

The Grangerized Copy of John Bowle's Critical Edition of *Don Quixote* (London and Salisbury, 1781) at the Cushing Memorial Library, Texas A&M University

Eduardo Urbina and Steven Escar Smith
Texas A&M University

The Cushing Memorial Library recently acquired at auction for its Cervantes collection a copy of the rare and influential edition of the *Quixote* prepared by the Reverend John Bowle and published in 1781, in 3 beautifully printed and bound volumes.¹ Bowle's edition marks the beginning of serious Cervantine scholarship and constitutes a landmark in the textual and critical history of the *Quixote* for several reasons. It was the first annotated edition published anywhere, after more than ten years of careful study and extensive readings of Cervantes' chivalric, classical, and Italian sources, and incorporated the results of the first significant attempt to collate several editions of the novel in order to identify textual variants and emend possible errors. Furthermore, Bowle's edition greatly contributed to the establishment of the *Quixote* as a literary classic, a text now deserving and requiring an extensive set of annotations in order to ascertain its complex allusions and meanings. Finally, Bowle's annotations soon became the obligatory starting point for all subsequent critical editions and have been frequently borrowed by other editors, most often without attribution.²

The Cushing's copy, in its original binding³ and in almost perfect condition, constitutes a unique grangerized edition.⁴ It includes several large, high quality engravings which have been folded, pasted, and inserted in various places throughout the 3 volumes. These engravings number 15 in total, do not form a series, are not homogeneous in size, and appear to proceed from as many as 6 different published sources. Most include in their captions information about the author and engraver, but some do not. Specifically, at least 11 are engravings after the designs of the famous French court painter Charles Antoine Coypel (1694-1752),⁵ whom around 1714 was commissioned to create 28 drawings on stout paper or cartoons from which to produce a series of tapestries based on the *Quixote*.⁶ The tapestries were manufactured at the famous Gobelins' factory, and all of the surviving cartoons now hang at the Château of Compiègne.⁷ Coypel's paintings depict a rather fanciful interpretation of the characters, episodes, and adventures of the *Quixote* taking place in an elegant baroque Versaillesque setting, reminiscent more of an 18th century salon than of La Mancha's austere landscape. Nevertheless, because of their artistry and dramatic qualities they became immensely popular, were copied and engraved many times, and were included as illustrations in numerous editions of Cervantes' masterpiece during the 1700s.

Coypel's designs were first engraved in copper and published in Paris as a "Suite d'estampes" in 1724.⁸ Thus, 22 engravings, although not all after Coypel, appeared in a large folio album under the title *Les aventures de Don Quichotte de Cervantès peintées par C. Coypel, Boucher et Nic. Cochin, gravées par MM. Surugue, Cochin, Ravenet*.⁹ Twelve years later, Pierre de Hondt published in The Hague another collection of the engravings, this time accompanied by brief explanatory selections from the *Quixote*, and under the title *Les principales aventures de l'admirable Don Quichotte, représentées en figures par Coypel, Picart le Romain et autres habiles maîtres avec les explications des XXXI planches de cette magnifique collection, tirées de l'original espagnol de Miguel de Cervantès*.¹⁰ The engravers this time were Bonnard Picart, J. V. Schley, P. Tanjé and S. Fokke, but only 25 of the 31

plates included were by Coypel.¹¹ Other similar collections containing an abbreviated text suited to the subject matter of the engravings were printed in The Hague (1746, in Dutch), London (1775), Liège (1776) and Bruxelles (1795), all in large 4to volumes.¹²

Coypel's original cartoons were repeatedly copied and included as small size illustrations in many 18th century editions of the *Quixote*. The first editions containing copper engravings of Coypel's paintings appeared in England in 1725 and 1731.¹³ Both were editions of Shelton's translation published in 4 small 12mo volumes printed in London, and both included "a curious set of cuts from the French of Coypel" consisting of 22 illustrations executed by the famous engraver Van der Gucht.¹⁴ In France, the first *Quixote* edition containing some copies by Bonard of Coypel's designs was published in Paris in 1732.¹⁵ From that time on, and until its popularity was eclipsed early in the 19th century by the illustrations of Johannot and others,¹⁶ numerous French editions of the *Quixote*, as well as others published in Germany, Holland, Denmark, England and Spain, included sets of Coypel's drawings copied by different engravers, generally printed in multivolume 12mo editions, and exhibiting various degrees of quality.¹⁷

An examination of the 15 plates inserted in the Cushing's grangerized copy of Bowle's edition (five in volume 1, eight in volume 2, and two in volume 3) reveals several groupings and provenances.

I. Plate 1 is a 19th century drawing by the English artist Henry Thomas Alken engraved by John Zeitten. This plate, "Don Quixote at his library," has been inserted as the frontispiece of the first volume, and comes from a 3 volume collection of engravings by Alken and Zeitten entitled *Illustrations of Don Quixote* (1831).¹⁸ It depicts a somewhat mad struck knight sitting at a table by a window, surrounded by his arms and books, and staring at a copy of Feliciano de Silva's *Don Belianís* (sic) lying at his feet in the floor.¹⁹ The legend accompanying the illustration is a quote from an English translation and reads: "He would draw his sword & fence back stroke & fore stroke with the walls; and when he was heartily tired, would say he had killed four Giants, as tall as so many Steeples" (figure 1).



Figure 1

II. Two plates by Coypel with English captions, must come from the first series of folio engravings done by Van der Gucht around 1725, and sold at his shop in Bloomsbury, rather than from the series later included as folded plates in the edition published in England (London, 1775), a mere six years before Bowle's edition. They are plates 2 and 4 in our numbering sequence.²⁰

Plate 2 is inserted in volume 1, chapter 2, page 13, and depicts the mock knighting of Don Quixote at the inn. It is entitled "Don Quixot believes he is to Receive in the Inn the order of Knighthood." The legend indicates "Car. Coypel pinx" at the left hand side, and below in the right bottom corner a notice reads, "Sold by G. Vander Gucht in Queen Street Bloomsbury." The paper is thin and the engraved image shows a slight evidence of embossing. It measures 330x330 mm and has been trimmed at the top and folded twice in both directions (figure 2).²¹



Figure 2

Plate 4 has been inserted in volume 1, chapter 28, page 273 and depicts the burlesque petition of Micomicona, "The pretended Princess of Micomicon petitions Don Quixote to restore her to her Kingdom." It carries the exact same legend as the previous one but the original engraving has been more radically trimmed and backed with a heavy paper stock. It measures 272x286 mm and it has a one inch tear at the right margin (figure 3).²²



Figure 3

III. The next group of plates is the most numerous and consists of 6 designs by Coypel done by different engravers; they are plates 5, 7, 10, 11, 12 and 15 in our sequence. There is at least one of these plates in each of the 3 volumes. They are slightly different in size because of the trimming they have undergone in the grangerizing, and have a somewhat diverse look and style due to the fact that they were produced by 4 different engravers. They can be identified as of a common provenance by their French captions and legends, as well as by the similar paper stock and printing quality. Given their common association with Surugue, all six must come from the first series of engravings based on Coypel's designs published in Paris in 1724, although the reference to volumes and chapters could indicate that they were to be inserted as folded plates in one of the editions in 4to divided into four volumes.²³

Plate 5, "Don Quichotte attaché a une fenestre par la malice de Maritorne," is inserted in Bowle's volume 1, chapter 43, page 457, although the engraving indicates an original placement in volume 2, ch. 39. It indicates that the artist is indeed Coypel—"Ch. Coypel invenit et pinx"—and that the engraver in this case was F. Joullain.²⁴ The legend at the bottom reads: "a Paris chez Surrugue rue des Noyers vis-à-vis S. Yves." The dimensions of the plate in its present condition are 316x301 mm. It is printed on a thicker stock than the one used in the English edition for the two plates by Van der Gucht. The inking is dark and there is little evidence of embossing (figure 4).



Figure 4

Plate 7, “Le Bachelier Sanson Carasco, sous le nom du Chevalier des Miroirs, est vaincu par Don Quichotte qui lui ordonne d’aller se jeter aux pieds de Dulcinée,” has been inserted in volume 2, chapter 12, page 83, although again the engraving itself indicates that illustrates volume 3, ch. 14 of the *Quixote*. The engraver in this case was Nicolas-Charles Silvestre.²⁵ The legend reads “a Paris chez Surugue rue des Noyers vis a vis S. Yves.” The plate measures now 333x285 mm and is printed in heavy paper, embossed and with dark inking (figure 5).

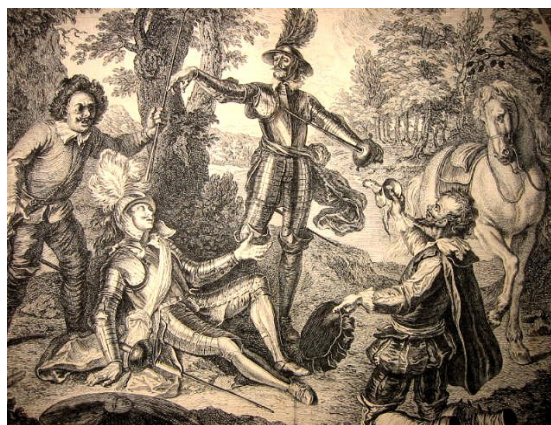


Figure 5

Plate 10, “Don Quichotte fait demander par Sancho a la Duchesse la permission de la voir,” is inserted in volume 2, chapter 30, page 231 of Bowle’s edition but illustrated volume 3, chap. 343 (sic) at one time. The engraver of this plate is Surugue and it dates from 1723. Although the legend in this case reads “Se vende a paris chez Surugue au bas de la Montagne Ste. Genvieve, avec privilege du Roi,” and could thus signal a different printing, all other features, including size, paper, appearance and inking would seem to indicate that this plate also comes from the 1724 Paris series of Coppel’s designs produced and sold by Surugue between 1724 and 1744. The plate measures in its present condition 325x313 mm (figure 6).²⁶



Figure 6

Plate 11 is entitled “Poltronerie de Sancho a la Chasse,” and has been inserted in volume 2, chapter 34, page 269 (volume 4, p. 34 in its original placement). It was engraved by C. N. Cochin²⁷ and carries the following legend, “Sevend a Paris chez Surrugue rue des Noyer avec Privilege.” This is a very rich and very detailed engraving, slightly larger in size and printed on corser paper. The general appearance, embossing and dark inking are, however, the same as those in the previous three plates. The indication of a particular page in the text with which it was originally associated, instead of a chapter number, could also indicate different provenance. Nevertheless, because of its size and quality we are inclined to believe that the differences are due to the engraver and not the edition. The trimmed plate measures now 328x354 mm (figure 7).



Figure 7

Plate 12 was engraved by F. Joullain, the same engraver of plate 5, and carries the title “Memorable Jugement de Sancho.” It is now inserted in volume 2, chapter 45 of Bowle’s edition, page 343 (volume 4, chap. 45 in the original edition). It depicts the conclusion of one of Sancho’s veridicts at Barataria. It is a magnificent engraving, full of movement and expression, finely executed. The paper is thicker than in the previously described in this group, the inking lighter and there is evidence of embossing surrounding the engraved image. It measures 325x342 mm, and it has a more expansive legend, “AParis chez Surugue graveur du Roi rue des Noyers vis-avis S. Yves avec privilege du Roi” (figure 8).²⁸



Figure 8

Plate 15, the last in this grouping and in the edition, is entitled “Entree de L’amour et de la Richesse aux Noces de Camache.” It appears in volume 3, in the *Anotaciones*, as a frontispiece to the title page for the *Indices*, and thus not in correspondence with Cervantes’ text, although it accompanied at one time the proper chap. 20 of the second part. This time the engraver is Marie-Magdeleine Horthemels, and the paper quality, dimensions, and inking are similar to those of the rest engravings in this group. The plate, however, appears to have lost the usual legend at the bottom indicating the printer and place where it was offered for sale due to severe trimming. It also shows obvious signs of foxing throughout, and its present measurements are 295x330 mm (figure 9).²⁹



Figure 9

IV. A fourth group of plates also based on Coypel's paintings, and comprising illustrations number 6, 9 and 14 in our sequence, omit any mention of the engraver's name or any reference to the printer or location where they were sold. Instead an elaborate cursive initial is present at the right bottom margin of the plate. The letter appears to be a *P* or a *T* and refer to a common engraver, however, as Lefrançois indicates these three plates were engraved by two different artists, Surugue and Poilly.³⁰ On the other hand, features such as paper, size, and caption type are consistent among the three and identical to the ones included in the previous group.

Plate 6 is entitled "La Doloride affligée de sa barbe vient prier Don Quichotte de la venger," carries the inscription "Car Coypel pinxit," and is inserted opposite the title page for volume 2 of Bowle's edition as a frontis. Since it does not have any correspondence with the text as an illustration, and since no indication of a particular volume, chapter or page is given, one could conclude that this print was not produced for any particular edition and was instead sold as a separate engraving. It is printed in thick paper with dark inking, and has evidence of embossing in spite of the trimming that has occurred along the top. In style and execution the figures resemble those appearing in Surugue's other engravings, particularly in plate number 10 above.³¹ In its present condition and grangerized state it measures 312x318 mm (figure 10).



Figure 10

Plate 9 depicts the final scene of Maese Pedro's episode in which Don Quixote attacks the puppets, and the title caption reads, "Don Quichotte prenant les Marionnettes pour des Maures croit en les combatant secourir deux amants fugitives." The same initials mentioned before appear in the lower right portion of the engraving, but this time a reference is included to the corresponding part of the text--volume 3, chap. 26--which is indeed where the action depicted occurs. In Bowle's edition it is also inserted in the correct place at the end of chapter 26, page 211. The author of this folio engraving was in fact François de Poilly le jeune, the

only one he did in the series. As the plate before, it is printed in heavy paper, the image is embossed and with dark ink impressions. It measures now 309x338 mm (figure 11).



Figure 11

The final engraving in this group, **plate 14**, is an allegorical design by Coppel entitled “Don Quichotte conduit par la Folie et Embrassé de l’amour extravagant de Dulcinée sort de chez luy pour estre Chevalier Errant.” It has been inserted at the beginning of volume 3 facing the title page for the *Anotaciones*. As in the case of plate 6, no textual reference is given for the illustration, and no indication as to where it was executed or sold. Although the name of the engraver is not included, this first folio engraving of Coppel’s painting was made by Surugue in 1723-24.³² The only other writings in it are the caption “C. Coppel pinx” and the initial already mentioned above. It does not show any evidence of trimming and measures now 320x333 mm (figure 12).



Figure 12

V. Plate 3 represents a single instance of an engraving (showing Sancho's tossing in the blanket at the inn) with no indication of title, authorship, or engraver, and it has no text or caption at all. The artist is in fact Pierre Charles Trémolières (1703-1739) and the plate was engraved by Jacques van der Schley, as it appears identified in the French 1746 edition, being one of the six engravings there included not authored by Coypel. It has been correctly inserted in volume 1, chapter 16, page 117 in Bowle's edition. The figures are larger and less well defined, particularly the faces, the scene and characters are more rustic, and the representation in general is more realistic and has an atmosphere more English than French. The paper is thinner than in the plates described above, and the ink impression somewhat lighter. It is larger than the plates by Coypel, measuring 313x360 mm (figure 13).



Figure 13

VI. The last two plates, 8 and 13 in our numbering sequence, form a separate and distinct group. There is no notice of an artists or engraver in either one but both have a reference to the printer and place sold, "A Paris chez Radigues rue St. Jacques avec Privilege du Roy."³³ The most notable characteristic of these two plates is their extended double captions in French and Spanish. They are not exact quotes from the *Quixote* but rather abstracts of the pertinent content or episode that is the subject of the illustration. They do not correspond with any of the six additional engravings included in the 1746 edition published in Paris by Hondt. These are the two largest engravings in the set.

Plate 8 somewhat recalls Coypel's figures and style but does not correspond to any of his 28 designs. It depicts a supposedly enchanted Don Quixote imprisoned in a cage being returned to his village by the priest and the barber, and it has been inserted in volume 2, chapter 17, page 121 by the grangerizer; a most inappropriate place, since that chapter deals rather with don Quixote's encounter with don Diego de Miranda and the adventure of the lions. Significantly, the legend at the center of the two captions reads "Don Chichotte. Ch. dernier de la Second partie, Chapitre XLIV," although in fact the episode of the cage does not begin until chapter 46 of the First Part. Its measurements are 315x430 mm (figure 14).



Figure 14

Plate 13 illustrates Sancho's reunion with his *rucio* after renouncing to his island, and is entitled, "Comme Sancho Revient du gouvernement d'une Ile." The caption also includes a reference to the place in the text it suppose to accompany, "volume 3, chapitre IX," although, again, the event does not occur until chapter 53 of the second part, where is correctly inserted in Bowle's text, between pages 416 and 417. There is also a similar indication as to the person and place where the engraving originated, "A Paris chez Radigue Rue Sr. Jacque avec privilege du Roy." As in the case of plate 3 by Trémolières, the figures and their appearance, as well as the setting and mood of the scene are not the refined ones characteristic of Coypel's designs. Since the paper of this second plate is much thinner, one could conclude that in spite other similarities these two plates belong to different engravers and were part of an abridged edition with different format and chapter numbers.³⁴ This engraving has not suffered any trimming, the printed imaged is embossed, and it measures 330x425 mm (figure 15).



Figure 15

Since almost all the engravings described are by Coypel, have in general the same size and printing characteristics, and since even those that are not by Coypel were published in similar collections or in the same editions in which Coypel's designs appeared, it would be safe to conclude that the Cushing copy of Bowle's edition was grangerized with the intention of including a set of engravings by Coypel, and that this effort was undertaken with such primary goal in mind, even when plates had to be collected from different sources, English and French. On the other hand, however, two of the plates--numbers 8 and 13--do not share the key stylistics and physical characteristics of Coypel's engraved designs and could thus be part of engravings done and sold by Radigues after Surugue's *privilege* expired, and thus not included in the 1724 album or part of the 1746 French edition with works primarily by Coypel. Given the above facts and analysis, we believe reasonable to assert that, 1) the grangerizing was performed expertly, with care and knowledge of the text, 2) the individual(s) had access to various sources of engravings and engraved editions, 3) it was performed after 1831, and 4) there is a marked intention to collect and include engravings based on Coypel's designs.

As to the why, it is important to remember that between 1780 and 1787 three textually and critically significant editions of the *Quixote* were published in Spain and England, in chronological order: the first edition of the Spanish Royal Academy in 1780; Bowle's edition in 1781; and Pellicer's edition in 1787.³⁵ The Academy's edition included, among other materials, four frontis and 31 plates, while Pellicer's "nueva edición corregida de nuevo, con nuevas notas, con nuevas estampas, con nuevo análisis, y con la vida del autor nuevamente aumentada," included 36 plates. Bowle's edition, other merits aside, was not published with plates.³⁶ This lack must have become obvious to the owner of our copy, as an absence needing to be remedied, and may have led to its grangerizing by a well-informed and dedicated reader. And indeed, with the insertion of the 15 plates herein described, Bowle's edition gained the one element that perhaps made it seem inferior to the Academy's and Pellicer's editions, a set of engraved plates--a common occurrence by then. It is equally curious and worth noting that the plates chosen, with one exception (plate 1), all came from collections of large engravings done primarily after designs by the French painter Charles Antoine Coypel, published between 1724 and 1775, and very distinct in spirit and style to that of Bowle's academic and critical edition. One fact seems undeniable; the coming together of Cervantes' classic Spanish tale, edited, annotated, and published in England by an English scholar, combined with the rich engravings of a French court painter, have given us a truly unique copy and has added considerable bibliographical value and scholarly interest to an already magnificent and influential edition (figures 16 and 17).

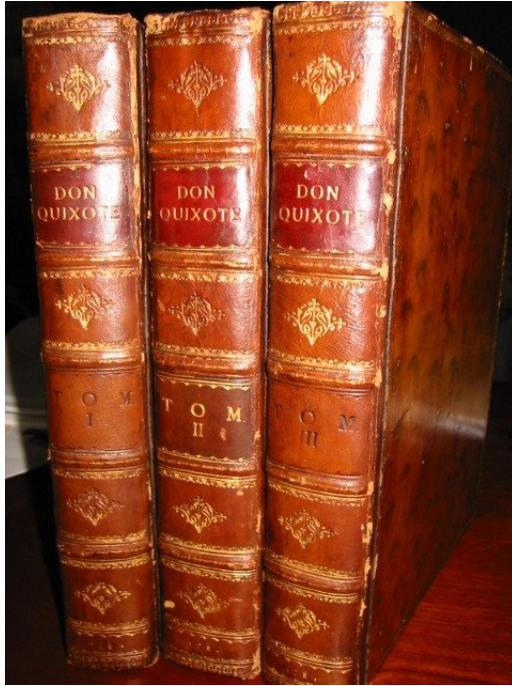


Figure 16. Binding of Bowle's edition

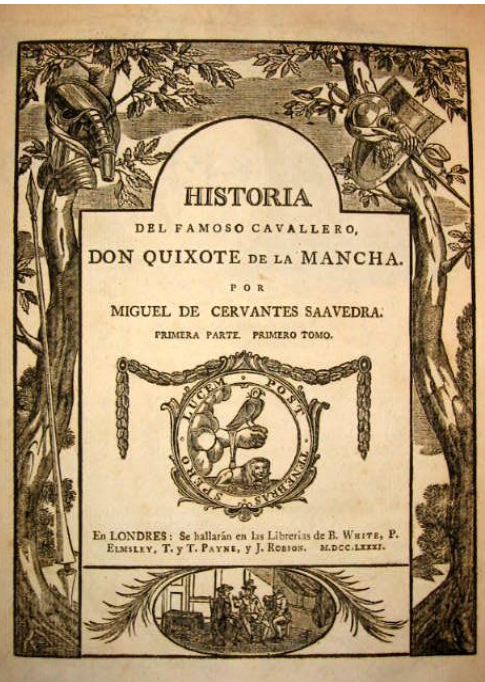


Figure 17. Title page, volume 1, book 1.

Notes

¹ *Historia del famoso cavallero Don Quixote de la Mancha* (Londres: B. White, P. Elmsley, T. y T. Payne, y J. Robson-Salisbury: Edvardo Easton, 1781) 3 volumes, 4to. Only the first volume was printed in London, the rest were printed in Salisbury. Bowle's edition appeared twice in 1781, first in 3 volumes and 4 tomes, and a second time in a corrected state, as described by Palau 52025, and most recently by Casasayas 86-87, in 3 volumes and 6 tomes. The Cushing's copy is an example of the second or corrected printing but lacks the initial title page and the map of Spain and Africa mentioned by Suñé 61.

² A list of Spanish *Quixote* editions that have used or copied Bowle's notes would include: (Leipsique: Juan Sommer, 1800) with reprints, (Berlin: Henrique Frölich, 1804), (Paris: Carlos Hingray, 1844) with reprints, (New York: Appleton, 1853) with reprints, and (Edinburgo: T. & A. Constable, 1898). As it can be observed none were published in Spain. A few English translations also used Bowle's notes: (Edinburgh: Hurt, Robinson & Co., 1822), (Boston: Little, Brown, 1854), and (London: C. Kegan Paul, 1881). Bowle's edition and annotations competed in Spain with the text established by the Spanish Royal Academy (Madrid: Joaquin Ibarra, 1780) and with the notes by J. A. Pellicer included in his editions (Madrid: Gabriel Sancha, 1787) 5 volumes in 8vo, and (Madrid: Gabriel Sancha, 1788) 9 vols. 12mo. It is worth noting that nine years before the publication of his own annotated edition Pellicer expressed his awareness and approval of Bowle's project in a letter to him (dated July 20, 1778), included in Bowle's edition (volume III, xii-xiii). It is clear then that Bowle's edition provoked before and after its publication a critical reaction in Spain and prompted both the Academia's 1780 edition and Pellicer's own annotated edition. On Bowle's plan and criticism see Daniel Eisenberg, "A letter to Dr. Percy, by John Bowle," *Cervantes* 21 (2001): 95-146, also at <<http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/~cervantes/csa/artics01/bowle2.pdf>>, and Ralph Merritt Cox, "The Rev. John Bowle: The First Editor of *Don Quixote*," *Studies in Philology* 67 (1970): 103-15. At the April 2002 meeting of the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland, R. W. Truman presented a paper re-examining the critical reception of Bowle's edition, in particular Giuseppe Baretti's bitter attack in *Tolondron, Speeches to John Bowle about his edition of Don Quijote* (London: R. Faulder, 1786); abstract available at <<http://www.ukc.ac.uk/secl/spanish/ahgbi/abstracts.htm>>.

³ "During the handpress period books were normally supplied by the printer to the retail bookseller in quired but unbound sheets. Although booksellers might hire out the binding of their stock of a particular title in a manner that anticipates modern edition binding, complete edition binding on behalf of the publisher did not begin until the 1820s." Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972) 146-153 and 231-250.

⁴ After the practice established by James Granger in his *Biographical History of England* (1769) of including blank leaves for the addition of portraits, etc. The terms "grangerized" and "extra-illustrated," like much of the vocabulary of the antiquarian book world, have been used variously over the years. Some book collectors and bibliographers may take exception to our use of it here. We intend it in the broad sense of a book to which items not printed with it originally were later added by an individual owner. No other term, defined strictly or broadly, applies to the circumstances we describe. See also John Carter, *ABC for Book Collectors*, revised by Nicolas Barker. 7th ed. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1995) 94-95.

⁵ Coypel's cartoons were painted between 1715 and 1751 in several stages. The tapestries went through nine weavings between 1715 and 1778. The first weaving completed in 1717, consisting of 15 tapestries, was sold at Christie's in June 1993; *The duc d'Antin 'Don Quixote' Tapestries*, Christie's Catalogue 110 (London, 1993). Thus, by 1717 Coypel had painted 15 cartoons, and 24 by 1727, with 3 more done between 1731 and 1734, and the last one in 1751. Since three of the paintings were never engraved, no edition or collection of plates contains all 28 of his desings. For additional information about Coypel see Thierry Lefrançois, *Charles Coypel: peintre du roi (1694-1752)* (Paris: Arthéna, 1994) 147-374. See also Daniel Horst, "De prenten in de Don Quichot-bewerking van Jacob Campo Weyerman," *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 18.1 (1995): 20-34, and at <<http://www.home.zonnet.nl/neasden/jcw-qui4.htm>>.

⁶ Givanel Mas 115-22. See also Candance Clements, "Noble Liberality and Speculative Industry in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris: Charles Coypel," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29.2 (1996): 213-17, also at <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/eighteenth-century_studies/v029/29.2clements.html>. The sparse bibliography

related to Coypel's *Quixote* engravings includes, in chronological order: Jules-Joseph Guiffrey, "Charles Coypel et l'histoire de don Quichotte," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français* (1887): 249; Julien Cain, "Les premières illustrations françaises de *Don Quichotte*," *Mélanges Bertaux. Recueil de travaux dédié à la mémoire d'Émile Bertaux* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1924) 27-37; Irène Jamieson, *Charles-Antoine Coypel, premier peintre de Louis XV et auteur dramatique*. . . (Paris: Hachette, 1930); Maurice Bardon, *Don Quichotte en France au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècle* (1605-1815) (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1931); Jean Seznec, "Don Quixote and his French illustrators," *La Gazette des Beaux Arts* (sept. 1948): 173-92; J. Hartau, "The Ingenious Knight: Don Quijote im 18. Jahrhundert," *Don Quijote in der Kunst: Wandlungen einer Symbolfigur* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1987) 37-56; and Rachel Schmidt, *Critical Images. The Canonization of Don Quixote through Illustrated Editions of the Eighteenth Century* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1999) 38-46.

⁷ The *Manufacture Royale des Gobelins* in Paris was established in 1664 by Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's Minister of Finance. For image samples of Coypel's *Quixote* tapestries at the Getty Museum (from the eighth weaving), see <<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/oz6608.html>>, "Sancho's Feast at the Island of Barataria" (1772), and <<http://www.getty.edu/art/collections/objects/od56278.html>>, "Sancho's Entry on the Island of Barataria" (1772). Several of the original cartoons have disappeared and most have suffered extensive retouching; see Lefrançois, "Iconographie" 135-484.

⁸ (Paris: Surugue, Ravenet et Dupuis, 1724) 22 plates, 35x40 cm. Palau 52726 indicates in error 31 plates. Louis Surugue (1686-1762) received in 1721 an exclusive license for the printing and sale in France of Coypel's engraved designs, which he produced until 1744. He was a disciple of Bernard Picart and became a member of the Académie Royale in the 1730s. The Library of Congress lists in its rare book catalogue a copy of this edition as (Paris, 1723-24 ?), with 22 plates, 35x40 cm (ND553.C96 A45; LC control # 63057554, but not in Aguirre's *Works*). The British Library includes in its catalogue a "series of 25 engravings illustrating the adventures of Don Quixote, engraved by G. Van der Gucht" published in 1725? (shelfmark D-1753.a.9), and Oxford University's Worcester Library lists a copy of the same series as published in 1726.

⁹ By 1724, according to Lefrançois "catalogue raisonné," Coypel had completed only 21 cartoons, of which one depicting the adventure of the wineskins was never engraved (P 13, pages 150-52), thus the two extra engravings by Boucher and Cochin announced in the title. It is important to notice, furthermore, that the engravers based on Coypel's designs were produced and sold as single plates and collected then in albums throughout the 1730s and 1740s.

¹⁰ (La Haie: Pierre de Hondt, 1746) viii + 330 pp., 31 plates, 34 cm. Only 25 of these plates are after Coypel, the remaining 6 plates are by François Boucher (1), Pierre-Charles Trémolières (2), Jacques-Philippe Le Bas (1), and Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils (2). Palau 52734, Suñé 554, Aguirre 645. A similar edition but with only the 25 plates by Coypel was also printed in France in 1747 when he was named "peintre du roi" (Paris: Chez Jacques-François Chereau, 1747).

¹¹ Of the 28 cartoons painted by Coypel 3 were never engraved, thus 25 is the maximum number of engravings present in any publication or edition, and most include between 22 and 24. In addition to the one about the adventure of the wineskins mentioned in note 8, the two others are "Don Quichotte au bal chez don Antonio Moreno" (1731) and "Don Quichotte servi par les filles de l'hôtellerie" (1751); see Lefrançois 252 and 372.

¹² (The Hague: Pieter de Hondt, 1746) 4to., 420 pp., in Dutch with the same 31 plates as the 1746 edition in French; (London, "Sold by G. Vandergucht in Queen Street," 1775), a folio rpt. of Coypel's 1746 designs with English text; (Liège: Bassompierre, 1776) including explanatory texts, 356 pp., 39 cm.; and (Bruxelles: Le Franq, 1795), a copy of the Liège edition.

¹³ (London: R. Knaplock *et al.*, 1725) 4 vols. 12mo, with folded plates; neither Palau nor Suñé list this edition but the Library of Congress has a copy (LC control # 06022262, Aguirre 345); and (London: J. Walthoe *et al.*, 1731) 4 vols. 12mo, 22 plates, some folded.

¹⁴ G. Van der Gucht (1696-1776) was also the engraver for 63 of the 68 designs by Vanderbank included in the famous Lord Cateret's Spanish *Quixote* edition, published by Tonson in 1738 (Londres: J. y R. Tonson, 1738) 4 vols. 4to. Suñé 42, Palau 52010, Aguirre 101. These same plates were included also in the English edition published by Tonson in 1742, and *The Cervantes Project* owns a grangerized copy of Tonson's 3rd edition (London, 1756) which includes in addition to the 68 illustrations by Vanderbank the 31 plates by Coypel and others from the 1746 French edition mentioned in note 10 above (La Haie: Hondt, 1746).

¹⁵ (Paris: Compagnie des Libraires, 1732) 6 vols. 12mo, with 40 illus. Suñé 545, Palau 52728, Aguirre 583.

¹⁶ (Paris: J.-J. Dubochet et Cie., 1836) 2 vols. 4to. Over 800 "vignettes" by Tony Johannot accompanied the new translation by Louis Viardot. Previously, other new French editions had appeared with illustrations by Lefevre and Lebarbier (1799) and Deveria (1821).

¹⁷ Other 18th century French editions of the *Quixote* that included copies of Coypel's drawings in reduced size: (Francfort, en Foire: Chez J.L. Bassompierre á Liège, 1750), (Paris: Bordalet, 1754), (Paris: Leclerc, 1754), (Francfort, en Foire: Chez Bassompierre, á Liège, 1757), (Amsterdam et Leipzig: Arkstée & Merkus, 1768), (La Haye: Chez Bassompierre á Liège, 1768 and 1773), (Paris: Bleuet, 1773 and 1774), (Liège: Bassompierre, 1776), (Lyon: Amable Leroy, 1781), (Liège: Bassompierre, 1782), (Lyon: Amable Leroy, 1793), (Bruxelles: B. Le Franq, 1795) and (Paris: FR. Dufart, 1798); in English: (Dublin: S. Hyde & S.J. Dobson, 1733), (London: D. Midwinter, 1740), (London: D. Midwinter, 1743), (London: W. Innys, et al., 1749), (Dublin: Daniel Grainsberry, 1783); in Spanish: (La Haia: P. Gosse y A. Moetjens, 1744), (Amsterdam y Lipsia: Arkstée y Merkus, 1755); others: in German (Leipzig: Gaspar Fritsch, 1767), and in Danish (Copenhague: Gyldendals, 1776).

¹⁸ Henry Alken and John Zeitten, *Illustrations of Don Quixote* (London: Charles Tilt and Henry Legatte, 1831). 3 vols.

¹⁹ The complete title of *Belianís*, by Jerónimo Fernández, is *Hystoria del magnánimo, valiente e inuencible cauallero don Belianís de Grecia*. It is mentioned in the first chapter of the *Quixote* as one of the Spanish chivalric romances in Alonso Quixano's library responsible for inducing his madness. It was published in four parts, Parts I-II in Burgos (1547) and Parts III-IV also in Burgos (1579). For a modern critical edition see Lilia E. F. de Orduna (Cassel: Reichenberger, 1997) 2 vols. There is also a MS of a Part V (incomplete) in the National Library in Madrid. See Eisenberg and Marín Pina 263-73.

²⁰ Lefrançois makes no mention of Van der Gucht engravings, citing only in his documentation the reductions done in 12vo in the Spanish edition published by Gosse and Moetjens (La Haia, 1744) and in 4to in P. Hondt's editions (1746).

²¹ This engraving is based on the first cartoon finished by Coypel in 1715-16, and was published by Surugue in 1724 as engraved by Charles-Nicolas Cochin père. Lefrançois 147-49.

²² The cartoon was painted in 1716 and engraved first by Surugue in 1723-24. Lefrançois 155-56.

²³ See notes 8 and 11 above.

²⁴ The cartoon dates from 1717 and the engraving by Joullain was done in 1724. François Joullain engraved a total of 3 of Coypel's paintings. Lefrançois 163-64.

²⁵ Although the original cartoon has been lost it was engraved by Silvestre in 1723-24. Nicolas-Charles Silvestre (1699-1767) belongs to the famous Silvestre family of artists and engravers and was the nephew of Louis Silvestre who was elected Director of the Académie Royal after Coypel's death in 1752.

²⁶ The cartoon was finished in 1716 but in contrast with many of the others it was weaved into a tapestry only once in 1717. Lefrançois 152-53.

²⁷ Charles-Nicolas Cochin père (1688-1754), was the husband of Louise-Magdeleine Horthemels (1688–1767) and the father of Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils, both of them also engravers associated with Coypel's *Quixote* series.

²⁸ The now lost cartoon was completed in 1727 and engraved in folio by Joullain c. 1731, and as such could not have been part of the collection of engravings published by Surugue in 1724, all of which indicates the illustration inserted in Bowle's edition must have been published as separate single plate, as perhaps indicated by the legend. Lefrançois 213-15.

²⁹ The cartoon dates probably from 1718 and was first engraved by Horthemels in 1723-24. It was made into a tapestry only once in the first weaving.

³⁰ The following artists were the engravers of Coypel's designs between 1724 and 1746: Nicolas-Dauphin de Beauvais (2), Charles-Nicolas Cochin père (3), Marie-Magdeleine Horthemels-Cochin (2), Jean-Baptiste Haussard (1), François Joullain (3), Bernard Lépicier (1), François de Poilly le jeune (1), Simon-François Ravenet (1), Charles-Nicolas Silvestre (1), Louis Surugue (8) and Nicolas-Henri Tardieu (2) (1724-1735); Jacob Folkema (12), S. Fokke (8) and P. Tanjé (4) (1744); and B. Picart, (12) J. V. Schley (13), P. Tanjé (5) and S. Fokke (1) (1746).

³¹ Surugue's engraving was done in 1724 based on Coypel's 1716 cartoon. Lefrançois 158-59.

³² This was the last of the first set of 15 cartoons done by Coypel by 1717 which were to become part of the first weaving. See note 5 above.

³³ Antoine Radigues (1721-1809) was an engraver born in Paris, and became a member of the Académie in 1794. He worked in London, Holland, and since 1764 in St. Petersburg where he died. *Le Mercure de France*, 1739.

³⁴ Other editions in 4to with folded plates and with French text captions to be considered as possible sources of these two engravings are (Liège: Bassompierre, 1776) and (Bruxelles: B. Le Franq, 1795).

³⁵ Between 1780 and 1819 the Spanish Royal Academy, aware of Bowle's project, and partly in reaction to his edition, published four illustrated editions of the *Quixote*: 1. (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1780) 4 vols. in large 4to; 2. (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1782) 4 vols. 8vo; 3. (Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, 1787) 6 vols. 8vo; and 4. (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1819) 5 vols. 8vo. See note 2 above.

³⁶ Bowle's edition of the *Quixote* does contain an engraved dedication page to the Earl of Huntington, as well as some small engraved decorations at the bottom of the title pages.

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