

nothing of his hero, till eight years afterwards, in July, 1613, when he wrote the Preface to his Tales, where he distinctly announces a Second Part of Don Quixote. But before this Second Part could be published, and, indeed, before it was finished, a person calling himself Alonso Fernandez de Avellaneda, who seems, from some provincialisms in his style, to have been an Aragonese, and who, from other internal evidence, was a Dominican monk, came out, in the summer of 1614, with what he impertinently called "The Second Volume of the Ingenious Knight, Don Quixote de la Mancha."²¹

* 142 * Two things are remarkable in relation to this book. The first is, that, though it is hardly possible its author's name should not have been known to many, and especially to Cervantes himself, still it is only by strong conjecture that it has been often assigned to Luis de Aliaga, the king's confessor, a person whom, from his influence at court, it might not have been deemed expedient openly to attack; but sometimes also to Juan Blanco de Paz, a Dominican friar, who had been an enemy of Cervantes in Algiers. The second is, that the author

²¹ Cervantes reproaches Avellaneda with being an Aragonese, because he sometimes omits the article where a Castilian would insert it. (Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 59.) The rest of the discussion about him is found in Pelli- cer, Vida, pp. clvi-clxv; in Navarrete, Vida, pp. 144-151; in Clemen- cin's Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 59, notes; and in Adolfo de Castro's "Conde Duque de Olivares," Cadiz, 1846, 8vo, pp. 11, etc. This Avellaneda, whoever he was, called his book "*Segundo Tomo del Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*," etc., (Tarrago- na, 1614, 12mo,) and printed it so that it matches very well with the Valencian edition, 1605, of the First Part of the genuine Don Quixote;—both of which

I have. There are editions of it, Ma- drid, 1732, 1805, and 1851; and a translation by Le Sage, 1704, in which — after his manner of translating — he alters and enlarges the original work with little ceremony or good faith.

It may be worth while to note here, that, when Pope, in his "Essay on Criticism," (267, etc., beginning, "Once on a time La Mancha's knight, they say,") tells a story about Don Quixote, he refers, not to the work of Cervantes, but to that of Avellaneda, and of Avel- laneda in the *refacimento* of Le Sage, Liv. III. chap. 29. Persons familiar with Cervantes are often disappointed that they do not recollect it, thinking that the reference must be to *his* Don Quixote.

seems to have had hints of the plan Cervantes was pursuing in his Second Part, then unfinished, and to have used them in an unworthy manner, especially in making Don Alvaro Tarfé play substantially the same part that is played by the Duke and Duchess towards Don Quixote, and in carrying the knight through an adventure at an inn with play-actors rehearsing one of Lope de Vega's dramas, almost exactly like the adventure with the puppet-show man so admirably imagined by Cervantes.²²

But this is all that can interest us about the book, which, if not without merit in some respects, is generally low and dull, and would now be forgotten, if it were not connected with the fame of Don Quixote. In its Preface, Cervantes is treated with coarse indignity, his age, his sufferings, and even his honorable wounds being sneered at;²³ and in the body of the book, the character of Don Quixote, who appears as a vulgar madman, fancying himself to be Achilles, or any other character that happened to occur to the author,²⁴ is so completely without dignity or consistency, * that it is clear the writer did * 143 not possess the power of comprehending the

²² Avellaneda, c. 26. There is a much better translation than Le Sage's, by Ger- mond de Lavigne, (Paris, 1853, 8vo,) with an acute preface and notes, partly intended to rehabilitate Avellaneda.

Fr. Luis de Aliaga was, at one time, Inquisitor-General, and a person of great political consideration; but he resigned his place or was disgraced in the reign of Philip IV., and died in exile shortly afterwards, December 3, 1626. He figures in Quevedo's "*Grandes Anales de Quince Dias*." Ample notices of him may be found in the *Revista de Ciencias*, etc., Sevilla, 1856, Tom. III. pp. 6, 74, etc. See also Latassa, *Bib. Nov.*, III. 376.

²³ "Tiene mas lengua que manos," says Avellaneda, coarsely.

²⁴ Chapter 8;—just as he makes Don Quixote fancy a poor peasant in his melon-garden to be Orlando Furioso (c. 6);—a little village to be Rome (c. 7);—and its decent priest alter- nately Lirgando and the Archbishop Turpin. Perhaps the most obvious comparison, and the fairest that can be made, between the two Don Quixotes is in the story of the goats, told by Sancho in the twentieth chapter of the First Part in Cervantes, and the story of the geese, by Sancho in Avel- laneda's twenty-first chapter, because the latter professes to improve upon the former. The failure to do so, how- ever, is obvious enough.

genius he at once basely libelled and meanly attempted to supplant. The best parts of the work are those in which Sancho is introduced; the worst are its indecent stories and the adventures of Barbara, who is a sort of brutal caricature of the graceful Dorothea, and whom the knight mistakes for Queen Zenobia.²⁵ But it is almost always wearisome, and comes to a poor conclusion by the confinement of Don Quixote in a madhouse.²⁶

Cervantes evidently did not receive this affronting production until he was far advanced in the composition of his Second Part; but in the fifty-ninth chapter, written apparently when it first reached him, he breaks out upon it, and from that moment never ceases to persecute it, in every form of ingenious torture, until, with the seventy-fourth, he brings his own work to its conclusion. Even Sancho, with his accustomed humor and simplicity, is let loose upon the unhappy Aragonese; for, having understood from a chance traveller, who first brings the book to their knowledge, that his wife is called in it Mary Gutierrez, instead of Teresa Panza,—

“‘A pretty sort of a history-writer,’ cried Sancho, ‘and a deal must he know of our affairs, if he calls Teresa Panza, my wife, Mary Gutierrez. Take the book again, Sir, and see if I am put into it, and if he has changed my name, too.’ ‘By what I hear you say, my friend,’ replied the stranger, ‘you are, no doubt, Sancho Panza, the esquire of Don Quixote.’

²⁵ The whole story of Barbara, beginning with Chapter 22, and going nearly through the remainder of the work, is miserably coarse and dull.

²⁶ In 1824, a curious attempt was made, probably by some ingenious Ger-

man, to add two chapters more to Don Quixote, as if they had been suppressed when the Second Part was published. But they were not thought worth printing by the Spanish Academy. See Don Quixote, ed. Clemencin, Tom. VI. p. 296.

‘To be sure I am,’ * answered Sancho, ‘and * 144 proud of it too.’ ‘Then, in truth,’ said the gentleman, ‘this new author does not treat you with the propriety shown in your own person; he makes you a glutton and a fool; not at all amusing, and quite another thing from the Sancho described in the first part of your master’s history.’ ‘Well, Heaven forgive him!’ said Sancho: ‘but I think he might have left me in my corner, without troubling himself about me; for, *Let him play that knows the way; and Saint Peter at Rome is well off at home.*”²⁷

Stimulated by the appearance of this rival work, as well as offended with its personalities, Cervantes urged forward his own, and, if we may judge by its somewhat hurried air, brought it to a conclusion sooner than he had intended.²⁸ At any rate, as early as February, 1615, it was finished, and was published in the following autumn; after which we hear nothing more of Avellaneda, though he had intimated his purpose to exhibit Don Quixote in another series of adventures at Avila, Valladolid, and Salamanca.²⁹ This, indeed, Cervantes took some pains to prevent; for—besides a little changing his plan, and avoiding the jousts at Saragossa, because Avellaneda had carried his hero there³⁰—he finally restores Don Quixote, through a severe illness, to his right mind, and makes him renounce all the follies of knight-errantry, and die, like a peaceful Christian, in his own bed;—thus cutting off the possibility of another continuation with the pretensions of the first.

This latter half of Don Quixote is a contradiction of

²⁷ Parte II. c. 59.

²⁸ See Appendix (E).

²⁹ At the end of Cap. 36.

³⁰ When Don Quixote understands that Avellaneda has given an account

of his being at Saragossa, he exclaims, “‘Por el mismo caso, no pondré los pies en Zaragoza, y así sacaré á la plaza del mundo la mentira dese historiador moderno.” Parte II. c. 59.

the proverb Cervantes cites in it, — that second parts were never yet good for much.³¹ It is, in fact, better than the first. It shows more freedom and vigor; and if the caricature is sometimes pushed to the very verge of what is permitted, the invention, the style of thought, and, indeed, the materials throughout, are richer and the finish is more exact. The character of Sanson Carrasco, for instance,³² is a very happy, though somewhat bold, addition to the original persons of the drama; and the adventures at the castle of the Duke and Duchess, where Don Quixote is fooled to the top of his bent; the managements of Sancho as governor of his island; the visions and dreams of the cave of Montesinos; the scenes with Roque Guinart, the freebooter, and with Gines de Passamonte, the galley-slave and puppet-show man; together with the mock-heroic hospitalities of Don Antonio Moreno at Barcelona, and the final defeat of the knight there, are all admirable. In truth, everything in this Second Part, especially its general outline and tone, shows that time and a degree of success he had not before known had ripened and perfected the strong manly sense and sure insight into human nature which are visible in nearly all his works, and which here become a part, as it were, of his peculiar genius, whose foundations had been laid, dark and deep, amidst the trials and sufferings of his various life.

³¹ It is one of the mischievous remarks of the Bachelor Samson Carrasco. Parte II. c. 4.

³² Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 4. The style of both parts of the genuine Don Quixote is, as might be anticipated, free, fresh, and careless; — genial, like the author's character, full of idiomatic beauties, and by no means without

blemishes. Garcés, in his "Fuerza y Vigor de la Lengua Castellana," Tom. II. Prólogo, as well as throughout that excellent work, has given it, perhaps, more uniform praise than it deserves; — while Clemencin, in his notes, is very rigorous and unpardoning to its occasional defects.

But throughout both parts, Cervantes shows the impulses and instincts of an original power with most distinctness in his development of the characters of Don Quixote and Sancho, in whose fortunate contrast and opposition is hidden the full spirit of his peculiar humor, and no small part of what is most effective in the entire fiction. They are his prominent personages. He delights, therefore, to have them as much as possible in the front of his scene. They grow visibly upon his favor as he advances, and the fondness of his liking for them makes him constantly produce them in lights and relations as little foreseen by himself as they are by his readers. The knight, who seems to have been originally intended for a parody of the Amadis, becomes gradually a detached, separate, and wholly independent personage, into whom is infused so much of a generous and elevated nature, such gentleness and delicacy, such a pure sense of honor, and such a warm love for whatever is noble and good, that we feel almost the same attachment to him that the barber and the curate did, and are almost as ready as his family was to mourn over his death.³³

The case of Sancho is again very similar, and perhaps in some respects stronger. At first, he is introduced as the opposite of Don Quixote, and used merely to bring out his master's peculiarities in a more striking relief. It is not until we have gone through nearly half of the First Part that he utters one of those proverbs which form afterwards the staple of his conversation and humor;³⁴ and it is not till the open-

³³ Wordsworth, in his "Prelude," Book V., says of Don Quixote, very strikingly: —

Nor have I pitied him, but rather felt
Reverence was due to a being thus employed;

And thought that, in the blind and awful lair
Of such a madness, reason did lie couched.

³⁴ In 1626, Quevedo, in his "Cuento de Cuentos," ridiculed the free use of proverbs, not, however, I think, direct-

ing of the Second Part, and, indeed, not till he comes forth, in all his mingled shrewdness and credulity, as governor of Barataria, that his character is quite developed and completed to the full measure of its grotesque, yet congruous, proportions.

Cervantes, in truth, came at last to love these creations of his marvellous power, as if they were real, familiar personages, and to speak of them and treat them with an earnestness and interest that tend much to the illusion of his readers. Both Don Quixote and Sancho are thus brought before us like such living realities, that, at this moment, the figures of the crazed, gaunt, dignified knight and of his round, selfish, and most amusing esquire dwell bodied forth in the imaginations of more, among all conditions of men throughout Christendom, than any other of the creations * 147 tions * of human talent. The greatest of the great poets — Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton — have no doubt risen to loftier heights, and placed themselves in more imposing relations with the noblest attributes of our nature; but Cervantes — always writing under the unchecked impulse of his own genius, and instinctively concentrating in his fiction whatever was peculiar to the character of his nation — has shown himself of kindred to all times and all lands; to the humblest degrees of cultivation as well as to the highest; and has thus, beyond all other writers, received in return a tribute of sympathy and admiration from the universal spirit of humanity.³⁵

ing his satire against the Don Quixote, but rather against the absurd fashion of his time, just as Cervantes did. A rude answer to it, — “Venganza de la Lengua Castellana,” — attributed to Fr. Luis de Aliaga, and first printed, I believe, in the same year, may be found in the Seminario Erudito, Tom VI. p. 264.

³⁵ I mean by this, that I think thousands of persons, the world over, have notions of Don Quixote and his esquire, and talk about “Quixotism,” “mischievous Sancho,” etc., who yet never have read the romance of Cervantes, nor even know what it is. A different popular effect, and one worthy the days

It is not easy to believe, that, when he had finished such a work, he was insensible to what he had done. Indeed, there are passages in the Don Quixote itself which prove a consciousness of his own genius, its aspirations, and its power.³⁶ And yet there are, on the other hand, carelessnesses, blemishes, and contradictions scattered through it, which seem to show him to have been almost indifferent to contemporary success or posthumous fame. His plan, which he seems to have modified more than once while engaged * in the composition of the work, is loose and * 148 disjointed; his style, though full of the richest idiomatic beauties, abounds with inaccuracies; and the facts and incidents that make up his fiction are full of anachronisms, which Los Rios, Pellicer, and Eximeno have in vain endeavored to reconcile, either with the main current of the story itself, or with one another.³⁷

of Grecian enthusiasm, is noticed in Rocca's “Memoirs of the War of the French in Spain” (London, 1816, p. 110). He says, that when the body of French troops to which he was attached entered Toboso, — perfectly answering, he adds, the description of it by Cervantes, — they were so amused with the fancies about Dulcinea and Don Quixote, awakened by the place, that they were, at once, on easy terms with its inhabitants; Cervantes becoming a bond of good-fellowship, which not only prevented the villagers from flying, as they commonly did in similar cases, but led the soldiers to treat them and their homes with unwonted respect. So,

The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
Went to the ground: and the repeated air
Of sad Electra's poet had the power
To save the Athenian walls from ruin bare.

³⁶ The concluding passages of the work, for instance, are in this tone; and this is the tone of his criticisms on Avellaneda. I do not count in the same sense the passage, in the Second Part, c. 16, in which Don Quixote is made to boast that thirty thousand

copies had been printed of the First Part, and that thirty thousand thousands would follow; for this is intended as the mere rhodomontade of the hero's folly, or a jest at the pretensions set up for Aleman's “Guzman de Alfarache” (see *post*, Chap. XXXIV., note 4); but I confess I think Cervantes is somewhat in earnest when he makes Sancho say to his master, “I will lay a wager, that, before long, there will not be a two-penny eating-house, a hedge tavern, or a poor inn, or barber's shop, where the history of what we have done will not be painted and stuck up.” Parte II. c. 71.

³⁷ Los Rios, in his “Análisis,” prefixed to the edition of the Academy, 1780, undertakes to defend Cervantes on the authority of the ancients, as if the Don Quixote were a poem, written in imitation of the Odyssey. Pellicer, in the fourth section of his “Discurso Preliminar” to his edition of Don Quixote, 1797, follows much the same course; besides which, at the end of the fifth volume, he gives what he gravely calls a “Geographico-historical Description of the Travels of Don Quixote,” accompanied with a map; as if

Thus, in the First Part, Don Quixote is generally represented as belonging to a remote age, and his history is supposed to have been written by an ancient Arabian author;³⁸ while, in the examination * 149 of his library, he is * plainly contemporary with Cervantes himself, and, after his defeats, is

some of Cervantes's geography were not impossible, and as if half his localities were to be found anywhere but in the imaginations of his readers. On the ground of such irregularities in his geography, and on other grounds equally absurd, Nicholas Perez, a Valencian, attacked Cervantes in the "Anti-Quixote," the first volume of which was published in 1805, but was followed by none of the five that were intended to complete it; and received an answer, quite satisfactory, but more severe than was needful, in a pamphlet, published at Madrid in 1806, 12mo, by J. A. Pellicer, without his name, entitled "Exámen Crítico del Tomo Primero de el Anti-Quixote." And finally, Don Antonio Eximeno, in his "Apología de Miguel de Cervantes," (Madrid, 1806, 12mo,) excuses or defends everything in the Don Quixote, giving us a new chronological plan, (p. 60,) with exact astronomical reckonings, (p. 129,) and maintaining, among other wise positions, that Cervantes *intentionally* represented Don Quixote to have lived both in an earlier age and in his own time, in order that curious readers might be confounded, and, after all, only some imaginary period be assigned to his hero's achievements (pp. 19, etc.). All this, I think, is eminently absurd; but it is the consequence of the blind admiration with which Cervantes was idolized in Spain during the latter part of the last century and the beginning of the present; — itself partly a result of the coldness with which he had been overlooked by the learned of his countrymen for nearly a century previous to that period. Don Quixote, Madrid, 1819, 8vo, Prólogo de la Academia, p. [3].

³⁸ Conde, the author of the "Dominación de los Arabes en España," undertakes, in a pamphlet published in conjunction with J. A. Pellicer, to show that the name of this pretended Arabic

author, *Cid Hamete Benengeli*, is a combination of Arabic words, meaning *noble, satirical, and unhappy*. (Carta en Castellano, etc., Madrid, 1800, 12mo, pp. 16–27.) It may be so; but it is not in character for Cervantes to seek such refinements, or to make such a display of his little learning, which does not seem to have extended beyond a knowledge of the vulgar Arabic spoken in Barbary, the Latin, the Italian, and the Portuguese. Like Shakespeare, however, Cervantes had read and remembered nearly all that had been printed in his own language, and constantly makes the most felicitous allusions to the large stores of his knowledge of this sort.

Clemencin, however, sometimes seems willing to extend the learned reading of Cervantes further than is necessary. Thus (Don Quixote, Tom. III. p. 132) he thinks the Discourse of the Knight on Arms and Letters (Parte II. c. 37 and 38) may be traced to an obscure Latin treatise on the same subject printed in 1549. It does not seem to be needful to refer to any particular source for a matter so obvious, especially to a Spaniard of the time of Cervantes; but if it be worth while to do so, a nearer one, and one much more probable, may be found in the Dedication of the "Flores de Seneca traducidas por Juan Cordero," (Anvers, 1555, 12mo,) a person much distinguished and honored in his time, as we see from Ximeno and Fuster.

There was an answer to Conde's "Carta en Castellano," entitled "Respuesta a la Carta en Castellano, etc., por Don Juan Fran. Perez de Caecegas" (Madrid, 1800, 18mo, pp. 60). It was hardly needed, I think, and its temper is not better than that of such controversial tracts generally among the Spaniards. But some of its hits at the notes of Pellicer to Don Quixote are well deserved.

brought home confessedly in the year 1604. To add further to this confusion, when we reach the Second Part, which opens only a month after the conclusion of the First, and continues only a few weeks, we have, at the side of the same claims of an ancient Arabian author, a conversation about the expulsion of the Moors,³⁹ which happened after 1609, and much criticism on Avellaneda, whose work was published in 1614.⁴⁰

But this is not all. As if still further to accumulate contradictions and incongruities, the very details of the story he has invented are often in whimsical conflict with each other, as well as with the historical facts to which they allude. Thus, on one occasion, the scenes which he had represented as having occurred in the course of a single evening and the following morning are said to have occupied two days;⁴¹ on another, he sets a company down to a late supper, and after conversations and stories that must have carried them nearly through the night, he says, "It began to draw towards evening."⁴² In different places he calls the same individual by different names, and — what is rather amusing — once reproaches Avellaneda with a mistake which was, after all, his own.⁴³ And finally, having discovered the inconsequence of saying seven times that Sancho was on his ass after Gines de Passamonte had stolen it, he took pains, in the only edition of the First Part that he ever * revised, * 150 to correct two of his blunders, — heedlessly

³⁹ Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 54.

⁴⁰ The criticism on Avellaneda begins, as we have said, Parte II. c. 59.

⁴¹ Parte I. c. 46.

⁴² "Llegaba ya la noche," he says in c. 42 of Parte I., when all that had occurred from the middle of c. 37 had happened after they were set down to supper.

⁴³ Cervantes calls Sancho's wife by three or four different names (Parte I. c. 7 and 52, and Parte II. c. 5 and 59); and Avellaneda having, in some degree, imitated him, Cervantes makes himself very merry at the confusion; not noticing that the mistake was really his own.

overlooking the rest; and when he published the Second Part, laughed heartily at the whole, — the errors, the corrections, and all, — as things of little consequence to himself or anybody else.⁴⁴

The romance, however, which he threw so carelessly from him, and which, I am persuaded, he regarded rather as a bold effort to break up the absurd taste of his time for the fancies of chivalry than as anything of more serious import, has been established by an uninterrupted, and, it may be said, an unquestioned, success ever since, both as the oldest classical specimen of romantic fiction, and as one of the most remarkable monuments of modern genius. But though this may be enough to fill the measure of human fame and glory, it is not all to which Cervantes is entitled; for, if we would do him the justice that would have been most welcome to his own spirit, and even if we would ourselves fully comprehend and enjoy the whole of his Don Quixote, we should, as we read it, bear in mind, that this delightful romance was not the result of a youthful exuberance of feeling and a happy external condition, nor composed in his best years, when the spirits of its author were light and his hopes high; but that — with all its unquenchable and irresistible humor, with its bright views of the world, and its cheerful trust in goodness and virtue — it was written in his old age, at the conclusion of a life nearly every step of which had been marked with disappointed expectations, disheartening struggles, and sore calamities;

⁴⁴ The facts referred to are these. In the edition of 1608, Cervantes corrected Gines de Passamonte, in the 23d chapter of Part First, (ed. 1605, f. 108,) steals Sancho's ass. But hardly three leaves further on, in the same edition, we find Sancho riding again, as usual, on the poor beast, which reappears yet six other times out of all reason. In the edition of 1608, Cervantes corrected two of these careless mistakes on leaves 109 and 112; but left the five others just as they stood before; and in Chapters 3 and 27 of the Second Part, (ed. 1615,) jests about the whole matter, but shows no disposition to attempt further corrections.

that he began it in a prison, and that it was finished when he felt the hand of death pressing heavy and cold upon his heart. If this be remembered as we read, we may feel, as we ought to feel, what admiration and reverence are due, not only to the living power of Don * Quixote, but to the character and genius of Cervantes; — if it be forgotten or underrated, we shall fail in regard to both.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Having expressed so strong an opinion of Cervantes's merits, I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of citing the words of the modest and wise Sir William Temple, who, when speaking of works of satire, and rebuking Rabelais for his indecency and profaneness, says: "The matchless writer of Don Quixote is much more to be admired for having made up so excellent a composition of satire or ridicule without those ingredients; and seems to be the best and

highest strain that ever has been or will be reached by that vein." Works, London, 1814, 8vo, Vol. III. p. 436. To this may not inappropriately be added the opinion of Dr. Johnson, who "confessed that the work of Cervantes was the greatest in the world after Homer's Iliad, speaking of it, I mean," says Mrs. Piozzi, "as a book of entertainment." Boswell's Johnson, Croker's edition, 1831, Vol. IV. pp. 377, 378. See Appendix (E).