

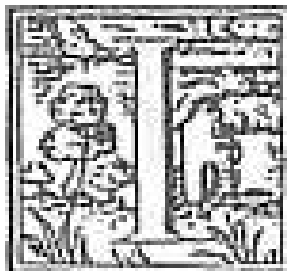
VI. *Don Quixote* as a Classic

No ay cosa más gustosa en el mundo que ser un hombre honrado escudero de un cavallero andante, buscador de aventuras. Bien es verdad que las más que se hallan no salen tan a gusto como el hombre querría, porque de ciento que se encuentran, las noventa y nueve suelen salir aviessas y torcidas . . . Pero, con todo esso, es linda cosa esperar los sucessos, atravesando montes, escudriñando selvas, pisando peñas, visitando castillos, aloxando en ventas a toda discreción, sin pagar ofrecido sea al diablo el maravedí.

II, 400, 6-19

Como christiano que soy católico, no lo creo; pero la esperiencia me muestra lo contrario.

Persiles, I, 60, 17-19



IN THE PREVIOUS chapters I have reconstructed the view of *Don Quixote* that Cervantes had and wanted his readers to have as well: a *libro de caballerías burlesco*, which through example and discussion exposed the inadequacies of the previous works of that genre, and gave readers information and guidance with which to improve themselves. From *Don Quixote* Cervantes hoped they would choose better books and read books more critically, as a result of which they would live more virtuous lives, especially by following God's rules in dealing with the opposite sex, and become more patriotic. I would like to explain, in conclusion, why Cervantes' own view of his book is today of modest importance, and why, if the book is a classic, this is necessarily so.

However, a disclaimer is necessary: I am not trying to predict the future, merely explain the past and present. Specifically, I am not trying to formulate a general theory of the classic—itsself a changeable concept—according to which *Don Quixote's* greatness may be validated. I take its status as a classic as a starting point, and accept it as such because many readers, of different countries and periods, have said it is a great work. I do have an unscientific belief that *Don Quixote* will be read for as long as there are readers and books, but for what reasons and in what ways I will not attempt to predict.

To begin with, *Don Quixote's* value is only trivially related to the *provecho* deliberately placed in it by Cervantes. As stated in Chapter 1, the belief that an

author may and should include moral truths has disappeared from mainstream Western literature. Ethics, philosophy, and religion have become separated from it. The author of literature may attempt to *show* us, but he or she may no longer *tell* us how to live our lives.

The validity of *Don Quixote's provecho* is also quite limited to his own times. Some assertions in the book, such as "la libertad es uno de los más preciosos dones que a los hombres dieron los cielos" (IV, 224, 11-13), seem to have universal relevance, but many do not, and the whole is based on a Catholic world-view which few later readers have shared. Many statements are offensive, by today's standards: "hombre de bien, si es que este título se puede dar al que es pobre" (I, 110, 15-16; similarly, III, 275, 9-10), "todo el honor de las mugeres consiste en la opinión buena que dellas se tiene," "la muger es animal imperfecto" (II, 103, 26-27 and 30-31), and other misogynist comments.¹ Few would accept Cervantes' total support of Christian marriage or his belief that religion is the most acceptable reason for combat (III, 346, 27-

¹ In addition to the unflattering presentation of the women most immediate to the protagonists (Don Quixote's *ama* and *sobrina*, Sancho's wife), the hypothetical nature of the only "good" woman presented other than incidentally (Camila), and the seeming lack of interest in human reproduction, there are found in *Don Quixote* and elsewhere in Cervantes' works various anti-feminist observations. "Es natural condición de mugeres . . . desdeñar a quien las quiere y amar a quien las aborrece" (I, 268, 22-25); "la natural inclinación de las mugeres . . . por la mayor parte suele ser desatinada y mal compuesta" (II, 385, 28-30; similarly, *La guarda cuidadosa*, IV, 79, 2-3); "entre el sí y el no de la muger no me atrevería a poner una punta de alfiler, porque no cabría" (III, 243, 24-26; similarly, *La guarda cuidadosa*, IV, 63, 11-12); and, in the *Persiles* (I, 239, 10-11), "las mujeres somos naturalmente vengativas." On married women Cervantes is similarly negative. He presents favorably the male dominance over women in gypsy society, in which the men are, casually, "verdugos" of adulterous wives, a measure necessary to inspire female chastity, and freely leave them when they are old to take others "al gusto de sus años" ("La gitanilla", I, 78, 4-24). Women's nature is evil: "opinión fue de no sé qué sabio que no avía en el mundo sino una sola muger buena" (III, 275, 25-27); in *La entretenida*, "la muger ha de ser buena, y parecerlo, que es más" (III, 8, 15-16).

These statements, unfortunately, indicate more a "typical" than an "exceptional" anti-feminism in the context of his day; Cervantes was not unusually prejudiced on the topic of women. "St. Thomas . . . declared that woman was only an 'occasional' and incomplete being, a kind of imperfect man. 'Man is above woman, as Christ is above man. It is unchangeable that woman is destined to live under man's influence, and has no authority from her lord.' There indeed is anti-feminism. Though the ancients did not all hold such opinions." (Theo Lang, *The Difference between a Man and a Woman* [New York: John Day, 1971], p. 362.) The following comment is from Lulio's *Libro del orden de caballeria* (trans. F. Sureda Blanes, Colección Austral, 889 [Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1949], p. 23): "El varón, en cuanto tiene más buen sentido y es más inteligente que las hembras, también puede ser mejor que las mujeres. Porque si no fuese tan

30). Although an occasional recommendation may still be valuable,² we no longer need his advice to rulers, and Cervantes' demonstration of the governing capacity of a well-intentioned *simple* can be accepted only if one postulates divine assistance.

The literary instruction contained in *Don Quixote*, while of great importance to the scholar trying to understand Cervantes and his works, is similarly lacking in modern value. A discussion of literature retains its interest only as long as does the literature being examined. Most of the books and even genres mentioned in *Don Quixote* are of interest only to the literary historian, and some only to the Cervantine scholar.

In general, the literary problems Cervantes considers in *Don Quixote* still exist. Although people deny it, it is obvious that books, including fiction, influence their behavior, and this places responsibility on both readers and authors. One must still distinguish between truth and lies in writing which is published as non-fiction. But the forms these questions take in *Don Quixote* are archaic, and obscure to the general reader. *Libros de caballerías* are scarcely a danger, since they live on only in *Don Quixote's* shadow.³ The *historia fingida* has been accepted as a type of literature and given a new name, the novel; its truth is distinguished from historical truth, and its pretense of historicity misleads no one. The censorship Cervantes proposes (II, 352, 21-353, 20) is philosophically repugnant to us, as we are, with good reason, reluctant to make judgments about what should and should not be allowed to be published, much less entrust such judgments to another; we also make a connection between the freedom he praised so highly and freedom from censorship.

Cervantes' belief in rules, timeless principles by which to write and evaluate literature, is similarly archaic to us. In part this is a consequence of our different view of man; we have lost the belief in human perfectability that fixed principles reflect. It is also because we are more tolerant of disagreement,

poderoso para ser bueno como la mujer, seguiríase que bondad y fuerza de naturaleza serían contrarias a bondad de ánimo y buenas obras. Por donde, así como el hombre por su naturaleza, se halla en mayor disposición de tener noble valor y ser más bueno que la hembra; del mismo modo se halla también mejor preparado que la hembra para hacerse malo. Y esto es precisamente para que, por su mayor nobleza y valor, tenga mayor mérito, siendo bueno, que la mujer."

²"Hallen en ti más compasión las lágrimas del pobre, pero no más justicia, que las informaciones del rico" (IV, 53, 6-8); "de los vassallos leales es dezir la verdad a sus señores en su ser y figura propia, sin que la adulación la acreciente, o otro vano respeto la disminuya" (III, 55, 22-26). [The relevance of the latter statement was unfortunately demonstrated while this book was in proof, during the disaster of the space shuttle. The failure to transmit negative information to senior managers was a contributing cause of the accident.]

³The enthusiasm of a few contemporary Hispanic authors for some of them does not change this statement; this enthusiasm has not taken any of them beyond the books praised by Cervantes.

and reasonable people have always disagreed about what good literature is or should be; literary success, either immediate or long-term, has not been predictable.⁴ Esthetic principles which can be deduced from literary history are so general as to be useless. Furthermore, we want creativity in art, literary or otherwise, and creativity is by nature more rebellious and irreverent than it is obedient to precepts.

Don Quixote's provecho, as understood by Cervantes, is thus of little importance to us today.⁵ Of similarly minor importance is the humor of the work. This is not because we no longer need humor; our times are, if no more, certainly no less "calamitosos" (I, 129, 1; I, 280, 4) than his, and humor is an effective way to deal with the stress that results. Yet I have already suggested that we do not need to turn to a seventeenth-century book for humor, since it is all around us. And while most readers find things in the book which move them to laughter, much can only be discovered through scholarship, and some may be gone forever.

Furthermore, the book as a whole is not as funny as Cervantes intended it to be; we have good reason, at times, to be uncomfortable with our laughter, or not to laugh at all, no matter what the narrators and characters do and say. The humor that it does contain can be primitive and crude. Some of it is no more than slapstick: Don Quixote destroys property, Sancho gets tossed in a blanket, and both receive blows and stonings.

So it is quite correct to take Cervantes' view of his work as incomplete and in some ways inaccurate. This is, in fact, very fortunate: if *Don Quixote* were what Cervantes wanted it to be, and no more, it would have pleased, at most, its

⁴ It is easy to cite examples of authors the value of whose works has been incorrectly assessed: the classic, embarrassing case is Booth Tarkington, who, early in this century, was called a "genius [who had] thoroughly mastered the craft of writing" (Robert Cortes Holliday, *Booth Tarkington* [Garden City: Doubleday, Page, 1918], p. 207), yet is today forgotten by the public and remembered by scholars only as an example of precisely this point. Within Hispanic studies, Góngora's later poems, today accepted as brilliant, were considered "often unintelligible or absurd" (Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, III, *22). In general, conservative works, which accept literary and societal authority and values, tend to be overvalued when first published, and progressive works undervalued, yet without the benefit of hindsight it is hard to distinguish the fruitfully innovative from the mediocre. The same problem exists in other fields than literature; for example, many important inventions were first rejected as impractical and without commercial potential, yet most unsuccessful inventions are in fact impractical.

⁵ Cervantes' failure to resolve the epistemological concerns discussed in Chapter 5 is also unimportant. The "dreaming" question is insoluble, and the threat of enchanters has vanished with the progress of science. The only current problems even distantly related are the proper treatment and social responsibility of the mentally ill, and the value of artificially induced or enhanced sensory experience.

early readers, and would today be forgotten by all but literary historians. A classic, to survive "the test of time," must please many generations of readers. No one can know what future readers will want from books, and thus long-term authorial success is always accidental; a classic must inevitably differ from what its author intended. As an indirect way of answering the question "What, then, is *Don Quixote*?" let us try to identify the real reasons why it has become a classic.

An undervalued reason for the book's interest to successive generations of readers is surely Cervantes' mastery of the Spanish language, which makes *Don Quixote* one of the most quotable books ever written, as well as a great influence on modern educated Spanish.⁶ His large and colorful vocabulary, his use of varied and sometimes equally colorful syntactical structures, the different and contrasting levels of language found in the book, the verbal play and humor, do much to make his work a continual delight, and to involve us in the characters' lives and problems.

While Cervantes' linguistic ideas and influence have yet to be thoroughly studied, much in his works indicates an interest in language⁷ and a self-awareness of his use of words.⁸ Yet interest in and awareness of language is

⁶ See F. Courtney Tarr, "Recent Trends in Cervantes Studies. An Attempt at Survey and Prognosis," *RR*, 31 (1940), 16-28, at p. 17.

⁷ "El primer escalón de las ciencias . . . es el de las lenguas" (III, 206, 27-29); in the prologue to *La Galatea* we find praise of the richness of the Castilian language, which the author came to realize from the study of "poesía" (I, xlviii, 1-15), and which could be further improved through the "agradable y precioso tesoro de la eloquencia" of well-written *libros de caballerías* (II, 353, 15-16). Thieves' *argot* is used by the *galeotes* and in "Rinconete y Cortadillo"; the *vizcaíno* syntactically deforms Castilian (I, 123, 28-30 and 124, 5-10; also in *El vizcaíno fingido*); the pronunciation of gypsies is tolerantly noted in "La gitanilla" (I, 41, 25-26), and good language praised, associated with *discreción*, and declared not a result of one's geographical origin at III, 244, 17-245, 4. A surprising consciousness of the process of translation is found in the "Historia del cautivo" (II, 224, 30-225, 14); translations are also commented on in the *escrutinio de la librería* and in the visit to the Barcelona print shop (see Terracini, "Una frangia"). Colorful, unusual, archaic, and foreign words are used often, prominently, and by a variety of characters and narrators; Cervantes' interest in them is obvious. *Don Quixote's* imitation of chivalric language is explicitly mentioned (I, 59, 22), and linguistic error by Sancho and Vivaldo is a source of humor. There are hints of an understanding of the arbitrariness of language. For other references to language in Cervantes' works, see Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Cervantes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947), p. 22.

⁸ "A la llana, con palabras significantes, honestas y bien colocadas, salga vuestra oración y período sonoro y festivo; . . . dando a entender vuestros conceptos, sin intricarlos y escurecerlos" (I, 37, 25-30), an extraordinary statement of linguistic and stylistic ideals. It is repeated by the *licenciado* Corchuelo: "pícome algún tanto de dezir mi razón con palabras claras, llanas y significantes" (III, 245, 5-7).

not the same as skillful use of it. There are no explanations for his expertise other than the general ones of intelligence, care, and practice. It is one of his gifts.

Cervantes would have been pleased that we find his style exemplary, and that it attracts us to his book. Yet although he—like later readers—would have seen style as secondary to *Don Quixote*'s content, other reasons which I am about to suggest neither he nor his contemporaries would have perceived as virtues, and might have taken as defects.

A reason for *Don Quixote*'s success that would not have been a significant virtue in Cervantes' own times is that it is precisely those times, and his own country, that he has portrayed. Although theory of fiction was then too embryonic to include this principle, an author portraying the world that he knows best has a certain tone which is missing from fiction based on fantasy or research. The details, the unexpected note which convince us that the author was really "there" come naturally or they do not come at all.⁹

A focus on the real world is also much in accordance with modern taste; thus the gradual expansion of non-fiction, to the detriment of literature, and the decline of poetry. The same values are applied to the choice of classics: Petronius is today esteemed over Heliodorus, *Lazarillo* over *La Diana*. In contrast, seventeenth-century readers were demonstrably less interested than later readers, much less modern ones, in the real world; any examination of Golden Age book publication reveals a strong preference for fantasy over reality, poetry over novel, God over science.

Yet when readers desire books with an accurate presentation of the world, works in which the author portrays his own world are preferred. This is a significant factor in the changing esteem in which literary works are held and in the canonization of some of them as classics; as an author's times become more remote from ours, the literary value of an accurate portrayal of those times—its power to entertain and inform us, to take us out of our own circumstances—increases. After all, the only times and places an author from the past can know better than we can are his own. Countries and times remote from the author we can, with the progress of knowledge, know better than he, with definite esthetic consequences. To cite a Cervantine example, we know today much more about Spanish medieval history, and a novel dealing with

⁹ Whether or not a technique consciously employed, we find in *Don Quixote* unexplained details, which support the belief that it is indeed reality which has been recorded on paper. For example, we are never told why Passamonte was called "Ginesillo de Parapilla" (I, 307, 10-31), nor are the "manchas que se hizieron en la venta" (I, 309, 20-21), with which Passamonte threatens the *comisario*, explained; we never know what it is to which Ricote refers with his statement to Sancho that "ya sabes que sé yo que las [necesidades] tienes muchas" (IV, 195, 23; punctuation altered). The dream of the innkeeper Palomeque's daughter (I, 207, 1-6) seems explicable only as the incorporation into fiction of someone's real dream.

that period, however verisimilar in his day, would be much less convincing to us. But we can never improve on Cervantes' portrayal of his own Spain.

Furthermore, he chose to focus on and paint for us precisely that part of his own world which is today least accessible: the common people and their milieu, the roads of southern Spain, the inns. This may well have been, as has often been speculated, because he felt admiration and sympathy for them and thought that they were an appropriate subject for literature, that readers could learn much from them. While not unknown, this was an innovative and uncommon attitude in his day, when literature, including much that has been totally forgotten, overwhelmingly focused on the nobility. Since it is now accepted that virtue is not inherited and that accidents of birth do not necessarily make people suitable subjects for literature, the conventional picture of a happy and virtuous upper class is no longer appealing. But the common people of previous centuries we can rarely know well, and a literary portrayal of them is both interesting and valuable; their problem-filled lives are closer to ours.

The world portrayed for us in fictional form is also highly detailed, a further virtue in realistic fiction. *Don Quixote* is a very long and very dense book. No matter how often the text is reread, it is impossible to know it completely; every serious reader feels that study of the book is never completed. *Don Quixote* covers a lot of territory, deals in one way or another with "el universo todo" (IV, 65, 13), and has a large number of diverse characters. Yet this variety is offered within a reassuring and comforting framework.

That framework is, of course, Don Quixote and Sancho, their travels and adventures. A further reason for *Don Quixote's* success is that despite its realism and focus on Cervantes' world, it is a work whose content is primarily human. *Don Quixote* presents us with people, much more than it does Spain, literature, ideas, or adventures. The novel consists in large part of conversation, "sabrosa conversación" (III, 448, 22), and modern readers agree that those sections which do not feature conversations are the least satisfying, the adventures duller and the humor more superficial.¹⁰ In the book we see two people interacting, in as much complexity as two characters ever did. Their relationship changes, from that of a superior and an inferior, a leader and a follower, to two companions who are inseparable, as they not only learn from but need and complement each other. It is no distortion to speak of their mutual love.¹¹ The book without either is inconceivable.

¹⁰ This would include such adventures as that of the *rebaños* or that of the windmills, the latter of which has achieved renown only because it is the first adventure of the pair, and is so easily and strikingly represented pictorially. It would also include the unhumorous and relatively uninteresting sojourn of Sancho in the *sima* (Part II, Chapter 55).

¹¹ "Apenas se hubo partido Sancho, quando don Quixote sintió su soledad, y si le fuera possible revocarle la comisión y quitarle el gobierno, lo hiziera" (IV, 67, 28-31); "yo no le trocaría con otro escudero, aunque me diessen de añadidura una

The uniqueness and importance of the non-sexual yet loving relationship between the two protagonists, reflected in the "buen amor" of their mounts (I, 288, 20-24; III, 155, 15-156, 7), has not been sufficiently recognized. There is no other work, up until influence of Cervantes on the novel can be detected, which presents anything like it. Cervantes, the author of "los dos amigos,"¹² would probably have claimed that just as sexuality, inflicted on us as a result of original sin, torments us with its transitoriness and sets men against each other, even at best it interferes with what is truly important in interpersonal relationships. In modern terms, sexuality is the part of relationships hardest to treat in literature; what literature can deal with best is non-sexual.

Don Quixote is thus a book which focuses on people, and does so in a loving fashion. These characters not only have emotions that we all share, they seem real. Probably, as several scholars have suggested, Cervantes set out to create an illusion of reality by incorporating into his book discussions of other books, Part I among them, and inserting in his narration other narrations, some openly fictional (the "Novela del Curioso impertinente") and others "truthful" (Cardenio's "verdadera historia," II, 30, 5).¹³ Yet surely the lifelikeness of his characters does not derive from these techniques. Partly it may be attributed to the detailed manner in which they are portrayed, and the very quantity of information we are given about them in a very long book.

More important is the extent to which Don Quixote and Sancho resemble us. Just as we do, they have ambitions and problems. They are also quite imperfect; because of the burlesque purpose and desire for verisimilitude, Cervantes endowed them with shortcomings. Both Don Quixote and Sancho have two sides; their undeniable virtues are balanced by serious flaws. In addition, they make mistakes, feel misunderstood, and lose their equanimity,

ciudad" (III, 405, 4-5). "No sabe hazer mal en nadie, sino bien a todos, ni tiene malicia alguna; un niño le hará entender que es de noche en la mitad del día, y por esta sencillez le quiero como a las telas de mi corazón, y no me amaño a dexarle, por más disparates que haga" (III, 168, 15-20); "si yo fuera discreto, días ha que avía de aver dexado a mi amo. Pero ésta fue mi suerte y ésta mi mal andanza; no puedo más, seguirle tengo, somos de un mismo lugar, he comido su pan, quiérole bien, es agradecido, diome sus pollinos, y, sobre todo, yo soy fiel, y así es imposible que nos pueda apartar otro suceso que el de la pala y açadón" (III, 412, 21-29).

¹² For discussion, see my "Un fragmento de las *Semanas del jardín*," p. 00. (69-70)

¹³ See on this topic E. C. Riley, "Episodio, novela y aventura en *Don Quijote*," *ACer*, 5 (1955-56), 209-30; Bruce Wardropper, "The Pertinence of 'El curioso impertinente,'" *PMLA*, 72 (1957), 587-600; George Haley, "The Narrator in *Don Quijote*: Maese Pedro's Puppet Show," *MLN*, 80 (1965), 145-65; E. C. Riley, "Three Versions of *Don Quixote*," *MLR*, 68 (1973), 807-19; and especially John J. Allen, *Hero or Fool?*, Part I. Riley, "Episodio," supplies older bibliography.

getting angry and arguing with each other. Neither of them understands either himself or the other completely.

The illusion of reality which the book and its characters provide is also a result of the surprises with which it constantly confronts us. The action is not predictable, and foreshadowing is limited.¹⁴ That Sancho decides to hobble Don Quixote's horse or make up Dulzinea's enchantment, that the story he tells in Chapter 20 of Part I is never concluded, that his master decides to visit the cave of Montesinos or to go to Barcelona instead of Zaragoza, all of this, and much more, is unexpected by the reader. In its constant surprises the book also resembles life itself.¹⁵

A further realistic, innovative, yet unpleasant note is the book's portrayal of the human condition. In contrast with the *libros*, whose heroes were youthful, *Don Quixote's* protagonists are not young. Although death is presented overtly at the conclusion, preceded by a very physical defeat by a younger man, it is not far from the surface through much of the book. The discussions of fame, especially that after death,¹⁶ Cervantes' lightly-concealed hostility toward some aspects of contemporary Catholicism (Chapter 1, note 40), his desire for accuracy in religious literature,¹⁷ and the language of the dedication and

¹⁴ I.E., "autores ay que dizen que la primera aventura que le avino fue la del puerto Lápice" (I, 59, 30-32); "el bachiller fue luego a buscar al cura, a comunicar con él lo que se dirá a su tiempo" (III, 101, 3-5); "esperava entretener el tiempo hasta que llegasse el día de las justas de Zaragoza, que fue el de su derecha derrota" (III, 236, 2-4). Sancho's governorship is anticipated in his statement "yo he tomado el pulso a mí mismo, y me hallo con salud para regir reinos y gobernar insulas" (III, 78, 4-6), and "más fueron los sospiros y rebuznos del ruzio que los relinchos del rozín, de donde colegió Sancho que su ventura avía de sobrepujar y ponerse encima de la de su señor" (III, 110, 26-29); the unhappy outcome of it can be foreseen from "tan bien, y aun quiçá mejor, me sabrá el pan desgovernado que siendo governador. Y ¿sé yo, por ventura, si en esos gobiernos me tiene aparejada el diablo alguna çancadilla donde tropiece y caiga y me haga las muelas?" (III, 77, 15-20), and "sólo le oyeron dezir que cuando tropeçava o caía, se holgara no haver salido de casa" (III, 111, 2-4).

The foreshadowing is even forgotten: "al tiempo de su fin y muerte dizen que se retrató della [his description of what happened in the cave of Montesinos]" (III, 303, 2-3); of course Alonso Quixano does no such thing.

¹⁵ When the action of the book is predictable it is less uninteresting. When Sancho falls in a *sima* we know he will be rescued; we know that Don Quixote will not triumph over the windmill; we know that Dorotea will be reconciled with Fernando. These episodes and similar ones contrast with the surprises contained in such favorites as the encounter with the *batanes* and the descent into the cave of Montesinos.

¹⁶ For references, see Chapter 4, note 63.

¹⁷ II, 350, 13-20; IV, 166, 17-21; *El rufián dichoso*, II, 66, 2; II, 69, 23-24; II, 70, 15-16; II, 89, 8-9; and II, 95, 10. Such miracles and visions were a type of evidence of God's existence and nature.

prologue of the *Persiles*,^{17a} all of these suggest that the conventional promise of life after death did not provide him much consolation. Thinking, in Cervantes' works, is usually associated with unhappiness;¹⁸ dreaming, as Don Quixote states after leaving the cave of Montesinos, can be far more pleasant than reality,¹⁹ and madness can be as well (I, 354, 21-27).²⁰

Perhaps this is one reason why readers' reactions to *Don Quixote* have been so dramatically varied. Older readers, who are more influential and the ones who define an author's permanent reputation, have responded to a theme which is somewhat remote for younger ones. As Cervantes himself said about his book, "los niños la manosean, los moços la leen, los hombres la entienden y los viejos la celebran" (III, 68, 7-9).²¹ Surely, however, this is not the sole explanation for the diversity in interpretation.

^{17a} These famous passages (all the following quotes from *Persiles*, I, lv-lix) indicate anything but confidence in eternal life and serene acceptance of approaching death: "el tiempo es breve . . . el desseo que tengo de vivir . . . me volviesse a dar la vida . . . Si a dicha, por buena ventura mía, me diesse el cielo vida . . . Lo que se dirá de mi sucesso, tendrá la fama cuidado, mis amigos gana de dezilla, y yo mayor gana de escuchalla . . . Tiempo vendrá, *quicá*, donde, anudando este roto hilo . . . Yo me voy muriendo, y *desseando* veros presto contentos en la otra vida." It must be noted that Cervantes points to "la voluntad de los cielos" and "el cielo" as governing his destiny; God is mentioned only with regard to that left behind ("guarde Dios a vuessa excelencia"; "a Dios, gracias; a Dios, donaires; a Dios, regozijados amigos.")

¹⁸ A few examples: "se encaminó hazia su pueblo, bien pensativo de oír los disparates que don Quixote dezía" (I, 90, 2-4); "pensativo a demás quedó don Quixote, esperando al bachiller Carrasco" (III, 60, 5-6); "[Basilio] siempre anda pensativo y triste" (III, 243, 1-2); "seis días estuvo don Quixote en el lecho [after his defeat], marrido, triste, pensativo y mal acondicionado, yendo y viniendo con la imaginación en el desdichado sucesso de su vencimiento" (IV, 322, 28-31). Significantly, *ociosidad* is both the mother of vices, according to a well-known *refrán* ("Coloquio de los perros," III, 167, 31), and of thought ("Coloquio de los perros," III, 181, 9-10).

¹⁹ "Me avéis quitado de la más sabrosa y agradable vida y vista que ningún humano ha visto ni passado. En efecto: aora acabo de conocer que todos los contentos desta vida passan como sombra y sueño, o se marchitan como la flor del campo . . . ! Las palabras . . . dezía como si con dolor inmenso las sacara de las entrañas" (III, 284, 25-285, 7).

²⁰ Here we have, in my view, the fundamental distinction between novel and romance, over which so much ink has been spilled recently. The romance is theistic; the ultimate triumph of goodness is assured; the world makes sense; eternal life in heaven is within everyone's grasp. The novel is atheistic; its world may make sense, but it can be terrifyingly meaningless; evil may triumph, as well as good; there is no immortality.

²¹ "Every healthy boy delights in the adventures of *Don Quixote* with the frank hilarity of youth, but this is not to discover Cervantes" (an unidentified English *cervantista*, quoted by Russell, "Funny Book," p. 313).

As I have suggested, in some important ways the fictional world of *Don Quixote* resembles the real world, and though it is the world of a vanished Spain, it is still one of interest to many readers for itself, and has much in common with the world which all of its readers inhabit. It is inevitable that such a work be the subject of conflicting interpretations. People disagree about *Don Quixote* as they disagree about life; Don Quixote seeing hallucinations should stay at home, and if he will not return voluntarily, force should be used, as it is in Chapter 46 of Part I. But whether the relatively sane Don Quixote of Part II is right to continue his mission depends upon values about which there neither is nor at present can be a consensus, however strong the desire to find one. *Don Quixote*, resembling the world, is a great literary puzzle, attractive to modern readers, who, as stated in Chapter 1, like to "figure out" a book. However, it is a puzzle for which there is no solution.

Interpreters of *Don Quixote* have been classified according to the position they take on the protagonist. Mandel has created the labels "hard" and "soft," terms which urge a preference for the first of the pair. Oversimplifying and making monolithic interpretations which have never been so, he groups under the first label those who see Don Quixote as crazy, misguided, and ridiculous, and under the second those who take him for an admirable hero; the "soft" position has been identified, a little too readily and usually pejoratively, with the Romantics.²² Though discussions of types of interpretation of *Don Quixote* are often accompanied by condemnations of an interpretation, it is hard to concur. One would think that early readers, whose interpretation was primarily though far from exclusively "hard,"²³ would have been the best

²² While the label of "Romantic" was proudly self-applied by some, such as the Schlegels, when applied to others it is more often a derogatory term. An early example: "as the epithet *romantic* is always understood to deny sound reason to whatever it is fixed upon, the advocate may expect to be himself enrolled among the heroes of whom Don Quixote is the time immemorial commander-in-chief" (John Foster, "On the Application of the Epithet Romantic" [1805], cited by George Whalley, "England/Romantic-Romanticism," in *Romantic and its Cognates*, pp. 157-262, at p. 187). For more comment on the Romantics, see the Appendix.

²³ Even among the first readers of Part I, some found the protagonist "'loco, pero gracioso'; otros, 'valiente, pero desgraciado'; otros, 'cortés, pero impertinente'" (III, 57, 1-3), and in the statement from the prologue quoted at the beginning of Chapter 1, Cervantes' friend qualifies his description of the book as an "invectiva contra los libros de cavallerías" with the phrase "si bien caigo en la cuenta," which would seem to imply, even then, some doubt about what sort of book *Don Quixote* is.

Favorable comment on or at least tempered censure of Don Quixote is found fairly consistently. The first Italian writer to mention Cervantes' work presents Don Quixote very favorably (Tassoni, in a play of 1615; see Quilter, p. 273). The 1683 German translator, Christian Thomasius, found Don Quixote "a symbol of confused idealism . . . [who], in matters not pertaining to his particular obsession, has the most reasonable opinions" (Lienhard Bergel, "Cervantes in Germany," in

interpreters, for their world-view was closer to the author's than is that of later readers, and those early readers had no distinguished yet confusing history of interpretation to deal with; Spanish readers also shared with Cervantes a common language and culture. Yet early readers, as discussed in Chapter 4, were primarily focused on Part I.

Later readers, while beginning with the handicap of distance from Cervantes' times and culture, have more than compensated by greater effort. In contrast with the early readers, they have not just read but reread, taking notes, researching allusions and language; many of them, including of course the translators, read the book in the original. They have had the benefit of progress in literary analysis and literary history, and are the more careful and

Cervantes Across the Centuries, pp. 305-42, at p. 308); in the excerpt from the prologue to this translation reproduced by Rius (III, 190-91), we find that "sería injusticia si sólo se la considerase como una obra meramente chistosa." Two German writers of the eighteenth century also have interpretations which are markedly "soft." Bodmer, "instead of condemning Don Quixote for sacrificing his rational abilities to his irrational proclivities and for making his reason serve his feelings, . . . proclaims . . . that 'imagination and feeling have their own logic' and are of equal value with reason." From a Cervantine imitation of Johann Karl Wezel, we can conclude that Wezel sympathized with Don Quixote and took his side; he makes his protagonist "suffer and be destroyed by the clash between ideal and reality" (Bergel, pp. 312-13).

In England, Lennox, Steele, Smollett, Windham, and Fielding saw Don Quixote as something more than a fool (Susan Staves, "Don Quixote in Eighteenth-Century England," *CL*, 24 [1972], 193-215). John Bowle, though seeing the book as a "composition of Wit, Genius, and Humour" (*A Letter to Dr. Percy*, p. 47), was apparently the first to apply the term "irony" to it: "How unequal to this Task [translating *Don Quixote*] must (the seemingly Pseudonymous) Wilmot be, who ascribes to the Divine Original *Ludicrous Dialogues &c & Drollery*, instead of what every where occurs Grave and Serious Irony, which by an Art peculiar to himself The Author has made the Vehicle of Morality & useful Instruction for the Conduct of Life." (From an unpublished letter to Thomas Percy, March 31, 1774; Bowle alludes to an handbill announcing the publication in installments of Wilmot's translation, which was reproduced, from his copy, in *JHP*, 9 [1985 (1986)], 000-00. I am editing the Percy-Bowle correspondence for Exeter Hispanic Texts; until that edition appears, see Cleanth Brooks, "Thomas Percy, *Don Quixote*, and Don Bowle," in *Evidence in Literary Scholarship. Essays in Memory of James Marshall Osborn*, ed. René Wellek and Alvaro Ribeiro [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979], pp. 247-61. I would like to thank my colleague Bertram H. Davis, who is writing a biography of Percy, for calling these letters to my attention.)

Samuel Johnson, who was a strong opponent of the pre-Romantics (e.g., Macpherson; "that [he] was not romantically inclined is surely an understatement," says Knowles, "Cervantes and English Literature," p. 281), makes a favorable comment on the universality of Don Quixote, and uses for the first time the word "pity" with regard to him (Knowles, p. 281; also quoted by Close, *Romantic Approach*, p. 12, and John J. Allen, *Hero or Fool [Part I]*, pp. 4-5, who has

skillful readers.²⁴ Even higher ethical standards have affected interpretation of the book: if one must choose between laughing at or sympathizing with someone, the second position should be preferred.²⁵

Later readers, in contrast with early ones, have also dealt with the entire book, and the presumption is that the end of a book represents its author's final intention and its effect that with which the reader should be left. Finally, *Don Quixote* fairly shouts at us that things may not be what they seem, that we should look beneath the surface, that people do not always tell the truth. Even if Cervantes did not intend it—and I believe he did not—, surely no one is to be blamed for using this information in the study of the book itself.

What this implies is that the "soft" interpretation of *Don Quixote* is no more a distortion than the "hard" interpretation, probably less so. Much textual evidence supports it: Don Quixote's wisdom, increasing self-knowledge, admirable ideals, noble spirit, self-sacrifice, and moral isolation. The problem, however, is that the evidence is not at all clearcut; if it were merely the case of an erroneous interpretation and a correct one, the controversy would not exist. At points in the text Don Quixote is nothing but a buffoon. At other times we are directed to both laugh at and respect him. The conclusion

similar quotations from other eighteenth-century English authors). Johnson also read Spanish *libros de caballerías*, *Felixmarte de Hircania*, *Palmerín de Inglaterra*, and *Belianís de Grecia* (Thomas, pp. 295-96), which implies the view that Cervantes was attacking only bad chivalric literature, not all of it.

²⁴ Careful reading and study was apparently reserved for poetry; prose fiction was simply not read with care. Readers of the *Novelas ejemplares*, other than the authors of the *aprobaciones*, do not mention the *ejemplaridad* of the work. (See the examples collected by Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, "¿Qué pensaron de Cervantes sus contemporáneos?," in his *Cervantes y su obra* [Madrid: Francisco Beltrán, 1916], pp. 165-84, at pp. 170-71; the description of the *Novelas* as "atalayas de la vida humana" by Bartolomé de Góngora in *El corregidor sagaz*, cited by Amezúa, *Cervantes, creador*, I, 619, is according to Góngora's modern editor Lohmann a misreading; compare Amezúa's source, Bartolomé José Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos* [Madrid, 1863-69], IV, col. 1208, with Lohmann's edition, p. 136.) Avellaneda's denial of it, in his prologue, is supported by the following astonishing statement of Jerónimo Barrionuevo, described as "un contemporáneo culto": "la novela de *Preciosa la Gitanilla*, tan alabada[,] de Cervantes, con quien sólo trata de divertir al lector" (cited by Maxime Chevalier, *Lectura y lectores en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII* [Madrid: Turner, 1976], p. 51).

The best documented case of Golden Age interpretation of a non-Cervantine prose work is that of *Lazarillo de Tormes*. No contemporary reader, apparently, took the work as anything more than an "obra de burlas"; most saw Lazarillo as the *mozo del ciego*, and no more; the anticlericalism of the work went right over most readers' heads (Chevalier, *Lectura y lectores*, pp. 180-92).

²⁵ See "Dureza de las costumbres de antaño," Appendix XX to Rodríguez Marín's "nueva edición crítica" (IX, 268-75), for some perspective on changed standards since Cervantes' day.

combines his complete reformation with a statement that the book's purpose was to attack *libros de caballerías*. His evolution is rough, irregular, and incomplete, with two steps forward and one step back, all of which suggests that this happened despite the author's intent rather than because of it.

Don Quixote, in fact, is a paradox, full of logical contradictions. Don Quixote is an intelligent madman, both the maddest and the most intelligent of men. Sancho is a wise fool, both exceptionally wise and exceptionally foolish; he both doubts and believes everything. They are the same, and yet they are opposites.²⁶ Don Quixote is a hero, he is ludicrous, and he is both simultane-

²⁶ That they were presented as similar has been pointed out in Chapter 4. But that they are opposed in their makeup is even more obvious, and is often stated explicitly (for textual quotations, see Flores, *Sancho Panza*, Appendix 11). I have compiled the following list of ways in which, *at different times* (for the pairs are themselves contradictory), they are opposed. In those cases in which greater Cervantine esteem for one of the pair is known or can be inferred, the same is marked with an asterisk.

DON QUIXOTE	SANCHO
* <i>hidalgo</i>	<i>plebeyo</i>
* <i>caballero</i>	<i>escudero</i>
*rides a horse	rides a donkey
"seco de carnes, enjuto de rostro"; "las piernas eran muy largas y flacas" (I, 50, 3; II, 150, 15-16; III, 175, 23-25)	"la barriga grande, el talle corto" (I, 132, 6-7)
*leader	follower
*deeds	words
*brave	cowardly
*wants fame	wants money
*generous	greedy
*wishes to improve country	as king, would sell his subjects (II, 41, 20-25)
*"no tiene nada vellaco" (III, 168, 14)	"tengo mis ciertos assomos de vellaco" (III, 113, 32-114, 1)
*"memoria . . . grande" (III, 259, 10)	"memoria . . . tan mala, que muchas vezes se me olvida cómo me llamo" (I, 367, 14-16)
*"la Iglesia, a quien respeto y adoro como católico y fiel christiano que soy" (I, 258, 5-6)	"siempre creo, firme y verdaderamente, en . . . todo aquello que tiene y cree la santa Iglesia Católica Romana" (III, 114, 4-6)
*not anti-Semitic	"enemigo mortal . . . de los judíos" (III, 114, 7)
sleeps with difficulty ("las ociosas plumas . . . jamás dieron gusto a don Quixote," IV, 363, 32-364, 2)	*sleeps readily ("naciste para dormir," I, 266, 3; IV, 348, 9)
militarist	*pacifist
impractical	*practical

ously. He is and is not an authorial figure. His beloved is at the same time the *puta* Aldonça and the incorporeal Dulzinea. The incompetent and unreliable Cide Hamete is the flower of historians, one with both Don Quixote and Cervantes, alone with and in each other.²⁷

The history of Don Quixote is both *fingida* and *verdadera*. We are told clearly and unambiguously that its purpose is to attack *libros de caballerías*, and are enlightened at length about their deficiencies, but the descriptions of their attractions (I, 290, 1-294, 10; II, 343, 23-345, 8; II, 370, 22-374, 5) are much more seductive and impassioned than the presentations of their defects, and we drift further and further from that topic and eventually, save the final chapter, leave it altogether. One can interpret by using part of the evidence, but there is no way to make it add up to one consistent whole. The impossibility is inherent in the text itself. The exhilarating and frustrating search for a single interpretation, an order which can be imposed on this fictional universe, is itself quixotic and unsuccessful.²⁸ An uninterpretable,

fantasy, delusions
reckless
vain
indifferent towards his horse

**discreto*
*linguistically painstaking
*literate
book learning
knows *historias*
*forgiving
*idealistic
*ascetic
*spirit
*celibacy
single
no children
*love
*truth
faith
*new Christian
*to be admired

*reality
*prudent
*modest
*a friend of his donkey (I, 496; III, 419, 4-6; III, 423, 24-30; IV, 201, 7-14)
necio
"prevaricador del buen lenguaje"
illiterate
*natural wisdom
knows *refranes*
remembers offenses
cynical
sensual
body
adultery
married
two children
lust
lies
logic
old Christian
to be laughed at

²⁷ "Solos los dos somos para en uno" (IV, 405, 15-16). Marriage is described with almost the identical words: Quiteria and Camacho were "ambos para en uno" (III, 239, 28); "Dios dixo: '. . . Serán dos en una carne misma'" (II, 107, 11-13); "queden [estos niños] para en uno, como lo manda la santa iglesia nuestra madre" (*Persiles*, II, 82, 30-32).

²⁸ Many Cervantine scholars, engaged in this task, must have much the same feeling as that expressed by the mathematician in the "Coloquio de los perros":

contradictory, and paradoxical fictional universe is of course profoundly realistic.

To some degree the paradoxical nature of *Don Quixote* was deliberately created. Two paradoxes are included overtly: Ginés de Passamonte's autobiography, unfinished because his life is not finished,²⁹ and the problem presented to Sancho in Chapter 51 of Part II, in which a man, who must die if he swears falsely, swears that he will die.³⁰ (Sancho's application of Don Quixote's advice is itself meaningful: he opts for *misericordia*.) A chapter is described as "apocryphal" and a character's words "impossible"; fictional characters discuss as true histories the books (Cervantes' Part I and Avellaneda's Part II) in which they were fictional characters;³¹ Don Quixote, by his action (refusing to enter Zaragoza), creates evidence by which to show the "mentira" of Avellaneda's book (IV, 253, 10-12; IV, 255, 6-10; IV, 383, 16-23). Such devices are pure paradoxes.³²

Topics in the book, and in other of Cervantes' writings, are repeatedly formulated in either/or terms, often taking them to the extremes of each. Following scholarly tradition, Cervantes conceptualized topics by polarizing them, "pon[iendo]las en disputa," as it is put in the prologue to Part I.³³ An assertion is either *verdad* or *mentira*, with nothing in between. There is *honestidad* and immorality, Christianity and Islam, arms and letters, poverty and wealth, the Golden Age and "nuestros detestables siglos." Books are abundant, or they are scarce,³⁴ and *libros de caballerías*, both "aborrecidos" and "alabados" (I, 38, 6), are read by "los grandes y los chicos, los pobres y los ricos, los letrados e ignorantes, los plebeyos y cavalleros" (II, 370, 8-10; adapted). Men are *amigos* or

"Veinte y dos años ha que ando tras hallar el punto fixo, y aquí lo dexo y allí lo tomo, y pareciéndome que ya lo he hallado, y que no se me puede escapar en ninguna manera, quando no me cato, me hallo tan lexos dél, que me admiro" (III, 244, 10-15).

²⁹ In view of the religious aspect of paradoxy to be discussed shortly, this may be an allusion to Moses, who according to traditional Judeo-Christian Biblical lore wrote the account of his own death contained in Deuteronomy.

³⁰ This is the classical "Epimenedes" paradox (Hofstadter, p. 17). The routes by which it could have reached Cervantes are studied by Joseph Jones.

³¹ As Dian Fox has pointed out, the book about Don Quixote and Sancho which is discussed at the beginning of Part II differs significantly from Cervantes' Part I ("The Apocryphal Part One of *Don Quijote*," *MLN*, 100 [1985], 406-16).

³² These are examples of confusion of levels or recursion, discussed and related to human existence by Hofstadter in his final chapter.

³³ See Otis Green, *Western Tradition*, I, Chapter 1.

³⁴ "Siquiera no aya emprentas en el mundo, y siquiera se impriman contra mí más libros que tienen letras las coplas de Mingo Rebulgo" (III, 31, 6-9). That the *libros* were, in Cervantes' view, overabundant, and books of proper entertainment scarce, has already been discussed.

enemigos (III, 60, 14), women *buenas* or *malas* (III, 276, 8-10). Love "mira con unos antojos que hazen parecer oro al cobre, a la pobreza riqueza y a las lagañas perlas" (III, 243, 30-32).³⁵ Even the *Persiles* "ha de ser, o el más malo, o el mejor [libro] que en nuestra lengua se haya compuesto" (III, 34, 13-14).

There is something of a playful spirit about this, a delight in mental powers, and the creation of paradoxes was a recognized type of mental recreation.³⁶ But, in a further contradiction, it is serious as well; opposites—true and false, hot and cold, light and dark, past and future, good and evil—are fundamental

³⁵ Dulcinea was transformed "de princessa en labradora, de hermosa en fea, de ángel en diablo, de olorosa en pestífera, de bien hablada en rústica, de reposada en brincadora, de luz en tinieblas, y, finalmente, de Dulcinea del Toboso en una villana de Sayago" (III, 399, 16-21). Similarly, Isabela, the *española inglesa*, "quedó tan fea que, como hasta allí avía parecido un milagro de hermosura, entonces parecía un monstruo de fealdad" ("La española inglesa," II, 47, 20-22).

³⁶ Erasmus, in his prefatory letter to Thomas More, explains that his *Moriae Encomion* was so intended (trans. Clarence H. Miller [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979], p. 1), and cites Classical precedents for such an approach (pp. 3, 12).

The recommended general introduction to this topic is Rosalie L. Colie's *Paradoxia Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966). Unfortunately, "Don Quixote I have not mentioned, though the omission went hard; that knight, like Falstaff, would have required too much room in a book already overcrowded with famous lodgers. Besides, Mr. Kaiser [author of *Praisers of Folly*] has promised an extension of his study of paradox to cover *Don Quixote*" (p. xi). Kaiser's extension has not appeared.

It is worth mentioning the four Spanish paradoxes (i.e., works defending apparently nonsensical positions; the modern equivalent would be, say, a defense of nuclear weapons) that have come to my attention, three of which are contained in the same Biblioteca Colombina manuscript in which "La tía fingida" is found. Two of these are unpublished: they are the "Paradoja en loor de las bubas [i.e., "mal francés," syphilis], y que es razón que todos las procuren y estimen," the "Paradoja en loor de la nariz muy grande" (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, 1247-49; with slightly different titles, Astrana, V, 399). The third, *Paradoja. Trata que no solamente no es cosa mala, dañosa ni vergonzosa ser un hombre cornudo mas que los cuernos son buenos y provechosos*, is by Cetina, and was published, censored of almost half of its content, in Gallardo's *Ensayo*. It was reedited in Joaquín Hazañas y la Rúa's edition of Cetina's *Obras* (1895; rpt., Sepan Cuántos, 320, Mexico: Porrúa, 1977), II, 207-39, and that text has been reprinted by El Árbol (Madrid, 1981). Finally, there is the "Paradoja a la pobreza" of Luis Barahona de Soto, published by Rodríguez Marín, *Luis Barahona de Soto* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1903), pp. 731-40.

to both language and philosophy. People are neither all good nor all bad: repeatedly in Cervantes' works we find his fascination and puzzlement with criminals (galley slaves, Roque Guinart, gypsies, Monipodio's company) who despite their sins possess imagination and virtue.³⁷ Tacit yet everywhere is the fundamental division of people into male and female, paradoxically forever seeking, but only momentarily succeeding, in reuniting themselves into the single animal from which they are mythically descended.³⁸ One does not have to go far into Christian doctrine, certainly nowhere near so far as Cervantes may be inferred to have gone, to be confronted with very serious paradoxes: free will and divine foreknowledge, the subjection of reason to faith, that Christ, born of a virgin, was both God and man, that God is one and three at the same time, and especially that we are both body and soul, animal and spiritual.³⁹ That people distorted the truth, and wrote false histories, was

³⁷ Neither are those who are basically admirable free of defects: "Julio César, animosísimo, prudentísimo y valentísimo capitán, fue notado de ambicioso y algún tanto no limpio, ni en sus vestidos ni en sus costumbres. Alexandro, a quien sus hazañas le alcanzaron el renombre de Magno, dicen dél que tuvo sus ciertos puntos de borracho. De Hércules, el de los muchos trabajos, se cuenta que fue lascivo y muelle. De don Galaor, hermano de Amadís de Gaula, se murmura que fue más que demasadamente rixoso, y de su hermano, que fue llorón" (III, 57, 10-21). Don Quixote, so as not to face his own errors, attributes these criticisms to "calumnia" and "malicia" (III, 57, 8-10 and 21-23).

³⁸ "Debe ser verdad lo que decían:/ que el hombre y la mujer primero fueron/ nacidos juntamente, y que tenían/ un cuerpo, al cual los dioses dividieron;/ después que siendo medios pretendían/ buscarse, y los que dicha haber pudieron/ su medio, si con él viven pegados,/ se gozan como bien afortunados,/ y los que no, perpetuamente acuden/ buscando su mitad por sosegarse" (Barahona de Soto, *Las lágrimas de Angélica*, ed. Lara Garrido, p. 381).

The contradictory love/suffering imagery of poetry is frequently employed: to love is "vivir muriendo" (IV, 242, 29), and Eugenio says of Leandra that "todos la deshonran y todos la adoran" (II, 386, 29-30). Dulcinea is for Don Quixote "día de mi noche, gloria de mi pena" (I, 357, 26-27) and when the *tinajas* of Diego de Miranda's house bring her to mind, they are, citing verses of Garcilaso, "dulces prendas, por mi mal halladas" (III, 225, 14). Though Don Quixote does not have health, he sends it to Dulcinea (I, 367, 25-26), and though he does not have freedom, he gives it to his horse (I, 358, 12).

Also quoted is the well-known metaphor of woman as "la dulce mi enemiga" (I, 173, 25-26; IV, 13, 23; similarly I, 368, 4) (this line is studied by Edward M. Wilson and Arthur L-F. Askins, "History of a Refrain: 'De la dulce mi enemiga,'" *MLN*, 85 [1970], 138-56); following it in the text is a quatrain on "el placer del morir." Poems of this sort "cantados encantan, y escritos suspenden" (IV, 14, 14). For other examples, see my "Un fragmento de las *Semanas del jardín*," note 119.

³⁹ Christ, in the Bible, frequently speaks in paradoxes: he is alpha and omega; the last shall be first; the meek shall inherit the earth; etc. In the "Coloquio de los perros": "para entrar a servir a Dios, el más pobre es más rico, el más humilde de mejor linaje" (III, 170, 15-17).

surely explicable to Cervantes only as the classical Christian paradox of the existence of evil.⁴⁰

To put these contradictions together—among other things, to marry male and female—is God's prerogative; He is the harmony of opposites and the resolution of paradoxes.⁴¹ Yet the author is god to his characters; according to the canon, he should "facilit[ar] los imposibles" (II, 342, 23-24).⁴² Cervantes has thus attempted to create characters with two sides. At times this is surely deliberate; we are told about those of Don Quixote and Sancho. Other characters, however, also have them: Maritornes and Roque Guinart, the duke and duchess, in fact most of the non-religious characters of the book. Yet the combinations of opposites, which at times seem at least as much accidental as purposeful, add up to perplexing wholes. Cervantes, wanting to *facilitar imposibles*, has left us with a paradox, an *imposible*.

We must accept that Cervantes was aware, by the end of Part II, that the book he had hurriedly completed did not completely respond to his intentions. Contrary to his expectations, he found that as Don Quixote learned he also evolved and became more humble, and it was thus impossible not to admire him. Contrary to his further expectations, it was not possible to combine admiration for Don Quixote with laughter at him. In 1614-15, when writing the later chapters of Part II and attacking Avellaneda, Cervantes did not feel as strongly the need to attack the chivalric books, which had been crippled by his Part I (IV, 406, 11-14). He must have known at least that he had not discussed them in this part of the text; the attack in the final chapter is so strong that it undermines itself.

However, this does not mean that Cervantes, who from his output as a whole can be seen to have been "one of the most profoundly moral of writers,"⁴³ would have been pleased that his work has generated an interpreta-

⁴⁰ See Otis Green, *Western Tradition*, I, 3-9, for a slightly different discussion of the paradoxes of Christianity. They are discussed at length by Yves Denis, *G. K. Chesterton: Paradoxe et catholicisme* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1978; my thanks to Bruno Damiani).

⁴¹ This traditional Christian belief is found in Cervantes' works: "el bien y el mal distan tan poco el uno del otro, que son como dos líneas concurrentes, que, aunque parten de apartados y diferentes principios, acaban en un punto" (*Persiles*, II, 277, 4-7). In God past and future are subsumed: "para Él no ay passado ni porvenir, que todo es presente" (III, 323, 8-9). God similarly causes the successive opposing states found in nature: "la noche al día, y el calor al frío, / la flor al fruto van en seguimiento, / formando de contrarios igual tela" (*La Galatea*, II, 110, 22-24).

⁴² "Con cuánta facilidad discurre el ingenio de un poeta y se arroja a romper por mil imposibles" (*Persiles*, II, 18, 17-20). This is also what the knight-errant should do, according to Don Quixote: "éntrase en los más intrincados laberintos, acometa a cada paso lo imposible" (III, 223, 4-5).

⁴³ Riley, *Theory*, p. 95.

tive problem called "unparalleled in the history of literature."⁴⁴ He knew what interpretation he wanted readers to have, and he tells us what it is; when different interpretations are alluded to in the text, it is with an air of annoyance (III, 56, 30-57, 5; also I, 366, 26-28). That Cervantes did not want his characters to evolve, much less to the extreme to which they do in *Don Quixote*, is confirmed by everything else he wrote, in which characters learn but do not evolve. How, then, did it happen that he wrote a book which differs so dramatically from what he intended?

Cervantes, fortunately, did not approach *Don Quixote* with the intention of writing a great work. He had only the vaguest of plans, writing, in Unamuno's term, "viviparously": choices affecting the characteristics of the characters, the action, and even the thrust of the whole work were made during composition.⁴⁵ The composition of the book, furthermore, was intermittent, during periods of creative activity stretching over many years; as discussed in Chapters 1 and 4, Part I was probably begun and certainly "engendrado" in the 1590's, Part II in 1605, while neither was completed until shortly before publication.⁴⁶ During those years Cervantes' reading and thinking continued, resulting in changed views on central topics: the role of the *caballero andante*, for example, who changes from a superfluous and obsolete meddler to the indispensable and long-suffering soldier, and from there acquires saintly and even messianic overtones.⁴⁷ Evolving views such as these are at the root of many of the contradictions of the work.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Allen, *Hero or Fool* [Part I], p. 3.

⁴⁵ As Unamuno explains in the essay "A lo que salga" (*Almas de jóvenes*, Colección Austral, 499, 4th edition [Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1968], pp. 81-97, at pp. 83-84), the oviparous writer "hace un esquema, plano o minuta de su obra, y trabaja luego sobre él; es decir, pone un huevo y lo empolla," while a viviparous writer gestates the idea of his work in his mind, and then "empieza por la primera línea, y, sin volver atrás, ni rehacer ya lo hecho, lo escribe todo en definitiva hasta la línea última." The Cervantine inspiration for Unamuno's formulation is obvious. 46 Chapter 1, note 89; Chapter 4, note 103.

⁴⁷ The religious theme to Don Quixote's knight-errantry first appears with the *vela de las armas*; it is burlesque, as are his subsequent exaggerated claims of divine selection (I, 109, 15-21; I, 261, 17-32; I, 264, 20-23; III, 39, 20-24), and an early reference to his saint-like "vida y milagros" (I, 128, 28). However, the evolution of the *caballeros andantes* begins as early as the conversation with Vivaldo, in which they are called "ministros de Dios en la tierra" (I, 168, 19-170, 23). In addition to this passage and the speech on arms and letters, see I, 245, 2-4; III, 211, 25-27; III, 222, 7-223, 13; IV, 204, 18-205, 9; and the reconstruction of Cervantes' views on Christian chivalry in Chapter 2 of this book.

⁴⁸ Cervantes' research on chivalry, discussed in Chapter 1, must have coincided with the composition of Part I. It is also likely that he came to know, while writing Part I, López Pinciano's *Philosophía antigua poética*, the influence of which is seen towards the conclusion. Another work which Cervantes probably did not

The extended and intermittent composition of *Don Quixote* was compounded by lack of care, seen, for example, in the failure to conclude the story of Eugenio and Leandra, left dangling at the end of Part I,^{48a} and in the utilization of previously written material.⁴⁹ More seriously, while the previously written material must have been reread, at least in part,⁵⁰ Cervantes neither reread nor copied out the book prior to its publication. Revision seems to have been the clumsy insertion, deletion, and rearrangement of pages.⁵¹

know when beginning Part I, but may well have read before concluding Part II, is Jerónimo de Mondragón's Erasmian *Censura de la locura humana y excelencias della* (Lérida, 1598; studied by Ronald Surtz, *NRFH*, 25 [1976], 352-63); its favorable view of madness is incompatible with the opening of *Don Quixote*, yet its concluding Biblical phrase, "stultorum infinitus est numerus," is pointedly cited at III, 70, 28. Whether Cervantes knew this book, however, is controversial (see Marcel Bataillon, "Un Problème d'influence d'Érasme en Espagne: L'Éloge de la Folie," in *Actes du Congrès Érasme* [Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1971], pp. 136-47, translated in his *Erasmus y el erasmismo* [Barcelona: Crítica, 1977], pp. 327-46). The evolution of Cervantes' views during his writing career deserves further study.

^{48a} See II, 382, 2-4. As Clemencín pointed out in annotating the chapter (note 11 to I, 51), there are obvious deficiencies in Leandra's story of her three days with Vicente de la Rosa, as those who heard her already suspected (II, 385, 10-11). Probably what would shatter the seeming tranquility of the state of affairs we are left with, and confirm Eugenio's opinion of the "poco discurso" of women (II, 387, 24), is her pregnancy.

⁴⁹ The "Canción desesperada," the "Novela del curioso impertinente," and probably the "Historia del cautivo."

The episode of Sancho *gobernador*, which was not included as it had been originally written ("no le tradujo su intérprete como él [Cide Hamete] le avía escrito" [IV, 64, 7-8]), may also be an example. The conclusion of Chapter 51 of Part II has the sense of an ending, with rapid accumulation of details, result of the action which has preceded, and a link between the time of the story and the present ("hasta hoy"). It is similar to the ending of the *Persiles* and to all and only the *Novelas ejemplares* which Ruth El Saffar dates as post-1606: "La gitanilla" ("mientras los siglos duraren"), "El amante liberal" ("aún hasta hoy"), "La española inglesa" ("aún hoy"), "La fuerza de la sangre" ("ahora viven"), "La illustre fregona" ("aún vive . . . hoy"), "Las dos donzellas" ("hasta hoy"), and "La señora Cornelia" ("siempre"). When we remember that Sancho's government is introduced with the complaint that "novelas sueltas ni pegadizas" could not be included, all of this leads to the suggestion that the episode existed independently of *Don Quixote*, and was incorporated in a different way than the tales of Part I.

⁵⁰ At IV, 82, 1, however, a future episode is called "passada." Although the ending of Chapter 51 of Part II discusses Sancho's "ordenanças tocantes al buen gobierno de la que él imaginava ser ínsula" (IV, 166, 1-2), in his report to the duke and duchess Sancho says "aunque pensava hazer algunas ordenanças provechosas, no hize ninguna" (IV, 208, 19-21). Both of these imply that the episode of Sancho *gobernador* had not been completely nor carefully reread.

⁵¹ The hasty way this was done has permitted reconstruction of previous states

The lack of rereading, and clumsy revision, are unavoidable implications of the errors of the work. The best known of these, as they are pointed out at the beginning of Part II (III, 70, 30-73, 22) and unconvincingly attributed to the "impressores" (III, 341, 1-4), are the inconsistencies resulting from the deletion of the theft and recovery of Sancho's donkey and the relocation of the episode of Grisóstomo y Marcela;⁵² that correction was attempted in what from vocabulary, style, and content can only be Cervantes' hand confirms that they are errors, and that the corrections are themselves in error, and the discussion of the errors left in Part II despite the attempted corrections, confirms the lack of care.⁵³ Also pointed out at the beginning of Part II is the lack of further reference to the one hundred escudos which Sancho found in Cardenio's suitcase, ironically called "uno de los puntos sustanciales que faltan en la obra" (III, 71, 4-10).

Another type of error is the varying names of characters, the best-known being those given Sancho⁵⁴ and his wife. While Cervantes does play with true name of Don Quixote, suggesting that the different forms found in the work are deliberate (I, 50, 4-11), such a conclusion is untenable. In the first chapter, we are told that "queda dicho" that "tomaron ocasión los autores desta tan verdadera historia que, sin duda, se devía de llamar Quixada, y no Quesada, como otros quisieron dezir" (I, 55, 8-12); nothing of the sort was said. Shortly thereafter we find that he "devía de llamar . . . Quixana," changed to "Quixada" in the second edition (I, 89, 19-20; "Quexana" is also changed to "Quixana," I, 50, 9). Near the end of Part I he states that he was descended from Gutierre Quixada "por línea recta de varón" (II, 367, 3-4). By the end of Part II his last name has, with no explanation, become Quixano with the "renombre" of "el Bueno," which was not even suggested before as a possibility.

The "moço de campo y plaça" mentioned in the opening chapter is never heard of again. Having arrived at an inn, "poco antes de anochezer" (III, 306, 23), the travelers then arrive at it a second time, "a tiempo que anochezía" (III,

of the work, as, for example, that which has been just argued regarding the episode of Sancho *gobernador*. For such reconstruction with Part I, see Geoffrey Stagg, "Revision in *Don Quixote*, Part I," in *Hispanic Studies in Honour of I. González Llubera* (Oxford: Dolphin, 1959), pp. 349-66; for a theory on the reason behind the revisions Stagg discusses, see my "Cervantes, Lope, and Avellaneda," p. 182.

⁵² An occasional error may be attributed to the printer: "¿Quiere vuestra merced quemar más [for 'mis'] libros?" (II, 83, 17-18); the innkeeper does not know, from the text, that the priest has burned any.

⁵³ See the article of Stagg cited in note 51, and my "Sancho's Rucio," in which I argued that the emendations of Cuesta's second edition were written by Cervantes. (Though the evidence is more slender since the corrections are smaller, Cervantes' authorship of the further corrections of Cuesta's third edition can not be ruled out.)

⁵⁴ "Sancho Çancas . . . que con estos dos sobre nombres [Pança and Çancas] le llama algunas vezes la historia" (I, 132, 5-10).

311, 14-15);⁵⁵ on another occasion Sancho could not sleep (I, 210, 19-22), but immediately thereafter he "aún dormía" (I, 214, 10). The *bachiller* Alonso López, victim of the attack in the *aventura del cuerpo muerto*, leaves the scene ("se fue," I, 256, 15), then speaks again and leaves a second time (I, 257, 29-258, 15). Immediately after announcing that Sancho would be absent from the story until his return to the Sierra Morena (I, 372, 16), the narrator decides to "contar lo que le avino a Sancho Pança" (I, 377, 14-15). Diego de Miranda spends his life with his wife, friends, and "hijos" (III, 201, 14), but it then appears that he has only one son.

Sansón Carrasco, we are told, sought out the priest in order to discuss with him a plan to help Don Quixote (III, 101, 3-5); without any explanation, it develops that he had discussed it with both the priest and the barber (III, 108, 28-29; III, 190, 17-21). The plan consisted of defeating Don Quixote and making him remain at home for "dos años, o hasta tanto que por él le fuesse mandado otra cosa" (III, 191, 4-7), but when it is put into effect he is only ordered to remain at home for "un año, o hasta el tiempo que por mí le fuere mandado" (IV, 318, 16-17; IV, 315, 5-12; IV, 321, 4-6). Sansón first appears in Chapters 12-14 of Part II as the Cavallero del Bosque, once called the Cavallero de la Selva; when his clothing is described he is transformed, without comment, into the Cavallero de los Espejos.

During Sancho's government, as just mentioned (note 50), we are told that a future decision of Sancho is "passada"; while Sancho as governor made "ordenanças" that are observed "hasta hoy" and earned for him the adjective of "great" (IV, 165, 30-166, 30), he tells the duke and duchess that he did not make any (IV, 208, 19-22). While in the opening sentence of Part II we are told that this is the "tercera salida de don Quixote" (III, 35, 5-6), at the conclusion we find that don Quixote was "impossibilitado de hazer tercera jornada y salida nueva; que para hazer burla de tantas como hizieron tantos andantes cavalleros, bastan las dos que él hizo" (IV, 405, 29-406, 1). There is no other explanation but failure to reread, revise, and polish.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ This error was pointed out by Rafael Osuna, "¿Dos finales en un capítulo (II, 24) del *Quijote*?", *RomN*, 13 (1971), 318-21.

⁵⁶ There are many other examples. Having burned "quantos libros avía . . . en toda la casa" (I, 107, 26-27), "uno de los remedios que el cura y el barbero dieron por entonces, para el mal de su amigo, fue que le murassen y tapiassen el aposento de los libros, porque quando se levantasse no los hallasse" (I, 108, 1-5). "Si el héroe ha estado ausente dos días en su primera salida, el ama dirá que son tres; . . . si eran ocho los cabreros que dan hospitalidad a don Quijote, luego serán seis; si Ginés de Pasamonte no se lleva la espada del héroe, mas tarde éste nos declarará lo contrario . . . Todo esto sin salirnos de la primera parte ni entrar en detalles sobre el confuso tiempo novelístico de los sucesos de la venta." (Rafael Osuna, "Dos olvidos de Cervantes: El rucio de Sancho y el bagaje de Bartolomé," *Hispanófila*, No. 36 [May, 1969], pp. 7-9, at p. 7.)

In addition to the surprising revelation of Don Quixote's true name and the

It is true that Cervantes, in general, does not seem to have been a reviser,⁵⁷ and that errors have also been found in his other works. The distinction of *Don Quixote* in this regard, however, remains. In no other of his works (except, obviously, the assembling of the *Novelas ejemplares*) do we know that he used previously written material. The errors found in *Don Quixote* are both more numerous and more serious.⁵⁸ It is his only work whose errors are known to have been commented on by contemporaries; the errors in his other works are known through the work of recent scholars.⁵⁹

indignant exclamation over Avellaneda's use of the name Mari Gutiérrez, there are numerous erroneous references in Part II to the content of Part I; these are too varied to be attributed merely to deliberate attribution of poor memory to characters. Already mentioned in Chapter 4 is Don Quixote's statement that he had told Sancho "mil vezes" that he had never seen Dulzinea (III, 124, 26-28), when in fact he told Sancho that he had seen her four times (I, 362, 31-363, 4). (Perhaps what is meant is that Don Quixote has mentally separated his idealized Dulzinea, whom he has never seen, from Aldonça Lorenço [see I, 365, 23-366, 28], yet, even if this is correct, it is not clearly put [see I, 363, 4-6].) The narrator tells us that Don Quixote had called Ginés de Passamonte "Ginessillo de Parapilla" (III, 340, 27-29); although the name is recalled precisely, it was actually a guard who used it (I, 307, 8-31). Don Quixote twice spoke of marriage in Part I (I, 294, 25-295, 29 and II, 55, 29-30), but in Part II says (III, 275, 29-31) that he has never thought about it.

Sancho erroneously says to Diego de Miranda that Rozinante "jamás . . . ha hecho vileza alguna, y una vez que se desmandó ha hazerla, la lastamos mi señor y yo con las setenas" (III, 197, 26-29); actually it was the *gallegos* who did so (compare I, 194, 16-196, 5). It is probably not Sancho's poor memory, but Cervantes', that is responsible for his doubt in the statement "yo he oído dezir, y creo que a mi señor mismo, si mal no me acuerdo, que en los extremos de cobarde y de temerario está el medio de la valentía" (III, 76, 23-26; Don Quixote had never made such a statement, though he does subsequently).

⁵⁷ In Cervantes' one surviving literary letter, that to Antonio de Eraso, he says, speaking of *La Galatea*, "en estando algo crecida [*La Galatea*] irá a besar los pies a vuestra excelencia" (Astrana, VI, 510); this does not seem to indicate that revision was anticipated. Geoffrey Stagg has shown that the revisions of two *novelas ejemplares* in the Porras manuscript are not authentic ("The Refracted Image: Porras and Cervantes," *Cervantes*, 4 [1984], 139-53, especially pp. 146-53 [the errata sheet accompanying the issue should be noted]).

⁵⁸ That they were more numerous was said by Luis Rosales, *Cervantes y la libertad* (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1960), I, 7, n. 17.

⁵⁹ Most attention has been given to the *Persiles*: Rafael Osuna, "Dos olvidos," just cited above, note 56; Osuna, "Vacilaciones y olvidos de Cervantes en el *Persiles*," *ACer*, 11 (1972), 69-85; Stephen Harrison, "The Composition of *Persiles y Sigismunda*," Diss. University of Toronto, 1979 (abstract in *DAI*, 39 [1979] 4305A; "Harrison has related a number of contradictions in that work to a process of hasty and incomplete revision" [Stagg, "The Refracted Image," p. 146]). While arguing the thesis that the apparent errors are not so, Aden W. Hayes has

Today, of course, no author with literary ambitions would publish any book without rereading and revision. We must remember how much writing has progressed since Cervantes' day. Writing materials are not only much less expensive, they are better, making reading and writing faster. To reread such a lengthy text existing in longhand was a time-consuming endeavor,⁶⁰ and making a clean copy would have taken even longer. Neither was possible when Cervantes was hurrying to complete Part II, after the publication of Avellaneda's continuation. Before examining Avellaneda's work Cervantes seems not to have held his own *Don Quixote* in high regard, and certainly he did not expect that it would be considered his most important work. It was, after all, a book written for the *vulgo*.⁶¹

studied "Narrative 'errors' in 'Rinconete y Cortadillo,'" *BHS*, 58 (1981), 13-20. Osuna, "Dos olvidos," p. 7, says that "en otras novelas suyas no faltan tampoco estos descuidos."

⁶⁰ "Las obras *impressas* se miran despacio" (III, 69, 26).

⁶¹ He also did not read the proofs of the book. Authorial proofreading, though perhaps not as common as today, was far from unknown, and certainly not something an author would be denied; the official corrector was primarily concerned with verifying that the text printed was that for which a license had been obtained.

According to one official corrector, Juan Vázquez del Mármol, a printer was not only supposed to "tener buen corrector que corrija las probas a gusto del autor," he "a de sacar dos o tres probas las que se concertaren si el autor quisiere corregirlas" (*Condiciones que se pueden poner cuando se da a imprimir un libro* [Madrid: El Crotalón, 1983], probably more accessible in Gallardo's *Ensayo*, IV, 937, and Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, III, 498-99). Alejo Venegas excused himself for his hurried correction of the proofs of the first edition of his *Diferencias de libros*, and carefully eliminated all the misprints in the second edition (my introduction, p. 46). Agustín G. de Amezúa y Mayo, *Cómo se hacía un libro en nuestro Siglo de Oro* (1946; included in his *Opúsculos histórico-literarios* [Madrid: CSIC, 1951], I, 331-73), cites the case of Vasco Díaz Tanco, in 1552 asking readers to excuse the "incorrecciones . . . perdonando al autor muy ocupado, al componedor no culpado y al corrector descuidado" (p. 354). Jaime Moll points out how Lope's friend Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla corrected those of his *Jerusalén conquistada* ("Problemas bibliográficos del libro del Siglo de Oro," *BRAE*, 59 [1979], 49-107, at pp. 80-81). Alberto Blecua, *Manual de crítica textual* (Madrid: Castalia, 1983), p. 173, mentions the cases of Boscán and others, and the main thesis of Trevor J. Dadson, "El autor, la imprenta y la corrección de pruebas en el siglo XVII," *Anuario de Filología Española*, 1 (1984), 1053-68, is that the author did intervene more often than generally believed. (As other evidence of authorial intervention in the printing process, we can cite the case of the *Obras trágicas, y líricas del Capitán Cristóbal de Virués* [Madrid, 1609], in which we find on fol. 8^v that "la ortografía que lleva este libro se puso à persuasion del autor del, y no como en la imprenta se usa." Mariana also showed himself to be particularly concerned with the printing of his works, specifying among other things in the contract for the reedition of his *Historia general* [reproduced in Cirot, *Mariana historien*, pp. 183-85], that the printer was not to alter the orthography.)

Cervantes had little time to spare for such a non-essential as rereading and polishing *Don Quixote*. He was 58 when Part I was published, and his employment limited the time he could devote to writing; although he later received support from patrons, he was by then in poor health.⁶² He had a great deal to write: the *Persiles*, the *Parnaso*, most of the *Novelas exemplares*, much of the *Semanas del jardín* and some of Part II of *La Galatea*; he also was occupied in completing the *Bernardo* and in publishing his collection of plays.

There has been a natural reluctance to accept that a great work is unpolished, and some of *Don Quixote*'s errors have been attributed to motivations which are inconsistent with what we know of Cervantes from his other works, and farfetched for a Golden Age writer. Yet Cervantes' style of composition in *Don Quixote*—improvisational, with neither careful planning nor revision—is at the heart of the book's greatness.⁶³ A *Don Quixote* which had been tidied up and made consistent, in which everything was explicable and reflective of the author's intent, would be a much less interesting book.⁶⁴ It would not puzzle us, which is to say, engage us intellectually as well as emotionally, and would lack much of its charm. Because the book was written improvisationally, having, for the most part, no more continuity than Cervantes' memory could provide, because it was not revised, his unconscious mind,

⁶² Already in the prologue to the *Novelas exemplares*, he makes a seeming allusion to his illness ("si la vida no me dexa," I, 23, 15), of course referred to fully in the prologue to the *Persiles*; in the prologue to Part I of *Don Quixote*, he mentions feeling old ("con todos mis años a cuestras," I, 31, 9-10). On Cervantes' employment in Valladolid, support from patrons, and general financial circumstances, see "Did Cervantes Have a Library?"

⁶³ When the errors and inconsistencies of a book are perceived as positive features ("lunares," in Cervantes' term), an interesting editorial problem results. Should we follow the author's presumed intent, and remove them? While in a sense we are free to do whatever best suits our purposes, it is unethical to preserve errors which we are sure an author would want removed and which can easily be corrected.

One major error, the inclusion of the theft of the donkey in Chapter 23 of Part I, has been corrected (moving it to Chapter 25) by John J. Allen in his edition (Madrid: Cátedra, 1977), and this change was approved of by E. C. Riley in his review (*BHS*, 57 [1980], 346-49). I would also approve of the correction of erroneous chapter titles (Chapters 10, 29, 30, and 43 of Part I). Those interested in these errors have ready access to facsimiles as well as 350 years of editions containing them; a desire to experience Cervantes as an imperfect writer is adequately satisfied by other errors, such as the various names of Sancho's wife, which cannot be so simply removed.

⁶⁴ Cervantes' other work in which the stated intent coincides imperfectly with what he actually published—the *Novelas exemplares*—is second only to *Don Quixote* in its interest to modern readers and scholars. Of the *novelas*, it is precisely those whose exemplarity is most problematical, such as "Rinconete y Cortadillo" and the "Coloquio de los perros," that are found most interesting.

which is what creates great art as we understand it,⁶⁵ was not subject to much of the censoring to which the conscious mind subjects it. His whole mind is incorporated in the text to a much greater degree than it is in other literary works. Despite his intent to write a book whose two main characters were to be laughed at, we can tell how uncomfortable he became with that purpose. We sense his increasing sympathy for, envy of, and partial emotional identification with Don Quixote and Sancho, his own reflections on problems they encountered and discussed, his own exhilaration and finally despair, from which God offered the only relief. The work's complexity, which, if not infinite, exceeds the resolution of our critical instruments, also reflects his mind.⁶⁶ It is no wonder it is full of contradictions and a great puzzle, for every person is.

And what a mind is revealed in the book! Cervantes wrestled with fundamental problems; that he did not resolve them is more an indication of the sincerity of his effort than a sign of failure. While pursuing two careers he had traveled extensively; he knew not only much of his own country, but also Italy, Algiers, and possibly Flanders as well.⁶⁷ He had participated in the important battle of Lepanto, in which his left hand was made useless and deformed; he had known captivity in another culture, unsuccessful escape, ransom, and freedom. He was also someone who read voraciously, making it his main diversion. "El que lee mucho y anda mucho, vee mucho y sabe mucho" (III, 321, 16-17; also *Persiles*, I, 194, 23-24). Few writers of creative literature have experienced or read as much as he.

Despite his reading and experiences, Cervantes, like his characters, resembles us in some basic ways. He, too, has ambitions and problems, and his very shortcomings attract rather than repel us, allowing us to feel unthreatened by his genius because, in a trivial way, we are superior.⁶⁸ Though the underlying tone is optimistic—no small virtue—he becomes happy and sad, frustrated and

⁶⁵ See Anton Ehrenzweig, *The Hidden Order of Art. A Study in the Psychology of Artistic Imagination* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), for a contemporary formulation of this view of creativity.

⁶⁶ I would suggest that Carroll Johnson's beautiful simile be applied to the most complex living thing: "The *Quijote* is like a wonderful living organism. To slice into it anywhere, to take a sample of tissue and examine it, is to be astounded by the complexity of its structure, the forest of capillaries and ganglia intertwined, functioning in bewilderingly complex harmony, sending their messages, providing their nourishment, acting and reacting to each other, pulsating with life." ("Organic Unity in Unlikely Places: *Don Quijote* I, 39-41," *Cervantes*, 2 [1982], 133-54, at p. 133.)

⁶⁷ See John J. Allen, "Autobiografía y ficción" and "Más sobre autobiografía y ficción."

⁶⁸ An obvious example of an ambition and a problem: his desire to write the best book of *entretenimiento* ever written in Spanish (III, 34, 9-18); Avellaneda. Cervantes' overreaction to Avellaneda, his misjudgment of the value of his *Persiles* and even more his exaggeration of his skill as a playwright, are key elements adding

exultant, remembers and forgets. He is sure about some things, confused about others, and wonders what it all can add up to. Especially confusing to him was that the world did not conform to culturally-endorsed descriptions of it. Virtue did not correlate with position in society. A person deserving of wealth (himself) did not necessarily receive it,⁶⁹ nor were those who obtained it illicitly always punished. His works written according to literary principles were unwanted, and success came to him from a book he thought much less important. God must have had a plan which would make sense of this, but he was never to find it.

To the extent Cervantes did not write the book he intended to write, he was not at peace, and the contradictions of *Don Quixote* in some measure reflect those its author lived. Of course this is not stated in the text,⁷⁰ but it is a logical conclusion from what he wrote and from what biographical information we have. Cervantes' own relations with the opposite sex were troubled, and the indissoluble sacrament of marriage failed to bring him happiness. He was unable to resolve the conflict between his responsibilities and his desire to live a life those obligations did not permit. He was torn between respect for authority—literary, political, and religious—and his feelings and observations. He found enjoyable literature which by the standards of the day was defective and pernicious, and was puzzled by the discrepancy.

"Good" literature attracted Cervantes intellectually, but *libros de caballerías*, and the fantasy they presented, aroused his emotions. *Don Quixote's* success can indeed be attributed in part to the elements taken from those books, which offered, as it does, long journeys, pleasant company, a variety of characters and a succession of adventures. Don Quixote's chivalric life, once he learns not to provoke the world into retaliation, is a very agreeable one; though many of his accomplishments exist only in his imagination, some are real, and he achieves his goals to a much greater extent than he ever could have by staying home, an "hidalgo sossegado" (I, 89, 21) taking care of his *hacienda*.
To travel

to the sense of humanity and attractiveness we see in him. (That Cervantes had an exaggerated idea of the value of his *comedias* has been one of the few constants in the approaches to him. However important they may be theoretically, as drama his comedias are simply not very good, evidence for which is how rarely they are performed, several of them apparently having never been performed. Evidence for Cervantes' view of his comedias may be found in the canon's speech, in the prologue to the *Ocho comedias*, and in the document cited in Chapter 2, note 23.)

⁶⁹ See III, 31, 9-22, in which the rewards he did finally get are described as a result of his virtue and in terms ("por sola su bondad") that suggest they were sent by God.

⁷⁰ It is, however, appropriate to remember Cervantes' use of the famous words of St. Augustine in his *Confessions*: "Están nuestras almas siempre en continuo movimiento, y no pueden parar ni sossegar sino en su centro, que es Dios, para quien fueron criadas" (*Persiles*, II, 5, 10-13; also *La Galatea*, II, 64, 4-8).

with no responsibilities, to be useful and in demand, to have exciting adventures and win renown through one's own efforts, to have good friends and never be alone except by choice, never to worry about money, to be received as an honored guest by a higher social class, to be sought after by the opposite sex, to know always the thrill of being in love, to be sure of one's beliefs and act on them, to be the subject of a book and to have eternal fame, is this not a life we would all like to have? Is not our sanity a fair exchange?