

THREE THEATRICAL IMITATIONS OF
DON QUIJOTE DE LA MANCHA;
WITH A LIST OF
DON QUIJOTE PLAYS, 1607-1971

by

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PART I

THE THEATRICAL HISTORY
OF CERVANTES' DON QUIJOTE
DE LA MANCHA

INTRODUCTION

Don Quijote and Sancho Panza have been figures in world drama almost from the first appearance of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's famous novel. El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha was published in Madrid in January, 1605; the first recorded theatrical imitation of it took place halfway across the world in Lima, Peru, a little more than two years later. As the second part of this thesis will show, Don Quijote was presented on stage in London, Heidelberg, Paris, and Zaragoza even before the publication of the second part of the novel in 1615. Surprisingly enough, the first English, French, and German theatrical presentations concerning the ingenioso hidalgo took place before the novel was translated into those languages.

The quick dissemination of translations of Cervantes' work, seen in the thirty-three editions in five languages before 1700,¹ is clear evidence of the novel's great popularity. Historically, the theatre has been quick to note and take advantage of such literary trends and fashions, and the case of Don Quijote proved no exception. At

least fifty theatrical imitations of the work were recorded between 1607 and 1700, ranging from rude street processions to lavish court presentations. Doubtless there were many others of which we have no record.

That the novel should be eagerly adapted by the practicing dramatists of the time is not surprising, for Cervantes' major characters are ideal for the stage. The contrast between the gaunt, idealistic knight and his stout, pleasure-loving squire is highly theatrical; the extravagance of their beliefs and the laughable nature of their mishaps make them distinctly larger than life, characters immediately appealing to an audience.

Strangely enough, however, in most dramatic interpretations of the novel, Don Quijote and Sancho are only secondary figures. As Juan Antonio Tamayo notes, the most popular part of Don Quijote de la Mancha for dramatic presentation was the interpolated novella of the "Curioso Impertinente"; next in vogue was the episode of the Wedding of Camacho, and third was the story of the enchanted inn with the reunion of Cardenio, Dorotea, Fernando, and Luscinda.² Don Quijote himself is absent from the first of these and clearly secondary in the other two.

The principal reason for this neglect of Don Quijote as protagonist was apparently the difficulty of transforming the complicated plot of the novel into traditional dramatic structure. The customary dramatic form demanded a story which portrayed the conflict between a protagonist and

an antagonist; the presentation of such a conflict, followed by the struggle between the two characters and the eventual triumph of one of them formed the natural beginning, middle, and end of the conventional drama.

The simplicity of this form contrasts sharply with the extensive episodic plot of Cervantes' novel, in which Don Quijote seems to fly dizzingly from defeat to defeat at the hands of ever-changing antagonists. A superficial reading of the work reveals no consistent opposition to the knight. Dramatists evidently regarded this bizarre plot as evidence that Don Quijote was meant to be the repeated victim of his own misconceptions, and he usually appeared in the drama as just such a deluded comic failure. The lengthy intellectual discussions through which the knight's character was revealed were mercilessly cut because of the strict time limitations of the theatre, and the resultant two-dimensional Quijote became a buffoon, falling prey to a series of jokes and pranks instituted by his intellectual superiors. As such a witless victim he was completely unfit for an important role in anything but farce; elsewhere he almost inevitably appeared as a foolish figure of comic relief.

Most dramatists overlooked the principal thematic conflict of the novel, the opposition by the priest, the barber, and Sanson Carrasco to Don Quijote's search for

adventure. The success of their determined opposition is indirectly the cause of Quijote's death, and the work ends upon a sobering note of tragedy because of it. But this structure was obscured by the high visibility of the farcical episodes along Don Quijote's route; the priest-Quijote conflict appears in few--perhaps none--of the theatrical imitations of Don Quijote.

Sancho Panza has suffered much less distortion in the theatre, perhaps because of the great human appeal of his dramatic type, represented by the good-hearted but lazy peasant. Sancho appealed to theatrical audiences of all European countries, fitting as he did into a theatrical tradition which can be traced back as far as the "tricky slave" of Greek and Roman comedy. If appearing outside Spain he usually exchanged his native proverbs for others more familiar to the audience and assumed the degree of gluttony and mendacity attributed to the local peasants (in English drama he appears to have been something of a chronic drunkard); otherwise he varied little wherever he went. The miraculous wisdom of his judgments in the Isle of Barataria was a favorite subject for one-act plays and for interludes in longer Quijote plays, as is demonstrated in two of the three play analyses which make up the body of this thesis.

One of the greatest difficulties in writing a history of Don Quijote in the theatre is the fact that there is almost no continuity between Quijote imitations. Like

translations, imitative plays generally return directly to the source and seek to express it in the style and idiom of the day; and as a result, when theatrical and literary fashions change both imitations and translations are left behind, packed away like grandmother's bustles and grandfather's spats. Only two Quijote imitations have lasted more than fifty years, a 1712 play written in Holland and an 1869 ballet written in Russia. Each of these has been featured in active theatrical repertoires of the twentieth century.³ These two works, however, are special cases; the first is a masterwork of a comparatively limited national literature, and the second is a ballet, depending more upon spectacle than upon the changeable appeal of literary style.

Faced with the discouraging fact that the only real continuity in the theatrical history of Don Quijote is the persistent imitation of current literary fashion, most investigators have preferred to adopt a quasi-anecdotal style in which they list the imitations in chronological order. El Quijote en el teatro by Felipe Perez Capo is probably the best of these works to date, and its entries include such significant literary history as the following:

History of Cardenio. Comedy written in collaboration by Fletcher and Shakespeare. . . . It seems that in the last years of his life, Shakespeare sought the help of Fletcher in finishing three works: Henry VIII, The Two

Gentlemen of Verona, and Cardenio. The last of these has been lost. One afternoon in the month of June, 1613, while the London audience was watching a performance of Henry VIII in the Globe, the burning wadding from a blank cannon-shot announcing the entrance of the king fell upon the theatre roof. The fire spread quickly and burned the theatre to the ground. Many works of Shakespeare were destroyed in the blaze, among them the manuscript copies of Cardenio.⁴

as well as a number of interesting (if insignificant) anecdotes such as this one:

Sancho Panza seems to have been the least successful of [Charles Rivière] Dufresny's comedies. In the third act there was a scene where the Duke was complaining of the antics of the famous squire of Don Quijote. The author gave the Duke the following words:

"I am beginning to be bored with Sancho."

"And so am I!" yelled one of the spectators. The outcry was general and the performance could not continue.⁵

Leopold Rius, the great bibliographer of Cervantes, also quotes such an anecdote, concerning Béjart's 1660 play:

Some time after the return of Baron, a piece titled Don Quixote was performed, which began in the moment when Don Quixote left Sancho Panza in his government. Molière was playing Sancho, and since he was supposed to enter mounted upon an ass, he was waiting just offstage in order to be ready for his entrance. But the ass, which did not know the part by heart, insisted upon entering as soon as it was in the wings, without waiting for its cue. No matter how strongly he pulled at the reins, Molière was unable to stop the beast, so that he had to yell, "Help, Baron, help, La Forest, this damned ass wants to go on stage!" La Forest was the single serving-woman who then made up his entire entourage, despite the fact

that he made 30,000 pounds a year. She was on the opposite side of the stage. . . and she was laughing uncontrollably at the sight of her master's predicament.⁶

As these stories suggest, there have been some famous figures associated with the presentation of Don Quijote onstage. Chief among them were Beaumont and Fletcher (1613), Shakespeare (1613), Tirso de Molina (1634), Calderón de la Barca (1637), Molière and his wife (1660), Henry Purcell (1694), the son of Louis XIV of France (1700), Henry Fielding (1734), Ramón de la Cruz (1768), Juan Meléndez Valdés (1784), Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1795), Felix Mendelssohn-Barthody (1824), Ventura de la Vega (1832, 1861), Prosper Mérimée (1850), Adolfo García y Bécquer (1859), Luis Mariano de Larra (1864), Jaques Offenbach (1875), José Echegaray (1877), Manuel de Falla (1923), and Jean Anouilh (1959). Details concerning the works of these men can be found in the second part of this thesis.

A limited number of generalities suggest themselves concerning the Quijote dramas, though these generalities are by no means conclusive:

First, the French and Italians have been particularly apt at using the Quijote story for operatic works, and quite often these pieces were intended for performance at the imperial court in Vienna. There are very few English and German Quijote operas, and Spain's musical treatments

of the story usually take the form of the zarzuela, a type of musical comedy.

Secondly, the Spanish have generally favored the treatment of the Quijote story in entremeses and sainetes, short comic pieces which limit themselves to no more than one or two episodes from the novel. Despite (or perhaps because of) the Spanish love for Don Quijote, theatrical imitations of the novel have had a particularly high failure rate.

Thirdly, full-length Quijote plays are much more frequent in other European countries than in Spain. This fact can be tentatively attributed to the foreign public's usual lack of familiarity with the source material, which permitted the extensive reworking of the basic structure of the novel in order to accommodate it to the stage.

Fourthly and finally, the frequency of theatrical treatments of Don Quijote in the European theatre has remained about the same since the publication of the novel in 1605. The only exception was a sudden tremendous upswing in the production of Quijote imitations in 1905 in Spain upon the occasion of the third centennial of the novel's publication. No such concentrated interest was shown in the later anniversary years of 1915, 1916, or 1947,⁷ so this period of great excitement over the Quijote can probably be traced to the mood of the

"Generation of '98," the group of writers which was anxiously studying the historical and literary traditions of Spain after its catastrophic defeat in the War of 1898 with the United States.

In the following pages I will present and study Quijote plays from 1696, 1784, and 1815, but the reader should not think that Don Quijote as a theatrical figure is dead. Even as this thesis is being written there are two Quijote works, a musical comedy and a ballet, running in New York City. The former, Man of La Mancha by Dale Wasserman, has at this writing been presented in twenty-one major cities of the world in a period of only five years; the latter, the Petipa-Minkus ballet of Don Quijote, is just over one hundred years old and is not yet showing any signs of age. And if the past is any indication, the definitive theatrical version of this ever-new and ever-changing classic has not yet been written.

FOOTNOTES

1. Justo García Soriano and Justo García Morales, "Guía del lector del 'Quijote;'" El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha, by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (Madrid: Aguilar, 1960), pp. 18-19.
2. Juan Antonio Tamayo, "Una obra cervantina de Bécquer," Anales Cervantinos, I (1951), pp. 301-303.
3. The twentieth-century performance of Pieter Langendijk's 1712 play Don Quichot op gestoorde Bruiloft van Kamacho is mentioned in C.F. Adolfo van Dam, Las relaciones literarias entre España y Holanda: Conferencia dada en el Ateneo de Madrid el día 6 de abril de 1923 (Amsterdam: J. Emmering, 1923), p. 16; the January 1971 performance of the Don Quijote ballet of Marius Petipa and Aloysius Fyodorovich Minkus, written in 1869, is reported in Time Magazine, February 8, 1971, p. 54.
4. Felipe Pérez Capo, El Quijote en el teatro: Repertorio cronológico de 290 producciones escénicas relacionadas con la inmortal obra de Cervantes (Barcelona: Editorial Milla, 1947), p. 12.
5. Pérez Capo, p. 27.
6. Leopoldo Rius, Bibliografía Crítica de las obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. (Barcelona: Fidel Giro, 1899), II, pp. 357-358.
7. Cervantes was born in 1547 and died in 1616; the first part of Don Quijote de la Mancha was published in 1605 and the second part was published in 1615.

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CHAPTER ONE: ENGLAND, 1696

An author who writes consistently to please the fancy of the general public is almost certainly destined to fade into literary oblivion within a generation of his death. Such writers, popular in both the colloquial and the etymological sense of the word, are quite often dutiful, even skilled literary craftsmen; but craftsmanship alone, sad to say, is usually enough for not more than a footnote or a passing reference in the history of literature.

Thomas D'Urfey is a first-rate example of this phenomenon. He enjoyed great successes during a theatrical career of almost fifty years in Restoration London (1676-1721), producing twenty-three comedies, five tragedies, four operas, one tragicomedy, and hundreds of songs and ditties.¹ He won the affections both of the royal court-- Joseph Addison recalls "King Charles the Second leaning on Tom D'Urfey's shoulder more than once, and humming over a song with him"²--and of the general public with his vigorous, rustic, and occasionally innocently off-color songs and plays. D'Urfey's good-natured presentation of the country booby seems to have earned him no malice.

among country-folk, either; Alexander Pope, writing his friend Cromwell on April 10, 1710, comments:

I have not quoted one Latin Author since I came down, but have learn'd without book a Song of Mr. Tho: Durfey's, who is your only Poet of tolerable reputation in this Country. He makes all the Merriment in our Entertainments, & but for him, there wou'd be so miserable a Dearth of Catches, that I fear they wou'd (sans ceremonie) put either the Parson or Me upon making some for 'em. Any Man, of any Quality, is heartily welcome to the best Topeing-Table of our Gentry, who can roundly humm out some Fragments or Rhapsodies of his works; So that in the same Manner as was said of Homer, to his Detractors; What? dares any man speak against Him who has given so many Men to Eat? (meaning the Rhapsodists who liv'd by repeating his Verses) So may it be said of Mr Durfey, to his Detractors; Dares any one despise Him, who has made so many men Drink?³

D'Urfey's fondness for presenting country life even brought about a reference to him in a contemporary English translation of Boileau's Art of Poetry. In a passage dealing with inept writers of eclogues, one reads:

You'd swear Tom Durfey, in his rustic Strains,
Was Quav'ring to the Milkmaids and the Swains;
Changing, without respect to Sound or Dress,
Strephon and Phillis, into Tom and Bess.⁴

The unmistakably critical tone of these last two comments shows us that there was indeed a sector of London where D'Urfey was looked upon with condescension and disdain. The true literary wits of the time, men like Addison, Steele, and Pope, were generally content to damn the man with faint praise (though the sharp-tongued

Swift at one point referred to D'Urfey's plays as "excrement"⁵), but it is likely that less accomplished men of letters made no effort to conceal their distaste for D'Urfey. A great sensitivity to such slights shows itself in D'Urfey's prologues, a touchiness we may safely attribute to his own lack of formal schooling. For example, when dedicating the first of the Don Quixote plays, a popular success, D'Urfey addresses the Duchess of Ormond as follows:

Don Quixote having not only been well
Receiv'd upon the Stage, but also having
clear'd himself with Reputation, from the
Slander and Prejudice which malicious
Criticks had resolv'd upon, to sully and
blast him; I could not forbear suffering
himself to the Second Honor of Dedicating
himself to your Grace. . . .

Prominent in the preface to The Comical History of Don Quixote, Part II, also very successful, are the following remarks:

The good Success, which both the Parts of Don Quixote have had, either from their Natural Merit, or the Indulgence of my Friends, or both, ought sufficiently to satisfy me that I have no reason to value the little Malice of some weak Heads, that make it their business to be simply Criticizing. I will therefore desist from any answer in that kind, and wholly rely upon, and please myself, with the good Opinion and kind Censure of the Judicious, who unanimously declare, that I have not lessened my self in the great undertaking, of drawing two Plays out of that ingenious History. . . . Then I must tell my severe Censurers, who will be spitting their Venom against me tho to no purpose, that I deserve some acknowledgement for drawing the Character

of Mary the Buxome, which was entirely my own. . . .it is by the best Judges allowed to be a masterpiece of humour.⁷

There were, indeed, to be "severe Censurers" of the Don Quixote plays--that famous moralist of the English stage, the Rev. Jeremy Collier, devoted no fewer than thirteen pages of his A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage to a blistering, though somewhat muddle-headed attack on the trilogy. He was successful in getting D'Urfey and Congreve indicted by the justices of Middlesex on May 12, 1698, on the grounds of having written obscene material, but no record exists of either man being brought to trial.⁸ We will deal with Collier's criticism of the plays after examining the works themselves; suffice it to say, however, that the fact Collier thought them worthy of attack is a clear indication of their popularity.

The first two parts of The Comical History of Don Quixote premiered a month apart at Dorset Garden in the early summer of 1694. They are reported to have been the most popular of D'Urfey's comedies, and in the judgment of one good critic they are the best dramatic version in English of the Quijote story.⁹ The two plays were apparently often combined and shortened for presentation in a single performance; such a practice has been recorded as late as 1739, forty-five years after their first presentations. Out of this material, Frederick Pilon fashioned Barataria, or Sancho turn'd Governor,

an afterpiece which was played frequently at Covent Garden during the year of 1785. After Pilon's adaptation the Don Quixote plays disappeared from the repertories, along with the rest of D'Urfey's increasingly dated theatrical works.

The fate of the last part of the trilogy was much less fortunate. When it was first performed at Drury Lane in December, 1696, a year and a half after the other plays, the work was a dismal failure. It was never afterward revived. Understandably, D'Urfey was bitterly disappointed. He blamed the shortened rehearsal time, the poorly-designed settings, the indifferent performance of the dancers--in short, everything but his own script. As he writes in his preface to the third part,

. . .perhaps I can prove the cause of its Miscarriage not to be thro' its own Defect, (as 'tis generally believ'd) but occasion'd by the Ill-nature of an inveterate Faction and some unlucky Accidents happening in its Representation. In the first place therefore I must inform the Reader, that this Third Part before it came upon the Stage was acknowledg'd and believ'd by all that saw it, and were concern'd (as well as those who heard it read, as those that were Actors, who certainly, every one must own, are in their Affairs skilful enough to know the Value of things of this nature) to be the best of all the Three Plays; of which Opinion I must also confess my self to be, and do not doubt, that when it is impartially read and judg'd, to find many more to join with me in that Belief.¹⁰

This sounds like the self-defensive rationalizing of a man who was routinely subject to all sorts of sneers

and petty slanders; but in fact D'Urfey was correct in his estimation of his own work. Though the third part is slightly flawed by an adolescently gleeful joking about sex and the wedding-night, it is far superior to the other parts of the trilogy. The first plays are loose collections of incidents from the novel, furnished with wooden characters who are tenuously motivated at best; the unsuccessful play, on the other hand, is a tightly-structured, fast-moving piece which maintains a nice balance between faithfulness to the source and D'Urfey's inventiveness in reworking character and incident for the stage.

THE COMICAL HISTORY OF DON QUIXOTE, PARTS I AND II¹¹

The first part of the trilogy The Comical History of Don Quixote is the story of the four lovers--Cardenio, Dorotea, Ferdinand, and Luscinda--who appear in the episodes of the Sierra Morena and the Enchanted Inn in the first half of Don Quijote de la Mancha. This lover's action is completed halfway through the play with the highly theatrical conversion of Fernando, who undergoes instant metamorphosis from the worst sort of fiend into the noblest sort of lover. The action is continued with the weak excuse of the search for Cardenio in the Sierra Morena, and after the successful completion of this task, the work ends with the duping of Don Quijote and his confinement in a cage for the return to his home.

The structure of this first play is loose enough to permit the inclusion of a number of unrelated episodes concerning Don Quijote (his battle with the windmill, the destruction of the wine-bags, his knighting, and the capture of the Helmet of Mambrino, in that order) as well as scenes featuring Sancho's family and the shepherds who participate in the pageant of the funeral of Grisostomo ("Chrysostom"). But in actuality, this is not the story of Don Quijote at all, for the "Knight of the Ill-favor'd Face" (!) is reduced to a clown figure, stumbling his way across the stage between episodes of an unnecessarily elaborated lovers' action. The author has discarded the basic pattern of Don Quijote's journey in search of chivalric adventure and in so doing he has taken away most of the reason for Don Quijote's existence in the play. It is simply too easy to wonder why this "modern madman" hasn't been locked up by the end of Act II. Quijote as presented has none of the stern belief, the erudition, and the imagination which make Cervantes' figure so admirable; rather, he is only a crack-brained, extravagant old man. Sancho is somewhat better handled, though he is less appealing and more bibulous than his original.

The second play of the trilogy combines the figures of the funeral scene (Marcella the shepherdess and her critic Ambrosio) in a love intrigue original with D'Urfey, Don Quijote's visit with the Duke, and Sancho's government in Barataria. Generally speaking, this play is better than

its predecessor. The love action is much more closely tied to the Quijote action; Quijote himself is still presented as a ridiculous figure, but he emerges as less a fool than before, and in his debates with the Duke's chaplain he acquits himself with credit. D'Urfey's first three acts feature pleasingly rapid switches of focus from the eccentricities of Quijote to the development of a one-sided love affair involving the appealing characters of Marcella and Ambrosio.

After the third act, however, the play's structure disintegrates. The rest of the work is devoted entirely to Sancho's government, which the author presents as a broad, gluttonous farce featuring Sancho, his wife Teresa, and Mary the Buxome, his daughter. D'Urfey cheats his audience by imperfectly ending his two principal actions; Don Quijote is defeated in a battle never seen onstage, and Marcella is brought on mad with love at the conclusion of the play, while Ambrosio, the object of her affections, does little more than shrug his shoulders at her plight.

These first two plays of The Comical History of Don Quixote were designed to be halves of a single long work, a fact indicated both by the dates of their original presentations (May, 1694, and June, 1694) and by the second play's dependence upon the first for exposition of character and setting. The two are further linked by Cardenio, carried over into the second play as a minor figure, and by D'Urfey's continuance of Marcella, which

he says

is wholly new in the Part, and my own Invention; the design finishing with more pleasure to the Audience by punishing that coy Creature by an extravagant Passion here, that was so inexorable and cruel in the first Part.¹²

The drama of the time, D'Urfey suggests, demanded just desserts for all villains; and his deft handling of Marcella, centering as it does in another scene of thwarted rape, must have provided great excitement for the audience while neatly balancing the plots of the two pieces against one another.

The versions we have are not the acting editions, which must have been much shorter. D'Urfey's preface to the second part tells us as much:

I have printed some Scenes both in the First and Second Part, which were left out in the Acting--the Play and the Musick being too long; and I doubt not but that they will divert in the Reading, because very proper for the Connexion.¹³

Even so, as the first part is set up, the only whole scene that could easily be cut is III, ii, the capture of the Helmet of Mambrino. The second part features several scenes that never would be missed, among them I, i, the "enchantment" of Dulcinea by Sancho, IV, i, the arrival of Teresa and Mary in Barataria, and IV, ii, Don Quijote's advice to his squire. Much more time could be gained by the ruthless cutting of lines and speeches within the other scenes, for D'Urfey's special gift was in putting

together his broadly humorous situations, not in writing dialogue for them. The wordy, quibbling speeches of Sancho and the other comic figures are amusing, but ripe for cutting, and D'Urfey's love scenes, it must be admitted, are usually tiresome mixtures of dramatic expostulation and doggerel verse--the one exception is the debate between Marcella and Ambrosio in III, i, of the second part.

D'Urfey's songs, all of which are original with him, were set to music by Henry Purcell. They are generally well-motivated, to the point, and sometimes quite witty. The short song of the freed galley-slaves in III, ii, of the first part infuriated Jeremy Collier, but it is probably the wittiest of all, starting with the lines:

When the World first knew Creation,
A Rogue was a Top Profession;
When there were no more
In all Nature but four
There were two of 'em in Transgression. (p. 56)

This is the only song written in this catchy limerick-like measure, the rest of them being in more staid four- and five-foot iambic lines.

THE COMICAL HISTORY OF DON QUIXOTE, PART III

I have severely criticized D'Urfey on literary grounds for giving so much of the second play of the trilogy to Sancho, Teresa, and Mary, but it is quite possible that it was this very emphasis of the Panzas

which made the plays so popular. Sancho is not a great deal different from other country boobies in D'Urfey's works and in other second-rate dramas of the Restoration, except perhaps in his penchant for proverbs, which D'Urfey endlessly emphasized. Sancho's wife and daughter must have been a remarkable sight on stage, as we read in Part I, when the Hostess describes them to Sancho:

HOSTESS: One of 'em has a Tongue louder than a Sow-gelder's Horn; She says, she has come three Leagues after ye this morning, and will have ye if ye are above Ground. She has a long lean wither'd Walnut coloured Face; She's as dirty as a Gipsej, and as ill Dress'd as a Rag-Woman.

SANCHO: Oh Plague, that must be my Wife by the Description, and what kind of Creature is with her prithee?

HOSTESS: A young Todpole Dowdy, as freckled as a Ravens Egg, with matted Hair, snotty Nose, and a pair of Hands as black as the Skin of a Tortois, with Nails as long as a Kites Tallons upon every Finger.

SANCHO: Ah, that's my Daughter too, I know her by her cleanliness. (p. 17)

~~This~~

This passage, a fair example of the language and humor among the rustic figures, gives us a basic idea of the characters as D'Urfey sketched them. Evidently, the acting of Mrs. Verbuggen as Mary Panza in both of the first two plays found great favor with the public, and D'Urfey wrote the third part with the hope of exploiting this popularity; the title page of the third play announces it to be "The Comical History/ of/ DON QUIXOTE/ The Third

Part/ with the/ MARRIAGE/ of/ Mary the Buxome."

In the following act and scene summaries I have attempted to avoid superfluous detail while still indicating differences between D'Urfey's version and his source. Elements which are his own are enclosed in brackets; those which he took directly from his source, the Shelton translation of Don Quijote de la Mancha,¹⁴ are followed by references in parentheses corresponding to the parts and the chapters of the novel.

I, i. Scene: A plain with trees. The opening scene shows Don Quijote's confrontation of a caged lion [as Basilius and Carrasco look on]. The lion refuses to leave the cage, and Sancho persuades his master that he has sufficiently demonstrated his courage. The cage is closed. (II, 17) [Carrasco enlists the aid of Don Quijote in an unrevealed plot concerning the upcoming marriage of Camacho the Rich with Quiteria, Basilius' love. Exeunt, leaving Sancho.

Teresa Panza and Jaques, Sancho's future son-in-law enter, and the marriage of Jaques and Mary is discussed; Teresa exits and then the two men talk laughingly of the upcoming bridal night. Exeunt.]

The difference between this play and its predecessors is immediately apparent, for this one begins in the midst of action with Don Quijote's fierce cry, "SLAVE, open the cage or die!" (p. 213) This first act of courage immediately characterizes him with a new dignity, one lacking in the other plays. True, D'Urfey still portrays him as a laughable figure, but for the first time it becomes possible to see the knight as more than a fool.

Carrasco, who appears here as a friend of Basilius, is described in the cast list as "A Batchelor of Salamanca,

Friend to Basilus, learned, drolling, brisk, and witty, and perpetually bantering Don Quixote and Sancho." (p. 212)
The Batchelor is a schemer. He originates the plot to win Quiteria; and his "bantering" makes him vaguely distasteful to us from the very first. When Sancho calls him back from his flight before the lion, Carrasco drolls, "Tho Sancho has told us how the business was, yet let's resolve to cry up the Exploit." (p. 217)

The play is in great part about marriage, and Basilus' love of Quiteria establishes the theme of romantic love and ideal marriage in the opening scene. D'Urfey immediately plays against this with the introduction of Jaques, the "clownish Country Fellow, Hind to Camacho, and to be married to Mary the Buxome," (p. 212) who is as entranced by the thoughts of the sexual delights of marriage as Basilus is entranced by the thoughts of its spiritual aspects. Jaques' naive enthusiasm is highly comic and quite understandable; and yet it probably offended the more refined members of D'Urfey's audience and contributed to the play's downfall. Consider the following dialogue between Jaques and his future father-in-law:

JAQUES: We shall do mighty well together; for 'tis odd to think how it came about, but ever since I saw Mary's Bubbies, as she was sitting without her Waistcoat at our Sheering, I have had a main Good-will to her: by Conscience I have thought of those Bubbies I warrant above a hundred times; and things have grown up to a head, and put forward mightily since that time. Can Mary spin, Vather-in-law?

SANCHO: Spin! Oons, like a Spider, Boy:
Her Mother before her was as good as it as
ever put a Spindle between her legs.

JAQUES: Gadsdiggers--come away then; for I'll
go presently, and get ready my wedding--Tackle--
and to morrow go to Church and say the words--
and then at night, Vather-in-law--at night--
oh Lord, ha, ha, ha, ha.

(Exit Jaques)

SANCHO: Ha, ha, ha, ay, at night; oh, poor
Man--ha, ha, and yet she'll hold ye tack,
if I don't mistake her, for all y'are so
eager; and so take this Proverb with you by
way of Advice.

If you an old Flea-bitten ride, you need
not fear the Dirt;
But when you back a young Colt, see your
Saddle be well girt! (p. 223)

This is the kind of humor that D'Urfey was forced
to defend as a "Jest adapted to the Genius of the Pit
bearing some little distant Obscenities and double
Entenders."¹⁵ In this case the obscenity is indeed distant,
but the double entendre of the question about "spinning"
is both obvious and delightfully comic.

II, i. Scene: A poor cottage. [Mary and
Teresa are discovered, sewing a trousseau.
They resolve to mock Jaques. When he enters,
Mary pretends to be shy, much to his chagrin.
Exeunt.]

This scene is the corresponding woman-to-woman
version of the talk between Jaques and Sancho. The
mother and daughter speak of the hard lot of women in
Spain and contrast it to that of women in England.
The gibes at farmers' wives and at the free life of
the English court which are contained in this dialogue
were probably greatly enjoyed by the audience.

II, ii. Scene: unlocated. Camacho and Quiteria enter in a wedding procession, and Camacho calls for dinner to be served. (II, 20-21) [Don Quijote restrains Sancho from the table, warning of impending battle. An entertainment by performers representing Joy, Marriage, and Discord is presented.]

Noises are heard offstage, and then Carrasco carries in Basilius, who apparently has pierced himself with his sword. Basilius refuses to take the last rites until Camacho has signed a paper giving Quiteria up to him. The paper signed, Basilius springs up, takes Quiteria, and reveals all to have been a deception; Camacho sends his servants after them, but Don Quixote and Sancho beat them away. (II, 21) Exeunt. 16

In this scene D'Urfey follows the novel in almost every detail, the greatest exceptions being in the reworking of Carrasco and the perhaps unnecessary substitution of a paper of consent for the actual wedding of Basilius and Quiteria. The greatest appeal of the whole intrigue is the characterization of Camacho, a complacent farmer who can stand over the apparently dying Basilius and cheerfully explain, "The short and long on't is, Friends did it, d'ye mind me, I had Interest with her Uncle and you had none." (p. 238) And Carrasco's loving depiction of the haunting of Camacho by Basilius' ghost is enough to raise anyone's hackles:

CAMACHO: Why, I should be well enough inclin'd, d'ye mind me, to take pity of his Soul, if it would be civil, and go from his Body in good time, and not hinder us too long from Dinner: But to be sure of that now--

CARRASCO: That, Sir--alas, it will be gone next minute; draw out the Sword, you draw out his Soul too: Besides, Sir, you'll be haunted fearfully, if he should die without

shrift in this desperate Condition--his Ghost will be glaring ye in the Face every minute.

CAMACHO: His Ghost!

CARRASCO: Ay, Sir, his Ghost in a bloody Shroud, with a pale Face and goggling Eyes-- 'twill come every day to Dinner t'ye: and to have a Ghost you know always dipping in one's Dish, Sir,--

CAMACHO: Humph, dipping in my Dish!

CARRASCO: Ay, Sir, with his cold scraggy knuckles. (p. 239)

The final image is too much for Camacho--he signs the paper, muttering, "Dipping his scraggy Knuckles in my Dish--my Hair stands on end at the thought of it." (p. 240) Basilius arises with eight regrettable lines of iambic pentameter, and the ruse is discovered. Don Quijote again exerts himself courageously and well, leaving the scene in triumph, his new dignity intact.

III, i. Scene: unlocated. [Teresa enters with Mary and Jaques on their way to be wed. The incidents at Camacho's wedding are discussed, Jaques again moons over Mary's "Bubbies" and they are called away. Exeunt.]

This short scene provides a space of comic relief after Don Quijote's battle with the servants and it reminds us again fleetingly of the contrast between the serious and the comic love actions.

III, ii. Scene: unlocated. Basilius, Carrasco, Quiteria, and Altisidora ("Alty"), Quiteria's niece, make a plan for Altisidora to feign love for Don Quijote. (II, 44) Enter Don Quijote and Sancho, who reveal that

Mary has been married. Altisidora sings a song (II, 44) [while flirting with Don Quijote. She leaves in a pretended fit of pique when he does not respond.

Enter the wedding procession of Jaques and Mary, including Teresa, Ginés de Passamonte, López, and others. Quiteria and Basilius give the other newlyweds two purses of money. A clown song is sung and Mary responds with another comic song.]

Ginés is presented as Master Peter the puppet-master (II, 25-26) [and his friend López is presented as an actor and a mimic. They offer various puppet-shows to the company, which then retires for dinner. Ginés and López, alone on stage, plot to steal the two purses during the puppet-show.

Enter Don Quijote with a drunken Sancho. The knight places his squire on the ass in order to take him to a nearby grove to sleep off his intoxication. While Sancho goes to sleep on the ass, López barks like a dog, then runs off. Don Quijote, thinking a dog has been turned into a man, pursues him.] Ginés props up Sancho's saddle with stakes and steals Dapple from beneath him. Upon discovering this, Don Quijote takes it as another evidence of enchantment. (I, 23 & II, 4) Exeunt.

As III, ii, opens, Carrasco urbanely takes the credit for Don Quijote's defense of Basilius: "I knew the Mad Knight's Assistance was authentick, and therefore blew him up with Praise and Flattery, which made him, when the brunt of the Business came, to lay about him so." (p. 244) Carrasco's self-complacent pride sets him up for a rude shock later in the play.

A plot is hatched to tease and tempt Don Quijote with Altisidora, whom D'Urfey has transformed from a serving-woman of the Duchess into the niece of Quiteria. The ensuing mock-wooing is both a comic action in itself and a device to contrast Don Quijote's steadfast chivalric

concept of love to the more immediate happiness of the marriages about him. Altisidora's wooing is all the more effective because of the festive scene of the wedding procession which follows, bringing all four newly-married characters together to celebrate with songs and dances.

At this point in the play, the two principal actions, the marriages, have been happily carried out, and the author must find some other reason to continue the action. He faced the same problem in his other Quijote plays, perhaps as a result of his characteristic fast pace of action, and he resolved it poorly by stalling the action in the first play and by resorting to secondary farce action in the next one. In the third play D'Urfey introduces two thieves among the wedding guests, cleverly complicating the main action without abandoning the structure as already established. This interlacing of actions is the chief strength of the work.

The end of this long scene, the stealing of Dapple, is yet another sign of D'Urfey's ingeniousness. Sancho's drunkenness, which is not at all offensive to those not bothered by hiccups, is the natural outcome of a celebration where food and drink are abundant and free; and the witty sleight-of-hand trick with which the rogues take advantage of Sancho must have been a delight to watch. Don Quijote here is warmly human, first in his concern for his squire and then in his bewilderment over the magical transformation

of an ass into a set of stakes beneath a saddle.

IV, i. Scene: unlocated. [Don Quijote enters telling Basilius, Carrasco, and Quiteria of the strange events which have befallen him. Teresa brings in a drunken Sancho whom she scolds for the loss of the ass. Carrasco flatters Teresa to make fun of her.]

Basilius, Carrasco, and Quiteria humor Don Quijote and attribute his story to fantasies, while the audience, knowing the truth, laughs now at them instead of at the knight. Carrasco's teasing of Teresa is harmless fun, but it still marks him as an egotist, ripe for a fall.

IV, ii. Scene: the same. The puppet show is presented to the company [and during the performance López steals the purses.] Don Quijote forgets himself and destroys the marionettes, thinking them real. He recovers his senses and makes restitution to Gines at exorbitant rates. (II, 26) Exeunt.

This scene, which can be so briefly summarized, is beyond doubt the best in the work. D'Urfey has all of his characters working for him here--while the puppet show and Gines' narrations provide the principal interest of the scene, the action on the tiny stage, is constantly interrupted by lines and business from the assembled company. Don Quijote gravely returns a bow to the puppet Don Gayferos, then seats himself, only to be constantly discomfited by Altisidora's longing attentions; López steals the purses; the lovers and Carrasco laugh and comment upon the action; a still befuddled Sancho occasionally speaks up and is reprimanded by an impatient Teresa; and Mary

shows her open-mouthed amazement and belief in the little fable being presented by the puppets.

At one point the puppet Gayferos boasts that he will free Melisendra from her Moorish captor:

I'll fetch her spite of Bars or Iron Lock;
And you to morrow, Sir, by Five a Clock,
Shall find her in my Bed without a Smock.
(p. 268)

The company collapses in laughter at this risqué remark, and Basilius prods Don Quijote to express an opinion:

BASILIUS: What thinks the Noble Don Quixote? Does not your brother Knight promise fairly?

DON QUIXOTE: Faith, yes; I like his Promise well enough: But to tell the Emperor her Father, that he should find her in Bed without her Smock, that methinks wanted a little Decency-- He should have allowed her a little clean Linen to be seen in. (p. 268)

This gentle reply as Don Quijote understands a bawdy joke as a reference to the scarcity of clean linen is worthy of the original Don Quijote.

In the action of the puppet show, which features songs and dancing at one point, Gayferos urges Melisendra to climb down a rope of sheets from her tower window, and all seems safe for the puppet-lovers; but D'Urfey, perhaps mindful of his own practice in III, ii, of this same play, has Ginés interrupt just as Melisendra starts to descend:

GINES: But now, Noble Spectators, to shew Fortune's Mutability in Love-Affairs,

and to shew ye withal the regular
Ingenuity of the Piece we present--
here is to be a Turn--which is held
by all to be a Beauty in Dramatick
Writing; the Turn therefore explains
itself. Come, beauteous Lady Melisendra--
open your Window, and come out.

(p. 273)

Melisendra gets half way down her rope and then catches her gown and hangs helplessly; Don Gayferos rushes to her aid, but she prudently extracts from him a promise "to wink" lest he see something unbecoming as she dangles above him. Mary the Buxome, distressed by the plight of the puppet Melisendra, offers her shawl, but it is not needed. The lovers safely ride away. When their pursuit appears, Don Quijote excitedly draws his sword and demolishes the puppet Moors, the puppet-stage, and all.

This scene is the climax of the work, and D'Urfey did everything possible to make it a success, even designing the puppet roles to be acted by children for the greater entertainment of the audience. Evidently the physical arrangement of the set was the scene's downfall. D'Urfey writes in the preface:

the Accident of its being plac'd so far
from the Audience, which hindered them
from hearing what either they or the
Prolocutor said, was the main and only
reason of its diverting no better.¹⁷

He shows his disappointment at the failure of the puppet show when he comments in the same prefatory defense of

the play that this episode was

the most extravagant Foolery that ever Don Quixote was guilty of thro'out all his whimsical Adventures, and therefore most proper to be inserted in the Play. . . .but let Folly and Ill-nature vent its Spleen till its own Unreasonableness makes it nauseous to the World.¹⁸

D'Urfey's bitter outburst following his defense of the puppet show is an indication of the work he must have put into this scene and the affection he must have had for it.

V, i. Scene: unlocated. Basilius, Carrasco, Quiteria, and Altisidora plan to carry on Altisidora's teasing of Don Quijote, [and a plan is made to give Sancho more liquor.] Exeunt all but Altisidora, who then calls forth Don Quijote in his nightcap. She flirts, sings, and dances, then exits in an apparent fit of rage. (II, 44 & II, 48) Merlin and Dulcinea rise suddenly from the stage and warn of Sancho's laxity with the lashes which will disenchant Dulcinea (II, 35) and then they disappear.

[Enter Teresa and Sancho to Don Quijote, quarreling over Dappel, the stolen ass. Jaques and Mary enter to complain of the stolen purses. Don Quijote, goaded beyond endurance, tries to subdue Sancho, but is beaten by his own squire. Basilius, Quiteria, and Altisidora enter laughing; Don Quijote exits in a rage. Teresa, Jaques, and Mary exit quarreling.] Carrasco enters, very upset, with the news that Don Quijote has collapsed and appears to be dying in his chamber. (II, 74) Exeunt.

In this scene, the light-hearted mockery of Don Quixote and Sancho continues, with Carrasco taking a major part in the planning. Altisidora's whimsical flirting with the knight is amusing, and at one point she even hints

at sexual advances, thoroughly alarming the old man:

ALTISIDORA: [Shews her Feet] And had I leave
to speak of other matters--ah, Sir--

DON QUIXOTE: By Fame, if I don't curb her,
the Creature is so rapt, that she'll talk
Baudy.

ALTISIDORA: She [Dulcinea] may boast of gain-
ing ye by her rare Qualities; but, Sir, did
I but shew--

DON QUIXOTE: No, Maid; no shewing--I will
conceive things well of ye without it--
'tis as I said--oh strong effect of Passion!

ALTISIDORA: I mean some rare Perfections of
the Mind, as well as Graces of the Body, Sir.
(p. 282)

The short appearance of unidentified "Merlin" and
"Dulcinea" figures after Altisidora's exit further
disturbs Don Quijote. When Teresa brings in a thoroughly
drunken Sancho, affairs worsen until a fight between the
two leaves Sancho victorious astride his master. Though
D'Urfey doubtless intended this scene to be comic, there
is an ugly undercurrent running through it which can be
traced directly to Carrasco's mocking the knight and
giving liquor to his squire. Altisidora, Basilius, and
Quiteria remain on stage laughing after the others have
left in anger. Carrasco appears suddenly to them with
sobering news:

CARRASCO: 'Dheart, we have carried the
Jest too far, the knight is dying yonder--
swoon'd twice at his Chamber-door and is
now got to Bed, and has sent for a Notary
to make his Will. He's troubled with
delirious Fits too; for I hear him often

mutter Dulcinea--but against Sancho
he rails perpetually. (p. 289)

Carrasco has learned a stern lesson about his thoughtless cruelty to others; deeply concerned, he exits with the others to seek out his victim.

V, ii. Scene: Don Quijote's chamber. Enter Basilius, Quiteria, Carrasco, Notary, Sancho, and servants to Don Quijote, who is in bed. Quijote makes a half-mad, half-satirical will; he suffers from a fit of rage and thirst, then subsides; continuing his will, (II, 74) [he throws his nightcap at Quiteria and he throws a bottle at Basilius. He insults each of those attending, and they take his remarks as jests.] He asks to be allowed to rest; (II, 74) [then a bawdy song is sung, and the company leaves Don Quijote sleeping.]

This last scene is a strange one. Since D'Urfey was writing a comedy, he refused to let Don Quijote die, even though he felt called upon to use the deathbed scene to round out his plot. The result is a disturbing mixture of pathos and frantic satire as the tormented old knight makes his will.

This will does not deal with property, but with Don Quijote's own physical and spiritual characteristics. The bequests are as follows:

his knight-errantry "to the veriest Idiot among my Countrymen, that he may have it in his head to conquer Kingdoms; and that--may he be heartily drubb'd about it as I have been" (p. 291),

his valor to "all Cowards and Faint-hearted in the Armies abroad" (p. 291),

his conscience and one-half his brains to "the

French so they may learn to be Contented with their own Country--and not leap like Wild Horses into other Mens Grounds" (p. 291),

his integrity of soul to "Statesmen, Politicians, Privy-Counsellors and such-like to be an Umpire between their Gain and their Honesty;" (p. 291),

his voice and lungs to "the Clergy great and small, because they preach so faintly now, and the Priest dozes at the Church as often as the Parish" (p. 291),

his imagined empire to "Court-followers, to defray their reasonable expenses, till they come to Preferment" (pp. 291-292),

At this point Don Quijote is seized by a fit of rage and demands something to drink; the notary remarks to the others, "Now this is strange, I expected he would have chang'd--before now." (p. 292) Quijote's next words are among his bitterest:

To all old Batchelors, Drunkards, and Amoretto's above Sixty-Five and upwards-- I give--a Whore--and a Bottle [He throws a nightcap at Quiteria and a bottle at Basilius]--that they mayn't lose their Character at last, but die as they liv'd in their Calling. (p. 292)

It is difficult to understand how such direct insults from the pathetic, bedridden Don Quijote could be presented as comedy. Each of these final bequests is an open attack against those present--who accept them with smiles and laughter, Basilius even crying out, "Ha, ha, ha--the knight grows merrier as he draws near the bottom." (p. 293) The final bequests are these, which emphasize his own physical

incapability and his anger at those who have brought about his downfall:

his hollow eyes and hearty patience "to married men to not see the sprouting horns or grumble paying taxes" (p. 292),

his "lepid Age and limber experience" to Basilius "to know his own folly and not to marry again" (p. 292),

his chastity to Quiteria "to support your own; for a Woman of your Age and Constitution--has not singly enough to keep her honest, I'm sure" (pp. 292-293),

his wit and "gentile air" to Carrasco, "you, Sir, that are a great Scholar--and Book-learned. . .to help your College-breeding; for search the Universities, and you'll find this Saying true, the greatest clerks are still the awkward'st Blockheads" (p. 293) and

two gallons of small-beer each day to Sancho "to keep him cool from the State of Reprobation, during his life!" (p. 293).

The knight sinks down to rest, and the play is concluded--most inappropriately--by a consciously "cute" song about a brother and sister who wonder why they are no longer permitted to sleep together as they grow older. The last lines of the drama are spoken by the three young people as they stand over the sleeping Don Quijote:

BASILIOUS: He's fallen asleep, remove him out there softly, It will either ease or end him.

QUITERIA: 'Tis pity he's condemned to such Extravagance, the Man has excellent Parts.

CARRASCO: And on all themes, excepting his Knighthood, is most ready and acute.

BASILIIUS: Come, Sweet, let's take the Air.
Whilst I amongst all great Contentments known,
Looking on thee, am happiest in my own.
[Curtain falls]

FINIS

(p. 295)

Since scene-by-scene analysis emphasizes the details and not the whole, it is necessary to restate the revealed structural outline of the work. D'Urfey has carefully limited the number of incidents taken from his source and he has arranged them with care in this order:

<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	<u>MAIN ACTION</u>	<u>CONCLUSION</u>
Lion's cage	-- Wedding of Camacho Altisidora's passion Ginés' puppet-show	-- Quijote's will

To this basic source material the author added a secondary marriage plot concerning Sancho's daughter to reflect comically upon the marriage of Basilius and Quiteria, and he also fashioned several plot-turns caused by the activities of the thieves at the wedding. Songs and dances were periodically introduced, generally more for the sake of spectacle than for their relevance to the action.

In my opinion the play is not the comedy D'Urfey intended it to be, but it is rather a tragicomedy, the story of the downfall of Don Quijote as brought about by his unwitting opponent, the "Batchelor" Carrasco. The work is clearly structured about the figure of Don Quijote, as is shown in his importance in the opening incident, his influence upon each of the middle actions, and his domination of the final scene.

The failure of the piece was probably due as much to D'Urfey's misinterpretation of his own script as it was to the staging difficulties about which he later complained so bitterly. Under the author's tutelage the Drury Lane company did its best to show the audience the familiar, laughable madman of Parts I and II; but this Quijote resisted the vulgarity forced upon him by his creators and retained a basic human appeal which was enough to create sympathy which killed both the laughter and the comedy itself.

In short, The Comical History of Don Quixote, Part III, is a work of considerable quality, destroyed by the interpretation of its own creator. It has languished ignored and half-forgotten since its failure in December, 1694. It does not deserve such a fate. With judicious cutting and a minimum of rewriting, it would be a challenging and exciting work for presentation upon the university stage.

COLLIER'S ATTACK UPON D'URFEY

Jeremy Collier, with the publication of his A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage in 1698 immediately became something of a thorn in the sides of the most popular playwrights of the day, among them Tom D'Urfey.

We can guess that there were two factors which induced Collier to include a thirteen-page denunciation

of D'Urfey's Don Quixote trilogy in his book: first, the popularity of the first two plays; and second, the following regret-filled passage which is to be found in D'Urfey's preface to the third play:

I must confess that when I heard the Ladies were prejudic'd about some Actions and Sayings in Mary the Buxome's and Sancho's Parts I was certainly concern'd, not that I was conscious to my self that I had fully offended, because I know no other way in Nature to do the Characters right, but to make a Romp speak like a Romp, and a clownish Boor blunder out things proper for such a Fellow, but that I should in doing this unfortunately have 'em counted nauseous and indecent, and so disoblige that Essential part of the Audience which I have always studied with so much Zeal to divert in all my former Plays with Innocent Mirth, scenes of Decency and Good Manners.

In exposing Humour, some Course Sayings will naturally happen, especially in Farce and Low Comedy, and 'tis some sort of an Excuse for me that I can affirm. A Jest adapted to the Genius of the Pit bearing some little distant Obscenities and double Entenders, has past currantly in all the Comedies of the past and present Age, tho' I have now the Ill Luck to be most detected; I am sure, offending in that Nature is much against my design of pleasing; and I have through Nineteen of the Twenty Plays I have writ, always studied to shun it as much as I can, for my own particular satisfaction, as well as to oblige the Nicer part of the Audience.¹⁹

Actually, the third play was much less vulgar and obscene than its two predecessors. D'Urfey here seems to be doing his best to respond to a general outburst of criticism of Part III by excusing each facet of the play in turn, for in the following lines of the preface he goes on to speak of the difficulties in staging. Collier, however, was

evidently delighted by these paragraphs--he quotes at length from this apparently damning confession, commenting upon it with great sarcasm.

It is hardly necessary to make a point-for-point response to Collier's accusations, for D'Urfey has already done so in his 1698 preface to The Campaigners. The poet's reply is a closely-printed twenty-seven page document, full of mockery and supplied with marginal notes which are obvious parodies of the style of Collier's treatise.

The quickest way to get a feel for Collier's rather unpleasant prose style is to read the first page or so of his attack:

SECT. II

Remarks upon Don Quixot, &c.

Mr. Durfey being somewhat particular in his Genius and Civilities, I shall consider him in a word or two by himself. This Poet writes from the Romance of an ingenious Author: By this means his Sense, and Characters are cut out to his Hand. He has wisely planted himself upon the shoulders of a Giant; but whether his Discoveries answer the advantage of his standing, the Reader must judge.

What I have to object against Mr. Durfey shall most of it be ranged under these three Heads.

- I. His Profaneness with respect to Religion and the Holy Scripture.
- II. His Abuse of the Clergy.
- III. His Want of Modesty and Regard to the Audience.

And here my first Instance shall be in a bold Song against Providence.

Providence that formed the Fair
In such a charming skin,
Their Outside made his only care,
And never look'd within.

Here the Poet tells you Providence makes Mankind

by halves, huddles up the Soul, and takes the least care of the better Moyety. This is direct blaspheming the Creator, and a Satir upon God Almighty.²⁰

The example quoted here is typical of Collier's style and method--he takes a short passage out of context, paying no attention to the character speaking, and holds it up for a far sterner reproof than it deserves. D'Urfey's reply answers the accusation gamely:

I did intend indeed a small Satyr upon Womankind, pursuant to Marcella's Character, and he has vary'd from that word, I suppose, to amuse the Reader--I'll give ye the whole Stanza.

Did coy Marcella own a Soul
As beauteous as her Eyes,
Her Judgment wou'd her Sence controul,
And teach her how to prize.
But Providence, that form'd the fair
In such a charming Skin,
Their outside made its only care,
And never look'd within.

I only rally a pretty coy wench here for her sullen ill nature, without any Satyr on the Deity, or any thing like it; for as to the Blasphemy, as he calls it, by naming the Providence, 'tis generally intended in Lyrical Poetry for Goddess Nature, or Fortune, as Mr. Vanbrooke notes; but never apply'd seriously to the true Deity, but only by Dr. Crambo.²¹

If this seems to be hair-splitting, it is certainly no more so than Collier's own accusations. And as one can see here, D'Urfey is just as capable of personal sarcasm as his foe.

Probably the only truly serious allegation which is made in the first two sections of Collier's attack is his

point that D'Urfey satirizes the clergy. D'Urfey's defense is self-righteous, but hardly convincing; he appeals to the authority of his source, Cervantes' Don Quijote de la Mancha as translated by Shelton, he indicates the contemporary acceptance of comic stage portrayals of the clergy, and he points with fine sophistry to the fact that each of the ridiculous clergymen in The Comical History of Don Quixote is a "Romish priest"²², rather than a member of the ruling Church of England.

Strangely enough, except for his drolling upon D'Urfey's apology for the unsuccessful Part III, Collier devotes little time to the most vulnerable area of attack, that concerning obscenity and vulgarity in the plays. True, he strings together some phrases which are surprising when heard out of context, but otherwise he does little more than make unsubstantiated hints at the utter depravity of certain incidents which are "too coarse to be named."²³

An estimation of Collier's principles for judging art may be gained by following up his claim that "Marcella the Maiden Shepherdess raves in Raptures of Indecency."²⁴ Marcella's words are found in V, ii, of Part II, as she beseeches Ambrosio in her final madness:

MARCELLA: What, is he going? Nay then, farewell dissembling--all Female Arts and Tricks be gone, avaunt, and let the Passion of my Heart be open: Turn, turn thou dearest Pleasure of my Soul, and I will bathe thee with my Eyes fond Tears; lay thee upon my Breast panting with Love, and speak the softest words into thy Ears that ere were spoke by a kind yielding Maid: kiss thee

with eager Joy, and press thee close,
close to my Heart till I am lost in
transport, and for that short time a
Déity. (p. 187)

This is one of D'Urfey's most pleasant love speeches. The simple, vivid images catch the imagination, and the frank passion of the speech can be attributed to the madness of the distraught Marcella.

As we can see, there could be no victor in this controversy, because each man stood firm on a completely different set of principles for his judgment of art. Collier was a strict moralist, quick to spot offense (real or imagined) against religion or society in the literal meanings of speeches, while D'Urfey was a creative artist--surely he had won that title for himself during those long years in London--who valued context and character portrayal above literal meaning.

The last words, if there are to be any, should be left to the contestants themselves. Doubtless D'Urfey was correct in suspecting that a probe of Collier's closet would uncover "a divertive Scene or two,"²⁵ for the choleric clergyman rounded off his attack with a bit of derisive verse from a translation of Boileau's Art of Poetry:

I like an Author that Reforms the Age,
And keeps the right Decorum of the Stage;
That always pleases by Just Reason's Rule;
But for a tedious Droll, a quibbling Fool,
Who with low nauseous Bawdry fills his Plays,
Let him be gone, and on two Tressels raise
Some Smithfield Stage, where he may act his Pranks,
And make Jack Puddings speak to Mountebanks²⁶

Tom D'Urfey was certainly not one to be outdone by a mere Anglican clergyman; his lines of reply turn the full circle for us and recall Pope's report of Durfey's verse quoted over the Topeing-Table:

I like a Parson, that no Souls does Lurch,
And keeps the true Decorum of the Church;
That always preaches by Just Reason's Rule;
But for a Hypocrite, a Canting Fool,
Who, cramm'd with Malice, takes the Rebels' side,
And would, for Conscience, palm on us his Pride,
Let him, for Stipend, to the Gubbins²⁷ sail,
And there Hold-forth for Crusts and Juggs of Ale.²⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. Jack A. Vaughn, "'Preserving, Unexhausted Bard': Tom D'Urfey," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 53 (1967), 342.
2. Cited by Vaughn, p. 342.
3. Cited by William D. Ellis, Jr., "Thomas D'Urfey, The Pope-Phillips Quarrel, and The Shepherd's Week," PMLA, 74 (1959), 205.
4. Cited by Ellis, p. 206.
5. Cited by Ellis, p. 206, and by Vaughn, p. 344.
6. Thomas D'Urfey, The Comical History of Don Quixote (London: J. Darby, 1729), p. 2.
7. Ibid, pp. 98-99.
8. Vaughn, p. 343.
9. Vaughn, pp. 347-348.
10. D'Urfey, The Comical History of Don Quixote, pp. 203-204.
11. The following summaries of these two plays contain references to Cervantes' novel in parentheses; those elements original with D'Urfey are enclosed in brackets.

THE COMICAL HISTORY OF DON QUIXOTE, PART I

I, i. Scene: A pleasant countryside with a windmill in prospect. Don Quijote is revealed on Rocinante and beside him is Sancho on Dapple, his ass. Don Quijote expostulates to Sancho on knight-errantry and promises him an Island. The knight then sees the windmill, exits to attack it, and is followed by Sancho. (I, 7)

I, ii. Scene: The Inn. Perez the curate and Nicholas the barber enter. [The curate reveals that] Dorothea [his niece] has left her home to search for Fernando, her love, who has suddenly decided to wed Luscinda. (I, 27) Fernando is revealed to have perpetuated some treachery upon Cardenio, Luscinda's lover, who now runs wild in the mountains of the Sierra Morena. (I, 24)

Perez and Nicholas speak of Don Quijote, and Perez reveals that he has been burning Don Quijote's books. (I, 6)

Vincent the innkeeper enters laughing with the news that [Don Quijote was thrown into a fishpond by the sails of the windmill] and he tells them that Don Quijote has come to the inn and has asked to be knighted. (I, 3) [Perez agrees to share in the ceremony.]

Sancho enters to tell his version of the fight, [pretending to believe the windmill was a giant. Perez and Nicholas leave and the Hostess enters to warn Sancho that two women are coming to seek him. Teresa his wife and Mary the Buxome his daughter enter, weeping.] Sancho promises his daughter that she will be married as a countess, despite Teresa's opposition to the scheme. (II, 5) Exeunt.

II, i. Scene: The same. [Enter Perez and Nicholas. Perez has received a letter from a friend who reports finding] Dorothea washing her feet in a brook, dressed as a young shepherd. (I, 28) He discovered that she lived among shepherds [and would be attending] the funeral of Chrysostom, a young [English] gentleman who took up shepherd's garb to court Marcella the shepherdess, was rejected, despaired, and died. (I, 12-13)

Vincent the innkeeper, the Hostess, and Maritornes enter with the news that Don Quijote has just slashed several bags of red wine, imagining them to be his opponents. Exeunt. (I, 35)

Don Quijote enters with Sancho; they speak, then Sancho exits. The innkeeper, [Perez, Nicholas,] the Hostess, Maritornes, and other performers enter to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets. The mock knighting is performed with a ceremony [written in verse.] A song and dance in praise of arms and soldiering is performed. Don Quijote is vested with his arms. (I, 3)

[Sancho enters to the assembly with news of Chrysostom's funeral procession, which is just passing.] Don Quijote and Sancho exit to follow it. (I, 12) Perez promises to pay for the cost of the spilt wine. (I, 35) Exeunt.

II, ii. Scene: A deep grove. [Enter Dorothea alone, dressed as a shepherd in mourning and crowned with a cypress garland. She delivers a monologue and then exits to join the shepherds, who re-enter bearing the body of Chrysostom.] Don Quijote speaks to Ambrosio. (I, 12) [Perez and Nicholas enter and observe.] A dirge and a song and dance of despairing love are performed. Chrysostom is lowered into the grave. (I, 13)

Marcella enters. Accused of Chrysostom's death by Ambrosio, she defends her freedom of choice. [Their dialogue is in verse.] Marcella leaves; the shepherds begin to pursue her, but Don Quijote and Sancho "beat 'em off." (I, 14)

III, i. Scene: The Inn. Perez and Dorothea enter. Dorothea tells Perez of submitting to Fernando's love-making. (I, 28) Nicholas enters with the news that Fernando is approaching the inn with a lady in the habit of a nun. (I, 36) [Perez urges Dorothea to confront Fernando.] Exeunt.

Fernando enters with Luscinda, who is dressed as a nun. [Fernando persists in diabolical attempts to overwhelm Luscinda, making clear the fact that he is interested only in his lust. He calls upon the god of love, at which cue] Dorothea enters and pleads with him. Fernando's goodness once more asserts itself. He recovers his senses and he embraces Dorothea. (I, 36) [He offers to seek out Cardenio and save him.]

III, ii. Scene: Mountains and rocks in the end of the deep grove. A barber enters to Don Quijote and Sancho. Don Quijote deprives him of his shaving basin, claiming it to be the Helmet of Mambrino. (I, 21) Galley slaves in chains enter to them, and the officers guarding them allow Don Quijote to interrogate the prisoners. Don Quijote overwhelms the officers and liberates the captives, who sing and dance a song of roguery. When Don Quijote demands they go to Toboso, they refuse; he attacks them, but they knock him down with stones. (I, 22)

IV, i. Scene: The same. Don Quijote and Sancho are seen on the ground after the beating. Sancho complains until they are interrupted by the appearance of Cardenio, who sings a song and then exits. (I, 23) Don Quijote and Sancho follow him offstage.

Enter [Fernando, Luscinda,] Dorothea, Perez and Nicholas. They know that [Cardenio,] Don Quijote and Sancho are in the area. A plot is originated: Dorothea will play the Princess Micomicona, pleading for help against the giant Pandafilando. (I, 29) Exeunt.

Don Quijote, Cardenio, and Sancho enter. [While Sancho drinks copiously,] Cardenio begins to tell his story, demanding not to be interrupted. After he makes derogatory remarks about books of chivalry [he mentions discussing Don Quijote, a "modern madman." Cardenio claims that Dulcinea has had a bastard child by an apothecary;] a fight ensues, in which Don Quijote and Sancho are beaten. Cardenio runs from the scene. (I, 24) The aching Sancho resolves to

leave his master. (I, 25)

Nicholas enters disguised as a bearded page, introduces Dorothea followed by [Fernando and] a train of servants. Perez enters with the confirming news that a princess has entered the area. (I, 30) Sancho sings and dances a song for the company. Don Quijote, Dorothea [and Fernando] exit. Sancho lingers to talk to the others; in the course of the discussion, Nicholas' false beard comes off [and Sancho recognizes him. Both Nicholas and Perez feign fits of madness] and then exit. Sancho exits.

V, i. Scene: The Inn. Fernando and the veiled Luscinda enter; to them comes a newly-clothed Cardenio. [Fernando offers Cardenio the veiled young lady to replace the lost Luscinda.] Luscinda is revealed, reunited with Cardenio, and Dorothea enters to her Fernando. (I, 36) Perez and Nicholas enter with news of Don Quijote. Exeunt.

V, ii. Scene: The town by the Inn. Sancho enters to Don Quijote. Don Quijote attributes the occurrences to enchantment, and when Sancho appears disrespectful to the Princess, Don Quijote beats him. Dorothea enters, and peace is made. (I, 30)

Perez and Nicholas enter, warning of enchantments and the arrival of Merlin from the sky. Luscinda and Fernando enter, followed by Vincent dressed as Merlin. A song and dance of the Enchanter is performed. Don Quijote [and Sancho] are ordered placed into the "Inchanted Chariot," which is actually a cage. A dance of the Furies is performed and the cage is carried off. (I, 46) Exeunt; the curtain falls.

THE COMICAL HISTORY OF DON QUIXOTE, PART II

I, i. Scene: unlocated. [Ambrosio, Manuel the Duke's Steward, and Pedro Recio the doctor enter, and they arrange details of the Duke's entertainment of Don Quijote.] Sancho is reported to have been sent to Toboso. (I, 25) [Diego the master of the hounds is reported to have almost lost his wits for love of Marcella.] Exeunt.

[Diego enters and reveals his passion for Marcella. Ambrosio enters unseen and overhears Diego reading a letter which suggests where Diego "may securely seize her." Exit Diego. Ambrosio, who has not heard the woman's name, determines to prevent the rape.] Exit.

Don Quijote enters. Sancho comes to him and passes off two country wenches as Dulcinea and a serving girl. Don Quijote decides that his beloved must be enchanted. The wenches exit. (II, 10)

Enter the Duke, Duchess, Cardenio, Luscinda, Mrs. Rodriguez the serving-woman, and servants. The Duke receives Don Quijote. (II, 30) Sancho commends Dapple his ass to Mrs. Rodriguez, who is offended. (II, 31) Exeunt.

I, ii. Scene: unlocated. [Enter Bernardo the chaplain, Manuel, Pedro, and the Page. Plans for an entertainment are discussed, and Bernardo shows himself to be a sour-tempered clergyman before exiting.] Don Quijote and the rest of the company enter. A song and dance are presented, after which Bernardo enters to say grace. Sancho tells a confused anecdote. (II, 31) Bernardo and Don Quijote come into verbal conflict. (II, 31-32) Exeunt.

II, i. Scene: unlocated. [Diego pulls in Marcella and attempts to take advantage of her. Ambrosio appears, fights with him, and disarms him. He shows his contempt for Marcella, who has caused the death (in Part I) of his friend Chrysostom. Marcella falls in love with him because of his gallantry. Exeunt Diego and Ambrosio. Marcella delivers a love speech, then exits.]

II, ii. Scene: unlocated. [Enter the Duke, Cardenio, and Ambrosio, who discuss an upcoming Merlin masquerade.] Don Quijote and Bernardo enter quarreling, and Don Quijote triumphs in the argument. (II, 31)

Horrid sounds are heard; Sancho and the women of the company run onstage to report that devils in coaches have appeared in the wood. Manuel enters dressed as a devil. (II, 34)

A dance of spirits is performed. Pedro enters impersonating Merlin, with the page impersonating Dulcinea. Sancho is sentenced to give himself three thousand voluntary lashes to disenchant Dulcinea. (II, 35) The Duke offers Sancho his island governorship. (II, 33) [Merlin causes a song and dance of milkmaids (!) to be performed.] Exeunt.

III, i. Scene: unlocated. [Marcella silently crosses the stage, then Cardenio and Ambrosio enter, debating her passion. Ambrosio exits, and Cardenio is called away. Ambrosio and Marcella re-enter together. She sings a love-song and the two debate over the constnacy and trustworthiness of women. Exeunt.]

III, ii. Scene: unlocated. Enter Don Quijote, the Duke, the Duchess, [Luscinda, Cardenio,] and Mrs. Rodriguez. Sancho is reported to be writing a letter to his wife. (II, 36) Sancho enters and drums are heard within.

Manuel and the other servants enter, disguised as

the Countess Trifaldi and her serving-maids, who ask Don Quijote's help in ridding themselves of their beards. (II, 36) A talking head is brought in and speaks as an oracle; (II, 62) it demands that Don Quijote and Sancho ride an enchanted horse at midnight (II, 41) [but Sancho snatches up the head and reveals a page hidden within. The Duke and Duchess feign their surprise and promise to place Sancho immediately in his governorship.]

IV, i. Scene: The town. [Teresa Panza and Mary the Buxome enter, speaking of the letter they have received from Sancho. Manuel enters and promises to lead them to Sancho.]

IV, ii. Scene: unlocated. Enter Duke, Duchess, Sancho, [Luscinda, Cardenio,] and servants. Pedro Recio and the Baratarians enter to them and receive the new governor. (II, 45) Exeunt all others while Don Quijote gives advice to his squire (II, 42-43). Exeunt on opposite sides, Don Quijote weeping.

IV, iii. Scene: unlocated. [Teresa and Mary, newly-dressed, enter with Manuel, who instructs them in the manners and euphemisms of court life. Sancho and the Baratarians enter to them, and an entertainment of a clown and his wife is performed.] Pedro Recio forbids one dish after another to the hungry Sancho, until the governor becomes enraged. (II, 47) The meal is immediately interrupted by a messenger who requires the governor to attend a council meeting.

V, i. Scene: A Judgment Hall. A page comes to Manuel, bringing a letter to Sancho, in which the Duke warns of enemies approaching the Island. (II, 47) [The page reports that the extended jests upon Don Quijote have begun to grow stale and tiresome to the Duke and Duchess.] Exeunt.

Sancho and his attendants enter. Sancho makes a series of miraculous judicial decisions. (II, 45 & II, 51)

Pedro enters with news of the approach of several thousand mercenaries. (II, 53) The letter from the Duke is read (II, 47) [and Sancho is left alone.] [Teresa and Mary rush in, dressed in old clothes; they claim to have been stripped of their finery by ruffians. The three flee the city.]

V, ii. Scene: unlocated. [Enter Cardenio and Ambrosio. Cardenio explains to his friend, who has been sulking alone, that] Don Quijote has jostled with a false knight, in reality the Duke's page. (II, 56) Upon Don Quijote's defeat, he has been

required to return home for one whole year.

(II, 64)

[Marcella is brought on mad and sings a song to the two men. She exits.]

Enter the Duke, the Duchess, Don Quijote without sword or helmet, the page dressed as a knight, and the retinue. A dance of seven champions is followed by a song by St. Dennis. [Don Quijote is made to wear a slipper on a ribbon, a relic the page's lady.] Don Quijote exits.

News is brought of Sancho's flight from Barataria, and the company goes off to dinner, to be entertained by the details of Sancho's governorship. The curtain falls.

12. D'Urfey, The Comical History of Don Quixote, p. 99.
13. Ibid, p. 100.
14. Thomas D'Urfey, Préface to the Campaigners (1698; rpt. New York: Augustan Reprint Society, 1948), p. 26.
15. D'Urfey, The Comical History of Don Quixote, p. 206.
16. Gustav Becker, Die Aufnahme des Don Quijote in die englische Literatur (1605-c.1770) (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1906), pp. 98-99, gives a completely different account of this scene: "Akt II, Sz. 2 lässt sich Carrasco, der aus der Quelle bekannte Baccalareus, der bei dem englischen Komödienschreiber als Freund des Basilius erscheint, mit scheinbar durchbohrtem Leibe unter die Hochzeitsgäste bringen, dann springt er in der allgemeinen Verwirrung plötzlich auf, ergreift Quitteria und führt sie weg, während D.Q. die sich Widersetzenden zurücktreibt. In der Quelle führt Basilius selbst die List aus, sich scheinbar mit einem Dolche zu durchbohren. Auch ist die Wendung der List eine andere: er gibt vor, im Sterben zu liegen, will aber nicht eher beichten, als bis sich Quitteria noch in letzter Minute mit ihm habe trauen lassen." Becker was either mistaken in his sources or else he had access to a version of the text elsewhere unknown.
17. D'Urfey, The Comical History of Don Quixote, p. 206.
18. Ibid, p. 206.
19. Ibid, pp. 205-206.
20. Jeremy Collier, A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage (London: S. Keble,

1698), pp. 196-197.

21. D'Urfey, Preface to the Campaigners, p. 17.
22. Ibid, p. 22.
23. Collier, p. 203.
24. Ibid, p. 203.
25. D'Urfey, Preface to The Campaigners, p. 5.
26. Collier, p. 208.
27. A Savage Kind of People in the West of England
[D'Urfey's note].
28. D'Urfey, Preface to the Campaigners, p. 27.

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CHAPTER TWO: SPAIN, 1784

Don Quijote's popularity in Spain has been such that one critic rather sourly remarked that "el vulgo. . .sabe aquella historia acaso mejor que el Catecismo."¹ The great Golden Age masters Calderon de la Barca and Tirso de Molina imitated Cervantes' novel either directly or in style and mood within twenty years of its publication in final form, and theatrical imitations of the novel have been constant throughout the history of Spanish literature.

There is a curious point to be made concerning these imitations: the Spanish theatrical imitations of Don Quijote de la Mancha are almost exclusively short comic pieces, usually sainetes and entremeses, which confine themselves to only one or possibly two episodes in the story. The reason for this is easily grasped. To produce a full-length drama from Cervantes' material, an author must revise and restructure the story. Foreign authors, secure in the ignorance of their audiences, could easily do this, but Spanish authors knew that such obvious rewriting would probably bring howls of protest from the audience. Accordingly, in Spain long Quijote plays were rare.

In the first seventy-five years of the eighteenth

century, the Quijote story was vastly popular outside Spain, but in the knight's native country only a single full-length dramatic imitation was published, an inferior composition by an anonymous follower of the court. These years were also unhappy ones for the rest of Spanish literature; as one critic explains it, "la poesía española, que había perdido el sentido del equilibrio, atraviesa una etapa durísima y estéril que no superará hasta la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. El barroco fue durante mucho tiempo el único camino que anduvo la poesía española que siguió la decadencia del país."²

Juan Meléndez Valdés is credited as the "restaurador de la poesía española"³ of the eighteenth century. Ironically, the failure in 1784 of his first major work, the lyric drama Las bodas de Camacho el rico, was indirectly responsible for this recognition. Meléndez, only thirty years old when the play was presented, had enjoyed some small literary successes before this time, notably a first-place eclogue in a competition sponsored by the Royal Academy, but most of his energies had been devoted to his studies for a doctorate in Laws. The Quijote play, as we shall see, won a first prize in a national competition, but it was a dismal failure when performed. In order to answer his critics, the newly-titled Dr. Meléndez Valdés published a volume of his collected verse the following year; the book was an instant success, giving him an overnight reputation as Spain's leading lyric poet.

Like the Don Quijote play, these early poems were

anacreontic and pastoral in nature, filled with shepherds and shepherdesses, singing birds, and running rivulets. Meléndez' aptitude for scholarship often manifested itself in his poetry; he was fond of imitating and occasionally directly translating works of the classical Greek and Latin authors, especially the odes of Anacreon and Horace. The pastoral creations of the Golden Age also influenced his poetry.

Melchor Gaspar de Jovellanos, a leading literary figure of the time, served Meléndez for many years in the role of critic, collaborator, and companion. In 1778 Jovellanos suggested to the twenty-four-year-old poet the plan for Las bodas de Camacho el rico and in the following years the friends exchanged the growing manuscript along with corrections and comments. In one letter from Meléndez to Jovellanos, dated June 12, 1778, Meléndez revealed himself with particular clarity as a poet rather than a dramatist:

Esta es obra para en un lugar trabajarla, viendo los mismos objetos que se han de describir, y releendo la Aminta, el Pastor Fido, los romances del Príncipe de Esquilache, y algunas de nuestras Arcadias, como la de Lope, las dos Dianas, y los Pastores de Henares; de otra manera no saldrá, a mi ver, como debe salir, ni tendrá la sencillez y sabor del campo que debe tener. El estilo sencillo es el más difícil de todos los estilos, porque a todos nos lo es mucho más el descender que el subir y remontarnos. La gracia, la propiedad, la viveza, le charmant, es más dificultoso que la majestad, la elevación y las figuras fuertes.⁴

Almost all of Meléndez' source references were poetic

rather than dramatic and his interest was the beauty of the verse, not the quality of the action.

In 1783 the city of Madrid announced a literary competition to celebrate the birth of the twin princes Carlos and Felipe and the signing of a peace treaty in Paris. Authors were invited to submit original dramas; the two best entries would be awarded prizes and produced the following year. The rules were stiff: "If a tragedy, it must be taken from our history; if a comedy, it must ridicule national manners or vices. These plays must be written in verse, not being operas or zarzuelas, and must be entered within two months."⁵ Despite these difficulties, no fewer than fifty-seven manuscripts were submitted for judging.

It is hardly surprising that Meléndez won first prize. He had been considering his play since 1778 and had been working seriously upon the manuscript for a full year before the announcement of the contest. The sponsors had expressed a preference for plays adjusted to the "rules of art";⁶ his carefully polished verse was mellifluous and his plot strictly regarded the neo-classical unities. And only incidentally his friend and collaborator Jovellanos was one of the judges. Los menestrales, a comedy by Cándido María de Trigueros, was awarded second place, and the prize-winning plays were produced simultaneously in Madrid on July 16, 1784, and some days thereafter.

LAS BODAS DE CAMACHO EL RICO

Meléndez limited his first scenic directions to a single sentence following the cast list: "La Scena representa la enramada, que describe Miguel de Cervantes en los capítulos XIX y XX de la segunda parte de su Historia de Don Quixote." In limiting himself to these two consecutive chapters, the author showed the characteristic caution of most Spanish interpreters of the Quijote. The following act summaries of Melendez' play are based on those given by Gregory Gough LeGrone.⁷

The play is introduced with a prologue spoken by Love, who introduces himself, speaks of the plight of unhappy lovers, promises a favorable outcome for the love of Basilio and Quiteria, and then salutes the royal family. The speech is primarily lyric rather than expository, and this prologue is the only scene in the work not based upon a Cervantine source. It follows the pattern of the prologue of Tasso's Aminta; William E. Colford demonstrates this fact by comparing the first verses of the two texts, and he argues from their similarities that Tasso's work is the principal stylistic influence upon the play.⁸

I. A love complaint by Basilio is overheard by Camilo; the latter agrees that the rude interruption of his friend's love idyll, by the approaching marriage of his beloved Quiteria to the wealthy Camacho, is just cause for sorrow, but at the same time he has reason to believe in Quiteria's fidelity, and urges Basilio to go see her. Don Quijote and Sancho

arrive and are welcomed by Camilo. When informed of the situation, they are of differing opinions; Don Quijote sympathizes with Basilio, Sancho with Camacho. A whiff of the boiling pots of food and a view of the festivities confirm Sancho in his conclusion. Don Quijote feels that it is unbecoming of his knightly mission to tarry longer, but he is finally prevailed upon, largely through Sancho's mediation, to remain for the festivities; yet he lifts his thoughts to Dulcinea. The act is closed by a song and dance of shepherds and shepherdesses upon the theme, "Ven, dulce amor."

The tone of the work is established immediately as Basilio enters with a long lover's complain, which begins thus:

¡Ay! como en estos valles,
Morada ántes de amor, hoy del olvido,
Basilio fué dichoso!
¡O tiempo! tiempo! donde presuroso
Tan de presto has huido?
La crédula esperanza que mi pecho
Abrigó tantos años, ¿que se ha hecho?
¿Es esta, infiel Quiteria, la ventura
De tu Zagal amado?
Amado sí, quando inocente y pura
Como la fresca rosa,
Y mucho mas hermosa,
Nos dió el amor sus leyes celestiales. (p. 5)⁹

In these opening verses, Meléndez uses the silva, a traditional verse form featuring both seven- and eleven-syllable verses with a variable rhyme scheme. Except for the five-syllable verse of the choral songs, this verse form is used throughout the play.

It is important for the modern reader to realize that the pastoral form is achieved as much by the use of certain conventions as it is by the assumption of a

worshipful attitude toward love and toward the presentation of a rural scene. The thirteen verses quoted above, for example, show some of these conventions at work in the first moments of the play: the uses of sorrowful exclamations ("¡Ay!" and "¡O!"), rhetorical questions (especially to such abstractions as "tiempo"), the posing of contrasts and contradictions ("infiel Quiteria"--"Zagal amado"), the nature comparisons involving objects such as "la fresca rosa," and the personification of Love. Pastoral poetry is a relatively sophisticated form, no matter how trite and unreal it may seem to us today, a careful game of symbols, similes, attitudes, and rhetoric. Meléndez plays the game with great skill; Basilio's lament and his debate with Camacho take up almost half of the first act and exhibit one convention after another, among them the blaming of fate ("mi contraria estrella"), the despairing characterization of the beloved as an "enemiga" or "homicida," the sudden furies of desperate emotion, and the wistful memories of happier days. Probably the best pastoral lines in the play are those in which Basilio relates the lovers' youthful discovery of love, in itself another pastoral convention:

un deseo de saber nos vino
Qué era amor, de manera
Qual si un encanto fuera:
Y á un Zagal ya maestro preguntando,
"Un Niño hermoso, respondió burlando,
"Halagüello, festivo, bullicioso,
"Con alitas doradas,
"Que causa mil placeres y dolores.
"Gusta de los Pastores,

"Y de edad floreciente:
"El pecho agita, y mil suspiros cria:
"Hace hablar á los rudos dulcemente,
"Hace velar, y el corazon abrasa,
"Y olvida del ganado,
"Pensando solo en el sugeto amado,
"Y solo con su vista da alegría."
Quiteria se encendia,
Y yo turbado estaba a questo oyendo,
Consigo mismo cada qual diciendo:
Yo me agito, y suspiro,
Yo canto dulcemente, y yo me abraso,
Velo, me quejo, y lloro,
¡Ay! á Quiteria ¡Ay! á Basilio adoro. (pp. 12-13)

The fact that Meléndez was writing excellent pastoral poetry does not mean that he was writing excellent drama. The two genres, if not direct opposites, certainly seek completely different audiences. Pastoral poetry is an intellectual pursuit, meant to be enjoyed at leisure by readers who are generally well-educated; drama, on the other hand, is the presentation of action which must be immediately understandable to the wide variety of intellects to be found in the audience of a public theatre. The cause of the failure of Meléndez' play is its lack of action, conflict, and suspense. The monotony of the set speeches is broken only by the occasional comic disagreements between Don Quijote and Sancho and by the long-foreseen finale of the fifth act, when Basilio carries out his ruse.

Don Quijote and Sancho Panza were meant to be minor figures in this play, and they do little more than watch and react to the action. Even so, their reactions and their forceful characterizations make them by far the most attractive figures of the piece. One contemporary critic singled

them out as the saving grace of the play: "Las agudezas de Sancho Panza en boca de Garrido, y los extraños ademanes y grotesca figura de D. Quijote [played by Simón de Fuentes], que provocaban la risa del populacho, y los lindos versos en que abunda, hicieron menos intolerable la obra de Meléndez, que aun se sostuvo algunos días en escena."¹⁰

The speeches given Don Quijote are impeccably polite, and they are made distinctive by their marked archaic flavor. When Camilo first exclaims at his appearance, Don Quijote replies:

Non vos faga
Pavor, Zagal amigo, su extrañeza.
Un Caballero soy, de los que dicen
Van a sus aventuras:
E que magüer de tiempos tan perdidos
Al ocio renunciando y las blanduras,
Huérfanos accorriendo y desvalidos,
Y enderezando tuertos y falsías,
Si el cielo no le amengua su esperanza,
Ha de resuscitar la antigua usanza. (p. 19)

When the knight hears of the problems of the lovers and of the wealth of Quiteria's father, he launches into an enthusiastic discourse concerning the evils of riqueza which is comically interrupted three times by Sancho. Losing his temper and his train of thought, Don Quijote finally snaps, "El cielo te confunda y tus refranes!" It was this sort of interplay, scrupulously faithful to Cervantes' characters, which sustained the play on the stage.

II. A love complaint by Quiteria is interrupted when her sister Petronila and Camilo approach.

Camilo persuades Petronila to help arrange the meeting of the lovers. Petronila reveals her own secret love of Camacho in a short soliloquy, then tells her sister of Basilio's return to the vale, debates with her of love, and finally persuades her to see him. Camacho appears and Quiteria flees. Petronila reassures Camacho, praising him and trying to explain away the apparent indifference of his fiancée. Sancho enters, and after praising the food, he satisfies Camilo and Camacho's curiosity about his master's calling, referring to some of his exploits. Camilo feels that Don Quijote may be of value in the plans that he is developing, and accordingly he courts Quijote's favor. After the knight and squire leave, Petronila enters with word that the meeting of the lovers has been arranged. The act is closed by a song and dance of shepherds and shepherdesses upon the theme, "Vivan los esposos."

The second act follows the general pattern of the first, opening with a lover's lament which is followed shortly by a debate upon love. Quiteria's complaint closely resembles that of Basilio, as its opening verses show:

¿Dó Quiteria cuitada,
Sin ventura Quiteria, dó engañada
Tu corazon te lleva?
¿Debes huir, y con inciertos pasos
Te vienes á la muerte?
¿Le debes olvidar, y los lugares
Frequentas, dó algun dia
Su honesta llama con la tuya ardia? (p. 35)

Again the first half of the act, is taken up with the woes of the lovers and the machinations of their confidants; the second is given over to Don Quijote and Sancho.

Sancho's interview with Camilo is valuable both for the characterization of the cheerful, proverb-filled squire

and for an essential connection it makes in the structure of the work. Sancho boasts of their various adventures, tells Camilo that Don Quijote's lady is the "Princesa del Toboso," and finishes by relating his extravagant dreams for the future:

Y así, ó me engaña la esperanza mia,
O sus fechos extraños
Un Reyno han de ganalle,
Y luego encaxa bien á Sancho dalle
La Insula, que ha de estar yo no sé donde,
Y verme así Gobernador, ó Conde.
Arrímate á los buenos: con quien paces,
Sencho, no con quien naces.
Mas helo viene. Al lobo se mentaba,
Y él todo lo escuchaba.

CAMILO

¡Que extraño desvarío!
Sin seso estan. . .no importa. . .en todo caso
Hacerle quiero mio.

(Quédase suspenso un momento,
como pensando algun ardid)

(p. 56)

The key word is desvarío, which means "delirium" or "madness." Camilo tells the audience outright that this pair is mildly mad, that is, that they have a different, exalted vision of the world. The lovers Basilio and Quiteria are also mildly mad in these terms, since they see a world ruled by Love alone. In this moment of the play, Camilo, the sane man standing between these two pairs, conceives the notion (the ardid) of using one mad pair to benefit the other.

III. The act begins with a choral song and dance by shepherdesses on the theme, "Ven, amor poderoso." Camilo and Petronila bring the two lovers together, and keep watch as they exchange love complaints and renew

their vows. Camilo hits upon an unrevealed scheme to help his friend. Sancho, who has been asleep nearby, overhears part of these conversations, and to prove to Don Quijote that he too has been on the job, informs him of what he has seen and heard. Don Quijote is indignant at what he feels must be a slander against a maiden's good name. The act ends with a song and dance of shepherds and shepherdesses on the theme, "Celebremos la ventura."

The third act is the least effective act of the play. The first half is overly long and emotional, devoted to the inevitable reconciliation of the lovers; the second half features another mild exchange of words between Don Quijote and Sancho. Nothing new is introduced into the plot, and only the rather forced expedient of Sancho's eavesdropping keeps the action moving, though sluggishly, after the reconciliation.

IV. Camilo persuades Basilio that in order to carry out their trick, he should appeal his case to Don Quijote. Basilio accordingly relates how an aged magician had stayed him when he was on the verge of committing suicide, predicting that a fiery lion, that is, Don Quijote, would save him. Once Quiteria has confirmed the story of their true love, Don Quijote offers his protection. Sancho's protest are in vain. Don Quijote again directs his thoughts to Dulcinea. The act ends with a song and dance of shepherds and shepherdesses on the theme, "Amor poderoso y traidor."

The fourth act unites Don Quijote and Sancho with the lovers and puts the resolution one step nearer. The story of the magician is an invention of Meléndez and has no direct source in Cervantes. Basilio's account

of him is highly dramatic:

De un alto precipicio iba á lanzarme,
Y una voz imperiosa de repente
Me dice: tente, tente.
Torno la vista, y á mi lado veo
Un venerable anciano,
Luengo el cabello y cano,
La barba prolongada á la cintura,
Y de una negra tunica vestido.
Con un baston nudoso,
Que en la diestra traia,
El suelo hirió, y estremeci6se el suelo.
Yo, lleno de pavor y de rezelo,
Ni á mirarle asombrado me atrevia;
Mas 6l con blanda voz, y faz serena
Vuelve, dixo, Basilio á la Alqueria,
Que yo vengo á librarte de la muerte.
Allí hallarás para acorrerte a un fiero,
A un soberbio Leon, con cuyo amparo
Quiteria ser á tuya; mas la suerte
Luego declinará, y ademas caro
¡Ay! te costará el bien, si no repara
Algún Sabio tu amarga desventura;
Que al punto morirás. Así los cielos
Premiando con su mano su ternura,
Castigarán con muerte tus rezelos. (p: 102)

The magician whom Basilio describes is a strangely Biblical figure, very much out of place in the pastoral world inhabited by the characters of the drama. The action of striking the earth with a rod recalls the tale of Moses bringing forth water in the desert, and the promises of liberation from death ring out like Biblical prophecies of the coming of the Messiah. Meléndez doubtless never meant them as such, but it is a comment upon the deeply-felt Catholicism of Spain that even a Neo-Classic writer creating a pagan pastoral world would inadvertently touch it with some of the fearsome grandeur of his own religion.

V. Two elaborate dances are performed in honor of the approaching marriage. Basilio interrupts the ceremony, falls on his sword, and at the instance of some friends and especially of Don Quijote is granted his dying request of Quiteria's hand in marriage; Camilo appears disguised as the magician of Basilio's story, heals the wounded lover, and after Don Quijote has succeeded in calming the ensuing turmoil, Camilo betrays Petonila's secret love. Camacho is content with the exchange, and the festivities continue. The act ends with a song and dance of shepherds and shepherdesses upon the theme, "Gozad, gozad."

Golford has objected to the "unnecessary deviation" of introducing a magician to cure the apparently dying Basilio, not realizing that Meléndez was probably forced to this resort in order to fill out his classical five-act structure. The wedding of Camacho episode in Cervantes' novel is little more than an incident, taking up only two chapters; to expand it into a full-length play, Meléndez invented the lengthy reconciliation of the lovers and then expanded the final two acts with the report and the appearance of the magician. Without such expedients the play could scarcely run longer than a single act; even with them, Meléndez is forced to flesh out his final act with no fewer than three elaborate song-and-dance sequences.

Another function of the magician is the addition of an element of uncertainty in the story to help sustain audience interest. Meléndez had apparently begun to seriously consider such problems of staging while writing the last two acts, as indicated by his elaborate stage directions throughout the fifth act, such as the following,

which introduce the act:

Se descubrirán, si pareciere, en un teatro capaz, adornado de alfombras y ramos, para ver desde el más comodamente las danzas.

Danza primera de espadas. Los Zagales, que la componen, vestidos galanamente, y adornados de cintas y lazos de varios colores, forman graciosas diferencias al compás de los instrumentos pastoriles del Coro, que cantará en los intermedios, dividido en dos bandas. (p. 117)

Danza segunda de Doncellas vestidas de verde, y coronadas de flores, guiadas por un Anciano y una Matrona con instrumentos pastoriles. Traeran en algun canastillo una guirnalda, y harán sus lazos y mudanzas, cantando el Coro en los descansos. (p. 118)

The qualification of the first line in "si pareciere" ("if it should appear") suggests that Meléndez wrote these lines after the announcement of the contest, which would also explain the sudden abundance of stage directions in the fifth act. These concern the choreography, the physical appearance of the characters, and even the mechanism by which the magician is to vanish ("El Mágico se retira tan prestamente, que parezca desaparecerse"-- p. 123).

Basilio's stratagem is carried out as in the novel and Don Quijote prevents the violence which threatens to break out when the trick is revealed. Camilo, as the magician, restores happiness and order in the pastoral world by uniting Petronila and Camacho. As the curtain falls, the chorus urges the esposos to enjoy their new-found happiness.

CRITICISMS OF LAS BODAS DE CAMACHO EL RICO

The prize-winning plays were staged July 16, 1784, and according to the doleful report of Jovellanos, "La suerte de ambas en el teatro no ha podido ser peor. Han sido diabólicamente estropeadas."¹¹ Certainly, much of the failure of Meléndez' work was due to his lack of understanding of the essential differences between poetry for readers and poetry for the stage, and his necessary elaborations of the story may well have displeased his audience. I have tried to demonstrate here that the work is good, perhaps excellent, as pastoral poetry, but that as drama it is unstageable. Even the efforts of its highly-respected director Ramón de la Cruz could do nothing for the play.

But despite these inherent flaws, some of the blame for the work's failure must be assigned to the envy and malice of the fifty-four poets whose works had received no recognition in the contest. There was a great deal of controversy over the selections of the judges, and one critic notes that:

an extraordinary clamor was raised against the plays. . . because those who had failed in the competition took advantage of the opportunity to question the decision of the judges. It is quite likely that this attitude on the part of the disgruntled competitors found noisy expression during the performances. It certainly accounts for the mass of satires that circulated almost immediately against The Tradesmen and the Wedding of Camacho in the form of sonnets, ballads, and décimas.¹²

Leandro Fernández de Moratín, who probably saw the work presented, wrote a cogent condemnation which has generally found favor:

Las bodas de Camacho, comedia pastoral de don Juan Meléndez Valdés, llena de excelentes imitaciones de Longo, Anacreonte, Virgilio, Taso y Gesner, escrita en suaves versos, con pura dicción castellana, presentó mal unidos, en una fábula desanimada y lenta, personajes, caracteres y estilos que no se pueden aproximar sin que la armonía general de la composición se destruya. Las ideas y afectos eróticos de Basilio y Quiteria, la expresión florida y elegante en que los hizo hablar el autor, se avienen mal con los raptos enfáticos del ingenioso hidalgo: figura exagerada y grotesca, a quien sólo la demencia hace verosímil, y que siempre pierde cuando otra pluma que la de Berengeli se atreve a repetirla. Las avecillas, las flores, los céfiros, las descripciones bucólicas (que nos recuerdan la imaginaria existencia del siglo de oro), no se ajustan con la locuacidad popular de Sancho, sus refranes, sus malicias, su hambre escuderil que despierta la vista de los dulces zaques, el olor de las ollas de Camacho y el de los pollos guisados, los cabritos y los cochinitillos. Quiso Meléndez acomodar en un drama los diálogos del Aminta con los del Quijote, y resultó una obra de quinola, insoportable en los teatros públicos, y muy inferior a lo que hicieron en tan opuestos géneros el Taso y Cervantes.¹³

Moratín's reaction seems to me far too harsh. I find both Don Quijote and Sancho quite believable in the world of the play, despite the disadvantage they suffer in their secondary, passive roles. Moratín's claim that Cervantes' work is incompatible with the pastoral tradition is absurd; pastoral themes abound in the work and at one point late in the book (II, 67) Don Quijote even dreams of abandoning his knighthood and becoming a shepherd,

a project of which Sancho reminds him as he lies dying in the final chapter of the book (II, 74).

The comment of Gregory Gough LaGrone serves both as a refutation to Moratín and as a concise summary of the significance of this neo-classical Don Quijote play:

That the plot moves slowly, that the play would not be a great success on the stage of the eighteenth century or of our own day, or finally that it is inferior to Cervantes, no one would be likely to deny; but. . . precisely what is revealed by this play, in comparison with previous imitations from Don Quixote, is a certain compatibility between the pastoral, of all dramatic genres, and the leisurely pace characteristic of the novel.¹⁴

FOOTNOTES

1. J. Sempre y Guarinos, cited by William E. Colford, Juan Meléndez Valdés: A Study in the Transition from Neo-Classicism to Romanticism in Spanish Poetry (New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1942), p. 302.
2. Joaquin Marco Revilla, "Prologo," Poesía by Juan Meléndez Valdés (Zaragoza: Editorial Ebro, 1965), p. 8.
3. Cited by Colford, p. 286.
4. Ibid, p. 298.
5. Emilo Cotarelo y Mori, cited by John A. Cook, Neo-classic Drama in Spain (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1959), p. 270.
6. Ibid, p. 270.
7. Gregory Gough LaGrone, The Imitations of "Don Quixote" in the Spanish Drama, University of Pennsylvania Publications in Romanic Languages and Literature, No. 27 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1937), pp. 54-55.
8. Colford, pp. 298-300.
9. This and all following quotations from the play are taken from Las bodas de Camacho el rico, comedia pastoral by Juan Meléndez Valdés (Madrid: Joachim Ibarra, 1784). Page numbers will be indicated in parentheses following the quotations.
10. Cotarelo, cited by LaGrone, p. 56.
11. Cited by Colford, p. 302.
12. Cook, pp. 270-271.
13. Cited by Felipe Pérez Capo, El Quijote en el teatro: repertorio cronológico de 290 producciones escénicas relacionadas con la inmortal obra de Cervantes (Barcelona: Editorial Milla, 1947), p. 41.
14. LaGrone, pp. 55-56.

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CHAPTER THREE: GERMANY, 1815

Don Quijote has had a long career in Germany since first appearing in a mock tournament in Heidelberg in 1617, but during most of it he has been seen as a fool, much like the Quijote of D'Urfey's first two plays. Throughout the first two hundred years of his dramatic activity in Germany, the knight is found generally in operettas and farces. In 1799 Friedrich Schlegel, who had read the Spanish original, made enthusiastic plans to present a Quijote scene which might have treated the work more fairly, but the project was never carried out.¹ Other significant German men of letters also showed interest and admiration for Cervantes' masterpiece (among them Goethe, Schiller,² Fichte, Novalis, and A.W. Schlegel), but they never presented the knight in the drama. Not until 1815, when a now-forgotten theatre director in Braunschweig wrote a new kind of Quijote comedy, was Don Quijote seen acting with dignity and purpose upon the German stage. The play was Don Quixote und Sancho Panza, oder die Hochzeit des Camacho; its author was August Klingemann.

Referred to by one critic as "der trotz seiner reichen

Produktion theatergeschichtlich doch weit mehr als literar-
geschichtlich bedeutende Mann,"³ August Klingemann may well
owe part of his obscurity to the simple fact that he spent
almost all of his life in his native city of Braunschweig.
For only three years (1797-1800) did he leave, in order to
attend the University of Jena. At the university Klingemann
studied law, but he also attended lectures on literature
and mingled with a number of minor writers and poets of the
day. It was probably these associations which inspired him
to write first a novel and then, upon his return to Braun-
schweig, a series of plays and critical essays. These works
earned him contemporary recognition and eventually they won
him the position of resident director in the Braunschweig
theatre from 1814 until his death in 1831.

Klingemann's published works include ten tragedies,
three comedies, and twenty historical or imitative dramas,
as well as a substantial body of writings concerning artistic
and practical problems of the theatre. At least two more
plays were never published. Most of his dramatic works
are clearly pot-boilers; two-thirds of them were written
before he began work at the Braunschweig Theatre, in the
fourteen years after he left the university. Even so,
their success was unquestionable. Klingemann himself
noted in 1810 that "meine literarischen Einnahmen haben
in den letzten Jahren 1000 Thaler stets überschritten,"⁴
and this becomes a healthy sum when one considers that his
annual salary as resident director was only 400 Thalers.

Heinrich Kopp, in his study of Klingemann's directing

career, comments further on the man's success by noting:

Seine Stellung zum deutschen Theater im allgemeinen kannte alle Welt. Er war der berühmte Autor zahlreicher Dramen, die mit aussergewöhnlichem Gluck ausgeführt und insbesondere mit den Schillerschen Stücken in einen ernsthaften Vergleich gestellt wurden. Diese Wertung der Klingemannschen Produkte, die heute nur von wenigen gekannt und von niemandmehr gelesen werden, ist im ersten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts nicht nur vom Publikum, sondern auch von den meisten kritischen Federn vertreten worden. In den zeitgenössischen Ausserungen. . . wird sein Name nicht selten mit beinahe ehrerbietiger Scheu genannt, und es wird einmal geradezu das Theater glücklich gepriesen, das "einen so berühmten Mann zum Leiter habe."⁵

Klingemann, perhaps understandably, showed no great affection for his own works. Kopp's list of the Braunschweig repertoire from 1818/1819 to 1825/1826, which includes hundreds of plays, shows that Klingemann produced only seven of his own pieces during that time, with a total of only twenty-five performances. Kopp comments:

In den drei ersten Jahren der Bühne brachte er kein einziges seiner eigenen Stücke zur Aufführung und auch in der folgenden Zeit erscheinen diese nur sehr spärlich auf dem Spielplan im Vergleich zu der Thatsache, dass ihre Zahl gross war und sie, wie wir wissen, auf den übrigen Theatern sehr häufig erschienen. Wer Klingemanns Werk "Kunst und Natur" liest, findet dort an verschiedenen Stellen über den angeführten Umstand hinlängliche Aufklärung. Wenn er von seinen eigenen Dramen spricht--es geschieht nur sehr selten--verhält er sich kritisch zu ihnen und äussert sich bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten, dass ihm nichts unangenehmer sei, als die Kinder seiner Muse auf dem Theater dargestellt zu sehen.⁶

Don Quixote und Sancho Panza oder die Hochzeit des Camacho⁷ was written in 1815, during Klingemann's first years with the Braunschweig company, and it originated in the year between two of Klingemann's greatest triumphs: his productions of Hamlet and Faust.

The highly successful 1815 production of Hamlet utilized a script prepared by Klingemann "nach Goethes Andeutungen in Wilhelm Meister und A.W. Schlegels Übersetzung,"⁸ and it was published in the same volume with the Quijote play. Klingemann's Hamlet was an important advance for the German theatre, for the only previously used acting edition of the play was by Schröder, who had freely rewritten the work and had even fashioned a happy ending.⁹

The year following the publication of the Hamlet and Don Quijote plays, Klingemann's own Faust was produced and published. For years it remained the most popular theatrical treatment of the legend. Goethe's Faust, first published in 1808, was commonly regarded as impossible to stage; Klingemann himself disproved this belief in 1829 by being the first director to adapt and present Goethe's work, which eventually drove his own Faust off the stage.

One might expect Don Quixote und Sancho Panza to be better documented, originating as it did at about the same time as two such significant theatrical works. Unfortunately, the most informative reference to the work is a single tantalizing passage in J.J.A. Bertrand's study, Cervantes en el país de Fausto: "Al visitar A. Klingemann el castillo

de Löwenburg contempla allí una serie de cuadros que representan escenas del Quijote. Escribió en 1815 la obra Don Quijote y Sancho Panza, representada en 1817 y que se publicó en 1821."¹⁰ The reliability of this information is uncertain (especially since Bertrand gives no sources) but we do know that there was an 1821 edition of the work published in Vienna. If the play was indeed not produced until 1817, it is perhaps an indication that Don Quixote was written as another of Klingemann's pot-boilers--a conclusion further suggested by the tone and the structural problems of the work, as we shall see.

Klingemann improvised freely and at length upon his source, which was probably Tieck's translation of Don Quijote, and most of the material in the play is his own in tone and content. Chapter references to the source have been included in the following act summaries where they are clearly necessary.

DON QUIXOTE UND SANCHO PANZA

I. Scene: "Romantische Gegend; in der Ferne auf den Bergen Windmühlen. Vorn rechter Hand ein Wirthshaus und daneben eine Laube mit Tisch und Bänken." Basilio is seen with joyful companions, who reprove him for his moodiness. He is revealed to the audience as the Innkeeper's son, in love with Quiteria, the Count's daughter, who is about to marry Camacho. (II, 19) The young men exeunt. Basilio sings a yearning song, accompanying himself upon the lyre, then exits.

The Duke enters and meets Mendo, Basilio's father. Quiteria is revealed to be afflicted by a deep melancholy and to have refused to eat, drink, or sleep. Since cures have been attempted

without success, the Duke hopes the expected arrival of Don Quijote will alleviate her melancholy. Mendo is charged to watch for the knight's arrival. Exeunt.

Sancho enters, leading his ass and Rocinante, over whom Don Quijote lies as if dead. Sancho's lament reveals that his master has deprived a barber of a shaving basin, thinking it the Helmet of Mambrino (I, 21) and then has jousted with a windmill (I, 7). After Don Quijote recovers consciousness, Sancho takes the animals off while his master delivers a soliloquy. Mendo discovers Don Quijote, humors him, and promises to report his arrival. Sancho re-enters.

Shortly afterward Mendo, Altisidora, and a singing chorus of young men and women enter and greet the new arrivals. After a short conversation, a procession escorts Don Quijote and Sancho offstage.

Probably the greatest problem in this play is the tediousness of its exposition, evident even in the outline above. Both in the first act and in the rest of the play, the characters are interminably discussing things rather than acting upon them: Basilio's friends relate to him his own miseries, the Duke tells Mendo of a problem evidently known to the whole land, and Sancho (in a somewhat better motivated speech) laments over the events which have brought him to his present situation. This defect is compensated for somewhat by Klingemann's sharp ear for language and his use of puns, especially evident later in the play.

The work opens with a joyous drinking song, and the first words heard onstage are the festive lyrics:

Auf, trinkt bei voller Gläser Klang:
Ting, ting, ting, ting ting!
Freut euch bei muntre Lieder Sang;
Kling, kling, kling, kling, kling! (p. 1)

This song is followed shortly by Basilio's simple but rather pleasant lament:

Beim stillen Bach im grünen Wald
Sitz' ich am Felsenhang,
Und wenn der Laute Ton erschallt,
Naht Hoffnung zum Gesang:
Und kündet goldnen Frühlingschein,
Und wiegt das Herz in Träume ein,
In wunderschöne Traume!
Und fröhlich kehr' ich dann zurück,
In meinem Herzen wohnt das Glück,
Un schmückt die Zukunft köstlich aus
Zu einem goldnen Königshaus!
Kühn sind der Hoffnung Träume! (p. 4)

Surprisingly, the stage directions indicate that each of the songs in this work except this lament of Basilio is to be sung to a melody from some other popular stage work of the time. For instance, the drinking song is written to a tune "aus dem zweiten Acte des Schlaftrunks" (p. 1). This plagiarism--to call it less would be too kind--is another suggestion that the play was written only for money. If it had been intended for presentation at Klingemann's own theatre, presumably a composer could have worked with the author; but Klingemann's use of easily-available music from other sources implies that the script was meant to be sold to another theatre, and the author never expected to produce it himself.

In the scene between the Count and Mendo we first encounter one of Klingemann's chief methods of character differentiation, for the Count speaks in blank verse while Mendo always speaks in prose. Klingemann also gives us an easy tag by which to remember the Duke, a condescending

speech of the Duket to the innkeeper:

Wir leben nicht mehr in den alten Zeiten,
Wo noch kein stand die Menschen separierte,
Und weil der Fürst nun einmal existiert,
So müß es doch auch Unterthanen geben--
Und Underthanen müssen respectieren! (p. 5)

The Count's preoccupation with his own importance and his affected style of speech mark him as one of the chief comic figures of the work. Mendo's adverse reaction to his ruler, expressed only in asides, is intended to make the audience sympathetic to the innkeeper and to the plight of his son.

Klingemann's fondness for spectacle and stage picture, mentioned by Kopp in his study, is evident in the first entrance of Don Quijote and Sancho. Not only is the knight comically stretched over his horse's saddle, but his helmet is perched on Rocinante's head. This whimsical joke demonstrates Klingemann's understanding of the importance of the visual element in comedy, an understanding further indicated by the frequent use of spectacular choral processions throughout the play.

The character of Don Quijote compensates for the broad, farcical picture of so much of the rest of the play. Klingemann portrays him as an earnest, almost a frightening figure. Consider the following speech, part of his first soliloquy:

Du aber, grausame Gebieterin dieses verwundeten Herzens, unvergleichliche Dulcinea von Toboso, für die ich alles dieses

Unerhörte unternehme, und das verderbte
Zeitalter, aus dem die Gerechtigkeit,
die Tugend und die Treue entflohen ist,
wieder zu reinigen bemüht bin--so unerhört
dieses Unternehmen auch scheinen mag!--
erinnere dich deines Sklaven, der in
deinen Fesseln einhergeht, auf ewig! (p. 16)

Cervantes' Quijote actually believed himself in the age
of chivalry; Klingemann's recognizes the miserable state
of his own time and yearns to restore virtue. Compare
this clearly Romantic viewpoint to the cry of Schiller's
Karl von Moor in Die Rauber, I, ii:

MOOR: Pfui! Pfui über das schlappe
Kastratenjahrhundert, zu nichts nütze,
als die Taten der Vorzeit widerzukäuen
und die Helden des Altertums mit
Kommentationen zu schinden und zu
verhunzen mit Trauerspielen.¹¹

Of course there is no direct connection between the two,
for Karl von Moor yearns for a return to lawlessness
and Klingemann's Don Quijote seeks a return to virtue.
But Klingemann gives us just the sort of Quijote that
Schiller, his favorite author, might have given us: an
intense, spiritual, almost ecstatically religious man who
takes action against a corrupted world. No one can laugh
at such serious singleness of purpose; Klingemann knew
it, and he confined the knight to a minimum of action
through the play, using him mainly for moral authority
and as a contrast to the dunderheaded antics of the
Duke and Camacho.

II. Scene: "Grosser Saal im Schlosse des
Herzogs; ringsumher sind Gestuhle gestellt."

The Duke is revealed in conversation with Master Niklas, the barber and doctor of Don Quijote's town, who has come to bring the knight home to be cured. When Niklas hears of Quiteria's illness, he offers his help. The Duke refuses. Master Rigo, the court physician, enters, and the two physicians quarrel comically. They are sent away.

Enter Camacho, Quiteria, and a procession of servants to the Duke. Quiteria is silent while Camacho speaks enthusiastically of the upcoming marriage banquet. Describing the hoped-for laughter of Quiteria, Camacho breaks into laughter himself, and the hilarity communicates itself to the Duke and all the others except Quiteria.

Enter to them Don Quijote, Altisidora, and followers. Camacho and the Duke are seized with superstitious fear at the sight of Quijote, who speaks earnestly of his mission.

Sancho enters. He reports that he was sent to Dulcinea, but along the way he went to sleep and his ass was stolen from beneath him. (I, 23 & II, 4) He gives his master a false account of seeing Dulcinea. (I, 31)

Enter Rigo and Niklaus. Rigo recognizes Don Quijote as the person who assaulted him and took away his shaving-basin; (I, 44) Niklas tries to seize Don Quijote, who defends himself. General tumult.

Niklas the barber is a quickly-sketched parody of the old-fashioned "enlightened man" of the eighteenth century. This is seen in his boast to the Duke:

Ich bin ein vernünftiger Mann, Durchlaucht,
und ein Feind aller Verwirrungen und neuen
Systeme; darum setze ich meinem Manne nach,
und weil ich erfahren habe, dass er sich auf
euerm Grund und Boden befindet, so will ich
ihn hier ohne weiteres in die Cur nehmen und,
sei es auch gewaltsam, zu Verstande bringen. (p. 29)

To buttress the claim of being an exceptional physician, Niklas confides to the Duke that he is on the brink of discovering a cure for death itself! Apparently this claim to be a "reasonable man" was a feature of many of

the comic figures of the time, for both the Duke and Camacho also repeatedly claim to be "vernünftig" during the play.

When Rigo enters, he is characterized by a highly exaggerated style of speaking, and his speeches to the Duke inevitably begin with the jaw-breaking salutation, "Durchlauchtigster Herzog, gnädigster Fürst und Herr!" (p. 31) As tempers rise, both of the physicians drop into increasingly clipped and colloquial speech, and their quarrel is characterized by verbal misunderstandings. When the Duke, reduced to a state of near-hysteria, sends them scrambling for the door, they comically bump heads.

Camacho enters to his prospective father-in-law, and we find that these two men are just such a Tweedledee-Tweedledum comic pair as the physicians. Camacho, like the Duke, speaks in verse, betraying a similar simplicity and foolish pride, but his characteristic vice is gluttony. He can speak of nothing but the upcoming banquet, even when his afflicted bride sits silent beside him:

Aus Holland Austern! Austern, guter Gott!
Ich schlug die Tonne auf, ich konnt's nicht lassen--
Ich ging an's Werk! Sie lachten aus der Schaaale!
Weiss Gott, sie lachten!--Ich mit meinen Thierchen!
So frisch--das Wasser steht mir noch im Munde! (p. 37)

The comic similarity between the two men is made even more evident as Camacho communicates first his hunger and then his laughter to his prospective father-in-law.

When Don Quijote enters to them, their mutual suggestibility manifests itself again in their sudden superstitious

fear of him. Camacho's babbling reaction gives us an idea of Quijote's appearance:

Mir scheint's nicht zum Lachen!
Selbst die Figur--seht ihn nur an, Herr Vater!
Ich schaudre fast--sie hat so was vom Tode;
So etwas Geistiges,--das hohle Auge-- (p. 46)

Don Quijote's speeches in this scene, the last in which he dominates the action, affirm the spiritual power of the man. As he rhapsodizes of his great dream, his speech changes from prose to verse:

DON QUIXOTE: (In Extase übergehend)
Weil denn nun aber Treu und Redlichkeit,
Und jede Tugend aus der Zeit verschwunden,
Ja der Bertrug selbst in den höchsten Dingen
Für Wahrheit gelten soll, und also gilt:
Und es am Tage, dass die ganze Menschheit
Mit einem Male den Verstand verloren,
So fühl' ich mich vom Schicksal auserkoren
Sie mit gestählter Faust zu trepaniren,
Und darum wählte ich die Ritterzeiten,
Durch sie das rechte Mittel anzudeuten!

Sancho returns from a previously unannounced mission to Dulcinea (an inconsistency between the first two acts) and lies to his master when Quijote refuses to hear the truth; then Niklas and Rigo appear to end the scene almost immediately with a comic brawl.

III. Scene: "Ein romantisches Lufthölzchen hinter dem Schlosse. Mondschein." Mendo and Camacho are seen onstage with the Duke, who explains to them his preparation of the area with a hidden orchestra, a special plan for scenic effects, and artificial trees. Camacho speaks of food and communicates his hunger to the Duke. The Duke reveals his plan to institute Sancho as the governor of

the nearby city of Barataria and then invites Mendo the innkeeper to send his melancholic son there to be cured by laughter. Mendo exits and Camacho begins to imagine that the enchantment of Quiteria is real. The Duke catches his supersititious fears. Exeunt.

Don Quijote, Sancho, and Basilio enter. They have just saved him from drowning himself. Sancho secretly promises to aid him as he exits. Sancho unwittingly insults Dulcinea, earning a blow from Don Quijote.

The Duke, Camacho, Quiteria, and followers enter. In the background Altisidora is "magically" revealed as Dulcinea, and she proclaims that Sancho must lash himself to free her from enchantment. (II, 35) She disappears.

Sancho is invested with his governor's robe and staff; a short farewell is said and then he is carried off in a procession. (II, 45)

The emphasis of the play is shifted during the course of this act from Don Quijote to Sancho. S of this act from Don Quijote to Sancho. Sancho takes the initiative of promising help to Basilio, without informing his master; and the comedy of the Dulcinea scene is keyed off Sancho's great dismay at the demands upon his posterior. This scene is rich in verbal humor, as Altisidora, enchanted by "Freston," switches abruptly from her memorized verse lines as Dulcinea to her own waspish scolding of Sancho for his reluctance. The befuddled Sancho wants nothing to do with the enchantments of "Fresszahn," but the Duke's offer of a governorship placates him.

IV. Scene: "Grosser Saal mit einer kostbar besetzten Tafel." The Duke is disguised as a doctor, Camacho as the Hofmeister, Mendo as the sergeant-at-arms, Quiteria as a lady of the court, Altisidora as a serving lady, and Basilio as a page. The Duke explains the roles. Mendo reports Sancho's wisdom in judging. (II, 45) Sancho enters and questions the Duke and Camacho about their functions; the Duke must constantly struggle to stay in

character. Dinner is served. Camacho acts as the governor's taster, wolfing food down, while the Duke acts as court physician, ordering the food removed before Sancho can eat. (II, 47) A letter from the Duke is brought in, warning Sancho of a plot on his life (II, 47) and Sancho orders that the Duke and Camacho be arrested for plotting to kill him by starvation. When Basilio flees to Sancho and pleads his case, still in character as the page, Sancho orders that he and Quiteria be married. The ceremony is nearly performed by a magistrate, but it is interrupted by sounds of battle. (II, 53) Sancho panicks and eventually leaps from the window; Camacho, also panicking, does the same. The curtain falls.

In this act Sancho has come to completely dominate the action. The goings-on are highly amusing, but the comedy is obvious foolery, a strung-together collection of jokes, pretensions, puns, and misunderstandings. Without the stabilizing influence of Don Quijote, the action descends to the level of broad, simple farce.

V. Scene: "Romantische Gehölz in der Nahe des Schlosses, zu Camacho's Hochzeit geschmückt." Sancho is revealed, sleeping. Camacho and the Duke enter and reveal that Quiteria is still melancholic. The Duke tells Camacho that Don Quijote has destroyed all of the wedding wines, thinking them to be his enemies. (I, 35) Camacho sees Sancho and hopes to free Quiteria from enchantment by lashing him. A short struggle ensues, after which the Duke and Camacho flee.

Sancho, alone, reveals to the audience that Basilio has exposed the Barataria hoax to him, and that he hopes to gain revenge through an unrevealed plot. Don Quijote enters and offers to pay Sancho for lashing himself. Sancho agrees and then beats the tree trunks behind his master's back. (II, 71) Don Quijote discovers the deception and then beats his squire.

The wedding procession enters. Just as the ceremony is about to be carried out, Basilio

enters, calls upon Quiteria, and then stabs himself. When he asks to be married before he dies, Sancho advocates the idea. Quiteria breaks her silence to call to Basilio. The two are married and Basilio reveals the deception, which was planned by Sancho. Don Quijote's authority defends the lovers. (II, 21)

A boy enters with Sancho's ass, which he has bought from a rogue. Sancho buys the animal back again and then steps forward to deliver a verse epilogue.

A comic highlight of this act is the Duke's mock-heroic description of the "slaying" of the wedding wines;

Da mag er nun in der verwichnen Nacht
Von diesem böser Unheilstifter traumen;--
Genug, er steigt empor in blossem Hemde--
Man sagt, es hab' entsetzlich ausgesehen--
Und nimmt sein Schwert, und wandelt tief im Schläfe
Hin zum Gewölbe euerm Weinbehälter.--
Zuerst durchbohrt er den Burgunderschlauch--

CAMACHO:(ausschreiend) Weh mir!

HERZOG: Und wie der feinen Inhalt ausgeschüttet,
Verwundet er darauf den Rheinwein tödtlich!

CAMACHO: Gerechter--

HERZOG: Zieht das Schwert aus ihm hervor,
Und taucht es triebend in des Lieblings Busen,
Der weinend stirbt! (pp. 138-139)

Again, Sancho dominates the action, which follows Cervantes' novel fairly closely; he even interrupts the dramatic moment of Basilio's "suicide" with involuntary applause and cries of "Bravo! Bravo!" (p. 158) He advocates Basilio's dying request, but only Don Quijote's reasoning convinces the doubtful Count:

DON QUIXOTE: Mit Erlaubniss, gnädiger
Herr, und ihr Don Camacho! dass ich mich
in diese Begebenheit mische; aber, obgleich
ich selbst von Adel bin, so scheint es mir

doch sonderbar, an den Pforten des Grabes
von dieser irdischen Zufälligkeit zu reden;
zumal da der Sterbende den himmlischen
Adelsbrief zu erhalten eben im Begriffe
ist! Und Don Camacho kann seine Braut
nicht erlauchter empfangen, als indem
sie ihm aus solcher Hand überliefert wird!
(pp. 163-164)

When the hoax has been revealed, Don Quijote steps
forward, raising his lance to protect the lovers:

Ich rathe euch Gutes, ihr Herren
insgesamt! Denn da mich der Himmel zum
Beschützer der unterdrückten Unschuld
berufen hat, und sich diese jungen Leute
mehr lieben als ihr Leben, so erhebe ich
für sie die Lanze, und wer sie trennen
will, der hat zuvor den Kampf mit mir auf
Tod und Leben zu bestehen! (p. 170)

His authority is such that a single meaningful hefting
of the lance suffices to quiet the quarrel. This moment
of seriousness is nicely countered by the lovers' joy
and by the reunion of Sancho and his ass. Sancho's
final words conclude the play with a jocular admonition
not to judge the play too harshly:

Wenn Sancho dieser Nachsicht sich erfreut,
So hat er seine Irrfahrt nicht bereut;
Und müß nur noch, um seines Esels wegen,
Sie zur Verzeihung sämtlich hier bewegen!
Denn ob man Pferde schon hier toleriert,
Ward doch kein Esel noch introduziert!
Allein, wenn Galls System die Probe hält,
Ist dieser Eselskopf sehr gut bestellt,
Und darf sich dreist mit manchen Häuptern messen,
Die auf ganz andern Rümpfen einst gesessen.
Drum lassen Sie sich denn zur Nachsicht rühren,
Das Lachen soll man so nicht kritisieren;
So lange froher Scherz uns unterhält,
Ist diese Welt noch nicht die schlecht'ste Welt!

In sum, Klingemann's play is structurally based upon

the episode of the wedding of Camacho, which the author imaginatively elaborated by introducing the complication of Quiteria's melancholy and by emphasizing the blunderings of Camacho and the Duke, who (unlike D'Urfey's fools) are mere caricatures. Other episodes from the novel are utilized briefly, and the adventure of the Island of Barataria provides a one-act interlude, but the main business of the play from first to last is the reuniting of Basilio and Quiteria.

The play is unabashedly farcical throughout. Its festive air is seen from the cheerful drinking song of the opening scene to the whimsical admonitions of Sancho ("Das Lachen soll man so nicht kritisieren") in the epilogue. All is puns, processions, songs, and slapstick; Klingemann clearly sought to provoke laughter, not thought.

Appropriately, Sancho, the more foolish member of the famous pair, is the chief participant in the action of the play, so much so that he entirely dominates the fourth act and most of the fifth. His Hanswurst-like foolishness is balanced by his confident cunning, which eventually aids him in solving Basilio's dilemma.

The most significant aspect of the work in the history of theatrical imitations of Don Quijote, as noted above, is the serious portrayal of Don Quijote, who is given great spiritual force and true dignity. Don Quixote und Sancho Panza is perhaps the only German drama of the time which showed such a respect for Don Quijote; and as such

it reflects the deep reverence of the German Romantics
for the greatest of all fictional idealists.

FOOTNOTES

1. J.J.A. Bertrand, Cervantes en el país de Fausto, José Predomo García trans. (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1950), p. 83.
2. Schiller cites Roque Guinart ("Jedermann kennt den ehrwürdigen Rauber Roque aus dem Don Quixote") as one of the inspirations for the figure of Karl von Moor in Die Räuber. See Friedrich Schiller, "Selbstbesprechung," in Werke, 3 Vol. (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1966), I, p. 159.
3. Joseph Kürschner, "Klingemann," Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, Vol. 16 (Leipzig: Düncker & Humblot, 1882), p. 187.
4. Cited by Kürschner, p. 188.
5. Heinrich Kopp, Die Bühnenleitung August Klingemanns in Braunschweig, mit einem Anhang: Die Repertoire des Braunschweiger Nationaltheaters, Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen, No. 17 (Hamburg and Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1901), p. 5.
6. Kopp, pp. 33-34.
7. August Klingemann, Don Quixote und Sancho Panza, oder die Hochzeit des Camacho (Leipzig and Altenburg: F.A. Brockhaus, 1815).
8. Title page from August Klingemann, Hamlet, Trauerspiel in sechs Aufzügen von William Shakespear: Nach Goethes Andeutungen in Wilhelm Meister und A.W. Schlegels Übersetzung für die deutsche Bühne bearbeitet (Leipzig and Altenburg: F.A. Brockhaus, 1815).
9. Kopp, p. 9.
10. Bertrand, p. 148.
11. Schiller, I, p. 66.

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- Schiller, Friedrich. Werke. 3 Vols. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1966.

CONCLUSION

There have been literally hundreds of Don Quijote plays written since the publication of the first part of Cervantes' novel in 1605, and they have varied enormously in quality and in imagination. On one hand are such works as Francisco Maesequer's 1809 play El Don Quijote de Ahora con Sancho Panza el de Antano, a dialogue between Sancho and Napoleon, or Leopoldo Lugones' 1916 work Dos Ilustres Lunaticos, a scene between Don Quijote and Hamlet; on the other are the Grau-Gual Las bodas de Camacho and countless other sketchy, spiritless pieces produced for the 1905 celebrations. The works of D'Urfey, Melendez, and Klingemann serve as representatives of the mean, along with the scores, perhaps hundreds, of well-constructed, entertaining Don Quijote imitations produced in the last 364 years.

Literary imitations suffer a double disadvantage: they are compared to their sources, and they age quickly, since they render those sources into the prevailing language and literary fashion of their own day. The three plays we have examined are no exceptions. None of them even

approaches the complexity and charm of the novel; at best, they manage to convert only the broadest and most obvious plot incidents into dramatic representations. Each play is obviously bound to its own age: The Comical History of Don Quixote is English Restoration farce; Las bodas de Camacho el rico is heavy with the flavor of Rococo and Neo-Classicism; and Don Quixote und Sancho Panza cherishes Romantic values while mocking the terms and beliefs of the Enlightenment.

Each of these plays deals with the episode of the wedding of Camacho and each of them is a full-length play. Beyond that, generalizations are all but impossible. As we have seen, focus and structure are completely different in each work; and the method of each dramatist is different as well. D'Urfey favored character comedy punctuated by occasional farce; Melendez was intent upon presenting a stylized, almost ritualized world of conventions; and Klingemann was gleefully exploiting low farce and obvious word-play, the most basic forms of comedy.

The following pages list and briefly comment upon no fewer than 423 Don Quijote imitations. When such diversity is to be found in three plays based upon the same episode in Don Quijote, the richness and variation in the 420 others is almost beyond imagination.

PART II

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST
OF 423 THEATRICAL IMITATIONS
OF CERVANTES: DON QUIJOTE
DE LA MANCHA

SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS
FOR THE QUIJOTE PLAY LIST

AM. José Aves Montes.
AT Juan Antonio Tamayo.
Bardon Maurice Bardon
Becker Gustav Becker.
Bertrand J.J.A. Bertrand.
Crooks Esther J. Crooks.
Day Cyrus L. Day.
EM Victor Espinos Moltó.
Frenzel. Elisabeth Frenzel.
GS & GM. Justo García Soriano and
Justo García Morales.
Grismer. Raymond L. Grismer.
Haywood. Charles Haywood.
Icaza. Francisco A. de Icaza
LaGrone. Gregory Gough LaGrone.
KU Kansas University Library,
public catalog.
Knowles. Edwin B. Knowles.
Lyte Herbert O. Lyte.
MQS. Aurelio Miró Quesada Sosa.
PG Felipe Pérez Capo.
Playbill Playbill Magazine.
Rius Leopoldo Rius.

Turkevich Ludmilla Buketoff Turkevich.
UE. Juan Uribe-Echevarría.

THEATRICAL IMITATIONS OF

DON QUIJOTE, 1607-1971

1. Fiesta de Pausa, in honor of the new Virrey, Don Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marqués de Montesclaros. Don Quijote played by Don Luis de Córdoba. Peru, 1607. (MQS)
2. The Knight of the Burning Pestle, by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, first performed in London, ca. 1611. Published in London, 1613. (PC 1; Rius 718)
3. Mock tournament featuring Don Quijote at the masquerade in Heidelberg, June, 1613, celebrating the marriage of Frederick V, elector of the Palitinate, with Isabel Stuart of England. Reported in the Royal Chronicle of Bavaria. (Bertrand; Grismer; Icaza)
4. Cardenio, by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare. Play registered in London at Stationer's Hall, but unpublished. Probably presented at the Globe Theatre in Blackfriars in 1613. Possible that the manuscript was lost in the Globe fire of June, 1613, during a performance of Henry VIII. (PC 3; Rius 716)
5. Le Ballet de D. Quichot, dansé par Mrs. Sautenir, 1614. Possibly performed in the Louvre. No publication information available. (Frenzel; EM)
6. Fiestas celebrating the beatification of Santa Teresa de Jesus, Salamanca, October, 1614. (Grismer)
7. Masque during the celebration of the beatification of Santa Teresa de Jesus, Zaragoza, October, 1614. (Rius 551)
8. Los Desposorios de Don Quijote de la Mancha y Doña Dulcinea. Presented to a literary competition in Córdoba, 1615. Text is lost. (Rius 552)
9. Quijote masque, Universidad de Sevilla, January 26, 1617. (Rius 554)
10. Entremés famoso de los invencibles hechos de Don Quijote de la Mancha, compuesto por Francisco de Avila, natural de Madrid. Published in Pamplona, 1617, by Gil de Armesto y Castro in a collection titled Verdores del Parnaso; published in Barcelona, 1617, by Sebastian de

- Cormelles, in El Fénix de España, Lope de Vega Carpio, familiar del Santo Officio, Octava parte de sus comedias: con Loas, Entremeses, y Bayles; published in Madrid, 1846, Imprenta de la Viuda de Calero; published in Sevilla, undated, by Francisco de Leefdoel; published in Madrid, 1905, La Enciclopedia Moderna Pozuelo de Alarcón, prologue and notes by Felipe Pérez y Gonzalez. (PC 4; Rius 563; KU; GS & GM)
11. Don Quijote de la Mancha; basada en la novela de Cervantes, escrita en verso por Guillén de Castro. First published in Barcelona, 1617, by Sebastian de Cormelles in El Fénix de España, Lope de Vega Carpio, familiar del Santo Officio, Octava parte de sus comedias: con Loas, Entremeses, y Bayles; published in Valencia, 1625, in Segunda parte de las Comedias de don Guillén de Castro; performed in Valencia's Teatro Principal, May 8, 1905, and published in Valencia in the same year; published together with Avila's play in Madrid, 1905, La Enciclopedia Moderna Pozuelo de Alarcón, prologue and notes by Felipe Pérez y Gonzalez; published in Barcelona, 1916. (PC 5 reproduces one of the early title pages; Rius 566; KU)
 12. Masque, Universidad de Salamanca, 1618. (Rius 556)
 13. Masque of knight-errantry, Universidad de Baeza, 1618. (Rius 555)
 14. Don Quijote masque in the fiestas celebrating the beatification of San Isidro, sponsored by the silver-workers of Mexico, 1621. (Icaza)
 15. L'Entrée en France de Don Quichot de la Manche. Ballet performed in Paris, 1626. (EM)
 16. Les folies de Cardenio. Tragi-comedy in five acts, in verse, by Pichou. Performed in the Théâtre de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne (Paris) in 1629. No publication information available. (PC 7; Crooks dates 1630)
 17. Quijote masque, Barcelona, 1633. (Grismer)
 18. La fingida Arcadia, by Tirso de Molina (Gabriel Téllez). Published in Parte tercera de las obras de Tirso de Molina, 1634. (Grismer; LaGrone)
 19. The Triumph of Peace. Masque by Shirley, 1634. (Knowles)
 20. Peor es hurgallo. By Antonio Coello. Performed ca. 1634. Published in 1652. (LaGrone)
 21. Don Quixote de la Mancha. Comedy, performed 1637. (Grismer)

22. Don Quijote de la Mancha, comedy attributed to Pedro Calderón de la Barca, presented before the court in El Buen Retiro (Madrid) February 24, 1637. Lost. (PC 9 discusses problem of authorship; Rius 573)
23. Aventuras verdaderas del segundo Don Quixote. By Castillo. Ca. 1637, unpublished. (PC 10 gives plot summary; Rius 586)
24. Don Quixote de la Manche, première partie. Comedy in five acts and in verse by Guérin de Bouscal. First performed in the Théâtre de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne (Paris) in 1638. Published in Paris, 1640, by T. Quinet. (See also Béjart, 1660, and Dancourt, 1712) (PC 11 reproduces title page; Rius 673 gives description; Grismer)
25. Don Quixote de la Manche, 2e. partie. First performed in the Théâtre de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne (Paris) in 1639. Published in Paris, 1640, by Antoine de Sommaville. (PC 12; Rius 673)
26. Le Gouvernement de Sancho Panza, comédie en cinq actes, en vers. By Guérin de Bouscal. Published in Paris, 1644, by Antoine de Sommaville. (PC 14; Rius 674 dates 1642)
27. Quijote ballet, Paris, 1644. (Rius 676)
28. Don Gil de la Mancha. By Rojas Zorilla. Ca. 1648. Unpublished; manuscript in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (LaGrone)
29. Entremés del hidalgo. Ca. 1650. Unpublished; manuscript in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (LaGrone)
30. Entremés del visir de la Perdularia. Ca. 1650. Unpublished; manuscript in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (LaGrone)
31. Sancio, Damma per musica. Text by Camilo Rima. Performed in the Teatro Ducale di Piazza detto della Spalta (Módona) in 1655. (EM)
32. The History of Donquixot, or, the Knight of the Ill-favoured Face, a comedy. Drama advertised for sale by Nathaniel Brook, bookseller, ca. 1658. No record of actual publication or performance. (Knowles)
33. Sancho Pança. Farce by M. Fourcroy presented first in Paris on July 5, 1659; played four times in 1659, played also in 1660, 1661, 1662, 1665, and 1678. No publication information available. (PC 16)

34. Don Quixote de la Mancha. By Diamante Matos Fragoso and Juan Vélez. Ca 1660. Unpublished; manuscript in Austrian National Library, Vienna. (LaGrone)
35. Don Quichotte, ou les enchantements de Merlin. By Madeline Béjart (wife of Molière), performed in the Théâtre du Palais Royale (Paris) January 30, 1660. Unpublished. (PC 17 says plagiarized from Guérin de Bouscal; Rius 680 gives anecdote of Molière playing Sancho)
36. Don Quixote auf Camachos Hochzeit. Published in Dresden, 1670. (Bertrand)
37. De verzierte onttoovering van de Gravin Trifaldi door de dolende Ridder Don Quichote [The Disenchanted of the Countess of Trifaldi by the Knight-Errant Don Quijote]. By J. Soolmans. Published in Amsterdam, 1679. (PC 19; Rius 801)
38. Entremés del rey de los tiburones. Published in Floresta de entremeses, Madrid, 1680. (LaGrone)
39. Entremés de don Guindo. Published in Floresta de entremeses, Madrid, 1680. (LaGrone)
40. Il Don Chisciot della Mancia, dramma per musica da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Canal Regio. L'anno MDCLXXX [1680]. Libretto by Marco Morosini, music by Carlo Sajon. (PC 21; Haywood)
41. Het Gouvernement van Sancho Panza op het England Barataria. By S. van der Cruyssen. Amsterdam, 1681. (PC 22; Rius 803)
42. Den Grooten en onverwumely Ken Don Quichote de la Mancha [The Great and Invincible Don Quijote de la Mancha]. By Cornelis Wils. Amsterdam, 1682. (PC 23; Rius 804)
43. De verzierte ontoovering van de Gravin Trifaldi door de dolende Ridder Don Quichotte [The Disenchanted of the Countess of Trifaldi by the Knight-Errant Don Quijote]. By Cornelis Wils. Ca. 1682. (Same as 37?) (PC 20; Rius 802)
44. Der irrende Ritter D. Quixotte de la Mancia. Libretto by H. Hinsch [and Marco Morosini?], music by Ph. Förtsch. Hamburg, 1690. (PC 24; Rius 741; Bertrand; Haywood)
45. Sancho Pança; Comédie en trois actes et en prose, représentée pour la première fois au Théâtre Français

le 27 janvier 1694. By Charles Rivière Dufresny.
Unpublished. (PC 25 gives anecdote of failure during
the third act; Rius 685; Grismer)

46. The Comical History of Don Quixote, Parts 1 and 2.
By Thomas D'Urfey, music by Henry Purcell. Part 1
performed in Dorset Garden (London) May, 1694; at
Lincoln's Inn Fields (London) August 9, 1704; in the
Haymarket Theatre (London) February 1, 1710; and in
Dublin, 1727. Parts 1 and 2 performed in a combined
version at Dorset Garden, June, 1694; at Lincoln's
Inn Fields, July 5, 1700; in the Haymarket Theatre,
August 30, 1705, and August 16, 1706; in the Drury
Lane Theatre (London) February 4, 1710, February 6,
1710, and February 17, 1710; in Greenwich, August 13,
1711, and August 18, 1711; in the Drury Lane Theatre,
June 9, 1712, and June 17, 1713; at Lincoln's Inn
Fields, May 2, 1715, May 5, 1715, June 6, 1715,
October 11, 1715, December 28, 1715, January 26, 1716,
April 3, 1716, and April 25, 1716; in the Drury Lane
Theatre, July 24, 1716; at Lincoln's Inn Fields, March
1, 1717, November 9, 1717, November 25, 1717, January
25, 1718, and April 24, 1718; in Lancashire, August
15, 1718; at Lincoln's Inn Fields, November 10, 1718;
in Lancashire, May 7, 1719; at Lincoln's Inn Fields,
October 4, 1720, May 4, 1721, March 31, 1722, April 24,
1722, May 29, 1722, October 26, 1722, December 16, 1723,
January 27, 1724, April 24, 1728, May 23, 1730, and
May 30, 1730; at Covent Garden, May 17, 1739. Part 1
published in London, S. Briscoe, 1694; 2nd ed., 1694;
published in Dublin, 1727, published in 1889. Part 2
published in London, 1702; published in 1729; published
in 1889. (See also Pilon, 1785) (PC 27; Rius 725;
Day; KU)
47. The Comical History of Don Quixote, Part 3. By Thomas
D'Urfey. Performed in the Drury Lane Theatre (London)
December, 1695. Published in London, 1695; published
in London, 1696; published in 1729; published in 1889.
(PC 27; Rius 725; Day; KU)
48. Das Bärtigte Frauenzimmer. Vorgeſtellet in einer luſtigen
Comödie. 1696. No publication information available.
(PC 28)
49. Quijote masque before Louis XIV of France in the court
at Marly, February, 1700. The son of Louis played
Sancho. (Rius 687)
50. Aventuras verdaderas del segundo don Quijote. Comedia
burlesca. Ca. 1700. Unpublished; manuscript in Spanish
National Library, Madrid. (Rius 586; LaGrone)

51. Entremés de las aventuras del caballero Don Pascual del Rabano. Ca. 1700. Unpublished; manuscript in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (LaGrone)
52. Las bodas de Camacho. Comedia pastoral in 5 actos. Ca. 1700. Unpublished; manuscript in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (LaGrone)
53. Don Quichotte de la Manche, chevalier errant espagnol révolté. Tragi-comédie. By Cadillan de Lagarde, in five acts and in verse, with music. Published in Strasbourg, J. Stadel, 1703. (PC 29; Rius 688; Rius 693)
54. Sancho Pança. Pièce en 3 actes de Bellavoine, représentée pour la première fois par la troupe de la veuve Maurice, à la foire St. Germaine, le 3 février, 1705. (PC 30; Rius 689; Frenzel; Grismer)
55. El entremez de Don Quixote. By Nuño Niseno Sutil. First published in Musa jocosa de varios entremeses portugueses y castellanos, 1709. Reprinted in Revista Bibliográfica y Documental, II (1948), Suplemento num. 1. (AM)
56. Arlequin et Scaramouche Vendangeurs, Divertissement, précédé d'un Prologue et suivi de "Pierrot Sancho Pança, Gouverneur de l'Isle Barataria" par Fuzelier [Fuselier]. Performed at the theatre of the Foire St. Laurent (Paris) in 1710. No publication information available. (PC 33)
57. Don Quichot op gestoorde Bruiloft van Kamacho. By Pieter Langendijk. Written in 1712. Published by J. Dum, Amsterdam, 1734; published by Contze and Ovedrack, Rotterdam, 1829; published by Führi, La Haye, 1851; published by P.J. Robijns, Amsterdam, 1880. (PC 36; Rius 805; GS & GM)
58. Sancho Pança, Gouverneur, comédie en vers en cinq actes, par F.C. Dancourt. Musique de Gilliers. Performed "Aux François" (Paris) November 15, 1712. Published in Paris, Pierre Ribou, 1713. (PC 35 notes as almost word-for-word plagiarism of Guérin de Bouscal, 1644; Rius 619; Frenzel dates 1727; Grismer)
59. La Prevention ridicule, ou La Caverne de Montesinos. Comédie en trois actes, prose et vers, ornée de danses et de chantes par Jean-Nicolas de Brasey, comte de Lyon. Published in Ventopolis, 1716. (PC 37 notes that some sources date 1735)

60. Fin de fiesta del juego de la sortija. Unpublished; manuscript dated 1719 in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (LaGrone)
61. Don Chisciotte in Sierra Morena. Libretto by Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Pariati, music by Francisco Conti. Performed before the Emperor in Vienna, February 15, 1719. Published in Vienna, J. van Ghelen, 1719. (PC 38; Rius 742; EM)
62. Les Folies de Cardenio, Pièce heroi-comique, deuxième Ballet dansé par le Roi dans son Chateau des Tuileries, le 13 décembre 1720. Musique de Michel Richard de la Lande. Ballet de la composition de M. Ballon. En trois actes, en prose, avec un prologue en vers de M. Charles Coypel. Published in Paris, Jean Baptiste Ballard, 1721. (PC 39; Rius 692; Grismer)
63. Don Quixotte in dem Mohren-Gebürge. Auf dem berühmten Hamburgischen Schauplatz in einer Oper vorgestellt. Translation by J.S. Müller of the 1719 opera of Conti. Performed in Hamburg, 1722. Published in Hamburg, Caspar Jakhel, 1722; 2nd ed. at Wolfenbüttel, 1723. (PC 47; Rius 745; Bertrand; Grismer)
64. Les noces de Gamache, comédie en un acte, en prose, avec un divertissement, par Fuzelier [Fuselier], donnée au Théâtre des Italiens le 16 septembre, 1722. Published in Paris, C.A. Jombert, 1763. (PC 40; Bardon; Grismer)
65. Basile et Quitterie, Tragi-comédie en trois actes, en vers, par Gaultier, représentée "Aux François" le 13 janvier 1723. Published in Paris, Noël Pissot, 1723. (PC 43; Rius 694; Bardon; Grismer)
66. Le Serdeau des Théâtres, Comédie par M.F. [Fuselier]. Performed in the theatre of the Comédie Italienne (Paris) February 19, 1723. (PC 42; Bardon)
67. La Fille inquiète, ou le besoin d'aimer. Comédie en cinq actes, en prose, avec des divertissements, par M. [Jacques] Autreau. Performed in the Théâtre Italien (Paris) December 2, 1723. (PC 44)
68. Quijada y el Alcalde. Published in Arcadia de entremeses, Madrid, 1723. (PC 46; Rius 593)
69. Don Quichote verlossinge uit Sierra Morena. By J. Van Hoven. Published in Rotterdam, 1723. (PC 45; Rius 806)

70. Don Chisciotte am Hofe der Herzogin. Comic opera performed in 1726. (PC 48; Rius 746)
71. Sancio, oder die ringende Grossmuth. Singspiel. By U. von König. 1727. (Bertrand; Frenzel)
72. Un pazzo ne fa cento, o Il Don Chisciotte. Opera in three acts. Libretto by Pallavicini, music by Giovanni Alberto Ristori. Performed in Dresden, February 2, 1729. No publication information available. (EM; Haywood)
73. Sancho Pança, gouverneur; ou, La Bagatelle, opéra comique en deux actes, avec un prologue, des divertissements et des vaudevilles. Libretto by Thierry and Saint Denys, music by Gilliers. Performed "à la foire Saint-Laurent," 1727. No publication information available. (PC 49; Rius 695; Grismer)
74. Don Chisciotto. Opera. Music by D. Treu. Performed in Breslau, 1727. (PC 52; EM)
75. Don Chisciotte in corte della Duchessa. Opera seria-ridicola per musica da rappresentarsi alla Cesarea Corte nel Carnevale dell'anno MDCCXXVII [1727]. La poesia è del Sig. abate Giovan. Claudio Pasquini. Music by Antonio Caldara, ballet music by Nicola Matteis. Performed in Vienna, February 6, 1727. Published in Vienna, 1727. (PC 50; EM; Haywood)
76. Don Chisciotto. Intermezzo de A. Zeno. Music by G. Martini. Published in Breslau, 1727; published in Venice, 1744; published in Orleans, 1785; published in Venice, 1791. (Same as Zeno, 1744?) (EM)
77. The Double Falsehood. By Shirley. Performed at the Drury Lane Theatre (London) December 13, 1727. Published in 1728. (PC 51; Rius 726)
78. The Comical History of Don Quixote. By Samuel Akeroyde, Morgan, and Pack. Performed in London, 1729. No publication information available. (EM; Haywood)
79. Don Chisciotto. Opera. Presented at the public theatre of Bologna, 1729. (PC 53)
80. Don Chisciotto. Intermezzo. By Giovanni Battista Martini. Bologna, 1730. (Same as Zeno, 1727?) (Haywood)
81. Les Eveilles de Poissi. Comic opera in one act. Performed in Paris, August 27, 1731. Published in Paris, 1760. (EM)

82. Sancio Panza, governatore dell' Isola Barataria. Libretto by G.C. Pasquini, music by Antonio Caldara. Published in Vienna, 1733. (Haywood)
83. Don Chisciotto de la Mancia. Intermezzo by Francesco Feo. Performed in Lisbon, 1733. Published in Naples, 1740. (EM; Haywood)
84. Vida do grande Don Quixote de la Mancha e do gordo Sancho Pança. By Antonio José da Silva. Performed at the Teatro do Barrio Alto (Lisbon), October 14, 1733. Published in 1733; published in 1774; published in Coimbra, Franca Amado, in Obras de auctores portugueses, Vol. 5, 1905. Translated into French by Ferdinand Denis as La Vie du grand Don Quichotte de la Manche et du gros Sancho Pança; published in Paris, "Chez l'advocat," in Chefs d'oeuvre du théâtre portugais, 1822; 2nd ed., 1823. (PC 54; Rius 810; AM; Grismer)
85. Don Quixote in England. An Opera as it is acted at the Theatres Royal in Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Three acts, in prose, by Henry Fielding, Esq. Performed in the Haymarket Theatre (London) in 1734; at Drury Lane (London) in 1752; at Covent Garden (London) in 1759. Published in London, Watts, 1734; published in Edinburg, A. Donaldson, 1760; altered version published in London, J. Wenman, 1777. (PC 56; Rius 728; Grismer; KU)
86. Don Quichotte chez la Duchess. Ballet-pantomime par Ch. F. Pannard. Représenté a l'Opéra Comique dès 1734. Published in Paris, C.A. Jombert, 1763. (PC 55; Rius 696; Grismer)
87. Les Romans. Opéra-ballet, composé de quatre Entrées et d'un Prologue, par M. de Bouneval. Musique de Niel. (Performed (in Paris?) in 1736. No publication information available. (PC 57)
88. Mogiganga for the fiestas of Santa Tecla, Burgos, July 1, 1736. (Rius 557)
89. Don Quijote renacido, farsa joco-seria, por Francisco José Montero Mayo. Ca. 1740. No publication information available. (PC 403; Rius 595; AM)
90. Quijote masque, Medina-Sidonia, 1740. (Rius 558)
91. Ballet de Basile et Quiterie. Par MM. Greffec et [François Collin de] Blamont. Dansé à Versailles le 7 mars 1740. No publication information available. (Same as following?) (PC 58)

92. Ballet de les noces de Gamache. Danced at Versailles in 1740. (Same as preceding? See also Noverre and Dauberville, 1780) (Bardon)
93. Sancho at Court, or The Mock Governor. By a gentleman late of Trinity College, Dublin [James Ayres]. As it was design'd to be acted at Drury Lane, London. Ballet-opera in three acts. Published in London, 1741. (Haywood)
94. The Happy Captive. By Lewis Theobald. Published in London, 1741. (KU)
95. Don Quichotte-Polichinelle, parodie en trois actes du ballet de "Don Quichotte" pour les marionettes de la foire Saint-Germain. Written by Valois d'Orville. Manuscript copy dated 1743 in the National Library in Paris. (PC 68; Rius 698)
96. Don Quichotte chez la Duchesse. Ballet comique en trois actes, représenté pour la première fois par l'Académie Royale de Musique le 12 de février de 1743. Musique de [Joseph Bodin de] Boismortier. Ballet by Favart. Published in Paris, N.B. Duchesne, 1760; 2nd ed., 1768. (EM; Grismer; Haywood)
97. Le Petit Don Quichotte. Comédie par M. Carmontelle. Performed in Paris, 1744. Published in Théâtre de Campagne, Vol. 1, 1775. (See Laurier and Mercadente, 1822) PC 85)
98. Don Chisciotte. Prose comedy in four acts by Apostolo Zeno. Published in Venice, 1744; published in Torino, Francesco Parto, in Poesie drammatiche, 1795. (PC 61; Rius 791; Grismer)
99. La Faculté vengée. Comédie en trois actes, en prose. By Juliën-Offray La Mettrie. Published in Paris, 1747; same play published in Paris and Geneva as Les Charlatans desmasqués ou Pluton vengeur de la Société des medecins, Comédie ironique en trois actes, 1762. (PC 62)
100. Il nuovo Don Chisciotto. Opera. Libretto by Gennantonio Federico, music by Leonardo Leo, finished by Pietro Gómez. Performed in the Teatro di Fiorentini (Naples) in 1748. (PC 63; Haywood)
101. Aventuras de Don Quijote y religión andantesca. Play in three acts. Unpublished; manuscript, ca. 1750, in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (PC 104; Rius 599; AT)

102. Las Caperuzas de Sancho, sainete. Ca. 1750. Reprinted by Sedó, 1943. (PC 110)
103. Don Quijote, entremés. Ca. 1750. No publication information available. (PC 108; Rius 594)
104. Don Quichotte. By K.D. Eckhof. Performed in Germany ca. 1750. Unpublished. (Bertrand)
105. Insula Barataria, o, todo el reino es una quinta, entremés. Ca. 1750. No publication information available. (PC 106; Rius 594)
106. Sancho Panza, entremés. Ca. 1750. No publication information available. (PC 107; Rius 594)
107. Segundo Don Quijote, o Cualquier marido es bueno. Comedy in three acts, ca. 1750. Unpublished; manuscript in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (PC 105; Rius 598; LaGrone)
108. El Alcides de la Mancha, y famoso Don Quixote. Comedia en tres jornadas, de un ingenio de esta corte [Ramón Nocedal Romea]. Published in Valencia, Oficina del Diario, 1750; published in Madrid, Imprenta del Mercurio, Joseph de Orga, 1750. (PC 64; Rius 596; Grismer)
109. Don Quichotte et Sancho Pança. Comic ballet in three scenes. Performed at the Théâtre des Funambules (Paris) April 1, 1752. (PC 152)
110. Don Chisciotto. Opera in Italian by Ignaz Holzbauer. First performed in Mannheim, 1755; performed in Vienna, 1756. Published in Vienna, 1771. (PC 66; Haywood)
111. Don Quichotte, ballet-comique, en trois actes. Représenté pour la première fois à Bordeaux par l'Académie Royale de Musique, dans le mois de février, 1758. Published in Bordeaux, Académie Royale de Musique, 1758. (PC 67; Rius 700; EM)
112. Quijote masque presented before King Carlos II, Queen Maria Amalia of Saxony, the Royal Prince, and the Royal Family. Performed in Barcelona, October, 1759. (Rius 559)
113. Un pazzo ne fa cento. Drama giocoso per musica, da rappresentarsi nel teatro Guistiniani in S. Moisé, il presente autunno MDCCLXII [1762]. Libretto by Giuseppi Foppa, music by Florian Leopold Gassman.

Published in Venice, 1762. (See Foppa, 1796)
(Haywood)

114. Sancho Pança dans son isle, opéra bouffon en un acte; représenté devant Leurs Majestés à Fontainebleau le Mercredi 20 Octobre 1762, par les Comédiens Italiens ordinaires du Roi. Libretto by Antoine-Alexandre-Henri Poinciset le jeune, music by François André Danican Philidor. Performed in the Théâtre des Italiens (Paris) July 8, 1762; performed at the Spectacle de la Petite Scène (Paris) June 7, 1922. Published in Paris, C. Baillard, 1762; published in Paris, "précédé d'un catalogue des comédies qui ont paru sous le titre de Sancho Pança," 1762; published in Paris, M. de la Chevardière, 1762; published in Paris, Louis Champeau, 1768. (PC 69; Rius 701; EM reproduces 1768 title page; Grismer)
115. Fitzgigg, or the Modern Quijote. Published in Gentleman's Magazine, London, March, 1763; published in London, James Roche, 1889. (PC 71; Rius 731; Becker classifies as "A Tale.")
116. Sancho gouverneur. Opéra bouffon en deux actes, par M. [Pierre-Jean-Baptiste] de Nougaret. Composer unknown. Performed in Baviera, Province, 1763. Published in 1763. (PC 70; Rius 703; Grismer)
117. Don Quichotte, Comédie jouée par la troupe de Molière, 1764. Published in Paris, C.A. Jombert, 1764. (PC 72; Grismer)
118. Het vertoonen van Don Quichote op het Rotterdamse Bunne [The Presentation of Don Quijote on the Stage of Rotterdam]. By Openhart. 1761. No publication information available. (PC 73; Rius 808)
119. De Nieuwe Don Quichote. Published in Rotterdam, Vander, 1768. (PC 77; Rius 807)
120. Saynete nuevo, apelación que hacen los poetas del "Quijote" juicioso al "Quijote" saintereo. By Manuel del Pozo. Performed in Madrid, 1768. Published in Madrid, Andrés Ramirez, 1768. (PC 76; GS & GM)
121. Don Quijote. Sainete. By Ramón de la Cruz. Performed in Madrid, 1768. Unpublished. (See also Meléndez Valdes, 1784) (PC 75)
122. Il Chisciotte de la Mancia. Drama giocoso. By M. Bernardini. Performed at the Teatro Carignano (Torino) in 1769. No publication information available. (EM)

123. Don Chisciotto della Mancia. Opera. Libretto by Giambattista Lorenzi, music by Juan Paisello. Performed at the Teatro Fiorentini (Naples) in 1769. Published in Naples, 1771. (See Lorenzi, Paisello, and Gassman, 1771) (PC 78; Rius 792; Frenzel)
124. Basilio und Quitéria. Dramatic episode by Dan. Schiebler. Published in Hamburg, Bock, in Musikalische Gedichte, 1769. (PC 74; Rius 751)
125. Don Quijote auf Camachos Hochzeit. Ballet in drei Akten von Lauchberg. Musik von G. Töschi und Chr. Cannabich. Written about 1770. Published in München, 1778; published in 1861. (PC 159; Rius 778; EM; Grismer)
126. Il Don Chisciotto. Opera by Nicolás Piccini. Performed in Naples, 1770. No publication information available. (PC 79; Rius 794)
127. El loco vano y valiente. Zarzuela. Two acts. Unpublished; manuscript from ca. 1771 in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (LaGrone)
128. Don Quischott von Mancia, ein lustiges Singspiel aufgeführt auf den kaiserlichen königlichen Schaubühnen in Wien im Jahre 1771. Musik von Paisello. Libretto by Giambattista Lorenzi. Translated into German by Florian Leopold Gassman. Published in Vienna, van Ghelen, 1771. (See Paisello, 1769) (PC 78; Rius 792; Grismer)
129. Don Chisciotto alle Nozze di Gamace. Opera-ballet in one act. Libretto by Giovanne Gastone Bocherini, music by Antonio Salieri. Performed in Vienna, 1771. No publication information available. (PC 80; Rius 795)
130. Don Quijote. Opera by Even. Performed in Breslau, 1772. (PC 82 suggests date is wrong and that work is in fact by Enrique Carlos Ebell, ca. 1800)
131. Sancio Panza nel suo governo dell' Isola. Dramma giocoso per musica. Published in Parma, Stamperia Reale, 1772. (Grismer)
132. La Fou lié, ou Don Quichotte. By Labussiere, 1773. No publication information available. Copy in Paris at the French National Library. (PC 83)
133. Don Quixote. An opera. By Samuel Arnold. Published in London, 1774. (See Colman, 1793) (EM; KU)

134. Don Quixote. An entertainment for music. By J. Pingenit. Published in London, 1774; 2nd ed., 1776. (PC 84; Rius 727)
135. O grande governador da Ilha dos Lagartos. Published in Lisbon, Francisco Sabino dos Santos, 1774. (Based on da Silva, 1733) (AM)
136. Sancho Panza. Operette. Published in Halberstadt, Sommer in Leipzig, 1775. (PC 222; Rius 750; Grismer)
137. Las bodas de Gamacho. Zarzuela en dos actos por Antonio Valladares y Sotomayor. Performed in Madrid, 1776. Unpublished; manuscript in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (PC 86; Rius 604; LaGrone)
138. Las caperuzas de Sancho. Entremés. By Joseph Santos. Published in Juego complete de diversion casera, Madrid, Blas Román, 1776. (Same as anonymous, 1750?) (LaGrone)
139. Les Noces de Gamacho. Performed in a private theatre in Paris, 1778. No publication information available. (PC 88; Rius 705)
140. Les Aventures de Don Quixotte. Pantomime in three acts and a prologue by Pleinchesne. Performed at the Théâtre des Grands Danseurs du Roi (Paris) August 29, 1778. (PC 87)
141. Il matrimonio por ingagno. Opera by Anfossi. Published in Vicenza, 1780. (EM)
142. Ballet de les noces de Gamache. Composed by Noverre and Dauberval. Performed at the marriage of the Princess de Rohan-Guéménée and the Prince de Rohan-Rochefort, Paris, 1780. No publication information available. (Bardon links to 1740 ballet at Versailles)
143. The New Don Quixote, or The Marvelous Adventures of Don Silvio Razalva. Translated from German to Russian by Sapozhnikov. Performed in Moscow, 1782. Unpublished. (Turkevich)
144. Don Quichotte, heroisch-komisches Gedicht, von Jouffreau de Lagerie. Published in 1782. (Frenzel)
145. Las bodas de Gamacho el rico, comedia pastoral. In five acts, with choruses, by Juan Meléndez Valdes, music by Pablo Esteve. With a Loa by Ramón de la Cruz. Performed in the Teatro de la Cruz (Madrid) July 16, 1784. Published in Madrid, Joachim Ibarra,

- 1784; 2nd ed., 1785. (PC 90; Rius 602; GS & GM; Grismer)
146. Amor hace milagros, o Don Quijote de la Mancha, comedia. By Pedro Benito Gómez Labrador. Published in Salamanca, Imprenta de Villagordo, 1784. (PC 89; Rius 601; GS & GM)
147. Sancho Panza. Russian version of the opera by Filider [Philidor?]. Performed in Moscow ca. 1785. No publication information available. (See Philidor, 1765) (Turkevich)
148. Barataria, or Sancho turn'd governor. By Frederick Pilon. Performed at Covent Garden (London) March 29, 1785, April 13, 1785, April 18, 1785, April 20, 1785, April 27, 1785, April 28, 1785, May 2, 1785; May 3, 1785, May 9, 1785, May 14, 1785, May 19, 1785, May 25, 1785, September 26, 1785, November 3, 1785, November 11, 1785, and December 2, 1785. Published in London, 1785. (Day notes as based on D'Urfey, 1694, 1696; KU)
149. El Rutzvanscadt, o el Quijote trágico. Tragedia a secas. By Juan Pisón y Vargas. Published in Madrid, Antonio de Sancha, 1785; 2nd ed., 1786. (PC 92; Rius 603; GS & GM; LaGrone)
150. Erscheinung und Bekehrung des Don Quixote de la Mancha im letzten Viertel des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Von L. Meister. Performed in 1786. Published in Zürich, Orel, Füssli & Co., 1786. (Same as following?) (Frenzel; Grismer)
151. Erscheinung und Bekehrung des Don Quichotte de la Mancha im letzten Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts. By M.N. Steimer. Published in Wesel, 1786. (Same as preceding?) (Grismer)
152. Freimauerische Wanderungen des weisen Junkers Don Quixote von Mancha, von A.v. Göchhausen. Published in 1787. (Frenzel)
153. Don Quixote. Operetta in three acts by F.J.H., Graf von Soden, music by Ignaz von Beeck. Probably never performed. Published in Berlin, 1788. (PC 93; Rius 755; EM; Grismer)
154. Le Nouveau Don Quichotte. Opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de Boissel [pseudonym for Thomas-Charles Gastón], musique de Stanislas Champein. Performed as an Italian opera by "Signor Zucareilly" at the Théâtre des Tuileries, May 6, 1789; performed at the Théâtre de Monsieur (Paris) May 25, 1789.

- Published in Paris, 1789; published in Nantes, 1790. (PC 94; Rius 706; EM; Grismer; Haywood)
155. Don Chisciotte della Mancia ossica il Cavaliere errante. Opera in Italian, music by Angelo Tarchi. Performed at the Théâtre de Monsieur (Paris) August 2, 1790. Published in Paris, 1791. (PC 95; EM; Haywood)
156. Don Quijote, o sea el Caballero de la Triste Figura. By Franz Deunkel. Published in Dresden, 1789. (EM)
157. Ordonnance de police du Très Haut et Très Puissant Seigneur Sancho Pança, Gouverneur de l'Isle de Barataria. Comédie. Published in Paris, Gannez et Volland, 1789. (Grismer)
158. Le trio Don Quichotte, Chicaneau, Tartuffe au Tartare. Published ca. 1790. (GS & GM)
159. Don Chisciotto. By P. Giorgi. Published in Paris, 1790. (EM)
160. Ritter Don Quixote: Das Abenteuer am Hofe. Komisch-romantische Oper. By Fritz Spindler. Published in 1790. (Same as anonymous, 1799?) (Haywood)
161. Don Quijote. Opera in three acts by Hubatschek. Written in Hermannstadt about 1791. Unpublished. (PC 97; Rius 757)
162. Don Chisciotte. Comic ballet by Antonio Pitrot. Composer unknown. Published in Milan, 1792. (Haywood)
163. Don Quixotte. Operetta by Benedict Shack. Published in Vienna, 1792. (PC 98; Rius 756; EM; Haywood)
164. As tres cidras do amor, ou O cavalleiro andante. Published in Lisbon, Francisco Borges de Sousa, 1793. (AM)
165. The Mountaineers: a play, in three acts; by George Colman, the younger; as performed at the Theatre-Royal, Haymarket. Music by Samuel Arnold. Performed August 3, 1793, with Edmund Kean taking a role; by 1795 performed in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Published in London, 1795; published in The British Theatre, Vol. 21, Mrs. Elizabeth Inchbald, ed., London, Longman, 1808. (PC 99; Rius 729; KU)
166. Les Aventures de Don Quichotte. Pantomime presented

at the Cirque Olympique (Paris) the month of
frimaire, the year 1 (1794). Published in 1794.
(PC 100)

167. Der Teufel als Hidraulicus. Opera by Albrecht.
Performed in 1795. (Bertrand)
168. Don Quixote der Zweite. Ein komisches Singspiel aus
dem Italienischen in zwei Aufzügen. Musik von Herrn
[K. Ditters] von Dittersdorf. Performed at the
Hoftheatre (Oels) February 4, 1795. Published in
Oels, Samuel Gottlieb Ludwig, 1795. (PC 101; Grismer;
Haywood)
169. Un pazzo ne fa cento (Il Don Chisciotte). Opera in
three acts. Libretto by Giuseppe Foppa, music by
Johann Simon Mayr. Performed in the Teatro S. Samuele
(Venice) in 1796. No publication information available.
(Haywood)
170. Don Quixote (Das Abenteuer am Hofe). Performed in
Breslau, 1799. No publication information available.
(Same as Spindler, 1790?) (EM)
171. L'Empire de la Folie, ou La Mort et l'apothéose de
Don Quichotte. Pantomime bouffonne en trois actes et
a spectacle, par [Juan Guillermo Antonio] Cuvelier
[de Tyre]. Musique arrangé par [G.J.] Navoigille et
Baneux. Représentée sur le Théâtre de la Cité [Paris]
au mois de praival en VII [1799]. Choreography by
Gastón. Published in Paris, Imp. a Prix Fixe, 1799.
(PC 102; EM; Grismer)
172. Lo príncep Micocó. Comedy in verse. Ca. 1800. No
publication information available. (Rius 608)
173. Sancho Panza en su ínsula. Sainete. In verse.
Unpublished; manuscript written ca. 1800 in Madrid
Municipal Library. (LaGrone)
174. Les Noces de Gamache. Ballet-pantomime-folie en deux
actes. Représenté par la première fois à Paris sur
le Théâtre de la République et des Arts le 28 nivôse
an IX [1800] par L.J. Milon, artiste de ce théâtre.
Musique arrangé par E.C. Lefevre, artiste du même
théâtre. Also performed in the Théâtre de l'Opéra
(Paris) December 21, 1808. Published in Paris,
Dondey-Dupré, An IX (1801); 2nd ed., 1818. Copy
in French National Library in Paris. (See Milon,
1834) (PC 112; EM; Grismer)
175. Ritter Quixotte. Operetta in three acts. Libretto

- by von Hensler, music by Wenzel Muller. Performed in the Leopoldstadter Theater (Vienna) in 1802. Published in Vienna, Wallishauser, 1802. (Same as Heusler, 1803?) (PC 113; Rius 764; Haywood)
176. Teatro burlesco; o. Quijote de los teatros, por el Maestro Crispín Caramillo [pseudonym for Cándido María Trigueros]. Published in Madrid, Imprenta de Villalpando, 1802. (Grismer)
177. Programme de Basile et Quitterie, ou Le Triomphe de Don Quichotte. Pantomime heroi-comique en trois actes par le citoyen Suby; mise en scène du citoyen Gougibus aîné; ballet du cit. E. Hus. Musique composée et adaptée a l'action par les citoyens E. Hus et l'auteur. Jouée par l'ouverture du Théâtre de la Gaité [Paris] le 28 fructidor an IX [1802]. Published in Paris, Chez l'Auteur, 1802. (PC 111; Bardon)
178. Don Quixote. Romantisch-komische Oper in drei Acten von K.F. Heusler. Published in Vienna, 1803. (Same as Hensler, 1802?) (PC 114; Rius 765; Grismer)
179. Der verliebte Don Quijote. Burleskon von A. Bode. Published in Leipzig, 1804. (PC 115; Rius 766)
180. Don Quijote de la Mancha, resuscitado in Italia. Comedia nueva de magi burlesca en tres jornadas para tres personas, compuesta por dos ingenios. Performed in Madrid, 1805. Unpublished; manuscript in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (PC 116)
181. Don Chisciotto. Opera in Italian. Libretto by Rossi, music by Pedro Generali. Performed in Milan in 1805. Published in Milan, 1805. (PC 117; EM; Haywood)
182. Rodomont; ou, Le petit Don Quichotte. Melodrame heroi-comique, mêlé de vaudeville, en trois actes, à grand spectacle. By P. Villiers, Brazier fils, and L.A. Goufflé. Performed at the Théâtre de la Gaité (Paris) March 7, 1807. Published in Paris, Barba, 1807. (EM; Grismer)
183. Bedéno, ou le Sancho de Bisnagar, melodrame en trois actes, en prose, précédé d'un prologue, par MM. Goldman et Ande. Musique de MM. Quaissain et ***. Ballet de M. Richard, pensionnaire de l'Académie Imperiale de Musique. Performed in the Théâtre de l'Ambigu (Paris) October 6, 1807. Published in Paris, Barba, 1807. (PC 118; EM)

184. Don Quijote. Ballet-pantomime by Paul Taglioni, music by Umlauff. Unpublished; manuscript written about 1807 in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (EM)
185. Don Quixote in Barcelona, a farce. Published in London, Joseph Moser, 1808. (PC 120; Rius 730)
186. Don Kikhot. Ballet in two acts. Performed in Russia, December, 1809. Unpublished. (Turkevich)
187. Don Kishot. Ballet in five acts by Didelot. Performed in Russia, 1809. (Turkevich)
188. El Don Quijote de Ahora con Sancho Panza el de Antaño. Diálogo representable por Francisco Maeseguer. Published in 1809. (A scene between Napoleon and Sancho Panza) (PC 121)
189. Don Quichotte et son ecuyer Sancho Pança. Folie en deux tableaux à spectacle par MM. Cuvelier et Franconi jeune. Performed at the Théâtre du Cirque Olympique (Paris) in 1810. Published in Paris, Barba, 1811. (PC 123)
190. Don Chisciotto. Italian opera. Libretto by S.B. Pallavicini, music by Antonio, conde de Miari. Performed in Venice in 1810. Published in Belluno, Tip. Tissi, 1810. (PC 124; Rius 796; EM)
191. La Famille de Don Quichotte. Prologue de Don Quichotte, en vaudevilles, par N. Brazier. Published in Paris, Barba, 1811. (PC 126; EM)
192. Die Abenteuer des Ritter Don Quixote von la Mancha. Lustspiel in Fünf Akten von [Friedrich Ludwig] Seidel. Overture and musical interludes by the author. Performed at the National Theatre (Berlin) May 20, 1811. Published in 1811. (PC 125; Rius 771; Grismer; Haywood)
193. Sancho Panza en su gobierno. Sainete. One act in verse. By José Maqueda. Performed in 1812. (PC 127; LaGrone)
194. Die Stimme der Natur. Play in four acts, 1812. (Bertrand)
195. Monsieur Croque-Mitaine, ou Le Don Quichotte de Noisy-le-Sec. Vaudeville in one act and a prologue. By Desaugiers, Brazier, and Merle. Performed at the Théâtre des Varietes (Paris) April 1, 1813. Published in Paris, Barba, 1813. (EM)

196. Der deutsche Don Quijote oder El Hidalgo Heinz von Knauster. Performed in 1815. No publication information available. (Bertrand)
197. L'Isle de Barataria. Vaudeville en un acte. By Augustin Eugene Scribe and Oscar Delavigne. Published in Paris, 1815. (PC 129; Grismer)
198. Les Noces de Gamache, opéra en trois actes. Libretto by Francisco Antonio Eugenio de Planard, music by Robert Nicolas Charles Bochsa. Performed at the Théâtre de l'Opéra Comique (Paris) September 16, 1815. Published in Paris, 1815. (PC 128; Rius 710; Bardon; Haywood)
199. Sancho dans l'Isle de Barataria. Pantomime bouffonne en deux actes avec un prologue, ornée de danses, marches, evolutions, combats, etc., par MM. Cuvelier et Franconi jeune. Musique par M. Dreuilh. Musical interludes by M. Jacquinet. Performed in the Théâtre du Cirque Olympique (Paris) February 14, 1816. Published in Paris, Barba, 1816. (PC 130; EM; Frenzel; Grismer)
200. Don Quixote und Sancho Panza, oder die Hochzeit des Camacho. Dramatisches Spiel mit Gesang in 5 Aufzügen, von August Klingemann. Performed in 1817(?). Published in Leipzig and Altenburg, 1815; published in Vienna, Leopold Grund, 1821. (Rius 770; Bertrand; GS & GM)
201. El Caballero andante. Play in German by Adam Ohlen-schläger. Performed in 1817. No publication information available. (Bertrand)
202. Don Quixotte, ou Les Noces de Gamache. Ballet by Federico Marco Antonio Veuva. Performed by Mr. Vestris and Mme. Angiolini in London, 1822. (EM)
203. Le Petit Don Quichotte, arrangé en vaudeville par L. Laurier. Music by Mercadante. Performed in Paris, December 6, 1822. Published in Paris, Raze, 1822. (PC 85; EM)
204. Don Cañizales. Play in four acts, in German, by Rosalia von Collin. Performed in 1823. No publication information available. (Bertrand)
205. Die Hochzeit des Camacho. Ober in zwei Acten nach Cervantes. Libretto by Ludwig Friedrich von Lichtenstein, music by Felix Mendelssohn-Barthody. Performed in Berlin in 1824. Piano score published ca. 1825. (PC 132; Rius 772; Grismer; Haywood)

206. Don Quijote y Sancho Panza en el castillo del Duque, comedia en tres actos y en verso. By Francisco de Paula Martí. Performed June 15, 1824. Unpublished; manuscript in Madrid Municipal Library. (PC 131; Rius 604; LaGrone)
207. Les Noces de Gamache. Opéra comique en deux actes, paroles de MM. Thomas Sauvage et Dupin, musique de M. Mercadante, arrangée pour la scène française par M. Guinée. Performed in the Odéon (Paris) May 9, 1825. No publication information available. (See Sauvage and Dupin, 1830, 1836, 1841, and 1869) (PC 133; EM)
208. La dueña dolorida. Comedia en tres actos y en verso. Unpublished; manuscript dated 1826 in Madrid Municipal Library. (PC 134; LaGrone)
209. Don Chisciotto. Opera, in two acts. Music by Manuel de Popolo Vicente Garcia. Performed in New York and Paris in 1827. No publication information available. (PC 135; EM)
210. Theatre of the Court of Barataria; Comedies and Proverbs by C.E. von Berzel-Sternan. Published in Germany, 1828. (Bertrand)
211. Don Kikhot. Ballet presented in St. Petersburg during and after 1828. Unpublished. (Turkevich)
212. Don Quixote, a drama founded on the tale by Cervantes. Published in London, Cumberland, 1828. (Rius 734)
213. Don Quijote en las bodas de Camacho. Zarzuela. Reworked version of the Quijote opera of Mercadante, Sauvage, and Dupin. Performed ca. 1830. No publication information available. (PC 133)
214. Les Folies de Cardenio, tragi-comédie en cinq actes, en vers. By Florimond Ronger (Hervé). Performed in Paris, ca. 1830. Published in Paris, François Targa, 1830. (Rius 668; Grismer)
215. Don Quixote of La Mancha, the Knight of the Sad Visage. One-act comedy performed in Russia ca. 1830. (Turkevich)
216. Don Chisciotte alle nozze di Gamaccio. Melodrama jocoso en un acto presentado en el Teatro Principal de Cádiz en el Carnaval de 1830 para el beneficio del maestro Mercadante. Traducido por D.C.J.N. [from the Italian of E. Ferrero]. Also performed in Madrid, July, 1869. Published in Cádiz, Ramon Howe, 1830. (Grismer; GS & GM)

217. Don Quijote de la Mancha en Sierra Morena, por Ventura de la Vega y Cárdenas. Performed in the Teatro de la Cruz (Madrid) December 24, 1832. (See Vega y Cardenas, 1861) (PC 136; UE; AT)
218. Il furioso nell' Isola di San Domingo. Opera in three acts. Libretto by G. Ferreti, music by Gaetano Donizetti. Performed in Rome, 1833. No publication information available. (Same as following?) (PC 138; Haywood)
219. Il furioso nell' Isola di S. Domingo. Melodramma in due atti da rappresentarsi nel teatro dell' eccellentissima città di Barcellona, l'anno 1834. Published by Vedova e Figli di A. Brusi, 1834. (Same as preceding?) (Rius 798; Grismer)
220. Les Noces de Gamache. Ballet-pantomime-folie en deux acts. Libretto by L.J. Milon, music by E.C. Lefevre. Performed in Russia, produced by Blash, January 22, 1834. No publication information available. (Same as Milon and Lefevre, 1801) (PC 112; Turkevich)
221. Don Quijote y Sancho Panza en el castillo del Duque. Comedia en cuatro actos y en verso. By Jose Robreño. First performed under the title El famoso caballero andante Don Quijote de la Mancha y su escudero Sancho Panza in the Teatro de Barcelona, September 7, 1834. Published in Barcelona, J. Torner, 1835. (PC 139; Rius 607)
222. Don Quixote. Operetta. By George Herbert Bonaparte Rodwell. Performed in the Adelphi Theatre (London) in 1835. (EM; Haywood)
223. Don Quichotte aux noces de Camache. Folie-vaudeville en trois actes. By Thomas Sauvage and Dupin. Performed in the Théâtre de l'Ambigu Comique (Paris) December 26, 1835. Published in Paris, Bezou, Barba Quay, 1836. (EM; Grismer)
224. Don Chisciotte. Operetta in two acts. Music by Alberto Mazzucatto. Performed in the theatre of La Canobbiana (Milan) April 26, 1836. (PC 140; Rius 799; EM)
225. Don Quixote ved Camachos Bryllup. Original pantomimik-ballet i tre Acter of August Bournonville. Musikken arrangeret og componeret of Hr. Syngemester. Performed in the National Theatre (Copenhagen) February 24 and February 25, 1837. (PC 141; EM)

226. Lo Príncep Micomicó. Published in 1837. (Rius 661)
227. Lo Rey Micomicó. Comedia en dos actes y en vers catalá, escrita per un Micomico [pseudonym for Abdon Terradas]. Published in Barcelona, A. Berdeguer, 1838. (PC 142; Grismer)
228. Hidalgo du temps de Don Quichotte, comédie en un acte. By Emile Coquatrix (Nicetas Periaux). Published in 1840. (Grismer)
229. Don Quixote. Ballet. By Wenzel Gährich. Performed in Berlin, 1840. No publication information available. (See also following) (Grismer; Haywood)
230. Don Quixote. Komisches Divertissement in 1 Akt von Paul Taglioni. Musik von Gährich. Performed in Berlin, ca. 1840. Published in Berlin, 1859. (See also preceding) (PC 156; Rius 775; EM; Haywood)
231. Don Quijote de la Mancha. Comic opera in two acts. Libretto by Thomas Sauvage and Dupin, music by Mercadante. Performed in the Teatro de la Cruz (Madrid) July 15, 1841. No publication information available. (Same as Sauvage and Dupin, 1836) (PC 133)
232. Don Quixote et Sancho Pança. Comedy in six scenes, a prologue and an epilogue. By Auguste Jouchand. Performed at the Théâtre du Luxembourg (Paris) in 1843. No publication information available. (PC 145)
233. Don Quichotte et Sancho Pança. Pièce en deux actes et treize tableaux, par Ferdinand Laloue et Anicet Bourgeois. Performed at the Théâtre du Cirque (Paris) October 12, 1843. Published in Paris, Marchant, ca. 1843. (PC 144; Grismer)
234. Don Chisciotto. Ballet. By G. Lucatoni. Performed in Milan, 1845. No publication information available. (EM)
235. Don Quixote. Operetta. Libretto by Macfarren (son), music by G.A. Macfarren (father). Performed in the Drury Lane Theatre (London) February 3, 1846. No publication information available. (PC 146; Rius 735)
236. Don Quichotte et Sancho Panza. Operetta. By Antoine S. Clapisson. Performed in Paris, December 11, 1847. No publication information available. (EM; Haywood)

237. Le Nouveau Don Quichote. Opera in three acts. Libretto by Count Fredro, music by Stanislaw Moniuszko. Performed in Wilna, 1847. No publication information available. (EM; Haywood)
238. Don Quichotte et Sancho Pança, tableau grotesque en un act. Paroles et musique de Florimond Ronger (dit Hervé). Performed at the Théâtre de l'Opéra (Paris) March 5, 1848. Published in Paris, Beck, 1848. (PC 147; Grismer)
239. El gran Sancho Panza. Zarzuela, en un acto. By J. Bergaño. Music by N.N. Performed ca. 1850. No publication information available. (PC 223)
240. Il piccolo Don Chisciotte. Scherzo cómico in un atto di A. Castiglioni. Performed ca. 1850. No publication information available. (PC 223)
241. Don Quichotte. Opéra bouffon. Libretto by Deschamps, music by S. Penard. Performed ca. 1850. No publication information available. (Same as Pesar, 1871? Or same as Deschamps, 1874?) (PC 219)
242. Peor es urgallo, o Don Quijote con faldas. Jiguete en un acto. By Antonio García Gutiérrez. Performed ca. 1850. No publication information available. (PC 221; Rius 605)
243. Don Quijote. Baile compuesto con varias escenas de la novela por el bailarín español Méndez. Performed at La Scala (Milan) ca. 1850. No publication information available. (PC 220)
244. Don Quijote de la Mancha, zarzuela cómica en prosa y verso en 3 actos por Joaquín Perramón y Manuel Juvanet Oms. Performed ca. 1850. Unpublished; manuscript in the Spanish National Library, Madrid. (AT)
245. Don Quichotte, divertissement, par Theolier. Music by Lassimane. Performed in Paris, ca. 1850. No publication information available. (PC 224; EM)
246. Don Quichotte. Drama. By Prosper Mérimée. Published in Paris, 1850. (PC 148; Rius 712)
247. Redington's Juvenile Drama, Don Quixote, or, the Knight of the Woeful Countenance. A Drama in two Acts, 4 Plates of Characters, 5 Plates of Scenes, 2 Plates of Wings, 1 Top Drop, Total 12. Adapted only for Redinton's Characters and Scenes. Published in London, J. Redington, 1850. (Rius 733; Grismer)

248. Don Quijote y Sancho Panza, zarzuela, por José Velásquez y Sánchez. Performed in the Teatro de San Fernando (Sevilla) in 1854. Unpublished. (PC 150; Rius 618)
249. Las bodas de Camacho. Comedia arreglada del francés, en 3 actos y en prosa. By Laureano Sánchez Garay. Performed in Madrid, 1858. No publication information available. (PC 153; Rius 619)
250. Parodia de Tigado de Tigre. By Francisco Gomes de Amorim. Performed in Lisbon, February 11, 1859. No publication information available. (PC 151; Rius 811)
251. La venta encantada. Zarzuela en tres actos y en verso, letra de Don Adolfo García y Bécquer, música de D. Antonio Reparez. Libretto co-authored by Luis García Luna. Performed in Madrid, 1859. Published in Madrid, José Rodríguez, 1859. (PC 154; Rius 620; AT)
252. Ein neuer Don Quixote, oder Edelmann und Millionar. Lust- und Scherzspiel in 2 Acten nach Kotzebue, von C. Gollmick. Published in Frankfurt, 1859. (PC 155; Rius 774)
253. Don Chisciotte della Mancina. Opera. Libretto by Angelo Siby, music by Carlo Rispo. Performed in Naples, 1859. No publication information available. (EM)
254. Quijote masquerade. Performed at ball given in Madrid by the Duke and Duchess of Medina-Celi, 1861. (Rius 560)
255. Der neue Don Quichotte. Lustspiel in einem Acte. Nach dem Französischen von Alexander Bergen. Published in Vienna, Wallishauser, 1861. (PC 160; Rius 776; EM lists same work as an operetta in two acts, music by Franz; Grismer)
256. La Estafeta de Urganda; o, Aviso de Cid Asam-Ouzad Benenjeli sobre el desencanto del Quijote. By Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea. Published in London, J. Wertheimer, 1861. (Rius 631; Grismer)
257. Don Quijote. Lustiges Singspiel in 2 Acten. Published in Vienna, Wallishauser, 1861. (Same as Bergen, 1861?) (Rius 777)
258. Los molinos de viento. Comedia en tres actos y en prosa. By Manuel Ortiz de Pinedo. Performed on

February 7, 1861. Published in Madrid, José Rodríguez, 1861. (LaGrone)

259. Don Quijote de la Mancha. By Ventura de la Vega y Cárdenas (a reworking of his 1832 play), music by Asenjo Barbieri. Performed in the Teatro del Príncipe (Madrid) April 23, 1861. published in Madrid, José M. Ducazcal, 1861. (PC 136 reproduces 1861 title page; Rius 625; AT; EM reproduces same title page with handwriting of Barbieri and Vega)
260. Don Quichotte, opéra comique en trois actes par MM. Jules Barbier et Michel Carré. Musique de [Ernest] Boulanger. Performed at the Théâtre Lyrique (Paris) May 10, 1864. Published in Paris, Levy, 1869. (PC 174; Rius 715; EM)
261. Don Quichotte. Pièce en trois actes et huit tableaux par MM. P. Dalloz et Victorien Sardou. Performed at the Théâtre du Gymnase (Paris) June 25, 1864. Published in Paris, Michel Lévy frères, 1864. (See Dalloz, Sardou, and Renand, 1895) (PC 163; Rius 714; Grismer)
262. La Insula Barataria. Zarzuela en tres actos y en verso. Libretto by Luis Mariano de Larra, music by Emilio Arrieta. Performed in the Teatro del Circo (Madrid) December 28, 1864. (PC 164; Rius 630; Grismer)
263. El Caballero del Bosque. Comedia en un acto. In verse. By Daniel Sánchez Santos. Performed in 1865. Unpublished; manuscript in Spanish National Library, Madrid. (LaGrone)
264. Amor del Genio. Drama en verso precedido de un prologo por Manuel Víctor García. Performed in Madrid, 1865. Unpublished. (PC 165)
265. Las bodas de Camacho, por F. García Cuevas. Música de Antonio Reparez. Performed in the Teatro del Circo (Madrid) October 9, 1866. Published in Madrid, Fortanet, 1866. (PC 167; Rius 632)
266. Aventuras de Don Quijote de la Mancha. Producción lírico-bufa en dos actos. Libretto by Casamayor and Utrera, music by Jan Milpagher. Performed in Madrid, February, 1868. No publication information available. (PC 172; Rius 636; LaGrone)
267. Los Farsantes, paso que pasó en un lugar de la Mancha en el siglo XVII, escrito en lengua arábica por Chit-

- Hamete Berengena, y traducido en español por el Licenciado Salsipuedes. By José María Gutiérrez de Alba. Performed in the Teatro de los Bufos Madrileños (Circo) (Madrid) February 8, 1868. Published in Madrid, José Rodríguez, 1868. (PC 141; Rius 637; GS & GM)
268. Don Quijote en las bodas de Camacho. Spanish version of the operetta of Sauvage, Dupin, and Mercadante (1825, 1830), adapted by an anonymous writer. Presented in the Teatro de la Zarzuela (Madrid) July 20, 1869. No publication information available. (PC 133)
269. Don Quixote. Short ballet in four acts and eight scenes. By Marius Petipa, music by Aloysius Fyodorovich Minkus. Performed December 14 through December 17, 1869, in Russia. No publication information available. (See Petipa and Minkus, 1871, 1901, 1923, 1932, 1971) (Turkevich)
270. Don Quijote VII, zarzuela de circunstancias. Music by Apolinar Brull. Performed in Madrid, 1870. No publication information available. (PC 175)
271. Don Quixote. Revised ballet in five acts and eleven scenes, with a prologue and an epilogue. By Marius Petipa, music by Aloysius Fyodorovich Minkus. Performed November 9, 1871. No publication information available. (See Petipa and Minkus, 1869, 1901, 1923, 1932, 1971) (Turkevich)
272. Don Quijote, o la venta encantada. Opera in three acts. By M. Planas. Performed in the Teatro Nacional (Mexico City) November 9, 1871. No publication information available. (PC 177; Rius 812)
273. Don Quijote. By Pinheiro Chagas. Performed in Lisbon, ca. 1872. No publication information available. (PC 177; Rius 812)
274. Don Quijote séptimo, pieza en un acto y en verso escrita expresamente por *** para el beneficio de la aplaudida actriz Da. Amalia Modéjar, y estrenada con éxito extraordinario en el teatro de la Princesa [Valencia?]. Published in Valencia, V. Daroquí, 1872. (PC 176; Rius 639)
275. Los dos genios. Loa en un acto y en verso. By Pedro A. Torres. Published in Tarragona, Puigrubí, 1873. (PC 179; Rius 642)
276. La cuna del Quijote. Apróposito en un acto. By Tomás Martínez Marquina. Performed in the Teatro

del Ateneo Tarraconense de la Clase Obrera.
Published in Tarragona, Puigrubí, 1873. (See
Martinez, 1874) (Rius 643; Grismer; LaGrone)

277. Un caballero andante. Comedia en un acto arreglada del francés a la escena española. By Ricardo de la Vega. Published in Madrid, M.G. Hernández, 1873. (LaGrone)
278. Don Quixote. Espectacular y extravagante vodevil en cinco actos, adaptado al original español de D. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. By Barret Silvester (pseudonym for J.G. Noe). Performed in New York, September, 1873. No publication information available. (EM)
279. La cuna del Quijote, un prólogo y un proceso. A propósito en dos actos, por Tomás Martínez. Published in Tarragona, Puigrubí, 1874. (See Martinez, 1873) (Grismer)
280. Don Quichotte. Operette-bouffon. In one act. Libretto by M.J. Deschamps, music by Emile Pessard. Performed in the Salle Evard (Paris) February 13, 1874. No publication information available. (PC 181; EM; Haywood)
281. Roque Guinart, drama en tres actos y en verso por Carlos Coello y Pacheco. Performed in the Teatro Español (Madrid) October 24, 1874. Published in Madrid, Imprenta de la Biblioteca de Instrucción y Recreo, 1874. (PC 183; Rius 612; Grismer)
282. Don Quixotte. Opera. Libretto by Victorien Sardou, music by Jacques Offenbach. Performed at the Théâtre de la Gaité (Paris) in 1875. Unpublished; manuscript fragment in the Music Library of the Ayuntamiento, Madrid. (EM; Haywood)
283. Princess Toto and Don Quixote. Comic opera. By Frederick Clay. Performed in London, 1875. No publication information available. (See Maltby, 1876) (Haywood)
284. Don Quixote de la Mancha. A comedy in five acts, taken from Cervantes' novel of that name. By Ars H.S. Burton. Published in San Francisco, U.S.A., 1876. (PC 188)
285. La lettura del Don Chisciotte. Commedia storica in 4 atti. By Michael Cucinella. Performed in Milan, 1876. No publication information available. (PC 225)

286. Una escena del Quijote. Cuadro episódico original y en verso por Aureliano Ruiz. Performed April 23, 1876. Published in Granada, P. Ventura Sabatel, 1876. (PC 187; Grismer; LaGrone)
287. Don Quijote de la Mancha. Opera in a prelude and three acts. Libretto by Maltby and H. Paulton, music by Frederick Clay. Performed in the Alhambra Theatre (London) September 25, 1876. Published in London, 1876. (PC 185; EM; Grismer)
288. Don Quijote y la Condesa Trifaldi. By Lope Torres and Tomas Acero. Performed in the Teatro Lope de Vega (Valladolid) in 1877. No publication information available. (PC 191; Rius 649)
289. O locura o santidad. Drama en tres actos. In prose. By José Echegaray. Performed January 22, 1877. Published in 1881. (LaGrone)
290. Don Quixote. Operetta. Libretto by Karl Grändorf, music by L. Roth and Max Ritter von Weinzierl. Performed in the Stadttheater (Graz) in November, 1877. Published in 1877; published in Vienna, 1879. (EM)
291. Ten living tableaux representing passages from the Quijote. Directed by Fernando Miranda and Felipe G. Cusachs. Performed in the Union League Theatre (New York) April 23, 1878. (PC 192)
292. Don Chisciotte della Mancia. Heroi-comic opera in three acts. Libretto by Fiorentino and Gallo, music by Luigi Ricci. Performed in Venice, February 4, 1881; performed in the Teatro Circo Ecuestre (Barcelona) March 8, 1884. No publication information available. (PC 217; Rius 800; EM; Haywood)
293. Sancho Panza. Capricho cómico en dos cuadros y en verso arreglado del inmortal Don Quijote de Cervantes. By Juan Molas y Casas. Published in Barcelona, Bastinos, 1881; 2nd ed., 1894. (PC 193; Rius 654; LaGrone)
294. Don Quichotte et Sancho Panca à Paris. Dialogue in verse by Gaston Deschamps. Published in Paris, 1882. (PC 197)
295. Don Quixote. Opera in three acts. By A. Neuendorf. Performed in the Germania Theatre (New York) in 1882. No publication information available. (EM)

296. El fiscal de los gigantes. Comedia en cuatro actos y en verso por Amenodoro Urdaneta. Published in Caracas, 1882. Unpublished; manuscript in Central Library, Barcelona. (PC 196; Rius 656)
297. Yoribal, ein neuer Don Quichote. By F. Wick. Performed in Sondershauser, 1883. No publication information available. (EM)
298. Don Quijote en la Sierra. Cuadro cómico en verso. By Francisco Pérez Collantes. Published in Madrid, Enrique Vicente, 1884. (PC 198; LaGrone)
299. Don Quixote. Opera. By J. Redding. Performed in New York, 1884. No publication information available. (EM)
300. Don Chisciotto. Ballet in two acts. By Giovanni Lucantini. Performed in Milan, December 26, 1884. No publication information available. (Haywood)
301. Don Quijote de Vallcarca. Passeig comich-tragich-extraordinari. By C. Gumá. Published in Barcelona, Llibveria Espanyola de I. Lopez, 1885; 2nd ed. ca. 1890. (Grismer)
302. Don Quijote en Buenos Aires. Revista bufo-política de circunstancias, en un acto y en verso, de Eduardo Sojo. Performed in the Teatro de la Opera (Buenos Aires) October 24, 1885. Published in Buenos Aires, 1885. (PC 199; Rius 657; Grismer; UE)
303. En un lugar de la Mancha. Sainete lírico en un acto y en verso. Libretto by Luis Mariano de Larra, music by Luis Arnedo. Performed in the Teatro Martín (Madrid) October 25, 1887. Published in Madrid, José Rodríguez, 1887. (PC 200; EM)
304. Don Quijote de Andalucía. Obra científica, política, literaria y cómica, en cuatro actos y en prosa original de Antonio Fernandez y Moreno. Published in Sevilla, Gironés y Orduña, 1888. (PC 202; Grismer)
305. Don Quixote. Opera. Libretto by Evans and Hood, music by G. Martin Harry. Performed in 1888. No publication information available. (EM)
306. Don Chichotte. By L. Roth. Performed in Budapest, 1888. No publication information available. (Same as Grändorf, Roth, and Weinzierl, 1877?) (Haywood)
307. Une fin inédit des glorieuses aventures de Don Quichotte de la Manche. Comedy in verse. By E.J.

- Nurbal. Performed in Bordeaux, 1889. No publication information available. (PC 203)
308. Don Quijote. Lyric drama in German. By Roncheneeter. Performed in 1892. No publication information available. (PC 205)
309. Cervantina. Fantasía quijotesca en un acto y tres cuadros, en verso, por José María Ovejero de los Cobos. Performed in the Teatro Calderon (Madrid) June 5, 1892. Published in Madrid, José Rodríguez, 1892. (PC 204; LaGrone)
310. Don Quixote, or the Knight of the Woeful Countenance. A Musical drama, in two acts, by George Almar, Esq. As performed at the Metropolitan minor Theatres, with a fine engraving. Music by Seymour. Performed in London, May 1, 1893. Published in London, Cumberland, 1893. (PC 137; Rius 732; EM; Grismer)
311. Don Quijote. Zarzuela en un acto. Libretto by Ricardo Curros and Juan Lorente, music by Joaquín Taboada Steger. Performed in the Teatro Eslava (Madrid) in 1894. Unpublished. (PC 206)
312. Don Quixote. Operetta. By G. Jacobi. Performed in London and Leipzig, 1894. No publication information available. (EM)
313. Don Quijote. Opera. By Karl Kisser. Performed in Switzerland, ca. 1895. No publication information available. (PC 215; Rius 813)
314. Alonso "Quixano" otherwise Don "Quijote": A Dramatisation of the Novel of Cervantes, and specially of those parts which he left unwritten. By G.E. Morrison. Performed in Lond, 1895. Published in London, Elkin Matthews, 1895. (PC 208; Rius 739; Grismer; GS & GM)
315. Don Quixotte. Opera. Libretto by Victorien Sardou and Carlos Nutter, music by Albert Renand. Performed at the Théâtre Chatelet (Paris) in 1895; performed in the Lyceum Theatre (London) May 4, 1895, with Henry Irving as Don Quijote. (See Sardou and Dalloz, 1864) (PC 163; Rius 738; EM)
316. La nieta de Don Quijote. Juguete cómico-lírico en un acto y en verso, original de Eduardo Montesinos y Diego Jiménez-Prieto. Music by Miguel Santonja.

317. Don Quixotte. Musical tragicomedy in three acts. By Wilhelm Kienzl. Performed in Berlin, 1897; performed in Prague; performed in Graz. Published in Berlin, Bote and G. Bock, 1897. (Same as Kanzel, 1911?) (Bertrand; EM reproduces title page)
318. Don Quichotte. By Georg W. Rauchenecker. Performed in Elberfeld, 1897. No publication information available. (EM; Haywood)
319. Sancho Pança. Comédie-lyrique en quatre Actes et huit Tableaux. Libretto by R. Yves-Plessis, music by Emile Jaques Dalcroze. Performed in the Theatre of Geneva, 1897. Published in Geneva, Adolphe Henn, 1897; published in Paris, Calmann-Levy, 1897. (PC 212; EM reproduces title page; Grismer)
320. Don Quijote de Madrid. Comedia en tres actos y en verso. By Mariano de Vela y Maestre. Performed in the Teatro de la Comedia (Madrid) January 23, 1897. Published in Madrid, Rodriguez, 1897. (PC 211; Rius 660; Grismer; LaGrone)
321. Don Quichotte. Comic opera. Libretto by Harry B. Smith, music by Reginald de Koven. Performed in Boston, 1899. No publication information available. (EM; Haywood)
322. Don Quijote Returned to Sanity. Romantic comedy in Czech. Libretto by Victor Dyck, music by Jaroslav Krizka. Performed ca. 1900. No publication information available. (EM)
323. Las bodas de Camacho. Comedia en tres actos, arreglada del francés por Joaquin Arimon. Performed in the Teatro de la Princesa (Madrid) ca. 1900. No publication information available. (PC 289)
324. Los galeotes. Comedy in four acts. By Serafín and Joaquín Alvarez Quintero. Performed in the Teatro de la Comedia (Madrid) October 20, 1900. Published in Madrid, R. Velasco, 1900. (PC 213; GS & GM)
325. Don Quixote. Revised version of Marius Petipa's short ballet. Designed by A.A. Gorski, music by Aloysius Fyodorovich Minkus. Settings by Golovin. Performed in St. Petersburg during the 1901-1902 season. No publication information available. (See Petipa and Minkus, 1869, 1871, 1923, 1932, 1971) (Turkevich)

326. La venta de Don Quijote. Comedia lírica en un acto, en prosa y verso, original de Carlos Fernández Shaw. Music by Ruperto Chapí. Performed in the Teatro Apolo (Madrid) December 19, 1902. Published in Madrid, R. Velasco, 1903; 2nd ed., 1904. (See Fernández Shaw, 1910) (PC 226 reproduces title page of first edition; GS & GM; Grismer)
327. Le gouvernement de Sancho Panca. Comédie-bouffe en un acte avec couplets et choeurs. By Félix Cohen and F.E. Legouix. Published in Paris, Hennuyer, 1903. (PC 228; Grismer)
328. Don Quichotte de la Manche. Comédie en deux actes par Cecil Mervem, illustrée par Guydo. Published in Paris, Delagrave, 1903. (Grismer)
329. Don Quixote. Comic opera. By R.W. Jones. Performed in New York, 1903. No publication information available. (EM)
330. Las bodas de Camacho, cuadro escénico, sacado del Quijote. By Jacinto Grau and A. Gual, music by P.E. de Ferran. Performed in the Teatro Tivoli (Barcelona) June 12, 1903; performed in the Teatro Price (Madrid) in 1903. Published in Barcelona, Pedro Toll, 1903. (PC 227; EM; GS & GM; Grismer)
331. Don Quixote. Operatic adaptation in three acts of the fiction of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. By W.G. Kaufmann. Performed in Pittsburg, September 22, 1903. (EM)
332. Sancho en la Insula Barataria. Comedia. Arreglo teatral de un episodio del Quijote. By Matías Calandrelli. Performed in Buenos Aires, 1904. Published in España, II, Nos. 43 and 45, 1904. (PC 230; LaGrone)
333. La Chevalier de la longue figure, Don Quichotte. Pièce en cinq actes et en vers, de M. Jacques Le Lorrain, d'après Cervantes. Music by M. Vaillermoe. Performed in the Théâtre Victor Hugo (Paris) April 3, 1904. No publication information available. (See Le Lorrain, 1906; See Cain, 1910) (PC 230)
334. Don Quijote poeta. Narración cervantesca. Por Estéban Borrero y Echevarría, escrita con motivo de la celebración en La Habana del III centenario de la publicación de la obra maestra de Cervantes. Published in Havana, Librería e Imprenta La Moderna Poesía, 1905. (Grismer)

335. Don Quijote y su escudero. Eoisodio escénico por V.F.L. [pseudonym for Ventura Fernández López]. Published in Toledo, 1905. (PC 244)
336. Las bodas de Dulcinea. Apropósito huertano por José Martínez Fornel. Performed in Murcia, 1905. Published in Murcia, Imprenta de la Viuda de P. Perelló, 1905. (PC 241; Grismer)
337. El pobre Don Quijote. Monólogo en verso. By Luis Millá. Published in Barcelona, 1905. (PC 243)
338. Las bodas de Camacho el rico. Comedia de espectáculo con canto y baile, en un acto y tres cuadros. By Pedro Novo y Colson and Ramiro Blanco. Performed in 1905. Published in Madrid, 1913. (PC 242)
339. Don Quijote de la Mancha, comedia lírica, con música del maestro Teodoro San José, en cuatro actos, escrita aprovechando la oportunidad de la conmemoración de 1905. By Eduardo Barriobero y Herrán. Performed in Madrid, 1905; performed in the Teatro Circo (Madrid) in 1914. Published in Madrid, R. Velasco, 1905; published in Madrid, Gregorio Pueyo, 1905. (PC 240; AT; EM; Grismer)
340. Don Quichotte. Pièce en un acte par Charles Soucaire. Published in Paris, Albert Mericant, ca. 1905. (PC 245; Grismer)
341. Un desgobernado gobernador, pasajes tomados de la 2a. parte del Quijote y concertados escénicamente en cuatro jornadas por M. Morena y Galicia. Performed in the Teatro de los Campos Eliseos (Lérida) May 2, 1905. No publication information available. (PC 231)
342. En casa de los Duques. Theatrical scene presented at the festival honoring the tricentennial of the Quijote, sponsored by the Asociación Patriótica Española de Buenos Aires. Performed May 7, 1905. No publication information available. (PC 232)
343. Don Quijote en Aragon. Boceto lírico en un acto y siete cuadros. Libretto by Sanjuán, Goyena, Fernández y González, and Ariño, music by Barrobia y Trullás. Performed in the Teatro Circo (Zaragoza) May 8, 1905. Published in Zaragoza, Emilio Casañol, 1905. (PC 233; EM)
344. La Insula Barataria, comedia en dos actos, basada en uno de los episodios del famoso libro Don Quijote

- de la Mancha. Arreglado a la escena por "Un Cervantófilo" [pseudonym for Dr. Perier].
Performed at the Teatro Cervantes (Málaga) May 9, 1905. Published in Almeria, Imprenta La Modernista, 1905. (PC 234; Grismer)
345. La aventura de los galeotes, adaptación escénica del capítulo XXII de la Primera parte de Don Quijote de la Mancha. By Serafín and Joaquín Alvarez Quintero. Performed in the Teatro Real (Madrid) May 10, 1905. Published in Madrid, R. Velasco, 1905. (PC 236; GS & GM)
346. El Caballero de los Espejos. Comedia en un acto. Escenas representadas sobre el episodio del capítulo XII de la Segunda parte del "Quijote" por Miguel Ramos Carrión. Con ilustraciones musicales del maestro A. Vives. Performed in the Teatro Real (Madrid) May 10, 1905. Unpublished. (PC 237; EM)
347. La primera salida. Cuadro escénico compuesto con pasajes de Don Quijote de la Mancha. By Eugenio Sellés. Performed in the Teatro Real (Madrid) May 10, 1905. Published in Madrid, Velasco, 1905. (PC 235; Grismer)
348. El último capítulo. Pieza original de Manuel José Othon. Performed in the Gran Teatro de la Paz (San Luis de Potosí) October 9, 1905. No publication information available. (PC 238)
349. Don Quichotte. Drame heroi-comique en vers, en trois parties et huit tableaux. By Jean Richepin. Performed in the Théâtre de la Comédie Française (Paris) October 16, 1905; performed in the Art Theatre (Riga, Finland) ca. 1905. Published in Illustration Teatral, nos. 16-17, 1905; published in Paris, Fasquelle, 1905. (PC 239; EM; Grismer)
350. Le chevalier de la longue figure. Drama. By Jacques Le Lorrain. Published in Paris, 1906. (Same as Le Lorrain, 1904?) (PC 247)
351. Aires nacionales, zarzuela cómica en un acto, dividido en seis cuadros, prólogo y un intermedio, original, en prosa y verso. Libretto by Diego Jimenez Prieto and Felipe Pérez Capo, music by Caballero and Calleja. Performed in the Teatro de Price (Madrid) October 30, 1906. No publication information available. (PC 246)
352. El carro de la Muerte. Zarzuela fantástica, extravagante, en un acto, dividido en tres cuadros, en

- prosa. Libretto by Sinesio Delgado, music by Tomás Barrera. Performed in the Teatro de la Zarzuela (Madrid) April 12, 1907. Published in Madrid, Hijos de Tomás Barrera, 1907. (PC 248; Grismer)
353. Don Chisciotto della Mancia. By Simone Besi. Performed in San Sepolcro, April 18, 1908. No publication information available. (Haywood)
354. ¡Por vida de Don Quijote! Juguete cómico en un acto y en prosa, original de Antonio López Morris y Alfredo López Alvarez. Performed in the Teatro del Príncipe Alfonso (Madrid) May 16, 1908. No publication information available. (PC 249)
355. La dernière Dulcinée. Comedy in five acts and in verse. By Albert Dubois. Performed in the Théâtre Femina (Paris) June, 1908. Published in Paris, Lamerre, 1902. (PC 250; Grismer)
356. Don Quixotte, comic opera in two acts. Libretto by Fred Edmonds, music by Thomas J. Hervitt. Published in New York, Curwen, 1909. (EM)
357. Don Quijote, der sinnreiche Junker von der Mancha. Musikalische Tragödie in 3 Aufzügen. Libretto by G. Fuchs, music by Anton Beer-Walbrunn. Published in Leipzig, Brandstetter, 1911; piano-vocal score published in Munchen, Drei Masken Verlag, 1911. (EM reproduces title page of score; Lyte; Haywood)
358. Don Quichotte. Opéra-comique heroïque en cinq actes. Poésie de M. Henri Cain (d'après Le Lorrain). Musique de M. Massenet. Performed in the Monte Carlo Theatre (Monte Carlo) February 19, 1910, with Fyodor Chaliapin as Quijote; performed in the Bolshoi Theatre (Moscow) in 1910 with Fyodor Chaliapin as Quijote; performed in the Théâtre de la Gaîté (Paris), December 30, 1910. Published in Paris, Heugel, 1911; published in New York, G. Schirmer, 1911; score and recording of Chaliapin singing last act of Monte Carlo performance in Musical Library of the Ayuntamiento, Madrid. (See Cain and Massinet, 1929) (PC 253; EM reproduces photograph of Chaliapin as Quijote; Frenzel; Haywood; Turkevich)
359. L'Auberge de Don Quichotte. By Carlos Fernández Shaw, translated into French verse and rhymed prose by Henri Andrain. Published in Madrid, 1910. (Same as Fernández Shaw, 1902) (PC 254)

360. Las figuras del Quijote, Comedia en dos actos y en verso de Carlos Fernández Shaw, basada en el libro de la comedia lírica del mismo autor "La venta de Don Quijote." Performed in the Teatro Lara (Madrid) March 3, 1910. Published in Madrid, R. Velasco, 1910. (See Fernández Shaw, 1902) (PC 252; Grismer)
361. Don Chisciotto della Mançia. By Francesco Pasini. Performed in Florence, April 9, 1910. No publication information available. (Haywood)
362. Don Quixote. Opera. By Wilhelm Kanzel. Published in Russia, 1911. (Same as Kienzl, 1897?) (Turkevich)
363. La Mary-Tornes. Pelicula cómico-lírica y bailable en dos actos, por Angel Torres de Alamo y Antonio Asenjo. Música de Quislan y Ribas. Performed in the Teatro Comico (Madrid) October 18, 1912. (PC 255)
364. Cardenio. Drama in five acts, in German. By Franz Dulberg. Performed in 1912. No publication information available. (Bertrand)
365. Don Quixotte. Comic opera. By Eugenio Morawski. Unperformed. Unpublished; written ca. 1913. (EM)
366. Don Quixote, the Knight of the Sad Visage, and Sancho Panza. Comedy vaudeville sketch. Performed in Moscow, 1914. No publication information available. (Turkevich)
367. Don Quixote. Opera in German. By G. Rieuze. Probably unperformed. Unpublished; written ca. 1915. (PC 257)
368. Sancho Panza. Opera. By Jacques Darclose. Performed in Switzerland ca. 1915. No publication information available. (PC 258)
369. Don Quijote de Triana. Comedia en tres actos y un prólogo compuesta por el maestro [Aureliano] Abenzahar de Bargas con el concurso de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, que la ha corregido. Published in Alicante, M. Pastor, 1916. (PC 262; GS & GM)
370. El ideal y lo real en Don Quijote de la Mancha. Comedia en un acto dividida en tres cuadros y arreglada a la escena. By Miguel Cortacero y Velasco. Published in Madrid, Hijos de G. Fuentenebro, 1916. (LaGrone)

371. La patria de Cervantes. Revista en un acto, dividido en seis cuadros, en prosa y verso, original de Manuel Fernández de la Puente. Música de Luis Foglietti. Performed in the Teatro de Apolo (Madrid) March 1, 1916. Published in Madrid, R. Velasco, 1916. (PC 251; EM)
372. Don Quijote de la Mancha. Monólogo dramático en prosa, escrito por Horacio H. Dobranich con motivo del Tercer centenario de la muerte de Cervantes. Published in Buenos Aires, J. Bonmati, 1916; published in Monólogos, 2nd ed., Buenos Aires, 1917. (GS & GM; UE)
373. Dos ilustres lunáticos, o divergencia universal. Teatro quimérico en dos escenas por Leopoldo Lugones. Duet piece between Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, and Don Quijote. Published in Lunario sentimental, 2nd ed., Buenos Aires, Gletzer, 1916. (UE)
374. La eterna quimera. Diálogo representable. By Francisco Anaya Ruiz. Published in Nuevo Mundo, Madrid, January 23, 1916. (PC 259)
375. En un lugar de la Mancha. Comedia en tres actos, en prosa, original de Pablo Parellada. Performed in the Teatro Lara (Madrid) April 22, 1916. No publication information available. (PC 260)
376. El retablo de Maese Pedro. Comedia en un prólogo y dos actos, original de Sinesio Delgado. Performed in the Teatro Cervantes (Madrid) April 22, 1916. (PC 261)
377. Zarzuela. By Tomás Gática Martínez. Performed in the Teatro Politeama (Buenos Aires) ca. 1917. Unpublished. (UE)
378. Don Quixote. Opera in three acts, in Hungarian. By E. Abrangi, Jr. Performed in Budapest, November 30, 1917.
379. La del alba sería. . . .entremés original y en prosa de Miguel Partoles. Performed in Madrid in 1918. No publication information available. (PC 266)
380. Sancho Panza, gobernador. Comedia en dos actos y en prosa. A play for toy theatres. Published in Barcelona, Casa Seix y Barral Hermanos, 1918. (PC 265)
381. El acatamiento de Don Quijote a Doña Consula Mazendia, alta y vencedora princesa de la jácara

- y del donaire. Loa. 1 escena. Escrita expresamente para el festival de la revista Don Quijote y estrenada en el Teatro Iris [Mexico City] el 15 de agosto, 1919. By Antonio Mediz Bolio. Published in Mexico, Talleres Tp. de Don Quijote, 1919. (Dr. George Woodyard, University of Kansas)
382. La patria de Cervantes y Zorilla, revista fantástica en un acto, dividido en cuatro cuadros, verso y música recopilada y arreglada a la escena por José Giménez Badiola. Published in Madrid, R. Velasco, 1920. (PC 269; EM)
383. La isla de Don Quijote, pieza en tres actos. By C. Martínez Payva. Published in Revista La Escena, Buenos Aires, ca. 1920. (PC 268)
384. El cabo Quijote. Sainete. By A. Vacarezza. Published in Revista La Escena, Buenos Aires, ca. 1920. (PC 267)
385. Don Chisciotti. Commedia. Riduzioni pri la scena di l'opiri supra lo stissu suggethu di Micheli de Cervantes Saavedra. By Enrico Loncao. Published in Florence, Bemporal & Figlio, 1922. (PC 272; Grismer)
386. Osvobozhdenny Dod Kikhot [The Liberated Don Quijote]. Play in nine scenes and an epilogue. By Anatoli Lunacharski. Published in Moscow, 1922; translated into Dutch by Alex Wins as De Benrije Don Quichotte, published in Amsterdam, Ontowikkeling, 1927. (See Lunacharski, Villatoro, and Reino, 1934) (PC 276; PC 281; Grismer; Turkevich)
387. El ingenioso hidalgo. Aventura manchega en tres capitulos, original de Ramón Peña y F. Hernández Casajuana. Performed in the Teatro Eldorado (Madrid) December 23, 1922. No publication information available. (PC 271)
388. Don Quixote. New revised production in two acts of the ballet of Marius Petipa. Music by Aloysius Fyodorovich Minkus. Choreography by Novikoff, new scoring by Tscherepnine. Performed in 1923 by Anna Pavlova and her company. Later privately filmed in Australia for Pavlova by the company's electrician. No publication information available. (Turkevich)
389. El retablo de Maese Pedro. Adaptación musical y escénica de un episodio de "El ingenioso Caballero." By Manuel de Falla. Music first performed in Sevilla by the Orquesta Bética de Cámara; complete work

performed in the private Salon of Madame la Princess de Polignac (Paris) June 25, 1923. Published as a piano-vocal score in English, French, and Spanish in London, J.&W. Chester, 1924. (PC 273; EM; KU)

390. Las bodas de Camacho. Comedia clásica en un acto y en verso por Carlos Valverde López. Published in Málaga, 1925. (PC 274)
391. Don Kikhot Lamanchski (po Servantesu). Play for children. By Ada Chumachenko. Published in Detski Teatr, Leningrad, 1926. (Turkevich)
392. Don Quixote. A play in seven scenes, written for marionettes. By Anne Stoddard and Tony Sarg. Published in Another Treasury of Plays for Children, M.J. Moses, ed., Boston, 1926. (PC 275)
393. Don Quijote. Comedy in three acts, according to Cervantes. By A.P. Brus and B.F. Zon. Published in Collection of Theatre for Young Spectators, Moscow, Government Printing Office, 1928. (Same as following?) (PC 277)
394. Don Kikhot (po Servantesu). Comedy in three acts. By A. Brushtein and B. Brushtein. Published in Moscow, 1928. (Same as preceding?) (Turkevich)
395. Don Quixote. By Lady Isabella Gregory. Published in Three Last Plays, London and New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1928. (Grismer)
396. Don Quichotte. Opéra-comédie heroïque en cinq actes. Libretto by Henri Cain, music by Massenet. Spanish version performed in the Liceo (Barcelona) December 21, 1929, musical direction by Steimann, stage direction by F. Dadó. No publication information available. (Same as Cain and Massenet, 1910) (PC 253; EM)
397. La fuente del Quijote. Escenas de la vida mexicana en dos cuadros. Estrenada en el teatro Ideal, el 31 de mayo de 1930. By Díaz Duffó. Published in Mexico, s.p.i., 1930. (Dr., George Woodyard, University of Kansas)
398. Don Quixote, romantic opera in four acts. Libretto and music by Eduardo Clay. Performed in Königsberg, 1930. No publication information available. (EM)
399. Le fils de Don Quichotte, pièce par Pierre Frondaie. Performed at the Théâtre de l'Atelier (Paris) in

1930. No publication information available. (PC 280)
400. El Caballero Clavileño. Zarzuela infantil en un acto. Libretto by J. Redondo, music by Taboada Steger. Performed ca. 1930. No publication information available. (PC 279)
401. El yelmo de Mambrino. Zarzuela infantil en un acto. Libretto by J. Redondo, music by Taboada Steger. Performed ca. 1930. No publication information available. (PC 278)
402. Don Quixotte. New version of ballet of Marius Petipa. Music by Aloysius Fyodorovich Minkus. Performed in the National Theatre (Belgrade) in the winter of 1932. No publication information available. (See Petipa and Minkus, 1869, 1871, 1901, 1923, 1971) (EM)
403. Don Quijote Libertado. By Anatoli Lunacharski. Translated into Spanish and adapted by Angel Villatoro and Alejandro Reino. Performed in Madrid, 1934; performed in Barcelona, 1936. No publication information available. (See Lunacharski, 1922) (PC 276; PC 281; Grismer; Turkevich)
404. Don Quixote. A film. Scenario by Paúl Morand y Arnold, music by Jacques Ibert, produced by G.W. Pabst, with the Russian actor Chaliapine as Don Quijote. Produced in 1934. (EM; Turkevich)
405. El mozo de mulas. Opera en tres actos. Libretto by M. Fernández Nuñez and Lope Mateo, music by Antonio José. Fragments of the music performed as "Preludio y danza popular" by the Orquesta Sinfónica de Arbós in the Monumental Cinema (Madrid) November, 1934. No publication information available. (EM)
406. Don Kikhot. Tragicomedy in four acts. By G. Chulkov. Performed in Moscow, 1935. No publication information available. (Turkevich)
407. Don Quichotte. Comédie féerique pour marionettes à fils, texte de James Bathrive. Performed in the Théâtre du Luxembourg (Paris) October, 1938. (PC 282)
408. Don Quijote pasa, en un acto dividido en un cuadro. By C. Sos Gautreau. Published in Revista Cervantes, no. 4., Havana, 1939. (UE)
409. Una aventura de Don Quijote. By Cesare Meano.

Performed in Italy, 1941. No publication information available. (PC 287)

410. Dulcinea. Tragicomedia en dos partes y nueve cuadros. Original de Gastón Baty. Versión española de Huberto Pérez de la Ossa. Performed in the Teatro María Guerrero (Madrid) December 2, 1941. Published in Madrid, E. de Miguel, 1942. (PC 283; GS & GM)
411. Don Quixote and Sancho. Drama in 13 Scenes by Manuel Komroff, adapted from Cervantes' novel. Published in New York, John Day, 1942. (Grismer)
412. Las sentencias del gobernador Sancho Panza. Entre-més. Published in Barcelona, 1943. (PC 285)
413. Dulcinea, farsa heróica. By E. Hafftes. Published in Lisbon, 1944. (EM)
414. El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha. Tragicomedia de Pedro Sans Falguera. Published in Palma de Mallorca, 1945. (PC 287)
415. Las bodas de Camacho. Farsa de maleficio en tres actos, original de Adolfo Torrado. Performed in the Teatro Fontalba (Madrid) April 17, 1945. No publication information available. (PC 286)
416. El mejor libro de España. Abbreviated radio version of Don Quijote. Script by Eduardo Asenjo and José Rodulfo Boeta. Music by José María Franco. Broadcast in Madrid, 1946. No publication information available. (EM)
417. Don Quijote en Barcelona. Episodio en medio acto, escenificado por Felipe Pérez Cano. Performed in Barcelona in 1947. No publication information available. (PC 288)
418. Don Quijote de la Mancha. Radio dramatization "en castellano realizada por expertos en teatro y en la obra cervantina." Script by Dr. Enrique Moreno Báez and others, music by Manuel Lazareño. Broadcast over the BBC, London, October 1 through October 31, 1947. Rebroadcast in following months by radio stations throughout Latin America. (UE)
419. Don Quijote; farsa en tres actos y dos entremeses por Salvador Novo. Published in Mexico City, Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1948. (KU)
420. Don Quijote. By Juan Rios. Published in Teatro

Peruano Contemporáneo, Aurelio Miró Quesada Sosa, ed., Lima, Editorial Huascarán, 1948. (KU)

421. General Quixotte. By Jean Anouilh. Performed in 1959. No publication information available. (Frenzel)
422. Man of La Mancha. A New Musical Play by Dale Wasserman. Music by Mitch Leigh, lyrics by Joe Darion, choreography by Jack Cole, book and musical staging by Albert Marre. Performed in New York, November 22, 1965; performed in Madrid, September 28, 1966; performed in Tel Aviv, February 7, 1967; performed in Malmo, Sweden, September 1967; performed in Copenhagen, September 15, 1967; performed in Melbourne, Australia, September 30, 1967; performed in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, October 30, 1967; performed in Helsinki, Finland, December 20, 1967; performed in Vienna, January 4, 1968; performed in Prague, Czechoslovakia, January 24, 1968; performed in London, April 24, 1968; performed in Buenos Aires, Argentina, August 14, 1968; performed in Berlin, September 10, 1968; performed in Brussels, October 4, 1968; performed in Paris, December 10, 1968; performed in Amsterdam, December 21, 1968; performed in Mexico City, February 18, 1969; performed in Hamburg, February 20, 1969; performed in Tokyo, April 4, 1969; performed in Novrkoping, Sweden, October 17, 1969; performed in Oslo, Norway, March 16, 1970. Published in New York, Random House, 1967; published in New York, Dell, 1968. (Playbill)
423. Don Quixote. New version of the ballet by Marius Petipa. Music by Aloysius Fyodorovich Minkus. Staging by Rudolf Nureyv. Performed by the Australian Ballet on tour in New York, January, 1970. (Time Magazine, February 8, 1971)

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