Spanish Tongue a noble Latin aspect: But I answer, that, what cannot be spelt ought not to be written, [284] especially when pronunciation runs another way, or *rumbo*, as Spanish sailors term it. Are we to spoil our pronunciation, and embarrass, or impossibilitate our spelling, for the paltry sake of etymology? I beg on my knees the Academician's pardon for my Italian assurance, if they will so call it: but, what do they talk of etymology, they, who, but t'other day, have repealed and annulled the old rule of writing etymologically, *Orthographia*, *Philosopho*, *Thesoro*, *Phrase*, *Laberintho*, *Dictado*, *Dictamo*, and thousands of

other words, thus written in their predecessor's dictionary! They who have enjoined us to write henceforwards, according to pronunciation, *Ortografia*, *Filosofia*, *Tesoro*, *Frase*, *Laberinto*, *Ditado*, *Ditamo*, and so forth? What privilege of exception can the words with two *c*'s claim to refuse paying tax to pronunciation, when these last pay it without muttering, and even with alacrity? Mind me, *Señores Academicos*! Let us have all one way, or all the t'other way. *Consideratis considerandis*,[95] in this particular case, [285] I join with you against your predecessors, and give *Pronunciation* the preference over *Etymology*, as more natural, more easy, and less liable to mistakes. I am as fond as other old Christians, of sticking to *Etymology*, whenever it can be done properly and conveniently: but when it does lead *Pronunciation* out of the coach-road, and, above all, when it does obstruct *Spelling*, as it does in the case of the two *c*'s—Hang Etymology! Hang her by the neck, I say; and let us embrace and kiss *Pronunciation*, and be good friends.

Then again! What do the Academicians talk of etymology, who, but t'other day, have told us, that we must never write any Spanish word with two *s*'s; no matter whether etymology demands it, or not: of course, that we must write *el Rey de Prusia*, and *la Emperatriz*[96] *de Rusia*? Do they stick to etymology, when they prescribe us such a rule? Who has ever heard of countries in modern Europe, called *Rusia* and *Prusia?* The people at large in Madrid, and through most provinces of Spain (I have attended [286] to it carefully myself), pronounce *Russia*, *Prussia*, *Missa*, *Passo*, *Priessa*, *Huesso*, *Gruesso*, *Tosser*, *Bravissimo*, *Reverendissimo*, et cetera, with the same forcible hiss, by which the Italians, the French, the English, and other nations, denote the double *s*'s; and all over Spain they pronounce with a much more feeble sibilation the single *s*, as in *Camisa*, *Casa*, *Casarse*, *Queso*, *Sensitivo*, *Especie*, *Mismo*, *Guisar*, *Consignar*, and a whole host of others: and the Academicians, making nothing of forcible hissing, nor of feeble hissing, and giving a kick a-piece to etymology and pronunciation, shall come and tell us, that we must banish all double *s*'s from their language? That we must write; of course, pronounce, even their *superlatives*, even the *preterite imperfects of their subjunctive moods*, with the same softness and laxity, as we do, for instance, the *s* in the word *Asno?* And they shall send us to hear *una Misa*, as if we were to put on our *Camisa?* They shall bid us to break a *Hueso*, as if it were as soft as *Queso?* Write you, my English friends, write and pro[287]nounce with a forcible hiss *Missa*, *Huesso*, *Prussia*, *Russia*, *Fortissimo*, *Bravissimo*, *Supiesse*, *Viniesse*, and so forth;

[95] Taking into account what needs to be taken into account.

[96] In the original, "Emperadriz."

and mind not such precepts and rules, more fit for an assembly of *Pisaverdes* and *Petimetras*, than for an Academy of *Hombres de pelo en pecho!*

But these, and other matters, I have already sufficiently discussed in my Spanish Dissertation; and I hope the time is not far, that those, among the Spanish Academicians, who have unaccountably declared for double *c*'s, where they pronounce but one; or for a single *s*, where they pronounce two, will think better of these matters, before they publish a new Orthography and a new Dictionary; and wondering at their double mistake, as well as at some other oversights, committed in their anterior works, will correct them, and give their country and the world a Grammar and a Dictionary better than those we have at present from them, and from other of their countrymen; and thus save from debasement and degradation, a language so [288] very beautiful as theirs, and so pleasing to my ear, that I like it even better than my own, though I have a very high opinion of my own too; especially, when in the handling of a few old friends, that are still alive in that Peninsula yonder, so strangely shaped, that it looks like a Frenchman's boot. And, as to what our Tolondron may say about these same matters, with his *Nebrixas*, *Covarruvias*, and *Ribadeneiras* spread open before him, I will answer only this, that I wish some small-beer brewer may make him a present of a rotten old barrel's bung, that he may stop his foolish mouth, when these same matters are debated within his hearing, as he can no more speak to them, than an artichoke.

But my candle runs low, and I shall presently be in the dark: therefore, give me leave to go to bed, that I may be up early to-morrow, to give you one speech more about the Tolondron's *Espantable y desaforado Comento*. That done, I will continue to wish a good journey to all that go to York, or any where else; [289] continue to play shilling-whist; continue to mind my book, and continue to let the world go round, as it has done these many years: for, to tell it you *sub sigillo confessionis*,[97] lest I be impeached of high treason, I am as sick of the Tolondron and his doings, as any one of you can possibly be: and, with this, *buenas noches* to you all, *y Christo con todos*. [290]

[97] Under the seal of the confessional.

SPEECH THE TENTH AND LAST.

Quare con tanta altrui e tua molestia
Tanto parlar d'un Viso di—di cavolo?
Gamba di legno mio, mandalo al diavolo,
Che ad ogni modo e' sara' sempre bestia.

Don Petronio Zamberlucco[98]

Having now fairly settled the account between Jack and Joe, about their respective quotas of Italian and French, about the Spanish comedies, the Spanish orthography, the Spanish *Prologo* damned by Captain Crookshanks, and sundry other matters of infinite importance to the inhabitants of the waves, that moisten the littoral parts of the British empire; I hasten to speak of the Tolondron's *Comento* on the delightsome History of Don Quixote, that I may put an absolute end to his ridiculous pretensions of being a Being in the literary world, as it is high time for me to save the little ink I have left, for my customary employment [291] of writing Marotic and Macaronic verses to those among my good friends, who are as old and idle as myself, and look out for light amusement, rather than grave lucubrations.

The raising of that odd structure, now going by the tremendous name of *Comento*, if we credit the exulting *averrations* of our Tolondron, was a work so confounded arduous to be carried into final and perfect completion, that, no less than two of the best climacterial divisions of his life were spent in the mere collecting of its multitudinous materials from several distant quarters of this terraqueous globe; besides, I know not how many more, in the putting them so tightly together, that they might not crumble too soon, and fall about our ears: and, in fact, such has been the sturdy perseverance of his sluggish mind, and the unabated drudgery of his porter-like body, during all that time, that *Comento* has at last obtained the wonderous bulk it actually possesses, which, awaking us all out of our long and shamful le[292]thargy with regard to learned objects, has forced us to get on tiptoe one behind the other, and gaze with aston-

[98] Fictitious author who published in Baretti's *La Frusta letteraria*, "erudito di campagna, che rappresenta l'ormai superata cultura reazionaria " (5 July 2003, http://www.italianculture.net/region/r05-giornali.html). "Why, with such unselfishness and your trouble, to talk so much of the face of a — a horse? My wooden leg, send him to the devil, because in any event he is and always will be a beast" (Alicia Monguió).

ishment on the Tolondronic edifice, certainly the most unarchitectonic, and antivitruvian ever hitherto erected in the boggish part of the lands, that have belonged these many years to my uncle Apollo, and his chanticleering nieces.

One of the chief contrivances that the great Tolondron has had recourse to, in order to make *Comento* as huge and durable as the Memphitic masses,[99] was the unbounded use he made of half a score folio and quarto dictionaries, out of the bowels whereof, he dug a considerable quantity of *words*, with their *explanations* at full length, without caring a hob-nail, while employed in the sweat-provoking labour, whether those, who were to read, or to consult the strange work, wanted, or not, those *words* and those *explanations*.

If master Jack (say I, in the great simplicity of my heart) intended his *Comento* for the inhabitants of Spain, ought he not [293] to have previously taken into his wise considerations, whether, or not, the good folks yonder stood in need of having their own words explained to them? Words, that the most illiterate among them understand; or, in the contrary case, that they all can go to look for in those very dictionaries, wherefrom Jack has given them? On this point, therefore, submissively craving his ten thousand pardons, his Tolondronship seems to me, to have been tolondronically absurd beyond all decent limits of tolondronical absurdity, especially if it is true, as I humbly conceive to be the real case, that the Spaniards are no such strangers to the words of their own tongue, as not to know the meaning, that he has idly given them, of *hidalgo*, *desocupado*, *cuchillada*, *cuerno*, *alborozo*, *corral*, *apellido*, *cascabeles*, *trompeta*, *despeñadero*, *jumento*, *pajar*, *candil*, *camaranchon*, *naipes*, *tiñoso*, and three or four thousands other such, which in their country are every day as much in every body's mouth, as *bread* and *butter* are every day in Eng[294]land. I say the same of those most common phrases, *en un cerrar de ojos*, *acertar a passar*, *con las setenas*, *predicar en desierto*, *a carga cerrada*, *sacar el pie del lodo*, *descubrir la hilaza*, *no consentir cosquillas*, *pedir de lo caro*, *paciencia y barajar*, and some thousands more, all as trite all over Spain, as in this country *how do you*, and *very well thank you*. Indeed, there is no cobbler, that I know; there is no bricklayer, no chimney-sweeper in all New-Castile, or Old Castile, but what has at his fingers end the true and genuine signification of all such words and phrases; nor do any of them stand in the least need of going for the explanations to his *Aldrete*, to his *Nebrixa*, to his *Covarruvias;* much less to his *Comento:* and much less still, to *Quintius Curtius*, *Homer*, *Biblia Vulgata*, *Scriptores de Morbo Gallico*, and to any other book or lexicon, registered in the Catalogue of the Authors, that his

[99] The pyramids of Egypt.

Tolondronship has quoted with the paltry view of making a parade of his learning, no matter whether it came in at [295] the fore-door, at the back-door, or at no door at all.

The man may answer, that he writ his *Comento* for the use of the English. For the English with all my heart! I like the English well enough to wish them plentiful crops of *Comentos*, provided they be such, as may prove useful to them! But, if you wrote it for the English, why did you not write it in English, as the English tongue, *salvo errore*, is commonly better understood in England, than the Spanish tongue? And what need, besides, had any Englishman that reads Don Quixote in the original, of any explanation of common Spanish words, and Spanish common phrases? How could you be such a thorough dolt, as not to conceive, that there is no reading an outlandish book, without having previously mastered so much of the language, in which it is written, as not to want every individual signification of every common word, and every common phrase in it?

Be that as it will, replies the undaunted [296] Tolondron: Sure am I, that neither *Baretti*, the atrocious culprit, nor *Johnson*, the wicked apologist, nor *Johannes Ihre*, the compiler of the *Suio-Gothicum Lexicon*,[100] nor *Valerius Maximus*, the lieutenant in the eastern army, nor *Epaminondas*, nor *Zoroaster*, nor any other imaginable body, named, or not named in the *Comento*, could have fallen on a more subtle and easier method than mine, of digging out of Spanish Dictionaries, thousands and thousands of words and phrases, to make it corpulent, as I made it, by transplanting them into it, bodies and souls at once. And do you not see, that, without so cunning a contrivance, poor *Comento* would have looked as lank and lean, as a French marquis that had never seen a round of beef, but in the prints of Hogarth?—Tolondron for ever, huzza!—This is a cogent, an unanswerable reason; and I love reasons cogent and unanswerable.

Another of the clever and speedy means (yet not so speedy neither) employed by Jack to impinguate *Comento*, has been, that [297] of quoting, out of various poems, songs, and chivalry-books, a great many passages, that bear resemblance to passages in Don Quixote, and bring them nose to nose. Don Quixote, for instance, enters a wood full of trees: and lo! Amadis de Gaul has likewise entered a wood, that was full of trees. Don Quixote falls flat from his horse to the ground. Does he? Tirante the white, and Olivante, the yellow,[101] both fell, as flat as flounders, from

[100] An allusion to the *Glossarium suigothicum* of the Swedish linguist Johann von Ihre (Uppsala, 1769).

[101] That Olivante is yellow is a detail Baretti has invented.

their horses to the ground. Don Quixote kneels to a fair lady, that rides alone upon a lilly-white palfrey by the walls of a castle, built on the east-side of a clear and rapid river. Where is the wonder of that? *Splandian*, *Rinaldo*, *Platir*, *Palmerino*, *Florismarte*, *St. George*, *St. Martin*, and several scores more of knights, all belonging to the erratic fraternity, have all kneeled to fair ladies, who rode alone upon lilly-white palfreys, by the sides of castles, that were built on the eastern, western, southern, or northern bank of this, and that, and t'other clear and rapid stream. [298]

There is no end in the *Comento* of such parallel passages, that throw a most radiant light on Cervantes' obscure and mysterious history: but, what can one say to that ferocious quantity of apposite erudition, brought for this same purpose of illustration, by our most learned Tolondron, in most pages of *Comento?* The Englishman that has read Don Quixote, in any one of the translations, may remember, that a galley-rogue is mentioned in it, whose name was *Gines de Passamonte;* a very nimble fellow, who stole asses, exhibited puppets, made monkeys speak, and wore a patch on one of his eyes, that he might not be known by the officers of the *Holy Brotherhood.* From what family the clever gentleman was descended, had always been a secret impenetrable to the Spanish Genealogists, as the prudent Cervantes, for reasons best known to himself, did not think proper to make his book intelligible to his countrymen, by revealing to them that family secret. But Tolondron, to whose opera-glass not an atom [299] of any visible object ever could escape, has spied, in a small crevice of an Italian poem, a tall, comely and substantial giant, ycleped *Passamonte:* and as the resemblance between *Passamonte* and *Passamonte*, may; without the least exaggeration, be compared to that of two eggs dropped by the same hen, Tolondron has fairly conjectured, that the Giant *Passamonte* was the founder of the illustrious *Passamonte-family*, and, of course, one of our *Gines*' progenitors; possibly the *Atavus* or *Tritavus* of him: nor should I be much surprised, if, in the Appendix to *Comento*, actually on the anvil, Jack were to affirm, that the *Genesis of Moses* was indubitably the great-grand-mother of the same *Gines*, as the resemblance is likewise amazing between *Gines* and *Genesis.*

I intend not to attempt here the *great undertaking* of giving even a fore-shortened idea of Jack's book-learning, and of setting down even so little, as the quarter-part of the erudition he has collected out of his *Bibliotheca*, wherewith he has embel[300]lished and set off his *Comento.* A turnip-waggon, actually going from Streatham, or Tooting, to any of the London markets, carries not half so many fine turnips, as *Comento* does erudite quotations. That you may not, however, be quite disappointed on this article, there go some few of them, by way of sample: and I am satisfied, that you will find them of as quick a relish, as any turnips you have

ever eaten with your boiled mutton.

To do all possible honour to one of the two illustrious Margravines, who assisted incog. at the august ceremony of Don Quixote's knighting, Tolondron informs you, that, at the distance of a league from the town of *Antequera*, where that chaste lady was born, there is a most copious spring of water, which, by falling downwards almost perpendicularly, makes above twenty mills go round and round, to the great comfort and emolument of as many millers and their families, that keep themselves from starving by the grinding of corn: and no body will deny, but this illustration of [301] the text contributes mightily to the exquisite delight given the beholders of that kingly ceremony, fortunately graced by the kind intervention of the beautiful Margravine, and her sweet-smelling friend *Dona Tolosa de Remendon y Pendanga.*

The Spanish appellation of *Hidalgo*, by some of your English translators, is rendered by that of *Country 'Squire* or *Country Gentleman*: but as such a version leaves the text in a most deplorable ambiguity, Jack translates it much better by these more learned and more specific words: "*Hidalgo* in Spanish and *Fidalgo* in Portuguese, *ille solùm dicitur, qui Christiana virtute pollet*:"[102] and so good a Christian is Jack, as not to know, that there are many *Hidalgos* in Spain, many *Fidalgos* in Portugal, and many (I ought to say *few*) *Country Gentleman* and *Country 'Squires* in England, *qui Christiana virtute non omnino pollent;*[103] yet all go promiscuously by those honorific appellations, not only when awake, but even when they are fast a-sleep. [302]

Cervantes, in the Curate's scrutiny (a slovenly scrutiny in my opinion) of Don Quixote's books, has named the *Carolea*, which he says to have been a work of *Don Luis de Avila.* Jack, who never saw the book, yet wants to make you believe he has, makes this short note on the title of that book: *"La Carolea: Hieronymus Sempere, scripsit neque pura, neque poetica dictione."*[104] What that *Hieronymus* had to do there, I know not: but, has not Jack mistaken one book for another? That is what I suspect, because he flatly contradicts his text. However, bits of Latin, whether out of *Don Nicholas Antonio's Bibliotheca*, or out of *Valerius Maximus*, always give a good look to a Commentator's notes, say what you will; and if such notes explain nothing, who cares?

That you may be duly apprised, as how *Dulcinea* was *Don Quixote's* mistress, Jack tells you, that *Don Galaor* had a mistress too, called *Aldeva;*

[102] De quienes se dice, que su virtud cristiana les da autoridad.

[103] Que por la cristiana virtud, no tienen autoridad alguna.

[104] Lo escribió Jerónimo de San Pedro, en lenguaje ni puro ni poético.

a wonderful pretty girl, that had the honour of being maid of honour to *Queen Grindalaya*. What a deal [303] of learning has Jack, and how he brings it forward to disencumber and disentangle his text, and make it as plain, as if it were in prose!

Whereas *Ambrosio*, in his scolding speech to *Marcella*, has, very a-propos, happened to name the emperor *Nero*, to whom he justly compares that pretty milk-maid, Jack informs us all, on the unquestionable authority of many ancient historians, that "*the burning of Rome lasted six days and seven nights*;" which piece of erudition renders most luminous *Ambrosio*'s speech to the cross-grained damsel, who delighted, like the emperor Nero, in nothing so much, as to sit in the shadow of cork-trees, when the weather was sultry.

As Don Quixote says somewhere of himself, that *he could and did write verses*; Jack clears up the equivocable expression by telling you, that Amadis and Olivante composed many love-songs in praise of their respective sweet-hearts: and, to illustrate the text still more, he adds, that *Rinaldo*, though a French[304]man, could touch occasionally the Welch-harp in as masterly a manner, as if he had been born at Carmarthen.

Don Quixote stands up stoutly for the superiority of arms over letters: and Jack says, that *apud Doctores controversum est*, *an Miles præferatur Doctori*;[105] but, that the *Ecclesiastes*, without any regard for *Doctor Quixotus*'s opinion, decides this knotty question by that famous axiom: *melior est sapientia quam arma bellica*.[106] Was I wrong, when I created him *a Salamanca-Gorron* out of my own undisputable authority?

Cervantes mentioned *King Pepin* and *Charlemain*, when he told us, that they were both killed in *Passamonte's puppet-show*. Jack, however, denies the truth of that fact, and will have it, that, both *Charlemain and King Pepin*, died many years before, not in Spain, and by a single cut of Don Quixote's irresistible sword in that puppet-show; but in France, and of a natural death in consequence of some fevers they both caught in their latter days: and to prop his strange contradiction, he notes down [305] with wonderful accuracy the very years, in which the two monarchs died.

Cervantes affirms—Reader, have mercy upon me, and be not so indiscreetly cruel, as to force me to produce more specimens of our Tolondron's immense erudition! Suffice, that Tolondron is very erudite, and knows how to adapt his learning nicely to his laudable purpose of ex-

[105] "Para los doctos es debatible que los soldados precedan a los sabios" (Alicia Monguió).

[106] Es mejor la sabiduría que las armas bélicas.

pounding and illustrating his text, always dark and unintelligible. Mercy, mercy, gentle reader, and do not suffer me to waste my powers to so very silly an end; but let me go on in my own manner, which, if not the most satisfactory to thee, will certainly prove the least fatiguing to thy humble servant; and thou hast no right to make me drive this way, or that way, as if I were a hackney coach-man.

Such, or thereabout, is the main method pursued by the wise Jack, to impinguate *Comento*, and do away all obscurities in Cervantes' oracular book: and quite unreasonable would I make free to call the Oxford or Cambridge scholar, that were [306] to complain of his want of exactness in his quotations out of the poem, song, or chivalry-book, from which all his erudition was extracted; as his Tolondronship has taken the trouble to set down, not only the titles of the works, out of which he got it, but, such a chapter of such a book, such a page of such a chapter, and such a line of such a page. How could otherwise any Spaniard, or any Englishman; nay, any Egyptian, or any Ethiopian, ever conceive, understand, comprehend, and be thoroughly persuaded and convinced, that *Don Quixote* did so and so, if Tolondron had neglected to tell him that *Don Galaor* did so and so? How could *Dulcinea* ever have winnowed her wheat in her back-yard, if *Melisendra* had not sat the whole day long in the balcony, looking wistfully toward France? How could *Sancho* ever have eaten his bread and cheese, if *Gandalin* had never gotten a dinner?

Poor Jack, among the several misfortunes that have befallen him, has run his noddle against one of the sundry volumes pub[307]lished by my old acquaintance, *Father Sarmiento* (as he tells us in the Prolog damned by the Captain); wherein that learned Father says, that "*one needs to have read all that Cervantes had read, in order to understand Don Quixote:*" and, without recollecting, that *learned Fathers*, as well as *learned Sons*, will, at times, say strange things, for the sole reason, that they happen suddenly to come across their fancies, the passive Tolondron, who swallows down for true every assertion he finds in any outlandish book, presently swallowed without chewing the learned Father's, presently procured many of the books that he conjectured Cervantes had read, and presently thick-strewed *Comento* with passages out of them, whenever and wherever he chanced to spy any, that bore any likeness to any passage in his text, no matter whether such likeness was as that of a night-cap to a man's foot, or of a galligaskin to a woman's head: and, that he might not be wanting to himself, he got likewise a considerable number of [308] other fine things out of his other books, no matter whether written in Spanish or Italian, Greek or Latin, Dutch or Suio-Gothick: and those fine things he thrusted piece-meal into *Comento*, with as much industry and skill, as the London-Tavern cook would bits of lard into beef-a-la-mode: by which

surprising means we are at last come to see quite clear throughthe fog of Cervantes' most foggy performance, and to comprehend every tittle of it, as well as if we had written it ourselves with our own Hamburgh-goose-quills.

But, to be serious, if it is possible to be serious when about so merry a subject: whatever the learned Benedictine may have said, or the unlearned Tolondron may have believed, Don Quixote is a book that wants no *Comento*, but what may be contained in two or three pages, as very few are the things in it that want explanation and clarification. Travelling through Spain, one meets with it, not only in almost every gentleman's house; but not [309] seldom in inns, in barbers' shops, and in peasants' cottages: and boys and girls, ten years old, understand it as well as grown folks; nor is ever any body stopt in the perusal by any difficulty, *Robinson Crusoe* in England, *Gil Blas* in France, and *Bertoldo* in Italy, are not better understood, than *Don Quixote* is in Spain: and Cervantes himself was so far from suspecting his book would ever want a comment, that he courageously predicted the popularity of it, not only in his own country, but in many countries: nor can a book ever be popular, that wants a comment to make it intelligible. Far from harbouring any such idea, or hinting, that, to understand his Don Quixote, we were to read the chivalry and other silly books he had read himself, Cervantes condemned them all to be burnt by means of the Curate: and the few, that he did not doom to the flames, were not saved with a view that they should assist readers to understand Don Quixote, but out of partiality to this and that, on some other account. Fling you, [310] Mr. John Bowle, fling into the fire your *Comento* likewise; as I tell it you again, that there is not *one line* throughout Don Quixote in want of any of your explanations; or point out *only one*, that you have explained better, than any Spanish girl could have done. Single words there are here and there in Don Quixote, that a Spanish girl, and a Spanish boy too, must ask mamma the meaning of: but such words scarce go beyond half a dozen, or a whole dozen, if you will have it so: and half a dozen or a whole dozen of words, are no fit subject for a *Comment* so very voluminous as your Tolondronship's; besides that, the explanation of words does not belong to Commentators, but to Dictionary-makers: and I will dare to say, that it would not prove difficult to find in *Robinson Crusoe* a dozen words not understood by boys and girls, who still will read it through, and think it a very clear and intelligible book, that stands in no want of a comment. What then signifies all your foolish erudition, brought into your foolish *Comento*, for the sole foolish pur[311]pose of showing your foolish self off? and what becomes of that immense farrago of quotations from your dictionaries, from your poems, songs, and chivalry-books, that illustrate nothing, expound nothing, and

clear up nothing at all? What becomes of your numberless passages out of your silly and forgotten *Trobas* and *Coplas*, which are no better than blind beggars' compositions, or old nurses' lullabies to still babes, and make them sleep? How could a thick-bearded man like you lose his time in treasuring up all that farrago of silly pieces, as if they had all been Greek fragments of the remotest antiquity, to be added to the Arundelian collection? You were much in the right, no doubt, in choosing the fatuous motto: *Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps, Non aliena meo pressi pede;*[107] as no body, but a *Princeps Tolondronorum*,[108] would have attempted the princely *undertaking* of treading and wading through the spacious bog of miry nonsense, you have trod and waded through during *fourteen years*, foundering knee-deep at every step, [312] and with an admirable mulish fortitude, that you might bless us at last with as doltish and despicable a work, as ever was seen, since Noah's coming out of the Ark on the Armenian mountain! Come now, ye Moralists and Divines, to stun us dead, by vociferating in our ears, that time is fleeting, and must be well employed! John Bowle tells you, that, besides *Ginés*, there was another *Passamonte* in this world: that *Don Galaor* had for a sweet-heart one of *Queen Grindalaya's* maids of honour; and thinks he has employed his time very well, when he enabled himself by constant study during *fourteen years*, to give you such important pieces of information.

But let me, gentle reader, or ungentle, if thou art ungentle, produce to thee only one specimen more of our Commentator's great ability in expounding the various and obscure senses of his text, which (or I am sadly mistaken) will prove to thee the most edifying and instructive thing thou hast ever read: and I will have thee know, that I have such a regard for thee, as I [313] should be quite vexed to send thee home, without some little instruction or edification of some kind or other.

In my *Spanish Dissertation* already mentioned, I have happened to observe, that the Academicians, who compiled the great Spanish Dictionary, had been so remiss in collecting words, as to omit even some, that are to be found in their most common books: and, to back my observation, I quoted about *five* and *thirty* out of Don Quixote alone. Master Jack, who takes every body to be as ignorant as himself, in his remarks on my observation, did not miss the opportunity of palming himself upon those among his English readers, who know nothing of Spanish, for a mighty Hispanist, by explaining to me, those few among the *thirty-five*, that he

[107] "Fui el primero en dejar mi huella en tierra virgen, donde mi pie no pisó vestigio ajeno" (Horace, *Epistles* I, 19; translation of Alicia Monguió).

[108] The prince or leader of Tolondrons.

could make out: but how did he contrive to save his credit with regard to those, that he could not make out? *Some of these*, said he, *are not in general use; and some do not belong to the Spanish language, though spoken by Sancho and his wife: Ergo, not one of the two* [314] *classes has a right to a place in the Academicians' Dictionary*. Such is the drift of the Tolondron's argument, and no Tolondron in the universe could ever argue more tolondronically, as, according to this fine doctrine, we must not have in Spanish dictionaries all the words we read in Don Quixote: and, if we are not to have them in those dictionaries, you may depend on it, that we are not to look for them in the *Comento* neither.

But, what I was going to say, is, that, among the *thirty-five* words, of which the Tolondron condescended to give me the meaning, there is the word *Bogiganga*. This word, says Jack, means a *particular kind of Farce*.

A particular kind of Farce? Thank you, Jack; thank you dearly: and let me now, with this pretty explanation in my head, translate the passage in Don Quixote, wherein there is the word *Bogiganga*. The passage runs thus:

"Estando en essas pláticas, quiso la suerte que llegasse uno vestido de *Bogiganga*." [315] That is: "While thus talking, chance would have it, that there came a fellow dressed in a particular kind of farce."

Hey-day! What is a man *dressed in a kind of farce?* Farces are stage-exhibitions, out of which no taylor could ever make a pair of breeches; much less a whole sruit! Jack, Jack, this explanation of yours is greatly too absurd to be right! You had better give me another. What say you?

Ay, quoth Jack, in a note at bottom of the page: *this can only be explained to the reader of the original; for which*, SEE *the Comento*.

But pray, good Jack! Why can the word *Bogiganga* only be explained to the reader of the original? I have long thought the English tongue copious enough, to enable any Englishman to explain any word, ever so odd and abstruse, of any outlandish language, were it even that of *Pipiripao*, if not with a direct equivalent English word, by means at least of a circumlocution! [316]

Master Jack shakes his wise head to and fro, persists in his opinion, that his native language is inadequate to the enormous task of explaining so very difficult a word, as that of *Bogiganga*: and, if you are obstinately resolved upon sounding this Eleusine Mystery, this Free-Mason-Secret, to the very bottom, you must open your silk-purse, take three good guineas out of it, buy his edition, carry it home, sit yourself down, and search into it for the wished-for explanation. No other option is left you. And is this not a good contrivance, to help the sale of an unsaleable book? Thanks to thee, good Crookshanks, for thy valuable present, that has saved me from the necessity of helping on Jack's lucrative schemes! Here

then is *Comento*, spick and span! What does *Comento* say about the magical word *Bogiganga?*

Comento explains it to the reader of the original in the following words, which I copy here with the greatest exactness, *italics*, *etceteras*, *numbers*, and *bad orthography*, just as they are in the *second part of* [317] *Comento*, page 31, line 9; and, on sending this sheet to the Printer, I will not forget to write a few words to his Compositor, to beg of him to be particularly careful in this place, that Mr. Commentator may not complain of my not having copied his Spanish faithfully. Here goes Jack's explanation.

> "Ay ocho maneras de compañias y representantes, y todas diferentes. Entre esas *Boxiganga*, Farandula, etc. En la *boxiganga* van dos mugeres y un muchacho, seys ó siete compañeros, y aun suelen *ganar mui buenos disgustos:* 79.29. porque *nunca falta un hombre necio*, un bravo, un mal sufrido, etc. etc. *Rojas.* 51. 2. 6."

Now, good Jack; you that, in one of your *four letters to Mr. Urban*, called yourself a *translator from the Spanish*, give us in English the true and exact meaning of this precious bit of your *Comento.*

Nothing so easy, upon my honour, says Jack, with a pretty smile: and here you [318] have it, every bit as clear and as perspicuous, as in the original.

> "There are eight kinds of companies and actors, and all different. Among them *Boxiganga*, Farandula, etc. In the *boxiganga* there go two women and a boy, six or seven companions, and also liable *to get very good disgusts*: 79. 29. because *never is there wanting a foolish man*, a bully, an impatient man, etc. etc. *Rojas.* 51. 2. 6."

Idle reader, that hast the patience to go through this page, thou wilt certainly say, that, by this translation of Mr. Bowle's Spanish note, I am playing booty to the poor cur, and humbugging thee at a great rate: but, I assure thee, that I scorn to be mean, and would not do such a thing for all the money thou mayst have at thy banker's. What need, besides, if I were even a duplicate of Mr. John Bowle, to have recourse to unfair tricks, when one has to deal with so foolish a fencer, as comes on unbuttoned, and exposes his broad bosom so awkwardly to all passes, [319] that one may hit him, as if he were a man of straw? My translation, I repeat it, is quite faithful: and if it conveys to thee nothing, but stark nonsense, so does the original to me: nor is it my fault, if both convey nothing, but stark nonsense, both to thee and me, and help us no more

to the explanation of the word *Bogiganga*, than a chapter of the Alcoran, or of the Zenda Vesta: nor be thou so curious, as to ask me even so little, as a guess at the meaning of the note. I am no more a conjuror than my next neighbour, and can translate Spanish words fast enough; but cannot guess at the meaning of Jack's nonsense, which is always so superlative a kind, as no body can make head, nor tail of, were he even to distil his brains through a limbeck. What I can do, is, to make thee take notice, that this is the mighty linguist, who is ready to swear to my *total ignorance of Spanish*, and offers to teach it me, magnanimously beginning to give me the real signification of my *thirty-five* words, among which that of *Bogiganga*. [320] What a pity I am so old, as to be unfit to go to his school! Go to it thyself, reader, and be documented by the most skilful documentor in the three kingdoms, that thou mayst learn to make *Comentos*.

But still, Mr. Pickpocket, or Mr. Culprit, or what you are: if you know what *Bogiganga* means, do, tell it us yourself intelligibly, and with as little circumlocution, as you can.

What? Tell it intelligibly? Ay! And, who asks this question of me? Is it a gentleman, or a lady?

A lady, to be sure! and a young one too: and a very pretty one, in her mamma's opinion, as well as in her own.

Well then, lady pretty. Stick your needle in that chip-hate you are covering with gauze, and listen patiently; because, to tell in English the meaning of a Spanish word, that has puzzled our great Commentator, is not to be done in a trice, I warrant you. *Bogiganga* then means—Let me see. It means _____. [321]

What? Out with it at once, dear Mr. Culprit.

It means *Punchinello*.

Punchinello! You are laughing: that cannot be!

But I say it is so. *Bogiganga* means neither more nor less, than *Punchinello*. With this meaning in your head, translate now yourself the passage in Don Quixote, and you will see how well it fits.

"Llegó, uno de la compañia vestido *de Bogiganga.*"

"There came one of the company *in a Punchinello dress.*"

This translation, you see, is as clear as your complexion, lady pretty.

Clearer at least, than Mr. Bowle's two explanations! And what was the man saying, that it could not be translated, but *to a reader of the original?* Thank you, good Mr. Culprit, for your better opinion of our English language. But, here is Cousin Maitland, a studious boy of Captain Crook-shanks's acquaintance, just come from Tunbridge-school, who wants to know what he calls the *temology* of that [322] Spanish word. Don't you call it so, cousin?

Young Maitland, I know what you mean: but do you want to be as

learned as myself, you saucy rogue?

And more if I could.

Well said, my lad! I will then tell you what *Bogiganga* means, from the *Bo* to the *ga*. Hush!

Bogiganga, which I would rather write *Boxiganga*, though in opposition to the Spanish Academicians' edition of Don Quixote, might as well be written *Voxiganga* as the Spaniards make almost no difference between a *B*, and a *V*, and use them promiscuously in the speech: and *Voxiganga* is a coalition, or coalescence, of the Spanish feminine substantive *Voz* [in Latin *Vox*, in English *Voice*] and the Spanish feminine adjective *gangosa*, oddly shortened to *ganga*: and *Voz gangosa* means *a squeaking and nasal voice*, like that of *Punchinello*, who as you well know, speaks with a squeaking voice, that seems to come out at his nose, because the fellow, who in a [323] puppet-show, manages the puppet called *Punchinello*, or *Punch*, (as English folks abbreviate it) speaks with a tin-whistle in his mouth, which makes him emit that comical kind of voice.[109]

To make you as learned as myself, I must tell you, Maitland, that *Punchinello* in Italy, and *Boxiganga* in Spain, besides their appearing as puppets in puppet-shows, as they do in England, are also *Dramatis Personae* in some farcical extempore comedies, mostly exhibited by strolling players. Of course, the parts of *Boxiganga* and *Punchinello* are acted by men like you and me, and not by dolls in breeches, as *Punch* is in England: and I assure you, that, when the fellow, that acts the part of *Punchinello* or *Boxiganga* in either country, happens to have wit and humour, as is often the case; not only the vulgar, but the very best of people, cannot help being thrown into immoderate fits of laughter in spight of their teeth. Don Quixote owns, that, when young, he liked greatly the *Carátula* and the *Farándula*; [324] that is those *low farces and comedies*: and I own too, that, when young, I liked them as well as he; nor am I sure, that I should dislike them now, that am old, were I to see them again. And, since I am about it, having given you the etymology of *Boxiganga*, I may as well give you that of *Punchinello*, as it is not to be found in Johnson's Dictionary, nor in any dictionary that ever I looked into; nor in the *Pot-pourri* of *Monsieur de Voltaire*, where he talks much of *Polichinelle*, and, besides his *Life and Adventures*, gives his *genealogy* with as much correctness, as if the humpback little fellow were a descendant of the famous *Marshal Duke of Luxembourg*, who was likewise as humpback, as our friend

[109] The current (22nd ed.) Spanish Academy dictionary derives *bojiganga* from "*voxiga*, variante de *vejiga*," and the latter from the Latin *ves ga* (www.rae.es, 9 May 2003).

Punchinello.[110]

Know then, that the English word *Punchinello* is in Italian *Pulcinella*, which means a *hen-chicken*. I need not tell you, Maitland, that chickens voices are *squeaking and nasal*: and for this reason, as well as because chickens are *timid and powerless*, my whimsical countrymen have given the name of *Pulcinella*, [325] or *Hen-Chicken*, to that comic character, both on the stage, and in the puppet-show; the show being nothing else, but an imitation of the stage, and a kind of abbreviature of it. By this etymology you may see, that *Punchinello* and *Bogiganga* are nearly allied, as they nearly convey the same idea; the idea of *a man that speaks with a squeaking voice through his nose*: nor are you to be told neither, that *Punch*, in your puppet-shows, being but a *timid and weak fellow*, is always thrashed by the other puppet-actors in the show; yet always boasts of victory after they are gone, as feeble cowards are apt to do, bragging, that they have gotten the better of those, by whom they were soundly bastinadoed.

To all this abstruse and wonderful erudition I must add, that the Spaniards call *Ganga* a wild bird of the web-footed kind, because her voice, like that of geese, ducks, and other birds of that sort, is *squeaking* and nasal; and it is a moot point, whether from the bird *Ganga* came the Spanish adjective *Gangoso*, *gangosa*, or the very con[326]trary: a point, that I am not scientific enough to decide with Bowlean promptitude, and well deserving the deepest consideration of the most learned scholars.

And, as the pouring out of my unbounded learning is a-going, I will pour it off to the last drop, by telling you furthermore, that *Mogiganga*, a word easily equivocated with *Bogiganga*, is the name given in Spain to some *masqued assemblies*, whereto people resort in the oddest disguises they can think of, and there speak to each other in a *squeaking and nasal voice*, that they may not be known; exactly as they do in your masquerades at the Opera-house and the Pantheon. The Academicians' Dictionary gives *Mogiganga* a part of this my definition; and *Don Antonio de Solis*, in one of his farces, entitled *El Salta en Banco* (the Mountebank) introduces *Seis hombres vestidos de Mogigangas;* that is, *six men in Mogiganga-dresses;* whereby we see, that, in some sense, [327] there is no great difference between *Mogiganga* and *Bogiganga*, and that the concurrents to that sort of assemblies or masquerades go themselves by their very names. Our Tolondron, who has been more than *twenty years* employed in turning the leaves of the Academicians' Dictionary, 'tis probable, that he has formerly lighted upon their definition of the word *Mogiganga*: but preserving only a confused remembrance of it, when he gave me his non-

[110] Note that Baretti strays off the topic so as to display his erudition, the same fault he accuses Bowle of.

sensical *explanation* of the word *Bogiganga*, confounded the two ideas of *farce* and *masquerade*, and blundered at the rate he did, in his letter to his Doctor. Whether this conjecture of mine is right or wrong, I will refer him to *Shelton*'s English translation of Don Quixote, who, with great propriety, renders the word *Bogiganga, the fool in the play*; which might have put the Commentator in the way of being right, if he had attended to it, while he was about his *mui malditas Anotaciones a Quixote*, as he calls his *mui maldito Comento*.

But enough of this kind of learning, which, in all likelihood, will, by serious [328] readers, be termed most impertinent learning: and, should any lover of etymologies pardon it, and consider it as deserving a small corner in *Menage* or *Covarruvias*'s works, I am sure I should be as proud of it, as my landlady's maid was on Sunday last, when she put her new gown of a yard-wide stuff, to go to church in. At all events, our Tolondron, that fancies he could teach me Spanish, may well be aware by this time, that, were I to go to his school, I might possibly prove a very clever lad, and even play the husher in his absence, if he were ever willing to trust me with the rod.

To his *Comento* the Tolondronissimo has tagged no less than *five Indexes*, mightily conducive, like his *double definition* of *Bogiganga*, to the complete understanding of Don Quixote, which, no doubt, was the laudable aim he had in both his eyes during his *fourteen years* incessant drudgery.

The *two first* of those *Indexes*, which might as well have been melted into one, if the man had ever known how to do [329] things right: the *two first Indexes*, I say, contain, in due alphabetic order, not only the names of all the men and women mentioned in Don Quixote, from *Adam and Eve*, *down to Sancho and Teresa*; but also the names, that Cervantes happened to name, of *countries*, *towns*, *castles*, *villages*, *rivers*, *streets*, *squares*, *churches*, and other component parts of this low world. By thus bringing in a synoptical view *Adam and Eve*, *Alexander*, *Ovid*, *Pedro de Bustamante*, *Don Galaor*, *Ariosto*, *Cardenio*, *Agramante*, *Lela Marien*, *Leo the Jew*, *the little engineering Friar*, *Mahomet*, *Lucifer*, *Julius Caesar*, and other such personages, plain it is, that the comprehending of Don Quixote is greatly facilitated to the Spaniards, especially, as, among those names of men and women, the Tolondron has ingeniously intermixed, not only those, as I said, of *Sancho* and *his wife*, but also those of *the Curate*, of *the Barber*, of *Sanson Carrasco*, of *Tomé Cecial*, of *Dulcinea*, of Sancho's elegant daughter *Sanchica*, and that of *Don Quixote* himself, which, had [330] they unfortunately been left out of either Index, would certainly have left the poor text as dark, as any dark cellar in Darkhouse-lane, near Billingsgate, where Jack often resorts to learn English, and eat oysters cheap.

Don Quixote is likewise further expounded by Jack's having registered in those *two Indexes* the names of *Africa*, *Spain*, *England*, *the Island Barataria*, *the Island Melindrania*, *the Kingdom of Sobradisa*, *Naples*, *Valencia*, *Barcellona*, *Carthage*, *Carthagena*, and other places, which, no doubt, render very intelligible the puzzling geography of Cervantes. Nor has the Tolondron forgotten, among so many names, those of *Bucephalus*, *Babieca*, *Frontino*, *Bajardo*, and *Brilladoro*; that were formerly mounted by *Alexander*, *Ruy Diaz* surnamed *the Cid*, *Sacripante*, *Rinaldo*, *and Orlando*; every thing with a view to sweep away difficulties, clear up obscurities, and make every rough passage as smooth, and as nice, as an infanta's nuptial bed. His admirable ingenuity went even so far, [331] as to tell you exactly, how many times *Rocinante* is named by his name throughout the text: a thing that contributes not a little to make it plainer and plainer. But—*O tempora! O mores!*[111] Could you have suspected it, ye Christians of all denominations, that, having done so much for the fortunate *Rocinante*, Mr. Index-Maker has totally forgotten Sancho's meritorious *Ass*, as if the glorious quadruped had been a *blictri*, a mere nonentity, in comparison to his lean and slow-paced comrade! Prodigious busy have I been in searching under the words *Asno*, *Burro*, *Borrico*, *Pollino*, *Jumento*, *Rucio*, *Animal*, *Bestia*, and *Bestezuela*, by all which the brave ass is called in various parts of the text: but could get no more tidings of him, than of the braying *Alcalde*'s, or of those three, on which the sublime *Dulcinea* and her two amiable *damsels* rode, when the wicked *Necromancer* transformed them into three garlick-stinking wenches. How the diligent and accurate Tolondron could, on this great [332] contingency, be so unlike himself, and prove guilty of so strange an oversight, can scarcely be conceived, considering the long time he has wasted away in heaping up, with his broad intellectual space, every most minute minutia, that could throw light upon his text, and give a tympany to his *Comento*. Mercy upon me! Not so much as a cumin-seed of brotherly love in some flinty hearts! *O tempora! O mores!*

But what do you imagine, good neighbours, that Mr. Bowle's *third Index contains?* Out with your groat a-piece each of you, and you shall know it as well as myself! That third Index contains (and I do not bamboozle you) neither more nor less than the names, told over again, of all the men and women named in Don Quixote; such as *Adam and Eve*, *Sancho and Teresa*, *Don Quixote*, *Sanson Carrasco*, *Don Galaor*, *Alexander*, *Mahomet*, *Agramant*, *Ovid*, *Lela Marien*, and the rest; as also the names told over again, of *countries*, *towns*, *villages*, *rivers*, *castles*, *churches*, etcetera, [333] with the only addition of two regions, by him discovered, I know

[111] "¡Qué tiempos! ¡Qué costumbres!" (a famous verse of Cicero).

not in what latitude; the one called *Pastor Fido*, and the other *Paternoster*. What part of the text this repetition of names clarifies, and makes intelligible, I cannot as yet guess: but, if ever I am so lucky as to find it out, every soul of you shall know it speedily, by means of some scholia to the present Speeches, that I am actually planning, as I am none of your Rosicrucians, that keep to themselves all the beneficial knowledge they can get at, to the great detriment of the literary commonwealth.

Index four, and *Index five*, not only contain the *palabras principales*, or *principal words*, used by Cervantes in his book, such as *Abundancia*, *Marinero*, *Famoso*, *Dolor*, *Absurdo*, *Ingenioso*, *Bastardo*, and other such; but also a punctual enumeration of the times, that each one of those *palabras* has been repeated throughout the book, every repetition ascertained by proper numerical references to the chapters, pages, [334] and lines, wherein they have occurred again and again. To own the truth, I have, as yet, not had sufficient leisure, accurately to read these two last Indexes through: but *Señor Sancha*, the Madrid bookseller and printer already mentioned, who came to England on purpose to be taught by Mr. Bowle the *Aljamía*, or *Moorish Jargon*, used by Cervantes throughout his Don Quixote, told me, before his return to his country took place, that Mr. Bowle, by means of those two *glorious Indexes*, had informed him of the number of times, that the word *Cavallero (knight)* has been repeated in Cervantes's book; which number I have now forgotten whether it amounted to seventeen hundred, or seventeen hundred thousand; but I know it is thereabout: a piece of information, said he, that, he was quite sure, would prove of infinite advantage to the Royal Academicians, and all other good people in Spain if ever desirous to understand Don Quixote, and enter into the very [335] marrow of all his numerous dark meanings. Mr. Bowle, added *Señor Sancha*, has done us all such mighty service by apprising us minutely of all Don Quixote's doings, not very well known to us before, that, depend upon it, my grateful countrymen shall have a statue raised to his honour in the very center of *Barataria*, to match that already erected there to *Sancho Panza*, to immortalize his ever-memorable government of that celebrated island.

This, ye yeoman of England, lairds of Scotland, and volunteers of Ireland; this is the sketch, that I have, with no great labour, etched of Mr. John Bowle's unmatchable performance. A more *waspish reviewer* than myself, by taking some more pains than I have been willing to do, might have tossed him much higher in his critical blanket, than I have done in mine: but as it matters not a straw to the wide world, whether his book is good or bad, of use, or of no use, I did not think it right to lose more time in epitomizing it, than I have already lost. [336] Captain Crookshanks was the man, who gave me the first notice, while I was in Sussex,

of the Letter to the Divinity-Doctor, by means whereof our good Jack flattered himself to blister me all over, and cure me of the rheumatism. But that letter I had disregarded, as too sublimely despicable in every point to be noticed, if, on my coming to town, the beginning of last month, (and to-day is the 17th of November, 1785), I had not happened to read his four other Letters to Mr. Urban, which, I own, shocked me, not so much on mine, as on Doctor Johnson's account, whose most respectable memory is, in those rascally scraps, so beastly vilified, as you have seen, by this vile dealer in scurrility, scandal, and abominable lies. To chastise the brute for having dared so to do, and teach him to leave off his Ourang-Outang tricks for the future, I have scribbled in a hurry these Speeches, firmly persuaded, that there is not one honest man in the three kingdoms, but what will approve of my hunting down [337] such a Savage, who excavates and throws open, with claws and fangs, even sepulchres, that he may satiate his horrid hunger with the bones of the dead. In the *Prologo*, so judiciously damned by Captain Crookshanks, the Jack has told us in his Spanish lingo, that, long before any body had seen any part of his performance, *Deans*, *Barons*, *Esquires*, and *Dons* gave it infinite praise: and to them he might have added the Captain himself, who was then likewise one of his warmest encomiasts, as well as one of his most liberal subscribers. But, if ever the Edition and Comment come to a second edition, as the Tolondronissimo still flatters himself will be the case, let him issue forth with the names of the *Deans*, *Barons*, *Esquires*, and *Dons*, that approved of his *great undertaking* after they saw it printed. I would give the world, as the phrase is, to see Mr. John Bowle produce, out of his pocket-book, a single card of congratulation on this score, subscribed *Percy*, *Dillon*, *Tyrwhitt*, *Ortega*, or *Saforcada*, who were those, as he tells [338] us, that approved of his *great undertaking*, and spurred him briskly to carry it on, as they took it for granted, that he told them truth, when he informed them of his own immense abilities for that purpose, which then they had certainly no means of forming any idea of.

To conclude and make an end of this paltry subject, I now pull my night-cap off my white-haired noddle, and, making a most reverential bow to Mr. John Bowle, alias Querist, alias Anti-Janus, alias Izzard Zed, alias Coglione, alias Jack, alias Tolondron; and wishing a merry Christmas to you all, there goes to the Devil his edition and my pen, quite worn out to the stump. *Valete omnes.*

FINIS

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Teresa Panza's Character Zone and Discourse of Domesticity in *Don Quijote*

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hile *Don Quijote* has served as a source for an abundance of critical interpretation, there is a relative dearth of analysis with respect to Sancho's wife Teresa Panza.[1] Literary critics have seen her as a conservative and/or aggressive female figure who pales in literary comparison to the ideal Dulcinea or the women who cross paths with Don Quijote and Sancho in their journeys. One significant critical exception is Heid's study of Teresa Panza as a "non-gendered" (122) and "fully-realized" (131) subject whose discourse actively places in question gender and class constructs. In a similar vein, but using Bakhtinian theory, I focus here on both Teresa's words and her character zone, that is, the influence of her discourse and presence in the narration of Sancho's "construction" of domesticity, or the space of the home, in dialogue with Don Quijote.[2]

[1] In the rare cases of critical study of Teresa's presence, she has been described as showing a conservative and/or passive state of silent longing and prosaic resignation, as aggressively berating her husband, or as one part of a realistic "common life" and/or "the natural world." See for example El Saffar (*Beyond Fiction* 122 and 111, and "Elogio" 320); Wiltrout (167–68); Trachman (ix and154); Espina (189–93); Falcón (69); and Lloréns (principally 4 and 17).

[2] In Bakhtin's words, "a character zone is the field of action for a character's

My reading thus implies a reversal, which Heid began, with respect to former critical approaches to Teresa Panza. That is, rather than starting with the Sancho/Don Quijote dichotomy (and with it, that of Dulcinea/Aldonza), with a generalized group of women in *Don Quijote*, or with matrimonial constructs of abnegation, humility, or conservatism in order to work back to Teresa's image, I look at Teresa's proverbial speech in order to see how her discourse of domesticity is rewritten by Sancho in the Second Part of *Don Quijote* and is an influential factor in his returning home.

More specifically, using Bakhtin's theories of the material body and dialogism in the novel, I will study Teresa as a (re)productive working woman within an agrarian economy. Teresa's discourse and her character zone participate in a carnivalesque system of (re)productive bodies, in which the bodies of labor and coins are still connected to animals and the earth.[3] Cervantes ultimately uses both proverbial dialogic speech and Don Quijote's double-voiced speech with its monologic "ideal," to create metaphoric domestic spaces that are open or closed, productive or nonproductive, but proverbial speech in the Second Part of *Don Quijote* retains the vital presence of both women's and men's productive (and reproductive) bodies within domestic

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voice" (*Dialogic Imagination* 316); he later adds, "A character in a novel always has …a zone of his own, his own sphere of influence on the authorial context surrounding him, a sphere that extends—and often quite far—beyond the boundaries of the direct discourse allotted to him" (*Dialogic Imagination* 320). Lázaro Carreter, in his introductory words to Rico's edition of *Don Quijote*, studies Sancho's use of sayings and proverbs, and mentions the influence of Bakhtinian thought (x). However, he ends a consideration of Teresa's proverbial speech by concluding that Sancho carries out the "transvase definitivo de la catarata refraneril de Teresa" and "es ya dueño del artificio" (xxiii). It is antithetical to Bakhtinian dialogism that Sancho, especially, acquire "ownership" of his proverbial applications in the context of Cervantes' masterpiece, as I will show here.

[3] According to Bakhtin, in *Don Quijote* "bodies and objects begin to acquire a private, individual nature," which produces isolation from the social body (*Rabelais* 23). In my view, Sancho's carnival presence is in part incipiently (and ambivalently) individualized by his journeys with Don Quijote, his wages as squire, and his desire to become a governor.

space. Within Sancho and Teresa's shared discourse, Cervantes drew no strict gender lines to divide the social, productive carnival body off from the world of renewal and rebirth to which it was still connected.

Teresa's proverbial tactics.

In general terms, the content of proverbs can be opposed, sustained, or questioned in differing degrees. Since proverbs can be used aphoristically to close a debate (Sullivan 83), in an attempt to cut off the opponent's possibility of reply, the saying "La mujer honrada, la pierna quebrada y en casa," with its example of woman shut up in a home, would seem to be the most graphic and monologic of sayings limiting women's verbal or physical presence. Indeed Sullivan indicates that canonical and civil law as well as printed collections of proverbs sanctioned dominating and controlling women through violence (102). However, women's words were considered dangerous (101), since women "disputed verbal dominance" and evidently not only used existing proverbs as "weapons" but also created new ones to their advantage (Sullivan 102).

As part of a string of proverbs which is the point of departure for my reading of Teresa Panza's discourse, the above saying, one that will resonate in Spanish domestic space at least until the end of the nineteenth century,[4] is used by Teresa in her argument with Sancho in Chapter Five of the Second Part, before his second journey with Don Quijote (663–771). Teresa Panza's citing of this specific proverb can be and has been seen as an example of what Molho considers her "inmovilismo del medievo" (299), or the control and limitation of domestic spaces and women's bodies in a feudal system.[5] However, Teresa's citing of the

[4] Aldaraca cites the proverb in question as an example of Spanish "threatening and arrogant" cultural attitudes, and uses it to differentiate the Spanish nineteenth-century *ángel del hogar* construct from the English "angel in the house" (63).

[5] When Wiltrout comments on Teresa's knowledge of Sancho's psychology, she uses the saying in question as a specific example of Teresa's "misogynous

proverb is part of an attempt to prevent Sancho from leaving their productive agrarian home.

That is, seen in its context, proverbial speech and specifically Teresa's proverb can show the tactical possibilities available to women (and men), especially in Cervantes' narrative. As violent and misogynous as the proverb of the "woman at home with a broken leg" sounds when isolated from its context, in *Don Quijote* it still forms a part of an ambivalent proverbial system, in which sayings or proverbial fragments can contain a metaphor, and thus sustain a metaphoric space,[6] that provides a tactical poeticity. Proverbial dialogism includes more than isolated, and therefore monologic, moments of "battle" between opposing points of view and the resulting violence toward physical bodies. That is, ultimately the movement of apertures and closures within proverbial space takes its rhetorical strength not from the possibility of victory or dominance at a hypothetical end of the ambivalent struggle among meanings, but from its capacity as what Colombí terms an "instrumento mágico" in the process of convincing and persuading (52). In Mieder's words, "there are no limits to the possible functions of proverbs for they are as varied as life itself" (613).

Through precisely Teresa and Sancho's capacity to contextualize proverbs, and Don Quijote's double-voiced and affective dialogue with their "world," the three create metaphoric spaces that are constructed and relativized verbally. These spaces differ from, while interacting with, the spaces within Martínez Bonati's description of a spatial and verbal dynamics of *Don Quijote* in which there exists "un predominio creciente de las conversaciones sobre las aventuras, del marco urbano sobre el rural, de las

proverbs." Falcón also uses the proverb as an example to support her commentary on Teresa's conservative and backward stance.

[6] In this regard, Sullivan's complete definition of the proverb is: "tense linguistic structures that express cultural truisms in short, sententious, often witty form, sometimes containing a metaphor in its literal terms, frequently metaphorical in use, and characterized by mnemonic devices like rhyme, alliteration, parallelism, and other rhythmic elements" (82).

casas de hidalgos y nobles sobre las ventas del camino" (129). Additionally, Hutchinson, within his analysis of "the language of movement in Cervantes's novels," describes at least in part the effect of the subjective construction of space within Cervantes' narrative:

> More than anything else, the subjectivity of usually one or two people constitutes the vulnerable space in which th[e] movement [of desire] takes place. Movement characterizes relationships between affective agents and at the same time adumbrates, if ever so sketchily, the kind of topography in which they are supposed to occur (60).

Thus the narrative dynamic creates "objective" spaces, while characters move within an affective constructing of subjective space. In the course of their travels, Don Quijote and Sancho Panza construct a shared space of "domesticity," with its corresponding verbalized enclosures or apertures, and return to the "objective" space of their homes.

Perhaps Don Quijote himself most succinctly expresses the poeticity of subjects moving within the spatial metaphors of proverbial speech and dialogic thought, when he gives credit relatively early on to Sancho's arsenal of proverbs. At the beginning of the adventure of the helmet of Mambrino, he explains to his squire: "Paréceme, Sancho, que no hay refrán que no sea verdadero, porque todas son sentencias sacadas de la mesma experiencia, madre de las ciencias todas, especialmente aquel que dice: 'Donde una puerta se cierra, otra se abre'" (I, 21; 223).[7] In this proverbial example lies the simultaneity of verbalized aperture and closure in Cervantes' masterpiece: when monologic speech is in the act of closing a metaphoric door, a dialogic reply is opening another.

My close reading here shows how the ambivalent application

[7] All quotations are from Rico's edition of *Don Quijote*.

of some proverbial "truisms"[8] of gender definition and domesticity in the spaces created by Sancho and Don Quijote continue this metaphoric movement while reflecting Teresa's character zone, starting with her argument with Sancho in Part Two, Chapter Five. The conversation there is one which the narrative voice declares "apocryphal" due to Sancho's unusually "cultured" language. On one side of the argument, Sancho's voice is that of corrector of popular language, much like his companion in arms. On the other, Teresa, in a role similar to Sancho's with Don Quijote, upholds her points with a series of interspersed proverbs: "viva la gallina, aunque sea con su pepita"; "la mejor salsa del mundo es la hambre"; "mejor parece la hija mal casada que bien abarraganada" (665); "Al hijo de tu vecino, límpiale las narices y métele en tu casa" (666); "pero allá van reyes do quieren leyes"[9] (667); "la mujer honrada, la pierna quebrada, y en casa; y la doncella honesta, el hacer algo es su fiesta" (668); "quien te cubre, te descubre" (669).

In the conversation, Teresa's carnivalized discourse attacks with its "weapons": a string of proverbs, all of which can express the presence and/or varying functions of a material body. In context, she uses all of them to either appeal to the corporal satisfactions that are so pleasing to Sancho, or to remind him of his family and class. Thus Teresa applies the first proverb of "viva la gallina" to Sancho's own situation, in order to convince him that he shouldn't search for the *ínsula* that Don Quijote promises him, but rather be content in his home with their domestic economy. She follows it with another that affects his stomach, reminding Sancho again of his social condition, but also of the fact that in the home of the poor "siempre comen con gusto" (665). She then asks him that he not forget her and their children.

Teresa applies four sayings, one being the "woman with the

[8] I borrow this word from Sullivan's definition of the proverb. See n. 6 above.

[9] Riquer takes note of this proverbial inversion (*Quijote* 597 n. 14). Rico also notes the inversion, adding, in effect, that it is possibly strategic on Teresa's part (*Quijote* 1: 667–68 n. 44).

broken leg at home," to advocate for the reality of her daughter's class in an attack on Don Quijote's fictitious self-transformation in knight, but also to convince Sancho of what she perceives as the desires of her daughter and to protect her daughter from possible verbal abuse within matrimony. First, she tells Sancho that she thinks Mari Sancha (or Sanchica) "no se morirá si la casamos; que me va dando barruntos que desea tanto tener marido como vos deseáis veros con gobierno" (665). She follows this observation with the proverbial reference to being "badly wed" as better than "living together well." Then, since Lope Tocho, the son of their neighbor, "doesn't look poorly upon" Sanchica ("no mira de mal ojo a la mochacha") (666), she adds the proverb about the son of a neighbor, here applied literally. In this way, Sanchica will stay close to Teresa, and, in a carnivalesque amplification, "seremos todos unos, padres y hijos, nietos y yernos" (666).

She expresses at the same time her fear of her daughter's marrying a count, as Sancho proposes; for whenever her noble husband wished, he would insult Sanchica by reminding her that she is the "hija del destripaterrones" (666), reminding her of their difference in class. In Teresa's reasoning, the marriage would place Sanchica in a position in which she neither understands (or understands herself) nor is understood ("adonde ni a ella la entiendan, ni ella se entienda") (666). Sancho's wife then "closes the door" on her and her daughter's possibilities of leaving their village, saying they will not move an inch, through the proverbs of the "honest woman" and "the honest maiden." As violent as the first of these two proverbs sounds, I repeat, in Teresa's application it reinforces an understood and valued presence of women's bodies, work, and words, in contrast to an anticipated "noble" insult, as cited above. That is, the proverb in context is dialogically *understandable* and *answerable*.

The combination of Teresa's proverbial arguments and Sancho's "apocryphal" speech "illustrates" the possible lack of understanding that Teresa describes with respect to Sanchica's marrying a noble. Cervantes anticipates in this conversation both the

possible results of Don Quijote's correction of Sancho's popular speech, and of Sancho's own capacity to apply what he has heard in didactic ecclesiastic sermons.[10] In this way, the text creates a direct contrast with Teresa's dialogic appeals to a still vital presence of productive bodies connected within a social body. First, she appeals to what pleases Sancho himself; then, to what she thinks would please her daughter. She next questions the possibility of maintaining her familial/familiar discourse within the appearances—through both word and image—of a higher class. In this sense, the carnivalesque inversion of the terms of the next proverb, of "kings go where laws are needed," underlines her argument against Don Quijote's ease of renaming (and change of social status). At the same time, it would reinforce her preference to see Sanchica wed (legally), but with the son of their neighbor, a man of her own class. In Teresa's thought process, to construct an image of nobility through title and clothing, does not confer "authority." Rather, proverbial anonymity and contextual tactics are her (and her daughter's) "weapons" or strengths, thus she argues to maintain the underlying *proverbial* authority.[11]

Upon Sancho's questioning her reasoning, Teresa quotes the proverb of being "dis-covered" (uncovered) by those who have "covered." What Teresa anticipates here is that both the act of renaming and the family's past poverty will be eventually "uncovered" and scrutinized, as she explains: "Por el pobre todos

[10] In part, Molho describes the effect of proverbial thought integrated into "la tradición culta" with respect to Don Quijote, where "el proverbio no tiene más objeto que la edificación moral" (22). I would add that the "authority" conferred by a past communal or collective base of experience, described by Colombí, has at least partially a "didactic end" (39), but always within a collective whole, similar to what Ong describes as the formulaic "objectivity" of oral culture in practice. However, this is ultimately an intersubjective act (what Ong considers "as encased in the communal reaction, the communal 'soul'") (46).

[11] Colombí notes that in colloquial discourse, the speaker "does not adopt any conventionalized role," and that in the anonymity of the proverb, its deauthorization confers a maximum authority. (39) It is from this stance that Teresa argues with Sancho, in a contextual application of proverbial authority in all its possible variation.

pasan los ojos como de corrida, y en el rico los detienen; y si el tal rico fue un tiempo pobre, allí es el murmurar y el maldecir" (669). In Teresa's logic, which is upheld especially when Sancho's body is chosen to suffer in order to disenchant Dulcinea, the ultimate target of words and looks will be the still-present social body behind Sancho's proposed modified appearance. Thus Teresa is "fighting" from and for the carnival, material body from her proverbial stance.

Sancho, on the other hand, from the didactic correction of language which signals his "quixotization" in part, and also his incipient individualization, defends the possibility of his wife's and daughter's prospering within the same change of title (to *doñas*) and appearance. He listens to his wife, and replies vehemently using an explanation taken from a sermon: the presence of an image of wealth and prosperity before one's eyes takes precedence in memory over the past poverty of the person one is seeing. But, while advocating for respectful speech and pleasantries as the mode for maintaining the new image, he calls Teresa an "animal" twice.[12] In reply, Teresa proposes an interchange between Sanchica and her son Sanchico—instead of Sanchico becoming a priest, as was planned, he should learn the "trade" his father is proposing for himself, of governor, and Sanchica stay with her. His wife uses a traditional logic of fathers teaching their sons their work, as a way of attacking Sancho for his ecclesiastic speech and resulting lack of understanding. For Teresa's point in

[12] This act of Sancho's is part of one ongoing example of the carnival body's blending with "the world, with animals, with objects" (*Rabelais* 27), with its conflicts as well as its humor: Sancho compares Teresa to a mule in the First Part of the work and later calls her an animal, while he himself brays, calls himself an ass, and suffers Don Quijote's calling him one repeatedly. Difficult as it may be to comprehend, these verbal acts contain the ambivalence of a praise that can appear abusive, or the reverse, in a "dual image" which in folk culture, "seeks to grasp the very moment of…the transfer from the old to the new, from death to life" (Bakhtin, *Rabelais* 166). That is, to be called an "ass" in Sancho's world at least anticipates praise of that animal's usefulness, also seen in Sancho's amusing affection for his *rocín*. For further reflections of the mule's carnival connection in *Don Quijote*, see Cárdenas, Martín, and García de la Torre.

the argument, it is better to propose sending Sanchico to be governor, in an implicit analogy of priest/Sancho's speech/ governor, than to subject Sanchica to marriage with a count, the equivalent for Teresa, as the narrative voice explains, of seeing her "muerta y enterrada" (671), her carnival body stilled and her voice misunderstood.

Sancho's atypical defense of bodies isolated in the present by a title and appearance and of the erasing of memories, while Teresa argues for the carnival body with its present, past and future, leads to two more instances of the narrative voice's repeating the conviction that this chapter is apocryphal. Sancho reiterates that his daughter will become a countess, and adds that he will send for his son. The conversation ends with Teresa's crying after making her final point (and insult): "con esta carga nacemos las mujeres, de estar obedientes a sus maridos, aunque sean unos porros" (II, 5; 671). Sancho then consoles her, in part by saying that he will delay his daughter's marriage to a noble as long as possible. And such is the delay that in effect it never takes place in the novel.

The above considerations of proverbial speech focus Sancho's reply to Don Quijote when his *amo* asks him what Teresa had said with respect to his leaving again at the beginning of Part Two: "—Teresa dice—dijo Sancho—…que hablen cartas y callen barbas, porque quien destaja no baraja, pues más vale un toma que dos te daré. Y yo digo que el consejo de la mujeres poco, y el que no le toma es loco." (II, 7; 680).[13] In Teresa's argument and in these sayings attributed to her by her husband, the basic contrast is established between Sancho's material, productive, social—in short, carnivalized—bodily images and Don Quijote's chivalric idealism. Confronting the illusive offer of the *ínsula* and betterment of social position offered by the "mad" knight, there are Teresa's reminders of home and the corporal pleasures associated with it. Confronting the knight who identifies his own situ-

[13] Lázaro Carreter uses this text to show the moment of transference of definitive proverbial "authority" to Sancho; see n. 2 above.

ation with the ghostly Durandarte's "Patience, and shuffle the cards" in the Cave of Montesinos, there is the productive "whoever works, doesn't shuffle cards" of Sancho/Teresa.[14]

In general, Teresa's argument and its use of the proverb of "women at home," makes a case not for women's being shut up in the home, but for their having a voice in saying which doors are closed or open to them. In this regard, what is at stake within her carnivalized domestic economy is a fluctuating "definition" of gender roles, as another look at the argument reveals. By starting her argument with a saying comparing the "lowly" proverbial figure of the hen (with its connection to women, their work, domestic economy, and women's productive bodies) with Sancho's domestic life, Teresa's discourse opens a metaphoric space of domestic production and gender definition.

In this regard, Sullivan analyzes proverbs in relation to "women's traditional contexts and activities," and finds that in them there is an identification of the hen (as well as the stewpot) not only with eating, but also, by extension, women's domestic work (taking care of hens, and cooking), and eventually women's sexualized, (re)productive bodies in themselves (98–99). To eliminate any of these aspects of women's life and work from the functioning of the image of the hen in *Don Quijote*, is to draw classic borderlines around Cervantes' dialogic text, lines he does not draw. Furthermore, Teresa's carnivalized discourse not only includes all the variations that Sullivan describes, but results in an ambivalence in factors of both "feminine" and "masculine" identity, above all by her starting her argument with a comparison between Sancho's staying at home and the proverbial hen. If we were to read Cervantes' references to hens as metaphorically aligned only with domesticated women, Teresa, in her implicit comparison through her proverb of "viva la gallina," would ap-

[14] See El Saffar's analysis of the Cave of Montesinos episode, where she states, "Durandarte is both dead and alive, yet really neither" and "the chivalric heroes age, though they neither eat nor sleep. They are, like Don Quixote, neither in the world nor of it: they have neither the satisfaction of material success nor the consolation of spiritual fulfillment" (*Beyond Fiction* 108).

pear to place Sancho in a passive, "feminine" role, especially with respect to his aspirations of social betterment.

But the result is that Cervantes' text, first through Teresa, destabilizes monologic, "masculine" discourse related to Sancho's domestic presence. In *Don Quijote,* proverbial elements of Sancho's relation to his home emphasize the productivity of domestic life and the resulting pleasures for the active carnival body. As Hutchinson notes, "for Sancho ['home'] always remains a point of reference to which he intends to return" (97); and his home is where, in very specific terms, "a la noche cenamos olla y dormimos en cama" (II, 28; 865). Sancho remembers and misses the homes—the exceptional cases—where he and Don Quijote have eaten and slept well: Camacho's wedding with "la espuma que saqué de las ollas" (II, 28; 865) and Basilio's and Don Diego's homes. While the proverbial reference of the *olla* in Sancho's memories at first can appear to refer to women/Teresa, ultimately, the gender ambivalence of Teresa's application of "viva la gallina" to Sancho gives equal value to the bodies, work, and speech of women and men within domestic space. For this reason, Sancho, near the end of the Second Part (II, 65; 1164), will encourage his defeated master with the same proverb of "long live the hen" applied now to Don Quijote, in an attempt to bring him into the renewal implicit in carnivalized domestic life and work.

Don Quijote's and Sancho's space of love and marriage.

Teresa's and Sancho's use of the same proverb of the hen is one example of how bodies of words, coins, productive animals, and human beings can reflect meanings one to the other, including between Don Quijote's discourse of idealized chivalric love and Sancho's discourse of domesticity. An extension of Teresa's and Sancho's use of the proverbial hen takes place when Sancho and Don Quijote carry out a dialogic "construction" of love and matrimony within the influence of Teresa's character zone, starting with the traveling companions' words and actions with respect to Camacho's wedding. In the course of the communication be-

tween the knight and his squire, love (idealized and/or materialized) becomes metaphorically aligned with the establishment, or not, of the necessary economic base for a happy domestic life, and thus with the carnival body.

The scene of Camacho's wedding is initially permeated with carnival celebration of renewal of life, and specifically in this episode, a feudal paternal decision is overcome by Basilio's persuasion and trickery which compensate for his lack of wealth.[15] Quiteria's father would oblige her to marry Camacho, below her in rank but richer than her family. Ultimately Sancho and Don Quijote align themselves with Basilio, the poorer neighbor who finally marries her, instead of with Camacho. The two travelers' participation in Quiteria's wedding takes place within their intermittent discussion of the institution of marriage.[16]

Sancho is first in favor of Basilio (poor but physically agile) in order to insist on his own side of the marriage-between-classes argument with Teresa and to refute the "cada oveja con su pareja" that he quotes from her words (II, 19; 784). Don Quijote approves of Basilio's being an able swordsman, but, on the other hand, considers the dangers of allowing sons and daughters to choose their mates. He includes, now through a negation, his own text of chivalric love when he lists "un desbaratado espadachín" among the mistaken choices a young woman could make (784). In the same conversation, the knight's description of matrimony as a long journey ending only in death (the same case as his journey with Sancho), and a description by a student of Basilio's desolation at the prospect of Quiteria's marrying Camacho, leads Sancho to a string of proverbs concerning optimism over what tomorrow may bring, the home, women, and fortune (784–86), provoking the wrath of his *amo*.

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[15] In Bakhtinian analysis, banquet images are connected to the social body's interaction with the world, with speech ("wise conversation and gay truth") and originally, of the victory of collective labor (*Rabelais* 281).

[16] Vivar's analysis of Camacho's wedding notes the initial Carnival appearance of the banquet scene (95), while differing from my own, especially with respect to Sancho's role.

Sancho, however, after the privations suffered on his journey with Don Quijote, is captivated by the quantity of food offered at Camacho's wedding. Originally in favor of Basilio's physical prowess and the reciprocity of Quiteria and Basilio's love, he changes to Camacho's side because of the food his wealth provides, and switches to Teresa's argument of not attempting to rise in status through marriage to dispute Basilio's possibilities of marrying a richer Quiteria. Quiteria eventually marries Basilio, as a result of his "industria"—his verbal wit and physical trickery, which tactically take into account Quiteria's wishes to marry him. In another about-face, Sancho, with Don Quijote, leaves the scene of what was to have been the celebration of Camacho's wedding, in order to follow Basilio and Quiteria. Sancho's dismay over leaving the food, and his consolation at taking chicken broth with him, is later compensated by the generosity shown by the newly married couple.

Following the marriage of Quiteria and Basilio, Don Quijote and Sancho have a conversation in which Don Quijote speaks of the lucky man who has an honorable, good woman in his home. A grumbling Sancho says he wishes he'd heard about that before marrying. But when Don Quijote asks why he says that in relation to the mother of his children, Sancho explains a matrimonial understanding that is very similar to the verbal economics between him and Don Quijote: "No nos debemos nada…que también ella dice mal de mí cuando se le antoja." In Teresa's case, however, he adds another reference: "especialmente cuando está celosa" (II, 22; 811). When Sancho hears Don Quijote's idealized roles of "honest, good woman at home" and "the mother of his children," he reacts by bringing in her relation to him as jealous wife, and as one who speaks ill of him when she wishes. Sancho and Teresa are in a relationship of verbal equality (even with its simultaneous praise and insult); at the same time their speech reflects an equal carnival world of sexualized domesticity (within matrimonial or affective, but not gender, restrictions). Thus when Don Quijote proposes the possibility of pastoral adventures, the loyal Sancho chooses Teresa as "Teresona" for his shepherdess/

lover. While in chivalric echoes he expresses his "chaste desires" as her husband, he follows with his own popular speech in order to emphasize his physical faithfulness to Teresa (II, 67; 1176).

In short, Teresa's character zone, with her work, cooking and bodily images, interacts with Sancho's dialogic thought, and the wedding scene initially resonates with the domestic pleasures associated with his home. In the carnival aspect of Camacho's wedding feast, domestic wealth is initially shown through Sancho's eyes by an abundance of renewing food, including the innumerable "liebres ya sin pellejo y las gallinas sin pluma que estaban colgadas por los árboles para sepultarlas en las ollas" (793). But within the banquet scene, with its chickens about to be "buried" (reflecting the former comparison of Sanchica's marrying a count as the equivalent of her being "dead and buried"), death, stasis and monologic discourse, the "victory" of abstract "wealth" over the social body and intersubjective affects, is contested through dialogism. The poorer man Basilio's trickery, his "industrious" carnival solution[17] in confrontation with decaying feudal economies and paternal matrimonial agreements, is connected through the carnivalesque to Sancho's changing of sides in the wedding scenes. And the carnival, material body, including Sancho's, emerges "victorious" from Basilio's exceptional solution to Quiteria's obliged marriage.[18]

In this respect, Sancho in the end allows himself to be convinced by Don Quijote's ideal construct of love in order to apply it as a reason for marriage between classes, in part to his own ad-

[17] Thus Basilio replies to cries of "¡Milagro, milagro!" with "¡No milagro, milagro, sino industria, industria!" (II, 21; 806). Riquer (*Quijote* 717, n. 13) points out the sense of skill or artifice given to the word "industria," adding that in this instance it reaches the meaning of "trick." Rico notes that the word means "ingenio" or "habilidad" (*Quijote* 806 n. 31).

[18] I say exceptional, because except for the marriage of Quiteria, in all the marrying which takes place in *Don Quijote* there exists an equality or betterment of social or economic status for the women, including the case of Zoraida, who offers her father's money in exchange for the free choice of the Christian religion.

vantage within his conflict with Teresa over Sanchica, as he did before seeing the banquet food, but also as a result of his affective allegiance to his *amo*. However, in the development of Sancho's thought within the episode of Camacho's wedding, what becomes clear is that whether the man or the woman is the poorer of the two, is ultimately not Sancho's (or the carnival body's) principle concern when speaking of marriage and domesticity. Rather, his voice expresses a primary concern for the material body within matrimony and creates a metaphoric space of food, work (also a species of "industriousness" or skill), and marital relations. When Sancho defends Quiteria's marrying Camacho, he compares the ease of living due to Camacho's wealth, with that of the economic uncertainty of Basilio's offer, and concludes with his carnivalized point of view on "a good foundation" for domesticity, in a metaphoric concretization of not only Camacho's "wealth" but also of Basilio's physical prowess: "Sobre un buen cimiento se puede levantar un buen edificio, y el mejor cimiento y zanja del mundo es el dinero" (II, 20; 792). Within his combination of a concern for both "wealth" and the material body, Sancho's argument leading into this statement is that money leads to food and fine clothing.

Later in the work, in affective connection with Sancho's metaphoric "construction" of domesticity, Don Quijote will define his idealized chivalric love when he says in the home of the Duke and Duchess, "el caballero andante sin dama es como el árbol sin hojas, el edificio sin cimiento y la sombra sin cuerpo de quien se cause" (II, 32; 897). In this instance of the knight's double-voiced discourse, Cervantes' text ironically undermines Don Quijote's own amorous construct: by not reaching his fictitious Dulcinea, the knight indeed remains in a "building without a foundation," as a "shadow without a body," without a possibility of physical realization of his desires. At the same time, the text also shows a reflection of Sancho and Teresa's discourse in Don Quijote's speech: Don Quijote's voice enters into Sancho's metaphoric domestic space by placing a material body in parallel with *cimiento*, and through it in parallel with the "money" of Sancho's

"foundation," also expressed as *cimiento*.

Still later, when Don Quijote requests that the Duchess let him sleep with "una muralla en medio de mis deseos y de mi honestidad," between him and the women in the house, literally, the Duchess lets him sleep "a puerta cerrada," with the mocking comment that she is arranging the room "porque ninguna natural necesidad le obligue a que la abra" (II, 44; 982–83). In the end, Don Quijote closes walls around himself both physically and metaphorically, while denying the "foundation" that Sancho's carnival body defends. While the chivalric knight isolates himself from the (im)possibility of temptation, Sancho prepares his monied return to his and Teresa's home.

Sancho also takes up the most controversial of Teresa's proverbs from their argument in Chapter Five as a basis for his replies on two occasions during the governing of his fabricated *ínsula*. In both instances, he uses variations of the "woman at home" proverb which show that his carnivalized discourse relativizes classic limits placed on the bodies of both women and men in and out of the home.

The first situation arises when the Duke counsels Sancho after the boar hunt. The Duke advises him on how healthy and strategic the exercise of hunting is, comparing it to war. He provokes this proverbial revision from the peaceful squire: "el buen gobernador, la pierna quebrada, y en casa," adding that as governor, he plans to play cards and the equivalent of bowling. To the anonymous voice (understood as the Duke) who responds, "del dicho al hecho hay gran trecho," Sancho replies, "al buen pagador no le duelen prendas" (II, 34; 915–16).[19] In the Cervantine economy of payment and debts, Sancho's words place him in the text as a "good payer" and replace the "honest woman" of Teresa's proverb with Sancho's visualization of his hope of the position of "good governor" of the *ínsula*. At the same time he places himself/men as "governor" in the place of Teresa as the "honest

[19] "Prenda" in Spanish can mean a guarantee (as can be understood in this case), token, sign, article of clothing, or, affectionately, "darling" or "treasure."

woman" in his home. Reaffirming himself as a peaceful man and good governor/payer (and therefore "monied") in his home, Sancho dialogically rewrites the proverb of women at home to be applicable to those who govern and to men, while reinforcing his desired domesticity.

The second instance of Sancho using Teresa's proverb comes when he is made governor, goes on the night watch in his *ínsula*, and encounters the maiden who wanted to see the world outside her father's house, where she has been enclosed for ten years, and who is dressed in her brother's clothes. She is brought before Sancho, and he advises her with another variation of Teresa's proverb, as well as adding two different ones: "la doncella honrada, la pierna quebrada, y en casa; y la mujer y la gallina, por andar se pierden aína; y la que es deseosa de ver, también tiene deseo de ser vista" (II, 49; 1034). Here Sancho changes "woman" for "maiden," and contextualizes the hen in direct relation with a woman (and, if the reader follows the work's ambivalent application of "hen," indirectly with Sancho as well), in order to state the dangers of walking on the street. In this case, the walking takes place at night, in itself a contradiction of his "see and be seen" addition, which fluctuates in ambivalent reflection of Teresa's proverbial covering and dis/uncovering.

Sancho's calm reaction opens a relative door on feminine enclosure in the home. In the squire's view, the maiden's father has no need to be immediately informed, and both she and her brother quietly return home. He is tolerant with the maiden—perhaps thinking about his daughter Sanchica, and Teresa's proposition of marriage with the son of their neighbor, but also because he is living within an artificial "domestic" space as "governor" of the Isle of Barataria, with its ironic lack, imposed on him by the Duke and Duchess, of abundant food/renewal of the body.

Thus Sancho inserts himself through his use of Teresa's proverb within a domesticated enclosure of "good government" and then, with her proverbs and others, subverts feudal authority and as a result, both women's and men's domestic restrictions.

As Fuchs describes the disruption within the episode, "While the father sleeps, patriarchal authority dissolves" (16). The authority that appears as a substitute is the disruptive carnival body of Sancho. He in effect sanctions, by his tolerance, the relative autonomy of the girl who, as Fuchs notes, was not driven to leave home through jealousy or honor, but rather mere curiosity (15). But the episode also forms a part of the fluctuations in gender "definition" within the discourse of domesticity that is sustained through Teresa and Sancho in *Don Quijote*. For this reason, Fuchs aptly analyzes the resolution of the episode as one where, "Clearly it is not a simple matter to restore order where there has been such play with gender roles" (18). I would add here that in this case, Sancho's carnival figure shows its consistent disordering and placing of women's material bodies on an equal discursive plane as men's. In consideration of the marked gender ambivalence in his revisions of Teresa's proverb and his inclusion of the image of the hen again in this last episode, I consider that Fuchs rightly states that "the *exchange* of clothing seems to complete an erotic transaction that destabilizes both gender roles" (25) and that "the siblings' uncomplicated return home leads us to believe that the escapade will in fact be repeated" (18).

Sancho's revision of Teresa's proverbial speech in the case of the maiden on the night watch becomes dialogically connected to Don Quijote's description of a personified poetry, in his also tolerant justification of the study of the literary genre by Don Diego's son: "La poesía…a mi parecer es como una doncella tierna y de poca edad y en todo estremo hermosa, …pero esta tal doncella no quiere ser manoseada, ni traída por las calles" (II, 16; 757) The knight adds that this "maiden" shouldn't be in the company of "el vulgo" and explicitly defines the term to cross class lines, encompassing "todo aquel que no sabe, aunque sea señor" (II, 16; 757). Don Quijote personifies poetry as an idealized woman who must be understood, in another example of his double-voicedness. Thus his words start "closing the doors" once again, by making poetry an enclosed maiden, only to dialogically leave the reading of poetry as open to those who know, or, as

Teresa said with respect to her daughter, who understand.

In conclusion, Teresa's discourse and character zone is a significant affective and proverbial presence and influence in both Sancho's words and actions and Don Quijote's double-voiced discourse, with not only its distancing from the material and productive body especially of women, but also with its affective reflection of Sancho's speech. The couple's vital discourse of domesticity contributes to Sancho's managing not only to survive but to prosper, through his capacity to adapt verbally and corporally. Teresa and Sancho's metaphoric space of matrimony has an explicit influence in bringing both Sancho and Don Quijote back to their respective homes, and Sancho, on the one hand, specifically returns in order to continue in metaphoric and dialogic movement within what Don Quijote had described as the "viaje largo" of matrimony (II, 19; 784). Don Quijote, on the other hand, leaves Sancho the monies the squire was holding for his *amo*, the promised salary and whatever would remain, as an open inheritance, in that Sancho can freely have the amount without accounting for its use. The knight leaves the rest to his maiden niece, literally "behind closed doors" ("a puerta cerrada" (II, 74; 1220).[20] Teresa is happy to see Sancho come home with the monies earned through his feigned bodily self-punishment; and both of their material bodies, within their shared space of productive domesticity and with their dialogic thought, continue on their metaphoric journey.

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[20] Rico indicates that "a puerta cerrada" means that Don Quijote leaves everything to his niece, without enumeration of his patrimony. While noting the legal definition, I would only add that the dialogism contained in the phrase is not limited by the latter's application in law.

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De nuevo sobre Cervantes y Heliodoro. La comunicación lingüística y algunas notas cronológicas

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n el siglo XVI fue una novedad destinada a tener profunda influencia el redescubrimiento de la novela griega antigua, que tantas veces entre los hispanistas se confunde terminológicamente con la medieval, también en griego y que sí debe llamarse bizantina. Se tropezaba así con un género de ficción en prosa de alto rango, existente ya en la Antigüedad, pero ajeno a los consagrados clásicos, y que muchos siglos atrás había sentado las bases del relato extenso de imaginación, y no sólo por unos argumentos en que el enredo tenía su importancia, sino, sobre todo en el texto de Heliodoro, también por su rotura del relato cronológicamente lineal en que el lector recibe con la mayor comodidad el caudal narrativo. Y todavía a principios del siglo XVII el interés por Heliodoro era representativo de los gustos de una minoría refinada y selecta, que se creía portadora de la verdad literaria, y esto básicamente por el hecho de que se apoyaba, en afortunada coincidencia con aquel interés, en una reinterpretación de Aristóteles elaborada a lo largo del siglo XVI. Así, la emulación simultánea

de Heliodoro y de la *Eneida* en *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* no es un hecho casual: es coherente con todo esto, en un empeño indudablemente dignificador de su texto.[1] Pero conviene a la vez no cometer el anacronismo de enfocar la cuestión con la experiencia que nos dan ahora varios siglos de evolución del género novelesco. Como luego comprobaremos con el aspecto concreto de las referencias lingüísticas, en su época un factor como éste pudo ser bastante novedoso, y Heliodoro sería su modelo reconocido. De hecho no hay nada semejante a *Persiles y Sigismunda* ni en su momento ni en la narrativa precedente. Y ésta es una cuestión distinta del juicio que hoy pueda merecer esta obra como un texto, quizás por ambicioso y seguramente en gran parte por la dispersión de las ocasiones en que fue compuesto, un tanto frustrado o al menos aquejado de olvidos y de otros defectos menores o, en fin, como una obra cuya lectura ahora pueda parecer a muchos fatigosa o en sus contenidos demasiado idealista. Y por ello conocer a fondo el alcance en *Persiles y Sigismunda* de la emulación de Heliodoro sigue siendo un hecho clave para el estudio de aquel relato. Lo que significa no sólo y sobre todo el análisis de un caso muy notable de intertextualidad, sino de un proceso decisivo en un momento también decisivo para la historia de la novela. Como, por otra parte, la constatación de la influencia de Heliodoro al menos a lo largo del siglo XVI en nuestra literatura es un terreno en el que ha reinado bastante confusión,[2] en nuestra opinión estas páginas pueden arrojar alguna

[1] Como escribe Alban K. Forcione, en referencia a *Persiles y Sigismunda*, "in conceiving his epic in prose, Cervantes was attempting to solve the basic aesthetic problems preoccupying contemporary theorists and to create a masterpiece according to their envisioned ideal of the highest literary genre, the epic" (3). Y, aunque no asentimos en todos sus puntos a la conocida tesis de Cesare de Lollis (en su *Cervantes reazionario*), ni sobre todo en su visión negativa, estamos cerca en este aspecto de la búsqueda de una obra de arte ejemplar y por tanto didáctico-moral.

[2] El problema de la influencia en general de la llamada novela bizantina en España sigue siendo poco menos engorroso y oscuro que cuando escribía sus lamentaciones al respecto Rafael Osuna en su artículo "El olvido del *Persiles*"; véase sobre todo 55.

modesta luz sobre el tema. Ha habido pareceres de extremada audacia al respecto, al señalar, por ejemplo, influjos del novelista griego en obras tan dispares como *La Galatea* o *El trato de Argel* cervantinos o la novela de Núñez de Reinoso, que nosotros, lo confesamos (y sobre algunos de estos textos volveremos después), no alcanzamos a ver. De ahí, por tanto, que nos planteemos a lo largo de este trabajo algunas cuestiones que nos parecen no bien enfocadas.

Rudolf Schevill fue el primero en examinar de un modo sistemático la, a pesar de todo, problemática relación entre Heliodoro y *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Sus conclusiones pueden reducirse a dos principales: existe una serie de puntos en que se detecta una influencia concreta de *Teágenes y Cariclea* sobre el texto cervantino, pero esta presencia de Heliodoro se circunscribe visiblemente sobre todo a los dos primeros libros. Lo que tiene una fácil explicación basada en el argumento mismo: la de que, al tratar la sección de viajes de los dos libros últimos de tierras ya bien conocidas y de una realidad más familiar tanto al autor como al lector, sus páginas eran mucho menos susceptibles de recoger ecos de Heliodoro. La autoridad de Schevill y el carácter pormenorizado y aparentemente riguroso de su trabajo asentaron la idea de que el tema, si no estaba definitivamente zanjado, sí había sido planteado en los dos aspectos citados en sus dimensiones correctas. Prácticamente apenas nadie ha puesto en duda sus resultados; al contrario, sus argumentos se han reiterado hasta la saciedad y, en general, la investigación posterior ha caminado en la dirección que él fijara, cuando no se ha limitado a unas generalidades indemostrables.[3] Y, si alguien se ha apartado y sólo a nivel muy teórico de este camino trillado, ha sido para hacer alguna propuesta en la que no vemos un claro fundamento, como la de Stanislav Zimic, el cual afirma, en referencia no sólo a *Persiles y Sigismunda* sino también a "El amante liberal," que Cervantes habría

[3] Véase un comentario sobre estas cuestiones en Brioso Sánchez y Brioso Santos, "Sobre la problemática relación." Remitimos a esas páginas para todos los aspectos que aquí no podemos estudiar y para otras citas bibliográficas tampoco recogidas aquí.

procedido a una "detenida y sutil crítica" respecto a "las debilidades y tendencias más cuestionables de la novelística bizantina y sus limitaciones modernas," siendo la primera de esas dos obras en particular "una sistemática emulación y, a la vez, parodia de ese género literario."[4] Cervantes en *Persiles y Sigismunda* se atiene, en nuestra opinión, a los principios de la emulación clásica, que supone inspirarse más o menos explícitamente en un modelo pero a la vez la puesta al día de ese modelo, tal como, en un ejemplo siempre oportuno, hizo Virgilio respecto a Homero. Si aceptáramos esa propuesta de Zimic, se daría ahí en cambio un paralelismo muy discutible entre la relación de *Don Quijote* y los libros de caballerías, de un lado, y, de otro, *Persiles y Sigismunda* y Heliodoro.[5]

De lo que no caben dudas en todo caso es de que Cervantes al redactar *Persiles y Sigismunda* tuvo presente su lectura de Heliodoro y, aun descartados muchos de los puntos de acuerdo que Schevill y otros han señalado, quedan otros que lo demuestran con cierta solidez. Pero está además una cuestión, en apariencia secundaria, que es la de qué versión precisamente fue la que Cervantes conociera. Schevill se inclinaba por la anónima de Amberes de 1554, aunque tal vez en su reimpresión de Salamanca (1581), que le fue accesible tras su regreso del cautiverio (696). En realidad, como es muy improbable que el alcalaíno pudiese conocer la versión anterior, inédita y hoy al parecer perdida, de Francisco de Vergara, esa lectura de la traducción anónima resulta imprescindible si, como cree Schevill, se encuentran rastros del influjo de Heliodoro ya en *La Galatea* (de 1585), lo que ha sido repetido por otros estudiosos,[6] ya que la versión de Fernando de

[4] "Hacia una nueva novela" 141. Véase igualmente del mismo autor "El *Persiles* como crítica."

[5] Véase en cambio una posición mucho más aceptable sobre el tema en Isabel Lozano Renieblas, *Cervantes y el mundo* 16–17.

[6] Así, por ejemplo, Albinio Martín Gabriel, que ve en el episodio de Timbrio, en el libro V, "una novela bizantina en pequeño, de puro corte heliodoriano" (233). Edward C. Riley escribe, de un lado, que "*La Galatea*…sin duda debe la existencia mucho más a la moda contemporánea de lo pastoril que a cualquier

Mena se hizo esperar hasta 1587. Pero ésta es una cuestión sobre la que habremos de volver, puesto que tiene la mayor importancia para nuestro tema.

En nuestro artículo citado nos hemos planteado el problema de si era posible descubrir aún un argumento que corroborase esa influencia de Heliodoro sobre *Persiles y Sigismunda*, pero que no hubiese sido contemplado por los estudiosos precedentes. Entre tanto dato discutible no estaba de más rastrear todavía algún otro motivo, a condición desde luego de que aportase una dosis aceptable de objetividad. Y creemos haberlo hallado, sólo que, sin que ello suponga un desdoro, sino más bien una apreciable confirmación, también por el tiempo en que procedíamos a esta indagación se publicó un trabajo en el que se apuntaba en la misma dirección.[7] Es más, a la vista del hecho de esta coincidencia, sigue sorprendiéndonos que ni Schevill ni la casi generalidad de los investigadores posteriores hayan acertado a dar con este motivo hasta ahora, y no ya solamente como materia de la emulación cervantina de Heliodoro, sino como un aspecto muy llamativo en el propio texto del relato en cuestión y que, además, tiene ecos en otras obras de Cervantes, y no un simple detalle mencionable más o menos de pasada.

Tanto en Heliodoro como en *Persiles y Sigismunda* este motivo está facilitado sin duda por el hecho mismo de una larga pere-

estímulo antiguo" (46) y, de otro, que hay influencia de Heliodoro en ella (55). Esta tradición, tan indemostrable, del influjo de Heliodoro en *La Galatea* está recogida todavía, por citar otro caso muy reciente, en la reedición de *Persiles y Sigismunda* de Carlos Romero Muñoz, si bien con un "probablemente" (23).

[7] En nuestro artículo mencionado citamos a algunos eruditos que, si bien siempre de pasada y sin relacionar el motivo con Heliodoro, han llamado por una u otra razón la atención sobre la frecuencia o el interés con que aparece éste en *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Es el caso de Ciriaco Morón Arroyo, 168–69, y de Diana de Armas Wilson (véase en particular 49–50), pero nos referimos especialmente a Ottmar Hegyi, que no sólo ha consagrado un artículo al tema, sino que incluso ha señalado en concreto la influencia de Heliodoro. Y ya en el mismo artículo hemos tenido ocasión de señalar algunos aspectos discutibles del trabajo de Hegyi (al que no podemos negar otros méritos), particularmente el de empeñarse sobre todo en una explicación biografista del fenómeno de las lenguas en Cervantes.

grinación de sus principales personajes y el contacto de éstos con gentes de diferentes orígenes y lenguas. Pero, y esto es determinante, sin que esa vida errabunda pueda servir de razón esencial para el tratamiento literario del tema, puesto que justamente la respuesta de la ficción narrativa al problema suele ser más bien convencional. Y es que la cuestión que allí examinábamos es precisamente la muy frecuente aparición de referencias al papel desempeñado por las lenguas en esos encuentros. Se trata desde luego, como allí subrayábamos, de un factor bien diferente del poliglotismo explícito que, en cambio, no es raro en muchos textos literarios, puesto que en nuestro caso simplemente se alude a la diversidad lingüística, sin que hayan de aparecer expresiones en esas lenguas. El poliglotismo explícito está excluido sin embargo de las novelas griegas, y, por lo que se refiere al tipo que nos interesa, el implícito, apenas se plantea, o sólo muy esporádicamente, en las previas a la de Heliodoro. Es éste, pues, sin la menor duda un claro innovador en este aspecto, y esto no sólo por la frecuencia de las menciones, sino porque éstas constituyen una especie de sistema que además se corresponde, como en otros textos del tiempo pero ajenos al género novelesco, con una reacción ideológica contra la uniformidad lingüística representada por el griego como lengua de cultura y a favor de las lenguas vernáculas.[8] A todas luces Cervantes, con la reproducción de este motivo y su empleo sistemático en *Persiles y Sigismunda*, refleja también un alto grado de concienciación lingüística, que resulta bastante novedosa por comparación en general con la literatura española que le precede, por lo que precisa de alguna justificación propia, que igualmente hemos tratado de hallar en nuestro trabajo mencionado de *Criticón*. De suerte que su situación no sería muy diferente de la de Heliodoro, como caso aislado respecto a sus antecesores en el género. Lo que no significa, en lo que se refiere a Cervantes, que esa justificación permita excluir la necesidad de la influencia de Heliodoro. Éste habría actuado, según concluíamos allí, como acicate mimético, al despertar en Cervan-

[8] Véase Brioso Sánchez.

tes el interés literario de la insistencia en el hecho lingüístico y precisamente por la vía implícita, frente al artificio de la explícita o la pura convencionalidad del silencio. Literariamente, el recurso citado revela a su vez una pretensión de realismo, una pormenorización escrupulosa, típica de un modo de relatar en el que los detalles se cuidan hasta el extremo y la verosimilitud de lo contado se acrecienta, lo que parece contrastar con el tono idealista que domina en *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Pero, tal como allí insistíamos, Cervantes incurre también en el uso de este motivo en esta obra en "un abuso barroco. No le bastan unas pinceladas esporádicas para mostrar su preocupación por el tema lingüístico; riega partes enteras del texto de referencias nutridas, en tanto que en otras, quizás fatigado de la atención prestada o temeroso de hastiar al lector, se comporta de un modo mucho más convencional" (81). Esta misma convencionalidad se aplica también en ciertas circunstancias en las que la referencia lingüística "hubiera complicado demasiado el propio relato y en que, por el contrario, el silencio al respecto aportaba una mayor comodidad para el narrador y, por de contado, para el lector" (81). Y es que habría una gran dificultad en la mención del motivo cuando, por ejemplo, se da una reunión nutrida de personajes, algunos de los cuales son hablantes de lenguas distintas.

Si bien, como allí vimos igualmente, existen algunos pocos textos previos en la narrativa española que también conocen el citado motivo y que cabría por ello pretender que pudieran haber servido de modelos en este punto a Cervantes en lugar de Heliodoro, en nuestra opinión la hipótesis de que el autor de *Persiles y Sigismunda* lo toma precisamente de éste es mucho más convincente. Y descartamos sobre todo el que el posible modelo fuese el *Amadís de Gaula* de Rodríguez de Montalvo, a pesar de que esta obra representa precisamente una excepción en el tema dentro de la corriente caballeresca, así como tampoco creímos satisfactoria la influencia del *Decamerón*, propugnada por Hegyi junto a la de Heliodoro, puesto que el uso que de este fenómeno hace Boccaccio es demasiado esporádico.

Pero, como igualmente adelantábamos en el citado artículo

de *Criticón*, esta rareza no es exclusiva de *Persiles y Sigismunda* en la producción de Cervantes, por lo que el tema se torna algo más problemático, puesto que también se complica con otras dos cuestiones: una, la de si este motivo, vinculado estrechamente a la influencia de Heliodoro, se comporta como otros rasgos de esta misma influencia y se acumula por tanto sobre todo en los dos primeros libros, confirmando de este modo las ideas ya recogidas sobre un alejamiento posterior de Cervantes respecto a su modelo griego, y, la segunda, a partir de cuándo se detecta en Cervantes la influencia de Heliodoro, lo que comporta además otros problemas acerca de la cronología de algunas otras obras. Esto significa rastrear posibles influjos de Heliodoro sobre nuestro autor más allá de los universalmente aceptados en el caso de *Persiles y Sigismunda*, aunque para nosotros será siempre la guía el tema lingüístico. Como la cronología de la redacción de ciertos textos cervantinos es muy incierta y en buena parte esta dificultad afecta al propio *Persiles*, esta segunda cuestión se revela como especialmente espinosa. Pero es nuestra esperanza que la indagación que todavía nos proponemos y sobre la misma base del motivo del poliglotismo implícito pueda contribuir a iluminar algún aspecto de este complejo problema.

La primera de estas dos cuestiones, la del reparto por libros de las menciones del motivo lingüístico, también fue ya tratada en el artículo mencionado. Allí observábamos que, si bien la distribución no es uniformemente densa a lo largo del texto, las menciones aparecen en todo él, lo que contradice abiertamente la vieja afirmación de que Cervantes se habría desprendido de modo decidido de la influencia de Heliodoro al afrontar la segunda parte del relato. Es más, señalábamos igualmente que esta afirmación, a la que algunos han llegado forzando los hechos, es esencialmente discutible, lo que no quita para que, en efecto y en razón de lógicos motivos argumentales y geográficos, esa segunda parte se distancie un tanto de esa influencia. Pero en el ámbito del motivo de las lenguas no se percibe mayormente la diferencia, salvo, si se quiere, en esa explicable disminución de su frecuencia; incluso debe recordarse que la referencia a la academia

de las lenguas en el monasterio de santo Tomás, que justifica el notable fenómeno del multilingüismo de Persiles, se lee justamente cuando ya el relato se acerca a su fin, en el capítulo 13 del libro IV.

La segunda cuestión, que será de nuestro principal interés en adelante, requiere referirnos a otros varios aspectos y posee, como anunciábamos, una mayor complicación. En el análisis de *Persiles y Sigismunda* hicimos una clasificación de sus distintos planteamientos del tema de las lenguas, lo que nos permitió establecer una útil comparación con la conducta de Heliodoro al respecto. Y hacíamos notar que podían señalarse al menos cuatro apartados en un intento de clasificación de las apariciones del motivo. Esto da idea de una variedad de registros, que abarcan casi todas sus posibilidades tanto en la realidad misma como en el nivel literario, desde sus facetas más prácticas, como el aprendizaje de las lenguas o el uso de intérpretes, hasta aquellas que, como la ambigüedad o la sorpresa, permiten un aprovechamiento literario muy particular por su efecto en el nivel dramático y el enredo. Ello ocurre en Heliodoro con la figura del sabio sacerdote Calasiris. En *Persiles y Sigismunda* hay un personaje central en el que confluye la máxima sabiduría lingüística: el propio protagonista masculino. Si en aquél ese fenómeno está ligado a las aspiraciones sapienciales del personaje, en el caso de Periandro-Persiles lo está en especial a una institución tan llamativa como la academia mencionada, donde "hay religiosos de cuatro naciones: españoles, franceses, toscanos y latinos," los cuales "enseñan sus lenguas a la gente principal de la isla" (IV, 13; 706), un dato este último que también pusimos en relación con el aprendizaje del griego, en Heliodoro, como lengua de cultura por parte de los miembros de la casa real etíope y de la casta sacerdotal de los gimnosofistas.

Persiles y Sigismunda es un texto de larga andadura en la biografía de Cervantes y esto se muestra no ya sólo en las referencias que el autor hizo a él en diferentes fechas, todas ellas sin embargo tardías, sino en las marcadas diferencias que se observan especialmente entre sus dos primeros libros y los dos últimos y

en las que la crítica ha insistido de modo continuado, a veces también con cierta exageración y evidente miopía. Este problema concreto de las sucesivas fechas de la elaboración del relato desborda nuestro tema, pero, por no serle ajeno en absoluto, ha de ser tenido en cuenta por nosotros. Pero antes conviene que nos detengamos en otros aspectos de la cronología cervantina en relación precisamente con las influencias o presuntas influencias de Heliodoro.

Antes de la mención de Heliodoro en el prólogo de las *Novelas ejemplares*, publicado en 1613, tenemos algunos datos que prueban su influencia en Cervantes. Aparte de que ya *Persiles y Sigismunda* debía estar en curso de composición, al menos en un texto como "La española inglesa" hay ya una presencia evidente. No en cambio en nuestra opinión, como también insistiremos y contra lo que algunos han pensado, en *La Galatea*. Y aún tendremos que discutir también el caso de "El amante liberal."[9] Sin hablar de otros textos en que más o menos eventualmente se ha creído encontrar signos de la presencia del autor de *Teágenes y Cariclea*, ya que con la mayor frecuencia se trata o de indicios no muy convincentes o de rasgos de un "bizantinismo" difuso, que puede tener su origen en fuentes muy diferentes.

En cuanto a la probabilidad de influencias de Heliodoro aun antes de la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote*, nos parece que éste es un punto bastante discutible. Si ciertos paralelismos que ya el mismo Schevill anota en algunas de las *Novelas ejemplares* ("La gitanilla," "La española inglesa," "La ilustre fregona" y "La señora Cornelia")[10] se nos antojan mucho más débiles, cuando no

[9] Lamentamos especialmente no haber podido disponer de la tesina de Knight, que no obstante recogemos en nuestra lista de Obras citadas.

[10] Véase 697 n. 3. Schevill reseña posibles motivos paralelos, como la exposición y reconocimiento de una criatura, con el añadido de las usuales prendas, la belleza de los jóvenes protagonistas de las historias, ciertos fingimientos y engaños, quejas monologadas, amores con síntomas de enfermedad, etc., todos con otros posibles y múltiples orígenes desde luego. De modo independiente (692 n. 1) se refiere al comienzo *in medias res* de "El amante liberal," sobre el que volveremos luego.

totalmente desdeñables, aunque luego volveremos sobre la segunda, es sobre todo su observación ya citada acerca de un eco concreto en *La Galatea* lo que nos parece totalmente fuera de lugar,[11] puesto que no vemos relación imaginable entre el relato de las andanzas del sabio sacerdote Calasiris en Heliodoro y momento alguno del relato intercalado de Silerio y Timbrio en la novela pastoril cervantina. A lo sumo, aceptamos que podría discutirse si hay una vinculación entre las figuras de la griega Cariclea y la pastora Gelasia en el libro IV (78 ss.), ésta también armada con arco y aljaba y "desamorada," es decir, hostil al amor y consagrada "al ejercicio de la casta Diana" (80), pero ése es un detalle que puede provenir de otros textos distintos del de Heliodoro y en concreto quizás de Montemayor.[12] Desde este punto de vista y muy provisionalmente podríamos anotar que la fecha de la edición de *La Galatea* (1585) sería un dato digno de recordarse, aunque, reiteramos, provisionalmente negativo. Por otra parte, en *La Galatea*, salvo en algún lugar aislado como uno citable de la propia historia de Timbrio,[13] no aparece el motivo del poliglotismo implícito. El género pastoril, enmarcado habitualmente en una geografía restringida (en este caso, las riberas del Tajo), no es propicio para el despliegue del motivo de las lenguas, a no ser, como es natural, en relatos secundarios como éste que menciona-

[11] Una cuestión perfectamente deslindable de ésta es la de las influencias que a su vez *La Galatea* parece haber ejercido sobre *Persiles y Sigismunda*, y en especial en su libro II. De ello dejan ya constancia bastantes notas de la edición de aquélla por Avalle-Arce y algunas páginas de Osuna en "Las fechas del *Persiles*."

[12] Véase Brioso Sánchez y Brioso Santos, "Observaciones." De paso no está de más insistir en que las influencias constatables de Heliodoro en la literatura española a lo largo del XVI son escasas y muchas veces muy discutibles. La que a veces se ha señalado en Núñez de Reinoso nos parece muy difícil de argumentar, y todavía más cuando se expresa de un modo tan sorprendente como en una frase de Martín Gabriel en su artículo ya mencionado: "Heliodoro inspira a Reinoso a través de su imitador Aquiles Tacio"(222), cuando ya hace bastantes décadas que sabemos que Aquiles Tacio escribió mucho antes que Heliodoro y que esa cronología que subyace en el texto de Martín Gabriel estaba ya muy desacreditada cuando éste publicó su trabajo.

[13] "Mucha gente armada, cuyo traje y lengua dio a entender ser catalanes" (2: 120).

mos, que no pertenecen en propiedad al ámbito pastoril y amplían su horizonte primario. Este detalle meramente negativo no puede en rigor entenderse como una razón de un peso decisivo para excluir la influencia de Heliodoro, sino en todo caso como un dato más que debe ser tenido en cuenta. Pero lo importante para nosotros en este punto, y que refuerza la sospecha de la improbabilidad de esa influencia, es destacar el hecho bien sabido de que cuando escribe *La Galatea* son muy otras las inclinaciones literarias de Cervantes, centradas por entonces en ámbitos en que esa influencia difícilmente puede ser esperable. Por esos años nuestro autor se aplica, además de a sus continuas pretensiones profesionales, a la poesía, de lo que da muestras el esfuerzo realizado en la propia *Galatea*, y a sus intereses en el teatro, con una producción que él mismo cifrara en "veinte comedias o treinta," en palabras que se leen en el prólogo de la edición de sus piezas teatrales de 1615. Ello no es obstáculo para que Cervantes hubiese leído a Heliodoro por esas fechas; más bien, desde el punto de vista que nos importa aquí, es un hecho indiferente. El momento en que Heliodoro se convierte en una referencia para Cervantes como escritor debió ser posterior, o bien ya en esos veinte años más o menos que durará su famoso silencio literario o incluso todavía después, cuando ya estaba enfrascado en nuevas empresas editoriales. Y es sólo bastantes años más tarde cuando puede estar más fundada la sospecha de su profundo interés por Heliodoro y por algunos problemas que su novela planteaba, y esto no ya por las referencias directas a la elaboración de *Persiles y Sigismunda*, sino quizás por ciertos pasajes en que puede sospecharse que se vierten determinadas alusiones y sobre todo por su especial recurso al motivo del poliglotismo implícito.

Nos hemos referido antes a la apelación a un bizantinismo difuso para rebuscar posibles influencias de Heliodoro. Esto es especialmente aplicable a las alusiones a la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote*. Zimic participa de esta tendencia claramente cuando escribe: "La introducción del bizantinismo en el *Quijote* de 1605 le fue sugerida a Cervantes, como esencial, por el propósito paródico de su obra respecto a los libros de caballerías…. Ahora interesa

demostrar, ante todo, la presencia de ese modelo inspirador primordial—según nosotros, patente, sistemática, preponderante—con un examen atento de algunos de sus aspectos más característicos en la trama, en los personajes, en la estructura y en la técnica narrativa de las historias de Cardenio, Luscinda, Dorotea y Fernando" (*Cuentos* 96). ¿Se cumplen estas promesas en las páginas siguientes? Con un criterio filológico riguroso la respuesta es negativa desde luego. Cuando se recurre a tópicos como el inicio *in medias res* (97) o el "cuadrángulo amoroso, característico de las novelas bizantinas" (139), creemos que no estamos en el buen camino. No obstante, aunque esta presencia de Heliodoro en la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote* nos parece problemática, nos llevará a discutir ahora su posibilidad en un pasaje muy concreto y en un famoso capítulo. Y, por otra parte, está el tema del poliglotismo implícito presente en la "Historia del cautivo," sobre el que habremos de volver y que, si responde a ciertas expectativas, sería comparable al que encontramos sobre todo en "La española inglesa" y en "El amante liberal."

La Primera Parte de *Don Quijote*, por su importancia y por la precisa fecha que representa su edición, que es, además, central en la producción cervantina, es ciertamente determinante para nuestro problema. Se trataría por ello de hallar algún dato muy preciso, que hubiera de ser aceptado justamente por su objetividad, y no esos influjos difusos tan fáciles de señalar como faltos de entidad. Sería improcedente sin duda tratar de utilizar como argumento negativo el que ni la novela de Heliodoro ni la de Aquiles Tacio o de algún imitador se mencionen en el "donoso escrutinio" libresco del capítulo I, 6. Edward Baker ha mostrado en su detallado estudio que la biblioteca de don Quijote en diversos aspectos no es en absoluto normal en su época, y ofrece muy notables lagunas.[14] Ahora bien, de todas las referencias que se

[14] "El principio que rige en la biblioteca del loco monotemático no es el de la variedad precisamente" (103); no se da sino una acumulación de libros de caballerías, de pastores y de poesía, con falta de toda referencia a libros piadosos, ya que "el hidalgo muestra una clara y sistemática apetencia de libros profanos" (141).

han recogido sobre posibles imitaciones tempranas del texto de Heliodoro, aparte de la del motivo de las lenguas, y que pueden darnos una pista cronológica, por vaga que sea, la que parece más notable es la que se daría en la frase que se lee sobre los gimnosofistas de Etiopía,[15] un dato que por supuesto Schevill señala (697). Para Schevill, que corrige triunfalmente el comentario del editor Clemencín, la cuestión no plantea problemas: aunque la influencia de Heliodoro en *Don Quijote* "is rarely apparent: the subject did not warrant it," este dato aislado no le ofrece dudas y, según nuestra información, fue el primero en atribuir su origen a la lectura de Heliodoro, que, según su opinión, fue temprana en Cervantes.

Pero veamos la cuestión de más cerca. Como bien se sabe, tradicionalmente en el mundo antiguo esta especie de sabios sacerdotes, que en principio no son sino un modo de etiquetar a la griega a los brahmanes, se sitúa en la India y ha de esperarse a Filóstrato en su *Vida de Apolonio de Tiana*[16] para encontrarlos también en Etiopía, como luego en Heliodoro, y por tanto la sospecha de que Cervantes sigue a éste en ese pasaje quijotesco puede parecer bien fundada. Pero los hechos no son tan simples. Por lo pronto, la frase de Cervantes contiene tres menciones ("cuantos magos crió Persia, bracmanes la India, ginosofistas la Etiopía") que no se dan por igual en Heliodoro y que en cambio se leen, en el mismo orden, en los *Florida* de Apuleyo (fragmento 15), tal como recoge puntualmente una nota de la citada edición de Rico

[15] I, 47; 544 en la edición de Rico.

[16] Un hipotético conocimiento por parte de Cervantes de este otro texto está prácticamente fuera de lugar. Basta un dato como el de que las muy escasas traducciones al español son todas modernas y lo mismo ocurre en la mayoría de las lenguas europeas. No obstante, Arturo Marasso en su breve contribución "Los gimnosofistas de Etiopía" afirma taxativamente: "Don Quijote los ve [a los gimnosofistas] donde realmente los ha conocido, porque Cervantes tiene en su mente la *Vida de Apolonio de Tiana*, de Filóstrato, o las *Etiópicas* de Heliodoro" (254). De ahí a ver otras posibles influencias de la misma obra de Filóstrato en *Don Quijote* no hay más que un paso, y este paso lo franquea también imprudentemente Marasso.

al pasaje,[17] pero con una importante diferencia que Cervantes no tiene en cuenta. Para Apuleyo los tres grupos no están en el mismo nivel, ya que considera a los *gymnosophistae* una clase de brahmanes y los sitúa consiguientemente también en la India.[18] Por otra parte, si Filóstrato vuelve a citar los tres grupos, los pone ya en pie de igualdad y en el lugar citado nombra expresamente a los "gimnosofistas de Egipto" (1.2; véase también 6.10). En cambio, en otros pasajes de su obra, aunque mantenga la confusión, introduce también la referencia "de Etiopía" (5.43 y 6.11) y establece una clara distinción de tres "sabidurías": la india, superior a todas, la egipcia, del menor rango, y la etíope, intermedia (6.6). Cervantes, pues, difícilmente puede haber tomado su información de Heliodoro, o al menos sólo de Heliodoro, puesto que éste no le informa sobre las tres clases de sabios. Y, si la hubiera tomado de Apuleyo, no habría situado a los gimnosofistas en Etiopía. Además, tanto si su noticia procediera de Filóstrato, lo que es más que improbable, como de Apuleyo, sería poco verosímil que hubiera contado a los gimnosofistas en el catálogo de magos que, por sus maléficas actuaciones, pudieran estorbar a los caballeros andantes en sus bienintencionadas andanzas, tal como reflejan las palabras de don Quijote. Pero queda aún otra posibilidad, la de que la haya recogido simplemente de los *Treinta y cinco diálogos familiares de la agricultura cristiana* de Fray Juan de Pineda, publicados en Salamanca en 1589, pocos años antes de la edición de la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote*. Pineda es seguramente el primer autor de misceláneas en citar a Heliodoro. Le menciona en el inicial catálogo de sus fuentes; recurre a él en diversas oca-

[17] En esta nota se comete el error de entender como "libro XV" lo que no es sino uno de los fragmentos conservados de ese texto apuleyano. Añadamos también que la explicación que en la nota complementaria se ofrece respecto a la confusión entre India y Etiopía está fuera de lugar, puesto que, como veremos en la nota siguiente, viene de antaño.

[18] El origen de esta aparente confusión está en que para los antiguos había una oscuras conexiones entre indios y etíopes, que no siempre eran dos pueblos claramente diferenciados: véase, por ejemplo, Estrabón 15.1.25, con un apoyo concreto en razones climáticas.

siones a lo largo de su prolija obra y con mención expresa de varios de sus libros,[19] lo que muestra un conocimiento directo. Efectivamente, en el diálogo 22, 7 leemos: "Fueron los magos entre los Persas, en Babilonia los caldeos, y entre los indios los bracmanes, y en Etiopía los gimnosofistas" (4: 18b). Está en un contexto donde en principio se trata de "los vicios" y "propiedades naturales" de diversos pueblos, pero donde también en un momento de desvío se cita a los druidas en su vertiente de hechiceros, y otras clases de "sacerdotes y sabios." Es en ese punto donde un tanto confusamente encaja la enumeración citada, que cualquier lector puede interpretar como referida también a sacerdotes y sabios e igualmente a sabios en el sentido de hechiceros, tal cual un Merlín u otros semejantes.[20] No creemos que deba haber ya la menor duda: no importa mucho aquí de dónde pueda haber tomado Juan de Pineda sus referencias (conoce a Filóstrato y a Heliodoro), pero Cervantes ha extraído las suyas casi con total seguridad del texto enciclopédico de Pineda. El orden es también el mismo, si bien el alcalaíno con acierto ha reducido los dos primeros miembros de Pineda a uno solo, ya que magos y caldeos aparecen con frecuencia como una clase idéntica en textos antiguos.

Ahora bien, si esa alusión tan aparentemente explícita a Heliodoro en la Primera Parte es claramente rechazable, queda todavía, en el mismo capítulo, la expresión "que la épica también puede escribirse en prosa como en verso" con su contexto correspondiente, la cual se ha comentado en diversas ocasiones como una referencia programática a *Persiles y Sigismunda*, tomada esta obra como el producto de la emulación del épico en prosa que era Heliodoro en el sentir de teóricos del siglo XVI como Torcuato Tasso, Escalígero y López Pinciano. Con el descartado apoyo

[19] Véanse 2: 259a, 423a, 464a; 4: 44b, etc.

[20] Digamos de paso que el hallazgo de la cita en Pineda hubiese sido muy laborioso si sólo hubiésemos contado con la mencionada edición de *Don Quijote* (donde no se da la referencia precisa) y con la de la BAE en cuanto al texto de Juan de Pineda, en la que se cometió en su momento el mayúsculo error de no incluir la preciosa tabla de materias que elaborara el cuidadoso y erudito fraile y que forma parte de la introducción de la citada edición de 1589.

de la citada alusión a los gimnosofistas etíopes, y precisamente en el mismo capítulo, este otro es un dato que tampoco nos parece ahora indiscutible, puesto que esa expresión programática creemos que puede tener tanto sentido aplicada a *Persiles* como, según opina Daniel Eisenberg, a la supuesta escritura del *Bernardo*, de acuerdo con su tesis de que éste sería un libro de caballerías depurado de vicios,[21] o, como se le puede ocurrir a cualquiera, al propio *Don Quijote*, que de algún modo es un libro de caballerías pasado por una decisiva criba crítica. Lo que nos importa más es que Cervantes, atento al curso de las ideas de los teóricos, camina en sus preocupaciones literarias en una dirección opuesta a la de un viejo género tan denostado como el de los libros de caballerías y en la búsqueda de nuevos horizontes narrativos. Por ello, su censura por boca del canónigo en ese texto (I, 47; 549) coincide con la de López Pinciano, que en su *Filosofía antigua poética* les achaca el que "ni tienen verisimilitud, ni doctrina" (3: 178) o, lo que es lo mismo, "tienen acaecimientos fuera de toda buena imitación y semejança a verdad" (2: 8) por ser "ficción pura" (2: 12).[22] Heliodoro a su vez, y por el contrario, es para El Pinciano autor cuya obra "es de los poemas mejores que ha avido en el mundo" (2: 331) y uno "de los más finos épicos que han hasta agora escripto" (3: 167), lo que en otras palabras, de siempre muy recordadas, acompaña a su equiparación de Heliodoro con los

[21] *La interpretación cervantina* 44–46. Y todo esto aunque, como dice igualmente Eisenberg, sin duda también Cervantes coincidía con López Pinciano en la asociación que el tratadista establece entre los libros de caballerías y una épica en prosa (44). Al fin y al cabo el propio Pinciano se ensayó en la composición de épica con su *Pelayo*. Desde luego no podemos calificar sino de fantástica la ocurrencia de Osuna de que las palabras del canónigo en el capítulo siguiente sobre las más de cien hojas que él mismo habría escrito de un libro de esa clase propuesta corresponderían justamente a lo que ya habría redactado Cervantes del texto de *Persiles y Sigismunda*, con el añadido de que "para nosotros, por ello, su discurso no es un esbozo, como generalmente se ha afirmado, sino un resumen de nuestra novela" ("Fechas" 430).

[22] No es raro ver las citas del Pinciano, que suelen prodigarse, faltas de sus matizaciones. En este caso concreto, como Cervantes en el escrutinio de *Don Quijote*, admite también excepciones: "No hablo de un Amadís de Gaula, ni aun del de Grecia y otros pocos, los quales tienen mucho de bueno" (III, 178).

grandes poetas épicos y entre ellos Homero y Virgilio,[23] con sólo la diferencia temática (amores frente a guerras): una caracterización del novelista que no debe ser ajena a otras que se dan en textos literarios de fechas cercanas, entre las más señaladas la de la erudita Nise en la escena cuarta del primer acto de *La dama boba* (de 1613) de Lope de Vega como "griego poeta divino." Todo esto no demuestra una tesis tan atractiva como la citada de Eisenberg desde luego, pero tampoco podemos estar seguros de que Cervantes estuviese pendiente precisamente de Heliodoro como narrador y fuente de inspiración cuando escribe ese capítulo (y su continuación del tema en el siguiente), así como tampoco el que tuviese ya planificada o incluso en marcha la redacción de *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Por lo demás, si el legajo ensayado por el canónigo y del que se habla en ese capítulo posterior apunta a una identificación con un texto cervantino, el método es bien distinto de la presentación de otro como es el de "El curioso impertinente," lo que convierte cualquier conjetura en esa dirección en muy sospechosa. Si las opiniones del canónigo toledano no estaban lejos de las del propio Cervantes, ¿por qué encubrirse bajo la capa de un personaje, que además confiesa haber abandonado su tarea por razones bien explícitas? Aunque en el caso de un Cervantes que no suele citar sus fuentes inspiradoras, éste no pueda ser un argumento de mucho peso. Pero debemos recordar que en todo ese entramado teórico entre el cura y el canónigo no hay mención alguna no ya de Heliodoro, sino tampoco en general de nada que suene a la novela griega o a sus imitadores, en tanto que en el "Coloquio de los perros," por mencionar un ejemplo conocido, sí se cita a Apuleyo con su *Asno de oro*, que a todas luces fue una guía para esa novelita. Cervantes bien proclamará en cambio más tarde, y repetidas veces, esa otra guía que representará Heliodoro para su *Persiles*.

No está resuelto, por tanto, que con los datos citados poda-

[23] La equiparación con éste último está ya en Escalígero: véase Forcione 66. Véase el catálogo de épicos nombrados por López Pinciano en 3: 179 s., entre ellos Heliodoro y Aquiles Tacio, lo cual muestra que no es sólo la calidad de aquél la que lo encumbra en el análisis del tratadista.

mos tomar la redacción de la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote* como un punto cronológico de referencia determinante respecto al interés de Cervantes por el novelista antiguo y menos ya para su emulación concreta. Si el de éste quizás no fue un libro de cabecera del alcalaíno, como los que alista un tanto apresuradamente Anthony Close en el apartado sobre "Pensamiento, personalidad, cultura" de Cervantes,[24] sí fue, como hemos subrayado, una novela leída con mucha atención y bastante provecho en algún momento de su vida. Pero el cuándo preciso plantea mayores problemas, sobre todo porque también supone la dificultad añadida de la fecha del comienzo de la redacción de *Persiles y Sigismunda*. La frase citada sobre la épica en prosa delata sin embargo una preocupación teórica que bien puede asociarse a la lectura del Pinciano, pero no imprescindiblemente a una proyectada o ya real emulación de Heliodoro.

Tradicionalmente se ha tendido a ver en la redacción de *Persiles y Sigismunda* un hecho tardío, por lo general en torno o con posterioridad a 1609, siendo en esta cuestión los editores Schevill y Bonilla la referencia más ilustre. En cambio ciertos autores, como Tarkiainen y luego Osuna y Romero, se han decidido por anticipar, bien es verdad que en diversos grados, la fecha inicial, incluso en algún caso antes de la escritura de la Primera Parte de Don *Don Quijote*.[25] Si Tarkiainen no bajaba mucho más del 1599, ha

[24] Sólo de pasada, el propio Close alude a la lectura por Cervantes de ciertas traducciones de autores antiguos: así, "la *Eneida*…, la *Odisea* y la *Historia etiópica* de Heliodoro, modelos del *Persiles*, en las traducciones, respectivamente, de Gonzalo Pérez y Fernando de Mena" (lxix). Aparte de las dudas que puedan oponerse a tanta certidumbre sobre la traducción concreta en que Cervantes leyó a Heliodoro, pensamos que el catálogo de Close es muy debatible. Otros autores también ven en la de Mena la versión manejada por Cervantes: por ejemplo, Riley 54, si bien sin argumentación alguna, y Eisenberg, en *La biblioteca de Cervantes*, entrada 90.

[25] Puede verse una útil y esclarecedora síntesis de estas contribuciones al tema en el ya citado libro de Lozano, que dedica su primer capítulo al "tiempo" en *Persiles y Sigismunda*. La tesis de Donald H. Squire, basada en datos estadísticos de rasgos de estilo, llega también a la conclusión de que al menos una porción de *Persiles y Sigismunda* se redactó antes que la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote*. En cuanto a la conocida y muy poco consistente conclusión de Mack Singleton

sido sin duda Osuna quien ha consagrado un mayor esfuerzo a la defensa de esta posición, con su conocida propuesta de varias etapas en la elaboración del texto, al fin y al cabo resumibles en dos principales,[26] que se corresponden con las partes en que claramente se divide la novela y con multitud de rasgos diferenciales. Osuna, en su citado artículo de *Thesaurus*, escribe: "En cuanto a la fecha de terminación de a la del *Quijote* I (1605)," si bien no le reconoce a esta afirmación otro valor que el de una mera hipótesis (401), y el punto de arranque nada menos que hacia 1580. Pero su argumento básico nos parece un tanto etéreo: la sospecha de que esos dos libros iniciales, en los que la influencia de Heliodoro (como la de la *Eneida* virgiliana) es muy densa, debieron ser previos a *Don Quijote* precisamente porque éste es "una parodia de los modelos y la afirmación de libertad más robusta que jamás hizo Cervantes" (404), de modo que, en caso contrario, habría una contradicción entre una actitud mimética y otra de independencia. Deducción a la que se pueden oponer diversos reparos, pero sobre todo el de una interpretación de *Persiles y Sigismunda*, incluida desde luego esa primera mitad, como obra de plena madurez reflexiva sobre nociones literarias muy importantes. Y el mismo Osuna también subraya que la influencia de Heliodoro en la novela cervantina no se limita a ecos determinados, sino que "es más sutil, honda y compleja, ya que se halla como *substratum* de todo el sistema inventivo cervantino" (403),[27] lo que creemos

("El misterio del *Persiles*") sobre una fecha especialmente temprana, ha sido recuperada recientemente por Stephen Harrison en su tesis de la Universidad de Toronto, convertida luego en un libro pero sin mejores argumentos. También Alberto Navarro se inclinó por fechas tempranas, con la hipótesis de un esbozo de redacción en tres libros entre 1580 y 1590.

[26] En realidad la tesis de la división en dos fases, en cuanto a la redacción de *Persiles y Sigismunda*, se remonta al menos a Tarkiainen, pero ya autores decimonónicos como Ticknor apuntaron lo que cualquier lector avisado puede apreciar: las fuertes diferencias entre las dos mitades del relato, por muchos que sean también los intentos cervantinos por darle uniformidad.

[27] Como ya se ha subrayado, no se puede dar por sentado que la influencia de Heliodoro en *Persiles y Sigismunda* se limite a esa primera parte, según han

poder corroborar aquí. En cuanto a Romero, piensa, mucho más moderadamente, en 1596 como fecha de referencia de la primera fase de la redacción.[28] En este caso, como en tantos otros, el argumento gira alrededor de la repercusión de alguna fuente o modelo en la redacción de *Persiles y Sigismunda*, uno de los métodos, junto al de la propia cronología interna de la obra y sus no siempre claras referencias históricas, utilizados en las tentativas en esta dirección. La variedad misma de las soluciones aportadas, en dependencia en buena parte del texto tomado como fuente, puede llevar siempre a poner en cuarentena este criterio, ya que además la entidad misma de esas influencias es con frecuencia discutible. Y, aunque no nos atrevemos a repetir al pie de la letra lo que leemos en un artículo de Lozano, "las metodologías empleadas para fechar *Persiles y Sigismunda* suelen ser, en suma, profundamente arbitrarias" ("Sobre el debate" 945), creemos que su expresiva contundencia se acerca bastante, en nuestra modesta opinión, al juicio que merecen muchos de estos intentos. Sin em-

afirmado diversos eruditos. Una mayor densidad de los ecos de Heliodoro en esas páginas es un hecho bien distinto. Y sin embargo Osuna pasa insensiblemente de unas afirmaciones a otras, con lo que su argumentación adquiere falsamente mayor fuerza. Así, a la vez que sostiene una postura como la que revela esta última cita, que nosotros suscribimos, insiste en su idea de la independencia cervantina: en la segunda mitad de su novela Cervantes "ha desarrollado su personalidad hasta librarse del maestro, con el que ya ni siquiera trata de competir": 404. Pero no recuerda que todavía años después nuestro autor hablará precisamente de "competir con Heliodoro," y esto cuando ya estarían escritos, según Osuna, bastantes capítulos del Libro III (redactados entre 1606 y 1609, siempre de acuerdo con sus conclusiones). Y, además, si bien en algún pasaje admite simplemente la mayor influencia de Heliodoro en esa primera mitad, más tarde es taxativo: "Creemos extraordinariamente significativo el hecho de que tanto Heliodoro como Virgilio se encuentren sólo en la primera parte" (405). Por otro lado, el descenso de la influencia de Heliodoro en los dos últimos libros repetimos que es lógico en un texto ya asentado en una geografía bien conocida: véanse las observaciones de Lozano (*Cervantes y el mundo* 125–26), que hace de paso una oportuna comparación con *El peregrino en su patria* de Lope.

[28] Véase ya "Oviedo, Olao Magno." En su edición vuelve a insistir en 1596 como "punto de arranque de la redacción del Persiles," año en que se edita la *Filosofía* del Pinciano, en tanto que "el libro II podría haber sido concluido no más tarde de 1598 o a comienzos de 1599" (23).

bargo, pensamos que el método de las fuentes o modelos no es en sí inválido, sólo que plantea lógicamente muchos problemas.

Pero no terminan ahí las propuestas. Sin que parezca plantearse los escrúpulos de Osuna y en fecha posterior, Jean Canavaggio en su biografía del novelista afirma, por ejemplo, como algo "casi seguro" que "los primeros capítulos del *Persiles* son contemporáneos de las primeras aventuras del ingenioso hidalgo" (381). Y se remontarían "a esos años misteriosos que van de las cárceles de Sevilla a la instalación en Valladolid" (381), es decir, entre 1597 y 1604,[29] pero sin que se nos ofrezcan argumentos convincentes. Y es que, en nuestra opinión, los primeros pasos en la redacción de *Persiles y Sigismunda* no tienen por qué ser tan tempranos como sugieren estos autores y de ahí que estemos mucho más cerca de una cronología más próxima a la tradicional, es decir, a lo sumo poco después tal vez de la publicación de la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote*. Es una mera suposición, pero creemos que la frase citada del capítulo I, 47, si se refiere a *Persiles y Sigismunda*, puede responder, incluso si se está tomando a Heliodoro en ella como referencia, más a un programa meramente teórico, asociable a una reciente lectura del Pinciano, o en todo caso de aplicación venidera, que a una constatación práctica. Por lo demás, aunque éste sea un argumento débil por negativo, Cervantes, como bien se sabe y siendo tan dado a referirse a sus propias obras, no menciona *Persiles y Sigismunda* aún por esas fechas, mientras que sí lo hace con una obra, aunque editada hacía años, *La Galatea*, pero de la que ya se anuncia una segunda parte cerca del final del capítulo I, 6, y en el 47 con "Rinconete y Cortadillo," también con un subrepticio elogio añadido. Y es bien sabido que hay que esperar al prólogo de la edición de las *Novelas ejemplares* (1613) para encontrar una referencia bien explícita: "Te ofrezco los *Trabajos de Persiles*," y, sólo un año después, en el *Viaje del Parnaso* da como hecho deseado y venidero el "dar a la estampa al

[29] En relativa coincidencia, por tanto, con Romero, el cual en sus trabajos mencionados sitúa por contraste la segunda fase de la redacción en fecha muy tardía, posiblemente sólo a partir de 1614 ó 1615.

gran *Pirsiles* [sic]." Son esos años en los que sin duda escribía, en los ratos en que le dejaban libre otras empresas literarias urgentes y sus propios "trabajos," las páginas de *Persiles y Sigismunda*, que todavía se harían esperar para estar, y no del todo, prestas para la imprenta. Es solamente ahora cuando se repiten los anuncios sobre su novela septentrional: en la dedicatoria de la edición de sus nuevas obras de teatro (1615) y en el prólogo de la Segunda Parte de *Don Quijote*, donde ya la está "acabando." En la dedicatoria de éste incluso se da a sí mismo un preciso plazo de sólo cuatro meses para rematarla y se permite presumir que esta novela "ha de llegar al estremo de bondad posible." Pero no serán cuatro meses, sino ocho, los que consagre a este texto, lo que significa, dejados de lado sus achaques y otras dificultades, que fue un plazo suficiente para redactar una parte importante. Canavaggio señala hipotéticamente un plazo de "quince años," durante los cuales "Cervantes no concedió a este libro más que el tiempo robado, aquí y allá, a otras obras u otras ocupaciones" (387); tal vez fueron aun menos años. Y nuestra aportación con el motivo de las lenguas, que aplicaremos también a la "Historia del cautivo," puede ayudar a defender esta hipótesis.

Por otra parte, ya hemos anticipado el interés que parece tener "La española inglesa" en lo que toca a la lectura y a la emulación cervantina de Heliodoro y, de paso, a su proyecto o ya redacción de *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Se han señalado algunas posibles concomitancias entre estos dos textos cervantinos y que resultan reforzadas por algunas otras señalables entre "La española inglesa" y Heliodoro.[30] En principio, bien está curarse en salud sobre una cuestión como ésta, como hace López Estrada en su Introducción a la versión de Heliodoro de Fernando de Mena.[31] Pero, también según nuestro modo de ver, hay algunos datos que apuntan a esa segunda conexión. En concreto, en "La española

[30] Véase Lapesa, y en especial para la comparación las pp. 383 ss.

[31] "Más aventurada me parece la relación entre los reconocimientos de 'La española inglesa' y de 'La ilustre fregona,' pues la anagnórisis es artificio literario común a muchas obras de ficción" (xxx).

inglesa," el papel de la camarera mayor de la reina Isabel, su hijo como pretendiente de Isabela y el recurso al tósigo para acabar con la vida de ésta, recuerdan, en Heliodoro, las figuras de la sirvienta de confianza Cíbele y su hijo, pretendiente de la heroína, y el intento fallido de envenenar a Cariclea (8.7–8). No se trata, y esto es lo importante, de pormenores sueltos, sino plenamente conectados en los dos relatos. Podemos sumar también a este conjunto que los siete años son la edad en que Isabela se ve raptada en Cádiz y en que, en Heliodoro, comienza Cariclea una nueva vida, con su falso padre Caricles (2.30.6), así como que para ambas niñas ese cambio representa igualmente el comienzo del aprendizaje de una nueva lengua y desde luego una nueva existencia en un espacio geográfico diferente. Y todavía no debe dejarse de lado, si se toma como dato complementario, que para el reconocimiento de ambas por sus padres será decisivo un lunar oscuro en la oreja de Isabela y una mancha negra en la piel del brazo de Cariclea.[32] Y, a la vez, el plazo que Ricaredo se toma en "La española inglesa" para peregrinar a Roma es difícil que escape de ser un cierto paralelo de la peregrinación que constituye el hilo conductor de *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Las semejanzas se apoyan a todas luces unas a otras y muestran que, cuando Cervantes escribe estas dos obras, la novela de Heliodoro ocupa ya una parte importante de su atención. Y aún queda por señalar el punto que, en nuestra opinión, es el más significativo en estas

[32] No olvidamos por supuesto las concomitancias señaladas por Zimic ("Apostilla") entre "La española inglesa" y la *novella* sexta de la Segunda Parte de la colección de Matteo Bandello, es decir, la historia de Ligurina, que son notables. Sin embargo, incluso en estos detalles, las coincidencias con Heliodoro son aun más resaltables: por ejemplo, Ligurina es secuestrada con "nove o dieci anni," y el final patético de Bandello nos aleja completamente del tratamiento de Cervantes. El aprendizaje del español por Ligurina es, por otra parte, un hecho aislado en Bandello y también por ello distante de la complejidad que el tema de las lenguas adquiere en el texto cervantino. Y merece la pena que señalemos igualmente que el mismo Zimic, que en otro momento trazó una discutible relación de dependencia entre "La española inglesa" y *Amadís de Gaula* en su "El *Amadís* cervantino," pasó después a su nueva tesis sobre la influencia de Bandello sin mayores explicaciones.

conexiones, que es el de las lenguas, que no se limita al detalle del aprendizaje ya señalado y al que volveremos más adelante. Por otro lado, tampoco quizás esté muy fuera de lugar entender que el papel de la buena reina Isabel en "La española inglesa" como árbitro pueda tener algo que ver con el del justo rey Hidaspes de Heliodoro.

Aunque sobre el tema de las fechas de redacción de las *Novelas ejemplares* también hemos de volver después, podemos aludir aquí, anticipadamente, a que la discusión sobre si el carácter positivo que Cervantes le atribuye a la reina inglesa tiene alguna vinculación con los años en que, tras la muerte de Isabel (1603), hubo un intento de acercamiento entre los dos países[33] nos parece innecesaria. En esto estamos más cercanos a la postura desconfiada de Güntert (146) que a las de Lapesa o Johnson, que además deducen fechas diferentes a partir de ese acuerdo inicial. Lapesa piensa en los años 1609–1611, mientras que Johnson en 1604–1608, todos los cuales sin embargo pueden encajar bien con una simultánea redacción de *Persiles y Sigismunda*.[34] Con cierta razón, creemos, Güntert ve en esa Inglaterra cervantina un ente literario sin más, lo que significa también una reina al servicio de la ficción. Cervantes no deja de atribuir a Isabel una altiva condición y un corazón duro, pero su papel en el relato ha de ser simplemente el de un monarca atento y justo.[35] Por ello, si nos atre-

[33] Véase, por ejemplo, la decidida afirmación en este sentido de Lapesa (377–78).

[34] Ambas fechas responden por lo demás a una parte sustancial de la crítica que cabe llamar tradicional: así, Apraiz apunta a los años 1610–1612, Astrana Marín a 1611 y Amezúa, por razones de estilo sobre todo, a la etapa entre 1604–1606; éste último recoge otras opiniones sobre la cuestión (126–31). En cambio, Singleton ("The Date of 'La española inglesa' ") retrotrae sin razones de mucho peso esa fecha de composición hasta 1596. La posterior propuesta de Stagg sobre una datación todavía más temprana, que hace extensiva a la planificación de *Persiles y Sigismunda*, nos parece bastante discutible. Todo ello dentro de unas concepciones que sigue su discípulo Harrison, donde nos tememos que hay cierta confusión metodológica entre opinión y hecho demostrado.

[35] Quizás no sea impertinente recordar que, por ejemplo, en *El trato de Argel* se da una curiosa combinación de crueldad y de cierto sentido de la justicia en

viésemos a señalar alguna fecha en concreto a esta novela, habría de ser sobre la base de otros argumentos.

Pues bien, de vuelta a nuestra cuestión principal del poliglotismo implícito, ya hemos citado un pasaje de una obra tan temprana como *La Galatea*, si bien hemos negado su interés para nosotros, sobre todo porque se trata de un lugar demasiado aislado en un relato bastante extenso y, añadamos, en correspondencia también con una observación bastante natural, como es la identificación de un lugar por el habla de sus habitantes. Pero otros textos sí tienen mucha mayor importancia al respecto y, en algún caso, parecen ofrecer datos sobre una proximidad a Heliodoro y de paso al proyecto o a la redacción de *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Uno de esos textos es precisamente "La española inglesa." El interés de los estudiosos se ha centrado básicamente en algunos de los pasajes que son relevantes al respecto, pero sin observar la posible conexión entre unos y otros.

Es más, un detalle como la aparente contradicción respecto a los conocimientos de español de la reina de Inglaterra sólo suele llamar la atención como mero desliz en la redacción de la novela ejemplar y como apoyo para la conclusión de que Cervantes no remató bien su escritura.[36] Suele aducirse incluso que efectivamente la reina Isabel I leía y hablaba diversas lenguas,[37] pero no en concreto el castellano. Lo cierto es, si acaso esto tiene interés para nuestro tema, que Cervantes ha destacado con su primer pasaje su propia lengua, tal como en *Persiles y Sigismunda* le dará también especial realce, y esto debe vincularse a los elogios de su país, que también se reiteran en esta obra. Al hacer en un mo-

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la figura del rey musulmán, que actúa en el desenlace prácticamente como un favorable *deus ex machina*. O incluso la generosidad (claro que de un enamorado) del sultán en *La gran sultana*.

[36] Véase la página 11 del segundo volumen de la edición de Avalle-Arce, que utilizamos como referencia textual. Recuérdese que la reina primeramente (74) le pide a Isabela que "en lengua española" se dirija a la que resultará ser su madre y después ella misma habla con ésta, pero también, como advierte con puntualidad el narrador, sirviéndose de Isabela como intérprete (75).

[37] Véase la página 55 n. de la citada edición de Avalle-Arce.

mento determinado a la reina inglesa desenvolverse en español, éste pasa así a un primer plano. Pero algo distinto es el descuido posterior al que tanta importancia han dado los comentaristas.

Dejemos de lado, sin embargo, la lógica del desarrollo en el argumento cervantino en estas cuestiones de detalle y vayamos al conjunto de los datos. En "La española inglesa," en unas pocas páginas, el tema de las lenguas se encuentra mencionado en un cierto número de ocasiones y de un modo que no puede menos de llamar la atención. Algún estudioso como, por ejemplo, Casalduero ve no obstante en ello sobre todo un simple modo, por parte de Cervantes, de subrayar el ambiente extranjero "con la diferencia más aparente y al mismo tiempo la más sutil" (123). Elvezio Canonica, por su parte, ha recogido escrupulosamente esas diversas menciones, concluyendo que es esta obrita la que entre las *ejemplares* y en este punto "se lleva la palma" (30). Si atendemos a los datos, primero se nos revela que la niña Isabela, capturada en Cádiz, debe aprender el inglés (como Cariclea el griego), si bien no por ello pierde el uso de su lengua materna por iniciativa de sus amos (48). Como subraya Canonica, el bilingüismo de Isabela prepara el terreno para lo que sigue (30), además de ser, añadimos, determinante, al igual que su belleza y virtud, para el desarrollo de la novela. A partir de ese momento, en realidad, la información sobre la situación en el nivel de la lengua utilizada va a ser tan frecuente y densa como, por ejemplo, las descripciones, tan ricas y pormenorizadas, o los datos económicos. Cuando Isabela es presentada a la reina, se dirige a ésta en inglés, pero Isabel le pide que le hable "en español…, que yo le entiendo bien" (56), si bien, más tarde, lo que se ha creído poder señalar como una negligencia del autor, la reina utilizará a Isabela como intérprete con sus verdaderos padres (74–75). Por su parte, el joven enamorado Ricaredo pregunta "en español" (62) a los cristianos a los que salva de los turcos y luego conversa al parecer sin problemas con uno de estos españoles en la misma lengua (63 y 66), aunque confesará más tarde, ya en Sevilla, que prefiere que sea Isabela la que cuente la historia ante sus padres, en español naturalmente, ya que él "no muy expertamente ha-

blaba la lengua castellana" (94); no obstante, luego entramos en la convención meramente literaria de que Ricaredo continuará la historia sin problema alguno cuando le toca exponer la parte que él sólo sabe.[38] El curioso lector podrá naturalmente preguntarse cuándo ha aprendido Ricaredo su tan variable nivel de español, puesto que el narrador no nos lo dice, pero esto pertenece también al haz de convenciones literarias que no deben preocuparnos ni poco ni mucho. Si somos muy escrupulosos, podremos decir, por ejemplo, que su familia, tan católica y que parece haberse comunicado desde el comienzo tan sin problemas con Isabela, tendría toda ella un cierto conocimiento del castellano, pero sin ir mucho más allá en la cuestión de los detalles.

Se podrían discutir otros pormenores de este relato y creemos que no está fuera de lugar dedicarles todavía unas líneas. Para nosotros, por ejemplo, la doble actitud lingüística de la reina quizás no sea un real descuido del autor, puesto que Cervantes debía saber muy bien que no es lo mismo entender una lengua ajena que expresarse con soltura en ella.[39] Con el joven Ricaredo los hechos son bastante más convencionales, como hemos dicho. Sea como sea, Cervantes, exactamente igual que en *Persiles y Sigismunda*, maneja a la vez también aquí los dos registros: el del cuidadoso pormenor lingüístico, con motivos como el aprendizaje, el bilingüismo y el papel del intérprete, y el muy cómodo de la simple convencionalidad, que allana las dificultades narrativas en ese terreno.

Ante este doble juego tampoco tiene visos de ser un grave pecado el que Isabela, cuando recibe la carta sobre la supuesta

[38] Casalduero, en su libro citado, *Sentido y forma*, explica la distinta conducta de Ricaredo por una contraposición entre la lengua empleada en un nivel utilitario y en un nivel artístico, aquí por narrativo más difícil e indudablemente superior (86 y 123). Esta distinción, en principio muy razonable, refuerza, de aceptarse, el interés de Cervantes en esta obra por el motivo lingüístico y sus complejidades, pero deja sin justificar este cambio que hemos señalado.

[39] Señalemos, por citar un dato también de Heliodoro, que en éste Ársace, la esposa adúltera del sátrapa de Egipto, comprende el griego, pero no lo habla (7.19.3).

muerte de Ricaredo ya en Sevilla y escrita lógicamente "en lengua inglesa," la lea "en español," un hecho que sorprende a Canonica: "Lo que más llama la atención en esta circunstancia es que Isabela no lee la carta en voz alta, para que la entiendan sus padres, porque está sola en el momento de la lectura. Entonces, ¿qué necesidad tenía de traducirla, dado su perfecto bilingüismo? Creemos que en este punto concreto se deja ver a todas luces cuál es la preocupación principal de Cervantes: la de justificar el hecho de que la carta tiene que estar transcrita en español, y no en inglés, es decir en la lengua original" (32). Lo cierto es que en el pasaje cervantino en ningún momento se dice que Isabela esté a solas al leer la carta y, cuando ella sale del aposento, el texto deja constancia de que sus padres saben ya la noticia. Por tanto, en todo caso lo que es achacable a Cervantes es sólo una cierta ambigüedad o elipsis narrativa, pero sobre todo importa ahora hacer notar que es un pasaje más en que su autor insiste en esta novela en el detalle de la comunicación lingüística. No importa que haya lógicas diferencias respecto al relato de Heliodoro[40]; la sistematización del motivo, como en *Persiles y Sigismunda*, y el que la cuestión de las lenguas se transforme en una de las claves del texto son factores muy significativos.

Canonica pasa después revista a otros relatos de la colección en los que aflora este tipo de pormenores. Aquí nos vamos a detener solamente en uno de ellos, en que la proximidad a la práctica que hemos visto en "La española inglesa" es más notable: "El amante liberal." Con frecuencia se han señalado ciertas afinidades entre estos dos textos, aunque muchas veces la asociación no vaya más lejos de su común grado de idealización, que a su vez es un modo de acercarlos a *Persiles y Sigismunda*.[41] Por otra parte, no han faltado quienes hayan visto precisamente influencias de

[40] Por ejemplo, en "La española inglesa" es esencial que su protagonista, a la vez que aprende una nueva lengua, mantenga el conocimiento de su antiguo idioma, en tanto que en el relato de Heliodoro ocurre lo contrario, al adquirir la joven Cariclea el dominio del griego y perder el de su nativo etíope.

[41] Véase, por ejemplo, una vez más Casalduero, 24 ss. y 127–28.

Heliodoro en "El amante liberal,"[42] como ocurre con el tan trillado inicio *in medias res*,[43] que de por sí no tiene un gran significado. De todos es sabido que es muy frecuente en concreto en el .género de la novela pastoril, por lo que a nadie le sorprende hallarlo en *La Galatea* del mismo Cervantes, sin que haya de achacarse ahí a influjo particular de Heliodoro.[44] En cambio, no costaría mucho, según luego señalaremos, ver un paralelismo entre el comienzo de *Teágenes y Cariclea*, con su carácter muy abrupto y el cautiverio como motivo, al que seguirá después un relato retrospectivo, y los mismos ingredientes en "El amante liberal." No es, por tanto, el inicio abrupto en sí lo que debe llamarnos la atención en esta obrita en relación con una posible influencia de Heliodoro, sino esa cadena de hechos en particular.[45]

Sea como sea, en este relato cervantino hay desde luego una

[42] Por ejemplo, Martín Gabriel, que ve en esta relación una "imitación directa" (233). Pero su referencia a Heliodoro 7.20 nos parece muy poco convincente.

[43] Para Güntert tampoco parece haber dudas de que Heliodoro ha sido emulado en "El amante liberal," pero refiriéndose en concreto al inicio abrupto y, a continuación, a otros dos aspectos: "De la novela bizantina guarda efectivamente algunas características tales como el comienzo *in medias res*, el recurso al elemento figurativo de los 'varios accidentes' y, por lo general, la atmósfera mediterránea" (127). Confesamos nuestra perplejidad ante estas dos últimas observaciones.

[44] Como recordamos todos, igualmente tienen un inicio abrupto la novela de Núñez de Reinoso y *El peregrino en su patria* de Lope, en que también se ha creído ver influencias de Heliodoro, con escasos argumentos en nuestra opinión, pero que a su vez influyó en *Persiles y Sigismunda*: véase Osuna, "Las fechas del *Persiles*," sobre todo 421–27.

[45] En una dirección aparentemente errónea Zimic apunta a la influencia concreta no de Heliodoro, sino de Aquiles Tacio en "El amante liberal," por supuesto a través de la versión de Coccio, "única en que Cervantes pudo leer la novela completa de Aquiles Tacio" ("Hacia una nueva novela" 140 n. 2). Pero las concomitancias señaladas entre ambos textos son muy endebles y en todo caso se explican mejor como influjos de la novelística griega en general (de modo directo o indirecto) y de Heliodoro tal vez en particular. Zimic, por lo demás, no está siempre acertado cuando se refiere al género griego. Por citar un solo ejemplo, para él (140 n. 3) el comienzo *in medias res* es condición "sine qua non" de éste, cuando bien sabe el lector que es exclusivo de Heliodoro. Este tipo de inexactitudes se repite en su libro *Los cuentos y las novelas*: véase en especial su capítulo IV, 95–142.

abundancia de elementos lingüísticos explícitos, que no nos importan mucho aquí, como los hay en "La señora Cornelia," "El coloquio de los perros" o "El licenciado Vidriera," pero además se da una serie de indicaciones implícitas como las que vimos en "La española inglesa." Canonica las recoge entremezcladas con las explícitas, introduciendo una vez más la confusión y, lo más importante para nosotros, alejándose así de una posible comparación fructífera con *Persiles y Sigismunda* y, más allá, con Heliodoro. Puesto que hay que insistir en que en el autor griego y en el texto castellano no sólo es común la profusión de referencias implícitas, sino el rechazo de las explícitas, que en cambio sí se dan, y a veces con cierta abundancia, en otros textos cervantinos como los ya citados.

No hace falta señalar, por otra parte, que en "El amante liberal" el enredo alcanza altas cotas, con falsas apariencias, engaños y disfraces, lo que en el nivel del volumen de las peripecias nos sitúa igualmente en las cercanías de "La española inglesa," con el despliegue además del poliglotismo implícito al servicio de esa complicada trama. En el primer texto hay a la vez una compleja localización políglota que permite, por ejemplo, al viejo cadí dirigirse a su gente "en lengua turquesca, arábiga y griega" (181). Aparecen renegados, renegados fingidos o cautivos veteranos que naturalmente sirven de intérpretes o que pueden utilizar, como Mahamut, una lengua que su interlocutor no espera que conozcan: por ejemplo, cuando Mahamut se dirige "en lengua italiana" a la cautiva Leonisa (187). La escrupulosidad del autor llega en estas páginas al punto de que se nos aclara que las aclamaciones de los turcos en un momento determinado se expresaban "en su lengua" (181), lo que en buena ley el lector puede juzgar bastante innecesario, e igualmente, como antes recordábamos, hace referencia a la lengua mezclada o franca de práctica común en estos ambientes: "Temo no nos haya escuchado Halima, la cual entiende algo de la lengua cristiana [aquí sería el siciliano o "italiano"], a lo menos de aquella mezcla de lenguas que se usa, con que todos nos entendemos" (200–01), lengua "bastarda" de la que se repite la noticia en el capítulo 41 de la Primera

Parte de *Don Quijote*, en el contexto de la "Historia del cautivo."[46] Y al lado de estas diversas realizaciones implícitas de la verosimilitud lingüística, las explícitas se limitan a un repertorio de léxico musulmán que se nos justifica en el texto, sin llegar ni con mucho a la profusión de otros relatos mencionados.

Esta escrupulosidad, en fin, al tiempo que la densidad del fenómeno lingüístico y el cuidado de no caer en una convención más o menos generalizada, lo que se debe reconocer que es siempre más fácil en un relato corto que en uno extenso, aúnan estas dos novelitas cervantinas de modo especial y las acercan, en nuestra opinión, a la redacción de *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Canonica, al estudiar este aspecto, se limita a señalar que en "El amante liberal" "se puede apreciar la evolución hacia una mayor conciencia de la verosimilitud lingüística" (32), aunque no puede explicar de dónde arranca ese proceso. Simplemente, según su planteamiento, sería de hecho un fenómeno propio de la conducta literaria del escritor Cervantes.

Ya hemos subrayado algunas otras coincidencias, en especial, entre "La española inglesa" y el texto de Heliodoro. Lo que nos interesa ahora es, sobre todo, que el recurso de la comunicación/incomunicación lingüística se da de modo acusado en esos dos relatos breves, que tal vez pudieron escribirse en fechas no muy distantes, y que este dato nos aproxima a la explotación del mismo recurso, pero en escala mucho mayor, en un texto más extenso como es *Persiles y Sigismunda*. No es, pues, alguna arriesgada síntesis como la de El Saffar, a la que nos referiremos más adelante, la que nos lleva a esta asociación. Es un hecho concreto: la importancia dada a este fenómeno, convertido en una especie de sistema dentro del relato, y la atención con que en estas obras menores se evita ceder al convencionalismo al uso, sobre todo en "El amante liberal" e incluso hasta la redundancia en ocasiones, en momentos narrativos en que parece innecesario aludir al mo-

[46] Esta lengua "mezclada" se menciona igualmente en *La gran sultana*, v. 180. No hay nada semejante en *Persiles y Sigismunda*, por lo que es razonable interpretar que este dato concreto de la *lingua franca* pertenece (y es lógico que sea así) al ámbito de las experiencias personales del autor.

tivo de las lenguas, lo que nos impide dejar de lado esta curiosa cuestión como nexo, que, como ya hemos mostrado, tiene una estrecha relación con las prácticas de Heliodoro y como refuerzo de esa conexión entre varios textos cervantinos.

Pero a la vez no nos cuesta reconocer también que el novelista griego es aun más cuidadoso en la sistematización del recurso que estudiamos, y que seguramente sólo "El amante liberal" llegue a su nivel de pulcritud. Cervantes cae en ciertos deslices, como vimos, en "La española inglesa," aunque puedan buscarse justificaciones para ellos, y es un hecho del que hemos dado ya cuenta que en *Persiles y Sigismunda* hay momentos en que se prefiere la neutralización, que representa la eventual convencionalidad. No creemos que para explicarlo se haya de acudir al fácil y reiterado expediente de que no pudo retocar o corregir esmeradamente su redacción. Por otra parte, es un texto más largo y complejo que el de Heliodoro, y por tanto con toda lógica más susceptible de tales descuidos, y en él la necesidad de relajar la tensión a que lleva el continuo recurso a la referencia lingüística era evidentemente mayor. Dicho llanamente: la atención a las distinciones lingüísticas tanto por parte del autor como por la del lector, continua en ciertos episodios del relato cervantino, sería fatigosa de mantener en todo el texto, por lo cual se procede a anularla en todo o en parte en otras secciones de la obra. Desde este punto de vista, esa convencionalidad más o menos pasajera o prolongada en *Persiles y Sigismunda* es una justificación razonable, de modo que su distancia en este punto de *Teágenes y Cariclea*, si se pretendiera utilizarla como objeción, no es un obstáculo para la relación entre ambos relatos.

Ahora bien, ¿poseemos alguna otra información que permita asociar incluso cronológicamente la redacción de esas dos novelas ejemplares y a la vez a éstas con *Persiles y Sigismunda*? La duración que se le supone hasta en las hipótesis más modestas a la escritura de esta obra no hace en principio difícil una posible coincidencia con aquéllas, pero la primera cuestión se presenta más reacia a una respuesta positiva. Se sabe bien que las fechas de las *Novelas ejemplares* plantean graves problemas, y que la so-

lución más socorrida y prudente para la mayoría es ofrecer un marco temporal muy amplio. Así, Peter N. Dunn anota: "Lo más que se puede decir sin riesgo es que las *Novelas* se escribieron, probablemente, entre 1590 y 1612" (82). Casalduero, por su parte, zanja el tema en poco más de una página y concluye con su contundencia habitual: "Los esfuerzos de los eruditos que han tratado de establecer la cronología de las novelas han sido, por desgracia, hasta ahora inútiles. Se debieron de escribir durante un largo período de tiempo, y, a juzgar por 'Rinconete y Cortadillo' y 'El celoso,' debieron estar sometidas a un incesante proceso de elaboración," y, en todo caso y basándose indudablemente en esa supuesta reelaboración, concluye que "lo más posible es que, tal como las leemos hoy, representen al Cervantes de la segunda década del siglo XVII" (10–11), lo que es muy favorable a nuestra propia perspectiva. Bastantes editores de la colección eluden el espinoso tema de la cronología o, como hace Juan Alcina Franch en su edición, remiten simplemente a estudios previos. Éste en concreto dice respecto a "El amante liberal": "Toda la crítica, salvo la discrepancia de Apraiz, considera la novela como perteneciente a la primera época del autor, si no es la más antigua de la colección" (47). Efectivamente, la gran mayoría de quienes han tratado de afinar más en este punto se ha inclinado hacia una fecha bastante temprana para esta obra o, incluso, atribuyéndole, como se ha visto, el ser la primera de la serie.[47] En cuanto a Osuna, en su artículo citado de *Thesaurus* escribe simplemente y en una dirección semejante "muy temprana" (419). Lapesa, partiendo de nuestra ignorancia sobre la datación del texto, añade que "acaso, por razones de tema y estilo, acierten quienes lo consideran obra de época temprana" (376 n. 16). Pero los argumentos empleados son por lo general muy poco precisos, como ocurre

[47] Amezúa, en su libro monumental (44–47), ofrece un muestrario de citas de eruditos como Icaza, los editores Schevill y Bonilla o, con mayor moderación, Entwistle, que se inclinan por esas fechas tempranas. La única excepción que también cita, como vimos que lo hace Alcina, es la de Apraiz, el cual puso reparos a esta tendencia casi generalizada y se decidió por la vejez del autor, entre 1610 y 1612, juntamente con "La española inglesa."

con las coincidencias argumentales o hasta textuales y de estilo con el teatro primerizo de Cervantes, en particular con el referido al tema del cautiverio, es decir, en obras como *El trato de Argel* o incluso, entre las que pueden ser relativamente tardías, *Los baños de Argel* o *La gran sultana*, todo lo cual no resiste una crítica un tanto exigente. Lo cierto es que esas opiniones apuntan casi siempre a hechos que pueden interpretarse de muy diversos modos y llevarnos a resultados diferentes. Además, debe tenerse en cuenta la posibilidad muy razonable subrayada por Casalduero, de que los textos y no sólo aquellos de que da constancia el manuscrito Porras hayan sido alterados por su autor con el tiempo, por lo que algún elemento como el de las lenguas, probablemente tardío, pueda haber sido añadido años después de una hipotética redacción original.[48]

Por su parte, El Saffar reparte la cronología de las piezas de la colección en función de su mayor aproximación al "realismo," las más tempranas, o al "idealismo" (las cinco tenidas convencionalmente por más "italianizantes"), las más tardías, y entre éstas sitúa naturalmente "El amante liberal," en el mismo grupo que "La española inglesa," las cuales serían las escritas precisamente en las últimas fechas posibles y, lo que nos importa mucho, estarían ya influenciadas por Heliodoro. Podemos desconfiar de este tipo de planteamientos, pero lo que nos atañe ahora es que, si pueden publicarse, es porque realmente no existen datos fehacientes que los contradigan, y esto vale con toda certeza para la oscura fecha de "El amante liberal." De nuevo volvemos a encontrar unidas en una propuesta cronológica las dos novelas que nos han ofrecido materia común para nuestros comentarios, pero no es su base idealista lo que las relaciona para nosotros, sino su tratamiento del tema de las lenguas, lo que puede ser un indicio más objetivo de una actitud propia de su autor durante una eta-

[48] Es lo mismo que puede haber ocurrido con *La gran sultana* en concreto, donde se lee un pasaje muy llamativo para la cuestión del poliglotismo implícito en boca del pintoresco Madrigal (jornada segunda, vv. 1530–57). Podemos estar ante una obra escrita hacia 1606–1610, pero quién sabe hasta qué punto reelaborada sobre materiales más antiguos.

pa de su producción. Si este motivo ha sido reforzado en una reelaboración, como pudo ocurrir también hipotéticamente con "La española inglesa," a cuya posible fecha ya nos hemos referido anteriormente, es algo que no sabemos, pero no es descartable en absoluto.

Sin posibilidad, pues, de ofrecer otros datos que objetivamente sostengan una fecha relativamente tardía y con ello afín a la redacción del *Persiles y Sigismunda*, nos parece que, aparte de otros posibles rasgos comunes, esa preocupación compartida por el tema del poliglotismo implícito asocia las dos novelas ejemplares citadas con esta otra más extensa y de redacción tardía. De este modo, los hechos coinciden bastante aceptablemente: varios textos cervantinos, cuya fecha de composición puede ser, a título de hipótesis, aproximadamente coincidente, ofrecen, aparte de otras posibles influencias de detalle, la práctica de un recurso muy particular y del que es, a su vez, muy difícil negar a estas alturas que tenga que ver con la influencia de la lectura de Heliodoro. Esas fechas, por lo demás, también serían concordantes con el momento en que, como ya subrayara Schevill, llegó a su apogeo la popularidad del novelista griego entre los lectores españoles. Fuera de este hecho de amplio alcance, se debe hacer notar que era muy lógico que Cervantes reparase en el interés de esta obra precisamente entonces, cuando ya López Pinciano, siguiendo a los tratadistas italianos, la había ensalzado y sus méritos corrían, siempre ciertamente entre una selecta minoría, de boca en boca. Cervantes, quizás ya después de publicar la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote*, tiene suficiente confianza en el dominio de la prosa narrativa como para aplicarse a otras grandes empresas, y entre éstas la de la emulación de Heliodoro. Con esto coincide el que luego pueda autoproclamarse como el primero en novelar, en escribir *novelle* en español. Puesto a escribir ficción extensa en prosa, en la que se dilata el enredo y se enriquecen las complejidades de la narración, ya sin modelos tan estables como los de la novela pastoril que guiaron la escritura de *La Galatea*, era lógico, incluso diríamos inevitable, que la lectura de Heliodoro significase mucho para él, y desde luego más que para el veleidoso y va-

rio espíritu de un Lope.

La obra de Heliodoro es un texto de madurez extrema en la antigüedad tardía, recibe elogios merecidos de ilustres plumas del XVI y del XVII, se repiten sus ediciones y traducciones, su horizonte moral y estético es concorde con el renacentista y barroco, y su técnica, y esto nos importa mucho, tenía que ser muy atractiva para quien, como Cervantes, estuvo crecientemente interesado en los aspectos formales de la prosa de ficción. El juego con el lector es continuo en Heliodoro, la intriga, la novedad y la osadía son rasgos que hacen su novela muy moderna, y todo ello debió atraer la atención de Cervantes. Es más, podría sentenciarse que, si había un lector español en ese momento que podía ver en Heliodoro un tesoro de enseñanzas y un perfecto modelo para la emulación, ése era el autor de *Don Quijote*. No hablamos sólo de tomarlo como referencia, sino de enriquecerse con su lectura, en el sentido noble de la emulación clásica, y orientarse hacia direcciones novedosas y fructíferas. Lo que va en paralelo con el hecho de que la emulación de Heliodoro, como la de la *Eneida* de Virgilio, y más en particular en ambos casos en los dos primeros libros de *Persiles y Sigismunda*, representaba, según dijimos, un intento de dignificar el propio producto literario.

El motivo concreto que hemos estudiado en estas páginas destaca en diversos textos cervantinos, supuestamente de la última etapa de su producción, o tal vez en algún caso retocados tardíamente. Denota esa emulación en un punto que apenas había sido practicado en la prosa literaria castellana previa, y con el que Heliodoro también había representado una llamativa novedad ya en su tiempo y en el género novelesco en Grecia Por otra parte, y contra la tan frecuentada oposición de textos realistas e idealistas, en una obra como *Persiles y Sigismunda*, orientada hacia el didactismo moral idealizante, el motivo de las lenguas es un dato interpretable como realista, y aquí por ello queremos dejar constancia de nuestro acuerdo con Lozano cuando escribe que "no se ha sabido ver que el *Persiles* también realiza una importante contribución a la construcción del realismo desde el género de la novela de aventuras" (*Cervantes y el mundo* 189). Si

esto puede ser especialmente más cierto para los dos últimos libros, también hemos observado que su autor se mantiene fiel en ellos al recurso del poliglotismo implícito, que sirve así de elemento conector entre ambas mitades del relato. El que igualmente se resolviese a aplicarlo a ciertas narraciones breves escritas (o reelaboradas) por esos años y situadas también en una geografía extrapeninsular, no tiene nada de sorprendente. Era un modo de reconocer que este factor realista era muy productivo como marca significativa en una ambientación con pretensiones de verosimilitud.

Pero queda aún pendiente un aspecto del problema y es, de nuevo, el de la posición de la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote* en nuestro tema. Como vimos, la referencia a los gimnosofistas, sobre todo, no nos lleva a la conclusión de que, cuando Cervantes estaba redactando esas páginas, ya hubiera leído a Heliodoro. En cuanto al celebrado excurso sobre un libro de caballerías depurado y la referencia a la épica en prosa, los hemos situado en un ámbito de discutible interpretación y que no tiene por qué remitir decididamente a *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, y menos a esta obra como ya en proceso de redacción. En lo que atañe al tema de las lenguas también puede señalarse que, tal como ocurre en el género pastoril, una geografía tan limitada como es la de *Don Quijote* no facilitaría precisamente el empleo del recurso, pero por ello mismo deben observarse con especial atención las historias intercaladas, que pueden ampliar el horizonte geográfico. Canonica pasó revista a varios lugares de la Parte Segunda en los que se da el poliglotismo implícito, así como también el explícito, reparando especialmente en el encuentro entre el morisco Ricote y Sancho en el capítulo 54 y en la visita a la imprenta barcelonesa en el 62. Pero notablemente silencia el episodio del cautivo en la Primera Parte, que tiene además ciertas concomitancias argumentales con "El amante liberal." Es ése el único lugar de esta parte donde el poliglotismo implícito, así como el explícito, tienen un señalado papel. Ya la aparición del liberado cautivo y de su amada en el capítulo 37 da lugar al motivo, puesto que ella no entiende el castellano y él debe hablarle "en lengua

arábiga" (441), lo que sin duda sorprenderá al lector a la luz del relato posterior. En el capítulo 40 se alude al "papel escrito en arábigo," que naturalmente no pueden leer los cautivos (465), y a la reiterada función de traductor del renegado, que tendrá una actividad determinante en toda esta narración. En el capítulo 41 se toca el tema de la útil herramienta que representa la lengua franca o "bastarda" y ahí también el padre de Zoraida actúa de intérprete, al igual que debe resaltarse el hecho de que el intercambio oral sea ya en morisco, ya en la tal lengua "bastarda," y el de la reiteración del papel de interpretación del renegado. Todavía queda espacio para la presencia de franceses en un bajel, los cuales desde luego hablan en su lengua. Asimismo, la convención funciona en varios momentos del relato, en concreto en la conversación entre padre e hija referida en el capítulo 41 (484), en el posterior intercambio de frases en la despedida de ambos (485–86) y desde luego en el citado episodio del encuentro con el bajel francés, así como en la contradicción que supone el que en pocos días el cautivo pueda hablar con Zoraida "en lengua arábiga." Tenemos, por tanto, un uso nutrido del poliglotismo implícito y cercano al de las dos novelas ejemplares citadas y *Persiles*, pero igualmente un no escaso recurso a la convencionalidad.

Surge, por tanto, la duda de si en el detalle de este episodio ha intervenido también la influencia de Heliodoro, más allá del hecho tan natural que supone el referirnos los problemas lingüísticos de los cautivos entre la población musulmana.[49] Desde este punto de vista, puede argüirse, no estamos aún ante el artificio insistente que tanto representa en *Persiles y Sigismunda* y, de paso, en "La española inglesa" y en cierto modo en "El amante liberal." Ciertamente se tendría cierto derecho a juzgar que, para la presencia de este motivo en los textos referidos a los cautivos, no era precisa la influencia de Heliodoro, lo que podría aplicarse igualmente al último citado. Las experiencias personales de Cer-

[49] El problema se repite en un texto dramático que tantas concomitancias posee con éste, *Los baños de Argel*, tal vez tardío a pesar del parecer de Francisco Márquez Villanueva (*Personajes y temas* 93), pero en el que sólo cabe destacar el dominio de lenguas por parte de Muley Maluco (Jornada tercera, vv. 579–81).

vantes hubieran bastado para fomentar este tipo de pormenores, que formaban parte de las calamidades y carencias de la vida corriente de los cautivos. Elementos de poliglotismo explícito, vinculados sin duda a los años del cautiverio, se dan en *El trato de Argel*, donde no hay aún rastros del uso implícito.

Consecuentemente, aunque nadie puede negar en redondo que nuestro autor hubiese ya leído a Heliodoro cuando estaba escribiendo esos capítulos avanzados de la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote*, tampoco puede sostenerse a ultranza que esta lectura del novelista griego fuese determinante en el empleo del recurso en la "Historia del cautivo." Éste es, ¿qué duda cabe?, el punto más difícil en los planteamientos que hemos ido desarrollando. Sospechamos, sin embargo, que tal vez fue la lectura de Heliodoro la que sirvió de catalizador para la percepción del interés literario del motivo y para la densidad de su aparición en esos capítulos del primer *Don Quijote*. Una solución que nos parece, pues, perfectamente razonable es que, sin menoscabo para la tesis de una cronología tardía como la aquí propuesta para *Persiles y Sigismunda* y la posible versión definitiva de las dos novelas ejemplares estudiadas, ya en algún momento coincidente con la redacción al menos de esos capítulos tardíos de la Primera Parte de *Don Quijote* Cervantes tuviese un conocimiento directo del texto de Heliodoro y comenzara a interesarse por el despliegue literario del motivo lingüístico en forma de poliglotismo implícito. De lo cual resultase un primer ensayo en la "Historia del cautivo," en un experimento en el que colaborarían los todavía vívidos recuerdos de los años del cautiverio. Si bien hemos mostrado que otros posibles argumentos para una supuesta influencia de Heliodoro en la Primera Parte no nos son aceptables, se trata, al fin y al cabo, de indicios negativos que no la excluyen y esto es totalmente compatible con una fecha relativamente tardía para todos aquellos otros textos y desde luego ya para una meditada lectura de la obra del Pinciano, de la que hay un claro reflejo en el discurso del canónigo toledano. No puede ser tampoco un azar que tanto la "Historia del cautivo" como las disquisiciones sobre la poesía en prosa y la posible redención de l as historias de aventuras ca-

ballerescas se lean cerca del término de esa Primera Parte. Estaríamos ya en el tiempo de su redacción, bien dentro del siglo XVII, cuando se acrecienta la popularidad de Heliodoro, a la que Cervantes contribuirá de un modo sin duda decisivo.

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Apuntes para una solución: la narración de Rutilio

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n el clásico libro de E. C. Riley, *Teoría de la novela en Cervantes*, en la sección dedicada a "la verosimilitud y lo maravilloso" se afirma que *Persiles y Sigismunda* es una narración que a pesar de presentar personajes y sucesos asombrosos, "se caracteriza por su empeño en racionalizarlo todo" (298). El único incidente verdaderamente maravilloso es, según Riley, el gran salto a caballo que Periandro ejecuta desde una elevada peña hacia el mar congelado, hazaña que el héroe refiere a sus compañeros de travesía (II, 20). Quizás desatendiendo la *Poética* de Aristóteles, según quien "it is probable that improbable things occur" (135), Riley concluye que "en este caso la mixtificación es completa" (306). Todas las demás aventuras son a su parecer verosímiles, pues en *Persiles* "la fuente más fecunda de admiración no reside en lo prodigioso ni en lo sobrenatural, sino en los acontecimientos sorprendentes que se producen en la vida diaria" (292).

Por otro lado, Riley fue quien por primera vez advirtió que la narración fantástica de Rutilio (I, 8), la "más fabulosa del *Persiles*" (305), no altera el delicado equilibrio entre la imitación verosímil y lo maravilloso, balance que debe existir en la tragedia o epopeya que respete los preceptos aristotélicos. Básicamente, Cervantes

habría seguido tres convenciones para garantizar que su última novela fuera sorprendente sin incurrir en lo absurdo fantástico: situar los sucesos insólitos en regiones remotas y poco conocidas, relatar casos fantásticos pero posibles según la creencia popular y poner en boca de los personajes, y no del narrador, las historias que parecieran increíbles (307). El lucianesco trance de Rutilio, el ser llevado por los aires sobre el manto de una bruja desde Italia a Noruega, lugar donde mata a la hechicera convertida en loba, no pondría en riesgo la plausibilidad genérica de la novela, pues "desde el momento en que se deja abierta la posibilidad de que sea un embustero, la verosimilitud de la novela queda intacta" (305). Alban Forcione retoma estas ideas, y tras enumerar las diferencias entre lo maravilloso "legítimo" y lo "ilegítimo" según tratadistas del XVI, concluye que *Persiles* "employs only the legitimate marvelous" (37).

Frederick A. De Armas estudia la relación entre *Persiles* y *El reino de este mundo*; toma como punto de partida la alusión que hace Carpentier en el prólogo de su novela al caso de licantropía que Rutilio refiere. De Armas explica que según algunas autoridades de la época, entre ellas Henry Kramer y James Sprenger, autores del *Malleus maleficarum*, el desplazarse por los aires o "transvección" fue una posible práctica brujeril, pero no había un acuerdo unánime. Con relación a la licantropía, luego de resumir lo que se especulaba, De Armas precisa que su causa es más compleja: "the victim thinks he becomes a wolf, but this is an illusion created by the devil (through illness?) who, having possessed a wolf, accomplishes the deeds the person believes he performs" (302). Sin embargo, reconoce que en el episodio de Rutilio tales complejidades no existen, y que por lo tanto el testimonio de Mauricio sobre la manía lupina no es pertinente: "all we have is the sight of the witch's transformation, a metamorphosis which according to Mauricio and learned treatises of the time is impossible" (302). De Armas subraya el hecho de que sólo la posibilidad de la metamorfosis sea discutida en *Persiles y Sigismunda*, mientras que el viaje aéreo de Rutilio se soslaye (303). Quedarían, entonces, tres alternativas con respecto a esta omisión: "(1) The

flight actually took place; (2) Rutilio believed in the flight, although it was a demonic illusion; and (3) as an unreliable narrator (in Riley's terminology), Rutilio lied about transvection" (303).

El propósito de este ensayo es demostrar que Rutilio no sólo mintió sobre su vuelo desde Italia a Noruega (la tercera alternativa), sino también cuando relata el caso de licantropía, y que estas "aladas invenciones" son artificios que Cervantes dispuso para "jugar" con el lector.

De Armas retoma las sospechas que Riley había expresado con referencia a la credibilidad que se pueda dar al cuento de Rutilio. Su relato debe considerarse una "ficción." De Armas pregunta si existe algún fundamento para leerla de esta forma. La respuesta es positiva: Rutilio es "maestro de danzar" y poeta, la danza tenía un origen demoníaco y los poetas en la obra de Cervantes "are far frombeing the instruments of divine revelation," sino figuras proteicas que practican el arte del engaño (306).[1] Poco después De Armas afirma que "the question as to whether option two or three is the valid one has become irrelevant since illusion is the subject of the devil and of the artist in Cervantes' romance…. Rutilio's tale is as much a lie as the Northern environment; and the marvelous occurrences are a rejection of verisimilitude in favor of a different kind of truth: the presentation of a Christian conception of the perils of earthly exile and alienation. The lies of a poet have been metamorphosed into universal truths" (307).

La clave para "conjurar" la aparente aberración en el episodio de Rutilio se halla en su nombre, el cual es para nosotros como el hilo de Ariadna o la respuesta de Edipo a la Esfinge. Para comen-

[1] Rutilio presenta otros pormenores sospechosos en su relación autobiográfica. Sabemos que sedujo a su alumna de danza; por ello fue condenado a muerte. Sabemos también que en Noruega emprendió el oficio de orfebre, actividad que diáfanamente sugiere connotaciones de engaño. (El orfebre funde, malea y mezcla metales; quizás sea pertinente recordar que en castellano antiguo a los insidiosos o cizañeros se les decía "mestureros," o sea mezcladores.) Por último, durante los tres años que Rutilio vivió en la isla bárbara fingió, para engañar a los salvajes, ser mudo. No obstante, todas estas indicaciones de mendacidad han sido insuficientes hasta ahora para resolver el enigma de Rutilio.

zar, debe notarse que Cervantes, atípicamente en *Persiles*, dispone que el personaje empiece su relación diciendo su nombre y su patria. El nombre "Rutilio" deriva del adjetivo "rutilus," el cual según el *Oxford Latin Dictionary* se define como "of a warm or glowing red colour, ruddy (inclining to gold or orange): a (of hair, esp. among Germanic races)" (1672). Existe también el verbo "rutilo": to glow with a bright or golden red colour" (el cultismo "rutilante" del castellano actual proviene de estas palabras latinas). Pero como veremos, la elección de este nombre no es casual, porque es sabido que desde la antigüedad existía una tradición de recelo y rechazo contra los pelirrojos; se les consideraba gente de mal carácter, dementes, embusteros o se les asociaba con el Demonio. En los *Fisiognómicos*, tratado atribuido a Aristóteles, leemos la referencia más antigua a esta mala reputación:

> Those whose complexion is ruddy are keen, because all parts of the body grow red when they are heated by movement. Those who have a bright-red complexion are apt to be insane, for it is an excessive heating of the parts of the body which produces a bright-red skin; those who are excessively heated would naturally be insane. (127)

Esta cita puede sugerirnos otros caminos para interpretar la historia de Rutilio: la comparación con don Quijote surge espontáneamente. ¿Es un demente? A esta sospecha puede agregarse el detalle de que Rutilio es bailarín y por consiguiente ágil y activo, "keen." Esta aversión a los pelirrojos también fue común entre los egipcios y hebreos (véanse Baum y Mellinkoff). En *El asno de oro* hay un buen ejemplo de esta tradición. Rubio Fernández, en su edición, aclara que San Agustín llamó así el libro de Apuleyo no por las connotaciones positivas que tienen metáforas como "edad de oro" o "niño de oro" (Cupido) sino porque el "asinus aereus" era el asno pelirrojo que, "según Plutarco, era para los fieles de Isis la encarnación del pecado y de las fuerzas del mal" (19), lo que Apuleyo sabría muy bien. Esta creencia popular, convertida en tópico literario, se mantuvo vigente durante la Edad

Media hasta pasar al Renacimiento y al Siglo de Oro español. Pedro Mexía recuerda, en la *Silva de varia lección*, que "los médicos antiguos affirman que ay hombres que son ponçoñosos; y no solamente en los ojos, pero aun en la saliva puede haber ponçoña; y aun dicen que la sangre del hombre bermejo, si la sacan estando enojado, es ponçoña" (411). Pero sin duda es Francisco de Quevedo el escritor en cuya obra abundan manifestaciones de esta tradición, divulgada en refranes y proverbios. En *El buscón*, por ejemplo, Pablos describe al dómine Cabra como "largo sólo en el talle, una cabeza pequeña, pelo bermejo (no hay más que decir para quien sabe el refrán)" (116). En *Los sueños*, en el del Infierno, específicamente, Quevedo nos recuerda lo convencional que era representar a Judas como pelirrojo (Leonardo ya lo había hecho en "La última cena"). El narrador, luego de ver a Judas desfilar entre los condenados, expresa que "no sabré decir sino que me sacó de la duda de ser barbirrojo" (219). Anteriormente, cuando a los sastres les toca el turno de exhibirse, el narrador recuerda: "entró el primero un negro, chiquito, rubio de mal pelo" (183).

Aún es posible subestimar la etimología del nombre "Rutilio"; aún es posible suponer que Cervantes lo eligió al azar, sin un deliberado interés por guiar la interpretación que los lectores deben darle a la historia de Rutilio. Las dudas que se puedan tener al respecto quedan disueltas si exponemos la segunda pista que Cervantes ofrece en este juego: la patria de Rutilio. Sena, la ciudad de la que dice proceder, está en Toscana, la antigua Etruria. Al elegir esta ciudad, Cervantes quiere "probar" al lector, quiere "jugar" con lo que sepa o ignore: Cervantes está "diciendo sin decir" que no debemos creerle a Rutilio. La prueba de esta estratagema es uno de los proverbios, el 134, que Sebastián de Horozco comenta en su *Libro de los proverbios glosados*: "guárdeos Dios de roxo. Y de lombardo negro y de romanolo de todo pelo." Como se dijo, Sena está ubicada en Toscana, pertenencia que comenta Rutilio en algunas oportunidades, por ejemplo cuando dice que la hechicera lo llevó sobre un manto "desde Toscana, mi patria" (238). Pero leamos la glosa de Orozco:

> Este vulgar es de Ytalia. …Y allí sobre él dize Landino y lo refiere don Pedro Fernández de Villegas en su comento que es refrán de Ytalia que se han de guardar de toscano roxo…. De manera que el toscano de pelo roxo y el lombardo de pelo negro son allá sospechosos de malos y *falsos* como acá los de pelo bermejo por quien acá dezimos en un refrán, "Bermejo mala carne, peor pellejo." Y por otro refrán, "De tal pelo ni gato ni perro" (173).

Cervantes, cautelosamente, omite dar detalles sobre el aspecto físico de Rutilio: el acertijo no debe ser demasiado evidente (aunque, en general, las descripciones en *Persiles* son escasas y retóricas). Todo lo que se ha expuesto hasta ahora nos conduce a la noción de etimología como "forma de pensamiento." Ernst Robert Curtius dedicó un ensayo a este tema. Indica que desde el *Cratilo* de Platón se ha especulado sobre el origen del lenguaje: "los nombres de las cosas ¿surgieron por 'naturaleza' o por convenio? ¿Es posible deducir del nombre de una cosa su esencia? La antigua retórica afirma que sí es posible" (2: 692). Incluso Cicerón consideró la etimología del nombre propio como uno de los atributos de la persona.[2] En nuestro caso, la particularidad esencial de Rutilio es su capacidad para "mentir" o "fingir," y, como el Demonio, intercalar verdades con mentiras (aunque debe desestimarse cualquier asociación de Rutilio con lo infernal, pues hacia el final de la novela se reencuentra con los héroes en Roma). Es muy interesante la cadena de correlaciones y dependencias que puede formarse a partir de la etimología de "Rutilio," cadena que depende de la preponderancia que la etimología tuvo como medio de revelar verdades profundas: Rutilio se llama así porque es pelirrojo y siendo pelirrojo es indefectiblemente embustero. E incluso Cervantes estaría ensayando un ejercicio extremo de sutileza si por alguna razón describiera al personaje como moreno, porque estaría vinculando conceptos que no dependen de un referente físico. Por lo tanto, de Rutilio se podría

[2] *De inventione* I, 34, citado por Curtius 2: 692.

decir: "nomina sunt consequentia rerum," o también lo que afirma Aristóteles al inicio de sus *Fisiognómicos*: "dispositions follow bodily characteristics and are not in themselves unaffected by bodily impulses" (85). Es obvio que Cervantes no asumiría como verdades científicas estas teorías, pero es verosímil imaginar que las consideraba válidas y productivas en el dominio literario. En *Don Quijote* es evidente el interés especial por los nombres y lo que puedan significar o sugerir (hasta se puede postular una parodia de la teoría horaciana del "decoro"). Don Quijote es caballero andante pero también etimologista. En el primer capítulo decide nombrar a la señora, de la que será perpetuo cautivo, "Dulcinea, nombre a su parecer músico y peregrino y significativo" (44). Antes ha bautizado a su caballo como "Rocinante, nombre a su parecer, alto, sonoro y significativo" (42). Sin duda, "Rutilio" también debe ser incluido en la lista de nombres "significativos."

Leo Spitzer analizó la "inestabilidad y la variedad de los nombres dados a algunos personajes (y la variedad de explicaciones etimológicas de esos mismos nombres), para descubrir tras esa polionomasia…el posible motivo psicológico de Cervantes" (135). De su ensayo "Perspectivismo lingüístico en el *Quijote*" tomaremos un excepcional ejemplo de "nombre significativo," el cual es análogo al caso de Rutilio, aunque no idéntico. Spitzer comenta la aventura de la Dueña Dolorida, que empieza en el capítulo 36 de la Segunda Parte. Desde su inicio el narrador no oculta al lector que la embajada del escudero Trifaldín, sirviente de la condesa Trifaldi, es una burla preparada contra don Quijote y Sancho. Y el nombre de "Trifaldín" es precisamente una "concesión" de los duques a don Quijote, en el sentido de darle indirectamente una pista para que reconozca que la aventura que se le propone es una farsa (en el caso de *Persiles*, Cervantes quiso que los lectores fuéramos como don Quijote). La etimología de "Trifaldín" es para Sancho "tres faldas" o "tres colas" (936), pero Cervantes no tendría en mente esa decodificación medieval de la "palabra," pues según Spitzer:

> *Trifaldi* es evidentemente una forma regresiva de *Trifaldín*, nombre que, a su vez, es el burlesco *Truffaldino* italiano, "nombre de personaje ridículo y bajo de comedia…. Es muy intencionada en nuestra historia la alusión a *truffare*, "engañar," en un episodio proyectado para engañar a don Quijote y Sancho. (146)

No es ésta la única oportunidad en la que se le ofrecen pistas a don Quijote, voluntaria o involuntariamente, para que descubra el artificio de la burla escondido en la aventura caballeresca. En el capítulo 27 de la Primera Parte se cuenta cómo el cura y el barbero deciden disfrazarse de escudero y doncella, respectivamente, para presentarse ante don Quijote y persuadirlo de que abandone su reclusión en la Sierra Morena. El barbero "hizo una gran barba de una cola rucia o roja de buey" (II, 27; 299). La mención del color rojo, como en el caso de Rutilio, no es casual. Sólo en la edición dirigida por Francisco Rico se advierte esta peculiaridad y su propósito: "el color rojo de la barba, pelirrojo, puede hacer desconfiar a don Quijote" (1: 299).

Es legítimo preguntarse por qué razón Rutilio habría fabricado esas invenciones, y engañado a sus interlocutores, si no existiera un provecho evidente. Ante todo, debemos recordar que es poeta y, como tal, proclive a fingir historias peregrinas y "excepcionales." Como poeta, asimismo, debe interesarse no sólo en deleitar sino también en causar "admiración y espanto," aunque, paradójicamente, lo que genere su relación sea incertidumbre. Pero probablemente el motivo principal es que Rutilio es para Cervantes un "instrumento" mediante el cual el autor prepara una "burla" para nosotros, los lectores, de la misma forma que los duques a don Quijote: debemos "leer" mejor y descifrar adecuadamente los signos que se nos muestran. Una objeción contra lo que postulamos podría ser los diálogos en que se discute la autenticidad de la licantropía. Antonio, el bárbaro español, no se asombra ante lo que cuenta Rutilio. El sabio Mauricio, en el capítulo XVII del libro II, intenta interpretar racionalmente la licantropía, aduciendo que la causa de esta presunta metamorfosis es

la "manía lupina." En otras palabras, Cervantes ambigua y dialógicamente permite que la historia de Rutilio parezca verosímil al disponer que otros personajes la juzguen plausible, ya sea como acaecida en realidad o como ilusión mórbida (la narración se justifica a sí misma). Sin embargo, la objeción es débil. En nuestra opinión, el fundamento de esta certeza está cifrado en la referencia que hace Mauricio a la *Historia natural* de Plinio, específicamente al libro VIII, capítulo 22.[3] Al parecer, hasta ahora no se ha advertido que la cita es errónea, pues este capítulo trata sobre la "gratitud de una serpiente" (47). Pero concédasenos una digresión. El bárbaro Antonio, luego de oír la prodigiosa relación de Rutilio, corrobora lo que éste asevera haber experimentado, afirmando la existencia en esas latitudes de encantadores que se transforman en lobos, y añade: "cómo esto pueda ser, yo lo ignoro y, como cristiano que soy católico, no lo creo; pero la *esperiencia* me muestra lo contrario" (180). Retomemos la referencia de Mauricio sobre la *Historia natural*. Si bien Plinio el Viejo acepta crédulamente que los elefantes de la India, que son los más grandes, luchan con dragones, sus peores enemigos: "sed maximos India bellantesque cum his perpetua discordia dracones" (24–26),[4] en el capítulo que debió citar Mauricio, el 34, niega con serenidad la creencia en la metamorfosis de hombres en lobos:

> But in Italy it is believed that the sight of wolves is harmful, and that if they look at a man before he sees them, it temporarily deprives him of utterance…. We are bound to pronounce with confidence that the story of men being turned into wolves and restored to themselves again is false—or else we must believe all the tales that the *experience* of so many

[3] Cervantes pudo leer a Plinio en la primera traducción al castellano, realizada por Jerónimo Gómez de la Huerta: los libros de la *Historia natural* que primero se publicaron fueron el 7 y 8, en Madrid, 1599. Eisenberg, quien duda de que Cervantes leyera el latín, lo incluye en la reconstrucción de su biblioteca. Para más información, véase Beardsley.

[4] "that are continually at discord with them, and always fighting, and those of such size, that they can easily clasp and wind round about the elephants."

> centuries has taught us to be fabulous; nevertheless we will indicate the origin of the popular belief, which is so firmly rooted that it classes werewolves among persons under a curse. (59)

Resulta desconcertante descubrir que la única fuente enciclopédica citada refiera exactamente lo opuesto a lo que Antonio asevera, y aún más siendo ésta la más antigua y, por lo tanto, la más autorizada sobre licantropía. ¿Es un error o un descuido de Cervantes precisamente en la novela para la que leyó e investigó más?[5] No, es más bien otra discreta indicación al lector culto, un aviso para que sortee el engaño. El sabio Mauricio "concuerda" con Plinio, tergiversando, paradójicamente, lo que éste afirma en su *Historia natural*.

En conclusión, se puede postular que Cervantes concibió la historia de Rutilio como un medio de aproximar y confundir dos ámbitos distintos, dos mundos: el de los personajes y el de sus lectores. Como en la barroca concepción del mundo como teatro y del teatro como un universo cifrado, gracias a Rutilio corremos el riesgo de "convertirnos" en personajes de *Persiles*. Este juego de máscaras, de etimologías, supersticiones y falsas referencias nos "invita" a ser engañados, pero quizás a ser gratamente "burlados" por lo peregrino, lo fantástico y lo imposible: por el placer autónomo de la "aventura." Cervantes invita al lector a "leer" mejor, a descifrar los signos que discretamente presenta para disfrutar mejor la agradable mentira de las ficciones.

Excurso: el bárbaro Antonio. Si utilizamos la terminología deRi-

[5] El lector que estime esta contradicción como resultado del azar puede encontrar cierta "afinidad" entre Cervantes y Robert Burton, autor de *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Burton, quien incluye la licantropía entre las enfermedades de la "mente," sería otro distraído lector de este famoso pasaje de la *Historia natural*, pues juzga la licantropía como nada más que un trastorno de la "cabeza," y no la verídica metamorfosis de hombres en lobos. Afirma: "this disease perhaps gave occasion to that bold assertion of *Pliny*, *some men were turned in his time, and from wolves to men again*" (1: 162). Sin embargo, es evidente que Plinio no admite la posibilidad de estas transformaciones.

ley es válido considerar que la única "mixtificación" en *Persiles y Sigismunda* es lo que Antonio afirma que le aconteció al llegar, después de naufragar, a una inhóspita isla abundante en lobos, uno de los cuales le recomiende que abandone ese lugar (I, 5; 77). En el libro 19 de la *Ilíada* comienza el tópico de la bestia poseedora de habla que avisa o advierte de un destino ominoso: los caballos de Aquiles le dicen lo que él ya sabe, que no regresará con vida a Grecia. Varios siglos después de Homero, Valerio Máximo retoma este motivo; lacónicamente testimonia: "in the Second Punic War it was accepted that an ox belonging to Cn. Domitius said: 'Rome, beware!'" (69). Es aceptado que Cervantes se preocupó por asombrar sin dejar de ser verosímil. Lo extraño del relato de Antonio es que no se critica; los oyentes no expresan incredulidad. Cervantes no ofrece ninguna pista que ayude a revelar la "verdad." Que un lobo hable, ¿debe entenderse como alegoría, fábula, alucinación demoníaca o intercesión divina? Es un "misterio," en el caso de *Persiles*. Sirva de colofón lo que Valerio Máximo dice de las maravillas: "many things also have happened in the day-time to persons awake, even as when wrapped in a cloud of darkness and sleep. Since it is hard to make out where they came from or how they originated, let them rightly be called 'wonders'" (101).

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Novelas ejemplares. Cuestiones ecdóticas (IV)

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omo en el caso del precedente número de esta serie (bien próxima—con la entrega V—a conclusión), el escrupuloso examen de "La fuerza de la sangre," "El celoso extremeño" y "La ilustre fregona" no ha puesto en evidencia un consistente número de problemas propiamente "textuales" que discutir, en la confianza de contribuir a elevar, siquiera *un poco*, el índice de conocimiento de *la letra* (pero no sólo) de los tres relatos cervantinos. En efecto, los casos de enmiendas y/o restituciones en ellos identificados no sólo son escasos, sino que, en su casi totalidad, cuentan ya, desde hace mucho, con soluciones por lo menos aceptables. Así las cosas, habría sido inútil dedicar todo el presente artículo a la consideración de ese ámbito privilegiado de la "edición." Puesto que, por el contrario, abundan las ocasiones en que el lector de veras "curioso" echa de ver la discutibilidad (por no decir otra cosa) de muchas de las notas dedicadas a aclarar el significado de determinados términos y hasta períodos enteros de dichas novelas (sin olvidar las—más abundantes todavía—sencillamente no escritas, por muy variados motivos, en lugares que a voces las están exigiendo), he considerado oportuno dedicar la mayor parte de mis considera-

ciones al espacio, en principio ancilar, del "comentario." Que, a pesar de algunas respetables opiniones contrarias, en la mía constituirá siempre una parte, en modo alguno secundaria, de la actividad—precisamente—ecdótica.

Reitero, *in limine* a estas páginas, en buena parte constituidas por "notas sobre notas," ciertas frases ya registradas en el encabezamiento del artículo III de la serie (363–64): "Es un deber recordar aquí la feliz 'oportunidad' de la publicación de…la edición de las *Novelas* firmada por Jorge García López, con toda probabilidad destinada a convertirse en 'la de referencia' durante los próximos años. Poder disponer de ella me ha permitido prescindir—creo que con absoluta legitimidad—de las precedentes a 1901, que él tiene, como es natural, presentes en el 'aparato' de la suya y hasta, dentro de las del siglo apenas terminado, de varias que, aun habiendo sido por mí consideradas en 1994 y 1995, ahora no me parecen imprescindibles."

Como en la precedente ocasión, y con vistas a facilitar la verificación de cuanto aquí se dice, doy siempre, ante cada pasaje examinado, junto al folio y las líneas de la *princeps*, la página y las líneas de esa edición.

SIGLAS DE LAS EDICIONES CONSULTADAS

princeps = Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1613.
AA = ed. de Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce. Madrid: Castalia, 1982.
GL = ed. de Jorge García López, con un estudio preliminar de Javier Blasco. Barcelona: Crítica, 2001.
L = ed. de Frances Luttikhuizen. Barcelona: Planeta, 1994.
ND = ed. de Rosa Navarro Durán. Madrid: Alianza, 1995.
RM1 = "La ilustre fregona," en *Novelas ejemplares* [selección]. Ed. de Francisco Rodríguez Marín. Clásicos La Lectura, 27 y 36. 2 vols. 1914–17. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1965.
RM2 = "*La ilustre fregona.*" Ed. "crítica" de Francisco Rodríguez Marín. Madrid: s.e., 1917.
S = ed. de Harry Sieber. 2 vols. Madrid: Cátedra, 1980.
S-B = ed. de Rudolf Schevill y Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín. 3 vols. Madrid: [los editores], 1922–1925.

SA-RH1 = ed. de Florencio Sevilla Arroyo y Antonio Rey Hazas. *Novelas ejemplares*. Colección Austral, 199–200. 31ª ed. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1991.
SA-RH2 = ed. de Florencio Sevilla Arroyo y Antonio Rey Hazas. Cervantes, *Obras completas*, II. Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 1994. 413–693.
SA-RH3 = ed. de Florencio Sevilla Arroyo y Antonio Rey Hazas, en Cervantes, *Obras completas*. Vols. 6–11. Madrid: Alianza, 1996–97.

"La fuerza de la sangre"

1. Fol. 128.30–32[1] (p. 307.25–28): *De qualquiera manera que yo calle, ò hable, creo que he de mouerte a que me creas, ò que me remedies: pues el no creerme serà ignorancia, y el remediarme impossible de tener algun aliuio:*

A partir de S-B, todos los editores leen *y el* [*no*] *remediarme* o *y el no remediarme*, con la excepción de L, que mantiene la lección de la *princeps* y declara en nota (recordada también por GL, en el *Aparato*): "A nuestro entender, esta rectificación cambia totalmente el sentido del original: no hay remedio posible, pues el daño está hecho."

¿Cómo explicarse estas palabras, que, al menos a primera vista, aniquilan una elemental—y ya vulgata—intervención emendatoria, basada en la organización bimembre del período, donde se van presentando sucesivas parejas de oraciones "positivas" (dos) y "negativas" (una, si se acepta la corrección)?

En principio, L podría haber tenido presente que *remediar*, según el *Diccionario de autoridades* (=*DA*), "se toma también por poner en estado a una doncella, especialmente casándose con ella."[2]

[1] En la *princeps*, por error, 127. Antes viene el auténtico 127 y, después, el auténtico 129.

[2] Claro está que no *poner* (o *dejar*) *en estado* "al modo moderno," sino en el de "encontrarle una solución legal satisfactoria." Como declara el propio *DA* ("por antonomasia es casarse: y generalmente es darle modo de vivir, para que por sí pueda obrar y tener casa y familia") y queda ilustrado con una frase de

Cosa, con toda evidencia, de veras *imposible*, al menos en la situación en que ahora se encuentra la joven protagonista de la novela, aunque no *a radice*, en todo tiempo y circunstancia. Como demuestra el hecho de que, al final, Leocadia resulta de veras *remediada* por—es decir, *casada* con—el propio estuprador de años antes, puesto que, en el momento oportuno, ha quedado esclarecido que también ella es noble.[3]

De cualquier modo, lo más verosímil es que L se haya limitado a conceder a *remediar* un alcance a todas luces excesivo, de reparación inmediata y "total." Sin tener en cuenta cuanto se dice en las líneas que siguen,[4] de las que se deduce que el verbo en cuestión está usado en el sentido, bastante más limitado, así descrito por el a todos accesible *Diccionario* de la Real Academia Española (=*DRAE*): *remediar*, "socorrer una necesidad o urgencia"; *remedio*: "recurso, auxilio o refugio y, figuradamente, medida extraordinaria tomada en circunstancias graves."

2. Fol. 133.26–32 (p. 316.11–16): *Este niño, señora, con quien aueys mostrado el estremo de vuestra caridad, es vuestro verdadero nieto: permission fue del cielo el hauerle atropellado, para que trayendole a vuestra casa, hallasse yo en ella, como espero, que he de hallar, sino el remedio que mejor conuenga, y quando no, con mi desuentura, alomenos el medio con que pueda sobrelleuarla.*

S-B mantienen la lección de la *princeps*, si bien cerrando entre paréntesis *y quando no*. En nota, precisan: "Parece que estas tres

Don Quijote, I, 24: "que él tomaba a su cargo el ponerme en estado que correspondiese a la estimación que me tenía."

[3] Fol. 133.5–8 (p. 315.27–29): *Yo, señora, soy noble, porque mis padres lo son, y lo han sido todos mis antepassados, que con vna mediania de los bienes de fortuna, han sustentado su honra felizmente, donde quiera que hayan viuido.*

[4] Fol. 12[8].32–128^{v}.8 (p. 307.28–308.3): *no quiero desesperarme, porque te costarà poco el darmele: y es este, mira no aguardes, ni confies, que el discurso del tiempo temple la justa saña que contra ti tengo, ni quieras amontonar los agrauios mientras menos me gozares: y auiendome ya gozado, menos se encenderàn tus malos desseos. Haz cuenta, que me ofendiste por accidente, sin dar lugar a ningun buen discurso, yo la haré de que no naci en el mundo: o que si naci, fue para ser desdichada. Ponme luego en la calle, ò alomenos junto a la Yglesia mayor, porque desde alli bien sabrè boluerme a mi casa.*

palabras sobran." Los siguen (tanto en la lección como en la nota, donde puntualmente se recuerda a los dos ilustres estudiosos), AA, SA-RH1 y 2, ND, SA-RH3 y GL. S y L mantienen la lección de 1613, pero no hacen el menor comentario.

A mi parecer, los tres términos puestos de este u otro modo en entredicho pueden y aun deben ser mantenidos, ya que de ninguna manera "sobran" en el texto. De "sobrar" algo, más bien se tratará del *sino / si no* que ocurre un poco antes. Todo induce a pensar que Cervantes, tras haber comenzado una oración condicional, se ha ido por otro rumbo, aunque manteniendo a partir de ahora la corrección. Basta una simple relectura para reparar en ello. Así las cosas, parece fuera de duda que la oración finalmente formulada es la que debe prevalecer sobre un mero "conato," del que apenas quedan huellas en la presencia de *sino*.

¿Cómo comportarse a la hora de publicar el texto? Puede conservarse el *si no*, indicando en seguida, a pie de página, cuanto acabo de decir, pero es también legítimo editar *he de hallar el remedio que mejor convenga*, explicando por supuesto, en nota, el—buen—motivo de la supresión.[5]

"El celoso extremeño"

1. Fol. 140.29–31 (pp. 332.19–333.2): *Hecho esto, dio parte de su hazienda a censo, situada en diuersas, y buenas partes: otra puso en el vanco, y quedose con alguna, para lo que se le ofreciesse.*

AA remite a "La española inglesa," nota 93, donde había escrito: "*Pidió cédulas*: la banca europea aún estaba dando pinitos por esta época, v. A. P. Usher, *The Early History of Deposit Banking in Mediterranean Europe* (Cambridge, 1943)." Los editores posteriores (como los anteriores…) pasan por encima del pasaje, sin pres-

[5] Algo muy parecido ocurre en *Persiles*, II, 11; 352: "Halló Antonio el padre a la Cenotia que buscaba en la cámara del rey por lo menos y, en viéndola, puesta una desenvainada daga en las manos, con cólera española y discurso ciego, arremetió a ella, diciéndola, la asió del brazo izquierdo y, levantando la daga en alto, la dijo:." En mi ed. leo: "arremetió a ella, la asió del brazo izquierdo…" Por supuesto, dejo nota en el aparato y, en otra, explico el porqué de la intervención.

tarle la menor atención, al menos por escrito, con la excepción de GL, quien remite a su nota 166 al "El licenciado Vidriera." Donde, a propósito de la frase "*Vidriera, esta noche se murio en la carcel vn Vanco, que estauafs condenado a ahorcar*" (fol. 121ᵛ.31–32; p. 291.4–5), escribe: "*banco*: 'banquero.'"

Dando por descontado que en este pasaje de "El celoso extremeño" no cabe hablar de un simple "cambista," convendrá poner en evidencia algo que—de camino—ayuda a situar en un período bastante preciso la acción de la novela que nos ocupa. Me refiero a la existencia en Sevilla, por los años en que todo induce a imaginar la vuelta de las Indias de un Carrizales enriquecido, de *un banco* muy concreto (lo que explica *otro puso en el vanco* y no *en vn vanco*).

Sin necesidad de remontarse a autores de la segunda mitad del XVI a mediados del XX [¿?], aquí me limitaré a recordar cuando sobre el tema nos dice Francisco Morales Padrón, tras haber informado sobre las quiebras de banqueros particulares y la necesidad de abrir nuevas instituciones del tipo de las clausuradas.

> Pero nadie osaba abrirlos y como solución se sugirió crear uno tutelado por el municipio; en 1585 el jurado Diego de Alburquerque y el cargador a Indias Miguel Ángel Lambias recibieron una concesión para establecer la entidad bancaria. A finales de siglo—1594—quedó reglamentado el banco público denominado "Pedro de la Torre Espinosa," a cuyo lado estaban Agustín de Vivaldi y Pedro de Maella. Fue Vivaldi quien hizo asiento con el rey de 300.000 ducados a cambio de disfrutar por diez años el monopolio de la banca hispalense. Reorganizado, por muerte de Pedro de la Torre, tomó el nombre de "Pedro de la Torre Espinosa y Compañía," tuvo que luchar contra cierto desprestigio sin mucho fundamento, como demuestra una inspección, y se metamorfoseó en la entidad "Jácome Mortedo y Compañía y Consorte," declarada insolvente en 1601. Así acabaron los bancos públicos en Sevilla.[6]

[6] Según Morales 177; véase también Domínguez Ortiz 127–28.

2. Fols. 150^{r}.29–150^{v}.1 (pp. 353, 31–354, 2): *Sabrâ vuessa merced señor mio, que en Dios, y en mi conciencia todas las que estamos dentro de las puertas desta casa somos donzellas como las madres que nos parieron, excepto mi señora; y aunque yo deuo de parecer de quarenta años, no teniendo treynta cumplidos, porque les faltan dos meses y medio, tambien lo soy mal pecado:*

En RM1 se lee: "La afirmación de estas doncellas y la única excepción son donosísimas." En SA-RH2 y 3: "'doncellas como [lo éramos cuando salimos de] las madres que nos parieron,' según explicamos a propósito del siguiente pasaje de *Q*[*uijote*] I: 'se fue tan entera a la sepultura como la madre que la había parido' (IX, 107, n. 15 [y 48, n. 151, respectivamente]). Claro que la disemia del chiste hace igualarse en falta de doncellez a la dueña y a la madre." GL se limita a afirmar, no sin cierto desconcierto del lector: "Es decir, que la virginidad es el castigo por algún mal pecado."

Sobre el pasaje de *Don Quijote* recordado en la intervención de SA-RH hay sendas notas de Diego Clemencín y de RM, que ponen de relieve el origen ariostesco de la frase.[7] Cabe añadir que los dos versos del *Orlando furioso* citados por ambos comentaristas, destinados a convertirse en proverbiales, no constituyen, *en sí*, ofensa alguna para el personaje (Angélica) a quien se refieren. La frase de *Don Quijote*, I, 9 es mucho más atrevida, como lo es otra de "Rinconete y Cortadillo."[8] Tanto los dos clásicos edito-

[7] Leemos en *Don Quijote*, I, 9: "doncella hubo en los pasados tiempos que, al cabo de ochenta años, que en todos ellos no durmió un día debajo de tejado, se fue tan entera a la sepultura como la madre que la había parido." Clemencín (nota 10 al citado capítulo) escribe: "Parece que Cervantes tuvo presentes los versos de Ariosto, cuando refiere que (canto I, estr. 55) Angélica contó sus sucesos a Sacripante: *E come Orlando la guardò sovente / da morte, da disnor, da casi rei, / e che il fior virginal così avea salvo / come se lo portò dal matern'alvo.* Y sigue Ariosto: *Forse era ver, ma non però credibile / a chi del senso suo fosse signore.*" RM (I, 279), glosando el mismo pasaje, añade: "A Cervantes hubo de hacerle gracia esta expresión y la usó, no aquí tan sólo, sino, además, en la novela "El celoso extremeño." Véase la nota 160 a la "edición crítica" de "Rinconete y Cortadillo," 183 de la reedición de 1920.

[8] Abundan fórmulas más "sensatas" para expresar—en serio, si ya no muy elegantemente—que una joven es doncella o que *algo* está "integro," "intacto"…

res de la obra maestra como los de las *Novelas ejemplares* muy bien habrían podido recordar otra fórmula de la época, cínica pero no poco divertida, también de largo uso en la literatura del Siglo de Oro, cuando se quería negar paladinamente la virginidad de alguna mujer: *es doncella como lo era su madre cuando la parió*.[9]

En estos casos es cuando no queda el menor lugar a dudas de que, sin demasiado rebozo, se está negando lo que parece que se afirma. SA-RH tienen de todos modos razón en lo que escriben tras la declaración, sólo aparentemente "autoelogiosa," que acaba de hacer la dueña. Sobre la doncellez de ésta no hay, a decir verdad, manera de pronunciarse con fundamento, aunque todo induce a pensar que la habrá perdido quién sabe cuándo. Como, por "la fuerza de la costumbre" (y de las circunstancias propias de su triste condición), les ocurrirá a las cuatro esclavas blancas a quienes Carrizales hace cruelmente "herrar en el rostro" y a las otras dos "negras bozales" (fol. 140.23–25; p. 332.15–16). Así, la única de quien la dueña afirma que ha perdido "su flor" resulta nada menos que la única de posible—si ya no probable, ni menos, probada—"entereza": la inocente Leonora, de cuyos encantos empezó a gozar el marido "como pudo" (fol. 140ᵛ.29–30; p. 333.29–30).

Rec., p. ej., en el recién aludido "Rinconete y Cortadillo," la canasta de colar llena de ropa, robada por Renegado y Centopiés, la cual, según la Pipota, se está tan entera como quando naciò (fol. 77ᵛ.2–3; p. 193.24). Añadiré, por mi cuenta, un pasaje de "La tía fingida" (sea o no de Cervantes, poco importa en esta ocasión), donde Claudia dice al pretensor de Esperanza: "Vuesa merced se vuelva a poner su cadena, señor caballero, y mírenos con mejores ojos, y entienda que, aunque mujeres solas, somos principales, y que esta niña está como su madre la parió" (por la ed. de GL, pp. 644, 31–32 y 645, 1).

[9] Vuelvo a "La tía fingida," donde se hallarán dos pasajes no poco expresivos de cuanto estoy diciendo. El primero tiene un evidente parecido con el de "Rinconete" arriba citado: "A todo esto se estaban las ventanas de la casa cerradas como su madre las parió" (en la ed. de GL, p. 632, 6–7) Más directo es el segundo: cuando la dueña Grijalba, tras haber decantado ante el caballero aludido en la nota precedente los prestigios de la joven por él deseada, "concluyó con una muy formada mentira, cual fue que su señora, doña Esperanza de Torralba Meneses y Pacheco, estaba tan pulcela como su madre la parió —que si dijera como la madre que la parió no fuera tan grande" (p. 636, 4–7).

"La ilustre fregona"

1. Fol. 159^{v}.2–7 (p. 375.3–7): *Alli està la suciedad limpia, la gordura rolliza, la hambre prompta, la hartura abundante,* […] *los bayles como en bodas, las seguidillas como en estampa,*

Todos los editores saltan el comentario de *como en estampa*, a excepción de RM2 y GL. Para el primero, la fórmula equivale a *como de molde*. "Hoy diríamos: *que ni pintadas*. Es elíptico el encarecimiento: 'tan bien, o tan en su punto, que ni de molde, o ni pintadas, estarían mejor.'" Para GL, en cambio, "*estampa* es la imprenta."

No consigo comprender la banal explicación ofrecida por este último, quien, para colmo, no se toma la molestia de discutir el porqué de su rechazo de la única—y plausible—alternativa a disposición.

2. Fol. 162.20–26 (p. 381.15–21): *porque me has maravillado mucho con lo que has contado, de que el Conde ha ahorcado à Alonso Genis, y à Ribera, sin querer otorgarles la apelacion: O pecador de mi, replicó el Sevillano, armoles el Conde çancadilla, y cogiolos debajo de su jurisdicion, que eran soldados, y por contrabando se aprouechò dellos, sin que la Audiencia se los pudiesse quitar.*

RM1 trae una excelente nota, basada en los datos ofrecidos por Francisco Ariño, quien escribe: "en miércoles 1º de octubre de 1597 fue preso en Santillana Gonzalo Sanabria, que es el que mató a su amiga en el Candilejo…y mandó su señoría el conde que lo ahorcasen, atento a que era soldado y había quebrantado el bando [desertando ciertas compañías levantadas por el propio conde, en cuanto Asistente de Sevilla]…y en jueves 9 de octubre lo sacaron a pie, con un rótulo en las espaldas, que decía: *Por el bando*, y con dos tambores destemplados y una escuadra de soldados, y lo ahorcaron" (99).

S-B (y—siguiéndolos, aunque no lo declare—AA) hacen una precisión histórica (que aquí no hace falta reproducir), por otra parte ya presente en RM1, a su vez reiterada por S, basándose

ahora también en Pedro Herrera Puga (333–69).

RM2 esclarece aún más, en una nueva breve nota: *"Por contrabando*, es decir, *por contraventores del bando*, que conminaba la pena de muerte a los que dejasen la bandera."

L explica el término como "ilegalmente."

GL, en fin, insiste en el "ilegalmente" y añade, por su cuenta: "ya que eran soldados y estaban fuera de su jurisdicción, y no *debajo* de ella."

Los demás editores callan.

Pasando revista, en "*Novelas ejemplares*…III)" (372–73) a las interpretaciones dadas al término en cuestión en cierto pasaje de "La española inglesa" (fol. 104.15–18, p. 250.15–17), tuve ya ocasión de mostrar que la *única* interpretación aceptable es la de RM2. Ahora lo reitero, aun sin estar muy seguro de que *repetita iuvant*.

3. Fol. 163^{v}.9–11 (p. 385.2–3): —*Constanzica, di à Arguello, que lleve à estos galanes al aposento del rincon*,

RM2 recuerda las traducciones del pasaje llevadas a cabo por [Alfredo] Giannini (quien, "entendiendo que *Argüello* significa *magrezza*, traduce el apellido por *la Secca*") y por [Luigi] Bacci, el cual escribe en nota: "Il testo ha *Arguello*, ed era, senza dubbio, un soprannome alla serva a cagione della sua eccessiva magrezza." El "Bachiller de Osuna" concluye: "Es error, muy disculpable en extranjeros: *Argüello* es apellido que no escasea en España, especialmente en las regiones asturiana y santanderina."[10]

Siguiendo con toda probabilidad una "pista" ofrecida por L, al comentar otro pasaje de la misma novela (que tendremos ocasión de ver dentro de un momento), GL escribe: "*Argüello* significa literalmente 'porquería,' y en especial referido a la suciedad y porquería de la ropa sudada, y también 'de poca salud,' 'encanijado,' 'raquítico' (*Autoridades*)."

[10] El error—como tal lo considero también yo—se ha propagado a la trad., de nuevo al italiano, de Giovanni Maria Bertini (41). En las posteriores a dicha lengua se prescinde ya de esta "interpretación" del apellido.

Todos los demás editores callan.

Y, a mi parecer, hacen bien, si no desean repetir los datos de RM2 y no disponen de otros nuevos. En cuanto a las definiciones del *DA* en que GL (y, dentro de poco, también L) se basan para ilustrar *Argüello*, urge decir que no son, por sí solas, lo que se dice "persuasivas."

Se trata, en efecto, de *arguellarse* ("Dexarse cargar de porquería. Es usado en Aragón entre gente vulgar") y *arguello*, que, en primera acepción, significa "Mucha porquería, y principalmente la mugre que se va pegando y haciendo en la ropa, del anhélito y transpiración, que antiguamente llamaban *Güello*, de donde se formó esta palabra, añadido el artículo Al, corrompido en Ar. Es voz baxa usada en Aragón."

La presencia en esta última definición de *Güello* podría inducir a pensar que *argüello* es la pronunciación correcta del término, en cuanto nombre común. Pero *DRAE* trae tan sólo *arguello* (y en la única acepción de "acción y efecto de desmedrarse"). Lo mismo hace Corominas, quien ilustra la presencia del mismo en Andalucía (donde la forma, más próxima al étimo árabe, es *arquello*) y recuerda: "El asturiano *argüello*, conocido por Rato, con acs. parecidas, se pronunciará seguramente *arguello*; el lexicógrafo lo relaciona con *arfueyo* (*argüellu*), "especie de muérdago" (> ACIFOLIUM, "acebo"), relación que pudo consistir en una contaminación (que sería causa de la *ü*) o más bien en una mera confusión de Rato." Todo parece indicar, por el contrario, que el apellido se pronunció siempre *Argüello*.[11]

Así las cosas, aumenta la probabilidad de que GL—y L—no sean tanto los "reveladores" de un oxímoron auténticamente cervantino hasta ahora escapado a la perspicacia de los estudiosos, sino más bien los literales inventores del mismo, mediante el arbitrario emparejamiento de un nombre común aragonés y un apellido de las Asturias o de la Montaña. No me consta, en efecto, que nuestro autor recurra a términos procedentes del oriente de la Península, sobre todo si éstos son "bajos" o "vulgares" y de

[11] V. p. ej., Simón Díaz (V [2ª ed. aumentada, 1973], 618a–625a), donde están recogidos los títulos de las obras de escritores de los siglos XVI y XVII apellidados *Argüelles* y *Argüello*.

problemática difusión por el resto de ella. Creo, pues, que GL—y L—deberían haber obrado con mayor prudencia, declarando paladinamente que la suya no pasa de ser una mera "hipótesis," de registro lúdico. La cual, sin tener en la menor cuenta las diversidades regionales del español clásico y, sobre todo, la diferencia entre las formas con *-u-* y con *-ü-*, pero con toda probabilidad recordando ciertos lugares comunes de la época acerca del desaseo con que la mayoría de los pobres gallegos y asturianos se presentaban en Castilla,[12] se complace(n) en el—sólo aparente—contraste existente entre el apellido y la función que la madura "moza" desempeña en la posada del Sevillano. Donde la tal *sucia* resulta ser nada menos que *superintendente de las camas y adereço de los aposentos* (fol. 164.1–2; p. 385.16–17): es decir, la "responsable de la limpieza de los mismos" (como recuerda el propio GL), para colmo en una posada de reconocido prestigio en la ciudad.

4. Fol. 168ᵛ.7–9 (p. 395.26–396.2): *Llegò el Alguazil, apartò la gente, entregò a sus corchetes al Asturiano, y antecogiendo à su asno, y al herido sobre el suyo, dio con ellos en la carcel,*

AA no deja de precisar que *antecogiendo* equivale a "llevando por delante." "Idéntica expresión se halla en *Don Quijote*, I, xix; v. también 'Las dos doncellas,' nota 70."

SA-RH2 y 3 remiten a su vez al aludido pasaje de *Don Quijote* y añaden "La Gitanilla," "nota 61."

L y ND se limitan a indicar la correcta interpretación.

GL, en fin, declara que *antecogiendo* equivale a "'cogiendo por delante, por las riendas' (véase 'La gitanilla,' n. 96)."[13]

Ante esta última "ilustración," decir que uno se queda perplejo es, con toda evidencia, poco.

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[12] V. Herrero García: 209–13 (para las mozas gallegas) y 239 (para los asturianos, en general).

[13] En la primera de las cuales se lee que la vieja gitana, satisfecha de los treinta reales obtenidos, *antecogiò sus corderas y fuesse a casa del señor Teniente* (fol. 7ᵛ. 28–29; p. 44.20–22). En este caso, la nota de GL resulta siquiera aceptable: "empujó," "les indicó que saliera."

5. Fol. 172ᵛ.7–8 (p. 404.25–26):

> *Cambio el son diuina Arguello,*
> *Mas bella que vn hospital,*
> *Pues eres mi nueua Musa,*
> *Tu fauor me quieras dar.*

Para L, los primeros versos "encierra[n] un doble juego de palabras: *argüello* significa algo sucio; un hospital es un lugar limpio. Los hospitales acogían a los pobres enfermos (a menudo afectados de sífilis) y peregrinos por igual, sin cobrarles nada por sus servicios; parece ser que la Argüello hacía lo mismo."

Para GL, se trata de un "Jugueteo entre el sentido de Argüello (véase, más arriba, n. 103) y la situación de los hospitales de la época, así como referencia a la 'hospitalidad' que ofrecía la Argüello."

Todos los demás editores callan.

Sería inútil repetir cuando queda escrito poco más arriba acerca de *Argüello* = 'sucio.' Sí recordaré que de esa nota de L deriva con toda evidencia la "n. 103" de GL.

El verso *más bella que un hospital* me parece ilustrado de manera satisfactoria por L y GL en lo relativo a la facilidad con que la "moza" parece acoger, como la Maritornes del *Quijote* de 1605, a cuantos le hacen una muy concreta propuesta. Pero, en mi opinión, falta una ilustración complementaria acerca de otros sentidos de la "metáfora." Con toda evidencia, el registro complacidamente picaresco del romance inventado y cantado *sur le champ* por "el Asturiano" permite bromas bastante pesadas, que los presentes demuestran estar dispuestos a tolerar.[14] Ello justifica que la *superintendente de las camas y adereço de los aposentos*, tras haberse

[14] Poco antes (fol. 172.1–17; p. 403.19–26: a propósito de los versos *Engarrafela Torote, / Y todos quatro a la par, / Con mudanças, con meneos / Den principio â vn contrapas*) leemos: *Todo lo que yua cantando el Asturiano hizieron al pie de la letra ellos, y ellas: mas quando llegò a dezir que diessen principio a vn contrapàs, respondio Barrabas, que assi le llamauan por mal nombre al baylarin moço de mulas: Hermano musico mire lo que canta, y no moteje â nayde de mal vestido, porque aqui no ay nayde con trapos, y cada vno se viste como Dios le ayuda. El huesped que oyò la ignorancia del moço, le dijo…*

oído llamar *divina*, no se amostace cuando, en seguida, la definen *bella* y la comparan con un lugar, en teoría, "limpio," pero que en la realidad de la época podía no serlo, o serlo en grado mucho menos que satisfactorio. Así las cosas, pienso que tanto el tañedor y cantante como quienes bailan y oyen, sin dejar de recordar (de manera por supuesto insultante para la Argüello) que dicha institución acoge a "los pobres enfermos (a menudo afectados de sífilis) y peregrinos," tienen *también* presente otra valencia (por el contrario, positiva) del parangón. En efecto, España poseía hospitales verdaderamente espléndidos, en especial por lo que a la arquitectura—como un todo: no sólo, pues, a la fachada—se refiere, fundados por reyes, prelados, nobles, corporaciones, incluso hombres de negocios. *Bellos* eran el del Rey, precisamente en el Burgos natal del "Lope," y más aún el de la Santa Cruz y el de San Juan Bautista (o de Tavera), en el propio Toledo donde se desarrolla esta escena de cante y baile. Por lo tanto, la Argüello no tiene por qué amohinarse. Es más: si prefiere detenerse en el sentido más literal de lo que oye, puede estar incluso orgullosa del "elogio."[15]

6. Fol. 176.18–19 (p. 413.19): *Essa flecha de la ahijada de su sobrina ha salido*

RM1 lee *aljaba*, pero no deja la menor indicación. Sí lo hace RM2, donde leemos: "Solía decirse *de su aljaba*, como decimos *de su cosecha*, y de tal locución se burló Castillo Solórzano en la *Fábula de Polifemo*, parodia de la Góngora (apud *Donayres del Parnaso*, Madrid, Diego Flamenco, 1624, folio 97)."

S-B enmiendan, declarándolo en nota.

S, AA, SA-RH1, ND y GL reproducen la explicación de Covarrubias.

L no dice una palabra sobre la más que posible errata de 1613, pero considera necesario indicar que… *flecha* es "persona de dos

[15] No olvido que los dos versos que siguen encierran también malicia. *Musa,* como recuerda GL, significaba "concubina" en germanía , pero el personaje puede tomarlos, una vez más, en el sentido—alto—de "inspiradora."

caras."

SA-RH12 y 3, en fin, tras haber indicado cuanto arriba queda registrado, añaden: "Mantenemos el original—con poco convencimiento—por si se tratase de un juego léxico consciente entre *aljaba* y *ahijada* (por no acudir a *alnada*), destinado a zaherir a la envidiosa, pues nótese que está hablando una *sobrina* de clérigo, y "prima" de la criticada (¿diría *su sobrina*?). Entonces, el sentido común sería: 'esa pulla (o mentira) de la adoptada (de la que se hace pasar por) de su sobrina.' En fin, tan malicioso equívoco puede descansar en que a las hijas de los clérigos se las llamaba *sobrinas*."

Comparto el "poco convencimiento" de SA-RH3, visto que su explicación resulta—o, por lo menos, me resulta—un poco demasiado retorcida.

7. Fol. 178ᵛ.3–179.9 (p. 419.8–19): *Amen de los corredores del asno, estauan otros quatro aguadores jugando à la primera, tendidos en el suelo* […] *Púsose el Asturiano à mirarlos y vio que no jugauan como aguadores, sino como Arcedianos, porque tenia el resto de cada vno mas de cien reales, y en plata. Llegò vna mano de echar todos el resto: y si vno no diera partido a otro, el hiziera mesa gallega. Finalmente a los dos en aquel resto se les acabò el dinero, y se leuantaron. Viendo lo qual el vendedor del asno, dixo, que si huuiera quarto, que el jugara, porque era enemigo de jugar en tercio. El Asturiano que era de propiedad del açucar, que jamás gastó menestra, como dize el Italiano,*

RM2 escribe: "Al traducir esta frase, dice en nota Giannini: "V. ad esempio, in Bandello, *Lettera premessa alla nov. 36ª della parte II*," pero, inexplicablemente, no da el texto en cuestión.

S-B: "El gran *Diccionario* de Tommaseo-Bellini trae como 'Prov. Tosc. *Zucchero non guastò mai vivanda*, "Il troppo zucchero non guasta le vivande" y *essere, parere uno zucchero, o uno zucchero di tre cotte,* "dicesi di cosa della quale una debba essere ben contento, sia d'averla, sia di mangiarla, etc.,"' añadiendo muchos ejemplos."

S: "'Mangia questa minestra o salta quella finestra,' como dice otro refrán italiano; el Asturiano no contempla las cosas, decide

de repente formarse parte [sic] del grupo."

AA: "El italiano: 'Zucchero non guastò mai vivanda,' vale decir que el asturiano jamás echó el pie atrás, que siempre estaba dispuesto a todo."

SA-RH1, 2 y 3: "'nunca reparó mucho en lo que decía,' según el dicho italiano 'Zucchero non guastò mai vivanda.'"

ND: "'nunca reparó mucho en lo que hacía,' como anotan F. Sevilla y A. Rey (nota 150)"

GL: "probablemente C. engarza, de memoria, varios refranes italianos, que en este contexto vienen a significar que Lope nunca se echó atrás."

RM1 no hace en esta ocasión otra cosa que burlar el cuerpo, puesto que quien no tenga al alcance de la mano un edición de las novelas de Bandello se queda tan a oscuras como antes acerca de la cuestión. Convendrá, pues, reproducir aquí el pasaje aludido y, al mismo tiempo, eludido:

> Era seco [con el rey de Francia] Vespasiano da Esi…. Com'egli ci vide, rivolto a me, mi domandò, se senza impedir i nostri ragionamenti, poteva essere de la nostra brigata. Tutti gli rispondemmo che fosse il ben venuto, e che era como il zucchero che vivanda non guasta già mai. (III, 59)

Por sí solas, estas líneas resuelven de manera satisfactoria el pequeño problema interpretativo (pues de auténtico "problema" cabrá hablar dentro de un momento). Como lo resuelven las de S-B, a pesar de que la ilustración de veras acertada aparece mezclada con otras poco o nada pertinentes al pasaje que nos interesa. (Me refiero, por supuesto, tan sólo a 'dicesi di cosa della quale uno debba essere ben contento, sia d'averla, sia di mangiarla, etc.'). Pero he aquí que S no sólo no tiene en cuenta la doble interpretación ya disponible, sino que (con toda probabilidad extraviado por la presencia en este período de la palabra *menestra*) escribe algo que no dudo en calificar de disparatado.[16] Por suerte,

[16] El dicho popular citado por Cervantes en modo alguno puede ser considerado como equivalente al que—en la más difundida de sus formulaciones modernas—reza *O mangiar questa minestra o saltar dalla finestra.* Con tales palabras, lo que se indica es que una persona carece de alternativas: ha de "comer la sopa

la primera parte de la nota queda "en vía muerta" y su error no se propaga a las de los editores que lo siguen. Cosa que sí ocurre, por desgracia, con la segunda, inexplicablemente aceptada por AA, a cuyo merecido prestigio se debe que tan peregrina explicación haya acabado por condicionar, inmediata o mediatamente, todo lo escrito más tarde sobre este tema.

Al llegar a este punto, se impone volver sobre lo ya dicho y reinterpretar el tal refrán, en términos a mi parecer más aceptables.

Bandello lo aplica de manera muy apropiada a un valiente militar doblado en hombre de cultura, que pide permiso para unirse a un grupo de amigos (que ya lo conocen por sus buenas cualidades), ahora dedicados a pasar un rato de amena conversación en un lugar de por sí placentero. Esos amigos no sólo lo aceptan sino que declaran estar encantados de contarlo entre ellos. Si recordamos lo más tarde dicho por Tommaseo-Bellini y lo aplicamos a nuestro "Asturiano," bien claro está que *nada*, *absolutamente nada*, permite hablar, *basándose tan sólo en el proverbio citado por Cervantes*, del atrevimiento o de la irreflexión del personaje. Bien lejos de eso, lo que nuestro autor quiere decir es que el joven es una persona cuya agregación a un grupo de amigos, o conocidos, o incluso poco menos que desconocidos (aunque con alguna reciente experiencia de su comportamiento), no resulta *nunca* impertinente, sino más bien *siempre* gustosa para los que *ya* están reunidos. Aquí, jugando a las cartas y dispuestos a ganarle todo el dinero que lleva consigo… aunque luego todo acabe saliendo de otra manera.

8. Fol. 183.13–16 (p. 428.12–14): *De lo que después huuiere de hazer, siendo Dios seruido de alumbrarme, y de llevarme a cumplir mi voto, quando de Guadalupe buelua, lo sabreys,*

Ni un solo editor ha considerado oportuno detenerse a ilustrar *siendo Dios servido de alumbrarme*, con la excepción de GL, que

que le sirven…o abandonar el lugar donde se halla, nada menos que saltando por la ventana."

interpreta: 'guiarme, encaminarme.'

Estamos ante uno de los típicos casos de fórmulas que creemos entender, porque se siguen usando, si bien con otro significado (precisamente, el indicado por GL), pero que constituyen una verdadera insidia cuando el texto que se comenta tiene ya una venerable antigüedad. En realidad, no habría sobrado un poco de desconfianza por parte de los editores. Si todos los que callan y el único que habla hubieran sospechado que aquí podía haber un pequeño problema y se hubieran precipitado a consultar esos diccionarios que, como es natural, tienen siempre al alcance de la mano, les habría resultado claro que la dama se dispone, primero, a dar a luz y, sólo después, a cumplir su voto de ir a Guadalupe, para tener allí una novena.

Dice en efecto el imprescindible *DA*, a. v. *alumbrar* (4ª acepción): "Metaphoricamente es también conceder parto feliz a una muger para que dé a luz a la criatura sana y con felicidad. Esta voz sólo se usa respecto de Dios, que es quien únicamente puede hacer este beneficio: y assí comunmente se saluda a las preñadas diciéndolas *Dios la alumbre bien*. QUEV., *Cart. del caballer. de la Tenaza* : 'Y alumbre Dios a V. m. con bien, y si se le antojare algo sea lo primero no acordarse de mí.'"

Por si el pasaje aducido para "autorizar" la definición no pareciere suficiente, indicaré que Luis Cabrera de Córdoba usa la misma expresión no menos de nueve veces (113, 233, 236, 286, 362, 369, 397, 406, 448 y 450). Así, p. ej., en el primero de los apuntes que nos interesan, tomado en Valladolid, el 26 de septiembre de 1601, se lee: "Sábado 22 de este mes, poco antes de las dos de la madrugada, fue Nuestro Señor servido de alumbrar a la Reina Nuestra Señora una hija."

9. Fol. 183^{v}.19–24 (p. 429.11–15): *Tambien cortò vn blanco pergamino a bueltas, y a ondas, à la traza, y manera, como cuando se enclauijan las manos, y en los dedos se escriuiesse alguna cosa, que estando enclauijados los dedos se puede leer: y después de apartadas las manos queda diuidida la razon, porque se dividen las letras,*

Todos los editores, a partir de RM1 (pero, en realidad, al me-

nos ya de Aribau) enmiendan *se escribe* e indican la intervención, con la excepción de L y SA-RH3, que mantienen la lección de la *princeps*.

L no dedica una sola palabra al cuestión. SA-RH3 admiten que "bien podría ser [errata], pues no hay ningún otro imperfecto de subjuntivo en todo el período, pero también puede tratarse de un cruce de construcciones (*como cuando* y *como si se*), cuya secunda opción sólo aflora en este caso."

Creo que la justificación de SA-RH es acertada.

10. Fol. 185v.23–24 (p. 433.1–2): *Para el día que ha de hazer milagros, quisiera yo tener un cuento de renta.*

Ningún editor considera oportuno ilustrar el breve pasaje, a excepción de ND y GL (*cuento*: un millón) y de L ("Es decir, el día que ella tenga dificultades para mantenerse quisiera yo vivir de renta").

Resulta difícil imaginar cómo ha podido llegar L a un interpretación a mi parecer de todo en todo arbitraria. ¿No es más sencillo—y aceptable—entender "Para el día, tal vez no lejano, en que, tras tantas muestras de piedad, [Constanza] acabe haciendo milagros, yo desearía tener un millón de renta"? Un millón—probablemente—de *maravedís*.[17]

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[17] Gili Gaya cita a Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la lengua* (1535): "También cuento es equívoco, porque deçimos cuento de lança, y cuento de maravedís, y cuento por novela."

DA define: "Es lo mismo que millón, y aunque se usa promiscuamente de estas dos voces, oy en día por lo regular cuento se aplica para expresar alguna cantidad de moneda menuda, como un cuento de mrs."

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Cervantes in the German-Speaking Countries of the Twentieth Century

GABRIELE ECKART

uch has been written about the reception of Miguel de Cervantes in the age of Goethe, but aside from the pre-war figure of Thomas Mann[1] there has been little comment on his influence on the literature written in German-speaking countries in the twentieth century, especially after World War II. In 1969, Lienhard Bergel, in his thorough study "Cervantes in Germany," stated: "with Heine and Immermann ends the period in which Cervantes was an active ingredient in German life" (343); afterwards, Cervantes became "exclusively the object of philological specialists" (344). This statement is no longer valid. In this article, I will present an overview of Cervantes' reception in the literature written in the post-war period.

After World War II, there have been five important adaptations of Cervantes' texts, which use and transform his protago-

[1] See Pendleton and Williams.

nists within very different historical contexts and with very different purposes. In West Germany, there are Paul Schallück's novel *Don Quixote in Cologne* (*Don Quichotte in Köln*, 1967) and Margarete Hannsmann's collage *Don Quixote's Driver* (*Chauffeur bei Don Quijote*, 1977), published under the pseudonym Sancho Pansa. In Austria, Zsuzsanna Gahse published the book-length story *Berganza* (1984). In Switzerland, Maja Beutler published *The Picture of Doña Quixote* (*Das Bildnis der Doña Quichotte*, 1989), and in East Germany Fritz Rudolf Fries published *The Dogs from Mexico City* (*Die Hunde von Mexico Stadt*, 1997). Another East German text that is very important for our study is Volker Braun's *The Opportunist* (*Der Wendehals*, 1995). It is not an adaptation of one of Cervantes' texts, but it plays with references to his work. All intertextual strategies in the texts mentioned above are directed either to *Don Quijote de la Mancha* or "El coloquio de los perros"—the same works that German Romantics favored.[2]

Paul Schallück's novel *Don Quixote in Cologne* is a satire directed at the city of Cologne in the 1960s, the time of the *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle). A tall and skinny director of the city's TV station, a starry-eyed idealist, and his shorter, overweight, and more down-to-earth audio engineer ride bicycles through the city, defending the poor and powerless. In addition, speaking through a megaphone, this Quixote from Cologne desperately fights against lies of society, which are referred to in the text as "windmill sails." Some of the more serious of the lies are that there is no more anti-Semitism in Germany, and that nuclear arms are necessary and beneficial for post-war West German society. At the same time, the hero chases his dream of a Dulcinea, called Claudia, whom he thinks he has discovered in a young photographer. In reality, she is a superficial girl who goes to bed with almost all of her colleagues. The author's interesting narrative twist consists in identifying Don Quixote and Sancho Panza with *Tünnes* and *Schäl*, two very popular comical figures in this area along the Rhine river. This identification results in ironic

[2] One exception is a reference to "La gitanilla" in Schallück's text (344), but since it is peripheral and has no important function we need not deal with it.

wordplay, for instance: "above thick packs of newspaper, the sun of fame rose for him, although through a filter of an ironic compassion with a Don Tünnes from Cologne."[3] At other instances, the narrator refers to the main character as the "Kölner Don" or as the "Tünnes Quichotte" (308).

Eleven years later, Margarete Hannsmann published a very different kind of satire of West German society: a collage of poems, journal entries, quotations from Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, folk sayings, and woodcuts from Grieshaber. What connects these disparate elements is a plot in which the female author, playing the role of Sancho Panza, serves as chauffeur for her boyfriend, the famous artist H. A. P. Grieshaber. The car, of course, is called Rocinante—with a sticker under "its tail" ("ihrem Schwanz") that tells everybody their cause: "COMBATTANT POUR LA VIE" (130). The first-person female narrator sees her boyfriend as Don Quixote because it is the 450th anniversary of the *Bauernkrieg* (peasant's revolt), and he tries in vain to force the West German cultural bureaucracy to appreciate it. The *Bauernkrieg* was the only revolution that ever has been taken place on German ground; Grieshaber is convinced that "this unsuccessful story of that time is still effective in our experiences."[4]

Unlike Schallück's novel, which focuses almost completely on Don Quixote, Hannsmann's devotes special attention to the figure of Sancho Panza. Most events are told from his point of view; that means from the point of view of the servant, not the master. However, since Sancho here is a female, the relationship between servant and master becomes genderized. To express the female narrator's protest against her submissive and time-consuming role—after all, as a poet she has as many obligations as Grieshaber has—Hannsmann either quotes from Sancho's sayings in Cervantes' text (taken for instance from the dialogue be-

[3] "Über dicken Packen von Zeitungspapier ging die Sonne des Ruhmes für ihn auf, obschon durch den Filter ironischen Mitleids mit einem Don Tünnes von Köln" (278).

[4] "Die mißglückte Geschichte von damals ist in unseren Erfahrungen immer noch wirksam" (110–11).

tween Don Quixote and Sancho about the latter's *manteamiento*) or she says it more directly, as in: "of course, Sancho Panza moans when he has to plod down into the valley to the post office with all that."[5] (The last words refer to New Year's greetings in form of woodcuts, which Grieshaber made for his friends.) That the narrator uses Sancho to express her critique moderates it in a funny way, and shows that she has no real intention of ending this master-servant relationship. The reason is her admiration for "Quixote"'s commitment to political art. Concretely, he tries to establish a prize in the name of Joerg Ratgeb, a woodcutter who had sided with farmers and was brutally slaughtered by the rulers in 1526. In addition, the narrator worries about her age: "if I were younger I would kill him instead of sitting here and patching his armor while he utters ancient sayings about the pistol with which you could shoot buttons into the clothes."[6] After this journal entry, the narrator quotes Cervantes, where Quixote says to Sancho: "Briefly, what I want to tell you is this: If you don't want to come with me gracefully and share my fate in everything, so be God with you; I wouldn't lack for squires who are more obedient, more zealous, and less slow on the uptake than you."[7] Like Sancho, the female narrator reacts with sadness because she thought her master didn't want to go anywhere without her. And obviously fearing that a younger woman would replace her, she hurries back to her job as a driver when Don Quijote says: "Clean Rocinante.… And plait her braids. And then let's go."[8]

Schallück's and Hannsmann's adaptions of Cervantes' work have in common that they both reflect—as Cervantes himself

[5] "Selbstverständlich mault Sancho Pansa, wenn er damit ins Tal zur Post stapfen muß" (124).

[6] "Wär ich noch jünger ich würd ihn erschlagen statt dazusitzen und seine Rüstung zu flicken während er uralte Sprüche von sich gibt von der Pistole mit der man knöpfe anschießen könne" (206).

[7] "Kurz, was ich sagen will, ist dies: Wenn Ihr nicht auf Gnade mit mir ziehen und mein Schicksal in allem teilen wollt, so Gott mit Euch; denn mir wird es nicht an Schildknappen fehlen, die gehorsamer, beflissener, nicht so schwer von Begriff und nicht so geschwätzig sind wie ihr" (206).

[8] "Putz Rosinante.… Und flicht ihr Zöpfe. Dann laß uns fahren (255).

did—on their narrative strategies. This happens, for instance, when Schallück's narrator refers to and criticizes reports in the media on "Don Tünnes" adventures, as well as an alleged biography of him: "At Anton's biographer the scene ends here. But in reality, the following happened…."[9] And as in Cervantes, these instances of meta-art do not serve as an ends in themselves, but are used for satirical purposes. When Schallück criticizes a newspaper report signed by CM he combines this critique with a blow on sensationalist journalistic practices: "Be glad that Mister Anton Schmitz didn't have you near him when he read your report. He would have grabbed you by the lapel and hammered into you rhetorically in his characteristic way that it should not be allowed to change reality according to the measure of a piece of news: he has a right not to be the one, that you have pictured."[10]

What upsets the narrator most is that the reports about Don Tünnes in the media ignore his motivation. As Hans-Joachim Bernhard puts it: "The escapades of Don Quixote…appeared to be so amusing that they can be used for a kind of entertainment, which takes your mind off things."[11] This contradicts completely Don Tünnes' cause of awakening people from their indifference and consumerism, in order to tackle the problems of their society.

In a different type of self-reflexivity, Hannsmann's narrator ponders the impossibility of including a Dulcinea figure in the text: "And take into consideration that the peasant's revolt was not the appropriate event to attract ladies."[12] In addition, Hannsmann's narrator humorously mixes her own thoughts with quotations of Sancho in order to justify her use of the technique of assembling disparate elements: "I cannot say: search, search,

[9] "Bei Antons Biographen endet die Szene hier. In Wirklichkeit aber folgte:" (71).

[10] "Seien Sie froh, daß Herr Anton Schmitz Sie nicht vor sich hatte, als er Ihre Reportage las. Er hätte Sie beim Revers gepackt und Ihnen rhetorisch eingehämmert, in der ihm eigentümlichen Art, daß es nicht erlaubt sein darf, die Wirklichkeit nach dem Maße einer Nachricht umzuformen, daß er ein Recht darauf beansprucht, nicht der zu sein, den Sie skizziert haben (104).

[11] "Die Eskapaden des Don Quichotte…erschienen so amüsant, daß sie als Möglichkeit zu ablenkender Unterhaltung einzusetzen sind" (128).

[12] "Und bedenken Sie, der Bauernkrieg ist nicht die geeignete Veranstaltung, Damenzuneigung zu pflegen" (38).

there are good works among them. I'll propose a clearance sale; the only thing I can ask you to consider is under what conditions I wrote that: sometimes on the donkey, sometimes under his tail, sometimes in the bivouac. After all, there is a peasant's revolt."[13]

Maja Beutler's short novel *Das Bildnis der Doña Quichotte* (1989) is a feminist response to Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. The female protagonist is not an obsessive reader who tries to imitate the heroes of her books (in this, she is also different from the English female *Don Quixote* by Charlotte Lennox), but a Swiss housewife who desperately follows her dream of becoming a painter. This causes conflicts in her marriage because her husband has no understanding of the artistic passion of his wife—especially since she it is conflict with her obligations as a wife and mother. He creates an ugly scene. In resignation she paints herself as Doña Quixote, whose "armor was hanging from the body like a silver rag" (84). That means she portrays herself as a crazy, ridiculous, and useless figure. She identifies with this picture, which according to her experience expresses the opinion of Swiss society about artistic ambitions of women, and she finally stops painting.

If we define Don Quixote as somebody who fundamentally

[13] "Ich kann nicht sagen, sucht nur sucht, es sind gute Stücke darunter, ich schmeiß euch einen Ausverkauf hin, ich kann euch nur zu bedenken geben, unter welchen Bedingungen ich das schrieb, mal auf dem Esel, mal unterm Schwanz, mal im Biwak. Schließlich ist Bauernkrieg" (102).

Giving it a feminist twist, the author combines this remark with a reflection on the German Democratic Republic (East German) writer Irmtraud Morgner's invention of the "feminist montage novel." Quoting Morgner, she writes: "[Der Montageroman] sei die Romanform der Zukunft, für eine Autorin und berufstätige Hausfrau. Er entspreche ihrem 'gesellschaftlich, nicht biologisch bedingten Lebensrhythmus,' der nicht zulasse, jahrelang an einer Konzeption festzuhalten. Um ihre täglichen Erfahrungen und ihre Bewußtseinsentwicklung mitteilen zu können, müsse sie kurze Prosa schreiben und dann aus Fertigteilen ein Ganzes montieren." ("The surgical montage novel is the form of the novel of the future for a woman writer and working housewife. It corresponds to her 'rhythm of life that is conditioned socially, not biologically,' and that doesn't allow to hold on to one conception for years. In order to be able to communicate her daily experiences and developments in outlook, she has to write short prose and then assemble a whole out of the prefabricated parts," 102.)

misinterprets reality, Ana is not quixotic. After all, she stops following her dream of becoming a painter because she knows the reality of the patriarchic Swiss middle-class too well and does not dare to rebel against its norms. However, if we—as Anthony Cascardi has done in his study *The Bounds of Reason*—redefine Don Quixote from a postmodern perspective as somebody who questions the traditional duality between mind and body, then Ana is indeed a Doña Quixote.

According to the tradition of logocentrism, our knowledge depends on logical arguments, experiments, and scientific discoveries. But Don Quixote—instead of thinking about the world in order to gain certainties of mind—learns by throwing himself into it physically. That happens when he imitates models and plays roles. For instance, he doesn't find out what windmills are by observing them and reflecting on them; he learns it through pain. If we accept this postmodern definition of Don Quixote, then, according to Cascardi, not only Don Quixote himself but also Madame Bovary is a quixotic figure. She too acquires knowledge through her (erotic) adventures, rather than reflection. Beutler's Anna, like Don Quixote and Madame Bovary, is also uninterested in thought. Her form of knowledge is artistic visions, which mainly come to her when cooking: "Anna the cook saw the wooden ladle forming a diagonal in the tomato sauce. The ground beef nearby, the mashed potatoes, everything burst into flickering particles of color. They formed patterns, when Anna blinked they flew up and turned to new forms."[14]

These "new forms" that Anna sees arising in pots and pans are parts of a form of knowledge which does not fit in the Western tradition of thinking, which is based on dichotomies like those between essence and appearance or between body and mind. They are connected with smells, colors, tastes; they appear half in the senses, half in the mind; to one part they are a mixture of perceptions and feelings, to another part they appear in rea-

[14] "Die kochende Anna sah, wie die Holzkelle eine Diagonale bildete in der Tomatensoße. Das Hackfleisch daneben, der Kartoffelbrei, alles barst in flimmernde Farbpartikelchen, sie fügten sich zu Mustern; wenn Anna blinzelte, stäubten sie auf und fanden zu neuen Ordnungen" (45).

soning. This kind of knowledge, by bringing in the body, undermines rationalism. This, if we follow Cascardi's reasoning, is the real quixotic facet of Anna. If she had been aware of this utopian potential instead of identifying herself with Don Quixote seen as only a fool, it might have strengthened her will to paint and enabled her to realize on the canvas her artistic visions.

Zsuzsanne Gahse's *Berganza* is an eccentric piece of prose that refers to both Cervantes' "Coloquio de los perros" and E. T. A. Hoffmann's Romantic adaptation of this text in *News of the Latest Destinies of the Dog Berganza* (*Nachricht von den neuesten Schicksalen des Hundes Berganza*, 1814). What makes Gahse's adaptation unique is that Berganza performs in it as a philosopher. While he tells the story of his life to the female narrator who has found the talking dog at a gas station in a town in Southern Germany, he takes the time to reflect on relations between perception, thought, and speech. Differently from humans, Berganza learned to speak as an adult. This enabled him to observe keenly the process of language acquisition and to become aware of its shortcomings. The result of this epistemological enterprise is a new contribution to the literary tradition of linguistic skepticism:

> With every sentence in which I see myself I fall into a pose and misjudge myself. With every sentence in which I think to record myself I fall into a role and distance myself from me. With every description, especially in regard to the exact descriptions, I make a slip of the pen. Just as well, I could put on a mask and laugh.[15]

Besides exploring the limits of language, Berganza reflects about the connection between language and feelings of guilt and comes to conclusions similar to those of Lacan. Progressing from

[15] "Mit jedem Satz, mit dem ich mich erkenne, falle ich in eine Pose und verkenne mich. Mit jedem Satz, mit dem ich mich zu fixieren wähne, falle ich in eine Rolle und entferne mich von mir. Mit jeder Beschreibung, besonders, was die exakten Beschreibungen anbelangt, verschreibe ich mich. Ich könnte genausogut eine Maske aufsetzen und lachen" (92).

listening to understanding and finally to speaking, he feels threatened:

> Everywhere I made a mess, supposedly all the time. For everything that came apart at the seams I was guilty, of course that was my fault, I thought. A glass of beer fell from the table and shattered in front of my feet, I put my ears back. I jumped over the fence, tore my hind legs open, and bleeding I disappeared in a corner, full of remorse. For every clinking, when noises arose, when people were fighting, I felt guilty. [16]

Like Cervantes' protagonist, Gahse's Berganza serves different masters. Telling the story of his life, he speaks mostly about the time when he had lived with the family of a woman called Anna, her husband Rupp, and their three children. Anna is in love with another man called Justin, who in turn is married to another woman. The difficult relationship between Anna and Justin is observed through the eyes of the dog, who accompanies Anna constantly and is able to read her thoughts. Here again, Berganza draws skeptical conclusions about the correspondence between feelings, thoughts and words. Exploring the difficulties of epistemological as well as gender relations from the point of view of Berganza who on one hand is in a dog's position and on the other hand is able to philosophize is Gahse's important contribution to the literary theme of the talking dog, which Cervantes had created in "El coloquio de los perros."

The East German Fritz Rudolf Fries deals very differently with the same theme. In *The Dogs from Mexico City* (*Die Hunde von Mexico Stadt*, 1997), two writers, the East German narrator and his famous West German colleague Günter Grass, are standing on the balcony of a hotel in Mexico City listening of the talk of two

[16] "Überall hatte ich etwas angerichtet, vermeintlich immerzu. Alles, was aus den Fugen geraten war, war meine Schuld, selbstverständlich dachte ich. Ein Glas Bier flog vom Tisch und zersprang vor meinen Füßen, ich legte die Ohren zurück. Ich sprang über den Zaun, riß die eigenen Hinterbeine auf, und blutend verzog ich mich in eine Ecke, voller Reue, ich. Bei jedem Klirren, wenn Lärm entstand, wenn sich Leute stritten, war ich der Schuldige" (81).

dogs. They are Berganza and Cipión, and function as reincarnations of Cervantes' famous canines.[17] Four other figures appear: a poet, an alchemist, a mathematician, and "eine Projektemacherin," a project maker, who corresponds to Cervantes' *arbitrista*, although in Fries' text she is female. Like Cervantes' dog, Fries' Berganza has some picaresque characteristics: he is always hungry, he changes masters frequently, and consequently he comes in touch with very different social spheres. The main subject of the dogs' conversation in Fries' text is the disappearance of the former GDR (German Democratic Republic, East Germany) and the process of German reunification. The form of the dog's conversation and the references to Cervantes' text render funny and interesting what otherwise nobody would want to read; in other words the intertextuality in Fries permits treatment of a taboo subject.

Fries' Berganza is a tall white dog, who speaks with a deep voice and uses obscene vocabulary: "your crack, or don't you have one, doesn't smell."[18] Cipión—in Fries' text a female dog—justifies her lack of sex appeal: "It's not age, it's the mutations, experiments, done by humans."[19] Instead of appealing to protectors of animals, which after this surprising beginning seems to be Fries' intention, Berganza changes the subject and reflects about the miracle of their ability to speak: "Are we here to complain or is it not better to wonder about the miracle of speech that has been given to us?"[20] Similarly, Berganza had been wondering in Cervantes' text: "Cipión hermano, óyote hablar, y s é que te hablo, y no puedo creerlo, por parecerme que el hablar nosotros pasa de los términos de naturaleza."[21] The answer as to why the

[17] In Fries' novel *The Nun of Bratislava* (*Die Nonnen von Bratislava*), published in 1994, there was a dog with the name Berganza. The protagonist Matthäus Teutsch had picked up a dog in the streets and named him after Cervantes' dog. However, since that dog could not speak, we do not need to deal with him in this study.

[18] "Deine Spalte, oder hast du keine, ist ohne Duft"

[19] "Die Jahre sind es nicht, die Mutationen, Berganza! Experimente von Menschenhand" (7).

[20] "Sind wir zu klagen hier oder doch eigentlich uns zu wundern, dass uns das Wunder der Sprache gegeben ward?" (78).

[21] Quotes from Cervantes' text are taken from the edition of Florencio Sevilla

two dogs can speak is different in both texts. In Cervantes, the miracle is "explained" through the story of the witches. In Fries' text there are no witches; Cipión just says the dogs have been given the ability to speak in order "to say what people don't dare say any longer";[22] in other words, he and Berganza must have received the gift of language from a divine act. These important things that they have to say deal with the process of German reunification, which in Berganza's words is "a plague."[23] In the story, the poet, alchemist, mathematician, and *arbitrista* will all die of this plague.

In a hospital, Cervantes' poet had complained bitterly of not being able to find an intelligent, liberal, and generous prince to whom he could dedicate his poem. The alchemist complained that lack of materials prevented him from finding the philosopher's stone, and the mathematician about his failure to square the circle. The authorities did not approve of the plan the *arbitrista* had made to improve the finances of the state. He had proposed that all subjects between fourteen and sixty should fast once a month and give the money they saved—one *real* per person—to the king, by means of which the king could have paid off his debts.

J. H. Elliot describes thus the role of the *arbitrista* in seventeenth-century Spain: "The *arbitrista* was the product of a society, which took it for granted that the vassal had a duty to advise when he had something to communicate of benefit to king and commonwealth, the assumption being that he would also benefit himself. Sometimes a crook and more frequently a crank, he might recommend anything from a secret alchemical formula infallibly guaranteed to refill the king's depleted coffers, to the most grandiose political and military projects" (243). Cervantes' opinion about the proposal of his *arbitrista* is seen in the fact that the other figures laugh about so much nonsense, "y él también [the *arbitrista*] se riyó de sus disparates."

In Fries' text, a high official of the former GDR plays the role

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and Antonio Rey Hazas, checked against the text of Schevill and Bonilla.

[22] "zu sagen, was sich Menschen nicht mehr trauen" (14).

[23] "eine Pest" (19).

of the *arbitrista*. She had helped put into words the utopia of the party, and had coined the expression: "Join us in planning, working, and governing."[24] Contrary to Cervantes, Fries does not have us laugh at this figure, but paints her with complete seriousness and tragic emphasis. Before she dies from the plague—which for Fries, we remember, serves as a metaphor for the process of German reunification—she makes her will. It states that after her death, she is to be frozen until the next millennium. This, without any doubt, expresses the author's hope that the GDR one day under better conditions would revive. What supports this interpretation is also the fact that Cipión—Berganza's object of desire—in the end crawls into the freezer where the "Projektemacherin" awaits.

While Fries plays with "El coloquio de los perros" to express his nostalgia for the former GDR and to criticize the process of German reunification, the East German writer Volker Braun refers to Cervantes' *Don Quijote* for a similar reason. His book *The Opportunist* (*Der Wendehals*) attacks from "a comic perspective" (Fiedler 342) the process of rapid westernization of the East German society, especially the opportunism of former East German officials who over night have become successful capitalists.[25] In a pedestrian zone, the first-person narrator runs into his old chairman Schaber, a former GDR official. He hardly recognizes Schaber: "elegantly dressed, coiffed and with a tan, and he struts proudly like a banker."[26] With the help of some old

[24] "Plane mit, arbeite mit, regiere mit" (17).

[25] Braun's text has another reference to *Don Quixote*. In one of the epigraphs to the book, he quotes the following: "Dear wife, if God wanted it, I would be glad not to be as cheerful as you see me"("'Liebe Frau,' erwiderte Sancho, 'wenn Gott es wollte, so wäre ich froh, nicht so heiter zu sein, wie du mich siehst'"). As Christine Cosentino has shown, Braun's figure Schaber actually represents a part of the author's self, one who "at the same time is [his] adversary and alter ego" ("Widersacher und Alterego zugleich ist," 180). Taking this observation in consideration, we could interpret the use of Sancho's remark as an epigraph, as an expression of Braun's inner doubts about the appropriateness of his own attitude toward the things going on in his country since German Reunification in 1990.

[26] "Fein gekleidet, gebürstet und gebräunt, und er geht stolz wie ein Banker

connections, Schaber has found an important position in a financial academy. He is busy, the narrator laments, but he has no goals any more. Referring to the figure of Don Quixote, he contemptuously states: "he still is sitting on the horse of activity (a used car which his firm gave him, a well-preserved Opel), but he doesn't ride any more towards any ideal, he is just galloping. What a poor knight, a lost soul—of business. A salesman of clearance sale (in his own store)."[27]

"I am down from the high horse, and I thank my God for it":[28] Schaber justifies his sudden change from communist official to capitalist. "What does it matter if you are sitting on top? Who appreciates it? Once you had…attention, respect, honor. Now you stand in front of yourself."[29] What Braun does not realize is the fact that somebody who "climbs down from the high horse" so fast, and manages so well to cope with his new existence, which excludes following ideals, cannot have been a true Don Quixote. He must have been an imposter. Otherwise, if Schaber really had believed in the ideals that he had claimed to believe in, he would have died as Don Quixote did after waking up from them, or at least he would have had some serious trouble coping with the new situation. That Braun glorifies Schaber's former role under communism, and regrets that he is no longer a communist official, shows the author's unconscious nostalgia for the GDR and his own uneasiness with the political situation in the former East Germany.

As we have seen, since the mid-nineteen-sixties, Cervantes again has become an active ingredient in the literary life of German speaking countries. Important authors adapted his texts or referred to them in the context of protesting West Germany's

einher" (9).

[27] "Er sitzt noch auf dem Pferd des Engagements (einem Gebrauchtwagen, den ihm die Firma stellt, einen gut erhaltenen Opel), aber er reitet auf kein Ideal mehr zu, er ist nur in Trab. Was für ein armer Ritter, eine reisige Seele—des Geschäfts. Ein Kaufmann des Ausverkaufs (in seinem eigenen Laden" (9).

[28] "Ich bin vom hohen Ross, und danke meinem Gott" (17).

[29] "Was zählt das schon, ob du oben sitzt, wer sieht dich darauf an? Das war einmal… Achtung, Ansehn, Ehre. Jetzt stehst du vor dir selbst da" (17).

inability to deal with the German past, in a feminist context, from the point of view of linguistic skepticism, as well as in the context of the downfall of the German Democratic Republic.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

Laughter Tamed[1]

JAMES IFFLAND

The appearance of Anthony Close's *The Romantic Approach to* Don Quixote: *A Critical History of the Romantic Tradition in* Quixote *Criticism* in 1978 was met with cheers by some and brickbats by others. Those who cheered were those who sympathized with Peter Russell's "funny book" approach to *Don Quijote*, in which stress was placed on a historicizing return to the work's *vis comica* to the detriment of the more philosophizing or sociopolitical readings which had prevailed since the early nineteenth century. In effect, Close's book put on display rather convincingly the Romantic roots of virtually all the principal approaches to Cervantes' masterpiece, up through and including that of Américo Castro and his followers.

Those who threw brickbats tended to see Close's book as unjustifiably cutting off fertile theoretical reflection on the part of *cervantistas*, including the first few attempts to use more *au courant* critical approaches. Any attempt to look for a "deeper" meaning in *Don Quijote* Close deemed "symbolic," or even "esoteric," and therefore anachronistic. The lesson dinned in by *The Romantic Approach* was that scholars needed to slough off the

[1] Anthony Close. *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of His Age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. viii + 375 pp. ISBN: 0-19-815998-6.

accretions of erroneous readings generated over the past two hundred years and to see *Don Quijote* for what it fundamentally was: a funny book.

Russell himself did not continue to wage war on behalf of his argument, at least in print, after the appearance of his seminal article. Close's major support emerged from the influential readings of Daniel Eisenberg, who continued to highlight the need to understand more deeply the parodic connection of *Don Quijote* with the books of chivalry which most of us never bothered to read with much attention (if at all).[2]

As the years wore on, Close emerged as the primary standard bearer of the funny-book school, as even Eisenberg seemed to back away from some of his more severe pronouncements.[3] Close's situation within Cervantes studies became even more dramatic as the eighties and nineties generated even more theoretical approaches, which could only be dismissed as "symbolic" from within the terms of *The Romantic Approach*. And just in case we had any doubts about our critic's attitudes towards these more recent efforts, he would occasionally put forth an *aggiornamento* of his original position in which he in fact extended his condemnation to include them.[4]

One of the most solid critiques that was aimed at Close's argument centered on the implicit premise that it was, in fact, possible to reconstruct the seventeenth-century reception of *Don Quijote*—more "accurate" *a priori* because it would obviously center on the book's risibility. How, in fact, could we really know

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[2] Many of Eisenberg's thoughts on the subject are synthesized in *A Study of* Don Quixote. His earlier formulation is found in "Teaching *Don Quixote* as a Funny Book," an article with which, according to a prefatory statement to the version posted on his Web site, he no longer agrees.

[3] This is noticeable in an appendix to *A Study of* Don Quixote, entitled "The Influence of *Don Quixote* on the Romantic Movement" (205–23; 193–208 of the translation).

[4] See, for example, his "Theory vs. the Humanist Tradition Stemming from Américo Castro" and "Sobre delirios filosóficos y aproximaciones ortodoxas."

how a Spaniard would read Cervantes' work, especially given the relatively scarce written record left to us?[5] Close seemed to give the impression that his "hard-nosed" historicizing approach was based on some kind of direct access unavailable to the rest of us.

Some twenty years after *The Romantic Approach*, Close has provided us with an answer to many of the objections that could be raised against it. Indeed, I would venture to suggest that had he published *Cervantes and the Comic Mind of His Age* first, the negative reaction to the work of 1978 would have been less voluminous (or at least more muted). This is because *Comic Mind* engages in a nuanced and exhaustive exploration of the comic landscape of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, striving to explain from an historicizing perspective why—and about what—Spaniards laughed.

The result of Close's labors is a monumental work which will no doubt influence the study of Cervantes for years to come. Indeed, it is the type of scholarly effort which has become increasingly rare in recent years as the academy has inexorably evolved into the "fast-food" mode. The twenty years Close spent working on *Comic Mind* were well-invested, as evidenced in his painstaking reading of Cervantes in the light of an abundance of primary texts from the period in question. And in what will be a big surprise to those who have typecasted Close as a traditionalizing "theory-phobe," our critic does so with judicious use of some of the major twentieth-century thinkers on culture and literary theory (Foucault, Norbert Elias, Genette).

What will *not* come as a surprise is the superb quality of the prose in which Close fashions his arguments: it is the witty and finely chiseled variety we find in everything he has published over the years. Indeed, a true delight to read.

In the pages which follow I will try to synthesize the major

[5] For a succinct and valuable appraisal of that record, see Cherchi. Needless to say, another important question altogether is whether a work's ultimate "meaning" must necessarily be tied to its historical moment.

directions of Close's arguments. I will also point out the areas on which I disagree. For although I find the overwhelming bulk of Close's analysis to be convincing, I also believe that there are some trouble spots in need of scrutiny.

II

In his Introduction, Close rehearses many of the objections to recent critical approaches which have turned him into such a tempting target for his colleagues. Among the commonplaces he attacks are those centering on *Don Quijote* as presciently laying the foundation for the "modern novel"(1, 3–4) and/or as evincing a "perspectivistic" or radically skeptical approach to reality (4–5)—all in ways that rip it from its historical context.

To all these approaches that tend "to treat Cervantes as though he were an honorary modernist or postmodernist" (1), Close proposes his antidote, a "historical understanding of Cervantes's poetics and practice of comic fiction, putting primary emphasis on the poetics, and considering the practice as a means of confirmation and illustration" (1). To achieve this it becomes necessary to delve into the richly comic dimension of Cervantes' works which has been largely ignored since the Romantics: "one cannot treat the comicality of Cervantes's fiction as simply an obvious and superficial layer, detachable from more thought-provoking layers that lie beneath it. It pervades and conditions the whole work, and if we neglect it, our understanding of the work is basically skewed" (7). While many *cervantistas* would not have a problem with that statement, others will cringe at Close's tight linking of the comic with moral and ethical concerns he attributes to Cervantes: "my purpose is not to paint Cervantes as a moralist, but to foreground concerns of his which, in that age, were deemed to overlap with the ethical: taste, propriety, the requirements of good art. His aesthetics are an aspect of the regulatory mentality of the age, whose significance in our canonical authors we moderns prefer to discount" (5).

As seen in this passage, the notion of Cervantes the "subversive" begins to take heavy hits very early on. Close is quite right in pointing out that Cervantes could not have floated effortlessly above a cultural climate dominated in many ways by ethical and moral concerns generated by the Church (in conjunction with Classical philosophy, of course). The big question (to which we will return) is how tightly did he hew to a conventional approach to these matters.

The other major aspect of Close's initial formulation of the comic dimension of Cervantes' work which may raise some eyebrows is the link he establishes with drama: "I contend that Cervantes saw his fiction in the 'low' or comic mode primarily as an extension of comedy, the dramatic genre. If the discourse of the Canon of Toledo in *Don Quijote* I, 47 is Cervantes's major statement about the prose epic, the concluding part of the friend's advice to Cervantes in the prologue to *Don Quijote* Part I, which is complementary to the priest's discourse about the *comedia* in *Don Quijote* I, 48, is Cervantes's manifesto of comic fiction. A mini-manifesto no doubt, but not to be sniffed at; it states that *Don Quijote*'s primary aim is incitement to laughter, in terms which unmistakably link it to an Aristotelian conception of comedy's purpose" (8).

Close is keen very early in his text to identify the thrust of his project as it relates to E. C. Riley's ground-breaking *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel*. Indeed, *Comic Mind* in its entirety might be looked at as a hard-hitting, but very respectful jousting match with his mentor (who passed away, of course, shortly after the book's publication).[6] As Close puts it: "one of the purposes of this book is to supplement Riley's treatment of Cervantes's poetics of prose fiction in one particular aspect [i.e., its relation to the comic]. Supplement, not supplant it. …A sufficient sign of my estimation of Riley's book is that after the thirty-six years since its publication, measured from the moment when I write these lines, it

[6] For a touchingly perceptive remembrance of Riley, see Close's recent text in *Cervantes*.

still seems to me eminently worth arguing with. Unlike most of what has been written subsequently on Cervantine poetics, it cuts consistently *with* the grain of Renaissance theory and of what Cervantes explicitly says" (9).

Close's attitude toward another set of his principal interlocutors is decidedly less benign. After acknowledging that the application of Bakhtin's theories to Cervantes has done much to refocus our attention on the comic dimension of *Don Quijote*, Close proceeds to accuse its American practitioners in particular of using Bakhtin "as an alibi for interpreting Cervantes on our terms rather than his" (12). Part of the problem, we are told, is that "Cervantes scarcely ever mentions 'carnival' or its synonyms and never specifically portrays the festivities of that season" (11–12).[7]

The need to face Bakhtinians head-on is crucial, because of Close's overarching hypothesis about Cervantes' attitudes toward comic material and its deployment in a broad gamut of literature (including his own). Those attitudes are firmly—and laudably—linked with a complex process of socio-genesis (in Elias's sense):

> I start from the assumption…that the comic genres of the Spanish Golden Age, and the social practices related to them, reveal and are unified by a collective mentality, a "comic mind." This underwent modification in the course of the sixteenth century, during which its coarse, Aristophanic strain had to contend with various forces of repression and control, some operating at an ideological and institutional level, others at a socio-genetic or behavioural one. I see this struggle…as a creative tension, and the surge of comic creativity from about 1600 onwards as the fruit of it. …In the area of comic prose, all the writers involved in its resurgence around 1600 —Mateo Alemán, Francisco de Quevedo, López de Úbeda,

[7] Among the guilty parties, who come at Cervantes from both the "dialogic" angle and the carnivalizing one, are James Parr, Charlotte Gorfkle, Carroll Johnson, and James Iffland (see 11).

> Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo, Cervantes—create eclectic and imaginative syntheses of traditional material, and, in so doing, take up deliberate positions towards it and towards each other which reflect that evolutionary process and are its result. …For all those involved, the decorum of comedy, in one sense or another, was a central bone of contention. Cervantes's voice is part of a larger chorus, distinct and commanding certainly, but not unique. (10–11)

In this perhaps overly long quotation we find the crux of Close's argument. While I thoroughly agree with the general premise about the socially and ideologically generated pressures brought to bear on what Close calls the "Aristophanic" elements in traditional manifestations of the comic in Spain, what I find less convincing is the degree to which Cervantes himself forms part of this decorum-driven project. My agreement stems from the fact that what Close finds in the socio-genetic dynamics of comic fiction of the period falls in line with what I myself have found to be the case in the confrontation between Cervantes and Avellaneda. Indeed, had Close's book been published in time for me to use it in my *De fiestas y aguafiestas*, many of the latter's arguments would have been substantially bolstered.

My disagreement is rooted in the fact that I do not see Cervantes falling quite so comfortably into the ranks of writers—including Avellaneda himself, I might add—among whom Close places him. In other words, the regulatory project which Close describes so magnificently was, indeed, going on, but the question is how fully did Cervantes himself support it.

The Cervantes depicted by Close is one who fits naturally into a campaign designed to bring the ruder dimensions of Spain's traditional—"Aristophanic"—*vis comica* under control. He begins by attempting to gauge Cervantes' attitudes towards the omnipresent *burlas* in Spanish literature and culture, coming to the conclusion very quickly that rather than eradicating them entirely, Cervantes wants them to be "restrained by discretion and taste" (17). The key concepts of "propiedad," "discreción,"

and "decoro" emerge at this point (see pp. 18 and ff.), with Close doing yeoman service in defining their contemporary meaning.

With regard to the first two, Close states: "Both presuppose the exercise of purposeful intelligence, with the first laying emphasis on appropriateness in its various aspects, and the second on wit and imagination" (21). ("Decoro," in turn, runs together very closely with "propiedad"; see 18.) Their application to the comic does not translate automatically into prudish avoidance of slapstick cruelty, but into an intelligent selectivity governed by good taste.

As part of the illustration of his argument, Close contrasts Cervantes' treatment of a specific *burla* with one which bears a strong resemblance from Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*: that is, Don Quijote's nocturnal encounter with the *dueña* Rodríguez in II, 48 and Guzmán's encounter, also at night, with the innkeeper's wife (I.ii.6). Close's analysis of the respective scenes is brilliantly subtle (59–70) as he makes good use of Genette's notion of focalization (65–66) to point out the depth of Cervantes' narrative artistry. Synthesizing the results of his scrutiny, our critic deploys a kind of language that permeates his whole approach: "The whole scene [in Cervantes], then, is comedy of a broad, hilarious kind: the ludicrous misapprehension of the two characters create incongruities of burlesque proportions; the outcome is pure farce. Yet within that framework we have consummate artistry: perceptive characterization, sparkling linguistic invention, mock-heroic elegance, all added to a witty spiral of confusion of fiction and reality" (68).

Cervantes, conceiving his activity as subject to "canonical poetics" (70), ends up distancing himself from even the most talented of his fellow writers of the period: "For Cervantes, the skilful and effective telling of a comic story is an end in itself and an art in its own right, requiring the highest qualities of taste, intelligence, wit. It is for that very reason, and not merely because he is a writer who tends to think theoretically, that Cervantes has a poetics of comic fiction; the care that it requires in practice is translated into thought" (70).

Close argues that this attitude pervades Cervantes' treatment of a huge range of comic raw material inherited from the Spanish tradition, e.g., "the character of Sancho Panza, the *entremés*, *burlas*, and the figure of the *burlador*" (70). Whenever he dips his ladle into the rich, "Aristophanic" pot, he does so with an overriding concern for *propiedad*: "it has implications for structure, tone and style, narrative viewpoint, and the semblance of directly experienced truth that fiction should present" (71). A kind of literary "Mr. Clean" (or "Don Limpio," if you prefer), the Cervantes Close is intent on highlighting is one constantly on the lookout for corners of the "Augean stables" (his metaphor, not mine—see 17) of Spanish comic literature in need of a good scouring: "Cervantes's critical attitude to the comic genres of his age, his sense of their coarseness and vulgarity, acts as a conscious and active spur to his modifications of motifs taken from them. Censure, and the basic values presupposed by it, are motors of his creativity" (72).

As one would suppose, this regulatory penchant does have sociopolitical ramifications. In reviewing Cervantes' generally negative attitudes towards satire, Close cites a passage from *La elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo*[8] which for him synthesizes our writer's attitude regarding the interface between literature and politics:

> Under the authoritarian monarchy by which Spain was ruled in Cervantes's lifetime, it is understandable that intelligent men should have adopted an attitude of submissive resignation. However, what we have here is something more: the principled assumption that the king and his counsellors know better, and that it is not for private citizens to be free with their censures or alternative suggestions. The idea is

[8] It runs as follows:

> Dexa a los que gouiernan, que ellos saben
> lo que han de hacer mejor que no nosotros:
> si fueren malos, ruega por su enmienda;
> si buenos, porque Dios no nos los quite.

> repeated too insistently in Cervantes's works to be casually discounted. It should lead us to question the commonly presented image of him as a writer deeply critical of the political regime and, by extension, social system and ideology, of the Spain in which it was his lot to live. I do not mean that he was an acquiescent supporter of all this. …[Here Close offers some counter-examples.] Cervantes's attitude is better described as one of principled non-intervention, based on deferential loyalty, but not exempt from private reservations. (30)

Needless to say, Close's contrary approach to yet another deeply held tenet of much Cervantes scholarship of the last two hundred years is likely to raise hackles. All in all, he is probably right to throw cold water on some of the more extreme attempts to cast Cervantes in the contestarian mode, but one might ask if he ends up going too far in the other direction when trying to establish a counterweight. We will return to this matter later on.

III

At this juncture, it is more pressing to point out how Close essentially abandons these reflections on the slippery matter of Cervantes' ideological propensities in the sociopolitical terrain so as to focus on those in the area of aesthetics. Close returns to subjects surveyed earlier by Riley, pointing to Cervantes' relation to Renaissance theorization on Classical poetics, particularly Aristotle and Horace. Our author is seen aligning himself closely with Aristotle's attitudes toward humor, which stressed that "humour should be urbane, rather than buffoonish" (73), and whose preference was thus "for the New Comedy rather than the Old" (73). The *locus classicus* of this sensibility is the Prologue of Part I: "The insistence on merriment, unpretentious style, and educative purpose brings *Don Quijote* firmly into the sphere of the Classical art of comedy, which aims to purge the emotions

through laughter…and portrays, in easy and familiar language, the ridiculous foibles of ordinary folk in order to teach them prudence in the conduct of their private lives" (75). Close realizes that this notion of a Cervantes essentially respectful of Classical norms flies in the face of our image of him as the Promethean creator of the "modern novel" (see 76), but nevertheless insists that we have gone way too far in our packaging of him thus.

Close, I should add, does not see Cervantes' ideas about "comic catharsis" as coming from readings of theoretical treatises, but as being rooted in "his own temperament" (77). Our critic returns again and again to the "friendly ethos" he sees as omnipresent in Cervantes, an ethos related to "laughter's cheering and therapeutic function" (77). Although he is right in suggesting that one does not develop a sense of humor by reading theories, the question arises as to whether the risible matter found in Cervantes is always as tame and intelligent and civilized as he suggests (e.g., "the values of civilized wit and restorative laughter…lie at the heart of Cervantes's poetics of comic fiction"; 79). Close engages in a nuanced reading of the "Arcadia fingida" episode of Part II, pointing out the genteel humor and feelings of "universal joy and harmony" (79) found there, and "which fix the dominant tonality of Part II" (79). What he fails to describe in any detail is the climax of this episode, referring only to the "predictable ignominy" (79) with which it ends. The "predictable ignominy" resides, of course, in Don Quijote's being trampled by a herd of bulls on their way to a *fiesta*—a scene replete with the ideological resonances of symbolic inversion.

I will return to this omission later on, as it is emblematic of Close's whole take on the comic in Cervantes, and goes a long way in explaining his rejection of Bakhtinian approaches to it. At this juncture I would like to return to Close's attempt to link Cervantes with issues relating to Classical comedy, particularly of the Terentian variety. Indeed, in reviewing Cervantes' own theatrical output our critic does not hesitate to state the following: "The Terentian levity of Cervantes's theatre is symptomatic of his partial, conservative adherence to a neoclassical and Italianate

conception of comedy, represented for sixteenth-century Spaniards by Torres Naharro, Lope de Rueda, and Juan de Timoneda" (84). Throughout Cervantes' theater (and elsewhere in his *oeuvre*), Close finds what he sagely refers to as "coded exemplariness" (85) related to the theatrical tradition from which he derives inspiration. A didactic dimension is present, but always with a light touch, always oblique.

Indeed, if one *bête noire* for Cervantes is coarse slapstick, another is the heavy-handed moralistic literature which abounded in the period. In whatever genre he worked, Cervantes attempted to steer clear of oppressively direct approaches to moral matters. This does not translate, for Close, into any kind of "relativism" of the type modern critics love to attribute to our author:

> In conclusion, though Cervantes's comic fiction and comic theatre show too many formal and thematic dissimilarities to allow them to be considered virtually convertible into each other, they have important affinities, summed up in the elusive word "ethos": the focus on extravagant "characters"; pervasive verbal humour; the conception of *burlas* and the figure of the *burlador*; the treatment of conflict as trivial storm in a teacup; the endings in reconciliation, convivial gaiety, song and dance. These features, imported with appropriate modifications into Cervantes's fiction, determine the tonality and catharsis of comedy, which, in Classical poetics, define its generic essence. I want particularly to stress the light, ironic detachment that is common to both genres. Modern Cervantine criticism has tended to treat it as a symptom of a benignly indulgent and Olympian relativism. Nothing in Cervantes's comic theatre warrants that conclusion. The comedies convey moral lessons, and to some extent do so explicitly. (95)

According to Close, this light and easy "ethos" is even carried over to the *entremés*, as his finales tend to "civilize the genre's traditional coarseness" (93).

Our critic is probably right to center in on Cervantes' participation within the polemics surrounding the theatrical world of his day as a way of explaining many aspects of the direction in which he takes his comic art. As part of his examination of that key Prologue of Part I, which expresses unambiguously "what literature of entertainment should *not* be" (96), Close also looks carefully at the "Lope complex" (my term) which haunts it. While Cervantes in fact ends up sharing with Lope many basic tenets, as he writes his prologue for the 1605 work his resentment toward "el Fénix" is seen everywhere. Cervantes' tendency to pick bones with the Lopean school of the *comedia* is rooted in the impact the latter not only had exercised (with disastrous effect) on his own theatrical career, but with his literary efforts in other areas.

Close has this to say about Pero Pérez's famous pronouncements on the subject: "At first sight, the censure of the *comedia nueva* in *Don Quijote* I, 48 seems an afterthought, elicited coincidentally by the critique of chivalry books. In fact, it is the implicit premiss of that critique, and of the very conception of *Don Quijote* as a comic story with a polemical purpose, a conception implicitly guided by the rules of comedy, the dramatic genre" (110).

Pointing out that Cervantes' critiques of the books of chivalry differed a great deal from the moralizing variety common at the time (111), Close works hard to establish close links between Cervantes' theoretical concerns as a dramatist and his practice of writing comic prose fiction. Indeed, the connection helps to explain a matter which has proven to be a perennial source of vexation for *cervantistas*:

> It is important to grasp why Cervantes connects the *comedia* with chivalry books in order to comprehend the polemical vehemence of his attack on the latter, whose consistency or seriousness has often been called in question. Why should he have bothered with a genre virtually defunct, in terms of composition if not consumption, in early seventeenth-century Spain? The answer is that he saw in it the threatening

> shadow of one which was very much alive and kicking, as he knew to personal cost. He considered its influence on public taste as queering the pitch for the kind of fiction—specifically, heroic, prose romance; more generally, the romantic *novela*—he wanted to write, and was already in the process of writing in *Don Quijote* Part I. His *Persiles* is the fulfilment of the ideal prose epic sketched by the Canon of Toledo after his critique of chivalry books in *Don Quijote* I, 47, hence the logical sequel to Cervantes's parodic demolition of them in this novel. The connection that Cervantes perceives between those books and the *comedia* also helps to explain his assumption that comedy—good, orthodox comedy—is the paradigm on which *Don Quijote* should be based. (113–14)

There is much about this argument that is convincing, particularly the notion of the strategy of beating a dead horse as a way of doing so with a live one. What is less convincing in this section of the book is Close's attempts to link *Don Quijote*'s wide-ranging intertextuality, its hybridity, with a parodic attack on the kind of pseudo-erudition attacked in the Prologue to Part I:

> The prologue to Part I supplies us with a specific, historical reason for the oil slick's existence and tendency to spread uncontrollably [Close refers to the aforementioned intertextuality]. It may be seen, at least in part, as a satiric or parodic reaction to the current literary vogue for the pompous parade of erudition. Don Quijote, the mad bookish pundit versed in all matters under the sun, is a comic counterpart to lackeys, lunatics, shepherds, and *pícaros* solemnly presented in a similarly didactic and omniscient guise. That is, the satire of pedantic affectation in the prologue has implications which extend well beyond its bounds. The quarrel with the theatre of Lope's school is its unseen motivation. It prompts Cervantes, in *Don Quijote*, to adopt an attitude of strident academic orthodoxy: towards the theatre, towards chivalric romances, and towards the composition of *Don Quijote* itself. (115–16)

Much of this would appear, in large part, to be a coded attack on the Bakhtinian approach to the evolution of the novel, the hybridizing genre *par excellence*. Rather than seeing the proliferation of discourses bouncing off each other as a fertile crucible from which the "modern novel" emerges, Close prefers to see it as a part of a consciously tendentious attack on a literary trend not to his liking. This notion, ultimately, would seem to diminish Cervantes' achievement, partly as a result of Close's own polemics with a critical approach he opposes.

Close presses his attack further by even putting into question the degree to which Cervantes initiates any kind of revolutionary upheaval within the literary practices of his day. Our critic sees Cervantes as fundamentally respecting entrenched notions of literary decorum, seeing the latter as the "tiller of Cervantes's theory and practice of comic fiction" (117). And not only are we talking about decorum as a "principle of authorial selection and narrative pitch" (117), but also about its application to social life and the subsequent incorporation of aspects of that life in fiction. (Nobles need to be presented in a certain way, plebeians in another—all, of course, based on ideological norms of great sociopolitical resonance.)

Regarding the more purely literary aspects of decorum, Close is quick to point out that *Don Quijote* scarcely produced a ripple on that front, at least as compared to the reactions sparked by *Guzmán de Alfarache*, Góngora's *Soledades*, or Lope's *comedias*. If it was so outrageously out of kilter, why did not his contemporaries perceive it as such?[9] Here Close takes on Riley (and much of the *cervantista* Establishment) by questioning the subversiveness of Cervantes' project, while simultaneously lending credence to it from a very peculiar angle: "The revolutionary explosiveness that Riley attributes to *Don Quijote* is potentially, rather than actually, present in it. Yet in a fundamental sense, Riley is

[9] I should point out that in *De fiestas y aguafiestas*, I argue precisely that Avellaneda's continuation is a sustained assault on the "indecorousness" of Cervantes' Part I.

right. *Don Quijote* Part II, in particular, opens up a road which would eventually lead right away from the segregation of styles and matters on which the traditional poetics was based. Paradoxically, however, it was Cervantes's fidelity to that poetics which led him in that direction; the explosion mentioned by Riley resulted from diligently following what the canonical manuals and models prescribed" (121). Needless to say, there is a paradoxical quality about this argument, which may leave some readers less than convinced. How, indeed, is it possible to be innovative or revolutionary by assiduously following convention? If we hew so closely to traditional rules of decorum, how do we suddenly find ourselves "outside the box"?

Realizing the opposition his argument is likely to provoke, Close engages in acute analysis of several passages from Cervantes' work in the hopes of convincing us that our author is quite conscious of and loyal to the theory of styles which guided literary production since Classical times. But he is careful to qualify his position in the following terms: "I have no wish to foist on Cervantes a rigid taxonomy of styles, but, rather, to establish the underlying principle: each work, in accordance with its subject and intended effect upon the reader, adopts a distinctive rhetorical pitch, which legitimizes certain options and discourages others. These differences are particularly clear in the contrast between high style and the lower ones" (126–27). Whereas many of us might feel comfortable with this idea as it applies to many of Cervantes' *novelas*, for example, we might feel less so with respect to the complex art of *Don Quijote*. How do we get to that dazzlingly effervescent mix, recognized as such by Close himself, from a narrative praxis tied to manuals of rhetoric and their stylistic precepts?

Much of Close's way of resolving the paradox flows through the notion of "la verdad de la historia," found with relative frequency throughout *Don Quijote*. Particularly with respect to Part II, Close insists on the connection with the theories of Luis Cabrera de Córdoba about the art of the historian, as developed in *De la historia, para entenderla y escribirla* (1611): "teniendo la ma-

teria delante de los ojos, verá lo que della para esto ha de elegir o dexar, qué dezir, qué callar, para formar la verdad, materia de su historia, juntando las cosas para saber empeçar, proseguir y acabar; con tal conueniencia de las partes entre sí, según el estilo y orden, que haga un cuerpo gallardo y hermoso" (135). Close proceeds to gloss this passage in a way that is crucial to the rest of his analysis: "Thus, the historian's objective is not just to tell the truth, but to tell 'one truth,' thematically unified, concordant, stripped of irrelevant details" (135).

Cervantes ultimately transmutes this *modus operandi* of the ideal historical chronicler into that of the weaver of fictions. Much of Close's analysis has to do with the way Cervantes understands the notion of "episodios." While steadfastly fixing his gaze on the "one truth" of Don Quijote's story, Cervantes also enriches it consistently with material that could initially be deemed as "extraneous." But he does so in a way which ends up subordinating this material in an organic fashion.

The practice of "ornamenting" a long narrative with interpolated stories was fully consecrated by tradition. In a number of cases, especially in Part I, Cervantes introduces interpolated material in a way which followed that tradition closely, which our critic defines as "juxtapositive" (e.g., "La novela del curioso impertinente"). But according to Close, Cervantes steadily outgrew that simpler practice, even within Part I. After reviewing a number of instances from the latter, Close concludes: "with a tradition over a millennium old encouraging him to adopt the 'juxtapositive' option, Cervantes, with striking originality, chooses a 'co-ordinative' one. By means of this method, the interpolated story is told by its protagonist [e.g., "el capitán cautivo"], or some other actor in it or witness of it, who occupies the same chronotope as that of the main action, and narrates events which, though they begin independently from it, become entangled with it" (138).

Close points out that this innovative strategy was not actually invented by Cervantes, there being antecedents for it (e.g., in Heliodorus himself and pastoral romances). But he then proceeds to suggest that what we find in Cervantes does represent a

quantum leap with respect to the earlier instances: "What is revolutionary about his practice in *Don Quijote* is his adaptation of it in order to synthesize incongruous narrative strands. Instead of combining like with like, courtly or Byzantine *novelas* with pastoral fiction, as he does in *La Galatea*, he combines romantic stories with the comic doings of the mad *hidalgo*. Indeed, the word 'combines' scarcely does justice to the thoroughness of the synthesis" (138).

If this is true of Part I, it is even more so in Part II, where Cervantes deploys the notion of *episodios* in overt fashion. Close disagrees with Riley's identification of what segments or aspects of the novel Cervantes would think of as *episodios* (140–41), which our critic conceives in the following terms: "what constitutes an episode in *Don Quijote* is not necessarily a fictional tale unconnected in its origin with the hero but, rather, any kind of well-developed matter extraneous to his chivalric mania, which is the novel's essential theme" (142). *Episodios* in Part II, for Close, are "more diverse…, more fragmentary, dispersed, and elusive [in] character than those of Part I" (149), running the gamut from Camacho's wedding to all of the "lúcidos intervalos" Don Quijote enjoys, including his advice to Sancho before the latter's assumption of power in Barataria (see 141). All of them are so tightly woven into the fabric of "la verdad de la historia" (or "one truth") that they end up being the "non-episodic episodes" (149) described by Cide Hamete in II, 44.

Close summarizes his view of the novelty of this practice in the following terms:

> Cervantes's experiment is as fertile as it is original. Situated firmly within the prevailing aesthetic norms, as they relate to episodic embellishment, the quasi-historical nature of epic narrative, and the unpretentious tone appropriate to comedy, he tries dutifully to comply with their conflicting requirements and ends up with a result which virtually subverts the episode as normally understood: virtuoso ornament, pleasantly distracting tale, elegant and moralistic pa-

> renthesis. Whereas *Don Quijote* Part I, for all the novelty of its co-ordinative techniques, more or less conforms to the traditional formulae, Part II offers instead a sweeping mosaic of contemporary life in which novelesque motifs combine with documentary ones, the picturesque focus with the morally satiric, politics with ethics and religion, all designed to provoke the reflection of the two heroes, as well as their familiar idiosyncrasies. (149–50)

Here, again, we return to a central motif of Close's approach: Cervantine innovation emerges from a peculiar way of being respectful to tradition. There is, of course, something attractive about this notion, as it strives to locate Cervantes firmly within cultural-literary practices of his time. He did, indeed, have to use the only tools available him to create something new. *Don Quijote* did not emerge *ex nihilo*. But I still find there to be considerable dissonance between Close's image of the neo-Classicizing "Horacio cristiano," punctilious about decorum and *propiedad*, combined with Cervantes the ingenious *bricoleur* in the process of developing something essentially unprecedented (whether the "modern novel" or not). Can Close really have it both ways? Is the "gloriously anarchic association of all kinds of literary representation: picaresque, pastoral, farcical, tragic, mythic on a single, quasi-historical plane of representation" (161) he describes (in an almost Bakhtinian-inflected flourish) the product of a neo-Classicizing bean-counter?

This latter quotation comes from a chapter dedicated to the other meanings Close ascribes to the key phrase "la verdad de la historia." Rather than having to do with matters of selection and coordination of materials to be narrated, in this part of Close's study it is linked more to questions of mimesis and of "making present." He agrees in part with Riley about the concept's having to do with "the truth of the matter as empirical experience and history typically find it" (155): "The verisimilitude that Cervantes opposes to *Amadís de Gaula* and its kind must indeed, in one aspect, be equated with 'realism' thus defined." Cervantes was able

to generate an impression of "well-documented normality in large part because of that "sharply attentive…eye and ear for places, mannerisms, registers" which characterized him. That capacity gibed well with an increasing demand for fiction which would reflect the burgeoning urban world of contemporary Spain (157).

While it could be pointed out that the demand in question was also being filled by the appearance of the picaresque novel during the same period, a genre from which Cervantes clearly learned a great deal, Close is emphatic about distinguishing between mimetic modes characteristic of the two:

> If, in *Don Quijote*, Cervantes strives for a sharply defined sense of everyday normality, and gives it more prominence than in his other works of comic fiction, this is due fundamentally to his ironic method of subverting the brand of literary implausibility exhibited by *Amadís de Gaula* and its kind. It led him to the discovery of a new comic quality, prosaic insignificance. This deviates from the ridiculous, extreme abjection which is exploited by contemporary picaresque novelists, and which is, indeed, reflected in *Don Quijote* itself in the back and white oppositions basic to its parody, including the primordial one between sordid inns and imaginary castles. Cervantes, without ever renouncing that blackness, endemic to his age's Aristophanic mind, causes it persistently to modulate into a familiar, humdrum grey. (158)

Here, too, we find Close's Cervantes leaning strongly in the direction of a decorous "don Limpio." While our critic admits that Cervantes displays symptoms of that "Aristophanic mind" found in the sordid humor of the picaresque, he again insists on the softening of its rough edges.

That "truthfulness" alluded to in the formula of "la verdad de la historia" is also connected to an impression of vividness that authors should strive for. Here, too, Close strives to historicize Cervantes' narrative practices: "Cervantes's quest for immediacy

of presentation is deeply influenced by the traditional prescriptions for telling stories in courtesy books" (175). His documentation of this assertion is convincing, as he proceeds to point to specific texts of the period: Castiglione's *Il cortegiano*, Della Casa's *Galateo*, Bargagli's *Dialogo de'giuochi*, and Gracián Dantisco's *Galateo español* (175).

Close ends his second chapter on "la verdad de la historia" with the following synthesis: "*verdadero* is triumphant shorthand for Cervantes's whole aesthetic of comic fiction, in which presence is the confirmation of wit, taste, exemplariness, decorum, refinement, risibility, inventiveness" (177). What proves somewhat troubling about this image of Cervantes is its resemblance to what could almost be described as a paradigm of a neo-Classical or English Restoration writer. Indeed, he is the Cervantes revered in the eighteenth century, the level-headed opponent of "enthusiasm" who undermines his target by deft irony.

Now it is true that Close has built a very solid foundation for his case, and I would be the last one to reject it out of hand. But I still cannot help but feel troubled by the tendency to ignore, rather systematically, those aspects of Cervantes which might tend to clash with the refined and decorous image Close has erected so carefully. My concern focuses mainly on *Don Quijote*. Using Close's terms, there would seem to be large areas of "Aristophanic" humor which go without any mention whatsoever. Where are the slapstick beatings Don Quijote receives on so many occasions? Where are the farcical falls from his mount? Where is the vomit and counter-vomit exchange after the battle of the sheep? Where is Sancho's bowel movement in the *batanes* episode? Where is the skewering of the wineskins?

Close (and others) might respond that these "Aristophanic" movements diminish steadily in Part II, where Cervantes' art matures in ever-more sophisticated directions. There may be some truth to this notion, but I would nevertheless submit that it remains flawed. What do we do with the fall from Rocinante as Don Quijote is confronted by a *moharrache* from a group of players on their way to a Corpus celebration? What about the uncere-

monious trampling by pigs, and later by bulls (the latter effaced, as noted earlier, from Close's analysis of the "Arcadia fingida")? What do we do with Don Quijote's fall when mischievous boys stick gorse on Rocinante's rump in Barcelona?

As for the "seemly pranks" played on Don Quijote at the Duke's palace, Close may be right about their general innocuousness. But Don Quijote probably did not consider the painful mauling inflicted by the cats, which puts him in bed for five days, to be all that light-hearted (II, 46).[10] Nor would Sancho find his being sandwiched between two shields and stomped on—to the point of fearing death—to be all that "seemly" (II, 53). And for all their intelligence and wit, why would Cide Hamete, when narrating the second round of *burlas* at the palace (that is, as the two protagonists are on their way home from Barcelona), make the comment that "tiene para sí ser tan locos los burladores como los burlados, y que no estaban los duques dos dedos de parecer tontos, pues tanto ahínco ponían en burlarse de dos tontos" (II, 70; 564–65)? At this point in the work, Cide Hamete has often functioned as a virtually direct mouthpiece for Cervantes, as argued by Close himself in his analysis of the Moor's comments on "episodios." Is Cide Hamete now mistaken in his assessment of the Duke's and Duchess's sense of humor?

At this point it might be worthwhile to return to the way in which Close throws down the gauntlet to those of us who have argued for a "carnivalesque" dimension in *Don Quijote*. Close faults us for the fact that the word "carnaval," as well as representations of the actual festival, are absent from Cervantes. Those familiar with Bakhtin's classic *Rabelais and His World* (as Close obviously is) will remember that his analysis of Rabelais' *Gargantua et Pantagruel* is less concerned with finding actual instances of Carnival depicted in its pages—or actual uses of the word—than with uncovering a "logic" which underlies both the Frenchman's work and many aspects of what he calls "popular-festive" cul-

[10] It should be noted that this *burla* smacks strongly of carnival pranks involving cats and other kinds of animals.

ture. That "logic" is one associated with what the anthropologists call "symbolic inversion." It is found not only in Carnival *per se* but in many other aspects of popular-festive culture. The term "Carnival" is used by Bakhtin, and by those who use his theories, as a shorthand way of referring to an enormous gamut of cultural practices, not just the pre-Lenten festival.

Having said that, it proves somewhat troubling that efforts to uncover a carnivalesque "logic" in *Don Quijote* can be brushed off so easily as another instance of recent critics' viewing of it from thoroughly anachronistic perspectives tied to contemporary "Theory." Bakhtin's original argument regarding *Gargantua et Pantagruel* was that most attempts to understand the work in recent centuries were off target in large part because they failed to take into account its deep roots in popular cultural practices which, starting roughly in the seventeenth century, were systematically contained or coopted. As the "code" vanished, Rabelais' work became increasingly bizarre and uncomprehensible.

Bakhtin saw Cervantes' masterpiece as yet another example of that appropriation of popular-festive culture by Renaissance writers (including Erasmus and Shakespeare, among others). As his work centered on Rabelais, Bakhtin did not engage in the kind of systematic analysis with respect to Cervantes as he did in the case of the French author. That task was first taken up in serious fashion by Augustin Redondo toward the end of the 1970s, culminating in his massive *Otra manera de leer el* Quijote.[11] Even without the later contributions in the same vein (albeit with significant variations), it is difficult to understand why this approach can be dismissed so summarily. In effect, it attempts to do precisely what Close wishes to do: historicize Cervantes' sense of humor and its impact on his narrative practices. Those of us who follow the Russian theorist's lead would argue that much of Cervantes' whole comic project, starting with the creation of the two main characters themselves, cannot be understood properly without taking into account its connection to popular culture.

[11] Another early contributor was Manuel Durán.

This does not mean, of course, that Cervantes was a "man of the people." Nor would Bakhtin ever say such a thing about Rabelais (or Erasmus or Shakespeare) for that matter. He is talking about a particular moment in European cultural history when writers, particularly from the middling social sectors, activated aspects of popular culture in a very peculiar—and magnificently fertile—way. It was a moment in which festive practices—which were absolutely impossible to ignore, given their overwhelming abundance—erupted in "high culture" in a wide variety of both direct and oblique ways. Cervantes, I would argue (along with my fellow Bakhtinians), represents an outstanding instance of this phenomenon.

Part of Close's resistance to accepting a "carnivalizing" Cervantes is puzzling because of his admirable efforts in delineating that "rumbustious," "Aristophanic" sense of humor which was ubiquitous in sixteenth-century Spain. Much of what Close refers to as "Aristophanic" humor has deep roots in popular culture. Indeed, "Aristophanic" would appear to be Close's way of referring to that aspect of the popular comic spirit that many of us would refer to as "carnivalesque." Whereas Spaniards of the period would have limited access to Aristophanes, they would have to be blind and deaf not to have encountered instances of popular-festive culture surrounding them.[12] And indeed, if one looks at Aristophanes himself, one must ask about the cultural traditions which gave rise to his own art, many of which also relate to the popular-festive matrix. In other words, Aristophanes did not proceed from a vacuum. As noted earlier, there is a tendency toward symbolic inversion of a satirico-ludic nature permeating huge swaths of human culture going far back into our history, and it is that tendency that would have "jump-started" Aristophanes' own splendid art.

Close would thus appear to use the adjective "Aristophanic" as a way of focusing our attention on a well-known writer of the Classical world rather than on the rich array of popular-festive

[12] Close fairly well admits this on 182–83.

activities surrounding Cervantes. If he admits the link with the folk matrix, then he is in danger of being seen associated with the Bakhtinian camp, whose premises he rejects.

This rejection, in turn, connects up with Close's effort to place Cervantes squarely into the camp of those writers who saw as their mission the "cleaning up" of the malodorous and aggressively "Aristophanic" dimension of Spanish humor within a variety of cultural practices (including literature).

IV

As noted earlier, Close focuses his attention on the "collective comic mentality or mind-set" (182) in the period in question in an attempt to prove the existence of an evolutionary process which affected the composition of comic fiction. He defines that collective mentality as "inter-subjective thought: concepts, values, intuitive assumptions" (182). I could not agree more with Close about the historical specificity of humor: "whatever universal substrate there may be in laughter and its manifestation, each historical community imprints specific characteristics upon it, related to other features of its culture and social organization" (184). It is also very clear to me that social pressures can be brought to bear, from a wide variety of angles, that will move humor, over time, in other directions. Here Close makes good use of Foucault's notion of discursive formations and social "disciplining" (183–84), Maravall's analysis of different social institutions' molding impact on what he called *mentalidades* (182), and most of all, Elias's theories of socio-genesis (181, 184) in providing a theoretical framework for exploring the phenomena that concern him.

The whole area of *burlas* is one which is particularly ripe for this kind of analysis:

> The terminology of *burlas* (jesting, prank playing) embodies assumptions about the nature, limits, and occasions of the

> risible, which are made explicit in four formally constituted discourses, concerning, respectively, courtly manners and pastimes, rhetoric, the genre of comedy, medical theory. They are also articulated or implied in literature, theatre, proverbs, and other folklore. Considered in its expressive aspect, as joking, the discourse of comedy can to some extent be treated as a sociolect in the Barthesian sense. Considered as a set of instinctive expectations, that is, as a sense of the ridiculous, it might seem far too diffuse to be treated as an identifiable phenomenon, yet even this shows common and distinctive traits, noted by contemporary observers and modern scholars. (183)

As Close strives to uncover the specific characteristics of the peculiar form of mobilizing *burlas* within a broad expanse of both literary and non-literary phenomena, he focuses in more directly on elusive yet palpable aspects of the comic mind:

> What are the traits of this comic mentality? Though I will offer a preliminary general characterization, their specific identity can only be grasped by examination of the particular forms that they took…. That said, the basic trait is the conception of the comic as existing in a simultaneous relation of parasitic intimacy with, and symmetrical opposition to the non-comic. It is proverbially enshrined in the dichotomy of *burlas* and *veras*: though opposite, the two things are sensed as inseparable, and this paradoxical kinship penetrates the most diverse corners of Golden Age culture. (187)

He proceeds to offer in shorthand an idea of the wide variety of phenomena to which he refers: from the *entremés/comedia* interaction present in every theatrical performance to "the relationship between heroic traditional ballads and ballads of thieves' cant (*romances de germanía*)" (188), from "courtly love lyrics of the *Cancionero general* (1511)…[to] the *Cancionero de obras de burlas*" (188). Indeed, Close even includes as an example the relationship be-

tween "the genre of romance in general and *Don Quijote*" (188).

And interestingly enough for someone who has rejected out of hand any Bakhtinian-inflected reflection on Cervantes, Close goes on to say:

> the opposition is not merely reducible to forms familiar to all periods and cultures, such as those defined by Bakhtin: on the one hand, the coarse rebelliousness and sensuous gratifications of the grotesque body, with its language, festivals, and sites, as outlet for the world-upside-down, subversive revelry of the common people. It consists in a systematic, pointed mirroring and inversion of superior by inferior: the burlesque duplication, in countless *comedias*, of the *galán*'s wooing of his lady by the lackey's flirtation with the maid [etc.]. Cervantes offers the quintessential example in the pairing of Don Quijote and Sancho, seen as diametrical opposites, yet described as "forjados en la misma turquesa." I can only explain the consistency of this phenomenon by positing an underlying mentality which assumes specific manifestations in different genres. (188)

Not only do we have pretty much of a description of varieties of symbolic inversion to which Bakhtin refers as "carnivalesque" (as noted earlier), along with direct reference to popular-festive culture, but a precise attempt to insert Cervantes' protagonists into that matrix.

Rather than engaging in contradiction, what Close wishes to argue is that the carnivalesque (*surrature*) dimensionis present in the cluster of writers he wishes to discuss (including Cervantes),but that it is "hand-cuffed" by new levels of restraint associated with the courtly milieu (including middle-class wannabes). An "Apollonian"/"Dionysian" tug-of-war develops, producing works which wavered dangerously in the two directions as writers react to the "juvenile, robust, Aristophanic style of humour which delights in desecrating inversions, wounding derision, exuberant revelling in allusions to the body's base functions"

(189):

> My diagnosis is based on the reactions of various Spanish writers around 1600: Gracián Dantisco, Rufo, López Pinciano, Alemán, Cervantes, Salas Barbadillo, Espinel, Lope de Vega, to their native traditions of comedy; in common, they judged those traditions as excessively coarse and licentious and sought to bring them under civilized control. The uniformity of their attitude is striking proof of the existence of a collective humorous mentality. And yet, despite this reaction, the traditionalism inherent in Spanish culture ensured that the Aristophanic spirit survived within the new framework of restraint. It is on the conflicting pulls of control and resurgence, with the first serving as paradoxical catalyst of the second, that I want to concentrate in the rest of this book. (189)

As indicated earlier, there are many aspects of this argument which I find convincing, precisely because they provide solid backing for my own hypotheses in *De fiestas y aguafiestas*. The nub of my disagreement with Close has to do with the degree to which Cervantes fits well in the spectrum of writers mentioned above. He may, in fact, have shared many of the concerns characteristic of this group, but certainly not to the same degree or in the same way. Moreover, if we examine the writers mentioned, we can see that while they all may have been producing literature in the early part of the seventeenth century, they by no means belonged to the same generation. And it is here where I feel Close takes a serious misstep, that is, in his assumption that writers separated by as many as three decades by their dates of birth would all end up manifesting a very comparable sensibility. But more about that later on.

Here I would like to turn to other central aspects of this part of Close's book. Our critic dives into the complex morass of issues concerning the evolution of the comic mentality of the period by examining the evolution of the role of *motes* and *apodos*—a kind

of "sociolect" (193)—as they relate specifically to "El licenciado Vidriera." Following the pioneering work of scholars such as Chevalier and Joly, Close describes the way in which the often highly aggressive bantering repartee among nobles during the early part of the sixteenth century, fueled by *motes* and *apodos*, began to tail off as we reach 1600. Manuals delineating acceptable courtly etiquette brought this practice under more strict control as ludically insulting wit was increasingly seen as "inappropriate" among members of the upper social strata.

As we cross into the seventeenth century, *motes* are charged with new life as the court comes out from under the mournful pale of Felipe II's reign. A festive gaiety characterizes many aspects of courtly culture during the Valladolid years, ranging from the reopening of theaters to the flourishing of satirico-burlesque poetry in the hands of Góngora and Quevedo. However, this new license had all sorts of restrictions applied to it. *Motes* and *apodos* were seen as belonging more to the province of *truhanes* and plebeians rather to that of nobles: "The traditional debate [on the appropriateness of *motes*] is now replaced by an ethical discourse which, inspired partly by the precepts of courtesy literature and partly by traditional Christian meditation on the vices of the tongue, differentiates urbane wit from malicious gibes to associate these with buffoons or with the plebs" (206).

Nevertheless, there were also circumstances in which the "discreet" members of the court could engage in this practice without damaging their reputations: "A gentleman could bandy *motes* with buffoons, lackeys, innkeepers, prostitutes; he could shower insults on fellow academicians within the tightly regulated and, in principle, decorous framework of the *vejamen académico*...; in the carnivalesque licence of the ritual caricature (*vejamen* or *gallo*) of recipients of university doctorates, the speakers were given equally free rein" (207–08). Those who engaged in this activity outside these narrowly circumscribed limits were subject to a variety of sanctions, including death (if Villamediana's demise was indeed related to his scorching satirical poetry). Those like Quevedo got away with it, at least in part, by the typi-

cal practice of adopting a burlesque *persona* which safely separated the author of flesh and blood from his work (211).

According to Close, Cervantes' use of *motes* in "El licenciado Vidriera" emblematizes the new straightjacket being systematically applied to them in Spanish society. He points out, correctly, that Cervantes tends to stay away from this practice in all of his works except this *novela*. (When *motes* do occasionally appear in works such as *Don Quijote*, they appear in the mouths of lower characters.) In "El licenciado Vidriera," he in effect puts the practice under quarantine, reflecting his general dislike for sharper forms of satire. Vidriera's renunciation of his "witty" past at the end of the work as a mere symptom of his madness accurately reflects Cervantes' own repudiation.

Acknowledging his debt to Maravall, Domínguez Ortiz, Elliott, and others, Close synthesizes his views on the reasons for the change in the following terms: "The modification of Spanish attitudes to comedy of the sixteenth century is due, in general to these factors: the emergence of a large urban middle-to-upper class, looking to the court as role-model and acting as the primary cultural consumer; the prescriptive and authoritarian spirit of the age, which sought to observe and control social practices over a wide area; its pervasive academic ethos" (216). Eschewing a simplistic cause-and-effect relationship, Close deftly crafts the following argument: "The point I am trying to make is that in proportion as new forms of social coexistence and recreation became available, new and wider media of entertainment adapted to the changed circumstances. This affects things like ethos and tone, presupposed criteria of value, tokens of quotidian life incidentally interwoven in the fictional world, new kinds of heroism to identify with and scapegoats to laugh at. The bridge between such things and the evolution of society may not be direct and obvious, but it is real" (216).

Crucial to the cultivation of this new milieu were the rise of the literary academies. Close carefully studies the social and ideological terrain occupied by these institutions. While high-ranking nobles did belong to them, they were also awash with

"small fry": "The lower fringes of the 'middle class,' occupied by many of the writers of the age, comprised *hidalgos* of modest income or respectable commoners, who gained their living as majordomos in noble houses, private secretaries, minor government functionaries, tutors, chaplains, and so on" (222). This group hungered for social advancement, and thus needed to be able to incorporate itself with aplomb into the courtly world; hence the aforementioned proliferation of etiquette manuals of various types (such as Gracián Dantisco's *Galateo español*). Close makes the point that the central goal in most of them was to develop a sense of "appropriateness" as it applied to all social activities (see 228). Needless to say, there was a clear spill-over effect in the area of literature as "decorum" became the hallmark of a good writer's practice. Close posits that the ethos of the academies slowly but surely penetrated a whole gamut of literary forms during the period from 1610 to 1630 (see 245).

Particularly interesting is that ethos's impact on the picaresque as writers like Salas Barbadillo and Castillo Solórzano move the *pícaros* toward the sphere of aristocratic salons (243). But comic genres in general, not just the picaresque, found themselves in the cross-hairs of the academies: "The increasingly academic ethos of the culture of Cervantes's age directly affects the socio-genesis of its attitudes to comedy. It is in the nature of the academies to affirm norms of taste, define a literary canon, debate theoretical principles. It is in their nature also to proclaim themselves as school's of urbanity. …[T]he appeal to a criterion of courtliness, as a means of bringing comedy under control, was typically engendered in that context" (248).

Close relates many aspects of López Pinciano's influential *Filosofía antigua poética* to the growing academicism of many aspects of writing in the early part of the seventeenth century, including treatment of the comic.[13] López Pinciano's attitude to-

[13] Here our critic should probably have made some mention of Eisenberg's earlier attempts to link Cervantes' humor with aspects of López Pinciano's theories (see *A Study* 112–14 or *Interpretación cervantina* 101–02).

ward the comic (253–55) is flush with class-oriented criteria. The interlocutors approve of the rowdier forms of comicality of writers such as Lope de Rueda, but precisely to the degree that they are confined to characters and milieux associated with the lower end of the social scale. Close detects that paradoxical tendency both to appreciate the coarser elements of more traditional Spanish comedy (in the broad sense) and to quarantine it within secure boundaries. *Burlas* and *veras* needed to occupy different and clearly demarcated terrains (257–58). This entire attitude, Close contends, permeates literary production as we move into the first decades of the seventeenth century.

And as I noted earlier, Close sees Cervantes himself as an exemplar of this phenomenon. His *Viaje del Parnaso* is an archetypal instance of the academic ethos and praxis. Our critic would also include many episodes of Part I as belonging to the orbit of the academies, including the discourse on arms and letters, the discussion on the books of chivalry and the *comedia*, and even the reading of "La novela del curioso impertinente" (245). But the academic inflection is even broader: "the most important aspect of academicism's influence upon Cervantes concerns the form, setting, and ethos of his long fictions, rather than the nature of specific scenes" (245). Examples range from many aspects of *La Galatea* (248) to the tactic of working out his grudges on literary matters in a fictionalized chat with an "amigo gracioso y bien entendido" in the Prologue to Part I (248).

But of much greater importance is Close's assertion that Cervantes signs on to the whole academicizing project of reining in the comic. As he surveys the literature produced in the first decades of the seventeenth century, Close perceives a commonality of approach to laughter: "This mind-set has a catalytic and legitimizing relation toward laughter, locating the factors which provoke it and warding off the disapproval that it may arouse, and is clearly manifest in the works of merrily entertaining prose fiction from 1599 onwards—*Guzmán de Alfarache*, Hidalgo's *Diálogos*, Cervantes's *Don Quijote* and Avellaneda's, *La pícara Justina*, and so on. Its conspicuousness in them is due to the fact that, collec-

tively, they aim largely at laughter, present a relatively new phenomenon in Spanish literature and could count on a reaction of suspicion or hostility from some quarters. Cervantes, to be sure, by his techniques of co-ordination and in other ways, significantly erodes the mind-set's basic tendency towards segregation. Yet he is far from shaking himself free of it altogether" (273).

Close's qualifications toward the end of this passage are important. While he does throw Cervantes in the same bag with the other authors mentioned (including his arch-rival Avellaneda!), he also perceives significant differences. There is, in fact, a Cervantine twist to the whole problem of the comic that sets him apart, one which would seem to be related *to the precise degree to which our author is truly ensconced in the academic ethos*. Pointing out how Cervantes deviates from the latter in certain matters relating to decorum, Close ends up setting him off from a series of writers deeply involved in the entrenchment of courtly academicism, to wit, "Tirso s *Cigarrales*..., Avellaneda, Salas Barbadillo, Espinel, Lugo y Dávila, Castillo Solórzano" (274). And irony of ironies, Cervantes and Lope de Vega end up being allies rather than rivals in one important respect: "Lope's handling of the comic in the theatre parallels his rival's in prose fiction" (274).

Close's extremely insightful analysis of *Guzmán de Alfarache* shows that rather than being categorically opposite to Alemán in so many ways (as we have been taught to think by Blanco Aguinaga—306), Cervantes learned much from his art while simultaneously transcending it: "Alemán...anticipates and makes possible Cervantes's most innovative achievement: the co-ordination of the planes of *burlas* and *veras*, and the transcendence of the severe segregation that Alemán himself helped to establish" (308).

Interestingly enough, two of the writers Close sets off from the hard-core academicians—i.e., Cervantes and Alemán—are strict contemporaries. Many of the academicians, moreover, were born in a cluster around 1580: Quevedo (1580), Tirso (1580?),

Salas Barbadillo (1581), Castillo Solórzano (1584).[14] The reason I bring this up is an important one: could Cervantes have been subjected to precisely the same set of socio-genetic pressures delineated by Close as this group which was some thirty years younger? Clearly not.

This, in turn, might help to explain the fact that Cervantes' approach to decorum and related matters is patently not as "hard-line" as what we find in those substantially younger writers. When finally answering head-on the question he proposes in his Introduction—"what, in respect to the poetics of comic fiction, is Cervantes's difference from his contemporaries?"—Close first reiterates the Cervantes' role as a "spearhead…of didacticism and courtly academicism which presides over the resurgence of the Aristophanic traditions around 1600" (326), and then goes on to say the following:

> Granted the similarity, however, he differs signally from his contemporaries in that he recognized the need for synthesis and rationalization [of "Aristophanic coarseness" and "didacticism and courtly academicism"], whereas they, around 1600, tended to shun both things. His radical conception of that synthesis puts him several decades ahead of his time. (326–27)

That tendency to fuse rather than to segregate might, in fact, be a product of the fact that Cervantes grew up in an era when the reins had yet to be tightened in the ways described by Maravall, Foucault, Domínguez Ortiz, *et al*. I would add that the distinction Close himself makes might be linked to the one that Bakhtin signals when setting off Rabelais, Shakespeare, Erasmus, and yes, Cervantes, from the writers of the seventeenth-century when it comes to the question of laughter and popular-festive culture (including attitudes toward the body).

[14] Francisco Lugo y Dávila was born even later, some time in the decade of the 1590s.

Curiously, Close himself ends up grouping Cervantes with the same cluster highlighted by Bakhtin: "His conception of laughter's cheering, therapeutic power aligns him with Renaissance humanism (Erasmus, Rabelais, Burton) rather than with his own ethnic traditions, though this is due, I think, to his own temperament rather than to any literary influence" (332). This comment comes on the heels of Close's reference to Don Antonio's complaint against Sansón Carrasco for inducing Don Quijote to return home after the definitive battle in Barcelona and to "the mood of levelling and unifying gaiety which is the dominant key of Part II" (331). This language is "crypto-Bakhtinian." And rather than invoking the potentially slippery notion of "temperament," it would seem to make more sense to keep our eyes peeled for the kind of socio-genetic explanation about which Close is so admirably keen.

Bakhtin, I repeat, is trenchant in his comments on the enormous change that begins to emerge as the "logic" of Carnival begins to succumb, finally, to the pressures applied by civic and religious authorities in the seventeenth century, which in turn affects the mobilization of that "logic" by writers from the cultured sectors. All this affects the pitch, nature, and function of the laughter writers attempt to induce.

In *De fiestas y aguafiestas* I argued that the change in question is emblematized in the Cervantes/Avellaneda match-up, with the first author clearly linked to the more traditional popular-festive matrix whereas the second was a product of the new decorum-obsessed milieu which no longer enjoyed the more dynamic interaction with the carnivalesque. The rich ambiguities which haunt *Don Quijote* are systematically eliminated in an attempt to channel laughter in a more "politically correct" direction, one which harmonizes quite nicely with the generally conservative concerns of the courtly academicizing crowd.

When making that argument, I suggested that Avellaneda did probably belong to that generation of writers born around 1580. Oddly enough, in the perennial game of trying to reveal Avellaneda's true identity, scholars have made cases for a num-

ber of the authors of what might be dubbed the "generation of 1580," including Quevedo, Tirso, Salas Barbadillo, and Castillo Solórzano.[15] Reading Close's book has convinced me further of the rightness of my hypothesis. And while it may in fact have been none of the authors cited above (I, for one, do not believe that it could have been Quevedo), it *was* very probably someone close to that group who suffered the impact of the academicizing ethos, which was reaching its zenith around 1620—that is, at a moment when he was a younger writer just hitting his stride.

This hunch was strengthened as I read Close's analysis of the works of Salas Barbadillo, whose literary and social profile comes very close to how I imagine Avellaneda. The concerns of *El caballero puntual* (1614), which centers on the "the castigation of the pathological social climber Don Juan de Toledo" (322), would seem to circle in the same orbit of those we find in the apocryphal work of 1614. As noted by Close: "[Salas's] works explicitly aim at the correction of manners, specifically those of middle-class Madrid society, through the arousal of laughter, a response explicitly signalled within them in numerous passages" (322). Indeed, it was precisely the systematic evocation of laughter in Avellaneda's text that embarked me on the research which gave rise to *De fiestas y aguafiestas* (see 236–37). This is *not* to say that I wish to revive the Salas Barbadillo candidacy for the role of favorite whipping-boy of the *cervantistas*; rather, I wish to suggest that Avellaneda was a close "literary cousin" of that *madrileño* writer. In juxtaposing the two authors, Close highlights other aspects which tie nicely to my own argument regarding the difference between Avellaneda's art and Cervantes': "In the second part [Cervantes] virtually overthrows the traditional conception of the separateness and difference of episodes from the main

[15] See Martín de Riquer's handy summary of the attempts to identify Avellaneda in the Introduction to his edition of Avellaneda (1: lxxxii–lxxxviii). Riquer's suggestion that the author might be Jerónimo de Pasamonte was developed by Eisenberg, then subject of a book by Riquer and a further book by Martín Jiménez, itself the subject of a review article by Helena Percas de Ponseti. Pasamonte was probably born around 1553 (Martín 24).

action, assimilates them to the affairs of Don Quijote and Sancho, and by this means achieves a revolutionary expansion of comic fiction's range. Let us recall the kinds of things that Salas Barbadillo excludes from comedy: tragic and heroic events, the depiction of a devout Catholic rule and an exemplary counsellor, elegant deliberative rhetoric on matters of state, solemn precepts on the code of marital honour. All these things and more are included in *Don Quijote*, and, especially in Part II, are enmeshed with the main comic theme, not merely confined to compartments segregated from it" (336).

As *Comic Mind* draws toward its conclusion, our critic once again makes sure that we do not attribute to Cervantes "some kind of pre-Bakhtinian poetics: unstable narrative viewpoint; an unmonitored plurality of registers and ideologies; the radical questioning of authority and of mimetic truth" (334). Falling back to the paradoxical approach developed earlier, Close asserts the following: "Remarkably, [Cervantes] is led down this revolutionary path, not by intuition of a futuristic poetics, but on the contrary, by a dogged attempt to implement traditional prescriptions: history's obligation to the truth; the matching of style to matter required by decorum; the storyteller's need to grip his audience's attention; the sense of the light ethos appropriate to comedy" (336).

While I am sure that Close would argue otherwise, this notion of "revolution through tradition" (my term) would seem to enter into oblique conflict, minimally, with another set of comments about the "revolutionary road of generic miscegenation" made in the page that follows:

> This imaginary, improvised romance is made to absorb, with madly ingenious and stylish exuberance, a host of 'purple' styles and elevated topics, some more or less akin to the chivalric genre (pastoral, epic, history, ballads, Ariosto), and others quite unrelated to it (Garcilaso, the Golden Age, learned exempla, the Bible, and so on). At the same time, it grotesquely blends or combines with innumerable motifs de-

> rived from comic tradition—the picaresque, the *novela*, ballad parodies, jest books, farce—and, in Part I, is pointedly juxtaposed with serious, non-chimerical adventures which tap a different array of sources. This strategy endows Cervantes's parody with a peculiarly internal, empathetic relation to its target, and also a bewildering breadth of eclectic reference. (337)

Quite frankly, this language is redolent of a Bakhtinian spirit which Close is adamant in denying. What our critic describes mirrors the kind of "centrifugal" forces the Russian associates with the "novel" as a kind of transhistorical phenomenon, very much connected up with—dare I say it?—a carnivalization of discourse.[16] And when he says that "these radical and pervasive cross-pollinations of modes and genres, without equivalent in contemporary Spanish literature, generate protagonists who stand half inside and half outside the worlds of Spain's Aristophanic imagination" (338), it would seem to me that what he is describing is precisely what occurs when a writer of enormous talent finds himself bisected by popular-festive culture at exactly the right historical moment (like Rabelais). Those feet that Don Quijote and Sancho plant firmly on the Aristophanic side of the equation are there because they themselves have emerged from the matrix of popular-festive culture. As López Estrada points out, the huge explosion of success that the two protagonists met on their appearance in print, which included their immediate incorporation into festive contexts, would seem to be the result of a process of "recognition." Spaniards "knew" them as soon as they saw them.[17]

To conclude, let me reiterate what I said at the beginning of

[16] See, for example, "Discourse in the Novel" 272–73.

[17] See his excellent "Fiestas y literatura," in which he says: "Resulta como si las criaturas de Cervantes hubiesen tenido una preexistencia en la vida de la época y que su presentación literaria fuese un reconocimiento" (317).

this essay: *Comic Mind* is truly a major scholarly accomplishment which will influence the way we think about Cervantes for years to come. Few scholars, if any, have done such a conscientious job of exploring comic fiction of the period with such critical acumen and breadth of knowledge. If I have sounded harsh in some of my judgments, it is only because I believe that Close's arguments could have been strengthened in several respects had he not decided to set himself off so fiercely from "modish" Bakhtinian approaches.

Bakhtin has been abused and over-used: there is no doubt about it. But that is true of many—most?—critical approaches which have found favor in the academy, stretching back over decades. (How much more Frye could we take *circa* 1970? How much more Derrida *circa* 1990?) And while the urge to cry out "¡Basta ya!" may seem irresistible, I think there is a strong possibility of shooting oneself in the foot if one surrenders to it in a way that obviates employing the legitimate contributions of the theorist in question. In Close's case, I think that a prudent incorporation of aspects of Bakhtin would have strengthened his argument rather than weakened it—albeit at the cost of being accused of finally having succumbed to much-despised "Theory." This would have curtailed what I think has happened in certain moments of *Comic Mind*: that is, an excessive tailoring—or even bending—of his argument so as to mark off an "obvious difference" vis-à-vis the Bakhtinians, only to end up as a kind of *vergonzante* Bakhtinian who imports aspects of the Russian's thought under cover. I say this, again, with the deepest respect toward this scholar and his remarkable achievement.

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REVIEWS

María Antonia Garcés. *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002. 349 pp. ISBN: 0-8265-1406-5. $39.95.

Américo Castro, Juan Goytisolo, and Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce have all pointed to Cervantes' five years in Algiers as the central experience of his life, and decisive in his formation as a writer (15). In this book, María Antonia Garcés studies the links between that experience and Cervantes' literary production. It is divided into an introduction and five chapters.

The first chapter offers background information on the history of the emergence of Algiers as a major center of privateering, relations between Algiers and Spain, the circumstances of Cervantes' capture and transfer to Algiers in September 1575, his four escape attempts, and a brief overview of life in late sixteenth-century Algiers based principally on the *Topografía e historia general de Argel* (1612), which Garcés believes was written entirely by Antonio de Sosa. Chapter Two contains a more detailed study of the life of elite (ransomable) Christian captives in Algiers in the 1570s, information about some of the notable Muslim and Christian personages with whom Cervantes became acquainted while in Algiers, and details about his ransom by a Trinitarian friar in 1580, and the written affidavits he had compiled before leaving Algiers to defend himself against mysterious charges that he had behaved in an ugly and vicious manner while in captivity there.

In Chapter Three Garcés studies Cervantes' first two literary treatments of his captivity—the plays *El trato de Argel* and *Los baños de Argel*—comparing them with the accounts of Sosa's captivity in the *Topografía* and with Primo Levi's writings about his experiences in Auschwitz. The fourth chapter focuses on the largely autobiographical "Captive's Tale" in Chapters 39–41 of the 1605 *Don Quixote,* which she believes was written in 1589-90, and following L. A. Murillo, terms the "*Ur-Quijote.*" She also devotes considerable space in this chapter to speculating about Cervantes' reasons for adopting the surname Saavedra. The concluding chapter studies recurring images that ap-

pear in works written throughout Cervantes' career—including *La Galatea*, the novella "La española inglesa," and his posthumous romance *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*. She examines how the treatment of those images gradually changes, which she views as symptomatic of "a gradual liberation of the chains of captivity in Cervantes" (242), resulting from the therapeutic benefits of his writing. The book is illustrated with seventeen engravings portraying the city of Algiers, its customs, people, and their costumes. It is also accompanied by a very thorough bibliography, and a five-page chronology of the history of Spain from 1453 to 1617 and the major events in Cervantes' life.

Garcés was kidnapped and held hostage by Colombian guerrillas from December 1982 to July 1983 (6). She wrote this book while mourning the death of her eldest son (xi). Although she doesn't say so, I assume that it was those terrible experiences that led her to become deeply interested in the relatively new area of psychology known as trauma theory, which has attracted considerable attention in the popular news media since the Vietnam War, and especially since the American Psychiatric Association adopted post-traumatic stress disorder as an official diagnosis in 1980. What she does say is that: "More than anyone or anything else, Cervantes has been the great teacher, the healer who has helped me to reattach *"el roto hilo de mi historia"* as I read, and wrote about, his fictions. Laughing with these fictions, reinterpreting them time and time again, often from different perspectives, pondering the profound questions that arise from Cervantes' texts, I have been pressured to sound the complexities of literary and psychic constructions, both in Cervantes and in myself" (xi).

She seems then to have come to the conclusion that trauma theory might provide a key to understanding how Cervantes used his writing as a tool to recover from the psychic "wound" inflicted by the experience of captivity, and that appears to be how this book came about. As is well known, the basic premise of trauma theory is that the human mind is simply unable to absorb, process, or react to a sudden catastrophic shock. The event is therefore repressed, but returns to haunt the survivor in the form of repetitive nightmares, flashbacks, or fragmented memories. In especially severe cases, ego-splitting or multiple personality disorder occurs, whereby the survivor develops a new personality to separate him or herself from the one damaged by the trauma. This is primarily how Garcés explains Cervantes' adoption of a new surname. Finally, it is only by telling his or her story to others that the survivor is at last able to assimilate the trauma and begin to recover from it. According to Garcés, this explains why Cervantes included fictionalized versions of his experience as a captive in so many of his literary works throughout his career.

Although Garcés treats these notions as if they were established fact, all

of them are in fact highly questionable and are the subject of heated debate among professional psychologists, as Richard McNally has amply demonstrated in his recent book *Remembering Trauma.* More importantly, they really contribute nothing to our understanding of Cervantes' writings or of the five years he spent as a captive in Algiers. Far from repressing the memories of his experiences in Algiers, Cervantes had his alter ego Ruy Pérez de Viedma—protagonist of "The Captive's Tale"—state explicitly that "de todos los sucesos sustanciales que en este suceso me acontecieron, ninguno se me ha ido de la memoria, ni aún se me irá en tanto que tuviere vida." In other words, the trauma he experienced in Algiers, rather than causing his memory to fail him, actually strengthened it. Oddly, Garcés uses this quote as an epigraph to the chapter of her book in which she discusses "The Captive's Tale," yet does not seem to notice that it blatantly contradicts her argument.

I have no doubt that the five years Cervantes spent in Algiers were painful and frustrating, perhaps even "traumatic." To focus solely on the traumatic aspects of that experience, however, is a gross oversimplification. Located in an extraordinarily beautiful natural setting and enjoying a superb climate, Algiers in Cervantes' day was one of the largest, wealthiest, and most cosmopolitan cities in the world. Especially in comparison with Cervantes' native Spain, Algiers was home to an amazingly free and tolerant society. It had a large, prosperous, and influential Jewish community that was mostly Spanish by language and culture, and Christians too were free to practice their religion. Most notably, it was a society in which any man, regardless of race or ethnicity, could rise to the very pinnacle of power by dint of intelligence and hard work. A former slave could, and did, become king there. Cervantes, who hated Spain's rigid class system based on ancestry rather than merit, cannot have helped admiring this aspect of life in Algiers. During the five years he spent there, Cervantes became acquainted with all sorts of Moors and renegades, ranging from noble, generous, enlightened men such as Hājjī Murād (Agi Morato) to amoral and cruel ones like his master Ḥasan Pasha (Azán Agá). He also formed close friendships with many fellow Christian captives. He was well aware that many of the native Algerians felt oppressed and exploited by their Ottoman overlords. This was by no means a simple society, nor was Cervantes' experience there simply one of unalloyed pain.

Whatever it may have been, Algiers was certainly no Auschwitz. What I found most disturbing about this book was the author's constant comparisons of the situation of Christian captives in Algiers to that of Jews in the Nazi death camps. She acknowledges that "my comparison of sixteenth-century Algiers with the modern Lager [concentration camp] may seem shocking to some readers" (144), but goes on to defend the comparison on the grounds that "the extent of the tortures and dreadful deaths perpetrated

on these captives was appalling," and that many of them were civilians. The comparison is invalid and grossly misleading. The captives in Algiers could obtain their freedom at any time simply by converting to Islam. Furthermore, whether they were being held for ransom or simply used for slave labor, they were extremely valuable commodities. It was obviously in the interest of their owners to keep them alive and healthy. There were cases of extreme cruelty and even murder of captives, but they were few and far between and usually resulted from some provocation, such as an escape attempt.

The very fact that Garcés would make such an absurd comparison is indicative of her own ignorance of, and contempt for, Arab/Muslim culture, which is abundantly evident throughout this book. For example, she describes the great philosopher Ibn Sīnā, who was born in Bukhara of a Turkic mother and a Persian father and never set foot in Spain, as an "Andalusian intellectual" (94-95). Rather than taking the trouble to find out the proper way to transliterate the Arabic word *Qā'id*, she gives three different versions: *Ca'id* (73); *Kā'id* (75) and *caīd* (188). She is generally much too willing to take the *Topografía*'s anti-Muslim propaganda at face value. In an attempt to demonstrate the "intellectual decline" of Algiers in Cervantes' time, she spends pages speculating that books in European languages were probably very scarce there, only to conclude that nevertheless Cervantes somehow managed to write and obtain books during the time he was there.

The most tantalizing questions surrounding Cervantes' experiences in Algiers are: (1) why did Cervantes' master, Ḥasan Pasha—who was notorious for his cruelty—never inflict any serious punishment on Cervantes, even after he attempted to escape, and help other notable prisoners to escape, no fewer than four times?; and (2) what were the "cosas viciosas, feas y deshonesta[s]" of which Cervantes was accused? One suspects that there must have been at least a grain of truth in the allegations—or they must at least have seemed plausible—since Cervantes went to such great lengths to try to clear his name. The choice of words suggests that the alleged offenses were of a sexual nature, as do the words of one of his defenders, who insists that in Algiers, Cervantes "ha vivido con mucha limpieza y honestidad [which does not mean "honesty," as Garcés would have it, but "chastity"] de su persona y que no ha visto en él ningún vicio que engendre escándalo a su persona y costumbres" (101). Among the solutions scholars have proposed are the following: (1) Ḥasan Pasha forcibly sodomized Cervantes; (2) Cervantes had a consensual sexual relationship with Ḥasan Pasha; (3) a prominent Muslim woman—possibly Zahara, daughter of Hājjī Murād and future wife of Ḥasan Pasha—seduced Cervantes or forced him to have sex with her; (4) Cervantes had a consensual sexual relationship with her. It has even been suggested that he might have had a sexual relationship, consensual or forced, with both Ḥasan Pasha and Zahara. Any of these possible solutions

would explain why Ḥasan Pasha did not punish Cervantes severely for his escape attempts (i.e., either the two men were sexually involved, or Zahara intervened with Ḥasan Pasha on Cervantes' behalf). While it is certainly possible that Cervantes engaged in homosexual activity other than with Ḥasan Pasha himself—with the latter's male harem, for example—Garcés indignantly rejects allegations of any sort of homosexual behavior, even involuntary, on Cervantes' part. She quotes Antonio de Sosa, "perhaps the most adamant critic of deviant sexual practices in sixteenth-century Algiers" (115) who stated that in the almost four years he had known Cervantes, he had never observed any vice or scandalous behavior in him, and otherwise would have had nothing to do with him. Garcés suggests that it was Hājjī Murād who intervened with Ḥasan Pasha on Cervantes' behalf, because he was engaged in secret negotiations with Spain and valued Cervantes' services as an informant. There is of course no evidence whatsoever that Cervantes ever actually performed any such services.

I found Garcés's extremely superficial and one-sided analysis of "The Captive's Tale" particularly disappointing. Américo Castro viewed this story as the most violent and tragic episode in the entire novel. In Garcés's opinion, it is "one of the most charming creations of the Cervantine corpus" (202) and is permeated with "gaiety or joie de vivre" (218). She never even hints at the serious moral and ethical problems posed by this story of a daughter who deceives and robs her noble and loving Muslim father in order to run away with a Christian captive and embrace his religion. Is her real motive love of the Virgin Mary, as she states, or sexual attraction? It is telling that Garcés concurs with the *Topografía*'s opinion that "if many renegades took advantage of the newly found sexual freedom [in Algiers], some even converted to Islam because of its views on sexual practices" (111); while Cervantes has Zoraida's father tell her Christian friends that her reason for converting is not the superiority of the Christian religion but rather "el saber que en vuestra tierra se usa la deshonestidad más libremente que en la nuestra."

At the beginning of this book María Antonia Garcés noted that laughing with Cervantes' fictions had helped her recover from her traumatic experience, yet she never considers how Cervantes' sense of humor helped him survive the tragedies in his own life. Most great writers draw material for their fiction from their own life experiences. The five years Cervantes spent in Algiers provided an abundant source of material that his Spanish readers were sure to find fascinating. His long exposure to a society so different from the Spain he knew—but at the same time reminiscent of the tolerant, pluralistic Spain of the Middle Ages—certainly broadened his horizons. The suffering he endured as a captive gave him a passionate love of freedom and a profound compassion for all oppressed people. It is really too bad that by focusing so narrowly on trauma theory, María Antonia Garcés somehow

managed to overlook all of this.

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The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes. Ed. Anthony J. Cascardi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 242 pp. ISBN: 0-521-66321-0 (hardback), 0-521-66387-3 (paperback).

This volume, which includes guides for further reading and an appendix listing electronic resources, provides a comprehensive presentation of Cervantes' *oeuvre* as well as a representative sampling of contemporary theory. It is a fine introduction for the serious student and generalist, and a worthwhile review for the specialist.

B. W. Ife opens the collection with an account of the non-artistic background of Cervantes' life and work ("The Historical and Social Context"), stressing the importance of historical understanding even while reading a "timeless masterpiece." In his survey of the political forces and individual choices that lead to the unification of the Iberian Peninsula, and then to Empire in Europe and beyond, Ife discusses the great opportunities and intractable problems created within Spain, including resultant mentalities: the anxieties and resentments of the marginalized *conversos* and *moriscos*, the overburdened but proud peasantry, the status-conscious nobility, etc. Ife's account is clear and necessarily brief, but not without nuance. He emphasizes, for example, the fact that "Imperial Spain" originated in and sustained a rather impressive diversity of regions, laws, economic structures, and ethnicities. He also points out that although much of the path toward unity (especially Catholic orthodoxy) was the result of consistent intentionality, some of the major developments (beginning with the union of Castile and Aragon) were also the consequence of chance, and could have easily gone otherwise. A number of general themes are presented, and Ife frequently refers to scenes in Cervantes' works where they arise. The customs house at

the outskirts of Seville in "Rinconete y Cortadillo," for example, illustrates the tensions between centralizing authority and independent entities within Spain. The essay concludes with some tentative remarks about the ways in which historical realities informed Cervantes' art. Ife wisely maintains that an understanding of the social dynamics of sixteenth century Spain probably will not allow the reader to clearly delineate our author's ideological profile (the point on which Ife is least willing to concede Cervantine ambiguity and perspectivism is that of the dishonored woman's social plight). Such an understanding is, however, indispensable in appreciating the complexity of Cervantes' literary creations.

Frederick De Armas ("Cervantes and the Italian Renaissance") discusses the way Cervantes not only draws upon classical and Renaissance models, but also sets them in a dialogic relationship within his works. De Armas points out that this tendency is present from Cervantes' early works (e.g., the figures of chaste Galatea and lascivious Venus in *La Galatea*) through his final Byzantine romance, *Persiles y Sigismunda*. This focus allows for a persuasive account of the particular richness of *Don Quijote*, a work that playfully modulates a great range of models while drawing them into contemporary aesthetic, political and religious polemics. De Armas proposes a few underlying principles that give a coherence to the trajectory of Cervantes' literary career: an abiding interest in the relationship between visual and verbal representation, a general adherence to the *Rota Virgilii* movement from pastoral to epic, and an undying "desire" for Renaissance Italy (however fragmented and distant such a place might be). The essay presents an instructive account of Cervantes' engagement with tradition, and of the way in which imitation and innovation are often inseparable in his works.

Anthony J. Cascardi provides further discussion of Cervantes' complex relationship to artistic models in "*Don Quixote* and the Invention of the Novel." Building on Bakhtin's theory of "novelization," Cascardi examines how the dialogic principle is at work in *Don Quijote* on the level of genre, language, and literary theory itself. The essay thus includes a useful summary of Cervantes' literary horizon, the multiplicity of speech types to which he was sensitive, and theoretical debates surrounding imitation and invention in fiction. Cascardi discusses the importance of social context in language use, and reminds us that Cervantes' ear was particularly attuned to such factors. The result is an unprecedented perspectivism in *Don Quijote*, one in which no single voice or literary model is privileged or completely discredited (given the emphasis on language, I found the lack of reference to Leo Spitzer's seminal essay a bit surprising). The essay concludes with some interesting comments about a structure of *interruption* (as distinct from sim-

ple episode) in Cervantes' masterpiece. Cascardi convincingly argues that this narrative technique is yet another of the profound principles of composition that was to create one of *Don Quijote's* greatest legacies: its unprecedented openness of form, allowing for a creative critique and appropriation of models, and therefore a truly dynamic relationship to existing discourse.

In "The Influence of Cervantes," Alexander Welsh directs our attention to the legacy of *Don Quijote* in European literature, neatly distinguishing two major influences. One is formal, dealing with how, by subverting ostensibly artificial representational modes, the variegated Cervantine "frames" (parody, the incorporation of manuscripts and multiple authors, etc.) provide a model for realism. The other is thematic, having to do with Quijote as a new sort of hero. Although later writers tended to appropriate one or the other, Welsh discusses how authors like Fielding (*Joseph Andrews*), Sterne (*Tristram Shandy*), and Tolstoy (*War and Peace*) develop both aspects of *Don Quijote*. Of course, there are a number of ways a quixotic character can interact with a disillusioned world, and Welsh provides a brief overview of how such relationships change according to historical and national contexts: the Romantic idealization of the Quijote figure *vis-à-vis* an abject reality, quixotism conceived as a youthful developmental stage that precedes integration in a Hegelian teleology, Kierkegaard's triumphant "knight of faith," the modernist Quijote who remains muddled in an inscrutable universe (in some ways the most authentically Cervantine, according to Welsh). One soon sees how Cervantes' innovations in method (his "model for realism") and character (his new hero) merge, yielding some of the major themes of the modern novel: the formation of individual identity, the quest for justice, and the capacity of a particular reality to accommodate both.

Mary Malcolm Gaylord focuses on "Cervantes' Other Fiction," that is, *La Galatea*, the *Exemplary Novels*, and *Persiles*, claiming that these works have been rather unfairly neglected in the shadow of *Don Quijote*. Showing how they, too, contain a high degree of metaliterary discourse and sociohistorical references, Gaylord's essay resonates with preceding ones by pointing up the complexity of Cervantes' engagement with his material. Her argument strikes me as slightly ironic, since the "hierarchical scale of literary value" (101) Gaylord questions is effectively reinforced. Heterogeneity, metafiction, and subtle modulations of social reality are the "literary values" that give *Don Quijote* pride of place in the history of the novel; revealing such elements as proof of the virtue of the other works, it seems to me, once again "privileges" *Don Quijote*. This is not necessarily a problem, for most would agree the privilege is well deserved (of course, it would be another thing to argue that these "other works" actually do a better job of it than *Don Quijote*). Gaylord's essay

provides further evidence that Cervantes' agile sensibilities were at work throughout his career, and it helps us understand how the composition of the "romance" *Persiles* after the "realist" *Don Quijote* is not a confounding inconsistency in his artistic development. Gaylord also suggests that current critical inquiries into the "material contexts" of Cervantes' works may uncover previously overlooked elements of "disillusionment," "scorn," "bitterness" and "distrust" in his writings. Much recent criticism does, indeed, promote a disaffected and subversive Cervantes, whose ideology should be categorized, say, in contrast to a propagandistic Lope de Vega. I predict an artful evasion on the part of Cervantes.

Thankfully, Lope also avoids such a fate in Melveena McKendrick's essay on Cervantes' theatrical works ("Writing for the Stage"). McKendrick explores Cervantes' mediocre showing in theater as a function of his great strengths as a novelist: his narrative propensity, and tendency to give sustained attention to theme and character over dramatic concentration and sequencing of scenes. She also considers how his love of theater enriches the prose, as with his masterful dialogue, visual imagination, and play-acting characters. After observing some of the ways Cervantes apparently learned from Lope in his own later plays, McKendrick interestingly suggests that it is in *Don Quijote* that his meditations on the *comedia nueva* were fully developed. Also worth reflection is her claim that conceptions of identity are far from deterministic in either Lope or Cervantes, although critics perhaps tend to overlook somewhat the degree to which Cervantine characters do, in fact, "come home" to a particular identity, while those of the *comedia* are often left in a pragmatic (if not quite gracianesque) compromise. Despite the deficiencies in poetry and dramatic craftsmanship acknowledged in Cervantes' full-length plays, McKendrick provides highly appreciative summaries and analyses, and ends with an insightful exposition of the thematic *and* formal virtuosity of the *entremeses*. The essay convincingly argues in favor of studying the theatrical works both in their own right and for the light they cast on his prose works. In the process, we are again reminded of the peculiar combinations of conservatism and subversiveness, romance and realism, contained throughout Cervantes' writings.

Adrienne L. Martín addresses the complicated matter of humor in *Don Quijote* ("Humor and Violence in Cervantes"). Pointing out that a characterization of Cervantes' masterpiece as "comic" need not lessen its seriousness and profundity (Erasmus' *Folly* having set an important precedent in this regard), Martín categorizes and briefly analyzes five types of humor in *Don Quijote*. She then proceeds to examine the "paradoxical" link between humor and violence. Aptly citing Nabokov and Kundera as representatives of mod-

ern disagreement over how well the frequently physical humor of Cervantes has aged, and entertaining the possibility that the taste for such comedy bespeaks a cruel sensibility of the period, Martín touches upon various implications of comic theory. Does this farcical entertainment reflect a sort of universal carnivalesque inclination to reassert the grotesque yet regenerative "lower stratum"? Is such humor to be mined for critiques of specific sociohistorical conditions? While preliminary conclusions to the effect that our interpretation of the Duke and Duchess' antics (*Don Quijote* II) will depend on our readerly subjectivity are somewhat unsatisfying, Martín does a nice job of pointing out the difficulty of separating aesthetic and sociological aspects of humor, and the interpretative risks of attempting to do so. One also appreciates her suggestion that, with regard to farcical and crude humor, perhaps modern sensibilities have not really evolved so much. We may be increasingly aware of what we *shouldn't* find funny, but a quick survey of popular humor in films and television will confirm that caricature, ample buttocks, thorough drubbings, and well-timed flatulence still have their appeal.

In "Psyche and Gender in Cervantes," Anne J. Cruz gives a brief overview of trends in Cervantes criticism from the seventeenth century to present day in order to show how psychoanalytic literary theory was intimated (Huarte de San Juan, the Romantics), and then finally emerged, along with feminist theory, in spite of resistance from conservative male *cervantistas*. Even theoretically unsophisticated readers are struck by how certain Cervantine works and episodes ("El licenciado Vidriera," "El coloquio de los perros," the Cave of Montesinos episode in *Don Quijote*) seem to invite psychoanalytic interpretations, and Cruz shows how such theory illuminates some central concerns: applied to the characters, for example, it can provide another perspective on the novelistic values of autonomy, complexity, and development. Cruz indicates the variety of approaches (Freudian, Jungian, Lacanian), the objects of inquiry (character, author, as well as critic), and how such inquiry can reveal the dynamics of desire, Western phallocentrism, and so forth. A familiar division in contemporary criticism, between "humanists" and "postmodernists," is identified, with the Freudians adhering to the former, the Lacanians propagating the latter. While such a characterization does speak to real tendencies, Cruz's opposition strikes me as unnecessarily reductive: the humanist clings to notions of truth, cohesion, and authorial design, whereas the postmodernist sets forth interpretations (in this case, of Don Quijote's death scene) in which "the textual ambivalences and ambiguities stand for multivalent arbitrary signs that gesture toward an unrepresentable, because meaningless, future" (195). Although Cruz makes the point that no

particular interpretation should be privileged, she repeatedly aligns the continued existence of humanist approaches with a "lingering conservative bent of many *cervantistas*" (195), a "protracted dominance of male Hispanists" (199); by extension, psychoanalytic and feminist approaches, especially post-modern ones, represent progress and liberation. The logic of the essay makes one feel compelled to accept any and all such interpretations, lest one be identified as conservative or repressive. Is it disingenuous to hope that we could appreciate—or critique—the contributions of both "camps" without stridently drawing ranks?

Diana de Armas Wilson presents a relatively new trend in Cervantine studies: the insistence upon the Americas and colonization as a vital interpretative context ("Cervantes and the New World"). The essay works well as a conclusion to the collection, since it picks up Ife's initial call of attention to "The Historical and Social Context," while pointing to some directions that a "theorization" of one of these contexts might lead. Perhaps the ubiquity of postcolonial theory makes such an approach inevitable, but Wilson demonstrates that, given the number of New World references in the *Novelas ejemplares*, *Don Quijote* and *Persiles*, it is particularly fitting for Cervantes—a man who, after all, failed twice to obtain a position (and new life) in the Americas. There is much interesting speculation here (don Quijote modeled on Columbus?), and, consistent with other proponents of disillusionment and contrarian discourse in Cervantes, Wilson suggests our author held a negative view of the conquistadors and colonists, who embodied feudal barbarism and an insidious quixotism. The relationship between *Don Quijote* and chivalric novels takes on an added complexity in this light, as Cervantes' literary parody may have also been intended as satire of the conquistadors who imitated these very works. Thus it is also argued that the rise of the modern novel cannot be fully understood without attention to the colonial context. (Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* is, accordingly, another case in point.) Wilson adds a final irony by suggesting that, in don Quijote's dejection following the "enchanted boat" debacle (II, 29), Cervantes may have been expressing his own frustration at not being able to participate in the American enterprise. Was this authorial desire most likely a conservative or progressive brand of quixotism?

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Maria Rosaria Alfani. *Il ritorno di Don Chisciotte: Clarín e il romanzo.* Rome: Donzelli, 2000. 121 pp. ISBN: 88-7989-525-7. €14.46.

This book represents a felicitous joining of two or more authors from disparate epochs and the work of Clarín. The authors are Clarín and Galdós, the central text is *Don Quijote*, and the material revolves around the origin and development of naturalism in the Spanish novel in the nineteenth century. The book becomes a veritable handbook of the history of the novel in Spain, with links with other literary traditions, e.g., France.

In the early part of the book, Alfani approaches the theme of the modernization of Spanish culture as a part of the period of Cánovas and the problems that emerge in this attempt at bringing Spain up to date with the rest of Europe. Philosophical traditions like Krausism and the figure of Giner as a purveyor of a new way of looking at the world by Spaniards are prominently discussed. The insertion of Krausist and Ginerist pedagogy, based upon a knowledge of literary, historical, and social developments of other European nations, could not have been without many conflicts, and these conflicts become the very warp and woof of the work of Galdós and Clarín. Such an interest and suggestion would in fact revolutionize Spanish society and drive a wedge into that society, creating for years to come the conflict between *europeización* and conservatism.

Authors like Galdós and Clarín examined the literary canons of other countries and came to the conclusion that Spain simply could not have compared with those traditions and that Spain was in fact mired in a situation strongly flavored by Romantic dreams and literary canons.

The key that generated much of the "revolutionary" ideas of Galdós, which later affected the ideas of Clarín, was Cervantes' *Don Quijote.* Characters of Galdós are often remakes of those of Cervantes; one of Galdós's characters, Anselmo, is even an imitation or remake of Cervantes' character in "El curioso impertinente," such is the presence of Cervantes in Galdós's works. The novel will be in the hands of Galdós a weapon to unmask the current vacuity of Spain, especially when compared with other European traditions. It is interesting to note, as Alfani shows, that lyric poetry and the theater, both much loved genres of the conservative community, held a special place in Spanish life during this period, but it was the novel that captured the imagination of the intellectuals as a manner of truly studying Spanish life.

Alfani makes sure that the reader understands that the basis of later *prises de conscience* of the time was Krausism, a powerful philosophy that took root in Spain in a way that perhaps it did not in other countries, but none-

theless fit the aspirations of the intellectual community, especially the educational circles of the university. The novel in these conditions and in these environments will attempt to deal with the link between the macrocosm and microcosm of Spanish society. As people like Galdós and Clarín studied the realistic and naturalistic traditions of France, for example, they later realized that their aspirations and ideas could not be assimilated into traditional Spanish society. Galdós's characters tend to be city people who go into the nucleus of Spanish country society, and with this they observe "lo specchio cervantino della follia chisciottesca" (21), and which *follia* Galdós uses in *La desheredada*, to mention only one novel. Oftentimes the basic dualism of Don Quijote and Sancho Panza cannot be reconciled in their aims. Alfani traces how *La desheredada*, *La regenta*, and *Fortunata y Jacinta* display the presence of Cervantine technique and ideology. Clarín saw his role as being a therapeutic one: the novelist as an instrument of social and political change through the vehicle of the novel. As Alfani says, "il romanziere realista è il terapeuta che ha come obiettivo la guarigione del chisciottismo come male nazionale. La struttura ironica del romanzo è strumento di diagnosi e di cura: come dire curiamo il chisciottismo con Cervantes" (27). According to Alfani, Galdós and Cervantes join together to answer Zola's claims of the use of the novel. Interestingly, Alfani believes, following the ideas of S. Gilman, that Galdós rediscovers Cervantes through the European novel. For Alfani there are many Quixotic characters running through the work of Galdós and even in Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*.

Clarín shares with Galdós the rejection of Canovist Spain and the culture that is associated with the epoch of Cánovas. Also working within the Europeanist vision, Clarín hoped to introduce to the Spanish public works and literary movements from outside Spain, and Clarín's *La regenta* is an attempt to create the modern novel that brings together all of Clarín's readings, often by using characters that symbolize political and social concepts. With *La regenta* Clarín hoped to open up those areas which no one had revealed before about Spanish society and to study deeply the soul of the characters therein. In the same way that Orbajosa symbolized for Galdós the reactionary Spain, Vetusta similarly becomes a symbol of Canovist Spain. Vetusta is, as Alfani says, a "personaggio collettivo, un insieme di personaggi determinati dall'ambiente che si costituiscono come l'antagonista naturalista di Ana" (65).

This is a very well-written work. The best part of it is the focus on the retrograde world that Cánovas del Castillo brought to the Spain of that time. Alfani does a thorough review of both history and literary history, elucidating the work of Galdós, Clarín, and Cervantes as well. There is much to be learned from this book. On the other hand, there are literary historians who

do not agree with some of the assertions regarding what Galdós took from Zola. They belong to that school that, following Pardo Bazán, believed that Galdós did not need Zola to teach him what literary naturalism was. Other than this caveat, I find the book a rewarding read and recommend it highly to others.

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José Lara Garrido. *Los mejores plectros: Teoría y práctica de la épica culta en el Siglo de Oro*. *Analecta Malacitana*, Anejo 23. Málaga: Analecta Malacitana, 1999. 454 pp. ISBN: 84-95073-05-6.

Teoría y práctica de la épica culta en el Siglo de Oro: título ambicioso que parece prometer un tratado con el alcance de los de Frank Pierce o Giovanni Caravaggi, pero nos entrega, en cambio, una colección de ensayos sueltos distribuidos en cuatro secciones, y unidos laxamente por el tema general de la epopeya erudita española.

La primera sección, "Historia y poesía en la épica culta," comienza criticando a Pierce, que "continuaría el modelo explicativo tradicionalista sobre el peculiar carácter sempiterno (desde la Edad Media hasta el XVIII) de las 'gestas españolas'" (29), y el verismo que postulara Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal para toda la épica hispana. El objetivo de este estudio queda bien definido: "mostrar las limitaciones de este modelo en su desatención a la complejidad misma de la épica culta del Siglo de Oro, desplazando la vía indagatoria hacia las concretas relaciones entre historia y poesía que se producen en la evolución del canon" (30). Siguiendo la excelente guía de Caravaggi, Lara Garrido (en adelante, LG) también afirma la intencional ruptura entre la épica medieval y la renacentista, prometiendo que su indagación partirá de la premisa que "la épica culta está dotada de su propia hermenéutica."

En el primer apartado de esta sección, "Variaciones de historia y poesía en la evolución del canon épico. La épica culta española del Siglo de Oro, entre la teoría y la práctica," LG pasa revista a las epopeyas de tema histórico

(unas 14), logrando mostrar claramente las muchas "variaciones de historia y poesía," pero no la "evolución del canon épico." Me es difícil ver cuál ha sido el criterio de ordenación al presentar estos poemas. Si se tratara de un desarrollo a lo largo del tiempo, resulta insólito hablar de la *Conquista de Nueva Castilla* de 1537 inmediatamente después de presentar la bastante más tardía *Araucana* (no siendo éste el único caso de indiferencia al orden cronológico). Tampoco se trata de una evolución estilística, pues las gongorinas *Cortesíadas* (1660) aparecen seguidas del ercillesco *Arauco Domado* (1596). Naturalmente lo que más importa es cómo los "modos de ficcionalización se intensifican conforme los autores abandonan el tono de objetivación cronística" (53) y se dejan llevar por la fantasía, pero entonces aunque se comprende que se empiece por las *Guerras civiles de Flandes* (1587–1598), obra tan obsesionada por la veracidad histórica que incluye la transcripción literal de documentos, no veo cómo las *Abidas* desbordantes de mito y fantasía pueden preceder a la *Araucana,* cuyas raíces en una historia intensamente vivida por su autor son innegables. De modo que la evolución del *epos* histórico desde la crónica hacia la fantasía queda muy borrosa, por un lado por la falta de un orden claro de presentación, y por otro lado por el hecho de no haberse señalado "los antes aludidos modos de ficcionalización" (53), que se pueden vislumbrar y acaso deducir, pero que nunca se caracterizan definitoriamente.

El segundo apartado de esta sección trata de las epopeyas derivadas del modelo supremo de Ariosto y del *Innamorato* de Boiardo, la materia de armas y amores, comenzando por el poema en hexámetros latinos de Francisco Núñez de Oria—*Lyrae heroycae*, (1581)—que salvo en los preliminares y en el material panegírico de dos cantos no tiene casi nada de histórico, como también ocurre con la primera continuación en castellano del *Furioso, La segunda parte del Orlando con el verdadero suceso de la batalla de Roncesvalles, fin y muerte de los doce pares de Francia* (1555) del Capitán Nicolás Espinosa, y el inacabado poema de Eugenio Martínez, *Genealogía de la Toledana discreta* (1604). No sé que tienen que ver estas obras con el tema general de la relación entre historia y poesía. Lo mismo ocurre con las menciones a *Las lágrimas de Angélica* de Luis Barahona de Soto y *La hermosura de Angélica* de Lope de Vega, cuya consideración además nada agrega a lo que dirá por extenso en la segunda y tercera sección del libro.

El tercer apartado, "Verisimilitud y lógica de lo maravilloso: el canon tassiano," es mucho más sustancial y del todo pertinente al tema de historia–poesía. Tras citar al respecto la *Poética* de Aristóteles, siguiendo a Caravaggio, pasa a los *Discorsi* de Torquato Tasso, que postulan "una ideal correspondencia entre la verdad y la narración épica" (78). Para Tasso y Castelvetro, "la reconciliación de lo maravilloso y lo admirable con lo verosímil se produce

rectificando la consideración aristotélica sobre la licitud de lo increíble para alcanzar la admiratio" (79): lo maravilloso verosímil.

En España la *Gerusalemme* será el catalizador entre la materia romancística de armas y amores con aquélla categorizada como histórica. Como primer ejemplo nos ofrece las *Antigüedades de las Islas Afortunadas de la Gran Canaria, conquista de Tenerife y aparición de la Santa Imagen de la Candelaria* (1604) de Antonio de Viana, que toma como modelo la *Araucana* y abunda en imitaciones de Virgilio y Tasso. De ahí se pasa a la *Jerusalén conquistada* de Lope, donde "el programa emulativo llega a sus límites, pero sin transgredir la apertura tassiana de una historia verdadera en lo universal, aunque libremente desatenta hacia las contingencias" (84). Tras mencionar *El patrón de España* de Cristóbal de Mesa, que también imita a Tasso, LG pasa a la consideración de la teoría y práctica de López Pinciano en su *Pelayo*, tema que tratará estupendamente en la última sección del libro. La apologética religiosa usó ampliamente del sistema tassiano, como puede verse desde Belmonte Bermúdez hasta Domínguez Camargo en poemas sobre la vida de San Ignacio de Loyola. *La historia de la Nueva México* de Gaspar de Villagrá (1610) une al modelo de la *Araucana* la "dualidad del plano sobrenatural" tassiano (92).

Con la consideración del *Poema del asalto y conquista de Antequera* (1627) de Rodrigo de Carvajal y Robles, también de signo tassiano, termina abruptamente este estudio. Debido a la extensa lista de obras citadas y su enorme variedad hubiese sido deseable que se hubiese agregado un apartado final que elaborara todo ello en unas conclusiones donde por fin se delinease esa evolución del epos histórico que prometiera el título de este ensayo, que comienza desordenadamente, inserta materiales de dudosa pertinencia, pero en su último apartado termina con un excelente aporte sobre la teoría y *praxis* de la épica hispana escrita desde el canon tassiano. Es lástima que la lucidez crítica que revela este apartado final no se proyectase sobre el resto de esta primera sección, cuyo tema es de importancia crucial para el mejor entendimiento de nuestra épica culta.

La segunda es la sección más extensa del libro, dedicada a la épica de Barahona de Soto. Su primer capítulo, "Introducción a un poema épico culto del Siglo de Oro. *Las lágrimas de Angélica* de Barahona de Soto y el género de los romanzi," con muy pocas ampliaciones en el texto y abundantes en las notas, es el mismo trabajo que LG publicó como estudio preliminar a su espléndida edición de *Las lágrimas de Angélica*. Salvo cambios en la puntuación y unos pocos párrafos nuevos, el lector hallará aquí los mismos aciertos críticos, sin la ventaja de poder remitirse al texto de Barahona, que tan magníficamente LG supo anotar. En el segundo capítulo explica los principios que guiaron esta anotación, que ejemplifica ampliamente usando las mismas

notas de la edición, a veces repetidas *verbatim* (por ejemplo, p. 153 de *Los mejores plectros* y 106 de *Las lágrimas de Angélica*). Con mayor elaboración habla de los exordios de varios cantos. En p. 163 vuelve a referirse al concilio de las hadas, a Bernardo del Carpio y a la venganza de Morgana, sobre lo cual ya se había explayado en las pp. 104–07 del capítulo anterior. En estas como en otras ocasiones sería deseable que LG hubiera retocado estos ensayos sueltos para presentar un todo menos repetitivo, más coherente y mejor integrado. Por otra parte, aunque cuanto se dice de los criterios de la anotación es laudable y hubiese cabido muy bien entre los preliminares de la edición (para la cual sospecho que se escribieron estas páginas), en el presente libro no vienen al caso.

Algo parecido ocurre con el capítulo que cierra la segunda sección, que no es otra cosa que una elogiosa y bien pensada reseña de la monografía de Lacadena sobre *Las lágrimas de Angélica*, pero que, reseña al fin, aquí sobra. De seguro buena parte de ella hubiera podido usarse con provecho si LG hubiera incluido en el libro un capítulo sobre el estado de la cuestión de *Las lágrimas*, y considerado junto a éste todos los aportes bibliográficos significativos, pero no lo ha hecho, y así estas páginas quedan desafortunadamente fuera de lugar. Lo que LG ha escrito sobre la épica (y en realidad sobre toda la poesía de Barahona) es demasiado valioso para recargarlo con impertinentes excrecencias.

En el capítulo "La práctica de la *imitatio*: modos y funciones en la integración creadora de modelos," LG vuelve a servirse profusamente de las notas a su edición, siguiéndolas de cerca o copiándolas al pie de la letra (p. 176 de *Los mejores plectros* y 376–77 en *Las lágrimas de Angélica*). Luego hace una útil "sinopsis de todas las principales imitaciones realizadas por Barahona en el transcurso de cada canto de su poema, siguiendo las notas de mi edición" (182) Finalmente, algo más liberado de las tan meneadas notas, establece los grados de *imitatio*, desde la versión literal hasta las diferentes estrategias de imitación creadora en páginas de indudable valor.

Interesante y bien documentado es el capítulo sobre la influencia de Camoens en la obra de Barahona, ilustrado con abundancia de ejemplos (relacionados con las notas de la edición) que ilustran efectivamente la realidad intertextual. El capítulo siguiente, sobre el *ornatus* poético, comienza con una detenida consideración sobre el uso del símil de clara "modelación clásica" (239) en *Las lágrimas de Angélica* (234–44), y continúa mucho más brevemente con la de la paráfrasis (244–46). Sigue un apartado sobre las series enumerativas y el bodegón poético (246–59), para culminar con un interesantísimo estudio—"El *ornatus* científico de la épica manierista: la descripción anatómica, el bestiario como galería de monstruos"—que desde el intertexto de An-

drés Vesalio a la autoridad de Plinio y Solino con sus catálogos de monstruos nos regala páginas de una erudición sin desperdicio. El próximo capítulo, sobre "Magia neoplatónica y simbolismo" en *Las lágrimas*, es de claro valor en su exégesis de varias estrofas difíciles del Canto VII (erróneamente señalado como VI en pp. 293, 295–98, lo que urge corregir). LG parece pensar que el neoplatonismo define de algún modo el texto manierista, el cual "ha recuperado su dimensión diferencial desde el ámbito que cohesiona su génesis y su prolepsis figurativa: el neoplatonismo" (299). Es obvio que muchos textos manieristas se alimentan en el pensamiento neoplatónico, pero no menos ocurre con textos pre y post-manieristas. Casar corrientes literarias con temáticas filosóficas es muy peligrosa alianza. Idéntico peligro se corre cuando se pretende identificar un tema como específico de tal corriente. Así—basándose en Hauser y Gareffi—LG afirma que Narciso y el espejo son "motivos inequívocamente manieristas" (293). ¿Inequívocamente? ¿Es manierista Garcilaso en su "Segunda Égloga"? ¿Lo es el tan barroco Salazar y Torres cuya lírica parece obsesionada por el motivo de Narciso? Por atractivas que nos parezcan las generalizaciones, la prudencia y hasta la precisión crítica, aconsejan al respecto un máximo de parquedad. Objeciones al margen, es justo subrayar que en este ensayo LG logra dilucidar varias estrofas mucho más persuasivamente que la monografía de Lacadena.

En el último estudio propiamente dicho sobre la epopeya de Barahona (no cuento la reseña ya citada), Lara considera "la estructura alegórica" de la obra o, mejor dicho, los antecedentes humanistas de la lectura alegórico-moralizante de los clásicos—de Virgilio a Ariosto—y cómo ésta condujo a la alegorización de *Las lágrimas*, uniéndose para ello "la 'doctrina profunda' del humanismo neoplatónico y el impulso contrarreformista, una tradición de comentarios alegóricos en el *romanzo* y especialmente en el *Orlando Furioso*; [y] la aceptación por el lector culto de este tipo de hermenéutica moral" (309). Estudia entonces la interpretación didáctico-moral de fray Pedro Verdugo de Sarriá (Sumario de cada Canto), y la alegórico moral de Gregorio López de Benavente (Prólogo "A los lectores" y "Advertimientos" en prosa que siguen a cada Canto), señalando como "entre el texto y la alegoría se interpone la moralidad" (315). Quizá lo más importante de este valioso ensayo sea su lúcida percepción de que la alegoría ya "se encuentra implícita en LLA [*Las lágrimas de Angélica*]. Barahona no sólo está de acuerdo con el alegorizador… sino que indica claramente la intencionalidad de su obra" (310), o en palabras del poeta, "para enseñar de lance en lance / lo mucho que en el bien y el mal se muestra." En suma, esta sección central de *Los mejores plectros*, dedicada al poema de Barahona de Soto, si algo deshilvanada y en bastantes casos repetitiva (debida a estar construida con ensayos concebidos independientemente

el uno del otro), ofrece mucho de útil e incluso de imprescindible para el estudioso de Barahona.

La tercera sección, muchísimo más breve, contiene sólo dos estudios sobre "La épica culta de Lope de Vega." El primero—*La hermosura de Angélica* entre romanzo y cancionero"—promete establecer "el correlato lopiano de 1602 entre lírica (las *Rimas*) y épica (*La hermosura de Angélica*)," pero apenas si lo esboza, para centrarse en la *descriptio* de la hermosura femenina, según siga o transgreda el canon petrarquista. El segundo ensayo—"Fusión novelesca y épica culta en Lope de Vega: de *La hermosura de Angélica* a la *Jerusalén Conquistada*"—trata un tema de importancia fundamental en lo que se refiere a la épica de Lope: cómo tras el fracaso de su primitivo intento de hacer de *La hermosura de Angélica* un poema nacional (debido a la intervención de su propia historia amorosa, o sea, de sus amores con Camila Lucinda) Lope se vuelve hacia el modelo tassiano para escribir la deseada epopeya patria. Por eso trató de evitar toda interferencia personal, si bien incluye un pasaje que es íntimo paréntesis familiar en la objetiva frialdad del resto de la obra, y en su desmedro, ya que "Lope ha sacrificado a su concepción del poema erudito…el máximo valor de salvación de su épica: la capacidad de proyectar en fusión novelesca su propia biografía amorosa" (390). Este sugerente ensayo hace desear que su autor cumpla con la promesa de un segundo volumen donde trate, es de esperar que a fondo y detenidamente, tal como ha hecho con la épica de Barahona, la prolífica Musa épica del Fénix.

El libro se cierra con un estupendo estudio—"Teoría y práctica de la épica culta en el Pinciano: lectura de la *Philosophía antigua poética* y del *Pelayo* desde el canon tassiano"—el cual señala la coherencia de teoría y práctica en López Pinciano, su indisociable correspondencia" (402). Convincentemente indica cómo "la lectura neo-aristotélica de Horacio ha hiperbolizado la importancia del ritual introductorio" (404), la importancia de haber considerado la *Eneida* como modelo supremo, la libre *imitatio* de la *Gerusalemme* desde las primeras octavas del *Pelayo*. Pasa luego a tratar "La estructura narrativa: teo-ría aristotélica y praxis virgiliana" con erudita perspicacia, como lo hace en el siguiente apartado, "Lo maravilloso épico y la exigencia de verosimilitud," sobre lo cual había dicho ya algo en la primera sección del libro, pero aquí amplía tanto el material teórico como la ejemplificación con el *Pelayo*. El Pinciano, como Tasso, "rechaza el concepto neoplatónico de la *prisca teología*, y ve en los mitos clásicos no un saber sincretizable al cristiano sino una degradación de la verdad" (416). Rechaza también los mitos deificatorios del poder del Amor. En el apartado siguiente trata de cómo en el *Pelayo* se sigue y a la vez se modifica el modelo de la discordia entre los dioses de la *Eneida*. También en el conflicto amoroso domina la imitación virgiliana, aunque sin elimi-

nar el recuerdo de Rinaldo y Armida. En "Historia e invención: el mito gótico" se vuelve sobre el eclecticismo aristotélico-horaciano del autor de la *Filosofía* en su definición de la materia poética: su objeto es "el verosímil que todo lo abraza." El Pinciano escribe su epopeya "alterando la cronología y sumando elementos recogidos de diversas versiones de la leyenda de la pérdida de España" (430), de acuerdo a "determinados presupuestos ideológicos y a la tensión constante hacia el modelo de la *Eneida*" (431). Tal como Virgilio había creado una genealogía troyana para Augusto, el emperador romano, López Pinciano fabrica una genealogía gótica para Felipe III, el rey español. Viene de seguido "La consideración de los *romanzi* y la mezcla de estilos," donde se nota que El Pinciano, aunque rechaza el alegorismo del *Furioso*, acepta la mezcla de personajes de diferentes clases sociales , así como el tono estilístico mixto de los *romanzi*, que incluyen el humorismo y la sátira, mezcla que se da también en dos cantos del *Pelayo*. Lara muestra en "La alegoría épica: de la doctrina de Tasso a la lectura neoplatónica de Virgilio" cómo el ideal horaciano del *docere-delectare* (fundamental en la *Filosofía*) formulado sobre la *Eneida* alegorizada por los neoplatónicos, le permite "organizar la narración en acciones traducibles a una alegoría" (453). Lara ha demostrado persuasivamente como el *Pelayo* "obedece a una determinada coherencia doctrinal que…quiere ser la mostración pragmática del sistema de la *Philosophía* en el género supremo según la valoración neoaristotélica y en concordancia al ejemplo de Tasso" (453), o sea, la identidad de teoría y práctica.

Los mejores plectros termina así con un aporte sabio y necesario: la revaloración de una obra injustamente condenada desde criterios tan perimidos cuanto errados. Estudio bien construido, cuya argumentación convincente e impecable aparato erudito debería servir de modelo para reelaborar una segunda edición remozada de este libro desigual, de desordenados si indudables logros, y quizá también servir como pauta a ese segundo volumen anunciado que será agradecido por cuantos aun creemos en la misión taumatúrgica del estudioso humanista. Porque el olvido o la incomprensión crítica pueden silenciar nuestra épica por lustros y hasta decenios, pero cada lectura inteligente le otorga vida nueva en nueva voz.

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Response by Howard Mancing to James Parr; response of James Parr to Howard Mancing.