

Transnational Cervantes: Text, Performance, and Transmission in the World of *Don Quixote*¹

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Introduction

Before the emergence of the nationalized traditions of the novel in the later eighteenth century, there prevailed a ‘borderless and mobile European and transatlantic culture of fiction’.² A whole range of fictional novelties were constantly being reinvented from older forms and sources, across the borders not only between nations and continents, but between history and imaginative literature, classical and vernacular languages, print culture and performance media, popular and elite cultures. The two parts of *Don Quixote* (1605, 1615)—held by an older tradition of criticism to constitute the first modern novel—participated more than has traditionally been recognized in this pre-modern, borderless, and mobile culture of fiction.³

Don Quixote offered a parodic, inventive *summa* of an extraordinary variety of *cosas nuevas* in circulation and in demand at the time.⁴ Part One (1605) circulated as editions, copies, and translations through Europe and the New World and gave rise to new inventions

¹ My thanks to Jacqueline Glomski, Isabelle Moreau, and Trevor Dadson.

² Karen O'Brien, ‘Introduction’, in Peter Garside and Karen O'Brien (eds), *The Oxford History of the Novel in English Volume Two: English and British Fiction, 1750–1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. xviii. See also Jenny Mander, ‘Foreign Imports’, in *ibid.*, pp. 589–612; Mary Helen McMurrin, *The Spread of Novels: Translation and Prose Fiction in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

³ Juan Bravo Castillo, ‘Don Quijote como prototipo de la novela europea moderna’, in Juan Bravo Castillo and Hans Christian Hagedorn (eds), *Don Quijote por tierras extranjeras: estudios sobre la recepción internacional de la novela cervantina* (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2007), p. 60; William Childers, *Transnational Cervantes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

⁴ I use this Cervantean term meaning ‘new things’ (IC I.49.1120/G774) in preference to modern equivalents such as ‘novels’ or ‘fictions’ or ‘news’, as it encompasses in one phrase a broader range of types of narratives, performances, and entertainments. ‘IC’ refers to volume one of Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha: Edición del Instituto Cervantes 1605–2005*, eds Francisco Rico, Joaquín Forradellas, and Fernando Lázaro Carreter, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg Círculo de Lectores, 2004), and is followed by part number (of *Don Quixote*), chapter number or paratext title, page numbers. ‘G’ is Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. Edith Grossman (London: Vintage, 2004).

across manuscript, printed, and performance media.⁵ The paratexts to Part Two participate in the sense of a work and an author's reputation on the move across borders and seas. One of the official *aprobaciones* concerns an anticipated reception in France. Cervantes's own dedication sends Don Quixote across the Mediterranean to the Viceroy of Naples, rather than accept a supposed invitation from the Emperor to send him to China.⁶

This chapter explores the relationship between the traffic of texts and people as it is represented in *Don Quixote* and the historical realities of the transmission of the work itself. For the news Quixote and Sancho hear about the publication of their exploits in 12,000 copies across Europe is just one example of a broader phenomenon.⁷ Cervantes's work stages and reflects upon the lifecycles and truthfulness of all kinds of new things—in oral, performative, manuscript, and printed forms—in circulation as desirable commodities at the time.

The Lifecycles of Books

Many of the *cosas nuevas* in question are confined, at least within the fictional world created by Cervantes, to the Iberian peninsula. When Quixote's group hear the news of a lovelorn student-shepherd's death, they resolve to attend the funeral. Grisóstomo's body is surrounded on his bier with volumes and papers which immortalize the cruel Marcela, who rejected him. He has, however, ordered the papers to be committed to the fire. Vivaldo argues they should be allowed to live so that the 'lamentable history' can offer to posterity examples

⁵ Roger Chartier, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014); Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); José Manuel Lucía Megías, 'Los libros de caballerías en las primeras manifestaciones populares del *Quijote*', in Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua, Ana Carmen Bueno Serrano, and Patricia Esteban Erlés (eds), *De la literatura caballeresca al 'Quijote'* (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2007).

⁶ IC II, 'Aprobación del Licenciado Márquez Torres', 668–70; IC II, 'Dedicatoria al Conde de Lemos', 678–9/G453–4.

⁷ IC I.3.704–6/G473–75.

of cruelty, love, steadfastness. He grabs some papers from the bier and finds a ‘Song of Despair’ that he proceeds to perform aloud.

Grisóstomo’s song, which makes many complaints about Marcela, laments how honest truth has been transmuted into lies. But the reader (Vivaldo) immediately doubts the veracity of the words to which he has given voice. He finds it incompatible with the *relación* he has heard of Marcela’s virtues. Then the ‘marvellous vision’ of Marcela herself appears high on the cliff above, and delivers an extraordinary rhetorical defence of her behaviour. Quixote of course tries to incorporate the whole episode in his own chivalric adventures by declaring he will defend and serve Marcela, but she has gone, never to reappear.⁸ In the real world of European print culture, the episode was detached from Cervantes’s work, adapted in translation, and sold as a commercial *bagatelle* across the border in Paris.

In this case from the fictional world of *Don Quixote*, a newly invented imaginative text is saved from the flames but its truthfulness is strongly challenged. The next text we shall consider is not so lucky. For the most spectacular and compressed example of the novel’s representations of the lifecycles of texts is the case (narrated out of sequence) of the sequel to Part One of *Don Quixote* by one Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda of Tordesillas, published under a Tarragona imprint in 1614. Late in Part Two Avellaneda is imagined composing the false history in the manner of a painter who just paints ‘whatever comes out’.⁹ That does not stop it getting into print. Quixote encounters the book under the corrector’s hand in the printshop in Barcelona. He condemns it on the spot to a day of reckoning that will inevitably come: such an insolent work, lacking in any truthfulness or verisimilitude, will be burnt to ashes.¹⁰

⁸ IC I.13.157–73/G92–102.

⁹ IC II.71.1315/G923.

¹⁰ IC II.62.1251/G875.

It also reaches readers' hands. Before he gets to Barcelona, at an inn on the road to Zaragoza, he hears two gentlemen in the next room discussing whether to read together another chapter of Avellaneda's history after supper, and disagreeing over its merit compared to the (true) first part.¹¹ The final scene in the book's life comes in a later chapter. The resurrected Altisidora recounts a 'vision' in which she reaches the gates of Hell. This involves a different kind of performance: sport. Bizarrely dressed devils are playing pelota using not balls, but books full of wind and trash—a 'new and marvellous thing' ('cosa maravillosa y nueva'). They give one of the pelota-books—brand new, aflame, well-bound—such an almighty hit that its innards spill out and its leaves are scattered. This of course turns out to be Avellaneda's history, which the devil in charge orders thrown into the pit of hell on the grounds that it is 'bad'.¹²

Sansón had described to Quixote how the printed history of his adventures is constantly on the move, picked up no sooner it is put down, charged at, asked for.¹³ Here, Quixote remarks that, in the everyday world, Avellaneda's book is passing from hand to hand but stopping in none, as everyone kicks it along. So it, like the true Part One, is a mobile book, but in a different sense and for a different term. A good, faithful, and true book will have centuries of life; for a bad one, the road will not be long between its birth and its grave.¹⁴ One book is good enough to save our souls, the other is bad enough to be burnt.

What control is there of this constant process of reinvention of 'new things' in print, of their claims to truthfulness and profitableness? The final scene of the counterfeit Part Two's short life—eternal damnation—is one of a number of episodes that focus on the regulatory phase of the cycle for the production of a printed book: on the one hand, the censorial granting of approval (*aprobación*) for publication (undertaken by the state) and the

¹¹ IC II.59.1213/G845.

¹² IC II.70.1305–6/G915–16.

¹³ IC II.3.711–12/G478.

¹⁴ IC II.70.1306/G916.

prohibition or expurgation of books (undertaken by the Inquisition); on the other hand, the court of public opinion, nationally and internationally.

Cervantes's work dramatizes these processes of censorship, approval, and judgement, along with the ability of errant texts and individuals to escape their control.¹⁵ The two most important scenes in this respect in Part One are linked by the censorious figure of the priest: the examination of Quixote's library (I.6), the discussion with the canon of the condemnation of books of chivalry (I.47–50). The canon, besides having read the openings of almost all novels of chivalry, has tried to put his critical ideas into practice. He has written a portion of a new novel of chivalry that has been approved privately by *discretos* and *ignorantes* alike. But he does not want to risk it in print in the marketplace, which he considers to be defined by its taste for the nonsense played at the public theatres.¹⁶ The priest responds that the court should become actively involved in the regulation of the quality of plays put on everywhere in Spain: an intelligent and judicious person should examine and approve every script prior to performance; the same person might even examine new books of chivalry along the same lines, for the same reasons.¹⁷

But as we listen to this utopian proposal, we are aware that the priest is involved in the making and performing of *cosas nuevas*, even more publically than the canon. The priest has been the *trazador* ('deviser', 'planner') of a *máquina*, a carnivalesque fiction which has required him and the barber to disguise themselves as masked phantoms of the enchanted castle (the inn) Quixote believes himself to be in.¹⁸ Under the pretext of a ridiculous prophecy, they have imprisoned Quixote in filthy conditions in an oxcart and are wheeling him home. The ultimate purpose of this entertaining charade—which fails—is to teach him

¹⁵ Ryan Prendergast, *Reading, Writing, and Errant Subjects in Inquisitorial Spain* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 2–31.

¹⁶ IC I.48.603–4/G414–15.

¹⁷ IC I.48.608–9/G418.

¹⁸ IC I.46.587/G403.

better reading habits and return him to sanity. Initially, they have to continue playing their parts, in disguise, in front of the astonished canon, before he is taken to one side and the nature of Quixote's delusions explained.¹⁹

It is at this point that the canon, tacitly on board with the humiliating deception, begins his discourse on the theme that books of chivalry are prejudicial to the nation. He begins with the distinction between *fábulas milesias*, foolish tales that aim only to entertain, and *fábulas apólogas*, moral tales which entertain and teach at the same time.²⁰ The priest agrees and recounts how he had examined Quixote's library with this same opinion in mind, burning some books and saving others.²¹ But, the reader might ask, what kind of *fábula* is the one in which, at that very moment, the priest is engaged as author and player, and the canon as curious audience, the one in which Quixote soils himself cramped up in an oxcart?²² And did the priest really apply such a distinction in his examination of Quixote's library?

In their attempts to regulate Quixote's reading, and therefore his behaviour, both the canon and the priest attempt to enforce other, related kinds of distinctions. These concern the intercultural dimensions of texts' lifecycles, to which we shall turn in the next section below. Beyond his particular preferences, Quixote's allegiance is to the whole, international romance tradition of the matters of Rome (and Troy), Britain, and France, blended indiscriminately with figures from Spanish historiography.²³ The canon would limit him to a 'true' national history with precedents in Holy Scripture and ancient (Roman, Carthaginian, Greek) history. He should read of the valorous deeds of heroes from all the Iberian regions and cities from Castile to León.²⁴ In the famous examination of Quixote's library, the priest and the barber likewise betray a clear preference for unique Spanish 'originals' (as against 'descendants' of

¹⁹ IC I.47.594–602/G408–13.

²⁰ IC I.47.599/G411–12.

²¹ IC I.47.601/G413

²² IC I.48.611–12/G420–1.

²³ IC I.49.618–19/G425–6.

²⁴ IC I.49.616–17/G424.

one sort or another) whose value is judged by their ability to emulate prestigious Italian models and eschew or heavily mediate French ‘matters’.

The concern of the canon and the priest to protect and promote a national Castilian literature of *cosas nuevas* nurtured on the right (Hispano-Italian) kinds of cultural exchange is just one instance of the novel’s engagement with a broader phenomenon: the migrations, hybridizations, and conversions between languages, cultures, and religions that are part of the lifecycles of both texts and people.

Hispano-Italian and Hispano-Moorish Migrations

The world of Don Quixote is confined to specific regions, locales, and cities in the Iberian peninsula. The adventures of the chivalric hero to which Cervantes’s novel constantly alludes, Amadis of Gaul, range from Britain to France and beyond. But the three sallies of his hero are limited to central and eastern Spain: La Mancha, the Sierra Nevada, some parts of Aragon and Catalonia. The closest the hero gets to leaving Spanish soil is a galley off the shore of Barcelona. The confinement of the frame story to a realistic, local Spanish geography is one reason why the work has been identified as the origins of the nationalized modern novel.

However, this world is literarily and socially permeable to Mediterranean traffic of two principal but distinct kinds—Hispano-Moorish and Hispano-Italian—while being less permeable to the passage of *cosas de Francia*. In Part One, the former kinds of traffic have an obvious literary locus in the interpolation of both an Italianate and a Moorish novella (*novela morisca*). Both these interpolations relate, however, to cultural backgrounds in imperial war and politics from the time of the *Reyes Católicos* (Ferdinand and Isabella): the end of the *reconquista* of Moorish Spain (1492), which eventually led on to the expulsion of the Moriscos (1609–14); the acquisition of Naples and other territories of the Italian peninsula in

the second Italian War of 1499–1504. Both kinds of traffic share common focal points in each part of the novel: the inn of Juan Palomeque in Part One, Barcelona in Part Two. The forms of presence these two kinds of traffic have in Cervantes's work are, nevertheless, very different.

Consider, first, how an Italianate 'new thing' or novella enters the inn near the Sierra Morena in part one. The Priest has the innkeeper bring down a travelling case left by one of his guests and finds it contains three books in particular. He censures Juan's preference for two fantastical books of chivalry over a true history of the 'Gran Capitán' of the Hispano-Italian *Siglo del Oro*, the hero of the 1492 *reconquista* and the 1502–4 conquest of Naples, Gonzalo Hernández de Córdoba—a true history that was in fact a myth created by a concerto of Castilian, Latin, and Italian voices across the two peninsulas.²⁵ He notices some other papers written in a fine hand ('Novela del curioso impertinente') and reads the first three or four lines to himself. These tell him that the novella is set in Florence, Tuscany. The Priest reads the novella aloud to the company. A few pages in there is a Castilian translation (probably by Cervantes) of a poem by Luigi Tansillo, the poet of Spanish Naples and friend of Garcilaso. It is backed up by an allusion to Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, canto 43, a source and analogue for the wife-test story we are hearing.²⁶ Later, there is a Petrarchan sonnet in Castilian.²⁷

The plot is Boccaccian in outline, but it turns out to be an instance of a new thing derived from the Italian novella, invented by Cervantes himself: the *novela ejemplar*. It ends with the death of Lotario at a battle between the French and the Spanish for the Kingdom of

²⁵ On the Hispano-Italian literature and myth of the 'Great Captain' see Encarnación Sánchez García, *Imprenta y cultura en la Nápoles virreinal: los signos de la presencia española* (Florence: Alinea, 2007), pp. 19–42, and Barbara Fuchs, 'Don Quijote I and the Forging of National History', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 68 (2007).

²⁶ IC I.32.420/G278–9, and IC, vol. 2, p. 77.

²⁷ IC I.34.437/G292.

Naples, probably intended to be recognized as an allusion to the battle of Cerignola, part of the campaign of the ‘Gran Capitán’, which led to the Spanish domination of Naples.²⁸

The next ‘new thing’ to enter the inn is the true story, not yet written down, of two travellers: a Christian man whose dress reveals him to be recently arrived from Moorish lands, accompanied by a woman dressed in Moorish fashion, whom he reveals to be an as yet unbaptized, but converted Christian who speaks no Christian language, and whose name is both Zoraida and—her strong preference—María.²⁹

Problems of communication, translation, and language recur throughout the modernized chivalric romance (the ‘Captive’s Tale’), which is told in full by the man (the ‘captive’) a couple of chapters later, and which features use of the rootless and hybrid *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean. Migrations, hybridizations, and conversions between the languages, cultures, and religions of Spain and North Africa are revealed in this sequence to be more problematic than they are in the case of Spain and the Italian peninsula. It is particularly difficult for converted Christians and Moriscos to cross back into the language and culture of Spain, to prove their sincerity, to find a voice. Religiously and linguistically they appear to be suspended in an in-between space, with no accepted faith or language, and an unstable, unachieved hybrid identity.³⁰

Let us turn, briefly, to the equivalent sites of Hispano-Moorish and Hispano-Italian migrations in Part Two. A mock-celebration of Quixote and Panza has been organized on a galley off the shore of Barcelona, but the galley is forced to engage an Algerian pirate ship. The captive captain is asked whether he is of the Turkish nation or a Moor or a renegade (the available categories). *She* turns out to be a willingly Christian, Castilian-speaking, cross-dressed Morisca who, forced out of Spain by the expulsion of 1609, is trying to get back to

²⁸ IC I.35.463/G312.

²⁹ IC I.37.480–3/G325–7.

³⁰ Amongst numerous discussions of the stories of Zoraida and Ana Félix one of the best remains Prendergast, *Reading, Writing*, pp. 55–64.

Spain to retrieve her family's wealth and rescue her young Christian lover, a cross-dressed renegade who is able to pass as a Morisco and who is confined in a seraglio in Algiers. Her father, who had also been expelled, reveals himself from beneath his disguise, that of a pilgrim from Germany, where he had found more religious toleration.³¹ But Cervantes's work ends without a clear resolution of the question as to whether this perfectly Christian, Castilian-speaking Morisca can be allowed legitimately to assimilate to Spanish culture.

Barcelona is not just the site of traffic between Spain and North Africa. When Quixote is with Roque Guinart on the way to the Catalanian city they encounter a group consisting of gentlemen, pilgrims, and the female entourage of a noblewoman. When asked by the bandit how much money they are carrying and where they are going, he discovers they are en route to the port to cross the Mediterranean toward the Italian peninsula: two captains of a Spanish infantry company based in Naples are headed for Sicily; the pilgrims are embarking for Rome; the noblewoman is the wife of the chief magistrate of the vicariate of Naples.³² Barcelona was a major international port on the routes between Aragon and Castile and the Italian peninsula, including Spanish possessions such as Sicily and Naples. It was 'a place of high strategic value within the imperial route that allowed easy transport of goods to Italy'.³³

Barcelona was also, from the end of the fifteenth century, a centre for the easy transport of books between the two peninsulas: books went out to cities such as Palermo and Naples; contracts for Venetian printers to print books in Catalan and Castilian were issued;

³¹ IC II.63.1257–62/G879–83.

³² IC II.60.1230–1/ G858–9.

³³ Manuel Peña Díaz, 'Barcelona: Printers, Booksellers and Local Markets in the Sixteenth Century', in Benito Rial Costas (ed.), *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 330.

Italian merchants and booksellers came to the city; its shops acted as a point of dissemination for imported Italian books to the Catalan interior and the inner Iberian peninsula.³⁴

The book trade is one context for the discussion about translation from the Italian that takes place in the Barcelona printshop visited by Quixote in Part Two, chapter 62. The Don encounters the gentleman translator of a Tuscan book into the Castilian language. Neither the author of the original Tuscan book, nor the translator, nor the ‘substantive things’ claimed to be in it, are named. It is an example of an aesthetically worthless ‘new thing’, sold just for its novelty as the latest Italianate tale. It is called *Le Bagatele*, a trivial commodity which has been easily copied from one vernacular to another, just as one transcribes or copies from one piece of paper to another. The translator reveals that his principal concern is to make a profit from the enterprise, though the Don explains how the printers and booksellers will collude to make sure the profit is theirs.³⁵ The target here may be easy Spanish translations of Italian novellas: much harder to take that form and write a properly Castilian *Novela ejemplar*.

The Don contrasts this base act of commercially motivated translation from Italy to Spain with worthy instances of *translatio*: Castilian translations of Guarini’s *Pastor Fido* and Tasso’s *Aminta*.³⁶ One thing Quixote says they have in common is that they put in doubt which is the *traducción*, which is the *original*. They are not stale copies but genuinely new things in Castilian. Another thing they have in common, which he does not mention but which also makes them like Italian ‘originals’, is that they were first published in Papal and Spanish Italy in the early 1600s.³⁷ Unlike *Le Bagatele* they are high prestige translations of works by named and revered authors by translators of status, dedicated in print to prominent patrons.

³⁴ Ibid., passim, and Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (fourth edn; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 120–2.

³⁵ IC II.62.1248–50/G872–4.

³⁶ IC II.62.1249/G874.

³⁷ Battista Guarini, *El Pastor Fido Tragicomedia Pastoral*, trans. Cristobal Suárez de Figueroa (Naples: Tarquinio Longo, 1602); Torquato Tasso, *Aminta ... Traduzido de Italiano en Castellano*, trans. Juan de Jáuregui y Aguilar (Rome: Estevan Paulino, 1607).

Part Two of *Don Quixote* anticipates its own *translatio* in similar terms. Its principal sphere of transmission would, however, turn out to be not the Mediterranean sphere of exchange invoked within the text, but the Anglo-French ‘channel’ and transalpine, northern Europe. The Anglo-French and northern European circulation of Quixotic *cosas nuevas* outran the peninsular circulation from the start, and even shaped Spanish criticism on Cervantes’s work, until well into the later eighteenth century, when it began the transformation into *Don Quijote*, the Spanish nation’s greatest literary monument.³⁸

Transnational Approval and Reinvention

The preliminaries to Part Two of *Don Quixote* contain an *aprobación* that tells a story about the whole lifecycle of the text, including the way in which it is about to gain transnational approval. The author was an associate of Cervantes’s, the Licenciado Márquez Torres.³⁹ As we saw above in relation to Cervantes’s fictional canon, both state and ecclesiastical censors could be seen in Spain as part of a ‘republic of letters’, understood as a forum for negotiations between officials, authors, and publishers. These negotiations were as much about how to place a value on new authors and texts, as about how to control their circulation. Indeed, censors and approvers could themselves be authors, or see themselves as seeking to improve prose fiction not only in moral, but aesthetic senses.⁴⁰

Many critics and editors have argued that Cervantes collaborated in the writing of this *aprobación*, even authored it. Anne Cayuela has proposed that it should be paired with the preceding *aprobación*, by Josef de Valdivielso, as both men were chaplains to the Cardinal

³⁸ Francisco Rico, *Tiempos del ‘Quijote’* (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2012), pp. 12–18.

³⁹ Jean Canavaggio, ‘El licenciado Márquez Torres y su aprobación a la Segunda Parte del *Quijote*: Las lecturas cervantinas de unos caballeros franceses’, in Dian Fox, Harry Sieber, and Robert Horst (eds), *Studies in Honour of Bruce W. Wardropper* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1989).

⁴⁰ Fernando J. Bouza Alvarez, ‘*Dásele licencia y privilegio*’: *Don Quijote y la aprobación de libros en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Akal, 2012).

Archbishop of Toledo, Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, Cervantes's protector.⁴¹ At the very least, the two texts reflect the way intellectuals and clerics in Cervantes's milieu were describing and offering *apologías* for the work.

Torres describes those cynical authors who lose their credit both with men of sense and with the people, whereas,

[T]he writings of Miguel de Cervantes have met with a very different reception, not only from our nation, but likewise from strangers; who, as if he was something miraculous, are inflamed with the desire of seeing the author of those books which have met with such general applause, on account of the decency and decorum, as well as the agreeable sweetness of his style, in Spain, France, Italy, Germany and Flanders. ... I attended my master, his grace Don Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, cardinal archbishop of Toledo, when he returned the visit of the French ambassador, who came to treat about a double match between the princes and princesses of France and Spain; and several gentlemen of that country, belonging to the embassy ... desired to know what books of genius were in highest esteem amongst us; I chanced to mention this [i.e. *Quixote*] which was then under my examination: but no sooner did they hear the name of Miguel de Cervantes, than they began to expatiate upon the high esteem in which France and the neighbouring kingdoms held his productions; namely the Galatea, which one of them had almost by memory, the first part of it [1585], and the Novels [1613].⁴²

⁴¹ Anne Cayuela, *Le paratexte au Siècle d'Or: prose romanesque, livres et lecteurs en Espagne au XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996), pp. 209–11.

⁴² IC II, 'Aprobación', 668–70. Translation from Miguel de Cervantes, *The History and Adventures of the Renowned Don Quixote*, eds Martin C. Battestin and O. M. Brack, trans. Tobias Smollett (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2003), pp. 373–4.

The French gentlemen go on to inquire about the author and to express amazement that Spain has not loaded this great representative of her nation with riches.

The passage may represent a conversation that actually occurred, but it also offers an ideal or ‘diplomatic’ model of the process of transnational transmission and approval of works known to be part of the oeuvres of illustrious authors—alongside hints of Cervantes's bitterness at the lack of recognition of his work in his home nation. As an author of *libros de ingenio*, Cervantes is a (surprisingly undersupported) representative of his nation, and his worth is recognized by members of the retinue of the official ambassador of another great nation, France. (Note the wish-fulfilling emphasis on the inflamed desire to see the *author* of the books, on the immediate French reaction to the mere mention of his name, and on the reverential respect for his text—one of them knows the *Galatea* almost by heart.)

The *aprobación* reflects Cervantes’s and his patrons’ and collaborators’ awareness that his transnational reputation as an author whose name was securely attached to specific works, and which might therefore serve to control circulation of part two of *Quixote*, was at that moment (c.1614–15) being formed principally in France—a fact which, we will see, had consequences on the closely related English print market and stage. This growing presence in France was partly due to the established routes for Spanish fiction through that country, partly due to the diplomatic rapprochement between Spain and France following the Treaty of Vervins in 1598, invoked in the Torres text in the form of the longstanding Franco-Spanish royal marriage negotiations of 1612–15.⁴³

The most reputable agent of this ongoing *translatio* through France was a figure equivalent to the Spanish translators of Guarini’s and Tasso’s works: César Oudin, secretary of foreign languages for Henri IV. In 1611, Oudin published a Spanish edition of *La Galatea* at Paris, having already added a Spanish text *El curioso impertinente* (from Part One of

⁴³ According to IC (vol. 2, p. 427), Noël de Brûlart de Sillery was in Madrid in early 1615 during the final stages of these negotiations, and could have met the cardinal-archbishop.

Quixote) into an edition of another Spanish work published at Paris in 1608, most likely as a reaction to the 1608 publication by Jean Richer of Baudouin's French translation of the same novel.⁴⁴ This may be the reason why the English stage singled out that novel for adaptation even before Shelton's translation.

Oudin's scrupulously faithful translation of the whole of part one of *Don Quixote*, 'composé par Miguel de Cervantes', followed at Paris in 1614.⁴⁵ Meanwhile the *Novelas ejemplares*, published at Madrid in 1613, were translated by de Rosset and d'Audiguier and issued by Jean Richer at Paris in 1614–15, with a French *histoire* concerning the conquest of the Moluccas translated from the Spanish by Sr de Bellan appended. This French version was in turn translated into Dutch, German, and Italian.⁴⁶ Cervantes's posthumously published work *Persiles y Sigismunda* (Madrid, 1617), was immediately published by Jean Richer in Spanish at Paris in 1617, then in two rival French translations in 1618. Both the Madrid and Paris editions of the Spanish text, and the 1618 Antwerp edition, were advertised to the English market by importers Norton and Bill.⁴⁷ In the same year, de Rosset's French translation of the second part of *Quixote* appeared, again, at Paris. This was being advertised to the English market via the Frankfurt fair before the English translation of Part Two appeared.⁴⁸ D'Audiguier's French translation of *Persiles y Sigismunda* mentions Cervantes's growing international reputation and spawned an English version (of the French) published in 1619.⁴⁹

It is important to state, however, that this Hispano-French *translatio* of Cervantes's name and works between quasi-official representatives of each nation's culture and language

⁴⁴ Jose Manuel Losada-Goya, *Bibliographie critique de la littérature espagnole en France au XVIIe siècle: présence et influence* (Geneva: Droz, 1999), nos 179, 121, 149, 247 (henceforward abbreviated as 'Losada-Goya').

⁴⁵ Losada-Goya, no. 110.

⁴⁶ Losada-Goya, no. 189.

⁴⁷ Losada-Goya, nos 193, 194; Dale B. J. Randall and Jackson Campbell Boswell (eds), *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England: The Tapestry Turned* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), nos 33, 36.

⁴⁸ Losada-Goya, no. 111; *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England*, no. 37.

⁴⁹ *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England*, no. 41.

is just one end of a range of possible modes of transmission. In other instances, parts of Cervantes's work appeared with no affiliation whatsoever to the name of his protagonist. On 26 January 1609 Pierre de l'Estoile, browsing through Parisian booksellers' shops, bought a copy of the satires of Mathurin Régnier, which, he says, is noted by everyone as one of the good books of the moment. He bought with it 'une autre bagatelle' entitled *Le Meurtre de la Fidelité*, in Spanish and French.⁵⁰ Together, bound in parchment, they cost him a quarter of an escu. What he does not record, because neither the publisher Jean Richer nor the translator reveals the fact, is that the text in question was a very freely edited version of the Marcela and Grisóstomo episode from Cervantes's *Don Quixote*.⁵¹ It had become a commercial *bagatelle* like the Tuscan work translated into Castilian by the profit-minded translator in the Barcelona printshop.

Quixote in Performance

At this other end of the range of modes of transmission, creative appropriation across different media is the norm. This is encouraged by the work itself, which is suffused with forms of theatricality and festivity that range from the joyous to the abusive. To read, copy, and adapt *Don Quixote* is to turn it into a festive communal performance of *burlas* that may pay little or no respect at all to the name of the author.⁵²

Quixotic *cosas nuevas*—and knowledge of them—could circulate in all sorts of forms and languages. On 11 May 1606, Dudley Carleton sends his friend John Chamberlain a copy of 'Don Quixote's challenge', which he says 'is translated into all languages and sent into the wide world'. He is likely to be referring to a manuscript text of a mock-chivalric 'cartel'

⁵⁰ Pierre de L'Estoile, *Journal pour le règne de Henri IV*, eds Louis-Raymond Lefèvre and André Martin, 3 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1948–60), vol. 2, pp. 424–5.

⁵¹ Losada-Goya, no. 118. The volume also contains a version of Don Quixote's discourse on arms and letters, which does give the name of Cervantes's knight.

⁵² One very good English example of this is Edmund Gayton, *Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot* (London: William Hunt, 1654).

(claims of superiority or rules of combat presented publically before a joust) either extracted from Cervantes's work or circulating in the aftermath of the inclusion of a Quixotic scene in a festival or mock-tournament.⁵³

Just a year later, Don Quixote leapt onto the indoor stage at the Blackfriars in the form of a grocer who reads aloud from an Englished *Palmerín* and wields a pestle rather than a lance. There can be little doubt that Beaumont had knowledge of Part One of *Don Quixote*, and that contemporaries associated the play with Cervantes's work, from Richard Brathwaite in 1614 to Nahum Tate in 1693.⁵⁴ But that knowledge appears to have taken the form of 'news' of some of its key episodes, rather than direct acquaintance with the Spanish text (there are no verbal parallels). Either way those episodes are assimilated to an existing English tradition of theatricalized popular romance and revelry, which threatens to disrupt the plot of a more modern romantic comedy put on for the gentlemen. Actors playing a citizen-grocer and his wife rise from the audience in semi-riotous fashion to demand a form of entertainment more to their taste, on the occasion of what was probably a holiday. They force the professional company putting on a new-style domestic comedy called 'The London Merchant' to include a 'part' for their apprentice Rafe as a knight-errant, to be accompanied by a Squire and a Dwarf.⁵⁵

The provenance in *Don Quixote* of events and props associated with this part is unmistakable. Besides those noted by other critics (Rafe takes an inn for a castle, neglects to pay the bill, fights with a mock-giant who is in reality a barber called Nick), we can add the simple fact that a barber's copper basin is a central prop in the action. The innkeeper's

⁵³ *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England*, no. 3.

⁵⁴ *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England*, no. 22; Nahum Tate, *A Duke and no Duke* (London: Henry Bonwicke, 1693), fol. C2^v.

⁵⁵ Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ed. Michael Hattaway (2nd edn; London: A. & C. Black, 2002).

collusion with the barber to invent and stage Rafe's adventure with the giant and his captive knights would also appear to be a distinctively Quixotic element of Beaumont's scenario.⁵⁶

Another example of a Quixotic 'new thing' incorporated in the play is particularly germane to our theme. The insurrection of the Citizen in the audience for 'The London Merchant' at the very beginning of the play arises from his feeling that the professional theatrical company's seven-year-old search for 'new subjects' (Induction, line 18) to sneer at him and his like has gone stale. Why can they not revive some of the old romances in honour of the commons of the city? It is the Citizen's wife who then comes up with the great new thing of a grocer who does admirable things, such as kill a lion with a pestle. Later on, they are casting around for further ideas of what the grocer can do. The Citizen comes up with a 'stale' scenario of a Sophy of Persia christening a child, which the boy points out has already played at the Red Bull public theatre in Clerkenwell (open since 1605).

But his wife once again comes up with the goods by inventing a plot based on the extravagant romances and romantic plays she has read, seen, or heard news of: the King of Cracovia's daughter is to fall in love with Rafe from a window. The players' boy agrees that the company will improvise the scene after the Princess's epiphany, when the lovers talk for the first time. Once again, the new twist in the scene that follows appears to be derived from news of events in Part One of *Don Quixote*. Rafe will not wear the favour of the princess out of loyalty to his beloved lady, the cobbler's maid Susan, just as Quixote tells the Princess Micomicona, who says she will marry him for saving her kingdom, that he cannot do so for love of the peasant Aldonza Lorenzo (whom he calls Dulcinea del Toboso).⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Lee Bliss, "'Don Quixote' in England: The Case for 'The Knight of the Burning Pestle'", *Viator*, 18 (1987): pp. 361–80; Valerie Wayne, 'Don Quixote and Shakespeare's Collaborative Turn to Romance', in David Carnegie and Gary Taylor (eds), *The Quest for Cardenio: Shakespeare, Fletcher, Cervantes, and the Lost Play* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 220–1; Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: PENN/University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 39–54.

⁵⁷ Act IV, ll. 27-104.

Performative uses of *Don Quixote* were limited neither to England, nor to indoor theatre. In 1613, a five-act pastoral tragicomedy appeared in print at Paris. The gentleman Cloridan and his squire Pansatonde are caricatures (without explicit acknowledgement) of Quixote and Panza. In the following year, a ballet of *Don Quichotte* was danced, probably at the Louvre.⁵⁸ In the same year, a figure of Don Quixote would appear in person at an extravagant wedding festival in Heidelberg, speaking French and some Spanish to James I and VI's daughter Elizabeth, who had just married Friedrich V, the Elector Palatine.⁵⁹ He wore a costume that derived from German folk traditions of comic jousting and made a 'challenge' of the kind named by Carleton in his letter of 1606. The appearance—dissociated completely from any mention of the author Cervantes's name—would become news all over Europe, and would be described in several languages.

Let us compare the Heidelberg festival's and *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*'s relationship to *Don Quixote* as instances of the transnational mobility and hybridity of *cosas nuevas* that this chapter has explored in relation to both the contents of the Spanish text and its fortunes. In Heidelberg it is a reading of the text, in London it is receipt of news about its contents that are used to reinvigorate existing forms of popular festivity or riotousness within elite performance contexts. Together, they show that even before the publication of Part Two (1615), Don Quixote and the scenes of his adventures had become part of a larger transnational repertoire of figures, images, and themes—indiscriminately classical, medieval, contemporary—that circulated very rapidly through the hands of those making 'new things' within particular local or national traditions, in various media and languages. Such scenarios of transmission are rather different from the quasi-diplomatic *translatio* envisaged in Torres's *aprobación*.

⁵⁸ Losada-Goya, no. 117.

⁵⁹ See Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade (eds), *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013).

In the case of the Heidelberg festival, the appearance of the Quixote-related figure is like a jig at the end of a play, a comic contrast with the serious main show. Between 1605 and 1617 a series of festive tournaments were put on for aristocratic weddings and other events by German courts and households associated with the formation of the Protestant Union in 1608. Five of these—four at Stuttgart (1605, 1609, 1616, 1617), and the 1613 Heidelberg wedding festivities—included a *Kübelstechen*. This is described by Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, as ‘a comic joust between contestants wearing padded suits and barrels on their heads and riding broken-down nags’. The participants unseat each other with long, knobbed poles. Southern German in origin (first seen in Munich in 1568), it was characteristic of German courtly festival, which incorporated folk humour.⁶⁰

The 1613 Quixotic *Kübelstechen* was conventional enough for it to be described without any reference to the literary provenance of the figures involved. Jocquet’s verse description refers to courses of the ‘Cavaliers boufis’ (‘swollen with pride or vanity’), which made the spectators laugh. The key elements deserving mention are that they are wearing little tubs instead of helmets, and straw for body armour. When upended off their little horses they apparently resembled venomous toads.⁶¹ The English account of the festivities likewise simply recounts:

Upon the 13. of Iune, a Merriment was presented to her [Princess Elizabeth], of mad Fellowes with Tubs set vpon their heads, apparelled all in straw, and

⁶⁰ Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, ‘The Protestant Union: Festivals, Festival Books, War and politics’, in J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 31. See also Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Triumphall Shews: Tournaments at German-Speaking Courts in their European Context 1560–1730* (Berlin: Mann, 1992), pp. 33–4, 41, 44–5, 60.

⁶¹ David Jocquet, *Les Triomphes, Entrees, Cartels, Tournois, Ceremonies, et aultres Magnificences, faites en Angleterre & au Palatinat pour le Mariage & Reception, de Monseigneur le Prince Frideric V. Comte Palatin du Rhin ... Et de Madame Elisabeth, fille unique et Princesse de la grande Bretagne* (Heidelberg: Gotthardt Vögelin, 1613), fol. D4^f.

sitting on Horse-backe, did in this manner runne at Tilt one at another with
 Staues, and made excellent pastime to the Beholders.⁶²

But the detailed French and German accounts, which broadly correspond to one another, of this merriment make it clear that the author has cleverly used the text of Part One of *Don Quixote* to reinvent the *Kübelstechen* as a ‘new thing’.⁶³ In this way the entertainment more ingeniously and comically sets off the tournaments and cartels that have preceded it. These latter centre on the classical figure of Jason, impersonated in chivalric vein by Friedrich, Elizabeth Stuart’s groom, himself.⁶⁴ The cartel corresponding to Friedrich’s entrance on the ship Argo in the persona of Jason starts by outlining his titles and qualities. It then offers a speech describing why he has entered in the same style he used when he returned with the Golden Fleece (as Friedrich has returned to Germany with Elizabeth). It concludes by itemizing the seven truths that he will defend with his valiant arm in the lists against all comers.⁶⁵ This is the most important of a whole series of such cartels invented for the tournament. They all throw down the challenges of virtuous knights determined to defend the honour of their ladies, and of Princess Elizabeth in particular.

This must have made it all the more humorous when, towards the end of the festivities, the figure of Don Quixote came forth to issue a parodic version of such a cartel, including no less than thirty items he would defend against all-comers.⁶⁶ Unfortunately,

⁶² Anon., *The Magnificent, Princely, and most Royall Entertainments given to the High and Mightie Prince, and Princesse, Frederick, Count Palatine, Palsgrave of the Rhyne: and Elizabeth, sole Daughter to the High and Mighty King of England, James, our Soueraigne Lord* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1613), fol. C4^{r-v}.

⁶³ Jocquet’s text and Anon., *Beschreibung der Reiss: Empfahung dess Ritterlichen Ordens: Vollbringung des Heyraths: und glücklicher Heimführung: Wie auch der ansehnlichen Einführung: gehaltener Ritterspiel und Frewdenfests* (Heidelberg: Gotthardt Vögelin, 1613) were both issued by the same publisher. The German account offers more detail but many of the documents (e.g. the cartels) appear in both. Very similar texts of Quixote’s cartel appear at Jocquet, *Les Triomphes*, fols S2^r–S4^r, and at Anon., *Beschreibung der Reiss*, fols Gg2^r–Gg4^r.

⁶⁴ See Margaret M. McGowan, “‘Les Triomphes de Jason’: A Myth Renewed in 1613”, in *The Palatine wedding of 1613*, eds Smart and Wade.

⁶⁵ Jocquet, *Les triomphes*, fols K2^r–K3^v.

⁶⁶ There are two reasons why it is most likely the French and Spanish text, rather than the German, that was delivered orally. Firstly, Heidelberg’s was the first German court to be heavily influenced by French culture and language; French was the royal couple’s common language, used for their wedding vows. See J. R. Mulryne,

Quixote has so intimidated all other knights errant that he has been forced to bring Sancho Panza into the order of chivalry for the occasion (presumably so he has someone to fight?). Though speaking as Quixote, and alluding to many of the figures and events in the text of Cervantes's Part One, he is dressed and armed for the *Kübelstechen*, the usual comic tilt due to take place between barrel-headed, straw-padded yokels. As such, he feels obliged to explain why he was not wearing his normal helmet, the barber's basin known as the helmet of Mambrino—because it dazzled his enemies' eyes too much.⁶⁷

This ridiculous Hispanic figure of a knight from La Mancha, who signs off in high-chivalric Castilian, will have provided the ideal comic foil for the resplendent, classical-Germanic and Protestant figure of Jason-Friedrich. The Heidelberg celebrations were part of a series of Protestant festivities designed as a response to Catholic Habsburg events that were making the European news. Celebrations of the 1612 marriage of Louis XIII and the Infanta of Catholic Spain in Paris and Naples had used chivalric motifs from the *Amadis* cycle and from the poems of Ariosto and Tasso.⁶⁸

Conclusion

We have concluded, then, with two instances from the 'real' world of the mobility and hybridity—across borders, languages, media, social registers—of Quixotic *cosas nuevas* to compare with those we considered earlier from within Cervantes's fictional world. The fact that they both occurred in the years between the publication of Parts One and Two suggests a different perspective on the latter text. Part Two (1615) is not just a response to Avellaneda's counterfeit and to the Spanish reception of Part One, but to the recent history

'Marriage entertainments in the Palatinate for Princess Elizabeth Stuart and the Elector Palatine', in J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (eds), *Italian Renaissance Festivals and their European Influence* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), p. 177 and Anon., *Beschreibung der Reiss*, fol. D3^{r-v}. Secondly, the French version is signed off by Quixote in a long passage in Castilian that includes word-for-word borrowings from Cervantes's text of Part One.

⁶⁷ Jocquet, *Les triomphes*, fols S2^{r-v}.

⁶⁸ McGowan, "Les Triomphes de Jason".

and future prospect of transnational appropriations of the work, whether in printed or in festive and performance media.

For, on the one hand, Cervantes gives his hero a wider orbit and a larger, more socially mixed audience in Part Two. He takes him beyond the popular inns and locales of Part One and into Aragon, affording him recognition from a broader public, including aristocrats who make him and Sancho perform their roles as parodies of a knight errant and a squire in live entertainments.⁶⁹ On the other hand, he self-consciously halts Quixote's journey on the shore of the international port and crossroads, Barcelona, just as the mock-festivities in his honour are assuming a larger civic dimension, and sends him home to La Mancha to a heavily certified and irreversible death.⁷⁰

Does this indicate Cervantes's desire both to encourage and to control the wider circulation of Quixotic *cosas nuevas*? Did he craft his work as an end-stopped Spanish 'original' that would not meet the fate of the Spanish *Amadís*? *Amadís* had become a French then a European property, endlessly continued in serial fashion by subsequent translators and authors.⁷¹ Instead of a series of copied and continued lies, attached to the name of a fictive knight (*Amadís*), not an author, *Don Quixote* would become, with the approbation and protection of the right censors and gentlemen-patrons, an instance of the transnational transmission of a true original, a truthful kind of comic fiction, attached to the name of a single author, rooted in a pure Castilian language and a true Spanish geography. It would be highly esteemed and worthily translated abroad only by the most prestigious author-translators—or so the Torres *aprobación* suggests.

⁶⁹ Bravo Castillo, 'Don Quijote como prototipo', p. 50.

⁷⁰ William H. Hinrichs, *The Invention of the Sequel: Expanding Prose Fiction in Early Modern Spain* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2011).

⁷¹ Andrew Pettegree, 'Translation and the Migration of Texts', in Thomas Betteridge (ed.), *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). On the translation of *Amadís* from French into English, see Helen Moore's chapter in this volume.

But, however much this concept of the work's trajectory in the international republic of letters may seem to anticipate the rise of the modern, nationalized novel, its basis is a paratext produced by a clerical intellectual and censor, a member of that republic of letters. It is to be contrasted with the intercultural hybridity at the heart of the work and some scenes of its early transmission. When considered together, the work and its early fortunes point a telescope at the whole social process which reinvents and circulates inherited stories and forms as borderless *cosas nuevas*, including the interplay between reading and festivity, and between free translation/adaptation and intercultural transmission. Reinvention is not necessarily a matter of orderly literary relations in which authors who are identified with one nation influence or are imitated self-consciously by readers of the same or another nation—readers who in their turn become literary authors securely in possession of their imaginative intellectual property. The work and its central characters proved so rapidly mobile in the short-term because they joyously inhabited the intersection between two literary and cultural traditions that were still current and popular across and beyond Europe: the carnivalesque and the chivalric. It was certainly not because a celebrated and universally recognized Spanish author, Cervantes, was perceived to be demolishing medieval romance to make way for the modern, realist novel.⁷²

⁷² Megías, 'Los libros de caballerías'.

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