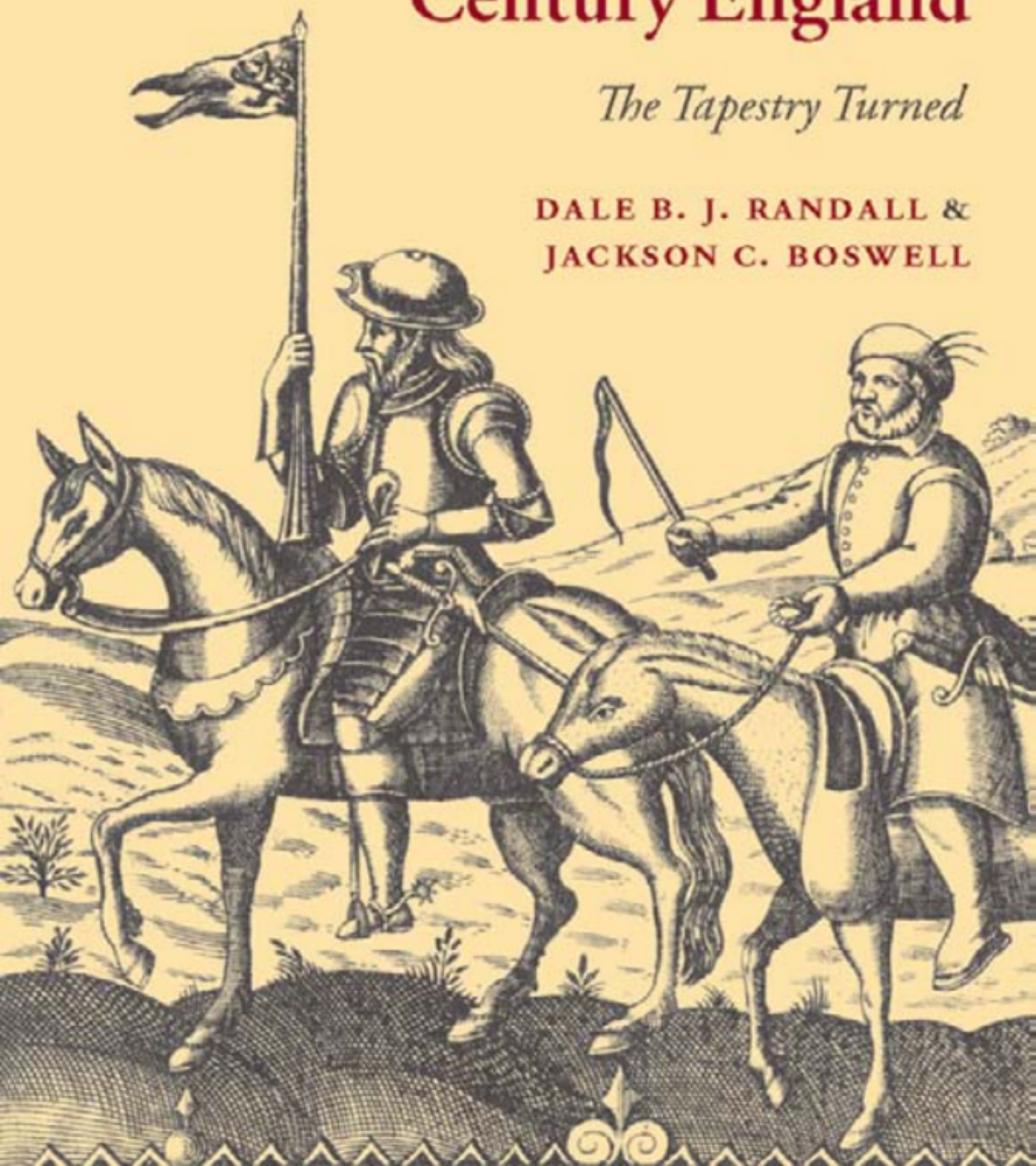


OXFORD

# Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England

*The Tapestry Turned*

DALE B. J. RANDALL &  
JACKSON C. BOSWELL



CERVANTES IN  
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY  
ENGLAND



I. (*frontispiece*) Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, and their mounts as depicted in the copper-plate frontispiece of John Phillips's *History of the Most Renowned Don Quixote* (1687). In the background Dulcinea may be seen slopping hogs.

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Finally, having already found ourselves guilty of more errors than any scholar would care to confess, we venture also to ask for the understanding and forbearance of any and all readers who come across errors that we are now unwittingly putting forth in print. Cervantes himself knew very well that there is no road so smooth as to cause no stumbling. In the words he assigned to Sancho Panza, “No hay camino tan llano, que no tenga algún tropezón” (*Don Quixote* 2.13). When first translated to English anonymously in 1620, this passage became: “There is no way so plaine (quoth *Don Quixote*) that hath not some rubbe, or pit” (p. 77).

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## FREQUENTLY CITED SOURCES

- Becker Gustav Becker, *Die Aufnahme des Don Quijote in die englische Literatur (1605–c.1770)* (Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1906)
- DNB* *The Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (London: Oxford University Press, 1959–60)
- DQ 1* and *DQ 2* *Don Quixote*, parts 1 and 2. Any numbering that follows designates the chapter or chapters under consideration. (Despite the division into four books found in some editions of *Don Quixote*, part 1, the now common practice of through-numbering each part has been adopted here)
- Knowles Edwin B. Knowles, Jr., “Allusions to *Don Quixote* before 1660,” *Philological Quarterly* 22 (1941): 573–86. The numbered allusions in this article are cited in the present volume with Knowles’s name and the appropriate numeral
- NA SP National Archives, State Papers (Kew)
- N&S Carolyn Nelson and Matthew Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals 1641–1700* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1987)
- OED* *The Oxford English Dictionary*, prepared by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)
- Oxford DNB* *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- Shelton Thomas Shelton, first English translator of *Don Quixote*, part 1, and putative translator of *Don Quixote*, part 2
- STC* *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, first compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, then revised by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, and completed by Katharine F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91)
- UMI Microfilm collection known as University Microfilms International
- Wing Donald Wing, *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, 1641–1700*, rev. John J. Morrison, Carolyn W. Nelson, and Matthew Seccombe (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1994); Website: “English Short-Title Catalogue,” copyright 1981–2005 by the British Library and ESTC/North America

## EDITORIAL NOTE

Entries in this compilation are arranged chronologically and, within individual years, alphabetically by authors' surnames or initials. If neither of the latter is known, the entry is listed alphabetically by title.

Entry titles that have been shortened generally conform to those in the *STC* (*Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*) and *Wing* (*Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America, 1641–1700*). Capitalization and punctuation in the titles are generally regularized (but not always), and, unless noted otherwise, the place of publication of seventeenth-century volumes may be assumed to be London.

Many titles appear only once, but others are also recorded among entries in subsequent years, later editions being considered valid signs of either continuing or recurring interest in the work at hand.

Within the entries themselves, a few typographical errors have been corrected, but for the most part original spellings are retained, sometimes occasioning a *sic*, and the quoted passages have been rendered as faithfully as possible.

Many of the passages quoted here were originally printed in a mixture of type fonts and with various combinations of capital and lower-case letters. Though it is assumed that readers will be more interested in substance than form, and that attempting to duplicate the original appearance of passages would be counter-productive (if not impossible), an effort has been made to preserve not only occasional eruptions of black letter and small capitals but also shifts from roman to italic characters. On the other hand, *i/j*, *v/u*, and *vv/w* have been regularized according to modern usage.

Because of the nature of this volume (a book not likely to be read from cover to cover), it has seemed advisable occasionally to explain or define something or other more than once. An attempt has been made, however, to keep repetition to a reasonable minimum.

Finally, as in most studies nowadays, calendar years are here taken to have begun on 1 January rather than 25 March.

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—No hay libro tan malo—dijo el bachiller—, que no tenga algo bueno.  
—No hay duda en eso—replicó don Quijote.

Cervantes, *Don Quixote* (1615)

There is no Book so bad, said the Batchelor, but it has something good in it.  
No doubt of that said *Don Quixote*.

Stevens, *Don Quixote* (1700)

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## INTRODUCTION

In a word . . . many littles make a mickle.

*Don Quixote* 2.7<sup>1</sup>

This book concerns the seventeenth-century English reception of the writings of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Of course these include the early translating of some of the great Spaniard's *Novelas ejemplares*, in the *Prólogo* of which he claims boldly "Yo soy el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless and predictably, however, the word "reception" overwhelmingly means here the reception of Cervantes's *Don Quixote*. Furthermore and fortunately, that reception turns out to be a far more complicated and therefore much more interesting subject than first meets the eye, either within or beyond the seventeenth century. After all, Cervantes's long, two-part story about a reader addicted to books has proven to be one of a small handful of the most seminal books in Western literature. Exceeded only by the Bible, it is said to be the second most frequently published book in the world.<sup>3</sup> Clearly, as Edwin Williamson puts the case, "The sheer cultural power of *Don Quixote* is a phenomenon which invites exploration."<sup>4</sup>

A major question here, then, is "What did the first English-speaking readers of *Don Quixote* perceive?"<sup>5</sup> On 19 January 1611, when the work was entered in the Stationers' Register in London by the bookseller Edward Blount, the anglicized title of the work was set down as *The Delightfull History of the Witty*

<sup>1</sup> One of Sancho Panza's proverbs as translated by the anonymous translator of *The Second Part of the Historie of Don Quixote* (1620), 41. The Spanish reads: "muchos pocos hacen un mucho" (*Don Quixote de La Mancha*, in *Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes*, vol. 1 of 4 vols. [Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, Turner Libros, 1993], 597).

<sup>2</sup> *Novelas ejemplares*, in *Obras completas*, 3:13. In English: "I am the first to have written novels in Castilian."

<sup>3</sup> Eric J. Ziolkowski, *The Sanctification of Don Quixote: From Hidalgo to Priest* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 1. See also Edward C. Riley, "La singularidad de la fama de Don Quijote," *Cervantes* 22 (2002): 27–41.

<sup>4</sup> "Introduction: The Question of Influence," in *Cervantes and the Modernists: The Question of Influence* (London: Tamesis, 1994), 1.

<sup>5</sup> As used here, "English-speaking" acknowledges entries by any and all Britons, including those in colonial America.

*Knighte Don Quishote*.<sup>6</sup> Thus Cervantes's book was at the outset introduced as a work intended to entertain. Nor should one forget that *Don Quixote* was received in Spain itself as a humorous, entertaining book. When the figures of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza appeared in early Spanish street festivals, they were clearly objects of mirth.<sup>7</sup> In short, *Don Quixote* was first welcomed both at home and abroad as a mirth-inducing book. In our own times Bakhtin has found another applicable term for it: carnivalesque.<sup>8</sup>

All things considered, it should be no surprise that later times have perceived, valued, and emphasized different aspects of *Don Quixote*. Edwin B. Knowles, Jr., one of the most visible students of the book's various readings over the centuries, has discerned and described them in terms of four major periods. According to Knowles, English readers in the seventeenth century saw most clearly the farcical elements of the work; the eighteenth century continued to value this comic strain, but valued more the satiric; the nineteenth century tended to romanticize, to idealize, and even to find spiritual implications in the work; and, most eclectic of all, the twentieth century drew something or other from all of the foregoing, perceiving what Knowles termed "an eternal human classic of a rich complex nature."<sup>9</sup> What should still later readers make of all this? Since Cervantes himself invites multiple interpretations, we can hardly be surprised that different readers have different views or, indeed, that different times bring different waves of views. Clearly meaning is contingent on both time and the individual.

Though far from trying to privilege any single-century reading, the present compilation, participating in what nowadays might be termed "reception history," focuses only on the first century of English perceptions of Cervantes. As objectively as possible and innocent of any side-tracking polemic, it aims to provide some hard evidence of just how seventeenth-century English-speaking readers regarded such versions of Cervantes's writing as were available to them. The evidence provided here is surely not all that someday will be found, but with well over a thousand entries, the spectrum of information on display here should be sufficient to encourage readers to ponder more accurately and grasp somewhat more surely what there is to know about the English response to Cervantes's writing in each of the ten decades of the seventeenth century.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 A.D.* (repr. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1967), 3:451.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *El "Quijote" y Don Quijote en América* (Madrid: Librería de los sucesores de Hernando, 1911), and María Luisa Lobato, "El Quijote en la mascaradas populares del siglo xviii," in *Cervantes estudios en la víspera de su centenario* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1994): 557–604.

<sup>8</sup> M. M. Bakhtin, *English Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984) 22–3. Howard Mancing provides a helpful commentary on "Bakhtin, Spanish Literature, and Cervantes," in *Cervantes for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century/Cervantes para el siglo XXI*, ed. Francisco La Rubia Prado (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2000): 141–62.

<sup>9</sup> "Cervantes and English Literature," in *Cervantes across the Centuries*, ed. Angel Flores and M. J. Benardete (New York: Dryden Press, 1947 [i.e., 1948], and New York: Gordian, 1969), 267.

Here as elsewhere, honoring one's scholarly predecessors is both a duty and a pleasure. To summarize briefly at this point, it might be helpful simply to note that previous attempts to track Cervantes in England extend back to 1688, when Gerard Langbaine published *Momus Triumphans, or, the Plagiaries of the English Stage*, and followed this with *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691), aided by Charles Gildon, and *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets* (1699). In times much closer to our own, Emil Koeppel concerned himself with *Quellen-studien zu den Dramen George Chapman's, Philip Massinger's und John Ford's* of 1897 and "Don Quijote, Sancho Panza und Dulcinea in die englischen Literatur bis zum Restauration," published in 1898 in the *Archiv für das Studien der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*. In 1906 Koeppel was followed by Gustav Becker, who put forth *Die Aufnahme des Don Quijote in die englische Literatur*. Among British scholars, probably the greatest early champion of England's connection with Cervantes was James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, who tended to exaggerate enthusiastically, perhaps especially in his "Cervantes in England," an address published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* in 1905–6. The most persistent pursuer of Cervantine allusions and references, however, and the one cited most frequently in the present work is Knowles. Somewhat inclined to minimize England's early interest in Cervantes (possibly as a reaction to what he perceived as over-eagerness in some of his predecessors), Knowles was nevertheless pleased at one point to report that he had garnered eighty-some English references "down to 1660."<sup>10</sup> And more or less finally, at least for the moment, Gustav Ungerer has recently mined yet a little more seventeenth-century Cervantine ore for the *Bodleian Library Record*.<sup>11</sup>

The findings of these varied searchers and a handful of others are both appreciated and duly recorded in the acknowledgments and bibliography of the present volume. Indeed, a fair amount of effort has been expended to give credit when credit is due. Such back-glancing, however, is likely to be imperfect; therefore, the compilers of the present book apologize for any and all unintended offenses of omission that we may have committed. At the same time, having worked on this project for a significant while, we are also pleased to share the good news that we offer here many more new entries than borrowed ones.

To the extent that we are historians, we have perceived a value in casting our nets somewhat farther and wider than our predecessors have tended to do. Recognizing the extent to which the seventeenth century witnessed "a growing ability to read" (as H. S. Bennett puts the case), that it became, in fact, "a reading age,"<sup>12</sup> we have sought everywhere and anywhere for evidence of readers

<sup>10</sup> "Cervantes and English Literature," 271.

<sup>11</sup> "Recovering Unrecorded Quixote Allusions in Ephemeral English Publications of the Late 1650s," *Bodleian Library Record* 17 (2000): 65–9.

<sup>12</sup> *English Books and Readers, 1603 to 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 80.

reading Cervantes. For example, we have made forays into the newsbooks and pamphlets of the day (indeed, we have found some interestingly antiphonal pamphlets). We have held that the grist for our mill should include even such an item as a library catalogue; hence our first entry records the Bodleian Library's acquisition of a Spanish copy of *Don Quixote* only a few months after its first publication. Garnered also for inclusion here is a glimpse into the 1611 catalogue of the private library of Ben Jonson's Scottish friend William Drummond of Hawthornden, who owned a 1598 copy of Cervantes's pastoral *Galatea*.

Moreover, as the years of the century rolled onward and the booksellers of the age became more knowledgeable and adventuresome, some of them began to perceive the value of distributing commercial catalogues. The London bookseller Robert Martin, for instance, issued no fewer than six such catalogues in the years from 1633 to 1650.<sup>13</sup> And sometimes, naturally, these publications included entries for works by Cervantes, thus enabling posterity to learn that a palpable copy of such a work was in such a place at such a time. It may even be the case that in the turbulent summer of 1643 England experienced its earliest book auction when a Lords and Commons Committee issued an ordinance for the selling of twenty-six libraries belonging to royalist sympathizers.<sup>14</sup> Whether it did or not, auctions in England became a major means of selling books in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. It is believed that the earliest surviving catalogue of an English book auction dates from 31 October 1676 and concerns the sale of the library of Dr. Lazarus Seaman by William Cooper.<sup>15</sup> A further detail of interest might be that the sale was conducted in Seaman's own home in Warwick Lane, handily near the center of London's book trade.<sup>16</sup> It was only rather late in the century that book auctions began to be held with some frequency in taverns, shops, and coffee houses. References to coffee houses, however, eventually crop up so frequently as to become a socially suggestive element in the present volume.<sup>17</sup> And auctions eventually came to be held also

<sup>13</sup> Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965), 91.

<sup>14</sup> Ian Roy, "The Libraries of Edward 2nd Viscount Conway and Others: An Inventory of 1642," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 4 (1968): 39. Roy has in mind an ordinance of 18 August which authorizes "giving notice of the said sale in writing upon some posts or walls in the most open and eminent places near the place of sale two dayes before the said sale" (*Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, ed. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, 3 vols. [London: HMSO, 1911], 1:258).

<sup>15</sup> Murray C. T. Simpson, "Some Aspects of Book Purchasing in Restoration Scotland . . .," *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions* 6 (1990): 6. See also Giles Mandelbrote, "The Organization of Book Auctions in Late Seventeenth Century London," in *Under the Hammer: Book Auctions Since the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2001): 15–50.

<sup>16</sup> See Frank Hermann, "The Emergence of the Book Auctioneer as a Professional," in *The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library 1620–1920*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, Hants.: St. Paul's Bibliographers, 1991): 4–5.

<sup>17</sup> Since English society certainly was and would remain hierarchical, Helen Berry's observation is all the more remarkable: "Any newcomer to a London coffee house would . . . have regarded the

in for-the-purpose auction houses. The bookseller Robert Clavell, who was trying to carry on the sale of books from his shop at the sign of the peacock in St. Paul's Churchyard, growled about auctions:

I suppose that many men have paid dear for their experience in this way; and I judge it may be demonstrable, that 'tis more probable for the Buyer to gain advantage by a Lottery, than in this way, being likely by That, once in twenty times a man may get a Prize.<sup>18</sup>

As for latecomers such as ourselves who cannot bid, the next auction catalogue that comes to hand may, nevertheless, yield the prize of another entry item relating to Cervantes. Most notable of all here, the catalogues issued by the quick-witted, fast-talking auctioneer Edward Millington announced the sale of Cervantes items in at least thirty of his auctions between 1681 and 1700.

Whenever a reference to a Cervantes volume turns up, whether in an English catalogue or anywhere else in the earlier years of the seventeenth century, it most likely indicates the writer's awareness of Thomas Shelton's translation of *Don Quixote* published in London in 1612. Whatever its shortcomings may be, it is certainly a lively, colloquial, and altogether likeable book. Not until 1620 would English readers have a chance to buy another edition of it. Somewhat surprisingly, however, it proves to be rather different from its predecessor. The opening paragraph of the 1620 volume provides an unusual number of changes. There Shelton's "yeoman" of 1612 has become a "gentleman," "a little minced meate every night" has become "a Galli-mawfry each night," "griefes and complaints" have become "collops and egges," and "apparell" has become "sute."<sup>19</sup> To be sure, some pages are hardly revised at all, but Knowles, after careful study of this second edition, discovered long ago that it has "thousands of changes in spelling, capitalization, and punctuating."<sup>20</sup> Perhaps even more significant here is his finding that the amended prose of 1620 manifests an ongoing effort to convey Spanish meanings more accurately. Most thought-provoking of all, however, Knowles concluded that regardless of what survives of the 1612 version in the edition published about eight years later, "the correcting was almost certainly not done by Shelton, for none of his mannerisms occur in their variant forms, and in general the new words are more modern English" (p. 262).

exhortation in the *Rules and Order of the Coffee House* (1674) for people to temporarily cast aside their observance of rank, and to socialize together freely, with astonishment: 'Gentry, tradesmen, all are welcome hither | And may without affront sit down together' (*Gender, Society and Print Culture in Later Stuart England* [Aldershot, Hants.: Ashgate, 2003], 14).

<sup>18</sup> *The General Catalogue of Books Printed in England Since the Dreadful Fire of London MDCLXVI* (1680), recto of leaf following title page.

<sup>19</sup> These examples, quoted in the order in which they appear, are drawn from pp. 1–2 of the two editions. (A "gallimaufry" is a ragout or hash, and a "collop" is a slice of bacon [*OED*].)

<sup>20</sup> Knowles, "The First and Second Editions of Shelton's *Don Quixote* Part I: A Collation and Dating," *Hispanic Review* 9 (1941): 262. See also James H. Montgomery, "Was Thomas Shelton the Translator of the 'Second Part' (1620) of *Don Quixote*?" in *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 26 (2006; pub. 2008): 209–17.