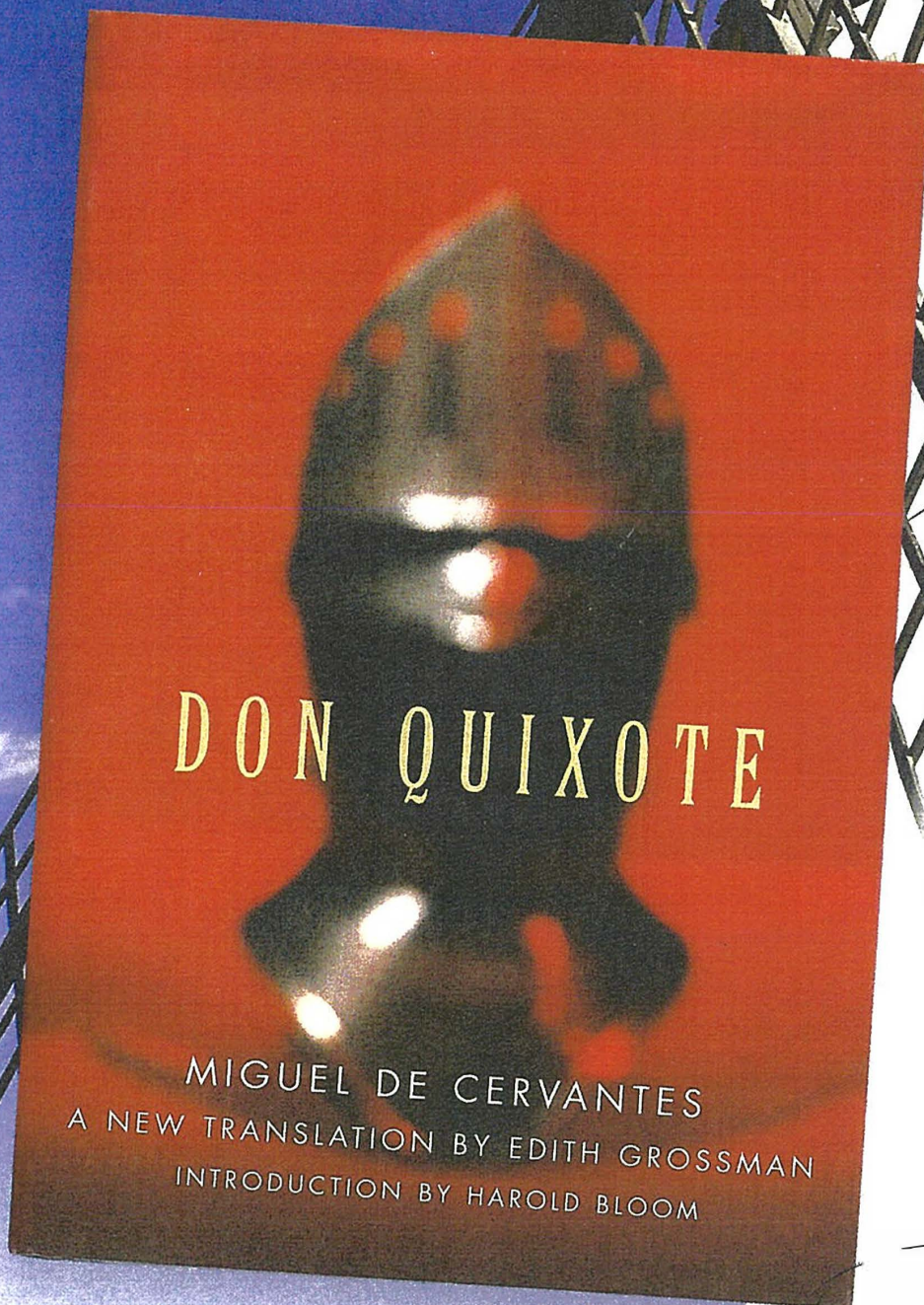


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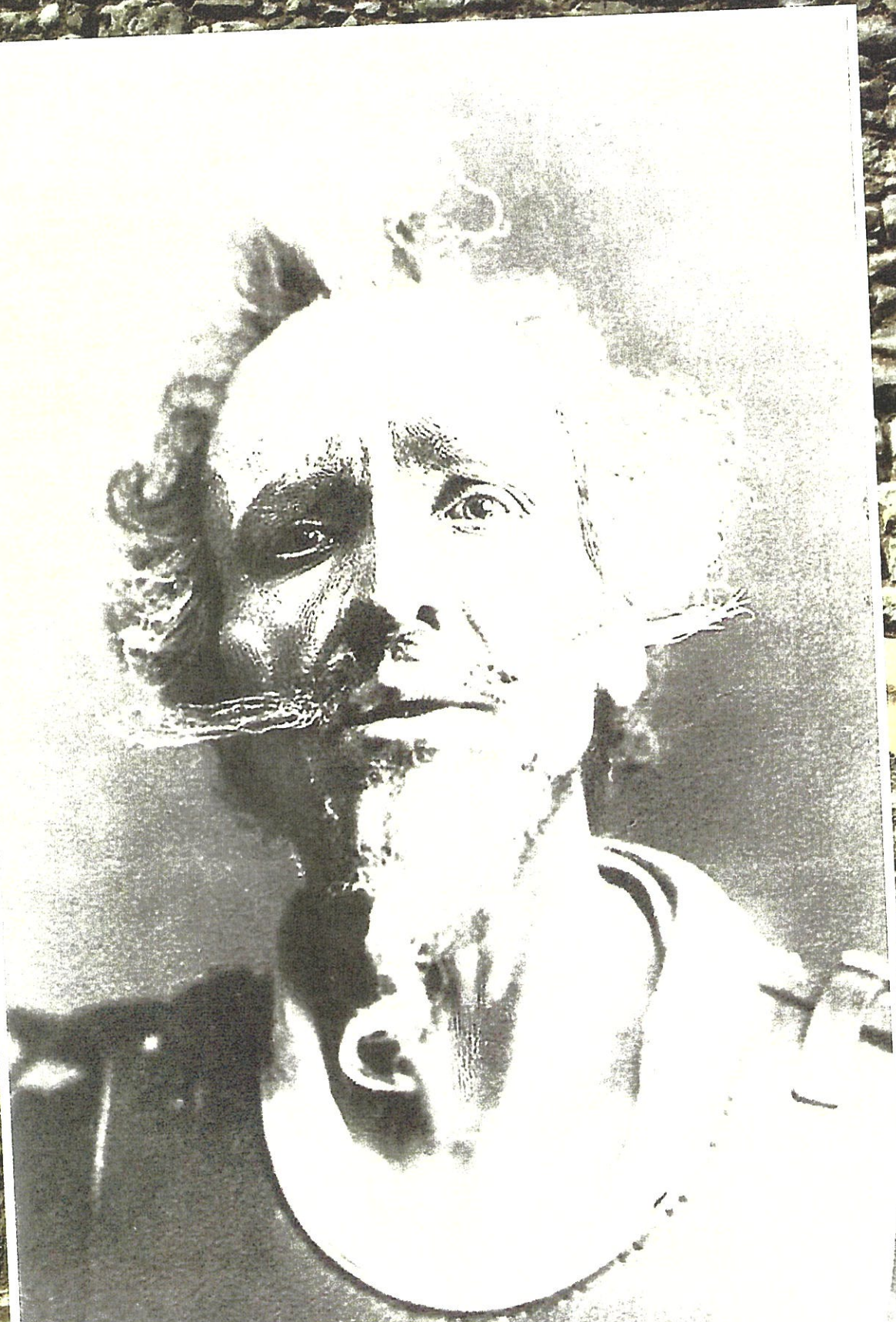
FIRSTS

THE BOOK COLLECTOR'S MAGAZINE



Cervantes'
Don
Quixote

Annotated Copy



Schaljapin
Don Quichotte.

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FIRSTS

THE BOOK COLLECTOR'S MAGAZINE



7 Cervantes

More often than not, the very first of something does not forever remain the very best of that thing. In the history of Western literature there are three fundamental exceptions to this general rule. Firstly, consider the original work of epic poetry, Homer's *Iliad*, which still stands as the finest example of the genre. Secondly, consider the plays of Shakespeare: the first modern plays remain the very best plays. And it is clear by now that the generally acknowledged first modern novel remains the best novel: *Don Quixote*. [Page 7 illustration by Pablo Picasso. Pages 8-29, illustrations by Salvador Dali.]

19 A Timeline of Relevant History. Cervantes Biography, Literary Ancestors and Literary Heirs

A selective calendar of the social/historical/literary milieu of Spain up to and including the lifetime of Cervantes, with some posthumous highlights of his continuing influence.

30 Don Q on Stage and Screen

Dramatic productions of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* range from opera to ballet to film. We take a quick look at some of the most intriguing versions from all three media, including those that succeeded and those that failed.

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Cervantes

by LEE BIONDI

MORE OFTEN THAN NOT, the very first of something does not forever remain the very best of that thing. In the history of Western literature there are three fundamental exceptions to this general rule. Firstly, consider the original work of epic poetry, Homer's *Iliad*, which still stands as the finest example of the genre. Secondly, consider the plays of Shakespeare: the first modern plays remain the very best plays. And it is clear by now that the generally acknowledged first modern novel remains the best novel: *Don Quixote*.

Between 1585 and 1616, world literature grew up. This headlong charge into modernity was led by two guys: Shakespeare and Cervantes. Between them, modern drama and the modern novel were born and took over.

Maybe someday, if I live long enough, and learn enough, I will be able to write about William Shakespeare and the plays that forever changed the nature of the dramatic stage: the performances; the good quartos; the bad quartos; the aborted 1619-ers; the Four Folios; Shakespeare sourcebooks; Shakespeare in "parts," etc. But today, I am writing about Miguel de Cervantes.

I won't have anything groundbreaking to say. The field of critical studies of Cervantes is saturated in every modern language, with the Spanish tradition appropriately dominant.

The early biographical facts of Cervantes' life are obscure. His childhood remains opaque. Scholars speculate about how strong or how weak his education was. The debate continues without any solid evidence whether Cervantes had some Jewish blood. Being a converso, or "New Christian" in his generation could be a career blocker. Cervantes tenaciously sought an "Old Christian" legal document—but so did a lot of other people who may not have had any Jewish blood and just wanted to have documentary proof of a settled issue.

Multiple millions of words have been spilled in Spanish, English and many other languages about Cervantes' life and his writings—especially, of course, *Don Quixote*.

There are multiple fine biographies in English and substantially more in Spanish.

Rather than summarize biographical facts and critical theories readily available elsewhere—some covered in the appended bibliography—I will reduce this article to concentrating on four aspects of Cervantes' life that we can safely say are knowable and are relevant to the readership of a book collectors' magazine. We know two events in his life that were formative of his character and his writings: the Battle of Lepanto



Cervantes

(1571) and his five years of captivity in Algiers (1575-1580). Further, we know what Cervantes read and we know what Cervantes wrote.

What CERVANTES Read

Over his entire life Cervantes surveyed the fields of literature, political science, and philosophy *en masse* and in detail. He took all he had in front of him in the way of traditional structures and techniques of romance, epic, pastoral and picaresque literature to build a large and diverse body of work, the best of which spoke instantly to a fresh modern readership and still speaks to us today.

Don Quixote's chivalric reading list (and Cervantes') was both an influence on the author and a prompt to explore his new form by turning generic chivalric material on its head.

Cervantes' intent is perfectly exposed from the very beginning, in *Don Quixote*, Part I, Chapter One: "Our hidalgo was soon so absorbed in these books [of chivalric romances] that his nights were spent reading from dusk till dawn, and his days from dawn till dusk, until the lack of sleep and the excess of reading withered his brain, and he went mad. Everything he read in his books took possession of his imagination... And so, by now quite insane, he conceived the strangest notion that ever took shape in a madman's head...to travel about the world with his armor and his arms and his horse in search of adventures, and to practice all those activities that he knew from his books." [1]

The literary field of the Sixteenth century was overflowing with knights and lords and ladies—and chivalry and battles—and feats and amours superb beyond belief.

In 1605 *Don Quixote* took the ubiquitous and by-then tired medieval tales of chivalry and went someplace altogether new and different—with a commanding authorial wit, a fresh narratorial playfulness and a deep poignant expression of human psychology.

Some stories and legends had geographical boundaries: Robin Hood was confined to Britain and the *Theuerdank* was German; *Nibelungenlied* was mostly German with Arthurian overlaps; *El Cid* was mostly Iberian (until the hugely successful 1637 French play by Pierre Corneille), as were *Tirant lo Blanc* and Tirso de Molina's *El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra* (*The Trickster of Seville and the Stone Guest*) until this work was wildly popularized across Europe as the "Don Juan" legend with the 1791 Mozart opera, *Don Giovanni*.

But many stories, tales, and characters were powerfully transnational. These were told and read *ad infinitum* in many vernacular languages. The wide medieval traditions of tales of chivalry included such basic categories as: Matters of Troy; Matters of Britain; Matters of France; The Acts and Conquests of Alexander; and medieval retellings of ancient histories and Bible stories.

These "matters" and stories were sometimes experienced in specific texts known to us today, but they were mostly experienced slipshod, in pastiches, epitomes, mashups, sequels, prequels, ballads and so on and so forth, with various levels of artistry and fidelity to their origins. Modern analogues that the future may look back on might be our cultural "things" or "sets" like: "Star Wars;" "James Bond;" "Batman;" "Tarzan."

The Matters of TROY

In the modern world we experience the "Matters of Troy" mostly in competent translations of the critical editions of the original masterpieces the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*. We are fortunate in this regard. Homer's original texts were not much experienced in the Middle Ages. The "Troy Stories" and "Epic Cycle" were experienced more through the "Little Iliads," the "Latin Iliads," Dares Phrygius' *de excidio Trojae historia*, Dictys Cretensis' *Ephemeris belli Trojani*, Joseph of Exeter's *de bello Troiano*, the *Laud Troy Book*, John Lydgate's *Troy Book*, John Clerk's *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy*, *The Seege of Troy* (after Phrygius), *Roman de Troie* by Benoit de Sainte-Maure, Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troyes* and *Recuyell of the historyes of Troye* (both printed by William Caxton as the first printed book in French and the first printed book in English)...etc. *ad infinitum*, up through Chaucer and later versions of Troilus and Criseyde. Matters of Troy include the stories of Paris and Helen, Agamemnon, Achilles, Patroclus, Hector, Ulysses, Aeneas, Dido, the Trojan Horse, and other tales in their medieval iterations whether in Latin or vernaculars. The stories extend beyond manuscripts and oral tradition of tales into the ballad traditions across Europe which were vernacular, sung or recited, and often no longer always extant in any written or printed versions.

The Matters of BRITAIN

These are the abundant and widespread tales of King Arthur, Lancelot, Guinevere, the Knights of the Round Table, the Quest for the Holy Grail, the Lady of the Lake, etc. "Britain" includes "Breton," and these stories traveled through France to Germany, where the Perceval/Parsifal story was concretized by Eschenbach. The Matters of Britain reached the Iberian peninsula predominantly through their French versions, which were retold in various Spanish dialects.

The Matters of FRANCE

These are the cluster of stories of Charlemagne's Knights and Crusaders and—no surprise—they have a lot of overlap with the Matters of Britain (which, remember, include Matters of Breton). So, there's still Arthur, Lancelot, Guinevere, Merlin, and the rest of the cast of characters—with the significant addition of Roland and company (and therefore Orlando, both

innamorato and *furioso*)—and extending though the *Chansons de gestes*, *Chanson de Roland*, the massive dual-authored *Roman de la Rose*, *Roncesvalles/Roncesvaux* retellings, etc. *ad infinitum* via Chrétien de Troyes and many others, obscure or now forgotten. These stories reached the Iberian peninsula again mostly in French, with the Orlando variants and extensions of the Roland tales having arrived there from the Italian versions.

The Acts and Conquests of ALEXANDER

These are wildly non-historical tales of Alexander the Great in their highly popular medieval settings under a general catch-all grouping.

Medieval Chronicles of ANCIENT HISTORIES and BIBLE STORIES

Historical chronicles of the Middle Ages often open with the Seven Days of Creation and go from Adam and Eve to Julius Caesar (e.g., *l'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* in manuscripts from the Thirteenth century forward). Even more up-to-date and reportedly historical chronicles like the 1490s "*Nuremberg Chronicle*," often still began with the Seven Days of Creation and Adam and Eve in The Garden before settling in to ancient history and continuing to late Fifteenth century history. The Bible itself was rarely encountered whole by the general public but everyone knew the "big stories," oft retold, like David and Goliath, Samson and Delilah, Susanna and the Elders, Judith and Holofernes, Daniel in the Lions' Den, Jonah and the Whale, The Nativity, Sermon on the Mount, the Passion, the Apocalypse, etc.

These clusters of stories and "matters" circulated in manuscripts and through songs and poems until and beyond the advent of printing. In the late Fifteenth century and throughout the Sixteenth century some of these books were printed and certain editions became more or less standard, though still subject to retellings and modifications. The William Caxton edition of Thomas Mallory's *Morte Darthur* in 1485 is an example of this, but Arthurian tales in general proliferated in new versions and manipulations (and they still do). The myriad second-rate European Troy stories were eventually eclipsed with actual Homer: the *editio princeps* of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was the lovely edition of

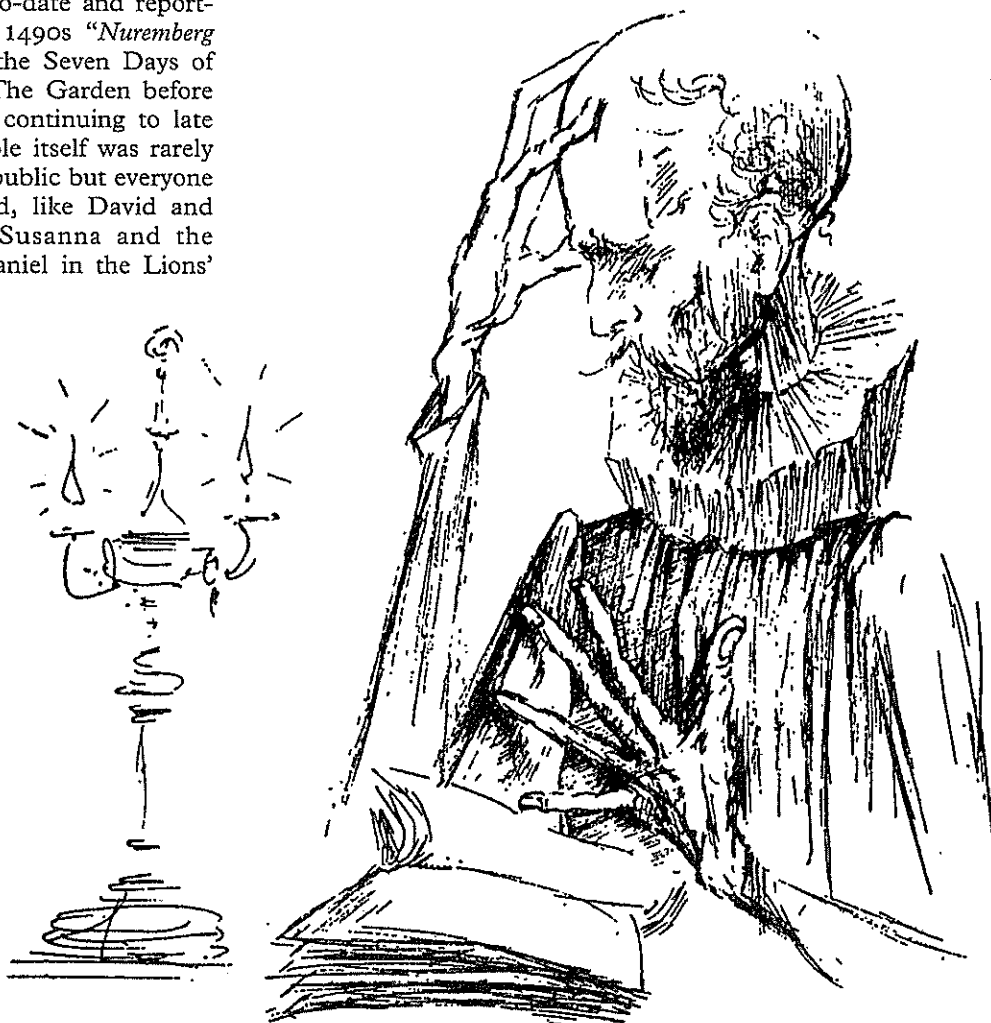
1488/89 under the editorial supervision of Demetrios Chalkokondyles and Bernardus Nerlius. Rudimentary vernaculars of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and excerpts from them, began popping up in the 1500s. Chapman's lauded work in English appeared in the early 1600s.

Even as important literary manuscripts were being set in type, new works of fiction were being composed for publication in print in the second half of the Fifteenth and throughout the Sixteenth century.

Tales of chivalry remained popular in early printed books and new genre explorations appeared to supply the demand. It seems like Cervantes read all of them.

Cervantes' mind, along with that of his sorry-faced knight-errant hero, was steeped in the pervasive atmosphere of these stories. But the clear head of Cervantes had a critical modern perspective on them that eluded Don Quixote's weaker and more impressionable brain.

For Cervantes, the most significant of the incunables and the early printed fictions he read and re-read certainly included such bestsellers as: *Tirant lo Blanc* by Joannot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba;



Cervantes

La Diana, by Jorge de Montemayor; the anonymous novella *Lazarillo de Tormes*; *El Cid*, in various printed iterations; *La Celestina*, a “novel in dialogue” by Fernando de Rojas; *Guzmán de Alfarache* by Mateo Alemán; and the seemingly endless parade of books under the rubric of *Amadis de Gaula*. [2]

La Diana played a “prompt” role with Cervantes’ first novel *La Galatea* as a reason or excuse to try his hand at a pastoral novel—in a root manner analogous to the wide-ranging medieval chivalric usage of *Don Quixote*.

Lazarillo de Tormes, a book-form realization of Thomas Hobbes’ famous quote about the life of man in a natural state being “nasty, brutish and short,” contributed to some of the moods of *Don Quixote*—let’s say the crueler, uglier, more sarcastic moods.

During this period of new compositions, the Western world rediscovered some of the ancient Greek and Byzantine works of fiction. The manuscripts

preserved by the Byzantines led to highly influential early printed editions of *The Loves of Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus, *The Loves of Clitopho and Leucippe* by Achilles Tatius, and *Aethiopica* by Heliodorus.

Dante had trans-European influence and Torquato Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata* of 1591 was widely read. *Aethiopica* and *Jerusalem Delivered* were root models for Cervantes’ final Christian epic masterpiece, *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*. The *editio princeps* of *Aethiopica* was issued in Basel in 1534 from the manuscript provided by Matthias Corvinus. Parts of *Aethiopica* appeared in print in French as early as 1547, and the full work in French was published by 1587. The Spanish-language edition in 1554 was translated directly from the Greek and Cervantes also might have had access to the 1551 Latin translation by Stanislaw Warszewicki. This version was used by Thomas Underdown for his English edition of 1569.

Books got around. And most of them it seems eventually got around to Miguel Cervantes.

The BATTLE of LEPANTO

In the Preface to the 1615 *Don Quixote*, Part II, Cervantes writes, “the loss of my hand came about on the grandest occasion the past or present has seen, or the future can hope to see. If my wounds have no beauty to the beholder’s eye, they are, at least, honorable in the estimation of those who know where they were received.”

On 7 October 1571, two gigantic fleets joined battle in one of the most famous and most significant naval battles in world history. The entire naval force of the Muslim Ottoman Empire, supplemented with their allies’ corsair fleets out of North Africa, faced the combined Armada of the Holy League, a coalition force of the Republic of Venice (which was bearing the immediate brunt of the Ottoman pressure), The Holy See and Spain—with supplemental forces of Genoa, Tuscany, the Duchy of Savoy, Parma, the Duchy of Urbino and the Knights Hospitallers of Malta. The combined navies numbered well over 400 heavily armed fighting ships and over 150,000 individual combatants and oarsmen. The Christians had more cannons, but the Ottomans considered their vast archery forces capable of victory. It has been estimated that the gathered fighting ships that day represented at least three-quarters of all the warships in the Mediterranean Sea. It was the largest ever encounter of oared fighting ships of the pre-modern world. That morning the Ottoman fleet sailed forth from their main naval base of Lepanto



to join battle off the coast of western Greece near the small islands in the Ionian Sea at the entrance to the Gulf of Patras. By late afternoon it was over. A rout. After decades of losing, the Catholic naval powers that day resoundingly overwhelmed the Ottoman forces. Except for an escaping corsair squadron under Algerian command, the bulk of the Ottoman vessels were sunk or captured, their crews and soldiers dead or enslaved. Ottoman casualties have been estimated up to 35,000 dead, injured, or captured. This was the bloody and horrible turning point of the Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War of 1570-1573. The Battle of Lepanto decisively ended once and for all a decades-long Ottoman hegemony over the Mediterranean waters.

Miguel Cervantes was a soldier in this battle, on a Catholic galley named *Marquesa*. His role was that of a type of armored gunner called the *harquebusier*. Life as a naval soldier in the Sixteenth century was horrible every day, battle or no battle, with ludicrously cramped quarters (one soldier described each man's living space as "about two coffins"), severe discipline, disgusting food, gross hygiene, unrelenting stench, mosquitoes, fleas, rats, bedbugs, no privacy, no peace and all manner of general grotesqueness. Outside of battle days, the soldiers' existence was marginally better than the absolutely bestial lot of the galley slaves, their endless days of pain, hunger, humiliation, sickness and unrelieved misery. The Christian ships had Turks and Moors as slaves and the Turks had Christian slaves. Should a battle be clearly going against their masters, the slaves would be more than ready to turn, kill and try to escape. Fear and pain were everywhere all the time. Actual fighting when required was insanely violent, noxious, noisome and lethal. People sometimes mistakenly imagine pitched sea battles of the period as boat-to-boat, but such attacks of cannons, *harquebuses*, fire-bombs and rammings inevitably culminated in the madness of boardings and hand-to-hand on-deck combat of the utmost savagery.

A few days before the great battle, Cervantes was struck with a malarial fever. He had spent several days below deck in a feverish delirium. When the climactic day arrived, Cervantes was so ill that he was relieved of combat duty, but he insisted on participating to the best of his ability. Every man that day, from the top commanders to the galley slaves, saw Hell. Grievous injury and horrible death were all around, brought by cannons, bullets, fire, blades, arrows and drowning. The air was filled with spine-chilling screams and eye-clouding smoke. The sea was covered for miles with every type of debris, cadavers and parts of cadavers. Cervantes was shot twice in the chest and suffered bloody injuries despite the armor he was wearing, and another ball permanently wrecked his left hand. But he had fought, and he had survived—though forever changed.

Five Years in Algiers

In 1575 Miguel Cervantes and his younger brother, Rodrigo, were returning to Spain from Italy. Miguel had letters of recommendation from Don Juan of Austria and the Duke of Sessa as a result of his valiant fighting in the Battle of Lepanto. Cervantes was looking forward to utilizing these letters to ensure a decent future once he was back in Spain. Unaware of Cervantes' hopeful plans, Barbary pirates attacked his ship off the coast of the Catalan region, boarded the vessel, and kidnapped all on board to be taken to Algiers. The intention was to use the captives as slaves or put them on the slave market. The letters he held landed Miguel (and his brother) in a different (and better) category: they were earmarked for the Algerian ransom industry. This was still a painfully rough position to be in. Samuel Purchas described Algiers of the period in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625) as: "The Whirlepoole of these Seas, the Throne of Pyracie, the Sinke of Trade and the Stinke of Slavery, the Cage of the uncleane Birds of Prey, the Habitation of Sea-Devils, the Receptracle of Renegadoes of God." In other words, not a nice place and not a secure existence.

Cervantes, as a candidate for a ransom payday, at least did not get the worst of the labors, deprivations, torments and tortures. He spent his captivity in the royal *bagnio*, a better prison than most, where ransomable captives did not have to perform forced labor or risk getting sent off to row in the galleys. Cervantes met some of the major historical figures of the period in Algeria: e.g., the renegade Agi Morato (aka Hajji Murad), one of the governors of Algiers and a spy for the Sultan in the 1570s; Hazán Pasha Veneziano, a ruler of Algiers from 1577-1581; and Mulet Maluco (aka 'Abd al-Malik), who ruled parts of Morocco from 1576 to 1578.

Cervantes was an avid observer of all aspects of life, and he was pocketing characters and situations for future use as a writer. He knew his family did not have the kind of money that the pirates were hoping for, and between 1575 and 1580 he made four unsuccessful escape attempts. By 1577, the family had put together money sufficient for the ransom of Rodrigo—but only Rodrigo. Miguel was ransomed in 1580 with funds from the Trinitarian Fathers, who made it part of their mission to ransom Spanish Catholic captives out of North Africa. Cervantes' five years of imprisonment, constant suspense and pervasive danger in Algiers had a profound effect on his worldview and a deep and wide influence on his writing, most notably in plays and as the interpolated "Captive's Tale" in *Don Quixote*, Part I, which is one of the most interesting longer set pieces of the picaresque chain of events that form the novel.

What CERVANTES Wrote

Select Bibliography of the Major Works with Some Prices and Commentary

Bibliographical Details Primarily From:

ANDRÉS MURILLO, Luis. *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Don Quijote de la Mancha. (Bibliografía Fundamental) III*. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia [Editorial Castalia, S.A., 1978].

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FLORES, Robert Morales. *Cervantes: Don Quixote de la Mancha: An Old-Spelling Control Edition Based on the First Editions of Parts I and II: Volume One [Two] Don Quixote, Part I [II]*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988. Flores worked on this extremely detailed set starting in 1966 and had it ready for publication in 1988. Flores exhaustively covers anomalies, irregularities, typographical errors, compositional errors, editorial corrections, and stop-press corrections.

GIVANEL I MAS, Joan (ed.) *Catàleg de la Col·lecció Carvántica formada per D. Isidri Bonsoms I Sicart...* Three Volumes. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1916.

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PALAU Y DULCET, Antonio. *Bibliografía de Don Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Con Breves Notas Criticas y el Valor Comercial de la Mayoría de los Impresos Descritos ...* Barcelona-Madrid, 1950. [cited as Palau].

[PEETERS-FONTANA] *Catalogue of the Renowned Collection of Spanish Books Printed in the Spanish Netherlands*. London: Sotheby's, 1978.

RUIS Y LLOSELLAS, Leopoldo. *Bibliografía crítica de las obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*. [in three volumes] Madrid: Murillo, 1895. [cited as Ruis].

SERÍS, Homero. *La Colección Cervantina de la Sociedad Hispánica de America: Ediciones de Don Quijote...* in *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. VI, no. 1. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 1920.

1585: LA GALATEA

THE PUBLICATION CAREER of the greatest Spanish writer began humbly, even feebly, with the now mostly forgotten *La Galatea*. Always in print in Spanish of course, the title is usually available in a print-on-demand version of the 1903 Fitzmaurice-Kelly edition translated by Oelsner and Welford. Cervantes chose to write in the mode of the pastoral, inspired by Montemayor's *La Diana*, enhanced with knowledgeable references to general Orphic poetry, and the "rota Virgillii" ("Virgil's Wheel") genre in the style of the *Georgics*. Cervantes

confidently announced the first edition as a "Primera Parte" ("First Part"). This ambition is commented upon by the priest in *Don Quixote* with a little stab about the world still waiting for that "Second Part" and commenting that Cervantes (by name) is more conversant with adversity than with verse. The work takes on a new light after the successes of *Don Quixote*, *Novelas Ejemplares* and *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, specifically regarding Cervantes' work in "Virgil's Wheel"—as it rolls from the bucolic toward the epic.

ALCALÁ, 1585

PRIMERA PARTE | DE LA GALATEA | DIVIDIDA EN SEYS LIBROS. | *Compuesta por Miguel de Cervantes. | Dirigida al Illustriss. señor Ascanio Colona Abad de | sancta Sofia. | [cut with Latin banderole] | CON PRIVILEGIO. | Impresa en Alcala por Iuan Graçian. | Año de 1585. | A costa de Blas de Robles mercader de libros.*

Octavo. Collation: [8] ff., 375 ff. A-Z8, Aa-Ii8, KK8, Ll-Zz8, AA8. Palau, 1950, p. 3, 51928. Ruis I, 199.

I have not noticed any significant early copies of *La Galatea* with dealers while writing this article.

AT AUCTION

16 December 2020, Pierre Bergé, Paris sold a copy of the 1611 Paris edition, printed by Gilles Robinot (Palau 51930) at EUR 17,061 all in (about \$21,850)—off an estimate range of EUR 2,000-3,000.

In 2016 Doyle in New York sold a 1618 Barcelona edition for \$2,125 all in off an estimate range of \$2,500-3,500.

16 November 2006, Sotheby's London sold a 1611 Paris at GBP 9,600 all in (\$15,300).

A single bifolium of the 1585 first printing was offered at Sotheby's London in 2016 estimated GBP 1,000-1,500 and was bought in.

1605: DON QUIXOTE

FIRST EDITION of the FIRST PART

MADRID, 1605:

EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON QVI | XOTE DE LA MANCHA, | *Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saavedra.* | DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE DE BEIAR, | Marquez de Gibrleon, Conde de Benalcaçar, y Baña- | res, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de | las villas de Capilla, Curiel, y | Burgillos. | Año, [woodcut device with Latin motto: *Spero Lucem Post Tenebras* ("I hope for light after the darkness")] 1605. | CON PRIVILEGIO, | *EN MADRID* Por Iuan de la Cuesta. | [rule] | Vedese en casa de Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey nro señor.

Small quarto in eights, 664 pages [632 of text]. Foliated. The *Testimonio de las Erratas* is dated 1 December 1604, the Tassa is dated 20 December 1604, and the "privilegio" [EL REY.] is dated 26 September 1604.

Collation: ¶4, ¶¶8, A-Qq8, *4, **4, [1-12], 1-312, [313-320] ff. (664 pp.)

Palau, 1950, p. 4, 51977. Flores, 1988. Ruis, I, 1.

SUBSEQUENT EARLY PRINTINGS of the FIRST PART

MADRID, 1605:

EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON QVI | XOTE DE LA MANCHA, | *Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saavedra.* | DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE DE BEIAR, | Marquez de Gibrleon, Conde de Barcelona, y Baña- | res, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de | las villas de Capilla, Curiel, y | Burgillos. | Año, [woodcut device] 1605. | CON PRIVILEGIO de Castilla, Aragon y Portugal, | *EN MADRID* Por Iuan de la Cuesta. | [rule] | Vedese en casa de Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey nro señor.

Small quarto in eights. Collation: ¶4, ¶¶8, A-Z8, Aa-Rr8.

Second Madrid printing, fourth overall, easily distinguished from the first Madrid printing by the slight changes noted above on the title-page and the addition of a new privilege dated 9 February 1605 for Portugal.

[Ruis, I, 4; not in Flores]

LISBON, 1605:

EL INGENIOSO ... [¶c]. Em Lisboa. Impresso com lisença do Santo Officio por Jorge Rodriguez. Anno do 1606.

Quarto. Double-columned. 460 pages. With an "Aprobacion" dated Lisbon, 26 February 1605. This is sometimes called an "authorized piracy"—however that is supposed to be defined.

LISBON, 1605:

EL INGENIOSO ... [¶c]. Con licencia de la S. Inquisicion, en Lisboa, impresso por Pedro Crasbeeck, año MDCV.

This edition is in octavo format and runs to 916 pages. Licensed 27 and 29 March 1605. A piracy.

VALENCIA, 1605:

EL INGENIOSO ... [¶c]. Impresso con licencia en Valencia, en casa de Pedro Patricio Mey, 1605.

Small octavo. 16 leaves of preliminaries and 768 pages of text. "Aprobacion" dated 18 July 1605. Printed from the second edition of Juan de la Cuesta. The Mey workshop was one of the best in Spain and this edition is attractive: carefully set and printed. It is the last of the 1605 versions.

1607 brought an octavo printing in Brussels by Roger Velpius. 1608 saw the commonly called "third edition"—being the third from Juan de la Cuesta, and eighth overall, issued in quarto. 1610 and 1611 brought printings from Milan and Brussels (again).

First Edition of the Spurious Second Part of Don Quixote

FERNÁNDEZ DE AVELLANEDA, Alonzo [pseud.] SEGUNDO | TOMO DEL | INGENIOSO HIDALGO | DON QVIXOTE DE LA MANCHA, | que contiene su tercera salida: y es la | quinta parte de sus aventuras. | Compuesto por el Licenciado Alonso Fernandez de | Auellaneda, natural de la Villa de | Tordesillas. | Al Alcalde, Regidores, y hidalgos, de la noble | villa del Argamesilla, patria feliz del hidal- | go Cauallero Don Quixote | de la Mancha. | Con Licencia, en Tarragona en casa de Felipe | Roberto, Año 1614.

Octavo. 282ff.

Miguel de Cervantes HATED, HATED, HATED the pseudonymous bastard that dared to attempt to narrate the third sally of his own beloved Don Quixote and Sancho Panza—and with great flourish Cervantes disemboweled this damnable poseur at the beginning of the REAL Part II.

1615: FIRST EDITION of the SECOND PART

In *Don Quixote*, Part II, the narrator games and “meta” commentary are given a free rein: Part II presupposes the public knowledge of Part I and the characters of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza.

MADRID, 1615:

SEGUNDA PARTE | DEL INGENIOSO | CAVALLERO DON | QUIXOTE DE LA | MANCHA.
| por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. autor de su primera parte. | Dirigido a don Fernandez de Castro, Conde de Le- | mos, de Andrade, y de Villalua, Marques de Sarria, Gentil- | hombre de la Camara de su Magestad, Comendador de la | Encomienda de Peñafiel, y la Zarca de la Orden de Al- | cantara, Virrey, Gobernador, Capitan General | del Reyno de Napole, y Presidente del su- | premo Consejo de Italia. | [cut with Latin motto] Año 1615 | CON PRIVILEGIO, | En Madrid, Por Iuan de la Cuesta | vendese en casa de Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey N.S.

Small quarto in eights. Collation: ¶8, A-Mm8, Nn4. [1-8], 1-280, [281-284] ff. (584 pp.)

Palau, 1950, p. 6, 51985. Flores, 1988. Ruis, I, 12.

Early DON QUIXOTE Editions on the Market During This Writing

The 1607 Brussels Velpius edition (seventh overall, and earliest on the market at the time) was represented at Sokol (ILAB, London) at \$135,000, Blackwell’s (ILAB, Oxford) at \$123,000, and Milestones of Science (ILAB, Ritterhude, Germany) at \$51,000. A 1611 Velpius was at Michael Steinbach (ILAB, Vienna) at \$45,000.

A 1617 Lisbon printing of “Segunda Parte” was at Lauso Books (Barcelona) at \$40,000.

A 1617 Barcelona printing of the “Segunda Parte” was at Librairie Sourget (ILAB, Paris) at \$62,000 and at Raptis (ABAA, Palm Beach) at \$60,000.

AT AUCTION

The GARDEN SET: One of the greatest single lots knocked down in my bookselling career was the “Garden” set of *Don Quixote*. The auction was 10 April 1989 at Sotheby’s New York, “The Collection of The Garden Ltd.: Magnificent Books and Manuscripts.” Every collector and dealer should have their annotated copy of this sale by their desk at all times. The collection was built by Haven O’More. Lot 80 was the Garden set of the 1605 and 1615 first editions of *Don Quixote*. “As the Four Folios of

Shakespeare are the highest prize of English book-collecting, and the Foligno Dante of Italian, so the complete first edition of *Don Quixote* is the highest prize of Spanish book-collecting. It is much rarer than either the Folios or the Foligno Dante, and unlike them the *Don Quixote* was printed during the author’s lifetime and had not been printed in part or published in manuscript before the first edition.” The Garden copy was the Claude Pellot (Seventeenth century)/Henry Huth/J. P. Morgan set, in a fine red morocco binding, gilt extra, by Francis Bedford, circa 1880, commissioned by Huth (Huth commissioned a restoration, but Bedford ill-advisedly provided a complete rebinding). The lot was estimated \$200,000–300,000 and brought a hammer price of \$1,500,000, or \$1,650,000 all in. By Bureau of Labor Statistics CPI, that would be approximately \$3,800,000 as of this writing, but we all know that this set is worth over \$10,000,000 today. The Garden Sale catalogue provides a census: stating that only three copies of the first edition first issue are known and none has a companion Part II; the Garden 1605 is the second issue of Part I, with the *Prologo* and laudatory verses; and “of the first volume only seventeen or eighteen copies are known: fifteen of them are in institutional libraries, and at least five or six are incomplete, and almost all of them are without the second volume...much rarer than the first, and we have located only seven copies of it—all in institutional libraries, except for the present copy.” The Morgan copy was sold by the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1978 to Bernard Quaritch Ltd.—as a duplicate.

Beyond the GARDEN SET

In 2021, Sotheby’s Paris sold the 1607 Brussels Velpius edition in a contemporary vellum binding at EUR 81,900 all in off an estimate range of EUR 30,000–50,000.

In 2020, Pierre Bergé sold a 1616 Brussels printing of Part II in a contemporary vellum binding at EUR 39,176 all in, estimated EUR 8,000–12,000.

In 2020, Christie’s sold a 1607 Brussels Velpius edition of Part I at GBP 47,500 all in, estimated GBP 40,000–60,000. In a Seventeenth-century English binding.

In 2018, Pierre Bergé sold a 1608 “third” Madrid edition in fine red morocco at EUR 90,990 all in, estimated EUR 80,000–120,000; and a 1617 Barcelona (I and II) in brown morocco at EUR 85,935 all in, estimated EUR 60,000–80,000.

Also in 2018, Christie’s New York sold a 1607 Brussels Velpius edition at \$81,250 all in, estimated \$40,000–60,000. In Twentieth-century vellum. Ex-Quaritch, ex-Maggs.

In 2015, Pierre Bergé sold a 1605 Lisbon (Pedro Crasbeeck [sic]) edition at EUR 213,920 all in, off an

estimate range of EUR 150,000-180,000. Fine morocco from late Seventeenth or early Eighteenth century.

In 2014, Pierre Bergé sold a 1607 Brussels Velpius with a 1616 Brussels Part II—both in contemporary vellum—at EUR 73,800 all in, estimated EUR 30,000-40,000.

In 2012, Christie's New York sold a 1605 Valencia edition in contemporary limp vellum at \$116,500 all in that was estimated \$40,000-60,000.

In 2011, Sotheby's London sold a 1608 Madrid Juan de la Cuesta finely bound in black crushed morocco at GBP 63,650, estimated GBP 40,000-60,000.

In 2007, a copy of the 1617 Barcelona set of Part I and Part II was estimated only EUR 2,500-3,500 by Romantic Agony and brought EUR 221,400 all in.

In 2005, Sotheby's sold a 1605 Valencia for EUR 78,000 all in that was estimated EUR 15,000-20,000.

In 2004 a copy of the 1608 Madrid Juan de la Cuesta brought GBP 84,000 at Sotheby's London off an estimate range of GBP 70,000-90,000.

Also in 2004, Christie's London had a 1608 Madrid Juan de la Cuesta in contemporary Spanish limp vellum that brought GBP 121,730 off an estimate range of GBP 25,000-35,000.

Back in 2000 a 1615 first printing of Part II in contemporary Spanish limp vellum brought GBP 355,250 at Sotheby's London, while estimated only GBP 30,000-50,000. And the same year Sotheby's sold a 1605 second Madrid at GBP 223,250, estimated GBP 150,000-200,000 in a French armorial binding.

As far as I could find out, you have to go back to 1961 to find a set of the 1605 and 1615 comparable to the Garden set, and that pair went through Parke-Bernet at \$44,000 all in.

In 1953 Lathrop Harper catalogued a 1605 second issue Juan de la Cuesta at \$3,500.

Way back in 1927, Maggs catalogued a pair of 1605 and 1615 first editions (Ruis 1 and Ruis 12) at GBP 3,800.

The IBARRA QUIXOTE

The *finest* edition of *Don Quixote* is the universally acclaimed "Ibarra Quixote." This is a four-volume quarto set published in Madrid in 1780 by Joaquin Ibarra, printer to the Spanish Royal Academy. The set is sumptuously illustrated with an engraved frontispiece in each volume, a folding map, a full-page portrait of Cervantes, and 31 plates, plus engraved head- and tail-pieces and opening initials. The set is praised by D. B. Updike as "the finest edition of *Don Quixote* that has ever been printed" and in Brunet (I 1749) with "cette édition est un vrai chef-d'oeuvre typographique." By the mid-Seventeenth century

there were countless editions of *Don Quixote* across Europe, every one of which had typographical and orthographic errors, some to an unacceptable degree. Seeking to memorialize a standard critical text of their domestic masterpiece, the Spanish Royal Academy commissioned a fresh edition which they hoped would be both philologically accurate and beautiful to behold: the perfect reading edition. Their expectations were exceeded in this monumental production. Special paper was commissioned from the factory of Joseph Llorens. The new typeface was by Gerónimo Gil. The illustration commissions went to the finest artists and engravers of the period. The final product successfully proclaimed the novel as a true national treasure.

In 2021 a standard set was catalogued by Meda Riquier Rare Books in London at \$46,000. Antiquariat INLIBRIS Gilhofer in Vienna boasted a set from the library of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico at \$88,000.



DON QUIXOTE in first full English translation by Thomas Shelton

[CERVANTES] [engraved title-page text:] THE | HISTORY OF | DON-QUICHOTE. | The first parte. | PRINTED FOR ED: BLOUNT. | [Volume Two:] THE | SECOND | PART OF THE | HISTORY OF THE | Valorous and witty KNIGHT- | ERRANT | Don Quixote of the Mancha. | Written in Spanish by Michael Ceruantes: And now Translated | into English. | LONDON, | Printed for Edward Blount. | 1620.

First complete Englishing by Thomas Shelton: second issue of Part I and first issue of Part II. Part I

had been first printed in 1612.

During the writing of this article, the Thomas Shelton English translation, 1620 edition, being the second edition of Part I and the first edition of Part II, was at Peter Harrington (ILAB, London) at \$163,500 and at Raptis (ABAA, Palm Beach) at \$150,000 and another copy at \$125,000. A 1620 set went through Christie's in 2021 for \$75,000 all in, estimated \$30,000-50,000.

Copies of the first illustrated *Don Quixote* in English (London: Hodgkin, 1687) were listed at \$16,000 at Heritage Book Shop (ABAA, Beverly Hills) and at \$14,375 at Thorn Books (ABAA, Tucson)—translated by John Philips.

1613: NOVELAS EJEMPLARES

Novelas Ejemplares, or *Exemplary Novels*, containing 12 stories, was a very successful collection of short stories. Standard English titles below per Oxford Handbook (2021); n.b., title translations differ in various modern paperbacks, e.g., Edith Grossman's fine current edition via Yale and Lesley Lipson via Oxford. Spanish titles from the first edition are now often modernized. There is some internal evidence that most of these stories were at least in first draft form by 1605 with four or five of them circa 1608-1610. This collection remains the most read of Cervantes' works after *Don Quixote*. This status suits the modern mind; it is unlikely that *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* will ever overtake this set of short stories again—nor will Cervantes' dramas.

Four ecclesiastical approvals were issued in July and August 1612 and the "privilegio" to print in Castile is dated August 1612. But the bookseller Robles also wanted a privilege for Aragon to thwart pirate editions and that came in August 1613. The privileges were ignored, of course, and pirate editions appeared in Pamplona and Brussels in 1614 and Milan in 1615 and a counterfeit "Juan de la Cuesta, Madrid" was printed in 1614, likely in Seville.

MADRID, 1613:

NOVELAS | EXEMPLARES | DE MIGVEL DE | Ceruantes Saavedra. | *DIRIGIDO A DON PEDRO FERNAN-* | dez de Castro, Conde de Lemos, de Andrade y de Villalua, | Marques de Sarria, Gentilhombre de la Cámara de su | Magestad, Virrey, Gouernador, y Capitan General | del Reyno de Napoles, Comendador de la En- | comienda de la Zarça de la Orden | de Alcantara. | [cut with Latin motto] | Año 1613. | Co[n] pruiuilegio de Castilla, y de los Reynos de la Corona de Arago[n]. | *EN MADRID*, Por Iuan de la Cuesta. | Vendese en casa de Fra[n]cisco de Robles, librero del Rey nro Señor.

Quarto. 12 folios of preliminaries, then 274ff. ¶4, ¶¶8, A-Z, AA-LL8, MM2 (colophon MM2v)

Palau, 1950, p. 59, 53399. Ruis 219.

Contents:

La gitanilla (*The Little Gypsy Girl*), *El amante liberal* (*The Generous Lover*), *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, *La española inglesa* (*The Spanish English Woman*), *El licenciado vidriera* (*The Glass Graduate*), *La fuerza de la sangre* (*The Force of Blood*), *El zeloso extremeño* (*The Jealous Man from Extremadura*), *La ilustre fregona* (*The Illustrious Washer-Woman*), *Las dos donzellas* (*The Two Damsels*), *La señora Cornelia* (*The Lady Cornelia*), *El casamiento engañoso* (*The Deceitful Marriage*), *El coloquio que passo entre Cipion y Bergança* (*The Dialogue of the Dogs*)

First Englished (by Thomas Shelton) as

Exemplarie Novells: in sixe books. The two Damosels. The Ladie Cornelia. The liberall Lover. The force of blood. The Spanish ladie. The jealous Husband. Fvll of Variovs Accidents both Delighfvll and Profitable...Turned into English by Don Diego Puede-Ser. London: Printed by John Dawson for R. M. and are to be sold by Laurence Blaick locke: at his shop...in Fleetstreet, 1640.

Early editions of NOVELAS EXEMPLARES on the market during this writing

A 1614 second edition was at James Cummins (ABAA, New York) priced \$30,000 and a 1614 third edition was at Sourget (ILAB, Paris) marked \$26,000.

AT AUCTION

In 2020, the Milan 1615 edition, printed by Giovanni Battista Bideli was bought in at Forum (London), estimated GBP 4,000-6,000.

Sotheby's Paris 14 Dec 2022
1613 N.E. brmp \$431,424

In 2019, the 1614 Pamplona edition of Nicolas de Asaiain (Palau 53401) brought approximately \$7,111 all in at Sotheby's London.

14 December 2018, Pierre Bergé in Paris sells the 1614 "Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta" [Seville: Gabriel Ramos Bejarano] (Palau 53400) for approximately \$14,000 all in—below the low estimate.

1614: VIAGE DEL PARNASO

THIS 1614 PUBLICATION is a long, long poem that is difficult to lodge comfortably in any single known genre. The work was not as widely read in Spanish as had been *Don Quixote* Part I and the *Novelas Ejemplares*. This 1614 first edition was reprinted in Milan in 1624, but apparently was never pirated by the usual suspects in Valencia, Barcelona, Brussels or London. After the 1624 Milan edition the poem did not get reprinted (as far as I can tell) until 1736, when it was coupled with a new edition of *La Galatea*. There was a popular 1784 edition with *Numancia* and *Trato de Argel*. The work was not irresistibly tempting to translators and was first Englished in blank verse in 1870 and in tercets in 1883. It is also not the main subject matter of English-language critical work on Cervantes. The work itself is not to be confused with Cervantes' prose piece "Adjunta al Parnaso." Cervantes' contemporaries (many of whom become subjects of the poem) disparaged his work in poetry and the Cervantes scholar Fitzmaurice-Kelly described the prose master's efforts in verse as Samson after a haircut. So be it. I have never felt compelled to read it, assuming I would miss a lot of the allusions entirely.

MADRID, 1614:

VIAGE | DEL PARNASO, | COMPVESTO POR | Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauvedra. | *Dirigido a Don Rodrigo de Tapia, | Cauallero del Habito de Santiago, | hijo del señor Pedro de Tapia Oy- | dor de Consejo Real, y Consultor | del Santo Oficio de la Inqui- | sicion Suprema.* | Año [decorative cut] 1614. | CON PRIVILEGIO | EN MADRID, | Por la viuda de Alonso Martin.

Octavo. Eight preliminary leaves signed ¶ and 80 leaves signed A-K8. Palau, 1950, p. 74, 53877. Ruis 308.

I did not notice any early printings with dealers while writing this article.

AT AUCTION

In 2006 the 1614 Madrid edition was bought in at Bloomsbury, estimated EUR 60,000-65,000.

15 December 1981, the Madrid 1614 (Palau 53877) sold at Sotheby's London for about \$7,330 all in.

In 1975 a copy of this Palau 53877 brought GBP 3,800 all in at Sotheby's in a fine French binding by Lortic.

The *Viage* and the "Adjunta" remain available in Spanish and are available in English through amazon.com for Kindle or print-on-demand.

1615: OCHO COMEDIAS Y OCHO ENTREMESES NUEVOS

CERVANTES WAS NOT ALONE among Spanish dramatists in having his stage works languish in the long shadow of Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca. Cervantes' dramas claim they are written to be read more than performed, but that may be an authorial imposition on the texts—since they were never performed. Some remain important reading after *Don Quixote* and the *Exemplary Novels*, e.g., *Los baños de Argel* and *La gran Sultana*. The works—not always presented in the complete original order—are always in print in Spanish and are available with a little searching in English translation. Cervantes' play *Numancia* ("The Siege of Numancia" or the "Tragedy of Numancia"), which was written a couple of years before the publication of *La Galatea*, is also currently available in an English version. *Numancia* will seem odd to anyone not familiar with the genre, but it is a significant work about a moment in the

formation of the national Hispanic character, a Masada-like suicidal effort against the indomitable Roman armies under Scipio Africanus.

MADRID, 1615

OCHO | COMEDIAS, Y OCHO | ENTREMESES NVEVOS, | Nunca representados. | COMPUESTAS POR MIGVEL | de Ceruantes Saauvedra. | DIRIGIDAS A DON PEDRO FER- | nandez de Castro, Conde de Lemos, de Andrade, | y de Villalua, Marques de Sarria, Gentilhombre | de la Camara de su Magestad, Comendador de | la Encomienda | ... | Año [cut] 1615. | CON PRIVILEGIO. | [RULE] | EN MADRID, ...

Quarto. [2] preliminary leaves, 257 leaves + colophon. ¶¶4, A-Z4 Aa-Kk4. Palau, 1950, p. 77, 53948.

Contents:

[comedias:] [i.e., plays]

El Gallardo Español, La Casa de los Zelos, Los baños de Argel, El rusian dichoso, La gran Sultana, El Laberinto de amor, Le Entretenida, Pedro de Vrdemalas

[entremeses:] ["interludes"]

El juez de los diuorcios, El rufian viudo, Elección de los Alcales de Daganço, La guarda cuydadosa, El Vizcayno singido, El retablo de las maravillas, La cueua de Salamanca, El viejo zeloso

I didn't notice any early editions of this title on the market while writing this article.

AT AUCTION

In 2009, Sotheby's New York catalogued a copy of

the Madrid, 1615 edition, printed by Alonso Martin (Palau 53948, Ruis 324) at \$25,000-\$35,000 which was bought in.

On 7 December 2000, Sotheby's London sold the Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun copy in contemporary Dutch vellum for GBP 91,250 all in (\$131,400) off an estimate range of GBP 20,000-30,000. On 23 June 1988 this Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun copy was knocked down at GBP 22,000 (\$41,140) all in at Sotheby's Philip Robinson sale off an estimate of GBP 8,000-12,000.

In 1982, the Chatsworth copy brought GBP 2,200 hammer (\$4,470 all in) at Christie's.

This is available in Spanish and is available in English through amazon.com for Kindle or print-on-demand if you do some searching.

1617: LOS TRABAJOS DE PERSILES Y SIGISMUNDA

CERTAIN WORKS are often pointed to as models for this work; the most often name-checked are Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* ("An Ethiopian Romance") and Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. In its first wave of success, it was almost as popular as *Don Quixote*—going through six printings in the first year—but that popularity didn't last. Readership and critical comment waned over the centuries and hit a low point just a few generations ago. Critical comment in English is making a feeble but encouraging return, but the work will never be alive again in a contemporary sense: at best it may be appreciated by a few who still enjoy Torquato Tasso and other weak neighbors of Medieval and Renaissance Christian literature. Arturo Farinelli in 1925 described the work as the last romantic dream of a weary and serene genius. It's a difficult text for modern readers to find emotional or genre purchase in unless they are at least somewhat conversant in Virgil, Dante, Greek Byzantine fiction and Godfrey of Bouillon via Tasso—all mixed with Catholic prose and specifically Crusader prose. A modern reader may miss the cumulative point of so much repetition with variations. Deep appreciation of the structures and systems of Tasso's poetics are outside the cultural composition of modern readers, myself included. This work is reaching valiantly for something, and many early Seventeenth-century readers seemed to think it had reached—or at least had almost reached—that something...something now ever more elusive.

MADRID, 1617:

LOS TRABAIOS | DE PERSILES, Y | SIGISMUNDA, HISTO- | ria Setentrional. | POR MIGUEL DE CERVANTES | Saavedra. | DIRIGIDO A DON PEDRO FERNANDEZ DE | Castro Conde de Lemos, de Andrade, de Villalua, Marques de | Sarria, Gentilhombre de la Camara de su Magestad, Presidente del Consejo supremo de Italia, Comendador de la | Encomienda de la Zarça, de la Orden | de Alcantara. | [cut with Latin motto] | Año 1617 | Con Priuilegio. En Madrid. Por Iuan de la Cuesta. | A costa de Iuan de Villarruel, mercader de libros, en la Plateria.

Quarto. 6 ff., 226 ff. Palau, 1950, p. 75, 53894. Ruis 345.

I didn't notice any significant editions with dealers while writing this article.

AT AUCTION

On 20 March 2013, a 1617 Madrid edition (Palau 53899) brought GBP 5,625 all in (\$8,550) off an estimate range of GBP 400-700. In a fine red morocco binding, gilt extra by Duru dated 1852. This was the octavo copied from the quarto issued earlier in 1617.

In 1996 a 1617 Valencia edition (Palau 53900) went through Swann at \$2,300 all in

At the Bradley Martin sale, the 1619 Englishing, *Travels of Persiles and Sigismunda*, London: H.L. for M.L., the Buxton-Greenhill-Martin copy brought \$4,400 all in.

This is, of course, readily available in Spanish and is available in English through amazon.com for Kindle or print-on-demand.

A TIMELINE of RELEVANT HISTORY, CERVANTES BIOGRAPHY, LITERARY ANCESTORS and LITERARY HEIRS

I GENERALLY DON'T LIKE TIMELINES. But for the sake of those who read mostly modern literature I have compiled this thoroughly subjective and selective calendar of the social/historical/literary milieu of Spain up to and including the lifetime of Cervantes, with some posthumous highlights of his continuing influence.

- | | | | |
|-----------|---|-----------|--|
| 1094-1099 | Rodrigo Díaz, "El Cid", rules Valencia (an arbitrary starting point, but an excellent one) | 1499 | <i>La Celestina</i> . In 1499 there appears in Burgos, printed by Fadrique Aleman, the work "Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea" which is the first known printing of the highly-influential <i>La Celestina</i> by Fernando de Rojas—but it contains the statement "nuevamente revista y enmendada con la adición de los argumentos de cada un auto en principio"—which must allude to a prior printing. |
| c. 1250 | Poems by Gonzalo de Berceo | 1501 | <i>Tristán de Leonís</i> (anon. (?), Valladolid: Juan de Burgos) |
| c. 1350 | <i>Libro de buen amor</i> by Juan Ruiz | 1502-1504 | Fourth Voyage of Columbus |
| 1353 | Boccaccio likely completes the <i>Decameron</i> —in the Florentine dialect | 1503 | Amerigo Vespucci's "Mundus Novus" (Vespucci's letter to Lorenzo Pietro di Medici) |
| 1378 | The Great Schism (the Avignon Papacy one) | 1504 | Hernán Cortés arrives in Hispaniola |
| c. 1385 | Chaucer writes <i>Troilus and Criseyde</i> | 1507 | Martin Waldseemüller publishes his legendary large world map, the first to show "America," printed in St. Dié near Strasbourg, and significantly titled: <i>Universalis Cosmographia Secundum Ptholomaei Traditionem et Americi Vespucii...</i> |
| 1387-1400 | Chaucer writes <i>The Canterbury Tales</i> | 1508 | "Los cuatro libros de" <i>Amadis de Gaula</i> by Garci Rodriguez de Montalvo (Zaragosa: Jorge Coci) |
| 1429 | A manuscript translation of the <i>Decameron</i> into Catalan | 1510 | <i>Sergas de Esplandián</i> (Book V of <i>Amadis de Gaula</i>) by Garci Rodriguez de Montalvo (Seville: Jacobo Cromberger) |
| 1469 | Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella | 1510 | <i>Florisando</i> (<i>Amadis de Gaula</i> , Book VI) by Ruy Paéz de Ribera (Salamanca: Juan de Porras) |
| 1473 | Advent of printing in Spain | 1511 | Hernán Cortés arrives in Cuba |
| 1478 | The Inquisition is established | 1511 | <i>Moriae Encomium</i> (<i>Praise of Folly</i>) by Erasmus (Spanish: <i>Elogio de la locura</i>)—complete Latin text printed by Froben in 1521) |
| 1483 | <i>Orlando innamorato</i> , Books I and II, by Mateo Boiardo, but earliest extant is likely 1487 | 1511 | <i>Palmerín de Oliva</i> (anon., Salamanca: Juan de Porras) |
| 1490 | Incunable edition of <i>Tirant lo Blanc</i> , written by the Valencian knight Joanot Martorell, finished posthumously by his friend Martí Joan de Galba and published in the city of Valencia in the Valencian dialect. | 1511 | <i>Tirante el Blanco</i> (Valladolid: Diego de Gumiel) |
| 1492 | Expulsion of the Jews from Spain | 1512 | <i>Primaleón</i> (Book II of <i>Palmerín de Oliva</i>) (anon., Salamanca: Juan de Porras) |
| 1492 | Conquest of Granada, the terminal date of the <i>Reconquista</i> | 1512 | <i>Crónica particular del Cid</i> (Burgos: Fadrique Biel de Basilea) |
| 1492-1493 | First Voyage of Columbus | 1514 | <i>Lisuarte de Grecia</i> (<i>Amadis de Gaula</i> , Book VII) by Feliciano de Silva (Seville: Juan Valera de Salamanca) |
| 1493-1496 | Second Voyage of Columbus (which includes Ponce de León) | | |
| 1495 | <i>Orlando innamorato</i> , Book III, by Mateo Boiardo published posthumously | | |
| 1496 [?] | First edition [?] of <i>Amadis de Gaula</i> (anon. (?), Seville: Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Potono?) | | |
| 1498 | <i>Crónica popular del Cid</i> (anon. (?), Seville?) | | |
| 1498 | <i>Baladro del sabio Merlin</i> (anon. (?), Burgos: Juan de Burgos) | | |
| 1498-1500 | Third Voyage of Columbus | | |

- 1514 Commencement of printing of the "Complutensian Polyglot" Bible in Alcalá de Henares. Printing completed in 1517 and publication sanctioned in 1520.
- 1515 *Demanda del Santa Grial* (anon., Toledo: Juan de Villalquirán)
- 1516 *Floriseo* (Books I-II) by Fernando Bernal (Valencia: Diego de Gumiel)
- 1516-1532 *Orlando furioso* by Ludovico Ariosto
- 1517 Martin Luther's "95 Theses"
- 1519-1521 Conquest of Mexico (Cortés)
- 1524 *Historia de Paris y Viana* (Spanish version of *Paris et Vienne*, 1432) (Burgos: Alonso de Melgar)
- 1526 *Lisuarte de Grecia* (Book VIII of *Amadis de Gaula*) by Juan Diaz (Seville: Jacobo y Juan Cromberger)
- 1525 *Espejo de caballerias* (I), by Pedro López de Santa Catalina (Toledo: Gaspar de Ávila)
- 1527 *Espejo de caballerias* (II), by Pedro López de Santa Catalina (Toledo: Cristóbal Francés y Francisco de Alfaro)
- 1528 *Retrato de la lozana andaluza* (*Portrait of Lozana, the Lusty Andalusian Woman*) by Francisco Delicado. An influential novel, combining the dialogue technique of *La Celestina* and a picaresque structure.
- 1530 *Amadis de Grecia* (Book IX of *Amadis de Gaula*) by Feliciano de Silva (Cuenca: Cristóbal Francés)
- 1530 *Florindo* by Fernando Basurta (Zaragoza: Pierres Hardouin)
- 1532 *Florisel de Niquea* (I and II) (Book X of *Amadis de Gaula*) by Feliciano de Silva (Valladolid: Nicolás Tierri)
- 1532-1564 Rabelais publishes "Gargantua and Pantagruel" (in five books); Rabelais died in 1553 and some of the posthumously-published text is questioned.
- 1533 The important Francisco Delicado edition of *Amadis de Gaula* (Venice: Antonio de Sabia)
- 1533 *Morgante* (I) by Jerónimo Aunés (Valencia: Francisco Díaz de Romano)
- 1533 *Platir* (Book III of *Palmerín de Oliva*) by Francisco de Enciso (Valladolid: Nicolás Tierri)
- 1534 *Segunda Celestina* by Feliciano de Silva (see 1499)
- 1535 *Florisel de Niquea* (III) (Book XI of *Amadis de Gaula*) by Feliciano de Silva (Medina del Campo: Pierres Tovans?) A lost printing.
- 1535 *Morgante* (II) by Jerónimo Aunés (Valencia: this time by Nicolás Durán)
- 1539 A printing press established in Mexico City (Tenochtitlán) by Juan Cromberger and Juan Carlos [Giovanni Pauli]
- 1542 *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (*Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*), by Bartolomé de Las Casas
- 1542 Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Chronicle of the Narváez Expedition* (*La relación que dio Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca de lo acaescido en las Indias en la armada donde yua por gouernador Pamphilo de Narbeaz*)
- 1543 The Francisco de Enzinas New Testament in Spanish
- 1545 Beginning of the Council of Trent
- 1545 *Belianis de Grecia* (I and II) by Jerónimo Fernández (lost edition)
- 1545 *Florando de Inglaterra* (Lisbon: Germán Gallarde)
- 1546 First surviving edition of *Forisel de Niquea* (III) by Feliciano de Silva (Seville: Juan Cromberger)
- 1546 *Silves de la Selva* (XII of *Amadis*) by Pedro de Luján (Seville: Dominico de Robertis)
- 1547 **Miguel de Cervantes born in Alcalá de Henares**
- 1547 Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* printed in French
- 1547 *Palmerín de Inglaterra*, I (Toledo: Fernando de Santa Catalina)
- 1547 First surviving edition of *Belianis de Grecia*
- 1549 Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* printed in Spanish (Antwerp: Martin Nutius)
- 1550 *Palmerín de Inglaterra* (II) (Toledo: Fernando de Santa Catalina)
- 1551 *Florisel de Niquea* (IV), (XI of *Amadis*), by Feliciano de Silva (Salamanca: Andrea de Portonaris)
- 1553 The Ferrara Bible in the Ladino language
- 1554 *Lazarillo de Tormes*—often proclaimed the first picaresque novel published in Alcalá de Henares, Burgos, and Medina de Capo in Spain and in Antwerp, Belgium. The book broaches the touchy subject of Indulgences for sale and satires of the clergy in general, along with other new narrative territory
- 1554 A Spanish translation from the Greek of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* (*An Ethiopian*

- Romance*, aka *The Adventures of Theagenes and Chariclea*) titled *Historia Ethiopica* (with a Spanish translation also of the Jacques Aymot critical introduction)
- 1555 *Espejo de principes y caballeros* (I) by Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra (Zaragoza: Esteban de Nájera)
 - 1555 Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's second edition of *Chronicle of the Narváez Expedition* and first edition of *Comentarios Reales*.
 - 1556 Abdication of Charles V and accession of Philip II as Holy Roman Emperors
 - 1556 The Juan Pérez de Pineda New Testament in Spanish
 - 1557 Publication of the Geneva New Testament in English
 - 1558 Death of England's Catholic Queen Mary ("Bloody Mary") and accession of Elizabeth I
 - 1559 *La Diana* (by Jorge de Montemayor) – often proclaimed the first pastoral romance
 - 1560 Publication of the Geneva Bible in English
 - 1561 Madrid becomes capital of Spain and the official seat of the Court
 - 1562 Birth of Lope de Vega
 - 1563 End of the Council of Trent
 - 1564 Birth of Shakespeare
 - 1564 *La Diana enamorada* by Gil Polo
 - 1565 Revolt of the Low Countries against Spain
 - 1568 Bernal Diaz del Castillo writes *Conquest of New Spain* (*Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*)
 - 1569 The Casiodoro de Reina Spanish Bible
 - 1571 Battle of Lepanto
 - 1575 Miguel de Cervantes and his brother, Rodrigo, are taken captive by Berber pirates when their Spanish-bound galley is seized. Despite four escape attempts, Cervantes is a captive in Algiers until ransomed in 1580
 - 1576 *Febo el Troyano* by Esteban de Corbera (Barcelona: Pedro Malo), being *Espejo de principes y caballeros* (I)
 - 1578 Anthony Munday's English translation of *Gerileon of England* (I) published in London
 - 1578-1586 English translation published in London of *Mirror of Knighthood* (I-V), translators likely Munday, Tyler, and Parry.
 - 1579 *Belianís de Grecia* (III & IV) by Jerónimo Fernández (Burgos: Pedro de Santillana)
 - 1580 *Espejo de principes y caballeros* (II) by Pedro de la Sierra (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Íñiguez de Lequerica)
 - 1580 Miguel de Cervantes is ransomed by the Trinitarian Friars and returns to Spain



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1581-1583 Cervantes' first plays (including the important *Numancia*)

1581-1585 Anthony Munday's English translation of *Palmerin of England* (I and II) published in London

1584 Cervantes has an illegitimate daughter, Isabel, with his mistress Ana Franca de Rojas. Cervantes marries Catalina de Salazar

1585 Miguel de Cervantes publishes his pastoral romance, *La Galatea*

1587-1588 Cervantes works as a Commissary for the Spanish Armada

1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada (not Cervantes' fault!)

1588 Anthony Munday's English translation of *Palmerin d'Oliva* (I and II) published in London

1588 Anthony Munday's English translation

of *Palladine of England* published in London

1589 Anthony Munday's *Palmendos* published in London, his translation of *Primaleón de Grecia* (1512)

1590 (?) Anthony Munday's English translation of *Amadis de Gaule* (I) published in London

1592 Anthony Munday's English translation of *Gerileon of England* (II) published in London

1593-1601 Richard Field begins the printing of Shakespeare's poems *Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, and *Phoenix & the Turtle*

1594 (?) Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Parts I, II, and III printed

1594 Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* printed

1595 Anthony Munday's English translation of *Amadis de Gaule* (II) published in London

1595 Anthony Munday's English translation of *Primaleon of Greece* (I) published in London

1596 Anthony Munday's English translation of *Primaleon of Greece* (II) published in London

1596 Anthony Munday's English translation of *Palmerin of England* (I and II) re-published in London

1596 *Celestina* printed in London by Islip, anonymous translation but likely W. Barley (from a French work—not *La Celestina* by Fernando de Rojas)

1596 Sack of Cadiz by the British fleet

1596 The Cipriano de Valera New Testament in Spanish

1596 Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Part I printed

1597 Shakespeare's *Richard III* printed

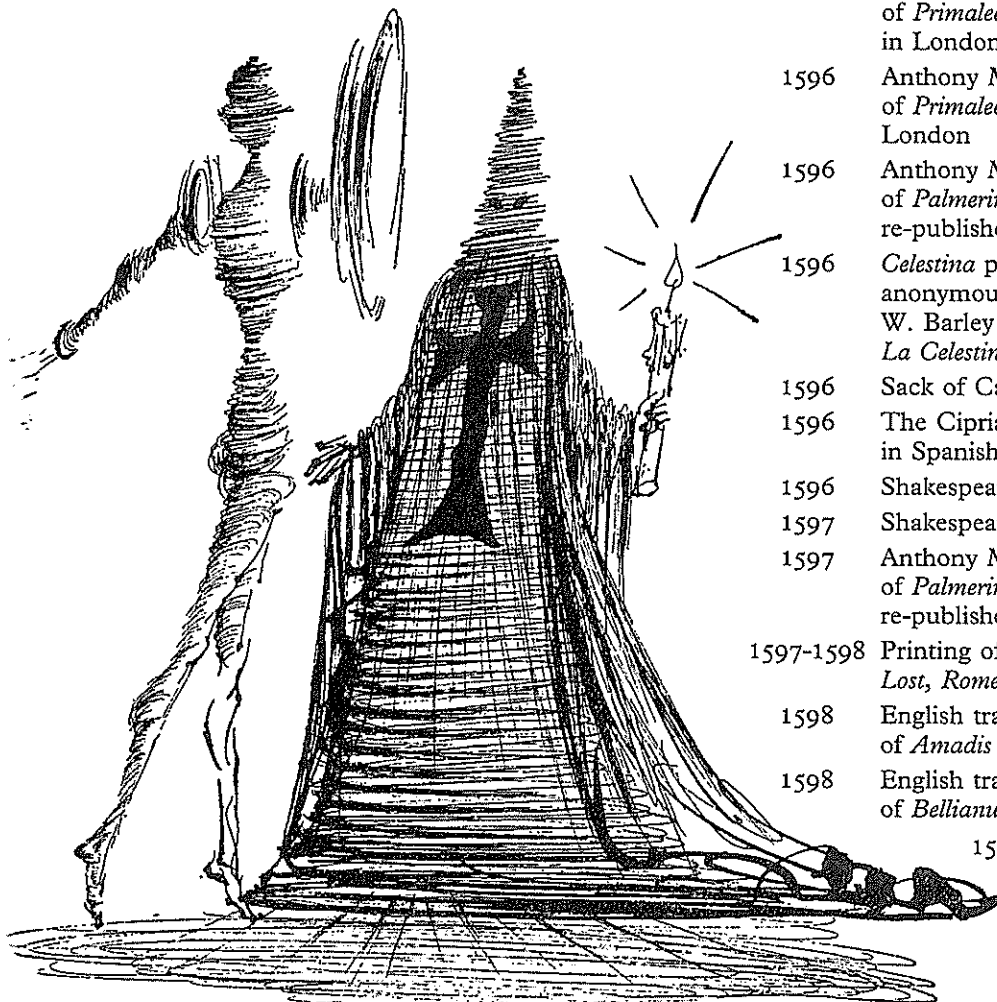
1597 Anthony Munday's English translation of *Palmerin d'Oliva* (I and II) re-published in London

1597-1598 Printing of Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Richard II*

1598 English translation (anonymous) of *Amadis de Gaule* (V)

1598 English translation (anonymous) of *Bellianus*

1598 English translations (anonymous) of *Mirror of Knighthood* (VI and VII)



- 1598 Death of Philip II and accession of Philip III
- 1599 Mateo Alemán publishes *Guzmán de Alfarache* I. This book was the biggest publishing success of its time with 16 editions in its first five years. It, like *Don Quixote*, has a spurious sequel which appeared in 1602 before Alemán's official Part II in 1604
- 1599-1601 English translations (anonymous) of *Mirror of Knighthood* (VIII and IX)
- 1600 Printing of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Part II; *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Henry V*
- 1601 The Court moves to Valladolid
- 1602 The Reina-Valera Bible in Spanish
- 1602 Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* printed
- 1602 *Guzmán de Alfarache* (II) by Juan Martín—the spurious sequel
- 1603 Death of Elizabeth I, accession of James I
- 1603 Shakespeare publishes the first quarto of *Hamlet*
- 1604 Cervantes relocates to Valladolid
- 1604 The Hampton Court Conference, where James I commissions the King James Version of the Bible in English
- 1604 Mateo Alemán publishes the real *Guzmán de Alfarache* II
- 1605 Miguel de Cervantes publishes *Don Quixote*, Part I
- 1606-1607 The Court and Cervantes return to Madrid
- 1608 Shakespeare's *King Lear* is printed
- 1608 César Oudin translates into French the "Ill-Conceived Curiosity" ("*Curioso impertinente*") segment of *Don Quixote*, Part I.
- 1609 Shakespeare's *Pericles* and *Troilus and Cressida* are printed
- 1609 Lope de Vega publishes *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*—the term *comedias* translated as "comedies" does not do justice to the meaning in Spanish: the term is more comprehensive, meaning "plays," not necessarily funny plays. This work was highly influential on playwrights of the era (e.g., Tirso de Molina and Pedro Calderón de la Barca)
- 1609 Expulsion begins of the Moriscos from Spain
- 1609 The signing of the Twelve Years Truce with the Dutch rebels
- 1612 Thomas Shelton publishes the first translation into English of *Don Quixote*, Part I. This is the first translation of the work
- 1613 Cervantes returns to his hometown of Alcalá de Henares
- 1613 Cervantes publishes *Novelas Ejemplares*
- 1613 *The History of Cardenio*, the lost play of Shakespeare and Fletcher which shares the *Don Quixote* character Cardenio
- 1614 Cervantes publishes his long poem *Viaje del Parnaso*
- 1614 Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda (pseud.) publishes his unauthorized sequel to *Don Quixote*
- 1614 French translation of *Don Quixote*, Part One by César Oudin
- 1615 Cervantes publishes *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* (*Eight Plays and Eight Interludes*) and *Don Quixote*, Part II
- 1616 Death of Cervantes four days after dictating the dedication of *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*
- 1616 Death of Shakespeare
- 1617 *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* is published posthumously
- 1620 Thomas Shelton publishes the second edition of his English *Don Quixote*, Part I and the first edition in English of *Don Quixote*, Part II
- 1622 First Italian edition of *Don Quixote*, Part I, by Lorenzo Franciosini
- 1625 First Italian edition of *Don Quixote*, Part II, by Lorenzo Franciosini
- 1626 *El Buscón* by Francisco de Quevedo
- 1651-1657 Baltasar Gracián publishes *El Criticón* in three parts
- 1687 John Phillips' English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1700 John Stevens revises the Thomas Shelton English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1700-1703 The Peter Motteux English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1719 John Ozell revises the Peter Motteux English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1726-1739 *Teatro critico universal* by Benito Jerónimo Feijóo (nine volumes)
- 1734 Henry Fielding's play *Don Quixote* in England

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- 1742 Henry Fielding's novel *Joseph Andrews* ("Written in Imitation of the Manner of Cervantes, Author of *Don Quixote*")
- 1742 The Charles Jarvis (or Jervas) English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1752 Charlotte Lennox publishes *The Female Quixote: or, The Adventures of Arabella*
- 1755 Tobias Smollett publishes his English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1759 Laurence Sterne publishes *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*
- 1769 The George Kelley English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1774 The Charles Henry Wilmot English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1801 *Female Quixotism, Exhibited in the Romantic Opinions of and Extravagant Adventures of Dorcasina Sheldon* by American novelist Tabitha Gilman Tenney
- 1806 *El si de las niñas* by Leandro Fernández de Moratin
- 1833 Mariano Arévalo's five-volume edition of *Don Quixote* is published in Mexico City, the first publication of the novel in the Americas
- 1837 Dickens' *Pickwick Papers* (Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club), the finest Victorian novel to emulate the Don Quixote/Sancho Panza dynamic duo with Samuel Pickwick and Sam Weller
- 1856 Serial publication of *Madame Bovary* by Flaubert; published in book form in two volumes in April 1857 after its obscenity trial
- 1860 Ivan Turgenev tours his lectures on *Hamlet* and *Don Quixote*
- 1863 The Gustave Doré edition of *Don Quixote*
- 1864 The T. T. Shore English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1868-1869 Serial publication of *The Idiot* (Идиотъ) by Dostoevsky
- 1881 Posthumous publication of *Bouvard et Pécuchet* by Flaubert
- 1881 The Alexander Duffield English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1884 *La Regenta* by Leopoldo Alas
- 1885 The John Ormsby English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1886 *Fortunata y Jacinta* by Benitez Pérez Galdós
- 1888 The Henry Edward Watts English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1895 Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*
- 1897 *Misericordia* by Benito Pérez Galdós
- 1905 James Fitzmaurice-Kelly publishes *Cervantes in England*
- 1905 Miguel de Unamuno publishes *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho*
- 1910 The Robinson Smith English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1914 José Ortega y Gasset publishes *Meditaciones del Quijote*
- 1916 James Fitzmaurice-Kelly publishes *Cervantes and Shakespeare*
- 1916 Ramiro de Maeztu publishes *Don Quijote, Don Juan y La Celestina*
- 1931 The posthumous publication of Kafka's *The Truth About Sancho Panza*
- 1927 G. K. Chesterton's *The Return of Don Quixote*
- 1949 The Samuel Putnam English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1950 The J. M. Cohen English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1954 The Walter Starkie English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 1982 Graham Greene's *Monsignor Quixote*
- 1985 Kathy Acker's *Don Quixote: Which Was a Dream*
- 1995 The Burton Raffel English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 2000 The John Rutherford English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 2003 The Edith Grossman English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 2005 The Tom Lathrop English translation of *Don Quixote*
- 2009 The James H. Montgomery English translation of *Don Quixote*



- 2011 Robin Chapman publishes *Shakespeare's Don Quixote*, a dialogue novel (à la *Celestina*), being a conversation among Shakespeare, Fletcher and Cervantes.
- 2019 Salman Rushdie's *Quichotte: A Novel*

FOOTNOTES

[1] I have chosen this excerpt from the Penguin translation of John Rutherford © 2000. I find Rutherford's rendering to have more buoyancy, and to move along at a more comfortable clip than the highly regarded version of Edith Grossman © 2003, published by the HarperCollins' imprint ECCO. That said, Grossman's translation of Cervantes' *Exemplary Novels* via Yale (2016) is likely the best—the work itself being written between 1590 and 1612 and published in Madrid in 1613 by Juan de la Cuesta. If, after having read *Don Quixote*, you are wondering what Cervantes book to read next...please make it this one. Melville House Publishing in Brooklyn has a nice little edition of Cervantes' "Dialogue of the Dogs" translated by David Kiper. Another superb text in English of *Don Quixote* is the Norton Critical Edition: *Miguel de Cervantes. Don Quijote: A Revised Translation, Background and Contexts, Criticism*, Second Edition, translated for the First Edition by Burton Raffel...edited and with a revised translation by Diana de Armas Wilson, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995-2020. Oxford World Classics keeps in print the admired Charles Jarvis translation, originally published in 1742, with modernized orthography, paragraphing and dialogue markers. I have a fondness for the Tobias Smollett version of 1755, which admittedly owes a great deal to Jarvis; this is in print through the University of Georgia with its Martin Battestin critical edition. The most respected and reliable modern editions of *Don Quixote* in Spanish are: 1863: *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, printed in Argamasilla de Alba in the Province of Ciudad Real, Castile-La Mancha, Spain, by Impr. M Rivadeneyra, edited by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch; 1978: *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, printed in Madrid by Clásicos Castalia, edited by Luis Andrés Murillo; and 1998: *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*, printed in Barcelona by Instituto Cervantes, a critical edition directed by Francisco Rico and the go-to version of this generation. The Francisco Rico stabilized text is currently available in a one-volume edition by the Real Academia Española in collaboration with Penguin Random House Grupo Editorial, S.A.U. © 2004, 2015, printed in Barcelona.

Readers of *Don Quixote* in any language other than Spanish must give some thought to the fact that they are reading a translation. We all read translations. We all get a great deal of enjoyment, beauty and wisdom from translations. But translations are not the originals.

In Part II of *Don Quixote*, in Chapter 62, Cervantes writes: "Pero, con todo esto, me parece que el traducer de una lengua en otra, como no sea de las reinas de las lenguas, griega y latina, es como quien mira los tapices flamencos por el revés, que aunque se ven las figuras, son llenas de hilos que las oscurecen y no se ven con la lisura y rez de la haz."

[Francesco Rico, p. 1032, and footnote 61, ending with the variant "con la claridad y color del derecho" instead of "con la lisura y rez de la haz"]

John Rutherford, p. 915, Part II, Chapter LXII, translates the passage: "And yet it seems to me that translating from one language into another, except from those queens of languages, Greek and Latin, is like viewing Flemish tapestries from the wrong side, when, although one can make out the figures, they are covered by threads that obscure them, and one cannot appreciate the smooth finish of the right side."

Edith Grossman, p. 875, Second Part, Chapter LXII, translates the passage: "But despite all this, it seems to me that translating from one language to another, unless it is from Greek and Latin, the queens of all languages, is like looking at Flemish tapestries from the wrong side, for although the figures are visible, they are covered by threads that obscure them, and cannot be seen with the smoothness and color of the right side."

Tobias Smollett, p. 692 [chaptered in the University of Georgia critical edition as Volume Two, Book IV, chapter 10], renders the passage: "...yet, nevertheless, a translation from one language to another, excepting always those sovereign tongues the Greek and Latin, is, in my opinion, like the wrong side of Flemish tapestry, in which, tho' we distinguish the figures, they are confused and obscured by ends and threads, without that smoothness and expression which the other side exhibits."

[2] *Tirant lo Blanc* was an original chivalric story about saving the Byzantine Empire from the Turks, available in a printed edition in the Valencian dialect from 1490 forward and had a significant influence on the development of the Spanish language and on *Don Quixote*: it appealed to Cervantes by being more sensual and earthy than the majority of the medieval European tales of chivalry. The work was, like *Roman de la Rose*, a two-author accomplishment. It was begun by Joanot Martorell and after his death finished by Martí Joan de Galba. Available in English in the David Rosenthal translation of 1984, published by Schocken.

In re *La Diana*: First published in 1559 and often reprinted. See *The Unrecognized Precursors of Montemayor's Diana* by Elizabeth Rhodes. 1992, and *La Diana of Montemayor as Social and Religious Teaching* by Bruno Damiani, 1983. A good edition of Montemayor's *La Diana* in Spanish is that of Asunción Rallo, *Los siete libros de La Diana* published in paperback by Ediciones Cátedra in Madrid. The work is

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not readily available in English and has no edition in print in a modern translation that I am aware of; the 1598 English version is available as print-on-demand from amazon.com.

In re: *La Celestina*. First published circa 1499. This is readily available in modern Spanish paperbacks and in English through Penguin paperbacks and University of California.

In re: The nasty little anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes*. First published in 1554 and constantly reprinted in Spanish. This is readily available in modern Spanish paperbacks and is in print in English in a Norton Critical Edition and through Penguin paperbacks, where it is piggybacked with *The Swindler (El Buscón)* by Francisco de Quevedo.

In re: *Amadis de Gaula*. The first edition might have been as early as 1496. The book was broadly available after the 1508 Seville printing of "the four books" of Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo. This is always available in Spanish paperbacks, as are some of the sequels. Despite the huge influence on all European literature and especially on *Don Quixote*, this is difficult to find in English. The first four books, in the versions of Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo, are available in a critical edition of the 1508 Saragossa edition translated into English and with introductory matter by Edwin Place and Herbert Behm through the University of Kentucky.

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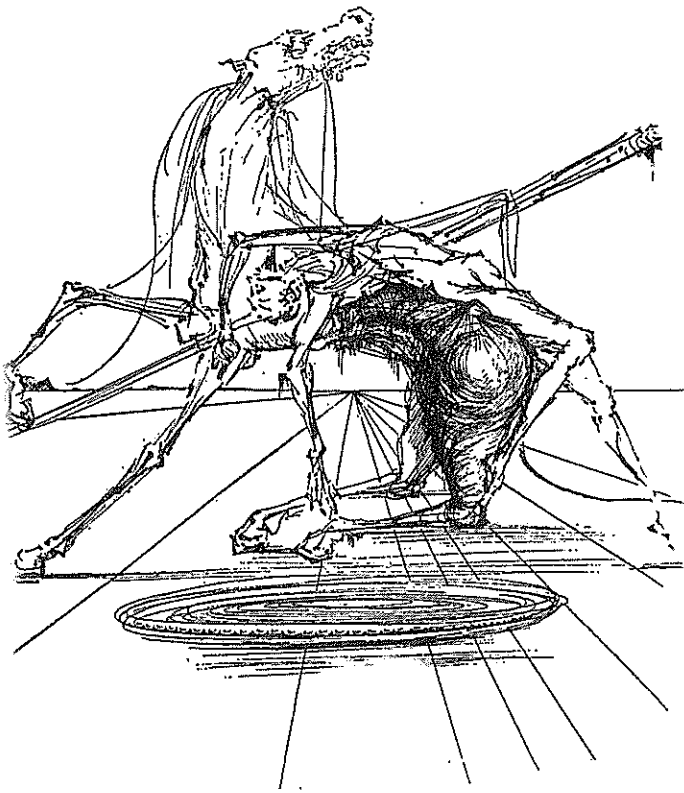
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"You go and read some more,"
said Sancho. "I'm sure you'll find
something to help us." 