Space, Place, and Shifting Worlds in Shakespeare and Cervantes

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This essay draws on history and geography texts to reconstruct early modern writers' ability to respond to change in geographic knowledge and technology. Performed in theatres featuring non-illusionistic scenery, Shakespeare's plays establish location through movement, language, gesture, and costume. Spatial manipulation in *Don Quijote* opens the place of the mind towards multifaceted inwardness. For these reasons, Shakespearean and Cervantean dramatic and narrative geographies were remarkably flexible. Shakespeare's production of geographic location in *All's Well That Ends Well* – through the parodic configuration of the Mancha region related to issues of honour and chivalry – creates multi-layered spaces that coexist, challenge, and are in dialogue. In the prose romance mode, spatial movement across La Mancha enables Cervantes to contest cultural values articulated in fictional locations. I propose that Cervantes and Shakespeare construct imaginary worlds that generate their own disorder and cultivate mental landscapes that question interiority in relation to the external. Both Shakespeare and Cervantes invite playgoers/readers to look beyond scene and action to determine symbolic significance; geographic location can, thus, function metaphorically.

Keywords: geocriticism; Shakespeare; Miguel de Cervantes; spatiality; La Mancha; early modern geography; *All's Well that Ends Well*; *Don Quixote*.

"*E*n *un lugar de la Mancha, de cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme…*" (Cervantes, 1605: Fol. 1ʳ); "In a certain village of the Mancha, the name whereof I purposely omit …" (Cervantes, 1612: 1), according to the first English translation by Thomas Shelton (1612). This place has been identified concretely in the Campo de Montiel area, a short horse ride from the current provinces Ciudad Real and Albacete, or even in Esquivias (McCrory, 2005: 126).[1] A team of sociologists at Universidad Complutense of Madrid have averred that the Cervantean real space is the village Villanueva de los Infantes (Parra Luna et al. 2005, xv: 116) – a small locality of Ciudad Real, capital of the Campo de Montiel region in the sixteenth century. However, the indeterminacy of this place of La Mancha in the beginning of Cervantes's novel, which has many analogies with folk tale narratives, contrasts with the exact details of narrative settings characteristic of chivalry books. Moreover, as I argue, Cervantes's La Mancha is an in-between real-and-imaginary place that defies any specific localization. The vagueness of the novel's beginning ironically highlights the gap between the real mapped space and the space(s) of creativity. The novel turns the readers' imagination inwards, to the places of the mind and memory, to the places whose names, sometimes, we do not wish to remember. Con-

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[1] In a biographical study of Cervantes, Donald McCrory finds a biographic similarity between Shakespeare, who left his wife in Stratford-upon-Avon and went to London, and Cervantes, when he left his wife Catalina and the town of Esquivias in La Mancha, under the jurisdiction of Toledo, to go south (2005: 124). McCrory relates this site with the place of La Mancha in the novel: "Is Esquivias the place he no longer wants to recall?" (2005: 126). From my perspective of real-and-imaginary space, it is irrelevant whether the place is Esquivias, Villanueva de los Infantes, or any other place in La Mancha. The topological imaginary place, which opens the readers' minds to alternative possible spaces of imagination, is more meaningful than a merely subjective biographic or strictly geographic / sociologic interpretation.

ceptualizing the role of literature within a broad discursive horizon, from the perspective of ge-
ocriticism and spatial literary studies, I argue that the globalizing changes that have informed early
modern culture require us to move beyond disciplinary and generic borders and consider concepts
of space, place, and geography in a larger cultural context. Therefore, I will bring Shakespeare
and Cervantes in the globalizing discourse of early modern space and place, taking into account
generic differences.

   Space and place in literature have received significant critical attention lately, with the con-
ceptualizations in "geocriticism" (Westphal, 2011: 6) and "spatiality" (Tally, 2013: 3); the "over-
lapping territories" of the critical practices of geocriticism and ecocriticism (Tally & Battista,
2016: 8); as well as the concept of "topology" in understandings of the Shakespearean spatial
paradigm, which "focuses on relational space, on continuity, and connectivity" (Habermann &
Witen, 2016: 2). The concept of "telemesic" space in early modern drama highlights the simul-
taneity and contingency of the dramatic transmission of a sense of distant locations as if being
in the middle of things (Matei-Chesnoiu, 2015: 9). Showing how Spanish material was transmitted
into English writing, Barbara Fuchs traces "the emergence of a national canon for England in
the context of its rivalry with Spain – a model constantly emulated even as it was disavowed"
(2013: 45). Fuchs argues for an "Anglo-Spanish exchange" (5) that produced significant literary
and cultural contacts between the two nations. According to Fuchs, "the most staunch defenders
of England against Spain are nonetheless seduced by Spanish imaginary, language, or plots" (6).
Or by Spanish imaginary space,[2] I would add. From the spatially-coordinated perspective adopted
in this paper, Shakespeare and Cervantes[3] may have had more in common than a possible plot
for a lost play (*Cardenio*)[4] or the general early modern tendency towards explorations of subjec-
tivity. Shakespeare's plays are performed in theatres that highlight location by means of movement,

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[2] In a study drawing on sixteenth and early seventeenth-century cartography and other texts – including
Don Quixote –, Ricardo Padrón outlines the nature of the period's spatial imagination and argues that
"space" was understood differently in early modern Spain: "only a small minority of Spaniards seemed to
have used *espacio* to refer to a planar extension. For most Spaniards of this period, *espacio* continued to
refer primarily to time, and secondarily to one-dimensional space, that is, distance" (2002: 35). This cogent
view of early modern spatiality supports my argument that "space" and "place" had different meanings for
early modern readers and audiences than they do today. Alternatively, discussing the nature of space and
place in theatrical representation, Lloyd Edward Kermode notes: "the categories of place and space require
the complement and the contrast of the other to be understood, talked about, constructed, and utilized.
Dramatic activity puts into practice this inevitable symbiotic relationship, privileging a 'place' of activity,
which is constantly fed by the actors' and audiences' sense of the space around and within the theater"
(2013: 2).

[3] For the intercultural mirroring of Shakespeare and Cervantes, see Ardila (ed.), who notices the "Cervan-
tesmania" (2009: x) that flourished in academic writing after 2005. Papers in the bilingual volume edited by
Zenón Luis-Martínez and Luis Gómez Canseco discuss "Crossroads" (2006: 10) and "Parallel Paths" (2006:
11) in the analysis of the two authors by looking at the "contexts and projections of each author in the
other's culture" (10). I find it exceptionally relevant that Richard Wilson, in the collection of essays edited
by Luis-Martínez and Canseco, also finds parallels with Catholic Spain in *All's Well that Ends Well* (15) – the
ghostly presence of Catholic miracles and Spanish pilgrimages –, which indirectly helps prove my point
about allusions to La Mancha in this play. Sarah F. Wood traces the "Quixotic fictions of America's early re-
public (2005: vii) and identifies "a sense of ideological double-consciousness" (x) integral to the period ad-
dressed. Ardila (2014) surveys the influence of *Don Quixote* in the eighteenth-century English novel by
looking at Fielding's *Tom Jones, Humphrey Clinker* and *Roderick Random* by Tobias Smollett, and a series of
female quixotic characters. Randall and Boswell look at the seventeenth-century English reception of *Don
Quixote* and note: "Don Quixote was first welcomed both at home and abroad as a mirth-inducing book"
(2009: xvi); this view coincides with my argument that the space of La Mancha and characterization in the
quixotic mode are connected with self-reflexive comedic aspects.

[4] For the problems of authorship and *Cardenio*, see Bourus & Taylor (eds.), 2013; Fuchs, 2013; Carnegie &
Taylor (eds.), 2012; Meek & Rickard, 2011; and Fuchs, who proposes "that we restore the texts constructed
in a transnational, ideologically complex setting to their original contexts, and recuperate influence or
transmission as ideological vectors" (2009: 144).

language, gesture, and costume, rather than illusionistic techniques of décor. In *Don Quijote*, spatial management opens the mind towards introspection and emotion.[5] Therefore, Shakespearean and Cervantean dramatic and narrative geographies are exceptionally malleable. The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the effects of this malleability and to explore the ways in which space and place components refine literary geographies and extend dramatic or narrative possibilities. The paper also draws attention to the extent to which generic aspects influence representations of space and place.

Early English translations of *Don Quixote* tackle the novel's opening phrase and its ambivalent spatiality less precisely than it would be appropriate. The first English translation of *Don Quixote* (1612) by Thomas Shelton is not very accurate,[6] and this is visible from the opening of the first book. In Shelton's translation, the narrator "purposely" omits to mention the name of the "village" in La Mancha (Cervantes, 1612: 1). The Spanish more general "*lugar*" (place) becomes a "village" in the first English translation, while the specific locality of a "certain village" does not emerge from the Spanish source text. Moreover, the omission is made "purposely", and this implies authorial intentionality, which is far from the self-reflexive metaphor of indefinite space in the Spanish original. In my view of the Spanish "*no quiero acordarme*," the narrator does not wish to remember the places' name just because this is a no-place – the place of the mind. Later English versions, for example by Charles Jarvis (1788),[7] replicate Shelton's translation of this passage and propagate this image of fake authorial agency: the authorial voice expresses the intention to "purposely omit" (Cervantes, 1788: 1:1) the village's name. In Jarvis's translation, however, there is a footnote, marked with an asterisk, which describes the geographic localization of La Mancha: "A small territory, partly in the kingdom of Arragon, and partly in Castile" (Cervantes, 1788: 1:1n*). In the Penguin edition of *Don Quixote* (2000; 2003), translated by John Rutherford, however, we find a more acceptable version: "In a village in La Mancha, the name of which I cannot quite recall" (Cervantes, 2000; 2003: 25). Even here the implication is rather of memory loss than vagueness of place, and authorial agency is still present. The translation by Edith Grossmann (2003) is more clarifying and highlights the Cervantine inward place of the mind: "Somewhere in La Mancha, in a place whose name I do not care to remember" (Cervantes, 2003: 19). Indeed, in Grossman's English version, we see the indeterminacy of the imaginary "place" and the sequential dislocation of memory.

Why does he not wish or care to remember the place's name? What is this place? As the self-reflexive and ironic nature of Don Quijote's musings amply demonstrate, the place of La Mancha needs no naming, no objective localization, because it is the place of the mind and memory, a place we often like to revisit. The volatility of imagined places, as opposed to real geographic location, invokes archetypal, mythical images of past and present, places of imagination that open the space of the mind towards multi-layered inwardness. Jehenson and Dunn have mapped the discursive fields and myths in *Don Quixote*, arguing for the "utopian nexus" (2006: x) of the story's locations. As the authors observe, "the myths are bonded within the society's structure of desires

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[5] In a study concerning the importance of the affective dimension in Cervantes and Shakespeare, José Manuel González argues that both writers share "a fascination with the emerging culture of emotion" and they "locate emotion in relation to cognition, the body, culture and society" (2015: 523). Since the body is inextricably linked with location – in space and on stage – I would also add that the two writers link emotion with spatiality.

[6] As Shelton mentions in his dedicatory epistle to Lord of Walden (i.e. Teophilus Howard), he produced the translation "in the space of forty dayes" and he never had the time to renew or correct it, hoping that others "would peruse and amend the errours escaped" (Shelton, *apud* Cervantes 1612: sig. 2r). Shelton calls his version "abortiue" (*apud* Cervantes 1612: sig. 2v), which entitles us to doubt the validity of the translation. Randall and Boswell note that the translator, Thomas Shelton, presumably learned Spanish while he was at school in Salamanca (2009: 14).

[7] In "The Translator's Preface" to this volume, Charles Jarvis notes that Shelton's translation "passed as translated from the original", but many passages seem to have been taken from the Italian version of Lorenzo Franciosini (*apud* Cervantes, 1788: i).

as are Don Quixote and Sancho Panza within their shared textual space" (x). Indeed, the action itself unfolds among places whose names are readily found on maps: Campo de Montiel, Toboso, Sierra Morena, or Toledo. However, the narrative creates a formulaic bridge between the novel's imaginary world and the "real" barren hills of La Mancha, which Don Quixote's chivalric and pastoral delusions seek to transform. Roland Greene discusses the semantics of "world" in the context of imperial aspirations in the age of Shakespeare and Cervantes and observes that "the increasing complexity of the world as a concept comes to inflect the original project of conceiving selfhood so that at the end of this period it is not easy sometimes to disentangle self from the world" (2013: 147-48). Based on works by Cusanus, Buchanan, and the period's cosmographers, Greene argues that "*world* is a semantic engine" (149) and "Cervantes treats fiction as the imaginative space in which they [i.e. the concepts of "world" and "worlding"] should be made unstable and mutually dependent" (162). Following these conceptual tenets, the elusive La Mancha, therefore, is the unstable place of the mind, like Hamlet's interiority. This is a no-place that needs no exact location because it exists in myriad forms of illusion, wherever imaginary worlds take shape, in narrative and in the theatre.

One cannot say that the geographic region of Castilla-La Mancha was unknown to Shakespeare, Thomas Shelton, and their contemporaries in the early seventeenth century. Geographic exploration had enlarged the horizons of common English and Spanish citizens, but it had also opened the way to a larger receptivity for the illusion created by the new geographic technologies. People were likely to read about old and new places, but also to construct territories of imagination linked to extant geographic descriptions. Moreover, geographic narratives themselves were an agglomeration of real and fantastic stories, of myth and factual information. In the same year in which Thomas Shelton published the first translation of *Don Quixote* (1612), Edward Grimestone translated from French the *Generall Historie of Spaine* (1612) by the Huguenot historian and political theorist Louis Turquet de Mayerne. In a presentation of the knights of St. James in Spain, readers are informed that there are four convents in which the order is particularly strong, one of which is located "in the fields of Montiel" (318). Among the five hospitals that the knights hold in Spain, readers learn that one of them is in Toledo: "St Iames of Toledo, where they go to be cured which have the poxe or French disease, and all other infirmities which depend thereon" (319). The French Calvinist writer – an adept of monarchical republicanism – tried to filter and understand the Spanish monarchical system and see where the roots of that country's strength lay. In the two-page description of the stronghold convent locations of the Knights of St. James[8] – one of which lies in the fields of Montiel –, the French writer configures a mental world in which chivalry and Christianity apparently provide strength to Habsburg Hispanic rule. However, the understatement is that, what at first sight looked like a mighty empire, underneath the surface had feet of clay. This destabilising mental landscape also emerges from the peregrinations of the Cervantine knight errant through the fictional La Mancha. What better location for the imaginary chivalric exploits of Cervantes's knight than the fields of Montiel, in La Mancha? What better place for the fictional character Dulcinea del Toboso (alias Aldonza Lorenzo) than the Toledo region? However, the real place, like the real person, is elusive. If the aim of the narrative was moral reform, the more it was talked about and pursued, the larger the task became, and the more elusive the objective. The real place of La Mancha is reconstituted of infinitesimal fragments of real-world spaces and people, reconfigured in the changeable inner space of the mind.

At this point, however, we should register caveats. The real space of sixteenth-century Spain

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[8] In a study analyzing the prevalent English notion concerning the Compostela pilgrimage, Grace Tiffany includes *All's Well That Ends Well* in the discussion about St James and argues that "Shakespeare stripped the Santiago myth, as well as English prejudices against Jews and Spaniards, of topical and religious significance" (2002: 87), while investing the pilgrimage parable with "erotic significance" (87). As I see it, the associations of St James, Spanish Catholicism, and notions of pilgrimage – in both Shakespeare and Cervantes – are inscribed in the increasingly globalized modes of perceiving space and place.

and its institutions do not exactly correspond to the fictional representations that dramatic productions or narratives make of them. The real space of monarchical Spain and La Mancha is only the background tapestry against which the quixotic character's inner space evolves. A mental map constructed of interrelated mirror-images also emerges from the translated texts about Spanish geography and history, as filtered through French/English eyes and minds. Edward Grimestone has been called "one of the most active and versatile of translators, when translation was in its golden age" (Boas, 1906: 2). Indeed, Grimestone's translations about the history of Spain have shaped the English perception of this country's social and political system. In the monumental 1234-page translation from French by Edward Grimestone of Pierre Avity's *The estates, empires, & principallities of the world* (1615), the ancient Spaniards are reported to be "full of arrogancie and vaunting" (115).[9] Concerning "The manners of the Spaniards at this day", Avity reports that they are "subtil-witted"; "they are more melancholicke than other nations"; and "they brag much of any thing that doth concerne them" (116). If we were to construct a rearranged ethnographic and emotional image of what has come to mean the Spanish national character in the eyes of Shakespeare's and Cervantes's contemporaries, Don Quijote's elusive personality would provide the reversed and paradoxical epitome: "subtil-witted" means imaginative, quick-witted, ingenious (*el ingenioso hidalgo*).What could convey a more pessimistic feeling than "Don Quixotes melancholy" (Cervantes, 1612: 174), as manifested in *el caballero de la triste figura*? Finally, Don Quijote seems to be a braggart knight (a parody in the manner of the Miles gloriosus in Roman comedy or Il Capitano in Commedia del'Arte), but not one who turns out to be a coward when in danger; he is a braggart knight who acts valiantly, but in an entirely inappropriate way. It is as if Cervantes's caballero appears to be the embodiment of all discursive stereotypes about the Spanish national character that had been disseminated throughout the ages. And yet, in Part II of *Don Quixote*, the protagonist presents himself as the reader of a book that narrates his personal story – a story that continues to be written by a fictive chronicler as the narration of the knight's adventures continues to unfold. So Don Quijote appears to be, paradoxically, the metafictional quintessence of textual debates about Spanish character combined with a constant denial and annihilation of such essentialist discursive practices.

In view of the novel's palimpsestic meta-textuality, the logical question arises: how can we distinguish between real and imaginary space in *Don Quixote*? In a study discussing the "spurious historicity" of *Don Quixote* in relation to its genre, the author argues that readers have to deal "with a story masquerading as history, with a work claiming to be historically true within its external framework of fiction" (Wardropper, 2005: 142). Indeed, the realism of the inns and roads of La Mancha (as if emerging from the English translation of Pierre Avity's realistic history and ethnography) is paradoxically pitted against the unstable inner territories of the mind, with their ups and downs, and just as deep as the cave of Montesinos, where sleepers dream of terrible enchantments. In opposition to the real-imaginary territory of the mind in the novel, social hierarchy seems an essential element of stability for the Spanish monarchy and an unquestionable constituent in the spatial configuration of Avity's geographic narrative. In appreciation of the well-established social hierarchy, in Chapter 10, "Of Spaine," English readers learn about the principal noble families of this country, including the Pachecos, who have their estate "in the realme of Murcia and Mancha" (131). Edward Grimestone, in conjunction with the London stationer Adam Islip, were quite efficient in producing several histories of France and Spain (via French intermediary), for the immediate use of their English readers. It is not debatable, therefore, that the main geographic features and the social hierarchies of Spain – even the revenues of certain members

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[9] In the 1625 French edition of Avity's *Les estats, empires, royaumes et principautez du monde*, the author remarks on the habits of the ancient Spaniards and quotes the Latin writer and Christian apologist of the time of Constantine I, Julius Firmicus Maternus, according to whom the Spanish are arrogant and bragging: "Firmi que nomme cette nation pleine d'arrogance & de vanterie" (148). This stereotypical national feature originating in classical authors was perpetuated through generations of texts and was transmitted via translation to the English geographic and ethnographic imaginary.

of the nobility – were available to Jacobean readers in the period 1612-1615. Avity's French history and geography and its English translation create intertextual real-imaginary worlds about La Mancha that are almost similar – but not quite – to the fictional quixotic territory.

In the context of the re-shaped early modern geographic context, European ingenuity and excellence in the art of navigation were considered the source of recent achievements in territorial expansion and cartographic and geographic technologies. The Italian priest and diplomat Giovanni Botero, in his *Relazioni universali* (1595), begins his monumental description with Spain, which is described as "*prima provincia di Europa*" (2^r), the first province of Europe.[10] The Spanish people are characterized by "*civiltà*" (civility) and "*politezza*" (politeness) (2^r). Unavoidably, political historians and geographers drew essentialist generalizations concerning what they thought to be the characteristics necessary for a great nation in order to reach international recognition and power. In the 1608 English translation by R. I. (Robert Johnson) of Botero's *Relazioni*, entitled *Relations of the most famous kingdoms and common-weales thorough the world*, in the introductory chapter named "Of the World and the greatest Princes therein", it is argued that the necessary qualities for a conquering nation holding imperialistic aspirations are valour and discretion, or wit (sig. B1^r–B2^r). The "Spaniards" are endowed with both qualities, Botero reasons, since they "haue surer settled themselues in that which they haue gained by their warinesse and iudgement" (sig. B2^r). This literary myth-making process that reshapes the Spanish national character and the La Mancha territory in the English imagination extends to entirely new levels as the popularity of Cervantes's novel begins to spread throughout Europe. In 1625, the mirroring process involving geography and literature becomes even more convincing. Peter Heylyn's monumental geography entitled *Mikrokosmos* (1625) describes the hills of Spain, including "*Seira Morena*" (35) and connects the real geography of the region with the fictitious space of *Don Quixote*: "A chaine of hills sufficiently famous, were it only in this that *Cervantes*, the wit of *Spaine*, made it the sceane of many the warlike exploits atchieued by the flower & creame of Knight errantrie, *Don Quixot de la Mancha*" (35).

In this geographic and travel context, the real space of La Mancha and the Sierra Morena region acquire significant imaginary dimensions via the allusion to Cervantes and his fiction. By means of recurrent processes of re-imagining geographic and literary space, not only the Cervantean character is represented as subtle-witted or ingenious, but Cervantes himself becomes the embodiment of the nation's traditional characteristics of wit and ingenuity.

The space of the stage creates its own imaginary geography, transmitted to an attentive and informed audience. Focusing on evolutionary theory and cognitive science, Joe Keener's study about the "implied space" (2016: 25) of Shakespeare's stage in *Macbeth* introduces the concept of "distributed cognition" (27) during theatrical interaction. Keener explains how the audiences use this mental process of perceiving space "to get to both the localized and unlocalized off" (27). According to this theory of imaginative cognitive mapping, "[t]his activity includes cognitively transforming the present stage into a fictional space, and then extrapolating it to implied spaces that exist in the written text but have their domain beyond the boundaries of the stage in production" (32).

Indeed, Shakespeare's use of the fictional La Mancha in *All's Well That Ends Well* is just as compelling as Cervantes's inward space in the novel. The keywords are illusion, self-reflexivity, and mock social interaction – as in Cervantes. The scene is the battlefield "outside the Florentine camp", according to the stage directions of Act IV, scene 1.[11] Parolles, the self-proclaimed lord of words, is caught in a mock ambush in the drum-recovery episode. The tone is burlesque and the martial activity is set to ridicule. Parolles speaks of the "fear of Mars" (4.1.29) in his heart; he feels that his tongue (verbal bragging) had put him into peril and he must buy "another of Bajazeth's mule" (4.1.42); finally, Parolles fears that his "Spanish sword" (4.1.47) would break.

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[10] All translations from Spanish, Italian, or French texts quoted in this paper are mine.

[11] Quotations from Shakespeare's *All's Well That Ends Well* are keyed to The Arden Shakespeare, edited by G. K. Hunter (1959; 1998).

The mention of martial exploits, people, and objects in the reversed context of Parolles's fear of actual combat sets this scene's mock-irreverence as a starting point for the self-reflexive theatricality of the events.

The drum-recovery episode in *All's Well That Ends Well* is a play-within-the-play, which happens in a vaguely located battlefield in Italy, during the even more unclear French-Italian wars. A martial hero should be fearless, but Parolles – though a braggart – is fearful. Bajazet was famed to be a valiant Turkish sultan, but Parolles feels like his scared mule in battle (like a bathetic mix of Don Quixote on his Rocinante and Sancho Panza on his mule). Spanish swords were considered the peak of armed efficiency in combat, but in this scene the infallible object is breakable in the context of human fear. In this atmosphere of emotion developing in the social battlefield space, the enactment of the drum-recovery masquerade achieves bathetic proportions, as in the case of Don Quixote and the giants/windmills. The disguised lords speak in fictitious languages, which are conflations that sound like French, Russian, and Spanish. The comic nonsense language suggests the warring powers of Europe at the time, while the more marginal Turk is summoned in Sultan Bajazet's martial figure, represented by his scared mule – a historical impossibility in the case of a powerful sultan. One of the replies in the drum-recovery exchange sounds as counterfeit Spanish; the first soldier invites the blindfolded Parolles to pray, and says "*Manka revania dulche*" (4.1.78). To a listener in the audience who had little Spanish, such as, for instance, Thomas Shelton, the translator of *Don Quixote*, this would sound as "Mancha sweet revenge". As a visual support of my argument for the Spanish allusion, I bring the 2011 production of *All's Well That Ends Well* at Shakespeare's Globe, directed by John Dove (Shaw, 2013: 395). According to a reviewer, "this was an "original practices" Globe production, exploring the use of early modern costumes, live music, minimal scenery, and audience interaction" (Klett, 2011: 645). The production featured a Spanish-looking histrionic soldier, Parolles (James Garnon), complete with baroque goateed features and animated eyebrows, an enormous plumed hat, trimmed boots, and a head bandana – a would-be figure of a Spanish caballero.

It may not be irrelevant that *All's Well That Ends Well* was first printed in the 1623 *First Folio*. G. K. Hunter, the editor of the Arden Shakespeare, places a tentative dating around 1603-4 (1998: xxv); Emma Smith around 1604-5 (2012: 4); and Wells and Taylor state that there is no external evidence as to the date of composition and conclude, based on internal evidence, that "it is an early Jacobean play" (1992: 855).[12] In view of my argument connecting Shakespeare and Cervantes, it is possible to accept the post-1606 dating proposed by Jackson (2001: 299), which is contested by Skinner (2013: 430), but is gaining widespread acceptance. Stelzer suggests 1606 as the terminal date for *All's Well That Ends Well* by observing affinities in tone and subject matter with Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (2016: 428). It is not impossible, therefore, to place the play's composition around 1605-1606[13] – in a period when the first edition of *Don Quixote* was published in Madrid and then spread rapidly throughout Europe via translations. However, dramatic interaction is more relevant than textual evidence or composition date. In the drum-recovery scene on the battlefield, the possible "Mancha sweet revenge" interpretation of the mock interaction among Parolles and the three lords Dumaine can be structured on three levels: political and cultural, linguistic, and in point of theatrical spatiality.

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[12] In the dating controversy for *All's Well That Ends Well*, I must mention: for 1603 as the terminal date, see Chambers (1930, I: 451) and Bullough (1957-1975, II: 375); this date is endorsed in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (1997: 536); for 1604, see *The Arden Shakespeare*, ed. G. K. Hunter (Shakespeare, 1959; 1998: xxv); for 1605 as the composition or terminal date, see *The New Cambridge Shakespeare*, ed. Russell Fraser (Shakespeare, 1985: 5); *The Oxford Shakespeare*, ed. Susan Snyder (Shakespeare, 1993: 23-24); this is the accepted judgment in *The Norton Shakespeare*, gen. ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Shakespeare, 1997: 3386).

[13] Since there is no known mention of this play before the entry in the Stationer's Register for the printing of the 1623 First Folio, it is possible to accept G. K. Hunter's conclusion, based on external evidence, "pointing to a date somewhere in the first decade of the seventeenth century" (*apud* Shakespeare, 1959; 1998: xxii).

Particularly in the early seventeenth-century, the English cultural and political imagination was moving away from "the specter of Spain" (Griffin, 2009, 1), as compared to pre- and post-Armada Elizabethan times. Concerning King James's early rapprochement with Spain, historian Diana Newton avers that, as of early February 1605, "England was at peace with Spain and Flanders, albeit with misgivings in the Low Countries and at home" (2005: 78). However, the cultural imaginary connecting Spain with excessive pride, military might, and imperial expansion was still active. In addition, there was the theatrical connection of Spain with revenge, extracted from Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, since the revenge character, Hieronimo, was often parodied by other playwrights. What is the connection of "Manka", or "Mancha" with the in-between place of La Mancha, spatial imagination about Spain, and emotion? In John Florio's book of proverbs and witty sentences, *First Fruites* (1578), the author presents a bilingual list of proverbs, in Italian and in English. Florio translates the Italian "*Checosa vi mancha?*" as "what thing doo you lacke?" (3ᵛ), but the correct Italian is "*Checosa vi manca.*" This textual evidence invites the conclusion that "manka" and "mancha" were interchangeable in spelling and pronunciation in the period under discussion. Eighteenth-century editions of *All's Well That Ends Well* render this passage from Act IV, scene 1 as "*Mancha revancha dulche*" (Shakespeare, 1734: 54; Shakespeare, 1735: 54; Shakespeare, 1756: 57; Shakespeare, 1778: 12) or "*Mancha revania dulche*" (Shakespeare, 1788: 78). This proves all the more so the interchangeability of "Mancha" and "Manka" in print and pronunciation.[14] From this linguistic perspective, the First Lord's "*Manka revania dulche*" (4.1.78) makes sense as a parody of Spanish bravado related to a braggart knight, with allusion to La Mancha. As in *Don Quixote*, nonsense language and inappropriate actions stand for the obscure workings of the subconscious territory of the mind and emotion.

Even as the chivalric romance[15] and the space of La Mancha in geography texts and later in *Don Quixote* were transposed into the English language, the mythical geography of romance was replaced by the domesticated and familiar place of comedy in *All's Well that Ends Well*. The transformation of La Mancha from the space of romance to the locus of dissimulation and parodic horseplay about honour and chivalry is coded in Shakespeare's play as an occasion for debates between global and local. The indeterminacy of the battlefield space – at once cosmopolitan and local – raises questions about issues of territoriality and national identity. In Cervantes's novel, the place of La Mancha that the narrator does not wish to recall is the inward place of the mind. On Shakespeare's stage, Spanish bravado is parodied in the image of a French braggart knight who is all words (Parolles), duped by three of his compatriots, who use invented language. The battlefield is the space of language interaction and subjectivity in *All's Well That Ends Well*, where all find who they are in relation to the brave/fearful knight, who pretends to understand several European languages: "German, or Dane, or Low Dutch,/Italian, or French" (4.1.70) – but no Spanish. As in Don Quixote's impossible battle with the giants/windmills, Parolles's retrieval of the imaginary drum is a form of enacting subjectivity. The elusive La Mancha (in the novel and in the play) is a place used for replaying inwardness. For this reason, Shakespeare's production of geographic location in *All's Well that Ends Well* creates multi-layered spaces that coexist, challenge, and are in dialogue. With the help of their imagination, the audiences relocate from an elusive battlefield to cross several European countries – suggested by means of nonsense language – only to land in the obscure territory of emotion created by fear. In the prose romance mode,

[14] During a conversation at the conference "Reading, Rewriting, Re-Contextualizing Shakespeare for 400 Years" (Iași, 2016), David Crystal, a specialist in early modern English original pronunciation, confirmed my point that "k" in the middle of a word could be pronounced "ch" in the early seventeenth century.

[15] In an account of the place held by Shakespeare and Cervantes in the development of realism versus romance, through a comparison focused on *Don Quixote* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Othello*, and *The Tempest*, R. V. Young observes that "Shakespeare anticipates Cervantes's metafiction with metadrama" (2016: 15). Indeed, the ironic interplay between reality and fiction – in the spatial development in *Don Quixote*—and reality and the stage space of the battlefield in *All's Well That Ends Well* typify an in-between place that is both real and imaginary, and which draws attention to its own fictive arrangement.

spatial movement enables Cervantes to contest cultural values articulated in real/fictional locations, such as Sierra Morena, La Mancha, or Toledo. Shakespeare and Cervantes construct imaginary worlds that generate their own confusion. They distort the real geographic locations and offer new spaces for imagination. They cultivate mental landscapes that question interiority in relation to the external. Shakespeare and Cervantes invite playgoers/readers to look beyond scene and action to determine symbolic significance. The geographic location of La Mancha, thus, functions as a metaphor of place and, concomitantly, recalls various textual layers.

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