THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH NOVEL AND ITS SPANISH HERITAGE AND RECEPTION

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ABSTRACT

This essay tries to contribute some ideas, data and reflection on the presence and diffusion of the English novel in Europe, and particularly in Spain, during the eighteenth century. The coexistence of different literary traditions, ideologies and national conditions, as well as the powerful French publishing industry, make the European reading of the English novel a truly distinctive phenomenon in the history of literary reception, rewriting, translation and adaptation. Examples taken mostly from Spanish will be analysed to illustrate some of these issues, discussion of which to date has mainly been in relation to other European literatures.

KEY WORDS: Eighteenth-century novel, narrative traditions, European influence, Spanish stereotypes, literary reception, censorship, literary translation, literary adaptation, Spanish Inquisition.

RESUMEN

Este ensayo intenta proporcionar algunas ideas, datos y reflexiones sobre la presencia y la difusión de la novela inglesa en Europa, y en particular en España, durante el siglo XVIII. La coexistencia de diferentes tradiciones literarias, ideologías y condiciones nacionales, así como la poderosa industria editorial francesa, hacen de la lectura europea de la novela inglesa un fenómeno verdaderamente distintivo en la historia de la recepción literaria, de la reescritura, la traducción y la adaptación. En este ensayo se analizan ejemplos tomados en su mayoría del español para ilustrar algunas de estas cuestiones, pues hasta el momento el tratamiento de estos temas se ha hecho principalmente en relación con otras literaturas europeas.

PALABRAS CLAVE: novela del siglo XVIII, tradiciones narrativas, influencia europea, estereotipos españoles, recepción literaria, censura, traducción literaria, adaptación literaria, Inquisición española.

The eighteenth-century English novel is widely recognized as a complex phenomenon; its origins, development, and main representatives have been subject to numerous controversies which are well known (e.g. Davis; Armstrong; Erickson;

McKeon; or Hunter, among many others), although perhaps the French and Spanish influences on the origins and development of the genre have occupied most critics and scholars for a long time. The relevance for the great English novelists of the seventeenth-century French romances, the picaresque and Cervantes's long shadow are certainly evidence of that, but other influences should also be mentioned, both native and foreign. Thus travel narratives, Utopias, or confessional writing, to name just a few. However, even though I will touch on these issues occasionally, my aim in this essay is not to produce another reading of that complexity.

Rather, I want to show that the rise of the novel in England cannot be seen as an exclusively insular achievement because its importance went beyond the English frontiers, exerting a powerful influence on the continent. All loans that the English novelists made from their continental peers and predecessors (be it Richardson's possible indebtedness to the French sentimental romances, or Fielding's, Smollett's or Sterne's to Cervantes and the picaresque, for instance) were generously repaid during the eighteenth century. It is indeed universally acknowledged that the English novel in this period acquired a presence in Britain and abroad that can be described, without exaggeration, as paramount and superior to other national manifestations of this narrative mode.

My purpose in this essay is to offer a general view of the conditions that allowed that to happen, and to provide data and reflection upon them, dealing with national traditions, translations, and the ideological conditions that made the reading of the English novel in Europe, and particularly in Spain, such a fascinating phenomenon in the eighteenth century.

As Elinor Shaffer has written in the general preface to the project on Reception of British and Irish Authors in Europe, "the reception of British authors in Britain has in good part been studied; indeed, it forms our literary history. By contrast, the reception of British authors in Europe has not been examined in any systematic, long-term or large-scale way."[1] Of course, partial studies of the reception of the eighteenth-century English novel do exist for some European countries, particularly in connection with translations and adaptations.[2] This is especially the case for French literature (Graeber, *Französischen*; Grieder; Rochedieu; and Streeter), German literature (Joret; Kost; Oppel; Price, *English*; and Senger), Spanish literature (Effross; Glendinning; and Sánchez Franco) or Swedish literature (Östman). There are also numerous studies on specific English works and authors who were very influential on the continent: Richardson, Fielding, Defoe, Swift, Sterne, Smollett and Goldsmith are the main ones. But these studies are generally restricted to their

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[1] For a general description of the Project, see <http://www.clarehall.cam.ac.uk/rbae>. The quotation by Elinor Shaffer is taken from Real (IX).

[2] In this respect, Lynch (124) has recently characterized English eighteenth-century fiction as "moving writing," a "mobile property."

reception in one particular country, concentrating on a single author and his influence on a national tradition or a specific writer, like Fielding in Germany, Sterne in Italy, Swift in France, etc. (cf., among others, Rabizzani; Goulding; Hatfield; Joliat; Risch; Harris; Michelsen; and Pajares, *Richardson*). Others have a much broader scope, such as Beebee's book on the reception of *Clarissa* on the continent, which transcends national frontiers, or Price's essay ("Holland as a Mediator") on Holland's role as a mediator between English and German influences, or Blassneck's study of France's similar role also for English and German mutual influences, as well as Graeber and Roche's commented bibliography on French translations, and their further translations into German, of seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries English works (*Englische Literatur*).

However, what we do not have yet are sufficient overall views of the European novel in the eighteenth century, which explore the crosscurrents of influences, traditions, ideological and national varieties that gave the genre momentum as it developed in Britain and on the continent. Alain Montandon's book *Le roman au XVIIIe siècle en Europe*, is possibly one of the few exceptions. Montandon explains how hard it is, and at the same time how delicate, to put in some sort of order in the period's immense variety and wealth of novelistic creation, remarking that, for the French novel, only Henri Coulet and Françoise Barguillet have been able to carry out such a synthesis.[3] After Montandon, another perceptive and global analysis of the French novel has been written by Nathalie Ferrand in her recent *Livre et lecture dans les romans français du XVIIIe siècle*. Her attention to the presence of books and reading in eighteenth-century French novels enables her to offer an interesting survey of how different national literary traditions and readers (English, German, Italian, Spanish, Swiss...) were seen by French novelists of the period.

Most work to date has dealt with French and German novels, little being said so far about other national literatures (even though Dutch and Italian have been briefly explored), so in order to illustrate my thesis I will, for the most part, be taking examples from studies in the fields of French and German. These will be complemented with examples from Spanish studies, which have not received any treatment in the few syntheses produced up to now.[4]

Three issues are central in my discussion: traditions, ideologies and stereotypes, which encompass many of the aspects I will be tackling, and I will use them to focus and structure this essay, so that we can better understand the English contribution to the shaping of the eighteenth-century novel on the continent.

[3] Montandon (4), referring to Coulet and Barguillet, says they are the only ones who have known how "réaliser une telle synthèse avec une envergure, une finesse et une clairvoyance admirables." For other national literatures there are also relevant works which need not be mentioned here now.

[4] Elinor Shaffer has written in the prefaces to the Continuum Project, "In general, comparative studies have neglected Spain in favour of France, Germany and Italy, and this imbalance needs to be righted" (cf. de Voogd & Neubauer, eds.: IX).

I. TRADITIONS

Even if we agree that the eighteenth century is the century of the rise of the novel in Europe, and that this rise of the novel is to a large extent synonymous with the rise of the English novel and its development in Britain and on the continent, we cannot forget that in numerical terms the novelistic production in Britain was not at all the most important in Europe, at least in the first half of the century. In France, for instance, the number of novels published in the first two decades (1700-1719) was 236, whereas in England the number was just 62. The French publishing industry was impressive indeed, not only for the number of books produced, which surpassed any other country in Europe, but also for the influence French books exerted all over Europe, Britain included.[5] We have to bear in mind that many of the English novels read on the continent were read not in English initially but in French, because French was the language of culture while English was normally known, if at all, only by a very few enlightened individuals. Many English novels were in fact read in French or in translations from the French into other European languages. The same was true for other languages and literatures, which were known outside their frontiers through French: Cervantes, for instance, was not directly translated into German until Bertuch did so in 1775-1777; in the meantime French was the intermediary language, and thus *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* was translated into German in 1746 via the French translation by Madame le Givre de Richebourg of 1738. Likewise, Wieland's Quixotic novel *Don Sylvio von Rosalva* (dated 1764) was written following the French and English models, the latter also in French versions (Montandon 23; 484). The popularity of French translations in Germany can be gauged from the use of the expression "aus dem Französischen übersezt," which was even added to works which were not translations at all but genuine creations in German: an example of this is Neugebauer's *Der Teutsche Don Quichotte oder die Begebenheiten des Margraf von Bellamonte, komisch und satyrisch beschrieben; aus dem Französischen übersezt* (1753).

Similarly, Richardson and Sterne were read in Russia for a long time in their French versions (by Prévost and Frénais respectively), and the picture was the same in Spain, where almost all English works were read through French versions (Richardson, Fielding and Sterne were known to enlightened Spanish readers thanks to French translators such as Prévost, Pierre Antoine de la Place, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Suard, and Frénais).[6] These versions circulated during the eighteenth century, and were widely known to the Spanish *ilustrados* (cf. Álvarez Barrientos). The presence of those volumes in their private libraries and in bookshop catalogues is a telling evidence of their success (Effross; Defourneaux; García Fernández; and Enciso

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[5] Just to give one example, in Spain, according to García Hurtado (37-39), 2,401 volumes were translated in the period 1700-1808; 55.11% were translated from French, 18.9% from Italian, 16.4% from Latin, and only 3.74% from English.

[6] For the reception of Sterne in eighteenth-century France, see Asfour.

Recio); in fact, it was not felt necessary to translate them into Spanish until the last decade of the century.

The language from which the French translated more than from any other was certainly English: Streeter says that between 1700 and 1805, 472 novels were translated from English, or 630 if English stories, anecdotes and imitations are included (Montandon 23). All this is a reflection of the so-called "Anglomanie" prevalent in France during the century (Grieder); on some occasions, as happened in Germany with French translations, genuinely French texts were also presented to the public with the label "traduits de l'anglais," because this had become, particularly after 1740, a powerful selling point, as well as conferring a touch of distinction.

What are the reasons for this Anglomania? To what extent and why did France accept the English novel? How was it translated and read by French and other European readers? These are issues closely related to the traditions of the novel in different European countries and I need to comment on them in order to answer these questions. Let me then try to approach these traditions and their reflection upon the English novel on the continent.

I will briefly analyse four literary phenomena, which were deeply influential on the English novel in the eighteenth century. None of them can be considered originally English although all of them became quickly naturalised and, after their adaptation in English, were successfully exported to the continent. These four phenomena are: a) *Don Quixote*; b) the picaresque tales; c) the French romances; and d) the epistolary mode.

Cervantes's masterpiece is undoubtedly a founding stone in the construction of the novel as a modern genre. In spite of the controversies over the figure of Don Quixote as representative of a crazy imagination, a mirror of the fanatic blindness of the prototypical Spanish character —a view of course unacceptable to many Spanish critics, who reject this picture as a gross stereotype— nobody can deny its influence in Europe. Even in the age of the Enlightenment, when Spain was seen by its European neighbours as the land of superstition and intolerance, governed by the Inquisition, the presence of *Don Quixote* in the European collective imagination, and in so many writings, was so strong as to prevent a general condemnation of Spanish culture and literature. Cervantes's novel was published in 1605 (First Part) and 1615 (Second Part). The first French translations were almost immediate: 1608, 1609 and particularly 1614 (by Oudin), although the most complete and influential version in the eighteenth century was produced by Filleau de Saint-Martin in 1678 (more than 20 editions were published between 1730 and 1780 alone). Even Lesage himself translated Fernández de Avellaneda's sequel to *Don Quixote*: *Les Nouvelles Aventures de Don Quichotte de la Manche* (1704). Many other French adaptations and imitations followed during the eighteenth century, and some of them (Marivaux's *Pharsamon*, for instance) were even translated from French into English, Italian and German.[7]

[7] Cf. Les Regrets de Sancho Pança sur la mort de son âne (1714), Histoire du grand et veritable Chevalier Caissant (1714), the compilations of «nouvelles» entitled Le Désespoir amoureux,

English versions of *Don Quixote* were not late in appearing either: Shelton produced translations in 1612 and 1620, and then Philips in 1687, Motteux in 1700, Ward in 1712, Jarvis in 1742, and Smollett in 1755. Evidence of the strength of the Quixotic tradition are imitations in diverse styles and genres, such as Butler's *Hudibras* (1663-1668), Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and *Tom Jones* (1749), Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752) or Smollett's *The Life and Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves* (1760-1762), to name but a few.[8] The fact that many of these English Cervantine novels were translated into French and German, among other languages, reinforced the Spanish influence upon other national literatures. Moreover, some successful German novels, notably Wieland's *Don Sylvio von Rosalva,* were translated into French: *Les Aventures merveilleuses de Don Sylvio de Rosalva* (in Dresden and Paris, 1769); a second translation into French —or rather an adaptation of the original work— was made by Mme d'Ussieux, with the title of *Le Nouveau Don Quichotte, imité de l'allemand de M. Wieland* (1770). It is equally curious to notice how on the continent this Quixotic tradition, so openly evoked and referred to by Fielding, Smollet, Lennox or Sterne, combined with the Richardsonian and Sternean sentiment, to produce comical texts, such as the German parody of the epistolary novel *Grandison der Zweite*, by Musäus (1760-1762).

It is also interesting to notice that in Germany this Quixotic tradition combined with Sterne's presence, which was felt strongly throughout the continent, to produce fascinating examples of comic novels where the ridiculous is represented by Quixotic characters, whereas the sentiment and the humour are basically Sternean (Large 68-78). Critics have explained that during the last decades of the eighteenth century the German novel was developing an interest for realism, a mode that was difficult in German due to the lack of any tradition. Naturally, Cervantes, Marivaux, Lesage, Swift, Fielding, Smollett and Sterne were the models followed, but the adaptation of the comic —present in all these writers— to the realistic mode was a problem on account of the political, sociological and cultural circumstances (dialects included) of a geopolitical region that was not a single nation but a combination of different states. The English influence together with that of Cervantes's *Don Quixote's* (itself largely transmitted to German readers through English and French versions) was decisive in the evolution of the comical, realist novel after 1770, examples of which include Müller's *Siegfried von Lindenberg* (1779), Nicolai's *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldus Nothanker* (1773-76), Kotzebue's *Die Geschichte meines Vaters, oder wie es zuging, dass ich geboren wurde* (1788), etc.

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avec les nouvelles visions de Don Quichotte, histoire espagnole (1715), or Marivaux's parodies such as his early work Pharsamon ou les Folies romanesques (1712), which was translated into English (1750), Italian (1751 and 1759) and German (1773, 1793 and 1794) (Montandon 474-9).

[8] Among parodies published in English, it is important to mention at least Richard Graves's *The Spiritual Quixote, or The Summer's Ramble of Mr. Geoffry Wildgoose* (1772), not to speak of

Along with the Quixotic tradition, the picaresque also flourished in the eighteenth-century English novel and played a significant part in the development of realism. The use of the first person narration, the picture of everyday life in lowly surroundings, far away from courtly and aristocratic milieus, the coarse humour so akin to the popular classes, and even the society of criminals characteristic of this mode are key elements in the works of Defoe, Fielding, Smollett and others. *Moll Flanders* is probably the best example of this mode, but again Spanish predecessors cast a long shadow over the English picaresque novels. Classic Spanish texts from the sixteenth and early seventeenth century which were available in translation in England and in other European countries, and certainly exerted an influence on the development of the first-person narrative mode, include the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599-1604), Quevedo's *El Buscón* (1626), Vicente Espinel's *La vida de Marcos de Obregón* (1618) or *La pícara Justina* (1605), by López de Úbeda.[9]

It is worth noting that Lesage translated, or rather adapted, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, by eliminating "toutes les moralités superflues" and "déclamations contre les moeurs" (Montandon 145). His familiarity with Spanish picaresque made Lesage one of the most influential picaresque writers in eighteenth-century Europe, thanks especially to his novel *Gil Blas de Santillane* (1715-35), with its obviously Spanish background and realistic sketches of places and characters. *Gil Blas* was a great success across Europe: more than 75 editions were published in France alone before 1800; Smollett translated it into English in 1749 and Thomas Holcroft imitated it in *The Adventures of Hugh Trevor* (1794-97); by 1800 there had been no fewer than eight Russian editions of Lesage's novel, which became the model in Russia for imitation of picaresque literature, notably Chulkov's novel *The Gracious Cook or the Adventures of a Corrupted Woman* (1770)[10]; in Germany there was a curious fusion of Lesage's Gil Blas and Defoe's Robinson, in so far as the first German translation of Lesage's novel was entitled *Der spanische Robinson; oder sonderbare Geschichte des*

Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, where Yorick clearly evokes Don Quixote and Rocinante. For accounts of this phenomenon, see Pardo García, "La otra"; *La tradición*; and "Formas".

[9] The *Lazarillo* was translated into French as early as 1560, and published on numerous occasions in the seventeenth century; *Guzmán de Alfarache* also became a classic in French, being translated by different authors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: by Gabriel Chappuys in 1600, by Jean Chapelain in 1619-1620, by Gabriel Brémond in 1695, and by Lesage in 1732, in a version that is considered "un déplorable massacre de l'ouvrage original" (Montandon 143). The *Buscón* also spawned various translations: by La Geneste in 1633, by Raclots in 1699, and by Hermilly and Rétif de La Bretonne in 1776. English translations were also numerous in the same period: *Lazarillo* was translated by David Rowland in 1576; *Guzmán de Alfarache* by James Mabbe in 1622; *The Buscón* in 1657, by John Davies of Kidwelly, etc.

[10] It is remarkable that Russian picaresque developed in the eighteenth century (and continued into the nineteenth) not only under the influence of Lesage, but also because *Lazarillo de Tormes* had been translated from the French in 1775, while Fielding's *Jonathan Wild* and Smollett's *Roderick Random* were translated in 1772 and 1788 respectively.

Gil Blas von Santillana (1726-1735). Lesage's work was so influential that it was even translated into Spanish by Father de Isla in 1788.[11]

The English picaresque was, then, greatly indebted to Spanish writers and to Lesage, although we should not overlook the seventeenth-century English tradition of biographies of criminals and prostitutes, as well as Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller* in 1594. Nor is *Moll Flanders* the only case of English picaresque worth mentioning. Fielding's great novels also owe much to this mode, even if we cannot describe them as completely picaresque: *Jonathan Wild* (1743) was translated into German in 1750 and into French in 1763; *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and *Tom Jones* (1749) were both also translated successfully into French and German a few years later. Similarly, the picaresque exerted extraordinary influence on Smollett: apart from his translations of Lesage's *Gil Blas* and *Le Diable boiteux*, and Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, his own novels bear witness to this: *Roderick Random* (1748) and *Peregrine Pickle* (1751) particularly, which were translated into French, German, Russian and Danish a few years later, and also his less popular *Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1753), with its manifest indebtedness to Alemán, Cervantes, Scarron, Lesage, and the *Lazarillo*, as well as to English "jest-books" and tales of poverty and misery.

Two other important traditions nourishing the English and the European novel at this time were the seventeenth-century French romances and the epistolary mode, although I will not say much about them here as they bear very little relation with Spanish letters in the period. Both coalesce, however, in Richardson's sentimental novels, the supreme case of English influence on the continent. The popularity of seventeenth-century romances by authors such as de Scudéry or La Calprenède amounted to a phenomenon which may have been as powerful as the Quixotic and picaresque heritage. The curious mixture of these fantastic tales of love and adventure with the Quixotic tradition culminated in Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752), nor should we forget their influence on other women writers (Gothic novelists, among them) up to the beginnings of the nineteenth century (Austen's *Northanger Abbey* is of course the best example).

II. IDEOLOGIES

It is surely no coincidence that both *Gulliver's Travels* and *Robinson Crusoe* were received, and consequently adapted, in many European countries as books for children, in what constitutes a clear distortion and manipulation of the original works. The search for an answer to why this was so will inevitably lead us to discuss

[11] Cf. *Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana robadas a España y adaptadas en Francia por Monsieur Le Sage, restituidas a su patria y a su lengua nativa por un español celoso que no sufre que se burlen de su nación* (Valencia, 1788) (Barjau Condomines 113).

the power of the ideologies present in various European countries in the eighteenth century.

There is no doubt about Swift's immediate success on the continent. *Gulliver's Travels* was published in England in October 1726, and just three months later, in January 1727, an anonymous French version was printed in The Hague; in April another one (this time signed by Abbé Desfontaines) came out in Paris[12]; also anonymously, a German version appeared in the same year (1727) in Hamburg, and another one, this time with the name of its translator, Johann Heinrich Liebers, was published in 1728 at Leipzig. Criticism was quick to appear, too, as the first German review of *Gulliver's Travels* was published in 1728 in *Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen*. Naturally, dozens of versions, editions and translations were published in the course of the century, not only in French and German, but also in Italian (1729), Swedish (1744-45), Danish (1768), Russian (1772-73), Polish (1784), Portuguese (1793), and Spanish (1793-1800). If not in all languages, *Gulliver's Travels* was presented *exclusively* as book for children in Swedish, Polish, Portuguese and Spanish, and later in Czech, Bulgarian, Romanian and Hungarian, among others. However, this does not mean that there are no reliable editions of that work today in those languages, but simply that for a very long time, and for a variety of reasons, the only versions available were severely cut and manipulated. In Germany alone, to give just one example, Hermann J. Real says that "almost two hundred *different* children's versions have been tracked down" (Real 2). I will not delve into the specific reasons in this particular case because a good deal of information has already been provided in the thick volume recently compiled by Hermann J. Real for the Continuum series (Shaffer's project) in 2005.[13]

Robinson Crusoe enjoyed a similar fate. Its success in England is well known, with several editions in 1719 alone, the year of publication, and immediate sequels and imitations. Although the narration of the *topos* of the desert island was not strictly invented by Defoe, as precedents such as Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines* (1668) and the Dutch narrative by Hendrik Smeeks, *Beschryvinge van het magtig Koningryk Krinke Kesmes* (1708) clearly prove, *Robinson Crusoe* established a new model, usually called the "Robinsonade," which was to have a long trajectory in the modern novel (cf. Reckwitz; Fohrmann). Robinson's plight sparked other individual or collective "Robinsonades," which adapted materials of diverse origins including

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[12] This version by Desfontaines was another case of the *belles infidèles*, and a huge success across Europe; as Wilhelm Graeber ("Swift's First Voyages" 10) has written, "half a dozen reprints and reissues appeared in the same year, and at least another nine till the end of the century [...] All told, some 180 editions as well as adaptations of Desfontaine's version are on record."

[13] Cf. particularly the already quoted Graeber ("Swift's First Voyages"), as well as other essays in Real's collection covering reception in eighteenth-century Europe: Gregori for the Italian; Chamosa González for the Spanish; Bastos da Silva for the Portuguese; Krake, Real and Spieckermann for the German; Hartmann for the Danish and Swedish; Düring ("No Swift") for the Polish; and Düring ("From Russia") for the Russian.

Utopian, political, philosophical and erotic works. In many European literatures dozens of titles were registered during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which use the *topos* of the desert island for a variety of purposes.

The transmission of *Robinson Crusoe* in other languages followed a similar pattern to that of *Gulliver's Travels*. It was promptly and successfully translated into French, the first volume by Themiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe, and the others by Van Effen in 1720-21. Several editions and sequels also appeared in French during the century, a pervasiveness attested by Rousseau's *Émile* (1762), which recommended the novel as a pedagogical tool for children. In 1766, an abridged edition for children was published in Amsterdam, by Feutry, and others followed very quickly. Combinations of the Robinsonade with the sentimental novel (analogous to those of the picaresque with the sentimental narrative), were also popular in France: a famous case is that of de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (1788).

Reception in Germany was even warmer than in France, perhaps because there was a precedent in the *Simplicissimus*. The novel was translated in 1720 (two different editions, one at Leipzig, the other in Hamburg) and achieved great success, with many editions and imitations following: about 50 different Robinsonades were published in Germany alone in the eighteenth century. In fact, the word *Robinson* became a common noun, simply meaning "adventurer," and all sorts of Robinsons appeared in fiction with diverse nationalities (American, Austrian, Nordic, French, Finnish, Danish, Czech, Jewish, Persian, and so on). Lesage's *Gil Blas,* as I said earlier, was translated with the title *Der spanische Robinson* (1726). The best imitation was Schnabel's *Insel Felsenburg* (1731), which was so successful that a second, a third and a fourth parts were published afterwards (1732, 1736 and 1743 respectively). But undoubtedly the best known German Robinson was the adaptation for children, in dialogue form, published by J. Campe in 1779-1780 with the title *Robinson der Jünger*. This was, for many languages, the version most widely read and in some cases first translated (the Spanish *Robinson* was a translation by Tomás de Iriarte of Campe's book, under the title *El nuevo Robinsón. Historia moral reducida a diálogos*, 1789). Other European languages also received *Robinson* a few years after its original publication: Dutch in 1721 (from the French version), Italian in 1731, Danish in 1744, and Swedish in 1745.

But let me now examine Spanish versions of Robinson as a particular case of the way ideology affected the transmission of novels. As I have just said, the versions of the novel that circulated in Spain in the eighteenth century were adaptations for children: Campe's in Iriarte's translation, and Justo de la Barra's translation of a French adaptation by François Guillaume Ducray-Duminil: *Los dos robinsones, o aventuras de Carlos y Fanny, dos niños ingleses abandonados en una isla de América* (1792). The text written by Defoe was prohibited by the Inquisition (the French translation of the Third Part, by Saint-Hyacinthe, published in 1720-1721, was included in the 1790 edition of *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*) on the grounds that it contained heretical propositions about Redemption and the Mysteries, according to an edict of 1756 (Defourneaux 248). Politically and religiously, Defoe was very much anti-Spanish: the publication of *Robinson Crusoe* in 1719 took place a few years after the Treaty of Utrecht (1713-1714), which put an end to the War of

Spanish Succession. The treaty, which had been very difficult to negotiate, provided that Spain cede Minorca and Gibraltar to Britain and granted Britain the exclusive right to supply Spain's American colonies with slaves for a period of thirty years. When the original text of the novel was finally translated into Spanish in the nineteenth century by José Alegret de Mesa (1849-1850), not from English but from a French version, the translator felt the need to explain to his readers Defoe's moral and political shortcomings.[14] So, in the case of *Robinson*, the prevailing political and religious climate prevented the novel from seeing the light of day in Spanish in the eighteenth century, apart from in versions for children. Well after the Inquisition had disappeared, this climate, though milder, continued to prevail even into the nineteenth century.

But the powerful influence of ideology on the transmission of English novels in eighteenth-century Europe was not only politically or religiously motivated. There is no offending political or religious content in *Pamela* or in *Tom Jones*, for instance, or even in *Gulliver's Travels*. Nevertheless, the versions that European readers had access to in their own languages were cut, sometimes severely cut, censored, adapted; in short, manipulated for reasons which the translators themselves often explain. Some of the early French translators openly claimed their right to "improve" the original, and not to be slaves of the source text, because there were occasions when the original text had defects (at least for the audience of the target text) that should be eliminated in order to contribute to the success of that book. We cannot forget in this respect that these French translations were, for most of Europe, the means through which the English novels reached thousands of readers in countries as diverse and far apart as Poland, Russia or Spain. Prévost writes in the preface to his translation of *Sir Charles Grandison* that he has given "une nouvelle face à son ouvrage par le retranchement des excursions languissantes, des peintures surchargées, des conversations inutiles et des réflexions déplacées" (qtd. Montandon

[14] Thus, when the English writer makes reference to the cruelties committed by Spaniards in the American conquest, the translator reminds his readers about the behaviour of English troops under Wellington's command in Spain during the War of Independence. His words are charged with malevolent irony: "Está visto que el autor nos profesa un odio, que raya en manía: ¿qué recuerdos quedarán de sus compatriotas en la India? ¿Cuáles son los que quedan en algunas ciudades de España, como Badajoz, San Sebastián y otras, cuando arrojaron a los franceses y entraron en ella como amigos, saqueando, talando y cometiendo toda clase de crímenes, crueldades y excesos? ¡Y todo esto en el siglo XIX! Por último, a medida que vaya el autor prodigándonos finezas, se las devolveremos, a fin de que algún otro escritor inglés no nos venga también algún día a echarnos en cara que los españoles somos poco corteses y carecemos de galantería" (cf. Galván 65, n. 41). The translator also felt the necessity to defend the Catholic faith from Defoe's attacks, and alludes to a "Religious Dissertation" written by abbot Labouderie, that he translates and incorporates to the novel: "Robinson en su calidad de protestante, dirige aquí y en el curso de su historia serios ataques contra el catolicismo (que él llama papismo), ataques cuya refutación se encuentra en la bella disertación del señor abate Labouderie, colocada al fin de esta traducción. Se lo decimos al lector para que en adelante le sirva de gobierno" (qtd. Toledano Buendía 316).

21). Writing about his translation of *Tom Jones*, La Place says that if Fielding had been writing for the French he would have probably cut "un gran nombre de passages très excellents en eux-mêmes, mais qui leur paraîtraient déplacés. [...] J'ai donc fait ce que l'auteur eût probablement fait lui-même" (qtd. Montandon 21). But if we examine that translation we find that La Place cut not only digressions, but also essential elements of narrative technique (every introductory chapter to each of the Books; and humorous episodes), as well as other details which he considered rude and licentious, that "déplaisent souverainement à nos dames" (qtd. Montandon 21).[15]

The "goût français" was considered superior to the English and consequently everything that was liable to offend or bore the French was omitted in translations (see Nordmann; and Zuber). Thus, the English fondness for digressions, introspection, reflection, and so forth was normally sacrificed on the altar of action and movement. Apart from that, the French language was generally regarded as refined, a product of finesse, unlike the English, which was seen in France as rude and lacking subtlety. Explaining his translation of *Pamela*, Prévost wrote:

> Nous avons tâché de la rendre aussi fidèle qu'il nous a été possible, vû la différence des Langues. On sçait que la Langue Angloise n'est pas tout-à-fait aussi châtiée que la Françoise. On souffre dans celle-là des expressions, qu'on ne permettroit pas dans celle-ci. Il seroit aisé d'en citer un grand nombre d'exemples, s'il étoit necessaire. (qtd. Galván & Pérez Gil 86, n. 80).

But probably more transcendental than these prejudices against English taste and the declarations of French superiority are the moral and religious issues. Some of these are found in the prefaces and notes written by French translators and adaptors, but many are not only translated but also expanded in their Spanish versions. Although the Inquisition was not in full swing in Spain at the time (despite prohibitions, books circulated more or less freely in the country, and many enlightened individuals were allowed to own and read forbidden books),[16] translators into Spanish were careful enough to stress the moral message they wanted to convey in their translations. Thus, when Pamela, in desperation, feels tempted to commit suicide, the Spanish translator (Ignacio García Malo), instead of omitting the episode, keeps it in order to introduce a footnote where he dispatches the following tirade against English corrupted morality:

> Todas las reflexiones que hace aquí Mr. Richardson en boca de Pamela son muy a propósito para contener a los mortales desesperados del abominable crimen del

[15] An interesting analysis of translations of Fielding's works into several European languages, and particularly Spanish, can be found in Deacon.

[16] Cf. Defourneaux, who provides good evidence of this. On page 104 he uses a metaphorical expression to allude to this inefficiency on the part of the Inquisition: "Un verre d'eau pour éteindre un incendie."

suicidio, tan contrario a la orden de Dios, que la misma naturaleza le detesta y aborrece. Y como en Inglaterra es más común este pecado que en ninguna otra parte del mundo (sea efecto de aquel clima, o más bien de la demasiada corrupción de las costumbre inglesas, como lo dice el célebre Young cap. del suicidio), por eso carga la mano Richardson contra tan monstruosa acción, y hace ver que solo con la gracia de Dios y los auxilios de la religión es capaz el hombre infeliz de resistir a las desgracias de esta vida con la esperanza consoladora, que le da el cristianismo, de pasar a otra mejor, después de llevar con paciencia los trabajos que la Providencia le envía para su mejor bien. (qtd. Toledano Buendía 310)

On many other occasions, the translator opts for simply omitting episodes, references or expressions that might be found offensive by their readers, such as blasphemies, allusions to physical attributes, or sexual innuendoes. At times, too, lengthy descriptions are summarized in a few words. The translator has no problem in advising the reader about this, as the Spanish translator of *Tom Jones* explains when drastically cutting Fielding's detailed description of Sophia's beauties and talents:

El verídico autor de esta historia ha hecho un retrato en grande y muy circunstanciado de las gracias, figura, carácter y talentos de nuestra heroína, y yo por ahorrar a nuestros españoles, menos pacientes que los ingleses, el fastidio inseparable siempre de un razonamiento dilatado, lo diré todo en pocas palabras, esto es, que *Sofía era hermosa y a más de esto amable*. (qtd. Toledano Buendía 280)

Examples could be multiplied in different European languages, but I think these few taken from French and Spanish are enough to give an idea of the extent to which national ideologies —connected to national pride, aesthetics, morality, religion, politics, and so forth— affected the reception of the English novel on the continent (see Pajares "Censura"). What Defoe, Swift, Richardson, or Fielding wrote in English did not reach their continental readers unaltered, because only very few could read those works in English.

Interesting evidence of the importance of the mediation exerted by the translations and adaptations in the process of reception is to be found in some European countries in the catalogues of private libraries and bookshops. Many of these libraries have disappeared due to the passage of time, war or plundering, but some have survived, even if partially, at least through catalogues and registers from notaries. This is the case of Spain, where important research in the private libraries of *ilustrados* has been carried out in recent times.

It is striking that in many of them the same titles appear once and again: apart from books of law and science, there are also many novels, histories and philosophical works. Among the most popular of those written originally in English which circulated in French versions in Spain are the classic texts by Adam Smith, Edmund Burke, John Locke, Francis Bacon, David Hume, Joseph Addison, Edward Gibbon, poems by Pope, Young, Dryden, Thomson, Milton, Gray, Macpherson, and of course the great novels of Defoe, Swift, Richardson, Fielding, Sterne, Sarah Fielding, as well as Charlotte Lennox and Sophie Lee (whose *The Recess* was extremely popular in a Spanish version entitled *Matilde o el subterráneo*, in 1795). An

examination of these catalogues shows that most by far of the foreign books listed in libraries were published in French, books in English being very few.[17]

Even so, ever so occasionally we find some libraries with a good number of books in English, as in the private library of the rich Irish merchant in the Canaries Bernardo de Valois (41% of his 568 volumes were written in English). But the norm is represented by the huge library of enlightened Asturian politician Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, only 12 of whose approximately 6,000 volumes (1,000 prohibited by the Inquisition) were in English.

Those who read English books, either in English or in French and Spanish translations, were not all in favour of England and its customs and writers. Some were, of course, such as Olavide, Cadalso, Jovellanos, Feijóo, and the Jesuit Father Juan Andrés, who all admired the English and imitated them in their works.[18] But others became acquainted with English works in order to criticise them and learn about their shortcomings, with the purpose of advising their Spanish readers not to follow their «corrupted customs.” Thus Francisco Mariano Nifo (or Nipho), who was a firm opponent of English individualism, freedom of the press and free trade, which had, according to him, terrible consequences for religion, commerce and the arts.[19]

Naturally Spain was not alone in censoring and criticising England for its immorality or freedom, because in other countries the reading of so many novels (and books in general) was also ideologically charged,[20] as a consequence, on many occasions, of some stereotypes predominant in Europe about the English.

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[17] Cf. the already mentioned Defourneaux, as well as the following two studies on private libraries: García Fernández; and Enciso Recio, the latter being an excellent synthesis of studies carried out in this field in all parts of Spain.

[18] Some important studies in this respect are: Gil Novales on Burke's influence in Spain; E. Helman on Jovellanos; Bermúdez-Cañete, and Geoffrey Ribbans on Cadalso; and Pajares (“La literatura”) on Father Andrés.

[19] Cf. Effross's judgment in her Diss. (77): “The English considered their individualism one of the fundamental causes of their happiness. They prided themselves in not following each other like sheep, as the inhabitants of other nations did. Nipho considered the toleration of eccentricity and unconventionality ridiculous and strange: “Todo es peregrino, y singular en este País. ... Aquí por cualquier camino, como no sea trillado, se va en derechura al barrio alto del elogio.” Still, the desire to be unusual often yielded beneficial results for the country as a whole, and was not a quality to be despised. The English liberties which permitted individualism to exist were attacked by Nipho. He was sarcastic about the common people's concern for their rights. The freedom of the press to criticize and satirize authority was derided as a misunderstood liberty. Nipho also believed that the consequences of the government's laxity in permitting free expression and free trade were offenses to religion, and decline in commerce and the arts. Despite these liberties, the English were still melancholy and taciturn.”

[20] In spite of the French “Anglomania” and the numerous translations from the English into that language, censorship based on moral grounds was also present in France against novels, particularly between 1725 and 1760. Especially in the year 1737, some restrictive measures were adopted (the chancellor of Aguesseau, in fact, forbade novels), and Prévost was not allowed to print his *Cleveland* in France, unless he changed his religion and converted to Catholicism. That explains,

III. STEREOTYPES

Naturally stereotypes existed not only for the English, but also for other nationalities and they usually differ from one country to another. The stereotype Spain had of the English as immoral, associated with the values of individualism and freedom is not always replicated in other countries. It is curious how these stereotypes appeared in the novels themselves. In her study of the English stereotype in the eighteenth-century French novel, Ferrand recalls the hero in Prévost's *Cleveland*, defined as the "Philosophe Anglais." As she writes (Ferrand 131), "solitaire, méditatif, l'Anglais se livre naturellement à la lecture qui est pour lui un mode d'être raisonnable et sensible, où se manifeste une psychologie plus profonde que pour les autres types nationaux."

This sort of reader is unlike the Spanish one, because the stereotype for the latter is linked to undiscriminating, quixotic voracity. Ferrand (127) clearly states that "on a trop lu en Espagne et mal," and notes the bogus marquise in Lesage's *Gil Blas*, a woman in Toledo who has read so many chivalric romances that she has become mad and tries to seduce Don Chérubin by making him replay the dialogues between Don Bélianis of Greece and Floribelle. Ferrand also alludes to English sources, and mentions the Cervantine model as the representation of Spain when she recalls the contents of the library at Doña Rodolpha's in Lewis's *The Monk*, apparently forgetting for a moment that that library was not located in Spain but in the romantic castle of Lindenberg, in Bavaria.[21] The library was of course full of chivalric books, very much the same books read by Don Quixote. But can we seriously take that description as true to the Spanish reality of the eighteenth century? Similarly Prévost in *Cleveland* and Montesquieu in *Lettres persanes* offer this view of Spanish readers: all of them mad, all of them heirs of the hidalgo from La Mancha (Ferrand 127-130). Despite the untruthfulness of the stereotype, it was so widely spread outside fiction that it became a commonplace in history.[22]

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as Montandon says (10-11), that many Parisian printing houses published novels giving as places of publication foreign or fantastic locations: Cologne, Rome, Peking, Constantinople, Luxuropolis, Cythère, Badinopolis, Amsterdam, Leipzig, etc.

[21] Ferrand (128) writes: "Comme bloquée par le modèle cervantin, la représentation de l'Espagne lisante ne sait que balbutier et répéter la même chose: frappées d'un sort étrange, ces bibliothèques fictives contiennent encore et toujours les mêmes livres, comme à la fin du siècle celle de doña Rodolpha, dans *Le moine* de Lewis (1797), qui 'étoit principalement composée de vieux romans espagnols', dont *Tyran le Blanc, Palmerin d'Angleterre*... soit les mêmes romans que Don Quichotte." However, Lewis locates the library not in Spain, but in Germany (cf. Lewis 133-134).

[22] In a review of a book on the Spanish Civil War for the *TLS*, historian Felipe Fernández-Armesto (3) tried to explain the origins and development of this stereotype: "At the end of another Spanish Civil War —the one usually called the War of the Spanish Succession, from 1701 to 1716— Francesco Conti wrote an opera to console his master, the Emperor Charles VI, for the loss of the Spanish Crown. *Don Quixote in Sierra Morena* represents Spain as the kind of country a ruler could do without: a troublesome place full of fanatics and dimwits. At the close of the work —in the

The reality was in fact different: the eighteenth-century English novel, among many other things English (science and philosophy, for instance) did have a presence in Spain, thanks mainly (though not exclusively) to French versions, but a presence nonetheless and, incidentally, of the kind it had in many other European countries. Our current knowledge about the contents of private libraries, the catalogues of bookshops in places such as Seville, Cádiz or Madrid, the acquaintance of many writers with English novels, philosophy and thought, and also the certainty we now have about the general inefficiency of the Inquisition are evidence enough to refute the commonplace. Spain was not closed to contemporary European currents, was not living in the peculiar and romantic isolation of Don Quixote's madness. That was to a large extent fiction. It is true that Spanish novelists in the eighteenth century were not at the level of their predecessors in the seventeenth century (there is no Cervantes, no Quevedo, no Mateo Alemán) or of their contemporaries in France and England, but there were certainly fiction writers sensitive to the European models represented by the French and the English novelists (epistolary novels, for instance, such as those by Mor de Fuentes, Luis Gutiérrez, or Antonio Valladares, which bear witness to Richardson's rich influence).[23]

In conclusion, as I have tried to show in this essay, the reception of the eighteenth-century English novel on the continent, and particularly in Spain, was tinged by a fascinating mixture of traditions, ideologies and stereotypes. The presence of many English writers in different European countries was certainly important, even decisive in the development of some national literatures, but it is essen-

version I have seen— the hero is alone on stage, inside the iron bars of a cage, railing at the rest of the world and denouncing its insanity. It could be a metaphor for the next two-and-a-half centuries of Spanish history, when, according to the standard account, Spain was confined in paranoid isolation, puzzled, like so many stage madmen, at other peoples' madness. The 'Tibet of the West' excluded the Enlightenment, resisted the influence of the French Revolution, revived the Inquisition, spurned industrialization, postponed *aggiornamento*, practised *mañanismo*, perpetuated the siesta, maintained the mantilla, clung to clericalism, sniffed at science. Painters, poets and novelists spread a fantastic image of Spain, where swart Gypsies and heavily moustachioed bandidos inhabited Moorish ruins. The country became the only Western victim of Orientalism, as though historical accident had washed Spain up on the wrong shore of the Mediterranean. Africa, alternatively, "began at the Pyrenees." There was never really any truth in this picture. Spain has a typical Western European past, as far as such a thing exists, and continued to be a representative part of Western Europe in the nineteenth century, experiencing much the same conflicts and changes as everywhere else, with differences of rhythm, intensity and distribution. But the conviction that Spain's was an extreme case of exceptionalism became a commonplace."

[23] For Richardson's influence on Spanish novelists of the eighteenth century, see Baquero Escudero, and more particularly on the novelists mentioned, the following articles: on Mor de Fuentes' *La Serafina*, Emilieta Panizza, and Patricia Shaw; on Valladares' *La Leandra*, Herrera Navarro, and García Garrosa ("*La Leandra: novela original*"; and "*La Leandra*: novela moral"). Other interesting references to the influence of the English novel in Spain are: Glendinning; Suárez Lafuente; Sánchez Franco (chapter V); Barjau Condomines; Urzainqui; Alberich; Pajares, *Richardson*; "La literatura"; "La traducción"; and "Samuel Richardson's"); or the valuable bibliographical study of Carnero.

tial to finally notice that their presence and influence cannot be described in simple terms of cultural penetration, through the prestigious and powerful mediation of the French language and book market, but need a detailed analysis of the circumstances obtaining in each country. Such research has yet to be carried out in many places and, of course, a final synthesis would have then to be produced. As I hope I have been able to prove, there are multiple factors that give shape to the continuous crosscurrents from one country to another, so that even if we have a common field in some respects (and the rise of the novel in England and on the continent can be taken as such), that common field is far from being the same or "identical," to borrow the adjective used by Montandon (4) when referring to this issue ("un champ commun identique"). However, what all this ultimately reveals is the plurality of readings and views of the same texts, texts that strictly speaking are not the same once they start crossing the Channel and travelling through the continent.

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