

IV. The Humor of *Don Quixote*

Para componer historias y libros de cualquier suerte que sean, es menester un gran juicio y un maduro entendimiento; dezir gracias y escribir donaires es de grandes ingenios.

III, 69, 5-9



THE HUMOR OF *Don Quixote* is the most understudied topic of the work. Even though Russell and Close have strongly argued that it was perceived as humorous by early readers, and that such was Cervantes' desire,¹ there has been little discussion of just what in the book is or was intended to be funny.² This neglect is only partly explained by the fact that *Don Quixote* becomes more noble as the work progresses. Its causes are many.

One is that although many topics are examined in *Don Quixote*, humor is not among them. We are frequently told that something funny is done or said, and that characters laugh, but beyond labeling the humorous item as a *locura*, *necedad*, *disparate*, or some similar term, there is scarcely any analysis or discussion of humor in the work. There are three possible explanations for this omission. First, it is difficult for humor to be discussed in the presence of

¹ In their articles and book cited in the Introduction, note 2. Precedents of Russell and Close are E. M. Wilson's "Cervantes and English Literature of the Seventeenth Century," *BH*, 50 (1948), 27-52; A. A. Parker, "Don Quixote and the Relativity of Truth," *Dublin Review*, Vol. 220, No. 441 (Autumn, 1947), 28-37, revised and translated as "El concepto de la verdad en el *Quijote*," *RFE*, 32 (1948), 287-305, and "Fielding and the Structure of *Don Quixote*," *BHS*, 33 (1956), 1-16; and even Fitzmaurice-Kelly (see the introduction to his edition of Shelton's translation).

² Three studies of Close, eclipsed by his book, do address indirectly problems of humor: "Sancho Panza: Wise Fool," *MLR*, 68 (1973), 344-57, "Don Quixote's Love for Dulcinea: A Study of Cervantine Irony," *BHS*, 50 (1973), 237-55, and "Don Quixote's Sophistry and Wisdom," *BHS*, 55 (1978), 103-14. (One should also

the characters at whose expense the amusement is created, and one of those characters is almost always present. Secondly, the creation of humor was not an important topic, and was not controversial. It was the sugar coating, or (in another Golden Age metaphor) the bait used to catch the reader. What could or should be laughed at was less important to Cervantes than the moral values and literary instruction he wished to offer his readers. Finally, the thoughtful characters who discuss important questions—those who are not part of the *vulgo*—are rarely the ones who laugh at Don Quixote (or at Sancho either); they treat him with respect, see that his *disparates* are *concertados* (II, 376, 12-13), product of a *bonísimo entendimiento*,³ and distinguish between his wise words and his mad actions.⁴

The lack of discussion of humor in the work—that we are encouraged to laugh, but not to reflect on our laughter—is surely one reason why scholarship has avoided the topic of *Don Quixote's* humor. Another is the general scholarly bias against humor, which is neither modern nor limited to Hispanic studies, but traceable to the low-status figures of the clown and the fool, and perhaps to the pre-medieval loss of Aristotle's discussion of comedy. Humor, as writers on it point out, is a difficult topic,⁵ and it is also

mention Close's "Cervantes' *Arte nuevo de hazer fábulas cómicas en este tiempo*," *Cervantes*, 2 [1982], 3-22, which deals primarily with theory of fiction and only incidentally with humor, and "Characterization and Dialogue in Cervantes's *Comedias en prosa*," *MLR*, 76 [1981], 338-56; also Jean Canavaggio, "Las figuras del donaire de Cervantes," in *Risa y sociedad en el teatro español del Siglo de Oro* [Paris: CNRS, 1980], pp. 51-64.) There is a chapter on verbal humor in Helmut Hatzfeld's *El "Quijote" como obra de arte del lenguaje*, Anejo 83 of the *Revista de Filología Española*, 2nd edition (Madrid: CSIC, 1966), pp. 153-76, and a study by George K. Zucker, "La prevaricación idiomática: un recurso cómico en el *Quijote*," *Thesaurus*, 28 (1973), 515-25. I have seen neither the dissertation of Anne Marie Bodensieck, "The Linguistic Comic in Cervantes' *Don Quixote de la Mancha*," Wisconsin, 1928, nor that of Ames Haven Corley, "A Study in the Word-Play in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*," Yale, 1914. Still, there has been no general attempt to do for *Don Quixote* what Teresa Aveleyra Arroyo de Anda undertook in *El humorismo de Cervantes en sus obras menores* (Mexico, 1962) (also "El humorismo de Cervantes," *Anuario de Letras*, 3 [1962], 128-62), or Amelia Agostini de del Río in "El teatro cómico de Cervantes," *BRAE*, 44 (1964), 223-307, 475-539 and 45 (1965), 65-116. The article of D. van Maelsaëke, "The Paradox of Humour: A Comparative Study of *Don Quixote*," *Theoria* [Natal, South Africa?], 28 (1967), 24-42, will be used later for its information on German Romanticism and Cervantes, but is not a study of humor; that of Roy Johnson, "The *Humor* of Don Quixote," *RR*, 54 (1963), 161-70, is a treatment of the protagonist's disposition or temperament.

³ II, 361, 20-21. Sansón Carrasco, when uncharacteristically sympathetic to Don Quixote (p. 136, *infra*), says he has a "bonísimo juicio" (IV, 321, 23-24).

⁴ "Lo que hablava era concertado, elegante y bien dicho, y lo que hazía, disparatado, temerario y tonto" (III, 221, 22-24).

⁵ George McFadden, *Discovering the Comic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

one seen as unrewarding. Scholarship inevitably prefers to deal with serious matters.

An even more significant factor influencing study of *Don Quixote's* humor is cultural change. Book-length works of humor, even any published, verbal humor, is a thing of the past. One buys a book today to be informed, moved, stimulated, or entertained, but not to laugh. One does not need to. Humor today is abundant. The newspaper delivers some to our doors every day. Television and movies are full of it, and seem to deal with it better—because they are visual media?—than they do with serious issues. What humorous books there are today are collections of material published in other media; the author of humorous novels, the P. G. Wodehouse, Evelyn Waugh, Jerome K. Jerome, or Álvaro de Laiglesia, has vanished.

Cultural change, however, has affected even the perception of the work's humor. Humor is especially subject to decay with the passage of time. It is linked, perhaps inevitably, to the circumstances in which it was created, and the more sophisticated the humor, the more ephemeral it is. The broad yet shallow humor of farce is more or less universal; thus the nocturnal scene at the inn (Chapter 16 of Part I) is still perceived as funny. But the humor of the incongruous and the ridiculous calls for knowledge of what would be congruous and sensible.⁶ If these things must be explained, people will not "get" the joke; much of the humor vanishes.

So the best humor is perishable, just as hard for the scholar to study at a remove of several centuries as it is for the reader to appreciate. Yet when *Don Quixote* was taken for a long time as a funny book, when in it we are repeatedly told that it contains *burlas* and that Don Quixote and Sancho cause people to laugh until they burst,⁷ its humor is an appropriate topic of study.

In the previous chapter I identified *Tirante el Blanco* as a partial model for Cervantes' humor in *Don Quixote*, and pointed out that the items commented on suggest that Cervantes found that humor comes from a contrast between what actually happens and the reader's knowledge of what would have been appropriate. *Tirante*, however, would not have been seen by Cervantes as a

1972), p. 3; C. F. de la Vega, *El secreto del humor* (Buenos Aires: Nova, 1967), p. 15 and *passim*; etc. On humor, as Santiago Vilas has said, "nadie parece ponerse de acuerdo con nadie" ("Hacia un concepto del humor," pp. 15-97 of his *El humor y la novela española contemporánea* [Madrid: Guadarrama, 1968], at p. 35). For a survey of previous scholarship on humor, see Patricia Keith-Spiegel, "Early Conceptions of Humor: Varieties and Issues," in Jeffrey H. Goldstein and Paul E. McGhee, eds., *The Psychology of Humor. Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Issues* (New York and London: Academic Press, 1972), pp. 4-39. Especially useful is John Allen Paulos, *Mathematics and Humor* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

⁶ In López Pinciano's terms, to know what is ugly requires a knowledge of what is beautiful.

⁷ I, 75, 7-9; I, 276, 6-15; II, 391, 20; III, 380, 18-21; IV, 11, 26-27.

reliable model because its humor, in his opinion, was unintentional. Also, Cervantes was consistently less concerned with what had been done than what could or should be done; in other words, he was concerned with theory, the "arte cómico" (*Persiles*, II, 19, 10). There was not much writing on humor, but one theorist was comprehensive enough to deal with it. López Pinciano's *Philosophía antigua poética* not only provides a systematic treatment, but it is the only such discussion Cervantes is likely to have known.⁸ In addition, López Pinciano's treatment of humor reinforces what Cervantes may have taken from *Tirante*.

Laughter, López Pinciano explains, is found in two things: "obras y palabras" (III, 33 and 43), in each of which there is found "alguna fealdad y torpeza" (III, 43); "lo ridículo está en lo feo" (III, 33). Cervantes translates this theory into fiction by creating two physically unattractive and ungraceful characters, and making one, Don Quixote, the representative of funny deeds, and the other, Sancho, the representative of funny words. The former, *cifra* of all knights-errant,⁹ does funny things because he is *loco*, and the latter, *cifra* of squires,¹⁰ says funny things because he is *simple*.¹¹ The

⁸ Andrés Velázquez's *Libro de la melancolía* (Seville, 1585), which Cervantes could have known, sees humor in different terms than does Cervantes (laughter is caused by, rather than separate from, *admiración*), and does not explain how to create it. The only other discussion of the creation of humor which Cervantes could easily have known is that found in Book II of Castiglione's *Cortesano*, but it is a discussion of how to achieve humor in one's speech and actions, rather than in writing. I find no evidence that Cervantes drew upon it even for the verbal humor of *Don Quixote*; the study of its influence in Spain, Margherita Morreale's "'Cortegiano faceto' y 'Burlas cortesananas.' Expresiones italianas y españolas para el análisis y descripción de la risa," *BRAE*, 35 (1955), 57-83, never mentions Cervantes.

⁹ "Bien puedes preciarte que en servir al gran don Quixote sirves en cifra a toda la caterva de cavalleros que han tratado las armas en el mundo" (IV, 11, 4-7); "en él [don Quixote] se encierra y cifra todo el valor del andante cavallería" (IV, 299, 11-12).

There is no one English word which expresses well the meaning of *cifra* Cervantes uses. "Symbol" is close, but the Spanish term lacks its sense of abstraction and representationality. "Concentrate" or "abbreviation" is closer: Don Quixote contains in reduced form all knights-errant. As Sansón Carrasco says, having defeated Don Quixote, "en sólo este vencimiento hago cuenta que he vencido todos los cavalleros del mundo" (III, 174, 28-30). See also the passages cited in the first note to Chapter 1.

¹⁰ "En quien [Sancho], a mi parecer, te doy cifradas todas las gracias escuderiles que en la caterva de los libros vanos de cavallerías están esparzidas" (I, 38, 28-30).

¹¹ There are other suggestions that characters, who are of such diverse occupations, with little repetition (one *cura*, one *canónigo*, one *eclesiástico*, one bandit, one duke, and so on), are intended to be seen as representative of types. Doña Rodríguez was an "exemplo de dueña" (IV, 28, 28), and Dulcinea, according to

division is not clear-cut, for they both, on occasion, say funny things and do crazy things, and Don Quixote becomes less crazy as Sancho becomes wiser.¹² But the distinction between the two, the one the man of deeds and the other the man of words, is made repeatedly in the text. Thus it is "la locura del amo y la simplicidad del criado" (II, 56, 11-12; also III, 53, 21-23), "las locuras de don Quixote . . . [y] las sandezes de Sancho" (IV, 65, 3-4), "las locuras del señor [y] las necedades del criado" (III, 53, 30-31), "embista don Quixote, y hable Sancho Pança" (III, 74, 32-75, 1), and in a description of the book as a whole, "las hazañas de don Quixote y donaires de Sancho."¹³

Humor, according to López Pinciano, is hard to define; "la risa es risa" (III, 32), and the causes of laughter are many (III, 32 and 33). The division into "obras y palabras" is really only the way that are divided "las más cosas del mundo" (III, 33). Nevertheless, he does finally conclude that "lo principal de lo ridículo . . . consiste en palabras" (III, 45), and this may well be a reason why the verbal humor, and the role of Sancho, become progressively more important in *Don Quixote*: "muchas gracias no se pueden dezir con pocas palabras" (III, 374, 21-22) is the duke's comment on Sancho's loquacity. A further explanation for the development of Sancho is the importance López Pinciano gives to the *simple*, since they are "vnos personajes que suelen más deleytar que quantos salen a las comedias" (III, 59). "Es la persona más apta para la comedia de todas las demás" (III, 60), for all types of ridiculous speech may be incorporated in such a character.

One could continue with this discussion of El Pinciano's comments on humor, pointing out the presence in *Don Quixote* of examples of the types of humorous items he mentions, such as etymologies,¹⁴ questions and

Don Quixote, was "sustento de la hermosura, nata de los donaires, y, finalmente, sugeto sobre quien puede assentar bien toda alabanza, por ipérbole que sea" (IV, 393, 10-13); in her "se vienen a hazer verdaderos todos los impossibles y quiméricos atributos de belleza que los poetas dan a sus damas" (I, 174, 1-3).

¹² Thus Don Quixote "[dize] grandes disparates" (III, 49, 21-22); "andavan mezcladas sus palabras y sus acciones [de Sancho] con assomos discretos, y tontos" (IV, 154, 11-13). The gradual approximation of Don Quixote and Sancho is well known, and their similarities are discussed later in this chapter; the influence of Don Quixote's madness, *discreción*, and courtesy on Sancho is pointed out in the text (I, 382, 7-12; III, 154, 8-20; III, 408, 27-32; III, 455, 25-31), although the text also points out that Sancho was never as crazy as his master (II, 325, 17-22; II, 326, 31-327, 2), nor as well-spoken (III, 409, 1).

¹³ *Novelas exemplares*, prologue, 23, 19-20; thus we should understand "las hazañas y donaires de don Quixote y de su escudero" (III, 110, 11-13). When Sancho is alone, as governor, then we find reference to his "palabras y acciones" (IV, 210, 10).

¹⁴ III, 46. Confused etymologies, of which the best example is that of "Ptolomeo" (III, 362, 5-10), are put in Sancho's mouth. Several of his linguistic errors consist of ludicrous attempts to reduce a word to what he believes to be its original components.

answers,¹⁵ and *suspiros*.¹⁶ Yet the point, I believe, has been made: *Don Quixote* reflects López Pinciano's discussion of humor. The origin of its laughter is thus "lo feo," which supposes a contrast with and knowledge of what is attractive.¹⁷

Rather than discussing *Don Quixote*'s humor in terms of such specific devices as *donaires* and *disparates*, I will attempt to undo the cultural and literary changes since Cervantes' day, and present *Don Quixote* as Cervantes intended it to be seen: a *libro de caballerías burlesco*. From such a perspective we can understand that the *joviales* said "vengan más quixotadas" (III, 74, 32), that Felipe III commented, on hearing someone laughing uproariously, "aquel estudiante, o está fuera de sí, o lee la historia de Don Quijote,"¹⁸ and that Tamayo de Vargas described Cervantes, in a famous phrase usually quoted incompletely, as "ingenio, aunque lego, el más festivo [humorous] de España."¹⁹ Because it is more problematic, I will focus on the protagonist Don Quixote, deemphasizing the humor of Sancho, which has received much more critical attention.²⁰

The protagonist of a *libro de caballerías* was always young, handsome, and strong. Don Quixote is old and physically unattractive (I, 50, 1-3; II, 150, 15-

¹⁵ III, 60-62. In the mouth of Sancho, who claims to be an expert in questions and answers (III, 280, 20-25), are put questions which produce humor by the contrast with their inappropriate context. These include, for example, his inquiries about the manufacturer of Montesinos' *puñal* (III, 288, 30-289, 5), whether hermits have chickens (III, 305, 11-12), and whether soldiers cry "Santiago, y cierra España" because Spain is "abierta" (IV, 230, 1-6).

¹⁶ III, 38-40. See Donald McGrady, "The *Suspiros* of Sancho's Donkey," *MLN*, 88 (1973), 335-37. Other allusions to *suspiros* are found in the anecdote of the *perro hinchado* (III, 29, 16-20), and at IV, 71, 1-2.

¹⁷ Examples of involuntarily humorous contrasts in *comedias* are "un viejo valiente y un moço cobarde, un lacayo rectórico, un paje consejero, un rey ganapán y una princesa fregona" (II, 349, 15-17).

¹⁸ Mayáns was the first to incorporate this comment into Cervantine studies (*Vida*, p. 54). Its source has never been identified; Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Cervantes. A Memoir*, p. 113, n. 2, points out that it is not found in what is sometimes thought to have been Mayáns' source, Baltasar Porreño's *Dichos y hechos del Sr. D. Felipe III*.

¹⁹ Quoted by Américo Castro, *El pensamiento de Cervantes*, p. 121, n. 131. The original text in which this comment is found, Tamayo's *Junta de libros, la mayor que España ha visto en su lengua* (Biblioteca Nacional, MSS 9752-53), is still unpublished.

²⁰ Besides the article of Close cited in note 2, *supra*, there is Amado Alonso, "Las prevaricaciones idiomáticas de Sancho," *NRFH*, 2 (1948), 1-20; Charles Vincent Aubrun, "Sancho Panza, paysan pour de rire, paysan pour de vrai," *RCEH*, 1 (1976), 16-29; Monique Joly, "Ainsi parlait Sancho Pança," *Les Langues Néo-latines*, 69 (1975), 3-37; and other studies, which may be found in the bibliography of Flores, *Sancho Panza*, pp. 163-65.

16); he rides a horse which is not only old but "parecía de leño" (II, 290, 6).²¹ His helmet, made half of cardboard (I, 53, 29-30), is held on by ribbons, and he must drink through a straw when they can not be undone.²² Rather than skill in using the sword, he claims competence in making cages and toothpicks.²³ Instead of a king or emperor, an innkeeper arms him a knight, and his sword is put on him, not by a virgin, but by a prostitute.²⁴ Alonso Quixano foolishly believes that choosing new names for himself and his horse, lady, and friends is sufficient to make him a knight²⁵ or a shepherd.²⁶ Yet the name he chooses, Don Quixote de la Mancha, is undignified. The title of "don," which he does not deserve, is pretentious,²⁷ and "Quixote" uses a depreciative, funny-sounding suffix.²⁸ The final part of his name, however, is the funniest.

The knights of the *libros* were from foreign kingdoms, whether nearby (England, Gaul), or exotic (Thrace, Hircania). They traveled through colorful parts of the world, such as China, North Africa, and Asia. Often they visited

²¹ "Tengo un asno que vale dos veces más que el cavallo de mi amo" (III, 165, 10-11).

²² I, 65, 22-27. This was "materia de grande risa" (I, 65, 17).

²³ III, 97, 27-98, 2. Don Clavijo, seducer of Antonomasia, can also make birdcages, one of the *gracias* which are sufficient to "derribar una montaña, no que una delicada donzella" (IV, 13, 1-6).

²⁴ In Chapter 3 of Part I. The "buena señora" (I, 75, 12) is identified as a prostitute at I, 60, 16 and I, 61, 29-30.

²⁵ The attention the protagonist gives to names is exaggerated; that of Rozinante was chosen from "muchos nombres que formó, borró y quitó, añadió, deshizo y tornó a hazer en su memoria e imaginación" (I, 54, 29-32). On the choice of his own name he took "otros ocho días" (I, 55, 7).

²⁶ IV, 392, 11-12, where he calls the choosing of pastoral names "lo más principal de aquel negocio."

²⁷ III, 56, 15-20. It is thus ironic that the title "don" has entered the English language as a substantive (which it can not be in Spanish) in considerable part through the influence of *Don Quixote*, whose protagonist is today frequently called "the don" by writers who know the work only in English.

²⁸ As Leo Spitzer points out ("Linguistic Perspectivism in the *Don Quijote*," in *Linguistics and Literary History* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948], pp. 41-85, at p. 49; p. 148 of the translation, "Perspectivismo lingüístico en *El Quijote*," in *Lingüística y historia literaria*, trans. José Pérez Riesco, 2nd edition [Madrid: Gredos, 1961], pp. 135-87), Don Quixote believes his name is an honorable derivation of Lanzarote, but it actually is undignified; *-ote* is used as a humorous rhyme in Don Quixote's poem, I, 376, 3-28. For further discussion of the episode, see Luis Murillo, "Lanzarote and *Don Quijote*," in *Folio. Papers on Foreign Languages and Literatures*, No. 10. *Studies in the Literature of Spain. Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Michael J. Ruggiero (Brockport, New York: Department of Foreign Languages, State University of New York at Brockport, 1977), pp. 55-68, who provides references to early, less extensive discussions of this topic.

countries long associated in literature with chivalry, such as England and Greece. As discussed in Chapter 2, Cervantes saw Spain as a very appropriate setting for a *libro de caballerías*, but Don Quixote is both from and travels through one of its least attractive regions, the dry, sparsely-populated plain of La Mancha, source of his name. "La Mancha" is a constant joke in *Don Quixote*; thus all the references to its "anales" (I, 60, 3), "archivos" (I, 32, 13; II, 402, 5), and "ingenios" (I, 126, 13), the latter gathered in the humorously-named academy of La Argamasilla,²⁹ "lugar de la Mancha" (II, 402, 15-16). Don Quixote is famous "no sólo en España, pero en toda la Mancha" (II, 54, 22), and Dulzinea must be "la más bella criatura del orbe, y aun de toda la Mancha" (III, 398, 7-9; see also III, 159, 10-14). A *mancha* or stain was, of course, something a *caballero* should avoid at all cost.

The knights-errant of the *libros* were accompanied by respectful young aspirants to or admirers of chivalry. Don Quixote chooses, as "muy a propósito para el oficio escuderial de la cavallería" (I, 77, 15-16), a middle-aged, unhappily-married peasant,³⁰ comically mounted on a donkey,^{30a} who at the

²⁹ "Argamasa" is mortar. Cervantes used this term in comparisons to represent hardness: "más duro que si fuera hecho de argamassa" (I, 147, 6-7), "más dura que un pedaço de argamasa" ("La illustre fregona," II, 310, 25-26).

³⁰ Sancho's marriage to Teresa is far from ideal; "súfrala el mesmo Satanás," he says at III, 277, 15, after remarking that his wife "no es muy mala, pero no es muy buena." These comments come immediately after Don Quixote's speech on marriage, which produces an enthusiastic response from Sancho, and though it is not stated in the text, it is reasonable to infer a connection between Sancho's reaction and Don Quixote's final comment, "si la [mujer] traes mala, en trabajo te pondrá el emendarla Yo no digo que sea imposible, pero téngolo por dificultoso" (III, 276, 10-13). Neither Don Quixote (III, 356, 14; IV, 52, 18-27) nor Sancho (I, 113, 10-15; II, 399, 25) has much respect for Teresa, who does not want Sancho to be a man in his own house (III, 107, 14-16); if their daughter Sanchica turned out well, it was, in Sancho's opinion, "a pesar de su madre" (III, 165, 29-30).

Sancho is not usually very happy when he returns home (III, 80, 18-19), and Teresa has reason to worry that he will forget about her (III, 82, 21): when Sancho is working, he finds his wife easy to forget (IV, 369, 32-370, 1). The implication is that Teresa is not beautiful (III, 275, 15-16, and many similar statements). Actually she is not only "fuerte, tiessa, nerbuda y avellanada" (IV, 142, 30-31), but fat (IV, 340, 3), for which reason Sancho suggests for her the disparaging pastoral name of Teresona (IV, 340, 2); despite his claim to have "castos desseos" and to wish to avoid "casas ajenas" (IV, 340, 5-7), he is quite ready to give Altisidora what Don Quixote won't (IV, 370, 26-27), and he makes a chivalric declaration of desire to "serve" the duchess (III, 408, 17-26).

Teresa says bad things whenever "se le antoja" (III, 277, 13-14); she states that her heart was sad during her husband's absence, but what will make it happy are material things, and she thanks God that the *asno*, which she asks about first, returned in better condition than her husband (II, 398, 28-399, 14). Our glimpses

beginning is nothing but a fat, garrulous, ignorant, stupid, greedy glutton.

Don Quixote's concept of chivalry is an exaggeration of the already distorted knight-errantry of the *libros*. Deeds are means toward an amorous goal; he wants to be helpful, but especially to females; chivalry, in short, is to him service to women.³¹ This view, which has become the modern stereotype of chivalry, has reached modern culture through Don Quixote.³² No treatise on chivalry—there are no treatises on knight-errantry—supports such an interpretation, nor is it a proper reflection of the *libros de caballerías*.³³

of Teresa in Part II, in her correspondence (Chapter 52), during the visit of the *paje* (Chapter 50), and in the apocryphal Chapter 5 (III, 83, 29; III, 88, 28) confirm Sancho's description of her as greedy, as well as stubborn (III, 107, 7-12), and she is also vain. Satisfying her may well be one of Sancho's motives in leaving home on the promise of a governorship (see III, 73, 27-30), and thus wealth (II, 41, 19-31; III, 447, 1-3; IV, 372, 25-27; perhaps IV, 195, 21-23).

^{30a} "Asnalmente" (I, 111, 13-14).

³¹ I, 349, 15-18; II, 389, 26-390, 6; III, 105, 28-106, 1; III, 199, 7-10; III, 451, 3-7; III, 452, 12-16; burlesqued at I, 129, 2-13, in words that are echoed in the Golden Age speech. (Note also the burlesque activities of the innkeeper, I, 68, 25-28.) Somewhat more accurate statements of the duties of a *caballero andante* are found at III, 39, 1-24; III, 45, 11-14; III, 237, 7-10; IV, 169, 22-25; and IV, 204, 21-23 (burlesqued at II, 396, 30-31).

³² Just as the modern English proverb "chivalry [i.e., service to women] is dead" reflects the now-forgotten position that in *Don Quixote*, Cervantes had attacked and destroyed not just a type of chivalric literature, but chivalry (see Close, *Romantic Approach*, Chapter 3).

³³ The link created by Hearnshaw ("Chivalry and its Place in History," pp. 8-9) between the beginning of the crusades at the Council of Clermont and service to women verges on the bizarre; compare the treatment by Frederic Duncalf, "The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, I, 2nd edition (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin, 1969), 220-52.

In the most famous medieval treatise on chivalry, Lull's *Libro del orde de cavalleria*, "the function of the chivalric order was to supply the force needed to maintain the laws of God and man" (Painter, *French Chivalry*, p. 79). It is with God and laws that Alonso de Cartagena's *Doctrinal de los cavalleros* begins (Burgos: Friedrich Biel, 1487; HCS, 317), and in *Tirante el Blanco*, which includes much theoretical discussion of chivalry, it is described as having been founded so that "la justicia fuese tornada en su honra y prosperidad," and so that "Dios [fuese] amado, conocido y honrado" (Chapter 32). Protecting women was a part of these larger purposes.

Even in the Spanish *libros de caballerías*, chivalry does not mean service to women; those books were centered on men, as I have pointed out in *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 70-71, and "Cervantes and Tasso Reexamined." Diego Clemencín, who adopted Don Quixote's view as his own (see the introduction to his edition, pp. 990b-991a of the edition cited), has to pick and choose, and take quotations out of context, to support Don Quixote's position (Clemencín's note 19 to I, 11). As this

The women he most wants to serve, and be served by, are *doncellas* (virgins). Don Quixote is fascinated by the lasciviousness of some *libros de caballerías* which, especially those of his favorite Silva,³⁴ are full of *doncellas* who undress the knight (IV, 68, 16-31), bathe him nude (II, 372, 25-26), and

is an important point, let me explain how Clemencín has distorted the evidence. He starts off with a quotation from Feliciano de Silva, the most licentious author of those books and Don Quixote's favorite, but that quotation, saying knights should defend "dueñas y doncellas," comes from an interested party, not a disinterested narrator (as I once erroneously said). His quotation from *Tirante* comes only after an oath of service to the king (as Clemencín only gives the Italian chapter reference, it may be useful to note that it is found in Chapter 59 of the original).

Clemencín also cites as evidence the rules of the Caballeros de la Banda, included in Alonso de Cartagena's *Doctrinal de los cavalleros*. (I have used the text in the edition just cited above of Cartagena; a similar text, edited from manuscript by Georges Daumet, may be found in "L'Ordre castillan de l'écharpe (banda)," *BH*, 25 [1923], 5-32; also of potential use is Lorenzo Tadeo Villanueva, "Memoria sobre la orden de caballería de la banda de castilla," *BRAH*, 72 [1918], 436-65 and 552-74.) However, he fails to note that these rules occupy only a small section of the work, in which male friendship (fols. R5^v-8^v) is given a much more distinguished position. It is true that a knight of this organization was supposed to do three things, "guardar lealtad a su señor," "amar verdaderamente a quien oviese de amar especialmente aquel en quien posiere su entinçion," and "amar a si mesmo e preçiarle e tenerse por algo" (fols. Q7^v-Q8^r), but the second of these duties would seem to be directed toward marriage (see fol. R3^v); in the investiture ceremony, what the knight had to swear was that "en toda vuestra vida que seades en servicio del rrey o de alguno de sus fijos," and "que amedes a los cavalleros de la vanda" (fol. R1^r). The statement which Clemencín cites, "que el cavallero dela vanda deue ayudar alas dueñas e donzellas fijas dalgo," is given no more weight than directives that knights not play at dice, eat "manjares suzios," nor dress improperly (fol. Q8^v). It is a long way from Don Quixote's vision of chivalresque love.

Two of Clemencín's other examples are from Italian works, *Morgante* and *Leandro el Bel* (though the latter was not identified as Italian until 1920, by Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 302-09). And he has two quotations from the late continuation of *Belianis de Grecia*, and I can add a statement from the licentious Francisco Delicado's prologue to the Venice, 1533 edition of *Amadis* (the passage is reproduced by Adolfo de Castro, *Varias obras inéditas de Cervantes* [Madrid, 1874], pp. 436-37); Cervantes' access to this latter text is unlikely though not impossible.

From such a huge body of writing as are the *libros*, in which there is very extensive support for such a statement as the canon's "desaforados disparates" (see Clemencín's note 34 to Chapter 47 of Part I), this is a slender harvest.

³⁴ *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 82-84. Silva is of course declared Alonso Quixano's favorite author at I, 50, 22-24. Perhaps the lascivious of Silva's works is de-emphasized in *Don Quixote* so as to avoid attracting readers to them; Cervantes says, instead, that the works are impossible to understand.

turn themselves over to him "rendida[s] a todo su talante y voluntad" (II, 316, 21-22; also II, 389, 25-26). (Women's easy virtue was criticized by the canon as an example of the lack of verisimilitude of the *libros* [II, 342, 4-7], and I have already quoted—p. 175—the passage in which he attacks them for being "en los amores, lascivo[s].") Don Quixote inserts into the *romance* of Lanzarote, which to him is a lascivious story (I, 167, 28-168, 8) and one of his favorites, a gratuitous reference to *doncellas* waiting on the knight,³⁵ and in his description of the Golden Age, the most important element is that *doncellas* "andavan . . . por donde quiera" (I, 149, 12-14). When he really believes, "de todo en todo," that he is a knight-errant (III, 377, 11-15) is when *doncellas* wait on him at the *duques'* palace.³⁶ This is the fulfillment of his fantasies, which he has previously been able to satisfy only by imagining prostitutes to be *doncellas* (I, 61, 25-30). In the fantasy of the knight's life he tells to Sancho, the focus is on the king's daughter, a *doncella* (I, 291, 2); in that told to the canon the only people the knight comes in contact with are *doncellas*, who receive him, wait on him, sit down next to him. And all of them beautiful (II, 370, 22-373, 24). No wonder Don Quixote seems to chafe under his self-imposed obligation to Dulzinea.³⁷

It could be said in Don Quixote's defense that while his favorite author is the racy Silva, his favorite knight and guide for his conduct is the comparatively chaste Amadís.³⁸ Yet he further illustrates the misuse made of the *libros* by ignoring the fact that however belatedly, Amadís marries—Esplandián is his "hijo legítimo" (I, 96, 25)—and disavowing marriage as a goal.³⁹ The barber's burlesque prophecy, that Don Quixote and Dulzinea will be married and have children (II, 327, 14-27), he quickly forgets.

Don Quixote further burlesques the love found in *libros* by using no

³⁵ I, 64, 8; this change is discussed by Conchita Herdman Marianella, "*Dueñas*" and "*Doncellas*": A Study of the "*Doña Rodríguez*" Episode in "*Don Quixote*," University of North Carolina Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, 209 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1979), pp. 74-76. On the use of ballads in *Don Quixote*, see Luis Murillo, "*Lanzarote* and *Don Quijote*," and my article, "The *Romance* as Seen by Cervantes."

³⁶ III, 376, 30-377, 3; III, 380, 8-14; III, 382, 2-8.

³⁷ I, 213, 5-8; he forgets it at I, 294, 25-295, 29 and II, 55, 29-30.

³⁸ Even though Don Quixote says that Amadís was "grande amparador de las donzellas" (III, 93, 23), he still asks rhetorically "¿Quién más honesto . . . que el famoso Amadís de Gaula?" (III, 46, 13-15), and he uses him, much later, as a model to shield himself from "ocasiones que le moviessen o forçassen a perder el honesto decoro que a su señora Dulcinea guardava" (IV, 70, 26-30). Don Quixote's use of Amadís as a model is also stated at I, 55, 12-21; I, 351, 22-353, 30; I, 374, 15-375, 10; and II, 376, 5-11.

³⁹ III, 275, 29-31, though see the passages cited in note 37. This is "teniendo a raya los ímpetus de los naturales movimientos" (III, 61, 8-10), "pon[iendo] una muralla en medio de mis desseos y de mi honestidad" (IV, 68, 26-27).

judgment in his service to women. It does not matter to him what kind of woman he serves; the knight, according to Don Quixote, must serve all women, "qualesquiera que sean" (I, 349, 18).⁴⁰ Neither is it necessary that women ask him for help, as do Micomicona and the Countess Trifaldi. He will force his help on those who have no need of it, such as the "princesa" of Chapter 8 of Part I; after preventing the goatherds from following the misguided Marcela, who wants nothing to do with men, he follows her himself.⁴¹

Don Quixote also distorts the *libros de caballerías* by claiming that it was "forçoso" for a knight to have a lady;⁴² so that we realize he is wrong, the error of this view is pointed out to us in the book itself.⁴³ It is true that all the *protagonists*, and most secondary knights, eventually loved one or more ladies. Yet they were, if *enamorados*, in love with women of similar status. Alonso Quixano chooses to love a peasant girl, and devises for her a name as ridiculous as his own, "que no desdixesse mucho del suyo" (I, 56, 23); Dulzinea *del Toboso* is a fit partner for Don Quixote *de la Mancha*.⁴⁴ Although we are told at the beginning that Aldonça is "de muy buen parecer" (I, 56, 17-18), we soon learn that she has a loud voice, and smells and acts like a man (I, 363, 13-15 and 20-25; II, 66, 8). Presumably Sancho chooses as "Dulzinea" a "soez labradora,"⁴⁵ who as it turns out also smells and acts like a man (III, 138, 19-24; III, 139, 26-27), because of some resemblance.⁴⁶

Don Quixote outlines "dos cosas solas" which "incitan a amar más que

⁴⁰ Of course this is not true. Contrast, for example, the attitude of the Caballero del Febo; see Chapter 52 of Part I of the *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros*.

⁴¹ Marcela is discussed in the following chapter.

⁴² III, 390, 30-32; also I, 55, 26-28 and I, 172, 14-24.

⁴³ Galaor, Amadís' brother, "nunca tuvo dama señalada a quien pudiesse encomendarse, y con todo esto no fue tenido en menos" (I, 172, 28-30). Diego Clemencín, annotating this passage, could find in support of Don Quixote's claim only a rule from the Caballeros de la Banda (note 33, *supra*), but he has again misquoted even these literature-ish rules. What the text says is that "ningun cauallero de la banda estuuiese *en la corte* sin seruir a alguna dama" (italics mine); that marriage is, in these rules, a probable outcome has already been pointed out.

⁴⁴ "El Toboso, un lugar de la Mancha" (I, 173, 29-30). "Del Toboso" is emphasized in the versification in the same poem which uses *-ote* as a humorous rhyme (note 28, *supra*), an "añadidura" which "no causó poca risa" (I, 376, 31-32).

In Cervantes' day, "la mayor parte de la población [del Toboso] era de moriscos, y . . . no había nobles, caballeros ni hidalgos," according to a report of 1576 (cited by Diego Clemencín, note 38 to Chapter 32 of Part II). *Moriscos*, descendants of Spain's Islamic population, were the lowest social class in a religiously-defined society, even lower than the descendants of Jews (*infra*, note 164), for they were not only suspected of religious error, but also of lack of fidelity to the crown.

⁴⁵ IV, 251, 2; also III, 132, 23; III, 133, 10 and 17; III, 176, 29.

⁴⁶ Aldonça's family, the Corchuelos, are *labradores*; see I, 363, 14-15 and 22-23; I, 364, 5-7; II, 64, 11-66, 19; and even I, 130, 16-19.

otras, que son la mucha hermosura y la buena fama" (I, 366, 14-15). His choice of woman for idealization not only lacks the former, but much more disastrously lacks the other female attraction as well. The virtue of Aldonça Lorenço, whose name is itself vulgar,⁴⁷ is repeatedly questioned. The Caballero del Febo, in his introductory sonnet (I, 46, 10), starts the reader off on the right track when he points out that only because of Don Quixote could one say that Dulzinea was chaste. Sancho, who reminds us that "suelen andar los amores y los no buenos desseos por los campos como por las ciudades" (IV, 342, 1-3),⁴⁸ is surprisingly enthusiastic about the "nada melindrosa" Aldonça,⁴⁹ who "se burla" with everyone,⁵⁰ and he would like to go and see her right away, for he hasn't seen her for a while (I, 364, 3-4); this enthusiasm may well have something to do with his wife's jealousy, of which he complains.⁵¹ We are not intended to believe Don Quixote's claim that

⁴⁷ Howard Mancing, "The Comic Function of Chivalric Names in *Don Quijote*," p. 223; Agustín Redondo, "Del personaje de Aldonza Lorenzo al de Dulzinea del Toboso: Algunos aspectos de la invención cervantina," *ACer*, 21 (1983 [1984]), 9-22, at pp. 11-12. An Aldonça de Minjaca appears in *El juez de los divorcios*.

⁴⁸ In its context, the statement of Elicio has the same implication: "ay en la rústica vida nuestra tantos resbaladeros y trabajos, como se encierran en la cortesana vuestra" (*La Galatea*, II, 34, 24-26).

⁴⁹ I, 364, 3-4. *Melindre* was a style of behavior, "la afectada y demasiada delicadeza" (*Autoridades*), associated with standoffishness. Marcela is *melindrosa* (I, 161, 14-15); death, however, is not (III, 262, 6-7), nor is Galaor, Amadís' inconstant brother (I, 51, 30-31). Juan Palomeque's daughter does not understand why knights' ladies exhibit *melindre* instead of favoring their suitors (II, 82, 17-23).

⁵⁰ I, 363, 27-28. This word had a sexual meaning: see *Don Quixote*, I, 305, 27-30; IV, 119, 22 and 28; IV, 217, 2; "La gitanilla," I, 54, 25-28; "La señora Cornelia," III, 126, 24-28; the *Cancionero de obras de burlas*; *El burlador de Sevilla*; *Comedia llamada Serafina*, ed. Glen F. Dille (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), p. 58, l. 1697; *Comedia Florinea*, ed. Menéndez Pelayo in *Orígenes de la novela*, NBAE, 1, 7, 14, and 21, (Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1905-15), III, 200b. The link between the sexual meaning and the ones discussed in the previous chapter is that a credulous woman could be seduced (*burlada*) if given a false (*de burlas*) promise of marriage.

⁵¹ III, 277, 13-15; III, 321, 9-11. Sancho, like Maritornes and Juan Palomeque's daughter (II, 81, 24-82, 23), "gust[a] mucho destas cosas de amores" (I, 321, 20), and his endorsement of the marriage of Clavijo and the pregnant Antonomasia (IV, 17, 22-26) contains a hint that the approval is of their sexual indulgence. Don Quixote himself suggests that Sancho is *mujeriego*: "No te muestres, aunque por ventura lo seas—lo cual yo no creo—, codicioso, mugeriego ni glotón" (IV, 160, 24-26); although Don Quixote says that he does not believe it, Sancho has shown himself to be *codicioso* and *glotón*, which Don Quixote does not believe either. What he is emphasizing is that Sancho should not *show* himself to be these things; as he says elsewhere, "menos mal haze el hipócrita que se finge bueno que el público pecador" (III, 305, 23-25; see also III, 276, 5-8 and IV, 284, 26-29).

Aldonça's parents have brought her up, like Marcela (I, 160, 3-4), with "recato y encerramiento" (I, 363, 4-6); Sancho tells us that she appears in the most visible place in the town, the bell tower, and broadcasts her desires over half a league (I, 363, 20-25).

Don Quixote himself confirms Aldonça's failures in this basic area. He compares his love for her with that of the merry widow for an "hombre soez, baxo e idiota" (I, 365, 3-25; adapted), ridiculously praises, along with the visible parts of her body, her private parts,⁵² says it is enough for him to *think* she is *honest* (I, 366, 7-9), and is ready to swear she "está hoy como la madre que la parió."⁵³ His qualification does not remove the impact of his comparison of her with the two women who, for Golden Age Spaniards, were after Eve the worst women of all time: Helen, whose adultery caused the Trojan war, and La Cava, through whose sexual misconduct Spain was lost to the Moors.⁵⁴ In this way El Toboso will be famous because of Dulzinea (III, 404, 18-25).

⁵² I, 174, 8-12. For his knowledge of her private parts, see note 56.

⁵³ I.E., that she was as much a virgin as her mother was, I, 374, 10-11; confirmed by I, 129, 9-14: "donzella huvo en los passados tiempos que . . . se fue tan entera a la sepultura como la madre que la avía parido." The vulgar but "master" form, seldom seen in writing, is used by Sancho (II, 180, 22), and by a *capellán* in "Rinconete y Cortadillo" (I, 236, 3): "la puta que (me) parió" ("la mala puta que los parió," *El retablo de las maravillas, Comedias y entremeses*, IV, 122, 10). The choleric Don Quixote uses "la muy hideputa puta que os parió" (II, 390, 27).

⁵⁴ "La Cava" in Arabic meant "mujer mala" (II, 252, 8-14); i.e., *puta* (my thanks to the orientalist Julio Cortés for confirming this). Even though Rodrigo, the Christian king, was mostly to blame for what happened, and according to Mariana (I, 179) "le hizo fuerza," other sources held La Cava to be far from innocent. The well-known ballad "En Ceuta está don Julián" blames her rather than Rodrigo, and in the chivalresque *Crónica sarracina* of Pedro del Corral it is noted that "si ella quisiera dar bozes, que bien fuera oída de la reina, mas callóse con lo que el rey quiso fazer" (ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas. Rodrigo, el último godo*, I, 219).

In contrast with Homer, in whose works Helen is ambiguous (Kenneth John Atchity, *Homer's "Iliad": The Shield of Memory* [Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978], pp. 22-29), in the later Classical and medieval tradition Helen is far from guiltless in the destruction of Troy; see *The Trojan War. The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*, trans. R. M. Frazer, Jr. (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1966), pp. 28 and 141. In Joaquín Romero de Cepeda's *La antigua, memorable y sangrienta destrucción de Troya . . . A imitación de Dares, troyano, y Dictis, cretense griego* (Toledo: Pero López de Haro, 1583), p. 90, Helen, though married to Menelaus, "oyendo dezir de la gran hermosura y majestad del infante Paris vino . . . al templo de Venus por velle, adonde Paris se enamoró della, y ella dél, y finalmente la llevó consigo, y se casó con ella, por cuya causa sucedió después la miserable destrucción de Troya, que esta historia trata" (fol. 90^{r-v}); she later makes an official statement that she wishes to remain with Paris rather than return to Greece (fol. 94^v). Juan de

Don Juan asks Don Quixote the most offensive question a lover could be asked, whether his lady was "parida,"⁵⁵ "preñada," or "en su entereza" (IV, 250, 26-27). Yet we cannot dismiss this comment with the explanation that Don Juan has read Avellaneda's book. Sancho tells us that Aldonça has "çagales" (I, 363, 22). These are not her employees (they would be her father's employees, if that was what they were), and the pastoral overtones of the word "çagales" confirm that they are her lovers. Only one type of woman, in Golden Age Spain, had multiple lovers; thus Sancho's surprise upon learning that Dulzinea, "Emperatriz de la Mancha" (I, 84, 5-6), is really Aldonça. Don Quixote's hilarious choice for a woman to adore, "de quien él un tiempo anduvo enamorado" (I, 56, 18), whom Sancho knows well (I, 363, 13), but Don Quixote has never spoken to,⁵⁶ is, in Avellaneda's term, "una . . .," even "una grandíssima . . ." (I, 47, 5).⁵⁷

Although he believes that all single women are interested in him, and seems to take great pleasure in "rejecting" them, in reality Don Quixote's

Mena's version of the *Ilias latina*, *La Yliada en romance*, printed in 1519, is even more colorful. Helen says, with "grandes lloros," the following to her lover Paris: "¿Veniste, Paris, llama de mis amores, sobrepujado y vencido de las armas de mi marido, el antiguo? La qual pelea de los muros yo vi, et avergonçéme averlo visto como te oviesse derribado el violente Menelao, ensuziando et trayendo por el ylico polvo las tus crines y cabellos. Allí temí yo, mezquina, que la dórica espada de Menelao apartasse los nuestros dulces besos; entonces todo el color fuyera de la mi cara, la voluntad a mí dexada, et la mi sangre desamparó los mis miembros" (ed. Martín de Riquer [Barcelona: Selecciones Bibliófilas, 1949], pp. 95 and 97). Much the same can be found in the *Crónica troyana*; see the Libro tercero, Chapters 13-14 (fol. 32^{r-v} of the edition of Jacome Cromberger, Seville, 1552, in HCS, 65).

⁵⁵ Even Lazarillo's wife, in the seventh *tratado*, is greatly disturbed at the accusation that she had "parido tres veces." (What happened to those children? Were they killed or abandoned? This is what is implied by the fact that they are no longer "around," and thus the subject of gossip.)

⁵⁶ I, 362, 31-363, 4; III, 124, 26-28; also I, 56, 17-20. In the first of these passages Don Quixote says that he has seen her four times, but only once did she realize he was looking at her; apparently this one time when she noticed was the final one, ending this activity. In the second passage he claims he has never seen her at all. I believe the first one has more claim to being correct, because the second is combined with Don Quixote's false—obviously false—statement that he has spoken of this to Sancho "mil veces." It is unpleasant indeed to consider how it was that Aldonça did not realize that Alonso Quixano was looking at her. The most logical interpretation is that he was spying on her; she believed no one was looking at her, or thought she was in a place where there was no one nearby. If she stopped Don Quixote (also see I, 59, 14-17), she did not want to be observed.

⁵⁷ The missing word is "puta." It did not necessarily, and in the case of Aldonça surely did not, mean a woman who charged for her favors, but rather "la muger ruin que se da a muchos" (*Autoridades*); Covarrubias gives "la ramera o ruin muger."

other contacts with women are no more successful. The first woman ever to touch his hand (II, 285, 28-29) leaves him tied by the wrist (II, 286, 6-9); another discusses his *caspa* in verse (IV, 75, 16). Even with Maritornes, so repulsive that she would make anyone but a muledriver vomit (I, 212, 20-21), Don Quixote has to seize her and not let her go. It is thus scarcely surprising that *honestidad* is his leading virtue (IV, 69, 5-7), nor that he was "el más casto enamorado . . . que de muchos años a esta parte se vio" (I, 38, 20-22); "al cabo de mis años," he reflects to himself, "nunca he tropezado" (IV, 114, 4-5). He turns his failure into a virtue with a further distortion, which has come into English culture from *Don Quixote*: that his necessarily chaste love is Platonic.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ "No soy de los enamorados viciosos, sino de los platónicos continentales" (III, 390, 32-391, 1; also I, 362, 27-29; echoed by Sansón at III, 62, 30-31).

The identification of Platonic love with non-sexual love is unknown prior to these statements. Otis Green, expert on love in Renaissance Spain, has pointed out that Don Quixote's chaste love, which does not "estenderse a más que a un honesto mirar" (I, 362, 29-30), "sin que se estiendan más sus pensamientos que a servilla" (II, 72, 12-13), is not the Platonic lover but the medieval courtly lover (see *Spain and the Western Tradition*, I [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963; 2nd printing, 1968], p. 186, n. 96 and p. 194; also see José Filguera Valverde, "Don Quijote y el amor trovadoresco," *RFE*, 32 [1948], 493-519).

The most likely printed source for Cervantes' knowledge of Platonic love is Herrera's *Anotaciones* to Garcilaso (ed. Antonio Gallego Morell, in *Garcilaso de la Vega y sus comentaristas*, 2nd ed. [Madrid: Gredos, 1972], p. 329), in which, to be sure, non-sexual love is the highest of three types of Platonic love, but not itself equated with Platonic love. However, Cervantes evidently read more than one writer on the topic (see Geoffrey Stagg, "Plagiarism in *La Galatea*," *Filologia Romanza*, 6 [1959], 255-76), and the nature of love was, then as now, the subject of considerable debate and even confusion; contrasting views (though not Don Quixote's) were attributed to Plato. Ficino coined the term; for his interpretation, see Jerome Schwartz, "Aspects of Androgyny in the Renaissance," in *Human Sexuality in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Douglas Radcliff-Umstead, University of Pittsburgh Publications on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 4 (Pittsburgh: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1978), pp. 121-31, and Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, revised and enlarged edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), especially Chapter 4; also helpful may be Chapter 6 of J. R. Woodhouse's *Baldesar Castiglione* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1978). For the sixteenth-century writers on love which Cervantes used, Bembo, Mario Equicola, and León Hebreo, the somewhat outdated survey of Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1935), Chapter 6; for a twentieth-century attempt to understand Plato's view on love, see Hans Kelsen, "Die platonische Liebe," *Imago*, 19 (1933), 34-98 and 225-55; translated by George B. Wilbur, "Platonic Love," *American Imago*, 3 (1942), 3-110; see also the comment of C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (1936; rpt. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 5. However, especially recommended to the reader interested in the matter is the beautiful Spanish translation by the Inca Garcilaso of a work which will repay study, León Hebreo's

There are many other ways in which Don Quixote makes a shambles of and burlesques literary knight-errantry and its followers. Insanely following what he has read in his books, he illustrates one of the features of literary chivalry of which Cervantes most disapproved: he will only fight with those he believes also to be knights, in accord with what even he calls "las leyes del maldito duelo."⁵⁹ Mocked is his establishment of *caballeros* as a separate class

Diálogos de amor (ed. P. Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María. S.I., in *Obras completas del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*, BAE, 132-35 [Madrid: Atlas, 1965], Vol. I).

A somewhat different though important question is Cervantes' position on chaste love. There are hints that as a theoretical ideal, he saw chastity as preferable to physical love and marriage. It is suggested, for example, by the caution of such a wise character as Preciosa: "*si la virginidad se ha de inclinar*, ha de ser a este santo yugo, que entonces no sería perderla, sino emplearla en ferias que felices ganancias prometen" ("La gitanilla," I, 57, 7-10). The allegedly Platonic love of Tomás for Costança, "limpio" and not "vulgar," "que no se estiende a más que a servir y a procurar que ella me quiera, pagándome con honesta voluntad lo que a la mía, también honesta, se deve" ("La illustre fregona," II, 301, 11-302, 7), does not exclude marriage as an outcome, although only the marriage of his less refined friend Carriazo produces offspring (II, 352, 23-26). Statements in *La Galatea* and near the end of the *Persiles* unsurprisingly declare that the supreme pleasure in this life comes from the joining of souls. ("Como sea hazaña de tanta dificultad reducir una voluntad agena a que sea una propia con la mía, y juntar dos diferentes almas en tan [in]dissoluble ñudo y estrechez que de las dos sean uno los pensamientos y una todas las obras, no es mucho que, por conseguir tan alta empresa, se padezca más que por otra cosa alguna, pues, después de conseguida, satisfaze y alegra sobre todas las que en esta vida se dessean" [*La Galatea*, II, 68, 8-17]; "ha gozarse dos almas que son una . . . no ay contentos con que igualarse" [*Persiles*, II, 204, 10-12].)

One can infer in Cervantes a late rejection of sexuality, considering the disappointing outcome of his own marriage, both in an emotional and a reproductive sense. (See, with some reservations, W. Rozenblat, "¿Por qué escribió Cervantes *El juez de los divorcios?*," *ACer*, 12 [1973], 129-35.) However, at least at the time of composition of *La Galatea* and his marriage Cervantes believed that given our fallen state and brief lives (see *La Galatea*, II, 61, 20-62, 17), love for a woman was intended by God to progress to marriage, sexual union, and reproduction; for it to stop short of marriage and remain non-sexual would thus constitute an error. The heirarchy of "loves" of Herrera should be compared with that of Tirsi (*La Galatea*, II, 61, 1-18), where we find "amor deleitable" treated much more kindly (as is also implied at *Parnaso*, 60, 25-27). The rejection of sexuality, and acceptance of the non-sexual role that society and the church designated for an old person, seems to have been quite painful and reluctant. (See, for example, the emotion in Don Quixote's rejection of the duchess' *doncellas*, and the threat he feels they represent [IV, 68, 16-31], or the objections to certain verses, as at IV, 13, 27-14, 8. As cited in note 39, *supra*, sexual desire is a "natural movimiento.")

⁵⁹ III, 393, 27-28; also I, 200, 32-201, 13; I, 231, 22-23; III, 92, 1-8; III, 348, 11-12.

of people.⁶⁰ The attack is at its broadest when he refuses to help someone attacked by "gente escuderial" (II, 299, 6), the innkeeper Juan Palomeque (Chapter 44 of Part I).

The protagonists of the *libros de caballerías*, however, saw combat as a last resort; Amadís, Don Quixote's model, was "tardo en airarse y presto en deponer la ira" (III, 48, 18-19). Necessary combat was for purposes similar to those Don Quixote outlines in the speech on arms and letters (II, 198, 8-11) and in that delivered to the *rebuznadores* (III, 346, 26-347, 8): to restore queens to their thrones, help kings repel invaders, eliminate menaces to the public order. The knights' services were often requested by rulers in need of help.

By the end of the sixteenth century Spain, and especially Castile, was "tierra . . . pacífica" (I, 166, 29-

30).⁶¹ The *cautivo*, Cervantes himself, and Fernando de Saavedra, the *gallardo español* in the play which opens the *Ocho comedias*, quite properly undertake chivalric activities of national significance outside the peninsula. Don Quixote, however, never considers such an enterprise.⁶² Remaining in Spain, he must thus seek occasions for combat, and force innocent people to fight. Eager to "meter las manos hasta los codos en esto que llaman aventuras" (I, 119, 18-20), he attacks armies of sheep, bothers merchants going peacefully about their business, and sets criminals free, as a result of which he must flee the "Santa Hermandad" (I, 316, 15-318, 2). In his mad lust for glory, he also attacks windmills, wineskins, and puppets. His mock-chivalric activities are far from harmless; he leaves one character with a broken leg (I, 253, 21), another wounded (I, 311, 19), and an *harriero* with his head "en quatro pedaços" (I, 72, 24-26; adapted). Andrés specifically asks Don Quixote not to complicate his life with any more help (II, 77, 25-32).

Literary knights were fearless. Don Quixote is frightened by the noise of

⁶⁰ I, 78, 22-81, 17; I, 124, 1-3; I, 119, 20-28; III, 392, 31-394, 9. On one occasion he ridiculously offers to help Sancho with "vozes y advertimientos saludables," if he wants to seek the unchivalric goal of vengeance against "quien no fuere armado cavallero" (III, 150, 25-31), and after the *manteamiento* he stated that were it not for his "enchantment," "yo te hiziera vengado . . . aunque en ello supiera contravenir a las leyes de la cavallería, que, como ya muchas vezes te he dicho, no consienten que cavallero ponga mano contra quien no lo sea, si no fuere en defensa de su propria vida y persona, en caso de urgente y gran necessidad" (I, 231, 19-27). Before he is "armed" by the innkeeper, Don Quixote will only fight with those he believes not to be *caballeros* (I, 73, 15-24).

⁶¹ Cervantes consistently portrays rural Spain as peaceful and contented; the only uncorrected disturbances are Catalan bandits, and, along the coast, danger from Moorish raiders.

⁶² His allusion to the possibility of using *caballeros andantes* to defeat the Turk (III, 39, 1-24) is a recommendation to the King, not a plan for himself. It is obviously burlesque, as is his thought, immediately before his defeat by the Cavallero de la Blanca Luna, that he could rescue Gaspar Gregorio from Algiers (IV, 313, 12-29).

water-powered machinery (I, 275, 28-30), and the text strongly suggests that not only is he afraid of the Santa Hermandad, he lies about his fear (I, 316, 23-317, 15); the narrator calls him cowardly when he does not help Juan Palomeque (II, 299, 13). He leaves Sancho in danger when he runs from the *rebuznadores* (III, 349, 11-17; III, 350, 7-11).

Knights (III, 229, 20-25), and even goatherds (I, 154, 9-14), could make healing medicines from common substances. That of the goatherd works (I, 164, 2-4), but the medicine Don Quixote makes causes him to vomit and gives Sancho diarrhea (I, 222, 23-224, 11).

Like the *cautivo*, *caballeros andantes* were modest and did not seek, but rather avoided, glory; like soldiers, they achieved it through manly exploits. Don Quixote wants his fame to live on forever,⁶³ wants this fame quickly and easily,⁶⁴ and is boastful.⁶⁵ While knights often concealed their identities,⁶⁶ Don Quixote announces his to those who do not ask about it;⁶⁷ the narrator tells us that he was "vanaglorioso."⁶⁸

Knights stayed in castles. Don Quixote sleeps in inns, and does not pay his bill. He steals a barber's basin, puts it on his head, and claims it is a famous helmet. He lets Sancho take the barber's better saddle.

This action needs a bit of commentary, because it is at this point that Don

⁶³ I, 53, 14-15; I, 351, 4-5; II, 200, 3-32; II, 337, 6-17; III, 116, 18-117, 14; III, 390, 9-14; III, 400, 2-7; IV, 339, 5-8.

⁶⁴ On just one day, that on which he sees the *rebaños*, Don Quixote expects to "hazer obras que queden escritas en el libro de la fama por todos los venideros siglos" (I, 234, 12-14). He wants to get fame with "una hazaña," which he can do with "comodidad," avoiding "peligro" and "locuras de daño" (I, 351, 4-11; I, 353, 5 and 29). To "ahorrar caminos y trabajos para llegar a la inaccesible cumbre del templo de la fama," follow "la estrechissima [senda] de la andante cavallería, bastante para hazerle emperador en daca las pajas" (III, 236, 27-237, 2); with only "dos dedos de ventura, está en potencia propinqua [el cavallero andante] de ser el mayor señor del mundo" (IV, 18, 11-13).

⁶⁵ "Bien te puedes llamar dichosa sobre quantas oy viven en la tierra . . . pues te cupo en suerte tener sujeto y rendido a toda tu voluntad e talante a un tan valiente y tan nombrado cavallero como lo es y será don Quixote de la Mancha. El qual, como todo el mundo sabe, ayer rescibió la orden de cavallería, y oy ha desfecho el mayor tuerto y agravio que formó la sinrazón y cometió la crueldad" (I, 82, 25-83, 2; other boastful passages, II, 191, 16-17; II, 285, 26-286, 4; and III, 390, 28-30). Don Quixote in Part I is quite frustrated by the fact that his "deeds" are not adequately appreciated by the world, and he can not relax and enjoy the fame he feels he is due.

⁶⁶ As does Gaiferos, III, 330, 18-26. Don Quixote, though aware of the need for anonymity (I, 64, 12-17), is able to assume it only once, in a quite chivalric speech: III, 176, 9-13.

⁶⁷ I, 64, 10-17; I, 81, 11-15; I, 123, 10-14; III, 199, 18; IV, 235, 6-9.

⁶⁸ III, 190, 4. On *vanagloria*, which Diego de Miranda avoids (III, 202, 1-5), see "Coloquio de los perros," III, 170, 26-171, 7.

Quixote proclaims his honesty (I, 287, 15-21), a claim which is in conflict with both his actions and his words. A knight was expected to adhere to such high moral standards that he could never lie ("las órdenes de cavallería . . . nos mandan que no digamos mentira alguna," I, 360, 5-7); even to mention lying was a challenge to a duel.⁶⁹ Don Quixote's standards, however, are somewhat lower. In the opening chapter we are told that "sobre todos [los caballeros andantes literarios] estava bien con Reinaldos de Montalbán, y más quando le veía salir de su castillo, y robar quantos topava" (I, 52, 27-30). Not long afterwards he says he *is* this unvirtuous French knight (I, 107, 16-17), "más ladrón . . . que Caco" (I, 98, 25), "amigo de ladrones y gente perdida" (III, 49, 30-31).⁷⁰ Don Quixote has distorted the purpose of knight-errantry, let alone chivalry, when he sees it as a means of acquiring material things.⁷¹ Knights-errant came to acquire territory, and reward their squires, through inheritance, and very secondarily through marriage;⁷² combat for material gain is the very antithesis of chivalry.⁷³

Don Quixote's enthusiasm for criminals is thus a hilarious distortion of

⁶⁹ This reflects the medieval use of the duel, burlesqued in the combat with Tosilos, as a means of determining which of two disputing parties is telling the truth; God was presumed to help the more deserving combatant (see IV, 213, 31-32). Lying is repeatedly used as a challenge in *Don Quixote*: I, 79, 9-14; I, 124, 5-6; I, 317, 1-5; I, 345, 11-17; I, 349, 30-32; II, 49, 27-29; II, 302, 4; II, 305, 9-12; II, 310, 4; III, 175, 9-11; IV, 248, 12-13; see also "Rinconete y Cortadillo," I, 296, 4-8, and on the custom, "The *Mentita*," Chapter 4 (pp. 55-72) of Frederick Robertson Bryson, *The Point of Honor in Sixteenth-Century Italy: An Aspect of the Life of the Gentleman* (New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies [of] Columbia University, 1935). Don Quixote's opposition to lying is noted at III, 297, 4; III, 302, 19-23; III, 383, 24-25; and IV, 18, 5-6; we have already seen, however (p. 233), that in Part I there is a strong suggestion that he lied.

⁷⁰ Reinaldos de Montalbán was, like Bernardo del Carpio, an opponent of Roland, but he was the "bad" opponent while Bernardo was the virtuous one (see I, 107, 13-19). Reinaldos is found in a variety of literature dealing with the *materia de Francia*, among it the poems of Boiardo and Ariosto, the *Espejo de cavallerías*, and *La Trapesonda*, the *Libro de Don Renaldos*. In the latter book he ends up as reformed; in *Espejo de cavallerías*, I, Chapter 46, Reinaldos explains that he only robbed non-Christians, to feed his army.

⁷¹ I, 110, 23-25; I, 111, 16-19; I, 112, 27-30; I, 287, 20-21; II, 374, 1-9 and 17-18; IV, 18, 11-13. Just as he quickly wanted fame, Don Quixote similarly expects riches to arrive expeditiously: "en quítame allá essas pajas" (I, 110, 24); "antes de seis días" (I, 112, 27); "en pocos días" (II, 374, 9); "presto" (II, 374, 17).

⁷² It is through marriage that the knight in one of Don Quixote's fantasies becomes a king, and rewards a squire (I, 294, 2-4). Don Quixote, of course, does not pursue this approach.

⁷³ Don Quixote in fact confirms this: "Nunca yo acostumbro . . . despojar a los que venço, ni es uso de cavallería quitarles los cavallos y dexarlos a pie" (I, 287, 15-17).

the rules of knighthood. Besides the *galeotes*, whom he befriends, he finds a kindred spirit in Roque Guinart, a "ladrón conocido" (IV, 272, 27), sought by the King's viceroy.⁷⁴ With him, caught up by his chivalresque "nueva manera de vida"⁷⁵ and impressed by Roque's achievement of fame (IV, 260, 6-8) and by his "buenas y concertadas razones" and "buen discurso" (IV, 269, 7 and 10), Don Quixote fails to apply his own principle that *cada uno es hijo de sus obras*.⁷⁶ Roque's *obras* are not in harmony with his words; besides stealing, he kills before Don Quixote's eyes (IV, 273, 3), and is not content with seeking vengeance himself, but takes others' vengeances for his own.⁷⁷ With him Don Quixote could stay three hundred years (IV, 274, 7-9).

Another source of humor, as well as *admiración*, are Don Quixote's sophistical arguments and explanations. The nature of the barber's basin he presents as if it were a matter of taste: "esso que a ti te parece bazia de barbero me parece a mí el yelmo de Mambrino, y a otro le parecerá otra cosa" (I, 356, 6-8). If he is in a cage on an oxcart, and this could not be an enchantment, "podría ser que con el tiempo se huviessen mudado [los encantamientos] de unos en otros" (II, 358, 21-23). Believing he is sane, he claims that it is much more virtuous, "la fineza de mi negocio," to act crazily without any cause: "bolverse loco un cavallero andante con causa, ni grado ni gracias; el toque está desatinar sin ocasión" (I, 354, 9-12). And thus we find him standing on his head, with his clothes falling down, "descubriendo [to use Cervantes' *palabras honestas*] cosas, que, por no verlas otra vez, bolvió Sancho la rienda a Rozinante" (I, 372, 11-13).

Are these not "las [más] estrañas locuras que buenamente imaginarse pueden" (I, 210, 31-32), the "mayores que pueden imaginarse" (III, 128, 10)? Are they not sufficient to give "gusto general a todo el mundo" (IV, 273, 26-27; also IV, 22, 17-18)? Is he not, with his cardboard helmet, drinking through a straw, "la más graciosa y estraña figura que se pudiera pensar" (I,

⁷⁴ IV, 274, 19-20. Although Roque Guinart is presented in *La cueva de Salamanca* (*Comedias y entremeses*, IV, 129, 26-32) as less avaricious than his men, in *Don Quixote* his *liberalidad* is not presented very favorably (IV, 271, 20-23; IV, 272, 2-3).

⁷⁵ IV, 268, 17. The *libros de caballerías* also presented a "nuevo modo de vida" (*supra*, p. 28).

⁷⁶ I, 80, 27; III, 401, 23; similarly, III, 222, 3-4. This view is expressed by others in II, 339, 32, and *Persiles*, I, 33, 30-31. The precedence of actions over words is also stated at III, 325, 29-30; IV, 289, 3-12; and "La gitanilla," I, 56, 18-19.

⁷⁷ IV, 269, 1-2; this is why he, like Don Quixote, is ready to help the misguided Claudia Jerónima, whose self-inflicted disaster demonstrates the error of vengeance, which Cervantes repeatedly attacks (I, 286, 18-20, though compare 25-29; II, 218, 4-5; III, 150, 32-151, 2; III, 347, 11-27; "Coloquio de los perros," III, 241, 10-13). Don Quixote on other occasions is also ready to undertake vengeances (I, 195, 5-8; I, 231, 18-21; I, 254, 18-21), which he associates with the behavior of Reinaldos de Montalbán (I, 107, 16-22), and he declines to obtain it for the *ruzio* only because the offenders are not *caballeros* (III, 150, 25-31).

63, 30-31)? One could open the book at random, Cervantes believed, and find something funny (I, 130, 7-9).

Not only is Don Quixote a burlesque hero, his history is a burlesque book. The fictional "authors" of the stories of knights, the Spanish *libros de caballerías*, were wise men, Christians or sympathetic to Christianity. The manuscripts had been carefully and honorably preserved.⁷⁸ Don Quixote's story is told by a dog of an author (I, 133, 4-5; also III, 67, 25), a Moor, a fact which saddens him when he learns it, for "de los moros no se podía esperar verdad alguna; porque todos son embebecadores, falsarios y quimeristas" (III, 60, 28-61, 1). This Moor is an incompetent narrator, who repeatedly supplies unnecessary details.⁷⁹ His history is discovered for sale as waste paper (I, 129, 26-27). Other texts about *Don Quixote* are discovered in a leaden, rather than golden, box (II, 401, 21).

Don Quixote is afraid that his Moorish historian might be guilty of including "alguna indecencia" which might reflect on "la honestidad de su señora Dulcinea" (III, 61, 2-5). We have already seen how Aldonça/Dulcinea was handled, but there is much other offensive material. In Don Quixote's history there are abundant references to the body, of which there is a long tradition in humor.⁸⁰ In *Don Quixote* people smell,⁸¹ as do the animals.⁸² They have bugs.⁸³ They urinate⁸⁴ and defecate.⁸⁵ Women menstruate, or rather, enchanted women fail to do so (III, 294, 6-10), just as the enchanted do not relieve themselves (III, 296, 13-14). Unmarried women who are not *honestas* get pregnant,⁸⁶ the logical result of the lust which is resisted by neither the animals⁸⁷ nor some less refined characters.⁸⁸ Sancho's donkey crepitates, and this is interpreted by its owner and his master as a good omen.⁸⁹

Need I add that the inclusion of such material in a *libro de caballerías*, in whose noble world it is never found, is extremely funny?

Now, this is the burlesque protagonist of a burlesque work, and ignores

⁷⁸ As the works of Homer were and *Palmerín de Inglaterra* should be (I, 100, 3-7). See *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 84 and 124-29.

⁷⁹ See note 82 to Chapter 3.

⁸⁰ See "Scatology in Continental Satirical Writings from Aristophanes to Rabelais," Chapter 1 of Jae Num Lee's *Swift and Scatological Satire* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971).

⁸¹ I, 212, 8-10; I, 273, 1-2; II, 66, 8-19; III, 139, 26.

⁸² I, 194, 19; II, 290, 3-7; III, 178, 1.

⁸³ III, 363, 20-22.

⁸⁴ IV, 69, 10-13; IV, 174, 22-23; see also I, 305, 18-19.

⁸⁵ I, 224, 1-5; I, 271, 23-273, 2; II, 357, 7-22.

⁸⁶ IV, 16, 1; IV, 176, 12; the implication of IV, 250, 25-26.

⁸⁷ I, 194, 17-18; II, 290, 1-8; see III, 197, 20-22.

⁸⁸ I, 209, 6-14; IV, 86, 1-2.

⁸⁹ III, 110, 21-27. See the references in note 16 to this chapter.

Don Quixote's positive side. It emphasizes Don Quixote as he is in Part I, which I have cited more often than Part II.

The *Don Quixote* of the seventeenth century, and of Cervantes himself, was primarily Part I. The readers of that time had an experience unavailable to us: ten years with only Part I, whose division into four separately-numbered parts, removed in all modern editions, reinforced the feeling that it was a whole work rather than a part of a larger one. These early readers did not know that there would be a continuation, for the promise of one at the end of Part I was conventional and meant almost nothing.

During the ten years separating publication of Part I and Part II *Don Quixote* had become part of Spanish culture.⁹⁰ It had inspired Salas Barbadillo's *Caballero puntual* and the *Entremés de los romances*,⁹¹ as well as Avellaneda's continuation, and had been dramatized by Guillén de Castro.⁹² Both Don

⁹⁰ For surveys of *Don Quixote's* early influence in Spain, see the article of Alberto Navarro González, "El ingenioso Don Quijote en la España del siglo XVII," *ACer*, 6 (1957), 1-48, reprinted in his *El Quijote español del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Rialp, 1964), pp. 255-321, the dissertation of Quilter, and Russell's "Funny Book." The latter is to a considerable extent a refutation of Navarro's thesis, that Don Quixote was seen in seventeenth-century Spain as something more than a ridiculous figure; see also the review of Navarro's book by Juan Bautista Avalu-Arce, *HR*, 36 (1968), 66-68. (In a lengthy footnote, Navarro has responded to unnamed critics of that article; it is found in "El elemento didáctico en *El Persiles* de Cervantes," *Actas del I Simposio de literatura española*, ed. Alberto Navarro González, Acta Salmanticensia, Filosofía y Letras, 125 [Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1981], pp. 279-307, at p. 280, n. 1.)

⁹¹ Luis Murillo, using data from Asensio's study of the genre, has established more convincingly than before that contrary to Menéndez Pidal, the *Entremés* is subsequent to *Don Quixote*, Part I ("Cervantes y el *Entremés de los romances*," a paper presented at the Octavo Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas, to be published in the *Actas* of that congress; meanwhile, see his "*Lanzarote* and *Don Quijote*"). Previous defenders of the same position include Schevill and Bonilla (their edition, I, 415-18), Rodríguez Marín (Appendix IX to his "nueva edición crítica"), Cotarelo (cited by Rodríguez Marín), and Astrana (VI, 478-97).

⁹² John G. Weiger has argued that Castro's plays, *Don Quixote de la Mancha* and *El curioso impertinente*, are subsequent to 1615 ("Guillén de Castro: apostilla cronológica," *Segismundo*, 14 [1980], 103-20).

The two *novelas intercaladas* of Part I had also been dramatized by Massinger, Field, and Shakespeare and Fletcher (see Edwin B. Knowles, "Cervantes and English Literature," in *Cervantes Across the Centuries*, ed. Ángel Flores and M. J. Benardete [New York: Dryden Press, 1947], pp. 267-93, at p. 268). The lost *Cardenio* of Shakespeare and Fletcher, twice represented at the English court in 1613, after much controversy has been concluded to survive in an eighteenth-century adaptation, *The Double Falsehood*, by the Shakespearean editor Lewis Theobald; see John Freehafer, "*Cardenio*, by Shakespeare and Fletcher," *PMLA*, 84 (1969), 501-13. Incredibly making no mention of this article is a new proposal that the text is a

Quixote and Sancho had been portrayed in popular festivals. Readers came to Part II with a much stronger orientation towards Part I, and in particular the beginning of Part I, than we have.⁹³ They neither expected nor desired character change, an unfamiliar literary concept.

This may have been what Cervantes wanted; it is Cide Hamete, praising Allah, who wants readers to forget Part I (III, 110, 5-15). The statements reported by Sansón, "nunca segundas partes fueron buenas" and "de las cosas de don Quixote bastan las escritas" (i.e., in Part I; III, 74, 27-29), sound very much like the opinions of Cervantes. The "innumerable" and "infinite" continuations of *Amadís* are attacked repeatedly;⁹⁴ neither did the continuation of *Belianís* (Parts III-IV) meet with his approval.⁹⁵ In the *escrutinio*

forgery: Harriet C. Frazier, *A Babble of Ancestral Voices. Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Theobald* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974); see the review of Freehafer (the only one I have found), in *The Scribblerian*, 8 (1975), 51. Further support for the survival of Shakespeare and Fletcher's text in Theobald's adaptation is provided by Brean S. Hammond, "Theobald's *Double Falshood*: An 'Agreeable Cheat'?", *Notes and Queries*, 229 (1984), 2-3. As of this writing I have not seen Charles David Ley's translation, with introduction, of *Cardenio* (Madrid: José Esteban).

⁹³ Early adaptations were based on the beginning chapters: of course the *Entremés de los romances*, the *entremés* of Francisco de Ávila, based primarily on Chapters 2 and 3 (María Francisca Vilches de Frutos, "*Don Quijote y el Entremés famoso de los invencibles hechos de Don Quijote de la Mancha*, de Francisco de Ávila: dos experimentos del paso de la novela al entremés a través de la parodia," *Criticón*, No. 30 [1985], 183-200), and apparently *Pascual del Rábano* (Ricardo Senabre, "Una temprana parodia del *Quijote*. Don Pascual del Rábano," in *Estudios sobre literatura y arte dedicados al profesor Emilio Orozco Díaz*, recogidos y publicados por A. Gallego Morell, Andrés Soria y Nicolás Marín [Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1979], III, 349-61). Salas Barbadillo, painting in his *Estafeta del Dios Momo* a country *hidalgo*, hunting by day and reading *libros de caballerías* at night, with a family consisting of "un mozo, un rocín, dos galgos," reflects only the opening of *Don Quixote* (ed. Rodríguez, pp. 36-37). The complaint of readers about the "infinitos palos" Don Quixote received in Part I (III, 64, 8-13) must refer to the *palos* he was given in Chapters 4 and 15 of Part I (I, 86, 16-27; I, 195, 20-32; I, 199, 12-13).

It is surely through this process that the first adventure of Don Quixote and Sancho, that of the windmills, though not typical even of Part I as a whole, came to be the visual symbol of the book. (On the tendency to take the beginning of a work as representative of the whole, see Howard Mancing's comments in "A Note on the Formation of Character Image in the Classical Spanish Novel," *PQ*, 54 [1975], 528-31, who observes that "*Don Quijote* . . . is a classic example of a book frequently begun but seldom finished" [p. 531, n. 9].)

⁹⁴ I, 96, 24-97, 17; I, 168, 13-14; II, 362, 4; II, 368, 32; II, 404, 13-15; III, 39, 16-17; III, 394, 13-14; IV, 398, 25-27; perhaps also IV, 10, 28-29.

⁹⁵ See Chapter 1, note 114. It was the mad Don Quixote who "alabava en su autor aquel acabar su libro con la promessa de aquella inacabable aventura" (I, 51, 14-16).

de la librería, besides the attack on the works of Silva, continuator of *Amadís*, the priest also condemns the *Diana segunda*⁹⁶ and continuations of Ariosto,⁹⁷ and in the *Parnaso* (45, 32-46, 4) a continuation of Lofrasso is attacked. At the end of Part I Cervantes promised his readers, if it were well received, different works,⁹⁸ and the prospect of a continuation of Part I is treated humorously. His never-completed continuation of *La Galatea* has already been mentioned, and the second part of the "Coloquio de los perros," promised in the text (III, 152, 3-9), was apparently never written.

Save for the complaint at the beginning of Chapter 44 that "novelas sueltas ni pegadizas" could not be included in Part II, a restriction he was to find vexatious,⁹⁹ and the apparent belief that a "puntualísimo escudriñador de los átomos" (IV, 140, 7-8) had seen to it that no inconsistencies were found in it, there is no evidence that Part II was seen by Cervantes as significantly different from Part I, much less superior to it. Cervantes tells us in the prologues to the *Novelas ejemplares* and Part II of *Don Quixote* (written, of course, during and after the composition of Part II, respectively) that what we have in Part II is "don Quixote dilatado"; in the latter prologue he adds that Part II is "cortada del mismo artifice y del mismo paño que la primera" (III, 31, 26-28). These statements are supported by the observations from a variety of voices that Don Quixote and Sancho, as they appear in Part II, are just as they were portrayed in Part I.¹⁰⁰

The response of Cervantes' readers—as seen by the publication history—suggests that they saw Part II as inferior. There were eight editions of Part I prior to the publication of Part II, but only four of Part II alone. Robles, the official publisher, published three editions of Part I, but only one of Part II,

⁹⁶ Gil Polo's *Diana enamorada* is of course praised highly (I, 103, 9-10), but it is not a *segunda parte*, nor was it published, as the *Diana segunda* was (see *Orígenes de la novela*, II, 290), together with the *Diana* of Montemayor.

⁹⁷ The *Roncesvalles* and *Bernardo del Carpio* cited at I, 99, 20-24. These poems are to be considered continuations of Ariosto (Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, I, 226).

⁹⁸ II, 402, 10-12; see also I, 33, 3-5.

⁹⁹ An obvious parallel are Ercilla's words in the prologue to Part II of *La Araucana*: "Por haber prometido de proseguir esta historia, no con poca dificultad y pesadumbre la he continuado; y aunque esta Segunda Parte de la Araucana no muestre el trabajo que me cuesta, todavía quien la leyere podrá considerar el que se habrá pasado en escribir dos libros de materia tan áspera y de poca variedad, pues desde el principio hasta el fin no contiene sino una misma cosa, y haber de caminar siempre por el rigor de una verdad y camino tan desierto y estéril, paréceme que no habrá gusto que no se canse de seguirme. Así temeroso desto, quisiera mil veces mezclar algunas cosas diferentes; pero acordé de no mudar estilo" (ed. Marcos A. Morínigo and Isaías Lerner [Madrid: Castalia, 1979], II, 9).

¹⁰⁰ III, 61, 21-31; III, 107, 28-108, 7; III, 221, 16-20; III, 371, 3-13; III, 387, 13-16; IV, 235, 12-20; IV, 251, 31-252, 5; IV, 260, 21-26; IV, 276, 20-25.

and he never published an edition of the two parts together. Many unsold copies of his single edition of Part II appear in the inventory made at Robles' death, eight years later.^{100A} The same could be said about *Don Quixote* as about *Guzmán de Alfarache*: the publication of Part II destroyed or severely reduced interest in the book, of which there were no editions from 1617 to 1637.

To be sure, interest in Cervantes' works was diluted by the near-simultaneous publication of the *Parnaso*, the *Comedias*, even more by the *Persiles*, a large though transitory success, and especially by the *Novelas ejemplares*, the Cervantine work which equaled *Don Quixote* in popularity in the seventeenth century. But perhaps the readers' response was merely that they did not like Part II as much as they had Part I; they wanted more humor, wanted Don Quixote to "embestir" (III, 74, 32), and he does not do this as often in Part II.

Part II is not as funny as Part I. From the beginning until the arrival at the *duques*', it has many of the characteristics of the first part. The truth of chivalric literature is still treated,¹⁰¹ and chivalric motifs and archaisms, so common in Part I, are still found.¹⁰² Don Quixote continues to do crazy things, attacking puppets, entering a cave full of bats, looking for Dulzinea, and assuming, gratuitously, that the world offers him adventures at every turn: a boat on the bank of the Ebro "derechamente y sin poder ser otra cosa en contrario, me está llamando y combidando a que entre en él . . . porque éste es estilo de los libros de las historias cavallerescas" (III, 359, 2-8; compare with III, 45, 28-46, 7). Don Quixote with whey running down his face, wondering if his brains are melting (III, 210, 11-16), is the ridiculous Don Quixote we know from Part I.¹⁰³

^{100a} Jean Michel Laspéras, "El fondo de librería de Francisco de Robles, editor de Cervantes," *Cuadernos Bibliográficos*, 38 (Madrid: CSIC, 1979), 107-138, at p. 136, correctly specifies 366 copies. (Laspéras is in error when stating on p. 137 that Robles had in stock 145 copies of the 1605 editions of Part I and 146 copies of the edition of 1608; the inventory specifies only 142 or 145 copies, according to two separate countings [fol. 1344^r; fol. 1375^r], of an unspecified edition, presumably that of 1608.) It is of course *possible* that the single printing of Part II was larger than those of Part I, as suggested by Philippe Berger and François Lopez (in discussion following Maxime Chevalier's "*Don Quichotte et son public*," in *Livre et lecture en Espagne et en France sous l'ancien régime* [Paris: A.D.P.F., 1981], pp. 119-23 with discussion on pp. 124-25, at p. 124); however, lacking evidence to the contrary the unavoidable assumption is that the printing of Part II was of the same size. Laspéras suggests (p. 138) that this state of affairs with the second part of *Don Quixote* may explain why Robles did not publish the *Persiles*.

¹⁰¹ See my article "The *Romance* as Seen by Cervantes" for an explanation in these terms of the episode of Maese Pedro's *retablo*.

¹⁰² See Howard Mancing, *The Chivalric World of "Don Quijote"*, pp. 130-32.

¹⁰³ I have suggested, in "Sancho's *Rucio*," that this point (i.e., just before the

Don Quixote at the end of Part II is, of course, rarely funny; significantly, in the discussions of Avellaneda's Part II it is complained that Sancho was portrayed as "no nada gracioso" (IV, 250, 6; IV, 382, 9-383, 5), but the distortion of Don Quixote complained of is that he was painted "ya desenamorado de Dulcinea del Toboso" (IV, 248, 6-7). Don Quixote in these final chapters is indeed more "el más valiente y el más enamorado y el más comedido [señor] que tiene el mundo"¹⁰⁴ than "[e]l más gracioso loco que hay en él" (IV, 321, 28-29). He does little; his adventures are as uninspired (or in Cervantine terms, as lacking in *invención*) as being run over by bulls (IV, 239, 30-241, 16) and then by pigs (IV, 346, 24-347, 27), at neither of which anyone laughs. His chastity is now not the result of incapacity but of virtue,¹⁰⁵ and he is defeated in body but not in spirit by the Cavallero de la Blanca Luna (IV, 318, 6-12). Don Quixote is *admirado* at what other people do,¹⁰⁶ rather than the producer of *admiración*.¹⁰⁷ We are told that he is still crazy and funny,¹⁰⁸ but he is neither.

arrival at the *duques'* palace) divides chapters written shortly after publication of Part I from those written years later. This thesis is supported by Nicolás Marín, "Camino y destino aragonés de Don Quijote," *ACer*, 17 (1978), 54-66; also "Cervantes frente a Avellaneda: La duquesa y Bárbara," in *Cervantes. Su obra y su mundo*, pp. 831-35; and "Reconocimiento y expiación. Don Juan, Don Jerónimo, Don Álvaro, Don Quijote," in *Estudios . . . Orozco Díaz*, II, 323-42. Geoffrey Stagg, by pointing out (in "*La Galatea* and 'Las dos doncellas,'" p. 125) that there are six references to the destination of Zaragoza in Chapters 4-26, and thereafter none until Chapter 52, provides an additional piece of evidence.

¹⁰⁴ IV, 235, 13-15; similarly, IV, 252, 3-4; and IV, 382, 23-30. However, Roque Guinart perceives that "la enfermedad de don Quixote tocava más en locura que en valentía" (IV, 260, 19-21)

¹⁰⁵ In the final chapter Don Quixote says that it was his "costumbres" gave him the "renombre de Bueno" (IV, 398, 24-25; his "costumbres" were also praised at II, 401, 30-31). The likely explanation is provided at III, 207, 13-15: "si el poeta fuere casto en sus costumbres, lo será también en sus versos."

¹⁰⁶ IV, 269, 6; IV, 274, 8; IV, 283, 8; IV, 284, 2; IV, 288, 16; IV, 293, 27-28; IV, 305, 8; IV, 311, 10.

¹⁰⁷ Don Quixote causes *admiración* in these final chapters only in contrast with Avellaneda (IV, 251, 12; IV, 253, 27), and because of his "extraña figura," which is given less attention than Sancho's wisdom (IV, 332, 23-25). Sancho, however, can still cause *admiración* (IV, 369, 7).

¹⁰⁸ IV, 260, 19-21; IV, 284, 26-285, 2; IV, 321, 26-322, 8; IV, 322, 22-27. Don Quixote's idea of spending his year of reclusion as a shepherd is called a "nueva locura" by the narrator (IV, 392, 19), presumably reflecting the opinion of the other characters. We should note, however, that the narrator is in error; Don Quixote's idea of becoming a shepherd is not a "nueva locura," as he would adopt this life knowing full well that it was merely a pleasant way to pass some time.

The life portrayed in pastoral books was evidently of considerable interest to Cervantes, to judge by the several characters who imitate those books. Just as the

It is not only the perspective on Don Quixote that breaks down in these final chapters. Sancho, having learned humility as governor of his island, wants to be a governor again (IV, 290, 28-29), to order and be obeyed (IV, 298, 13-14), and he is again interested in money (IV, 372, 23-28; IV, 375, 3-8), having previously overcome his greed.¹⁰⁹ Rather than someone possessed of a great natural wisdom, a role into which Sancho evolved, we are back with the earlier Sancho whose wisdom comes from having been taught.¹¹⁰

The *duques*, while setting up a new *burla*, are censured for doing so, and this censuring comes from Cide Hamete (IV, 363, 25-29), who has changed from an unreliable Moor to Don Quixote's champion and "flor de los historiadores" (IV, 276, 25). Sansón has been a reprehensible character throughout Part II, mocking the protagonist, his housekeeper, and Sancho, and sharing with Roque Guinart a censurable desire for vengeance (III, 192, 26-28). He shows a lack of sympathy for Don Quixote when he calls him, in an epitaph, "el espantajo y el coco del mundo" (IV, 404, 29-30). Yet he claims to be full of "buenos pensamientos" and moved by "lástima" to help Don Quixote recover his sanity (IV, 320, 23; IV, 321, 22), which, however, has somehow become undesirable (IV, 321, 26-32; IV, 399, 4-10). Roque Guinart is a murderous outlaw, yet he declines to take money for himself (IV, 271, 20-26), and carries out the most important duty of a leader: he provides justice to his men.¹¹¹ And finally, we have in the last chapter the most severe, though scarcely the most profound, attack on *libros de caballerías* in the whole book, surprising and disconcerting to the reader, since they have not been criticized for forty chapters.

The confusion of the concluding section of Part II has an obvious authorial explanation. Cervantes was shocked and hurt at the continuation of Avellaneda and the attack on him in the prologue to that work. Avellaneda's

"Novela de Rinconete y Cortadillo" and the uncompleted story of Eugenio and Leandra offered potential material for a continuation of Part I, in Don Quixote's pastoral plan there is the ghost of a possible additional continuation, in which Cervantes could further attack the error of basing one's life on pastoral literature, called by Berganza "no verdad alguna" ("Coloquio de los perros," III, 166, 15), and by the narrator in *Don Quixote* "más . . . encarecimientos de poetas que verdades" (I, 389, 9-10); much the same comment is made by Don Quixote himself (I, 365, 25-366, 7). (For elaboration, see Javier Herrero, "Arcadia's Inferno: Cervantes' Attack on Pastoral," *BHS*, 65 [1978], 289-99.)

¹⁰⁹ III, 356, 29-357, 6; IV, 184, 16-17; IV, 195, 24-28; IV, 196, 23-25.

¹¹⁰ "Muy filósofo estás, Sancho . . . muy a lo discreto hablas; no sé quién te lo enseña," is Don Quixote's comment when Sancho says "he oído dezir que esta que llaman por aí Fortuna es una muger borracha y antojadiza y, sobre todo, ciega" (IV, 328, 18-25). Compare this with Sancho's defense of his own wisdom at III, 280, 18-25.

¹¹¹ IV, 267, 14-15. On the duties of a governor, see note 116, *infra*.

book is referred to over and over in the final chapters,¹¹² ironically giving it a life it would never have had if ignored. To defend his current conception of Don Quixote and Sancho, to insist, against at least some of the evidence, that they were not as portrayed by Avellaneda, to expose Avellaneda as a false historian and to prevent him from writing further, seem to be Cervantes' principal purposes in these chapters. These factors, combined with a great urgency to complete and publish his continuation and displace that of Avellaneda, are sufficient explanation for their confusion.

But what of the central section of Part II, the visit to the castle of the *duques*? This is the longest section of both Part II and the entire work, with "las mejores aventuras que en esta grande historia se contienen" (III, 420, 19-21). In it Don Quixote and Sancho are still funny, though less so; readers wonder whether laughter at them is indeed appropriate.

That all the characters save one laugh at the protagonist, and that that one (the ecclesiastic) is presented so negatively, is clear evidence that Cervantes' intent was that we laugh during these episodes. There is no irony in the statement that these "burlas que llevassen vislumbres y apariencias de aventuras" (III, 421, 10-11), which gave "que reír a los duques, no sólo aquel tiempo, sino el de toda su vida" (IV, 45, 32-46, 2), are the best adventures of the book. Yet they are "mejores" only in the sense that they are the most elaborate.¹¹³ They are certainly not the funniest.

There are two reasons why they are less successful as humor. The first is that the humor is not created by its victims, and one's own failings are much funnier than anything another can do to one. A person doing something ridiculous is funny, someone unknowingly being ridiculous is funnier. When a perpetrator enters the picture then the victim is ridiculed, rather than ridiculous. In Cervantine terms, the *admiración* and the *risa* have been

¹¹² IV, 247, 17-253, 31; IV, 276, 20-25; IV, 297, 1-17; IV, 366, 11-25; IV, 381, 15-385, 26; IV, 403, 1-12; IV, 404, 7-11; IV, 405, 1-406, 3. The discussion of the personalities of Don Quixote and Sancho in Chapter 58 of Part II (IV, 235, 12-32) implies knowledge of Avellaneda's book; a reference in Chapter 30 to the possibility of Sancho's having been "troca[do] en la estampa" (III, 371, 11-13) suggests, though it certainly does not prove, that Cervantes knew of the forthcoming book without having seen it, and that for this reason he resumed composition of Part II of *Don Quixote*, set aside some time before. (The discussion between Don Quixote and Sansón Carrasco, disguised as the Cavallero del Bosque [Part II, Chapter 14] about whether the Cavallero defeated Don Quixote or "otro que le pareciese," would not seem to refer to Avellaneda.) For further information, see the references in note 103.

¹¹³ See III, 444, 12-14 and IV, 39, 11-14. The governorship of Sancho was similarly to be elaborate, with many actors and instructions, all to make it more closely resemble a real event.

separated. The former is earned by the *duques* and their employees; Don Quixote is left only to produce laughter as the butt of their jokes.

The funniest incidents at the *duques'* palace are the product of Don Quixote and Sancho themselves. These include their surprising misinterpretations of the adventures created for them: Don Quixote's failure to realize that having his beard washed is not an honor, that the bearded ladies, one of whom uses a masculine word ending (IV, 8, 22-24), are really men, and that the horse that goes so smoothly that it seems not to move is not moving (IV, 39, 1-4; IV, 70, 5-7), and Sancho's absurd description of what he allegedly saw during the ride on Clavileño (IV, 43, 6-45, 26). They also include the conduct of Sancho which embarrasses his master: his misplaced concern for his donkey and the story he tells, both in Chapter 31.

A second reason why these episodes are not as humorous as Cervantes thought they would be is that propriety requires that a victim of humor somehow deserve it.¹¹⁴ In Part I, Don Quixote's pride and errors, and Sancho's greed, make their misfortunes and embarrassment satisfying consequences.¹¹⁵ Here, however, this is not the case. Sancho is less cupiditous, more modest, and wiser. Don Quixote no longer causes harm to others, and he is, if not humble, at least not full of foolish conceit. The *duques* are in several ways less admirable characters than he. They live on borrowed money and *trampas* (IV, 119, 29-30), for which reason to ask the duke to fulfill the most important duty of an ruler, providing justice,¹¹⁶ is "pedir peras al olmo" (IV, 169, 3-4); the justice which the duke claims to provide (IV, 170, 4-8) is clearly *de burlas*. The duke is conceited (III, 425, 12-16), and he enjoys power (IV, 48, 17-20), a sure indicator of moral deficiency. His wife is *presumida* and desires vengeance;¹¹⁷ she confuses Sancho about reality.¹¹⁸ Like

¹¹⁴ An exception is the humor produced at his own expense by the clown or other professional comedian. Precisely because the public knows that it is an artificial entertainment for which money has been paid, the sense of propriety is not violated.

¹¹⁵ This has been studied by John J. Allen, *Don Quixote: Hero or Fool? A Study in Narrative Technique [Part I]* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1969); on Allen's book see the review of Ruth El Saffar, *MLN*, 85 (1970), 269-73.

¹¹⁶ The canon, advising Sancho about what government is (II, 374, 28-375, 15), mentions only providing justice; the sensible part of Don Quixote's advice to him (IV, 51, 4-54, 25) is an explanation of how to administer justice, which is what Sancho reports that he did as *gobernador* ("he . . . sentenciado pleitos," IV, 207, 32). Don Quixote said, long before, that knights-errant, "ministros de Dios en la tierra," were "braços por quien se executa en ella su justicia" (I, 169, 31-170, 10).

¹¹⁷ IV, 140, 28-141, 8. Her employee Altisidora is included in this condemnation.

¹¹⁸ III, 415, 23-416, 13. The duchess, of course, is not the first character to deliberately distort reality and thus mislead another character; Sancho himself so misled Don Quixote (I, 265, 7-11; III, 132, 4-133, 2). Sancho, however, had in the

the devil ("Coloquio de los perros," III, 214, 22-23), they speak with "razones torzidas y de muchos sentidos."¹¹⁹ So their amusement at Don Quixote and Sancho's expense is to some degree wrong. They are the ones who "have it coming," and it is pleasing to find that Sancho, as governor, frustrates their humorous intentions, and that contrary to their desires Don Quixote and Tosilos do not "hazerse pedaços" (IV, 217, 9; adapted).¹²⁰

Yet just as much good can be said about them: if they do not administer their lands, neither does Don Quixote attend to his;¹²¹ if they speak with "razones torcidas," other characters, narrators, and Cervantes himself do so as well.¹²² The *duques* treat Don Quixote and Sancho with great courtesy.

first case a charitable motive, to prevent Don Quixote from "tenta[ndo] a Dios acometiendo tan desaforado hecho" (I, 263, 7-8), i.e., attacking what are revealed to be the *batanes*. In the second he lies because Don Quixote has requested the impossible, finding Dulzinea. The priest and barber's lie about the disappearance of Don Quixote's library was "uno de los remedios . . . para el mal de su amigo" (I, 108, 1-2), and they and Dorotea undertake their chivalric deception in order to lure Don Quixote out of the Sierra Morena (I, 384, 4-29); those of Sansón, though undertaken with truly suspicious gusto, are intended to help Don Quixote (III, 190, 17-191, 14). The confusion over the *yelmo* and the *albarda*, though exploited for no other reason than amusement, was begun by Don Quixote himself, and can not be compared with the duchess' deception of a *simple*, inventing enchanters and distorting truth.

¹¹⁹ For example, "todo quanto vuestra merced dize va con pie de plomo" (III, 402, 2-3); "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); "Sancho amigo, la ínsula que yo os he prometido no es movable ni fugitiva; raíces tiene tan hondas echadas en los abismos de la tierra, que no la arrancarán ni mudarán de donde está a tres tirones . . . Siempre que bolviéredes hallaréis vuestra ínsula donde la dexáis" (IV, 33, 11-27).

¹²⁰ The duke's imprisonment of Tosilos implies that he and his wife are among "los más" who are "tristes y melancólicos" at the outcome (IV, 217, 8-10). "Hazerse pedaços," however, did not mean to injure each other, as the duke gave careful instructions, cited in the following paragraph, to see that this did not happen; Andrés' use of the expression (II, 77, 27), as well as *Autoridades's* definition ("estar hecho pedazos" is "estar muy cansado o fatigado"), support this.

¹²¹ I, 50, 16-17. We are reminded of this by the unpleasant ecclesiastic at III, 388, 3, and by the Castilian in Barcelona, IV, 284, 31-32.

¹²² We find Cervantes using such language in the first person, among other places in the prologue to Part II: "Quisieras tú que lo [Avellaneda] diera del asno, del mentecato y del atrevido; pero no me passa por el pensamiento" (III, 27, 12-14); "del tal [Lope] adoro el ingenio, admiro las obras y *la ocupación continua y virtuosa*" (III, 28, 18-20). When speaking with the duchess, similar language is put in the mouth of Sancho: "Sansón Carrasco . . . es persona bachillerada por Salamanca; y los tales no pueden mentir, si no es quando se les antoja y les viene muy a cuento" (III, 417, 30-418, 2). We also find the narrator making statements which are

Don Quixote spends with them his most pleasant days, and Sancho becomes governor of an "island" and as a consequence gains something even more precious, self-knowledge. The *duques* are careful to see that Don Quixote does not realize that he is the object of their amusement (III, 396, 17-21). Their *burlas* are of the right sort, without *dolor* or *daño de tercero*.¹²³ They are careful to see that Don Quixote receives no harm at their hands (IV, 210, 16-19; IV, 211, 29-212, 4), and are sorry when one *burla* ends with harm, a "mal sucesso."¹²⁴ When Don Quixote leaves them he is well-fed, rested, richer than when he arrived,¹²⁵ and in possession of an imaginary method to undo the imaginary enchantment of Dulzinea. Even Teresa has received valuable gifts and what she seems to value more, status in her town. How can we say that these people, who are far from admirable, have done other than innocent or even positive things?

What we have here is ambiguity, which in Cervantes' day was no virtue. If we focus on the complicated structure of the adventures created by the *duques*, and ignore the question of whether Don Quixote deserves to be ridiculed—i.e., if we interpret the episodes superficially—there is no problem; these are the best adventures of the book, and we should laugh. But the underlying layer is unsettling at best, even deeply disturbing.

This ambiguity, which I am hardly the first to detect, goes back much before the visit to the *duques*. As Mandel and others before him have pointed out, Don Quixote is throughout the book a more interesting character, more knowledgeable and more dignified, than the sane people with whom he comes into contact.¹²⁶ Even in Part I, Don Quixote is morally superior to those who use him for amusement, like Maritornes and the innkeeper's daughter.¹²⁷ When other characters describe reality—the basin and the

obviously untrue: "Verdad es que la gallardía del cuerpo [de Maritornes] suplía las demás faltas" (I, 205, 19-20); in the same tone, Sancho calls his master's *bálsamo* "aquel benditísimo brevaaje" (I, 286, 1).

¹²³ "No son burlas las que duelen, ni ay passatiempos que valgan si son con daño de tercero" (IV, 279, 10-12; similarly, "Coloquio de los perros," III, 196, 3). This is exactly how the adventure of Clavileño ends: "sin daño de barras" (IV, 42, 15). Sancho's 3,300 blows (an impossibly large number; see III, 46, 3 and IV, 24, 8), which will "sacaros un poco de sangre" (III, 441, 27-28), are prescribed with the expectation that they will not be given, and of course only trees receive them. "Daño" can be understood as "daño del alma [o] del cuerpo" (*Novelas ejemplares*, I, 22, 19); creating *burlas* is not "daño."

¹²⁴ IV, 95, 2-5. This *burla* was to have been "más risueña que dañosa" (IV, 90, 32).

¹²⁵ IV, 219, 16-22. This gift is even given to him in the proper form, quietly, in Diego de Miranda's formulation "sin hazer alarde de las buenas obras" (III, 202, 1-2).

¹²⁶ "The Concept of the Norm in *Don Quixote*," p. 161.

¹²⁷ As they do in Chapter 43 of Part I. Maritornes is, however, a character who

saddle—inaccurately, and a fracas results, Don Quixote seems right, and they wrong, when he stops the fighting and explains that the devil has made the inn resemble the *campo de Agramante*.¹²⁸ Although the context is one of mockery, his love gains nobility when he points out that there are many precedents for his imaginary lady, and that his belief (faith) in Dulzinea is the most important consideration (I, 365, 26-366, 28); the result of the combination of his pride and selfishness (II, 282, 28-283, 20) with a love for the "idea de todo lo provechoso, honesto y deleitable que ay en el mundo" (II, 282, 26-28),¹²⁹ is similarly ambiguous. His ambiguity is seen even in the *primera salida*, as early as Chapters 2 and 3, when he inspires fear in the innkeeper and the *arrieros* (I, 62, 15-17; I, 73, 25-27), and succeeds in earning the respect and proper treatment, on his own terms, of the prostitutes at the inn (I, 75, 5-30).

In the first half of Part II, while the text tells us that Don Quixote was "un loco de atar" (III, 132, 9), it also tells us that he was extremely wise, more so than any other character; according to both Sancho and Don Quixote's niece, he could "no sólo tomar [un] púlpito en las manos, sino dos en cada dedo y andarse por essas plaças a qué quieres, boca" (III, 276, 20-23; III, 94, 9-12; I, 245, 10-12). He is motivated by noble principles, for which—in contrast with, say, Diego de Miranda—he is willing to sacrifice: in short, he wants to "hazer bien a todos y mal a ninguno" (III, 391, 3-4).

In Part II, Don Quixote does have successes while on his chivalric mission. He provides genuine assistance to a character who truly deserves it, Basilio (III, 271, 13-272, 24). He defeats Sansón Carrasco, and is happier while crazy than Sansón is while sane (III, 192, 7-9). Although he has to be reminded of his obligation to assist deserving women, without his intervention Doña Rodríguez's daughter would not have prospects of marriage, at which both she and her mother are "contentísimas," and Tosilos pleased as well (IV, 217, 15-18).

One episode, however, from the first part of Part II, presents the protagonist's ambiguity exceptionally clearly because it is self-contained within the episode. It is the relatively unstudied adventure of the lion,¹³⁰

duplicates, in miniature, Don Quixote's evolution. When first mentioned her ugliness is so extreme as to be burlesque (I, 205, 16-23; I, 211, 32-212, 23); she is a *puta* (I, 209, 6-11; I, 214, 13), whose "noble" intentions are misapplied (I, 209, 11-18). Yet shortly thereafter she actually assists someone in need, demonstrating "unas sombras y lexos de christiana" (I, 229, 16-21); later she prays on Don Quixote's behalf (I, 386, 11-15). The adjective "buena" applied to her (I, 209, 11; I, 386, 11) seems to change from ironic to sincere.

¹²⁸ II, 311, 14-312, 2. The narrator confirms the role of the devil, II, 313, 12-18.

¹²⁹ These are the three types of love, according to Tirsi, in *La Galatea*, II, 61, 1-18. In the *Parnaso*, 60, 25-26, it is poetry which is "la cifra do seapura lo provechoso, honesto, y deleitable."

¹³⁰ A summary of previous comments on the episode is provided by Edith

which to Don Quixote was so important that he changed what he would call his *nombre apelativo*¹³¹ from the derogatory "Cavallero de la Triste Figura"¹³² to "Cavallero de los Leones." Sancho, who has consistently exposed Don Quixote's chivalric fantasies, describes his master challenging the lions as "no . . . loco, sino atrevido" (III, 213, 13-14). As he does throughout Part II, Don Quixote correctly commends himself to God first, and then his lady;¹³³ the narrator tells us, without irony, that he had "maravilloso denuedo y corazón valiente" (III, 216, 28-29).¹³⁴ From this adventure the king will learn about Don Quixote (III, 220, 30-32). Don Quixote's reasoning is never more intelligent: it is quite correct that enchanters can not take away "esfuerzo y ánimo" (III, 220, 26-27); the parallel he draws with the bullfighter (III, 222, 7-10) is valid; and his argument that *temeridad* is preferable, and easier to remedy, than *cobardía* (III, 223, 19-224, 3) is in Diego de Miranda's words "nivelado con el fiel de la misma razón" (III, 224, 6-7), and moves him to comment later that Don Quixote's words "borran y deshazen sus hechos" (III, 227, 22-23).

The *leonero's* analysis of the result (that the lion had an opportunity to fight, but declined, giving Don Quixote victory by default) is improvised (III, 218, 28-219, 5). Yet something significant has happened, or more precisely, failed to happen. The lions are the biggest ever taken to Spain (III, 212, 9-15). Furthermore, they are hungry, their keeper must feed them soon (III, 212, 17-20), and he is afraid that they will attack his mules (III, 214, 9-14). Yet the *león macho*, whose eyes are fierce (III, 218, 7), not only declines to attack and eat Don Quixote, he does not even leave his cage. And an animal is incapable of the deceptions which men inflict on each other.

The text does not provide us with an explanation of what has happened, but we may confidently assume that there is one, as things do not happen by

Rogers, "Don Quijote and the Peaceable Lion," *Hispania*, 68 (1985), 9-14. Numerous literary precedents are assembled by Miguel Garci-Gómez, "La tradición del león reverente: glosas para los episodios en *Mío Cid*, *Palmerín de Oliva*, *Don Quijote* y otros," *KRQ*, 19 (1972), 255-84; to be considered also are the discussions of lions in Pliny the Elder (VII, 17-21), whose partial translation by Jerónimo de Huerta (1599) Cervantes knew (see *Persiles*, I, 117, 12-13, and the note of the editors), and the martyrdom of early Christians by lions.

¹³¹ I, 256, 29-30; III, 239, 1-2.

¹³² See Russell, "Funny Book," pp. 316-17, on the original significance of this name.

¹³³ He does this also before the battle with Tosilos (IV, 212, 32-213, 2), before that with the Cavallero de la Blanca Luna (IV, 317, 16-19), and before entering battle with the Cavallero de los Espejos says he will win "si Dios, si mi señora y mi brazo me valen" (III, 183, 7-8).

¹³⁴ This is prefigured in Don Quixote's own comment, to his niece, that the knight-errant must face incredible dangers "con gentil continente y con intrépido corazón" (III, 92, 17-18).

chance: "no ay fortuna en el mundo, ni las cosas que en él suceden, buenas o malas que sean, vienen acaso, sino por particular providencia de los cielos" (IV, 328, 26-29).¹³⁵ Don Quixote's explanation would surely be that the outcome of his challenge to the lion was God's will, and how can we help but agree?

Yet the episode is still confusing. Cide Hamete never seems more distant than he does in his hyperbolic yet derogatory praise of Don Quixote (III, 217, 3-21). The problem is the evidence cited earlier, the narrator's description of the result of what he calls Don Quixote's "jamás vista locura." The lion, ironically described as "generoso" and "más comedido que arrogante," "no haziendo caso de niñerías ni de bravatas . . . bolvió las espaldas y enseñó sus traseras partes a don Quixote" (III, 218, 13-19). This is incompatible with the behavior of Don Quixote himself, and the comments characters make on it.

I wish it were possible to solve the central interpretative problem of *Don Quixote* and reconcile the textual guidance toward laughter with the protagonist's positive qualities and true accomplishments.¹³⁶ "En verdad que no te he [de] dar este contento" (III, 27, 8-9). I believe that this cannot be done. Don Quixote is intended to be laughed at throughout the book, save the very last chapter. Yet before the end, even long before, he becomes more dignified, less crazy, more virtuous, and less funny. To a limited extent the humor has been sacrificed to the goal of imparting *provecho*, as is discussed in the following chapter. Yet as a whole, I can find no plan governing Don Quixote's irregular evolution, or evidence that Cervantes was disturbed by, or in many cases even aware of, the contradictions within the text he published.

It is possible, however, to explain in general terms the origins of the problem. It is difficult to sustain a negative character, even more so a negative protagonist, and the difficulty is greater the longer the book; authors, especially one so concerned with *caridad* as was Cervantes,¹³⁷

¹³⁵ "No se mueve la hoja sin la voluntad de Dios" ("Rinconete y Cortadillo," I, 316, 30-31); "no acaso, como parecía, sino con particular providencia del cielo, se avían todos juntado en lugar donde menos ninguno pensava" (II, 174, 5-8). Similarly, "por una de dos causas vienen los que parecen males a las gentes: a los malos, por castigo, y a los buenos, por mejora" (*Persiles*, I, 309, 16-18).

¹³⁶ The same problem, of course, exists with Sancho. If I am focusing on Don Quixote it is because Sancho has been much more thoroughly studied, and because the problem of the proper attitude toward Don Quixote is more fundamental.

¹³⁷ Bruno Damiani, "Caridad en *Don Quijote*," *ACer*, 18 (1979-80), 67-85. "Miguel de Cervantes is as tolerant and forgiving of individuals' foibles as Quevedo is punishing," is the summary of George A. Shipley ("Lazarillo de Tormes Was Not a Hardworking, Clean-Living Water Carrier," in *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Alan D. Deyermond. A North American Tribute*, ed. John S. Miletich [Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1986], pp. 247-55, at p. 251).

naturally come to sympathize with, like, or at least "understand" their characters. Don Quixote, moreover, was not just any character; he was one with extraordinary parallels with his author, one who, more than any character of the *Galatea* or *Persiles*, incarnated Cervantes' fantasies.

There were, of course, fundamental differences between them: Don Quixote was single while Cervantes was married, Don Quixote was a rural landowner while Cervantes was a travelling but essentially urban bureaucrat, Cervantes was a Christian patriot¹³⁸ while Don Quixote saw chivalry as activities on behalf of individuals,¹³⁹ Cervantes was both author and reader while Don Quixote never acted on his authorial fantasies, and last but not least, Cervantes was sane, Don Quixote crazy. However, the similarities are surprisingly extensive. Both were *discretos* and *ingeniosos*, neither was young,¹⁴⁰ both were well-read and possessed knowledge about a wide variety of topics.¹⁴¹ Both were *hidalgos* of modest means;¹⁴² both were

¹³⁸ That Cervantes was a Christian patriot can be deduced from his pride about having participated in the battle of Lepanto (III, 27, 19-28, 5), the statements made about him by many witnesses when he applied to the crown for a position (Pedro Torres Lanzas, ed., "Información de Miguel de Cervantes de lo que ha servido a S. M. y de lo que ha hecho estando captivo en Argel . . .," *RABM*, 3ª época, 12 [1905], 345-97; rpt. Madrid: El Árbol, 1981), and his subsequent employment for the king. There is nothing that will better stimulate patriotism than absence from one's country (see Ricote's comments, IV, 193, 12-27), even more so if one's foreign residence is a prison, which imprisonment was the central experience of Cervantes' life (see Alonso Zamora Vicente, "El cautiverio en la obra cervantina," in *Homenaje a Cervantes* [Valencia, 1950], II, 237-56, at p. 239).

¹³⁹ Only once does Don Quixote link chivalry and national goals, in a highly burlesque speech (III, 36, 29-39, 32); Sancho's suggestion that Don Quixote find a ruler to serve (I, 289, 7-27) he ignores.

¹⁴⁰ "Don Quixote no tuv[o] privilegio del cielo para detener el curso de la suya [vida]" (IV, 396, 7-9); in the prologue to Part II, "como si hubiera sido en mi mano aver detenido el tiempo que no passasse por mí" (III, 27, 17-19). In 1597, when imprisoned in the Cárcel Real of Seville and "engendrando" *Don Quixote* (see Chapter 1, note 89), Cervantes' age would have been just that of Don Quixote: "fris[ando] . . . con los cinquenta años" (I, 50, 1-2).

¹⁴¹ Sancho says of his master that "para todo tiene habilidad" (I, 383, 16-17); he was "admirado de lo que sabía, pareciéndole que no debía de aver historia en el mundo, ni sucesso que no lo tuviesse cifrado en la uña y clavado en la memoria" (IV, 228, 23-27; also III, 276, 23-27). Don Quixote himself says that "de todo sabían y han de saber los cavalleros andantes" (I, 245, 13-14); "[la cavallería andante] es una ciencia . . . que encierra en sí todas o las más ciencias del mundo" (III, 229, 12-230, 17). These statements of Don Quixote about the broad knowledge needed by knights-errant are very similar to Cide Hamete's claim that he has "habilidad, suficiencia y entendimiento para tratar del universo todo" (IV, 65, 12-13), the canon's statement about the variety of knowledge and materials the author of a *libro de caballerías* can put in it (II, 343, 23-345, 7, especially 344, 13-

from Castilla la Nueva. Both rode *rocines*,¹⁴³ and neither had all his teeth.¹⁴⁴ Both had "vigotes grandes," as well as a "nariz corba"; Cervantes had a "rostro aguileño" and Don Quixote a "nariz aguileña" (III, 175, 25-26; *Novelas exemplares*, prologue, I, 20, 18-23).

Both were sympathetic to the life of arms, and each saw himself as "más valiente que estudiante" (I, 383, 14). Both traveled around Spain, both believed themselves unappreciated leaders,¹⁴⁵ and both praised modesty and themselves simultaneously.¹⁴⁶ Each considered himself "artífice de su ventura,"¹⁴⁷ yet had learned *paciencia en las adversidades*;¹⁴⁸ both received money from nobles. Both were threatened with excommunication (Chapter 1, note 40). Both knew some Italian, and could quote Ariosto;¹⁴⁹ both had some

17), Don Quixote's comparison of "la poesía" with "una donzella . . . a quien tienen cuidado de enriquezer, pulir y adornar . . . todas las otras ciencias, y ella se ha de servir de todas, y todas se han de autorizar con ella" (III, 204, 25-31; also "El licenciado Vidriera," II, 92, 26-29 and *Parnaso*, 57, 19-60, 3), and Zenobia's statement about the knowledge of *magas* and *encantadoras* (*Persiles*, I, 216, 15-26). In the first person, Cervantes said in the prologue to Part I that he was "poltrón y perezoso de andarme buscando autores que digan lo que yo me sé dezir sin ellos" (I, 32, 17-19).

¹⁴² On Cervantes, see Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos documentos cervantinos*, in *Estudios cervantinos*, p. 333; note that one witness called Cervantes' father a "hidalgo de solar conocido" (p. 228) the same term which Don Quixote applies to himself at I, 295, 3.

¹⁴³ *Persiles*, I, lviii, 2. This statement by Cervantes about his horse, after the publication of *Don Quixote*, is especially significant.

¹⁴⁴ I, 246, 16-20; *Novelas exemplares*, I, 20, 24.

¹⁴⁵ See Chapter 2, note 32.

¹⁴⁶ "No hay ocasión en que Cervantes no se elogie, bien que excusándose por salir de los límites de su natural modestia; tantas veces ocurre esto que no es posible verla nunca ni creer en ella" (Nicolás Marín, "Belardo furioso. Una carta de Lope mal leída," *ACer*, 12 [1973], 3-37, at p. 21). Examples are the dedication and prologue to the *Novelas exemplares* (I, 21, 19-32; I, 25, 14-17), the prologue to Part II of *Don Quixote* (III, 28, 24-26), the prologue to the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* (I, 5, 3-5), and the *Adjunta al Parnaso* (124, 16-17). Cervantes also puts praise of himself in the mouth of others, which he can then reject (*Persiles*, I, lviii, 11-22; also *Adjunta al Parnaso*, 121, 17-19), as well as in the mouth of his characters (II, 62, 5-13; III, 61, 29-62, 2). Don Quixote, who praises himself repeatedly (p. 127, *supra*), uses almost the same terms as Cervantes (I, 208, 12-17; III, 199, 20-21); other of Cervantes' characters also talk this way ("La señora Cornelia," III, 86, 28-31 and III, 95, 26-29; "El casamiento engañoso," III, 136, 19-21).

¹⁴⁷ IV, 328, 29-329, 1; *Parnaso*, 56, 24.

¹⁴⁸ Prologue to the *Novelas exemplares*, I, 21, 10-11; *Don Quixote*, III, 62, 27-28; IV, 252, 16-20.

¹⁴⁹ I, 98, 32-99, 3; II, 406, 7; IV, 294, 17-19. Don Quixote also quotes Ariosto in Spanish (III, 50, 29-30), the same passage as Cervantes cited in Italian at the end of Part I.

exposure to the Arabic language.¹⁵⁰ Both were fans of the theater,¹⁵¹ which they thought needed improvement.¹⁵² Both lived with women, but not a wife, in their respective houses (in Valladolid, in the case of Cervantes). Both had strong views on many different topics, and had similar values.¹⁵³ Both, of course, knew the *libros de caballerías* well.

The following are not as firmly documented, but are, without irony, *conjeturas verosímiles*. Both Cervantes and Don Quixote believed in the importance of *honestidad*.¹⁵⁴ Both liked silence, preferring it to noise,¹⁵⁵ and each thought he was "cortés y amigo de dar gusto a todos" (III, 198, 22). Both had some sympathy with the career of a priest,¹⁵⁶ and admired an ascetic mode of life.^{156A} Both believed that *Amadís de Gaula* was the best *libro de*

¹⁵⁰ Cervantes: "caracteres que conocí ser arábigos" (I, 129, 31-32). Don Quixote: "Cide . . . en arábigo quiere dezir señor" (III, 58, 27-28); this was not common knowledge as it is among Hispanists today. Additional examples may be found in Josep M. Sola-Solé, "El árabe y los arabismos en Cervantes," in *Estudios literarios de hispanistas norteamericanos dedicados a Helmut Hatzfeld con motivo de su 80 aniversario*, ed. Josep M. Sola-Solé, Alessandro Crisafulli, and Bruno Damiani (Barcelona: Hispam, 1974), pp. 209-22, reprinted in Sola-Solé's *Sobre árabes, judíos y marranos y su impacto en la lengua y literatura españolas* (Barcelona: Puvill, 1983), pp. 87-103. Two additions need be made to Sola-Solé's discussion: Cervantes knew how a story in Arabic should begin, with praise of Allah (Chapter 8 of Part II), and, as Turkish, written at the time with the same alphabet, was not as clearly distinguished from Arabic as today, a relevant article is Samir Rizk and Rafael Osuna, "An Obscene Expression in Cervantes," *Thesaurus*, 26 (1971), 620-22.

¹⁵¹ III, 147, 1-3; Prologue to *Ocho comedias; Adjunta al Parnaso*, 124, 13-16.

¹⁵² Chapter 48 of Part I; III, 332, 19-24.

¹⁵³ To merely cite one obvious example, Don Quixote's quotation from Terence, "más bien parece el soldado muerto en la batalla que vivo y salvo en la huida" (III, 310, 14-15), also found in *Persiles*, II, 207, 12-13, is almost the same as the statement attributed to Cervantes in the report of his naval service: "no hacía lo que debía, metiéndose so cubierta, sino que mejor hera morir como buen soldado, en servicio de dios y del reei" (Torres, ed., "Información," p. 348).

¹⁵⁴ Cervantes' character of *honesto* is mentioned repeatedly in the document cited in note 138.

¹⁵⁵ On this topic see Alan Trueblood, "El silencio en el *Quijote*," *NRFH*, 12 (1958), 160-80 and 13 (1959), 98-100.

¹⁵⁶ Cervantes' friend of the prologue to Part I warns him against preaching (I, 37, 11-12). The comments of Sancho and Don Quixote's *sobrina* on the latter's potential as a preacher have already been quoted (p. 141).

^{156A} For Don Quixote, see Chapter 3, p. 98. The case of Cervantes is more complicated; his esteem for the comforts of Italian life, and the many enthusiastic references to food and especially wine in his works (especially "El licenciado Vidriera," II, 78, 32-79, 18; perhaps also *Persiles*, I, lix, 5-7), show a taste for bodily enjoyment. However, that his ideal was ascetic seems also clear: not just the *religioso* but the soldier, with whom he sympathized and identified, had to endure discomfort without complaint. It is hard not to attribute to Cervantes the view of

caballerías, and that *Belianís de Grecia* had many good points;¹⁵⁷ in Chapter 1 I suggested that Cervantes shared Alonso Quixano's thought of composing a continuation of this latter work. Both were "algo curioso[s]," so full of "desseos de saber cosas nuevas" that they were fatigued (III, 306, 15-16); neither, however, slept readily.¹⁵⁸ Both had a "memoria . . . grande" (III, 259, 10), and both learned about themselves and about the world, observing and reflecting on their observations. Both suffered somewhat from melancholy, and enjoyed literature which had the effect of banishing it; both loved books and had libraries.¹⁵⁹ Both enjoyed nature but had no interest in agriculture. Both may have suffered from kidney disease;¹⁶⁰ both saw children as a *carga*.

the protagonist of his only religious work, fray Christóval de la Cruz: "Es bestia la carne nuestra,/ y, si rienda se le da,/ tan desbocada se muestra,/ que nadie la bolverá/ de la siniestra a la diestra . . . / La luxuria está en el vino,/ y a la crápula y regalo/ todo vicio le es vezino" (*El rufián dichoso, Comedias y entremeses*, II, 54, 31-55, 12).

¹⁵⁷ See note 38 to this chapter, and note 7 to Chapter 1.

¹⁵⁸ Alonso Quixano suffered from a sleep disturbance at the very outset, and a long sleep precedes his return to sanity at the end. (Although Green's work has been subject to some criticism by Deborah Kong, "A Study of the Medical Theory of the Humours and its application to selected Spanish Literature of the Golden Age" [Dissertation, Edinburgh, 1980], according to Riley, "*Don Quixote*", pp. 48-49, and by Chester S. Halka, "*Don Quijote* in the Light of Huarte's *Examen de ingenios*; A Reexamination," *ACer*, 19 [1981], 3-13, it was Green, in "El ingenioso hidalgo," who first pointed out the importance of sleep in the work. See also Daniel L. Heiple, "Renaissance Medical Psychology in *Don Quijote*," *I&L*, No. 9 [1979], 65-72.) Throughout the book he tends to stay awake at night: when reading his books, at the inns, at his second departure (I, 111, 24-25), during such adventures as those of the *cuerpo muerto* and the *batanes*; unhappy lovers' tendency to *trasmochar* (I, 118, 25-31; I, 163, 1-5; I, 164, 8-10; III, 243, 1-7) suits his disposition well. If asleep, he often awakes (for example, at IV, 344, 8-16; in a sense, the *cueros de vino* episode, in Chapter 35 of Part I). He also arises early (I, 57, 11-20; III, 250, 4-10), as he is a "gran madrugador" (I, 50, 3-4). His one truly satisfying or deep sleep, of course interrupted, is in the cave of Montesinos.

Cervantes' difficulty in sleeping is concluded from his appreciation for "buen sueño"; in his works sleep, like love, is called "dulce." For Cervantine passages in praise of sleep see "Un fragmento de las *Semanas del jardín*."

¹⁵⁹ Don Quixote had "más de treientos libros, que son el regalo de mi alma y el entretenimiento de mi vida" (I, 343, 28-29). On Cervantes, see my article "Did Cervantes Have a Library?"

¹⁶⁰ III, 226, 26-27. The *alcahuete* of the *galeotes* also had a "mal de orina" (I, 305, 19); Cañizares, the "viejo zeloso," suffered from "la hijada," "la piedra," and frequent urination (*El viejo zeloso, Comedias y entremeses*, IV, 146, 19-24); and the "vejete" of *El juez de los divorcios* also suffered from "la hijada" (*Comedias y entremeses*, IV, 7, 7).

Cervantes described his ailment as "idropesía," 'dropsy' (*Persiles*, I, lviii, 31), excessive fluid in the body, which Cervantes seems to have associated with

Both preferred travel to staying home, and had more contact with horses and mules than with dogs and cats; both preferred the country to the city. Both wanted to help their country, and wished they had the authority to act on their ideas for its improvement;¹⁶¹ both felt nostalgia for previous times.¹⁶² Both admired chivalry (although they understood it differently), and felt that its revival was desirable.¹⁶³ Both were "new" Christians.¹⁶⁴ Each thought he

excessive thirst (besides the passage cited, see *Don Quixote*, III, 262, 15-16). Modern medical authorities (Gómez Ocaña, *Historia clínica de Cervantes* [Madrid, 1899], cited by Ramón León Maínez, pp. 566-67, and José Riquelme Salazar, *Consideraciones médicas sobre la obra cervantina* [Madrid, 1947], cited by Alberto Sánchez, "Estado actual de los estudios biográficos," *Suma cervantina*, pp. 3-24, at pp. 22-23), though they are not in accord on the cause of Cervantes' death, do agree that Cervantes did not die of kidney disease. Yet considering the medicine of his day, in which one of the causes suggested by these authorities, diabetes, was believed to be a disease of the kidneys, it is likely that he *thought* that this was his ailment; dropsy has long been associated with kidney failure, of which it can be a symptom. Cervantes wrote a sonnet for a book on kidney disease, Francisco Díaz' *Tratado nuevamente impreso de todas las enfermedades de los riñones, vexiga y carnosidades de la verga y orina* (Madrid, 1588), which supports this suggestion. (The sonnet is reproduced in *Poesías sueltas* [*Comedias y entremeses*, VI], 49).

¹⁶¹ See, for example, Don Quixote's defense (III, 229, 14-17) of the ability of the *caballero andante* to dispense justice, which, as stated above, was in Cervantes' political theory the chief duty of a ruler. Desirable changes in society are discussed in the following chapter.

¹⁶² There are many statements in Cervantes' works of the superiority of previous times, when heroes were heroes and virtue allegedly reigned; however, the topic is often erroneously dismissed as a literary *topos*. See Castro, *El pensamiento de Cervantes*, pp. 173-81, and Harry Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), especially Chapter 6.

¹⁶³ Don Quixote says this explicitly (I, 261, 17-32; III, 45, 4-47, 5; III, 199, 4; III, 230, 25-231, 11); Cervantes' view I have inferred from his handling of the topic of chivalry, i.e., the evidence already presented in this book.

¹⁶⁴ New Christians, also derogatorily called *conversos*, were persons who had converted to Christianity or whose ancestry could be traced to converts. Most were descendants of Jews who, when faced in 1492 with the decree of expulsion, chose conversion rather than exile. The subject of progressively increasing discrimination in the sixteenth century, their religious origin was naturally concealed.

Since the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, and partly in response to the Catholicism in terms of which the victors defined Spanish culture, there has been a movement, begun and led by Américo Castro, to show the error of this Catholic image of Spain. (For its origins immediately after the Civil War, see Vicente Lloréns, "Los años de Princeton," in *Estudios sobre la obra de Américo Castro*, ed. Pedro Laín Entralgo [Madrid: Taurus, 1971], pp. 285-302. Some precedent is found in the literary magazine of the Civil War, *Hora de España*; see Kessel Schwartz, "The Past as Prologue in *Hora de España*," *Romance Notes*, 10 [1968], 15-19.) Besides affirming that the Semitic cultures of the Spanish Middle Ages were essential to the formation of

was great, and desired fame, but had doubts which were fomented by society's indifference or hostility; thus, both were surprised by the success of Part I, and thus more confident at the beginning of Part II.

A few of these parallels could be accidental or without significance, but not all of them. We are left with the conclusion that Don Quixote is an image of

the Spanish nationality, Castro and others have argued that very illustrious figures in sixteenth-century Spanish culture (Fernando de Rojas, Luis Vives, Las Casas, Santa Teresa, Feliciano de Silva, Jorge de Montemayor, Fray Luis de León, Ercilla, Mateo Alemán, etc.) were new Christians, with Semitic ancestors; A. David Kossoff has recently argued that there are four chances out of five that any middle-class writer of the period (and most writers were of the middle class) came from this background ("Fuentes de *El perro del hortelano* y una teoría de la España del Siglo de Oro," in *Estudios . . . Orozco Díaz*, II, 209-13). Also, few persons had totally pure "blood," laws on the topic were discriminatorily applied, and fraudulent documentation widespread.

As Spain's militant Catholicism is basic to its historical identity, this line of study touches nerves, and has produced heated and even scurrilous controversy (see A. A. Sicroff, "En torno a las ideas de Américo Castro," in *Actas del Quinto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas* [Bordeaux: Instituto de Estudios Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos de la Universidad de Bordeaux III, 1977], I, 105-19); that it has been presented polemically from the beginning has led to an unfortunate polarization of opinion. (I know of no better introduction than the book of José Luis Gómez-Martínez, *Américo Castro y el origen de los españoles: Historia de una polémica* [Madrid: Gredos, 1975], which includes a bibliography of 23 pages.) On the topic of the *conversos* the evidence is not always clear nor well handled (though sometimes it is completely clear and handled rigorously). Even when it is, the significance of such ancestry is questioned.

Evidence in Cervantes' background, in addition to the unflattering treatment of *cristianos viejos* in *La elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo*, *El retablo de las maravillas*, and *El juez de los divorcios*, suggests that he was part of that group. His father and greatgrandfather were surgeons and he himself, in later life, dealt with money, two of the many trades exercised, in the Middle Ages, by Jews, and in the Golden Age by their descendants. Cervantes certainly felt himself to be both an outsider and economically poorly rewarded; the comments of Hermida Balado, pp. 158-59, provide some independent confirmation. What is obvious from his writings, that he took Catholicism seriously, seriously enough to have different views from the Spanish religious authorities of his day (Chapter 1, note 40), is typical of many new Christians. (For further discussion, see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Los judeoconversos en España y América* [Madrid: Istmo, 1971], pp. 213-14; I do not know what Domínguez means by the "tono despreciativo en que [Cervantes] habla de los judíos," nor the identity of the unspecified writers with which Domínguez compares him. A negative statement on Cervantine anti-Semitism is provided by Nicolás Kanellos, "The Anti-Semitism of Cervantes' *Los baños de Argel* and *La gran sultana*: A Reappraisal," *BCom*, 27 [1975], 48-52; in *La casa de los zelos*, the Jews are called "el pueblo que de Dios fue amigo" [I, 198, 26].)

There is no direct evidence that Don Quixote was intended to be portrayed as a

the author, more so than any other character.¹⁶⁵ If one sets aside his mad and destructive deeds, which are concentrated in Part I, he is a thoroughly admirable character. We would only have to add a few qualifications to his self-description as "valiente, comedido, liberal, bien criado, generoso, cortés, atrevido, blando, paciente, sufridor de trabajos" (II, 374, 2-4), and question only whether all of these characteristics are attributable to his reincarnation as knight-errant, as he believes.¹⁶⁶ Viewing him as such goes a long way to

new Christian. What is striking, however, is how strongly Sancho is portrayed as an "old" one. First a conclusion of the narrator (I, 274, 25-28), he then says three times of himself "christiano viejo soy" (I, 296, 26; II, 339, 29-30; III, 67, 8-9), and that he has "cuatro dedos de envidia de cristiano viejo" (III, 78, 14-16; adapted). Sancho adds that he is "enemigo mortal . . . de los judíos" (III, 114, 7) and that if Cide Hamete has implied that he is not an old Christian, "nos avían de oír los sordos" (III, 67, 9-10). He is seemingly "un labrador de los que siempre blasonan de cristianos viejos," as they are described and attacked in "El licenciado Vidriera" (II, 90, 4-10) and in the *entremeses* just referred to. Don Quixote never makes such a statement about himself—one could scarcely expect him to declare "I am a new Christian"—but rather criticizes Sancho for being, though an old Christian, a bad Christian (I, 286, 18-20; compare II, 218, 4-5), who does not fear God (III, 262, 32-263, 2). Sancho's answer to this latter accusation is that he is just like "cada hijo de vezino."

¹⁶⁵ Diego de Miranda is sometimes seen as a representative of the author, because of his hostility to *libros de caballerías* (III, 201, 20-21) and the similarity of his physical description (III, 198, 7-10) to that Cervantes gives of himself in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares* (I, 20, 18-21, 2). Yet, as just pointed out, Don Quixote shares some of that same physical description (III, 175, 23-27), and has much more in common with Cervantes than does Miranda. Miranda, a *labrador rico* (III, 201, 11-12; III, 226, 12-13), which Cervantes was not, does not do anything; he has, or shows, no patriotism, no ideas, no interest in debate. It is hard to visualize Cervantes occupying himself, like Miranda, in hunting and fishing (III, 201, 14-15), or possessed of only six dozen books, limited to *historia* and *devoción*; Miranda shared none of Cervantes' enthusiasm for literature. He also has a son, which Cervantes did not.

Sancho, who develops "buen natural y discreción" (III, 262, 24-25), is also a reflection of the author, though less so. Cervantes shared Sancho's appreciation of food, eaten with "libertad" (see I, 146, 12-18), wine, and rest (note 156A, *supra*). Cervantes also had a taste for proverbs, and used them when writing in the first person: "debaxo de mi manto al Rey mato" (I, 30, 10-11); "castíguele su pecado, con su pan se lo coma y allá se lo aya" (III, 27, 14-15). Sancho's abrupt departure from Don Quixote's house, with a "desmayo de estómago," to return later with an answer to Sansón's questions about the theft of the donkey and loss of the 100 *escudos*, has authorial overtones (III, 71, 12-21). But the parallel is less extensively drawn.

¹⁶⁶ Don Quixote's claim is in response to the canon's list of intellectual benefits he would receive from reading true history (II, 363, 29-32).

explain both his growth in stature and his ingenious rationalizations. He is mad, but very, very intelligent.

There is a fascinating precedent, in a work we have already said much of, for the character who to some extent represents the author, but is wrong, confused, and misguided. That figure is El Pinciano, one of the three participants in the dialogues of the *Philosophía antigua poética*, by El Pinciano.¹⁶⁷ El Pinciano is the character who is in need of illumination from his more learned neighbors Fadrique and Ugo; he is the one with the questions, to which the others provide the answers. He has heard about Aristotle and Cicero, but does not understand them (III, 33); he has a little knowledge, but not enough (III, 79); he is confused (III, 98); he does not understand (III, 103); he draws ridiculous conclusions from naïve interpretations of Aristotle.¹⁶⁸ Yet for all that, he is the one with the intelligent questions, the good observer who goes straight to the weak points of his interlocutors' arguments, with the example they have to struggle to explain. The parallel with Don Quixote is legitimate.

In truth, while in Part I Don Quixote's wisdom is the source of surprise (II, 62, 15-21; II, 361, 17-23), in Part II his two sides are the subject of explicit commentary. At the very beginning (III, 40, 9-44, 24) we are told the story of the man in the *casa de los locos de Sevilla*, who believed he was sane, spoke and wrote with great wisdom, yet "al cabo disparava con tantas necedades, que en muchas y en grandes igualavan a sus primeras discreciones"; the application to Don Quixote is obvious. The description of the wisest minor character of Part II is well known: Don Quixote was "un cuerdo loco y un loco que tirava a cuerdo" (III, 221, 15-16), a view restated by his son ("un entreverado loco, lleno de lúzidos intervalos," III, 231, 22-23), and the narrator ("las entremetidas razones de don Quixote, ya discretas y ya disparatadas," III, 237, 19-21). From Don Quixote's first *consejos* to Sancho, anyone would take him for a "persona muy cuerda y mejor intencionada," but in the second ones "mostró tener gran donaire, y puso su discreción y su locura en un levantado punto"; "a cada paso desacreditavan sus obras su juicio, y su juicio sus obras," is the narrator's summary (IV, 55, 4-15). Those who met him at an inn "quedaron admirados de sus disparates, como del elegante modo con que los contava. Aquí le tenían por discreto, y allí se les deslizava por mentecato, sin saber determinarse qué grado le darían entre la discreción y la locura" (IV, 251, 11-16).

The text offers an explanation: the link between humor and intelligence.

¹⁶⁷ Sanford Shepard, *El Pinciano y las teorías literarias del Siglo de Oro*, 2nd edition (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), p. 27, points out that the *Philosophía antigua poética*, to its author, was a work of literature as well as a treatise on poetry. According to Shepard, in El Pinciano's own classification system it is an example of "poesía dramática."

¹⁶⁸ Forcione, Cervantes, Aristotle, and the "Persiles," p. 84.

Cervantes first points this out with Dorotea, who is both "discreta" and "de gran donaire" (II, 50, 5-6); he follows it immediately with the first allusion to his own comic genius (II, 62, 5-13), and the revelation of Sancho's *discreción*.¹⁶⁹ In Part II, however, the point is made repeatedly. "Las gracias y los donaires, señor don Quixote, como vuessa merced bien sabe, no assientan sobre ingenios torpes," says the duchess.¹⁷⁰ "No puede aver gracia donde no ay discreción," adds Cide Hamete (IV, 65, 31-32). Don Quixote himself states that to be a *bobo*, one must be exceptionally *discreto* (III, 69, 9-11). His *locuras* of Part I become *discretas locuras* in Part II.¹⁷¹

An even more important reason for the creation of Don Quixote's extremely good side was to produce laughter and *admiración* through contrast with his extremely mad side. In Cervantine terms, it is the positive context of an admirable, likeable character that makes the word or deed producing humor stand out; as López Pinciano put it, it is not just "lo feo" which is funny, but "*alguna fealdad*."

We can draw this conclusion from the parallel treatment of Sancho. If Don Quixote is a *cuerdo loco*, Sancho is a *tonto discreto*.¹⁷² In the same speech, Don Quixote says that Sancho "duda de todo y créelo todo"—a more explicit statement of contradictory characterization could scarcely be asked for—and that he is "uno de los más graciosos escuderos que jamás sirvió a cavallero andante"; "el pensar si es simple o agudo causa no pequeño contento" (III, 404, 27-405, 1). Sancho's favorable side, humor, and intelligence are all associated by the duchess: "de que Sancho el bueno sea gracioso lo estimo yo en mucho, porque es señal que es discreto" (III, 374, 12-14).

The contrast in the personality of each is presented in the text in very similar terms, for which reason we can conclude that the opposing facets of both characters serve the same function. Sancho "se despeña del monte de su simplicidad al profundo de su ignorancia" (III, 154, 27-28; adapted), and Don Quixote "se despeña de la alta cumbre de su locura hasta el profundo abismo de su simplicidad" (III, 37, 18-20; adapted). "Parece que los forxaron a los dos en una mesma turquessa."¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ This is also the first contrast of his two sides: first "¡O, qué necio y qué simple que eres!," and then "¡Válate el diablo por villano . . . y qué de discreciones dizes a las veces!" (II, 72, 6 and 23-25).

¹⁷⁰ III, 374, 14-16. Much the same image is used by Don Quixote: "sobre el cimiento de la necesidad no assienta ningún discreto edificio" (IV, 62, 12-13).

¹⁷¹ IV, 55, 15; IV, 273, 24-25; IV, 392, 23-24; III, 31, 32.

¹⁷² III, 405, 1-3; IV, 85, 1-3; IV, 154, 13; IV, 362, 21; IV, 369, 7-9.

¹⁷³ III, 53, 29-30; the same is said of Auristela and Periandro ("la naturaleza avía . . . formado en una misma turquessa a él y a Auristela," II, 244, 27-29). Don Quixote and Sancho are at several points in Part II presented as equivalents: III, 108, 6-7; III, 367, 21-24; IV, 363, 10-11 and 29. Just as Don Quixote could *predicar* (*supra*, p. 141), Sancho could as well: "Dígote, Sancho, que, así como tienes buen natural y discreción, pudieras tomar un púlpito en la mano y irte por esse mundo predicando lindezas" (III, 262, 24-27).

What we can *sacar en claro* from all of this is that Don Quixote is an extremely positive character, not just "el más delicado entendimiento que avía en toda la Mancha" (I, 92, 9-10), but a learned, wise man of action—as favorable a character as Cervantes could create, a character much like himself. At the same time, the text tells us many times, and then tells us that it has told us,¹⁷⁴ on the topic of chivalry he is crazy, incredibly crazy, "rematadamente loco" (IV, 322, 3), "el mayor loco del mundo" (III, 227, 21), a combination which astounds those he meets. It is precisely because such an admirable man had "el más estraño pensamiento que jamás dio loco en el mundo,"¹⁷⁵ expressed in *locuras* which "llegaron . . . al término y raya de las mayores que pueden imaginarse" (III, 128, 9-10), that he was to be "el más gracioso . . . hombre del mundo" (IV, 273, 14-15).

Some readers, of course, found Sancho to be funnier (III, 65, 29-31; III, 394, 26-30), for which reason, of course, his role was expanded. One potential explanation was referred to at the beginning of this chapter: that words, which can be more varied than actions, are intrinsically funnier. But I would like to suggest an additional explanation: that Sancho is also funnier because his two sides are contrasted more dramatically; he is more contradictory and less consistent.

There is a certain consistency to Don Quixote, however contradictory his personality. He is consistent in his view of himself as a knight-errant, subject to certain rules, loving his lady, trying to be useful, and ignoring the conflict between the fantastic world presented in his books and the real world in which he lives. He consistently bases his life and his philosophy on what he has read, and, as already stated, he is mad until the final chapter, though this madness ebbs away in a slow and subtle fashion.

Sancho, however, is much less consistent, and therefore intended to be funnier; we can conclude from the treatment of Sancho that Cervantes favored the creation of humor over consistency of characterization. He changes Sancho readily, far more than Don Quixote ever changes, making him wise or stupid, knowledgeable or ignorant, as it serves the purpose of the humor. Described in the same superlative fashion as his master, he is "uno de los más solenes mentecatos de nuestros siglos" (III, 108, 4-5). Sancho has never read a *libro de caballerías* (I, 138, 9-11); he is ignorant of chivalry (I, 232, 22-23), so ignorant that he believes there are *arzobispos andantes* (I, 382, 23-27) and that a ruler can sell his subjects (II, 41, 19-31). Yet he is suddenly able to speak in beautiful chivalric language to his master (I, 136, 17-23; I, 262, 29-263, 31), the peasant girl he calls Dulzinea (III, 136, 6-15), and the

¹⁷⁴ II, 62, 15-21; II, 361, 17-23; III, 108, 6-7; III, 221, 12-22; III, 229, 1-231, 15; IV, 55, 6-15; IV, 321, 23-25.

¹⁷⁵ I, 53, 4-5. The same superlatives, "el más gracioso disparate y tema que dio loco en el mundo," are applied to the Sevillian madman who inflates a dog (III, 29, 10-12).

duchess (III, 370, 1-15).^{175s} He can quote *romances* to Doña Rodríguez de Grijalva and to Don Quixote,¹⁷⁶ and can tell very appropriate stories (III, 386, 1-14) and match Don Quixote in comparisons (III, 153, 32-154, 5), but uses proverbs "a troche moche" (IV, 58, 12), although occasionally he uses them brilliantly.¹⁷⁷ In fact, he only overuses and misuses them with those characters who find that amusing (the duchess)¹⁷⁸ or annoying (Don Quixote).

In contrast with other people of his town,¹⁷⁹ Sancho knows in Part I that an *ínsula* is surrounded by water.¹⁸⁰ It is funnier, however, if the island he actually "governs" is on dry land, and thus in Part II he is ignorant of this elementary geographical fact (IV, 196, 6-16); similarly, he confidently uses the expression "Santiago, y cierra, España" (III, 76, 22), but later is amusingly ignorant of its meaning (IV, 230, 1-7). Sancho will serve Don Quixote "fiel y legalmente" (III, 107, 25), but six chapters further on we find that his service will only last until they reach Zaragoza,¹⁸¹ and then we learn that he will serve him until death (III, 412, 27-29). He is "prevaricador del buen lenguaje" (III, 244, 15), but can come up with the brilliant coining of "vaziyelmo" (II, 304, 4). Both Don Quixote and the narrator describe him as a *tonto*.¹⁸²

^{175s} See in addition the passages quoted in note 87 to Chapter 3. Sancho's sudden decision to conceal from the priest and barber "el lugar y la suerte dónde y cómo su amo quedava" (I, 378, 13-19) is also seemingly out-of-character chivalric behavior.

¹⁷⁶ III, 378, 10-17; IV, 257, 29-31. It is true that in Golden Age Spain common people were recognized to be familiar with *romances*, but this fact does not explain Sancho's use of them. He quotes them to illustrate points in his arguments, exactly as do Don Quixote (I, 167, 28-168, 8), Maese Pedro (III, 334, 28-32), and the narrator (III, 156, 7-10), rather than singing them for pleasure, like the *labrador* of El Toboso (III, 125, 24-27).

¹⁷⁷ "Al buen callar llaman Sancho" (IV, 61, 13-14). Although the original form of this proverb must have been "santo," the punning alteration to "Sancho" is abundantly documented prior to Cervantes, and may be considered as the form he knew. Besides the examples cited by Schevill-Bonilla and Rodríguez Marín, it is found in *Los refranes que recopiló Yñigo López de Mendoza* and Pedro Valles' *Libro de refranes* (I have used the editions of Valladolid, 1541, and Zaragoza, 1549, respectively), and Ticknor, who considers the form with "Sancho" the original one, cites the later collections of Garay and Hernán Núñez (*History of Spanish Literature*, III, 504).

¹⁷⁸ "El señor gobernador Sancho a cada paso los dize [refranes]; y aunque muchos no vienen a propósito, todavía dan gusto, y mi señora la duquesa y el duque los celebran mucho" (IV, 151, 7-11).

¹⁷⁹ Neither Sancho's wife (II, 399, 23-24) nor Don Quixote's niece (III, 52, 23-25) understands the archaic word "ínsula."

¹⁸⁰ I, 278, 19-20; II, 396, 29-30; and see I, 141, 24-32.

¹⁸¹ III, 171, 32-172, 2; also see III, 368, 17-19.

¹⁸² Don Quixote: III, 426, 15; IV, 35, 19; IV, 238, 19. The narrator: III, 111, 6; III,

Everyone in his town sees him as a *porro*,¹⁸³ and he applies to himself both these terms (IV, 389, 21-22; III, 416, 29), adding that he is possessed of a "ruin ingenio" (III, 416, 22). He neither sees through the "ridículas ceremonias" (IV, 78, 30) of Barataria nor realizes that Pedro Recio de Agüero is making fun of him (IV, 97, 4-100, 14). Yet he is smart enough to recognize that Basilio's suicide is false (III, 270, 10-11), to note the funny error in the Devil's speech (III, 428, 17-20), and to ask intelligent, yet mocking questions of the *primo* (III, 279, 23-280, 30). Although illiterate (I, 138, 10-11, and many later statements), he knows so much that it seems that he has studied,¹⁸⁴ and he has a knowledge of book composition (III, 75, 10-14) and of the theater (III, 149, 2-11) he could never have gotten in his *lugar*, but he is so ignorant that he believes that as a noble, it would be appropriate to be followed in public by his own barber (I, 297, 24-27), and he can not identify as galleys the "bultos" with "pies" which move in the sea (IV, 276, 10-11). He exposes Don Quixote's hyperbolic rhetoric when, almost perfectly, he repeats back to him his words after the *batanes* are identified (I, 276, 19-27), but he soon tells us that his memory is so bad that he often forgets his own name (I, 367, 14-16), and we laugh at him when he mangles Don Quixote's letter to Dulzinea (I, 380, 24-381, 14); his "buena memoria," the narrator does not fail to tell us, caused "no poco gusto" for the priest and the barber (I, 381, 15-16). He is stupid enough to set off for El Toboso to find Dulzinea there, although he has just learned that she is really Aldonça Lorenço, from his own town (I, 377, 16-17). At the beginning of Part II he is smart enough to realize that looking for her there is a waste of time, and to invent her enchantment. Yet he is stupid enough to be convinced by the duchess that the enchantment he himself invented is real, and to agree to give himself 3,300 blows to end it.

Funny, to be sure. Consistent, not very. There is, of course, some consistency to Sancho. Throughout the book Sancho is interested in food, desires physical comfort, and amuses us with his speech. Yet Cervantes further shows his preference for humor over consistency of character by putting words in his characters' mouths that they would never say, if he wanted them to be consistent. Don Quixote, who believes Dulzinea the most wonderful woman ever created, "would never" compare her with Helen and La Cava. Sancho, who has no reason to annoy his master and fears his *cólera* (I, 285, 3), "should know better" than to compare his thoughts with manure (III, 154, 12-14) or to make up such offensive details about Dulzinea (II, 64, 11-67, 32; III, 111, 20-112, 5). Doña Rodríguez, the "dueña de honor" of the duchess (IV, 112, 23-25), is called "veneranda" by Don Quixote (III, 380, 32)

368, 15; IV, 123, 8; IV, 363, 29. He is also frequently called *simple* and *necio* (for examples, see Appendix 4 of Flores, *Sancho Panza*).

¹⁸³ IV, 172, 22-24; see also III, 89, 6.

¹⁸⁴ II, 72, 24-25; IV, 328, 23-25; also II, 357, 16-18 and III, 280, 18-19.

and "reverenda" by the narrator.¹⁸⁵ Yet Cervantes not only makes her surprisingly and amusingly ignorant,¹⁸⁶ he puts in her mouth the dirtiest line in the whole *romancero*,¹⁸⁷ makes her discuss her lack of virginity (III, 454, 5-8), and has her compare the covering of her body to that of a *muladar*.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ III, 377, 19; IV, 111, 11-12. Her "tocas" are "reverendísimas" (IV, 115, 18-19).

¹⁸⁶ "La tenían por boba y de buena pasta" (IV, 168, 6-7), confirmed in the description of the narrator, "la sandez y dessemboltura de doña Rodríguez, y de su mal andante hija" (IV, 171, 14-16).

¹⁸⁷ "Ya me comen, ya me comen/ por do más pecado avía" (III, 414, 8-9).

¹⁸⁸ III, 454, 23-26. A *muladar* was "el lugar o sitio donde se echa el estiércol o basura que sale de las casas" (*Autoridades*).