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Towards an Enlightened Readership
Don Quixote, the European Cervantean Tradition and the Novel of the German Enlightenment

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Abstract C.M. Wieland's *Die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva* (1764) has been considered by certain scholars the first modern German novel due to its representational realism, its dialogism, its self-conscious nature. This paper seeks to address this issue, trying to contextualise Wieland's *Don Sylvio* within the wider framework of the European Cervantean tradition, showing how, far from operating in an isolated context, Wieland often recurs to procedures and techniques already developed by other French and British Cervantean authors such as Charles Sorel, Pierre de Marivaux and Charlotte Lennox, but also to other German novels of clear Cervantean scent such as W.E. Neugebauer's *Der teutsche don Quichotte* (1753).

Keywords Comparative Literature. Don Quixote. Cervantes. C.M. Wieland. Enlightenment.

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1 Introduction

In his seminal essay *Entstehung und Krise des modernes Romans* (1955), Wolfgang Kayser claimed that C.M. Wieland's *Die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva* (1764) could well be considered the first modern German novel due to its representational realism, its dialogism and, most importantly, its self-conscious nature, inherited both from Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605-15) but also from his eighteenth-century English successors, Henry Fielding and Laurence Sterne. Precisely, this self-conscious nature promoted a new kind of readership, more distanced and aware of its own reading process (Jørgensen 1976), in an attempt to generate an "enlightened" reader – a "Classical reader", as Fielding poses it in *Tom Jones* (1748) – capable of avoiding the escapist and immersive modes of reading fostered by romances and exemplified by the phenomenon of Quixotism.

In my view, Kayser's thesis needs to be questioned, or at least revised. The notion of the 'modernity' of the novel and its precise date of birth is a fluctuating concept, one which usually wavers depending on the field of expertise of the researcher analysing the phenomenon. What is more, if Wieland's concern with "reading, readers and narratives" (Baldwin 2002, 38) is the defining sign of the modernity of *Don Sylvio*, we may ask ourselves whether this particular trait is really an innovation within the German narrative tradition or, as this paper argues, it owes something to other German and European authors. The purpose of this essay is, therefore, to analyse how Wieland's *Don Sylvio*, far from being the first German novel attempting to educate its readership in an enlightened and critical attitude towards literary texts, belongs to a larger tradition in which the phenomenon of Quixotism is employed to portray young, uneducated and inexperienced readers who must learn how to read texts and, most importantly, their own lives. This tradition, already present in Germany with W.E. Neugebauer's *Der teutsche don Quichotte* (1753) must be understood as a larger, transnational phenomenon in which the Quixotic myth is adapted first by the French seventeenth-century imitators of Cervantes (Sorel, Marivaux) and then by his British (Winstanley, Lennox) and German followers to portray the perils of a 'romantic' education and the need to establish a different readerly attitude towards fiction more in line with the educational objectives of enlightened thought. The goal of these pages is, consequently, to promote a more precise understanding of the transnational currents of adaptation at work in Wieland's *Don Sylvio*, highlighting the decisive role of the Cervantean tradition in

this process.[1] In order to do so, this essay will try to execute a close reading of Wieland's text in order to analyse its relationship with some of the most notable works of the European Cervantean tradition. This comparative approach will enable us to frame Kayser's thesis within a wider, transnational context, revealing how some of the most notable innovations of *Don Sylvio von Rosalva* are, in fact, part of a larger transnational process of adaptation and transformation of Miguel de Cervantes's novel.

2 Novels of Educational Failure, Novels of Readerly Education: The Rejuvenation of the Quixotic Myth

Die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva (1764) is, from its early chapters, a novel presented as an educational story. At the beginning of his work, Wieland dedicates two chapters to the education of his protagonist and his particular psychological traits. If we look at the second chapter of the novel, we can see how the German author situates the narrative focus on the education of Don Sylvio, an adolescent Spanish aristocrat who lives in complete isolation with his aunt in a derelict castle in the province of Valencia. This chapter, significantly entitled "What sort of Education Don Sylvio received from his aunt" offers a very detailed narration of Don Sylvio's educational path. After some basic instruction in Latin and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Doña Mencía, Don Sylvio's aunt, designs for his nephew an education fundamentally based on chivalric and French heroic romances (I,2: 5). This alternative educational path soon awakens Don Sylvio's vocation to "imitate those sublime patterns, whose high deeds and moral virtues had transported him with admiration" (1,2: 6). These imitative tendencies are reinforced by Don Sylvio's own psychological disposition. In fact, the third chapter, entitled "Psychological reflections", offers a very detailed analysis of the Quixotic psyche of the protagonist, which, quite significantly, is magnified not only by his aunt's romantic, negligent education (Wilson 1981, 40), but also by his own excess of sensibility and imagination. In this sense, the analysis of this *mélange* composed by educational failure and a particular temperament becomes particularly interesting, especially as the narrator of Wieland's novel tries to rationalise what in Cervantes' anti-hero proved to be

1 I am taking the notion of "Cervantean tradition" from Pedro Javier Pardo's *La tradición cervantina en la novela inglesa del siglo XVIII* (1997). Pardo understands the concept of Cervantean tradition not only as the amount of works influenced by Cervantes' novel, but also as a common way of understanding novel-writing, not just a superficial way of imitating *Don Quixote*, but one which assimilates the model while enriching it and taking it into new directions (2-3).

sheer madness. Don Sylvio von Rosalva is thus presented not as a deranged, demented, old man, but as a character whose epistemology is the direct result of Doña Mencía's educational notions and a quite particular set of psychological and social characteristics which compose a complex canvas where imagination, literature and Don Sylvio's apprehension of reality are interwoven without the presence of Don Quixote's clear and undisputable madness. Quixotism is thus portrayed as educational failure, not lunacy, for in the case of the young Spanish aristocrat imagination "insensibly blends itself with the sentiment; the marvellous with the natural; the false with the true" (1,3: 7-8). The educational and psychological portrait of the first chapters is soon accompanied by a very detailed description of Don Sylvio's reading habits. Wieland presents his protagonist as an *immersive* reader, one that suspends the necessary readerly distance towards texts and *sees, hears and feels* what he reads (1,5: 12). Don Sylvio's epistemological distortion is, therefore, shown to be a complex phenomenon whose origins lie in the educational alienation fostered by his aunt and in his shortcomings as a reader. The protagonist's deficiencies as a reader subsequently become the pivotal bulwark which supports the peripatetic structure which dominates the first part of the novel, where Wieland establishes a dialogue between his protagonist's literary apprehension of reality and the picaresque world in which the novel is encased, a dialogic conflict between inexperience and maturity, readerly immersion and distance, which could also be understood as an educational process, situating the novel within the orbit of the *bildungsroman* genre.

With the end of the first part of the novel and the arrival of Don Sylvio and Pedrillo to the palace of Lirias at the beginning of the second part, the Cervantean pattern of literary-mediated adventures on the road is closed. Wieland alters the focus, turning from epistemological distortion to the dynamics of socialization. The discussion of one of the interpolated stories of the novel, the History of Prince Biribinker – a *reductio ad absurdum* of all the structural elements of the féeric genre – is employed by Don Gabriel, the clear representative of enlightened thought in Wieland's novel, to test the protagonist's confidence in the historical nature of Biribinker's story. By confessing that the supposed 'history' is the product of his own imagination (IV,3), Don Sylvio is forced to accept his own past epistemological distortions, which are proven to be the result of his particular education, his lack of contact with the external world and his own immersive mode of reading, initiating the dynamics of social reintegration which are culminated with the blatantly romantic triple marriage which marks the end of the novel and signals the end of Don Sylvio's Quixotic adolescence. Don Sylvio, free from the "pernicious effects which the fairies had produced in his brain" (VIII,4: 442) and now capable of reading texts from a safe distance, embarks with

Don Eugenio on a formative tour through Europe, culminating the developmental path of the protagonist of Wieland's work. If *Don Sylvio* began with a very detailed description of the educational failure of Doña Mencia's formative system, its ending highlights the evolution experimented by the young Spanish aristocrat. The Quixotic journey of the adolescent reader of romances and fairy tales progresses towards personal maturity and recognition of the fictional nature of Don Sylvio's favourite readings, transforming Quixotism in an educational problem associated with lack of readerly distance. The rejuvenation of the Quixotic protagonist is, therefore, a key element in the transition from Quixotism as madness to Quixotism as delusional inexperience. Wieland's *Don Sylvio* thus paves the way for similar approaches by nineteenth-century authors like, Jane Austen in *Northanger Abbey* ([1798] 1818), Sir Walter Scott in *Waverley* (1814) or Honoré de Balzac's in his serial novel *Illusions Perdues* (1836-43), where the protagonist's Quixotism is also associated with immaturity, educational failure and immersive reading modes.

In his first novel, Wieland not only portrays the educational journey of Don Sylvio, but he also establishes a clear parallelism between Don Sylvio's development as a distanced reader and a certain kind of education for the implicit reader of the novel. As Todd Kontje has pointed out in his study *Private Lives in the Public Sphere: The German Bildungsroman as Metafiction* (1992) most novels of formation of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries "turn inward upon themselves", turning the avid, extensive readers portrayed in these novels into intensive readers of their own lives and reading habits, thus suggesting an "indirect commentary on successive stages in the transformation of the German literary institution" (6) which signals a clear move from intensive modes of reading to more distanced and critical approaches to texts. In this sense, the fact that most of these works employ central figures characterised as readers is, as Schlaffer (1973, 6) has pointed out, completely natural. By employing the figure of the delusional reader as the protagonist of his novel, Wieland avoids the potential identification of the implied reader with the anti-hero of his novel, thus fostering an introspective analysis of the readerly process and the role which our own imagination plays in it (1995, 71). This process encourages a sort of "Quixotic pedagogy" (Rogan 1981a, 93) which articulates itself not only through the use of a Quixotic figure whose own gap between illusion and reality warns the alert reader in his own readerly process, but also through a set of self-conscious techniques which also point to this crevice in a rather indirect way, in a far more complex and subtle level.

The first of these self-conscious techniques has a clear Cervantean scent. Before the narrative action properly begins, Wieland presents an afterword explaining in certain detail the textual history of the text we are reading. This afterword which, due to the inattention

of the editor of the text, was situated as the preface of the novel, attributes the text to a certain don Ramiro von Z***, a Spanish author who may have been working as ambassador in one of the German principalities. The Spanish text, however, has been translated into German by a friend of the editor, who, trying to overcome the censorship of the Archbishop of T***, which hindered its publication in Spain, decided to translate it and offer it to the editor for its publication in Germany. The editor accepts the proposal, but he never contrasts the translation with the original manuscript, accepting the translator's fidelity to the original blindly (*Don Sylvio*, *Vorbericht*).[2] The postscript or preface is thus employed, as Steven Miller argues, (1970, 137), as *Quellenfiktion* or Source Fiction, establishing a clear dialogue between the author and its potential readership by elevating the illusion of the text's own historicity to an absurd level, indicating, as Wilson asserts, the editor's own unreliability (1995, 25), a clear warning sign for the alert reader.

The novel's narratorial apparatus also offers Wieland the opportunity of introducing a set of extradiegetic agents which, following the example of Cervantes, act as intermediaries between the reader and the text, highlighting the mediated nature of the 'history' presented by the editor. The first readers of the text, as presented in the Postscript-Preface, are those closer to the editor's most intimate circle, and their responses echo the implicit reader potential attitudes towards the text: from indignation and sheer unreflective laughter to a more temperate evaluation of the allegorical nature of the story, displaying, as Claire Baldwin (2002, 41) has convincingly demonstrated, a verbal frontispiece which alerts readers towards the need for self-examination. The use of extradiegetic agents as a self-conscious strategy is not, in any case, circumscribed to the Postscript. In a clear contrast with *Don Quixote*, where Cervantes articulates a very complex network of narrative agents, the other extradiegetic narrative agents involved in Wieland's novel, the translator of the Spanish text and the editor, barely intrude the main body of the history of *Don Sylvio*, but when they do, they do it significantly to highlight blatant anachronisms or to mark the reluctancy of the translator to include certain passages of the text where the Spanish author vents is ire against Republican forms of government (III,5). These extradiegetic agents' intervention becomes a clear signal of the unreliability of the historical nature of the text and the biased and unobjective translating practices of the translator. The weight of the self-conscious nature of Wieland's novel relies, however, in the digressive narrator of *Don Sylvio*, a narrator very

2 Baker does not include the Vorbericht. I am therefore using Jørgensen's modern edition of *Don Sylvio* for Reclam (2001).

much in line with the intrusive narrators of Fielding and Sterne. For Richard Rogan, the narrator's frequent commentaries often destroy the epic illusion of reality upon which less experimental fiction is often based (1981b, 182-3), as he often offers an interested selection of the 'historical' facts he compiles, with numerous examples of deliberate omissions and silences, or reflects on certain aspects of his own narrative practice such as the temporal dimension of his creative process or the literary models he is following, giving the reader a sense of intimacy on his own creative process. Readerly response also plays an important role in the narrative practice of the Spanish author as he usually takes into account his expectations and wishes in order to justify certain narrative pauses or the absence of characters like Pedrillo during much of the second part of the novel (VII,1), revealing how all these narratorial choices correspond with a certain narrative purpose, directly contradicting the proclaimed historicity of the text.

Finally, Wieland also employs certain metaliterary and metafictional strategies on a purely intradiegetic level, revealing the clear fictional nature of the novel. Among these, we may mention the literary ascendancy of certain characters, like Doña Felicia, related by birth to Lesage's Gil Blas (VI,3) or the evident structural symmetries of the interpolated history of Prince Biribinker with the novel in which it is inserted, acting as what Pedro Javier Pardo has defined as a "metafictional mirror" (Pardo 1997, 889). If Biribinker's story is blatantly exposed as pure fiction, its clear thematic and structural parallels with Don Sylvio's own narrative – such as the use of a pseudohistorian, Palaphatus, as the main narrative agent or the fact that Biribinker's story is taken from the sixth book of his chronicles, exactly the same book of *Don Sylvio* in which the interpolation is inserted – reveal the necessary fictional nature of the text read by the implicit reader, who is thus taught the same lesson taught by Don Gabriel to Don Sylvio: readerly caution. In this way, the Quixotic pedagogy at the core of Don Sylvio's educational experience acquires a clear indirect character, inviting the implicit reader, as Jørgensen argues (1976, 4) to consider the more formal aspects of the text and to recognise the literary and fictional nature of Don Sylvio's 'history'.

3 A German Chamaleon: Wieland and the European Cervantean tradition

Although Wieland's *Don Sylvio* plays a key role in this rejuvenation of the Quixotic figure and its association to an educational experience based on romantic readings, we must not forget that the German author reproduces in his novel a Quixotic pattern which had already

been developed by other European authors, French, German and British. In fact, if we trace our steps back to Cervantes' original, one can identify a certain "parabolic curve" (Martínez Bonati 1995, 114-15) in the developmental journey of the protagonist which may be recognised in Don Quixote's experience of disenchantment towards the end of the novel and his subsequent recognition of the fictional character of chivalric romances. The Spanish *hidalgo* is, however, an old man, and dies once he acknowledges his past errors. Speaking about an educational experience may be, therefore, venturesome, as Don Quixote's educational path must be a very limited one without any kind of progression once the knight-errant assumes his former role as Alonso Quijano. Cervantes' novel does, however, offer interesting lessons for the alert reader as his narrative, defined by Wolf as "summa *Illusionszerstörenden Erzählens*" (1993, 490-1) fosters narratorial distance towards the very same text we are reading. Wieland seems to have been very aware of these techniques for, as we have tried to demonstrate in our analysis of *Don Sylvio*, the German author organises a very Cervantean narrative structure where the text is presented as a found manuscript which has to be translated and edited, offering the basis for the – in his case more limited – intrusions of the editor and the translator. Wieland does, however, use a digressive narrator which seems to be inherited by two of Cervantes' most recognizable followers: Henry Fielding and Laurence Sterne, evincing how in his use of Cervantean techniques and motifs the German author does owe both to Cervantes himself but also to his European imitators.

This rather indirect path can be further established if we look at some of the earliest and most notable examples of Cervantean influence in Europe: Charles Sorel's *Le berger extravagant* (1627-28) and Pierre de Marivaux' *Pharsamon ou les Nouvelles Folies Romanesques* ([1713] 1737). In Sorel's text we can find, for the first time in the European Cervantean tradition, a young Quixotic protagonist who bears interesting resemblances to Wieland's Don Sylvio. Louis or Lysis, the son of a rich silk merchant, soon abandons his studies in Law to embark in a pastoral quest with his squire Carmelin after compulsively reading pastoral romances (*El pastor extravagante* I,1: 32). This evident Quixotic plot is, as occurs in Wieland's novel, motivated by certain factors related to Lysis' negligent education. Being an orphan – another similarity with the background story of Don Sylvio –, the protagonist's education is conducted by another merchant who, after sending him to university, witnesses how "instead of books of Law, he acquired those cumbersome books called *novels*" (2023, 32, emphasis added). The similarities with Wieland's novel are not, however, restricted to the educational portrait of the protagonist. As Sorel's text progresses, one can observe certain narrative strategies which give the text a rather self-conscious tone.

For example, Sorel introduces a burlesque interpolation called "the Banquet of the Gods" (II: 334-423) which functions as a pastoral pastiche aiming to degrade and ridicule the predilect readings of the protagonist, very much in line with Wieland's interpolated story of Prince Biribinker. In fact, as occurs in Wieland's novel, the interpolation is followed by a critical examination of the story, which is judged by a tribunal (III: 59-97). The similarities with the critical discussion ensuing the interpolation of Biribinker's story are evident, as both texts offer a metaliterary reflection which is destined both to the protagonists of the novel but also to the implied readers of both texts, establishing a clear double educational pattern.

The French Cervantean tradition also offers another interesting example which evinces a clear affinity with Wieland's text. Pierre de Marivaux' *Pharsamon, ou les Nouvelles Folies Romanesques* depicts the story of another orphan whose negligent education has Quixotism as a result. Educated by his uncle, Pharsamon becomes an avid reader of some Iberian chivalric romances such as the books of *Amadis de Gaula* or even Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. These books give the young orphan "cette noble idée qu'il devoit conçevoir et du bel amour et de la gloire" (I,1: 1-2), making the parallel with the early chapters of *Don Sylvio* quite evident. The romantic education of the protagonist is not, however, the only similarity with Wieland's *Don* Sylvio, for Marivaux' *Pharsamon* also shows an interventionist narrator who deliberately offers multiple evidences of the unreliability of his narration, evincing, as Sorel's *Berger Extravagant*, another example of the double educational pattern which seems to be a constant presence in the early Cervantean tradition in France.

If we direct our analysis to the influence of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in Britain, we can witness another interesting example where Quixotism is portrayed as the result of inexperience and educational failure. William Winstanley's *The Essex Champion* (ca. 1694), the first novel to imitate *Don Quixote* in England, continues the path initiated by Sorel and Marivaux by presenting another young protagonist whose Quixotism is the result of a negligent education.[3] Billy of Billerecay is the young son of Thomasio, an Essex farmer who decides to delegate his son's education to an old maid and the town's tailor. When Thomasio discovers that the tailor cannot read, he decides to entrust the formation of his son to the vicar of Billerecay, who educates his pupil through a list of Iberian chivalric romances including *Palmerin of England, Don Belianis of Greece, The Mirror of Knighthood and* Don Quixote's favourite book of chivalry, Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadis de*

3 For a detailed analysis of Winstanley's novel and its place within the Cervantean tradition, one may consult Pedro Javier Pardo's study for the Spanish translation of the text, published in 2022.

Gaula, first published in English in 1590. Given this education, it is hardly surprising that Billy decides to become a champion of chivalry and embarks on a Quixotic quest with his squire Ricardo, introducing the archetypical Cervantean pattern of adventures on the road which end, rather abruptly, when Billy loses his wits and is finally imprisoned. The rejuvenation of the Quixotic archetype effected by Sorel and Marivaux is thus continued by Winstanley in a rather sombre mode, one that excludes the educational path which other British authors as Charlotte Lennox will follow.

Charlotte Lennox' *Female Quixote* (1752) presents a narrative pattern where another young orphan, Arabella, becomes an avid and uncritical reader of French heroic romances. Her orphanhood and isolation bear a striking resemblance to that of Don Sylvio, especially if we direct our look to the initial chapters where Lennox discusses the education of her heroine:

> From her earliest Youth she had discovered a Fondness for Reading, which extremely delighted the Marquis; he permitted therefore the Use of his Library, in which, unfortunately for her, were great Store of Romances, and what was still more unfortunate, not in the original *French*, but very bad translations. […] The surprising Adventures with which they were filled, proved a most pleasing Entertainment to a young Lady, who was wholly secluded from the World; who had no other Diversion, but ranging like a Nymph through Gardens, or, to say better, the Woods and Lawns in which she was inclosed […] Her ideas, from the Manner of her Life, and the Objects around her, had taken a romantic Turn; and supposing Romances were real Pictures of Life, from them she drew all her Notions and Expectations. (I,1: 7)

The delusional education of the protagonist thus fosters an educational pattern which has led scholars like Pardo (2023) or Borham-Puyal (2013) to speak of a female variant of the novel of education or *bildungsroman,* one that would be further developed by authors like Frances Burney in *Evelina, or, A Young Lady's Entrance into the World* (1778), Elizabeth Tomlin in *The Victim of Fancy* (1787), Maria Edgeworth in *Belinda* (1801), Mary Brunton in *Self-Control* (1811) or Jane Austen in *Northranger Abbey* ([1799] 1817).[4] These examples offer sufficient evidence about how the developmental journey articulated by Wieland in his *Don Sylvio* may not be as innovative as one may think, especially considering the German author's extensive knowledge of French and British literature.

4 For a more detailed analysis of these novels as female *bildungsromane*, see Borham-Puyal (2013, 519-715).

But what about the autochthonous Cervantean tradition? The earliest examples of German novels influenced by Cervantes follow the path inaugurated by Sorel and continued by Marivaux and even by Charlotte Lennox. In fact, some of these texts, now long forgotten and only considered by specialists in the German reception of Cervantes, reproduce the pattern of deregulated education described above. Such is the case in the anonymous novel *Die wundersamen Abentheuer des in der Welt herumirrenden Neuen Don Quixotte oder Schwäbischen Robinson, Nebst vielen andern sehr anmuthigen Liebes-Geschichten* (The Wonderful Adventures of the world-roaming new Don Quixot, or the Schwabian Robinson, together with other charming love stories) of 1742. This sub-literary novel, despite its misleading title, which may have been introduced for financial reasons due to the extraordinary popularity of Defoe's text in Germany – presents the story of a young Schwabian aristocrat whose orphanhood leads to another example of deregulated education. The laxity of his tutor makes him an avid reader of romances, but in a strange narrative turn, the protagonist starts his Quixotic quest after drinking a love filter, recovering his good sense quite suddenly after some blood-letting executed by a local barber. This rather rough plot is not accompanied, as in the more complex novels of Sorel, Marivaux and Lennox, by a metafictional apparatus supporting both the education of the protagonist and the implied reader. The choice for a deregulated education narrative pattern seems to be influenced by the success of Sorel and Marivaux, and not by a desire to direct the implied reader towards a more distanced form of reading.

This is not, however, the case with the first notable example of Cervantean influence in the German novel. Wilhelm Ehrenfried Neugebauer's *German Don Quixote* (Der teutsche Don Quichotte), perhaps the first explicit Quixotic novel to be written in German, has been defined by Lieselotte Kurth-Voigt (1965) as the first 'modern' novel in German literature, for its bourgeois protagonist, its proto-realism and its radical metafictionality do anticipate Wieland's works in many ways. This work, virtually unknown outside Cervantean research and translated for the first time into any foreign language in 2022, bears some interesting analogies with Wieland's *Don Sylvio*. Its protagonist, Johann Glück is, as Sorel's Lysis, the son of a merchant who, after the decease of his parents, is (un)educated by a greedy uncle who acts as his tutor. As in all the examples mentioned above, the negligent education received by Glück has his interest in French heroic romances as a result, of which he becomes an avid reader (I,1.: 26-7). Glück's lack of distance towards the texts he reads enables the establishment of a Quixotic pattern of adventures in the road with his servant Görge, as they both assume two fictional identities more in line with their passion for heroic romances: The Marquis of Bellamonte and Du Bois. The Quixotic adventures of

Bellamonte and Du Bois come to an end once they encounter another rather Quixotic character who appears in the guise of a Macedonian knight and presents himself as Prince Vardanes of Macedonia (IV,1). This Quixotic doppelgänger, a reader of German Baroque romances who has really lost his mind, narrates his own "history"; an interpolated story which functions as a mirror for Glück's own path and his lack of distance as a reader (IV,2). Despite his Quixotic nature, Glück shows some good sense and makes a rational critique of the predilect romances of Prince Vardanes, finally acknowledging the fictional nature of this genre, but also of the literature he reads. This process evinces the end of Glück's Quixotic adolescence and signals his entrance into adulthood, as the end of the novel clearly demonstrates once the narrator declares that "the chimera had finally abandoned the soul" of the protagonist, now able to follow the healthy path of sound reason (IV,10: 307). This educational pattern is also supported by a Cervantean narratological structure in which the text is also presented as a translation of the French. In any case, as in Wieland's *Don Sylvio* the self-conscious strategies of the novel are articulated through the intrusive narrator or historian, who, in a radical metafictional strategy, decides to enter the narration as a character during the second part, acquiring a dual role as narrator of the story and a character in the story he is narrating (I,15). This and other distancing techniques which are derived from his clear tendency to digression and self-contradiction situate Neugebauer's text at the crossroads of the innovations of the French Cervantean tradition and the double educational pattern which Wieland articulates in his Don Sylvio, thus occupying an essential position within the European traffic for Cervantean adaptations and re-writings which takes place during the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. Wieland, who in one of his letters to his friend Zimmermann defined himself as "a chameleon, seeming green when close to green objects, and yellow, when close to the yellow ones, but being neither green or yellow, but transparent" (quoted in Jørgensen et al. 1998, 42), operates exactly in this way, assuming the colours of previous innovations within the European reception of Cervantes in order to give shape to a new product, a kind of novel which would define the German *bildungsroman* and the European novel of the nineteenth century. Wieland's first novel may have been, as Kayser argued, a turning point in the history of German novel writing, but historical breakthroughs are usually the result of a long process of significant transformations, as our analysis of the evolution of the Quixotic pattern in Europe during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries has tried to demonstrate.

4 Conclusions

In *Die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva*, Christoph Martin Wieland builds a narrative structure aiming to educate his potential readership in a distanced, critical mode of reading, completely opposed to the immersive modes of reading fostered by romances. This structure is, as Jørgensen (1976) convincingly argues, quite in line with the goals of the German Enlightenment, which had attacked romance readership as acritical and delusional. Wieland employs a Quixotic character alongside with a very elaborated metafictional narrative network in order to achieve a double educational pattern which reflects not just the education of his protagonist, but also, in an indirect manner, the readerly education of his potential readership. His use of this double educational pattern, which, at first sight, seems quite innovative for the German novel of the first half of the eighteenth-century, is, however, hardly original and seems quite dependent of the European Cervantean tradition, for, as we have tried to demonstrate throughout these pages, Wieland clearly draws on the innovations of Sorel, Marivaux, Lennox and Neugebauer to construct both his Quixotic pattern based on the deregulated education of a young orphan and the use of a metafictional apparatus which reveals the fictional character of the novel through the use of an intrusive narrator and specular interpolations.

More importantly, the use of this educational pattern will be employed by future Romantic and Realist writers who will also draw on the Cervantean tradition. Novels like Jane Austen's *Northranger Abbey* ([1799], 1818), Scott's *Waverley* (1814), Balzac's *Les illusions perdues* (1837-43) or even Keller's *Der grüne Heinrich* (1842) all draw on educational journey of young, Romantic protagonists who must come to terms with reality after trying to live a life according to their readerly expectations. The permanence of this pattern well into the nineteenth century speaks clearly of a transnational, transsecular current of Cervantean adaptation, demonstrating, on the one hand, the pivotal role of Wieland's text within this current, but also its dependence towards previous adaptations of the narrative structure created by Miguel de Cervantes in his immortal *Don Quijote de la Mancha*.

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