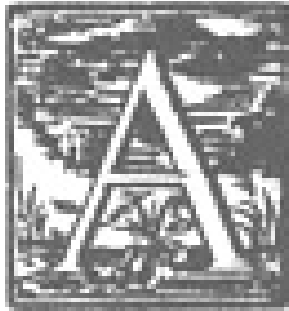


### III. The Genre of *Don Quixote*



AUTHORS AND READERS inevitably and necessarily use generic concepts; it is impossible to understand a work without placing it in a generic context. An examination of a work's genre, then, is a step towards its interpretation; as E. D. Hirsch has written, "disagreement about an interpretation is usually a disagreement about genre."<sup>1</sup>

Generic study of *Don Quixote* is especially appropriate since Cervantes was interested in genres. An interest in literary theory, which he obviously had, meant in his day an interest in genres, a large part of early literary (or linguistic, or scientific) theory, and a prerequisite for the formulation of the literary rules about which he evidently cared deeply.

Although in no case is it unproblematical, it can be seen how each of Cervantes' works fits into an existing generic category, *La Galatea* being an eclogue,<sup>2</sup> the *Novelas exemplares* the introduction into Spain and purification of the Italian *novella*,<sup>3</sup> the *Persiles* an epic in prose, and the *Viage del Parnaso* an imaginary travel book. Obviously Cervantes thought of *Don Quixote* as also fitting into some literary category.

Unfortunately, literary categories are not eternal. Both the criteria used for categorization and, worse, the meaning of the labels for categories are deceptively changeable.<sup>4</sup> This is especially the case when dealing with such a pivotal and influential work as is *Don Quixote*, through which the history of

<sup>1</sup> *Validity in Interpretation*, p. 98. On the importance of genre for interpretation see also Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), Chapter 14, who points out that "activity in genre theory has tended to precede or coincide with periods of great literature, and to arouse the interest of the best writers" (p. 256).

<sup>2</sup> *La Galatea*, I, xlvii, 3. That this term is intended to refer to the work as a whole is confirmed by Avallé-Arce in his note to this passage, and also by Francisco Ynduráin, "Relección de La Galatea," in his *Relección de clásicos* (Madrid: Prensa Española, 1969), pp. 61-73, at p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Novelas exemplares*, I, 23, 8-12.

<sup>4</sup> The search for categories for literary works resembles a dog's pursuit of its

literature changes direction: it seems one thing when viewed from the present looking backwards, and something rather different when considered in its own context. It is for this reason that identifying *Don Quixote's* genre is something like determining the street on which Columbus Circle or the Plaza de la Cibeles is located, and the subject of great confusion.

Our goal in this chapter is to identify *Don Quixote's* genre in Cervantes' terms, as a step toward understanding his interpretation of and goals in the work. In his terms, the category could have been neither novel nor romance, for while the words existed, their Golden Age meaning was quite different from the modern, English generic categories described with the terms.<sup>5</sup>

tail: difficult at best, impossible in a sense, and productive of only temporary success. In contrast with works of nature, whose classification is less difficult because change is slow, literature changes rapidly, at times in reaction to previously established classifications; also, there are no two literary works which resemble each other as much as do two members of the same plant or animal species. The dream of classifiers, a permanent schema making order out of the unruly world of literature, has never been realized.

<sup>5</sup> *Novela*, borrowed from Italian, meant "short story," and *romance* a verse narration, in the sixteenth century usually of historical content (see my "The *Romance* as Seen by Cervantes"). Even the modern meaning of these terms can be problematic: "each critic or theorist sees the central 'novelty' of the novel [*Don Quixote*] differently," summarized John J. Allen, "*Don Quixote* and the Origins of the Novel," in *Cervantes and the Renaissance*, ed. Michael D. McGaha (Easton, Pennsylvania: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980), pp. 125-40, at p. 125. The applicability of the (modern) terms "novel" and "romance" to Cervantes' works is studied by E. C. Riley, "Cervantes: A Question of Genre," in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in Honour of P. E. Russell*, ed. F. W. Hodcraft *et al.* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1981), pp. 69-85; in his "*Don Quixote*" (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p. 24, he states that, without changing the main argument, he would "now want to qualify and clarify some of the points made." Those interested in *Don Quixote's* role in the creation of the novel and in modern novel criticism will find references to the major works in Allen's article, supplemented by Robert Alter, *Partial Magic: The Novel as a Self-Conscious Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); subsequent to them are Walter L. Reed's *An Exemplary History of the Novel: The Quixotic versus the Picaresque* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Alexander Welsh, *Reflections on the Hero as Quixote* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), reviewed by Anthony J. Cascardi in *Cervantes*, 2 (1982), 185-87 and subject of a review article, "Quixotic Reflections," by Alistair M. Duckworth, *Cervantes*, 3 (1983), 65-76; Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983); Allen's own "Coping with *Don Quixote*," in *Approaches to Teaching Cervantes' "Don Quixote"*, pp. 45-49; and Cascardi's *The Bounds of Reason: Cervantes, Dostoevsky, Flaubert* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986). A useful recapitulation, together with study of a work Cervantes held in high esteem (I, 103, 3-10), is provided by Mary Lee Cozad, "Experiential

However, we have an aid available to us, not just a guide to Golden Age generic theory but the book which influenced Cervantes more than any other work of literary scholarship: López Pinciano's *Philosophía antigua poética*, the most thorough treatment of genre ever written in Spanish, and one of the few comprehensive treatises of the entire Renaissance. In contrast with modern categories, which are heavily based on form, for López Pinciano the key criterion for literary classification is the story or subject matter treated; this is the "alma," whereas the way it is told is merely the "cuerpo" (I, 239). One might think the question of *Don Quixote's* genre, as seen by Cervantes, settled by the term "historia," which is used to describe the book in the title and repeatedly in the text. It is certainly a logical starting place for a generic examination of *Don Quixote*. What did Cervantes mean by calling *Don Quixote* an *historia*, more specifically a *verdadera historia*?<sup>6</sup>

*Historia*, first of all, was not a literary genre, although its meaning was broader than the English term "history" and could refer to literary works. In its broadest sense it meant the telling (*contar*) of events: "al cuento de mis sucesos," says the Alférez, "se puede dar el nombre de historia" ("Casamiento engañoso," III, 147, 2-4). "Cuenta la historia," "la historia cuenta," standard formulas in early Spanish prose, are frequently used in *Don Quixote*.<sup>7</sup>

An *historia* could be of two sorts. It could be *verdadera*, a history, which is the only way in which López Pinciano used the term; an example cited by Cervantes is the *Historia del Gran Capitán*, called "historia verdadera" (II, 83, 32-84, 1). Or it can be  *fingida*, in which case it is literature, what we would call prose fiction and what Cervantes also calls *fábula*.<sup>8</sup> The distinction between

Conflict and Rational Motivation in the *Diana enamorada*: An Anticipation of the Novel," *JHP*, 5 (1981 [1982]), 199-214. For an introduction to classification theory, see Shiyali R. Ranganathan, *Prolegomena to Library Classification*, 2nd edition (London: Library Association, 1967).

<sup>6</sup> The book is called a "verdadera historia" at I, 55, 10; I, 58, 16-17; I, 132, 13-15; I, 191, 22-23; II, 7, 19-20; II, 393, 19; III, 113, 17-18; III, 155, 17-18; III, 217, 1; and IV, 140, 8.

<sup>7</sup> I will cite only one case of each: I, 131, 21; III, 101, 8-9. For additional examples, see Predmore, *The World of Don Quixote*, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> "No todas las cosas que suceden son buenas para contadas, y podrían passar sin serlo y sin quedar menoscabada la historia: acciones ay que, por grandes, deven de callarse, y otras que, por baxas, no deven dezirse, puesto que es excelencia de la historia [verdadera] que, qualquiera cosa que en ella se escrivía, puede passar al sabor de la verdad que trae consigo; lo que no tiene la fábula, a quien conviene guissar sus acciones con tanta puntualidad y gusto, y con tanta verissimilitud, que, ha despecho y pesar de la mentira, que haze dissonancia en el entendimiento, forme una verdadera armonía" (*Persiles*, II, 100, 9-22). The canon applies the term *fábulas* to the *libros de caballerías* (II, 341, 9 and 26), and Don Quixote's niece calls them "fábula y mentira" (III, 93, 5-6). Deficient *fábulas*

the two types of *historia* is easier to understand if an *historia* is thought of as a painting in words, a comparison found explicitly in Cervantes' works.<sup>9</sup> A painting can be a portrayal of a real scene or person, or an imagined one, yet the same evaluative criterion applies: how closely the work resembles reality. This is the standard for both *historia verdadera* and *historia fingida*:<sup>10</sup> "las historias fingidas tanto tienen de buenas y deleitables quanto se llegan a la verdad o la semejança della, y las verdaderas tanto son mejores quanto son más verdaderas" (IV, 297, 11-15).<sup>11</sup>

portrayed things that could never be, such as talking animals, the metamorphosis of people into stars and trees, or the impossible careers of the protagonists of the previously existing *libros de caballerías*.

<sup>9</sup> Paintings in *Don Quixote* are called "historias" (IV, 377, 19), and narration is repeatedly described as *pintura* (I, 60, 26; I, 128, 9; I, 242, 24; II, 344, 5; III, 48, 21; III, 62, 25; III, 64, 22; III, 107, 32; III, 112, 31; III, 226, 10; III, 399, 4; IV, 22, 10; IV, 248, 6; IV, 313, 30). "Pintor o escritor, . . . todo es uno" (IV, 378, 12-13); "quando escrivies historia, pintas, y quando pintas, compones" (*Persiles*, II, 139, 4-5). Cide Hamete, if he is an "hideperro" and "ignorante hablador," resembles a bad painter (III, 67, 26-68, 4), yet when Avellaneda appears, as a bad painter (IV, 378, 11-15), then Don Quixote should be reserved for Cide Hamete just as Alexander the Great was for the painter Apelles (IV, 252, 6-11). This may be the explanation of Sancho's strange comment that "antes de mucho tiempo no ha de aver bodegón, venta ni mesón, o tienda de barbero, donde no ande pintada la historia de nuestras hazañas" (IV, 377, 31-378, 2); we do find, in *Don Quixote*, that a barber reads *libros de caballerías*, an innkeeper hears them read, and "las tiendas de los barberos" are full of "Amariles, Filis, Silvias, Dianas, Galateas, Fílidas y otras tales" (I, 365, 29-32; adapted) but nothing to suggest that paintings would be found in such places.

As this equivalence is found much more frequently in Cervantes' later works, it may be useful to note that it is made by Cervantes' literary acquaintance Cristóbal de Mesa, in the dedication of his *Rimas* to the Duke of Béjar: "Es la Poesía pintura que habla, y la Pintura Poesía muda" (*El patrón de España* [Madrid, 1612], fol. 95r). (For Cervantes' contact with Mesa, see my "Cervantes and Tasso Reexamined.") Guillén de Castro, in his play *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, has the protagonist appear "vestido como le pintan en su libro" (*Obras*, ed. Eduardo Juliá Martínez, II [Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1926], 340).

For further discussion of this topic, from different perspectives, see Margarita Levisi, "La pintura en la narrativa de Cervantes," *BBMP*, 48 (1972), 293-325, Karl-Ludwig Selig, "Persiles y Sigismunda: Notes on Pictures, Portraits, and Portraiture," *HR*, 41 (1973), 305-12, and Diane Chaffee, "Pictures and Portraits in Literature: Cervantes as the Painter of *Don Quijote*," *ACer*, 19 (1981), 49-56; on the medieval precedents, see Steven D. Kirby, "'Escripto con estoria' (*Libro de buen amor*, st. 1571c)," *RomN*, 14 (1973), 631-35.

<sup>10</sup> The two terms are translated as "story" and "history" by Bruce Wardropper in his classic article, "*Don Quixote*: Story or History?," *MP*, 63 (1965), 1-11.

<sup>11</sup> That a work which is *fingida* should also be *imitada* is defended by the canon in his discussion of the *comedia* (II, 349, 26-350, 9).

We are frequently told that *Don Quixote* is *historia verdadera*.<sup>12</sup> By the end of the book this term is used favorably and without irony; "mi verdadero don Quixote" contrasts with Avellaneda's false one (IV, 406, 12). At times we are only being told that the book is verisimilar, as is discussed later. Yet the insistence that the book is *verdadero* is often ironic and less than sincere.<sup>13</sup>

Were the repeated statements that the book was "verdadero" going to mislead anyone? I think Cervantes was confident that they would not; a reader would know that no Alonso Quixano from La Mancha had set out as a knight-errant, for such an incredible occurrence would have been commented on all over Spain. From the very first sentence of the prologue, in which the work is called an "hijo del entendimiento," it is obviously an *historia fingida*. No one would have made armor out of cardboard, chosen Sancho as a squire, and attacked windmills and sheep. That could not possibly have happened, is every reader's reaction. No one could have taken the *libros de caballerías* as true, is the position suggested to the reader. No matter what lengths they go to to feign truthfulness. No matter that there is a character called a historian, that we are told details about his manuscript,<sup>14</sup> where it was found, how it was translated, even what the translator was paid (I, 131, 5-13). These things mean nothing. Someone made them up. They do not mean that Don Quixote really existed; why should they mean that Amadís did? The "autor" even *asks* his readers to give his work "el mismo crédito que suelen dar los discretos a los libros de cavallerías, que tan validos andan en el mundo" (II, 402, 2-8).

Since the recognition of fiction as a legitimate type of literature, an author may claim that he or she writes a true story, even though it is a fabrication. Publishers and merchants of reputable books, and librarians as well, inform us whether a book's claims of veracity are seriously meant, or merely a convention shared by the author and reader, deceiving no one. In Cervantes' day, however, such aids did not exist, and authors who wrote "lies," and then denied that they had done so, could mislead the ignorant; literary consumers

<sup>12</sup> In addition to the label "historia verdadera" (*supra*, note 6), there are numerous references to the "verdad" of the *historia*: I, 50, 10-11 (where, as at I, 127, 23, it is called a *cuento*); II, 402, 11; III, 101, 7-9; III, 128, 4; III, 200, 9-10 and 16-17; III, 226, 16-18; IV, 10, 27; IV, 276, 23; and IV, 406, 12.

<sup>13</sup> For example: "Otras algunas menudencias avía que advertir; pero todas son de poca importancia, y que no hazen al caso a la verdadera relación de la historia, que ninguna es mala como sea verdadera" (I, 132, 11-15). This passage comes just before it is pointed out that an Arabic historian might not be accurate, and just after it is said that Sancho Panza is also called Sancho Çancas.

<sup>14</sup> I, 128, 26-132, 8. For elaboration, see the ingenious article of Thomas Lathrop, "Cide Hamete Benengeli y su manuscrito," in *Cervantes. Su obra y su mundo*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: Edi-6, 1981), pp. 693-97.

were credulous to the point of believing that everything printed was true.<sup>15</sup> How, then, could one, at that time, distinguish the true from the false, and determine whether a book describes imaginary actions and characters, or true ones? This problem is never addressed directly in *Don Quixote*, but it certainly is indirectly. If I may be allowed my own formulation of Cervantes' point: Think! Use the brain God gave you. Can a tower really sail on the sea (II, 342, 8-10)? Are all the trappings suggestive of an ancient story, found in annals, archives, people's memory, buried in a leaden box, and in a manuscript written in Arabic, a language of the Spanish Middle Ages, consistent with a library containing books from the 1580's (I, 128, 20-27), and the other references to contemporary Spain?

Don Quixote's reasoning is especially fallacious.<sup>16</sup> What valid conclusion about Quinaña's existence can be drawn from a comparison made by his grandmother (II, 366, 2-9)? (Old women were commonly associated with "consejas," untruthful and sometimes lascivious tales.<sup>17</sup>) Could King Arthur really be alive, in the form of a raven?<sup>18</sup> Could people be enchanted, and talk,

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter 1, note 107 and Chapter 2, note 55. The modern parallel is a newer type of narrative, the motion picture and television drama; fictional characters receive mail with some regularity.

<sup>16</sup> The text contains paradigmatic examples of erroneous reasoning, such as Don Quixote's answer to Vivaldo, I, 173, 1-3, or Sancho's "eyewitness" account, I, 268, 1-8. It contains similarly clear examples of the way in which a conclusion arises out of seemingly unimportant facts; these include the discussions of Sancho and Don Quixote in Chapters 48-49 of Part I and Chapter 8 of Part II, at the beginning of the former of which Sancho says "yo le quiero provar evidentemente como no va encantado" (II, 356, 17-18). It would seem Cervantes had made some study of evidence and reasoning, probably, considering the importance given to justice in his works (see Chapter 4, note 116 and Chapter 5, note 17), of a judicial nature.

<sup>17</sup> "A no contármelo un hombre tan verdadero como él, lo tuviera por conseja, de aquellas que las viejas cuentan el invierno al fuego" (II, 270, 7-10; II, 271, 25-26); similarly, "no son sino palabras de consejas o cuentos de viejas" ("Coloquio de los perros," III, 227, 1-2), and "aun hasta en las consejas que en las largas noches del invierno en la chimenea sus criadas contavan, por estar él presente, en ninguna ningún género de lascivia se descubría" ("El zeloso estremeño," II, 168, 19-22).

<sup>18</sup> II, 365, 23-26; Don Quixote also cites this enchantment, from the origins of literary chivalry, at I, 167, 13-25. It is an example of a *fábula*, as is pointed out at *Persiles*, I, 118, 3-5. Changing people into animals, or vice-versa, is always *mentira* (*Persiles*, I, 117, 21-22), just what the *libros* have and *Don Quixote* does not. (The work sometimes cited as the classical equivalent or predecessor of those books, Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, also contains a man changed into an animal, as is pointed out in the "Coloquio de los perros," III, 214, 3-7; see my introduction to Alejo Venegas, pp. 27-30.) For further comment, see Chapter 5.

yet have no bodily functions?<sup>19</sup> Could a beautiful meadow be reached by jumping into a lake full of serpents, snakes, and lizards (II, 370, 24-371, 19)? Of course not; these are "desaforados disparates" (II, 341, 17). Only a *bárbaro inculto*, someone "del todo bárbaro e inculto" (II, 342, 7-8), or someone insane, could fail to object to such things. As Cervantes' readers would identify with neither of these, they had to admit to themselves that they could not and did not believe such nonsense. "Es verdad, que no ha de aver alguno tan ignorante que tenga por historia verdadera ninguna destes libros" (II, 86, 27-30).

*Don Quixote* consistently tries to help the ignorant reader become a critical reader, one capable of distinguishing truth from lies. The number of points made is impressive. Even if everyone says that a basin is a helmet and an *albarda a jaez* (Chapter 45 of Part I), or that Amadís existed (II, 365, 1-5), that does not make it true. Physical evidence not present for verification is not reliable (the *clavija* of Pierres, II, 368, 16-30).<sup>20</sup> Although the various pieces of an argument may seem to support each other, forming a "máquina," part may be correct, and the remainder faulty: that there were historical knights-errant, as Don Quixote points out in Chapter 49 of Part I, does not mean that the literary knights existed. The publication of their *historias*, even though they are not true, is tolerated; such books are intended for entertainment (II, 86, 1-27). The reader is encouraged to examine the credibility of a narrator (I, 132, 15-133, 5), the consistency of the narration, to see if it all should be accepted (the "apocryphal" Chapter 5 of Part II), and is finally called "prudent" by the translator and given a practical exercise: to judge the report of the truthful Don Quixote of his impossible adventures in the Cave of Montesinos, and arrive at the obvious conclusion that he had a dream.<sup>21</sup>

Returning to the *torcido hilo* of this chapter, *Don Quixote* is not an *historia verdadera* at all, and while it is an *historia fingida*, that term is not a generic category; it is both too general and a term of form rather than content.<sup>22</sup> So

<sup>19</sup> II, 358, 6-18; III, 296, 1-22.

<sup>20</sup> Compare the statement of the duchess: "El buen Sancho, pensando ser el engañador, es el engañado, y no ay poner más duda en esta verdad que en las cosas que nunca vimos" (III, 416, 1-4; italics added). The duchess, of course, is lying, and one should be especially skeptical about the truth of things which have never been seen.

<sup>21</sup> III, 302, 11-30; that Don Quixote had a dream was suggested to the reader at III, 284, 16-23 and III, 286, 25-287, 5. The duchess subjects Sancho's report of his imaginary journey through the heavens to the same type of examination. Sancho, since Part I a liar (for example, I, 326, 21-24; II, 72, 31-32; and I, 265, 7-11), himself suggests the basis for evaluation of whether he "di[ce] verdad o no": "las señas de las . . . cabras," which he claims were green, red, and blue (IV, 45, 9-15).

<sup>22</sup> The *Persiles* is also an *historia fingida*, though of a different genre, and some of

if *Don Quixote* was not, generically, an *historia*, then what was it? Let us review the various suggestions that have been made about *Don Quixote*'s genre,<sup>23</sup> and add some new ones, if only to refute them.

First of all we will take up the suggestion made by Anthony Close, that *Don Quixote* is burlesque.<sup>24</sup> While the burlesque nature of the work is obvious, the problem with "burlesque" as a generic label for *Don Quixote* is that burlesque, like *historia*, was not a generic category in Golden Age Spain and is not mentioned by López Pinciano; Close is reconstructing an eighteenth-century English view. "Burlesco" is not even a noun in Spanish, nor can it be used as one. In the *Diccionario de autoridades*, for example, we can find *comedias*, *romances*, and *sonetos burlescos*, but not burlesque pure and simple. Cervantes could not have called *Don Quixote* a burlesque.

López Pinciano does mention *parodia* as a literary type: "La Parodia no es otra cosa que vn poema que a otro contrahaze, especialmente aplicando las cosas de veras y graues a las de burlas" (I, 289). Yet López Pinciano sees a parody as based on a single work, not a genre such as *libros de caballerías*; the

the *Novelas exemplares* would have been as well. However, all three of the *novelas* in the Porras manuscript are described as true: "La tía fingida" is a "verdadera historia" (*Novelas exemplares*, III, 253, 4), "Rinconete y Cortadillo" were "famosos ladrones que hubo en Sevilla, la qual [novela] pasó así en el año de 1569" (I, 209, 4-6), and the "caso" of "El zeloso extremeño," "aunque parece fingido y fabuloso, fue verdadero" (II, 265, 10). Also, the "caso" of the *gitanilla* was celebrated in verse by "el famoso licenciado Poço" (I, 130, 30); "dio ocasión la historia de la fregona illustre a que los poetas del dorado Tajo exercitassen sus plumas en solenizar y en alabar la simpar hermosura de Costança" ("La illustre fregona," II, 352, 20-24), and Cervantes himself wrote sonnets about "tres sugetos fregoniles" (*Parnaso*, 55, 28), an example of which, unsuccessfully pursued by a soldier with an exaggerated *hoja de servicios* seeking "uno de tres castillos y plaças que están vacas en el reino de Nápoles," appears in *La guarda cuidadosa*, and another in *La entretenida*. In Tirso's *El castigo del penséque* we find that "cuando los [sucesos] llegue a saber/ Madrid, los ha de poner/ en sus novelas Cervantes" (*Obras dramáticas completas*, ed. Blanca de los Ríos, I, 3rd edition [Madrid: Aguilar, 1969], 686b), which implies the opinion that Cervantes was turning real events into fiction. Cervantine scholarship has yet to assimilate any of this (on the Porras statement about "Rinconete," for example, see Agustín G. de Amezúa y Mayo, *Cervantes, creador de la novela corta española* [Madrid: CSIC, 1956-58], II, 111-14; on sources of "La illustre fregona," II, 295-308).

<sup>23</sup> I am relegating to this footnote the proposal that *Don Quixote* is picaresque. It is not picaresque because Don Quixote is not a *pícaro*, who is a young boy who serves a series of masters, according to recent Spanish literary history. (I have questioned the validity of the term "picaresque" as a generic label for any Golden Age works in "Does the Picaresque Novel Exist?," *KRQ*, 26 [1979], 203-19.)

<sup>24</sup> *Romantic Approach*, pp. 15-28; at greater length in "Don Quixote as a Burlesque Hero: A Re-Constructed Eighteenth-Century View," *FMLS*, 10 (1974), 365-78.

example he gives ("el poema de Matrón, el qual aplicó los metros de Homero graues a las burlas de la cocina," I, 289) implies that a parody takes a famous, distinguished, serious work as its foundation. This *Don Quixote* does not.

Parody is also a type of writing which is essentially respectful, and does not seek to diminish its object. Homer was not going to be less revered because Matron parodied him, nor is Shakespeare taken down a peg by the numerous parodies of Hamlet's soliloquy. Parody is incompatible with serious and straightforward discussion of the defects of the object of the parody, and with an intent to banish it. *Don Quixote* is not a parody.

We can also rule out *sátira* as *Don Quixote's* genre, for a *sátira* attacks and names specific people, "en el qual siempre suele hablar el poeta reprehendiendo a quien le parece."<sup>25</sup> The work does contain attacks on specific people; the known living models of named characters are all ones who were indeed in need of reprehension. These include the bandit Roque Guinart,<sup>25a</sup> Diego de Miranda, based on an adulterer of that name, jailed with Cervantes and exiled from the *corte*,<sup>26</sup> Ginés de Passamonte, whose crimes are so enormous we are not told what they are,<sup>27</sup> Ricote, who is not completely Christian (IV, 194, 28-32), is present in Spain illegally, and is about to commit the further crime of smuggling out precious metals,<sup>28</sup> and perhaps the prostitute Maritornes, the innkeeper Juan Palomeque, and the play producer Angulo *el Malo*.<sup>29</sup> All of these, however, are secondary characters; the reprehension of some is at the very least muted; Cervantes said in the *Parnaso* (55, 11-13) that he had never written *sátira*, and he attacks this type of writing repeatedly.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> López Pinciano, I, 284; see *Don Quixote*, III, 114, 16-28. On the definition of satire, see the bibliography cited by Julian Weiss, "Juan de Mena's *Coronación*: Satire or *Sátira*?", *JHP*, 6 (1982 [1983]), 113-38, at p. 120, n. 14.

<sup>25a</sup> See p. 102, n. 87.

<sup>26</sup> Vernon A. Chamberlin and Jack Weiner, "Color Symbolism: A Key to a Possible New Interpretation of Cervantes' 'Caballero del Verde Gabán,'" *RomN*, 10 (1969), 342-47; Narciso Alonso Cortés, *Cervantes en Valladolid* (Valladolid: Casa de Cervantes, 1916), p. 96; Astrana, VI, 102-05. Chamberlin and Weiner suggest that Diego de Miranda is portrayed with the liberty Sansón attributes to the poet: not as he was, but as he should have been (III, 64, 25-27).

<sup>27</sup> On Passamonte, see my "Cervantes, Lope, and Avellaneda."

<sup>28</sup> On the Ricote family of Esquivias, see Astrana, VII, 692-97.

<sup>29</sup> Ángel Ligerero Mostoles, "Autenticidad histórica de personajes citados en el *Quijote* y otras obras de Miguel de Cervantes," in *Cervantes. Su obra y su mundo*, pp. 183-95. The company of Angulo el Malo, about whom external information is lacking, is of course presented in Chapter 11 of Part II; see also "Coloquio de los perros," III, 239, 1-240, 16.

<sup>30</sup> III, 51, 13-18; III, 205, 5-6; III, 207, 3-5; III, 260, 9-12; *La Galatea*, II, 65, 16-18; *Parnaso*, 27, 7-9; 96, 25-27; 98, 12-14; and 99, 4-6; *Persiles*, I, 96, 30-97, 13; related is "Coloquio de los perros," III, 163, 16-24.

Is *Don Quixote*, perhaps, a *comedia*?<sup>31</sup> This is not as preposterous a suggestion as it might seem; similarities between Cervantes' plays and his prose have been noted.<sup>32</sup> The prologue to Avellaneda's continuation<sup>33</sup> begins with the observation that "casi es comedia toda la historia de don Quixote de la Mancha,"<sup>34</sup> and he calls his own work "la presente comedia," which, continuing the dramatic terminology, he will "entremessar"<sup>35</sup> with the silly remarks of Sancho. If an epic can be written in prose, a *comedia* surely can as well (see López Pinciano, II, 221); Avellaneda called Cervantes' *Novelas exemplares* "comedias en prosa" (I, 12, 2-3), and Suárez de Figueroa also did so.<sup>36</sup>

The comments on *comedia* in Chapter 48 of Part I have long been found enigmatic when applied to contemporary drama and Cervantes' own plays, to which, as already stated, I believe them subsequent.<sup>37</sup> They invite application to other types of writing, and a parallel between *comedia* and *libros de caballerías* is made in the same chapter.<sup>38</sup> Both can "admirar," "alegrar," and "suspender,"<sup>39</sup> and thus neutralize the hazards of *ociosidad* by providing "honesta recreación." To achieve these ends, both should be guided by "arte

<sup>31</sup> This suggestion is also made by Anthony Close, though in a different context than in his article cited in note 24: "*Don Quixote* and the 'Intentionalist Fallacy,'" p. 30.

<sup>32</sup> Bruce Wardropper, "Comedias," p. 159. On the general topic of the relationship between Golden Age fiction and the *comedia*, see Marcos A. Morínigo, "La comedia como sustituto de la novela en el Siglo de Oro," *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, Quinta Época, 2, No. 1 (1957), 41-61.

<sup>33</sup> With strong arguments, Avellaneda's prologue has been attributed to Lope by Nicolás Marín, "La piedra y la mano en el prólogo del *Quijote* apócrifo," in *Homenaje a Guillermo Guastavino* (Madrid: Asociación Nacional de Bibliotecarios, Archiveros y Arqueólogos, 1974), pp. 253-88; the conclusions of this article were also published in Marín's "Lope y el prólogo del *Quijote* apócrifo," *Insula*, No. 336 (November, 1974), 3.

<sup>34</sup> I, 7, 2-3 of the edition of Martín de Riquer, *Clásicos Castellanos*, 174-76 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1972).

<sup>35</sup> "To intersperse," as one-act *entremeses* were performed between the acts of a *comedia*.

<sup>36</sup> Morínigo, p. 61.

<sup>37</sup> See page 53. We can not claim that we completely understand Cervantes' literary ideas until we know why he praised the *comedias* that he did. There has been no recent examination of this topic in its entirety, although a beginning is provided by Lavonne C. Poteet-Bussard, "*La ingratitud vengada* and *La Dorotea*: Cervantes and *la ingratitud*," *HR*, 48 (1980), 347-60, and the *comedias* in question were briefly examined by William Stapp Moody, *El teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense, 1981), pp. 81-82. Perhaps a collection of "Comedias alabadas por Cervantes" would facilitate a thorough treatment.

<sup>38</sup> II, 347, 3-6 and 349, 2-5.

<sup>39</sup> II, 348, 6-7; II, 342, 21-26.

y reglas"; both should observe verisimilitude and be free of "absurdos" and "disparates," yet many authors fail in this regard. For this reason an official examiner is recommended; the same person could pass judgment on both types of work.

López Pinciano's discussion of *comedia*, which will be examined further in the next chapter, is also quite relevant to *Don Quixote*. *Comedia* should not attack specific individuals, but rather the "especie de los hombres malos y viciosos" (III, 16), teaching "con sus risas, prudencia para se gobernar el hombre" (III, 17). *Comedia* is "imitación actiua hecha para limpiar el ánimo de las passiones por medio del deleyte y risa" (III, 17). Like *Don Quixote*, *comedia* deals with persons who are "comunes," not "graues" (III, 19), and though the number of things which cause laughter is larger than those which cause tears (III, 29), the basic cause of laughter is "lo feo" (III, 33), "alguna fealdad y torpeza" (III, 43). It is fascinating to find that López Pinciano's example of a ridiculous action is a fall, especially a fall from a horse (III, 34-36), of which the examples in *Don Quixote* are numerous.

Yet the generic identification of *Don Quixote* as *comedia* must be rejected. Avellaneda saw differences between Cervantes' *Quixote* and *comedia*, for he qualifies his description with the adverb "casi," and applies the label without reservation only to the shorter *Novelas exemplares*. Even if we were to conclude that Cervantes' *Quixote* lacks, to be a *comedia*, only the humor Avellaneda claims for his own book, his reduced interest in literary theory makes him a less reliable source.

López Pinciano (III, 19-20) gives some characteristics of *comedia* which Cervantes does not follow in *Don Quixote*; *comedia*, for example, is supposed to "enseña[r] la vida . . . que se deue seguir," while *Don Quixote*, in keeping with his concept of tragedy, teaches "la vida que se deue huyr." *Comedia* requires a low style, and *Don Quixote* has a variety of styles; *comedia* should not have "tristes y lamentables fines" (III, 19), but *Don Quixote*'s end, in both parts, is just that. Also, despite the theoretical emphasis on content, the examples of *comedias* given in Chapter 48 of Part I, and all of those which Cervantes published, are what we would call drama, and all of them are much shorter than *Don Quixote*.

Another suggestion about *Don Quixote*'s genre has been made recently by L. D. Salinger and Luis Murillo,<sup>40</sup> and was formerly quite widely discussed:<sup>41</sup> that *Don Quixote* is an epic. It obviously falls into López Pinciano's general

<sup>40</sup> Salinger, "Don Quixote as a Prose Epic," *FMLS*, 2 (1966), 53-68; Murillo, "Don Quixote as Renaissance Epic," in *Cervantes and the Renaissance*, pp. 51-70. That *Don Quixote* is epic is, though not specifically stated, presumably the position of Michael D. McGaha in his article "Cervantes and Virgil: A New Look at an Old Problem," *CLS*, 16 (1979), 96-109, and in *Cervantes and the Renaissance*, pp. 34-50.

category of *poesía heroica*, subject of his eleventh *epístola*, as did the *Bernardo*, according to the arguments of the previous chapter. Yet we have the same question to answer with regard to *Don Quixote* as we did with the *Bernardo*: whether *Don Quixote* is a prose epic or a subcategory, the *libro de caballerías*. One of the same arguments is applicable as well: since the *Persiles* is an epic, and it was the practice for an author to write only one, it is unlikely that the quite different *Quixote* would be one as well.

Is *Don Quixote* similar to the works of López Pinciano's epic authors, Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Homer, and Virgil (III, 165 and 180), or the books like *Amadís*, *Belianís*, and all the rest? Clearly, the resemblances with the *libros de caballerías* are much stronger. *Don Quixote* models his actions, his philosophy, and at times his speech on *libros de caballerías*, not epics. He himself, as well as Diego de Miranda, would label a work written about his deeds a *libro de caballerías*,<sup>42</sup> and contemporary readers took *Don Quixote* as such.<sup>43</sup>

There are, of course, occasional epic features in *Don Quixote*, such as the lists of combatants who make up the *rebaños*, the subplot of Cardenio and Dorotea,<sup>44</sup> and the descent into the cave of Montesinos<sup>45</sup> and its echo,

<sup>41</sup> Riley, *Theory*, p. 54.

<sup>42</sup> At III, 60, 7-13, Don Quixote reflects upon the existence of a "libro" with "sus altas cavallerías"; Diego de Miranda also compares a book about Don Quixote with the "innumerables de los fingidos cavalleros andantes" (III, 200, 8-21), and Don Quixote's deeds are compared by the Dueña Dolorida with those of "los Amadisses, Esplandianes y Belianisses" (IV, 10, 27-29). Don Quixote's entire project of living as a *caballero andante*, reviving "la ya muerta andante cavallería" (III, 199, 4), and performing *caballerías* implies that a book about him would be a *libro de caballerías*.

<sup>43</sup> The early translator Franciosini, in his dedication of Part I to Fernando Seracinelli, called it "il presente Libro di Cavalleria." According to Quilter, *Don Quixote* was seen by many as "merely another chivalric knight" (p. 74; also p. 51).

<sup>44</sup> The story of Cardenio and Dorotea has definite links to the chivalric. As pointed out in Chapter 5, both Cardenio and Dorotea were readers of *libros de caballerías*. The encounter with Cardenio is called an "aventura" (I, 319, 13), his sonnet introduces a brief discussion of the poetic talents of *caballeros andantes* (I, 320, 30-321, 11), and Sancho's comment on Cardenio's letter ("lea vuestra merced algo . . . , que gusto mucho destas cosas de amores," I, 321, 19-20) is almost the same as those of Maritornes and Juan Palomeque's daughter on the latter's chivalric books (II, 81, 25-82, 10).

However, the story in question is mainly epic, in the same sense that the *Persiles* is. It moves from darkness to light, from wilderness to civilization, from despair and madness, caused by love, to marriage. It has, like the *Persiles*, a strong Christian theme. (See on its thematic content Javier Herrero, "Sierra Morena as Labyrinth: From Wildness to Christian Knighthood," *FMLS*, 17 (1981), 55-67. It is also epic in the way it is presented and told.

<sup>45</sup> Peter Dunn, "Two Classical Myths in *Don Quijote*," *Ren&R*, 9 (1972), 2-10.

Sancho's fall into a *sima*. In a *libro de caballerías*, the canon observes, "el autor pued[e] mostrarse épico, lírico, trágico, cómico" (II, 345, 4-5), an allusion to López Pinciano's four general categories of literature (I, 239; III, 100); occasional use of epic elements is thus permissible in a *libro de caballerías*. In fact, the very variety of materials, styles, and literary forms found in *Don Quixote* is itself a strong argument that it was a *libro de caballerías*. In contrast with the epic, in a *libro* one could, in Cervantes' view, treat chivalric material in whatever way one wished, the implication of the canon's famous statement on the writer's freedom in the *libro*, from which the preceding quotation was taken.<sup>46</sup> They are, in López Pinciano's term (I, 285), "extravagantes."<sup>47</sup> The only rules, besides the need to *deleitar aprovechando*, are the general literary principles of verisimilitude and proportion; if one follows these, one can write "sin empacho alguno" (II, 343, 28).

*Don Quixote* does not have every characteristic of the canon's ideal *libro*—though, as already discussed, that is believed to be the description of another book—but it does have many of them. In its structure (*desatada*) it conforms to the canon's description. Certainly it has "lamentables y trágicos sucesos," "alegres y no pensados acontecimientos," and many "hermosísimas damas," though—curiously—none of them are also "honestas, discretas y recatadas"<sup>48</sup>; the "cavallero christiano" is burlesquely represented by the protagonist, whose religion is discussed in Chapter 5, and the "príncipe cortés" and his vassals by Sancho the governor. *Don Quixote* is on many occasions an "eloquente orador." There is even, on the Ebro, a burlesque shipwreck.

But limiting ourselves to the preceding *libros de caballerías*, rather than the canon's vision of an ideal one, we can see that *Don Quixote* resembles them much more than it does the epic. It first resembles them in its form. Like them, it is a fictitious biography, told linearly and chronologically. Just as the *libros*, *Don Quixote* is long and complex, with a large number of characters and incidents. Part I is divided into four parts, like *Amadís*, *Belianís*, *Cirongilio*, and other *libros*.

*Don Quixote* also resembles the *libros de caballerías* in its function. It is, in the prologue to Part I, directed to the idle reader, and it is described as a

<sup>46</sup> Readers, naturally more conservative than authors, did not support Cervantes in his belief that the *libro* form was exceptionally free. A significant innovation of *Don Quixote*, with regard to preceding *libros*, was the use of "novelas y cuentos agenos" (III, 68, 28), and it was a feature which received negative comment (III, 67, 17-23).

<sup>47</sup> "Desreglado, sin orden ni método" (*Autoridades*).

<sup>48</sup> Even more curiously, it is the *cristianas nuevas* Zoraida and Ana Félix who most nearly deserve those labels.

*passatiempo*<sup>49</sup> and an *entretenimiento*;<sup>50</sup> in *Don Quixote* as elsewhere, it was the idle who turned to the *libros* to pass the time.<sup>51</sup> (No one mentions this as a motive of readers of epics.) Just as the *libros de caballerías* banish melancholy,<sup>52</sup> so does *Don Quixote*.<sup>53</sup>

In its presentation of nature as benevolent, *Don Quixote* also resembles the *libros de caballerías*: Don Quixote's fantasy of how dawn will be described in a book dealing with his deeds (I, 58, 20-59, 1) resembles the beautiful way in which dawn is actually described (III, 250, 4-9; III, 443, 10-19). Although the protagonist sets out at the height of summer, "uno de los calurosos [días] del mes de julio" (I, 57, 13-14), and it later gets even hotter ("el calor . . . era . . . del mes de agosto, que por aquellas partes suele ser el ardor muy grande," I, 388, 26-29), there is little comment on the heat. Sancho complains about not eating, or about sleeping on the ground, but not about the weather, and it only rains once in the entire book (I, 281, 6; I, 283, 19-20). The sun shines; the birds sing; pure water is easily found; trees provide shade.<sup>54</sup> It is not

<sup>49</sup> I, 129, 21; II, 402, 12; *Parnaso*, 54, 25. The characters are described as providing *pasatiempo* at I, 286, 25; IV, 22, 18; and IV, 141, 11.

<sup>50</sup> II, 7, 16; III, 62, 2.

<sup>51</sup> I, 343, 29, and the passages cited in notes 32 and 33 to Chapter 1.

<sup>52</sup> "Lea estos libros, y verá como le destierran la melancolía que tuviere" (II, 373, 30-32); this is also the thrust of Juan Palomeque's comment that the adventures of Cirongilio de Tracia leave him "loco de plazer" (II, 85, 16). Don Quixote certainly had a tendency towards melancholy, and perhaps that explains some of the chivalric books' appeal for him.

<sup>53</sup> *Parnaso*, 54, 26; *Don Quixote*, I, 37, 32; and IV, 322, 7-8, where the *gracias* of the two protagonists are sufficient to "alegrar a la misma melancolía." The book itself is described as "alegre" at II, 7, 16.

<sup>54</sup> Just as in *Don Quixote*, in the *libros* "la tierra [es] alegre, el cielo claro, el aire limpio, la luz serena" (III, 443, 15-16). For comparison, here is a description from *Don Quixote*: "Él y su escudero se entraron por el mesmo bosque donde vieron que se avía entrado la pastora Marcela; y, aviendo andado más de dos horas por él, buscándola por todas partes sin poder hallarla, vinieron a parar a un prado lleno de fresca yerva, junto del qual corría un arroyo apazible y fresco, tanto, que comidó, y forzó, a passar allí las horas de la siesta, que rigurosamente començava ya a entrar" (I, 193, 12-21). The following is from Chapter 24 of Part I of *Cirongilio de Tracia* (p. 137 of the edition of James Ray Green, Jr., Diss. Johns Hopkins, 1974): "Aviendo rodeado la espesura no con pequeño temor, oyeron a una parte della no muy lexos de sí un pequeño ruydo, que a su parecer era de agua que por la espessa arboleda se deslizava, y, llegando más cerca, vieron una fuente pequeña que manava de lo hueco de una fuerte peña, que de los prados amenos en la selva interclusos algún tanto se levantava."

Riley, in "El alba bella," has pointed out that nature for Cervantes is not only happy, it is genuine, contrasted with the artifices of men, and, as God's creation, it could hardly be otherwise. In confirmation, and because of its beauty, I will cite one more passage, from Chapter 30 of Book I of Part I of the *Espejo de príncipes* (I,

surprising that Don Quixote, like the literary knights-errant,<sup>55</sup> prefers to be outdoors.

Yet the key criterion for literary classification is the story or subject matter treated. *Don Quixote's* subject matter is chivalric adventures, not the "casos amorosos" of the *Historia etiópica* and the *Persiles*, nor the "batallas y victorias" of the poems of Homer and Virgil (López Pinciano, III, 180). The protagonist's life is that of a *caballero andante*, and it is told to us by the *sabio encantador* and *historiador* Cide Hamete, an imitation of the *libros'* fictitious historians. After Don Quixote's *primera salida*, he, like the protagonists of the *libros*, is only alone when he chooses to be, and wanders through the world with no destination in Part I,<sup>56</sup> and no more definite one in Part II than ending up, eventually, in Zaragoza.<sup>57</sup> Don Quixote, like the heroes of the *libros de caballerías*,<sup>58</sup> leaves home secretly, is dubbed a knight, and chooses a squire, a lady, a heraldic symbol, and a name by which to be known. He tries to gain fame and honor, and be generally useful. He sends his lady presents; when she is victim of an enchantment, he must set her free. He meets other knights and fights with them; he spends the night in castles, or thinks he does.

That, of course, is the key, that Don Quixote's chivalric life is a *burla*, and his book is a *libro de caballerías burlesco*. The two senses in which Cervantes uses the word *burla* help to understand a central aspect of *Don Quixote*.<sup>59</sup> *Burla* first was the opposite of *vera*.<sup>60</sup> Something "de burlas" was "fingido" and

257-28 of my edition): "Una noche que muy claras y serenas las sosegadas aguas del mar con los claros rayos de Diana se mostravan, yendo los dos príncipes echados de pechos en el borde de la nao, y Rosicler en medio dellos, gozando todos tres de la hermosa vista de los estrellados cielos y el apazible ruido quel delicado viento en las claras y profundas aguas hazía, y luziendo la grande y maravillosa armonía con que todo parecía moverse, y el poder del universal Hazedor, por cuya voluntad todo se hazía . . ."

<sup>55</sup> *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>56</sup> Like a knight, letting his horse decide the direction of travel (see note 59 to Chapter 1).

<sup>57</sup> "Si vuessa merced, señor cavallero, no lleva camino determinado, como no le suelen llevar los que buscan las aventuras, vuessa merced se venga con nosotros" (III, 239, 10-13); Don Quixote does accompany them.

<sup>58</sup> See *Romances of Chivalry*, Chapter 5.

<sup>59</sup> The word "burla" and its cognates are discussed at length by Monique Joly, *La Bourle et son interprétation. Recherches sur le passage de la facétie au roman* (Espagne, XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles), Diss. Université de Montpellier III, 1979 (Toulouse: France-Ibérie Recherche, 1982); a fragment was previously published as "Casuística y novela: de las malas burlas a las burlas buenas," *Criticón*, 16 (1981), 7-45.

<sup>60</sup> "Burlas" and "veras," a common Golden Age opposition, are contrasted in *Don Quixote* at I, 277, 2-3; I, 360, 4; II, 97, 25-26; II, 306, 12-13; II, 390, 32; III, 443, 23-24; IV, 42, 22-23; IV, 47, 7-9; IV, 66, 25-27; IV, 126, 23; IV, 317, 2-3; in "La

"contrahech[o]" (I, 359, 26-27; IV, 42, 23), and this is what Don Quixote's chivalric existence is. His "figura" is "contrahecha" (I, 62, 11; I, 63, 25); contrary to his claims, he does not give himself "verdaderas calabaçadas" (I, 360, 9-10), his "tristezas" are not "verdaderas" (III, 134, 6), he is not actually a knight, Dulzinea is his own invention, etc.

A *burla* was also something productive of laughter, with which the *burlas* of the text are repeatedly associated. The duke and duchess "en el estilo cavalleresco . . . hizieron muchas burlas a don Quixote" (III, 420, 16-19; adapted), and the *burlas* gave their makers laughter "no sólo aquel tiempo, sino el de toda su vida" (IV, 46, 1-2); the *jabonadura* of Don Quixote, arranged by their *doncellas*, is a *burla*, faced with which "fue gran maravilla y mucha discreción poder dissimular la risa" (III, 396, 3-5). The *manteamiento* of Sancho, source of laughter (I, 228, 12-14 and 21), is a *burla* (I, 250, 13; I, 286, 24-25), as is his mocking of Don Quixote's words after the adventure of the *batanes* (I, 276, 29); the whole encounter with the *batanes*, after which Don Quixote laughs and Sancho "tuvo necesidad de apretarse las hijadas con los puños por no reventar riendo" (I, 276, 13-15), is a "pesada burla" (I, 281, 9). The "duda del yelmo de Mambrino y de la albarda" is a "burla pensada" (II, 309, 12), "materia de grandísima risa" (II, 307, 31-308, 1; see also II, 305, 15-16). Even at the "mala burla" (III, 142, 6; also III, 412, 1) of the enchantment of Dulzinea, "harto tenía que hazer el socarrón de Sancho en dissimular la risa, oyendo las sandezes de su amo, tan delicadamente engañado" (III, 141, 7-9).

A work which is *burlesco*, full of things which are not genuine, is thus intended to make readers laugh, to provide *pasatiempo* (I, 286, 25; IV, 141, 11). A work of *burlas*, in contrast with a parody, is quite compatible with an intent to attack something; the object of a *burla* is humiliated, exposed, or otherwise diminished.<sup>61</sup> By "haz[iendo] burla de . . . tantos andantes cavalleros" (IV, 405, 31-32), creating a *libro de caballerías burlesco*,<sup>62</sup> Cervantes could reach the readers he wanted to reach, those who read the *libros*. Such readers, who were seeking entertainment, would not have read a treatise on the errors of books of chivalry, and the failure to appeal to them directly was one reason that previous discussions of the books' defects had been unsuccessful.<sup>63</sup>

gitanilla" at I, 59, 28-29; and in the *Persiles* at II, 234, 2. In "El casamiento engañoso" deception is also called a *burla* (III, 141, 6-10).

<sup>61</sup> For this reason Don Quixote must not know that his washing by the *duques'* servants is a *burla* (III, 396, 17-21). The response to a *burla* (a symbolic attack) can be violent. Camacho and his men, when they found themselves "burlados y escarnidos" (III, 271, 6-7), are ready to use their swords. Sancho receives blows when Don Quixote finds that Sancho "hazía burla dél" (I, 276, 28-277, 1), and when one of the *rebuznadores* believed the same (III, 348, 31-349, 4).

<sup>62</sup> Nicolás Antonio called it an "Amadís a lo ridiculo" ("novum Amadisio de grege heroem ridiculum configens," *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* [1783-88; rpt. Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1963], II, 133).

<sup>63</sup> A more modern interpretation of the greater success of *Don Quixote* in

In *Don Quixote*, much importance is given to the imitation of models: "quando algún pintor quiere salir famoso en su arte, procura imitar los originales de los más únicos pintores que sabe." So that we do not miss the literary application of this principle (see note 9, *supra*), Don Quixote adds that "esta mesma regla corre por todos los más oficios o ejercicios de cuenta que sirven para adorno de las repúblicas" (I, 351, 30-352, 3).<sup>64</sup> Cervantes realized that *Don Quixote* was without precedent, a "nueva y jamás vista historia" (II, 402, 2),<sup>65</sup> and therefore hard to prologuize (I, 30, 17-29). Yet it is logical that he would have used a model for this work, as he did for many of his others. There is another funny *libro de caballerías* cited in *Don Quixote*, a book which is similarly "un tesoro de contento y una mina de passatiempos": *Tirante el Blanco*, a book which Cervantes believed to be Castilian and of the sixteenth century.<sup>66</sup> It is only a partial precedent, but it is the most important one, and it is worth pausing to examine it.<sup>67</sup>

The famous passage<sup>68</sup> in which the priest expresses his delight over *Tirante*

attacking *libros de caballerías* (one to which Cervantes would probably not have subscribed) is that reason and argument does not often change people's minds, and even less often does it change their behavior. An appeal on an irrational level, through humor and example, can be more effective.

<sup>64</sup> On imitation in Cervantes, see Riley, "Don Quixote and the Imitation of Models," *BHS*, 31 (1954), 3-16, and *Theory*, pp. 57-67.

<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Don Quixote's arming consists of "hasta allí nunca vistas ceremonias" (I, 76, 4-5), and the book as a whole consists of "pensamientos . . . nunca imaginados de otro alguno" (I, 29, 11-12). For other examples, see John G. Weiger, "Lo nunca visto en Cervantes," *ACer*, 17 (1978), 111-22.

<sup>66</sup> I.E., that it was like the other Castilian *libros de caballerías* which followed the model of *Amadis de Gaula*, even though *Tirante* is actually a fifteenth-century Catalan work. The 1511 Castilian translation, which Cervantes used (Chapter 1, note 21), nowhere indicates the names of the Catalan authors, nor that it was a translation, nor that it had any of the historical material scholars have found in it. Of all of this Cervantes was ignorant, and if he misjudged the work, the explanation may be here.

The recommended edition of this translation is that of Martín de Riquer, *Clásicos Castellanos*, 188-92 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1974), replacing both his earlier, bibliophile edition (Chapter 1, note 18), and that of Felicidad Buendía in the volume *Libros de caballerías españoles*, 2nd edition (Madrid: Aguilar, 1960), plagiarized from Riquer (see his *Clásicos Castellanos* edition, I, cii), and reviewed unfavorably by Juan Antonio Tamayo, *ACer*, 4 (1954), 343-47. An English translation has just been published (New York: Schocken Books, 1984); there is also a new Spanish translation by J. F. Vidal Jové (Madrid: Alianza, 1969). The Catalan original, also edited by Riquer, is easily available: "*Tirant lo Blanc*" i altres escrits de Joanot Martorell (Barcelona: Ariel, 1979).

<sup>67</sup> Some of the points to be made about *Tirante's* role as a model could also be made about the works of Feliciano de Silva; see the article of Cravens and the dissertation of Daniels, cited in Chapter 1, note 9.

<sup>68</sup> I, 101, 13-102, 4. Throughout the discussion of *Tirante*, quotations from *Don Quixote* not otherwise identified are from this passage.

has become the subject of a controversy which is in many ways a miniature of that over *Don Quixote* as a whole. Although as Margaret Bates has pointed out, "this 'obscure passage' . . . could hardly be expressed more clearly,"<sup>69</sup> it has received gratuitous textual emendations, and forced interpretations based on obscure meanings of terms in it.<sup>70</sup> None of these has received general acceptance, and many have already been refuted.<sup>71</sup> The straightforward and quite intelligible meaning of the text as it stands is that

<sup>69</sup> "Cervantes' Criticism of *Tirant lo Blanch*," *HR*, 21 (1953), 142-44, at p. 142. What follows is an amplification of the position of Bates, itself drawn from the articles of Bernardo Sanvisenti, "Il passo più oscuro del *Chisciotte*," *RFE*, 9 (1922), 58-62, and Augusto Centeno, "Sobre el pasaje del *Quijote* referente al *Tirant lo Blanch*," *MLN*, 50 (1935), 375-78. It is also the position of Schevill and Bonilla (*Don Quixote*, I, 454-55).

<sup>70</sup> The passage is mistranslated in both of the translations mentioned in the Introduction. The Spanish text states that the author of *Tirante* should be sent to the galleys for not deliberately writing fooleries.

<sup>71</sup> Beyond pointing out that Riquer's strained suggestion that "echado a galeras" means "sent to press" has been refuted by Manuel de Montoliú ("El juicio de Cervantes sobre el *Tirant lo Blanch*," *BRAE*, 29 [1949], 263-77) and Giuseppe Sansone ("Ancora del giudizio di Cervantes sul *Tirant lo Blanch*," *Studi Mediolatini e Volgari*, 8 [1960], 235-53, lightly revised in his *Saggi iberici* [Bari: Adriatica, 1974], pp. 168-91), I am not going to fatigue the reader with the history of this controversy. In *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 147-48, I have supplied references to fourteen articles and twenty-three other passages which deal with Cervantes' opinion of *Tirante*. To these should be added Robert Southey, "Tirante el Blanco," in *Omniana, or Horae Otiosiores* (Fontwell, Sussex: Centaur Press, 1969), pp. 275-80 (first published 1812, though written some years earlier); Juan Givanel Mas, *La novela caballeresca española. Estudio crítico de "Tirant lo Blanch."* *Comentario a un pasaje del capítulo VI de la primera parte de "Don Quijote"* (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1912), the same as his article "Estudio crítico de la novela caballeresca *Tirant lo Blanch*," *Archivo de Investigaciones Históricas*, 1 (1911), 213-48, 319-45 and 2 (1911), 392-445, 477-513 (cited by Riquer, *Clásicos Castellanos* ed., I, cvi), Otis Green, "El Ingenioso Hidalgo," *HR*, 25 (1957), 175-93, at p. 192, p. 183 of the reprint in his *The Literary Mind of Medieval & Renaissance Spain* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), pp. 171-84; Edward T. Aylward, "The Influence of *Tirant lo Blanch* on the *Quijote*," Diss. Princeton, 1974 (abstract in *DAI*, 35 [1974], 1085A), Part One, Chapter 3, *Martorell's "Tirant lo Blanch": A Program for Military and Social Reform in Fifteenth-Century Christendom*, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 225 (Chapel Hill: Department of Romance Languages, University of North Carolina, 1985), pp. 198-200, and "Tirant lo Blanch and the Artistic Intent of Joanot Martorell," *Hispanófila*, No. 83 (January, 1985), 23-32; Antonio Torres[-Alcalá], *El realismo del "Tirant lo Blanch" y su influencia en el "Quijote"* (Barcelona: Puvill, 1979); Nobuaki Ushijima, "Don Kihooote no Mottomo Nankaina Issetsu Nitsuite" ["On the 'Most Difficult Passage' of *Don Quixote*"], *Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku Ronsho* [Area and Culture Studies], No. 29 (1979), 241-47 [the position of this article, for assistance with which I must acknowledge

Cervantes found *Tirante* to be a funny book, although in contrast with *Don Quixote*, he believed its humor unintentional. Its "necedades" were not written "de industria," or, in the terms he used in the *Parnaso*, it has "desatinos," but not "hechos de propósito."<sup>72</sup>

The priest's comments indicate the many elements of *Tirante* which caught Cervantes' attention and from which he may have drawn inspiration. The book is full of unvaliant knights and unvirtuous women. "El valiente de Tirante" fights with a dog, as Don Quixote will "fight" with sheep. The priest also singles out the "valeroso cavallero" Quirieleisón, whose praise is also ironic, for he never fights in the whole book; when he should rightly do so, having issued a challenge to a duel to avenge the death of his lord, dies of *ira* instead (Chapter 80). Knights fight with paper shields (Chapter 65), perhaps the source of Don Quixote's cardboard *celada* (I, 53, 29-54, 2).

The women of *Tirante* are no better than the men. The empress falls in love with a person below her station, as Don Quixote does with Aldonza Lorenzo.<sup>73</sup> The priest singles out the two most licentious female characters, Placerdemivida and the chivalricly incongruous widow Reposada, the latter perhaps reflected in Doña Rodríguez de Grijalba, and the former in Altisidora or Maritornes.

The names of the characters are also the subject of comment by the priest; Fonseca could only have been mentioned because of his name, which is hilariously "ordinary" for a knight. Placerdemivida, Reposada ("relaxed"),

the help of my colleague Joe Ree, is that the author of *Tirant* should be sentenced to life imprisonment because he wrote follies without a clear purpose]; Katherine McNerney, *Tirant lo Blanc Revisited. A Critical Study* (Detroit: Fifteenth-Century Symposium, 1983), pp. 60-64; Francisco Fernández-Turiénzo, "El 'pasaje más oscuro' del *Quijote* y las ideas estéticas de Cervantes," *ACer*, 21 (1983 [1984]), 51-72; Jeanne Louise Barnes Ellis, "The Saved and the Damned. Cervantes, the *Libros de caballerías*, and the Novel," Diss. Cornell University, 1984, pp. 139-97, especially p. 175, n. 19 (abstract in *DAI*, 45 [1985], 2542A); and Josep M. Solà-Solé, "El *Tirant* i el *Quijot*," in *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 23 (Tercera Època, 1), *Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes oferts a R. Aramon i Serra en el seu setante aniversari* (Barcelona: Curial, 1979), I, 543-52; the latter includes some additional older bibliography. In the discussion of the influence of *Tirante* on Cervantes I have used the studies of Torres and Solà-Solé.

<sup>72</sup> "¿Cómo puede agradar un desatino, / si no es que de propósito se haze, / mostrándole el donaire su camino?" (*Parnaso*, 85, 3-5). As pointed out on p. 41, Cervantes continually emphasizes the importance of the intention with which acts are performed.

<sup>73</sup> In another context, the offensiveness of this is pointed out: "es muy gran blasfemia dezir ni pensar que una reina esté amancebada con un cirujano . . . . Pensar que ella era su amiga es disparate, digno de muy gran castigo" (I, 348, 28-349, 4).

Quirieleisión de Montalván, even *Tirante el Blanco*:<sup>74</sup> names found in *Tirante* are "peregrinos y significativos" (I, 56, 27-28; adapted), as funny as the names invented by Cervantes, such as Micomicona, Mentironiana, Caraculiambro, Alifanfarrón, and Antonomasia.

Furthermore, the priest points out that in *Tirante*, "comen los cavalleros, y duermen y mueren en sus camas, y hazen testamento antes de su muerte, con otras cosas, de que todos los demás libros deste género carecen." He proceeds to label the book's features he has enumerated "necedades" and to sentence its author to hard labor for life, so we can be sure that these are not presented positively; the humor may perhaps be appreciated if one tries to imagine Lancelot or Roland making a will.<sup>75</sup> Rather than enduring the rigors of knight-errantry, which Don Quixote boasts of and revels in,<sup>76</sup> the knights of *Tirante* are, in Don Quixote's terms, given to "el buen passo, el regalo y el reposo," "blandos cortesanos" (I, 167, 1-3); *Tirante* himself, in another passage, is labeled the most "acomodado" knight of all the *libros* (III, 46, 16-17), which term is defined by the *Diccionario de autoridades* as "el que es muy amigo del descanso, regalo y conveniencias." The characters of *Tirante* are funny because they act in an unchivalric way; there is a contrast, then, between a chivalric context and unchivalric acts, of which the book indeed has many, e.g., the prostitutes of London on parade (Chapter 42); the emperor chasing a non-existent rat around his palace (Chapter 233). The possibility certainly exists that Cervantes was inspired by *Tirante* to create humor through contrast, in his case between chivalric behavior and a mundane context.<sup>77</sup>

The humor of *Don Quixote* will be dealt with at greater length in the next chapter; our present topic is genre. *Don Quixote* is a *libro de caballerías burlesco*,

<sup>74</sup> "Blanco" has two chivalric associations. The first is the color of the shield of a new and inexperienced knight, which was not just white, but "blank" (I, 57, 28; two passages from the *libros* are cited in *Romances of Chivalry*, p. 62). The second is the target at which one shoots, suggested also by the name "Tirante," which recalls *tirar*, to shoot ("sé al blanco que tiras," remarks Don Quixote to Sancho, III, 103, 27). (The title was basis of a pun of Jerónimo de San Pedro in the preface to his *Cavalleria celestial del pie de la rosa fragante*: "no un solo Tirante el Blanco, mas muchos tirantes al blanco de la gloria" [cited by Thomas, p. 176, n. 4].)

<sup>75</sup> Just because Cervantes, some ten years later, was to have his protagonist make a will and die in his bed, does not mean that he saw these as appropriate activities for the protagonist of a *libro de caballerías*. Alonso Quixano is a country gentleman, playing at knight-errantry. Also, Cervantes' desire to forestall further continuations is sufficient to account for this break with chivalric practice.

<sup>76</sup> I, 142, 13-143, 18; I, 167, 3-6; I, 199, 18-200, 1; III, 91, 17-92, 8; III, 222, 7-223, 13; III, 390, 9-14.

<sup>77</sup> For further discussion of the anti-chivalric and non-chivalric aspects of *Tirante*, see the dissertation of Ellis cited in note 71, above.

but it is a *libro* (the noun) first, and *burlesco* (the adjective) second. Validation for the generic identification of *Don Quixote* as a *libro de caballerías* can be found in its avoidance of the defects the canon finds in the previous *libros*, and its conformity with his suggestions for the composition of a better one; we may well believe that part of Cervantes' attack on the books of chivalry consisted, as in the *Bernardo*, in writing a superior work, one which would pass the scrutiny of the examiner of *libros* and *comedias* proposed at II, 353, 11-20. Surely no one would say that *Don Quixote* is "en el estilo duro, en las hazañas increíble, en los amores lascivo, en las cortesías mal mirado, largo en las batallas, necio en las razones, disparatado en los viajes, y ageno de todo discreto artificio" (II, 343, 6-11; adapted). On the contrary, it is of admirable and agreeable style, restrained in deeds, *honesto* in love (as both *Don Quixote* and the narrator tell us), "bien mirado" in the "cortesías," brief in the battles, intelligent in the "razones," believable in the trips, and quite well gifted with "todo discreto artificio." *Don Quixote*, in contrast with preceding *libros*, deals with only one generation of protagonists and does not end in the middle of an action.<sup>78</sup> Who would deny that it has "un cuerpo de fábula entero con todos sus miembros" (II, 342, 32-343, 1)?

Yet *Don Quixote's* most significant theoretical feature responds to the greatest failing of the *libros de caballerías*. Not only is it full of things which are "possible[s]" (II, 342, 21), it is a work which "tir[a] lo más que fuere possible a la verdad" (II, 344, 28-29). In this sense *Don Quixote* is *verdadero*, and for this reason it will "dexa[r] atrás y escurece[r] . . . los Amadisses, Esplandianes y Belianisses."<sup>79</sup> Cervantes avoids not only the *imposibles* mentioned by Juan Palomeque (II, 84, 21-85, 15), the canon (II, 341, 23-342, 14), and *Don Quixote* himself,<sup>80</sup> but also the details which give merely an "apariencia de verdad." As *Don Quixote* explains, these are typical of the *libros*;<sup>81</sup> they are also part of the mock-chivalric stories of Micomicona, Trifaldi, and Doña Rodríguez. We are not told *Don Quixote's* father and mother, his town is similarly concealed, and even his exact name is the subject of doubt, "pero esto importa poco a nuestro cuento; basta que en la narración dél no se salga un punto de la verdad" (I, 50, 9- 11).<sup>82</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Inappropriate endings of *libros* are burlesqued at the end of Chapter 8 of Part I. For discussion, see *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 127-28, and for Cervantes' opposition to the *libros'* open-ended structure, *infra*, p. 132-33.

<sup>79</sup> IV, 10, 27-29; also III, 200, 15-19; and II, 353, 17-18.

<sup>80</sup> II, 370, 22-371, 19; III, 92, 9-20; III, 402, 28-403, 11.

<sup>81</sup> "Nos cuentan el padre, la madre, la patria, los parientes, la edad, el lugar y las hazañas" (II, 370, 14-16). Compare *Don Quixote's* conversation with Vivaldo about Dulzinea, I, 173, 15-174, 27, or his fantasy of a chivalric adventure, II, 372, 8-373, 24.

<sup>82</sup> Unnecessary details are a constant concern in *Don Quixote*. Cide Hamete's misplaced care over "átomos" (IV, 22, 13; IV, 140, 8; compare III, 70, 12) and

The *libros de caballerías* are full of details, but they "huye[n] . . . de la imitación," which is what makes literature good (II, 342, 29-30). To attack them, according to his friend of the prologue,<sup>83</sup> Cervantes "sólo tiene que

"cosas mínimas y rateras" (I, 210, 3-5; adapted), so different from the practice of "los historiadores graves," who leave out what is ironically called "lo más sustancial de la obra" (I, 210, 6-11), does not even meet with the approval of his "traductor," who abbreviates him and calls these details "menudencias" (III, 226, 13-18). In the first of his two stories (I, 266, 18-269, 30), Sancho becomes so involved with details that he does not complete it, though the details of his second story (III, 384, 10-386, 14) give it a semblance of veracity, according to the distorted judgement of his master: "Tú das tantos testigos, Sancho, y tantas señas, que no puedo dexar de dezir que debes de dezir verdad" (III, 384, 26-28). Sancho's overemphasis on details (also seen at III, 63, 1-7 and III, 63, 29-64, 2), is reflected back to him, much to his displeasure, by Pedro Rezio de Agüero (IV, 99, 19-24) and the farmer from Miguel Turra (IV, 104, 18-106, 31).

Cervantes recognized, and wished to teach his readers, that truth in *historia*, while requiring the inclusion of embarrassing or unexemplary material that the poet can omit (III, 64, 8-30; III, 112, 30-113, 18; compare I, 278, 3-5), does not entail including everything; details are to be included only when relevant (I, 335, 24-32; II, 382, 25-28; III, 133, 10-16; III, 288, 20-289, 6; *Persiles*, II, 100, 9-14). On this topic, see Alan S. Trueblood, "Sobre la selección artística en el *Quijote*, ' . . . lo que ha dejado de escribir' (II, 44)," *NRFH*, 10 (1956), 44-50.

<sup>83</sup> The friend ends all his advice with a summary: "en efecto, llevad la mira puesta a derribar la máquina mal fundada destes cavallerescos libros" (I, 38, 3-5); it is no distortion to see all of his advice as facilitating this end. Francisco Vindel (*Cervantes, Robles y Juan de la Cuesta* [Madrid, 1934]) has identified the friend portrayed as Cervantes' publisher, the bookseller Francisco de Robles, on the basis of Cervantes' friendship with the Robles family (for which there is some, though not overwhelming evidence), and the friend's statement that he will fill up "cuatro pliegos" at the end of the book, a statement, Vindel argues, that only the book's publisher would have the freedom to make. I would add to this plausible suggestion that the friend is described as "bien entendido" (I, 30, 30). He not only knows Latin, he is especially knowledgeable about books, and is able to add the "anotaciones y acotaciones" to that of Cervantes (I, 36, 10-11). The friend refers to a large number, pointing out one after another ("*ahí* está el Obispo de Mondoñedo," I, 35, 24-25; italics mine), including some which are more recent than any mentioned in the text itself, and wants Cervantes to mention a lot of them, adding a "catálogo de autores" at the end (I, 36, 27-28). He knows "de coro" a story about thievery (I, 35, 22-23), which suggests a shopkeeper, and he states that another book is to be found "en vuestra casa" (I, 36, 4). Someone about to publish Cervantes, who at that time was without a wide reputation, would logically exhibit the confidence in him that the friend shows ("siempre os he tenido por discreto y prudente," I, 32, 29-30), yet still might offer him advice to help him polish his work. He does not want to see Cervantes "dexar de sacar a la luz del mundo la historia de vuestro famoso don Quixote" (I, 33, 12-13), and he seems to add an allusion to Cervantes' other literary projects ("un ingenio tan

aprovecharse de la imitación en lo que fuere escribiendo; que quanto ella fuere más perfecta, tanto mejor será lo que se escriviere."<sup>84</sup> As the canon points out, only with *verisimilitud* and *imitación* can one create a work of literature which, "facilitando los imposibles, allanando las grandezas,"<sup>85</sup> suspending the spirits" (II, 342, 23-25), can "admirar, suspender, alborozar y entretener" (II, 342, 25-26; adapted).

Here—in the intent to attack the *libros*—we also have an explanation for one of *Don Quixote's* most appealing, yet critically perplexing features: its portrayal of contemporary Spain and the people of it, what is loosely called the work's realism. While the means to assess *Don Quixote's* realism comprehensively do not exist, it has never been seriously attacked, and various studies have shown Cervantes' accuracy in treating geography, plants, horses and donkeys, medicine, and other aspects of the natural world.<sup>86</sup> There is no reason to think that he would not have followed the

maduro como el vuestro, y tan hecho a romper y atropellar por *otras dificultades mayores*," I, 33, 3-5). Even the thinly-veiled attack on Lope's superficial erudition is in harmony with the identification of the friend with Robles; Lope was published by competitors. A book dealer might well have been the friend of such a bibliophile as was Cervantes.

<sup>84</sup> I, 37, 15-18; similarly, II, 349, 26-28.

<sup>85</sup> That nobility is not inherited, that all are to be evaluated by what they do, and that in some cases those holding noble titles do not deserve them, are views which emerge from Cervantes' texts: I, 295, 8-26; I, 296, 25-31; Teresa's comments in Chapter 5 of Part II; III, 93, 31-96, 28; III, 153, 21-29; III, 401, 24-26; IV, 51, 27-52, 9; IV, 145, 15-27. This is one of the lessons to be drawn from Sancho's governorship, discussed in Chapter 5, and the frequent references to "cada uno es hijo de sus obras," enumerated in the next chapter, note 76.

<sup>86</sup> In his *Bibliografía crítica de las obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (1895-1904; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), III, Chapter 11, Leopoldo Rius presents a listing of nineteenth-century works on such topics as *Pericia geográfica de Miguel de Cervantes*, *Cervantes, marino*, *Afición e inteligencia militar de Miguel de Cervantes*, and *Jurispericia de Cervantes*; Rodríguez Marín offers another in his edition of "Rinconete y Cortadillo," 2nd edition (Madrid, 1920), p. 334, n. 66 (p. 345, n. 49 of the first edition, Seville, 1905), and yet another, with some overlap, is found in Miguel Herrero, "Repertorio analítico de estudios cervantinos," *RFE*, 32 (1948), 39-106, at pp. 92-93. This encomiastic criticism is now outdated, but the modern equivalent, as far as documenting Cervantes' knowledge is concerned, are those studies which examine a topic in Cervantes, of which there are many. To cite a selection: Margarita Levisi on painting, cited *supra*, note 9, Louis C. Pérez' "El telar de Cervantes," in *Filología y crítica hispánica. Homenaje al Prof. Federico Sánchez Escribano* (Madrid: Alcalá, 1969), pp. 99-114, and Justino Pollos Herrera, a veterinarian, who has pointed out Cervantes' accuracy (and Avellaneda's vagueness) in describing horses, mules, and donkeys: "Algunos vocablos y locuciones albeiterescas o chalanescas en las obras de Miguel de Cervantes," *ACer*, 19 (1981), 185-96, and "Rocinante y el rucio en el *Quijote* de

same principle in his imitation of people's speech and behavior.<sup>87</sup>

Avellaneda," in *Cervantes. Su obra y su mundo*, pp. 837-48. (I have not been able to see the latter's *Las cabalgaduras de don Quijote y Sancho* [Zamora: Heraldo de Zamora, 1976], which he cites in "Algunos vocablos," p. 196, n. 1.)

<sup>87</sup>Of course this has never been verified, nor is it, in its entirety, verifiable, and the extremes to which the search for real models for the protagonist has been taken have unfortunately made this type of study disreputable. (For the identification of Don Quixote's house, which according to the author unfortunately lacks even a plaque, see Rubert Croft-Cooke, *Through Spain with Don Quixote* [New York: Knopf, 1960], pp. 72-74.)

Scholarship, however, has gradually found real people hiding behind Cervantes' characters and their stories (see p. 161 and note 22, *supra*). Many of these characters are very obscure, about whom we are unlikely ever to know more than their names, but one who is well-known, Roque Guinart, is according to the commentators quite faithful (though I have not been able to see the book indicated by Rodríguez Marín, Luis M.<sup>a</sup> Soler y Terol, *Perot Roca Guinarda. Història d'aquèst bandoler: Il·lustració als capítols LX y LXI, segona part, del "Quixot"* [Manresa, 1909]; this book was used by Lorenzo Riber, "Al margen de un capítulo de *Don Quijote* (el LX de la segunda parte)," *BRAE*, 27 [1947-48], 79-90, and by Geoffrey Stagg, "Cervantes and Catalonia," *Actes del tercer col·loqui d'estudis catalans a Nord-Amèrica*. Toronto, 1982. *Estudis en honor de Josep Roca-Pons*, ed. Patricia Boehne, Josep Massot i Muntaner and Nathaniel B. Smith [Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1983], 187-99, cited in his "*La Galatea* and 'Las dos doncellas' to the Rescue of *Don Quixote*, Part II," in *Essays in Honour of Robert Brian Tate from his Colleagues and Pupils* [Nottingham: Univ. of Nottingham, 1984], pp. 125-30, at p. 130); Diego de Miranda would seem to be portrayed in reaction to his historical reality (see Chamberlin and Weiner, "Color Symbolism"). A striking recent discovery is that Zoraida was based on a real person, although she did not flee to Spain as she does in the captain's story (Jaime Oliver Asín, "La hija de Agi Morato en la obra de Cervantes," *BRAE*, 27 [1947-48], 245-333, now supplemented by Jean Canavaggio, "Le 'Vrai' visage d'Agi Morato," *Les Langues Néo-Latines*, No. 239. *Hommage à Louis Urrutia* [1981], 22-38 [summarized in *ACer*, 20 (1982), 242-43]). It is unfortunate that there has been no modern examination of Pellicer's eighteenth-century thesis that the *duques*, who are present in more chapters than any characters other than Don Quixote and Sancho, are those of Villahermosa, about whom one would think quite a bit should be ascertainable.

Cervantes does differentiate his characters on the basis of their language, but they tend to use "their own" language only at the beginning of a long speech, and the speech of all the characters of *Don Quixote* is more similar than different. Thus, we have Juan Palomeque, portrayed as ignorant, saying "¡Bueno es que quiera darne vuestra merced a entender que todo aquello que estos buenos libros dizen sea disparates y mentiras, estando impresso con licencia de los señores del Consejo Real, como si ellos fueran gente que avian de dexar imprimir tanta mentira junta . . . !" (II, 86, 12-17), while Don Quixote, for whom the preceding language would be quite appropriate, says "¿Católicas? ¡Mi padre!" (II, 331, 5), just as Juan Palomeque says "¡Tomaos con mi padre!" (II, 84, 19) and another

The work's realism is not accounted for by literary theory; that literature should represent reality was and is a critical commonplace. Neither is it fully explained by the comic elements.<sup>88</sup> Some considerable part must have been unconscious and an expression of the author's personality; a realistic strain runs through all of his writing, including the *Persiles* and the less-read *Novelas ejemplares*.<sup>89</sup> Yet *Don Quixote* is, along with some *Novelas ejemplares* and his *entremeses*, Cervantes' highest accomplishment in this regard. It can be explained, as indicated, as a response to the *libros de caballerías*. The *libros* were full of unbelievable people and places, fantasies, magic; Cervantes tried to combat and replace them by exposing their falseness, and offering in its place truth, reality, or at the very least verisimilitude.

Rather than royalty and nobility, the characters of the *libros*, *Don Quixote* realistically offers us a cross-section of Spanish society, again taking advantage of the freedom Cervantes found in the *libro* form; the dazzling

innkeeper "¿Polla? ¡Mi padre!" (IV, 245, 31). Sancho, who is *simple*, says "me parece que sería mejor, salvo el mejor parecer de vuestra merced, que nos fuésemos a servir a algún emperador, o a otro príncipe grande que tenga alguna guerra, en cuyo servicio vuestra merced muestre el valor de su persona, sus grandes fuerças y mayor entendimiento; que visto esto del señor a quien sirviéremos . . ." (I, 289, 16-24); "¡O liberal sobre todos los Alexandros, pues por solos ocho meses de servicio me tenías dada la mejor ínsula que el mar ciñe y rodea!" (II, 396, 27-30); "si con alguna destas cosas puedo servir a vuestra grandeza, menos tardaré yo en sufrir que vuestra señoría en mandar" (III, 408, 23-25); and "de mi ruin ingenio no se puede ni deve presumir que fabricasse en un instante tan agudo embuste, ni creo yo que mi amo es tan loco que con tan flaca y magra persuasión como la mía creyese una cosa tan fuera de todo término" (III, 416, 22-27). Lest it be thought that this eloquent language derives from Palomeque's listening to *libros* and Sancho's few weeks with Don Quixote and month in the *corte* (I, 297, 31-32), the goatherd of Chapter 23 of Part I, who describes himself as "rústico" (I, 328, 32), says "pedímosle también que quando huviesse menester el sustento, sin el qual no podia passar, nos dixesse donde le hallaríamos" (I, 328, 10-13). Various characters, not just Sancho, use proverbs, and try to employ unusual words. Most talk, in short, in a colorful way, questioning, exclaiming, telling stories, making *chistes*, listening and responding carefully to what has been said. That this common core of the characters' speech was that of Cervantes himself is confirmed by the language he uses in his prologues and dedications, and that of the characters and narrators in his other works.

<sup>88</sup> Burlesque can explain the use of lower-class, ignorant, or stupid characters. Yet *Don Quixote* includes people of all social classes except royalty, all degrees of knowledge and intelligence, and an impressive variety of occupations.

<sup>89</sup> Even *La Galatea*, according to Noel Salomon (*Lo villano en el teatro del Siglo de Oro*, trans. Beatriz Chenot [Madrid: Castalia, 1985], p. 435), is "más impregnada de realismo rústico" than the other so-called pastoral novels; the example cited is the treatment of musical instruments.

variety of characters in *Don Quixote*, with a verisimilar predominance of the lower class, is one of the ways it most differs from the works it attacks. The vivid dialogue, providing the illusion of real conversation, is also explained by this principle.

The use of such characters may also be attributable to a desire to show the effects of the *libros* on different contemporary readers. But it is at the same time part of a conscious attempt to improve on those books, and to expose their excesses as unnecessary. While the *libros* were set in vague, remote times (*Romances of Chivalry*, p. 56), and in places not even on the map (I, 294, 2), *Don Quixote* is set in contemporary Spain, the country and time that Cervantes could best describe. Frightening encounters can be found close to home (the *cuerpo muerto* and *batanes*), as can the marvelous, the product of nature (the *lagunas de Ruidera*) or man (the *toros de Guisando*). Places linked to chivalry, such as the cave of Montesinos, can as well.

The falsity of literary chivalry, however, is constantly demonstrated through contrast with the reality of the world. In the real world horses do not fly (Part II, Chapter 41); Mambrino's helmet does not exist, and it is ridiculed by the use of a barber's basin in its place. Montesinos' cave is logically full of bats and crows (III, 283, 3-6), and its enchanted residents are no more than characters in Don Quixote's dream.<sup>90</sup> "Magic" that does not have a physiological explanation can be seen to be nothing more than the untruthful product of people's minds. People claim that magic exists for various purposes: for financial gain (Ginés' monkey), "para entretenerse y suspender a los ignorantes" (Antonio Moreno's talking head, IV, 291, 22-23), to take advantage of Don Quixote's credulity, for entertainment (the adventure of the Dueña Dolorida, Part II, Chapters 36-41) or for his benefit (the story of Micomicona, Part I, Chapters 29-30), and to disguise what they have done (the disappearance of Don Quixote's library, attributed to Fristón, I, 108, 1-109, 19), or what they have not done and can not do (Sancho's "enchantment" of Dulzinea, III, 132, 8- 133, 2). The only people taken in by such fictions are the ignorant and the insane.

Because it is *verdadero* (verisimilar), *Don Quixote* can give pleasure to the reader, more so than could the previous *libros de caballerías*. Different types of readers wanted different kinds of pleasure, Cervantes would agree.<sup>91</sup> The

<sup>90</sup> Sancho's fall into a *sima*, in Chapter 55 of Part II, likewise contrasts reality with subterranean literary adventures, as for example that sketched by Don Quixote at the beginning of Chapter 50 of Part I.

<sup>91</sup> Such is implied by the statement of the friend of the prologue to Part I (I, 37, 30-38, 3). However, this should not be interpreted as support for reader autonomy. Throughout Chapters 2 and 3 of Part II, in which reaction to *Don Quixote* is discussed, the implication is that while readers might choose which episode of the book they prefer (III, 63, 11-23), and whether they would treat the

canon desires pleasure from the appreciation of beauty: "el deleite que en el alma se concibe ha de ser de la hermosura y concordancia que vee o contempla en las cosas que la vista o la imaginación le ponen delante" (II, 341, 18-21). Cervantes certainly wanted the approval of the readers who, like the canon and Cervantes himself, were *discretos*;<sup>92</sup> such readers could have appreciated the art of his book, the carefully constructed and verisimilar adventures. But he was writing for everyone, the prologue to Part I implies,<sup>93</sup> and thus most of his readers were going to be, without class implication, the *vulgo* (I, 31, 5-7).<sup>94</sup> This is first because it is primarily the *vulgo* who read *libros de caballerías* (II, 346, 30-347, 2), but also because "es más el número de los simples que de los prudentes" (II, 346, 26-27); in fact, "*stultorum* [readers of Part I] *infinitus est numerus*" (III, 70, 28). Such readers were unable to appreciate literary beauty. So that he will be able to instruct them, he must offer them what the *libros* provide: "gusto y maravilla" (II, 373, 28), or as it is put by the canon, "admiración y . . . alegría" (II, 342, 27).<sup>95</sup>

The elements which in *Don Quixote* produce these effects are of course different from those of the *libros*, but the text repeatedly tells us when *admiración* and *alegría* are being produced. Don Quixote, and occasionally

author with *censura* or *misericordia* (III, 70, 10-20), the reaction as a whole is by group: "vulgo, hidalgos y caballeros" (III, 55, 13-15; III, 56, 14-25); "moços, hombres y viejos" (III, 68, 8-9). Contrasting reader response to *Don Quixote* is discussed further in Chapters 4 and 6 of this book.

<sup>92</sup> I, 38, 1-2; see also II, 353, 19-20. He got this approval; numerous comments of contemporaries, collected by Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín ("¿Qué pensaron de Cervantes sus contemporáneos?," in *Cervantes y su obra* [Madrid: Francisco Beltrán, 1916], pp. 165-84) and by Quilter, confirm the information given us in the *aprobación* of Márquez Torres ("general aplauso," III, 20, 26) and by Sansón ("tan leída, y tan sabida de todo género de gentes," III, 68, 10-11; "infinitos son los que han gustado de la tal historia," III, 70, 29-30), the duchess ("general aplauso," III, 400, 19), and the people of Barcelona ("quantos le miravan le nombravan y conocían," IV, 284, 3).

<sup>93</sup> I, 37, 32-38, 3; thus it was particularly gratifying that *Don Quixote* reached the broad readership the passages cited in the previous note imply. This is the same broad readership that Don Quixote says *libros de caballerías* had (II, 370, 7-12).

<sup>94</sup> As Don Quixote himself says, the *vulgo* is not limited to merely "la gente plebeya y humilde; que todo aquel que no sabe, aunque sea señor y príncipe, puede y deve entrar en número de vulgo" (III, 205, 14-17).

<sup>95</sup> While the canon says that the existing *libros de caballerías* are unable to produce "admiración y alegría," these are exactly the results of the deeds of Don Quixote: "los sucessos de don Quixote, o se han de celebrar con admiración o con risa" (IV, 67, 25-27; II, 181, 22-31). *Admiración* and *risa* are the Duchess's responses to Sancho (III, 414, 14-15 and 420, 12-13), and Sansón has the same reaction to both of them (IV, 362, 19-22). Examples of Don Quixote and Sancho's acts and words causing *admiración* or *risa* are too numerous to list.

Sancho or another character, causes *admiración* by displaying madness or ignorance, or by combining those qualities with intelligence and wisdom. The text tells us, for example, that Diego de Miranda received "admiración" from the deeds and words of Don Quixote (III, 221, 18-20), and the duchess "n[o] dexó de admirarse en oír las razones y refranes de Sancho" (III, 414, 14-15). Don Quixote and Sancho, I believe, still cause *admiración*. It is the humor, cause of *alegría*, which has suffered most with the passage of time, "devorador y consumidor de todas las cosas" (I, 128, 17-18), even though it is more frequently signaled (through laughter) than is *admiración*. Because the *libros de caballerías* are gone forever—no one reads them prior to reading *Don Quixote*—we can never read *Don Quixote* as its first readers did, and much of the work's humor is not perceived. To try to correct this, I will attempt to reconstruct the humor as those first readers would have seen it.

Before doing so, however, there is a final point to be made. An attack on *libros de caballerías* need not have meant the composition of a work of fiction. It need not have meant, either, the composition of a funny book; there are other types of "gusto" which could have replaced that of the *libros*. It is possible that Cervantes chose this strategy, the composition of a funny book, because he liked funny books and thought the world needed more of them.<sup>96</sup> There is reason to believe that Cervantes appreciated humor in general—the funny stories in his books show his appreciation of oral humor—and funny books in particular; two of the latter, though unintentionally funny, are celebrated in the *escrutinio de la librería* above all others, and spared from destruction.<sup>97</sup> In the prologue to the *Persiles*,

<sup>96</sup> "Esta nuestra edad, necesitada de alegres entretenimientos" (II, 7, 15-16).

<sup>97</sup> One is *Tirante*; the other is Antonio de Lofrasso's *Los diez libros de Fortuna de amor* (I, 103, 13-28), which "por su camino" is the best of its type, just as *Tirante* "por su estilo" is the same; the priest's comments on the two books are so similar that Cervantes must have valued them for the same reason, and Lofrasso is, of those named, the author most severely attacked in the *Parnaso* (45, 29-46, 26; 97, 11-13). The priest says of Lofrasso's book: "tan gracioso ni tan disparatado libro como éste no se ha compuesto . . . y el que no le ha leído puede hazer cuenta que no ha leído jamás cosa de gusto"; surely this is not praise of an admirable book. *La fortuna de amor* tells the reader in abominable Spanish much more than he wishes to know about the author's home, Sardinia, where, for example, "la más parte de todos los pastores de los ganados ovejunos, vaqueros y cabreros, viendo los estragos y enormes daños que los civiles y baxos grosseros porquerizos, con las crecidas manadas de sus colmilludos puercos, en nuestras dehesas y pastos cada día hazen, no solamente comiendo y devorando, las tiernas y delicadas pasturas a nuestros mansos corderillos delicados, pero aun lo que peor es, van quebrando y previrtiendo nuestros antiguos privilegios estatutos y reales ordinaçiones, de nuestros antepassados . . . an elegida [sic] a mi persona, para que de tales agravios los librasse, y en paz y concordia la república reduxesse, y desto dar quexa al gran

Cervantes bid farewell to "gracias," "donaires," and "regozijados amigos" (I, lix, 27-28). In that to the *Novelas ejemplares*, he said that these friends were many, and that he had gotten them not with his *ingenio*, but with his *condición* (I, 20, 8-9). The type of *condición* which would have gotten him such friends was *alegre*, as seen in his eyes (*Novelas ejemplares*, I, 20, 20), which revealed the soul.<sup>98</sup> Such a disposition, and an appreciation for humor, is not incompatible, rather quite in keeping, with the melancholy that was also part of his disposition, as seen in parts of *Don Quixote*, Part II, and in the "Coloquio de los perros."

mayoral por que informándole dela pretención y prehemencia que los ganaderos de antiguos tiempos desta parte tienen y gozan, teniendo pastos particulares, y vedados, en los quales la entrada de los puercos en todo tiempo es prohibida . . . " (fol. 152r-v). "La crítica ha actuado con rara unanimidad y ha condenado nuevamente a Lofrasso al equivalente literario del infierno dantesco. ¡Bien hecho!" says Juan Bautista Avallé-Arce, *La novela pastoril española*, p. 178.

<sup>98</sup> This was a commonplace in Renaissance psychology, and to some extent survives today. "Los ojos fueron las lenguas que descubrieron sus alegres y honestos pensamientos" (IV, 325, 13-15).