

THE UNIVERSAL QUIXOTE: APPROPRIATIONS OF A LITERARY ICON

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

First functioning as image based text and then as a widely illustrated book, the impact of the literary figure Don Quixote outgrew his textual limits to gain near-universal recognition as a cultural icon. Compared to the relatively small number of readers who have actually read both extensive volumes of Cervantes' novel, an overwhelming percentage of people worldwide can identify an image of Don Quixote, especially if he is paired with his squire, Sancho Panza, and know something about the basic premise of the story. The problem that drives this paper is to determine how this Spanish 17th century literary character was able to gain near-universal iconic recognizability. The methods used to research this phenomenon were to examine the character's literary beginnings and iconization through translation and adaptation, film, textual and popular iconography, as well commercial, nationalist, revolutionary and institutional appropriations and determine what factors made him so useful for appropriation.

The research concludes that the literary figure of Don Quixote has proven to be exceptionally receptive to readers' appropriative requirements due to his paradoxical nature. The *Quixote's* "cuerdo loco" or "wise fool" inherits paradoxy from Erasmus of Rotterdam's *In Praise of Folly*. It is Don Quixote's paradoxy that allows readers and viewers to choose the aspects of the protagonist that they find most useful. Some of that difference in interpretation has been diachronic, starting with a burlesque view of Don Quixote as the insane hidalgo, later developing a romantic interpretation of the

protagonist as a noble knight. Much of that difference has been geographical, with Spanish appropriators tending to reflect Don Quixote as a heroic reflection of national character, and many outside of Spain choosing to use the knight as a symbol of impracticality and failure. Ultimately, Don Quixote's long lasting influence has been due to his ability to embody the best of the human spirit; the desire to fashion oneself into a more noble identity and achieve greater deeds than one's cultural environment would normally allow.

DEDICATION

To my Margarets: the one who raised me and taught me to love reading and whose kid I still am, and the one who has loved me and been by my side for the last twenty-five years. I love you both with all my heart.

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I lay down my pen with regret. Mine has been a labour of love, and has afforded me, for some time past, delightful occupation during my leisure moments. My recompense then has been already attained, for my work has been its own reward. Should nevertheless my book prove useful, in however small a degree, and should it be found possible to award me the

lowest place among those who have devoted their time and energies to Cervantes' immortal romance, the summit of my ambition will have been reached.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: FIRST STEPS OF APPROPRIATION

“Thirty thousand copies of my history have been printed, and thirty thousand thousand times more are on their way to being printed if heaven does not intervene.”

-Don Quixote to Don Diego de Miranda

Don Quixote II, 16¹

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, the second most published and translated book in history, (Givanel 11) now carries with it over four hundred years of scholarship. Its status as the original novel, its complex play between the fictional and the real and its impact on succeeding novelists have been closely examined and thoroughly dissected.² But the paradox of the work and its protagonist, how that paradox has been reflected in its various appropriations in translations, adaptations and images, as well as why the protagonist is so compelling for us in his various paradoxical manifestations are relatively new fields where this dissertation will attempt to till a small patch of new ground.³

¹ A note on citations: all quotations from *Don Quixote* are cited in the text of this study by book and chapter, as, for example, (II, 16). All quotations from the Spanish text of *Don Quixote* are from the Schevill and Bonilla Madrid edition of 1928/1941. All English quotations, unless otherwise specified, are from Edith Grossman’s 2003 translation.

² Stephen Gilman’s 1989 book, *The Novel According to Cervantes*, examines the impact the Quixote had on the development of the modern novel.

³ Access and comparison of these Quixote adaptations and images is made possible by recent advances in archives such as the Cervantes Project’s Digital Quixote Iconography and Centro de Estudios Castilla-La Mancha.

Some scholars, Charles Presberg among them, have signaled the *Quixote* as a product of literary paradoxy, part of a long tradition in literature and philosophy, starting with Parmenides' cryptic writings on being and non-being and their subsequent influence on Plato (notably in his dialog *Parmenides*) and the Greek satirist Lucian, continuing in the writings of ancient Rome's Catallus and Cicero (2) and on into the middle ages in Buridan's *Sophismata*. The paradoxical writer that most strongly influenced Cervantes was Erasmus of Rotterdam, the philosopher who, in 1511, wrote *The Praise of Folly*, a satirical examination of the doctrine and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. It is believed that Cervantes' teacher, the humanist López de Hoyos, introduced him to Erasmus' writings,⁴ which were considered heresy and outlawed in Spain by the time Cervantes wrote the *Quixote*.

Pressberg points out that paradoxy in the *Quixote* starts at the Prologue of 1605's Part I, which "constitutes a summation of his entire narrative's purpose, design, and rhetorical method" and "cultivates a cosmological strain of paradoxy by dramatizing paradoxes about the nature (or definition) of 'art' and 'life' as nonexclusive opposites" (82, 83). He goes on to posit that, despite some indications which would lead a reader to believe that the writer of the Prologue is indeed presented as the author himself, the writer of this Prologue is also fictional since the writer considers Don Quixote an empirical character (buried in the historical archives of La Mancha) and not a fictional one. Pressberg claims that this game pulls the idle reader into the same "fictional

⁴ The classic study of the connection between Erasmus and Cervantes, *Erasmus y España*, was done by Marcel Bataillon in 1966. A more recent reevaluation written by Francisco Márquez Villanueva in 1984 is "Erasmus y Cervantes, una vez más."

heterocosm” (86). Here begins the overarching paradox of the *Quixote* according to Pressberg:

Cervantes’ semantic game dramatizes an unsettling variation of the prototypical, logical antimony: “This statement is false.” . . . Every time a reader chooses to make a statement such as “The author is named Miguel de Cervantes,” “This is his book,” or “This is its title page,” that reader is also “saying,” “this is not Cervantes, his book or its title page.” By referring simultaneously to the real and the imaginary author, book, or title page, that reader is referring, through language, to both and neither. (92, 93).

The paradox that begins the novel and outlines (or erases) the boundaries of play for the author and reader extends to the character of the protagonist who is both *cuerdo* and *loco*, both *hidalgo* and *caballero*. It is paradox that makes this narrative and this protagonist work and this mad knight compelling to us as readers. Cervantes’ novel leverages both sacred iconography and the imagery of profane carnival, causes translators to make its protagonist both strange and familiar to their own national audiences, provokes writers to adapt what Nobokov called an “encyclopedia of cruelty” into a children’s book, inspires cinematographers and dramatists to (with widely varying degrees of success) either loosely or tightly adapt it to the screen and stage, and animates illustrators to depict the protagonist in heroic or ridiculous terms (sometimes both simultaneously). The character Don Quixote eventually became so universally recognizable that commercial interests used his name and image, even in the most basic

form of a silhouette, to relate an unknown product to a known icon for the assured comfort of recognition and credibility. There is something in us, too, that is attracted to these pictorial, commercial, cinematic, dramatic and literary manifestations. The multifaceted and paradoxical Manchegan knight, along with his author who refuses to tell us how to read him, seems to continue to give us something we need more than four centuries after his creation.⁵

Before examining all those iconic representations, though, we should examine the literary environment into which the *Quixote* was born and how it reached immediate popularity. *Don Quixote* was one of several prose fiction works that emerged from the sixteenth century readily received by a readership accustomed to pastoral, sentimental and chivalric romances and picaresque novels. The work's episodic nature appealed to the large percentage of the population that still enjoyed literature in a setting of socialized collectivity and the technological advances in printing that began to produce cheap and portable editions in the eighteenth century made the work available to the growing literate public. In spite of sixteenth century prohibitions against the production and diffusion of romance fiction in the New World, the *Quixote* enjoyed popularity there, with some early *Quixotes* shipped to America as early as 1605 (Canavaggio 55). Even before the advent of illustrated editions fifty years after the first edition, the *Quixote* was an image-based text with extensive descriptions of the protagonists and their adventures as well as self-referential descriptions of the illustrations in its own

⁵ After visiting the Guantánamo Bay detention facility in 2009, journalist Besan Sheikh reported that the *Quixote* was the second-most requested title (after the *Harry Potter* novels) among the library's 13,500 books for the detainees ("Guantánamo Reading List").

“found manuscript.” Evidence of the impact of that textual proto-iconography is found in the numerous appearances of costumed “Don Quixotes” at parades and celebrations throughout Europe and the New World in the early seventeenth century, revealing the effects of what Ellen Spolsky has called “iconotropism,” a term that hypothesizes that “human beings feed on pictures, metabolize them - turn them into nourishment - because we need the knowledge they provide” (16).

This dissertation is about the cultural, political and institutional appropriations of literary icon Don Quixote and will therefore focus more on the cultural impact of the protagonist than the book itself. But as E.C. Riley points out, the protagonist and the novel are occasionally difficult to untangle (“La singularidad de la fama” 28). An example from the pen of Cervantes himself can be found in his dedication of *Comedias y entremeses* to the Count of Lemos, declaring that “Don Quixote has his spurs on in the second part ready to go kiss your Excellency’s feet” (qtd. in “La singularidad de la fama” 28). As a point of origin for understanding how the Knight of the Sad Countenance first came to light, it may be helpful to examine the vehicle which initially delivered him in 1605. To that end we shall examine how the *Quixote* was published and diffused throughout the Spanish speaking world, the environment into which the book was born, as well as the cultural, demographic, and technological factors present in the peninsula and the empire in the last half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century.

By the time Part I of Cervantes’ novel was published in 1605, Spain was an important generator of European prose fiction and the *Quixote* came to figure among

several important Spanish works: *Cárcel de amor* (1492) by Diego de San Pedro, *La Celestina* (1498) by Fernando de Rojas, a well-known chivalric romance series *Amadís de Gaula I – IV* (1508), by Rodríguez de Montalvo, the *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio* (1528) by Antonio de Guevara, *Guerras civiles de Granada, Pt. I* (1595) by Ginés Pérez de Hita, *La Diana* (1559) by Jorge de Montemayor, and *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599) by Mateo Alemán. E.C. Riley relates that all of the aforementioned were reprinted or printed around the timeframe that Part I of the *Quixote* was being published. The anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) was also a work of great significance, but had less impact on the literary scene in its day due to intense censorial pressure from the Inquisition (*Don Quixote* 9, 10). Except for *La Celestina*, a humanistic comedy, and *Guerras civiles de Granada*, which was a historical novel, most of these books fell into the categories of romance fiction or picaresque novels, placing them among the most common and commercially successful prose fiction of the Spanish Golden Age (*Don Quixote* 9). Maxime Chevalier points out that chivalric romance was by far the best selling genre of the sixteenth century, with forty-six new titles and two hundred fifty-one known editions of chivalric romances. And although the last chivalric romance was published in 1602, idealistic romances continued to appear, with old favorites republished well into late 1600's and pastoral romances continuing to be published until the 1630s (qtd. in *Don Quixote* 10).⁶

⁶ Daniel Eisenberg's 1987 book, *A Study of Don Quixote*, examines the connection between chivalric romance and the *Quixote*.

The *Quixote* then arrived for a readership conditioned and receptive to pastoral, sentimental and chivalric romances and found its place, its market and its readership in the 17th and 18th centuries by standing on the shoulders of romance fiction and mixing the established genres. Cervantes continues in the stream of his own pastoral romance *La Galatea* (1585) in the *Quixote* where the Manchegan knight holds forth on the uncomplicated delights of utopian rural life, discourses near the beginning and end of the work that act as practical bookends for the entire text (I, 6; II, 67). The pastoral thread continues in the multiple intertextual references to Arcadia, the *locus amoenus* for renaissance pastoral fiction and poetry. Don Quixote's solution to his problem of how to fill his time when he is forced to retire from knighthood for a year as a condition of his defeat by the Knight of White Moon (II, 67) is to become a shepherd, even going so far as to propose a slight name change to fit the shift in identity. The episode of Marcela and Gristósomo in Chapters 7 and 8 of Part I includes a bucolic funeral scene like many that populate the Renaissance pastoral (Iventosch 65). The genre of sentimental romance is most strongly represented in Don Quixote's relationship with Dulcinea, but Cervantes' intercalated stories "The Man Who Was Recklessly Curious" and "The Captive's Tale" also reinforce the genre. Elements of sentimental romance continue in the *Quixote's* Part I with the stories of Marcela and Gristósomo, Cardenio and Luscinda, Fernando and Dorotea and Don Luis and Doña Clara. Part II features the stories of the love triangles of Quiteria, Camacho and Basilio as well as that of Doña Rodríguez' daughter, the rich farmer's son and Tosilos. The stories of Claudia Gerónima and Don Vicente as well as Ana Felix and Don Gregorio continue the theme of sentimental

romance in Part II. Of course, the *Quixote*, however parodically, is most famously and centrally built on a foundation of chivalric romance. Cervantes playfully pays homage to the Arthurian chivalric romances as well as their French and Spanish sequels in the all-night vigil that the knight kept over his armor and weapons and the ensuing ceremony of knighthood, the fight with the Basque squire, the love letter carried by his squire to Dulcinea, the encounter with the lion, the Cave of Montesinos, and the enchanted boat on the Ebro River (*Don Quixote* 37). Some episodes go so far as to combine romance fiction genres. The Marcela-Gristósomo story combines the sentimental and the pastoral and chapters featuring the story of Doña Rodríguez' daughter, the rich farmer's son and Tosilos meld the chivalric and sentimental.

The Spanish word for long prose fiction up to the early seventeenth century was *historia* or *libro*. Although the *Quixote* serves up a mix of the well-known ingredients of the topos of romance fiction, it is clearly a new genre which eventually came to be known as the novel, not to be confused with the *novela* of Cervantes' time.⁷ Scholars have varied on what makes the *Quixote* the first modern novel, but their comments center on the themes of how the reader sees the protagonist, the subjectivity of the main character, the play between the fictional and the real and the subject of the individual faced with the dilemma of dealing with modernity. E.C. Riley insists that the *Quixote*

⁷ *Novela* in Spanish came from the Italian *novella*, which, as the name suggests, was a new arrival on the literary landscape in the fifteenth century. *Novelas* in Cervantes' time were similar to modern short stories. Cervantes himself contributes to possible confusion between the *novela* and the modern novel by writing in the Prologue to his *Novelas ejemplares* in 1613, "I am the first that has "novelled" in the Spanish language. There are many novels in Spanish that have been printed, and all are translated from foreign languages, and these are my own, neither copied nor stolen" (64-65). [Yo soy el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana, que las muchas novelas que en ella andan impresas, todas son traducidas de lenguas extranjerias, y estas son mías propias, no imitadas ni hurtadas"].

was ground-breaking in its focus on the internal development of the protagonist, pointing out that instead of simply wondering what will happen next to the hero, the reader is given the chance to contemplate how the protagonist will react when something happens to him (*Don Quixote* 46). Américo Castro, in his Prologue to the 1962 Porrúa edition of the *Quixote*, also emphasizes the subjectivity and internal development of the protagonist, stating that “What is really debated in the *Quixote* is the difficulty of becoming this or that person, and the expression of how that difficulty shows itself in the conscience of the person who undergoes the difficulty” (xii). [lo en verdad debatido en el *Quijote* es la dificultad de realizarse como tal o cual persona, y la expresión de cómo tal dificultad se manifiesta en la conciencia del “dificutado”]. William Egginton maintains that the *Quixote*’s primary innovation is the way the protagonist and the text oblige the reader to simultaneously inhabit real and fictional worlds, knowing that what he or she is reading is fiction while pretending that the story is real; a phenomenon that Samuel Taylor Coleridge called the “willing suspension of disbelief” (“Colbert, Quixote”). Harry Levin would call Cervantes’ play between imagination and reality the “quixotic principle” (224). In the *Quixote*, it is precisely the tension between the real and the fictional that is discussed in detail in the dialogues between the Canon and the Priest and between the Canon and Don Quixote in Part I, Chapters 47-50 (*Don Quixote* 65). Michel Foucault claimed that it was Cervantes’ understanding of the ephemeral and malleable relationship between words and things that makes his work the first novel (Friedman 151). Although Rachel Schmidt concedes that strong cases could be made that the original novel is either *La Celestina* due to its blending of genres and discourses

or *Lazarillo de Tormes* with its use of irony and narrative voice, she calls the *Quixote* the exemplary modern novel in her book *Forms of Modernity* because of how the protagonist addressed the problems of the individual's dislocation in modernity, a dilemma the Manchegan knight attempts to remedy by seeking to restore a lost golden age of knight errantry and pristine pastoral solitude in the midst of an increasingly impersonal, technologically oriented society (Schmidt 17).

Transition to the modern was something to which European readership from the 1500's to the 1700's could relate. The literate public in that timeframe was experiencing a phasing from pure orality, through collective, public reading to individual, silent reading (López, Farré 26). As a book about books, readers and reading, the *Quixote* seems to account for all three modes of literary consumption. Sancho's limitless supply of folk sayings and his stating seven times that he is illiterate ("Speaking and Writing" 172) are reminders of the fact that we are never far from medieval orality in the *Quixote*. The work strings together an impressive array of storytellers and episodes of storytelling. Sancho, Pedro the Goatherd, Cardenio, Dorotea, the captive, the barber and Maese Pedro are some of storytellers who engage in an activity apparently fraught with potential for inciting violent reactions if the listeners determine that it is poorly done. The novel's very first chapter tells us that Don Quixote's purported insanity is caused by reading from his private library until dawn, featuring the protagonist as part of a privileged minority that could not only read, but had his own private library, although in Don Quixote's case, the books were financed by the extreme measure of selling off some of his lands. Margit Frenk points out that during this timeframe books also started to be

rented, further individualizing and making more accessible the activity of reading (qtd. in *Don Quixote* 8). Episodes such as the one from Chapters 32 to 35 of Part I, where more than thirty people crowd together in an inn to hear the reading of the story of “The Man Who Was Recklessly Curious” feature the custom of public reading (López, Farré 27). The *Quixote* itself conforms to the general concept of public reading, similar in structure to pastoral, chivalric and adventure romances in the 1600’s and built around a protagonist with isolatable episodes. An extended family or inn full of travelers could clear the table after dinner, read a single chapter aloud to an audience that included unlettered grownups and small children, close the book and retire to bed early enough to get a good night’s rest before the start of the next arduous workday.

Reading in late 16th century Spain was growing more accessible and individualized. Although a literacy rate of twenty percent may seem pitifully small by today’s standards, that percentage was higher than it had ever been before. Spain saw the number of its universities expand from eleven to thirty-two between 1500 and 1600 (*Don Quixote* 8). Cervantes, in calling the vulgo “that ancient legislator” in Part I’s Prologue, seemed to sense that he was writing for an expanding readership, one that was starting to extend through an increasingly relevant mercantile class. Cervantes seemed to understand this dynamic very well in famously addressing his Prologue in Part I to “Idle reader,” [Desocupado lector] a salutation that is without precedent in Spanish literary prologues (Presberg 126). A study by Roger Chartier *et al.* underlines the idea that private reading was made possible by the marriage of two factors, one cultural and one technological: the increase of literacy and the advances in printing (126).

From around the year 1450, when Johannes Gutenberg invented the movable type printing press in Mainz, Germany, to the year 1500 the price of books fell by two-thirds (Dittmar 1133). That reduction in cost resulted in a greater accessibility to literature, but several obstacles existed which slowed the spread of print technology from Germany to Spain. The first obstacle was the fact that the printing press started out as quasi-proprietary technology. Its key innovation, the casting of the moveable metal type, was complex, requiring a combination of alloys that was strong and ductile, hard, non-porous and noncorrosive. This alloy was cast with a precise combination of lead, tin, and antimony that was a trade secret for almost a century (Dittmar 1153). The distance from Mainz, Germany was also a factor in how rapidly the printing technology spread, and since Toledo is 1,600 kilometers away, the establishment and growth of the printing industry arrived in Spain later than it did in other important cities in Germany, the Netherlands, and northern Italy. As a result, by 1500 only nine percent of Spain's important cities had printing presses, compared to sixteen percent in Germany, fourteen percent in Italy and eighteen percent in the Netherlands (Dittmar 1144). In an attempt to close the technological gap caused by the distance from the epicenter of the development of printing, the Spanish crown encouraged the immigration and installation of some foreign printers in the late 1400's by exempting certain taxes (Lucía Megías, Abad 65). In the 1600's French and Flemish typesetters and print shop workers were attracted to Spain by the demand for experienced workers, reasonably high wages, and ironically, a relatively safe refuge during a time of war and disturbances in France and the Low Countries (Griffin 115, 116). The presence of foreign printers in Spain would later

become problematic after 1552 when the Treaty of Passau dashed all possibility of the coexistence of Protestantism and Catholicism in the Peninsula. In the 1560's and 1570's the Inquisition rooted out networks of "heretics;" mostly foreigners working in print shops across Spain, who were jailed for years, sentenced to service in the galleys, and in some cases burned in *autos de fe* (Griffin 112). The specific case of Pierre and Isabel Regnier gives us a glimpse into the community of foreign printers in Spain and the Inquisitorial process as it related to the printing industry in the latter half of the sixteenth century. In 1570 Pierre Regnier was denounced by a fellow French printer, Guillaume Herlin, and arrested in Barcelona where he had worked for eleven years and had become a successful print shop owner. Pierre Regnier spoke Catalán, but not Spanish, and his illiterate wife Isabel spoke neither language. The interrogations were carried out by the Inquisition with the help of barely competent interpreters. Regnier was sentenced to six years of service in the galleys, a death sentence in practical terms, and his wife was burned in an *auto de fe* in Toledo (Griffin 113, 114). The Inquisitorial witch hunt in which the Regniers were caught up may have sharply curbed the production of the mostly foreign-staffed presses in the peninsula and hastened the assumption of those functions by Spanish printers and print shop workers during the latter half of the sixteenth century.

All of these circumstances surrounding the printing industry in Spain suggest that national printing capability may have been rapidly filling a vacuum left by persecuted foreign printers and was just hitting its stride in a frantic phase of "catch-up" in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when the *Quixote*, *La Diana*, and

Guzmán de Alfarache were being published by Spanish presses. Cervantes' novel arrived on the literary scene for an increasingly varied and individualized reading public in 1605 at a chaotic intersection of burgeoning technological capability, literacy and cultural popularity.

The story of how the *Quixote* went to press contains as many ironies, ambiguities and uncertainties as the work itself. In the Prologue of Part I Cervantes himself said that the work was "engendered in a prison" but it is uncertain which one and when, since he was imprisoned for five years in Algeria and twice in Spain (although many scholars believe he referred to his stint in prison in Seville in 1597) (*Don Quixote* 28). Cervantes sold the rights to *Don Quixote* to publisher and bookseller Francisco de Robles in July or August of 1604, theoretically protecting his rights as the author for ten years. He was probably paid between 1,330 and 1,600 reales. Although Don Quixote's conversation with the translator in a print shop in Barcelona in Part II's Chapter 62 may reflect a degree of dissatisfaction with the pay Cervantes received for Part I, the author enjoyed the admiration and strong support of Robles, the most powerful and well known publisher in Madrid (Jurado 37).

Francisco de Robles turned over Cervantes' manuscript to Madrid printer Juan de la Cuesta, who ran off the first printing just before the end of the year. The first steps of the *Quixote* were frantic and awkward ones. The early editions were rife with errors, with errata numbering several hundred compared to later Cervantes works *Novelas ejemplares* and *Persiles* which only had about one hundred each (Rico lxxxiii). While the Inquisition took great interest in regulating the ideological content of books, the

Spanish crown did not regulate the systematic processes of the printing industry and it was common for print shop workers to be employed without having been formally trained (Griffin 263). In the case of the *Princeps* edition of the *Quixote*, our novelist made the job of the copyists and print shop workers more difficult by his alternate spellings of words such as “tuue” and “tube,” “e” and “he,” “ansi,” “assi,” and “así,” “mesmo” and “mismo,” differences which were not unusual since, in Spain as well as in the rest of Europe, there was wide variation in accepted orthography before the 1800’s (Rico xciv). Cervantes also typically omitted the accent marks that are so crucial in written Spanish and even occasionally neglected to place a dot over the “i” (Rico lxxxi). The printers (and compositors of the *Quixote*’s first edition were responsible for mistakes such as the omission of the heading of Part I’s Chapter 43 in the first edition and then inserting it in the wrong place in the second edition. Other erroneous or misplaced headings, those of Chapters 28, 29, 35, 36 may also be due to the printers. Printers divided the labor of the process and made many spelling and style mistakes. Cuesta subcontracted the printing of subsequent editions to another press, and the new printers corrected some errors and made some others. The subcontracted printers who worked on sections of the second edition of the *Quixote* introduced different spellings and changed punctuation. In one instance, a compositor even corrected one of Sancho’s humorous malapropisms (Flores 45). Sancho’s ass disappears and reappears inexplicably in the first edition, a problem that was supposed to be rectified in the second. Unfortunately, the missing passages were inserted in Chapters 23 and 30 instead of their corresponding Chapters 25 and 42 (*Don Quixote* 30). Determining exactly

which mistakes can be attributed to the author and which are the fault of the printer is a difficult enterprise, however, since Cervantes' original manuscript has long since disappeared.

There is no confusion, however, over whether the first edition of the *Quixote* was well received by the reading public. The popularity and commercial success of the book was immediate (*Don Quixote* 30; López, Farré 25). Juan de la Cuesta started printing a second edition immediately after the first in order to meet reader demand. That second edition was ready for sales and shipment by May of 1605. In truly cervantine⁸ fashion, concerns about the public reception of Part I are expressed self-referentially in Part II (López, Farré 25). In that exchange Don Quixote asks Sancho about how the knight's story was being received among the public. Sancho answers, "As regards your worship's valor, courtliness, deeds and enterprise," Sancho went on, "there are different opinions. Some say: 'Mad, but amusing;' others, 'Brave, but unfortunate;' others, 'Courteous, but presumptuous'" (II, 2). ["En lo que toca", prosiguió Sancho, "a la valentía, cortesía, hazañas y asunto de vuestra merced, hay diferentes opiniones: unos 'loco,' pero 'gracioso;' otros, 'valiente,' pero 'desgraciado;' otros, 'cortés,' pero 'impertinente.'"]

Like other successes such as the picaresque *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the *Quixote's* use of humor was one of the most important factors which contributed to the book's

⁸ I use the word cervantine to describe the ground-breaking techniques used by Miguel de Cervantes, some of which include metatextual references, the play between fantasy and reality, the self-conscious and self-referential author, and the authorial distancing achieved by the use of editors, found manuscripts and translators.

popularity. Daniel Eisenberg's *La interpretación cervantina del Quijote* cites what could be an apocryphal but often quoted incident when King Phillip III who, upon observing a student who was laughing out loud while reading a book said, "That student is either out of his mind or he is reading the story of Don Quixote" (26).

Another strong indicator of the book's popularity was the immediate publication in 1605 of unauthorized editions in Lisbon and Valencia, further complicating any attempts at determining exactly where the early *Quixote* went and who read it. The privilege for Cervantes (or Robles on Cervantes' behalf) to print in Portugal was granted on February 9, 1605 (Flores 42). R. M. Flores posits that Robles was motivated to pursue the *tasa* for Portugal as soon as he heard of an unauthorized Lisbon edition (42). Cervantes took seriously the threat to his work posed by unauthorized editions and on April 12, 1605 he gave bookseller Francisco de Robles and attorney Diego de Alfaya permission to take legal action against those who published the edition in Lisbon without authorization (Lucía Megías, Abad 73). By August of 1605 the total of Spanish language editions (authorized and unauthorized) was two in Madrid, two in Lisbon, and one or two in Valencia. There were to be four more in Brussels (1607), Madrid (1608), Milan (1610), and Brussels (1611) before the *Quixote's* Part II was published in 1615 (*Don Quixote* 30).

The year 1616 saw another Spanish edition of Part II published in Brussels and another in Valencia and in 1617 one more was produced in Lisbon (*Don Quixote* 92). The Barcelona 1617 publication of both parts is considered to be the first edition of the complete *Don Quixote*. After 1617 the publication of Spanish editions of the *Quixote*

was irregular. There is no known edition between 1617 and 1637 and only four or five between 1637 and the crucial Brussels edition of 1662, the first illustrated cover and the basis for most subsequent editions until 1700 (Rico cxii). Manuel Durán posits that the *Quixote*, a book based on carnivalesque medieval laughter, was pushed aside by a seventeenth century school of thought that considered the funny to be incompatible with the important (84). Renewed interest in and editions of the *Quixote* peaked to differing degrees upon each centennial of the publication of Part I. Blanca López de Mariscal and Judith Farré Vidal put the total of Spanish *Quixote* editions in the seventeenth century at twenty-eight, with thirty-three editions coming to light in the eighteenth century (25).

Beginning in the 1700's the publication of the *Quixote* took two generally divergent paths: one produced in cheap pocketbooks with prints of woodcut images, and the other in ornately formatted editions which took on the status of classics (Rico cxii). By the mid-1700's small format Spanish editions of the *Quixote* were available and affordable for middle-class readers, published by Juan Jolis and later, Manuel Martín. These pocket editions of the *Quixote* published by presses like those of Jolis and Martín were made of cheap materials and were turned out in four small volumes of no more than fifteen by ten centimeters in size (see fig. 1).

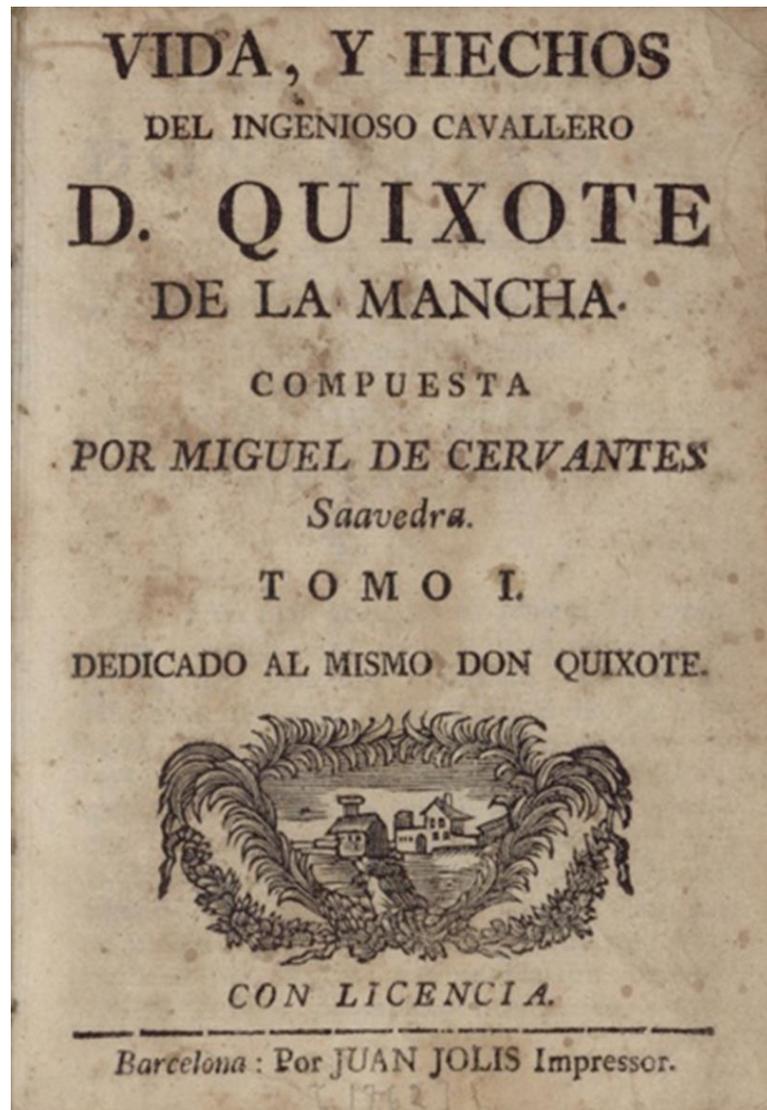


Figure 1. Title page. Barcelona: Juan Jolis, 1762; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Juan Jolis made clear his intent in publishing editions of this size in a publisher's introduction, writing,

I have determined (at the request of many people impassioned about the subject) to divide it into four volumes of eight for the greater convenience

of the Readers; so that with these one can be able to bring it with him on a Trip, or in the Country, where the curious person can be entertained by reading some chapters; . . . I hope you will be pleased by this small gift, from one who desires to serve you with all his heart. Vale. (López, Farré 28).

[He determinado (instado de muchos sujetos apasionados a ella) dividirla en cuatro tomitos en octavo para la mejor comodidad de los Lectores; pues con estos se logra el poderse traer consigo en el Paseo, o en el Campo, en donde puede entretenerse el curioso en leer algunos capítulos; . . . Espero agradecerás este corto obsequio, de quien desea servirte con toda voluntad. VALE.]

The editorial success of the cheaply produced *Quixote* versions prompted Jolis to claim in 1750, perhaps with the hyperbole that accompanies good marketing, that “no person of moderately good taste is without it” [no hay persona de mediano gusto, que esté sin ella] (“Imprenta de Jolis” 754). In the sheer weight of sales volume, the cheap editions of the book, totaling at least 30,000 generously illustrated copies in the second half of the eighteenth century, overshadowed the large ornate editions such as the 1738 Tonson, an edition which produced what Rodríguez Cepeda terms “aristocratic gifts,” [regalos aristocráticos] books that may never have totaled more than a thousand copies and were destined to be displayed more than to be read (“Imprenta de Martín” 63). The 1780 Ibarra and the 1777 Sancha editions, totaling less than 5,000 copies, occupied a middle ground between the most expensive and cheapest editions and were read by an

upper-middle class public (“Imprenta de Martín” 64). In addition, the eighteenth century marked a period in which the *Quixote* came to be universalized, at least in the Spanish peninsula, as a school primer, a pedagogical tool for teaching young people to read and write (“Imprenta de Jolis” 754). It could be that to own a copy of the *Quixote*, however humbly and cheaply made, was equivalent to the identification of oneself as a literate person in eighteenth century Spain in the same way that having a Christian Bible in one’s home in Western culture may confer a certain degree of religiosity.

For a book about his adventures to be a thorough commercial success would have been entirely the point of Don Quixote’s imaginative foray into knight errantry. For the protagonist himself, to do the good deeds concomitant with knighthood was not sufficient: his heroics had to be published in a book to build the fame he desired. Numerous times in the text Don Quixote extemporaneously composes out loud how the author of his story will one day chronicle his adventures in print, even going so far as to predict that his deeds would be worthy of being “carved in bronze, sculpted in marble and painted on tablets” (I, 2). When he hears early in Part II about the existence of his own story as Part I, he is apparently so satisfied by the fact that his history has been published he does not even ask to read the book. The concerns, speculation and confusion about the printing of the first volumes of the *Quixote* are self-referentially mirrored in the text of the *Quixote*’s Part II, with Sansón Carrasco estimating the run of Part I at 12,000 copies in Chapter 3 and Don Quixote stating that the first publication produced 30,000 copies (Cascardi 171).

Although the previously mentioned pocket editions of the *Quixote* were beginning to be produced in the 1700's, large luxury editions were also being published for libraries. The Real Academia Española (RAE) was the leader of this trend in Spain by the second half of the 18th century. The main concern of the RAE in the late 1700's was to produce a pure and correct version of the *Quixote* and to that end; it commissioned several editions, beginning with the 1780 Ibarra. Illustrations were given nearly as much importance as the text itself, and the RAE hired the best artists and illustrators of the day (Manuel Salvador y Carmona, Fernando Selma, José del Castillo) and charged them with maintaining fidelity to Cervantes' descriptions (Farré, López 29, 30). The 1780 Ibarra edition also included paratextual biographical and documentary material by Vicente de los Ríos (*Don Quixote* 176). Nevertheless, Rodríguez Cepeda claims that the Ibarra edition was virtually without readers in Spain, due to the fact that the market had long been saturated by cheap copies such as the Jolis editions ("Imprenta de Jolis" 756).

The first edition with a commentary, the work of the Rev. John Bowle, was published in Spanish in Salisbury, England in 1781. There were more biographical contributions by M.J. Quintana and J.A. Pellicer in two notable end-of-century editions, but it was Fernández de Navarrete who in 1819 laid the foundation for every modern *Life of Cervantes* (*Don Quixote* 176).

Spanish editions of the *Quixote* also made their way into the hands of some notable North Americans in the 18th century. Spanish Ambassador Diego de Gardoqui sent George Washington a 1780 Ibarra edition after they had discussed the work over

dinner with Benjamin Franklin (Allen, Finch 40). Thomas Jefferson passed the time during a trip to England by reading *Don Quixote* in Spanish (Dos Passos 75).

The publication and diffusion of the Spanish language editions of the *Quixote* went unchecked and unrestricted throughout Europe, but a few obstacles existed that made exportation to the New World problematic in the first two hundred years of the book's existence. The printing of an early edition of the *Quixote* in America was out of the question. The development of the printing industry in the Spanish New World lagged several hundred years behind the European timeline and was closely regulated by the authorities. Benedict Anderson points out that by the end of the 1600's there were only two presses in Spanish colonial America: one in Mexico City and one in Lima. Both were strictly limited to ecclesiastical production (qtd. in López, Farré 30). The first edition of the *Quixote* printed in the New World was done in Mexico in 1833 and the first South American edition was published in Montevideo in 1880 (Carilla 16).⁹

The first and most obvious deterrent to the shipping of books produced in Europe to the New World was the fact that books were heavy (relative to their cubic space) and fragile products that were sensitive to damp conditions (Dittmar 1140). To expose such a specialized and non-essential product to the vicissitudes of transoceanic travel was riskier than the shipment of many other commercial items and supplies. Another problem was a lack of market competition. Manuel Martín attempted to export the *Quixote* to the Americas in the eighteenth century, but ran up against the privileges of

⁹ The first publication of the *Quixote* in the New World was predated by the children's adaptation *El Quijote de los niños*, which was published in 1863 in Valparaíso, Chile.

groups such as the Royal Company of Printers and Bookmakers (“Imprenta de Martín” 66). There were also concerns expressed by the authorities about the trafficking of books which worked at cross purposes with the ideological imperative to convert the natives to Christianity. Legal dispositions in 1531 and 1534 prohibited the shipment of romance fiction to America. The 1531 bulletin, prohibited the exportation of “romance books of vain or profane stories, like *Amadís (de Gaula)*, and others of this quality because they are a bad example for the Indians, and something that is not good for them to use or to read” (López, Farré 30). A 1543 Royal proclamation addressed to the governing bodies of Perú prohibiting the distribution of works of fiction in the New World is even more explicit, stating:

It comes to our attention that many difficulties arise from transporting to those regions books in the vernacular containing fables and other equally mendacious stories: because those Indians who can read will turn to them, setting aside books that offer good and holy doctrine and, reading instead these deceitful stories, will learn from them bad habits and vices and, moreover, when they discover that those frivolous stories never happened, it may be that, since they are not yet well grounded in the Faith, this will diminish their respect for the authority and veracity of Holy Writ, for they may come to believe that all our books are of the same sort, having the same authority (qtd. in *Anatomy of Subversive Discourse* 21).

Nonetheless, time, distance and bureaucracy conspired to make the legal restrictions against works of fiction difficult to efficiently enforce. Pedro Rueda writes that “numerous books could pass to America without obstacles or inquisitorial impediments, including many works that were later ordered to be collected or expunged in the Spanish inquisitorial indexes of 1538-1584, 1612 (with the corresponding appendices of 1614 and 1628), 1632 or 1640” (140). The lapse of time between the identification of the work in the “process” and the decision to have it collected could be several years. This delay permitted many works to cross the Atlantic as part of publishers’ and merchants’ recurrent shipments without any kind of obstacles.

In spite of sixteenth century prohibitions against the production and diffusion of “vain or profane stories from romance books,” [libros de romance de historias vanas o de profanidad] the *Quixote* gained some measure of popularity in the New World.

Several scholars maintain that the *Quixote*’s first or second editions made it to the Americas in 1605 (López, Farré 30, *Don Quixote* 30, Gruzinski 30) in spite of the fact that only twenty-six copies of the *princeps* remain in existence and none of them were found in Latin America.¹⁰ Over three hundred first edition copies were lost in a shipwreck off the coast of Havana, but more than seventy copies were reportedly

¹⁰ The textual and editorial history of the *Quixote* is critically analyzed and summarized by Francisco Rico in “Historia del texto,” *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Francisco Rico, director (Barcelona: Instituto Cervantes-Crítica, 1998). The bibliographic census and accounting for existing *princeps Quixotes* has been done by the investigative project “Grupo de investigación PrinQeps 1605,” directed by Víctor Infantes, the results of which have been published in the *Anuario de Estudios Cervantinos* and *La primera salida de El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha* (Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1605). *La historia editorial de un libro*, ed. Víctor Infantes (Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2013).

rescued and eventually transported to Lima, with a few copies reaching Cuzco, the historical seat of the Inca Empire, in 1606 (Gruzinski 30).

The *Quixote* editions that were initially produced and read in Spain and transported to the New World were fundamentally different from the *Quixote* we know now in the sense that they were initially not illustrated. The fact that the *Quixote* functioned on the basis of images without anything more than textual descriptions, without any illustrations for the first fifty years of its remarkable life (a life that continues to show strong vital signs), bears further scrutiny, study and consideration.¹¹ Lucía Megías and Abad claim that when the printing industry was in its early phase of development, books with images were considered to be for the illiterate (35). This factor, along with the extra expense and technical expertise required to include illustrations in a text, may account for the lack of images for the first fifty years of a text that is, by nature, image based (“From Text to Icon” 108). Before continuing any further discussion on the topic, some explanation of what is meant by “image based” is in order. Ruth El Saffar says, “Cervantes does not work with literary norms or ideas at all, but through images which, unstated, carry the imprint of his vision of the world” (qtd. in Laguna 22). Ana Laguna, in her book, *Cervantes and the Pictorial Imagination*, points out that art and literature enjoyed a particularly close relationship during the 1500’s and 1600’s, with writers considering themselves to be painters of words, and painters thinking of themselves as writers of images (15). E.C. Riley states that “*Don Quixote* is

¹¹The first thoroughly illustrated complete version of Cervantes’ novel was the Dutch 1657 edition.

a novel conceived in strongly visual terms, and fundamental questions of visual perception are built into the structure and fabric of the book” (“From Text to Icon” 111).

Cervantes made his text image based by including a key reference to an illustration within the book itself, referencing the visual arts in the text, employing highly effective descriptive storytelling, and anchoring much of what he describes in existing carnivalesque and religious imagery, creating what could be considered a “proto-iconography”. If it were not paradoxical enough to combine the comic nature of the carnivalesque and the serious nature of the religious, we should consider that each of those concepts is paradoxical in and of themselves. Charles Presberg, in his book *Adventures in Paradox*, points out the multiple paradoxes inherent in the Christian faith, “one God as a trinity of persons; Christ as both God and man; Christ, the King of Kings born in a stable as a child; later ‘enthroned’ upon a donkey in Jerusalem, and then crucified in the manner of a slave; Mary as both virgin and mother; the need to die in order to live; the last shall be first, and so on” (17). Mikhail Bakhtin famously pointed out the “syncretic pageantry” of carnival with its marriage of the “lofty with the low” (250, 251).

For the *Quixote*’s functionality to be image-based without illustrations may speak to the reader’s need to visually connect with the text, including or especially during a timeframe in human history when humans were less inundated with images. That need may be tied to “iconotropism,” which has to do with the human impulse to create, behold and interpret visual art (*Iconotropism* 23, Esrock 165).

The identification of the “found manuscript” in the Toledan street market in Part I’s Chapter 9 that connects the rupture between Chapters 8 and 9 hinges on the availability of a translator but is also enriched by the inclusion of a written description of a textual illustration, which at the time was purely fictional. The illustration is referred to in the text as accurately describing and labeling the Basque squire, Don Quixote and Sancho. The text describes the illustration as, “a very realistic depiction of the battle of Don Quixote with the Basque, both in the postures recounted in the history, their swords raised, one covered by his round shield, the other by his pillow, and the Basque’s mule so lifelike that at the distance of a crossbow shot one could see that it was a mule for hire” (I, 9). Eduardo Urbina, in his article “Iconografía textual e historia visual del *Quijote*,” makes the point that even though it was only textually described, the image constitutes “the incitement and beginning of the iconographic tradition of the *Quixote* as well as the confirmation of the visual character of his actions, as criticism frequently alleges.” (1106) [la incitación y principio de la tradición iconográfica del *Quijote* así como la confirmación del carácter visual en sus acciones, con frecuencia aducido por la crítica.]

When the *Quixote*’s textual iconography began to grow in later years the collection of real illustrations of the battle between Don Quixote and the Basque became some of the most commonly reprinted, imitated and well-known images in the work (see fig 2).

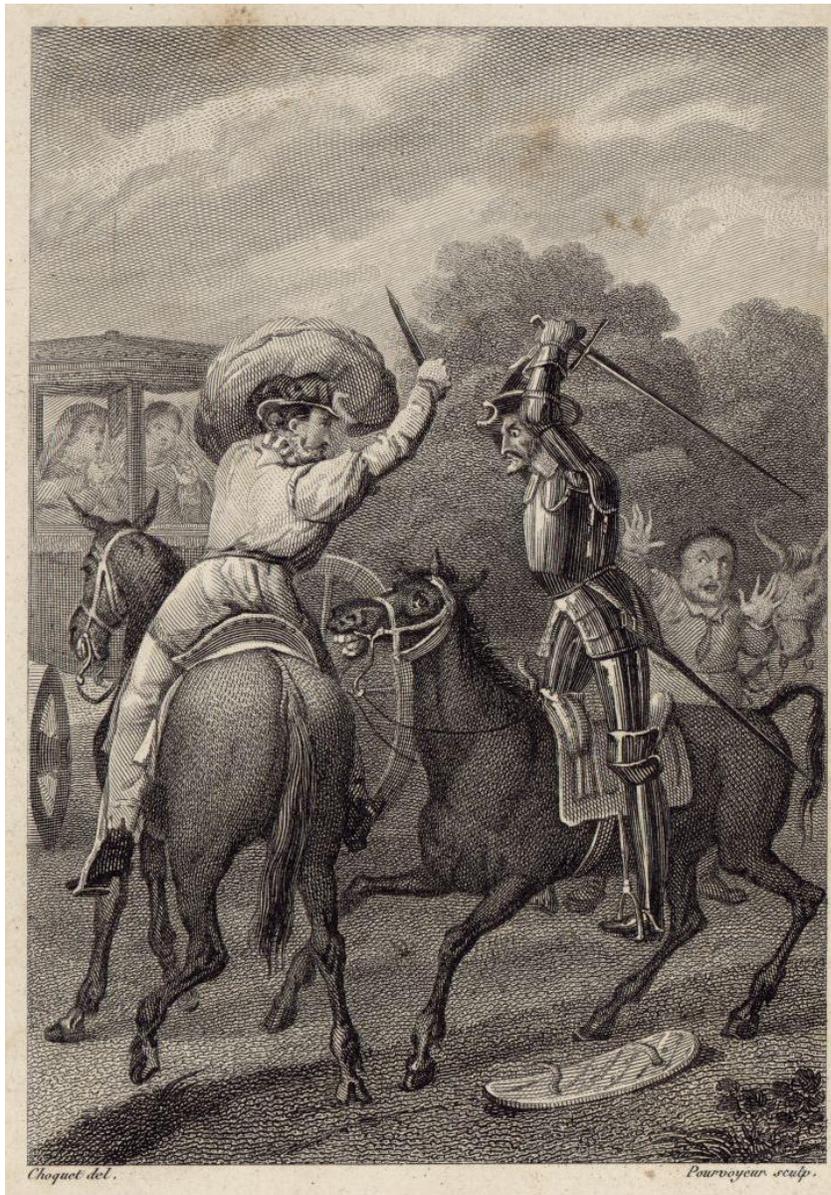


Figure 2. “Don Quixote and the Basque.” Paris: Didot, 1835; Illustrator, Louis Choquet; Engraver, Jean Francois Pourvoyeur; <http://dqj.tamu.edu>.

Like many novels, stories imbedded in the overall story of the *Quixote* are valued for their descriptive detail and ability to create images in the minds of the listeners.

Ellen Spolsky sustains that oral cultural traditions lean heavily on imagery at the expense

of abstract concepts (*Iconotropism* 25) and Sancho's storytelling is a good example of this phenomenon. When Sancho tells Don Quixote the story of the goatherd Lope Ruiz and the shepherdess Torralba, to pass the terrible night next to the fulling mill, he describes the shepherdess as:

“a stout girl, and wild, and a little mannish because she had something of a mustache; it's as if I could see her now.”

“Then, did you know her?” said Don Quixote.

“I didn't know her,” responded Sancho. “But the man who told me this story said it was so true and correct that I certainly could, and when I told it to somebody else, affirm and swear that I had seen it all” (I, 20).

[una moza rolliza, zahareña, y tiraba algo a hombruna, porque tenía unos pocos de bigotes, que parece que ahora la veo.”

“¿Luego conocístela tú?”, dijo don Quijote.

“No la conocí yo”, respondió Sancho; “pero quien me contó este cuento me dijo que era tan cierto y verdadero, que podía bien, cuando lo contase a otro, afirmar y jurar que lo había visto todo.]

The strong connection between the creative activities of the painter and the writer is a repeated theme in the *Quixote* (Ruta 876). Cervantes relates the work of the writer and the painter, unfavorably comparing Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda, the writer of the spurious *Quixote* sequel published in 1614, to a careless painter named Orbaneja (II, 3). When Don Quixote and Sancho travel to Barcelona near the end of the novel, Sancho makes reference to the tapestries he sees at an inn and speculates that “before

long there won't be a tavern, an inn, a hostelry, or a barbershop where the history of our deeds isn't painted" (II, 71). ["que antes de mucho tiempo no ha de haber bodegón, venta ni mesón, o tienda de barbero, donde no ande pintada la historia de nuestras hazañas;"] The tapestries are poorly done, though, and the knight takes advantage of another opportunity to compare the artist responsible for the tapestries to the sloppy Orbaneja and equate him with Avellaneda as the poor and uninspired writer. Tapestries were a common and important vehicle of visual arts in Cervantes' time and Don Quixote later compares the demands of translating from Greek and Latin to viewing a tapestry from the opposite side, further strengthening the *Quixote's* visual arts-literary arts connection (II, 62).

Current Spanish language use of the verb "pintar" included many situations that involve descriptive activities, not strictly cases in the visual arts, but the *Quixote* features especially frequent use of the word. Cervantes employs the Spanish verb "pintar" in dozens of references to a verbal or written description, and the writers' art is foremost among these examples. Don Quixote describes Homer's work in writing epic poetry about Ulysses "whose person and works Homer paints for us a living portrait." (I, 25) [cuya persona y trabajos nos pinta Homero un retrato vivo.] The knight may be employing the historical present in the original Spanish to describe a past activity but the present tense of that description also allows for the suggestion of a fresh process of painting and viewing every time the reader consumes Ulysses in the process of reading.

Verbal descriptions of events and people in the text also prominently use the verb "pintar," such as the farmer's verbal description of his grotesque future daughter in law

before asking Sancho for a gift of up to 600 ducados during the latter's governorship of the insula Barataria. The metaphorical process of painting is not tangential, but central to the discussion. The farmer interrupts his description to say:

“Señor Governor, please forgive me for painting in so much detail the traits of the woman who, in the long run, is going to be my daughter, because I love her dearly and think she's fine.”

“Paint as much as you like,” said Sancho, “because I'm enjoying the picture, and if I had eaten, there couldn't be a better dessert for me than your portrait” (II, 47).

[Y perdóneme el señor gobernador, si por tan menudo voy pintando las partes de la que al fin al fin ha de ser mi hija; que la quiero bien, y no me parece mal.]

“Pintad lo que quisieréis”, dijo Sancho; “que yo me voy recreando en la pintura, y si hubiera comido, no hubiera mejor postre para mí que vuestro retrato.”

The farmer continues before Sancho, exasperated, finally tells him, “You should realize, brother, that now you've painted her from head to toe.”

[“haced cuenta, hermano, que ya la habéis pintado de los pies a la cabeza.]

Another factor of the *Quixote's* imagery is the suitability of the descriptions of the Manchegan knight and his sidekick for carnivalesque reference, especially when

considered in the context of the *Quixote's* burlesque episodes such as Sancho being tossed in the blanket (see fig. 3), the Biscayne squire defending himself with a pillow in a sword fight, Quixote and Sancho aboard the wooden horse Clavileño, Don Quixote standing on tiptoes on Rocinante's saddle while hanging from a window and any of the numerous episodes of Don Quixote receiving beatings or being stoned by angry adversaries. Manuel Durán maintains that the *Quixote* was built on a foundation of carnival, (73) a set of images based on concepts that the first readers would have seen as very familiar. In becoming Don Quixote, Alonso Quijano is putting on a mask the same way a carnival celebrant would (Durán 79). Sancho's gluttonous image mocks his master's asceticism in the same way that carnival laughs at the high-minded attitudes and status of the upper class (Durán 82). The descriptions of the Duques in Part II and the elaborate jokes they play on Sancho and Don Quixote suggest continuous carnival. Indeed, the Duques install Sancho as a type of temporary King Momo when they make him the governor of Barataria, a post he can only hold for eight days (Durán 83). Augustín Redondo also highlights Sancho Panza's governorship as a reflection of carnivalesque vision and biblical rebirth (41, 53). Eduardo Urbina has written about Don Quixote's paradoxical ability to inspire either admiration or laughter by his defense of chivalric romances to the Canon in Part II's Chapters 44 -47 ("El concepto de *admiratio*" 17, 18)



Figure 3. “Sancho being blanketed.” London, 1725; Illustrator, Pierre-Charles Trémolieres; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Nevertheless, Don Quixote and Sancho are hardly original or unique in their literary personalization of *Carnaval*. Riley points out the very real possibility that the appearance of our protagonists is derived from the traditional medieval images of Carnival and Lent as a short, fat man surrounded by food and a tall, thin figure riding a thin horse (“Singularidad de la fama” 43). A pair of similarly corpulent and slender Italian comics, Bottarga and Ganassa, was popular as early as 1574 and a sixteenth

century engraving of a Harlequin as a knight errant with a tripod cooking pot for a helmet mounted on a bony ass looks like a possible inspiration for the character Don Quixote (“From Text to Icon” 109). Of course, Don Carnal and Doña Cuaresma could be the most unforgettable characters described in the Archipreste de Hita’s *Libro de buen amor*, which precedes the *Quixote* by over two hundred and fifty years.

In the text of the *Quixote* itself the bachelor Sansón Carrasco prophetically mentions the strong visual impact of the work’s personalities when he describes one of the consequences of the first volume: the characters’ descriptions are so vivid and well known that the common popular response when people see a skinny horse in flesh and blood is to remark “There goes Rocinante” (II, 3).

Extra-textual evidence of the impact of that carnivalesque textual proto-iconography is found in the numerous appearances of costumed Don Quixotes at parades and celebrations throughout Europe in the early seventeenth century. As early as June, 1605 a Portuguese nobleman was seen dressed as Don Quixote, riding a dappled nag and accompanied by a “squire” dressed as Sancho Panza (“From Text to Icon” 107). In that same year a person dressed as Don Quixote was already appearing as a personality at bullfighting fiestas in Valladolid. In 1614 he appeared in the celebrations of the beatification of Santa Teresa de Jesus in Zaragoza, in Córdoba in 1615, in Sevilla in 1617 and in the Universities in Salamanca, Baeza and Utrera in 1618. A study by Leonard Irving uncovered an episode where a person dressed as Quixote participated in a parade in Heidelberg in 1613 (qtd. in Allen, Finch 30). Don Quixote and Sancho made at least ten such appearances in carnivals and festivals by 1621 (“From Text to Icon”

107). It bears repeating that during this timeframe these costumed Quixotes were not responding to or copying any visual image, only textual ones that evoked corresponding images in the imaginations of readers. In so doing, these imitators were doing the same thing the *Quixote*'s protagonist had done, acting out and personifying what they had read. Maybe even more significantly, this early stage of Don Quixote's literary and cultural presence marks the beginning of the popular identification of the character by people who had not and would never read the text either because of their illiteracy or their lack of access to the book. Their entire understanding of the protagonist was based on having seen another person dressed as him at a carnival or parade. These are the beginnings of appropriation of the figure not only as a written character, but as a visual one as well, and the uncoupling of Don Quixote from his textual origin, leading us to the current situation in which "This book is often seen, much talked about, and seldom read" ("Visual Knowledge" 15).

Don Quixote also appeared in celebrations in the New World. Luis de Gálvez showed up as the Manchegan knight at a masquerade party to commemorate the naming of the Marquis of Montesclaros as Viceroy of Perú in 1607. In 1621 another Don Quixote mask was seen at a festival celebrating the beatification of San Isidro in México. A section of the parade that accompanied the same celebration was headed up by a personality named "Fame" and included Don Quixote, Sancho and Dulcinea del Toboso alongside Don Belanís de Grecia, Palmerín, and other well-known contemporary figures of chivalric romances (López, Farré 31, 32). The inclusion of the *Quixote*'s minor characters may imply that the work had already gained a literary foothold and

established some measure of popular presence in New Spain, since the decision to include those personalities may logically be based on the assumption of some degree of corresponding popular knowledge. An even more important factor of these American Quixotes, though, may be seen in the juxtaposition of Don Quixote with more established, traditional chivalric figures and it may point to a basic human impulse that is especially provocative in the context of carnival, where the rules of acceptable behavior are suspended and social roles and even genders are often temporarily inverted. For Don Quixote, an emaciated and unintentionally comical anti-hero, to appear alongside the imposing, heroic figures of the well-known knights of chivalric romance may well represent an inversion within the inversion, enhancing and intensifying the participants' enjoyment derived from pushing the already expanded social boundaries.

What cannot be discounted in the attempt to take the measure of the force of Don Quixote's proto-iconography is its connection with existing religious imagery that would have been highly recognizable and perhaps would have invoked strong emotions and impulses for many seventeenth century readers. One of the most recognizable uses of this connection is the episode in Part II's Chapter 58. In that episode, after leaving the hospitality of the Duke and Duchess and continuing his journey to Barcelona, Don Quixote comes across a group of farmers resting next to a collection of wooden religious images carved in relief. Each of the four tablets being transported by the men is covered with a white sheet to protect them from the elements and preserve the artwork. The four carvings show four saints on horseback, each in its own isolated scene. The principal

figure on each tablet corresponds to a different symbol codified in Christian iconography. Just as the four tablets are destined to be joined together to form an altarpiece in the farmers' church, the figures are unified in their use of the horse and the knight as central figures. María Catarina Ruta points out that this scene in the novel alludes to a circle full of ritual suggestion (878). Sancho functions as a sounding board for Quixote's comments on the artwork that they uncover together piece by piece.

The first figure is that of Saint George on horseback, which may have resembled this fifteenth century Bernat Martorell painting (see fig. 4). This patron saint of knights, with his lance poised to plunge into the mouth of the serpent, may have been based on the Greek myth of Perseus and Andromeda, but it would seem that Saint George is the Christian figure responsible for giving rise to the innumerable continuations and variations of the knight-dragon-damsel topoi.

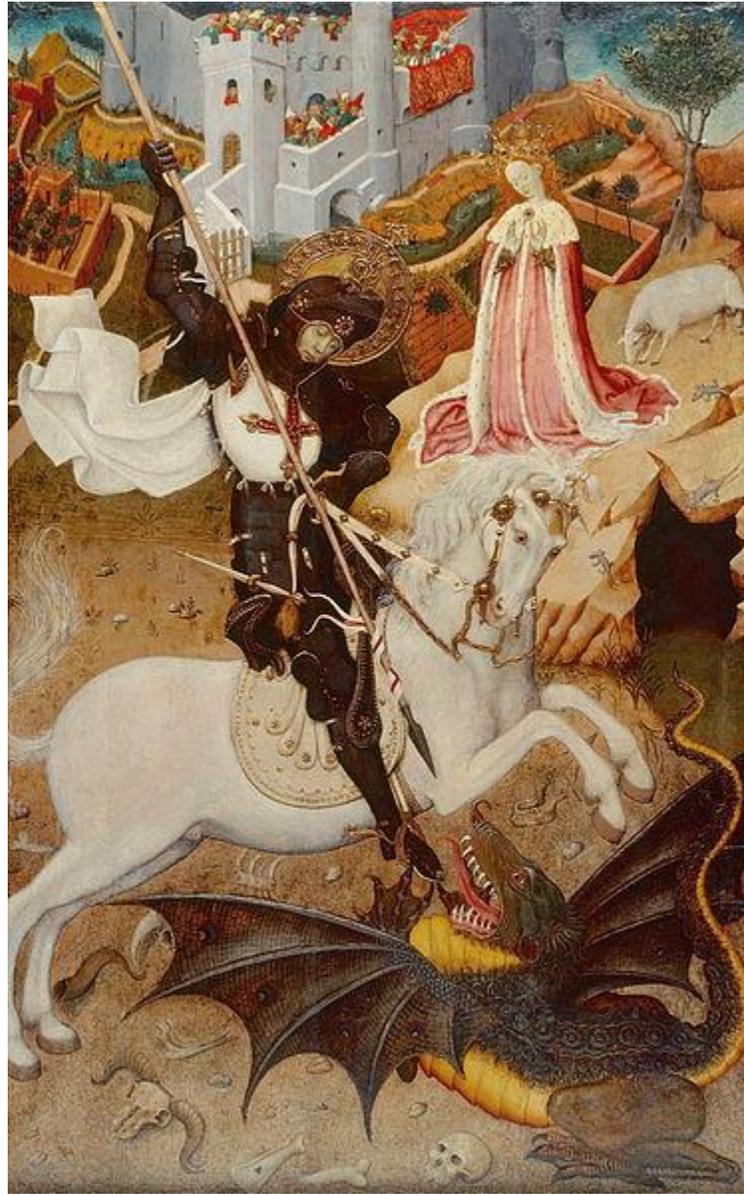


Figure 4. “Sant Jordi.” Barcelona: Primera Plana, 1997 (1434-1435); Illustrator, Bernat Martorell; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Martorell_-_Sant_Jordi.jpg.

Don Quixote immediately identifies Saint George in the carving and declares that he is one of the best knights that divine militia ever had. The myth of the Christian saint, in demonstrating mastery over his lance, horse and monster, can be seen in sharp contrast with Don Quixote's disastrous charge at the windmill where the knight's lance is shattered, his mount lifted into the air and rendered ineffective, and he is unceremoniously unhorsed and injured by the machine (Ruta 879). The second image Quixote uncovers is that of Saint Martin, a young Roman soldier in the fourth century in the act of cutting his cloak in half to clothe a poor, naked man in Amiens, France. Although Saint Martin is the patron saint of soldiers, Don Quixote seems to be less impressed with him than the other saints seen in the religious carvings, remarking that although Saint Martin was one of the Christian adventurers, he was more marked by liberality than bravery.

The next figure viewed is that of Saint James in his role as the patron saint of Spain: San Diego (or Santiago) the Moor-killer. The carving shows Saint James with his sword bloodied, crushing Moors with his horse on the front lines of a battle during the *Reconquista* of Spain. The knight confirms for Sancho that Saint James was one of the bravest saints and knights the world ever knew.

Cervantes reserves Don Quixote's uncovering of Saint Paul for the last of the four images. The carving shows Paul lying on the ground beneath the horse and includes some depiction of the light that blinded the Apostle and the writer includes the detail that the carving is lifelike enough to inspire the claim that onlookers could hear Christ speaking and Paul responding. The description of this image is consistent with

Caravaggio's famous 1601 painting of Saint Paul's conversion for the Cerasi Chapel of the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome (see fig. 5).

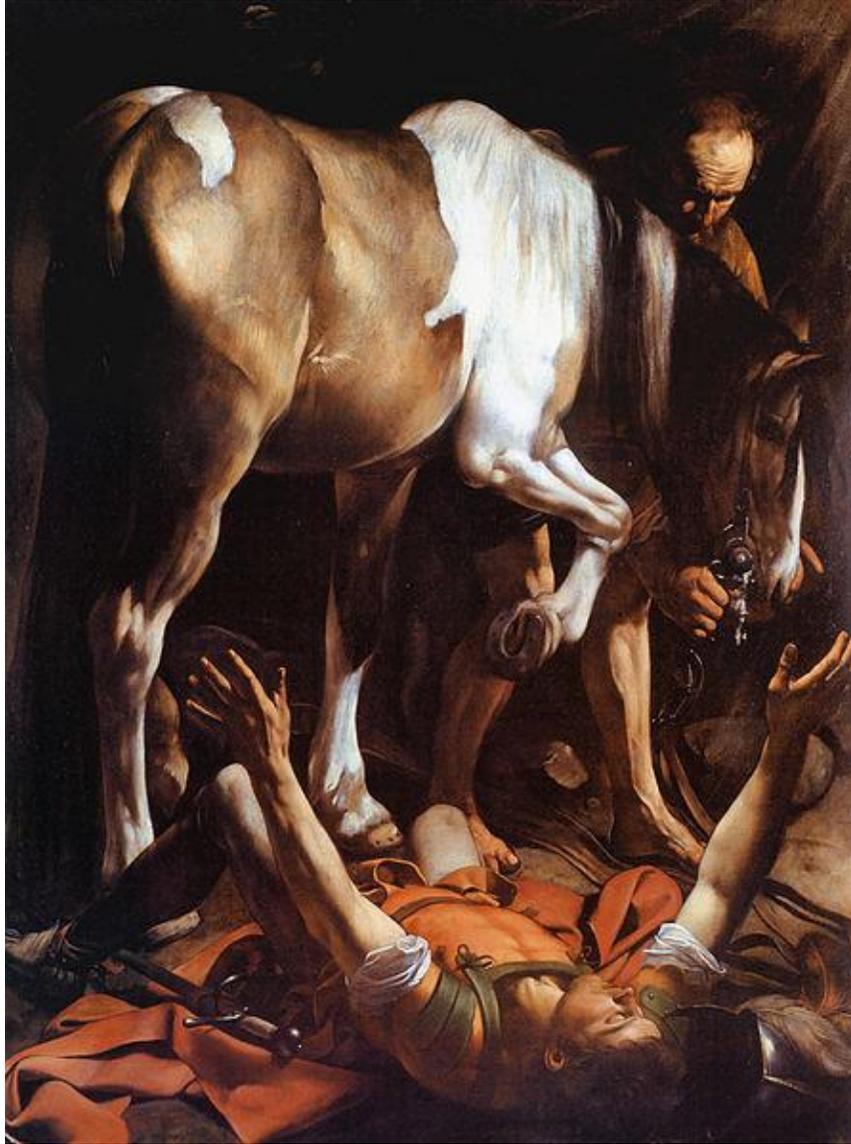


Figure 5. "Conversion of Saint Paul." 1600-1601; Illustrator, Caravaggio;
[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caravaggio_-
_La_conversione_di_San_Paolo.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caravaggio_-_La_conversione_di_San_Paolo.jpg)

Although the painting predates the writing of Part II of the *Quixote*, it is doubtful that Cervantes ever saw this specific work due to the fact that the writer's time spent in Italy took place much earlier. It is highly probable, though, that Cervantes saw other images depicting Paul's conversion experience on the road to Damascus since that scene was a prominent part of Catholic iconography. This idea is reinforced by the fact that the text describes the arrangement of the woodcarving that Don Quixote views as "the fall of St. Paul from the horse above, with all of the circumstances in the depiction of his conversion that are usually painted" (II, 58). [la caída de San Pablo del caballo abajo, con todas las circunstancias que en el retablo de su conversión suelen pintarse]. The dominance of ubiquitous Catholicism in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain ensured that religious imagery was well known to Spanish and Catholic readers and that Catholic iconography enjoyed a kind of omnipresence in the collective psyche of the *Quixote's* author and readership. We will never know with any certainty whether Cervantes' intended to connect what he describes in the novel to religious imagery, but some subtle similarities exist between Paul's conversion and Quixote's windmill episode and they cross the genres of plastic arts, religious significance and literary context.

The first connection between the depiction of Paul's conversion and many of the images that show the results of Don Quixote's tilting at the windmill is the parallel construction of the thematic elements. Typical images of Paul's conversion show either a source of light or of a Christ figure at the top of the image. The horse, if present, is above Paul, who is either supine or kneeling at the bottom of the work. The Caravaggio painting, for example, shows the light shining on the scene from a higher point outside

the work. The horse stands above the rider, inverting the normal position of the rider on horseback. In many of the images we see of the windmill incident we see the agent of the rider's unhorsing, the windmill, at the highest point with Rocinante similarly above his thrown rider and Don Quixote either falling helplessly or lying on the ground (see fig.6).

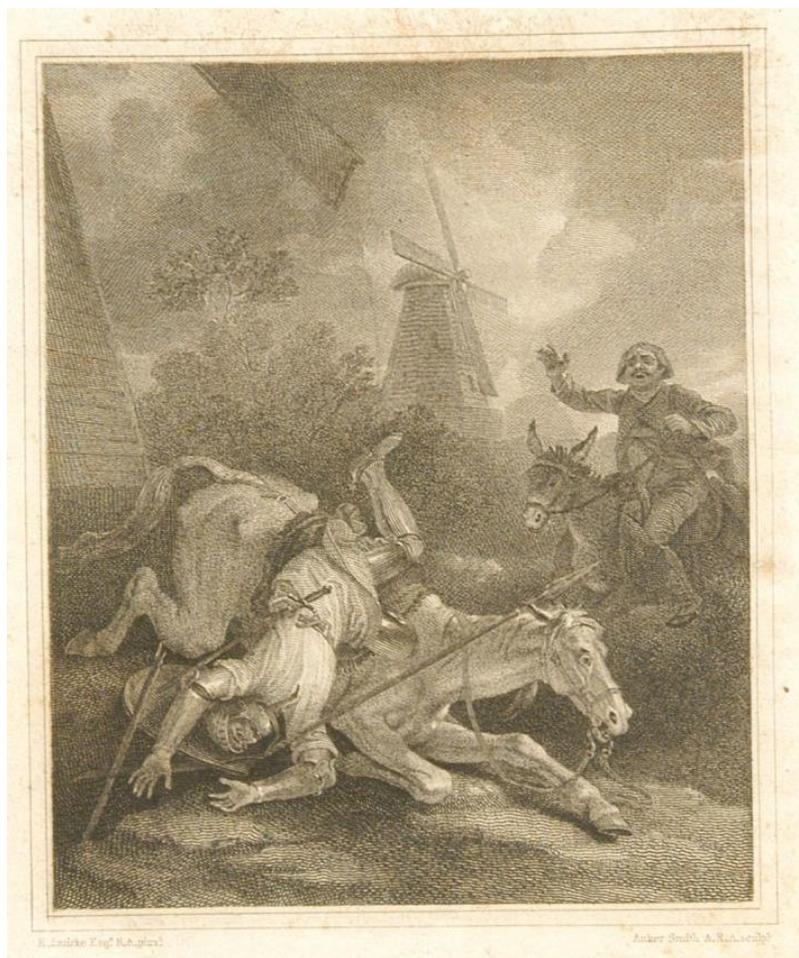


Figure 6. "Don Quixote unhorsed by the windmill." London: Cadell, 1818; Illustrator, Robert Smirke; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

In a coincidence that is completely accidental, deeply ironic, or highly satirical, it is the voice of Sancho that the unhorsed knight first hears in contrast to that of Christ heard by Paul in Acts, Chapter 22. Sancho invokes God's name, saying, "Válame Dios!" before, like Christ, asking the fallen rider a question, "Good God! Didn't I tell your mercy to pay attention to what you were doing?" (II, 58). [¿No le dije yo a vuestra merced que mirase bien lo que hacía?] Paul comes away from his unhorsing with a change of name and a complete and irrevocable reorientation of personal mission; from being a star persecutor of the nascent Christian church to its most active apostle. Quixote, who has already undergone a name change, comes away from the windmills with a more subtle shift in status. Like Paul, Don Quixote believes that a metaphysical presence is the agent of his unhorsing. For Quixote, that agent is the participation of the enchanters of chivalric romance. Previously confined to Don Quixote's house and his library, the windmill episode marks the beginning of what the knight believes are the intentional acts of enchantment working against him as he attempts to achieve greatness in his knightly adventures. Enchanters were not blamed when muleteers interrupted Don Quixote's vigil of arms and rained rocks down on him (I, 3). Neither were enchanters considered to be at fault when Toledan merchants beat the knight to within an inch of his life (I, 4), nor when his neighbor appeared to him as Don Rodrigo de Narváez from *La Diana* in the following chapter (I, 5). The work of the enchanters in the windmill incident is the first episode where Don Quixote believes they are at work in attempting to impede his heroic acts. The presence of the enchanters fundamentally changes the relationship between Don Quixote and Sancho, who now have a recourse to which they

can turn to explain their failures and differences of opinion as to what is visually presented to them. Sancho sees windmills. Quixote sees giants. Sancho sees sheep. Quixote sees armies. It is all the work of enchanter. So it goes until Sancho turns the weapon that has been used against him back against his master, using the excuse of enchanter to present a homely country girl to Don Quixote as an enchanted version of Dulcinea (II, 10). The Manchegan knight does not experience a change of chivalric mission as an outcome of the disaster of the windmills, but his days of attacking large inanimate objects thinking they are giants are over. It is notable that in a later episode, when only total darkness and Sancho's ingenuity keep Don Quixote from approaching a similarly modernized and mechanized adversary and the light of day reveals that the terrible sounds that had prompted Don Quixote to prepare for battle turn out to be coming from a water-powered fulling mill, (Dore's depiction of the scene reminds us of the stark similarity between the fulling mill and the windmills) the knight sees them for what they are and no attack is in the offing (I, 20) (see fig.7).

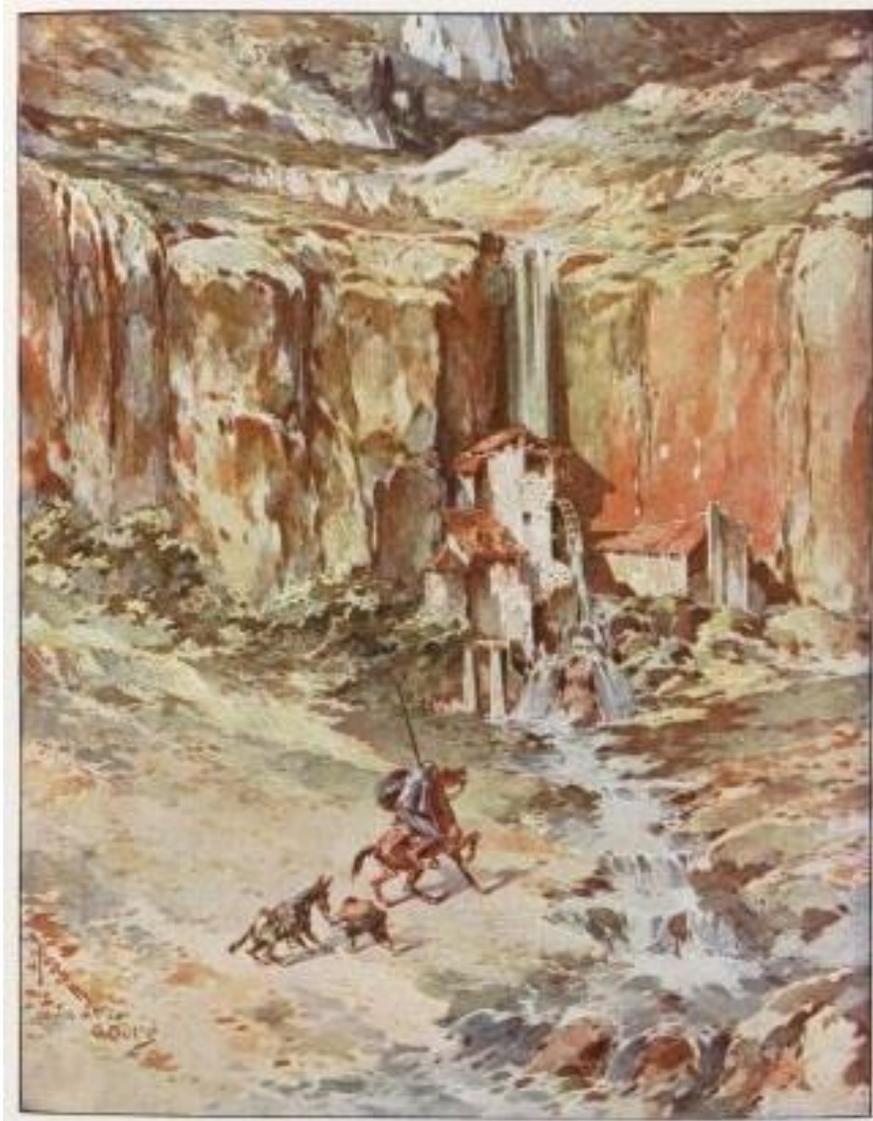


Figure 7. “Adventure of the Fulling Mill.” Barcelona: Tasso, 1905; Illustrator, Gustave Doré; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Don Quixote later reserves imaginary giant-fighting for more reasonable targets, such as wineskins (I, 35) and eventually wields his sword against puppet-sized opponents (II, 26) (see fig. 8).



Figure 8. "Don Quixote attacks and destroys Maese Pedro's theater and puppets." Amsterdam: Arkstée, 1755; Illustrator, Jacob Savery; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

But just in case the connection between the textual descriptions of Don Quixote's adventures and misadventures and the Catholic iconography of the day was too subtle, Cervantes leaves no doubt about that connection when Don Quixote concludes his viewing of the woodcarvings of Saints George, Martin, James and Paul with an impassioned discourse, tying his profession of knighthood to that of the saints depicted in the carvings, "Brothers, I take it as a good omen that I have seen what I have seen here, because these saints and knights professed what I profess, which is the practice of arms; the difference, however, between me and them is that they were saints and fought in the divine manner, and I am a sinner and fight in the human manner" (II, 58).

[Por buen agüero he tenido, hermanos, haber visto lo que he visto, porque estos santos y caballeros profesaron lo que yo profeso, que es el ejercicio de las armas; sino que la diferencia que hay entre mí y ellos es que ellos fueron santos y pelearon a lo divino, y yo soy pecador y peleo a lo humano.]

Don Quixote thus insinuates himself into the lineup of religious iconography; a pantheon of figures that the Spanish Catholic reader of the day would have known very well and taken very seriously. This process of insinuation starts as early as Chapter 6 of Part I, where Don Quixote explains to the goatherds the purpose of the order of knights errant: to defend maidens, protect widows and come to the aid of orphans and those in need. That chivalric mission is strongly parallel to numerous biblical injunctions to care for and protect widows and orphans. His famous Arms and Letters discourse not only validates those who exercise the profession of arms, but proclaims knights as earthly agents of Heaven's peace (I, 38).

The seventeenth and eighteenth century reader could have been forgiven for momentarily forgetting that Don Quixote was a ridiculous, pathetic figure who at this late stage in the book had suffered innumerable beatings, reversals and humiliations. By linking himself, a nobody from nowhere, with real knights in their original mission that was imbued with religious significance, the Knight of the Sad Countenance connected with readers beyond the typical chivalric romance and picaresque novel to which they were accustomed. The *Quixote*'s early readers inhabited a theocracy where very little of what was printed and parroted as inherited truth was real and a modernity that threatened to absorb and homogenize every individual into an impersonal bureaucracy. The book hit them where they lived. The timing of the publication of the book with technological advances in the print industry and the expansion of the reading public beyond the nobility into a literate mercantile class propelled the first novel to an even higher place on the literary landscape. Perhaps most importantly, Cervantes appealed to our need to view a story through deeply complex and significant images even before print technology made texts easily illustrated.

Prehistoric man painted bison on cave walls to fill the lack of food. Roman courts had paintings of the emperor on the wall to fill a lack of authority (*Iconotropism* 27). With his words Cervantes paints for us a picture of what modern man knew he could not be: someone who late in life was capable of reinventing himself, someone who believed with all his heart, someone who dared to make his mark on history.

Cervantes wrote for us the image of Don Quixote - an achievement that illustrators have been trying to match for the last three and a half centuries.

CHAPTER II

APPROPRIATIONS BY TRANSLATION AND ADAPTATION

“I immediately went with the Morisco to the cloister of the main church and asked him to render the journals, all those that dealt with Don Quixote, into the Castilian language, without taking away or adding anything to them, offering him whatever payment he might desire.”

-*Don Quixote* I, 9

Within two years of Juan de la Cuesta’s publication of the first part of *Don Quixote*, the work was translated into English,¹² soon after into French and German, and eventually into sixty-eight languages (Byron 442). The examination of *Quixote* translations starts in England, which was not only the first country to translate the book, but also the first country to produce a biography of Cervantes and the first to print a commentary and critical edition of the text (Fitzmaurice-Kelly qtd. in Stavans 24). The first part of this chapter will comprise a detailed analysis of selected passages of the English *Quixote* translations of Thomas Shelton (1612), Peter Motteux (1700), Charles Jarvis (1742), Thomas Smollett (1755), John Ormsby (1885), and Tom Lathrop (2005). We will examine how the translators employed varying degrees of fidelity to the original text, made cultural adjustments to fit the target audience and treated the themes of chivalry, humor and religion in their translations to contribute to the iconization of Don

¹² Thomas Shelton’s 1607 translation of the *Quixote* was not published until 1612.

Quixote. The works analyzed in this chapter will include well-known translations which have had a far-reaching impact in different timeframes on the English-speaking world, including the first translation and one of the most recent. We will also examine examples of different approaches to the work of translating the *Quixote*, and include one work done by a North American translator. The focus of this study will be on what effects are produced by those word choices and other translational decisions, how they may constitute appropriation of the literary character Don Quixote and how those translations contribute to the establishment of Don Quixote as an icon through the number, variety and durability of the works.

The second part of this chapter will examine adaptations of the work which do not claim fidelity to the original text, but freely modify episodes in order to make the novel more readable for a specific readership; that readership often being a juvenile audience. The theme of translation in the *Quixote* is especially prominent as Cervantes' multilayered fiction presents nearly the entire book as a translation into Spanish from the original Arabic manuscript found in a Toledo street market (I, 9). His purposes for doing so may have included a desire to establish authorial distance from the text, to question the validity and credibility granted to written works, and to play a narrative game with the reader by further blurring the line between truth and fiction. Even the work's translator, strictly tasked with rendering the found papers into Spanish "without taking away or adding anything to them" cannot resist the temptation to occasionally intervene and opine on the original text, interposing himself as another constructed editorial level.

Before examining the popular English language translations of the *Quixote*, it may be helpful to clarify what the dynamic of translation generally entails and then see how that translational dynamic applies specifically to this canonical work. Among the many decisions the translator makes about the work of bringing a source text to a target readership, a crucial question is to what degree the translator will either highlight the non-native nature of the source text, reminding the reader of the foreign nature of the characters, language, institutions and customs, or to domesticate it, making the reading experience as similar as possible to one that the reader would experience when reading a text set in his or her native language in the context of his own culture. John Rutherford, himself a translator of the *Quixote*, explains this decision as tantamount to taking the reader to the author or bringing the author to the reader (215). But Rutherford points out that, in practice, the translation occupies some point along a continuum between the two theoretical absolute concepts in a “complex dialectic relationship” since any attempt to translate is to domesticate to some degree and to completely “foreignize”¹³ a source text is an unattainable goal (216, 217).

Walter Benjamin’s essay, “The Task of the Translator,” differs from Rutherford’s dialectic between domesticity and foreignness, and instead addresses the traditional need for translations to balance between fidelity to the original text and license to modify and adapt words and phrases for the maintenance of meaning and understanding in the target language. But Benjamin discounts the conventional measure

¹³ Rutherford uses the word “extranjerizar” in his article written in Spanish, a transitive verb which means to introduce foreign customs, mixing them with those of one’s own country.

of a translation's worth as seeming to have been originally written in the target language. Instead, he describes the translator's goal as "to liberate the language imprisoned in a work in his re-creation of that work. For the sake of pure language he breaks through decayed barriers of his own language" (82). Elsewhere in the essay he elaborates on the role that "pure language" plays in a well done translation:

A real translation is transparent; it does not cover the original, does not block its light, but allows the pure language, as though reinforced by its own medium to shine upon the original all the more fully. This may be achieved, above all, by a literal rendering of the syntax which proved words rather than sentences to be the primary element of the translator (81).

To be freed from the syntactical demands of the target language as Benjamin states could go a long way in maintaining Rutherford's desired degree of foreignness of the translation.

Benjamin also addresses the "life and afterlife" of works of art and points out that both the language of the original and that of the translation undergo changes over time (76, 77). These points are particularly significant with regard to translations of the *Quixote* which span four centuries. The earlier English language translations of the *Quixote*, as literary products which stand separately from the original, can be examined through cultural, political and historical lenses. Translatability is another concept addressed in Benjamin's seminal essay on translation, which raises the questions of whether a work is fundamentally translatable and whether an adequate translator can be

found (76). At least two aspects of the *Quixote* make it translatable, the first of which is the fact that the Manchegan knight addresses many themes that are not uniquely Spanish, but universally human: being and non-being, how fiction intrudes on real life, and the construction and assertion of individual identity in modernity. The second factor is the protagonist's paradoxical timelessness through anachronism. The original *Don Quixote de La Mancha* is set in late 16th century Spain, but the language of the protagonist, in his role as a medieval knight errant, is often intentionally archaic, replicating that of the courtly heroes of chivalric romances. So extreme is the difference in that speech and the everyday language of Quixote's Spain that many of Don Quixote's discourses and proclamations are not understood by the prostitutes, law enforcement officials, goatherds, millers, and farmers who hear him at inns, mills and bucolic picnics. Sancho cannot understand the knight's use of scientific terms such as "longinquous" [longicuo] and "eructate," [eructar] but Sancho's own speech becomes so infected by that of his master that his wife complains that she cannot understand him at the beginning of Part II. It may be precisely Don Quixote's anachronistic speech and actions, which cause him to be out of step with his own time and place, that make him permanently timeless, and thus, completely translatable according to Benjamin's definition.

In examining the nature of the translation as an entity separate from the source text, we should consider how it should be valued or classified alongside the original. Rosemary Arrojo, in her article about the translations of Jorge Luis Borges, links Walter Benjamin's idea to that of Borges: that a translation can be of equal literary value to the

original. Borges considered translations as revisions which are nothing more than a subsequent, and not necessarily inferior, version of the original (31). Borges wrote:

To presuppose that all recombination of elements is automatically inferior to its original is to presuppose that draft 9 is automatically inferior to draft H - since there can only be drafts. The concept of a definitive text does not correspond to anything except religion or exhaustion. (Obras completas 239)

[Presuponer que toda recombinación de elementos es obligatoriamente inferior a su original es presuponer que el borrador 9 es obligatoriamente inferior al borrador H – ya que no puede haber sino solamente borradores. El concepto de texto definitivo no corresponde sino a la religión o al cansancio.]

Borges, the prolific translator of Joyce, Faulkner, Poe, Whitman, Chesterton, and Hawthorne, among others (Arrojo 31) deserves special mention with regard to the *Quixote* and translation. He first read Cervantes' novel as a child in English and later, when he read the *Quixote* in the original Spanish, he claimed that it "sounded like a bad translation" ("Autobiographical Essay" 25). Borges' short story "Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*" may be considered, as George Steiner stated, "the most accurate, most concentrated commentary anyone has offered on the business of translation" (qtd. in Arrojo 32). In this Borges story, Pierre Menard, a mediocre writer, sets out to write *Don Quixote* in the early 1900's and ends up reproducing, in Spanish, verbatim sections of the original work, one of which was Part I's Chapter 39, Don Quixote's discourse on

arms and letters. Although fictional, a case of appropriation may never be so starkly obvious. Menard's initial plan (later discarded by him as too easy) for writing the book included learning Spanish, adopting Catholicism, and fighting the Moors - in essence, becoming Miguel de Cervantes. Menard's desire to ape the iconic writer parallels Borges' own attraction to personalities who were both men of letters and men of action.¹⁴

The foundation of that desire to translate a work is especially relevant to our analysis of appropriation since that impulse may reflect an attempt at transference or appropriation on a very personal level. Brazilian poet-translator Augusto de Campos defines his own practice of translating, "My way of loving (my favorite poets) is translating them. Or cannibalizing them, according to Oswald de Andrade's Anthropophagic Law. I am interested only in what I don't have" (qtd. in Arrojo 35). Harold Bloom's book, *Map of Misreading*, addresses how one writer influences another and Jacques Lacan's seminars expounded on his concept of "transference." Both scholars describe the underlying emotion driving the impulses of influence and transference as love (Arrojo 35).

In the case of the *Quixote*, the prospect of an exhaustive comparison of several translations with the original text immediately raises the question of determining exactly which source text the translators used, since the original manuscript is lost and there were several editions produced in the early years of Part I's existence. Some of the

¹⁴ Borges' famous short story "El sur" [The South] may also reflect his own unfulfilled desire for adventure as a sick youth and progressively blind adult. He also famously translated Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.

differences in the Spanish texts are significant structural ones, such as the erroneous or missing chapter titles. The title of Part I's Chapter 10 refers to Don Quixote's battle with the Basque squire, which is already concluded in a previous chapter, and to his encounter with the Yanguesans, which does not occur until Chapter 15. A Real Academia Española version in the 1700's created a title that fit the content of the chapter. Daniel Eisenberg points out that some modern translations adopt the new chapter title while others maintain the erroneous original, although Edith Grossman, the translator of a 2003 edition, explains the error with a footnote ("Modern English Translators" 112).

In Juan de la Cuesta's 1605 *princeps* edition, Sancho's donkey disappears and reappears without explanation. In the second authorized de la Cuesta edition, rapidly published to meet reader demand near the end of 1605, text is added to explain the theft and recovery of the donkey, but the passage describing the loss of the donkey is inserted at the wrong place (Chapter 23) when it should be placed in Chapter 25. Modern translators handle the added text in different ways, some by omitting it and some including it with a note ("Modern English Translators" 113).

Other differences between Spanish editions are the spelling of the protagonist's original name: Quexana in the first de la Cuesta edition, Quixana in the second, and the modern spellings Quejana and Quijana ("Modern English Translators" 110). The chivalric romance known as *Felixmarte de Hircania* is called *Florimorte* the first time in Part I's Chapter 13 and early editions also read *Florismarte* ("Modern English Translators" 111). In chapter 25 of Part I Don Quixote refers to the labyrinth of Perseus.

Later editions correct this to Theseus. Some modern translators honor the change while others maintain the original (“Modern English Translators” 114).

Over time, translators relied on different editions for their original text and eventually, as the body of both original editions and translations grew, consulted other English language translations in the development of their own. Carmine Rocco Linsalata, in his book, *Smollett’s Hoax*, posits that in Smollett’s case the extent of that reference constituted plagiarism of a previous translator, Charles Jarvis (13). The far extremes of this variety of “source texts” can be seen in the first and most recent translators. Shelton used the 1607 Brussels edition for the basis of his translation of Part I. Lathrop based his translation on his own Spanish language edition published in 1997 which was based on an early twentieth century Schevill and Bonilla edition as well as a facsimile of an original 1605 Juan de la Cuesta printing and many other modern editions (“Modern English Translators” 109).

The aforementioned variances between possible sources will not affect our examination of the translations of the *Quixote*. The objective of our analysis is to examine how the translator’s word choice (for which the original is not in doubt or does not vary between early editions) emphasizes either one aspect or another of the paradoxical protagonist and not the structural differences between early Spanish language editions.

We will first examine three early English translators: Shelton, Motteux and Jarvis, who in the process of their projects, domesticate the textual protagonist in diverse

ways while emphasizing either the wisdom or insanity of our paradoxical Manchegan knight.

Thomas Shelton, the first translator of the *Quixote* into any language, was an English Catholic who studied at Salamanca, where he developed some capacity in the Spanish language and an understanding of Spanish culture (“Review of *Quixote*” 269). Shelton translated the first part of the *Quixote* in 1607, but the translation was not published until 1612 (Luteran 7, Stavans 24). The translation of the *Quixote*’s Part II under Shelton’s name was published in 1620. Although Ian Stavans states that Shelton was indeed the translator of the second part (24), James Parr supports Anthony Lo Ré’s claim that the translator of the second part was not Thomas Shelton, but actually Leonard Digges (“Review of *Quijote*” 269).

In his *epistle dedicatorie* of Part I to Lord Walden, Thomas Shelton claims to have translated Part I of the novel in a forty day span. Whether that statement is accurate or a wink to Cervantes’ textual translator who accomplished his task in the same timeframe, the translation does suffer from some shortfalls which could be attributed to the rushed nature of the project. Sandra Forbes Gerhard, in her book, *Don Quixote and the Shelton Translation*, wrote “The major faults and patterns of error in Shelton are clearly typical of translation done in haste – Shelton uses multiple and sometimes carelessly chosen cognates, makes errors in translating vocabulary, translates syntax literally, and employs free adaptation when translation is difficult” (qtd. in Luteran 8).

Shelton does seem to be conscious of his role as the translator and it could be self-awareness of his role that causes him to make at least one fundamental change in the novel. Cervantes' original text in Part II includes an argument between Sancho Panza and his wife, Teresa, just before Sancho before he leaves with Don Quixote for Part II's adventures. The original novel contains a note that the translator who was converting Cide Hamete's Arabic text to Castilian considered the rest of Chapter 5 to be apocryphal due to Sancho's mode of speaking. The previously mentioned narrative effect of Cervantes' inclusion of the opinion of the interposed translator into the finished text is seen in this episode, among others. Shelton, however, perhaps cautious of the effect of including another translator besides himself in the equation of the text, takes license to change the word "tradutor"¹⁵ to "author."

Shelton generally domesticates the text with some critical exceptions. He converts many phrases and words into the colloquial English of the day, creating the illusion for the English reader that the speakers are English. This trend throughout the text can be seen in Shelton's approach to translating Sancho's wife, Teresa, where the translator changes her phrases to English folk equivalents. When she argues with Sancho in Part II's Chapter 5 about their daughter becoming a countess when Sancho receives his reward for service as a squire, Teresa's "de una Marica y una tú a una doña tal y señoría" becomes "from little Mal, my Lady Wacham." In discussing a possible suitor for their daughter, Teresa tells Sancho that the boy "no mira de mal ojo a la mochacha" which Shelton renders "he casts a sheep's eye upon the wench." Other

¹⁵ Archaic Spanish spelling in the original text.

measures are taken to convert not only the language, but the institutions to English references. Cervantes' mentions of "república" in Chapters 11 and 22 of Part I and original text are changed to "commonwealth."

One instance where Shelton does not domesticate the text is in Part I's Chapter 22. Here, Shelton renders a characteristically Spanish phrase when the guard of the galeotes tells Don Quixote to "no ande buscando tres pies al gato" [search not thus whether the cat hath three feet], a phrasing that English readers of Shelton's time would have probably identified as foreign. But Shelton is strongly encouraged to do so by Don Quixote's angry retort to the guard which states, "¡Vos sois el gato, y el rato, y el ballaco! [Thou art a cat, and a rat, and a knave!"]]. To have translated the Spanish saying about the three-footed cat into a similarly pithy phrase familiar to English readers would have set Shelton up for a mismatch with the response that followed.

Given Shelton's tendency to domesticate the text into the colloquial English of his day, it is noteworthy that he conversely makes foreign certain words and acts of the original text which could be morally problematic for his readers, emphasizing them as distinct from English, and providing space for the reader to view them as inferior. Chapter 11 of Part I contains Don Quixote's Golden Age discourse in which he cites the advantages of older times. Quixote specifically mentions the contemporary problem of the "ley de encaje," the legal phenomenon of judges forming judicial opinions without basing them on existing law. But Quixote goes on to explain that the fundamental problem in the current age was the need for any judgment at all. Shelton translates "ley de encaje" specifically as "law of corruption" and then immediately follows it with the

explanatory clause “or taking bribes” which puts a very specific negative interpretation on Quixote’s general statement.

When Don Quixote attacks the funeral mourners in Part I’s Chapter 19’s “Adventure of the Dead Body,” Shelton interprets “apaleó” as “gave them all the bastinado.” The English use of bastinado, the etymology of which comes from 16th century Spain, may imply that the act of beating another person with a stick is a distinctly Spanish custom, thereby characterizing physical violence as a foreign tendency that distances the English reader from the acts and attitudes of the Spanish protagonist.

Shelton includes and faithfully translates Chapter 20 of Part I’s famously scatological episode of Sancho defecating while holding onto Rocinante’s saddle, but adds a phrase that serves to highlight the episode’s potentially objectionable nature.

Shelton writes:

He had a desire to do that which others could not do for him; but such was the fear that entered into his heart as he dared not depart from his lord the breadth of a straw, and to think to leave that which he had desired undone was also impossible; therefore, his resolution in that perplexed exigent (be it spoken with pardon) was this: he loosed his right hand, wherewithal he held fast the hinder part of the saddle, and therewithal very softly, and without any noise, he untied the cod-piece point wherewithal his breeches were on (I, 20).

The phrase in parentheses “be it spoken with pardon” is not a translation but Shelton’s addition to the text, implying a need to soften the graphic description of Sancho’s actions in order to be acceptable for English readers.

Similarly, Shelton distances the English reader from Cervantes’ original text in Chapter 22 of Part I wherein Don Quixote, inspired by meeting one of the men condemned to row in the galleys for having been an *alcahuete*, or pimp, matter-of-factly opines about the positive social worth of the pimp’s office. Quixote even asserts that there should be official supervisors for the practice, given the fact that, in his opinion, prostitution is highly necessary for a well-ordered nation. Shelton culturally distances the English reader from the practice of prostitution by maintaining the Spanish term “veedor” and including an explanatory footnote for the meaning of the word instead of substituting an equivalent term of “supervisor” or “overseer,” as if the phenomenon of prostitution operating under at least the tacit approval of the government were a Spanish practice and not an English one.

Chapter 8 of Part II features a conversation between Sancho and Don Quixote about the relative benefits of being a knight or a saint. This discussion takes the translator into treacherous waters since the books' characters are strongly Catholic, espousing beliefs that are diametrically opposed to those held by the Church of England. The translator significantly changes the original text where Don Quixote posits that Christian knights either went to purgatory or heaven when they died. Shelton footnotes "purgatory" with the comment "According to the Romish opinion, erroneous" and changes "heaven" to "hell." It is difficult to believe that the Catholic translator Shelton would make such drastic changes to the original and characterize the opinions as "Romish," a difference that may be the most compelling evidence to support James Parr's point that the *Quixote's* second part, published in 1620 without the translator's name on the cover, was not translated by Shelton, but by Leonard Digges (269) (see fig. 9).

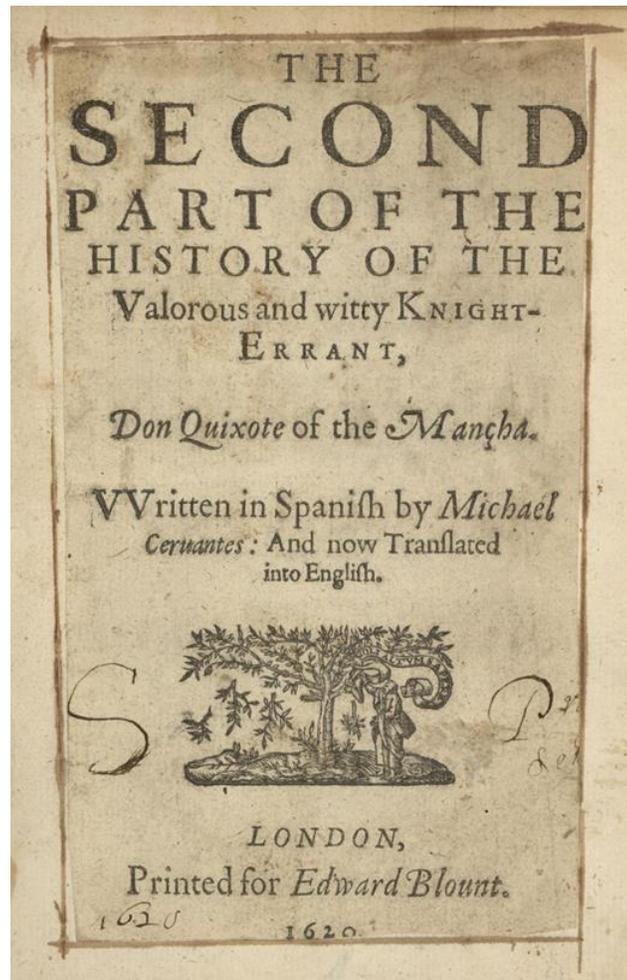


Figure 9. Title page of Thomas Shelton translation; London: Blount, 1620; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Most impactful of Shelton's decisions in the translation of the *Quixote* are how his words depict the protagonist. Although Shelton's archaic (for a 21st century reader) English of 1612 acts to absorb Don Quixote's anachronistic speech and make it seem less outlandish and unusual, his word choices seem to underline Quixote's insanity and physical unattractiveness. The episode of the Adventure of the Dead Body in Part I's

Chapter 19 concludes with Sancho giving his master the nickname of “El Caballero de la Triste Figura” which Shelton renders, “The Knight of the Ill-Favored Face.” Just prior to Quixote’s discourse on Arms and Letters in Part I’s Chapter 37 Shelton changes the translation to “Knight of the Heavy Countenance,” but “Ill-Favored Face” is the prevailing version throughout the translated book. In a very subtle way, Shelton highlights Quixote’s supposed mental infirmity in the same episode. The original Spanish text tells us that Quixote’s discourse was so persuasive and well-reasoned that none of those listening believed he was insane at that time. Shelton’s translation asserts that his discourse had “almost induced his audience to esteem him to be, at the time at least, exempt from his frenzy” adding the qualifier “almost” to keep the knight’s insanity present for the English reader. To make the knight physically unattractive rather than sad and to underline his insanity in the first English translation may explain in part why so many seventeenth-century English readers regarded Don Quixote as a “crackpot” (Knowles 103).

Paula Luteran classifies the Shelton translation as, “highly faithful to the original text where Equation is the overall rule,” (20) but this assessment is incomplete. The Shelton translation domesticates the text and shows the protagonist in terms that are comfortable and colloquially familiar to English readers in most of the translation, but pushes him away in circumstances which could be read as immoral or objectionable to English sensibilities. The appropriation here is one of an entertaining protagonist, but also a physically unattractive character whose insanity is ever-present. Shelton presents Don Quixote against a backdrop of a Spanish culture that is depicted as violent and

permissive, morally and religiously different and inferior to that of England. Shelton's translation is crucial to the furtherance of the establishment of Don Quixote as an icon, propagating his story and his paradoxical character in England, which was well on its way to eclipsing Spain as the world's next imperial power. The Shelton translation is vitally important because of its wide and long-term distribution in subsequent editions,¹⁶ its contemporary existence as a *Quixote* translation and its use as a reference for subsequent translators and adaptors.

Peter Motteux, whose *Quixote* translation was first published in 1700, admits that the work done in his name was a team project, stating that it was "translated by several hands." That "several hands" phrase continues to be included on the title pages of Motteux translations prior to 1800. The collective aspect of the translation is amplified by the fact that, from at least as early as 1719, Motteux editions were printed as revised by J. Ozell, making it difficult to determine whose word choices result in what the reader sees in the English text (see fig. 10).¹⁷

¹⁶ The Shelton translation is used in the famous Ashendene Press edition (1927-1928) and continued to be published as recently as the New York Collier & Son 1970 edition.

¹⁷ The edition used in this investigation was the 1719 Knaplock from the Eduardo Urbina Cervantes Collection at the Cushing Library. This book, published in four small volumes and illustrated with sixteen unsigned woodcut engravings, predates any of the facsimile editions available for viewing online.

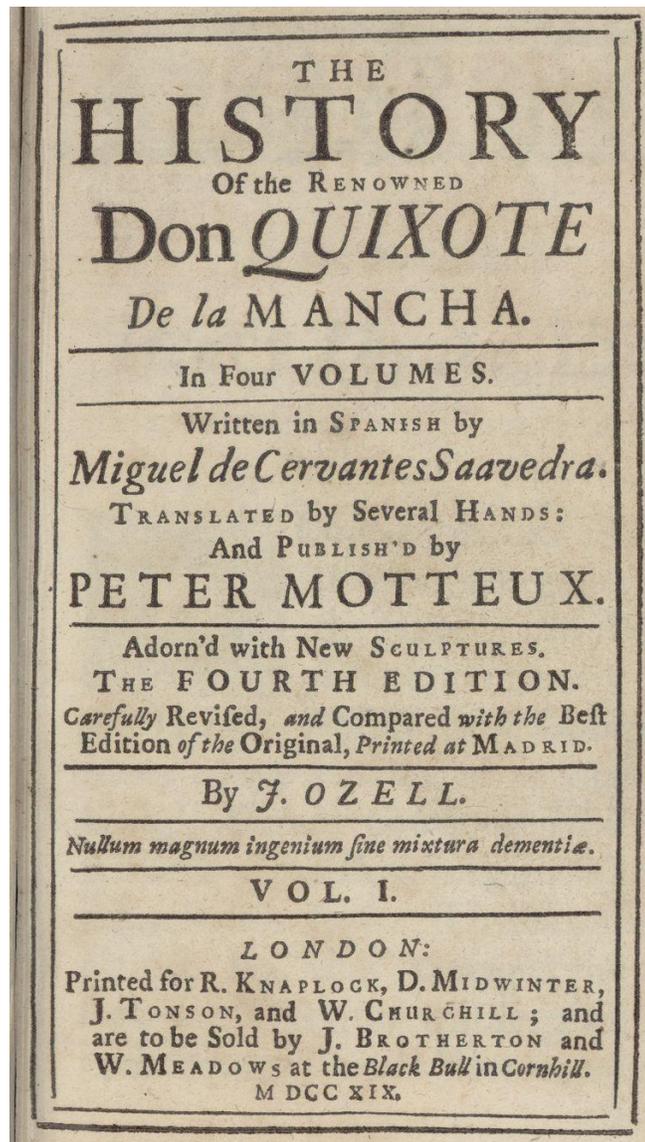


Figure 10. Title page of Peter Motteux translation. London: Knaplock, 1719; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Peter Motteux was a prolific translator with other important works such as Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* to his credit, but the *Quixote* translation which carries his name borrows heavily from Shelton's and suffers from making the characters

sound “French Cockney” (Stavans 25). Cervantes’ ambivalent and paradoxical word choices in the title of Part I are lost in the Motteux translation, which renders *Ingenioso* as “Renowned,” and further strips bare the author’s famous Prologue salutation “Desocupado Lector” to simply “Reader.”

The overall effect of Motteux’s translation is to domesticate the speech of the characters into the vernacular of Englishmen in a roughly similar socioeconomic background. When Sancho and Don Quixote encounter the “enchanted” version of Dulcinea in Part II’s Chapter 10, the country girl responds to Don Quixote’s declaration of love and devotion, “Tittle-tattle, quoth the Country-Wench . . . Spare your Breath to cool your Porridge, and rid me of your idle Gibberish. Get you on, Sir, and let us go, and we shall think it a Kindness.” The trend of domestication extends to the speech of the narrator himself, who seems to speak with a conversational informality, contracting words like “them” to “’em.”

Motteux continues Shelton’s Anglicism of Cervantes’ work by frequently changing “república” to “commonwealth,” and mimicking Shelton’s puritanical apology for having to describe Sancho’s early-morning bodily functions in Chapter 20 of Part I’s Adventure of the Fulling Mill. A more extreme appropriation, though, is found in the same episode, where Sancho warns Don Quixote against his determination to attack the source of the terrible sound in the darkness, saying, “. . . yo he oído predicar al cura de nuestro lugar . . . que quien busca el peligro perece en él.” [. . . I’ve heard the sermons of our village priest . . . and he says that whoever goes looking for trouble perishes;]. The original “Cura” or “priest” is rendered “curate” in Shelton’s translation, which would

apply to either Catholic or Anglican clergy. But Motteux completely protestantizes the translation of “cura” into “parson,” temporarily converting Don Quixote and Sancho into members of the Church of England.

Motteux’s translation does break from its tendency to domesticate by including occasional explanatory footnotes which detail the differences in cultural and religious English and Spanish practices and going so far as to include an approximate conversion of units of money from *marevedí* to farthings.

Motteux’s translation subtly alters Cervantes’ presentation of the protagonist by enhancing the radical egalitarianism of Don Quixote’s Golden Age discourse. Where the original says, “entonces los que el ella vivián ingnoraban estas dos palabras de tuyo y mío,” Motteux adds the adjective “fatal” to Don Quixote’s description of the words “mine” and “thine” (I, 11).

Don Quixote’s alternate title as “Knight of the Ill-Favored Face” in Shelton’s translation is improved to “Knight of the Woeful Figure” in that of Motteux. Additionally, Motteux corrects Shelton’s previous mistranslation of the dinner guests’ evaluation of Don Quixote’s sanity during his discourse on Arms and Letters in Part I’s Chapter 37, strengthening his ironically serious position for the reader.

Charles Jervas, more commonly known as Jarvis due to a printer’s typographical error, attempts to be extremely faithful to the original text in his translation, posthumously published in 1742. Jarvis’s name as translator occupies a prominent place on the title page and his name even appears in larger text than that of the author. (see fig. 11)

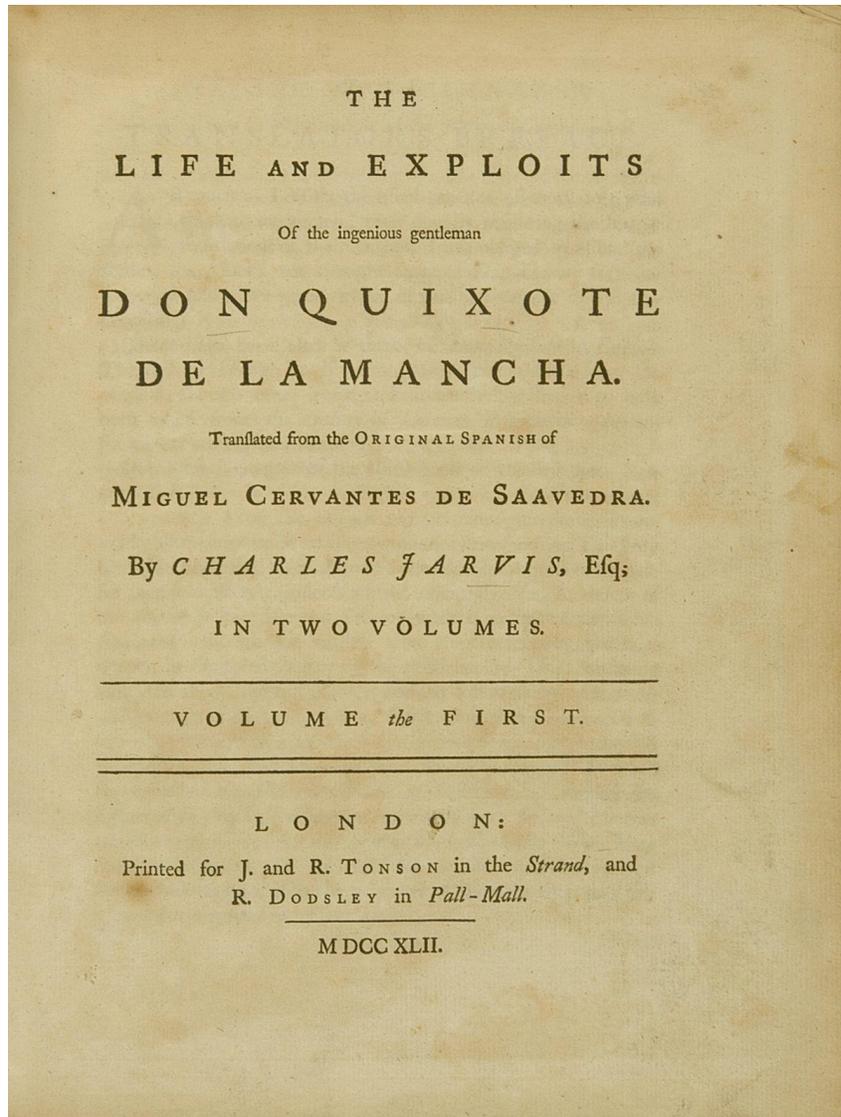


Figure 11. Title page of Charles Jarvis translation. London: J. and R. Tonson, 1742;
<http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

A painter by profession, best known for his portrait of Jonathon Swift (Linsalata 5), Jarvis fully imports Spanish phrases, practices and institutions, domesticating them by the use of English terms. Jarvis is less concerned than Shelton about offending the English reader with sexual, scatological or religiously ideological content, but he does not go to the extremes that Phillips does in order to purposely shock the reader. Don Quixote's defense of institutionalized prostitution is expressed within the context of English language and the word "pimp" and "pimping" is used to faithfully, if colloquially translate "alcahuete." Jarvis also slightly over-sexualizes the comments of the Squire of the Wood which Sancho finds inappropriate and offensive in Part II's Chapter 13. In the Spanish original Sancho's description of his own daughter prompts the Squire of the Wood to express amazement by exclaiming, "¡Oh hideputa, puta, y qué rejo debe de tener la bellaca! The term "rejo" refers to strength, which would make sense in the context of how Sancho described her. Jarvis translates the word "buxom."

Elsewhere in the text, Jarvis seems to be so intent on fidelity to the original that he makes frequent mistakes by overuse of cognates. Don Quixote's defense of chivalry to the Canon in Chapter 49 of Part I refers to "la demanda del Santo Grial" when describing knightly missions such as the quest for the Holy Grail. Jarvis renders this phrase "the lawsuit of Saint Grial." In Part II's Chapter 18, Don Quixote describes knight errantry as an academic science to Don Lorenzo and challenges him to see if knight errantry is "ciencia mocosa," a phrase meant to convey the idea of a field that is limited, trivial and of little consequence. But Jarvis translates the phrase "slovenly dirty science," perhaps because "mocos" would be translated as "mucus" in English. Part II's

Chapter 32 features the argument at the Dukes' dinner table between Don Quixote and the Ecclesiastic. In listing the positive attributes of being a knight, Don Quixote states, "no soy de los enamorados viciosos, sino de los platónicos continentes." The use of "vicioso" here expresses the idea of lewdness or indecency, but Jarvis' rendering communicates an idea of violence: "I am no vicious lover, but a chaste Platonic one." Jarvis' mistakes due to an overreliance on cognates when translating Don Quixote's discourses and interchanges may have the effect of highlighting and exacerbating his insanity for the English reader since his statements make less sense when mistranslated. It is doubtful, though, that this effect is intentional on Jarvis' part or that this tendency is aimed only at the protagonist. At the end of Quixote and Don Lorenzo's discussion of knight errantry Don Lorenzo concludes that Don Quixote is "loco bizarro." The term bizarro in Spanish connotes bravery and gallantry, but Jarvis translates the word "whimsical."

In translating the name that Sancho gives Quixote, "Caballero de la Triste Figura" to "Knight of the Sorrowful Figure" Jarvis returns this description to an English language version that is more consistent with the original. The Jarvis translation, with all of its errors and shortcomings, marks a shift in Quixote translations by including extensive footnotes which explain Spanish customs and phrases which may be difficult to translate. By respecting some measure of the protagonist's "otherness" instead of completely importing his language and customs into English, the reader maintains the idea that while the protagonist is fictional, the story takes place within a real cultural space that is different from, but not inferior to his own.

By generally domesticating the text in their translations by using phrases with semantic and syntactic constructions comfortable for English readers (and even incorporating English place names in an extreme case), Shelton, Motteux and Jarvis bring the protagonist to the reader in English terms, which is not the same thing as conveying a positive or supportive depiction of Don Quixote.¹⁸ On the contrary, the knight's insanity is heightened in these early translations, although Jarvis mistreats Don Quixote the least of the three. Jarvis also begins a trend in *Quixote* translations of paratextually "foreignizing" the text through more extensive footnotes. While Shelton domesticates much of the language of the protagonist and other characters, he makes foreign and inferior the institutions and practices which his readership may find offensive. The fact that the earlier translations are generally unfavorable in their treatment of Don Quixote and his nationality, Motteux, and to a greater degree, Jarvis, can be seen to begin a turn toward a more neutral and complex view. The earlier translations' proximity in time to where England and Spain were bitter enemies whose armed forces engaged in tremendous naval battles may also be a factor which explains the unfavorable depiction of Spain and her protagonist.

A trend toward foreignizing the *Quixote*, taking a more serious and nuanced approach to the Manchegan knight and reminding the readers that the characters and the scene of the novel are in Spain is seen in the translations done by Tobias Smollett, John

¹⁸ An extreme example of this unfavorable treatment is John Phillips' translation, which is not studied in detail here because it was only published in a single edition. Phillips' work is the most egregious example of poor and unfavorable translations of the *Quixote* into English, depicting the protagonist as syphillitic, incestuous and immoral, as well as converting Spanish place and proper names into English ones.

Ormsby and Tom Lathrop. The earliest of these foreignizing translations is done by Tobias Smollett, who published his own translation of the *Quixote* a scant thirteen years after Jarvis. The title page of this book is much like the Jarvis edition, this one also giving prominent billing to the translator as well as credit to the illustrator (see fig. 12).

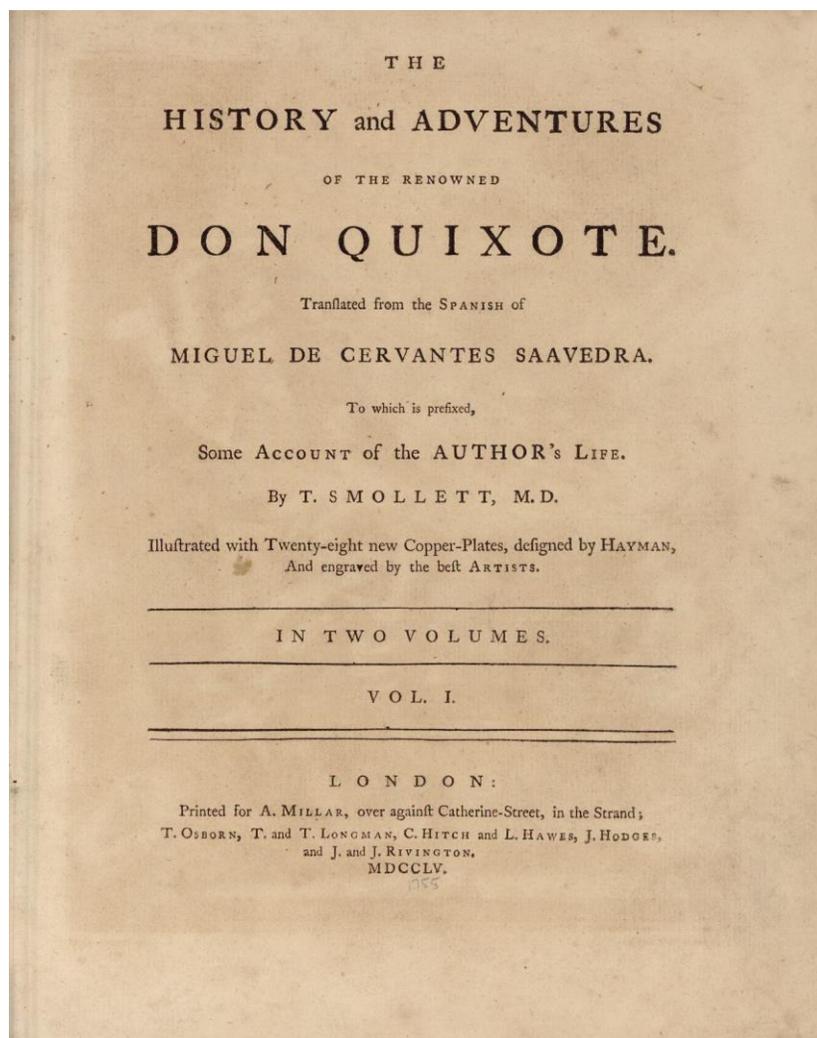


Figure 12. Title page of Tobias Smollett translation. London: Millar, 1755; <http://dqj.tamu.edu>.

Tobias Smollett stated in the introduction to his 1755 translation that his aim was to “maintain that ludicrous solemnity and self-importance by which the inimitable Cervantes has distinguished the character of Don Quixote, without raising him to the insipid Rank of a dry philosopher, or debasing him to the melancholy circumstances and unentertaining caprice of an ordinary madman.” Smollett foreignizes the text by highlighting cultural difference with extensive footnotes comparing and contrasting Spanish with English customs. Smollett only slightly revises Jarvis’ nickname for the knight to “Knight of the Rueful Countenance,” maintaining an expression of sorrow or repentance.

Although Smollett’s translation garners the endorsement of Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes, who in his introduction to a 1986 Smollett edition called it “the one where the feeling and the tone both come through” (xiii), Linsalata calls the work a “gem in the realm of fraudulent acts,” claiming that the translation was nothing more than a revision of the Jarvis translation originally published thirteen years prior (vii). Linsalata goes on to cite 194 errors in the Jarvis translation and seventy-one of Jarvis’ footnotes that were in turn copied by Smollett (13), supporting the thesis that Smollett was overly reliant on the work that had already been done by the previous translator.

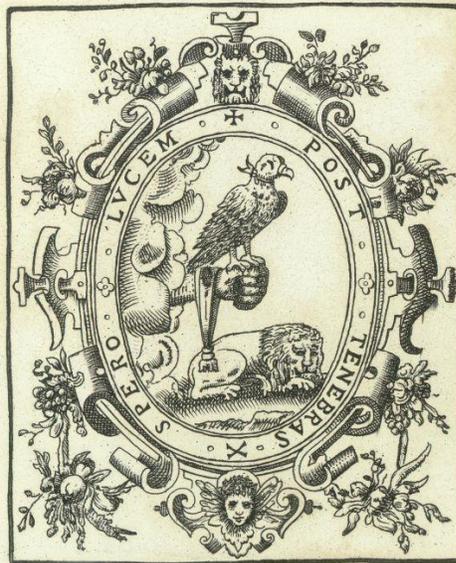
One of the most widely published and long-standing English translations of the *Quixote*, one that is still freely available for viewing and download on-line, was produced in 1885 by British translator John Ormsby (see fig. 13).

THE
INGENIOUS GENTLEMAN
DON QUIXOTE
OF LA MANCHA

BY
MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA.

A TRANSLATION
With Introduction and Notes.

BY
JOHN ORMSBY,
Translator of the "Poem of the Cid."



IN FOUR VOLS. — I.

LONDON,
SMITH, ELDER & CO 15, WATERLOO PLACE,
1885.

Figure 13. Title page of John Ormsby translation. London: Smith, Elder, 1885;
<http://dqj.tamu.edu>.

Ormsby, professing a desire to improve upon the existing English language versions of the work, wrote in the preface of his translation that although he admired Shelton's translation, its language would be too "crusted" to be enjoyed by most late 19th century readers. He goes on to decry the deformations done to the work by John Phillips' 1687 translation and he underlines his own intent to translate "not merely the story he tells, but the story as he tells it." Ormsby makes efforts to "foreignize" his own translation of the *Quixote*, including small details that subtly remind the reader that the characters in the story are Spanish. The "república" used to describe the beehive in Don Quixote's Golden Age discourse is rendered "republic" in English instead of being transformed to a British commonwealth as in previous translations. Ormsby includes frequent use of the word "señor," which is readily understandable to the English reader while maintaining a Spanish character in the polite discourse. The use of "encamisados" to describe the mourners who accompany the dead body in Part I's Chapter 19 is employed with neither translation nor explanatory footnote, requiring the reader to imagine a uniquely Spanish Catholic custom and to infer how they may have been dressed.

John Ormsby's translation is kind to the protagonist, often shading word choices to favor the Manchegan knight. Don Quixote's violence against the churchmen in the previously mentioned Adventure of the Dead Body is softened somewhat from "los apaleó a todos" to "Don Quixote belaboured them all." Ormsby actually enhances the protagonist's claim to sanity and strengthens Quixote's argument in his Arms and Letters discourse in Part I's Chapter 37 when he translates Quixote's fellow dinner

guests' evaluation of his sanity, "Ninguno de los que escuchándole estaban le tuviese por loco" is reflected as "for the time being he made it impossible for any of his hearers to consider him a madman." Don Quixote's insanity is presented with some ambiguity in Part II's Chapter 18 wherein Don Lorenzo, upon hearing Don Quixote's description of the "science" of knight errantry, opines that the knight is "a glorious madman," which is Ormsby's translation of "loco bizarro."

Although the Ormsby translation continued to widely read and was even used for an audiobook version of the work as recently as 2011 (Rasmussen 48), twenty-first century translators continue to produce their own English-language versions, creating ever more updated versions of the story of a protagonist who lamented having been born later than the thirteenth century. Indeed, it seems that the impressive number of existing *Quixote* translations into English does not guarantee that translators will stop taking on Cervantes' masterpiece; but only promises that there will be more to come, each seeking a readability, fidelity, thoroughness, colloquial or contemporary quality left untouched by previous translators. Recent English language translations include those done by James H. Montgomery (2009), Edith Grossman (2003), and John Rutherford (2001). Grossman's translation was considered by Carlos Fuentes to be a highly readable, masterful translation where the "contemporaneous and the original co-exist" ("Tilt"). Hispanist and Cervantes scholar John Rutherford's translation is complimented by another *cervantista*, Tom Lathrop, for its extensive explanatory footnotes, but was qualified as too British to suit North American readers (176).

Tom Lathrop also did his own Quixote translation in 2005. Most notable for including all of the errors contained in the Juan de la Cuesta *Princeps* edition because Lathrop was convinced that every “error” was intentional on the part of the author in order to create a contradictory text (McGrath 215), Lathrop’s translation reminds the reader that the characters and setting of the novel are in Spain by foreignizing his work, including “señor” and “señor mío” in the conversations between characters. In the *Adventure of the Galley Slaves* the guard refers to those who are convicted by the Inquisition as “gente non santa,” which is rendered “non santa people” in English. Spanish idiomatic expressions such as the previously mentioned “three feet on the cat” and “Man proposes, but God disposes” are not changed to typically English sayings. The word *Hidalgo* in the original is often rendered “gentleman” in other English translations, but Lathrop keeps the Spanish word in the translated text and explains its complex meaning with a footnote, just one of more than a thousand footnotes in the edition (McGrath 215).

In phrases which are not typically Spanish Lathrop translates the language into modernized American English for enhanced readability. In Don Quixote’s discourse on

the ideal knight in Part I's Chapter 21 he translates "mirándola a furto de los circustantes" as "looking at her on the sly so others won't notice." In his discussion with the galley slaves in Part I's Chapter 22 about the necessity of government regulation of prostitution he translates "se les yelan las migas entre la boca y la mano y no saben cuál es su mano derecha" into "they hesitate and miss the boat because they don't know what they're doing." Even the cover of Lathrop's translation, which also includes 55 illustrations by Jack Davis of *Mad* magazine, reflects a modernized approach to the work (see fig. 14). Like Ormsby, Lathrop is favorable to Don Quixote in his translation of the listeners' assessment of Don Quixote's mental health when the knight gives his Arms and Letters discourse in Chapter 37 of Part I. Lathrop removes the limiting qualifier of "por entonces" and writes "Don Quixote expressed his discourse in such a way and with such words that none of those listening could have thought him to be crazy."

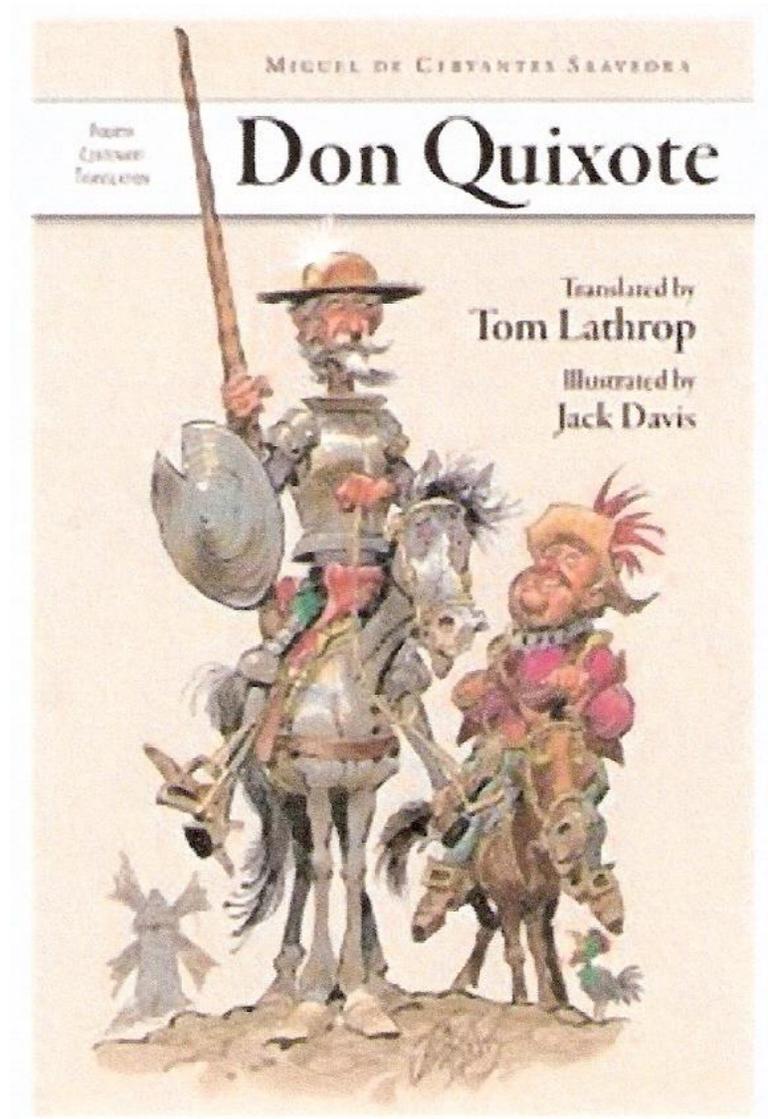


Figure 14. Cover of Tom Lathrop translation. Juan de la Cuesta; 2007; Newark; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>

This overview of nearly 400 years of English *Quixote* translations may underline the fundamental importance of repeated word choice on the part of the translator: *triste* becomes ill-favored, institutions can be depicted as more corrupt, insanity is enhanced or

down-played; ever-present or temporarily forgotten or absent. Translators manage to completely reverse the meanings of some words from original to translation in order to minimize the possibility that their own role be seen as too prominent or to align the text with the prevailing religious beliefs of the readership. Domesticating the original text, the protagonist's phrases and vocabulary is appropriation in its most basic form, but it does the protagonist no favors if he is incorporated into the lowest moral stratum within the national culture of the readership. But to foreignize does not automatically signify that the characters and their nationality will be presented even-handedly. In fact, the Shelton translation demonstrates that foreignizing may be the best technique to accentuate the oddness and imply the inferiority of a character, action or institution from the source text country. All of these shifts, however subtle or obvious, may go unperceived by the reader whose inability to understand the source text and overreliance on the accuracy that the term "translation" implies causes him or her to uncritically accept the translated book as an unbiased replica of the original when there is no such thing.

The long life and potential impact of these translators has been, and in some cases, continues to be immensely powerful. Thomas Shelton's 1612 translation has been reissued as recently as 1970 and is the basis for a 1977 Braille edition published in London, encompassing at least 29 total editions. Peter Motteux's 1700 translation has been republished as recently as 2010. No fewer than 32 Motteux translation editions are in the Cervantes Collection at Texas A&M University's Cushing Library. Smollet's translation was originally published in 1755, but republished in subsequent editions at

least 131 times, including a 2003 edition. The 1885 Ormsby, as was pointed out earlier in this chapter, may be the most frequently published English translation and its electronic availability through a variety of sources make its impact and reach impossible to measure.

The 400-year commemoration of the publication of the first part of the *Quixote* was accompanied by a resurgence of translations, this time including those done in languages such as Ukrainian, Hindi, Armenian, Turkish and Quechua. The Quechua translation shows a Don Quixote completely appropriated, imported and assimilated into Perú's Andean Ridge, surrounded by indigenous structures, people and topography (see fig 15). Other *Quixote* translations were reissued in Russian in that same year and translations in Guaraní (2009), Vietnamese (2008), Persian (2008), Modern Greek (2008), Kurdish (2007) and Thai (2007) were also published. Additional translations in languages such as Chinese, Arabic, Portuguese, Hebrew and French were also published between 2005 and 2010.

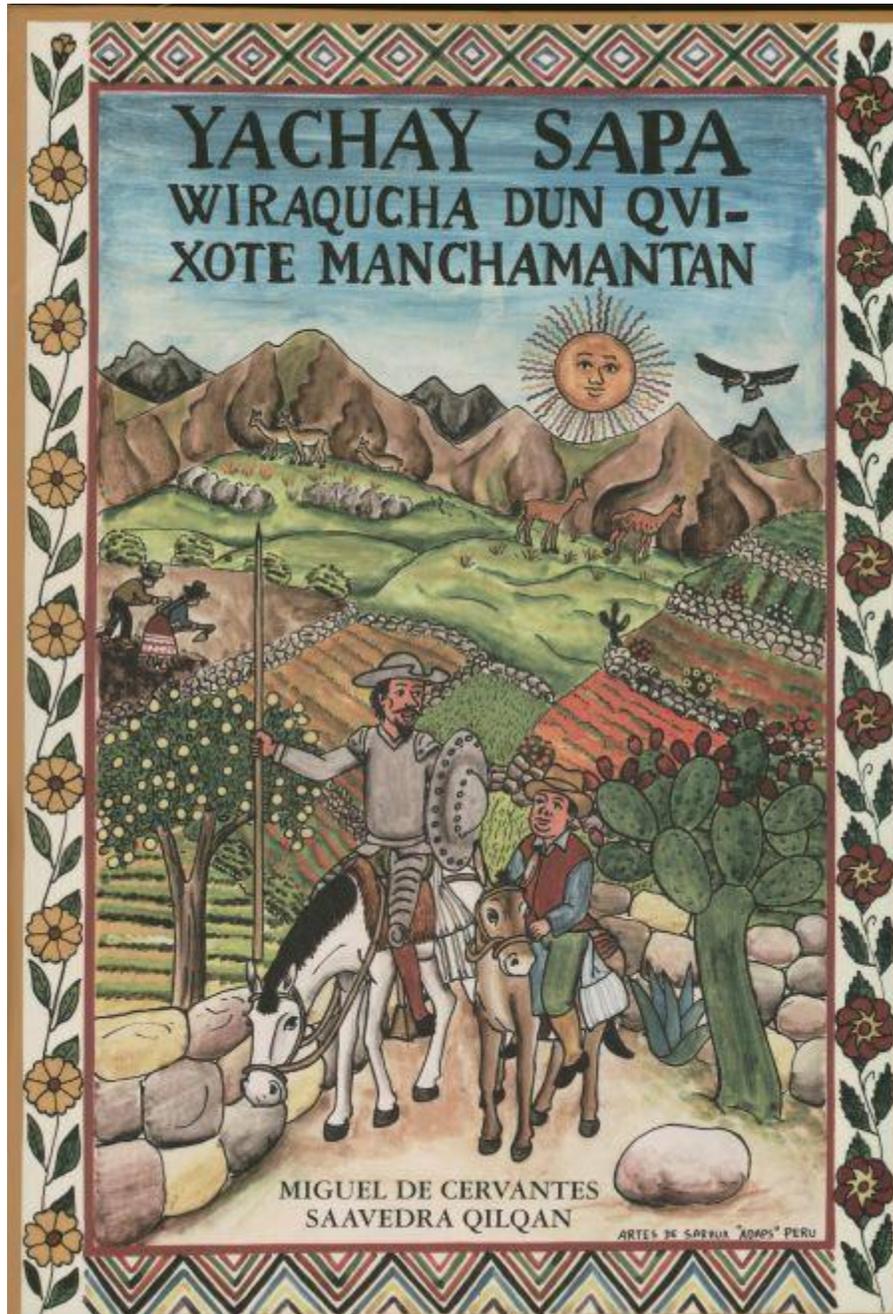


Figure 15. Cover of *Don Quixote* in Quechua. Lima: Manchay Sapanchasqa Madridpi, 2005; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

On the continuum between fidelity and flexibility, adaptations take up a place just a short distance beyond translations. More free in their approach to the original and surrendering any pretense of being textually faithful to the original, written adaptations exhibit many of the same conceptual ingredients as the previously mentioned cinematic adaptations with the added requirements to simplify the language, shorten the text (usually achieved by omitting the intercalated episodes which seem to be unnecessary to the overall plot of the adventures of the knight and squire, such as the story of “The Man who was Recklessly Curious” and the “Captive’s Tale”) and make the material suitable for young readers by eliminating profanity, scatological and sexual references. This section of the chapter will deal with children’s adaptations in Spain, Great Britain and the United States. The analysis of adaptations will include some of the earliest adaptations and then the most influential editions.

The Spanish adaptations are overwhelmingly educational products which were, after 1857 backed by the force of royal decree which either specifically mandated that the adapted *Quixote* be studied or included in a list of authorized works to be included in courses of instruction for children in Spain.

The first Spanish adaptation for children, *Manual alfabético del Quijote o colección de pensamientos de Cervantes*, was written by Mariano de Rementería y Fica and published in 1838. The stated purpose was initially to be a religious, moral and political guide, but that goal was eventually adjudged by the author as too ambitious and it was adjusted to be a text to “tune the sweet ears of childhood to the harmony of the way we speak.” (Sánchez 26) [acostumbrar los tiernos oídos de la niñez a la armonía de

nuestra habla]. In addition to being the first *Quixote* children's adaptation in Spanish it is one of the more recent, re-published in 1985 in both Spanish and Portuguese in Madrid by Almarabú & Estéban.

For its early publication, numerous editions, long life and near-universality in the instruction of Spanish schoolchildren, the heavyweight of Spanish children's *Quixote* adaptations may be Fernando de Castro's *El Quijote de los niños y para el pueblo, abreviado por un entusiasta de su autor, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, published in 1856. The 600-page book had the ambitious aim of replicating the entire story of the original with the abridgement achieved by thinning out the episodes instead of parsing the ones which are less important to the overall plot of the book. In a declaration that echoes of Sansón Carrasco's description of the popular reception of Part I of the *Quixote* in Chapter 3 of Part II, De Castro writes of the novel in his *Prologue*, "That God's will would be that in our days the old people celebrate it, men understand it, adolescents read it and children handle it!" [¡Quiera Dios que en nuestros días los viejos la celebran, los hombres la entiendan, los mozos la lean y los niños la manoseen!]. The publication of this book barely anticipated 1857's Moyano Law [Ley Moyano] regulating Spanish education and providing a list of works to be taught, which included the *Quijote de los niños* (Sotomayor 19). After the enactment of the Moyano Law, royal orders in 1912 and 1920 made the study of the *Quixote* obligatory in national schools (Sotomayor 24, 27). By the eighth edition in 1897 *Quijote de los niños* was published with ten illustrations and republished again with new illustrations in 1905. The book was not significantly revised until its thirtieth edition in 1962 (Sotomayor 16, 19). *Quijote de los*

niños was also published in 1863 in Valparaíso, making it the first South American edition of Cervantes' work (not that of Montevideo in 1880 which is commonly thought to be first) ("*Quijote* juvenile ilustrado" 49).

The year 1905, the tercentenary of the publication of Part I of the *Quixote*, marked the publication of at least three juvenile *Quixote* adaptations in Spain: one published by Saturnino Calleja with two additional prologues; one for student readers and one for teachers, a *Catecismo de Cervantes*, a question and answer-based book published by Aclisco Muñoz designed to inspire social conscience, and a series of books entitled *El pensamiento infantil. Método de lectura conforme con la inteligencia de los niños*, the final book of which was an adaptation of the *Quixote* (Sotomayor 19, 22, 23).

The idea of making an adapted *Quixote* obligatory educational material for children did not enjoy universal support. Spanish intellectual, essayist, poet and novelist Miguel de Unamuno responded to the published results of a supposedly non-guided poll of schoolchildren in 1915 that extolled the benefits of studying the *Quixote*, writing:

I doubt very much that there can be any greater foolishness than the *Quixote* for children. And that comes, not only from "cervantomania" but also from the pedagogical mania; it's the intersection of two manias. It has been said that children should read, as plastic material, the same things that grown people read: just selected works. And it seems that that selection should not include the *Quixote* (qtd. in Sánchez 42).

[Dudo mucho que pueda haber disparate mayor que el *Quijote* para los niños. Y ello proviene, no sólo de la cervantomanía, sino también de la

manía pedagógica; es el encuentro de dos manías. A los niños, se ha dicho también, debe dárseles a leer, como pasto artístico, las cosas mismas que leen los mayores, sólo que escogidas. Y en esta selección no parece que deba entrar el *Quijote*.]

Unamuno's incisive comments reflect an observation that shall be included in the summary of Spanish children's adaptations.

In 1926 Frederico Lafuente wrote an illustrated *Romancero del Quijote* in verse in lyric, epic form with abundant footnotes for the purpose of inspiring people to read the entire original work (Sotomayor 26).

By 1929, another philosophical book based on the *Quixote* and other works by Cervantes was written by Manuel de la Cueva and published by the Cuerpo de Intendencia e Intervención Militares [Military Management and Intervention Corps] in Madrid. *El alma de Cervantes: Pensamientos, máximas y consejos entresacados de las obras de Cervantes al alcance de la inteligencia de los niños* [The Soul of Cervantes: Thoughts, Maxims and Advice Taken from the Works of Cervantes Which are Within Reach of Juvenile Intelligence]. The work is organized by moral virtues and accompanied by illustrations that generally counterpoise positive and negative attributes. In the first chapter illustration, virtue is represented by hard work, endorsed by an angel and accompanied by promised prosperity while vice, represented by excessive alcohol-fueled celebration, and escorted by a winged demon or Satan, leads to hunger and death (see fig. 16).

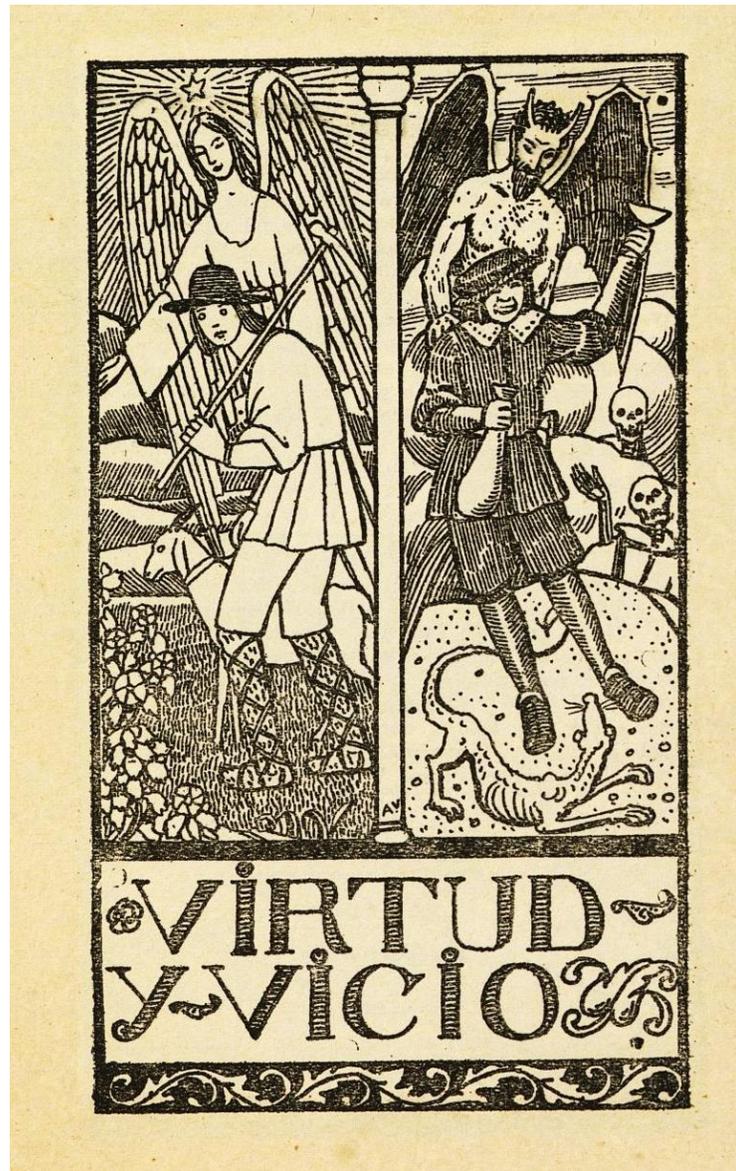


Figure 16. "Virtue and Vice." *El alma de Cervantes: Pensamientos, máximas y consejos entresacados de las obras de Cervantes al alcance de la inteligencia de los niños.* Madrid: Cuerpo de Intendencia e Intervención Militares, 1929. Author, Manuel de la Cueva; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

A *Quixote* edition published early in the Franco regime by Luis Vives featured a picture of the dictator at the beginning of the text. Like those before it, the book was

adapted to remove “bad-sounding or hurtful words or expressions for young people” (Sotomayor 31) [palabras o expresiones malsonantes o hirientes para los jóvenes.] By the 1950’s the Franco photograph was removed from the Luis Vives edition (Sotomayor 36).

The 1930’s and 40’s also saw the development of Spanish comic books such as *Las grandes aventuras* in 1936 and *Flechín y Pelayín de don Quijote y Sancho Panza* in 1940. *Flechín y Pelayín de don Quijote y Sancho Panza* ends with the warning:

“CHILDREN: READ ONLY INSTRUCTIVE BOOKS, AND WHILE YOU ARE YOUNG, AVOID BOOKS OF ADVENTURE AND GANGSTER MOVIES. THEY DO DAMAGE TO CHILDRENS’ IMAGINATIONS.” (Sotomayor 33) [NIÑOS: LEED SOLAMENTE LIBROS INSRUCTIVOS, Y MIENTRAS NO SEÁIS MAYORS, DEJAD A UN LADO LOS LIBROS DE AVENTURA Y LAS PELÍCULAS DE GANGSTER. HACEN MUCHO DAÑO EN LA IMAGINACIÓN DE LOS NIÑOS.]¹⁹

By 1943, *Garbancito de la Mancha*, [Little Bean of La Mancha] written by falangist Julian Pemartin, Franco’s Director of the National Institute of Spanish Books (Manzanera, Viñao 130). The work was illustrated by Arturo Moreno and published by Saturnino Calleja.

¹⁹ The original warning was written in Spanish in all capital letters.

The protagonist, Garbancito, navigates through moral dilemmas and fights against the giant Caramanca with the assistance of beautiful fairies. He receives a sword from the fairies that he must use in morally acceptable ways. The Garbancito book was eventually turned into a feature length film in 1945. Garbancito was an important part of the Franco regime's propaganda machine, answering the need for Spain to, ". . . incorporate . . . its most spiritual and idealizing sense, in which reality, in spite of all, continues to be a lesson of bravery, camaraderie, sacrifice, and Christian spirit" (Manzanera, Viñao 132). [. . . incorporar . . . su sentido más espiritual e idealizador, en el que la realidad, a pesar de todo, sigue siendo una lección. . . de valor, camaradería, sacrificio, espíritu cristiano.”]

Even more markedly militarized is the Spanish comic book series entitled *Hazañas bélicas* [Wartime Exploits] which ran 29 editions in 1948 -1949 and again between 1950 and 1958 with 321 weekly editions (Don Quijote *en los tebeos* 40). The earlier editions tell the story of a German soldier in Spain who had not accepted the

defeat of Nazi Germany at the end of World War II. The later edition tells of the exploits of “Johnny Commando” the son of Spanish immigrants to the United States. Johnny Commando, an avid reader of the *Quixote* and inspired by his reading of the Clavileño episode, defeats an overwhelming North Korean force (see fig. 17).

Many of these Spanish adaptations, especially Fernando de Castro’s *El Quijote de los niños y para el pueblo*, were staples of the educational system. Through children’s adaptations, however, the young readers see a different protagonist than they would in the original work. The pimp with whom Don Quixote talks vanishes from the line of chained galley slaves, as does Maritornes from the slapstick midnight encounter in the hayloft of the inn with Don Quixote in her nightgown, furtively feeling around in the dark for her waiting muleteer. Understandably, all scatological and sexual episodes are laundered out of the children’s *Quixotes*, but more importantly, so are many of the aspects of the knight’s parodic, subversive, unorthodox discourses which cut to the heart of what we may believe about historical accounts and written scripture. Dampened, too, is the complexity and cruelty of counter-reformation Spain at the brink of the Renaissance. In the adaptations, most of the dukes’ tricks on Don Quixote and Sancho



Figure 17. Cover of Hazañas bélicas. Barcelona: Toray; Author, E. Sotillos; Illustrator, A. Doyer;
http://www.uclm.es/ceclm/CentenarioQuijote/tboquijote/tbos/hazas_toray/index.htm.

are eliminated and no trace is left of Andrés, the child in Part I's Chapter 4 who is tied shirtless to a tree and beaten with a leather strap by his master for having the temerity to ask for his wages.

Predating any Spanish children's adaptations is the first English adaptation: *The History of the ever-renowned knight Don Quixote de la Mancha, containing his many wonderful and admirable achievements and adventures. With the pleasant humours of his trusty squire, Sancho Panza; being very comical and diverting*, published in London in 1695 ("Quijote juvenile ilustrado" 47). That edition and other early adaptations in the English language focused on the most comical and entertaining adventures of the knight and his squire. Eduardo Urbina points out that, like modern children's animated movies which include references and humor which appeals to adults, not all of the juvenile editions seem to be entirely focused on readability by children. *The Spirit of Cervantes;*

or, *Don Quixote abridged*, published by Millar in 1755, contained illustrations of serious episodes such as the dispute between Sancho and the barber and the examination of Don Quixote's library, which would not appeal to the sensibilities or interests of very young readers ("*Quijote juvenile ilustrado*" 48).

In 1875 the British publisher George Routledge and Sons published their own juvenile adaptation: *The Adventures of Don Quixote de la Mancha Adapted for the Young*. This adaptation, written by M. Jones, was based on the Jarvis translation and abridged into one continuous 503-page volume which includes 32 chapter illustrations and 172 vignettes. The adaptation omits the intercalated stories as well as any scatological episodes, profanity or sexually suggestive passages. What is not avoided or edited is the death of Don Quixote, which is not only included in the text, but also in the illustrations. The inclusion of this event in a children's book may seem strange to

contemporary readers, but another British book, *The Adventures of Don Quixote*, abridged and adapted by Emily Underdown in 1921, also includes the death scene in text and illustration (see fig. 18).

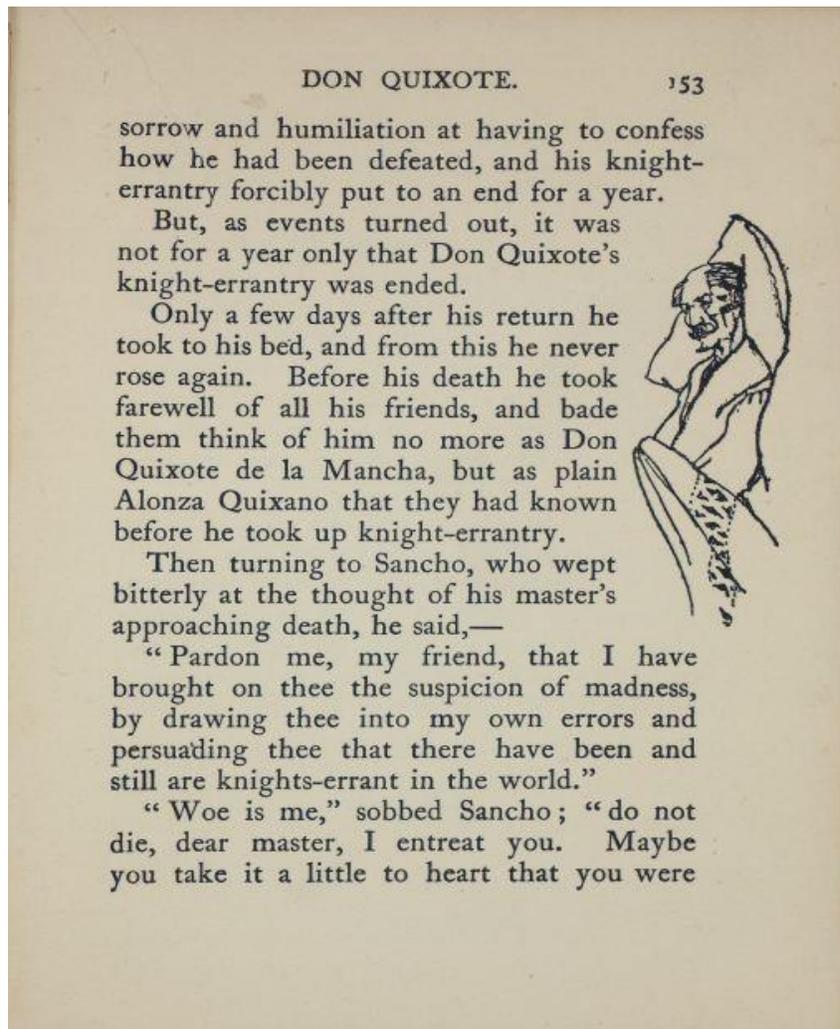


Figure 18. “Don Quixote dies as Alonso Quijano.” London: Nelson, 1921; Adaptation, Emily Underdown; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

The Adventures of Don Quixote changes the episode titles of Part I's Chapters 8 and 18 to more whimsical phrases like, "The Rescue of a Princess" and "Two Armies of Heroes." The book contains abundant illustrations in the margins throughout the text. 1897 saw the publication of a North American adaptation written by John Brownjohn: *Don Quixote, Jr. Knight of the Doorstep and Champion of the Front Yard* (see fig. 19). The protagonist's adventures start when he begins reading his father's books. As he is reading, a miniature knight comes out of the cuckoo clock in the library and challenges him to be a knight. As a result, he goes about dressed in armor noteworthy for its newness and completeness. This Don Quixote, Jr. relies on a velocipede, a type of primitive bicycle as a replacement for Rocinante. By rescuing a girl being attacked by a dog and an old man being tormented by two other boys, he demonstrates individual bravery and moral courage and becomes the hero of his family.

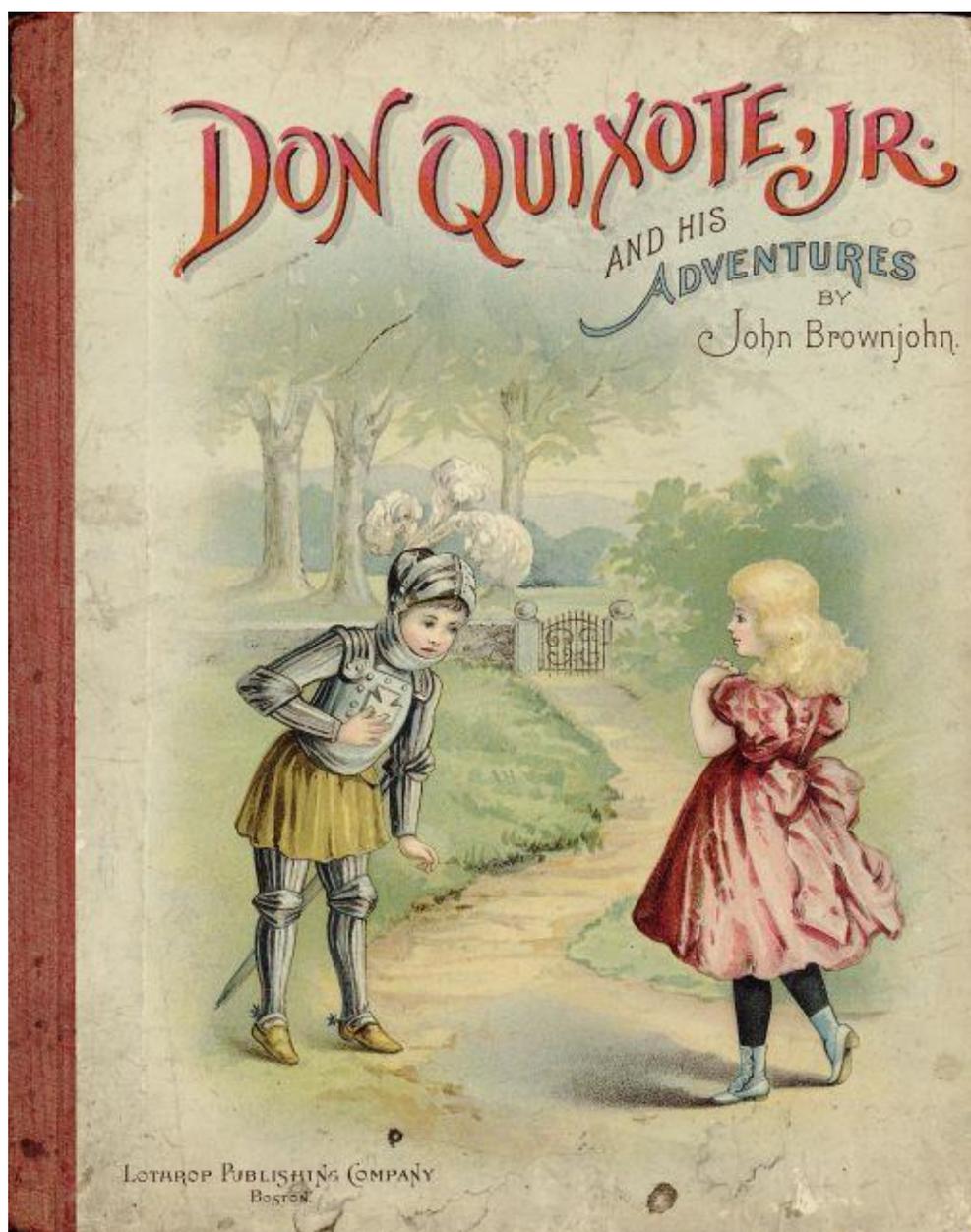


Figure 19. Cover of *Don Quixote, Jr., Knight of the Doorstep and Champion of the Front Yard*. Boston: Lothrop, 1897; Author, John Brownjohn; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

In the 1940's and 1950's *Classics Illustrated* published a series of comic books in the United States based on over 100 of the world's great books (*Don Quijote en los tebeos* 17). The *Classics Illustrated* series grew to have global reach, and was eventually published in 26 languages in 36 countries (Jones, W. 7). The *Quixote* adaptation, originally written by Samuel Abramson, was published in 1943 and republished twice more with updated cover images, was clearly intended for mass consumption by the traditional comic book public: adolescent boys. Each of the *Quixote* comic book covers show an image of the knight and the windmills, and in each of the images the windmill has some discernible face or an entire giant, lending some validation to the idea of windmills as giants and initiating the reader's shared view of the knight's perspective. One 1950's version shows Don Quixote, lance in hand, preparing to tilt at the windmills. The face on the closest windmill conveys some degree of surprise or alarm, as if it has something to fear from its potential adversary. The knight gazes into the eyes of the reader, gesturing to the windmill with his right hand as if he is challenging the reader to follow him. The sundown streaked sky across the background gives the impression that the knight will attack generally west, the historical direction of North American expansion (see fig. 20).

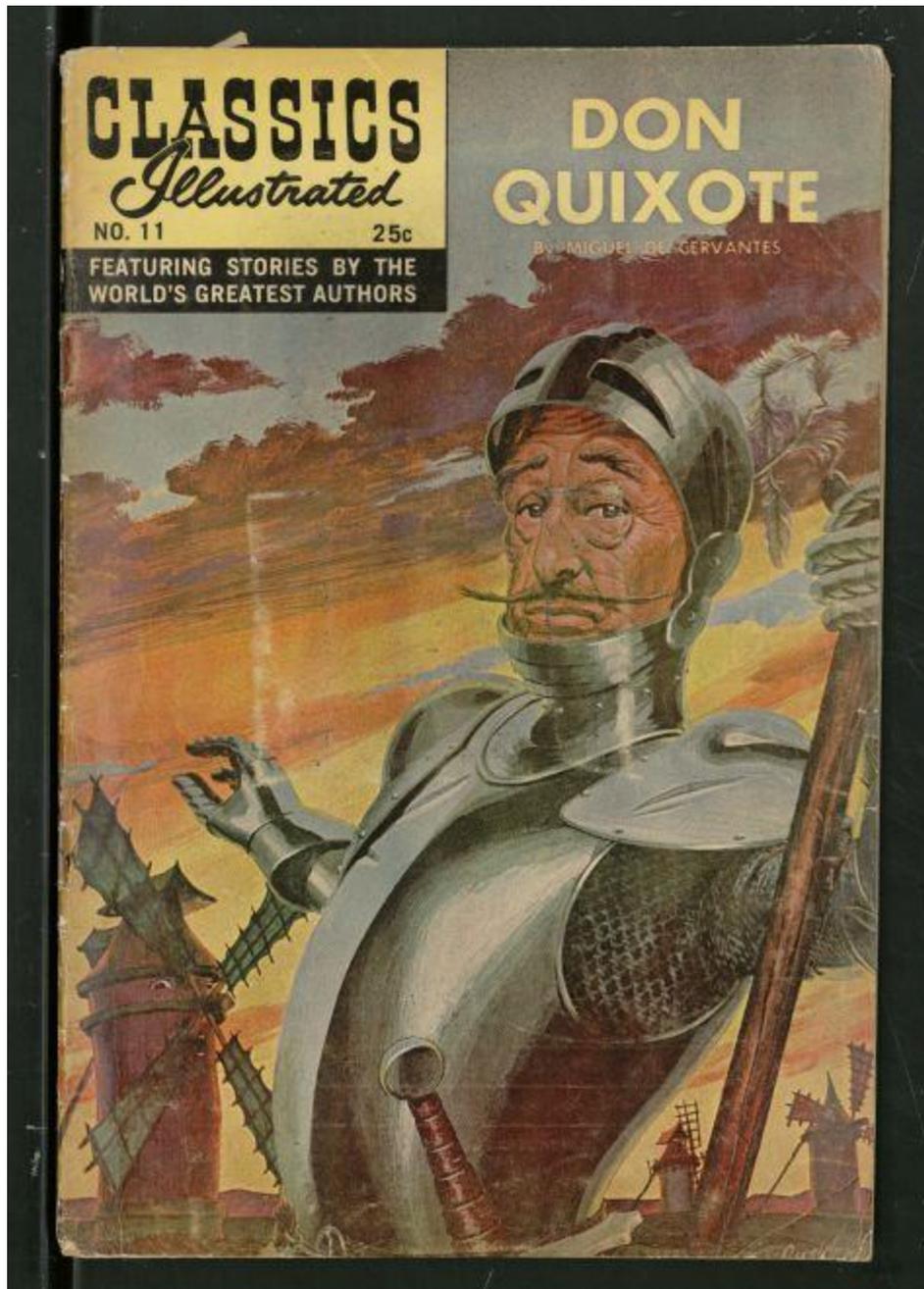


Figure 20. Cover of *Classics Illustrated Don Quixote*. New York: Gilberton, 1950; Author, Samuel Abramson; Illustrator, Zansky; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

In this adaptation, Don Quixote promises Sancho an island in return for his loyal service and includes its name: Nippon, reflecting the post-World War II U.S. occupation of Japan as a prize for having emerged victorious from the conflict. The Adventure of the Freeing of the Galley Slaves is included in the comic, but in this adaptation the *galeotes* are shown to be completely innocent and the knight is justified and heroic in freeing them. The comic book does not end with Don Quixote regaining his good sense as Alonso Quijano and dying, but with the knight practicing sword fighting at home and vowing to return after his year-long suspension from knighthood has ended. After the conclusion of the *Quixote* narrative, another phase of adaptation comes in the form of a paratextual mix of fiction and reality. A one-page biography of Cervantes follows the comic, followed by a two-page short story entitled, “That Others May Live,” set in the Los Alamos Atomic Laboratory in 1946. In this fictional account, Dr. Lou Slotin, a Canadian Jew, works alongside seven other scientists of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds from different parts of the United States. After a discussion about the need to harness atomic power for the betterment of civilization, a lab accident occurs. Dr. Slotin dies from the radiation exposure he has suffered in the act of saving his companions, but not before he exhorts his fellow scientists to continue to work diligently for scientific development. As if this baroque medley of history and fiction were not enough, the comic book concludes with a one-page article on Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton gin.

The *Classics Illustrated* comic presents Don Quixote as a heroic figure to be emulated by young men too young to have fought in World War II or Korea but some of

whom would probably later face the prospect of service in Vietnam. The literary fictionality of Don Quixote is suppressed as he is sorted into the artifact of the comic with other fictional and real heroic individual men. The bizarre mixture of history, fictional short story, biography and classical fictional narrative blends all of the comic book into one distinctly North American militarized, heroic, masculine, individual and technological product.

Like their Spanish counterparts, the North American adaptations reinforce the concepts of thought and moral behavior that nations hope to see developed in their citizenry. The North American adaptations, though, stress a more expansionist and military view of the protagonist, even compared to the Spanish adaptations done under the highly militarized Franco regime. The *Quixote* proves itself to be thoroughly adaptable for children for its physical humor and the episodic nature of the book, but also because of the emphasis on giants as adversaries in the text, since, to a small child, all the world around him or her, especially the adults, seem to be oversized and the adversarial nature of those grown-ups cannot be avoided. It is the grown-ups at home, school and other institutions that restrict and govern the activities and limit the freedom of activity of the children. The ludic nature of the protagonist also lends itself to children's adaptations since the adoption of a heroic identity, complete with the name, clothing and accoutrements of the hero is the stuff of everyday imaginative play for a child. To view the *Quixote* play-acted by a child may be a way to reexamine the protagonist the way Gonzalo Torrente Ballester does in his 1975 book, *El Quijote como juego*, [*The Quixote as Play*] which posits that the Manchegan knight, completely

equipped to understand the reality around him, adopts the identity of a knight in the way a child would adopt the identity of Spiderman or Batman to enhance play. Since one would never question the sanity of a child playacting the super hero, The *Quixote*'s protagonist may be more playfully age-inappropriate than insane.

As if they were obeying some statutory requirement handed down by some world governing body, translators, adaptors and publishers since 1607 seem to be determined to provide every person, regardless of age, ability or native language with a *Quixote* that he or she can understand. That impulse seems to be to make the Spanish, anachronistic, out-of-step Don Quixote accessible in more than just the reader's language, but specific colloquial dialect, placing him in an environment that is familiar to the reader and even going so far as to shrink the knight down to a child's size (in the case of a juvenile adaptation).

For all its universality in Spanish schools supported by the force of law and policy, the adapted children's *Quixote* may have ensured, even more effectively than any measures of censorship, that fewer people in Spain actually read the entire unabridged and "un-adapted" *Quixote* than would be imagined, since having been required to read the book as a juvenile scholastic requirement may have killed the desire to read it in its original form as an adult. As a result, what many Spaniards believe what they have read and seen as the real protagonist has in fact been a doctrinally cleansed, government-approved package of religious and nationalist platitudes and ideals.

The phenomenon of the *Quixote* as a translated and adapted book may closely reflect the current situation with the Christian Bible: it has been translated into hundreds

of languages and in English it exists in a vertiginous array of versions which not only make the work accessible, but can appeal to the inclinations and prejudices of the individual reader. Perhaps this parallel is one of the most compelling cases for the canonization (consistent with the etymological roots of the word) of the *Quixote*.

CHAPTER III

ICONIZATION THROUGH ILLUSTRATION

“You shall not make for yourself an image in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below. You shall not bow down to them or worship them;”

Exodus 20: 4-5a

Chapter I of this dissertation posits that the *Quixote* began as an image based text because of its highly descriptive storytelling, the parodic inclusion of an image which helps identify the “found manuscript” in Part I’s Chapter 9, the connection to and repeated mention of the visual arts and the connection to religious iconography and carnivalesque imagery. Those factors led to many imitators of the Manchegan knight in parades, carnivals and celebrations during the first fifty years of the text’s history when very few illustrations of Don Quixote existed.

The images that began to accompany and complement the text, beginning with frontispieces and title page engravings in the early 17th century and growing into dozens of chapter illustrations from 1657 on, grew to form a textual iconography, a tradition of visual readings which has overshadowed the text itself, eventually resulting in some editions of the *Quixote*, such as the 1946 New York Random House edition, in which the text may constitute little more than mortar to fill in the spaces between Salvador Dalí’s forty-one artistic illustrations. Eduardo Urbina underlines the tendency for the image to

shape the reception of the written word and even supplant it in the *Quixote*'s process of reading and iconization:

. . . la afortunada creación de un conjunto de imágenes de indiscutible mérito artístico e indudable importancia histórico-crítica, y que como lectura visual, gracias a la inmediatez e impacto de la imagen, se impone a la palabra y condiciona la lectura de la historia, hasta el punto de hacer del *Quijote* y sus “nunca vistas” hazañas, un texto más visto que leído (“Iconografía textual e historia visual del *Quijote*” 1111).

[. . . the fortunate creation of a collection of images which are of indisputable artistic merit and doubtless historical and critical importance, which as a visual reading, thanks to the immediacy and impact of the image, imposes itself on the word and conditions the reading of the story, even to the point of making of the *Quixote* and its “never seen” exploits, a text more seen than read.]

Some excellent resources which catalogue the *Quixote*'s textual iconography start with Henry Ashbee's *Iconography of Don Quixote* in 1895. Ashbee's work, which continues to be a useful resource for study of the *Quixote* iconography, is a catalogue of the engravings contained in *Don Quixote* editions up to that time, as well as a listing of other works based on the novel, portraits of the author, and other artwork depicting the book's characters and episodes. Ashbee's book delves into such detailed information about the illustrations as to include their sizes in inches and millimeters, but suffers from the fact that it does not contain a single image. Juan Givanel Mas (from this point on

referred to as Givanel) *Historia gráfica de Cervantes y del Quijote*, published in 1946, focuses chiefly on the cultural appropriations of the images and the way French, German or English artists import the characters into non-Spanish physical environments dressed and groomed in ways appropriate to the artist's home country. Rachel Schmidt's 1999 book, *Critical Images*, is "a study in reader response, first by the illustrators, either to Cervantes' text or a translation of it, then by the readers who may have been influenced in turn by those illustrations" ("Review of *Critical Images*" 222). The illustrations of two Spanish language *Quixotes* figure prominently in the Schmidt project: the 1738 Tonson and the 1780 Ibarra editions.

José Manuel Lucía Megías' *Leer el Quijote en imágenes* puts forward a theory of contemporary reading as a means to analyze *Quixote* iconography, compares different illustrations of the same episode and examines illustrations grouped by country of publication. Critical for this study on the development of the visual iconization of the protagonist is the Cervantes Project, a digital humanities collaborative initiative between the University of Castilla-La Mancha and the Center for the Study of Digital Libraries at Texas A&M University. The Cervantes Project comprises the *Textual Iconography of the Quixote*, access to Quixote translations and other electronic editions of Cervantes' works. A related resource is the Centro de Estudios de Castilla-La Mancha [Center for Castilla-La Mancha Studies], part of the University of Castilla-La Mancha, which archives popular iconography, cartoons, and other images of Don Quixote.

This chapter will examine how the image of Don Quixote was transformed, strengthened and projected over four centuries which featured varying ideological and

nationalist approaches and artists who put their own stamp of interpretation on the icon while leveraging technological advances that allowed those interpretations to be widely propagated. Those three factors over time: ideology, artists and technology created an iconography that provides a “visual reading” of the knight that overshadows his literary presence. Additionally, we will delve into what makes some of these images immediate and impactful; the ability to visually reflect what is most compelling about the protagonist: his paradoxical insanity and wisdom, his ridiculousness and his heroic nobility of purpose.

The genesis of the *Quixote* iconography begins in the text of the book itself and expands to the earliest title pages and frontispieces. The parodic and notional illustration of the fight between Don Quixote and the Basque squire in Part I’s Chapter 9 in the “found manuscript” is as ineffable as the rest of the Arabic text, leaving editors and artists to begin creating their own *Quixote* images, the earliest of which are a curiously mixed bag of stock images which show a generic knight. A good example of the first type is the cover illustration of the 1617 Barcelona Sorita edition which appears to be that of a standard medieval knight on horseback, an image whose subjects bear no resemblance to the textual characters (see fig. 21).

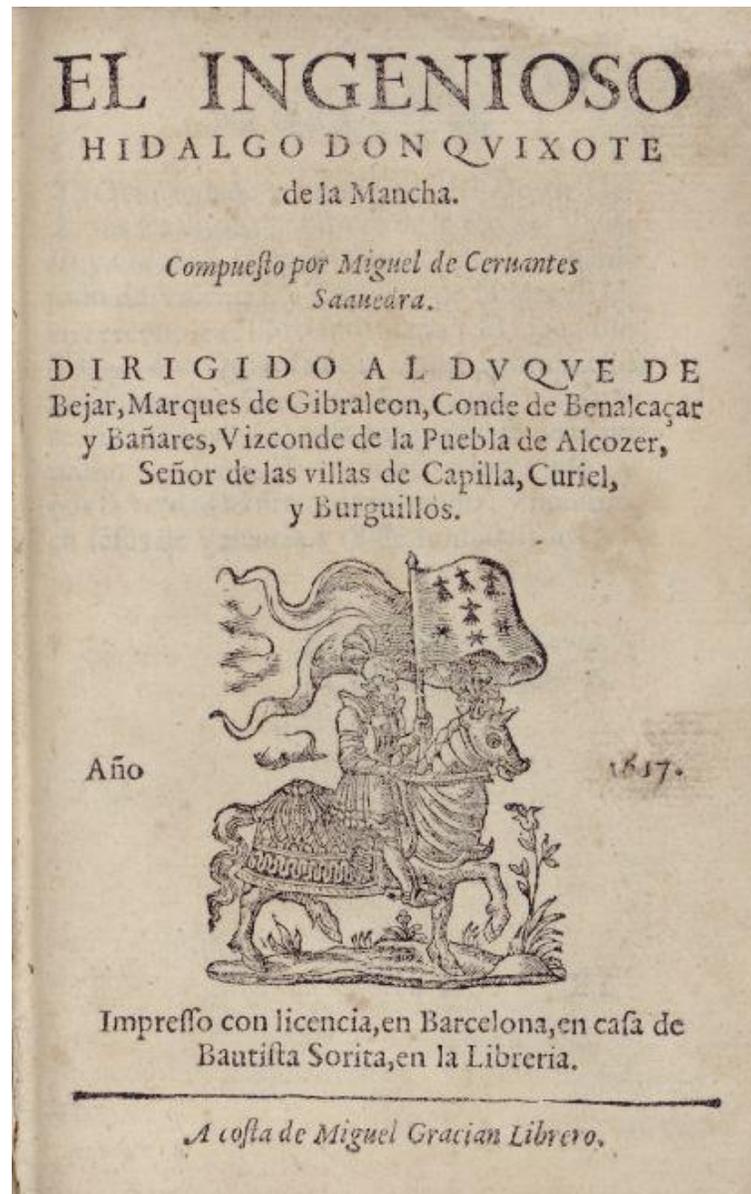


Figure 21. Title page. Barcelona: Bautista Sorita, 1617; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Other early images appeared to have been commissioned to specifically depict Don Quixote (and did so by means of including Sancho Panza) but were also woefully inaccurate in terms of reflecting textual descriptions. One of the first volumes to contain

more than just a frontispiece or cover image was the 1648 Frankfurt edition which also included four chapter illustrations by an unknown illustrator. This frontispiece only vaguely resembles the textual characters (see fig. 22).



Figure 22. Frontispiece. Frankfurt: Götzen, 1648; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Givanel details the many inaccuracies of this image as well as chapter illustrations in the same edition:

Our knight here is extremely young, almost a child, without the shadow of hair on his face. And that fantastic outfit, with the helmet surrounded by a great collection of feathers, the complete armor and the enormous flattened collar that presses down on his chest never fails to appear in all the illustrations of the work. Rocinante, on the other hand, is presented with admirable fidelity: he's pure bones" (102-104). [Nuestro caballero es aquí sumamente joven, casi un niño, sin asomo de pelo en el rostro. Y esa indumentaria fantástica -con el casco rodeado de un gran penacho de plumas, la completa armadura y la enorme golilla apanalada que le oprime el pecho-, no le abandona ni un momento en todas las ilustraciones de la obra. Rocinante, en cambio, está presentado con admirable fidelidad: es puro hueso.]

Givanel goes on to point out that all of the male figures in the illustrations look like German, Lutheran beer drinkers.

The first exception to the trend of vague and generic images is the burin engraving done by an unknown illustrator which first appeared in the 1618 Paris Moreau edition. The same image was also included as the title page of the 1620 London Blount edition (see fig. 23).



Figure 23. Title page of Thomas Shelton translation. London: Blount, 1620;
<http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Givanel points out that this image is the first truly “quixotesque²⁰” print (95) which would signify the birth of what is now an enormous *Quixote* textual iconography since it is recognizably reflective of how the characters are textually described and produces some visual interpretation of the text. Givanel goes on to point out that this engraving also constitutes the first image-based cultural appropriation of the protagonist since men in Spain at that time did not wear their hair and beards in the manner that Don Quixote is depicted, claiming that Sancho looks like England’s King Henry VIII and that this Don Quixote looks more like a contemporary of Shakespeare than of Cervantes (96). In spite of the cultural appropriations that Givanel points out, this image may also be considered the first of the *Quixote* iconology because of its paradoxical mixing of burlesque and serious symbols in a way that reflects the nature of the literary character. It is in fact the first depiction of the protagonist wearing the barber’s basin which he believed to be the golden “Helmet of Mambrino” from chivalric romance thought to make its wearer invulnerable. In Chapter 21 of Part I Don Quixote attacks a traveling barber and seizes the basin which the barber used to shave customers as he traveled from town to town. The basin had a small cut-out to fit around the customer’s neck and avoid wasting water. The characteristic shape of the basin, uniquely repurposed as an item of headgear, contributes to the distinguishability and uniqueness of the Manchegan knight no matter how poorly or roughly the illustration is drawn. As is the case with any soldier, a knight’s headgear defines his status and his affiliation. Don Quixote’s barber’s

²⁰ I use “quixotesque” as a translation of the term “quijotesco,” which is not “quixotic,” but “having to do with *Don Quixote de la Mancha*” according the dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy.

basin helmet becomes so fully and strongly representative of his delusional claims to knighthood that by Chapter 44 of Part I Sancho conflates “helmet” and “basin” into “basihelm” [baciyelmo] and the question of whether Don Quixote attacked and stole the basin in contravention of the laws of polite late 16th century society or justly won the helmet according to the rules of 13th century chivalric combat becomes the stuff of an elaborate joke played on the basin’s original owner by Don Quixote’s friends and traveling companions. Although it is not a foolproof and infallible test, whether or not the protagonist is portrayed wearing the barber’s basin becomes the first and most telling indicator in interpreting the textual iconography of Don Quixote: whether the illustration is emphasizing the ridiculous, comical nature of the character or, at a minimum, contrasting that aspect of the paradoxical protagonist with other, more serious characteristics. This frontispiece to the Blount edition is complex and nuanced. Besides the barber’s basin the windmill is seen on a hilltop in the background, another reminder of the knight’s delusion and failure. But there are traces of the ironically serious in the image as well. Don Quixote and Sancho are depicted on horseback in classic heroic equestrian poses over an elaborate pedestal. Don Quixote carries a “Knight of the Lions” banner and Sancho is armed with a sword. Neither character is portrayed with the gauntness or corpulence that would communicate the stark contrast of their characters.

That frontispiece was the only illustration of the protagonist in that Blount edition. The first thoroughly illustrated *Quixote* was the 1657 Dordrecht (Dutch) edition which contained two frontispieces and 24 chapter illustrations. Jacob Savery was the

artist for those illustrations and his work came to characterize the textual iconography of the 1600's (*La imagen del Quijote* 211).

In addition to the Dordrecht edition, Savery's illustrations are also featured in two 1662 Brussels editions. Not only was Savery the artist for the first extensively illustrated of the Quixote, but also one of the most influential, with nearly a thousand of his illustrations being reprinted in subsequent editions or closely copied by other artists. Jacob Savery's Don Quixote is an overwhelmingly martial, but slapstick character. Don Quixote appears in twenty-one of the twenty-four chapter illustrations in the Dordrecht edition, and he has his sword drawn or lance in hand in all but four of those. The few illustrations which show him unarmed are some of the scenes in which the knight is on the losing end of burlesque episodes: the midnight tussle with Maritornes, knocked flat on his back by the enraged Cardenio in the Sierra Morena, and kneeling before incredulous peasant girls. Even as he does the half-naked somersaults as a penitent lover in the Sierra Morena, his sword hangs from a tree as a prominent reminder of his martial office of knighthood.

Like the previously mentioned frontispieces of the 1620 Blount edition and the 1780 Ibarra edition, Savery's two frontispieces in the 1657 Dordrecht combine heroic and ridiculous features to present a paradoxical preview of Don Quixote and the Quixote as a work. The first frontispiece previews the book's Part I (see fig. 24).



Figure 24. Frontispiece. Dordrecht: 1657; Illustrator, Jacob Savery; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

The classically heroic elements include the presence of Amadís and Roland who stand on pedestals inaccurately depicted as Roman soldiers. A robust Don Quixote, dressed in new armor with his lance in his right hand, sits mounted on an impressively muscled Rocinante and a roundel with Dulcinea's likeness hangs on the wall at the back of the scene. But Dulcinea looks much less like the knight's princess than the strong country lass who Sancho claimed could throw a metal bar just as well as the brawniest lad in the village (I, 25). She is shown here (ironically within the ornate roundel) as plain and inelegant. Occupying the absolute center of the image is the barber's basin, sitting squarely atop Don Quixote's head as a compelling and ever-present reminder of the protagonist's delusion and knighthood.

Savery's second frontispiece for the 1657 Dordrecht which accompanied Part II of the novel reflects an equally sharp contrast between the heroic and the burlesque (see fig. 25).



Figure 25. Second frontispiece. Dordrecht: 1657; Illustrator, Jacob Savery;
<http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

To balance against the heroic figure of the knight at ground level in conventional helmet, full armor with sword drawn, shield in hand and conquered lion at his feet, the enchanted version of Dulcinea, looking aged and peasant-like, and Governor Sancho share the pedestal over Don Quixote and the enchanter Merlin fills the roundel that overlooks the scene. Savery's illustrations were copied by other artists and engravers in dozens of editions throughout Europe, including several Spanish editions, from the late 1600's through the end of the 18th century. Many of the illustrations appear to be near-replicas while others take the liberty of adding small details. For example, Savery's original 1657 illustration of Sancho presenting the "enchanted" peasant girl version of Dulcinea to Don Quixote is depicted in terms that appear to be generally consistent with the textual description except for the fact that the peasant girl in the illustration appears to be elderly (see fig 26).

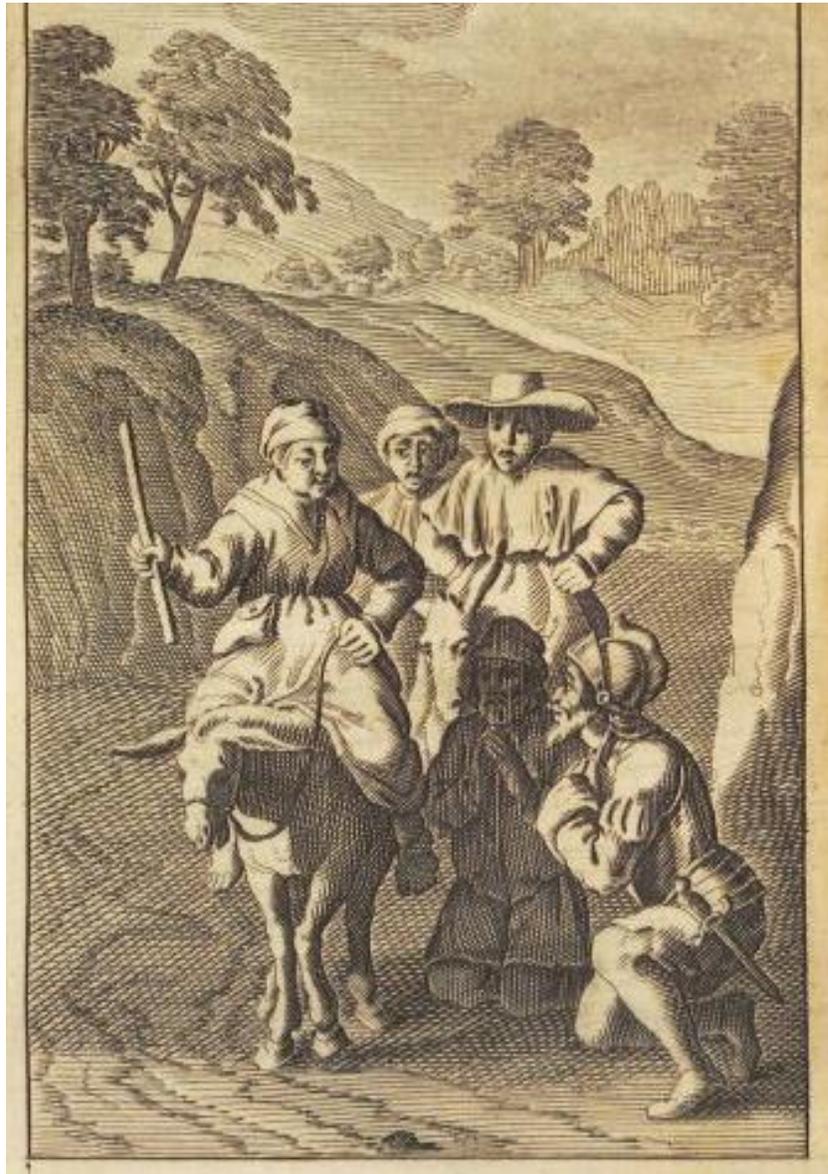


Figure 26. "Don Quixote and Sancho encounter the enchanted Dulcinea." Dordrecht: 1657; Illustrator, Jacob Savery; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

But Savery's frontispieces and engravings act as a point of departure for even more burlesque illustrators. By 1700, Frederik Bouttats illustrates the same scene with an additional episode in the background, a non-textual unhorsing of one of the peasant

girls as they try to flee Don Quixote and Sancho. She is shown having fallen to the ground, exposing her bare buttocks (see fig. 27).



Figure 27. "Don Quixote and Sancho meet the enchanted Dulcinea." London: 1700-1706; Illustrator, Frederik Bouttats; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Diego de Obregón was the artist for the first fully illustrated Spanish *Quixote* published in 1674, the Andrés García de la Iglesia edition. Many of Obregon's illustrations are copied after those of Jacob Savery or Frederik Bouttats. Many of the images, like this episode in the inn with Maritornes from Chapter 16 of Part I, appeal to the same sense of the burlesque as Savery's but lack artistic merit and are of unremarkable engraving quality (see fig. 28).



Figure 28. "Night adventure at the inn with Maritornes." Madrid: 1674; Illustrator, Diego de Obregón; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Savery's, Bouttat's and Obregón's 17th century burlesque depictions of Don Quixote artwork gave way to a great variety of 18th century artists like John Vanderbank, José del Castillo, Antonio Carnicero and Charles Antoine Coypel as well as a host of unnamed artists who created woodcut versions of the engraved illustrations from the prior century. It may be most instructive to organize the 18th century artists according to those whose works accompanied books in Spanish and those whose artwork was included in *Quixote* editions printed outside of Spain. And here begins the complication of that organization: under the general heading of "Spanish illustrations," the first artist to be studied is Dutchman John Vanderbank whose work accompanied the 1738 Tonson edition, also known as the Lord Carteret, which was printed in London. We will treat the Tonson edition as a Spanish work because it was the first Spanish-language *Quixote* printed in England and also because of the artist's complex and ambivalent treatment of the protagonist.

The Tonson edition, published in four large volumes, features an allegorical frontispiece featuring the author, a portrait of the author, and 67 chapter illustrations done by burin engravings, all but one of them created by John Vanderbank. The view of Don Quixote projected in this book is, if not heroic, at least sufficiently nuanced to show the complexity of the protagonist, beginning with a juxtaposition of images that tie the knight to his literary stepfather, Cervantes. The frontispiece of the books allegorically depicts the author as Hercules undertaking the mission to displace the monsters of

chivalric books from Mount Parnassus in order to restore the Muses to their rightful place (see fig 29).²¹



Figure 29. Frontispiece. London: Tonson, 1738; Illustrator, John Vanderbank; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

²¹ This image was repeated in the 1742 Charles Jarvis English-language translation.

In this illustration the satyr hands Cervantes the mask of the fictional Don Quixote as well as the club he will use to defeat the monsters of unreality. Cervantes' work in conceiving of and writing the *Quixote* is lionized as defeating the unreality of excessive sentiment and impossible heroism in chivalric romances with the weapon of satire. Cervantes is thus fictionalized and mythologized and the tie to his protagonist is reinforced, a process that continues in the following image by William Kent wherein the author is shown at his desk with quill in hand. Cervantes' own helmet and sword hang on the wall behind him and his crippled left hand is prominently shown. He looks out the window as Don Quixote and Sancho ride by. The serious and valorous tone reflected in these first two illustrations sets the stage for the more idealized heroic presentation of the protagonist in the chapter illustrations to follow. Although the technique of burin engravings would allow for Vanderbank's images to project a much more detailed exploitation of the ridiculous and burlesque aspects of the protagonist's adventures, the illustrations instead focus on the discursive and conversational (Oldfield iv). The Tonson illustrations manage a heroic image of the Manchegan knight by largely ignoring the textual violence in the episodes, toning down the few ridiculous scenes from the book that are chosen to be illustrated, adjusting some of the otherwise unremarkable passages in the book to depict the knight as heroic, and tailoring some key images to show the knight in a paradoxical way, both heroic and foolish, giving the viewer the option of focusing on the parts of the image that support his or her own reception of the protagonist.

First, the violent and burlesque in the novel is often passed over in favor of scenes at rest showing complex interaction between characters. The fight with the Basque squire is not shown, but we see Sancho on one knee before his master asking for his insula immediately after the fight (I, 10). The episode of Don Quixote attacking the sheep is not illustrated, but Sancho counting his teeth afterwards is shown; an episode that seems to convey brotherly care with no hint of what was to come next, the grotesque scene of Sancho and Don Quixote vomiting on each other (I, 18). The scene of the fulling mills is included in the illustrations, but only goes so far as to show Sancho clandestinely hobbling Rocinante, not pulling down his trousers to relieve himself under Don Quixote's nose (I, 20). In the episode where Don Quixote defeats the Knight of the Mirrors the battle is not shown; only Don Quixote helping Sancho scramble to safety in a tree (II, 14).

The Tonson edition's illustrations omit some of the most famously iconic burlesque episodes in the *Quixote* (Don Quixote charging the windmills, the knight being attacked by cats in the middle of the night in the Dukes' castle, the blindfolded Don Quixote and Sancho on the wooden horse Clavileño), but includes undeniably humorous scenes where the humor is buttressed by showing some of the characters laughing at the knight. Maritornes and the innkeeper's daughter come out of the house to laugh at Don Quixote caught at the window by his wrist, an inaccurate depiction of the textual description of that episode (I, 35). Another obvious example of an image in which the characters around the knight laugh at him is image of the knighting of Don Quixote by the innkeeper in figure 48 which appears later in this chapter (I, 3).

However, the impact of the ridiculous nature of that image is buffered by the one which appears immediately before. That illustration, the only one in the book designed by William Hogarth,²² depicts Don Quixote arriving at the inn which he believes is a castle. He appears young and vigorous as he gestures elegantly and speaks to the two prostitutes who he believes to be ladies of the castle. In the text the prostitutes laugh hysterically at the knight's archaic and courteous language, but neither of the plain-looking but not unattractive women is depicted laughing at him as they attentively listen to him. The innkeeper, who guides the knight's horse, is equally serious as he goes about the business of accommodating his customer and his mount (see fig. 30).



Figure 30. "Don Quixote arrives at the inn." London: Tonson, 1738; Illustrator, William Hogarth; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

²² Six other Hogarth illustrations were rejected by Tonson editors for being too ridiculous.

When Don Quixote reveals that he has not been cured of his madness during his interview with the priest and the barber at the beginning of the *Quixote*'s second volume, the Tonson edition image shows him conversing with his guests while extending his right index finger upward, a gesture which subtly communicates the idea of speaking "God's truth" (see fig 31). That same gesture is repeated in several Don Quixote representations in this edition. The facial expression of the priest and that of the barber who looks at the priest rather than Don Quixote seem to indicate that the priest is losing the argument. To reinforce the orthodox Catholic character of the protagonist, though, a bench behind the knight is decorated with a large cross, communicating the idea that Don Quixote argues with both the support and backing of Providence. This is not the depiction of a madman, but that of a conventional hero making preparations to strike out on another quest.



Figure 31. “Don Quixote talking to the priest and the barber.” London: Tonson, 1738; Illustrator, John Vanderbank; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Other images which would call for some measure of laughter are shown in this edition as ironically serious. The textual episode of the priest and barber being led into the Sierra Morena to rescue the mad knight, where Dorotea in her role as Princess Micomicona kneels before Don Quixote, is depicted with great sobriety (I, 29). The only character who could possibly be interpreted as expressing laughter in this scene is the barber, whose hand covers the lower part of his face. It is not at all clear if he is

laughing behind his hand, whispering some directions to Dorotea, or deep in thought about what he should do next to continue the ruse (see fig. 32).



Figure 32. "Don Quixote meets Princess Micomicona." London: Tonson, 1738; Illustrator, John Vanderbank; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

The scene where Sancho convinces Don Quixote that Dulcinea has been enchanted and transformed into a plain peasant girl is included in the Tonson edition, but in this image the two peasant girls who accompany Sancho's enchanted version of Dulcinea show barely perceptible smiles, expressing the idea of patient amusement, not mocking laughter (II, 10) (see fig. 33).



Figure 33. “Don Quixote meets the enchanted Dulcinea.” London: 1742; Illustrator, John Vanderbank; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Even Don Quixote at his most insane and self-compromising moment, stripped down and turning somersaults in the Sierra Morena so that Sancho may honestly report the knight’s penance to Dulcinea, is illustrated here with the key modification of being naked from the waist up rather than from the waist down as the text describes (I, 25) (see fig. 34).



Figure 34. “Don Quixote’s penance in the Sierra Morena.” London: Tonson, 1738; Illustrator, John Vanderbank; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

The most ingenious and impactful images in the Tonson edition may be those which pictorially reflect the paradoxical nature of the knight and the novel, combining the *cuerdo* and *loco* aspects of the protagonist or maintaining some element of the comical which acts as a counterweight to the knight’s attempts to be heroic. For example, as Don Quixote delivers his discourse on the Golden Age to goatherds who barely understand his archaic speech, the knight appears almost Christ-like, as if he were teaching his disciples some deep spiritual truths (I, 11). The goatherds are openmouthed with amazement and pay rapt attention (although Cervantes’ text tells us they do not

understand him) while Sancho, looking like a greedy child, is foregrounded, doing his best to empty a jug of wine (see fig. 35).



Figure 35. “Don Quixote’s Golden Age discourse to the shepherds.” London: Tonson, 1738; Illustrator, John Vanderbank; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

One of the most frequently illustrated *Quixote* episodes is the one in which Don Quixote wakes up in the middle of the night and attacks full wineskins thinking they are giants (I, 35). The illustrations almost invariably show the knight in the act of wielding his sword with streams of wine gushing out of the wineskins, but the image in the

Tonson edition shows the aftermath of the attack where Don Quixote shares the foreground with Dorotea, who has arrived to investigate the situation and then turned back to avoid seeing Don Quixote in his nightshirt. Another paradoxical image is that of Don Quixote interrupting Sancho whipping himself in Part II's Chapter 71 as a panacea for Dulcinea's supernatural enchantment. In the book this is a funny moment: Sancho's self-flagellation has, at this point, devolved into moans of fake pain while he whips the bark off of the trees in the midnight darkness an effort to convince his master that he is whipping himself while the credulous Don Quixote counts the blows nearby on a rosary. There is something of the burlesque in this engraving in the showing of Sancho's chubby torso, but there is also something heroic and altruistic in the knight's behavior as he grasps the whip out of mid-air out of concern (even if misplaced) for Sancho's wellbeing (see fig. 36).

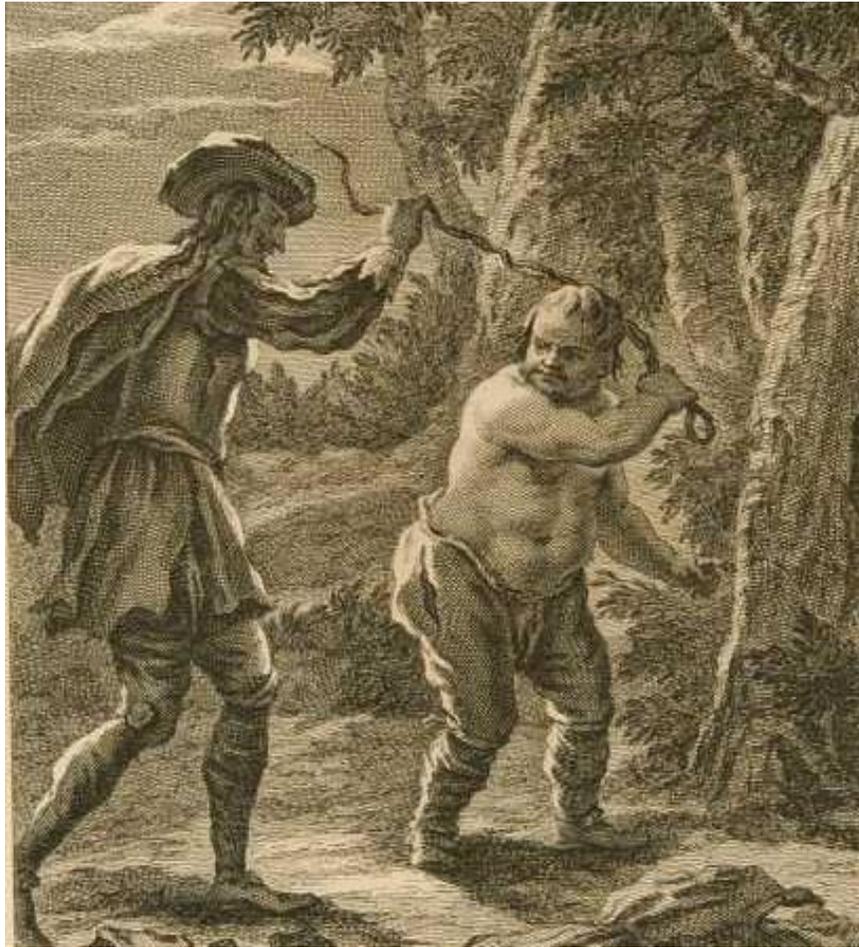


Figure 36. “Don Quixote stops Sancho from whipping himself.” London: Tonson, 1738; Illustrator, John Vanderbank; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

In Part II’s Chapter 23, Don Quixote, after being hauled unconscious out of the Cave of Montesinos, relates what he saw there to Sancho and the student who guided them to the cave. Again, Don Quixote gestures with the upward pointing right index finger to support the veracity of the detailed description of what he experienced, including a verbatim account of a conversation with the Montesinos of medieval Spanish romance. With the faint image of Don Quixote’s described scene still visible inside the

cave reflecting his account of what he saw, his monologue is prompting a mixed reaction from his listeners in this image (see fig. 37).

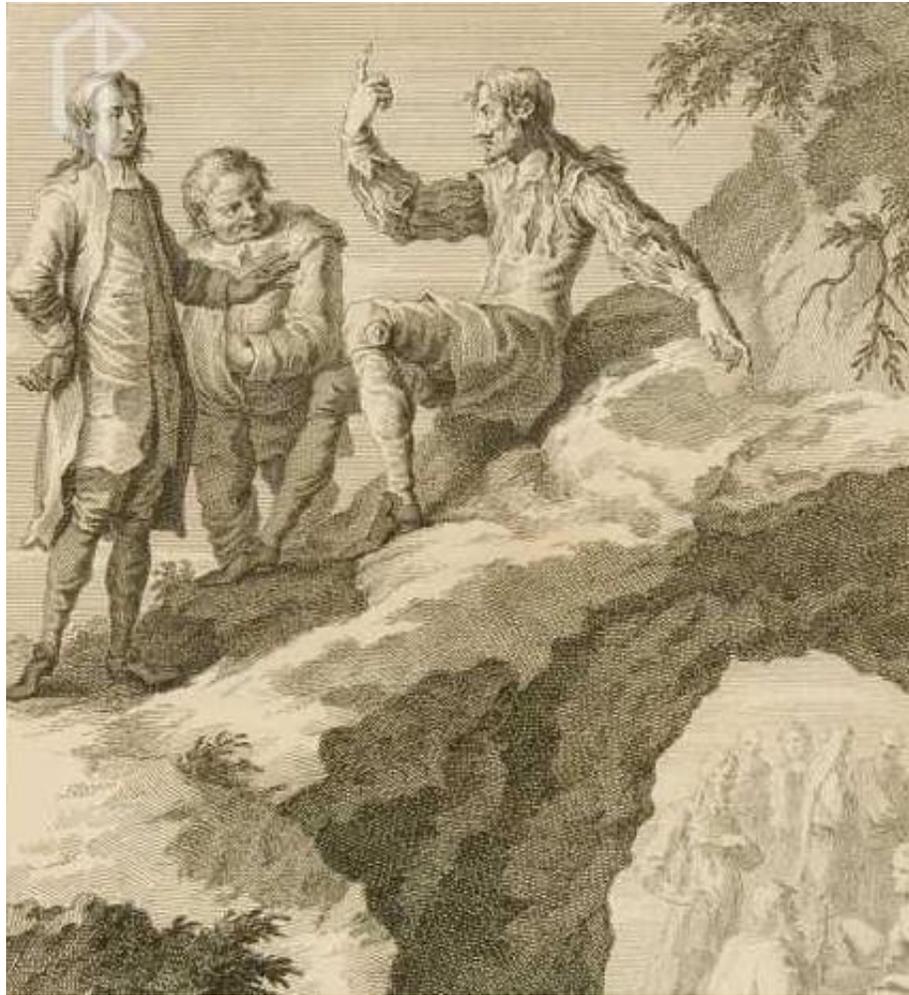


Figure 37. “Don Quixote's tale of his adventure in Montesino's cave.” London: Tonson, 1738; Illustrator, John Vanderbank; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

In his prefatory article about the images in the Tonson edition, "Sobre las Estampas desta Historia," [About the Engravings of this Story] John Oldfield underlines the paradox of this image by pointing out the difference in the expressions of the student and Sancho. The student appears to completely accept and believe Don Quixote's account of his time in the cave, while Sancho, having accompanied the mad knight for so many miles and heard so many outlandish stories like this one, wears an expression that betrays his skepticism (v). Again, a visual expression of the paradox inherent in the situation makes the image compelling, inviting the viewer to subconsciously identify with either the credulous student or the unbelieving Sancho.

Oldfield's essay plainly spells out the goal of the images commissioned and selected for the book: to act as a counterweight against the engravings of the Frenchman Coypel, which Oldfield claims exaggerated the ridiculousness of the knight. Oldfield's essay includes repeated references to Don Quixote as "nuestro Caballero" [our Knight] and "nuestro Caballero Andante" [our Knight Errant] (iv) clearly supporting the intent of this deluxe edition to wrest the protagonist from foreign hands, eyes and tongues and iconize him as a Spanish hero, however ironic.

Like the 1738 Tonson, the 1780 Ibarra edition, published by Don Joaquín Ibarra and sponsored by the Real Academia Española was a Spanish *Quixote* with a cultural mission: to reclaim the protagonist and the work as national products and expressions. Schmidt states that the purpose of the 1780 Ibarra was to “establish the work as the masterpiece of Spanish literature” (*Critical Images* xv). One means of establishing that seriousness of purpose is to include an impressive array of paratextual materials, which Ashbee catalogs as “1 portrait, 4 frontispieces, 31 engravings, 25 headpieces, 20 tailpieces, 13 ornamental letters, [and] 1 map” (33). Like the Tonson before it, the Ibarra includes a detailed biography of Cervantes. The map of the probable route of Don Quixote on his adventures overlays Spanish geography with Cervantes’ fictional reality as if Don Quixote were an historical character, not a literary one, a measure that seems to have the effect of anchoring the fictional to the real in order to establish national patrimony and significance in the minds of the readers. Similarly, the frontispiece ties together not only the real and the fictional, but the ridiculous and the heroic (see fig. 38).



Figure 38. Frontispiece. Madrid: Ibarra, 1780; Illustrator, Antonio Carnicero; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Don Quixote stands heroically as the Knight of the Lions, a textual reference with a wink to the Tonson frontispieces from forty years prior. Folly is allegorically depicted as a jester with small bells and holding a whirligig, as she was depicted by Cesare Ripa's foundational 1709 book (*Iconologia*). She holds the whirligig over the

knight's head as if to infect his thinking with the device. A satyr (another tie to the Tonson edition image depicting Cervantes as Hercules) sets fire to the classic books of chivalry that Cervantes parodies: *Amadís de Grecia*, *El Caballero de la Cruz* and *Olivante de Laura*. All characters are shown standing in front of an elaborate monument in which the book title seems to be chiseled from marble.

The 1780 Ibarra was commissioned in 1773 by the Royal Academy with specific instructions for illustrations, including extreme measures for attempting to guarantee a level of verisimilitude that the Vanderbank designs in the Tonson did not offer. Artists for the Ibarra were to copy 16th century arms and armor from the Royal armory collection and to consult examples of physiognomy from clay models of “popular heads of la Mancha” (*Critical Images* 150). The illustrations were also to accurately reflect the text, a conscious decision by the Academy based on a “distrust of the effect of visual representations upon the imagination of naïve readers” (*Critical Images* 151). The resulting illustrations, according to Ashbee “. . . are generally stiff and conventional in design, without power, grace, or movement; nor is the engraving, as a rule, good” (35). In spite of the serious mission assigned to the illustrators of the Ibarra, some bizarre illustrations made their way into the edition, a cause of some controversy about the book when it was published. One example of these polemic images is the vignette that appears at the top of the page of the Part II Prologue depicting a madman in Seville in the act of trying to inflate a dog by means of a tube inserted into the animal's anus, a reference to Cervantes' comparison of the difficulty of the task of writing a book to inflating a dog (see fig. 39).



Figure 39. Vignette to accompany the Prologue to the second part of *Don Quixote*. Madrid: Ibarra, 1780; Illustrator, Isidro Carnicero; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Both the Tonson and the Ibarra serve to further tie Don Quixote to existing Catholic iconography (an idea applied in chapter I of this dissertation to the period before *Quixote* editions were illustrated), even to the point of depicting him as an outright Christ figure, an idea espoused by Rachel Schmidt when she writes about “artists seeking to represent the material . . . resorted to standard depictions of heroes as either classical figures or Christ figures” (*Critical Images* xv). The Tonson edition’s Vanderbank image of a slumped over and disarmed Don Quixote being taken against his will to the dukes’ palace evokes the biblical description of Jesus’ arrest in the garden of Gethsemane (see fig. 40).²³

²³ Matt 26:55 – In that hour Jesus said to the crowd, “Am I leading a rebellion, that you have come out with swords and clubs to capture me? Every day I sat in the temple courts teaching, and you did not arrest me.”

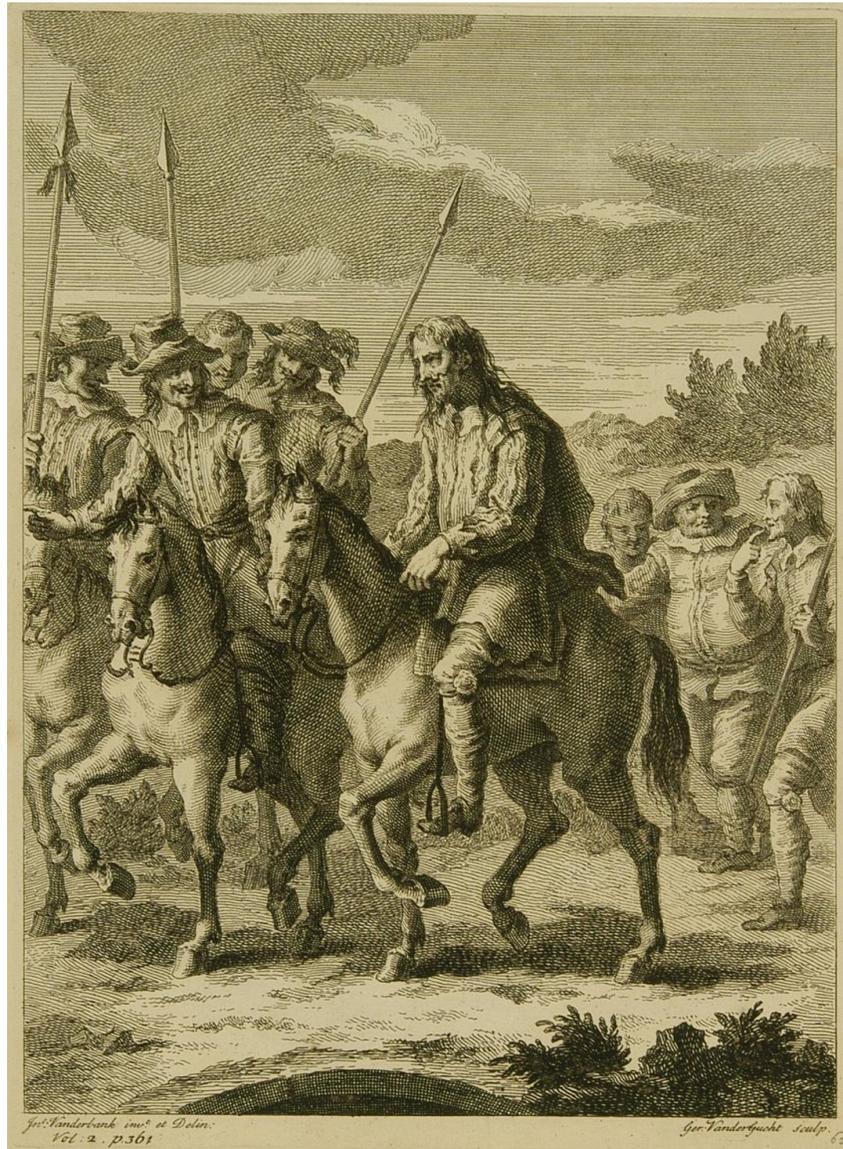


Figure 40. "Don Quixote abducted and taken to the Dukes' palace." London: Tonson, 1738; Illustrator, John Vanderbank; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Similarly, the illustration in the 1780 Ibarra of Don Quixote and Sancho being beaten by the Yanguesan horsemen ironically raises the protagonist to a Christ-figure through his patient suffering (see fig. 41). He is shown on the ground with a sword in his hand, but appears to renounce his right to counterattack with the lethal force the sword could provide against the two large attackers armed with clubs. The young-looking knight's face betrays neither panic, nor anger, nor the distress that one would expect in this situation. He appears almost beatific, possibly reminding the Catholic reader of Jesus' composure while being physically abused at the hands of Pilate's soldiers.²⁴ Schmidt writes of this illustration, "Don Quixote's noble face and Sancho's underserved suffering indicate that they are more than fools. . . . Castillo uses a visual language that comes directly from history painting and thus places the novel's protagonists within an elevated iconographic tradition" (*Critical Images* 164-165).

²⁴ John 19:1-3 Then Pilate took Jesus and had him flogged. The soldiers twisted together a crown of thorns and put it on his head. They clothed him in a purple robe and went up to him again and again, saying, "Hail, king of the Jews!" And they slapped him in the face.



Figure 41. “Don Quixote and Sancho beaten by the Yangüeses.” Madrid: Ibarra, 1780; Illustrator, José del Castillo; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Roughly contemporary with both the Tonson and Ibarra editions and spanning the time in between, completely different types of illustrations were being produced for Spanish publishers like Juan de Jolis, Manuel Martín and Antonio Sanz who sold great numbers of inexpensive editions of the *Quixote* through the second half of the 1700's.²⁵ These small volume *Quixotes* divided the entire text into four pocket-sized books and featured crude images printed on cheap paper and binding materials. Although the superior technology of burin engravings had long been available to Spanish publishers, Jolis, Martín and Sanz opted for woodcut images done by unnamed artists and engravers to ensure that these books could be sold at an economical price. Nearly all of the woodcut images produced for these books were essentially crude copies of images done as burin engravings for the 1670's artwork of Diego de Obregón.

It is ironic that these editions, printed in the mid 1700's, were illustrated using technology of the 1400's, since the quality of the woodcut images took a step backwards, lacking the precision of images which were produced by burin engravings even a century before. But the decision to economize on illustrations made the books more affordable and allowed the book to reach the hands of many thousands more readers. What made the images even more difficult to decipher and less artistic was the fact that illustrators tended to further economize by including the action of two or three episodes in a single image. The woodcut from the 1762 Jolis edition that depicts the knighting of Don Quixote by the innkeeper Part I's Chapter 3 is a good example of the

²⁵ Our analysis of the inexpensive books in Chapter I of this paper posits that they sold at least six times as many books as the higher quality editions by Tonson, Ibarra and Sancha.

layered technique. The primary episode depicted is the knighting of Don Quixote by the innkeeper, but the knight can also be seen in the background of the same image fighting with the muleteers (see fig. 42).



Figure 42. "Don Quixote being knighted by the innkeeper." Barcelona: Jolis, 1762;
<http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

The poor woodcut images of the Sanz, Jolis and Martín editions are clumsy and inelegant, but they nonetheless enjoyed massive distribution and impressive longevity for a sizeable portion of Spanish language readers (“La imprenta de Jolis” 756). Many of those readers may have had only had a marginal level of literacy, which could have made them even more dependent on the images in order to understand the episodes. The woodcut images in the inexpensive editions repeat themselves not only in the subsequent editions of a single publisher, but through the publications of multiple editions over several decades. The 1762 Jolis edition reprints images found in the same publisher’s 1755 edition which were originally published in Sanz’s Madrid 1735 edition. Those illustrations by unknown artists are generally copies of those done by Diego de Obregón. A careful analysis of the illustrations in the 1762 Jolis edition reveals that despite the crudeness of the illustrations and the fact that they are copies of generally burlesque-themed engravings, there is a more complex, nuanced presentation of the protagonist than one may expect.

Thirty-nine of the 43 chapter engravings in the 1762 Jolis edition depict the Manchegan knight at least once.²⁶ The episodes chosen to be illustrated include a proportion of Don Quixote’s defeats and victories that is proportionally reflective of the text. Episodes such as his victorious battle with the Basque squire and the beating he

²⁶ As has been discussed, several of the woodcut engravings employ the archaic technique of packing multiple episodes into a single image. The image of Sancho being blanketed shows Don Quixote attacking a herd in the sheep in the background while a larger Don Quixote watches Sancho being blanketed over the wall of the courtyard; a combination of Part I’s Chapters 17 and 18. The engraving of Don Quixote’s fight with the Basque squire, in addition to including Don Quixote and the windmills, also shows Sancho being beaten by the friars’ servants; a conglomeration of three separate moments within Part I’s Chapter 8. The image of Don Quixote literally saturates the illustrations, reinforcing the centrality of his role in the book and the story.

sustained by the Yanguesan horsemen are chosen for illustration. The depictions of Don Quixote's moments of seriousness (such as his discourse on Arms and Letters) and ridiculousness (his partially-naked somersaults before Sancho as proof of his penance in the Sierra Morena) are also included in amounts that are generally proportional to the textual episodes. One of the episodes which has come to be most iconically representative of Don Quixote's madness, the one where he attacks the wineskins in Chapter 35 of Part I, is not included in these early engravings. Also, the image of the knight attacking the windmills, the famously illustrated incident which gives us the expression "tilting at windmills," is barely seen as an ancillary scene in the image where his fight with the Basque squire occupies the central part and majority of the illustration. His utter defeat at charging the windmills, then, is overshadowed by his defeat of a younger, experienced combatant.

The woodcut images, due to the nature of how they are created, result in illustrations which are so general that several of them are recycled in later chapters of the same edition. The image of Don Quixote and Sancho being attacked by the Yangüeses is repeated to represent Cardenio attacking Don Quixote and Sancho. The image of Don Quixote in bed talking to the priest and barber before his third sally (II, 1) is the same as the one depicting the knight's deathbed confession at the end of the novel, and the engraving showing Don Quixote defeating the Knight of the Mirrors (II, 14) is interchangeable with the one used to show Don Quixote being defeated by the Knight of

the White Moon (II, 64). The woodcut images seem to be unable to depict the protagonist as what would have been an elderly man in the late 16th century, instead depicting a figure who appears to be as young as any other full-sized character in the illustration. The lack of detail in the woodcuts may cause the casual reader to believe that the images are technologically prevented from producing illustrated characters who convey emotions, but a careful examination of the woodcut shows that while that technique reduces the emotion conveyed by the illustrated characters, it does not automatically eliminate it. Woodcut engravings are capable of showing characters who express surprise, astonishment and laughter even though most of the characters typically communicate some emotional flatness in their facial expressions. The woodcut image of Sancho's blanketing in Part I's Chapter 17 is a good example of the potential of the woodcuts to convey emotion (see fig. 43).



Figure 43. “Sancho being blanketed.” Barcelona: Jolis, 1762; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

The eyes and mouths of some of the men who participate in the blanketing of Sancho show attitudes of amusement. Don Quixote, who can be seen in the background of the image, seems to be shouting or expressing some degree of shock (see fig 44).



Figure 44. Insert of engraving (left side) of Sancho being blanketed. Barcelona: Jolis, 1762; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Other characters in the illustration seem to express surprise or astonishment (see fig. 45).



Figure 45. Insert of engraving (right side) of Sancho being blanketed. Barcelona: Jolis, 1762; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

All of the characters illustrated in the previously mentioned scene of Don Quixote being dubbed a knight by the innkeeper (I, 3) are shown with extremely grave facial expressions. By contrast, John Vanderbank's earlier burin engraving of the same episode, originally published in Spanish in the 1738 London Tonson edition, shows most of the onlookers in the scene smiling. Only the innkeeper and the new knight manage to keep straight faces (see fig. 46).



Figure 46. "Don Quixote being knighted by the innkeeper." London: J. and R. Tonson, 1756; Illustrator, John Vanderbank; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Another textually comical scene at the inn is when Don Quixote is fed and given wine through the visor of his helmet (I, 2) (see fig. 47). The expressions on the faces of the characters in this image are serious and businesslike in spite of the fact that Cervantes' textual description of the event emphasizes the hilarity of this scene.



Figure 47. Insert - “Don Quixote being given wine through his helmet visor.”
Barcelona: Jolis, 1762; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Another indicator of the seriousness of the iconographic reading that is available in the Jolis edition, a factor which goes beyond the supposed technical limitations of the woodcut illustrations, is the tendency to repeatedly show the protagonist in the headgear of a conventional knight, even in episodes where he textually would have been wearing the barber’s basin or bareheaded. Although the Jolis book includes an illustration of the episode where Don Quixote attacks the barber and takes his shaving basin thinking it is the Helmet of Mambrino, only a single illustration (of a total of 39) shows the knight wearing the basin which later becomes one of his iconographic signatures. When he is carrying out actions which could be obliquely interpreted as consistent with chivalry (including his defense of chivalry to the canon of Toledo, where he is inaccurately depicted in the Jolis edition illustration as sitting in a library) he wears the knight’s helmet.

Ashbee, in his study of *Quixote* iconography writes, “Since the early part of the 18th century artists of all nations and in every walk of art have been attracted by this enchanting book . . . unfortunately the philosophy, the pathos, the subtilty (sic) of Cervantes have too frequently been overlooked, and his broad humour alone seized upon” (Preface v). That general assessment of *Quixote* illustrations in the 1700’s misses the pathos and subtlety of the cheap woodcut illustrations in the Jolis edition and similar volumes, present but subdued, perhaps because Ashbee discounted the worth of the images due to their lack of artistic merit.

It should be conceded that the Jolis edition is not a book which has been completely overtaken by serious images. Neither the scatological nor the sexually suggestive episodes are eliminated from the images selected for inclusion in the edition. But, if as Eduardo Urbina has stated, the images condition the reading and impose themselves on the text, the effect of these woodcut engravings on the 18th century Spanish reader’s response and approximation to the text may have profoundly filtered the text, allowing for a reading of the protagonist as serious and heroic in many of the episodes. It would be pointless to argue whether the seriousness of the images is due to a craftsman (or craftsmen) who lacked the skill or the time to incorporate the fine details of facial expression or some conscious editorial or artistic decision to depict the knight’s adventures and episodes as less burlesque. We are now several centuries removed from those circumstances and thought processes and we cannot evaluate intent. We can surmise some things about impact, however, and it should be considered how the hundreds of thousands of mercantile class Spanish readers of these inexpensive, mass-

produced *Quixotes* may have received and approached the protagonist as a result of these images. Could a less-literate reader who lacked knowledge about the parodic circumstances of the burlesque episodes be forgiven for seeing some legitimacy, reality and heroism in Don Quixote's knighthood?

The Tonson and Ibarra editions sought to establish Cervantes as the Spanish Homer and legitimize Don Quixote as a Spanish hero while achieving what Rachel Schmidt calls the "elevation from a funny but insignificant book to a classic discreetly instructive for an educated public" (*Critical Images* 47). The deluxe editions with their neoclassical images and, to a lesser degree, the crude woodcut engravings of the inexpensive editions depict the knight in a complex and nuanced light. Those Spanish illustrations advanced the idea that Don Quixote possesses a heroic side or that he represents some transcendent set of values, anticipating the critical reception of the German Romantics in the 19th century.

Outside Spain, however, there was no nationalist impulse to improve Don Quixote's image. In fact, images which ridiculed the knight and either overtly or subtly underlined his Spanish character populated *Quixote* editions outside of Spain for most of the 18th century, continuing the burlesque view of the previous hundred years. An engraving illustrated by William Hogarth which was not accepted for inclusion in the 1738 Tonson was that of the Curate and the Barber making preparations to go and fetch Don Quixote from the Sierra Morena (see fig. 48). That image did appear in the 1798 London Hogarth edition and also appeared in sets of engravings separate from the *Quixote* text. Hogarth's personal interpretation of the *Quixote* may be explained in part

by the fact that his wife claimed that his illustrations of Sancho were, in fact, self-portraits (*Critical Images* 83). This illustration, which Givanel tells us is unique in all *Quixote* iconography (128), communicates layers of satire, all of which work together to depict the knight as especially gullible and deluded. In this image the innkeeper's daughter helps dress the priest in a skirt while Sancho is visible through the door emptying a jug of wine and the barber is seen in a mirror applying a false beard. A hideous Maritornes is beside herself with laughter at the whole scene. The fact that Don Quixote will buy into the entire grotesque ruse also shapes the reception of this image, which is culturally and religiously charged. The English reader of the 1798 London edition in which the engraving appeared must have been influenced to some degree by the burlesque juxtaposition of the gluttonous Sancho, the cross-dressing priest, the ugly, cackling Maritornes and the promised credulousness of the naïve, self-deluded knight.

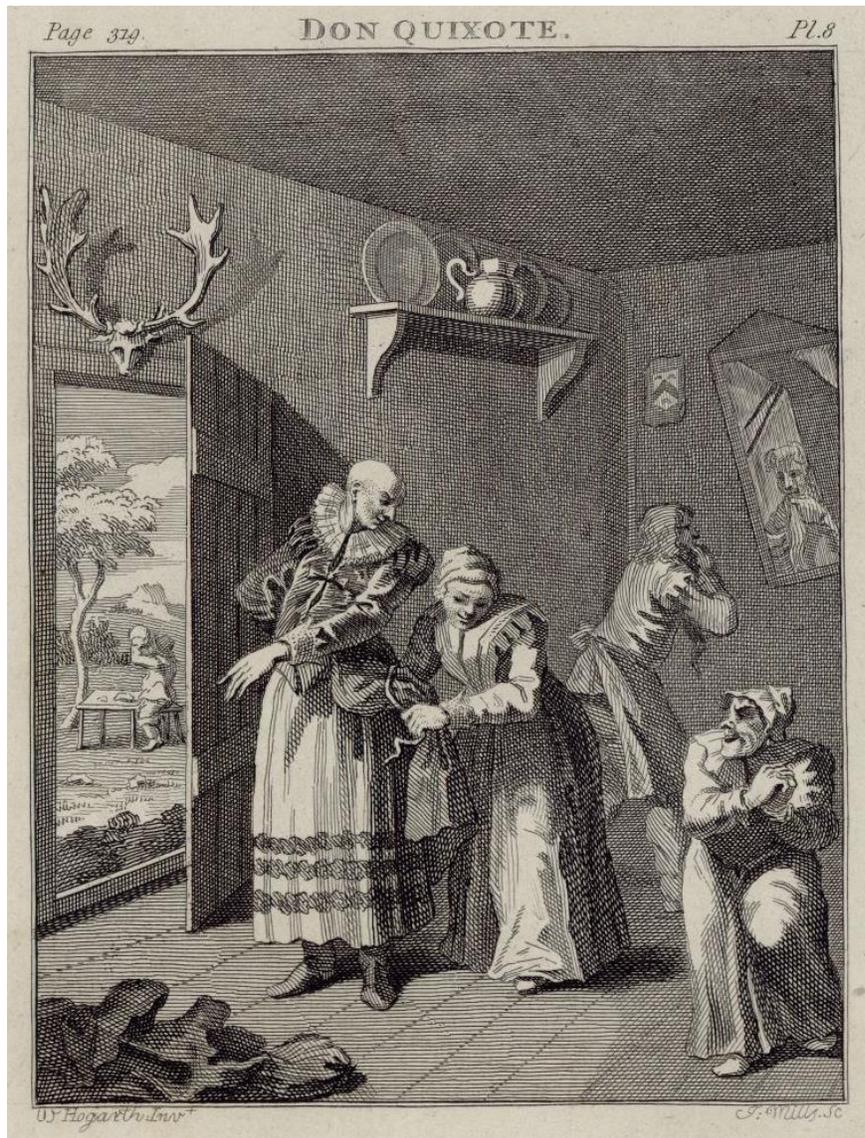


Figure 48. "The Curate and the Barber disguising themselves to convey Don Quixote home." London: 1798; Illustrator, William Hogarth; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Another artist who emphasizes the burlesque side of the protagonist is Charles Antoine Coypel, who had enormous influence over the textual iconography for decades after. Coypel was commissioned in 1714 to create 28 drawings for the production of a series of tapestries based on *Don Quixote*. At the time of this writing, those tapestries still hang at the Chateau of Compiègne. Coypel's designs depict the novel's episodes in an elegant baroque Versaillesque setting, reminiscent more of an eighteenth-century salon than that of La Mancha's austere landscape. The drawings were copied and engraved many times and were included as illustrations in numerous editions in the 1700's ("The Grangerized Copy of Bowle's *Quixote*" 87), leading Givanel to cite Coypel as one of the "bookends" of the important 18th century (the other being Goya) (115-116). By the mid-1700's Coypel's images took on a life of their own as collections of images independent of the text (Givanel 122). Rachel Schmidt's assessment of Coypel's vision of the Manchegan knight is straightforward: Coypel mocks him (Critical Images 41). The Coypel images would turn out to be overwhelmingly burlesque and ridiculous, accompanying numerous French and English translations. One of the most representative Coypel images which repeatedly appears in translations is an allegorical representation of Don Quixote's first sally from the back gate of his corral (I, 2) (see fig. 49).



Figure 49. “Don Quixote led out by Folly.” London: Knaplock, 1725; Illustrator, Charles Antoine Coypel; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

The caption on the image that appears in the 1725 London edition reads, “Don Quixot led by Folly & Inflam’d by an Extravagant Passion for Dulcinea sets out upon Knight Erantry.” Here Dulcinea is depicted as if she were the target of Don Quixote’s out-of-control libido instead of being an accessory of his knighthood. Other non-textual

details are added to the image. Folly leads the knight out of the corral and it is she who wears the barber's basin for a helmet, further reinforcing the delusional nature of the knight's mission and setting the stage whereby his wearing of the basin as a helmet ties his thought process to one guided by Folly. Love, as a winged cherub, touches his heart with a torch. The background of the engraving is filled with hints of episodes where he is most disconnected with reality: the adventure of the windmills (I, 8) and the adventure of the herd of sheep (I, 18). Nonetheless, the image paradoxically projects something of the heroic in the way the knight is portrayed. He appears to be mature but not elderly. He is shown in well-fitting and fully functional armor and he wears the conventional helmet of a knight, not the rusty and strung-together equipment described in the text. His oversized hands grip the reins of Rocinante and the lance and his expression conveys a seriousness of purpose that contrasts with the ridiculous aspects of the scene.

But even in victory Don Quixote looks ridiculous when illustrated by Coypel. In the 1725 London Knaplock edition he appears as a foppish dandy with a large plume attached to his helmet when he defeats Sansón Carrasco as the Knight of Mirrors (see fig. 50).



Figure 50. “Don Quixote defeats the Knight of the Mirrors.” London: Knaplock, 1725; Illustrator Charles Antoine Coppel; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Coppel’s illustrations enjoyed long life, reprinted and copied in editions throughout Europe through the early 1900’s, but his primacy as the most popular *Quixote* illustrator was eventually eclipsed by that of Tony Johannot in the early nineteenth century (“The Grangerized Copy of Bowle’s *Quixote*” 89).

Johannot’s *Quixote* illustrations started in 1836 Paris Dubochet edition, a book with an astounding 768 wood engravings images, 487 of which were vignettes where an

illustrated episode shared the page with text. Rachel Schmidt wrote, “Placement of the vignette within the page of text highlights the shared graphic nature of printed word and image and blurs the boundaries between writing and reading” (“Romancing Don Quixote” 358).

This phenomenon of including abundant images in a shared format with text, a bold shift from the previous custom of separating the wood cut or burin engravings from the text, was made possible by the emergence of wood engravings in the early 19th century. The technique of wood engraving created the possibility that the illustrator could be a much more prominent participant in the elaboration of the book and Johannot was an artist equal to that opportunity, gaining such popularity as an illustrator that the simple inclusion of his name on the title page sold books (“Romancing Don Quixote” 354). He combined the serious and the humorous in the small vignettes which appear in the illustrated letters in the beginnings of the chapters (Romancing 355). For example, the paratextual essay “La Vie et les Ouvrages de Cervantes” [The Life and Works of Cervantes] includes a vignette which shows the accoutrements of the novelist’s military experience, captivity and writing career. But the first letter “O” of the text is formed with an illustration of Cervantes looking through it, observing a play (see fig. 51). The personal history of Cervantes the writer is honored at the top of the page, but he is shrunk down and subsumed into the text, made to be a type of cartoon figure.

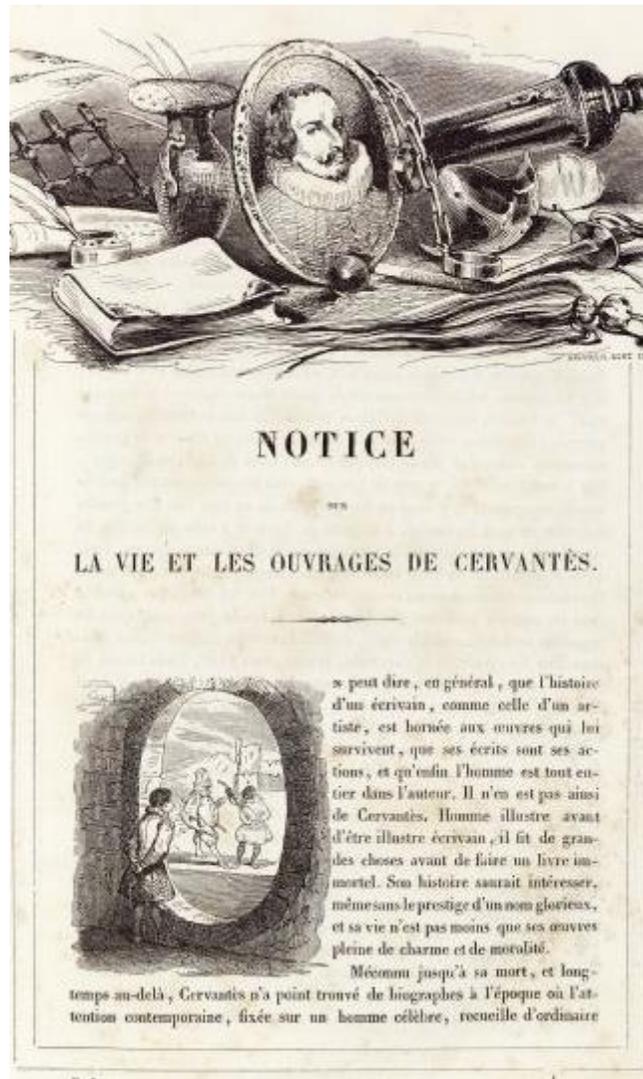


Figure 51. Vignette “Life and Works of Cervantes.” Paris: Dubochet, 1836; Illustrator, Tony Johannot; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Like some illustrators before him, Johannot takes steps to conflate the protagonist and the writer. His illustration of Don Quixote reading in his study, like the images at the top of the page that begins the essay on the author, includes the prominent display of symbols of his martial office and the knight shares a resemblance with

Cervantes (see fig. 52). Schmidt refers to this technique as the “ascension of his protagonist” wherein Don Quixote supplants his creator, becoming his alter ego instead of his literary creation and vehicle for satire (“Romancing Don Quixote” 358-359).

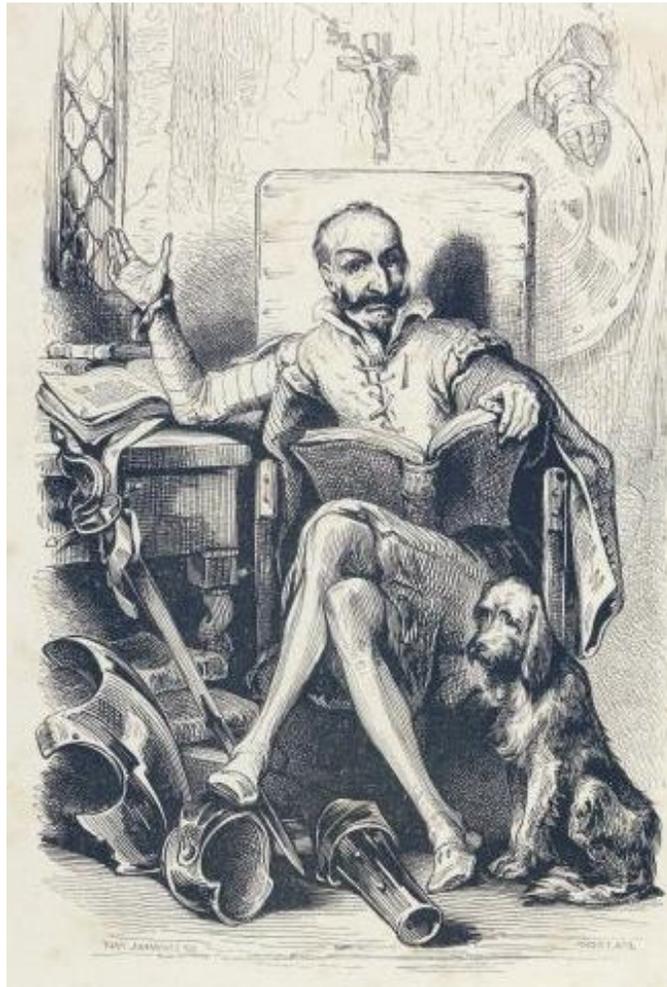


Figure 52. “Don Quixote in his library.” Paris: Dubochet, 1836; Illustrator, Tony Johannot; <http://dqj.tamu.edu>.

With the possibility to create and publish so many illustrations, Johannot had the luxury of illustrating multiple perspectives of a single episode. He wanted the reader to view the vignettes as a series. In the Adventure of the Enchanted Boat, he incorporates the separate points of view of the narrator, Sancho and Don Quixote in the juxtaposition of three separate illustrations (“Romancing Don Quixote” 356). Johannot’s illustrations and copies of his work populated *Quixote* editions as late as the early 1900’s, including 172 illustrations in the 1895 Routledge edition of a *Don Quixote* translation for young readers. Johannot came to be one of the most representative artists of Romanticism, a distinction he shares with Gustave Doré.

Paul Gustave Louis Christophe Doré, the prolific illustrator of over fifty books including Coleridge’s *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, and *The Divine Comedy* (“Don Quixote Illustrators’ Biographies”) shows signs of Johannot’s influence, with some of the images in his 1863 Paris Hachette edition appearing to be near copies of Johannot’s engravings from the 1836 Dubochet. Schmidt writes of Doré’s Romantic impact, “Doré’s immensely popular illustrations, first published in 1863, continue to reproduce the ennoblement of the misunderstood Don Quixote . . . *Don Quixote*, the parody of a romance genre, becomes a romance in the modern popular imagination” (*Critical Images* xiv).

Northrup Frye defines the Romance genre as one that depicts a hero confronting and overcoming the forces of evil in order to restore justice, often by using supernatural

powers or the strength of his own virtue. Paradoxically, he cannot succeed because success would indicate some complicity with the irredeemably corrupt world (187). Don Quixote, as illustrated by Doré, fits neatly into this definition. Near the end of the Part I when he is captured and placed in an ox-drawn cage for transport back to his home to be healed of his insanity, we see him in Dore's illustration in a close-up view that exudes his failure and pitiful, aged state (see fig. 53). Tears stream down his gaunt, aged face and the right hand that had grown accustomed to gripping a sword or a lance now grasps at straw. But, as defeated and pathetic a figure as Don Quixote is in the center of the illustration, the leering, bug-eyed, bird-like faces of his detractors are less human and positively malevolent. The mocking face of the innkeeper, although human, is no better, even more identifiable and more to blame for having had dealings with Don Quixote and being complicit in his capture.



Figure 53. “Don Quixote in the oxcart.” Paris: Hachette, 1863; Illustrator, Gustave Doré; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

The contrast between the captured knight and the coarse, jeering faces serves to exalt Don Quixote for his refusal to fit in with a society that has, by the late 1500’s,

strayed so far from purity of the Golden Age ideal. Charles Pressberg captures the sense of this unresolvable conflict writing,

For if Don Quixote represents a fool whose laughable and often harmful exploits parody a facile understanding of virtue and “heroism,” the innocent nobility and wisdom informing his lunacy remind attentive listeners (readers) of ideals that their society is striving to forget, placing a mirror before myriad ideologies, discourses, and fictions that enjoy the official status of “sanity” (121).

In addition to romanticizing the knight, Doré depicts him in a modern way with many images showing him as if he is viewed at an arcade (a thoroughly modern space constructed for commerce and entertainment day and night) or through a stereoscope (a decidedly modern apparatus). The arcade, a repetition of architectural support structures creating a visual tunnel, is replicated by depicting the protagonist at the vanishing point of the field in a tunnel-like space. Several illustrations feature continuous lighting

within a dark space as if it were an artificially lit space. The alternation of dark and light spaces supports the romantic vision of nature as menacing or promising, evil or good. (“Romancing Don Quixote” 359-360). Another modern touch that Doré brings to the illustrations is the way his baroque style mixed the high and low expressions of art, effectively placing social statuses on the same level, shaping the way the *Quixote* was read and understood (“Las imprentas de Jolis” 755).

Doré’s famous illustration of Don Quixote’s Adventure of the Windmills exemplifies the play with darkness and light. Schmidt points out that, in addition to bringing the action so close to the viewer that it threatens to break through the fourth wall between scene and spectator, the foreground part of the scene is darker than the background, having the effect of being viewed through a stereoscope (“Romancing Don Quixote” 362) (see fig. 54).



Figure 54. “Don Quixote’s Adventure of the Windmills,” Paris: Hachette, 1863; Illustrator, Gustave Doré; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

A clash of opposing curves depicts the impact of the horse and rider with the windmill. The curve of the arm of the windmill as it begins to lift the knight and horse into the air meets the opposing curves of the knight’s shield, as well as the similar curves of horse and rider. Rocinante has been spurred to gallop to meet the windmill which lifts him into the air by superior force. Similarly, Don Quixote is driven by his absolute need to gain fame by his deeds. Every limb of the knight’s body is extended and tensed,

evidence of his full commitment to the charge, conveying the idea that Don Quixote did not charge at the windmills simply as a show of bravado for Sancho's benefit to strike a glancing blow so that he could wheel and joust again. Doré's Don Quixote truly believes that he is attacking a giant. And he truly believes that he will win. Although there is an element of the ridiculous in his failure, there is also beauty and nobility in his attempt.

Doré's prodigious graphic output of over 10,000 works, coupled with the appearance of his illustrations in 83 editions of *Don Quixote* between 1863 and 1935 constitute a significant illustrated interpretation which modernized and romanticized the protagonist ("Romancing Don Quixote" 359-360). In addition to romanticizing Don Quixote, Doré internationalizes him, making him not just Spanish, but universal.

If wood engravings enabled Johannot and Doré to be the most influential artists in 19th century Quixote iconography, lithography was the technology which supported Salvador Dalí's eminence as the most important *Quixote* artist of the 20th century. Dalí himself says as much in a quote about his illustrations for Part I of Don Quixote published in 1946, "To my regret, the lithographs of my *Quixote* shall be the lithographs of the century" (García 149) [A pesar mío, las litografías de mi *Quijote* serán las litografías del siglo.] It is significant that Dalí specifically mentions "lithographs" instead of a generic term like "illustrations" or "drawings," because it may be exactly that technique, combined with his artistic genius, which allowed his work to have such a lasting and prominent impact on the visual reading of the *Quixote*. Lithography allowed him to produce color illustrations by making his drawings on non-absorbent paper,

which was then transferred to lithographic stones without the need to draw the illustration in reverse (Harthan 282). The colors in the illustrations were then printed from multiple lithographic stones, allowing the mass publication of works with detailed color illustrations, elevating the status of the illustrator in the publication process and strengthening the visual reading of the text. The 1946 edition featured thirty-one black and white illustrations between the lines of text in the book and ten color prints periodically interspersed, sometimes several pages from the text to which they refer. Stephen Miller terms that separation between illustration and text “a disaster” since the connection between illustration and text is largely lost (111), but the illustrations have come to achieve considerable status on their own as an interpretation of the *Quixote*. The 1946 edition illustrations were published separately by Joseph Foret in 1957. In 1965 the publisher Editorial Mateu in Barcelona published the complete novel with Dalí artwork that included all multiple pictorial stages: cubism, realism, surrealism and lithographic expressions close to abstract (García 150).

If Doré’s artwork tended to depict the same hidalgo, Dalí’s Don Quixote is always changing, sometimes robotic, at times elongated, occasionally constructed of spirals and at times presented with a view to the inside of his head (Miller 109, 110). But Martín de Riquer observed that in spite of his freedom and variation, the artist is

faithful to the cervantine conception of the work (García 155). In fact, to gain inspiration for his artwork, Dalí consulted a *Quixote* edition which was not illustrated, marking with red crosses or black asterisks the paragraphs and pages he would illustrate (García 156). Carmen García points out that Dalí's illustrations capture the paranoid mental mechanism of the protagonist by allowing us to share the knight's dreamlike state, a world of the sometimes grotesque and nightmarish (150). Although it could be considered dreamlike, Dalí's color illustration of Don Quixote's first *salida* is not grotesque but fanciful and triumphant, with the enormous mythical figures of Phoebus and Aurora overpowering the image. Here Dalí allows us to participate in Don Quixote's exuberant departure from home and although we view the scene from a different perspective than the knight's, we have the opportunity to share his altered surreal vision (see fig. 55).



Figure 55. “Don Quixote’s First *Salida*,” New York: Random House, 1946; Illustrator, Salvador Dalí; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Other Dalí images depict Don Quixote’s mental dynamism and his ability to subordinate reality to engage in heroic deeds, seeing giants where there are windmills, armies where there are herds of sheep and ladies where there are prostitutes (García 158). The double image of Alonso Quijano and Don Quixote on the frontispiece of the 1946 edition shows the double image of the hidalgo absorbed in his reading and his reflection as Don Quixote (see fig. 56).



Figure 56. “Alonso Quijano-Don Quixote.” New York: Random House, 1946; Illustrator, Salvador Dalí; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Opposite this realistic *Quixote* double image is a title page which features a significantly different illustration: a cubist-futuristic reflection of the knight and his squire that Stephen Miller likens to robotic figures (113) (see fig. 57). The juxtaposition of these two illustrations has the effect of tying together the long tradition of realistic *Quixote* illustrations done by Doré and Johannot and others while foreshadowing Dalí’s very modern futuristic depictions of the well-known icon in the rest of the 1946 edition.

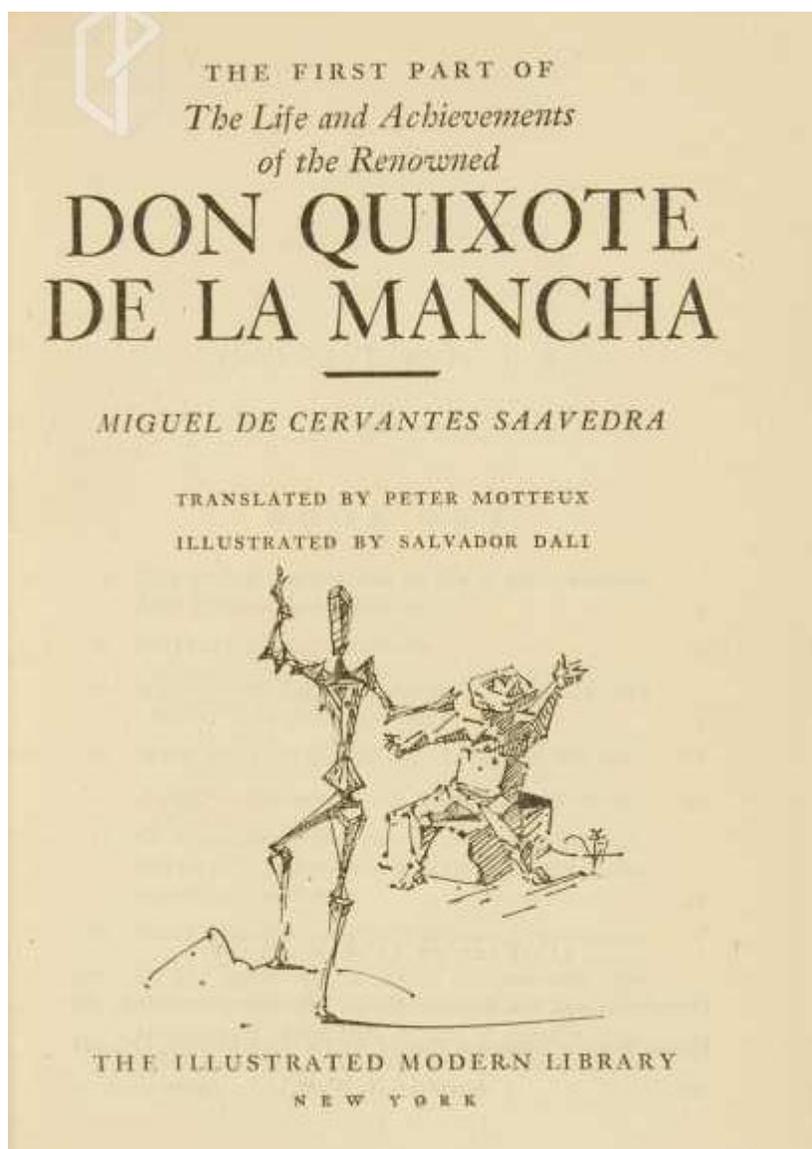


Figure 57. Frontispiece. New York: Random House, 1946; Illustrator, Salvador Dalí; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

The compartmentalization of *cuerdo* and *loco* in Don Quixote is reflected in Dalí's multi-faceted illustration of the Adventure of the Sheep (I, 18) (see fig. 58). The illustration shows the reality of the herds of sheep at ground level and the stylized

version of the combatting armies in the clouds above. Don Quixote has his eyes fixed on the fanciful scene above and we are given a view into his compartmentalized mind, evocative of Sebastián Brandt's *La nave de los locos* (1494) (García 162). The Dalí image, unusual in its mission to show us the image in the eye of the protagonist which is overridden by his imagination, is faithful to the text from the same chapter which reads, "in his imagination he saw what he did not see and what was not there," (1, 18) [viendo en su imaginación lo que no veía ni había] (García 162).

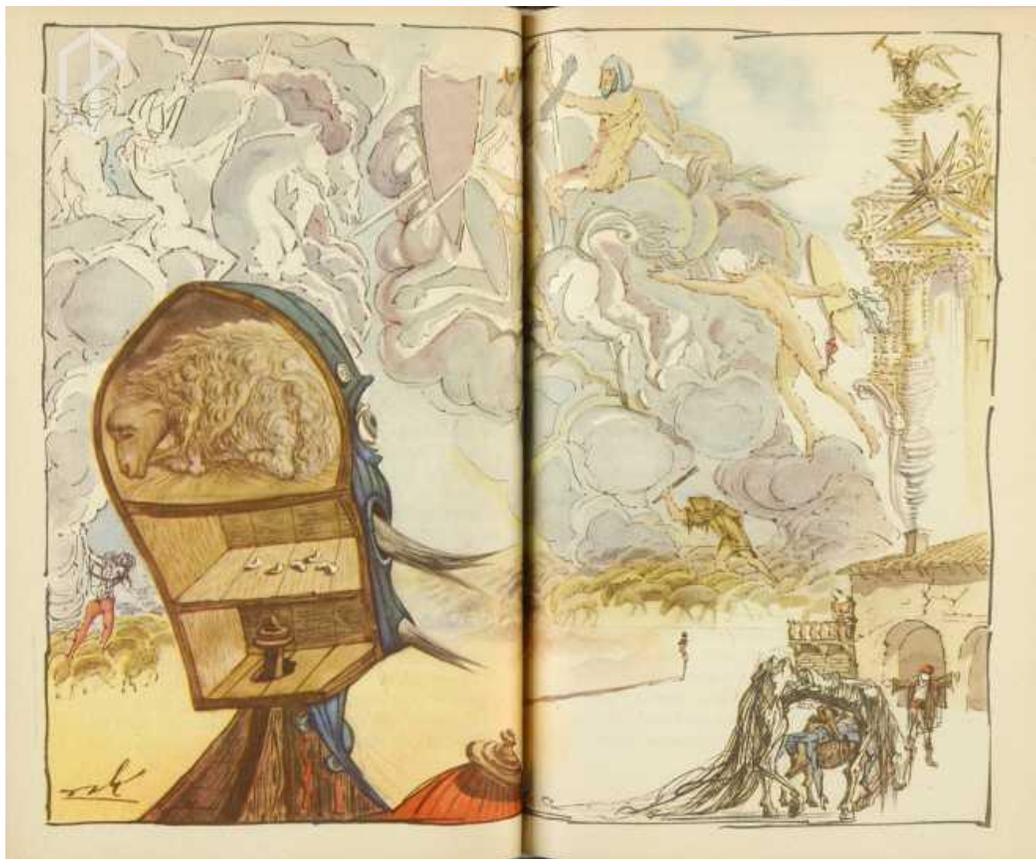


Figure 58. "Don Quixote's assessment of the herds of sheep." New York: Random House, 1946; Illustrator, Salvador Dalí; <http://dqj.tamu.edu>.

The *Quixote* transformed from an image-based but non-illustrated book in the first fifty years of its history to a book whose crude illustrations underlined the burlesque humor and ridiculousness of its protagonist during the latter half of the 17th century. The 18th century brought about two generally parallel approaches to illustrating the protagonist: within Spain, through rough woodcut images and elegantly crafted engravings, the canonization of the knight as a serious hero and reflection of Spanish character and outside Spain, depicted as a pathetic anti-hero by highlighting his failures and disconnection with reality. Eventually the nuanced, romanticized and modernized view became the prevailing trend beginning in the 19th century. Many of changes in the reception of Don Quixote through illustrations were furthered by technological advances and the emergence of brilliant individual artists who served to strengthen the role of illustrations and their visual commentaries as both reflections of the interpretation of the text and producers of additional interpretation (*Critical Images* 11). So strong was the influence of the illustrator that by the 1830's, critical editions of the *Quixote* purposely did not include illustrations in order to ensure the primacy of the written word. Diego Clemencín's 1833 edition, published in six volumes, is an early example of a critical edition with extensive commentary and explanatory notes which is, except for the portrait of Clemencín himself, without images.²⁷ That trend continued to the commemorative 400 year critical edition which contains only a very few images of cover art, vignettes and tailpieces as introductory paratextual material. Even in the present age of inundation with images, this textual iconography continues to provide powerful visual

²⁷ Much of Clemencín's commentary repeats that of Rev. John Bowle's 1781 illustrated critical edition.

reading of the *Quixote*. The interpretive lens of the textual iconography may have been even stronger in timeframes such as the 18th century where literacy was reduced, images were more commonly used to catechize and educate, and readers were accustomed to searching for allegorical meaning in visual images. The strength of the images is still felt in the unease provoked by the coexistence of text and image in the academic environment. One need look no further than the regulations which govern the formatting and presentation of this study by the Modern Languages Association which warn against the overuse of images and the prohibition against wrapping text around images.

Schmidt details the impact of the images in the literary sphere, writing, “One of the more curious phenomena in literary history is the process whereby the characters or narrative content of a work in one medium pass to another, as if they have outgrown the bounds of their original manifestation. (“Romancing of Don Quixote” 354). It is important that the outsized impact of the textual iconography be taken into account and incorporated into the understanding of the text, since even the textual images have the capacity to escape the text and invade popular and institutional culture.

CHAPTER IV
APPROPRIATIONS BY FILM ADAPTATION

“By my faith Aeneas was not as pious as Virgil depicts him, nor Ulysses as prudent as Homer describes him.”

- Don Quixote to Sancho Panza and Sansón Carrasco

Don Quixote II, 3

Don Quixote’s first appearance in a motion picture adaptation practically coincided with the invention of film when he was featured in a French film produced in 1898 by Gaumont, *Don Quichotte* (Herdero 26). *Don Quichotte* was followed by *Les Aventures de Don Quichotte*, in 1903, a film directed by Ferdinand Zecca and Lucien Nonguet that was spectacular by the standards of its time for its ambitious length of 430 meters, which was later shortened to 225, and it focused on the comic, burlesque nature of the protagonist (Fernández Cuenca 31, Herdero 27). That film was shown far and wide in Spain in 1905, the tercentenary celebration of the publication of the *Quixote*’s Part I (Herdero 26). The year 1913 saw the production of another Gaumont *Quixote* film, *Don Quichotte*, directed by Émil Cohl, the first truly narrative attempt that included 66 scenes. It is believed that the first Spanish *Quixote* movie was filmed in the 1908-1910 timeframe by Narcís Cuyás, titled *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de La Mancha*, a film which has long since disappeared (Herdero 28). Vaudevillian productions in the United States and Great Britain appeared in 1915 and 1923,

respectively (Herederó 35). A Scandinavian movie which similarly leveraged the humorous aspects of the protagonist, *Don Quixote af Mancha* was filmed in Spain in 1926 featuring two comedians, Carl Schenström and Harald Madsen, known in Spain as Pat and Patachón (Herederó 34). Spanish cinema would not produce another *Quixote* project until 1934 when Ramón Biadiu filmed a documentary titled *La ruta de Don Quijote*, a film that was modified and re-released after the Civil War under the title *En un lugar de La Mancha* (Herederó 30).

The early years of film seemed to find Don Quixote an irresistible protagonist, perhaps due to the physicality of the book's most burlesque scenes which fit the requirements of silent films and the expectations of movie audiences. It is noteworthy that this slapstick approach to the Manchegan knight is adopted by filmmakers outside of Spain, with the nascent Spanish film industry choosing to focus on the historical patrimony of the *Quixote* by means of documentation.

The later development of feature length talking films allows for a more nuanced analysis of *Quixote* films both in and out of Spain and this chapter will examine several of those film adaptations. In an effort to delve into how cinematic art has appropriated and iconized the protagonist Don Quixote, we will analyze and compare several films which cover nearly seventy-five years. We will examine two films with Socialist aims: the English language version of G.W. Pabst's *Adventures of Don Quixote* (1933) and Grigori Kozintsev's *Don Quixote* (1957); four Spanish productions with varying degrees of fidelity to the original text which seek to communicate their own expressions of essential Spanish values: Rafael Gil's *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1947), Miguel

Gutiérrez Aragón's *El Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes* and *El caballero don Quijote* (1991 and 2002), and an animated adaptation directed by José Pozo, *Donkey Xote* (2007), as well as three North American films: *Man of La Mancha* (Dale Wasserman and Arthur Hiller, 1972), Orson Welles' posthumous *Don Quixote* (1991) and the documentary on Terry Gilliam's failed attempt to film a *Quixote* movie, *Lost in La Mancha* (1992). These nine films were chosen for their wide variety of ideological approaches, the relative popular impact and reach of some of them by box office success, their variety of countries of origin and languages, and their varying timeframes. The intent of this examination is to analyze these films to see how directors and screenwriters have appropriated the novel and adapted it to present the paradoxical protagonist through their cinematic productions. For reasons which will be explained, the intent of the chapter will not be to uncover the inconsistencies between the original text and the film adaptations in order to accuse the directors of some heretical violation of the canonical original, but for films whose directors and/or screenwriters claim strong fidelity to the original, that degree of fidelity will be examined. Since the nature of an adaptation and its relationship with the original work is, in the simplest terms, a new thing, not an absolute copy of the original, to lament that the adaptation changes the original would be to misunderstand the nature and definition of the term. Jorge Urrutia explains that fundamental nature:

An object cannot be a sign of itself. It is itself. Between the sign and the represented object there must be a difference, however minimal it may be. To adapt is to transform, change, to make a new object. Another object.

There cannot be an adaptation identical to the original. The text is unique. It simply is or it is not. It is necessary to assume that impossibility. If a new text is the only possibility, the first, the adapted, will only be the adopted, the pre-text, the pretext. Assumption of impossibility (qtd. in Herranz 10).

[Un objeto no puede ser signo de sí mismo. Es él mismo. Entre el signo y lo representado debe haber una diferencia, por mínima que ésta sea.

Adaptar es transformar, cambiar, hacer un nuevo objeto. Otro objeto. No puede haber adaptación idéntica a lo adaptado. El texto es único. Es o no es, simplemente . . . Es preciso asumir tal imposibilidad. Si sólo es posible un nuevo texto, el primero, el adaptado, no será sino adoptado, el pre-texto, el pretexto. Asunción de imposibilidad.]

Robert Stam further explains the inevitability of changes in the adaptation from text to film, writing “The shift from a single-track verbal medium . . . to a multitrack medium . . . which can play not only with words (written and spoken) but also with music, sound effects, and moving photographic images explains the unlikelihood, and I would suggest even the undesirability of literal fidelity (4). Since the *Quixote* itself was written by a self-conscious author who used intertextuality to shine a light on how we regard literary, historical and sacred texts, one could imagine a contemporary Cervantes encouraging and applauding the liberal adaptation of his original novel. As if the fictional protagonist understood and allowed future adapters to adjust the presentation of the story to achieve the desired effects, Don Quixote himself seems to give license to at

least omit unneeded details and episodes of his own story as long as the basic truth of the original story is respected. Early in Part II, in the presence of Sancho Panza, the knight hears a report from his hometown friend and foil Sansón Carrasco on the book that has been written about Don Quixote. Carrasco reports:

“ . . . dicen algunos que han leído la historia que se holgaran se les hubiera olvidado a los autores de ella algunos de los infinitos palos que en diferentes encuentros dieron al señor don Quijote.”

“Ahí entra la verdad de la historia.” dijo Sancho.

“También pudieran callarlos por equidad,” dijo don Quijote, “Pues las acciones que ni mudan ni alteran la verdad de la historia no hay para qué escribirlas si han de redundar en menosprecio del señor de la historia. A fe que no fue tan piadoso Eneas como Virgilio le pinta, ni tan prudente Ulises como le describe Homero.” (II, 3).

[“ . . . some people who have read the history say they would have been pleased if its authors had forgotten about some of the infinite beatings given to Señor Don Quixote in various encounters.”

“That’s where the truth of the history comes in,” said Sancho.

“They also could have kept quiet about them for the sake of fairness,” said Don Quixote, “because the actions that do not change or alter the truth of the history do not need to be written if they belittle the hero. By my faith, Aeneas was not as pious as Virgil depicts him, or Ulysses as prudent as Homer describes him.”]

Ardila Rojas and Cárdenas Páez warn against comfortable custom of considering the director the “author” of the movie since, in reality, what is seen by viewers is the result of a confluence of decisions made by several people besides the director who also put their artistic seal or apply their perceptions on the project: the screenwriter, the photography director, the producer or the production company and the editor (100). But is that collective production so different from that which produced the book (author, editor, printer, print shop workers)? Even the censor in seventeenth century Spain must be considered a participant in this shaping of the text that reaches the eyes of the reader. With an acceptance of the complex foundation that undergirds both authorship and directorship, then, the analysis of these films will risk oversimplification by associating the films with the individuals most responsible for their content and impact: the directors, with a subordinate level of importance placed on the screenwriters. It would be impossible for anyone, even the directors and screenwriters themselves, to identify with complete certainty all of the motives and intentions in their processes of adaptation, especially since many of these decisions may have been heavily influenced by unconscious factors. The decision process of what stays and what goes; what is included and what is excluded and how the included parts are presented has long since taken place. Many of those who made those decisions are no longer living and if they are, may well view those decisions through a revisionist lens tinged with sentimentality and a desire to present themselves in a positive light. The film adaptations themselves will be examined for the effects they achieve in their socio-historical context. Each film puts forth in its adaptation of the original what Don Quixote calls in the previously cited text

“la verdad de la historia” [the truth of the history]. The use of the term “historia-history” instead of possible alternatives such as “relato,” “cuento,” or “story” is significant to how Cervantes wrote it and how the directors took on their projects since the books and the films achieve much more than pure entertainment or even art for art’s sake. Each of them sought to transmit fundamental truths that attempted to answer the doubts and issues that they, their readers and viewers, faced.

To more fully understand the nature of the process of *Quixote* film adaptations it may be useful to first examine the connection between the novel and theater, the most popular and influential genre that existed when the novel was written. A strong dramatic current runs through the *Quixote*, which is not surprising given the fact that Miguel de Cervantes was also a dedicated and moderately successful playwright. In fact, how we view the protagonist in *Don Quixote* is highly evocative of drama. In his essay “A Question of Limits,” Guillermo Díaz-Plaja reminds us, “Don Quixote is an ‘actor,’ in the etymological sense of *agere*: to make. His ‘acts’ or deeds attract the immediate attention of those around him . . . But, at the same time, the people around him turn into a living theater for him” (qtd. in Herranz 101).

The combination of that theatricality and role-play, two staples of cinema, are prominent features in *Don Quixote*, making the book an attractive choice for directors as film started to eclipse theater in popularity in the twentieth century (Albrecht 4). As a result, at least 300 cinematic adaptations of *Don Quixote* have been produced, not counting those which feature a Quixote-inspired protagonist (Cervera 102).

The nature of the connection between film adaptations and the novel on which they are based is such that the film can be seen as a more visual version, but no less “novelesque” version of its book predecessor, what Fernán Herranz, in his book *El Quijote y el cine*, calls “the latest avatar of the traditional story: inheritor of the epic poem, the medieval narrative, and the renaissance novel” (11). Film, then, is converted into narrative language structured according to the old narrative (Herranz 10). That conversion is not simple and automatic, though, given the fact that the two genres not only take different forms but occupy different time-spaces. The project of adapting a book of approximately 1,100 pages into the size of a two hour movie has presented directors with great challenges. John Allen estimated that the Part I of Don Quixote alone requires up to twenty-three hours of reading, necessitating the condensation of chapters or personalities and the elimination of subplots in order to fit the text to film size (qtd. in Herranz 32). Screenwriters and directors are forced to delete scenes from the book, only adapt the novel’s first or second part or establish a single narrative voice. G.W. Pabst and Soviet director Grigori Kozintsev were able to produce adaptations of less than 2 hours of movie length. Rafael Gil, Roberto Gavaldón, Peter Yates, and Miguel Gutiérrez Aragón (in the case of *El caballero Don Quijote*) made film adaptations that were just over two hours. Even a television series with an expanded period of run time would be forced to heavily edit the novel. Gutiérrez Aragón’s television series *El Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes*, which covered Part I of the novel, had to fit the adaptation into five hours of film.

Apart from the fact that the book must be reduced to an appropriate movie length, the episodic nature of the *Quixote* readily lends itself to adaptation since less interesting or famous adventures and intercalated stories can be eliminated without losing the overall plot of the work. Additionally, the byzantine sequencing of Cervantes' novel, perhaps another cervantine narrative game, makes a strict adherence to a coherent timeline not only optional but perhaps impossible. E.C. Riley establishes the approximate timeline for the novel, beginning with Don Quixote's first sally from his home at daybreak in July. The adventures of the first part cover a few weeks, until he comes home to be put in bed. About a month elapses from the moment until he recovers at the start of the second part until he is ready to strike out again (this time with the objective of participating in the jousts at Zaragoza on the day of Saint George, the 23rd of April). The jousts don't take place until Part II's Chapter 52, although the letters of Chapters 36 and 47 are dated July 20th and Aug 16th, respectively. Don Quixote, after changing his route to go to Barcelona (Chapter 59) arrives to that city on the morning of the day of Saint John, June 24th. With other details included in the novel Riley places the timeframe in which the novel is set as between 1589 and 1591 (qtd. in Herranz 33).

Being adaptations, the film versions of the *Quixote* have the flexibility of approaching the project with a wide range of fidelity to the original text. Three of the adaptations which this chapter will examine, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, *El Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes* and *El caballero Don Quijote*, are Spanish productions which forego that flexibility and make claims of strict fidelity to the original text. Miguel Gutiérrez Aragón said of his 1992 film, "Until now other versions chose types or

moments. This time, the book chooses. The scripts follow (the book) orderly and respectfully” (Herranz 17). In contrast, Roberto Gavaldón, the director of *Don Quijote cabalga de nuevo* (Don Quixote Rides Again), a Mexican film featuring Mario Moreno (Cantinflas) as Sancho, advertised his project as a free interpretation and begged forgiveness from *Quixote* purists for daring to extensively adapt the original text (Arranz 15). A consideration of just how widely or closely the adaptations deviate from or adhere to the text and what effects are created by those changes make a useful field for examination and comparison.

All of these popular films should be understood to be more than just temporal or geographical interpretations for cultural or political ends, but continually reinterpreted advancements and establishments of the mythopoetic figure of Don Quixote by new audiences with different interpretive needs. Two films which reflect Socialist views are Georg Wilhelm Pabst’s Franco-Britannic adaptation of the *Quixote, Adventures of Don Quixote* (1933) and Grigori Kozintsev’s *Don Kikhot*, a 1957 Soviet adaptation. Pabst adjusts the text to address the economic concerns of the competing capitalist and socialist systems between the World Wars. Fernando Gil-Delgado posits that Pabst, having recently been exiled from the Nazi regime in Germany, may have felt a kinship to the Manchegan knight who leaves home with very little to sustain him (67). Pabst’s Don Quixote, in contrast to the textual character who sold up to half of his lands to buy books, sells all of his property, including an unsuccessful attempt to sell his horse,

Rocinante, in order to support his reading habit. This point of Don Quixote's voluntary destitution is the first of several economic issues highlighted in the Pabst film.²⁸

The actor chosen to play Don Quixote was a curious choice. Feodor Chaliapin was a robust Russian opera singer and actor, barely intelligible in the English version of the movie. The protagonist's heavy Russian accent and Sancho's English cockney accent, combined with a lack of references to Spain, make the movie appear to have taken place in virtually any and all parts of the Western World besides Spain and Pabst's choice of Chaliapin and the heroic way that he depicts him convey an emphasis on the heroic aspects of the protagonist. The most well-known movie poster shows Don Quixote with a low angle camera shot, as if the viewer is beholding a person who is much larger or higher (see fig 59). The actor's wind tousled hair and his visible armor help convey the idea of the active combatant.

²⁸ In this movie Sansón Carrasco is actually the suitor of Don Quixote's niece and Don Quixote's destitution puts her eligibility for marriage at risk since she would be dowry-less. Don Quixote's killing of the sheep when he mistakes two herds for converging armies makes him an economic outlaw, positing the capitalist system as a central theme of the movie. This film also makes Don Quixote's Adventure of the Windmills an economically centered episode.

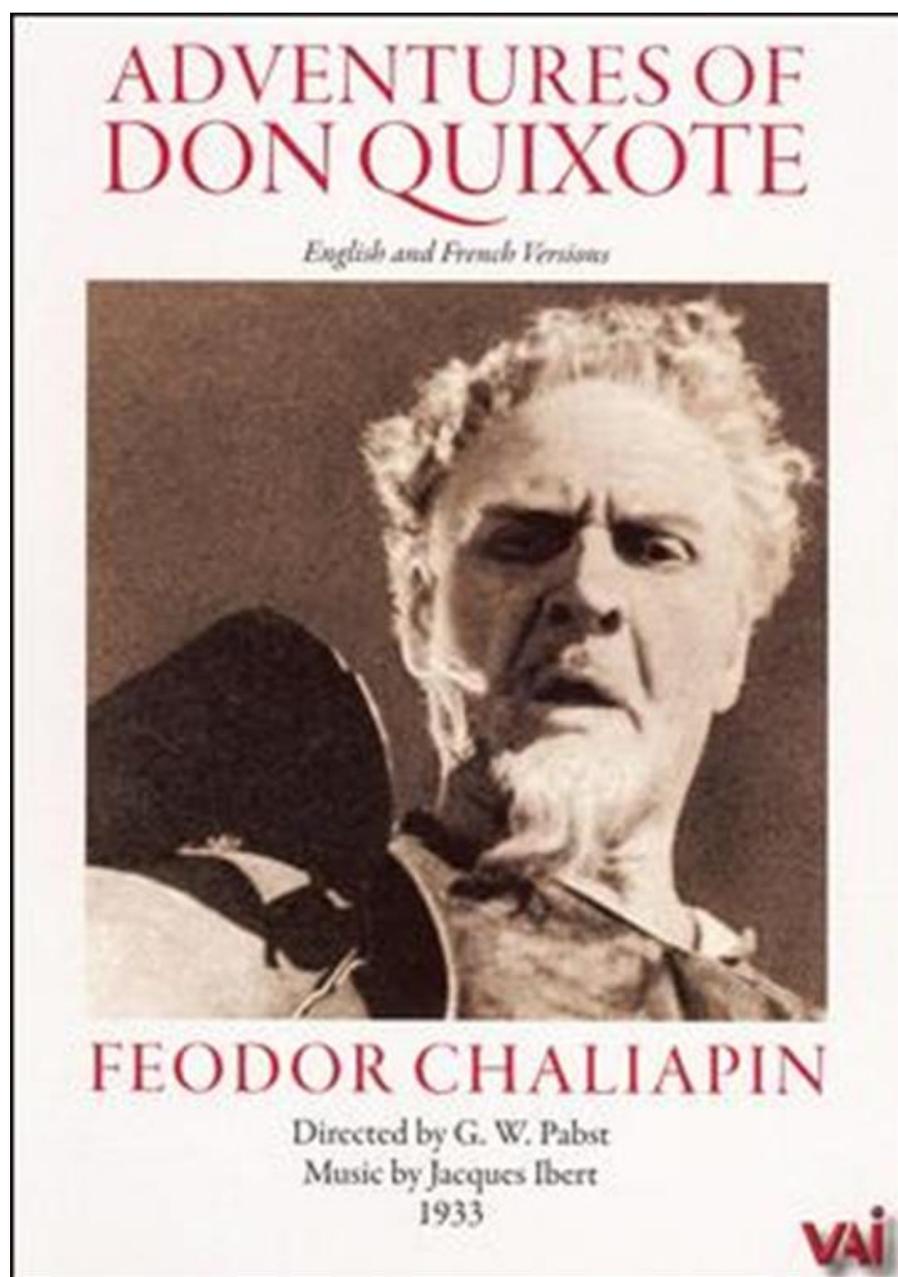


Figure 59. Movie Poster, G.W. Pabst's *Don Quixote*, 1933;
<http://www.flixster.com/movie/adventures-of-don-quixote/>.

Pabst chooses the protagonist's Adventure of the Windmills to be the climax of the movie, making the machines the equivalent of economic giants who Don Quixote and Sancho catch in the act of economic exploitation. To begin the episode Don Quixote and Sancho pass a group of porters carrying large sacks of grain on their backs on their way to the mills. Sancho asks one of them why he doesn't have a donkey. One of the peasants answer, "Had to sell it. Taxes and wars have ruined us. When the mills are finished with our grain we will have nothing left but the husks. Flour is for the duke." Quixote looks up and sees the windmills that are the porters' objective. Quixote calls them "giant devils" and "machines of injustice" as he charges them. His charge leaves him lodged headfirst in one of the arms of the windmill and he makes several turns before being rescued by workers who disable the machine. The unconscious knight is taken down from the windmill in a way that is similar to paintings depicting the body of the crucified Christ being taken down from the cross. The knight's unconscious body is then placed into the oxcart to be brought back to his home. These episodes, combined with the windmills and the wineskins, make giants the most prominent enemies of the knight, consistent with the theme of a single knight fighting the giant of a capitalist economic system.

Under the watchful eye of the police chief a large number of the townspeople are seen cleaning out Don Quixote's library and burning his books as he makes his way home from the windmills. It appears that all of the books in Quixote's collection go to the flames without the benefit of any triage or selection process. Quixote, now conscious and released from the oxcart cage, stands in a stupor upon arriving and seeing

his burning books. Herranz points out that Pabst leverages the typology of the “return of the soldier” that authors have inherited from the *Odyssey*, the repatriated ex-combatant who comes home to die (23). Completely despairing, the knight tells Sancho that there is no insula for him to govern. One of the last characters seen is Sancho, weeping and embracing his donkey.

Nearly everything in this scene communicates despair, defeat and destruction.

Albrecht writes:

By moving the book-burning to the end, Pabst emphasizes Don Quixote’s defeat, which is expected since he has been portrayed as “pathetic and ridiculous.” It also neatly frames the story as it opened with the pages of chivalric novels turning and closes with the pages burning. The film was finished in 1932 and premiered in Paris and London in the spring of 1933, at the same time that Nazi students were burning books in over thirty German cities in what some journalists called a “bibliocaust” and others a “holocaust.” The closing shots of Pabst’s film are unsettlingly prescient of the Nazis’ rampages and simultaneously reminiscent of the Inquisition’s history of book burning.

(6)

David Felipe Arranz calls Pabst’s movie a bitter work that doesn’t even allow for the immortality of the legend (23) but Fernando Gil-Delgado points out that the last image of the burning books actually shows a reverse process of the burning of the title page of Cervantes’ novel so that it appears to come intact out of the flames like a phoenix (64).

Grigori Kozintsev's *Don Kikhot* is similar to Pabst's film in that it extensively reordered the book's episodes to fit the entire book into a feature length film and liberally rewrote the novel's dialogues and recast some of the characters to inject the most socialist ideology possible into the film. As the real-life cases of the *Quixote*-inspired quests of Che Guevara and Subcomandante Marcos suggest, a socialist reading of the *Quixote* is easily supported by the novel's handling of the nobility, the treatment of working-class characters who are ennobled by their deeds and the knight's invocation of a golden age when "all things were owned in common" and "those who lived in that time did not know the two words *thine* and *mine*" (I, 11). Ludmilla Turkevich claimed that *Don Quixote* was one of Karl Marx's favorite books (qtd. in Albrecht 8) and Gil-Delgado writes that the *Quixote* was obligatory study in the Soviet Union (76).

In Kozintsev's film Sancho and Aldonza are poor but generous and happy model members of the working class. The film gives full play to Sancho's textual governorship of Barataria and the episode makes the most out of the fact that Sancho governs wisely and justly. Don Quixote's encounter with the galley convicts also plays a prominent ideological part in the film, where he appears to be entirely justified in freeing the men, and this episode is consistent with the knight's role in the rest of the movie as a freedom fighter and defender of the working class.

When Sancho leaves the dukes' castle to govern Barataria, Don Quixote is left to be the butt of elaborate jokes, including the textual faked death of Altisidora. When she "resuscitates" and derides Don Quixote for believing she could love a weak-minded old man like him, the duke finally tells Don Quixote that his stay at the castle has all been a

joke and the knight begins to leave, dejected and humiliated. In a change from the text which serves to strengthen the duke's representation of the capitalist system, the duke offers Don Quixote a bag of money for his trouble, which the knight refuses as he leaves.

Soon after the knight leaves the castle and Sancho flees from Barataria, they are reunited on the road and immediately come upon the windmills. Don Quixote charges, becomes entangled with one of the sails of one of the windmills, and as he is unhorsed and begins to make revolutions around the windmill, he shouts, "I have faith in man! I will not be deceived by the way you've masked their kind faces. I believe in chivalry. But I won't believe in you, you scoundrel. No matter how much you twist me around. I know that love, fidelity and mercy will triumph in the end. . . Long live man! Down with evil sorcerers!"

Don Quixote falls from the windmill and is badly hurt. Before he can recover, Sansón Carrasco arrives disguised as the Knight of the White Moon. He challenges and easily defeats Don Quixote, who, still injured from his fall from the windmill, can barely sit upright on his horse. Don Quixote is obliged to give up knight errantry and he returns home to die. He does not renounce knighthood but says, "Remember me as you will." His last words, "Onward, onward, forever onward" are heavily weighted with Soviet ideological tradition.

In a striking similarity to the Spanish 1947 Rafael Gil version which will be discussed later, this adaptation ends the film with a post-death-of-Quixote scene showing the knight and squire riding along a hilltop in profile at sunset. Just before the credits

begin to roll onscreen they turn away and ride over the hill, projecting the idea that their ethic and mission as defenders of the workers live on.

The Don Quixote of Pabst and Kozintsev is an iconic protector of the working class. Kozintsev's Soviet version is a specifically nationalized model compared to Pabst's international archetypal precedent. In approaching the characterization of the paradoxical insane hidalgo/heroic knight, the directors opted for the hero, seeking to suppress his insanity by reframing his inability to correctly perceive reality as zeal for justice and a conscious moral decision not to participate in and support an unjust, predatory and exploitative capitalist system. That system is represented by the dukes, the bishop, and Altisidora, who all operate under the protection of the brutal police chief in the case of the Pabst film or the duke's civil guard in the Kozintsev's movie. Only the cinematic Don Quixote of these two directors stands up to them, with the result of infusing his values in the viewers in spite of the fact that the protagonist fails in both cases. The viewer should come away from the film with the idea that Don Quixote's very real unfinished mission can only be assumed and continued in the viewer's timeframe by standing up for the worker and rejecting the precepts of capitalism. For millions of Soviet and European viewers these films present the protagonist that may eclipse the textual one, altering the universal perception of Don Quixote in the ideological struggle between two opposing economic systems.

Spain was slow to produce its own feature length *Quixote* movie, but four Spanish Quixote films spanning from 1947 to 2007, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, *El Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes*, *El caballero don Quijote* and *Donkey Xote*,

underwritten to varying degrees by the Spanish government, sought to depict the protagonist as an expression of Spanish national character. But those governments were vastly different in philosophy and outlook and each of the three directors and creative teams who produced the four films had their own ideas about what constituted national character. Consequently, in spite of the fact that three of the films were faithful reflections of the original novel, very different sides of Cervantes' "wise fool" [cuerdo loco] are shown.

Don Quijote de la Mancha (1947), directed by Rafael Gil, was the Franco regime's attempt to reclaim *Don Quixote* as a Spanish work and to enshrine the protagonist as a reflection of militant Catholic nationalism. The Spanish government office responsible for producing, censoring and controlling films, *Compañía Industrial Film Española* (CIFESA), timed the release of the film to coincide with the commemoration of the fourth centenary of Cervantes' birth. COFESA spent nearly five million pesetas on the project, which failed to turn a profit in spite of an award of 400,000 pesetas from the government (Herranz 51).

The opening credits reinforce the idea that the film was a government project supported by several national institutions, including the Spanish Royal Academy and the Royal Conservatory. In his introduction to the collection of essays *Quijote en el cine*, David Felipe Arranz claims that of all the film adaptations of the *Quixote*, the Rafael Gil version is the most literarily faithful to the novel (25). One of the film posters visually strengthens this tie between the text and the film in the way that it shows the protagonist

charging on horseback from the open pages of the novel into action against the windmills (see fig. 60).

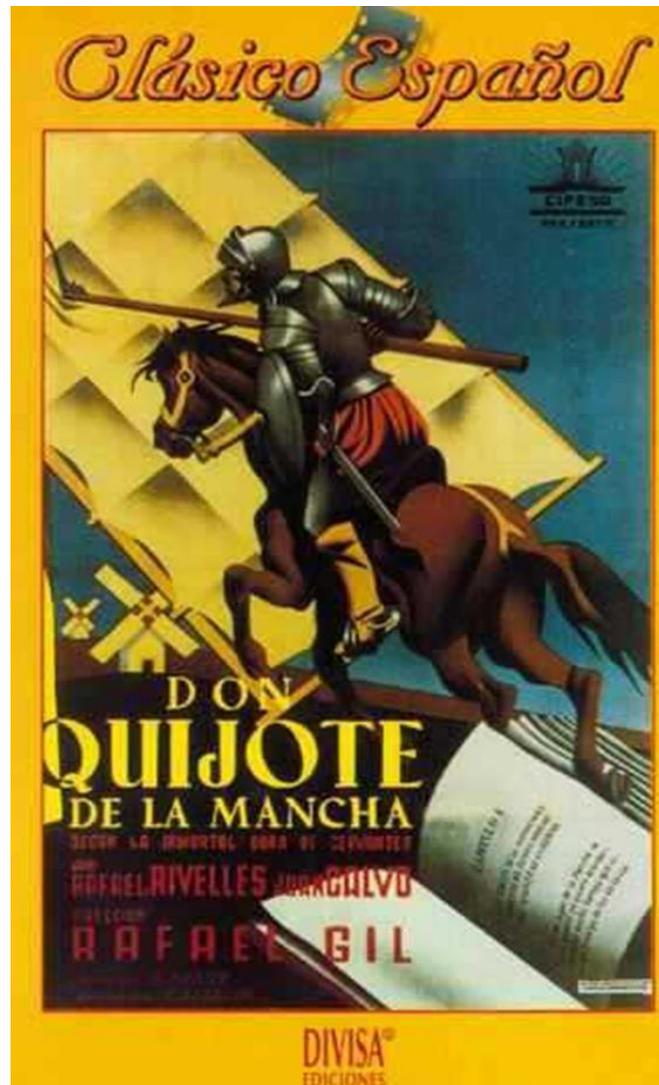


Figure 60. Movie poster *Don Quijote de la Mancha* Rafael Gil, 1947; Centro Virtual Cervantes. “*Don Quijote de la Mancha, música y cine.*” http://cvc.cervantes.es/actcult/quijote_musica/nieto.htm.

The director,²⁹ screenwriter,³⁰ and at least one film historian friendly to the regime³¹ proclaim the film's absolute fidelity to Cervantes' text (Herranz 55, 56, 58). Nevertheless, in determining which scenes, discourses and dialogues to include as well as leave out, where and how to include background music, and other decisions, several licenses were taken with regard to how the characters and scenes were presented. The result is a cinematic story which has been carefully changed and adapted to support the Franco regime's nationalist agenda. Commenting on how this film fulfilled the regime's requirements, Felix Fanés stated "The ideas that pushed CIFESA were: a profound 'españolismo,' a vague and sentimental 'valencianismo,' an overarching Catholicism and a deep antimarxism" (qtd. in Herranz 59). The regime hoped to foment Spanish militarism by making the Manchegan knight's discourse on Arms and Letters a prominent scene in the movie. The knight expounds his ideas from off screen with the reinforcement of musical chorus, while scenes of him are shown standing guard over his

²⁹ Director Rafael Gil declared, "El *Quijote* 'es', y no puede verse de una u otra manera, sino sólo como lo escribió Cervantes" [The *Quixote* "is," and it cannot be seen one way or another, but only as Cervantes wrote it]

³⁰ Screenwriter Abad Ojuel stated, "Trabajé con el mismo cuidado que si manipulase cosas sagradas. . . La adaptación literaria fue hecha con todo el respeto y fidelidad al pensamiento central de la obra de Cervantes, labor que . . . queda muy facilitada, porque el *Quijote*, en su acción y dinamismo, es cine puro, movimiento, sensibilidad y acción." [I worked with the same care as if I had been handling sacred objects. . . the literary adaptation was done with all respect and faithfulness to the central thinking of Cervantes' book, work that was very easy because the *Quixote*, in its action and dynamism, is pure cinema, movement, sensibility and action.]"

³¹ Cinematic historian Carlos Fernández Cuenca asserts, "Los episodios incorporados al filme son los que mejor podían unir la fuerza expresiva de la imágenes con el contenido espiritual de la locura del hidalgo. Si don Quijote recibe palos y rueda a menudo por los suelos, no es por capricho o irreverencia del realizador, sino porque así lo refiere Cervantes; y nada de esto aminora la grandeza del héroe, su trascendental misión de nobilísimos alcances." [The episodes incorporated into the film are those that best join the expressive force of the images with the spiritual content of the insanity of the *hidalgo*. If Don Quixote receives beatings and often rolls around on the ground, it is not by the director's caprice or irreverence, but because that is how Cervantes referred to it; and none of that lessens the greatness of the hero, his transcendental mission of most noble heights.]

armor and patrolling back and forth in front of the entrance to the inn before he was “knighted” in Chapter 3. Conversely, the knight’s well-known discourse on the golden age of shared riches in Chapter 11 of Part I was not included in the film, perhaps due to concerns that it could be interpreted as a socialist theme.

The director and screenwriter incorporate several aspects that augment the heroic nature of the Manchegan knight, encouraging the viewer to forget or minimize the ridiculous episodes or losing battles that he experiences. The protagonist is played by Rafael Rivelles, a skilled and persuasive Spanish actor whose physical strength and compelling voice transmit more heroic intensity than insanity. When Don Quixote leaves his home in Chapter 2 to strike out on his first adventure, he appears to leave through a wide gate tall enough for him to easily pass through on horseback. It appears to be the main gate of his property, not the side gate that the text describes. This element seems to lend an air of seriousness and legitimacy to his mission of knightly adventures rather than the patched-together, amateurish first sally that Cervantes describes.

When Don Quixote charges the windmills he is knocked off his horse, but is not lifted up in the air by one of the windmill’s sails as the book describes. The height of his cinematic fall, then, has been reduced by half to two thirds of the textual distance. In Gil’s movie he is struck by a windmill sail and merely falls from the saddle to the ground. Once unhorsed, he skillfully avoids being hit as the other sails swing by until Sancho dutifully and bravely comes and temporarily disables the windmill and pulls his master out of danger, another non-textual element that serves as a reminder of the duty the lower classes have to serve and protect their betters. Quixote, then, is not seriously

hurt at the windmills and continues on to his next adventure. Another scene that minimizes the physical punishment Don Quixote sustains is at the conclusion of the adventure of the Toledan merchants, wherein one merchant delivers some half-dozen blows to the fallen Quixote with a slim stick that the merchant was carrying. This depiction is far less severe than the scene described in the text where the merchant savagely beats the fallen knight with every broken piece of the knight's shattered lance, leaving the merchant exhausted from the effort and the defeated Don Quixote severely injured.

When Don Quixote is taken away in the oxcart the women of the inn where he was arrested gather outside and cry. He is thus spared from the crowd's ridicule in the text and shown in the light of an unjustly accused hero. He is fully dressed in the oxcart, not in his nightshirt as the text describes him. Deleted are the scenes of Sancho arranging for his release to "pass waters" and the discussion between the canon and the priest and the canon and Don Quixote about the reality and fiction of history, as well as literary and scriptural heroes. Once he is brought home and locked into his room he continues his ravings, this time a crowd of townspeople gather outside his window to listen to him.

Care is taken to show the knight in a less burlesque light than that of Cervantes' novel. When he puts on the "Helmet of Mambrino," which is in reality a barber's basin, it fits his head and does not slip around, making a believable piece of headgear. The dukes in Part II are depicted as likeable, benevolent and good-natured in the film adaptation. The cruelest jokes that the dukes play on Don Quixote in the text's Part II

are omitted in the movie. Even when he and Sancho mount the wooden horse Clavileño to fly away to fight the giant Malabruno, the crowd shouts, “Gloria a Don Quixote” without laughter. He is not attacked by cats and he is saved from the false dilemma of the young and beautiful Altisidora “falling in love” with him, since that scene is also omitted. The episode where Don Quixote and Sancho throw up on each other in Part I’s Chapter 18 is never seen, mentioned or implied. Even scenes in which others behave less than heroically in the knight’s presence are deleted. And of course, the entire episode of the fulling mill, including the details of Sancho defecating in the dark while holding onto Rocinante’s saddle right under his master’s nose is deleted.

When Don Quixote leaves with Sancho to strike out on new adventures to begin Part II the barber’s basin he had been using was replaced with his original knight’s helmet. In fact, nearly all of the numerous movie posters which advertise the film show him with a conventional knight’s helmet on instead of the “Golden Helmet of Mambrino.”

Director Rafael Gil and screenwriter Abad Ojuel go to great lengths to show Don Quixote as a strong and doctrinally pure Catholic and to show the Catholic Church in the best possible light. When Don Quixote does his penance for Dulcinea in the Sierra Morena in the film adaptation he tears off his shirtsleeve and fashions it into a rosary at which point we hear him praying a Hail Mary. In the text, it is Don Quixote’s dirty shirttail that is ripped off to fashion the rosary, a considerably less clean and less respectful association that must still inspire wonder at having been approved by the Inquisitional censors. The entire scene of the argument between an ecclesiastic and Don

Quixote at the dukes' dinner table in Chapters 31 and 32 of Part II, one of the most well-known and important passages in the text, is eliminated from the movie, avoiding any uncomfortable Catholic dissonance and maintaining the cinematic Don Quixote's identity as faithfully and respectfully obedient to the clergy. On his deathbed with his last breaths Don Quixote whispers "Jesús" three times, an obviously strong religious detail that is not textual.

The death of Alonso Quijano/Don Quixote does not constitute the end of the movie. An epilogue scene follows with Don Quixote and Sancho riding away from us while text superimposed on the screen reads, "And this was not the end, but the beginning." [Y esto no fue el fin, sino el principio], encouraging new heroic, idealistic and nationalist Spanish Quixotes to continue to sally forth in search of adventures for their own honor and the honor of Franco's Spain.

To support the cultural and political aims of the Franco regime, Rafael Gil takes the ambivalent and paradoxical protagonist written by Cervantes and in every case chooses to reinforce the heroic, the knightly and the Catholic interpretation, opting to suppress the ridiculousness of his appearance and reduce the severity of his losses and beatings. As would befit a national icon in Franco's Spain, even the mention or allusion to the bodily functions that Cervantes includes in the original to gain a grotesquely comic effect is written out of the movie script.

The counterweight to Gil's heroic *Quixote* seems to be Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón's protagonist in *El Quijote de Miguel de Cervantes* (1991), a made-for-television series based on the first part of *Don Quixote* with 1989 Nobel prizewinner Camilo José

Cela as screenwriter. Like the Gil movie over forty years prior, this project had significant government support, this time in the form of a strong publicity campaign on public television. This cinematic adaptation, like its predecessor, also claims to be very faithful to the original text. Cela, the screenwriter, called his adaptation, “. . . a most respectful adaptation . . . where the only thing I did was to change that literary moment into modern language” (qtd. in Herranz 76). [. . . una adaptación respetuosísima. . . donde lo único que hice fue trasladar al lenguaje actual ese momento literario.”] Given the additional film time afforded by putting together a five-part series, it would seem that this project could include much more of Cervantes’ original material and therefore more faithfully reflect it. But the vast difference in the size of the original novel compared to the amount of hours available in the televised series required the director to make extensive cuts and fundamental decisions about what to retain and leave out of the original. Those editorial decisions are taken in such a way as to depict a decidedly de-idealized protagonist who has been stripped of his heroic qualities. Gutiérrez Aragón and Cela produced a film that reflected and shaped Spanish attitudes and values that had radically changed by 1991. The title of the series itself seems to imply that the goal of the project is to reclaim the text as Miguel de Cervantes’ and not Francisco Franco’s; and is thus, in a sense, a restoration project. Early 90’s Spain seems to be intent on breaking away from the moralizing strictures, militarism and Catholic overtones of the Franco years, and the Aragón version seems to obey this impulse by including a few small twists of ideology that would suit rising Spanish popular values of equality, liberal

education free from censorial controls, anti-militarism and ambivalence toward Catholicism.

Gutiérrez Aragón reduces the class differences between the poor Sancho and the hidalgo Don Quixote by dignifying Sancho and enhancing the ridiculousness of the Manchegan knight. Sancho Panza is played by the respected and well-known Spanish actor Alfredo Landa and he appears to be the picture of humble competence and good sense. The textual Sancho's greed, gluttony and naïveté are minimized in the film and he is depicted in less burlesque ways.³² When Don Quixote and Sancho see the chained galley slaves walking down the road in Part I's Chapter 22, the movie adaptation version of Sancho goes much farther than simply explaining to Don Quixote that they are "cadena de galeotes, gente forzada del Rey, que va a las galeras." [a chain of galley slaves, people forced by the King, going to the galleys]. Aragón's Sancho is not a simpering subordinate, but a trusted advisor, and he soberly and emphatically warns Don Quixote as a parent or babysitter would an impetuous child, "No vaya pensando que es otra cosa. Es gente mala, muy mala. No se imagine que sean viudas o doncellas, ni gigantes, ni huérfanos, no, no, no." [Don't go thinking that it is some other thing. They're bad people, very bad. Don't go imagining that they are widows or damsels, nor giants, nor orphans, no, no, no.] This warning is given to Quixote prior to a reminder by

³² Sancho does not vomit as a result of his drinking Don Quixote's curative balm of Fiérabras like he does in the text and the scene of him poking around in Don Quixote's mouth counting his teeth followed by the two of them vomiting on each other is also omitted in the movie. Sancho's cowardice at the textual episode of the fulling mill is also removed in the movie where Sancho actually leads Don Quixote up to the mill at first light.

Sancho that the *galeotes* go by the authority of the King. The director and screenwriter seem to be intent on Sancho being a kind of democratic Spanish everyman, poor but dignified. When combined with other factors about the protagonist which will be entailed later, the elevation of Sancho results in the comparative diminution of Don Quixote.

The *Quixote* is a book about books, readers and reading, but some licenses were taken in the movie adaptation to highlight the importance placed on books and reading in this film. Very early in the movie (corresponding to the book's first chapter), Quixote's niece sneaks furtive peeks at the old hidalgo's books, in spite of the fact that it would be highly unlikely that a young woman of her social status would have known how to read. Don Quixote's late-night ravings in his library show him with a book in one hand and a sword in the other, a non-textual nod to a famous Doré illustration (see fig. 61).



Figure 61. “Don Quixote reading in his library.” Paris: Hachette, 1863; Illustrator, Gustave Doré; <http://dqi.tamu.edu>.

Other fleeting references to the power of books are seen when the priest and barber clean out Don Quixote’s library and toss books into the patio to be burned. The priest and the barber seem to immensely enjoy the act of making off with the few books that are deemed worthy of surviving the flames and as the condemned books are tossed from a second story window we get a fleeting glimpse of a poor worker reaching into the

pile to pick up one of the volumes, apparently oblivious to the threat of being hit in the head by other falling books. The director here allows for the inclusion of an endorsement of the power of literacy, perhaps with an eye toward encouraging reading among the recently democratic Spanish youth.

Gutiérrez Aragón's movie adaptation makes Don Quixote out to be an even more excessively pathetic anti-hero than he is in the textual original, especially when the protagonist is fully outfitted as a knight.³³ Cervantes' protagonist is masterfully written with a mix of heroic and ridiculous characteristics and actions, but the director seems to consistently turn toward ridiculing the knight, especially in the military episodes of the narrative.

Perhaps the boldest adaptation that Gutiérrez Aragón puts into effect for the purpose of ridiculing the protagonist is seen when the knight is being transported back to La Mancha by his hometown friends and the local authorities. The text includes both the Canon and the hometown priest who have discussions with each other and with Don Quixote about the virtues and shortfalls of chivalric literature. In the text Sancho

³³ Upon donning his armor and setting out on Rocinante through the back gate of his property, the movie shows him immediately being laughed at and shouted at by the townspeople in a way that the book does not describe. The movie adaptation also inflates the slapstick nature of the book's famous inn scene in Chapter II wherein Don Quixote, unwilling to have the ribbons holding his helmet on to be cut, is fed through a makeshift straw. Chapter 2 of Part I's text states that the scene that was "the stuff of great laughter" [material de grande risa] but the movie embellishes the scene, showing the innkeeper and the prostitutes purposely burning the knight with overheated soup and intentionally pouring so much wine down his throat that it has the effect of choking him. When Don Quixote deems it necessary to punish a muleteer who touches his armor and weapons in Part I's Chapter 3, he is attacked by the other patrons at the inn who shower him with rocks. In the text Don Quixote blocks the rocks with his shield and is none the worse for wear. This movie adaptation, though, shows him driven to the ground by rocks that bounce off his head and knock him senseless. After the innkeeper diffuses the conflict by knighting Don Quixote, the new knight receives a long kiss on the lips from one of the prostitutes, a non-textual addition that further emphasizes the farce of the ceremony and the ridiculousness of his knighthood (Herranz 88).

arranges for his master to be freed from the cage to relieve himself. In Chapter 49 of Part I of the text it is the canon who appeals to Don Quixote to abandon chivalric romances in exchange for the more acceptable heroics of scriptural and historical heroes, prompting the knight to make an impassioned defense of the books of chivalry, mixing the fictional, scriptural and historical in a way that challenges the canon (and thus, the reader) to sort out what he holds to be true. Quixote also testifies as to what positive effects have been derived from being a knight-errant, stating, “. . . since I’ve been a knight errant, I am brave, moderate, generous, courteous, daring, soft, patient, etc.” [. . . después que soy caballero andante, soy valiente, comedido, liberal, bien criado, generoso, cortés, atrevido, blando, paciente, etc.”] The textual discussion with the canon takes place in a bucolic setting on lush green grass where the travelers await the arrival of the provisions for supper. The setting and the timing of the discussion and the knight’s discourse are impactful and they show the knight in a complex light, temporarily rescuing him from the shame of his temporary imprisonment in the oxcart. The director and screenwriter of this film, however, adjust the arrangement of this scene to have an entirely different effect on the viewer. The first adjustment is in the absence of the canon. It is the priest from Don Quixote’s village who addresses the knight, but not in a context that is consistent with Cervantes’ novel. In the movie adaptation Don Quixote is freed from his cage, but as he walks to a nearby tree, he is chided in front of the entire traveling party by the priest, who shouts at Quixote that knights have never existed, an exchange that is evocative of, but contextually disconnected from the episode of the knight’s interaction with the ecclesiastic at the dukes’ table in Part II. The

cinematic Quixote is unable to muster any answer, and he only looks dejected and disappointed as he goes on about his business in his dirty undershirt. Incredibly, Don Quixote recounts the list of the positive attributes of his knighthood in the hearing of the priest, barber and Sancho *while in the act of defecating*, the words that he speaks heavy with the strain of relieving himself. The conclusion of his defense of chivalry coincides with the completion of his bodily functions as Sancho helps him to his feet and assists him in putting on his trousers as if he were an invalid. This curious adaptation of the original text gives the viewer the impression that the concepts of chivalry, which had perhaps been hijacked by the Franco regime for decades, were the equivalent of a pile of human feces, perhaps another example of screenwriter Camilo José Cela's "expert handling of the scatological lexicon" [virtuoso manejo del léxico escatológico.] (Rodríguez Santerbas 48).

After an involuntary hiatus of approximately ten years that nearly matches the span between the two parts of the *Quixote*, Miguel Gutiérrez Aragón filmed the second part of his *Quixote* project in 2002, this time in a feature picture length of just over two hours. Herranz proposes that with this film Gutiérrez Aragón wanted to distance his protagonist from the type inspired by Doré's illustrations. To that end he cast Juan Luis Galiardo as a more rejuvenated and robust knight with a squire that does not possess the characteristic obesity of Sancho. The effect created is an adaptation that is a hybrid between a John Ford Western and an American "road movie" (102).

Although some critics hailed the work as a postmodern film inspired by Jorge Luis Borges' play between fiction and reality, it was a flop at the box office, garnering

only 74,046 viewers (Herranz 102, 107). Mario Vargas Llosa, in his essay, “Una novela para el siglo XXI,” points out that the origin of the fiction-reality literary interplay is not borgiano but rather, cervantino. He writes:

The great theme of Don Quixote de La Mancha is fiction, its reason for being, and the way that, when it infiltrates life, shapes it and transforms it. So, what seems to many modern readers to be typically “borgian” – that of “Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius” – is, in reality a cervantine theme that, centuries later, Borges resuscitated and imprinted with his own personal style.) (qtd. in Herranz 99).

[El gran tema de Don Quijote de la Mancha es la ficción, su razón de ser, y la manera como ella, al infiltrarse en la vida, la va modelizando, transformando. Así, lo que parece a muchos lectores modernos el tema “borgiano” por antonomasia - el de “Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius” - es, en verdad un tema cervantino que, siglos después, Borges resucitó, imprimiéndole un sello personal.]

The Gutiérrez Aragón projects of 1991 and 2002, observantly respectful of the text while changing the context of the original, work to deconstruct the icon Don Quixote. That iconoclastic impulse is understandable in a country still trying to get over the harmful effects of a dictator who for decades curated a similarly mythologized and militarized narrative in order to maintain his hold on power.

Donkey Xote (2007), directed by José Pozo for state-owned Spanish public television is an animated full length film designed to entertain and appeal to young

people. Although the text's Don Quixote was around fifty years old, positively elderly for a man in the late sixteenth century, the movie's Quixote is depicted as young man in the prime of life obsessed with the possibility of meeting Dulcinea. As in Part II of the text, the movie is set in a time where a book about Quixote has been written, one that has been widely read and has inspired hundreds of Don Quixote imposters who also seek the beautiful Dulcinea.

This time the animated adaptation presents some of the social precepts that the socialist Spanish government would want to see emphasized in its sponsored products: equality, respect for the rights and capabilities of women, and a rejection of materialism or hunger for fame. The textual class difference between Don Quixote and Sancho has been rewritten for this adaptation. The movie's Sancho is wealthy and respectable and he rides a donkey out of preference, not necessity. Don Quixote actually routinely has to borrow money from Sancho. Although Quixote recruits Sancho to be his squire, Sancho just calls him "Quixote" without any titles or deferential demonstrations. A woman's voice narrates the film, and near the end of the movie when Don Quixote is defeated by the Knight of the Crescent Moon and forced at sword point to renounce his love for Dulcinea, he refuses. The victorious knight takes off her helmet and reveals herself to be Dulcinea. Quixote thus has passed a test of faithfulness and Dulcinea has demonstrated that girls can be strong, brave and skilled as well as attractive.

Altisidora, who poses as Dulcinea in order to get Don Quixote to marry her for financial gain, and the dukes, who conspire with Altisidora, are depicted as greedy and their hunger for riches proved to be their undoing. Carrasco is jealous of Don Quijote's

fame as a result of him having a book written about him and seeks to defeat him in battle in order to gain fame greater than Don Quixote's. Of course, since we see the protagonist rewritten as a young man there is no scene or inference of his death, and the film ends with a fairy tale "happily ever after" scene with Quixote and Dulcinea on the beach at Barcelona.

By 2007 the movie version of the Don Quixote in Spain is a less ridiculed protagonist than that of Miguel Gutiérrez Aragón. This animated version may be an attempt to re-iconize the protagonist in a more egalitarian light, even for the limited audience which would constitute a movie targeted for adolescents. The knight is recast as a young idealist who respects class and gender equality, a reading that Cervantes' paradoxical character makes available through his textual defense of Marcela's right to reject Gristósomo (I, 14), his support of Sancho's governorship (II, 42, 43), and his endorsement of the concept of upward mobility through merit (I, 21).

Three North American *Quixote* movies which show footage from generally the same timeframes as the four Spanish films we've just examined are Orson Welles' *Don Quixote*, Terry Gilliam's *Lost in La Mancha* and Arthur Hiller and Dale Wasserman's *Man of La Mancha*. These films, apart from being attempted by U.S. directors, are vastly different in format, genre and levels of success. They each transmit contrasting ideas of the knight Don Quixote, and are all reflective of North American attempts to appropriate the protagonist.

Orson Welles began filming his *Don Quixote* in Spain in the 1950's. The final product, posthumously released in 1992, is the result of an attempt of two filmmakers to

patch together and finish Welles' project (Albrecht 7). By skipping the parts of the story that occur prior to the appearance of Sancho, and placing the helmet of Mambrino on Quixote's head at the outset, the movie adaptation shortens and weaves the main elements of Cervantes' narrative into a movie-length version set in Spain in the 1950's and 1960's. Welles himself takes up the adapted role of Cervantes, the self-conscious author, by playing the self-conscious film director, occasionally narrating film and appearing in clips touring Spain and filming, going so far as to cross paths in Pamplona with a curious Sancho who looks at Welles through the back window of Welles' black sedan. The movie makes more obvious and dramatic the textual Quixote's concern about too much modern progress as the Manchegan knight is transported into a world with automobiles and spacecraft. Very early in the film Quixote attempts to "save" a young woman riding a Vespa scooter, describing her vehicle as a "machine from hell" and going so far as to threaten to run her through with his lance. Later, the scene of Sancho checking inside Don Quixote's mouth to see how many teeth he has lost takes place inside an old bus abandoned in a junkyard.

Don Quixote and Sancho are pulled headlong into a modernity for which they are ill equipped. While Don Quixote does penance in the Sierra Morena and sends Sancho to deliver a missive to Dulcinea, Sancho wanders into a modern Spanish town where he sees televised images of U.S. bomber aircraft, Francisco Franco and a report of an impending lunar landing. Sancho, while passing through town, is so engaged by the opportunity to see the moon through a telescope, he purchases the device so that he can study the moon whenever he chooses. When Sancho finds Don Quixote caged in an

oxcart, he frees his master from the cage and they plan a trip to the moon while the knight rides Rocinante backwards. The connection between lunacy and fascination with the moon is all too obvious here, highlighting the frenetic insanity of the modern state's drive to reach the moon and the backward-facing Quixote's horse-bound unfitness for modernity. The repeated theme of conversation between the knight and Sancho is the reward that will surely be reaped by the squire in payment for his loyalty to Don Quixote.

References to the U.S. military, as well as footage of an American bomber, are prominent in this film, and this connection of themes could be a commentary on Spain's status as an ally of the United States in that time and the dependence of the Franco regime on the good will of the U.S. In spite of the spotty and disconnected nature of the episodes that Welles' successors attempted to cobble together to construct a motion picture, the film does manage, perhaps better than any other *Quixote* film, to depict a pronounced version of what the original text intended: a temporally dislocated protagonist. The text's Quixote is a sixteenth century man trying to live like a thirteenth century man (Adriaensin 256). In the twentieth century, Orson Welles' Don Quixote is an even more extremely anachronistic character, buffeted by a modernity in which he has been fast-forwarded another three hundred fifty years out of place, a world of which he has no understanding (Ardila Rojas and Cárdenas Páez 106). Orson Welles' Don Quixote, perhaps more than any other film version of the protagonist, is noteworthy for his physicality in depicting a ridiculous anti-hero. His impossibly gaunt frame is

indelibly marked in the mind of the viewer by scenes of him bathing out in the open, the frailty of his skeletal body seconded by a long, wispy beard and bags under his eyes.

The Welles movie is connected by its incompleteness to another North American *Quixote* movie attempt. *Lost in La Mancha* (2001) is a documentary co-directed by Keith Fulton and Louis Pepe, which details Terry Gilliam's attempted production of *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote*, which was to co-star Johnny Depp as an adapted Sancho and French actor Jean Rochefort as Don Quixote. With funding for the project cut in half just before filming commenced in Spain, a leading man with health problems who spoke English with difficulty, and the lack of a suitable sound studio, the project seemed as quixotic as the Manchegan knight himself. To shoot several key scenes Gilliam picked a very specific, isolated site for its desolate, bleak landscape. The location was near a NATO bombing range, however, and the filming was frequently interrupted by jet aircraft flying close overhead on the way to drop ordnance. A sudden afternoon downpour turned the dry arroyo into a raging river of red mud, carrying away and ruining some of the equipment. Most critically, Jean Rochefort, the film's protagonist, was hampered by the most debilitating condition that could possibly affect a horseback-mounted Quixote: severe prostatitis. As if the ghost of Quixote himself refused to allow an American film to be made based on his story on Spanish soil, the confluence of these adverse conditions forced Gilliam to abandon the project.

Brigitte Adriaensen underlines the cervantine nature of this documentary with respect to how the work approaches its own truthfulness. Gilliam, the subject of the documentary, vouches for its authenticity in an interview, "The reason people get so

excited or moved by it is that it's maybe the first time you're seeing something truthful about filmmaking. It isn't all about how wonderful everything is and how happy we all are. For better or for worse, it's a true tale" (qtd. in Adriaensen 261). The documentary was, nonetheless, a carefully edited product wherein the subject of the film, Gilliam, had editorial input on what would remain in the film. Adriaensen writes, "Cervantes' play between veracity, verisimilitude and fiction thus becomes extremely patent, even if neither the co-directors nor the protagonist of the story seem to be ready to fully acknowledge this" (262).

Both Welles' *Don Quixote* and the *Lost in La Mancha* documentary reflect what may be particularly North American attitudes towards Spain, the *Quixote*, and Don Quixote. In Welles' movie, the knight Don Quixote is a representation of Spain: charming, but antiquated, out of touch and therefore irrelevant if it were not for their dependence on the modern, militarized United States who, at the time of the filming, was on the brink of winning the space race. But the country, story and protagonist all resist easy and convenient packaging for Welles to produce his movie and despite his years of efforts and his success on other film projects, Welles never finished this movie in his lifetime. Terry Gilliam, another U.S. filmmaker with a string of critical and box office successes, underestimates the complexity of his *Quixote* film and he, in a very real way, becomes quixotic in his inability to realistically read situations in Spain. Gilliam fixates on one single site out of all of Spain which he considers an ideally dry, barren location for filming which turns out to be a raging river when an unexpected rainstorm occurs. What passes for a sound studio for his production team turns out to be a warehouse

totally unsuited for the needs of the project. Like Welles, Gilliam underestimates the complexity of Spain, but also of his protagonist, apparently believing that a Frenchman who could not sit on a horse or fluently speak the language of the film could be an adequate cinematic Don Quixote with the right costume, film editing and facial hair.

A completely different North American film with its roots in theater is *Man of La Mancha* (1972), directed by Arthur Hiller and starring Peter O'Toole and Sophia Loren. The film is based on the musical play by Dale Wasserman, which was based on Wasserman's 1959 non-musical television play *I, Don Quixote*. The musical play, *Man of La Mancha*, which first showed in 1965 off-Broadway, was eventually promoted to the Martin Beck Theater in New York City and enjoyed a run of more than 2,300 showings, making it one of the most-seen musicals of the 1960's (España 134).

This movie makes no claims of fidelity to the original text (Wasserman famously admitted he had never read Cervantes' novel before writing his musical) (Herranz 9) and freely adapts major elements of the novel to construct a modern love story with a post-modern criticism of the stifling restrictions of society and organized religion. Clearly designed to appeal to viewers in the English-speaking world, the film, except for the mentions of the Inquisition; it is so bereft of any traces of Spanish language and history that even Cervantes' first name is pronounced with an incredibly cacophonous Anglicized "Mig-WEL." The structure of the cinematic production is akin to a set of Russian nesting dolls: first, a theater production under Cervantes' direction which causes him to run afoul of the Inquisition is seen at the beginning of the film; second, a theater production Cervantes hastily assembles in prison employing his fellow inmates; and

third, the movie episodes which take place outside the prison walls in the imaginations of the actors and playwright who are caught up in the action of the play. An obvious license in the movie which works with great effect is the combination of Don Quixote and Miguel de Cervantes himself, which allows for the importation of the writer's own life experiences and disappointments as fuel for the plot. The movie begins with Cervantes being jailed by the Inquisition for having dared to interpret the Bible and offending the Church, a wide variation from Cervantes' own life history since none of the writer's three prison sentences had anything to do with the Inquisition (Arranz 36). Nonetheless, one very true detail is that of the cinematic episode of Cervantes witnessing sees a cart of dead bodies on the way to prison. There was a devastating epidemic in Seville during the approximate timeframe that included Cervantes being jailed there in 1597 and he may have very possibly witnessed a similar scene (Canavaggio 17). In the film Cervantes is jailed in a common room with many other prisoners, including thieves and murderers, and immediately put on trial by his fellow inmates, accused of being an idealist. The scene is entirely non-textual, but puts Cervantes on the same intellectual level as a 1970's countercultural non-conformist (España 136). What follows is a film that is post-modern in its rejection of the inherited narrative of organized religion and the questioning of the acceptance of "reality" as a positive, desirable state. When Cervantes' prison accuser charges him with "blinding men's eyes to reality," Cervantes calls reality "a stone prison crushing the human spirit." It is reality, though, that is Cervantes-Quixote's basic adversary, and he loses his final fight with the knights who

surround him with shields outfitted with mirrors of reality. “Look in the mirror,” says his enemy, “and see things how they are.”

The theme of cruel reality as the antagonist continues at a critical moment when Cervantes expects the Inquisition to call him up out of the jail to be interrogated or tortured. Cervantes is taunted here by a fellow prisoner in much the same way as Christ was taunted on the cross. As a bell tolls in the background, the prisoner who was accusing him says, “Where’s your courage? Or is that in your imagination, too? No escape, this is happening. Not to a brave man of La Mancha but to you. Quick, Cervantes, call on him, let him shield you. Let him save you if he can.” Christ’s answer to the taunts was forgiveness and earthly redemptive death, but Hiller and Wasserman’s protagonist answers the ridicule with defiance and life.

As befits a North American movie hero, Hiller’s adapted Don Quixote is a triumphant figure, rising from his deathbed, claiming that he is a knight errant and calling for his armor and sword before finally collapsing in death. He does not renounce knighthood but initially suspects his adventures have been a dream before Dulcinea sings through the lyrics of “The Impossible Dream” and helps him regain his enthusiasm for knighthood. He is also a defiantly post-modern humanist in his rejection of religious precepts and his rejection of the efficacy or positive interpretation of the term “reality.” One of the final scenes of the film is Cervantes being called up out of the prison by the Inquisition. The fear among the inmates is palpable and one of them expresses the hope that Cervantes would not burn. He responds that, whatever was to happen, he would not burn, an oblique rejection of the doctrinal existence of hell.

The knight Don Quixote of *Man of La Mancha* is extensively adapted to fit the North American ethic of the turbulent 1960's and 1970's because it is an interpretation of the *myth* of Quixote, not the text (España 134). In turn, it is the musical and the film that today informs the North American image and understanding of the icon, an adaptability which may have been entirely permissible to Cervantes as he considered the iconization of his protagonist nearly four centuries after he had written him.

Since the advent of talking pictures, the Manchegan knight proves to be such a ready and flexible protagonist that he can easily champion a wide variety of causes and ideologies and cinema seems to be an especially appropriate venue for his expression. This flexibility is what Ferrán Herranz calls, “the volubility of the myth as ferment for the postulations that each adaptor wants to transmit” (23). Jean Canavaggio wrote that presently the protagonist “. . . has started to live his own life with an ambiguous relationship to its founding text. Just how his creator would have conceived of him from the beginning, but without remaining enclosed in the plot of his adventures, Don Quixote has always found himself in symbiosis with his different audiences” (Canavaggio 327). [ha empezado a vivir su propia vida en una relación ambigua con su texto fundador. Tal como lo había concebido al principio su creador, pero sin permanecer encerrado en la trama de sus aventuras, don Quijote siempre se ha encontrado en simbiosis con sus diferentes públicos.”]

And although Don Quixote is obviously a fictional figure and not a historical one, we can consider the point that James C. Cobb, in writing that the political appropriation of an iconic historical figure, Confederate general Robert E. Lee,

demonstrates “the extraordinary elasticity of historical symbols when they can be bent to the aims of a cohesive, purposeful set of interests in the present” (“Robert E. Lee, American Icon”). The Don Quixote of the politically and socially motivated movie directors is every bit as available and impactful in the service of very real interests in the timeframes in which they are filmed. The Don Quixote of Pabst and Kozintsev was a vigilante against unjust social and economic systems. Both Rafael Gil and Miguel Gutiérrez Aragón intended for their Quixotes to be textually accurate and faithful transmitters of Spanish values and characteristics, although those were philosophically and ideologically opposed. Dale Wasserman and Arthur Hiller’s Don Quixote was a post-modern iconoclast who fit well with the tumultuous time in which he was presented in theaters in the United States. Orson Welles’ and Terry Gilliam’s incomplete Quixotes attempted to show the Spain that they knew and that they wanted to convey to North American audiences. José Pozo’s lovesick Quixote carried a progressive message of equality and female empowerment.

By the time a director took on a *Quixote* project in the twentieth or twenty-first centuries, he was no longer looking at a textual Don Quixote, but rather a cumulative, mythical and iconic Quixote. We see this influence clearly in the similar endings to Kozintsev’s and Gil’s versions which were ten years apart, both conceived, designed and distributed as much for ideological effect as for entertainment. We see also that some Quixotes, Gutiérrez Aragón’s, for example, are put out in response to and as a counterweight to other versions, such as Gil’s. What Gil and Gutiérrez Aragón’s movies underline is the idea that claiming to be textually faithful does not guarantee a uniform

expression of what the knight called “la verdad de la historia” but rather a circumstantial, socio-historically adjusted truth. The interweaving of text, textual and popular iconography and the arts eventually results in a circumstance in which many who have not read the book believe they know the literary Don Quixote. In fact, the Quixote they know is their own constructed myth which may scarcely approximate the original textual character. As film gradually eclipses text as the most common method of consumption of narrative, the Manchegan knight’s flexibility for the multi-track genre of film gives him additional opportunities to develop and evolve as an icon.

CHAPTER V

A POPULAR, POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ICON

“In this nation there is a book highly applauded by all the rest. I have read it, and doubtlessly liked it; but I can´t help being mortified by the suspicion that the literary sense is one thing, and the true meaning another”

José Cadalso *Cartas marruecas* 1789

Having gained widespread iconic status from early on through translations, adaptations, film and illustrations, Don Quixote has reached an equally iconic near-ubiquity through popularization in a cultural milieu. Non-literary cultural artifacts with his name and likeness have served political, social and institutional ends. Above all, the success of the literary figure has been confirmed by his status as a brand for both commercial and ideological endeavors, lending his discourses and adventures to both sales pitches and propaganda. This chapter will examine the commercial, touristic, nationalist, political, revolutionary and military appropriations of Don Quixote isolating some key examples and representations.

Perhaps the most convincing testimony to the utility and universality of Don Quixote as a cultural icon is the extensive attachment of his name and image to commercial enterprises as a marketing tool, prompting E.C. Riley to remark, “Cervantes has achieved the dream of every advertising man: a widely recognized symbol for his product” (*Don Quixote* 105). The image of the Manchegan knight is attached to a

myriad of products in order to enhance their value and recognition, even if it means exaggerating the connection between the product and the protagonist. The following examples of the employment of Don Quixote in advertising are not in any way exhaustive, but representative, with cases displaying the iconic connection selected from different countries for diverse products and approaches. A good example of the iconic advertising phenomenon is a postcard-sized ad produced by a Barcelona company. Printed on the front of the card is an image of Don Quixote and Sancho accompanied by a textual phrase attributed to Cervantes emblazoned on a large shield (see fig. 62). Only when one views the back of the card does one see the product being advertised: the oral antiseptic Profilaxine (see fig. 63). The first section of the text attributed to Cervantes on the front of the card is from *Don Quixote*, “For I tell you, Sancho, that a mouth without molars is like a mill without a millstone, and dentation is to be valued much more than diamonds” (I, 18). The sage advice on the importance of dental health and the serious image projected by this advertisement contrasts sharply with the circumstances surrounding the knight’s short discourse in the novel, which is clearly burlesque, since he and Sancho just moments before have thrown up on each other. Additionally, Sancho has just finished putting his fingers into his master’s mouth in an attempt to count how many molars were knocked out by rock-throwing shepherds. The advertisement appropriates the stature of Cervantes as the renowned Spanish writer, combines it with the highly recognizable figure of Don Quixote on horseback, and adds part of the text from the novel stripped of its entire comical context. The ability for the antiseptic company to use the image of Don Quixote and the words of Cervantes in such a

divergent manner from the original context for the purpose of advertising testifies to the power and value of the icon.

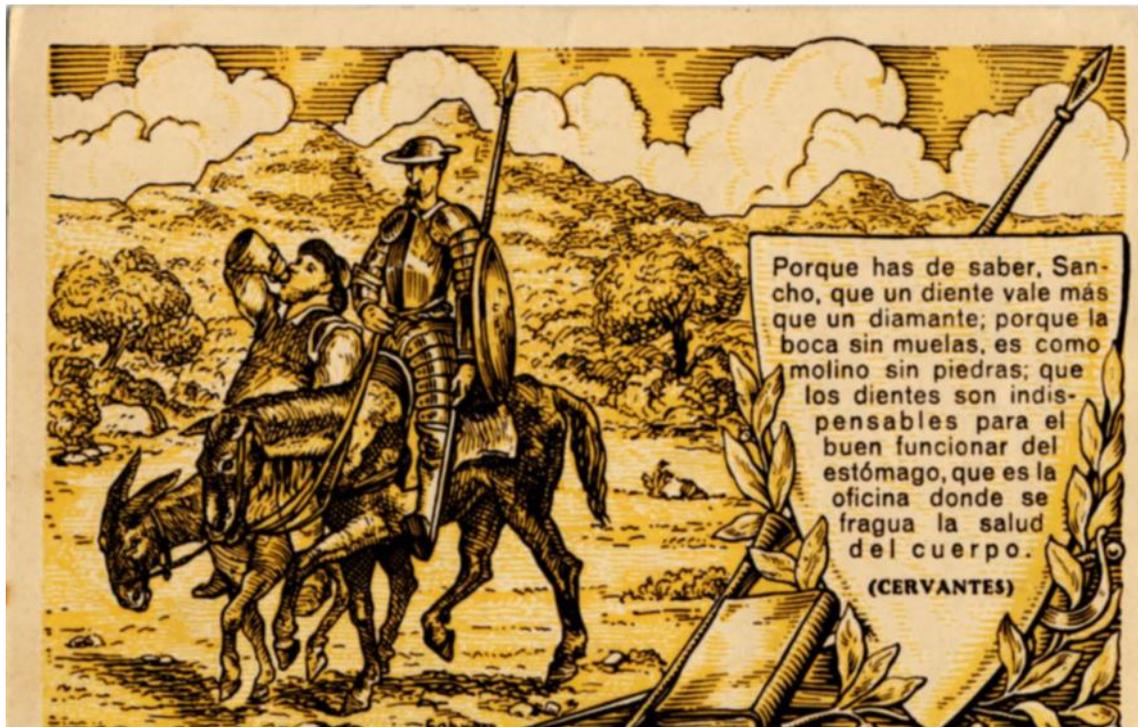


Figure 62. Front, advertisement for Profilaxine Oral Antiseptic. Centro de Estudios Castilla-La Mancha; Popular Iconography Collection.³⁴

³⁴ I am indebted to the Centro de Estudios Castilla-La Mancha (CECLM) and to Óscar Fernández Olalde for access to their collection of popular iconography and other *Quixote* research materials. Several of the projects, including magazines, political cartoons, children's cartoons, an exposition of *Don Quixote* ex libris and popular iconography can be found at <http://www.uclm.es/ceclm/public.htm#EXLIBRIS>

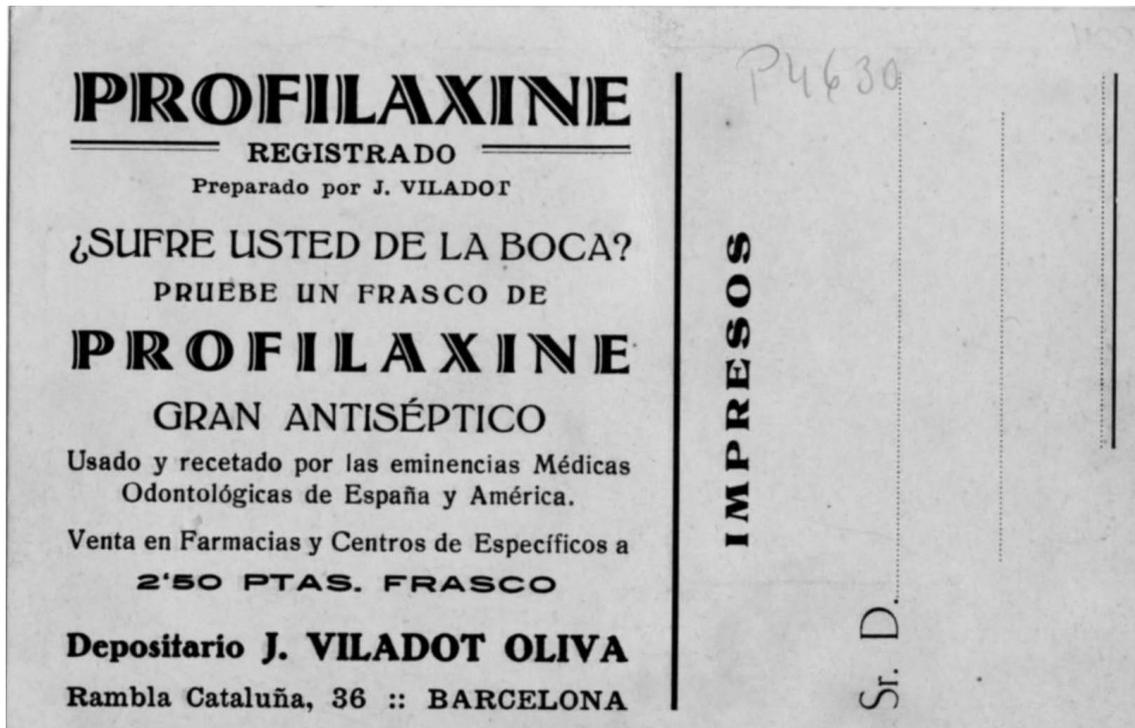


Figure 63. Reverse, advertisement for Profilaxine Oral Antiseptic. Centro de Estudios Castilla-La Mancha; Popular Iconography Collection.

For the knight's image to be used for marketing within Spain might be expected, but the knight's image has been attached to products in other Spanish-speaking countries, exploiting the common language and shared cultural heritage. For example, his name and silhouette is used as a label and brand name identification for a Mexican beer (see fig. 64).

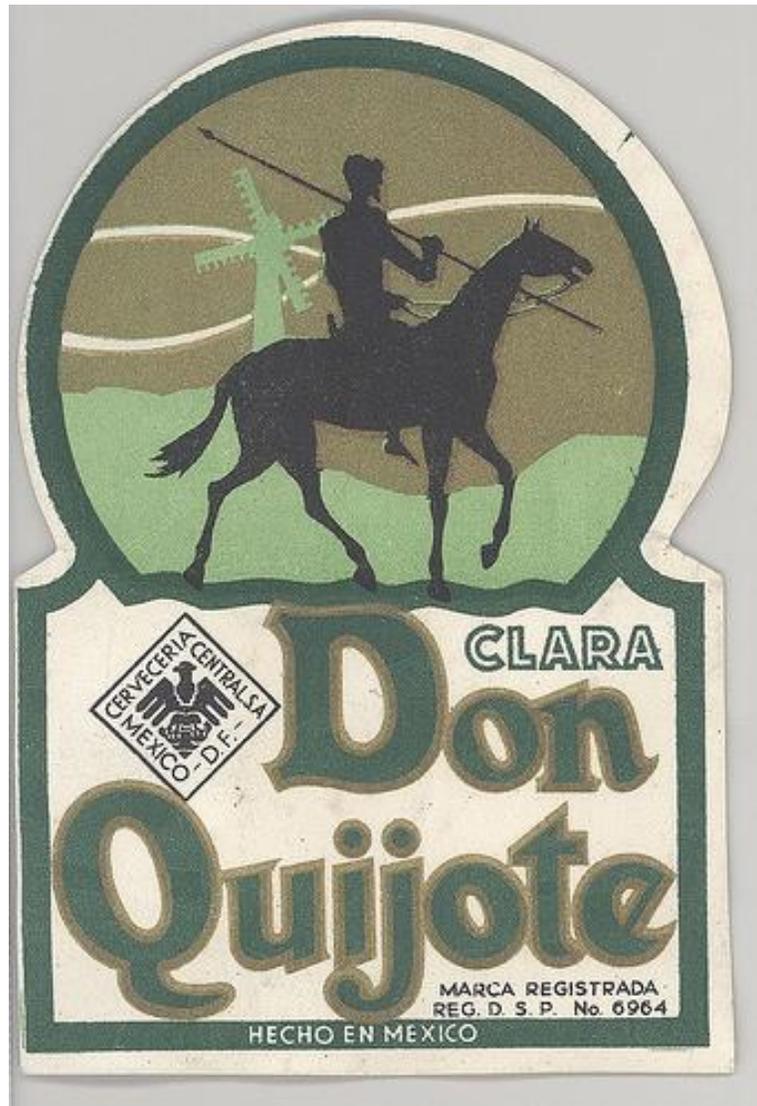


Figure 64. Label, Don Quijote beer. Centro de Estudios Castilla-La Mancha; <http://www.flickr.com/photos/ceclm/page8/>.

Companies in non-Spanish-speaking countries also employed the knight's image to adorn trading cards which were usually included in the product's packaging. The concept of trading cards to motivate consumers to choose a specific company's brand in order to collect the entire series was especially popular as a means to establish brand recognition and loyalty before television advertising became dominant. The episodic nature of the *Quixote* fit the trading card media especially well since a buyer could generally collect the cards out of order, enjoy the adventure or episode shown without having missed a critical part of the story, and attempt to trade for or buy the missing card later to complete the collection. The *Don Quixote* card series was used by such disparate and varied products as Kohler a Swiss chocolatier (see fig. 65), the Italian coffee Lavazza, the French department store chain Bon Marché and the Cartagena Theater. The Kohler Chocolate Company used a collectible series of twelve numbered picture cards to accompany its products between 1896 and 1904.

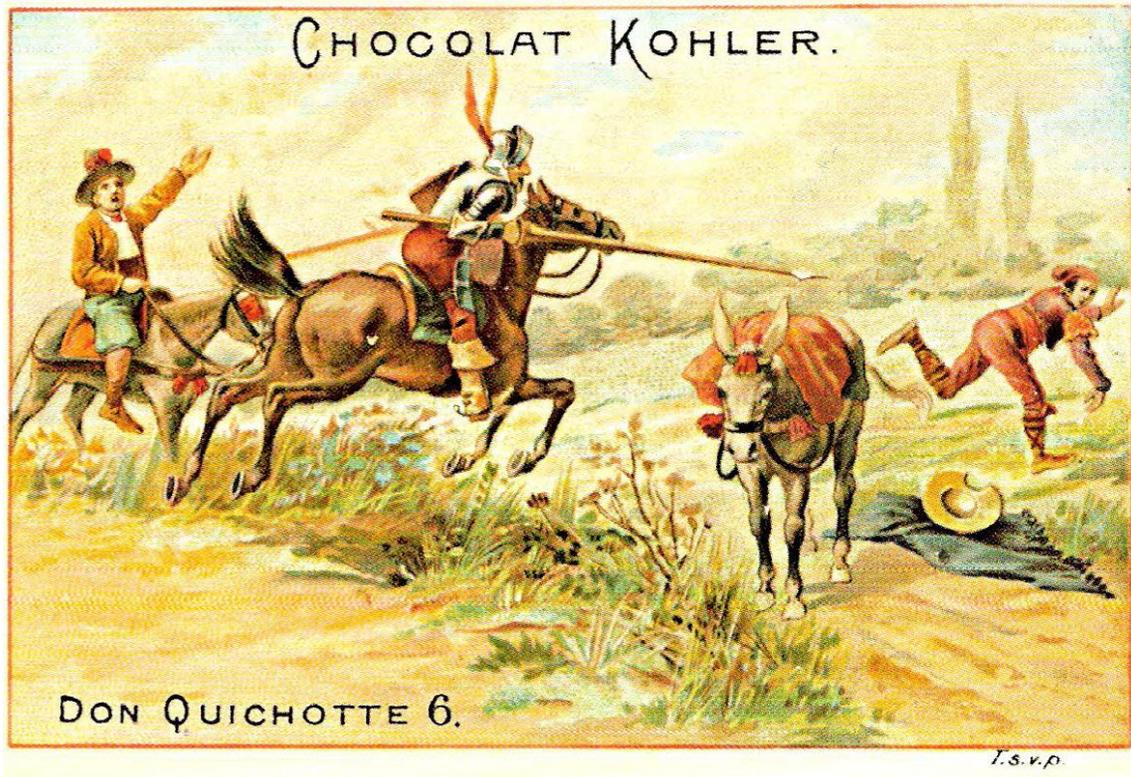
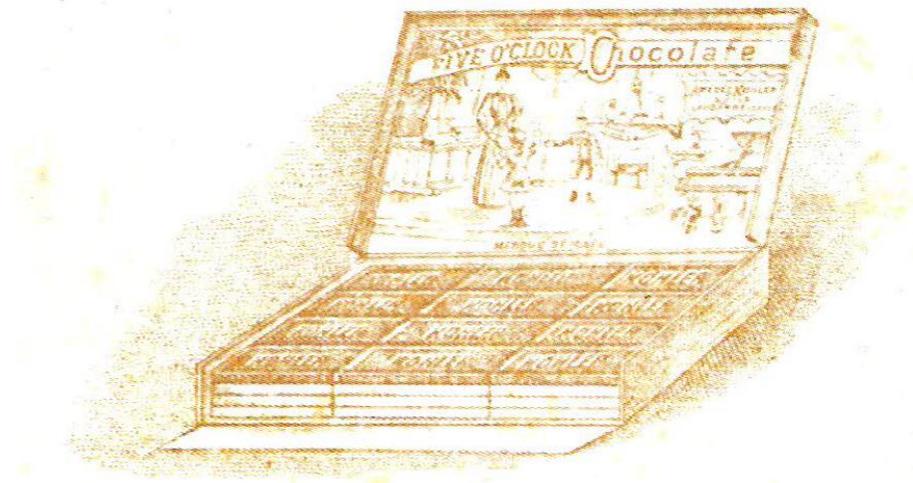


Figure 65. Front, “Don Quichotte conquers the helmet of knight Mambrin.” Kohler Chocolates Trading Cards; *Picture Cards of the World*; Ciudad Real, Spain: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2007.

Kohler used these colorful illustrations on the front of the card with the abbreviation t.s.v.p. at the lower right corner (*tournez s’il vous plait*) to instruct the viewer to turn to the back of the card, where one of several Kohler products was highlighted, along with the title of the episode illustrated on the front in French, German and English (see fig. 66) (Nuñez-Herrador).



Don Quichotte Nr. 6.

Don Quichotte conquit le casque du chevalier Mambrin.

Don Quichotte erobert den Helm des Ritters Mambrin.

Don Quichotte conquers the helmet of knight Mambrin.

Figure 66. Reverse, “Don Quichotte conquers the helmet of knight Mambrin.” Kohler Chocolates Trading Cards; *Picture Cards of the World*; Ciudad Real, Spain: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2007.

In spite of the idea that trading cards are usually associated with products which appeal to children, the Wilson Packing Company included a series of twenty trading cards in its line of cooked meats, each illustration accompanied by a caption or line of English text from the novel. Since the reverse side of the card was blank, a prominent representation of the company’s name is included on the front of the card. The card shown here is a colored but crude copy of Doré’s illustration of Don Quixote being taken away in an oxcart near the end of Part I of the novel, a clear case of an article of textual

iconography escaping the pages of the novel to be seen again as an element of popular culture (see fig. 67). Although these cards are undated, it is believed that they were used sometime shortly after 1916 (Nuñez-Herrador).

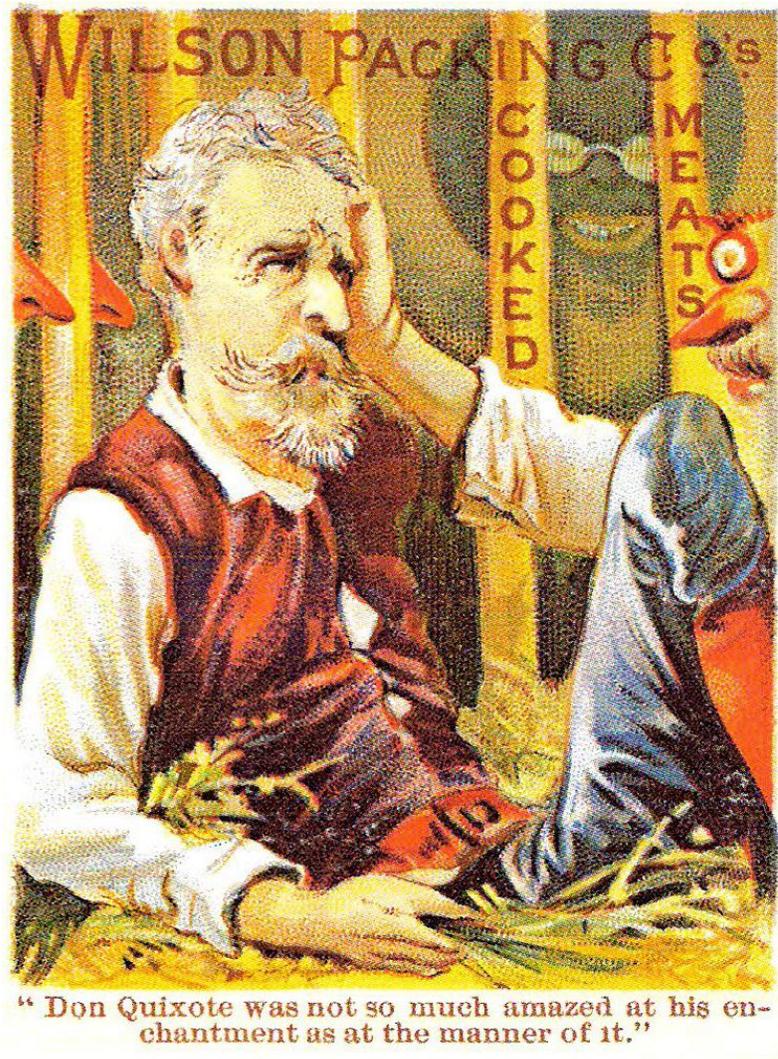


Figure 67. “Don Quixote in the Oxcart.” Wilson Packing Co. Trading Cards; *Picture Cards of the World*; Ciudad Real, Spain: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2007.

One of the most prolific users of the trading card concept was the Liebig Company which, beginning in 1872, employed sets of six cards contained in the package with the product. In later years the consumer could receive the trading cards in exchange for a given number of coupons. Liebig also produced promotional cards for many other companies, establishing a model later employed by companies like Bon Marché and Lindt. By the time the practice was discontinued in 1975, the company had printed 1,871 different sets of cards, including one set of *Don Quixote*, with were packaged with their meat extract (Nuñez-Herrador) (see fig. 68). The *Don Quixote* series, featuring high quality illustrations, integrated the product into the illustration. The container of meat extract in the bottom right corner of the illustration almost seems like another object in Don Quixote's library or another piece of equipment among his weapons.

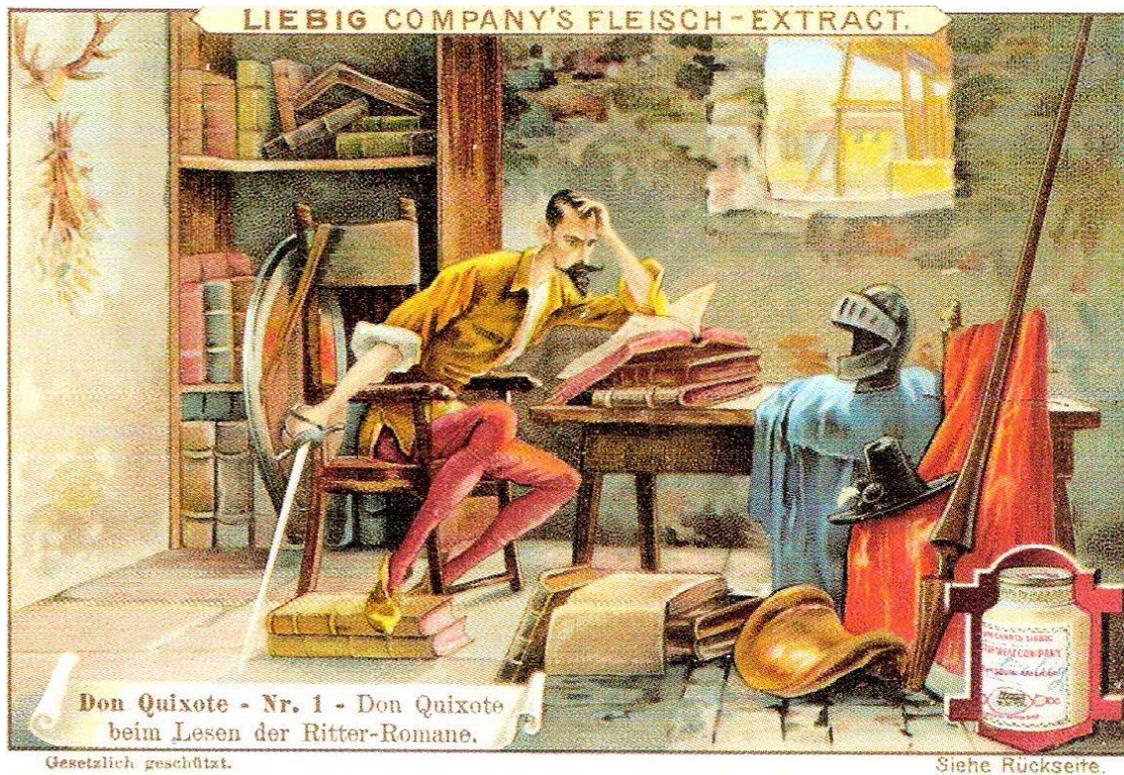
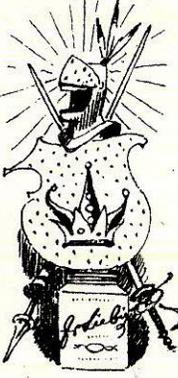


Figure 68. Front, “Don Quixote Reading in his Library.” Liebig Co. Trading Cards; *Picture Cards of the World*; Ciudad Real, Spain: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2007.

The integration of advertisement and *Quixote* images continues on the reverse of the card, where a crest combines the knight’s helmet, sword, lance, and shield emblazoned with a jester’s hat with a container of meat extract with J. Liebig’s signature across the base (see fig. 69).

LIEBIG COMPANY'S FLEISCH-EXTRACT
 hergestellt in Fray-Bentos und Zweig-Etablissements (*Süd-Amerika*).
HÖCHSTE AUSZEICHNUNGEN AUF ERSTEN WELTAUSSTELLUNGEN SEIT 1867.
 Ausser Preisbewerb seit 1885.



Nur echt wenn jeder Topf den Namenszug „J. V. LIEBIG“
 in blauer Schrift quer durch die Etiquette trägt.

Fray - Bentos - Zungen. — Diese vortrefflichen
 zarten Zungen erhalten wir aus derselben Quelle wie
 LIEBIG's Fleisch-Extract, und sie sind doppelt werth-
 voll bei unerwartetem Besuch. In Büchsen eingekocht,
 zum augenblicklichen Genuss fertig, kann man sie
 in Scheiben geschnitten zum Butterbrod, zu feinen
 Gemüsen als Beilage und noch zu vielen anderen
 Speisen benutzen.

Das Fleisch-Pepton der Compagnie Liebig
 ist wegen seiner ausserordentlich leichten Verdaulichkeit und seines hohen
 Nährwerthes ein vorzügliches Nahrungs- und Kräftigungsmittel für Schwache,
 Blutarme und Kranke, namentlich auch für Magenleidende.
Publishers: Liebig's Company, Antwerp.

Zur GRATIS-ABGABE an die Käufer von Liebig
 Compagny's Fleisch-Extract.

Figure 69. Reverse, “Don Quixote Reading in his Library.” Liebig Co. Trading Cards; *Picture Cards of the World*; Ciudad Real, Spain: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2007.

It is noteworthy that the manufacturers of the cards do not seem to obey any mandate to include only the age-appropriate, the affirmative, the heroic or the action-packed episodes of the knight's adventures in order to generate a positive feeling for various consumers to associate with the product. The nature of the product and the illustration advertised in the Kohler Chocolates would seem to be aimed at an audience that includes children, but the subject matter of the illustration, Don Quixote attacking the barber with his lance does not seem to be child-appropriate content. The illustration used on the Wilson Packing Company card shows the protagonist at his most vulnerable

and pitiful state. The illustration of Don Quixote reading in his library is not as captivating and action-oriented as one might think an advertising device should be. It seems to be enough to relate the product to the *Quixote* and its protagonist.

The commercial imagery that employs the image of Don Quixote functions by a process similar to that of metonymy: proximity instead of similarity. Although metonymy is a rhetorical tool, the advertising technique of using the Don Quixote icon employs what could be termed a visual metonymy connecting the well known icon with the object the advertiser would like the consumer to know better: the product. That juxtaposition happens in several ways, either including the trading card or image of the knight in the package with the product, labeling the product packaging with the likeness of the icon, appropriating his name and image to name the product, or mixing the images and symbols as the front and back of the Liebig card does. Part of what may be attractive in this association is the way the advertiser offers the consumer a shortcut to literacy, like owning the book itself or reading a comic book adaptation of the novel, but a stronger motive may be the desire to enhance the product's identity, increase the product's importance and relevance by closely associating it with the well-known iconic figure. The effectiveness of the icon's use can be measured in its enduring proliferation. If trading cards cease to be an effective tool for advertisement and customer loyalty, the icon continues to live on and metamorphose into other manifestations, as any tourist to Spain can attest.

Both Don Quixote and the *Quixote* are strongly leveraged in Spain for a related commercial enterprise: tourism, with souvenirs bearing the knight's name and/or

likeness being sold in many parts of the country. Guided trips through the La Mancha region are offered, showing the places and routes described in the novel. These activities may be a truly impressive feat of redesignation for the purpose of tourism, since there is very little in the way of natural beauty to attract visitors. Cervantes, who was personally acquainted with the region from his own work as a commissary and a tax collector, may have intended for the arid, barren region of La Mancha, the setting for most of the *Quixote*, to contrast sharply with the marvelous in chivalric romance's towering mountains, enchanted lakes and dense forests. The irony of that juxtaposition of the real terrain and the fictional character may be lost now on many visitors, but that interweaving of fiction and reality started long ago, when Don Quixote's route was superimposed over a map of Spain as part of the paratextual material in the classic Ibarra edition of 1780, but it has its origins in the interpenetration of fiction and reality in the work itself.

Most recently, the route of *Don Quixote* was repopularized and reclaimed as a piece of national patrimony in 1905 by José Martínez Ruiz, better known as Azorín, a member of the *Generación de '98*. The tricentennial celebration in 1905 was a convenient time for that group to publicly examine what the *Quixote* and Don Quixote mean as expressions of Spanish character. Azorín's *La ruta de don Quixote* mixes his travelogue with references to the novel's characters and place names and generously adds dozens of photographs from the early 20th century taken in the La Mancha region.

This impactful interweaving of fiction and reality in the form of a travel narrative, along with the need to breathe life into the protagonist in order to claim him as

part of the national patrimony may occasionally result in confusion about how fictional or real Don Quixote was. Spolksy makes the point that “narratives become part of our experience, and depending on the cultural weight with which they are tagged, become functionally indistinguishable from our own experience and may even outweigh it” (“Narrative as Nourishment 44). Recently, an unfortunate contestant on a Spanish television game show, *Flechazo* (similar to *The Dating Game*), stated that his favorite historical figure was Don Quixote, a mistake that made him a temporary national laughingstock (Bayliss 392).

As a member of the *Generación de '98*, Azorin had a much larger agenda in publishing *La ruta de don Quijote* than inspiring tourism to a little-traveled region of Spain. His more fundamental purpose was political; to reclaim the icon as a symbol of Spanish national character. Another member of that group, Miguel de Unamuno, who endorsed a romantic reading of the novel for the purposes of Spanish nationalism (Bayliss 7), considered the novel to be a kind of national allegory. Unamuno also thought of Don Quixote as an icon of national identity and centerpiece of *Quijotismo*, a kind of Spanish secular religion (Bayliss 385-6). The same desire to project Don Quixote as an element of national patrimony is reflected in his monument, erected in 1916 in the Plaza de España in downtown Madrid (Bayliss 386). There is nothing of the burlesque or ridiculous in this larger-than-life assemblage of bronze statues. Don Quixote's right hand is raised as he and Sancho appear to ride forward to their next adventure. Tourists have themselves photographed standing in the space between Don Quixote and Sancho, typically holding the lower part of Rocinante's reins as if to

accompany the pair enroute to their next adventure. A marble statue of a seated Cervantes that seems to come out of the obelisk overlooks the scene.

The icon of Don Quixote continued to have political relevance in Spain for the rest of the 20th century. In the void of political isolation and absence of meaningful international interaction with Spain during the Franco regime, *Don Quixote* came to represent that country for many (Bayliss 386). This study's chapter on cinematic adaptations of the *Quixote* detail how Franco employed the Rafael Gil film to project a hyper-militarized, religiously orthodox, nationalistic symbol that reflects the declared values of the Franco regime. But that same imagery was also available to opponents of the regime. Pablo Picasso, exiled to France, depicted Franco as an obscene, false, greedy Quixote, in his series of images entitled, *The Dream and Lie of Franco* (Bayliss 393).

Outside of Spain, the figure of Don Quixote was used in unfavorable ways, associated with or attached to political opponents in order to discredit them. In England, Whigs and Tories both used the Quixote icon to attack each other. For the Tories, the knight came to symbolize the unbridled imagination of religious enthusiasm of their opponents. The Whigs associating the knight with the outdated chivalric assumptions of the Tories, whose ideals could be traced to the Cavaliers (Paulson 41).

Later in England, George Buxton's *The Political Quixote*, published in 1820, is an example of this political employment of the literary figure. *The Political Quixote; or The Adventures of the Renowned Don Blackibo Dwarfino and His trusty squire, Seditio*, is a counter-satire of Thomas Jonathon Wooler's *The Black Dwarf*, an eight-

page satirical journal published in London in 1817. By 1819 *The Black Dwarf* was selling roughly 12,000 copies a week, prompting the Foreign Secretary in Parliament to claim that in the northern mining areas *The Black Dwarf* “could be found in the hatcrown of almost every pitman you meet” (Conboy 145). Buxton’s book depicts Wooler as an overly idealistic Quixote who sets out to collect penny subscriptions for his newspaper for the purpose of buying votes for the senate and get himself elected mayor of a local town through demagoguery. The main characters walk around England proclaiming political slogans in a type of pidgin Spanish (speaking English and adding the suffix “o” to some words) and promising better conditions for the working class through impractical measures that would wreck the economic system (Buxton 2). Members of the radical opposition associated with Wooler were listed in the book with an “o” added to the ends of their last names. Thus Buxton sought to counter Wooler’s ideas of political reform by associating him with the foreign-sounding Don Quixote, whose inability to see reality for what it was often had disastrous consequences. Buxton depended on his readers’ familiarity with the existing English language editions translated by Shelton and Motteux, with their emphasis on the burlesque and insane aspects of the knight’s paradoxical character, to tarnish his political opponent as a “Quixote.”

In the United States, Buxton’s concept of “quixotizing” one’s political opponents was employed in illustrated form. David Claypoole Johnston’s *Illustrations of the adventures of the renowned Don Quixote & his doughty squire Sancho Panza* was published in 1837. This collection of twelve burlesque illustrations was intended to

lampoon the Andrew Jackson administration, especially his campaign to bring the Bank of the United States under government control. Andrew Jackson is the impetuous Don Quixote in these engravings, with Martin Van Buren shown as Sancho, even though none of the images are labeled with the names of the targeted political figures (“Illustrations of Adventures” Library of Congress).

Other political illustrations focused on one of the most well-known *Quixote* episodes, the Adventure of the Windmills (I, 8), to lampoon targets of satire. By fully focusing on the knight’s inability to correctly perceive reality and his disastrous defeat, these political cartoons ridicule opponents by either highlighting or predicting their failed endeavors, especially if he or she is accompanied in that enterprise by a person who can be cast as Sancho. A *Harper’s Weekly* cover from 1877 is a good example of the employment of the Quixote-Windmill image (see fig. 70).

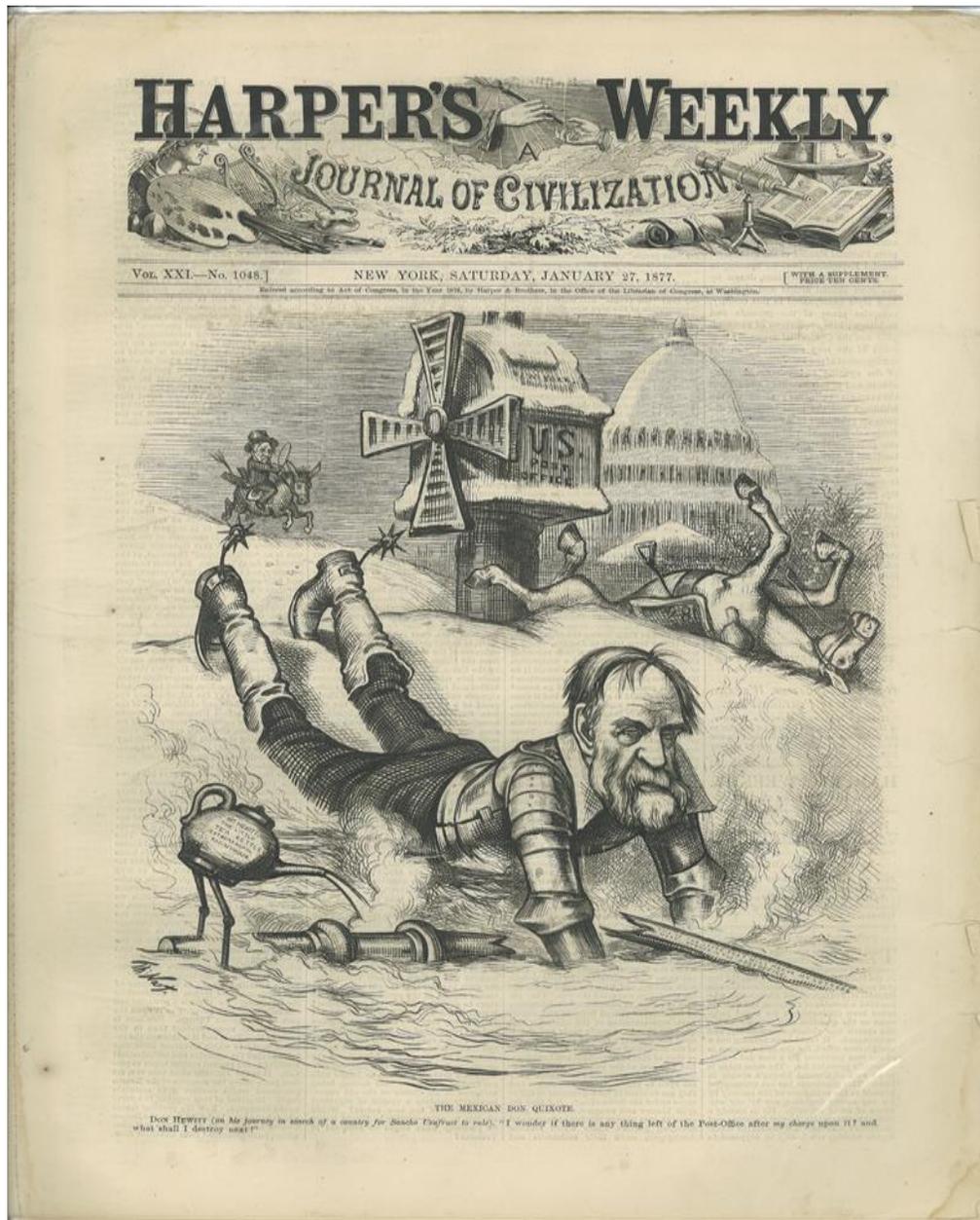


Figure 70. "The Mexican Don Quixote." Harper's Weekly Magazine, Jan 27, 1877.
Eduardo Urbina private collection.

The “Quixote” in this case is Abram Hewitt; the head of the Democratic National Committee in 1876 (“Observations” 67). Samuel J. Tilden, the 1876 Democratic candidate for President of the United States who won the popular vote but lost in the Electoral College to Rutherford B. Hayes, appears as Sancho mounted on a mule in the background. The “windmill” that has unhorsed Hewitt is labeled “New York” and “U.S. Post Office.” Hewitt’s broken lance reads, “This is the lance that will prove my letters were opened in the post office.” This episode is “post-charge,” showing the consequences of a fall that represents the lost election and his claim that his personal correspondence had been compromised. Hewitt’s inability to correctly perceive reality continues, though, since he believes he has destroyed the Post Office with his attack.

A similar cover illustration appears on an 1893 issue of *Puck* magazine. The scene is entitled “The Latest Don Quixote” (see fig. 71). The unlabeled “Don Quixote”

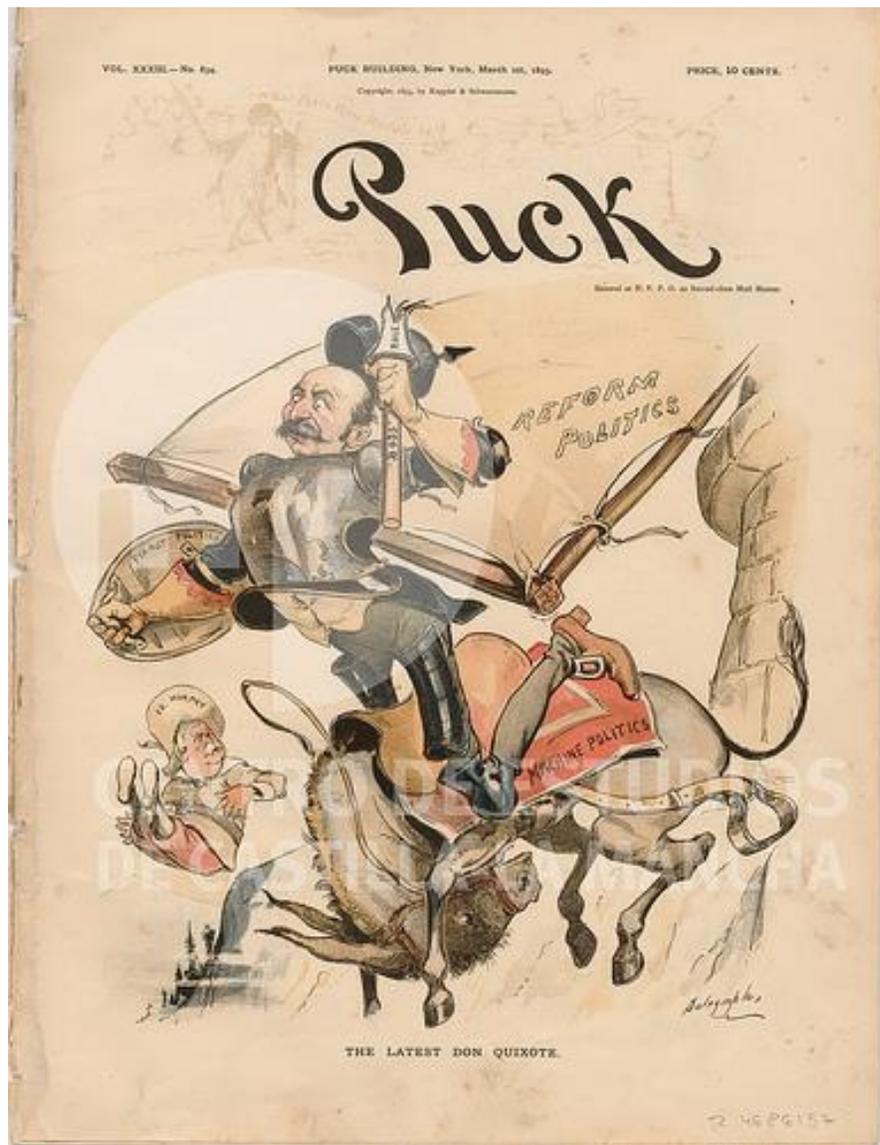


Figure 71. “The Latest Don Quixote.” *Puck*, March 1, 1893. Centro de Estudios Castilla-La Mancha; <http://www.flickr.com/photos/ceclm/8147522792/in/set-72157631835707490/>.

in this case is William M. “Boss” Tweed, head of the Tammany Hall political machine in New York City before the 20th century (“The Man Who Helped”). His Sancho Panza is Charles Francis Murphy, the head of the Democratic Party. Boss Tweed, armed with the shield of “Peanut Politics” and a broken lance of “Boss Rule,” rides a mule of “Machine Politics” before he is unhorsed by the arm of “Reform Politics.”

The President of the United States was also targeted by the Quixote-Windmill imagery in Father Coughlin’s *Social Justice* Magazine in 1939, less than a year before the attack on Pearl Harbor. In an expression of isolationist sentiment, Father Coughlin depicts President Franklin D. Roosevelt as a war powers-hungry dictator-in-waiting tilting at the imaginary foe of Japan with the windmills of Germany and Italy standing by (see fig. 72). Distinct from the previous two images, this illustration depicts the charge “pre-collision,” a fascinating aspect considering what historical perspective now tells us about how much of a foe Japan, Germany and Italy turned out to be.



Figure 72. "Don Quixote Rides Again." *Social Justice*, Jan. 16, 1939. Centro de Estudios Castilla-La Mancha. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/ceclm/8147524773/in/set-72157631835707490/>.

Illustrators in the United States were not the only ones to leverage the “tilting at windmills” metaphor for political purposes. The technique was also often used in Europe and applied not just to an unfortunate individual, but an entire nation personified as the Manchegan knight. This undated postcard in German, possibly from just before or early in World War II shows England as Don Quixote riding a horse labeled Russia while France as Sancho Panza watches while mounted on a mule (see fig. 73). The printed message reads,

“You knight of sad appearance / you will soon - with a bang - / along with your comrades / shatter on Germany's might.³⁵



Figure 73. German Postcard. Centro de Estudios Castilla-La Mancha; Popular Iconography Collection.

³⁵ Translation by Wolfgang Bangerth

The Quixote-Windmill political cartoons depend on the metaphorical connection: the targeted political figure is not *like* Don Quixote; he *is* Don Quixote in the illustration, often bug-eyed and fanatical, exaggeratedly gaunt and disconnected with the reality that he is galloping headlong into an immovable object. No concession is made to the bravery or belief that the charging knight demonstrates; only that he is sure to fail. The illustrations also often depict the movement of the knight going from right to left, a direction which runs contrary to that we usually think of as connoting progress or reason.

The windmill political cartoons, to be effective, focus solely on the insane side of the protagonist, but actors with other political agendas in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have chosen to identify with the heroic, serious side of the knight, choosing Don Quixote as their standard-bearer for national political identity. The late President Hugo Chavez, once elected to office in Venezuela, implemented a social program called “Operation Dulcinea,” which included the distribution of one million free copies of the novel. Venezuelan Minister of Culture Francisco Sesto referred to the reasons for the distribution in quixotic terms, “We’re still oppressed by giants . . . so we want the Venezuelan people to get to know better Don Quixote, who we see as a symbol of the struggle for justice and the righting of wrongs” (Bayliss 385). It is interesting that Don Quixote the character is brought to life and pulled out of the *Quixote*, free to serve whatever purpose the state deems edifying. The Venezuelan program was a repetition of an identical initiative carried out by Fidel Castro after he came to power in Cuba nearly fifty years before (Bayliss 385). Even a pan-national program has harnessed the positive name and image of the Manchegan knight. In September 2005 the European Space

Agency unveiled their unmanned spacecraft project, which was named Don Quijote (Bayliss 383). Counting on the attention and positive impressions created by the commemorations of the 400th anniversary of the publication of Part I, the European Space Agency meant for their endeavor to be associated with the heroic image of Don Quixote, the protagonist who bravely strikes out on adventures for admirable motives.

As the European Space Agency example demonstrates, political imperatives don't always remain within national borders, which makes the contrast between the narrative of chivalric romance and that of the *Quixote* very fascinating when viewed through the lens of the Spanish conquest of the New World. The same books of chivalry that motivated the fictional Alonso Quijano to take on the identity of Don Quixote accompanied much of the imaginary and vocabulary of the conquest of the New World. Alfonso X of Castilla, Ramón Llull and other important Spanish leaders from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century wrote treatises on knighthood as an ideological foundation in the strategy of the fight against the Moors (Beauchesne, Santos 53) and that mentality continued under the Catholic kings in the conquest of the Americas. Ida Rodríguez Prampolini and Irving Leonard have documented the relationship between chivalric novels and the colonizing imaginary. Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, often represented Spanish exploits as acts of justice directed by divine will (Beauchesne, Santos 54). Bernal Díaz del Castillo's conquistador journal identifies the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan as something out of *Amadis* and the place name "California" was originally an imaginary island from *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (Goodman 4). Cortés wrote of one of his battles, "God give us the same good fortune in fighting . . . as he

gave to the Paladin Roland.” Twelve of Cortés’ lieutenants banded together like the “Twelve Peers of France” from medieval chivalric romance and solemnly pledged “to defend the Holy Catholic Faith, to right wrongs, and to aid Spaniards and friendly natives” (Goodman 153).

If chivalric romance was the narrative that fueled the Spanish conquest of the New World in the 16th century, what effect did the enormously popular *Don Quixote*, which parodies the narrative of chivalric romance, have on loosening the ruling classes’ claims on their justification of medieval order? In Mexico’s fight to gain Independence from Spain in 1810, royalist propagandists seemed quick to pin a quixotic label on the man who called for the independence movement. Royalist writer Augustín Pomposo Fernández de San Salvador published a play entitled *Las fazañas de Hidalgo, Quixote de Nuevo cuño, facedor de tuertos, etc.* [*The exploits of Hidalgo, a new-style Quixote, maker of one-eyed persons, etc.*] equating Miguel Hidalgo y Costillo with the impractical Manchegan knight. Another anonymous royalist text entitled *Nuevo encuentro del valiente mameluco D. Quijote con su escudero Sancho en las riberas de México* [*A new episode of the brave fool Don Quixote with his squire Sancho on the shores of Mexico*] aimed at ridiculing the insurgents for being foolish and unrealistic and making the point that they were sure to fail (Vanden Berge 53, 54).

How much the *Quixote* had to do with national independence movements in the Americas against Spanish colonial power in the 19th century would make a fascinating study that is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but a revolutionary reading of the *Quixote* is palpable and readily available because of the knight’s idealism, individualism

and martial spirit. If oppression or a lack of personal or collective freedom is the declared motive for taking up arms against the government, insurrectionist or independence movements could cite Don Quixote's egalitarian Golden Age discourse or his references to the possibility of nobility being earned rather than conferred. The fact that the knight, in deciding to free the galley slaves (I, 22) answered to an ethic of justice rather than obey the king's arbitrary cruelty may be another revolutionary touchstone. Perhaps even more convincing may be his discourse on liberty as motivation for revolutionary causes. As they were taking leave of the Duke and Duchess, the knight reminded Sancho of the value of freedom:

La libertad, Sancho, es uno de los más preciosos dones que a los hombres dieron los cielos; con ella no pueden igualarse los tesoros que encierra la tierra ni el mar encubre. Por la libertad, así como por la honra, se puede y debe aventurar la vida; y, por el contrario, el cautiverio es el mayor mal que puede venir a los hombres (II, 58).

[Freedom, Sancho, is one of the most precious gifts heaven gave to men; the treasures under the earth and beneath the sea cannot compare to it; for freedom, as well as honor, one can and should risk one's life, while captivity, on the other hand, is the greatest evil that can befall men.]

In spite of the ridiculousness of his appearance, his delusion and his eventual failure, some revolutionaries have been quick to accept the Quixote label for themselves or their mission. Ernesto "Ché" Guevara is most famous for being one of Fidel Castro's principal lieutenants in the Cuban Revolution of 1959, but also participated in lesser-

known failed adventures, such as the abortive expedition to the Congo. Although Guevara was a medical student, his reading passion was poetry, which he would read for hours, memorize and recite before friends. His favorite was *Martín Fierro*, the epic poem about a gaucho written by Argentine José Hernández (James 50). Ché's penchant for the quixotic may be the best explanation for why he went to Bolivia in 1965 to lead an attempted revolution despite his own failing health and lack of external support. The Bolivian misadventure quickly failed and Ché was captured and executed. Antonio Rodríguez wrote, "Seen in perspective, and in terms of the hard facts of its climax the departure of Comandante Guevara for the wilds of Bolivia to organize a struggle in which he was going to play the part of combatant is as absurd and as illogical as the attack Don Quixote made against the windmills which looked like giants to him" (qtd. in James 48). In a farewell letter to his parents before going to Bolivia, he refers to himself in Quixote-like terms, writing "Dearest Folks, Once more I feel under my heels the ribs of Rocinante. I take to the road again with my leather shield on my arm" (James 47). In his diary about the Bolivian mission Ché documents the failed expedition in terms of caricature, depicting himself as a Don Quixote staggering from one mishap to the next (James 306).

More recently, in 1992³⁶ when Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari amended Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917, eliminating the ability to own land communally and allowing corporations onto peasant lands to produce crops for a world

³⁶ 1992 was also the year of the 500th Anniversary of Columbus's arrival to the New World, an occasion commemorated, but not celebrated, by indigenous peoples in the Western Hemisphere.

market, the ranks of the Ejército Zapatista Nacional de Liberación [Zapatista National Army of Liberation] (EZLN) in Southern Mexico grew and its leadership made plans for a more active role in responding to government activities which threatened the marginalized segments of the population (Kroch 22). On January 1, 1994, when the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect, the EZLN seized San Cristóbal de Las Casas of the Chiapas region of Mexico and declared war on the Mexican Army. Another Quixote-like revolutionary, Subcomandante Marcos, stepped forth as their spokesman. Like Ché, Subcomandante Marcos appropriates the image of Don Quixote, occasionally dressing up as Don Quixote on horseback (Kroch 30) and publishing stories between 1994 and 1999 about an anti-neoliberal beetle, “Don Durito de la Lacandona,” who undertakes adventures wearing half a hazelnut shell on his head, equipped with a medicine bottle top for a shield, armed with a straightened paperclip as a lance and a small branch as his sword (Vanden Berge 53, 56, 60). Although these playful nods to *Don Quixote* may make Subcomandante Marcos seem to be a less than serious character, the EZLN movement gained the full attention of the Mexican government, which mobilized 12,000 troops to the region and commenced twelve days of combat against the insurgents before President Salinas called a unilateral cease fire (Kroch 23).

Marcos has included references to the *Quixote* his public appearances. On the occasion of the opening of the “First intercontinental encounter for humanity and against neoliberalism” Marcos addressed his audience,

Buenas tardes a todos. Hemos llegado un poco tarde y les pedimos que nos disculpen, pero es que nos hemos topado con unos gigantes

multinacionales que nos querían impedir llegar. El mayor Moisés nos dice que son molinos de viento; el comandante Tacho dice que son helicópteros. Yo les digo que no les crean: eran gigantes. (Vanden Berghe 65). [Good afternoon, everyone. We have arrived a little late and we ask that you excuse us, since we ran into some multinational giants who wanted to keep us from coming. Major Moses says they are windmills, Commander Tacho says they are helicopters. I tell you not to believe them: they were giants.]

When he was interviewed by Gabriel García Márquez in 2001, Marcos told the Nobel Prize recipient and former journalist that the *Quixote* was a foundational reading in his development, having received a deluxe edition as a gift when he was twelve years old. Marcos claimed that *Don Quixote* was still at the top of his reading list, not just for enjoyment as literary fiction but as a guide for practical issues of policy. He described the *Quixote* as:

“ . . . el mejor libro de teoría política, seguido de Hamlet y Macbeth. No hay mejor forma para entender el sistema político mexicano, en su parte trágica y en su parte cómica: Hamlet, Macbeth y El Quijote. Mejor que cualquier columna de análisis político” (García Márquez) [. . . the best book of political theory, followed by Hamlet and Macbeth. There is no better way to understand the Mexican political system, in its tragic and comic parts: Hamlet, Macbeth and the Quixote. Better than any political analysis column.]

Don Quixote makes a useful model for the revolutionary or freedom fighter because he is, by virtue of his office as a knight, a soldier. Cervantes very intentionally establishes the connection between the knight and the soldier in his military discourses, and the reader who knows Cervantes' personal and famous history as a soldier is tempted to question how much Don Quixote's role as a soldier reflects the experiences and values of Cervantes the soldier. It may be a fool's errand to attempt to determine an author's purpose for writing a book. It may be even more foolish to take at face value the writer's own declared purpose for writing a book, especially when he writes under the Inquisition in the early seventeenth century. Many scholars, though, beatifically accept the explanation of Cervantes' fictitious narrator (Cervantes, in his game of authorial distancing, claims to be the "compositor," after all) that the purpose of the book was to discredit "the false and nonsensical histories of the books of chivalry" (II, 74), perhaps forgetting that writers in an environment regulated by the Inquisition published under strict censorial controls. Although the use of biographical material as a tool for detailed analysis within literary theory has long gone out of style, it may be instructive to briefly review some of the key events in Cervantes' military career and ask ourselves if there exists any possibility that the *Quixote* was written solely, or even primarily, to be an invective against the genre of chivalric romance.

Miguel de Cervantes left home at the age of 22 and soon thereafter joined the Spanish Army. He fought onboard ship at the naval battle of Lepanto in 1571 and was terribly wounded, left with a maimed left hand that would be useless for the rest of his life. He was later taken prisoner along with his brother and held in Algeria from 1575 to

1580. He exhausted his family's savings trying to buy his freedom. After he was released in 1580 he began a series of unsuccessful requests for compensation for his military service. He later became a commissary for the Spanish Armada, procuring foodstuffs and supplies for the fleet. In the process of doing his job for the Armada, Cervantes was thrown into jail and was excommunicated by the Catholic Church on two separate occasions. In 1590 he requested a job in the New World and he began his letter by citing his military service, his wounds and his captivity as grounds for receiving a posting as recompense. In a one-sentence official response he was told to look for something local (Valero 23). Cervantes got a job as a tax collector. He was imprisoned again in Seville 1597 due to job-related financial loss. Scholars believe Cervantes decided to write *Don Quixote* while he was in prison in Seville. In 1600, Cervantes' brother Rodrigo, who had been a prisoner of war with him in Algiers, died in combat fighting for Spain in the Netherlands.

His wounds, long absences from home and his poverty assured that the specter of his military service never left him. Although Anthony Close and others have warned against assigning irony and deep meaning to the *Quixote* as the German Romantics did in the early 19th century, Cervantes' military attitudes and experiences come through the text in his projection of his protagonist as a soldier (albeit the very special and antiquated version of the soldier as knight) and the ironic discourses that the knight holds forth on the virtues and trials of a soldier's life.

Some Spanish military writers have highlighted *Don Quixote's* martial discourses such as the one on Arms and Letters in Part I as a reflection of Cervantes'

own heroic service and evidence of his defense of the military ethic. In an essay that seems to try to wrest Don Quixote away from those who would read him as no more than a burlesque anti-hero, Frederico Montaldo, the senior medical officer in the Spanish Navy, wrote in 1905:

Y si a unos hizo reír, a otros los llevó a pensar. Cervantes satirizó las exageradas lecturas caballerescas, no la caballería. Cervantes atacó lo monstruoso de las fabulosas con una fábula verdadera. . .

No ridiculizó Cervantes, no, las hazañas de los caballeros andantes. Don Quijote siente en su alma el concepto de lo noble, de lo grande, de lo maravilloso. Don Quijote es un héroe resumen y figura de los héroes de todos los tiempos, y por eso despertaron sin igual simpatía en todas las naciones del mundo sus locuras y sus proezas, impregnadas de hidalguía y gentileza.

No es tipo que ridiculizó a nuestra patria que es imagen de que siempre fue nuestra nación, lanzándose quijotesicamente con Colón y los Pinzones a descubrir un Nuevo Mundo, amparadora de las grandes empresas y que aventuró sin vacilar, cuando fue preciso, sus riquezas, su tranquilidad, el territorio conquistado y regado con la sangre de sus hijos, por salvar su nombre, por alcanzar la gloria, por acrecentar la honra.

Quizá fue locura todo eso para el parecer de los villanos. (17-18)

[And if he made some laugh, he caused others to think. Cervantes satirized the exaggerated chivalric readings, not chivalry. Cervantes attacked what was monstrous in the fabulous with a true fable. . .

No, Cervantes did not ridicule the exploits of knights errant. Don Quixote feels in his soul the concept of what is noble, great and marvelous. Don Quixote is the essential hero and the model for heroes of all time, and that is why his craziness and his actions, leavened with nobility and kindness, inspired unequalled sympathy in all of the nations of the world.

He is not the type that made ridiculous the image of what our nation always was, motivator of great enterprises and who gambled her riches, her tranquility, her conquered territory and sprinkled with the blood of her sons, to save her name, to attain glory, to grow her honor.

Maybe all that just seemed like craziness to the civilians.]

In a separate publication that same year, Spanish-American War veteran and military historian José Ibañez Marín wrote of Cervantes:

No hay, no, en la historia del gran siglo militar de España, hijo más predilecto de las Armas y de las Letras. Jamás, en su copiosa producción literaria, Miguel de Cervantes deja reflejar su alma de soldado, ora en acentos de hermosa y levantada admiración hacia la estrechez, riguridad, virtud y gloria de la Milicia, ya en frases de cariño o alusiones benévolas y respetuosas para camaradas o superiores (21).

[No, in the history of the great military century of Spain, there is no son more favored by Arms or Letters. Never, in his copious literary production, does Miguel de Cervantes fail to reflect his soldier's soul, sometimes in accents of beautiful and elevated admiration for the strictness, rigor, virtue and glory of the Military, other times in loving phrases or benevolent and respectful allusions to comrades or superiors.]

Those Spanish military writers were part of a process of national soul-searching that tried to make sense of Spain's loss of its last colonial holdings and diminished status as a world power. The military writers of 1905, faced with the loss of Cuba, were reaching backward to an inverse event of one of the largest naval engagements in history where the Spanish military won the Battle of Lepanto. The military commentators wanted to claim this event and its soldier-writer hero in an attempt to use the knight and his creator as a model to move forward (or backward) to a more prestigious time in their nation's history ("De la Mancha a Cuba" 208). But those uncritical interpretations ignore Cervantes' paradoxical presentation of military discourses in the work. Cervantes never presents a serious military discourse without framing it in some ironic or risible circumstances. Early in the novel when Don Quixote sits down beside the road to eat with goatherds, the knight is asked by one of the goatherds why he goes about armed in country that is so peaceful. Don Quixote answers:

The exercise of my profession does not allow or permit me to go in any other manner. Tranquility, luxury, and repose were invented for pampered courtiers, but travail, tribulation, and arms were invented and

created only for those whom the world calls knights errant, and I, although unworthy, am the least of that number. (I, 13)

That response, if it were quoted by a real soldier, may seem to be a perfectly reasonable explanation and a fitting defense of the military ethic, even transported to the 20th century and read by a present-day U.S. Marine serving in the organization that characterizes itself as “America’s 911 Force” and “the most ready when the Nation is least ready.”³⁷ The postscript to that martial discourse, however, is that the goatherds (who one might consider an unsophisticated group that is easy to impress) considered him to be crazy when they heard his explanation. The next line reads “As soon as they heard this, they considered him mad. . .” (I, 13).

Don Quixote’s discourse on Arms and Letters, spanning Chapters 37 and 38 of Part I and delivered as an after-dinner speech, may seem to be a perfectly logical and well-reasoned foundation for the modern armed forces’ emphasis on education, but it is framed by reference to himself as a knight and one of the other guests as a “great queen” when it was apparent to all that they were neither.

In Part II, Don Quixote meets a young man on the road who is on his way to join the infantry. Don Quixote encourages him, saying, “. . . there is nothing on earth more honorable or beneficial than serving God, first of all, and then your King and natural lord, especially in the practice of arms, by means of which one achieves, if not more wealth, at least more honor than through letters, as I have said so often” (II, 24).

³⁷ Both of these phrases were used by General James Amos, Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, in an official letter to all Marines on March 2, 2013 (White Letter #1-13).

But the young soldier-to-be is joining the Army as an absolute last resort, forced to go to the infantry by poverty and lack of high-powered personal connections. For a reader who knows something of Cervantes' own personal history, this glowing endorsement of the payoff from military service seems to drip with irony.

Near the end of the novel when Don Quixote is defeated by the Knight of the White Moon and lies helpless on the sand with the lance of his adversary pointed at his throat, Don Quixote, in a foreshadowing of the ubiquitous military motto, "Death Before Dishonor" says, "Dulcinea of Toboso is the most beautiful woman in the world, and I am the most unfortunate knight on earth, and it is not right that my weakness should give the lie to this truth. Wield your lance, knight, and take my life, for you have already taken my honor" (II, 64). But behind the seriousness of that most grave command we may remember that "this truth" the defeated knight mentions is not true at all. Dulcinea is an imaginary reflection of a humble peasant girl who Alonso Quijano barely knows. Don Quixote is not a real knight, and neither is Sansón Carrasco, the man holding the lance.

Although it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to attempt to draw a direct line from the *Quixote* as a point of origin to the modern military ethic, one can see echoes of the work reflected in the narrative of today's armed forces. D.J.B. Trim posits that chivalry was a key element in the development of a distinctive concept of self for the combatant, putting a premium on individual initiative, identity and responsibility on that social institution (13). The idea of very few or even one soldier being able to defeat a vastly superior force is the stuff of epic literature since at least as far back as the

biblical account of Gideon defeating the Midianites³⁸ and Herodotus' legend of Thermopylae, and it continues in the *Quixote*.

Don Quixote shows himself to be a proponent of the idea that a single combatant can defeat many adversaries, but the *Quixote* takes the extra step to contrast that mentality with that of the civilians who hear it and consider it to be insane. When the Holy Brotherhood comes to arrest the knight at the inn near the end of Part I, Don Quixote resists, saying, "What knight errant has there been, or ever will be in the world, who has not the strength to give four hundred blows to any four hundred commanders of the Holy Brotherhood who stand in his way?" (I, 45) The priest uses this statement and others as proof of Don Quixote's insanity, attempting to persuade the officers to allow the priest to take him home to be cured instead of arresting him. The idea of one against many is also espoused by Don Quixote when he speaks to the priest and the barber from his bed in the beginning of Part II. The priest decides to test Don Quixote's sanity on matters of chivalry by mentioning that the Turkish fleet was threatening Spanish holdings on the Italian coast. Don Quixote, after assurances by the priest and barber not to share his recommended course of action with anyone lest someone else get to the court first and receive credit for his idea, states:

"By my faith!" Don Quixote said then. "What else can His Majesty do but command by public proclamation that on a specific day all the knights errant wandering through Spain are to gather at court, and even if no more than half a dozen were to come, there might be one among them

³⁸ Judges 7

who could, by himself, destroy all the power of the Turk. . . . Is it by any chance surprising for a single knight errant to vanquish an army of two hundred thousand men, as if all of them together had but one throat or were made of sugar candy? (II, 1)

Don Quixote goes on to say, “But God will look after His people and provide one who, if not as excellent as the knights errant of old, at least will not be inferior to them in courage; God understands me, and I shall say no more.” That revelation: that Don Quixote believes that a half dozen or even one knight can defeat the entire Turkish fleet and that he may be the man to do it settles the question for the priest and the barber: that their friend Alonso Quijano remains in the grip of the insanity of knighthood.

And yet the knight’s belief that a handful, or even one good knight can defeat an armed host of thousands still lives on in the modern military in the narratives of the “lone survivor,” “a few good men,” and “an army of one.” The emphasis of individual responsibility and capability in the collectivity of the military demonstrates that, like Don Quixote, even the modern soldier serves under an ethic, not logic.

The Ranger Creed, which continues to be memorized and recited by trainees from all services who undergo U.S. Army Ranger School, finishes in the last stanza with the phrase, “Readily will I display the intestinal fortitude required to fight on to the Ranger objective and complete the mission, though I be the lone survivor.” A print by artist James Dietz which depicts the Battle of Cisterna, Italy in World War II in which only six of the original 767 soldiers of the 1st and 3rd Ranger Battalions survived is entitled “Lone Survivor.” *Lone Survivor* is also the title of a book by Marcus Luttrell, a

U.S. Navy Seal who was the only survivor when the rest of his platoon was killed in combat in Afghanistan in 2005.

“We’re Looking for a Few Good Men” was the recruiting slogan of the U.S. Marines from the 1970’s to the mid 1980’s and was also used as the ironic title of a 1992 Rob Reiner film. The U.S. Army used the phrase “Army of One” in its own brief recruiting campaign in the 1990’s.

Although the military is collective by nature, requiring new soldiers to shed their civilian individuality to be effective parts of the group, the modern military has long found it necessary to construct military identity by means of individual capability and responsibility. Beginning in World War II, the U.S. Marine Corps began requiring recruits to learn “My Rifle: The Creed of a US Marine.”³⁹ Although the creed is remarkable in its personalization of the Marine’s issued service rifle, it also

³⁹ The Rifleman’s Creed, memorized and recited by all Marine Corps recruits, reads:

This is my rifle. There are many like it, but this one is mine.
My rifle is my best friend. It is my life. I must master it as I must master my life.

My rifle, without me, is useless. Without my rifle, I am useless. I must fire my rifle true. I must shoot straighter than my enemy who is trying to kill me. I must shoot him before he shoots me. I will...

My rifle and I know that what counts in this war is not the rounds we fire, the noise of our burst, nor the smoke we make. We know that it is the hits that count. We will hit...

My rifle is human, even as I, because it is my life. Thus, I will learn it as a brother. I will learn its weaknesses, its strength, its parts, its accessories, its sights and its barrel. I will ever guard it against the ravages of weather and damage as I will ever guard my legs, my arms, my eyes and my heart against damage. I will keep my rifle clean and ready. We will become part of each other. We will...

Before God, I swear this creed. My rifle and I are the defenders of my country. We are the masters of our enemy. We are the saviors of my life.

So be it, until victory is America's and there is no enemy, but peace!

individualizes the rifleman, placing enormous responsibility on the individual and his rifle, not the collective force, being classified as the “defenders of my country.”

Similarly, the U.S. Army Soldiers’ Creed, as re-worded in 2003, begins every line with the personal pronoun “I.”⁴⁰ The emphasis on personal identity in the Soldier’s Creed is evocative of Don Quixote’s response early in the novel to his neighbor when the knight is found lying helpless, having been beaten by the Toledan merchants. When Pedro Alonso tells him that he is in fact Señor Quijano, Don Quixote responds, “I know who I am . . . and I know I can be not only those I have mentioned but the Twelve Peers of France as well, and even all the nine paragons of Fame, for my deeds will surpass all those they performed, together or singly” (I, 5).

Lest these examples appear to be purely reflections of North American individuality, there are other examples of the same charge of individual responsibility in other militaries. The Chilean Marine Corps Hymn begins, “Soldado de mar yo soy, que juro servir mi pabellón con mi fusil y corazón.” [I am a soldier of the sea and I swear to serve my flag with my rifle and my heart.] An expression of the “few against many”

⁴⁰ The Soldier’s Creed reads:

I am an American Soldier.
I am a Warrior and a member of a team.
I serve the people of the United States, and live the Army Values.
I will always place the mission first.
I will never accept defeat.
I will never quit.
I will never leave a fallen comrade.
I am disciplined, physically and mentally tough, trained and proficient in my warrior tasks and drills.
I always maintain my arms, my equipment and myself.
I am an expert and I am a professional.
I stand ready to deploy, engage, and destroy, the enemies of the United States of America in close combat.
I am a guardian of freedom and the American way of life.
I am an American Soldier.

mentality and its concomitant association with insanity is still found in the Peruvian military's Special Operations Forces, whose unofficial motto in the late 1990's was "Somos pocos pero locos" [We are few, but crazy], making them inheritors of the idea that Don Quixote proposed early in Part II of Cervantes' novel.

Cervantes did not write a war novel as a disaffected combat veteran or a scathing indictment of his nation's indifference to his service. So he wrote the book he could write, one that reveals his own values as a soldier while breaking down the unwavering historical belief in the veracity and dependability of the written word, including his own. Why Cervantes would parody the chivalric ethic when he had, in fact, dedicated much of his life to a very similar (some would consider it equal) military ethic is a subject for debate. Perhaps he was remorseful for having paid such a heavy personal price for buying into the chivalric idea that his military service would be rewarded by the court. Perhaps Cervantes was angry at the nobility for having made a hollow sham of the very ethic which had compelled him, ill and bed-ridden aboard ship at the battle of Lepanto, to ask that his cot be brought above decks so that he could fight. Perhaps the best explanation is put forth by Anthony Close in his book, *The Romantic Approach to Don Quixote*: "Don Quixote is a parodic-comic personality, conceived by Cervantes precisely to satirize, in part, a false construction of heroism, nobility and spirit of adventure exemplified in the books of chivalry" (qtd. in "De la Mancha a Cuba" 209). Cervantes had seen and survived the squalor of 16th century shipboard life, the horror of close combat, the agonizing deaths of the wounded for whom primitive medicine was no help, and the hopeless degradation of captivity. None of those bare realities were in

accurately reflected in the popular stories of chivalry populated by knights, scenarios where every new damsel was the most beautiful woman in the world, magic helmets rendered their wearers invincible and hideous giants were cut in two by a single stroke of an enchanted sword.

Present day Don Quixote has long since outgrown his literary beginnings, a result which may have given his stepfather Cervantes a great deal of satisfaction if he were alive to see it. Having been propelled into the present century by succeeding artistic genres and evolving popular media, the iconic Manchegan knight is eminently recognizable, even to those who are unfamiliar with the text. Commercial interests with no national loyalty besides the imperative to make a profit have picked Don Quixote to represent and symbolize them and market their products. Spanish national institutions, Spanish military writers and groups like the *Generación de '98* have claimed him as a mythical emblematic reflection of national and military excellence, ignoring the comical text and circumstances surrounding his most impassioned martial discourses as well as putting aside the fact that even the fictional Don Quixote's status as a knight was a product of his own construction and imagination. Factions on both sides of independence campaigns, revolutions, and fledgling nationalist movements have claimed him as their model or attached him to the opposition in order to discredit them as unrealistic, extremist, defeated and quixotic. After over four hundred years of diffusion, dissemination, adaptation and universalization of the figure of Don Quixote, it is worth examining how this iconization was able to take place.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this study we saw that the *Quixote* initially gained bestseller status because it rode a wave of Spanish literary production and brilliantly satirized a well-known literary genre. The *Quixote* was image based, developing its own proto-iconography by exploiting the existing religious iconography and combining it with the imagery of medieval carnival. As Spolsky points out, we seem to gravitate as human beings to images due to the phenomenon of representational hunger, filling needs with the representations provided by narrative and its concomitant set of images (*Iconotropism* 16). With the advent of film just before the turn of the twentieth century, the *Quixote* was the subject of some of the very first films ever made, proving to be exceptionally useful by providing a visually impactful protagonist whose episodic adventures worked well in the new multi-track media. The protagonist's paradoxical flexibility came into play in film, providing a mouthpiece and model for Socialist and Communist ideology as well as supporting a fascist Franco regime, while later coming to exemplify North American post-modern individuality in the 20th century. Translators and adapters seemed to respond to some basic drive to universalize the *Quixote*, providing translations in nearly every written language and adaptations for every age. In order to serve national agendas, some translators have used a variety of techniques and word choices to emphasize the insanity or oddness of the Manchegan knight. Later translators sought to recover the dignified and heroic side of Don Quixote, preserving his

Spanish character while making him understandable for the target audience. The writers of children's adaptations in Spain have appropriated the work and the protagonist as a paragon of national character while those outside of Spain have tended to mine his playful, adventurous side for stories which would appeal to young readers. The image of Don Quixote has been enhanced, embellished and propagated by illustrators who have used technological advances and their own artistic vision to highlight either the comic or serious side of the protagonist. That iconography, as well as the other manifestations of the protagonist, has allowed Don Quixote to gain his own momentum separate from the text and be appropriated for political purposes to either lampoon one's opponents or to be the guiding model for one's own movement. Proof of his iconic status is that he is used to introduce and sell products and has become the backbone of an entire segment of the tourism industry in Spain. His name and story are invoked by both oppressive governments and revolutionary movements and his iconic figure is so strong that echoes of his discourses are still heard in the modern military ethic.

As the *Quixote* was about the intrusion of fiction into the life of its main character, this study seems to point to what may be a basic human tendency to bundle fiction and reality to produce our own narrative, our own "truth" for our own purposes and conveniences. The examples of movie directors like Rafael Gil and Miguel Gutiérrez Aragón remind us that we sometimes like to have it both ways: to construct our own truth and claim that it is not a construction, but faithful to the original text, an even more powerful platform for our own personal agendas. But we should not be too hard on ourselves, as this mixing of the fictional and real is our birthright as modern

humans who have been taught by literature and language to “imagine counterfactual and qualitatively new contexts (new in the sense of different from that which is already and merely present) suggest[ing] the possibility of attempting to realize them, and therefore also purposive action” (Berman 45,46). Our ability to see beyond the present, quotidian, and tangible to imagine the hypothetical, the notional, and possible and take steps to achieve them is what makes us human, even quixotic.

Part of the flexibility of Don Quixote’s character derives from the fact that “Cervantes refuses to explicitly prescribe how his work is to be read” providing what he calls an “‘open ideological canvas’ for its readers” (Bayliss 389). Indeed, Cervantes writes in the Part I Prologue, “you have your own soul in your own body, and your own free will like anybody else, and you are sitting in your own home, where you are the lord and master just as much as the king is of his taxes. . .” But beyond the freedom the author give to us the reader to interpret and engage Don Quixote, the greater availability of the protagonist to us rests on his built-in paradox and ambivalence as a comic hero, enabling one reader to focus on his insanity and another to hone in on his wisdom, according to the reader’s individual needs. Ellen Spolsky has drawn a parallel between the intake of food and narrative (*Narrative as Nourishment* 42). Like many other narratives, we consume Don Quixote individually, perhaps uniquely, casting aside the characteristics, episodes and discourses we don’t like and digesting what we find convenient.

Don Quixote’s paradox has resulted in two primary readings: the hard interpretation espoused by Anthony Close and Peter E. Russell which maintains that

Cervantes' novel should be read as a satire that aims to discredit a literary genre, and the soft reading consistent with that of the 19th century romantics who saw the knight as a heroic idealist and noble visionary. Similarly, the title of John Jay Allen's *Don Quixote: Hero or Fool* suggests that he must be one or the other (Bayliss 391). But to say that the reader must choose between the burlesque and the heroic in Don Quixote discounts the knight's paradoxical nature. He is simultaneously *cuerto* and *loco*, *hidalgo* and *caballero*, and that paradox is what makes him so accessible and useful as an icon. Like Subcomandante Marcos, who first read the *Quixote* at twelve years of age and later, as a revolutionary, carried it as a primer on political theory, the reader can enter the *Quixote* through the door of burlesque entertainment and make himself at home in the poignant and profound.

Don Quixote's progress toward gaining iconic stature has not just been a linear, cumulative or additive process, but a geometric, multiplicative and viral one, since the next appropriator will have not only the original textual Don Quixote to choose from, but all of the subsequent appropriations from 1605 until now. The icon has picked up speed and momentum, riding every single wave of new media, being propelled forward by translation, illustration, theater, film and product, but also enriching and contributing to each genre.

A great deal of our attraction to Don Quixote has to do with his representation of the struggle to establish an individual identity,⁴¹ but other less viral literary figures:

⁴¹ Alexander Welsh writes extensively on *Don Quixote* as a treatise on individualism in *Reflections on the Hero as Quixote*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1981. pp. 167-222.

Faust, Don Juan, and Robinson Crusoe have also carried an individualist message.⁴² Certainly, the fact that Don Quixote is recognizable, especially if paired with Sancho, has helped him gain iconic status, but if being recognizable were the overriding criteria for being an icon, this study might be about Bottarga and Ganassa or Don Carnal and Doña Cuaresma.

Paradoxically, he is us and he is not us. In his manifestation as Alonso Quijano he is a common man, an unremarkable, unaccomplished man from nowhere special. As Don Quixote, though, he highlights our own belief and idealism, our own limitations and possibilities. Don Quixote, the medieval knight armed to the teeth, was bizarre in the late 16th century Spain in which he was cast and he remains bizarre today. As Russell Berman points out, the epic genre emphasizes not what the heroes did, but the fact that they are long dead and not replaced (*Fiction Sets You Free* 115), and in a similar way, we become aware of our unbelief by viewing Don Quixote's unshakeable belief in everything he has read. *Don Quixote* is cited by Robert Alter as beginning the "erosion of belief in the authority of the written word" (qtd. in Parr 21), not the least of which was the loss of faith in the authority of scripture. Georg Lukács reinforces that idea about the *Quixote*, writing, "The first great novel of world literature stands at the beginning of the time when the Christian God began to forsake the world" (103). Nonetheless, the knight's innocent belief in his ability to achieve great things and embark on adventures

⁴² Ian Watt's book takes on the subject of Don Quixote's individualist myth in *Myths of Modern Individualism. Faust, Don Quixote, Don Juan, Robinson Crusoe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. pp. 48-89.

chosen for him alone invokes and partially mirrors the repeated biblical narrative of the meagerly talented or even handicapped individuals who achieved great things through divine inspiration (Moses, Joseph, Samuel, David, Gideon, Mary, Jesus' disciples, etc.). Don Quixote's self-efficacy and ability to create identity through belief may be enormously attractive to the modern person conditioned by rationalism to mistrust the metaphysical and whose aspirations are hemmed in by the limitations of gender, race, social class, sexual orientation, education and an economic system that commodifies basic human existence. So, between the hard and soft readings of the *Quixote*, it is the soft reading that causes us to sense, like José Cadalso in 1789, that this is much more than just a funny book. It is that heroic reading that connects us personally to the knight and elevates him to the status of an icon. The knight's unwavering commitment to impossibly high ideals, celebrated by the song "Impossible Dream" from *Man of La Mancha*, is what we admire and would like to replicate in our own lives. That affirmation of transcendent idealism, the desire to be greater than what one would normally be allowed, to follow ideals and strive for the impossible dream, is what makes him special to all of us.

Alonso Quijano had to become someone else to find out who he was. At fifty years of age he had to be born again as Don Quixote to truly live and die. He journeyed to the limits of his country to get back home. His impossible ideals resulted in many beatings and many defeats, but they were necessary for him to become the "vencedor de sí mismo," the conqueror of himself. He challenges us to do the same: to aspire, to journey, and to conquer ourselves.

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