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THE RECEPTION OF CERVANTES' DON QUIXOTE BY THE EARLY GERMAN ROMANTICISTS

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Arts

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Lilian J. W. Lawrence

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the reactions of several German writers and thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's chivalric novel, Don Quixote.

Several of the German translations cited in this examination as being the most important were studied, as well as all of the correspondence among various German translators, authors, and critics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. General background information is given to aid in the understanding of particular literary terminology and literary movements prevalent during that period.

The most significant findings concerning the reception of Don Quixote were that as early as the mid-to-late-seventeenth century critics and translators judged the novel from second-hand French translations; hence they did not have a thorough knowledge of the original Spanish work. As improved German translations, done directly from the original were more available, the criticism of Don Quixote became far more knowledgeable, although many of the early German Romanticists appeared to interpret the novel through what romantic literature meant to them, and failed to judge Don Quixote as a work of the Golden Age of Spanish literature.

Once sufficient time had passed since the best German translations were first made available to the German critics, a far more sound and objective stance was taken by them in determining the value and lasting influence of Don Quixote.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION, INCLUDING LESSING, WIELAND, AND HERDER'S VIEWS OF DON QUIXOTE, WITH REMARKS BY SCHILLER AND GOETHE

As early as the late Baroque period the first German translations of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's Don Quixote appeared. One of these early translations, by Joachim Caesar, who used the pseudonym Pahsch Bastel von der Sohle, appeared in 1648. During the years after 1650, numerous dramas, Novellen, and dramatical interludes written by Cervantes were translated into German. One must concede that although the translators doubtlessly put forth great effort, their results were merely dry imitations of the prevalent French style of writing, having lost much of their original depth and meaning.

These seventeenth and eighteenth century translators of Don Quixote considered the novel to be "ein Narrwerck,"[1] as Caesar termed it. Like most others of his time, Caesar failed to comprehend the real artistic value of Don Quixote. Most of the translators of these early editions lacked either ambition or ability, because they often failed to complete translating the entire novel, and simply ended with only the first part. In view of such insufficiency and obvious shortcomings, it was indeed time for a new, detailed and masterly translation.

It was not until the appearance on the literary scene of Friedrich Justin Bertuch's 1775-1776 translation, and Dietrich Wilhelm Soltau's 1800 German version of Don Quixote, which both men had translated from

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[1]Hermann Tiemann, Das spanische Schrifttum in Deutschland: von der Renaissance bis zur Romantik (Hamburg: Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, 1936), p. 89.

the original Spanish, that it could be confidently stated that earnest attempts had been made to preserve and even enhance the idiosyncrasies of the original material. Although both of these men were extremely talented translators and experienced in their field, they nevertheless were still far too deeply entrenched in the pervasive French influence on the literary world, and consequently they failed pitifully in their attempts and offered readers mere pedantic interpretations.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing mentioned Don Quixote for the first time in the "Kritische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit" of 1751.[2] In this report, Lessing's very first discussion of the Spanish chivalric novel, he praised parts of a recent translation by an anonymous author. As was the case with the majority of the eighteenth century productions, this particular work had been translated into German from the French. Again it is not difficult to see how much of the original content and impact of Don Quixote could easily have been lost in such a third-hand version.

Lessing, however, must have been somewhat impressed, since he called Cervantes "unnachahmlich," and remarked that one "bloss dieses Buchs wegen die spanische Sprache lernen müsse."[3] It is worthy of note that Lessing's approval of the novel and his advice to learn Spanish notwithstanding, he must not have had a very thorough knowledge of the language himself, for he rendered the title of Cervantes' Novelas Ejemplares into the German as Neue Beispiele.[4] Unfortunately such

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[2]Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Gesammelte Werke (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1955), p. 23.

[3]Lessing, volume 3, pp. 96-97.

[4]Lessing, volume 3, p. 23.

flagrant errors were not uncommon during this period, even among the more highly educated men, such as Lessing himself.

In a later essay included in the "Nachrichten," Lessing criticized other areas of this same translation of Don Quixote when he indicated that the translator did not appear to have the novel fully under his command.[5] He stated that on too many occasions the translator either omitted important passages completely or interpreted others in his own way, so that they were no longer easily recognizable as the original masterpiece. Lessing documented his accusations with a number of examples, especially when he censured the figures of Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, and Dulcinea as they appeared in this anonymous version. According to Lessing, the translator made the knight into "einen deutschen Kaufmannsdiener," the figure of Don Quixote's servant and companion into "einen Diener, der die Einfalt selbst sei," and finally, the character of Dulcinea into "ein gutes Dorffraulein. . . die sich eine Grafin von Villa-Franca zu sein einbildet."[6]

Although Lessing attacked these early translations vehemently as being dry and not at all like the original, it is doubtful whether even he could have freed himself fully from the powerful French influence in European literature. Over the next several years, Lessing cited different second-rate translations of Don Quixote as they appeared on the market, yet never seemed satisfied with any of them. In 1775, the year of the appearance of Bertuch's German translation, Lessing addressed a letter to his contemporary and fellow literary critic, Martin Wieland.

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[5]Lessing, volume 3, p. 97.

[6]Lessing, volume 3, pp. 96-97.

He discussed Bertuch's translation as well as a Dutch version of Quixote that had recently appeared in Germany.[7] From this particular correspondence between the two critics, it can be concluded that both had a relatively favorable opinion of both attempts to make the Spanish novel well-known in both Germany and the Netherlands. Whether they were outstanding translations or not, the major critics of that time were glad that light was finally being shed on such a deserving work of art as Cervantes' major novel.

By 1768, as can be seen in the Hamburgische Dramaturgie, Lessing had become so familiar with Don Quixote that at one time in his letters he employed Don Quixote's joust with the windmills in a figurative sense to describe an idealistic critic with whom he was acquainted.[8] This is noteworthy since it indicates that Quixote had already become a widely-read, although still frequently misunderstood work in the literary circles of Germany, three decades before Ludwig Tieck's vastly improved edition was published.

Even though Don Quixote was already a widely-discussed foreign work, it must be kept in mind that most of the German critics and writers were forced, because of their own ignorance of the Spanish language, to read editions that had been translated into their native tongue, only after the original Spanish had first been translated into French. Thus the novel that these Germans were discussing with such enthusiasm was not in actuality the masterpiece that Cervantes had penned, but rather a mere stilted facsimile.

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[7]Lessing, volume 9, p. 629.

[8]Lessing, volume 6, p. 394.

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ntion of Don Quixote appeared in a letter to
lt, dated the twenty-first of January, 1755,
the current literary tastes of German critics
's estimation, the sense of all that was good
re had become dulled and prosaic, and the
nding originality or spirit in the works they
nd was considered a radical in his literary
e found himself standing far removed from both
l's conservative following and the Swiss school

initial mention of a specific figure from
1755,[10] it must be remembered that he had
as a much younger man. His preoccupation with
s to have begun around 1749 in Erfurt, where
sor Johann Wilhelm Baumer, lived.[11] Although
d medicine, Baumer had an abiding interest in
as well, and his interpretation of Cervantes'
figure of the hapless knight as a genuine representative of mankind,
and of Sancho Panza as Don Quixote's complement or counterpart had a
profound effect on Wieland. The depth of this early impression on the
youth's mind can be seen by the appearance in 1764, fifteen years later,
of Wieland's own imitation of Don Quixote, Don Sylvio von Rosalva.

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[9]Christoph Martin Wieland, Briefe, volume 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1963), pp. 222-223.

[10]Wieland, volume 1, p. 223.

[11]Wolfgang Paulsen, Christoph Martin Wieland: Der Mensch und Sein Werk in Psychologischen Perspektiven (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1975), p. 40.

After 1759 there were no more references in Wieland's correspondence to the Spanish novel. Until this time, however, there were various indications that Wieland was still actively involved in the study of Don Quixote, as seen in his letters to Bern Alois Zimmermann, dated 1756 through 1759.[12] In March and April of 1759, in two letters written in French, Wieland compared himself with the Spanish knight, calling himself "le chevalier de la triste figure."[13] Here again it can be noted how commonplace the characters from Don Quixote were becoming in the minds of the well-read German public.

In nearly all of these earlier discussions by prominent German critics, however, the characters from Quixote appeared as mere ridiculous objects with no depth whatsoever. All examinations of these seventeenth-century treatments of Don Quixote reveal that the novel was written off as a simple satire on the medieval Spanish Age of Chivalry, with no real redeeming value other than entertainment. It was not until the following century that Cervantes' greatest creation began to be reevaluated as a work of some profundity.

Johann Gottfried Herder saw Don Quixote more in the light of the Romantic idea of the fable, of poetry, and of history than did his contemporaries, Lessing and Wieland. Herder praised Cervantes in his journalistic writings mainly because the Spanish author had "eine genetische Erklarung des Wunderbaren und Abentheuerlichen,"[14] which Herder considered a revolutionary and profoundly important concept in

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[12]Wieland, volume 1, pp. 264, 363, 373, 390.

[13]Wieland, volume 1, p. 415.

[14]Johann Gottfried Herder, Sämmtliche Werke, volume 4 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1878), p. 360.

literature. It becomes clear in Herder's Journal meiner Reise of 1769 that he was one of the first German critics to judge Don Quixote to be among the primary genuine examples of romantic literature.

Herder believed strongly in the original spirit of a given people; and, he was one of the first to make the romantic concept of literature an increasingly popular one. His studies of folksongs and of the works of Shakespeare led Herder to investigate the Spanish novel, since he felt that Cervantes' Don Quixote "Stürzte die eingewurzelte Denkart der Ritter-Romane."[15] He maintained that a narrative, or prose in general, could have a profound effect on the development or lack of development of a nation, as he remarked in the 1800 edition of his essay "Das Epos der menschlichen Natursprache." Herder firmly believed that a country could either be deeply influenced by a great native work of art, or that such a literary creation might simply reflect the peculiarities of that nation. He cited Dante, Boccaccio and Cervantes as three major writers who exerted an extremely important influence on their native lands.[16] Herder developed these thoughts fully in his work "Rittergeist in Europa," which appeared in 1791 in Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit. While parts of this essay were given to a general praise of the Italian poets, Herder began to focus more clearly on his concept of the origins of the Spanish "Rittergeist." He knew that the Arabs and Goths had had an enormous impact on the lives and the culture of the Spanish people, and he felt that the very character of the Spaniard grew out of the amalgamation of these ancient wandering tribes. Out of

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[15]Herder, volume 22, p. 150.

[16]Herder, volume 14, p. 460.

this mixture there appeared in the people individualistic, idealistic character traits which were reflected in the kind of poetic, sentimental literature they wrote. The high point of this literature was, according to Herder, Cervantes, who wrote his "unvergleich-lichen National-Roman"[17] against the backdrop of this rich union of peoples.

One can easily see how clearly Herder felt himself to be in the mainstream of this new tradition in literature when he is placed alongside his contemporaries, Wieland and Lessing. The latter two were still deeply rooted in the tradition of the Enlightenment, while the younger Herder dealt with new concepts in art, such as fantasy and nationalism. While Lessing and Wieland considered Don Quixote a novel about a fool which could only be interpreted as a satire on medieval chivalry, Herder attempted to show the reading public that the novel was far more than a satirical exaggeration of the age of chivalry in Spain.

Herder insisted that Don Quixote contained numerous indications of a more profound, more philosophical Weltanschauung than the Enlightenment critics were able to perceive. Neither Lessing nor Wieland actually added any new or original statements concerning Don Quixote. Although Herder's views of the Spanish novel may not always have been completely accurate, he was, in fact, one of the first noteworthy philosophers who proffered an innovative, progressive interpretation of the work, and thereby stimulated the study and further interpretation of Don Quixote.

Around the same time that Lessing, Wieland, and Herder were voicing their thoughts on the Spanish masterpiece, the young classicists

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[17]Herder, volume 14, p. 460.

Schiller and Goethe also added their reflections on Don Quixote, though to a far smaller degree. They mentioned the work often enough in their exchange of letters to prove that they were familiar with it, and perhaps had read most of the complementary critiques. Near the end of February 1775, George Melchior Kraus wrote a letter to the translator, Friedrich Justin Bertuch, in which he complained that Goethe had just informed him that he would find very few subscribers to Bertuch's translation of Don Quixote in the city of Weimar, supposedly a major center for the literary world. Such a general lack of interest in an important new publication seemed to the publisher Kraus to be "ein garstiges Zeichen vom Geschmack"[18] of his fellow Germans.

This kind of exchange of opinions indicated that many publishers and editors were at this time actively engaged in attempting to make Quixote an extremely widely-read novel all across Germany.

In August of 1782, Goethe himself wrote a short letter to his friend and patron, Charlotte von Stein, in which he mentioned Cervantes in regard to the Quixote in a humorous manner,[19] further substantiating the claim that the Spanish novel was an increasingly accepted part of every educated person's library. Goethe also remarked in his later "Spanische Romanzen" of 1823 that Don Quixote assumed "ein hohes Dichtertalent"[20] and although he was not as intimately concerned with it as were the Schlegels and Ludwig Tieck, Goethe nevertheless had only high praise for the novel.

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[18]Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Gespräche, volume 22 (Weimar: Hermann Bohlau Verlag, 1890), p. 77.

[19]Goethe, Briefe, series 4, volume 15, pp. 60-61.

[20]Goethe, Schriften zur Literatur, volume 17 (Stuttgart: Artemis Verlag, 1964), p. 508.

On December 17, 1795, Goethe wrote a letter to Schiller in which he discussed some of Cervantes' better-known Novellen.[21] Goethe believed that they were worthy of note since they could be considered pure entertainment, as well as instruction. That both Schiller and Goethe should commend the didactic elements in Don Quixote in particular should not be surprising, since at this time the two were in the process of formulating their view of the nature of literature; namely, that it must reflect the highest possible ethic and contribute to the ennoblement and spiritual education (Bildung) of the reader.

Schiller's encouragement of Ludwig Tieck, both as an author and as a translator, is apparent in the former's letter to Goethe, dated July 23, 1799[22] in which Schiller commented on the recent reception Goethe gave Tieck in Jena. This early personal visit between the more experienced Goethe and the aspiring translator Tieck is important since it signalled the beginning of a long and fruitful correspondence among all three writers. Schiller also noted, in other letters in the same vein, that Tieck appeared to him a responsible and talented young writer and translator. Tieck had long shown a genuine interest in the literature of Spain, and had already begun a serious study of Cervantes' most famous novel. Schiller's classical outlook on literature is especially noticeable in his opinion of Tieck's personal inclination toward the fantastic and the romantic in the literary arts. He considered Tieck's predilection for Romanticism not particularly important. This is not to say, however, that neither Goethe nor Schiller found the young

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[21]Goethe, Briefe: Goethe und Schiller, volume 20 (Stuttgart: Artemis Verlag, 1964), p. 420.

[22]Goethe, Briefe: Goethe und Schiller, volume 20.

Romanticist gifted. On the contrary, as can be easily deduced from their letters, both were prepared to encourage and assist Tieck in any way possible. They simply realized that Tieck's new theories of literature had little in common with their own current spheres of interest, and for that reason did not concern themselves to any great extent with Tieck's ideas.

Peculiar, however, is the fact that only twice, in April and June of 1800, did Goethe mention Tieck's new translation of Don Quixote in his letters. Once, in a short correspondence with Charlotte von Stein, the subject did arise, and another time in a letter to August Wilhelm Schlegel.[23] In both of these communications Goethe merely reported that he had recently received the startling new translation, and that it had pleased him. No detailed description at all was offered by Goethe of his judgment as a critic on the quality of the new version of Quixote.

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[23]Goethe, Briefe, volume 2, p. 35.

CHAPTER II

FRIEDRICH SCHLEGEL'S THEORY OF THE NOVEL AS REFLECTED IN DON QUIXOTE

Friedrich Schlegel presented Cervantes' Don Quixote with the highest distinction he had ever given a novel; in his Literarische Hefte, which covered the years from 1797 through 1801, he referred to the book as "noch immer der einzige durchaus romantische Roman."[24] This was indeed praise from such a well-regarded critic offering a new literary theory. What is the meaning of the term "Romantisch" as Friedrich Schlegel defined it? This definition must be clear, or the phrase "romantische Poesie" can hold but little significance for the reader.

In his Athenaums-Fragment Number 116, Friedrich Schlegel offered his personal definition of romantic poetry: "Romantische Poesie ist eine progressive Universalpoesie,"[25] which included not only poetry, but also drama and prose. In short then, his term involved all the possible genres of literature; and romantic literature in particular was to be the combination of all those in their most perfect forms. The mixture of all conceivable aspects of the literary world into one work was, according to Schlegel, the zenith of literary history. Although a perfect amalgamation of this kind scarcely seems possible even in a work of the imagination, concerns such as these were no real obstacle for Friedrich, since he managed to give such extended and all-inclusive

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[24]Friedrich Schlegel, Charakteristiken und Kritiken I, volume 2, part 1 (München: Verlag Ferdinand-Schoningh, 1967), p. 69.

[25]Friedrich Schlegel, p. 182.

definitions to nearly all of his favorite self-coined literary phrases that no contradiction in terms could ever be positively proven.

A faultless totality of all art according to Schlegel's definition hardly appears feasible in the world of reality today, and such an impossibility was likewise doubted in Friedrich's own time. A writer can always strive toward the perfect romantic creation, yet if he should ever actually gain his ideal he would have left the sphere of this romantic goal, since eternal imperfection and incompleteness is the very hallmark of this form of poetry. The novel as an art form should include all the elements of the romantic style; these elements themselves must contain witty inspirations (witzige Einfälle), originality, and imagination in order to embrace all the necessary elements of the pure romantic novel. Scattered throughout his aphoristic Fragmente, Friedrich explained that the romantic style of art is that which exhibits a sentimental theme within a fantastic form and cannot, by virtue of its all-encompassing definition, be limited to just one of the possible poetic forms.

For Friedrich Schlegel, all poetic works must forever be in a state of perpetual becoming; there must be no absolute beginning and no precise conclusion. According to Friedrich romantic poetry was "unendlich, wie sie allein frei ist und das als ihr erstes Gesetz anerkennt, dass Willkür des Dichters kein Gesetz über sich leide."[26] Such unrestricted freedom in art was considered extremely radical in his time, and the rigid classicists could not easily accept such

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[26]Friedrich Schlegel, Kritische Friedrich Schlegel Ausgabe, volume 2, part 1 (Zürich: Thomas Verlag, 1967), p. 183.

literature. Friedrich, however, as well as his growing number of followers, nevertheless clung to the belief in the innate inspiration and indigenous talent of all true artists. Only without inflexible laws of literature could a genuine writer create good poetry. Literary masterpieces were deeply rooted in all men; infrequently men could even produce worthy poetry without much cultivation. Among those authors whom Friedrich Schlegel considered true writers of wit and inspiration were the English novelists Laurence Sterne and Jonathan Swift; and particularly, Shakespeare, Dante, and Cervantes. The latter writer is here of course of special interest, since Friedrich considered the Spaniard's novel Don Quixote a perfect example of romantic poetic art.

As already stated, Schlegel praised a combination of all genres within one work of art as an accomplished piece, worthy of exemplifying his poetic ideal. This is not to say, however, that Friedrich Schlegel advocated a totally unconfined chaos and boundless confusion in literature, however frequently such a definition is mistaken for Friedrich's own. A study of all his fragmentary aphorisms reveals that he believed a synthesis of apparent chaos and underlying order to be the ultimate goal of romantic poetry.

Three major elements combined in an amalgamation created Schlegel's idea of the poetic ideal. These three ingredients were the fantastic, the sentimental, and the mimic. Since these three abstractions were so frequently discussed by Schlegel in the course of his poetic discourses, it is indispensable to define them here. The fantastic was all that was incredible, unrealistic, and invented. The sentimental is perhaps best defined by Schlegel himself in his "Brief uber den Roman": "Was ist dieses Sentimentale? Das was uns anspricht, wo das Gefuhl herrscht

und zwar nicht ein sinnliches, sondern das geistige."[27] The sentimental element was not, then, as was commonly believed, all that was merely trivial and lachrymose; it included rather, the spirit of love which had to appear throughout all romantic poetry. The third element in Schlegel's poetic ideal consisted of the mimic, which he explained also in the Athenaums Fragment. This final important constituent of poetry was also interchangeably called the characteristic by Friedrich. By it he meant all descriptions of tangible or realistic makeup as they should appear in literature. Schlegel's concept of realism was, however, not identical with what the later nineteenth-century writers had in mind; Friedrich's thoughts on the realistic novel included only the theory that fiction should be constructed upon a historical basis. His revolutionary concept of the poetic ideal must then include, in a near-perfect combination, the fantastic, the sentimental, and the mimic, all of which must intermingle harmoniously in the creation of the epitome of romantic art.

That Cervantes' Don Quixote is an excellent example of a mixture of these three ingredients in harmony cannot be doubted. It is perhaps due to the very history of his native country that he was able to produce such harmony in the midst of so many apparently conflicting genres. Spanish culture was a conglomeration of diverse elements, since Spain's geographic location on the Iberian peninsula made it a convenient place for settlements by the Greeks, the Arabs, the Romans, and the Phoenicians. The diversified culture of Cervantes' native land offered

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[27]Friedrich Schlegel, Kritische Friedrich Schlegel Ausgabe, volume 2, part 1 (Zurich: Thomas Verlag, 1967), p. 333.

him rich material for his panoramic novel. The villagers, country estates, cities, and general landscape of Spain are indigenous idiosyncracies utilized by Friedrich Schlegel in Quixote. These idiosyncracies, created as a backdrop to the novel, combine to produce the mimic element of Friedrich Schlegel's literary trinity. The sentimental element also appeared conspicuously in Quixote, especially in the numerous shorter love stories and in the scenes between the bold knight de la Mancha and his beloved, Dulcinea. The sentimental ingredient, which appeared as the pervasive spirit of love in this novel, was frequently a favorite major theme in Cervantes' work. Don Quixote was not simply in love with Dulcinea; he also displayed great love and concern for his servant, Sancho Panza, and, indeed, for mankind in general. For this reason, Don Quixote must be considered far more than merely a satirical, humorous story about an adventurous knight. The Spanish novel is also a penetrating study into the eccentric being and the comical habits of the Spanish people.

One of the most famous scenes depicting very adequately what Friedrich Schlegel defined as fantasy in Don Quixote is that of the deluded, yet determined, nobleman's struggle with the colossal windmill-giants. Here, of course, the fantastic aspects are creations of Don Quixote's mind, while the objects of his fantasy are rooted in reality. Another example of Schlegel's idea of the fantastic element occurs in Chapter 35 of the first part of Quixote in which the somnambulating, half-naked Don Quixote fences with red wineskins, believing all the while that the red liquid pouring out all over the floor is actually blood from a dying giant. The fine harmony in these chapters, and in

many others, of purely invented, unreal episodes, as well as the numerous ballads and verses, created a perfect example of Friedrich's goal for a romantic, progressive universal poetic form.

CHAPTER III

AUGUST WILHELM SCHLEGEL: DON QUIXOTE AND THE THEORY OF WORLD LITERATURE

August Wilhelm Schlegel and his brother Friedrich truly paved the way in Germany for modern literary criticism when they placed all previously accepted theories aside in order to develop a new species of literary analysis. Although neither brother was a particularly outstanding creative writer, both were quite remarkable and inventive in their abstract concepts of literature.

August Wilhelm developed his ideas of world literature in his numerous university lectures. He stressed cosmopolitanism and universalism, as did most of the leading writers and critics of the early romantic period. August Wilhelm wanted to make the peculiarities of the German character in the best German and foreign works of art easily comprehensible to his students. He firmly believed that once the Germans understood the greatest poets of faraway lands, they would then come to realize that this poetry is actually universal, and not at all restricted to one particular geographic location.

While August Wilhelm considered all good literature worthy of study, he showed a particular affinity for southern European works. He believed that the German blood had been mingled with the blood of the Romans for centuries, and that such a mixture of southern and northern spirits had created the potential for active, moving poetry. This awakened interest in the Spanish literary world found its highest point in August Wilhelm's work with the dramas of Calderón de la Barca. Yet

before Wilhelm concerned himself too deeply with the works of Calderon, his fascination with his earlier Cervantes project grew.

Already during the seventeenth century the enjoyment of most of the Spanish picaresque and pastoral novels within the German-speaking lands began. Among the most popular were the anonymous Lazarillo de Tormes, Mateo Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache, and Cervantes' Don Quixote. Nearly all of these Spanish novels first appeared in Germany through the medium of French, Dutch, or Italian translations. Such versions, produced by Bertuch and others, were for the most part merely literary-historical translations and not true artistic recreations as the Schlegel brothers had wished.

It can be stated with little doubt that August Wilhelm's study of Spanish literature in general began already during the years he spent as a student at the University of Göttingen. At this time the city of Gottingen was a center for the research of the Spanish language and literature. Perhaps because so many of his own professors had held lectures praising the glories of old Spain, August Wilhelm's interest was quickly drawn in this same direction. At the beginning of 1791, he left Göttingen for Amsterdam, and while there, his fascination with Spanish literature appeared to lay dormant. In May of 1796, however, August Wilhelm moved to Jena, where he started work on the Horen, in conjunction with Schiller, and soon became involved with the Jenäische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung, which gave August Wilhelm the opportunity to expound on his knowledge of Spanish literature.

Among August Wilhelm's Jena university lectures, his "Philosophische Kunstlehre" was of utmost importance, because it was here that his most thorough discussions of the literary world in Spain,

with emphasis on the novel, appeared. As a result of Ludwig Tieck's new translation of Don Quixote, August Wilhelm's interest in the novel grew steadily; and during the years of 1798-1799, he even took part in Tieck's translation.

A plan to translate the entire Don Quixote germinated from Tieck's visit to Jena. In January, 1800, the announcement of this translation appeared in the Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung (Number 1, 1800),[28] co-signed by Tieck and August Wilhelm Schlegel; but before this intention could be carried out, a rival to the project appeared, Dietrich Wilhelm Soltau. Although many later critics claimed that Soltau's knowledge of the Spanish language was more exhaustive than Tieck's, such an opinion is to the present day debatable. This rivalry will later be dealt with at length.

The years that August Wilhelm lived in Berlin and Jena were busy ones in which he held lectures at the universities, wrote book reviews, translated selected works of Shakespeare, and did intensive investigations in the area of the Spanish novel. Out of his lectures grew three major works in the latter field: an essay, "Europa," which appeared in the magazine of the same name; an essay entitled "Spanisches Theater"; and finally, Blumenstraüsse der italienischen, spanischen, und portugiesischen Sprache, a collection that included several translations by Schlegel and others of shorter Spanish works.

August Wilhelm gave three courses in Berlin that dealt specifically with the history of romantic and classical literature. The mention of Spanish writings appeared only infrequently in these discourses,

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[28]Oscar Fambach, ed., Das grosse Jahrzehnt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958), pp. 311-312.

but that they should be discussed at all is an indication that August Wilhelm's interest in this field had not altogether ceased. He later discussed the use of mythology and legends in the dramas and poetry of earlier civilizations, and most of what August Wilhelm explained had a purely historical basis with little concern for Spanish literature, since unfortunately he often had very few original Spanish works available to him.

Such a historical-critical viewpoint was his favorite stance, and he employed it to discuss such topics as the development of classical literature through the ages. In the same manner, with a chronological examination of the epic, the lyric, and the drama, he followed up his work well into his own day. As mentioned, only few of these lectures and essays centered on the Spanish literary world; much of the latter is sparsely mentioned.

August Wilhelm believed, as did his brother, that everything imagined and created in literature rested upon a mythological-historical foundation. Romantic poetry, praiseworthy because of the universality of its subject and because of its leaning toward the infinite, as the Schlegels often termed it, was surely the favorite subject of those intimately involved with the expanding romantic movement. As the main representative of romantic literature, August Wilhelm named Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, since these three writers used the mythology and history of the Middle Ages as their major sources.

The poetry of Portugal was built upon the literature of Italy, and in a similar manner the Italians served as models for Spanish authors. The spirit of the heroic Middle Ages should be reflected in genuine romantic literature, and while Dante and Petrarch represented

the romantic ideal in the lyric, Boccaccio was the prime example of romantic prose. According to August Wilhelm, Boccaccio served as prototype for the later Novellen and for the novel.[29]

August Wilhelm claimed that Spain had felt little or no influence from the Enlightenment, that Spain had slept through this rational, scientific era. Because of this, Schlegel reasoned, Cervantes' homeland experienced the influences of the medieval period considerably longer than other European nations. Therefore, the way to the romantic era in Spain was practically uninterrupted, while England, Germany, and other European countries underwent a time of enlightenment and change before they began to display romantic tendencies.

August Wilhelm gave numerous reasons for his enduring admiration for Don Quixote, and a major one was that this novel appropriately showed the polarity between the real and the ideal far better than any other works of its time. In Cervantes' estimable illustration of both the plights of the servant and that of the nobleman, he portrayed a perfectly balanced combination of both worlds -- truly the primary theme in all romantic literature.

By 1797 August Wilhelm had read nearly the complete works of Cervantes, mainly as a consequence of his brother Friedrich's diligence in struggling to make Cervantes the archetypal writer of all romantic, progressive poetry. August Wilhelm joined his brother in the latter's attempts to cause the Spanish author to be considered not only as the creator of the popular chivalric novel, but also as a dramatic, lyric,

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[29]August Wilhelm Schlegel, Geschichte der romantischen Literatur (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1965), p. 211.

and epic writer of considerable caliber. Two years later, on April 12, 1799,[30] August Wilhelm wrote to Bertuch and requested that all the works of Cervantes be sent to him immediately, so that he might familiarize himself with some he had not previously known. In his own words, he wanted the books, "um meine Bekanntschaft mit der Spanischen Litteratur zu erneuern und erweitern."[31] As promptly as the next day, Bertuch obliged: "Ich freue mich immer gar sehr wenn ich den Spanischen Musen einen neuen Freund zuführen kann."[32] From such correspondence it can easily be deduced that the Schlegel brothers as well as their circle of followers and admirers were enchanted with Don Quixote, and that August Wilhelm and Friedrich were indeed among the first German critics who took it upon themselves to make the works of Cervantes widely appreciated throughout Germany.

Both Schlegel brothers issued numerous letters, essays, reviews, and critiques concerning Don Quixote once they were convinced from their own studies that this novel best portrayed all the intermingling elements that Friedrich outlined in his theory of universal poetry. In so doing, they displayed an infinite admiration for Don Quixote, apparently without taking any really objective standpoint. This boundless reverence can be seen by August Wilhelm's words, "Wer die unendliche Tiefe im Don Quixote nicht ahnt, hat wenig Hoffnung, den Shakespeare zu begreifen."[33] Again Cervantes and Shakespeare merged in equal value and esteem in the eyes of the adoring early Romantics.

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[30]Fambach, ed., p. 309.

[31]Fambach, ed., p. 309.

[32]Fambach, ed., p. 309

[33]August Wilhelm Schlegel, Geschichte der romantischen Literatur, p. 213.

As explained by August Wilhelm Schlegel, the Englishman's and the Spaniard's popularity was due, for the most part, to their methods of portraying characters. Their frequent humor managed to keep the masses laughing, while the more cultivated readers and audiences grasped the often elusive, deeper meanings beneath the surface of their dramas and tales. It appeared that the intense admiration that the Schlegels showed for Don Quixote was at times exaggerated, since there remain very few derogatory critical judgments in their lengthy correspondences. Indeed, it seemed that Cervantes' masterpiece was one of their favorite topics.

CHAPTER IV

THE TIECK-SOLTAU RIVALRY

A collection of letters among the Schlegel brothers, Ludwig Tieck, and the publishing house of Unger, dating from the end of October, 1797 into the following months reveal a growing interest in Don Quixote by these men. The great majority of these letters dealt expressly with the newly proposed Cervantes translation. In one of the first letters of this correspondence, Friedrich Schlegel reported to his brother that Unger had recently asked him if he would consider preparing a totally new translation of Quixote. It was not entirely unknown at that time that Friedrich had long been contemplating such an undertaking, but this was the first time that a publisher formally requested it of him.

While in the past Friedrich had always been one of the staunchest of advocates of Don Quixote, when personally approached to translate the colossal work, he hesitated. In the same letter to his brother, Friedrich began discussing the numerous verses and longer ballads that were scattered throughout the Spanish novel, and called them "die Hauptschwierigkeit"[34] of the entire task. To successfully render original Spanish poetry into a passable German equivalent indeed posed a large problem, and Friedrich was both amazed and dismayed to learn that a young student at Jena, Friedrich August Eschen, had expressed a desire to take the work of translating Don Quixote upon himself. That such an inexperienced youth, who had "noch gar keinen Styl"[35] would offer

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[34]Fambach, ed., p. 306.

[35]Fambach, ed., p. 306.

to translate the complex foreign work was cause for great concern to Friedrich Schlegel.

Shortly thereafter, Friedrich wrote another letter to his brother, asking the latter's opinion of Eschen's potential and ability in regard to such an undertaking. While he implied that if Wilhelm did not deem the youth capable, Friedrich himself would like to begin work on Don Quixote the following summer, he allowed himself a second alternative: that of asking their mutual friend and fellow early Romantic, Ludwig Tieck, to agree to the job. Finally, after further considerations, Friedrich completely withdrew from the group of hopeful translators, exasperated with the connivances of Eschen's patron, Johann Friedrich Reichhardt: "Indessen hat Reichhardt mit seinem Eschen nun so in der Sache herumgemanscht, dass sie mir ganz ekel ist, und ich ganz davon weggekehrt habe."[36] Similar comments appeared in letters to Caroline Schlegel, and in November of 1797, Friedrich reported that he was now in full support of Tieck's doing the translation for Unger.

Within a month a courteous letter from Tieck appeared, addressed to August Wilhelm, in which Tieck expressed his profound gratitude for the Schlegel's undivided support:

> Ihr lieber Bruder hat mir so viel Muth gemacht, dass ich entschlossen bin, den Don Quixote zu ubersetzen und bis Ostern wohl noch einen Theil zu vollenden, oder vielmehr fertig zu machen. . .[37]

Now that it was finally resolved that Tieck should be the translator, a series of letters followed that served as a discussion regarding the

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[36]Fambach, ed., p. 307.

[37]Fambach, ed., p. 307.

more difficult passages and grammatical constructions posed by the original Spanish novel.

By early 1798, the Schlegel brothers had become advisors to Tieck as the latter labored with the translation, and all three men agreed that a new, artistic version that would remain faithful to Cervantes' own style was greatly desired, as can be seen in a December 23, 1797 letter from Tieck to Wilhelm Schlegel:

> . . .darum ist der Bertuch gar kein Don Quixote, er ist ein ganz andres Buch, in dem bloss dieselben Begebenheiten ohngefahr sind, fur das eigentliche Romantische der Novellen, fur die herrlichen Verse, fur die sussen Schilderungen der Liebe hat er gar keinen Sinn gehabt, er hat gemeint, seinen Lesern ein grosses Geschenk zu machen, wenn er das meiste davon auslasst.[38]

Again, the significant loss to the German reading public which resulted from inadequate translations such as Bertuch's was the major lament of the Romantics as seen by Tieck's later words: "Wie wenig ist. . .die wahre Herrlichkeit dieses Romans erkannt! Man halt es doch immer nur fur ein Buch mit angenehmen Possen. . ."[39]

A lengthy and bitter rivalry between Ludwig Tieck and Dietrich Wilhelm Soltau reached its high point in the early months of 1800. Soltau was perhaps justifiably angered that a younger man should publish a translation of the same work that he himself was producing, and should do it at nearly the same time. While the letters between these men and the Schlegel brothers provide extremely fascinating reading, one cannot help but despair at the low, almost petty insinuations and blatant accusations that appeared in the most popular and widely-read literary

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[38]Fambach, ed., p. 308.

[39]Fambach, ed., p. 308.

magazines of the time. In late February of 1800, the announcement of the completed edition of Tieck's translation of Don Quixote was published in the eighth volume of the Belletristische Zeitung. This was also the first published review of Tieck's controversial new translation, and it served not only to provoke the interest of new readers, but also to infuriate Soltau, whose own edition, Der scharfsinnige Junker Don Quixote von der Mancha, which broke off at the end of the first part of the novel, appeared nearly simultaneously. On March 5, 1800, in the Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung, Number 27, a letter from the insulted Soltau was published:

> Jetzt sehe ich aus der ersten Numer des Intelligenzblatts der A.L.Z., dass die Herren L. Tieck und A. W. Schlegel ihre dichterischen Talente (von welchen sie viel Gutes rühmen) vereinigen wollen, um nicht nur ihre angefangene Übersetzung des Quixote vollends zu Tage zu fördern. . .[40]

The initiation of this extended rivalry began with these sarcastic words, and in April an "Erklärung" appeared in the same newspaper, signed by both August Wilhelm Schlegel and by Ludwig Tieck. In it they resorted to similarly offensive words:

> Zuvörderst ist es eine unanständige Lüge, wenn Hr. S. sagt, wir hätten von unsern dichterischen Talenten viel Gutes gerühmt . . .Zugleich verräth er, wie neu ihm das Studium des Cervantes ist, denn zur Zeit seines ersten Ankündigung hatte er die beiden Werken doch offenbar noch nicht gelesen. . .[41]

It is not surprising that later literary historians should refer to this bitter competition with a somewhat scornful attitude.

How their contemporaries and the later Romantics accepted the newly-translated Don Quixote is of far greater importance. Tieck himself

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[40] Fambach, ed., p. 317.

[41] Fambach, ed., p. 318.

stood somewhat in awe of Cervantes, as can be seen by his frequent use, in reference to the Spanish author, of such terms as "der grosse Meister" in a letter to Gustav Friedrich Waagen in 1815,[42] and a year later to Karl Wilhelm Solger as "der leuchtende Liebling."[43] Although Tieck had considerable grammatical problems, as August Wilhelm Schlegel had warned him he might have, and even though Tieck was forced to admit to several obvious errors in translation following its publication, he appeared never to have wavered in his resolution that Don Quixote was the epitome of romantic literature.

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[42]Ludwig Tieck, Briefe an Ludwig Tieck, volume 4 (Breslau: Verlag von Eduard Trewendt, 1864), p. 159.

[43]Tieck, volume 3, p. 184.

CHAPTER V

OTHER ROMANTICISTS AND HEINRICH HEINE'S VIEWS OF DON QUIXOTE

It was with genuine ardor that Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg) followed Ludwig Tieck's progress with the latter's translation of Don Quixote. In a letter to Caroline Schlegel dated January 20, 1799, Novalis remarked that he had heard "Tieck's Don Quixote ist ja schon unterwegs."[44] Novalis was at the time enjoying one of his rare spells of happiness, as can be seen by his words of praise for August Wilhelm Schlegel "wegen seines lebhaften Treibens der Professorei,"[45] and more importantly, he commented that he was studying Tieck's works, especially the Phantasien, with deep enjoyment. Novalis' outlook on the world of literature was strikingly similar to that of Tieck's in many ways. This is evident in another of his letters to Caroline in January, 1799: "Man muss eine Welt um sich her bilden und in der Poesie leben."[46]

That Tieck and Novalis shared numerous views of literature is also seen in a letter from Novalis to Tieck, dated February, 1800, the time of the publication of the latter's Quixote:

> Du hast Dich mit Wilhelm zum gemeinschaftlichen Angriff des Cervantes verbunden, welches eine angenehme Aussicht eroffnet. Mein Roman ist im vollen Gange, . . Das Ganze soll eine Apotheose der Poesie sein. . .[47]

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[44]Novalis, Briefe und Dokumente, volume 4, (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1954), p. 437.

[45]Novalis, volume 4, p. 437.

[46]Novalis, volume 4, p. 437.

[47]Novalis, volume 4, p. 532.

Novalis was, of course, referring to his fragmentary Heinrich von Ofterdingen which later came to be considered one of the greatest examples of romantic literature. Novalis chose to view Don Quixote philosophically, interpreting the figure of the Spanish nobleman ontologically; that is, how Don Quixote, through his deluded visions and irrational behavior, might in reality be an interloper between mortal lives and a higher, enigmatic force. Such an exegesis conformed well to the rules for writing romantic, universal poetry. It especially well portrayed Friedrich Schlegel's description of the fantastic element in romantic art. The statements,

> Die Welt muss romantisiert werden. . . Indem ich dem Gemeinen einen hohen Sinn, dem Gewöhnlichen ein geheimnisvolles Ansehen, dem Bekannten die Würde des Unbekannten gebe, so romantisiere ich es. . .[48]

that appeared in Novalis' Schriften, the idealized manner in which many Romantics viewed their duty to produce their unique kind of poetic literature.

When Jean Paul referred to Don Quixote in a letter dated the seventeenth of September, 1781 to an acquaintance in Rehau, he was necessarily writing from a knowledge of Justin Bertuch's 1776 edition. Four years later, in two letters to a friend, Jean Paul was persistent in his attempts to acquire all of the parts of Don Quixote, apparently fearing that his own library was still lacking in some of Cervantes' novel: "Ausser deinen Brief möchte ich auch noch den Don Quixotte (3

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[48]Novalis, volume 4, p. 533.

und 4ten Theil) von dir haben. . .,"[49] and, "Da ist auch der Don Quixotte, auf den ich dich nicht länger warten lassen wil. . ."[50]

Finally, in 1813, Jean Paul asked his friend Emanuel Osmund if the latter had "keinen Theil von Tiecks Don Quixotte mehr zu Hause. . ."[51] One cannot doubt that the author of Flegeljahre doubly appreciated the new translation of Don Quixote over Bertuch's pedantic edition.

For Jean Paul, the world was to be contemplated with a kind of cynical humor that became the outstanding characteristic of most of his own works. Cervantes' Don Quixote merited a place of honor in Jean Paul's mind and bookshelf, primarily since one of its major themes was that of the dualism of most men. He awarded Shakespeare's Hamlet similar praise for the same reason. The theme of the double recurred frequently in several of Jean Paul's writings, and he used the Doppelgänger motif in his most famous novels, Die Flegeljahre (1804) and Blumen-Frucht-und Dornenstücke oder Ehestand, Tod und Hochzeit des Armenadvokaten Siebenkäs (1796). Perhaps the most striking similarity between Cervantes' use of humor and Jean Paul's is the latter's echoing of the Spaniard's mixture of cynicism and sentimentality. Neither writer fully succumbed to either extreme in his works; instead, a delicate balance was achieved, softened by the underlying layer of humor.

Jean Paul's philosophical approach to Don Quixote can be detected in such statements as "Cervantes. . .führt. . .die humoristische

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[49]Jean Paul, Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe, volume 6, section 3 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1956), p. 160.

[50]Jean Paul, volume 6, section 3, p. 161.

[51]Jean Paul, volume 6, section 3, p. 312.

Parallele zwischen Realismus und Idealismus. . .,"[52] and in other similar remarks, both in his essay "Vorschule der Asthetik" (1804) and in his letters to friends of the same period.

Josef Eichendorff showed his familiarity with Don Quixote during his early years as a writer, but it was not until the 1851 publication of his Schriften zur Literatur that he composed an essay on this favorite novel of the Romantics. In the foreward to the chapter entitled "Der deutsche Roman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts in seinem Verhaltnis zum Christentum,"[53] Eichendorff maintained that although Cervantes' implicit message in Don Quixote is a tragic one based on the decadence of the chivalric age, he managed to make the unbearable tolerable by means of his comical sketches. For this reason, in Eichendorff's estimation, Cervantes was an indisputable master of humor, and his masterpiece was the principal example of, and model for, the later modern novel. It is interesting to note that both Jean Paul and Eichendorff placed great emphasis on the theme of levity in Don Quixote, but there is a marked difference in interpretation of this motif. This can be seen in Eichendorff's idyllic Novelle Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts, and the far more satirical Flegeljahre of Jean Paul.

Eichendorff did deal somewhat with the more mundane aspects of everyday life in his novel Ahnung und Gegenwart of 1815. According to Eichendorff's own explanation, the character of the Graf Friedrich clashed with reality when he attempted to leave his romantic life as a

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[52]Jean Paul, volume 3, section 6, p. 165.

[53]Johann Eichendorff, Werke: Schriften zur Literatur, volume 3 (München: Winkler Verlag, 1970), p. 219.

sheltered student in favor of the harshness of the outside world.[54] The parallels here are clear; Graf Friedrich even had a trusted companion, Leontin, who was certainly based on Cervantes' Sancho Panza.

By 1820 most romantic writers had studied Don Quixote thoroughly, far more so than the men of the Enlightenment and of the classical age had done. The Romantics began to isolate particular scenes or motifs that appealed to them; and they imitated some of Cervantes' most famous themes or based the actions of their own characters on those in Don Quixote.

Heinrich Heine cannot accurately be said to adhere to the theories of the Romantics completely, but many of his writings were based on the romantic example, and nearly all of them were written in a highly subjective style, a favorite means of writing of the Romantics.

Although Heine briefly mentioned Cervantes' Don Quixote numerous times in many scattered works (Die Bäder von Lucca, 1829, Reisebilder: "Die Stadt Lucca," 1830, "Geständnisse," Winter 1854, in the ballad "König Langohr I," written between 1845 and 1856), it was in one of his major works, Die Romantische Schule, and in his appropriately entitled "Miguel de Cervantes de Saavedra: Der sinnreiche Junker Don Quixote von la Mancha," that Heine delved into his study of Quixote with great zeal.

The latter essay was written during an extended illness during February, 1837, and it is in Heine's typically subjective, satirical style. It is as though Heine were carrying on a dialogue with himself as he discussed the merits of the Spanish novel first through the

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[54]Eichendorff, "Samtliche Werke, volume 3 (Regensburg: J. Habbel Verlag, 1908), p. 161.

innocent, adoring eyes of a child, and later, in retrospection, in the views of a much more experienced adult. Often Heine digressed into rambling paragraphs about Cervantes' personal life and how his background could possibly have affected his Don Quixote. The remark,

> . . .der Don Quixote, so leicht und fantastisch er ist, fusst auf derber, irdischer Wirklichkeit, wie das ja sein musste, um ihn zu einem Volksbuche zu machen,[55]

indicates that Heine examined the Spanish novel to some extent in a manner similar to the Romantics; that is, he realized the necessary ingredients for producing a book that would appeal to the nationalistic emotions of the reading public, and noted that such elements were not lacking in Quixote.

It is important to keep in mind that Heine, unlike the very early Romantics, was deeply interested in the social and political aspects of Don Quixote. He discussed at length the lingering influence that the figures of Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, and Dulcinea had upon later works of literature. Lord Byron's Don Juan, Leporello, and the love-smitten maiden that the seducer ruthlessly misleads, were doubtlessly based on the characters in Don Quixote. Heine not only referred to characters in world literature that had been influenced by the original Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, however; he likewise scornfully described similar leader-follower relationships he had noticed in several of his fellow writers and their publishers:

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[55]Heinrich Heine, Sämtliche Schriften, volume 4 (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1968), p. 169.

> . . .wie in der Gestalt von so manchem Schriftsteller und seinem Buchhandler, welcher letztere die Narrheiten seines Autors wohl einsieht, aber dennoch, um reelen Vorteil daraus zu ziehen, ihn getreusam auf allen seinen idealen Irrfahrten begleitet? Und der Herr Verleger Sancho, wenn er auch manchmal nur Püffe bei diesem Geschäfte gewinnt, bleibt doch immer fett, während der edle Ritter täglich immer mehr und mehr abmagert.[56]

Heine's parody of his contemporaries, and of earlier writers was relentless. In the same work, he poked fun at Tieck for the latter's blind devotion to and imitation of both Goethe and Cervantes. Heine remarked at length on the irony of Tieck's undying praise of Don Quixote, a novel which perhaps better than any other Heine had studied, pointed out the folly of such unquestioning devotion to an idealized cause. Both the fictitious Don Quixote and the real Tieck wished to restore the chivalric age and a decayed past; and both fought for ideals they themselves had created. Don Quixote struggled for heroism, and Tieck for romantic poetry. To Heine, both goals were equally laughable; yet that he admired both the original Don Quixote and Ludwig Tieck's successful translation of it,

> keiner hat die närrische Grandezza des ingeniosen Hidalgo von La Mancha so gut begriffen und so treu wiedergegeben wie unser vortrefflicher Tieck. . .[57]

is undeniable.

It was innate in Heinrich Heine to parody others, yet through all of his mockery of the Romantic School and especially of the pathetic struggles of Don Quixote, it remains clear that he placed enormous weight on the lasting influence and significance of Cervantes' masterpiece and on the value of the Romantics' contribution in making it a widely-read and appreciated novel.

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[56]Heine, volume 4, p. 166.

[57]Heine, volume 3, p. 430.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUDING REMARKS IN SUMMARY

The literary connections that Novalis, Jean Paul, Eichendorff, and Heine made between Don Quixote and selections from their own personal works indicates the profound and enduring influence that Cervantes' novel had on the Romantic and later schools of thought. There is an obvious progression in the interpretation of Quixote from the purely idolatrous attitude of the eighteenth-century writers and critics to the Schlegels' and Tieck's biased admiration of it, all the way across the years to the less enraptured, yet still respectful positions of the later Romantic and Realistic writers.

Don Quixote functioned as the symbol of the romantic spirit of the idealist struggling to join society, yet always finding himself tragically and vulnerably disassociated from its reality and triviality. It is not surprising that so many of the best writers of the Romantic movement in German literature should have expended so much energy to secure for Cervantes' Don Quixote a permanent position among the greatest works of world literature.

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