twelve) of the *Novelas ejemplares*. Either or both of these accomplished Hispanists could have been responsible for the 1620 second part.

Whoever was responsible, the availability of a complete *Quijote* in English by 1620, and Fletcher's competence in the Spanish tongue, ensured that both the *Quijote* and the *Novelas ejemplares* would be fertile sources for his dramatic plots. Humphrey Moseley's publication in 1647 of the plays in the Beaumont and Fletcher canon allowed readers to appreciate the extent of that influence. The tale of the Curious Impertinent in *Don Quijote* (pt 1, chs 33–5) is discernible in *The Coxcomb*, first performed in 1609, while other echoes are found in *The Pilgrim* (1621) and *The Prophetess* (1622). Stories published in the *Exemplary Novels* are behind some of the action in *Love's Pilgrimage* (1616), *The Chances* (1617), and *The Fair Maid of the Inn* (1626). Even Cervantes' lesser-known Heliodoran romance *Persiles y Sigismunda* (1617) was borrowed for *The Custom of the Country* (1620), albeit through the mediation of a French translation. Before Mabbe's translation of some of the *Exemplary Novels* in 1640, therefore, there is evidence of Cervantes' growing influence on the imagination of English dramatists and of the theatre-going public. The list of later dramatists to whom Cervantes' major writings were valuable in a similar way is long indeed, and includes most of the major playwrights of the post-1660 period, Dryden, Behn, Otway, Southerne, Crowne, Shadwell, and Wycherley prominent amongst them.

As the century progresses, Cervantes' grip on English culture penetrates far more deeply than the mere furnishing of stories to be pillaged for play plots. Time and again, at high points of political and religious controversy, the figure of Don Quijote is used to stigmatize opponents' ideological stances. Comparisons drawn between the figure of Quijote and one's adversary, or selection of incidents such as tilting at windmills, become a means of satirizing unpalatable styles of thought or argumentative positions, especially during periods of high tension such as the Civil Wars of the 1640s and the Popish Plot around 1680. One (later) example would be the stigmatization of the founder of the Jesuit movement, Ignatius Loyola, whose conversion to Catholicism is sometimes compared to the epiphany of Don Quijote at the opening of his story. Henry Wharton's *The Enthusiasm of the Church of Rome Demonstrated in Some Observations upon the Life of Ignatius Loyola* (1688) claims that Loyola was also influenced by *Amadís de Gaula*, a neo-Arthurian romance written around 1495 and excessively revered by Quijote. Blasphemously, it compares Loyola's choice of the Virgin as a 'mistress' to Quijote's choice of Dulcinea del Toboso.

This is part of a more general deployment of the Quijote figure to characterize intellectual folly. When the Church of England clergyman Stephen Nye wishes to satirize the Trinitarian opinions of his fellow churchman Robert South, for example, he deploys a long account of Quijote's folly in loving a non-existent mistress, Dulcinea.[6] From early on, Cervantes' representation of Don Quijote proved valuable to those who were

[6] Stephen Nye, *Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity by Dr Wallis, Doctor Sherlock, Dr South, Dr Cudworth, and Mr Hooker* (1693), 515–16.

thinking through conceptions of sanity and insanity and reflecting on the nature of mental health and illness. As early as 1621, Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* was advising those 'overrunne with solitarinesse, or carried away with pleasing melancholy and vaine conceits' to turn towards learning, but to avoid becoming 'such Inamorat [oes] as read nothing but play-bookes, Idle Poems, Jests' since 'Such many times prove in the ende as mad as *Don Quixot*'.[7] Thomas Hobbes, when discussing the madness that results from 'excessive *vain glory*, or *vain dejection*' (those who through fixation on millenarian prophecies and other species of 'Learned Madness' become wrapped up in their own fantasies), singles out 'the gallant madness of *Don Quixotte*' as 'nothing else but an expression of such height of vain glory as reading of *Romance* may produce in pusillanimous men' (Randall and Boswell, 138). Related to this, rogues, miscreants, and notorious figures such as Mary Carleton and Mary Frith (Mall or Moll Cutpurse) were often assimilated to the Spanish picaresque, a mode frequently thought to include Don Quijote. Miscreants such as Elizabeth Cellier, a London midwife who tried to relieve the sufferings of imprisoned Catholics and got involved with a real-life rogue called Thomas Dangerfield, were often considered Quixotic.

By the close of the seventeenth century, copies of Cervantes' major works in Spanish, French, or English—and frequently in all three languages—are to be found in every aristocratic library of significance. The book auctions held by Edward Millington between 1680 and 1703 in coffee houses, auction rooms, and the homes of prominent citizens usually have Cervantic material in their catalogues. There is the beginning, too, of a merchandizing industry such as followed the publication of later runaway successes like John Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (1728) and Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740). Quijote is represented on playing cards, he becomes a popular subject for room decoration as depicted on tapestry hangings, and he begins to be represented in visual art independently of book illustration. There are records of a set of tapestries commissioned for Charles II's 'New Bed Chamber at Whitehall' depicting *Scenes from the Story of Donquixott*. An inventory taken at Kilkenny Castle in 1684 on the death of the Duchess of Ormonde throws up another such set of tapestries in a large bedchamber. On Queen Mary's death in 1694, inventories of her tapestries at her various palaces include '6 peeces of hangings of *Don Quixit* 8 foot . . . In the Standing Wardrobe at St. James' (Randall and Boswell, 556). To add to the tapestries and paintings, the ninth edition (1690) of Henry Playford's *The Dancing-Master: or, Directions for Dancing Country Dances* includes a dance called the 'Sancho-Pancho', with music and steps.

As far as prose fiction is concerned, the English reading public's acquaintance with 'novels' was made through several different linguistic channels, the most relevant to the

[7] In Dale B. J. Randall and Jackson C. Boswell, *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England: The Tapestry Turned* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 43. I am indebted to this magnificent compilation (hereafter Randall and Boswell) of Cervantic items in the period.