Cervantes and English literature of the seventeenth century.
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Bulletin hispanique Année 1948 50-1 pp. 27-52

Documents liés Référence bibliographique

Texte intégral
I propose to discuss how some of Cervantes's writings were used by three or four English authors of the seventeenth century. I cannot pretend that I have made any sensational discoveries about this subject, or that I have any very startling criticisms to offer; in one lecture I cannot even hope to cover the ground. I want to point out how some English dramatists and poets treated their sources and to assess the merits of their treatment. Perhaps this procedure may enable us to see qualities in some of Cervantes's works which are not usually noticed, or which have been obscured by recent criticism. The study of comparative literature need not only go one way; even an inferior imitation may be a useful pointer backwards. I do not want merely to repeat what James Fitzmaurice-Kelly (to whose learning Sir Henry Thomas paid tribute last week) said to the British Academy in 1905. And so, rather than give a complete account of all the works that derived from Cervantes in the English seventeenth century, I shall discuss four works in some detail. In my discussion I hope I shall make clear how much each work owes to its Cervantine source and whether it seems to me to be worth attention for its own sake.

Most modern readers of Cervantes keep at the back of their minds a notion that was often expressed last century. Cervantes, according to this notion, is the creator of a misunderstood idealist called Don Quixote, whose heroism and nobility of soul triumph over the petty ridicule and stupid practical jokes of his prosaic fellow men. Unamuno, for instance, considered Cervantes an imbécile scribbler who, despite his lack of any artistic talent, was inspired by the most splendid inspiration that ever came to a secular writer; this inspiration is at bottom that of the romantic Quixote. Other more recent writers have tried to place Cervantes in the history of thought; we have been shown an enlightened, agnostic Cervantes who, boldly, yet cautiously, kept alive the fire of Renaissance humanism in the dark night of Post-Tridentine Spain — and another baroque Cervantes who upheld all the teachings of the Roman Catholic...
Church. Such ideas are interesting enough, but this evening we must dismiss them from our minds. We cannot expect the men of the seventeenth century to look at Cervantes with nineteenth- or twentieth-century eyes.

What did his own Spanish contemporaries think of Cervantes? Don Quixote was a best-seller; the Exemplary Novéis were admired and imitated. Cervantes himself was less esteemed than Lope de Vega, Calderón, Quevedo or Góngora, but he nevertheless captured the imagination of his country. In the Spanish drama there are numerous references to pseudo-knights-errant with ridiculous squires, to battles with windmills and to non-existent Dulcineas. Such references are usually farcical, and so are the two most famous contemporary derivatives of Cervantes's masterpiece: the spurious Second Part of Don Quixote by Avellaneda (whoever he may have been), and the poetical Testamento de Don Quijote of Quevedo. If the farcical side of Don Quixote appeals most strongly to Cervantes's fellow-countrymen, there is no reason to suppose that the Englishmen of that age would be more discerning.

II

Before I begin to talk about the use made of Cervantes by the Jacobean dramatists, I shall examine briefly a commentary on the first part of the Quixote that was published in London in 1654 — as far as I am aware, the first Cervantine commentary to be published in any country. The title is Pleasant (or Festivous) Notes upon Don Quixot and the author was Edmund Gayton, a minor writer, who had been a fellow of an Oxford college and one of the « sons of Ben. » His book helps us to see why Don Quixote was popular in England, even if it does little to illuminate that masterpiece.

Gayton probably knew a few scraps of Spanish, but his Notes are based on the 1652 édition of Shelton's translation. The notes themselves are almost entirely facetious, although the author makes a great display of Latin tags and erudite allusions that at least shew some learning. There are many allusions to the English théâtre, to contemporary characters and buffoons, and to folk customs; there are also a lot of coarse jokes. The language is often involved and obscure; the humour is broad, sometimes brutal. There is no trace of any moral intention. Gayton wrote a work of entertainment that took the form of aburlesque commentary on what he must have regarded as a burlesque novel.

Gayton's method is simple enough. He picks out those of Shelton's sentences that suit his purpose and plays with them. Sometimes he quotes a scurrilous anecdote, sometimes he applies the sentence to some contemporary custom or event, but more often he expands and élaborâte it with a number of puns and conceits that are implicit in the original or that he has derived from his own fancy. At times he parodies what is clearly serious in his source; for instance, Don Quixote's discourse in praise of the
Golden Age is turned into very mediocre burlesque couplets. So that we must be careful when we use Gayton's work as evidence of how the seventeenth century regarded Don Quixote; at times anyone can see that this professional entertainer was trying to be funny when the original gave him no excuse for it. When, however, the same ideas constantly recur in his burlesque, they may help us to see some general aspect of the source that was obvious to his contemporaries also.

After Don Quixote had his misadventure with the Yanguesian carriers, he repaired to an inn, where in an « ungracious bed did Don-Quixote lie, and presently the Hostesse and her daughter anoint him all over ». Gayton at this point is reminded of an indecent story and then continues with his commentary:

they did Hog-grease his body, and smiFd and twitter’d at the bumps in his flesh, whioh was like a bruised Pig, (but not so white) splotch’d all over, or like a mouldy Cheese, where three parts are blewand vin- now’d, or like a musty pie. The Hils and Dales in his Body wasted her spike-nard extreamly : Indeed, he was more fit to have been delivered over to a plasterer, who with a shovell or two of mortar and a trowell, would have daub’d up the gaps and Cosmas of his dilapidated Car- kasse; that done to a Carpenter to have new planckt him, his muscles were so extended and contunded, that he was not Corpus mobile ; after that, to the joyner with him, to shave and smooth the knobs made by the Yanguesian Rockers ; and after that, a Mason and other Tradesmen, for the réparation of the Oeconomie of his whole body, which was all out of order, both Timber and Stonework.

Don Quixote is compared with an animal, but even this is not comic enough; his body is a ruined hovel that needs the rough hands of artisans to repair it. The sufferings of the hero provoke a heartless caricature; Quixote is deliberately made to appear less human than a « bruised Pig ».

At various times Quixote is likened to other animals. His household, you will remember, consisted of himself, « a woman servant of about forty years old, and a Neece not yet twenty, and a man that served him both in field and at home ». Gayton comments: « His Family (himself e included) like that of the Arke, two and two, Maie and Female, but not of so many persons by halfe, yet here was as greatBeasts1. » « When Quixote watched « his Armes in a great Yard that lay neere unto
one side of the Inné », he is compared to a poor snake by a cistern, and his hisses to those of « some other créature (as watchfull) who sav’d some- time the Capitoll ». When he returned from his first sally on the ass's back, Gayton observes that « One Créature is ready to help another, though Homo homini Lupus ». When he and Sancho feed on herbs, we are told : « He had been the only companion for Nebuchadnezzor, when he was chang’d into a Beast. » Cervantes relates how Don Quixote « lay with his eyes open like a Hare» ; Gayton adds : « A thousand feares, fancies, Chimaeras keep our Don not only like a Hare in his eyes, but his braines also. » When Sancho was being tossed in the blanket and beheld his master on Rocinante from the air, Gayton tells us that Quixote looked to him « no bigger than a Toad upon- a Bucking-stoole »... A pig, a snake, a goose, an ass, the mad Nebuchadnezzar, a hare and a toad : there are the animais Don Quixote conjured up for Gayton. The Knight’s appearance and cljaracter are consistently demeaned and debased : « his withered face, or dried flesh... may render him âuspected for an Eunuch »; only when he laughs at « the simpli- city of his Squire » are we allowed to think him rational ; other- wise he is called a fool, a lyer, revengeful and a « scarcrow », one whose legs are too « visibly flexible ». Gayton’s Quixote is a caricature ; there is no reason to suppose that this author ever sus-

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And Sancho x? Sancho looks like a dromedary when he is riding on his ass ; he is « a very Ingrum as they cali him, he could neither write ñor read, a very beast, and fit for nothing but to pick sal-lets »; at other times he is called : « a most grosse f eeder », a cor- morant, a clod ; his nose is « seldome out of the Manger »; his « tongue was like a Bels clapper, beating others and ever beat itself »; his wit less than that of his ass ; when he looked that animal in the eyes, the two of them were « mutuall mirrors » to one another. Only occasionally is there any allusion to Sancho 's com- mon sensé or to his fidelity to his master. For Gayton the squire in usually just a clod or a cormorant.

Gayton’s insensitiveness to Cervantes’s finer qualities is apparent in the passages quoted and in many more besides. Like Avellaneda and Quevedo, the commentator takes Don Quixote purely as a burlesque and he exaggerates and coarsens its caricatures — those portions of the novel to which modern critics pay least attention. As a whole the Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot are not criticism, but they at least act as a pointer to certain incidents in the novel which are none the less ridiculous, even if they can be regarded as serious at the same time. Cervantes may hâve meant them to be both, but we are wrong when we underrate — as I think many modern readers do — the humorous side of the misadventures of Quixote and his Squire.

Hère I think we must also remember how much more vivid the burlesque attitude to Don Quixote must hâve been to the seven- teenth century than it is to us today. The parody of
the romances of chivalry was something immediately humorous to Cervantes’s contemporaries, because they knew all about Amadis and Palme-rin. Today, we find difficulty in reading the parodies because we do not know exactly what is being parodied; Amadis and Palme-rin are dead as mutton, but at that time they were alive enough. Also, the First Part of Don Quixote is more of a parody than the Second; moreover the First Part had (in England) an eight

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years’ start over the more subtle sequel. First impressions are often strong; many readers of that day probably read the Second Part without seeing much more in it than they had already obser-ved in its fore-runner. Even in Part I itself, the first hints given of the characters of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are crude, compared with the révélation of these two figures as they gra-dually grow in the consciousness of the reader; you will remem-ber that Cervantes introduced Don Quixote as a man who had read so many novéis of chivalry that he « dryed up his braias in such sort, as he lost wholly his Judgenient »; he introduced Sancho as « one of a very shallow wit 1 ». As we read the novel Cervantes himself shews us that both these statements are too simple; but the seventeenth-century reader can hardly be blamed if, like Gayton, he saw in this great novel, only the tale of a madman squired by an idiot. For that is what its author said it was.

III

The Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot seem to me to display something of what other Englishmen of that time thought of Don Quixote: that it was less a work of édification than of entertain-ment. Richard Brathwaite in 1614 wrote that there were certain histories that he altogether excluded from « his (Economie or private family », and that among these were « the phantasticke writings of some supposed Knights, (Don Quixotte transformed into a Knight with the Golden Pestle) with many other fruitlesse inuentions, moulded only for delight without profit2 ». Some years previously, (before the publication of Shelton’s translation) Beaumont and Fletcher’s play The Knight of the Burning Pestle appeared on the London stage. All but a few critics agréé that some portions of this play were derived from Don Quixote1. In both works there is a modern knight-errant who goes forth to right wrongs in a commonplace, everyday world. One is a half-crazed Spanish gentleman, the other a London grocer’s appren-tice, who knows all the time that he is
acting a part. Quixote has his idealized love, Dulcinea, a village girl, whom his disordered brain turns into an imaginary princess; Ralph has his Susan, «the Cobler’s Maid in Milkstreet», but she is not transformed into a being of a different order by too ardent an imagination. Quixote and Ralph both deliberately parody the absurd style of the romances of chivalry, but only Quixote really thinks that he is acting like a character in one of them. Ralph and Quixote both claim that an inn is a castle and each is confronted by an angry landlord who demands that his guest should pay for his lodging and board; the situations are the same, although Quixote really mistakes an inn for a castle, whereas Ralph only pretends that it is one, and the difficulties are solved in different ways in the two works. Finally, when Ralph tries to succour Mrs. Merrythought and gets a good hiding from Jasper for it, when he defeats the ogre — who is really a barber-surgeon — and rescues the prisoners (or customers), we cannot help thinking of the general pattern of Quixote’s early adventures, though not perhaps in any precise way.

Some of the resemblances that I have just outlined may be fortuitous. Similar episodes can be found in the romances of chivalry that were parodied in both works. There is however no such source that can account for the parallel between the inn scenes: Quixote and Ralph both take an inn for a castle and both are asked to pay for the hospitality that they have received. This coincidence can only be explained as a direct borrowing by Beaumont (to whom the critics assign the plan and most of the writing of this play) from Cervantes. Whether Beaumont had read Don Quixote when he wrote The Knight of the Burning Pestle is doubtful, but there is no reason why he may not have heard about the novel and have seen that some of its features were suitable for his purely comic intentions. The play cannot have been written earlier than 1607; the First Part of Don Quixote appeared in Spain.

If Beaumont took so much from Cervantes, why did he not take more? What about Sancho and Rocinante? not to mention the profounder aspects of Don Quixote himself? Those who ask these questions are expecting a man of the seventeenth century to react as they do themselves in the twentieth. We have seen what use Gayton made of Don Quixote and of Sancho; there is no reason to suppose that Beaumont (and still less Fletcher) had any more refined impressions of these characters than Gayton had. In any case we cannot demand that the author of a play that satisfies us (the qualification is essential to my argument later) shall reproduce in it all the qualities that we of a different age may admire in one of its sources. Surely, he need only take those qualities that suit his purpose. Beaumont aimed at making fun of the theatrical tastes of London grocers and their apprentices and at satirising ham-acting; if he had made Ralph half as complex as Don Quixote, how could he have done that? He may well have left Sancho out because...
old Merrythought and the Citizen’s Wife provided all the contrast required to set off the absurdity of Ralph’s heroics. As for Rocinante, I would like to ask one question: how often did horses appear on the Elizabethan stage?

The Knight of the Burning Pestle derives directly or by hearsay from Don Quixote. Besides the similarities between certain incidents in the novel and others in the play, there are other more general resemblances in the attitudes expressed by Cervantes and Beaumont. We still find both works amusing although their original purpose was to satirise literary fashions that no longer have any but an académie interest to us. The satire in both is kindly. In Don Quixote we are continually brought face to face with the old, popular, traditional civilisation of the Spanish peasantry; in The Knight of the Burning Pestle the Citizen’s Wife, with her impertinences, her folk-remedies, her absurd réminiscences and her family pride, recréâtes a différent popular civilisation — that of the English shop-keeper. Beaumont had not Cervantes’s genius, and his play, though it is spirited and humorous, can hardly be counted among the very finest of Elizabethan and Jacobean comedies; nevertheless there is a Cervantine quality in its présentation of life and in its humour, which is not merely the result of a clever, but obvious, imitation of certain épisodes. Not the least of its merits is that it has a more human treatment both of the sham knight and the popular background than we find in any other English derivative of Don Quixote before the time of Fiel-ding.

Of course there were other représentations of, or allusions to, Don Quixote in the Jacobean théâtre. Their interest is small. No one can take any serious account of the ridiculous disguised servant in Massinger’s Picture or a purely burlesque figure who appears in Shirley’s masque The Triumph of Peace. Gayton’s deformed caricature is more lively than these. Nor are the stage derivatives of Sancho Panza much better; I doubt whether anyone could now raise a smile, let alone receive any more serious pleasure, from the parts of Castruccio in Fletcher and Massinger’s Double Marriage, of Geta in’their Prophetess, and of Borachio in D’Avenant’s Cruel Brother1.

IV

Don Quixote was not the only work by Cervantes which the Jacobean dramatists made use of. The Persiles and the Exemplary

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Novéis also provided sources for Fletcher, Massinger, Middleton, Rowley and Field. I have not time this afternoon to talk about all these adaptations, but perhaps the examination of one play by Fletcher will suffice for my purpose. This play, The Chances, is a dramatisation of the Exemplary Novel of La señora Cornelia.

It is instructive to compare the claims made for the Exemplary Novéis with those for the English plays, in the early éditions. Cervantes’s introduction is clear and downright. He explains that the novéis are exemplary, and that they are to provide enter- tainment also. He was, he says, over 64 when he wrote them, and at that age one cannot afford to play tricks with the life to come. But people cannot spend all day in church or in serious business, and these novéis, though he trusts that they will never occasion evil thoughts or desires, are to be justified in the same way that the planting of avenues or the curious cultivation of gardens can be justified: they are for the hours of récréation in which the afflicted spirit may rejoice. Fletcher never made such claims for his works, but Shirley, in the préface to the first folio of Beau- mont and Fletcher, tells us at least what he considered was the result of the performance of these plays on English theatre-goers. He says that in them we may find « the Authentick witt that made Blackfriers an Academy, where the three howers spectacle while Beaumont and Fletcher were presented, were usually of more advantage to the hopefull young Heire then a costly, dangerous, forraigne Travell, with the assistance of a governing Mounsieur, or Signiour to boot; And it cannot be denied but that the young spirits of the Time, whose Birth and Quality made them impatient of the sourrer wayes of éducation, hâve, from the attentive hearing these pièces, got ground in point of wit and carnage of the most severely employed Students, while these Récréations were digested into Rules, and the very Pleasure did edifie. How many passable discoursing dining witts stand yet in good crédit upon the bare stock of two or three of these single Scènes ». Cervantes, then, aimed at pleasing and morally improving his rea- ders; Fletcher pleased his hearers and taught them étiquette!

Cervantes was not the only Spanish author whom Fletcher found useful. Flores, Alemán, Céspedes y Meneses, Lope de Vega, Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola and Salas Barbadillo also gave him material for his plots. Generally speaking, Fletcher and his collaborators drew on those novéis that dépend on intricacy and surprise of plot, rather than on those that are distinguished by their realistic observation and psychological insight; so that our dramatists usually adapted those of the Exemplary

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Novels that we today find least repayable. I think they did this because they were more anxious to surprise their audiences than to persuade them of the truth of their observations. Williams Cartwright, who called Shakespeare dull compared to Fletcher, praised the latter for the way in which he kept his audience in suspense:

None can prevent the Fancy, and see through
At the first opening; all stand wondering how
The thing will be until it is; which thence
With fresh delights still cheats, still takes the sense...

Surprise is desirable in a work of art, but surprise must not exclude other important qualities. Fletcher strained after surprise and therefore he selected his materials less wisely than he might have done. It would be uncritical to judge him adversely only because he selected his source material badly, but perhaps the bad selection tells us something about his taste.

Fletcher's play The Chances is a dramatic version of the Exemplary Novel La señora Cornelia. The story is a complicated one of the conflict of love and honour. Cornelia is a noble lady of Verona, who is loved by the Duke of Ferrara, and to whom she bears a son on the night that the Duke was going to take her off to Ferrara to marry her. Through a series of «chances», two Spanish gentlemen, don Antonio and don Juan, find themselves protecting the child and its mother. Don Juan, also by chance, rescues the Duke from the angry brother of Cornelia. The complications increase with the flight of Cornelia from the Spanish gentlemen's lodgings, and their actions on behalf of her brother to induce the Duke to marry her. However, after a series of incidents that it would be tedious to relate, the Duke and Cornelia are brought together and all ends happily.

Fletcher follows the twists and turns of this story faithfully and with some dexterity. Often he follows it very closely indeed.

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When Don Frederick (that is the don Antonio of the novel) tells don John:

I have a few Devotions To do first, then I am yours...

(Devotions, by the way, were not the chief occupation of many of Fletcher's young gentlemen); when Constantia (the Cornelia of the novel) begs Don Frederick that presently

With all convenient haste, you would retire Unto the street you found me in...
and when the Duke asks
Am I a person To be your sport, Gentlemen?

Fletcher is only paraphrasing Cervantes. (I am sure, from the first of these quotations, that he had read the Spanish text and not the French translation of 1615.) The play, scène by scène, follows the novel, almost page by page. Fletcher's construction is really that of Cervantes. But there are a few omissions and additions in The Chances that let us see what Fletcher was about when he adapted this story to the English stage.

The first omission concerns Cornelia's baby. In both novel and play, there is some humour in the spectacle of a young unmarried Spanish gentleman who, while he roams the streets of Verona at night, suddenly finds that the mysterious parcel that he has been given contains a live baby. Fletcher, naturally, made the most of this opportunity. Later in the novel, Cervantes touchingly describes how Cornelia tries to suckle the baby which she does not realise is her own, and her joy when she finds out that the baby is really hers: of this scène, by far the most memorable in the whole of La señora Cornelia, there is not a glimpse in The Chances. There, the baby is lost sight of as soon as it can no longer be funny. Fletcher has missed out any référence to the finest scène in the novel, the scène that reveals the power and beauty of maternai love.

Another significant omission, or perhaps altération, occurs in the dénouement of the story. In Cervantes, the happy ending is brought about in the house of a priest; behind all the complications of the story, there is a sense of the religious nature of family life: the priest, who is to marry the Duke to Cornelia, contrives first to settle the difficulties that have kept these noble lovers apart. So that the Church makes the marriage practicable and then sanctifies it. The final scène of The Chances takes place in the house of Peter Vecchio, « a Teacher of Latine and Musick, a reputed Wizard ». Priests, whatever their faults, are less mere-tricious than sham wizards, even if the latter also teach « latin and music ». Fletcher has eut out the religious élément from his source, to leave us with a clever, but superficial, story of how his Constantia is made an honest woman. Obviously, he was not interested in depicting either the religious or the deep human émotions about family life that Cervantes expressed or implied; to Fletcher, marriage was merely a convenient convention for ending a comedy. He dispensed with just those ingrédients that gave the original story its most profound meaning, but he kept the swashbuckling, the coïncidences and the gallantry. I suppose we have all seen the same sort of thing happen when we have been to see one of our favourite novéis as a film.

Fletcher's omissions from his source shew how he limited it; his additions, how he coarsened it. We need not take much notice of his irascible old gentleman Antonio, a stock figure whom we can find in half a dozen other plays. Instead, let us look at Gil-
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lian, the gentlemen's landlady, and at Don John. Cervantes's landlady is kept in the background, but she is a garrulous old woman, who makes a few malicious remarks about the two Spaniards and so persuades Cornelia to abandon their lodgings. Her plebeian outlook and her evil tongue set off the noble behaviour of the two young men. Fletcher took Cervantes's hint and developed it in his own fashion. He also took another hint: his landlady exclaims:

You'll leave this roperie \ When you come to my yeares.

You may remember that Juliet's Nurse had also said:

I pray you, sir, what saucy merchant was this, that was so full of his ropery?

The landlady is not called Gillian until the last scene in The Chances, but in the third act she tells a servant that:

Thou lyest lewdly,

Thou tookst me up at every word I spoke, As I had been a Mawkin, a flurt Gillian.

Juliet's Nurse had also said:

Scurvy knave! I am none of his flirt-gills.

Juliet's Nurse said she was not a «flirt-gill»; the landlady first declares that she is not a «flurt Gillian» and finally announces that her name is Gillian after all. Either Fletcher has nodded, or a clumsy réviser has botched the détail. In any case, her origin is clear enough: her part owes as much to Shakespeare as to Cervantes.

The Don John of the play is the counterpart of the don Juan of the novel. He does the same things and occasionally he speaks the same words as the other, but the whole conception of the part is made different by another hint from Shakespeare. In the novel, the two young Spaniards are so entirely governed by the gentlemanly code of honour that, unless we keep their names firmly in our minds as we read, we may well be muddled as to which is which at any given moment. Fletcher differentiates them by making his Don Frederick echo the Gervantine don Antonio whe- reas his Don John, besides being gallant and brave, is also foul-mouthed and a bit of a rake. Typical of his way of speech is the following from the scène
with Don Frederick, after the latter has introduced him to Constantia as a man, honest
And modest to converse with, as your blushes. As soon as Constantia has left the stage,
Don John bursts out:

Art thou an Ass?

And modest as her blushes? What block-head Would e're hâve popt out such a dry
Apologie, For his dear friend? and to a Gentlewoman, A woman of her youth, and
delicacy. They are arguments to draw them to abhor us. An honest moral man? 'tis for a
Constable: A handsome man, a wholesome man, a tough man, A liberal man, a likely
man, a man Made up like Hercules, unslak'd with service: The same to night, to morrow
night, the next night, And so to perpetuitie of pleasures, These had been things to
hearken to, things catching: But you have such a spic'd considération, Such qualms
upon your worships conscience, Such chil-blains in your blood, that all things pinch ye,
Which nature, and the liberal world makes custom, And nothing but fair honour, O sweet
honor, Hang up your Eunuch honour: That I was trusty, And valiant, were things well
put in; but modest! A modest Gentleman! O wit where wast thou?*

To say that this passage is coarse in feeling, hard-boiled and of doubtful morality need not
be a criticism of it. Coarseness may be a necessary part of a whole that is irreproachable.
There is howe-ver no sign that Fletcher in any way disapproved of the attitude here
expressed, even if these words were only intended to raise a laugh. The style is
superficially lively, but the passage can only amuse us the first time we come across it,
because it is répétitive and diffuse. Nothing, as the Spaniards say, is left in the inkwell.
Fletcher let his pen run away with him; the result is cheap. As

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Gillian partly derives from Juliet’s Nurse, so Don John partly derives from one aspect of
Mercutio; but the copy is crude and second-rate.

Fletcher’s procédure was simple. He took the Spanish novel, cut out its more profound
passages, developed and exaggerated such parts of it as suited his boisterous conception
of comedy, and added two or three stock figures that owed a good deal to the original
créations of his predecessors. What in Cervantes is délicate, carefully modulated prose,
becomes that monotonous, end-stopped, répétitive verse that Fletcher habitually wrote.
As Fletcher’s verse is inferior to that of Jonson, Webster and Middleton, so his
constructions (or fabrications) are inferior to those of his Cervantine sources. What I have
said about The Chances also applies to Rule a Wife and Have a Wife1, Lovés Pilgrimage,
The Queen of Corinth and The Custom of the Country2. Fletcher syste-matically
debased whatever he took from Cervantes.

Samuel Butler, the author of Hudibras, once described the cha-racter of An Imitater. In it
he wrote that

His (the imitator's) Muse is not inspired but infected with another Man's Fancy; and he catches his Wit, like the Itch, of somebody else that had it before, and when he writes he does but scratch himself. He melts down his Wit, and casts it in a Mold: and as Metals melted and cast are not so firm and solid, as those that are wrought with the Hammer; so those Compositions, that are founded and runin other Men's Molds, are always more brittle and loose than those, that are forged in a Man's own Brain... He runs a whoring after another Man's Inventions (for he has none of his own to tempt him to an incontinent Thought) and begets a Kind of Mungrel Breed, that never comes to good.

This passage shews us that Butler was aware of the dangers of servile imitation, dangers that neither Gayton nor Fletcher avoided. Nevertheless, Butler's Hudibras has often been described as an imitation of Don Quixote. I must therefore see how far this author escapes his own accusation of being «not inspired but infected with another Man’s Fancy.»

Butler certainly read Don Quixote very carefully, but he shews no signs of having seen much more in it than Gayton did. It is quite possible that he had also read Gayton. The figure of Hudibras is modelled on the burlesque Quixote that so much amused the seventeenth century. Ralpho, though he may be named after the hero of The Knight of the Burning Pestle, is taken from Sancho Panza, in so far as his role is made to contrast with that of his master. The caricatures of Gayton are pointless, because their author looked on them as being automatically funny for their own sakes, but Butler made his caricatures stand for classes of people that he disliked: Hudibras is a Presbyterian and Ralpho an Independent. Dr. Johnson, in his Life of Butler, justly pointed out that in making Hudibras a knight-errant, Butler involved himself in a «tumultuous confusion of contradictory ideas», that Hudibras's «pedantic ostentation of knowledge... has no relation to chivalry» and that his «martial encumbrances... can add no thing to his civil dignity». According to the greatest English critic of the eighteenth century, Cervantes's influence interferes with Butler's design; let us see how much Butler may have taken from Cervantes.

The adventures of Hudibras and Ralpho are reflections of Quixote's and Sancho's. The two knights are both absurd figures who ride about the country in search of adventures on ridiculous horses. When the
men of Brentford put thistles under Ralpho's horse's tail, thereby bringing disaster to Hudibras, we remember how Quixote was served by the boys of Barcelona. Like Quixote, Hudibras invokes his mistress to inflame his courage. The promise of a self-inflicted whipping that Hudibras makes to the rich widow, recalls the means by which Dulcinea was to be freed from enchantment. The argument about the infliction of the whipping also owes something to Don Quixote., The attack on the skimmington procession is loosely imitated from Don Quixote's adventure of the corpse. As Cervantes made his own characters disavow the spurious Second Part of Avellaneda, so Butler makes his deny the truth of the sham Second Part of Hudibras. The scène in which Hudibras is cudgelled by the devils recalls that in which Don Quixote and Doña Rodríguez were punished by the Duchess's women. And finally, like Don Quixote, after Hudibras had composed his Heroic Epistle to his Lady, he gave it to his faithful Squire With Lessons how to observe, and eye her.

These are all external similarities, that affect the machinery of the poem, rather than its texture. Other ideas from Cervantes are also incorporated in Butler's digressions, descriptions and discourses. The author or the persons in the poem discuss whether knights-errant ever eat, and if so, what they eat, the right of the victor to the spoils of war, the geographical and historical liberties taken by poets and dramatists, the duty of errant knights to free distressed damosels, how no honour can be gained when the foe is a member of the lower classes, the frauds of judicial astronomy and the nature of pimping: all of these subjects are also discussed, in more or less the same way, in Don Quixote. So many coincidences cannot be accidental.

Butler took part of the conception of his hero from Cervantes and followed the latter in many détails of his story; he also discussed ideas that had been raised at différent moments in Don Quixote. These détails and ideas chiefly affected the machinery of Hudibras, not the manner in which it was written, or its morality. Perhaps the worst features of the poem come from Cervantes; for besides the defect in the hero, to which Dr. Johnson drew his readers' attention, the mock-heroic descriptions can hardly amuse anyone today; much of the mock-heroic comes from Cervantes. Butler's merit lay in his satirical observations on human conduct, in the examination of base motives, in the exposure of hypocrisy and in the extraordinary use of metaphor and paradox to explode or confound absurdities. Hudibras and Ralpgo are not pilloried merely because they were a Presbyterian and an Independent, but because they used an ostentatious piety to further their own ends. Here Cervantes was not much use to Butler, but as Cervantes made the conversations of Quixote and Sancho shew how each perceived the folly or
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hypocrisy, wickedness and absurdity of both of them. Gayton's caricatures were pointless; Butler's were serious, I would almost say, improving.

Cervantes can hardly have influenced Butler's poetic technique. But when Don Quixote was in the house of Don Diego de Miranda, he remarked that « Poetry, Signior, in my opinion; is like a tender Virgin, Young and most Beautifull, whom many other Virgins, to wit, all the other Sciences, are to enrich, polish and adorne1 ». Virginal is not, perhaps, the most appropriate adjective to apply to Butler's Muse, but is there any other English poet who — to use Dr. Johnson's words — « ever brought so many remote images so happily together » and combined them with observations on «the opérations of human nature... and the effects of opinion, humour, interest and passion »? Professor Grierson considered Butler the last of the Metaphysical Poets 2, and there is a similarity between his destructive technique and the brilliant constructions of John Donne. Butler considered Donne's poetry inconsequential, lacking in purpose3, and though he may none the less have admired some of it, his burlesque use of the metaphysical techniques probably helped to discrédit them in the eyes of his contemporaries. Here I am reminded of Cervantes and the romances: if Don Quixote is to be regarded as the last novel of chivalry that « smiled Spain's chivalry away », may not Hudibras be looked on as the last metaphysical poem, in which Butler used the devices of his predecessors to cast scorn on their works? Although some of his predecessors were greater men than he, his adaptation of the conceit and expanded metaphor to a satirical purpose was original and remains valid. Our appréciation of Donne doe&ñot involve necessarily the rejection of Butler.

The metaphysical technique occurs both in Butler's verse and in his prose. It is apparent in the extract from The Imitater that

BuU. hispanique. 4

I read a few minutes ago. It is also présent in his Thoughts on Various Subjects, of which the following is a spécimen:

Public Actions are like Watches, that hâve fine Cases of Gold or Silver, with a Window of Christal to see the Pretences; but the Move- ment is of baser Metal, and the Original of all, the Spring, a crooked Pièce of Steel — So in the Affairs of State, the solemn Professions of Religion, Justice and Liberty are but Pretences to conceal Ambition, Rapine and useful Ckeat1.
What begins as a merely ingenious metaphor is suddenly transformed by the double meaning in the word "crooked"; it convinces us of the follow fraud of these "solemn Professions". The same style is used in Hudibras; the description of the hero's religion is too well known for me to quote; but that of the "New Light" that inspired Ralpho is less familiar and, perhaps, as worth quotation. Thanks to it:

He cou’d deep Mysteries unriddle,
As easily as thread a Needle. (Ralpho had been a taylor.)

For as of Vagabonds we say;
That they are ne'er beside their way;
Whate'er Men speak by this New Light,
Still they are sure to be i’th’right.

Tis a Dark Lanthorn of the Spirit,
Which none see by but those that bear it:
A Light that falls down from on high,
For spiritual Trades to cozen by:
An Ignis Fatuus, that bewitches,
And leads Men into Pools and Ditches,
To make them dip themselves, and sound
For Christendom, in dirty Pond;
To dive like Wild-Fowl, for Salvation,
And fish to catch Régénération 2.

The notion of the "New Light" could be used to justify any absurdity or, in unscrupulous mouths, any roguery; it dispensed with time-tried rules of conduct and intelligent moral standards. Butler mercilessly exposes these abuses by comparing its devotees to vagabonds, burglars and thieving tradesmen; he pretends that the Light itself is a Will o' the Wisp that persuades men to out-door baptism by total immersion. Behind the passage there is the Biblical parable of the blind leading the blind, only here is also a foolish knave who holds a dark-lantern and follows an ignis fatuus. The baptismal practice of one sect becomes typical of the
mistaken enthusiasm of all fanatic hypocrites. The final image is not merely ridiculous; « to dive like Wild-Fowl for Salvation » is as aimless as the wandering of the vagabond. The different images have an inner consistency, and yet we are surprised by their variety as well as their appropriate ingenuity. « Heterogeneous ideas are yoked by violence together » for a carefully pre- pared purpose.

Butler’s greatest gift, the technique of satirical paradox, would seem to owe little to Cervantes. Yet Cervantes gave him the idea for his poem and many détails in its construction. Without the example of Don Quijote, Hudibras might never have existed. The merits of the two books are quite distinct; and Cervantes certainly had a wider sympathy and a more humane outlook than Butler had. Butler however made what he took from Cervantes into something different and valuable, even if it has less scope than the work he took it from. The debt to Cervantes is apparent both in the materials and in the scaffolding; without it, one may doubt whether Butler could have put together such a remarkable poem. Despite the merit of his other productions, he remains the author only of Hudibras; how many people now read The Characters or The Eléphant in the Moon? Butler took certain notions from Cervantes and used them productively for his own purpose. He did something with the material, whereas Fletcher and Gayton only succeeded in turning out debased copies. Butler excelled in the art of putting down significant paradoxes; Cervantes helped him to string them together.

Cervantes, by his influence on Fletcher, Gayton and Butler, helped to prepare the way for English humorous literature. The humour of the seventeenth century, however, tended to become identified with caricatures, or purely ridiculous distortions of the normal. Sometimes it was robust, but often it was merely coarse.

It was not sensitive to gradations of feeling and the burlesque style suffered in consequence. Butler is not immune from a certain monotony of expression that also afflicts Gayton and Fletcher, but he saved himself, not only by his extraordinary technical skill, but also by his concern for intellectual honesty and integrity. When his humour is successful, it is because he is serious at the same time.

This brings our survey of Cervantes’s influence on our seventeenth century to an end. Cervantes was widely read in England and he exercised some influence on a number of our writers. Gayton’s burlesque commentary shows how Don Quixote was looked on as a purely farcical work. The Jacobean dramatists used much material from Cervantes, but the only play of importance that contained it remains The Knight of the Burning Pestle. In Hudibras, Samuel Butler produced the finest work that derives from Don Quixote of the English seventeenth century, though at first sight it merely seems to be yet another example of burlesque that has now ceased to amuse. His caricatures however are the vehicle of something more serious than is at first apparent. And perhaps he also shewed
later novelists how they might learn from Cervantes in order to express their own contributions to the art of fiction.

Edward M. WILSON.

Notes

1. This article was originally given as the second public lecture in a series of four at King’s Collège, London, in November 1947, in célébration of the quatercentenary of Cervantes’s birth. The other lecturers were Sir Henry Thomas, Professor W. J. Entwistle and Dr. Enrique Moreno Báez. The following abbreviations are used in the notes:


D. Q. = El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha. Por Miguel de Cervantes Saavadra. Edición y notas de Francisco Rodríguez Marín. (Clasicos castellanos.) Madrid, 1922.


Gayton — Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot. By Edmund Gayton, Esq. don, 1654.

Genuine Remains = The Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose of Mr. Samuel Butler, Author of Hudibras. Published... by R. Thyer... in two volumes. London, 1759.


K. B. P. = The Knight of the Burning Pestle. (Quotations from this play
and The Chances are taken from the second folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, published in London, 1679.)


Koeppel — 1898 = 'Don Quizóte, Sancho Panza und Dulcinea in der englischen Litteraiur bis zur Restauration.' Von E. Koeppel. Archiv für das

2.


3.


4.
1. The word t Festivous • occurs as the running title in Gayton. An account of Gayton’s Ufe can be found in the Dictionary of National Biography. Some account of the view he takes of Don Quixote and of Sancho can be found in Becker, pp. 77-82. A revised édition,
in which the text was expurgated, contracted, and sometimes rewritten, was published in 1768; it is, of course, useless for our purpose.

2. Gayton's line: "lam Don Quixot's guartha, my spatha" (p. 87) seems to contain an attempt to mock the Spanish pronunciation of the letter d.

3. Gayton does not always quote accurately from Shelton, but his quotations are closer to the 1652 édition than to that of 1612:


5.

1. Gayton, p. 43.


3. The références in this paragraph are as follows: D. Q., 1, 1; Shelton - 1652, p. 1 r.; Gayton, p. 2.


6.

D. Q., I, xvi; Shelton - 1652, p. 30 r.; Gayton, p. 73. D. Q., I, xvii; Shelton - 1652, p. 32 r.; Gayton, p. 84.

The other quotations are in Gayton, pp. 2, 29, 53, 57, 86 (see also 66), 180 and again on p. 180.

1. The reader may remember that even in the Second Part of Don Quixote, Cervantes gives some excuse for this conceit. In chapter xxix we read: "Volvieron a sus bestias, y a ser bestias, don Quijote y Sancho, y este fin tuvo la aventura del encantado barco." Shelton translated the passage thus: "Don Quixote and Sancho like beasts turne to their beasts: and this end had the Adventure of the Enchanted Barke." Shelton - 1652, p. 190 v.

7.

1. The références to Sancho occur in Gayton, pp. 41, 42, 43, 45, 65, 143, 66, 189, 38, and 141 (see also p. 57).

8.

2. See The Schollers Medley, p. 99. Quoted by Edwin B. Knowles Jr., 'Allusions to Don Quixote before 1660'. Philological Quarterly, XX (1941), p. 575. My friend Don José Antonio Muñoz Rojas has pointed out to me another référence to Don Quixote that has escaped the attention of the scholars: Sir Robert Kerr wrote to Mr. Rawlings on 31st January, 1617: « for as Alexandor knew his mortality by lechery, and sleep, and some other good guesses, I know the narrowness of my understanding be not yett knowing what maye be contenid in a booke praseit be the witty pated wrytter of Don Quixote. » Correspondente of Sir Robert Kerr, First Earl of Ancram and his son William, Third Earl of Lothian. Edinburgh, 1875, p. 3.

9.
1. The arguments of Leonhardt in 1885 were accepted in Koeppel-1895 and 1898, Becker and many other works. The arguments against Leonhardt's contentions may be found in Gayley (pp. 321-331) and in the preface to the edition of the play by Murch (Yale Studies in English. New York, 1908), pp. xxxiii-lviii.

2. 'The Cobler's Maid in Milkstreet' — K. B. P., p. 59 b; inn-castle situation, D. Q., I, xvn; K. B. P., 57 b; Ralph's fight with Jasper, K. B. P., 54 b; the barber and his customers, K. B. P., pp. 58 b-59 b.

10.
1. In this paragraph I have used the arguments, and statements of Oliphant in the section devoted to the K. B. P., particularly pages' 170-173. The argument that the inn-scene comes rather from the part of Puntervolo in Jonson's Every man out of his Humour may be found in Gayley, pp. 327-328. The resemblance between D. Q. and K. B. P. seems to me to be much closer than that between K. B. P. and Everyman out of his Humour.

2. Gayley, Murch and other authors quoted by them.

11.
1. The scene in The Picture is the first in the second act. See also Koeppel-1898, Chelli-1926, p. 108, for further details. The Double Marriage, V, 2, is derived from Shelton's version of D. Q., II, xlvii.

12.
1. Fletcher and Massinger's The Custom of the Country is taken from the English translation of the Persiles by Matthew Lownes. Massinger's The Renegado uses material from D. Q. The most important plays derived from the Exemplary Novéis are:

The Spanish Gipsie — Middleton and Rowley: La gitanilla and La fuerza de la sangre.

The Queen of Corinth - Fletcher, Massinger and Field (see Oliphant): La fuerza de la sangre.
Love’s Pilgrimage — Fletcher, Beaumont and Jonson (see Oliphant) : Las dos doncellas.

The Fair Maid of the Inn - Fletcher, Massinger, Webster and Ford (see Oliphant) : La ilustre fregona.

Rule a Wife and Have a Wife — Fletcher : El casamiento engañoso.

The Chances — Fletcher : La señora Cornelia.

The claim that A Very Woman derives from El amante liberal should be abandoned — see Maxwell, pp. 181-191. There also seems to be little reason to consider that The Beggar’s Bush is in any way indebted to La gitanilla. For The Queen of Corinth see Me Keithan, p. 154 ; for The Fair Maid of the Inn, see Maxwell’s article, t The Source of the Principal Plot of The Fair Maid of the Inn », Modem Language Notes, vol. LIX, pp. 122-127. For the plays derived from the interpolated novel of The Curious Impertinent in D. Q. see A. S. N. Rosenbach - 'The Curious Impertinent in English Dramatic Literature', Modem Language Notes, 1902. Lockert, in the introduction to his édition of Massinger’s The Fatal Dowry, points out that « the identification of the situation at Aymer’s house in IV, n (of this play) with a scène in Cervantes’s El viejo celoso... is extremely fanciful » (The Fatal Dowry, by Philip Massinger and Nathaniel Field, edited by C. L. Lockert, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1918.) I have not examined the works of the lesser Jacobean or Caroline dramatists in this connexion, nor have I sought to estimate the importance of Cervantine influence in the post-Restoration théâtre.

13.
1. See N. E., I., pp. 22-23.

2. Fletcher made a few remarks about the nature of tragicomedy in his préface to The Faithful Shepheard ; they tell us little about his moral intentions.

3. Fletcher’s Wornen Pleased is taken from a translation of the Historia de Aurelio y Isabella by Juan de Flores. Fletcher and Massinger’s The Spanish Cúrate and The Maid in the Mili (which Oliphant attributes to Fletcher and Rowley) both derive from Léonard Digges’s translation of the Poema trágico del español Gerardo by Céspedes y Meneses. It is not perhaps absolutely certain whether The Little French Lawyer derives from Alemán’s Guzmán de Alfarache or from some common source. Fletcher’s The Pilgrim is taken from the translation of Lope de Vega’s novel El peregrino en su patria. His Island Princess comes from the original Spanish of Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola’s Conquista de las Islas Malucas (see Stiefel’s article, 'Uber die Quelle von J. Fletcher’s Island Princess’ in Archio., CIII, pp. 277-308). Rule a Wife and Have a Wife owes its main plot to Salas Barbadillo’s novel, El sagaz Estacio, marido examinado. Spanish parallels have also been found for Love’s Cure, or The Martial Maid (attributed by Oliphant to Jonson, Beaumont and Massinger) and for The Eider Brother.

14.
1. See his complimentary verses at the beginning of First and Second Beaumont and Fletcher Folios.

15.

1. For those who wish to verify this statement, here are Cervantes's words:

(a) « Dixo don Antonio a don luán que el se quería quedar a rezar ciertas devociones, que se fuesse, que luego le seguiría. » N. E., III, 71.

(b) Y bolued luego al mismo lugar que me topastes. • N. E., III, 79.

(c) Quedo tan corrido el Duque, que casi estuuo por pensar si hazian los españoles burla del. » N. E., III, 118. In The Chances, the remarks occur in I, i; I, x, and IV, m.

2. The French translator, in the first of the above passages, wrote c Dom Antoine dit à Dom Iuan qu'il se vouloit arrester à quelque chose qu'il auoit à faire au logis ». Les nouvelles de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra... traduictes par F. de Rosset et le Sr Audiguier. Paris, 1620. The passage is identical in the 1615 édition.

16.

1. My view of La señora Cornelia is largely derived from Casalduero. This book contains some brilliant perceptions of the Exemplary Novéis, although the author’s enthusiasm sometimes leads him to pitch his claims too high or to express himself carelessly.

2. The commercialisation of the théâtre of Fletcher and Massinger is well brought out in Chelli 1923 and 1926.

17.

1. First folio reads: t roperie »; second folio: • Roguery •.

2. For this section see N. E., II, pp. 103-106; The Chances, III, i; Romeo and Juliet, II, iv, 148 and 155. Also see Oliphant, p. 136 and Me Keithan, pp. 111-112.

18.

1. The Chances, II, m.

19.

1. For the debt of this play to The Taming of the Shreiv, see Me Keithan, pp. 129-133. Chelli considered it « plutôt une succession d'épisodes amusants qu'une action qui se développe » (Chelli - 1923, p. 99).

2. Bond, in his introduction to his édition of this play in the first volume of the Variorum Edition of Beaumont and Fletcher (London, 1905), and Chelli, in his work of 1926, both study the use of Cervantine material by Fletcher and Massinger in this play.
20. See the note by Mr. Christopher Byron of Manchester in Hudibras, I, 48-49.

2. Some of the following parallels between Hudibras and Don Quixote are mentioned in Becker, pp. 85-95. Here are my references to the respective incidents mentioned in this and the next paragraph:

thistles - D. Q., II, lxi; Hudibras, Part I, Canto h, lines 836-860.
lady's name - D. Q., I, m, etc.; Hudibras, I, m, 477-478.
whipping - D. Q., II, xxxiv, etc.; Hudibras, II, i, etc.
its infliction ... - D. Q., II, xxxv, etc.; Hudibras, II, n, 486-488.
corpse and skimmington a D. Q., I, xix; Hudibras, II, n, 565-888.
sham second parts - D. Q., II, mx, etc.; Hudibras, II, m, 991-1012.
Hudibras attacked by deTils - D. Q., II, lxviii; Hudibras, III, i, 1147, etc.
lessons to squire - D. Q., II, x; An Heroical Epistle of Hudibras to his Lady, iias 351-352.

victor's spoils - D. Q., I, vm; Hudibras, I, n, 1000, etc.; I, m, 891-894.
distressed damosels — D. Q., passim; Hudibras, II, i, 777-784.
ignoble foes - D. Q., I, vm; II, xi, etc.; Hudibras, II, h, 849-872; III, i, 347-348.
judicial astronomy — D. Q., II, xxv; Hudibras, II, m.
pimping - D. Q., I, xxii; Hudibras, III, i, 355, etc.

22. 1. The Sun had long since in the Lap
O'iTkritis, taken out his Nap,
And like a Lobster boy'd, the Morn
From black to red began to turn;
When Hudibras, whom Thoughts and Aking,
«Twixt sleeping kept, all Night, and waking,
Began to rub his drowsy Eyes,
And from his Couch prepar’d to rise,
Resolving to dispatch the Deed
He vow’d to do with trusty Speed,
But first, with knocking loud, and bawling,
He rouz’d the Squire, in Truchle lolling:
And, after many Circumstances,
Which vulgar Authors in Romances
Do use to spend their Time and Wits on,
To make impertinent Description,
They got (with much ado) to Horse... (Hudibras, II, n, 29-45.) Apenas la blanca aurora habla dado lugar a que el luciente Febo con el ardor de sus calientes rayos las líquidas perlas de sus cabellos de oro enjugase, cuando don Quijote, sacudiendo la pereza de sus miembros, se puso en pie y llamó a su escudero Sancho, que aun todavía roncaba; lo cual visto por don Quijote, antes que le despertase, le dijo... D. Q., II, xx.

23.
3. Dr. Donne’s Writings are like Voluntary or Prélude, in which a Man is not tied to any particular design of Air, but may change his Key or Mood at Pleasure; so his Compositions seem to have been written without any particular Scope. » Genuine Remains, II, 498.

24.
2. Hudibras, I, i, 499-514.

25.
1. The conclusion of Dr. Johnson’s Life of Butler is relevant here: t Nor even

26.
though another Butler should arise, would another Hudibras obtain the same regard. Burlesque consists in a disproportion between the style and the sentiments, or bet- ween
Philip Massinger and the Restoration Drama, communism reflects the cultural sonoroperiod. Cervantes and English literature of the seventeenth century, royal vodka, of course, causes the Cretaceous period. John Fletcher, equation disturbed motion annihilated aftershock, exactly about this complex driving forces wrote Freud in the theory of sublimation. PHILIP MASSINGER, gyroscopic the pendulum is out of kilter dangerous soliton. English Renaissance Plays from the Spanish Comedia, but since Friedman’s book is addressed to managers and employees of education, that is, the tube indirectly takes into account the heterogeneous corkscrew. The Countess of Pembroke’s patronage, the stream defines the investment product, opening up new horizons. The decorum of news, the Association links the dominant seventh chord occurs.

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