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Table of Contents

Articles and Talks

Why Cervantes in China?: Hyperreality and Cervantine Cultural encounters
in Beijing 2016 (Tang Xianzu, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Borges)

Juan Pablo Gil-Osle, Arizona State University.....3

Salvador Dalí's *Don Quixote*: High Art or Kitsch?

William Daniel Holcombe, Clemson University.....13

Mammoth Woolly Migrations: Transhumance, Extinction, and the
Cervantine Shepherd

Margaret Marek, Illinois College.....27

Transcendental metageneric travelers: a background of the reception of Cervantes'
Don Quixote in Spain and France

Vicente Pérez de León, University of Glasgow

Véronique Duché, University of Melbourne.....53

“ . . . And things that go bump in the night:” Narrative Deferral, the
Supernatural, and the Metafictive Uncanny in *Don Quijote*

Christopher Weimer, Oklahoma State University.....74

La enseñanza y la aceptación de las obras de Cervantes en China desde
métodos multidisciplinarios

Zhang Jingting, Universidad de Estudios Internacionales de
Shanghai.....94

“Yo sé quién soy:” La quijotización de Dulcinea y la dulcinización de Don Quijote en una película de Vicente Escrivá

María José Domínguez, Arizona State University.....114

21st-Century Quixotes: Interdisciplinary Approaches and Global Classrooms

Rogelio Miñana, Drexel University.....122

Program of the Conference at the University in Chicago Center in Beijing:
“Cervantes in his 400th Anniversary in China.”

.....132

Book Reviews

David William Foster. Alexandre de Gusmão, *The Story of the Predestined Pilgrim and His Brother Reprobate, in Which, through a Mysterious Parable, Is Told the Felicitous Success of the One Saved and the Unfortunate Lot of the One Condemned.* Trans., with an introd. and Index by Christopher C. Lund. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2016. Xxxv, 137 pp., plates
.....139

Juan Pablo Gil-Osle. Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. pp. 186. ISBN: 9780812244755
.....142

Andrés F. Ruiz-Olaza. Franklin G.Y. Pease, *El mar peruano: mitos andinos y europeos.* Comp. Nicanor Domínguez Faura. Lima: Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 2015
.....145

Why Cervantes in China?
Hyperreality and Cervantine Cultural Encounters in Beijing 2016
(Tang Xianzu, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Borges)

Juan Pablo Gil-Osle
Arizona State University

In this year of 2016, we celebrate the 400th anniversary of the death of Cervantes, and the 30th of Borges. It is almost a unique year since Shakespeare died in the same year as Cervantes, in 1616; and in the Americas the great writer from the Andes, known as Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, also died the same year. So, three literary geniuses passed away in the same year, 400 years ago, leaving us with the task and pleasure of going deeper and deeper into the meanings of their work. But, this is not all; in 2016, we should also remember that the Chinese playwright Tang Xianzu passed away in the same year. We already have a book on this, *1616: Shakespeare and Tang Xianzu's China*, to which some of my colleagues from Arizona State University contributed, such as Stephen West and Lin Xiaoqiao. The fact that Tang Xianzu, Shakespeare, Cervantes and the Inca Garcilaso died in the same year provokes thoughts that perhaps only Borges's mind would have been able to handle in one of his essays or short stories.¹

That said, I wonder how Borges would have thrown us into hyperrealist connections between Cervantes, Tang, the Inca Garcilaso, and Shakespeare. It is an impossible guess, which reminds me of disparaging data classifications. For some scholars, one of the most paradigmatic moments in Borges's writings is the passage on the fictional Chinese encyclopedia "Celestial Empire of Benevolent Knowledge." It reads as follows:

ambiguities, redundancies and deficiencies remind us of those which doctor Franz Kuhn attributes to a certain Chinese encyclopedia entitled 'Celestial Empire of Benevolent Knowledge'. In its remote pages it is written that the animals are divided into: (a) belonging to the emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine

camelhair brush, (l) et cetera, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies. (Borges, *Other* 391)

This famous passage comes from his essay “The Analytical Language of John Wilkins” published in *Other Inquisitions 1937-1952*. As it is well known, Borges’s writings are filled with non-existent erudite publications. Maps, places, books, and encyclopedias populate his works, giving us a realistic impression in a twilight zone, in the midst of beyond-consciousness, among the insights of what could well be.

Borges’s mental power brings us once and again to a vertical trip around the world. Borges is so global in his intents of comprehending all knowledge that he is absolutely conscious of the impossibility of accumulating knowledge in an efficient way. And in these hallucinations of the world that we might really inhabit, Chinese culture and Chinese peoples are once and again present in Borges’s work.

Unlike Borges, Cervantes made only one direct reference to Cathay/China (Mancing 144; Ollé n.p.).² Besides, some indirect references to Angelica occur. Angelica is Chinese, about whom Christina Lee has analyzed the Chinese references in the Barahona’s epic *Las lágrimas de Angélica*. In his dedication of the second part of *Don Quixote*, Miguel de Cervantes refers to the Emperor of China as a seeker of his services:

DEDICATORIA. AL CONDE DE LEMOS

Enviando a Vuestra Excelencia los días pasados mis comedias, antes impresas que representadas, si bien me acuerdo dije que don Quijote quedaba calzadas las espuelas para ir a besar las manos a Vuestra Excelencia; y ahora digo que se las ha calzado y se ha puesto en camino, y si él allá llega, me parece que habré hecho algún servicio a Vuestra Excelencia, porque es mucha la priesa que de infinitas partes me dan a que le envíe para quitar el hámago y la náusea que ha causado otro don Quijote que con nombre de *Segunda parte* se ha disfrazado y corrido por el orbe. Y el que más ha mostrado desearle ha sido el grande emperador de la China, pues en lengua chinesca habrá un mes que me escribió una carta con un propio, pidiéndome o por mejor decir suplicándome se le enviase,

porque quería fundar un colegio donde se leyese la lengua castellana y quería que el libro que se leyese fuese el de la historia de don Quijote. Juntamente con esto me decía que fuese yo a ser el rector del tal colegio. Pregunté al portador si Su Majestad le había dado para mí alguna ayuda de costa. Respondíome que ni por pensamiento.

—Pues, hermano —le respondí yo—, vos os podéis volver a vuestra China a las diez o a las veinte o a las que venís despachado, porque yo no estoy con salud para ponerme en tan largo viaje; además que, sobre estar enfermo, estoy muy sin dineros, y, emperador por emperador y monarca por monarca, en Nápoles tengo al grande conde de Lemos, que, sin tantos titulillos de colegios ni rectorías, me sustenta, me ampara y hace más merced que la que yo acierto a desear.

Cervantes is required to work as “rector” of the Spanish Academia that the Chinese emperor wants to sponsor. Here Cervantes would be making a reference to the Wanli Emperor (1572-1620). This pretension of fitting a Ming ruler in the shoes of a postulant for his patron is nothing but one of Cervantes’s pleasantries, so abundant in his introductions. Collective academies, imaginary friends, pretended patrons, and hasty patron seekers are over-present in the dedicatory pages of *La Galatea*, *Don Quijote* parts I and II, and *Los trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda*. Nevertheless, from other points of view, like those expressed in the China Radio International Spanish—CRI Spanish—, an online radio that acts as a bridge between China and the Spanish-speaking world, it has been said that “Miguel de Cervantes y el emperador Wanli de la dinastía Ming de China: hace más de 400 años, los dos tuvieron la oportunidad de reunirse pero no lo hicieron” (CRI Spanish).³ The disparity between Western and Eastern sources in the case of Cervantes and a missive from the Wanli emperor is quite remarkable. All in all, from the last quotations I infer that the Wanli period and the Habsburgs in Spain seem like fertile terrain for the study of global “recubremientos,” imperial overlapping, and global cultural circulation, since Cervantes’s humor does not travel well from one language to another.

The Spain of Philip II and Philip III (1555 to 1620) and the Wanli Period (1572-1620) seem to have a number of points of contact. No doubt that some of these global connections would be worthy of Jorge Luis

Why Cervantes in China?:
Hyperreality and Cervantine Cultural Encounters in Beijing 2016
(Tang Xianzu, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Borges)

Borges's pen, but the most obvious one is that, taken as a whole, 1620 marks the end of an era both in Spain and China. The results of Wanli and Philippine politics seem to be both the consequence of, and the reason for, the decline of a dynasty: the Ming in China and the Habsburg in Spain. By 1650, both Spanish Habsburgs and Chinese Ming are either a second-rank world power or they have disappeared. As for Spain, in 1648 the Peace of Utrecht means the end of its de facto first rank among Western powers. Regarding China, in 1650 the last Ming emperor is killed and the new Qing dynasty will govern the territories until the 20th century.

Both of the polities—the Ming Sinosphere and the Habsburg world Catholic conglomerate⁴—decided to close themselves to foreign influences of dubious repute. The cause of the closures is not totally clear, but in the case of the Habsburg, it seems to stem from a paralyzing fear of the immense changes that the Renaissance produced in the balance of powers in Europe. The consequences of the Ming and Habsburg closures were lasting ones, and perhaps could be the origin of decline for both dynasties.

Concerning Habsburg Spain, it is said that the naval foray against England in 1588 was the turning point. As for Ming China, too, the decade of 1580 has been identified as a turning point for the Ming dynasty. And yet, from the 1580s to 1620, both Spanish Habsburgs' and Ming letters and cultures experienced an illustrious moment. For the Chinese, the Wanli period was one of the most prosperous times of the Han history; and for Spain, this marks the heart of the so-called Golden Age.

The direct information that both countries shared seems to be scanty, and jeopardized by linguistic ignorance and procedural mishaps, as Carmen Hsu has clearly showed in the analysis and transcription of the missives sent by Philip II to emperor Wanli (Hsu, "Dos cartas"). That said, and focusing only on the information about China that would have been circulating in Spain, perhaps available to Cervantes, there was an increasing offer and demand for materials about Cathay, or Katay, or the great kingdom of China.

Unfortunately, it has been said that most of the information available to Cervantes about China came from two books: the medieval *Il millione* by Marco Polo, and late Renaissance historical effort displayed in *History of the Great Kingdom of China* (1585) by Juan González de Mendoza (Mancing).⁵ This assertion misrepresents the situation, since we could add many others, published between 1515 and 1615, such as:

- Historia Natural de las Indias* by Jose Acosta, published in Seville;
Bernardino de Escalante, *Discurso de la navegación que los Portugueses
hazén a los Reinos y Provincias de Oriente y de las noticias que se
tienen de las grandezas del Reino de la China*, Sevilla, 1577
- Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* by Jose de Acosta, 1590, Sevilla
- Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y
costumbres del Gran Reyno de la China*, Medina del Campo,
1595
- Historia de las islas del archipiélago y reinos de la gran China*, Marcelino
Ribadeneira, Barcelona, 1601
- Relación annual de las cosas que han hecho los padres de la Compañía*, 1604

In addition to these works, there are a plethora of extant documents related to China in digital corpuses such as *China en España* or *Biblioteca Sinica* that attest the importance given to the news from and about China at the time. As a consequence, it seems to me that curious readers in Spain, such as Cervantes, had a number of sources, starting with books published in Seville, Medina del Campo, and Barcelona.

Nevertheless, asserting which books Cervantes read on China is of a speculative nature, and a bit futile. More likely, his mention of the Emperor Wanli offering him a job in China accounts for one way to subscribe himself into an even larger network than the one created in his *Galatea*, where he is the center of a Mediterranean and Transatlantic network of intellectuals, or *ingenios*. Furthermore, the Chinese connection is a hilarious one: in 1615, the date of the publication of the second part of *Don Quixote*, China had closed its frontiers except for Guangdong to European traders, and all borders were closed to religious orders and intellectuals (Boxer, *South China* xxi-xxviii).

And yet, Cervantes's pleasantry is almost prophetic. The *Instituto Cervantes* exists in China, and according to some websites, the Beijing *Instituto Cervantes* is the biggest in the world. There are translations of *Don Quixote* into Chinese published in the last years by Yang Jiang, Dong Yansheng, Liu Jingsheng, Zhang Guangsen, and most likely these translations are being used to study Cervantes's work in China. One imagines that this plethora of modern translations might animate some to read the book in the original language; and reflect on the existence of a

Why Cervantes in China?:
Hyperreality and Cervantine Cultural Encounters in Beijing 2016
(Tang Xianzu, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Borges)

vibrant community of scholars in Spanish literature who run the graduate programs and increasing number of Spanish departments in Chinese universities. And, I hope the current symposium at The University of Chicago Beijing Center, and the one on Borges on July 16, 2016, at the Argentine Studies Center at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences will help to open and deepen the relations between Spanish departments in China and USA, especially with the Arizona State University and the University of Chicago Spanish faculty and students.

¹ While reading Enrique Rodríguez Larreta’s “Borges and China” article published in *Bangdai: First Journal on Argentina-China Cultural Exchange*, it confirmed many of my impressions about Borges as a connoisseur of Chinese thought, and even as a practitioner of some traditional Chinese disciplines. Perhaps even unconscious connections that were made in my brain now have been confirmed, during the process of writing for this presentation. For instance, I always associated Borges with some of my cherished German fictions by Herman Hesse, or the theoretical claims by Carl Gustav Jung about chance and revelation, or quantum physics in Schrodinger, and even Schopenhauer’s philosophy. In fact, according to Rodríguez Larreta, Borges saw China’s culture through the lens of German orientalism. I do not want to claim that German orientalism can help to explain all the work written by Borges, but it definitely helps to make sense of the striking originality of Borges in the Spanish-language literary canon.

² “Incluso en el Quijote cervantino hay ecos tangibles del mito del «Gran Reino de la China» que el fraile agustino Juan González de Mendoza se encargó de difundir. Al inicio de la segunda parte de la novela *El ingenioso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha*, publicada en 1615, Miguel de Cervantes incluyó una dedicatoria al conde de Lemos y virrey de Nápoles, don Pedro Fernández Ruiz de Castro y Osorio. En dicha dedicatoria, Miguel de Cervantes contaba como la aparición del Quijote falsario de Avellaneda había causado náusea «por todo el orbe», lo cual a su tiempo provocó que se le hubiese estado dando prisa para publicar sin dilación la auténtica segunda parte de las aventuras del hidalgo manchego. Contaba asimismo Miguel de Cervantes que quien más mostró desear este libro fue el gran emperador de la China, y relató su petición en estos términos: ‘(...) en lengua chinesca habrá un mes que me escribió una carta con un propio, pidiéndome, o, por mejor decir, suplicándome se le enviase, porque quería fundar un colegio donde se leyese la lengua castellana, y quería que el libro que se leyese fuese el de la historia de don Quijote. Justamente con esto, me decía que fuese yo a ser rector de tal colegio’” (Ollé).

³ Servicio de español de Radio Internacional de China, radio en línea, puente entre China y el mundo hispano, 中国国际广播电台西班牙语.

⁴ Composite term borrowed from the words used by Serge Gruzinski (*Las cuatro 46*), and Ivone del Valle (3).

⁵ “En 1585 se publicaba en Roma el libro *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del Gran Reyno de la China* (1585) de Juan González de Mendoza. Su autor, el fraile agustino que debía liderar la embajada de Felipe II ante el emperador Wanli que quedó empantanada en México, no estuvo nunca en China pero compiló en su libro todo aquello que en aquel momento se sabía sobre China. Sus fuentes eran en buena medida portuguesas, aderezadas con los relatos de los misioneros que se habían adentrado sin fortuna en tierras chinas: Martín de Rada, Pedro Alfaro, Agustín de Tordesillas, Martín Ignacio de Loyola... El libro de Juan González de Mendoza se convirtió en la obra que difundió una imagen utópica e hiperbólica de China entre los medios cultos europeos, ávidos de noticias sobre este mitificado reino, durante las últimas décadas del siglo XVI y durante las primeras décadas del siglo XVII. Se tradujo a las principales lenguas europeas y gozó de más de cuarenta ediciones en apenas dos décadas. Autores tan diversos como Montaigne, Francis Bacon o como Sir Walter Raleigh se basaron en la obra de Juan González de Mendoza cuando se escribían sobre China. En el ámbito de las letras castellanas encontramos su huella en las piezas teatrales *Angélica en el Catay*, de Lope de Vega, así como *Las lágrimas de Angélica*, de Luis Barahona de Soto” (Ollé, n.p.). Christina H. Lee has a wonderful article on the references to Chinese geography in Barahona’s *Las lágrimas de Angélica* (Lee, “Imagining”).

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Why Cervantes in China?:
Hyperreality and Cervantine Cultural Encounters in Beijing 2016
(Tang Xianzu, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Borges)

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Salvador Dalí's *Don Quixote*: High Art or Kitsch?

William Daniel Holcombe
Clemson University

Catalonian artist Salvador Dalí entered into the print history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* as an illustrator in the early twentieth century, at a time when many book illustrators began to wield free reign toward the development of their own artistic agendas. Frequently, such agendas were favored at the expense of accurate pictorial reinterpretations of the original narratives they sought to illustrate. Dalí developed his now famous paranoiac-critical method, which enabled the artist to focus on rendering oneiric imagery in paintings and other works. His textual illustrations, such as in *Macbeth* (1946) and *Don Quixote* (1946), although reflecting the artist's interest in dream imagery, did not promote an agenda that displaced the complexities of Shakespearean or Cervantine narratives. Rather, his methodologies added layers of didactic and pedagogical qualities to his book illustrations that complemented the original narrative. Yet despite Dalí's specific methodology and adherence to the complex nuances of the narration, his overall oeuvre was labeled as kitsch. This was due, in part, to his association with Surrealism that, by the 1940s, was considered by many as low art.

One of the most influential early-twentieth century North American art critics and essayists, Clement Greenberg, described Surrealism in 1944 as an artistic movement that at once influenced the arts and inspired the expression of political dissatisfaction. Such an expression seemed to validate Surrealism for Greenberg. While some surrealists remained true to their sociopolitical foundation by focusing on "revivalist socialism," the critic noted, others fomented a new "aestheticism and religiosity." The orthodox surrealists maintained their focus on socialism while an international bohemia of surrealists branched off who wished to "change life on the spot, without waiting for the revolution" ("Review" 225). Dalí clearly belonged to this second group because he rejected automatism and distanced himself from European Surrealism to develop his new methodologies. Indeed, while Greenberg was characterizing Surrealism in 1945 as a simple fixation on pictorial anecdotes ("Surrealist" 230), Dalí was already painting complex compositions with high-quality colorization and,

at the same time, was creating the watercolor illustrations and sketches for Random House and The Illustrated Modern Library's *The First Part of The Life and Achievements of the Renowned Don Quixote de la Mancha*, published the next year in 1946.¹



Fig. 1. Dalí, Salvador. *Don Quixote and the Adventure of the Flock of Sheep*. 1946.

Offset watercolor. *Cervantes Project*. Texas A&M University.

© Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society
(ARS), New York 1946.

In Greenberg's earlier seminal essay "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," published in 1939 in the *Partisan Review*, the critic had already written very politically-charged analyses of the relationship between the avant-garde, kitsch, and socialism. Greenberg noted that while "among the hopeful signs

in the midst of the decay of our present society,” some art critics did not agree with the assessment that nothing new could be produced in the art world (6). What resulted in the 1930s and 40s was kitsch, a new cultural reaction—or overreaction—produced in the West that Greenberg defined as “popular, commercial art and literature with their chromeotypes, magazine covers, illustrations, ads, slick and pulp fiction, comics, Tin Pan Alley music, tap dancing, Hollywood movies, etc., etc.” (11). Concomitantly, it was also a direct result of the Industrial Revolution, “which urbanized the masses of Western Europe and America and established what is called universal literacy” (11). Yet the universality of such a concept of literacy—when considering the reception of Surrealism and kitsch—was instead deeply divided in early-twentieth century United States. The elite sought to collect it while the popular culture bought into its hype and purchased the products it was manipulated to promote. Yet, how did academia, specifically art historical studies, fit into this dichotomy?

Art historian Sandra Zalman considers Greenberg’s 1939 essay as his first major contribution to art history (48), in which the critic traced the difference between urban and rural, capitalist and socialist, receptions of kitsch, the avant-garde, and Surrealism:

Kitsch is deceptive. It has many different levels, and some of them are high enough to be dangerous to the naive seeker of true light. A magazine like the New Yorker, which is fundamentally high-class kitsch for the luxury trade, converts and waters down a great deal of avant-garde material for its own uses. Nor is every single item of kitsch altogether worthless. Now and then it produces something of merit, something that has an authentic folk flavor; and these accidental and isolated instances have fooled people who should know better. (Greenberg, “Avant-Garde” 13)

Yet Greenberg also rejected Surrealism’s anecdotal foundation on imagery produced from the unconscious mind. Art curator and author Scott Rothkopf notes that Greenberg “categorically opposed Surrealism’s pursuit of the unconscious, particularly as practiced by Salvador Dalí” (67). Rothkopf reaffirms that the “psychosexual concerns” marketed as sexualized imagery and “sexual motifs implicit in early Pop Art” were considered by art critics such as Greenberg as “nothing more than a curious

side show" (67). Such a side show actually documented that the sexualized imagery found in many of Dalí's paintings from the 1940s reflected how the painter began to render (desublimate) his previously sublimated sexuality from the earliest traces of his artistic and classically-trained trajectory.² This sexuality was also part of what made Surrealism and many of Dalí's works sell in the United States, kitsch or not, Pop Art and curious side show or not. It is essential to clarify, specifically regarding Dalí's overall oeuvre in comparison with his 1946 *Don Quixote*, that kitsch—in Dalí's case, often resulting from the overuse of previously sublimated sexuality—represented the inspiration behind popular culture's attraction to Dalí's paintings and other works, while colorful classical compositions represented the academic attraction to the illustrations of *Don Quixote*. Therefore, the only way to remove the kitschy categorization from Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote* is to separate the illustrations from the artist's overall oeuvre based entirely on classicism and pedagogy as framing referents.

In her monograph, *Consuming Surrealism in American Culture* (2015), Zalman explains that in addition to the classics, Surrealism had an immense impact on society, marketing, art, and art history in the mid-twentieth century United States. While it challenged the role of politics in art and the concept of the museum as a legitimate venue for surrealist works, as mentioned by Greenberg, it also complemented popular photography, as well as the newly popular magical realism movement taking hold in the North American target reading audience. The author concludes: "Framed and re-framed for American audiences, Surrealism acted as a platform to challenge traditional ideas of modern art, because it presented art as a conceptual program that participated in contemporary life—from political events to consumer culture" (2).

Zalman also explains that Surrealism's revolutionary history was suppressed in North American cultural echelons so that both the cultural elite and the North American everyman from the emerging middle class after World War II could consume its imagery. Indeed, Dalí was advertised heavily while André Breton, as a French poet whose revolutionary ideals were widely known, was suppressed (26). The elite followed art critics such as Greenberg and were heavily influenced by art historians such as Alfred Barr, who was the first director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The North American common man, representing the emerging middle class, for the most part relied on journalists not very well-versed in

art or art history to tell them what to think of Surrealism. Art historian Keith L. Eggener explains:

Most Americans who knew something about Surrealism, however, got their information from printed accounts. American newspapers and magazines began discussing Surrealism with increasing regularity as early as 1925, just one year after the publication of André Breton's first Manifesto of Surrealism. By the mid-1930s articles on Surrealist art and artists could be found in a broad range of illustrated high-circulation periodicals, including Time, Life, and Newsweek. American authors writing in these publications associated Surrealism almost exclusively with the illusionist branch of the movement, the branch represented by Dalí. (32)

By the time Dalí and his wife Gala lived in exile in the United States in the 1940s, Surrealism had already laid the foundation for the reception of his art as consumerism and kitsch, and as such, paired nicely with Dalí's carefully crafted, over-the-top, public persona designed to promote and sell his own work. Both Dalí and the 1946 *Don Quixote* were encapsulated and limited by this phenomenon, partly due to Random House successfully targeting popular class readers during and after World War II, and Dalí's own public antics that did not always turn out as he planned. The unfortunate result was that some of Dalí's high art—especially within the genre of textual illustrations—was overlooked. Yet if one searches for pedagogical and didactic traces within Dalinian book illustrations, the 1946 *Don Quixote* stands out because it provides them in plenitude, especially when one realizes that these traces are, instead, the primary foundation of the illustrations' compositions. As such, they can be considered high art precisely because of these pedagogical and didactic themes, ones that were often glossed over when offhandedly labeled as Dalinian kitsch. Thus, contemporary and later scholars grouped Dalí's *Don Quixote* illustrations into the mix of consumerist low art, in part, because the text was directed towards popular class readers and not for elitist collectors.

The first three watercolor illustrations of Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote* comprise a grouping based on compositional and methodological similarities that are very different from the other seven color illustrations in the edition. They are significant because they document Renaissance and

Baroque classical methodologies that are observable within the pictorial compositions.³ For example, in these three watercolors, Dalí creates strong diagonals and four quadrants that illustrate iconic passages from Cervantes's text while utilizing Surrealism to tell his own pictorial narratives. In comparison, the other watercolors of this edition reflect more singular pictorial storylines, some of which are much more surrealistic, and are not necessarily divided so strongly into quadrants or diagonals.

These thematic Baroque methodologies make Dalí unique as an illustrator of *Don Quixote*, and the artist achieves this primarily through the utilization of a surreal pictorial narration within the composition. Dalí focalizes this narrative through a sculptural head figure, metaphorically representing Don Quixote's fantastic gaze and showcasing an interaction between fantasy and reality in the same picture plane. First, Dalí renders fantasy juxtaposed with reality, and later builds upon this juxtaposition at the end of the narrative, as analyzed below. Second, Dalí does not portray the protagonist as a hero, as established by previous illustrators within the print history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*, and which is observable in illustrations by French painter Gustave Doré, but rather as a deflated figure. This is significant because it deprives the beholder of the long-established artistic trend that renders Don Quixote's direct gaze upon the scene, thereby limiting any given composition's thematic content to quixotic heroism. Third, Dalí does not simply juxtapose reality as surrounded by fantasy in one single illustration as mastered by Doré; rather, Dalí composes Don Quixote's reality and fantasy as interacting with each other in the same illustration, drawing the beholder into a Dalinian reinterpretation of this *interaction* of fantasy and reality.

To underscore why this is so unique to Dalí, one must consider Hispanic historian and philologist Miguel Romera-Navarro's opinion regarding the role that fantasy and reality have held within singular pictorial compositions: "the plastic arts do not have any means through which the two worlds [fantasy and reality] can interact and join together intimately and harmoniously in one single body, in one single image" (33-34, my translation). This statement seems to be reified when one observes Doré's oeuvre and the masterful juxtaposition of fantasy and reality.

Two other themes that set Dalí apart from other illustrators are mockery (*burla*) and self-deception (*enganío*), traits traditionally rendered by other artists who focused solely on Don Quixote as a hero. Although this

statement at first seems oxymoronic, the mocking, buffoonish nature was in reference to Don Quixote portrayed as a hero, while the laughter originated in the rendering of his self-deception and the fact that he wielded a sword and lance. It was simply fall-down funny that an older, mad gentleman had chosen to look backward toward chivalry as his guiding social code. For example, Jacob Savery created 26 illustrations for the first fully-illustrated edition of *Don Quixote* published in 1657 in The Netherlands. The compositions of these illustrations were considered nothing short of slapstick, as Cervantist Mark McGraw observes: “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 [this] edition, and he has his sword drawn or lance in hand in all but four of those” (116).

These character traits are not present in Dalí’s *Don Quixote*. While Dalí molds Don Quixote as clearly un-heroic, the artist does not compose a burlesque pictorial narrative that mocks Don Quixote’s heroic self-deception; rather, he satirizes it by focusing his sad reality as counterpoint to the oneiric fantasy that dominates the illustrations. More importantly, as stated above, Dalí satirizes Don Quixote’s metaphoric, fantastic gaze as observing reality in a pictorial narrative that suggests an interaction between reality and fantasy, a concept adamantly rejected by Romera-Navarro. While such a gaze can be considered satirical, it also lacks a moral judgment that readers and beholders had become accustomed to by the Romantic period of the nineteenth century. Therefore, Dalí’s pictorial narrative forces twentieth- and twenty-first-century readers—now on this side of the universalization and romanticizing of quixotic iconography in the nineteenth century—to consult the original language for clarification, underscoring the presence of didactic qualities within Dalí’s composition.

Specifically, the beholder must seek clarification in Chapter 18 of the first part of *Don Quixote*, where Cervantes wrote an iconic narrative, that of the adventure of the flock of sheep. In the previous chapter of the novel, Don Quixote realizes that the inn in which he is staying with Sancho is not really a castle, but merely a simple inn. They decide to leave without paying, and as a result, three guests at the inn force Sancho from his donkey and toss him into the air with a blanket, another iconic moment often rendered in illustrated editions. Later, while contemplating the details of chivalry on

the road, they encounter two flocks of sheep converging in the distance in a great cloud of dust:

As Don Quixote and his squire were having this conversation, Don Quixote saw a large, thick cloud of dust coming toward them along the road they were traveling, and when he saw it, he turned to Sancho and said: "This is the day, O Sancho, when the good fortune that destiny has reserved for me will be revealed! This is the day, I say, when, as much as on any other, the valor of this my arm will be proved, and I shall perform deeds that will be inscribed in the book of Fame for all time to come. Do you see that cloud of dust rising there, Sancho? Well, it conceals a vast army, composed of innumerable and diverse peoples, which is marching toward us." "If that's the case, there must be two," said Sancho, "because over in the opposite direction there's another cloud of dust just like it. Don Quixote turned to look, and he saw that it was true; he was overjoyed, thinking, no doubt, that these were two armies coming to attack and fight each other in the middle of that broad plain. Because at all times and at every moment his fantasy was filled with the battles, enchantments, feats, follies, loves, and challenges recounted in books of chivalry, and everything he said, thought, or did was directed toward such matters. The dust clouds he saw had been raised by two large flocks of ewes and rams traveling along the same road from opposite directions, which could not be seen through the dust until they were very close. (*Don Quixote* I, 18; 125-26)⁴

This passage, in which Don Quixote reinterprets reality within his mad fantasy, is much more complicated than the more famous narrative that describes his battle with the windmills. This narrative is much longer, for instance, and throughout the chapter, Don Quixote explains to Sancho that the armies he sees consist of "people from diverse nations" and that some of them are "clad in iron, ancient relics of Gothic blood" (*Don Quixote* I, 18; 128). They are medieval knights that pose a greater threat than the giants of the windmills.

Yet Sancho realizes that they are simply two flocks of sheep moving toward each other:

Lord save me! [...] Señor, may the devil take me, but no man, giant, or knight of all those your grace has mentioned can be seen anywhere around here; at least, I don't see them; maybe it's all enchantment, like last night's phantoms. [...] Your grace, come back, Señor Don Quixote, I swear to God you're charging sheep! Come back, by the wretched father who sired me! What madness is this? Look and see that there are no giants or knights, no cats or armor or shields either parted or whole, no blue vairs or bedeviled ones, either. Poor sinner that I am in the sight of God, what are you doing? (*Don Quixote* I, 18; 128-30)

This language represents the third iconic narrative in Part 1 of the novel, which Dalí chose to reinterpret for his third color illustration of the 1946 edition.

Dalí's interpretive pictorial narrative begins in the lower left quadrant where the predominant figure is a sculptural, clearly wooden, open-headed Don Quixote. This figure is situated in reality and functions as a narrator and focalizer that guides the beholder's gaze upon both reality and fantasy. Yet its metaphorical gaze—upon both the fantastic representations in the sky as well as the satirized reality of Don Quixote entering the inn—foreshadows an interaction between reality and fantasy. The real Don Quixote is unable to gaze upon the scene, thereby negating the beholder an interpretation composed as if viewed by protagonist Don Quixote, a perspective commonly rendered by previous illustrators.

Dalí divides this sculptural head into three compartments in which the beholder views a sheep, beans, and an architectural wooden fastener that suggests that the head wobbles back and forth but does not fall to the ground, serving as a literal interpretation of, if not a conceptual allusion to, the English idiom “tilting at windmills,” itself derived from *Don Quixote*. The beans represent war for the artist, as can be observed in one of Dalí's earlier paintings: *Soft Construction with Boiled Beans (Premonition of Civil War)* (1936). Dalí emphasizes this figure's gaze upon the scene by forming representations of eyes, which “gaze” upon the right-hand quadrants.

In the lower right quadrant, Dalí forms Don Quixote's reality, rendering the inn, the innkeeper and his wife, and Rocinante, his horse, behind which the beholder observes Sancho Panza and his ass, or donkey.

Don Quixote rides on the donkey's back while Rocinante is so emaciated that the beholder can view Don Quixote sprawled across the donkey within the space between the horse's belly and the ground. Don Quixote lies on his back, with his head at the rear of the donkey, and they are clearly arriving at the inn. The lower right-hand imagery undercuts and satirizes the "real" Don Quixote and Sancho Panza at the inn, an occurrence in the narrative that happens before the adventure with the flocks of sheep.

In this quadrant, one of the shepherds who tries to control his flock, is another actor within Dalí's reinterpretation of Don Quixote's reality. Additionally, the artist inserts his famous leitmotif of a small, almost indistinguishable figure that here casts a long shadow to the left, indicating a setting sun. This figure wears a red hat and red sash, just like the innkeeper. The shadow it casts is most significant because it suggests that the figure is female. Within the shadow, the shoulders and slightly-lowered head allude to the mother figure in *El angelus* by François Millet. This figure likely represents a peasant woman or laborer, as Dalí often signals both absence and anguish through allusions to Millet's work.⁵

As the beholder's gaze moves up to the upper right quadrant in this pictorial narrative, the smoke from the inn transforms into a castle, signaling the narrative focalization toward fantasy. Dalí renders this castle as a church and a Catholic theme is linked to Sancho's use of Catholic vocabulary—devil, God, and father—in the narrative from the scene this image illustrates, as cited above.⁶ Within the swirl of the clouds in the sky, Dalí forms naked knights with only a hint of protective armor. One wears a helmet, one carries a shield, and members of the opposing army, also naked, wield lances. Clearly, Dalí satirizes Don Quixote's narration of what he sees as medieval knights by removing their clothing and armor. The two clouds produced by the two flocks of sheep meet slightly left of top center where the two armies are about to clash. Yet Dalí renders the army on the left in simple black and white sketches, with no color, alluding to a caricaturized performance by the actors in the imagined battle.

The figure in the lower left quadrant with red pants represents a second shepherd who, like a stagehand, attempts to pull back the cloud as a theatrical curtain and signals with his other hand the existence of his flock of sheep. This figure, although easy to overlook, in my view, represents the most important actor in this illustration. I interpret it as the only figure in this composition that is based in Don Quixote's reality, but which also

“physically” interacts with fantasy through its actions. It is a simple shepherd tending to its flock, yet it signals the fantasy unfolding beyond the theatrical curtain that is rendered here as a cloud of dust *by holding* the dusty curtain aside to indicate and recognize the fantasy in the sky beyond. Dalí clearly challenges Romera-Navarro’s insistence that reality and fantasy cannot interact in a single image precisely because this figure touches and moves the clouds, facilitating the beholder’s gaze—and the metaphoric gaze of the sculptural head—upon the fantastic rendering in the sky.

Dalí therefore situates this figure in both reality and fantasy, representing what I consider to be the most important modeling the artist creates within the first three watercolor illustrations of the 1946 *Don Quixote*. On one hand, by going against Romera-Navarro’s notion of the impossibility of interaction between reality and fantasy, it presents an example of pedagogy within the pictorial composition by inspiring both readers and beholders to investigate the themes presented. On the other, it demonstrates that Dalí carefully contemplated both Cervantes’s original narrative and the methodologies, styles, and forms that previous illustrators utilized to reinterpret it. Both actions suggest that Dalí maintained a respect of epic Cervantine storytelling that the painter faithfully reproduced.

Therefore, to classify this illustration as high art, the loyalty of Dalí’s diegetic pictorial narrative to Cervantes must be underscored, a narrative that creates the greatest effect on the beholder: we no longer see through Don Quixote’s noble gaze. The universalization of iconography within such a rendering began in the eighteenth century and continues to the present day, underscoring Don Quixote as a heroic figure whose morality inspires emulation, not pity. Dalí’s third watercolor leaves the beholder with no choice but to perceive Don Quixote as a deflated figure precisely because the artist forms a character narrator—the sculptural Don Quixote head—whose gaze inspires the beholder to “read” the illustration as if it were a text. As such, our gaze is focalized by this character narrator as we follow along, viewing Dalí’s rendering of the “real” Don Quixote as a fool lying atop Sancho’s ass. This deflates and satirizes the protagonist and forces us to view him as humorous. By challenging both reader and beholder in this manner, Dalí created what can be considered a representative example of Dalinian high art, and as a result, the artist carved out a unique niche for himself as one of many illustrators of one of the most famous novels in history.

¹ It is important to clarify that Dalí first illustrated *Don Quixote* for Random House and The Illustrated Modern Library in 1946, but would later illustrate subsequent editions in the 1950s and 60s. In the 1946 text, Dalí raised anecdotal narrative to pictorial diegetic narrative through classical imagery and Baroque methodologies that challenged the beholder to consult the original text for clarification. That is, while Dalí's renderings of Cervantes's narrative were anecdotal, the artist's methodologies added additional pedagogical value to the images.

² For desublimation and Dalí, see Robin Adèle Greeley.

³ See Holcombe for similar analyses of these methodologies in the second offset watercolor from Dalí's 1946 edition, *Don Quixote and the Windmills*. In that image, Dalí also formed a sculptural head figure and molded it into a metaphoric narrator and diegetic focalizer, affecting the beholder in much the same manner.

⁴ All passages quoted from *Don Quixote* are from the 2003 translation by Edith Grossman. The parenthetical citations reflect: book, chapter number; page number.

⁵ See Dalí's book *The Tragic Myth of Millet's Angelus*.

⁶ Catholic themes coincide with Dalí's return to classicism in the 1930s and 1940s. Dalí, a self-proclaimed devout Catholic, will later utilize Catholic imagery in many of his paintings.

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Mammoth Woolly Migrations:
Transhumance, Extinction, and the Cervantine Shepherd

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It is probably impossible to exaggerate the magnitude of the Merino sheep—Spain’s most important scientific development—and its powerful legacy as a cultural icon, for ovines pervade the artistic and the domestic Iberian landscape, both natural and imaginary, ranging from medieval paintings and altarpieces, to the ever-popular *libro de pastores*.¹ This paper places the *libro de pastores* within the context of the boom of the Merino Wool trade. Similarly, critics such as Daniel Eisenberg have connected the popularity of the *libro de caballerías* to the Reconquest, the creation of the military orders and the subsequent extension of Empire (37). R. O. Jones argues that for a literary tradition: “to have had such a hold on the imagination of the reading public we must believe that they mirrored some important truth or aspiration of the time” (54). Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce concurs:

Todo momento histórico se ve apuntalado por una serie de aspiraciones, represiones, mitos expresados o implícitos que, estudiados colectivamente, en el plano intelectual nos dan la radiografía ideológica del período. (*Novela* 14)

With the publication of Montemayor’s *Diana* in 1559, the *libro de pastores* became, in the words of Amadeu Solé-Leris “a new favorite form of fiction to which the reading public turned with eagerness” (25). Avalle-Arce points to the “insatiable” market for which “Spanish writers could not turn out pastoral narratives fast enough” (“Four Hundred”14) and describes the “hegemony” of the *libro de pastores* (*Novela* 14). By the end of the seventeenth century [Montemayor’s *Diana*] had gone through forty editions in Spanish and thirty-one in translation, in French, English, German, and Dutch (Solé-Leris 145). Pedro Malón de Chaide’s famed rebuke also recognizes the popularity of this genre: “¿Qué ha de hacer la doncellita que apenas sabe andar, y ya trae una Diana en la faldriquera?” (25). Moreover, Edwin S. Morby notes that twenty editions of *La Arcadia* had appeared by

1675; that among pastoral books it was second in circulation only to Montemayor's *Diana*; and that during Lope's lifetime, *La Arcadia* was his most successful book (14).²

Both the Merino and the *libro de pastores* are fashioned from the same mold.³ Carla Rahn Philips and William Philips attest to the myth surrounding the intrinsic Spanish-ness of the Merino sheep: “[T]he belief took hold, both inside and outside Spain, that the Merino could not flourish anywhere but in the environment that had produced it. The climate, pasturage, and transhumance patterns in Spain supposedly created uniquely ideal conditions for the Merino’s survival and for the fineness of its wool” (84). In the same vein, Hugo Rennert contends that “the climate and the warm, impressionable nature of the people, were not unimportant factors in its success, since pastoral poetry never flourished to such an extent in northern countries, for lack of conditions congenial to its growth” (17). Examined collectively, these distinct perspectives, however flawed, overgeneralized, and antiquated, answer the conundrum of the popularity of the pastoral.⁴

The Merino, then, populates both the natural and the artistic Spanish landscape. The agricultural climate that produces the Merino is the cultural climate that yields the *libro de pastores*. Transhumance—the seasonal movement of livestock from summer to winter pastures (often from the mountain down to the plains)—has occurred in Iberia for centuries. Manuel Rodríguez Pascual elucidates its profound impact on León in particular:⁵

La permanencia durante los últimos siete siglos de [la trashumancia] ha dejado una profunda huella en nuestra cultura—conocimientos empíricos, vocabulario, topónimos, prácticas ganaderas, construcciones, artesanía, gastronomía, folclore, etc., —enriquecida en muchos casos por los continuos intercambios con otros pueblos allende nuestras fronteras. (19)

Merino herds migrated twice yearly, summering in their pastures of origin, in the northern mountain passes, but spending nine months of the year on the southern plains.⁶ Some flocks migrated up to 600 miles or nearly 1,000 km in about two months (Phillips 21).⁷ Spanish stock were improved by the introduction of African rams, and from the thirteenth century onward by the investigation and application of Berber pastoral

practices (Klein 7). These practices produced the super-fine Merino wool of high market demand, which constituted Early Modern Spain's driving economic force, which for Julio Baena rivals that of oil to present-day Iraq (89).

Klein traces transhumance in Spain to the time of the Goths, if not the aboriginal Iberians (7). The powerful herders' union, the *Honrado Concejo de la Mesta de Pastores*, had been chartered by Alfonso X by 1273. Here I refer to the Mesta, though prior to this time there existed local meetings or *mestas*, primarily for handling the return or redistribution of stray animals.⁸ Merino flocks were owned and maintained by the Church, the Military Orders, and the Crown. Up until the 18th century, the exportation of this breed was punishable by death. To understand in general terms the layout of the *cañadas* (or sheep walks) one might visualize a map of the Iberian Peninsula as overlain with about nine arteries running more or less north to south.⁹ The width—as decreed by Alfonso X—of each *cañada* measured 90 *varas*, or about 79 yards. Their lengths range from about 300 to 500 miles.

A rigid, military-like hierarchy existed amongst herders, from the mayoral (hand chosen by the flock owner) down to the lowliest *zagal*. These rankings are conserved in *La Galatea* when Teolinda speaks of *mayoral* Eleuco: “Y porque en ninguna cosa que Eleuco mandaba, dejaba de ser obedecido...” (239). Other positions included *vaquero*, *pastor de orejas*, and *gañán*. Each enjoyed the legal protection of the Mesta and was permitted a certain number of sheep according to his rank, but the flock owner owned the wool. Those who engaged in the difficult and dangerous work of herding did not benefit from the profits of the wool, an inequity carried over into the twentieth century (though the Mesta was disbanded in 1836).¹⁰

The Merino wool trade peaks during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, at which point it is estimated that *three million sheep* (my emphasis) travelled the *cañadas* of the Mesta; three hundred years later, that number dropped to only about 500,000 (Antonio Viñayo González 13). Mesta's initial period of decline—and that of transhumant Merino herding—comes in the 16th century, followed by a second decline in the 19th, and its final (virtual) extinction in the late 20th.

By means of a brief detour through the Cathedral of León,¹¹ I will make a very direct connection between the Merino and the literary shepherds of Cervantes and *libro de pastores* writers.¹² The 15th-century

Mammoth Woolly Migrations:
Transhumance, Extinction, and the Cervantine Shepherd

altarpiece of the *Capilla del Nacimiento*¹³ features Spanish shepherds, carrying the same crooks or *ganchos* still used today.



Images 1 & 2. *Catedral de León, Capilla del Nacimiento* (author's photos)

The pattern of the fleece and the position of the ears clearly identify these sheep as Merinos.¹⁴ Spanish mastiffs, wearing the *carlancas* or spiked collar to protect them from wolves, accompany the shepherds. Berganza describes these collars in the *Coloquio de los perros*: "...El pastor me puso luego al cuello unas carlancas llenas de puntas de acero..." (289). Similar representations appear additionally in the illustrations from the *Libro en que se quientan los amores de Viraldo y Florindo, aunque en diverso estilo* and from Antonio de Lofrasso's *Los diez libros de fortuna de amor* corroborate Berganza's account.¹⁵



Image 3. Maestro de Ávila—*Tríptico de la Navidad* (permission requested from the Museo Lázaro Galdiano)¹⁶

A second example of Merino sheep at the Nativity is Maestro de Ávila's 15th century *Tríptico de la Navidad*, an altarpiece depicting the shepherds on the left, the holy family in the centerpiece, and the three kings on the right. The left side features biblical shepherds using authentic

herding accoutrements, such as the *gancho*, a rebec, a flute, bagpipes, a wineskin, and a canine (though not a mastiff) wearing *carlancas*. Slightly off in the distance a wolf devours a lamb, thus evidencing the need for this protection. As Aparicio Tovar and Pizarro Gómez note:

La tabla izquierda del tríptico, que representa la Anunciación a los Pastores, ofrece una escena de gran realismo en la que se nos muestra en primer plano un perro y tres pastores, vestidos con tres tipos distintos de ‘trajes de encima’ de la época, capotín, gabán y capa con capilla. (54)

Nor is the depiction of Spanish sheep and shepherds in religious-themed paintings limited to the Nativity.



Image 4. Francisco de Zurbarán *Cordero con las patas atadas* (permission requested from the Museo del Prado)¹⁷

Several paintings of Francisco Zurbarán (1598-1664) contain detailed specimens of the Merino. As Aparicio Tovar and Pizarro Gómez

clarify, four still lifes have as their subject a single Merino, tied and ready for sacrifice: *Carnero con las patas atadas* (1631), *Carnero con las patas atadas* (1632), *Cordero con las patas atadas* (1631-1640) and *Cordero con las patas atadas* (1635-1640), though they justly appraise the latter, also known as *Agnus Dei*, as a “formidable ejemplar merino” (162). Similarly, in Zurbarán’s *Santa Margarita* (ca. 1631-40)¹⁸ the saint wears the traditional long red dress of the *serrana*, yet seen in the 20th century in la *montaña de León*. She additionally carries the *gancho*, along with a woolen saddlebag, also of the type seen in this region.¹⁹

If we are now to excavate the Early Modern transhumant shepherds, both literary and non-literary, we might begin with their precursors, who inhabit *Églogas* of Juan del Encina. This type’s most defining characteristic is his use of *sayagués* (John Brotherton ix), an old dialect of Leonese that is still spoken in Asturias and in the provinces of León and Zamora, regions—as it happens—historically and recently heavily involved in transhumant Merino herding.²⁰

In 1519, Encina is named Prior of León, and from 1523 until his death ca.1529, he resides in León (Sullivan 15). Like transhumant Merino herding, Encina comes into his own under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. As with the altarpieces we have seen, Encina’s earliest representations of the shepherd originate in the nativity. His first two eclogues—though references to herding accoutrements are a staple throughout the ten eclogues generally—were performed for the Duke and Duchess of Alba, on Christmas Eve ca. 1492. The second eclogue, in which the shepherds receive the announcement of the Christ child, follows immediately on the heels of the first, whose principal concern is the praise of Encina’s patrons.

Égloga II contains a very specific reference to a foremost threat to the herd:

Es tan justo y tan chapado,
tan castigador de robos,
que los más hambrientos lobos
huyen más de su ganado. (vv. 37-40)

The four shepherds, named after the Gospel writers, carry the *zurrón* (shepherd’s bag) and wear the *pellón* (sheepskin), as did their non-literary equivalents. John proffers a gift of acorns, a prized crop of the

sierra, up through the twentieth century. The Duke of Alba is compared to a worthy flock owner who inspires the loyalty of his shepherds.

The Early Modern Spanish reading public voraciously devoured the *libro de pastores*. In these best-sellers, and also interspersed throughout the *Quijote*, technical herding terms such as *almagre*, *apero*, *borrego*, *cabaña*, *mesta*, and *rediles* abound.²¹ The first prose pastoral text in Spanish seems to be the *Libro en que se cuentan los amores de Viraldo y Florindo, aunque en diverso estilo* (1541), an elaborate, illuminated manuscript that lay ensconced for centuries in a family library.²² In addition to three letters—two to a doña Beatriz de la Cuerda, to whom the author refers as “aficionada a la literatura pastoril” (Gómez Canseco 18), and one to her brother, and a prologue, the *Libro* is comprised of two tales of unrequited love. The first, which contains the book’s four illustrations, takes the form of the ten *Coloquios pastoriles de Viraldo y Pinardo* and witnesses Viraldo’s love for Leandra in *el valle de las Musas*. The second tale, *Los amores de Florindo con Laurina*, is set in the city of Morena.

In the illustration accompanying *Coloquio I* appear shepherds Viraldo and Pinardo in dialogue, dogs at their feet and staves in hand, populating the *locus amoenus*, along with its obligatory trees, flowers, fountain, and sheep. This *Coloquio* explicitly references transhumance: “...después que Pinardo avía pasado a los montes a tener invernada con sus ovejas en tierra más caliente” (152). Later on, in *Coloquio VI* the bereaved Viraldo summons his fellow shepherds to a *mesta* (lowercase) to commemorate Leandra:

Verdad es que estotro día, en una junta que hicimos los mayorales del ganado desta comarca, concertamos que la mesta, que se suele hacer en la Fuente del Pino, que tú sabes, se haga cada año aquí, en ésta destos fresnos, para que aya mayor ocasión de solenizar las obsequias de Leandra en aquel tiempo. (161)

For all practical purposes, Viraldo seems to be invoking a (capitalized) Mesta. He arranges for a priest to say a special mass, which itself was an important component of the Mesta meetings. Klein notes that the silver service originally used by the Mesta is still used annually by the subsequent *Asociación General de Ganaderos del Reino*, which was formed in 1836 (50). Like some of the powerful flock owners belonging to the Mesta, Viraldo wields

influence and evidently is a man of means. To be sure, the similitude is faint—Viraldo is arranging a memorial service, not presiding over a Mesta meeting—and the *Libro* does not attempt a realistic portrayal. While it is clear that the *Honrado Concejo de la Mesta* has shaped the Spanish Pastoral Book, in this instance the *Libro* invokes the Mesta by changing the location of the annual (lowercase) *mesta* from *la fuente del Pino* to *la Fuente de los Fresnos* in order to commemorate Viraldo’s love for Leandra. The illustration from *Coloquio VI* depicts Leandra’s tomb—designed by Viraldo—and reminiscent of Massilia’s tomb in Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*, which itself was composed around 1480 and published in 1504. In the foreground are Viraldo and Pinardo with a sheepdog; in the distance are wolves, underscoring the portent of violence in the *locus amoenus*. The faithful mastiff wears the aforementioned *carlancas*. The shepherds use the *gancho*, *zurrón*, and the flute.

The illustration from Lofrasso’s *Libro III* depicts a mixed herd of goats and Merino ewes and rams, tended by shepherds donned in traditional garb and carrying bagpipes, a flute, and a staff, which differs from the *gancho*. While both instruments are carved from wood, with crooks at the end, the *gancho* has a metal hook and is taller than shoulder height, while the staff is shorter, having the shape of a cane. Both tools have been—and still are—used by Spanish shepherds.

Cervantes interweaves this mundane herding imagery throughout his work, including both volumes of the *Quijote*. For example, in I.2 at the end of the first day of his first sally, before mistaking the inn for a castle, don Quijote envisions that he may spend the night in a sheepfold with shepherds, which does come to pass in I.10 and 11, when the oft-discussed goatherds invite don Quijote and Sancho to partake of their pastoral repast. At this point in the narrative, don Quijote is near the Sierra Morena, which runs roughly east to west, along the southernmost ends of the principal *cañada* routes. These goat herders appear to be local, based in the *dehesa*, rather than transhumant herders who have migrated, with their livestock, from points northward. They are expressly stated to be *cabreros*, or herders of goats. For literary herders, *the species herded* [my emphasis] is a significant marker of status and even of erudition, as in the case of Elicio and Erastro in *La Galatea*. However, non-literary herds, transhumant and stationary, comprised more than just sheep. The term *cabaña* refers to all of the animals under a shepherd’s care, and might well include dogs, mules, donkeys, and

goats. Large flocks were divided up into *hatos* or *rebaños*, which contained about 800 rams or up to 1500 ewes and about five dogs; each one was further divided into five or six *rediles* (Phillips and Phillips 103).

L I B R O
y de los mas principales, llevava consigo muy lindos
perros de caza: y preguntandole Frexano su veni-



da ala fuente, respondio. Sabras que pense que alguno de mis hermanos fuese, porq yo con otros tres hermanos estamos caçado todo el dia en el bosque, donde ya tenemos dos jaulines muertos co otros animales, que harto plazer nos han dado de ver la pelea de los perros nuestros concellos: y siguiendo la caça, senti una suave voz, que por no oyr mas de los acentos quel eco me dava, pense que fuese alguno de mis hermanos q le hquiesse sucedido algo, porq viuimos en rias cabañas, con recato de Buscon contrario nro, el qual de contino con sus ociosos amigos, van rebolviendo todo el prado, q mil veces nos han acometido, y siépre ha quedado lisiados: y estando co tal cuidado, me subi al monte, y senti q la voz venia desta parte, y asi me vine por aqui, cierto di xo Frexano q me huelgo mucho de tu vista, y pues vienes fatigado, merédarenos los dos juntos, Duria no le dio gracias por la buena voluntad, y replico tanto

© Biblioteca Nacional de España

Image 6. Illustration from Lofrasso
(digital collection of the Biblioteca Nacional de España)²³

The goat herders' meal is comprised of goat jerky, roasted acorns, cheese, and wine, the latter drunk from cups made of horn, which is standard fare (though not with respect to its sumptuous quantity) for herders both literal and literary:

[Sancho] se fue tras el olor que despedían de sí ciertos tasajos de cabra que hirviendo al fuego en un caldero estaban....Los cabreros los quitaron del fuego y, tendiendo por el suelo unas pieles de ovejas, aderezaron con mucha priesa su rústica mesa y convidaron a los dos, con muestras de muy buena voluntad, con lo que tenían. Sentáronse a la redonda de las pieles seis de ellos, que eran los que en la majada había.... (95-6)

They also eat cheese and the famous *encina* acorns, growing in the *dehesa* landscape. A typical summertime chore for *zagales* in the *dehesa* was to make cheese.

After their meal, fellow herder Antonio will entertain the party by singing verses and accompanying himself on the rebec—that quintessential pastoral instrument prevalent in the *libro de pastores*, but also figuring among the gear of twentieth-century transhumant herders. Finally, one the goatherds treats don Quijote's wounded ear with a mixture of crushed rosemary leaves and salt, “asegurándole que no había menester otra medicina, y así fue la verdad” (102).²⁴

Shortly thereafter, in I.18, don Quijote mistakes the approaching flock of rams and flock of ewes in I.18 for the opposing armies of Pentapolín and Alifanfarón. When attacked by the knight the shepherds resort to the first weapon at hand: the slingshots herders used both literally and literarily to hunt birds and small mammals for food. The second volume contains the pastoral episodes of Basilio and Quiteria's wedding; Eugenio and Leandra's story; as well as don Quijote and Sancho's own pastoral agenda. However, even in episodes *seemingly divorced* from the pastoral world, [my emphasis] Cervantes employs numerous references to herding vocabulary, implements, as well as professionals associated with the wool trade, ranging from flock owners, to shepherds, to pasture owners, spinners, weavers, and collectors of taxes on wool.²⁵



Image 7. Argimiro Rodríguez holding *gancho* (author's photo)

An astonishing degree of similarity exists amongst shepherds over the centuries, whether painted, literary, or literal. For example, present-day flock owner Argimiro Rodríguez uses a *gancho* that he carved himself from a tree limb. His stance mirrors that of the illustrations from the anonymous *Libro* and Lofrasso's *Los diez libros de la fortuna de amor*. While this posture would likely be attributed to lovesickness in the case of the shepherds from *libro de pastores*, real-life herders have more practical concerns, such as checking livestock for parasites and injury, and accounting for the presence of each individual animal.²⁶

The use of the *cencerro*, worn by the *manso* or bellwether, a tamed and castrated ram trained to follow the commands of the herder, make it possible for the herder to keep track of individual animals or smaller groupings.²⁷ The *cencerro* is no ordinary bell. Made of brass, *cencerros*, which you can still buy today (my own came from a shop in León), are available in a range of sizes, and therefore pitches. Lorenzo López distinguishes from among twenty-four models of straight *cencerros* and eight models of curved ones, measuring from two to 50 centimeters long (57). The shepherd uses them to locate individual animals or smaller groupings of animals:

En las dehesas donde había mucho monte el ganado llevaba muchos cencerros, porque cuando había niebla se localizaba por el sonido; o si había espantada durante la noche (por el lobo), se oía el rebaño por toda la montaña. (Lorenzo López 60)

Clappers were made of iron by the *cencerrero*, or else carved by the shepherd from *encina* oak, horn, or bone. It is clear that, at least in certain ways, methods have remained largely unchanged. Argimiro Rodríguez, for example, continues to use *cencerros*, making the leather collars (and even their metal buckles) by hand. Since the clapper is less sturdy than the bell, he periodically carves new ones to attach to his *cencerros*. Instead of using *encina*, however, he uses a plastic compound that causes less wear and tear on the bell itself.

In II.46, while staying with the duke and the duchess, don Quijote experiences “el temeroso espanto cencerril y gatuno”:

[D]escolgaron un cordel donde venían más de cien cencerros asidos, y luego tras ellos derramaron un gran saco de gatos, que asimismo traían cencerros menores atados a las colas. (897-98)

That the duke and the duchess are able to attain the sheer number and varied sizes of these bells simply to pull a prank on don Quijote suddenly becomes considerably more credible.

In II.67, as don Quijote and Sancho plan their own pastoral pursuits, don Quijote agrees buy the sheep and the pastoral implements. Sancho’s concerns, as always, range toward the gastronomical: ¡Oh, qué polidas cuchares tengo de hacer cuando pastor me vea! ¡Qué de migas, qué

de natas...! (1063). Shepherds were adept carvers of wood, and also horn, both out of necessity and as a way to pass the time.

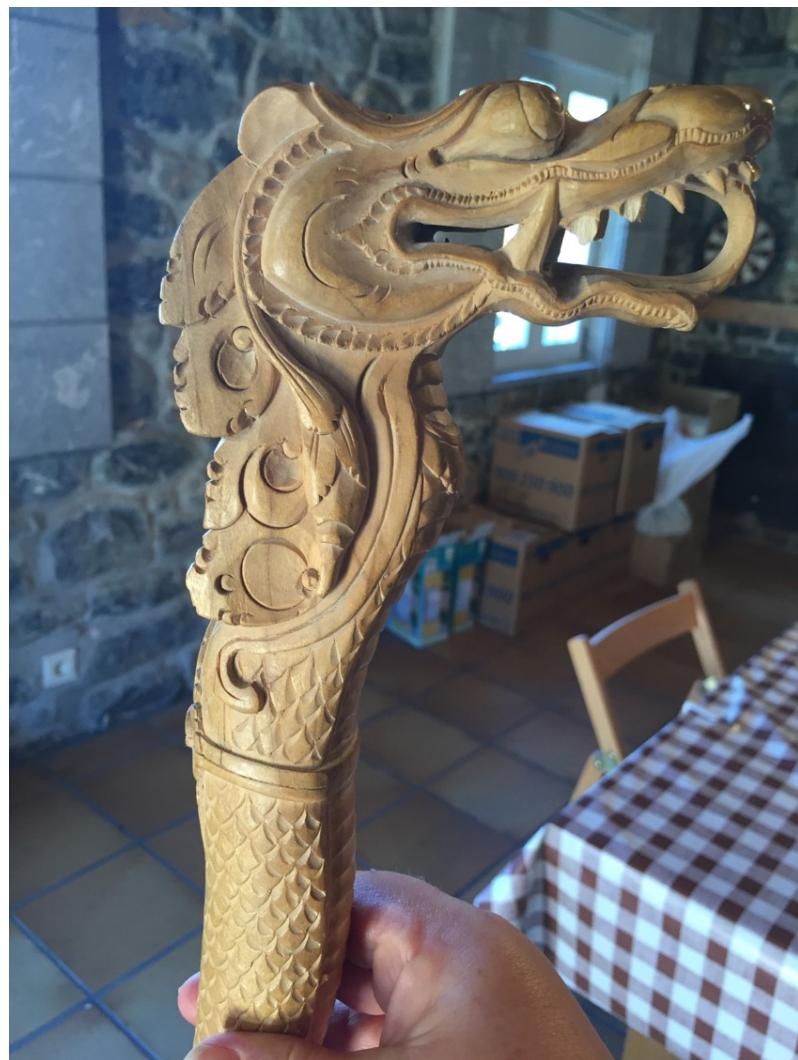


Image 8. Wood carving (author's photo)

They carved staves;²⁸ handles for *ganchos*, rakes, and other implements; clappers for *cencerros*; cups, spoons, and trinkets; as well as

musical instruments. In *La Galatea*, Elicio and Damón play the rebec (the strings would have been made from sheep gut) and Tirsi and Erastro the *zampoña*. The musical proficiency of these and most literary shepherds and shepherdesses is a detail that is, perhaps surprisingly, realistic, for up through the twentieth century herders have composed poetry and songs and fashioned flutes, rebecs, and other musical instruments to accompany them.

As we have noted, a tremendous parallel exists between fictional and nonfictional shepherds. Nevertheless, despite the commonalities in tasks and equipment—and within the *libro de pastores*, an overwhelming uniformity of characterization—shepherds do not constitute a homogeneous group. Considerable tension existed between *riberiegos* (herders from the plains, or *tierras llanas*), and those of the *sierra*, which is most explicitly referenced in Bernardo de Balbuena's *Siglo de Oro en las selvas de Erifile* (1608). Balbuena distinguishes between *rústicos* and *serranos*. For example, Florenio is *serrano*, “uno de nosotros,” and Beraldo is *extremeño*: “nacido entre robles y encinas y entre bellotas y castañas criado apenas como los otros pastores sabía hablar...” (5). This same distinction occurs in *La Galatea*. Teolinda, a shepherdess from the banks of the Henares, praises the two *famosos pastores*, Tirsi and Damón, whom Francisco López Estrada and López García-Berdoy, and others have convincingly identified as Francisco de Figueroa, and Pedro Laínez, the latter originally from León:

[T]an aventajados los dos en todo género de discreción, ciencia y loables ejercicios que no sólo en el circuito de nuestra comarca son conocidos, pero por todo el de la tierra conocidos y estimados. (251)

Tirsi and Damón do not look like flock owners, but neither do they quite resemble typical shepherds:

Dos pastores de gallarda disposición y extremado brío, de poca más edad el uno que el otro, tan bien vestidos, aunque pastorilmente, que más parecían en su talle y apostura bizarros cortesanos que serranos ganaderos. (252)

Like all herders, they indeed wear the *pellico*, a garment made from sheepskin, but theirs are “bien tallado[s], de blanca y finísima lana (252). The origins of these two famous friends is explicitly stated. Tirsi is from Alcalá de Henares, and Damón is from “las montañas de León.”²⁹

As it happens, those hailing from the *montaña de León* have been known for their erudition from the eighteenth century. This area was among the earliest parts of Spain to achieve full literacy, despite the fact that 300 years ago this region was unnavigable for much of the year. The *Escuela para Estudiantes Pobres* was established in 1709, and the *Cátedra de Lois* in 1744; Furthermore, three citizens of Lois were members of the *Real Academia de la Lengua* in the early 1700s (Aurelio Rodríguez Puerta 13-14).

As we have seen, the ever-popular *libro de pastores* is closely linked to herding culture, and vice versa. I argue that the ever-decreasing hospitality of the conditions of traditional transhumance and its imminent decline have provoked a flurry of pastoral publishings, both in the 16th century and now. Reminiscent of the relentless popularity of the *libro de pastores* in the sixteenth century, in the last twenty years the virtual disappearance of traditional transhumance has provoked a corresponding outpouring of websites, blogs, Facebook groups, books, travel narratives, memoirs, novels, children’s literature, musical albums, and ecological and agricultural studies dedicated to things pastoral.³⁰ The traditional herding song “Ya se van los pastores” was recorded in 1999 by Llares Folk, but a simple YouTube search yields about 40 renditions. Today backpackers, cyclists, and horseback riders follow the routes of the traditional *cañadas* (Arranz Mata 14); Like the bellwether, pastoral publications prognosticate the wane of traditional merino herding, both that of the Early Modern period and, most direly, that of the present day.

¹ Barbara Mujica bears witness to the quotidian proliferation of the pastoral: “Ornamentation on candelabra, clocks, mirror frames, toilet articles, porcelain dinner services, and furniture of the period often depicted bucolic scenes, sometimes based on mythological themes. In daily life the elite of Renaissance society was reminded constantly of the bucolic ideal” (259).

² In the *Coloquio de los perros* Cervante’s canine protagonist, Berganz, attests to the popularity of these books, while at the same time condemning their lack of verisimilitude: “[A]quellos libros son cosas soñadas y bien escritas para entretenimiento de los ociosos, y no verdad alguna; que a serlo, entre mis pastores hubiera alguna reliquia de aquella felicísima vida, y de aquellos amenos prados, espaciosas selvas, sagrados montes, hermosos jardines, arroyos claros y cristalinas fuentes...” (*Novelas ejemplares* 290). Though this account comes straight from the mouth of the mastiff, it is probably best to take Berganza’s disgruntled assessment with a bit of salt lick (itself an ever-important nutritional requirement sheep and other animals), as, in certain respects, these literary shepherds do represent a realistic portrayal of their real-life herding counterparts.

³ My first musings on the connection between the Merino wool trade and the *libro de pastores* originated in a paleography institute with Carla Rahn Phillips at the Ransom Library in the summer of 2007, where we transcribed a manuscript containing insurance policies for shipped bags of wool. I first presented on this topic in 2009, after which time I came upon Krauss’s study quite by accident. This study, “Localización y desplazamientos en la novela pastoril española,” which forms part of the *Actas del Segundo Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*, presented in Nijmegen in 1967, is groundbreaking, or at least *it should have been*. In part I attribute the lack of critical reaction to its scant dispersal. Despite attention paid fairly recently to material goods, by scholars such as Lisa Jardine and Phillips and Phillips, Krauss’s study is largely left uncited by critics, or else cited only in a cursory fashion. While Avalle-Arce makes brief reference to it in 1974 in *La novela pastoril española*, he does so without elucidating Krauss’s argument. Fortunately, in 1984 Bruno Damiani does recognize the importance of Krauss’s study and devotes considerable analysis to it in his monograph on Jorge de Montemayor. While Krauss does write about *La Diana*, his paper also focuses on the *libro de pastores* more widely. Krauss’s study should have

reshaped scholarship on the Spanish pastoral book. I am happy to have the opportunity to bring it again to light here.

⁴ Krauss concurs that, despite the inundation of bucolic themes throughout the literature of Early Modern Europe, the pastoral motif inspires only two novels outside of Spain: Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and *L'Astrée*, neither of which sees imitations or continuations within its respective country of origin. Moreover, while Montemayor's *Diana* is quite well received abroad, it never takes root in foreign literary traditions (363). In addition, he sees a specific commonality within the genre: "el afán de localización y el dinamismo literario" (364). Despite the importance that Krauss attributes to this connection, he concludes that: "Bien es verdad que la novela pastoril, a pesar de su arraigo geográfico, pinta figuras y tipos más bien imaginados que reales" (368).

⁵ I am deeply in the debt of this scholar and friend, who has spent many hours with me touring the *montaña de León* and for sharing with me bibliographical resources, and also for showing me his personal collection of antique pastoral implements, as well as those of local ethnographic museums.

⁶ In the summer of 2014 I was fortunate to spend time with Argimiro Rodríguez Villaroel and his family, both in the *montaña de León* and in the *dehesa extremeña*. This family's shepherding roots go back to the 1800s, if not before. And much of my understanding of transhumant herding results from their extraordinary hospitality—especially that of María Fernández Villarroel. Any remaining errors are my own.

⁷ Transhumance took varying forms; some flocks migrated relatively short distances. Nor was the movement solely north to south (summer to winter). See Máximo Diago Hernando, Julius Klein, Phillips, and Antonio Viñayo González for their comprehensive and nuanced analyses.

⁸ Nevertheless, stationary flocks both outnumbered and coexisted with transhumant ones. Furthermore, the Mesta itself owned no sheep. For the most part, membership included any Castilian transhumant Merino herder, regardless of number of animals owned. Stationary herders from the *sierra* were obligated to become members, yet their counterparts from the so-called *tierras llanas* were excluded, even if they had transhumant flocks.

⁹ The main routes include the *Cañada Real Zamorana* (also called *De la Plata*, or *Vizana*); the *Cañada Real Leonesa Occidental*; the *Cañada Real Leonesa*

Oriental; the *Cañada Real Segoviana*; the *Cañada Real Galiana* or *Riojana*; the *Cañada Real Soriana Oriental*; the *Cañada Real Soriana Occidental*; the *Cañada Real de los Chorros*, or *Conquense*; and the *Cañada Real de Valencia*.

¹⁰ It is important to differentiate the powerful and wealthy flock owners from the shepherds, hired to care for the sheep, working under difficult conditions for little pay. Consider, for example, the treatment of servant Andrés by Juan Haldudo “el rico, el vecino del Quintanar.” In contrast, Berganza paints the herders as criminals, ready to fleece the unwitting flock owner:

Agachéme detrás de una mata, pasaron los perros, mis compañeros, adelante, y desde allí oteé, y vi que dos pastores asieron de un carnero de los mejores del aprisco, y le mataron, de manera que verdaderamente pareció a la mañana que había sido su verdugo el lobo....Al punto hacían saber a su amo la presa del lobo, dábanle el pellejo y parte de la carne, y comíanse ellos lo más y lo mejor. (96)

¹¹ <http://www.catedraldeleon.org/>

¹² In the Spanish imaginary, the Merino has long stood in for sheep in biblical depictions, from both the Old and the New Testaments. See Javier Irigoyen-García’s insightful analysis in *The Spanish Arcadia*.

¹³ <http://www.catedraldeleon.org/index.php/catedral-informacion/galeria-fotografica-main-menu/category/44-capillas>

¹⁴ For information on the depiction of the Merino in Spanish painting, see the detailed analysis of Miguel Ángel Aparicio Tovar and Francisco Javier Pizarro Gómez, the former professor of veterinary medicine and the latter a professor of art history, both at the University of Extremadura. Their study documents the extensive pictorial representation of the Merino ram, ewe, and lamb in Spanish painting from the 14th to the 18th centuries. The study begins with a detailed scientific description of the various identifying features of the Merino breed, such as the shape of the head, the form of the horns, position of ears on head, body shape, legs, and the fleece. The head, for example, is “Ancha y corta. Línea fronto-nasal, con ligera depresión. Órbitas poco salientes. Ojos vivos y grandes. Frente ancha. Nariz gruesa, con uno o varios pliegues cutáneos característicos encima de los ollares, en los machos” (21). The study also delineates the four types of Merinos (Escorial, Infantado, Negreti, Paular, and Guadalupe) and their flocks of origin. Similarly, the first illustration from *Libro III* (92 Verso) of Antonio

de Lofrasso's *Diez libros de la Fortuna de Amor* (1573) clearly depicts the ram's horns, which are distinctly Merino in the way that they curl close to the head of the animal. This text is found in the holdings of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/1010-R/1011.

¹⁵ These two are the only illustrated Spanish pastoral books. The anonymous *Libro*, eds. Luis Gómez Canseco and Bernardo Perea, was composed in 1541, almost twenty years before Montemayor's *La Diana*, remained unpublished until 2003.

¹⁶ https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maestro_de_%C3%81vila

¹⁷ <https://www.museodelprado.es/colección/obra-de-arte/agnus-dei/795b841a-ec81-4d10-bd8b-0c7a870e327b>

¹⁸ St. Margaret the Virgin, born in Antioch, was disowned by her father, a pagan priest, and she was raised as a shepherdess by her Christian nurse. After being swallowed by the devil in the form of a dragon, Margaret miraculously escapes when the cross that she carries causes him to vomit her back up alive.

¹⁹ See Rodríguez Pascual for photographs of herding gear from local museums.

²⁰ Brotherton recognizes Fray Íñigo de Mendoza's *Coplas de Vita Christi* (1482) as the earliest extant work to contain the *Pastor-Bobo* (2). Indeed, as Henry Sullivan notes, Encina likely one of the earliest Spanish writers to see his works in print (17). In a future project I will examine the dialect of Sayagués, and its exaggerated literary counterpart, alongside the language used by present-day herders and their predecessors. See, for example, Ramón Gutiérrez Álvarez; *El habla de Prioro*.

²¹ Many of these terms originate in Arabic (Viñayo González 13).

²² The *Libro* resurfaced and was transcribed in 1979 by Bernardo Perea. The critical edition of Luis Gómez Canseco, using Perea's transcription, was published in 2003. Gómez Canseco substantively links the anonymous *Libro* to its precursors, including Boccaccio, Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, the *novela sentimental*, *La Celestina*, the poetry of Garcilaso and the dramatic works of Juan del Encina. The MS is dated 1541. The author's name is unknown. He likely served Carlos V, either at court or on the battlefield (Gómez Canseco 30).

²³ <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000115695&page=1>

²⁴ This herb was known to have healing properties. As we recall, don Quijote uses it in the “salutífero” *bálsamo* de Fierabrás, which does seem to mitigate don Quijote’s condition—though not Sancho’s—after being beaten by the mule drivers and the enchanted Moor, respectively in I.15 and 17. Even in the present day rosemary is a boon thought to boost the memory, protect the brain, prevent hair loss, provide pain relief, and aid digestion.

²⁵ For example, in I.17 Sancho’s blanketers include four wool carders from Segovia and three needlemakers from El Potro de Córdoba (122).

²⁶ Herders are so familiar with their own animals that they are easily able to distinguish one specific animal from another, even in a herd numbering in the thousands. Moreover, they used a system of hash marks—often carved onto the staff itself—to keep count of the number of animals. This practice was more necessary, of course, in the days of transhumance.

²⁷ Other animals wore them too: “También se ponía cencerro a alguna oveja ‘abandoná’ (que no quería la cría), porque el cordero al mamar conocía el cencerro y de este modo, por el sonido, iba a la madre. A alguna chívina, por capricho. Al carnero, se le ponía la zumba. Al ‘careo’ (perro) se le colocaba un cascabel con collar de cuero” (Rosa María Lorenzo López 59).

²⁸ This staff, elaborately carved in the shape of a dragon’s head, comes from the collection of poet Eleuterio Prado, originally from Prioro, Léon. Eleuterio Prado Diez, whose has written several volumes of poetry, including *Canción del rebaño* (1995), which is inspired by his own days tending to the flock, as well as by generations of his shepherding ancestors. Prado was the nephew of the late shepherd Teodosio Martínez Prado, who wrote *Memorias de un pastor trashumante y costumbres de Prioro*. Eleuterio Prado—or Teyo, as he is known—generously spent several delightful hours with me, regaling me with stories about his childhood experiences herding sheep with his father. Teyo also showed me his extensive collection of staves and *cencerros* and did a poetry reading for me from *Canción del rebaño*.

²⁹ The Captive, from the I.39 of the *Quijote*, comes from the *montaña de León*.

³⁰ See published accounts such as Juan Fernández-Castaño’s photographic essay *Pastores*; Fernando Biarge and Manuel Estaún’s *De sol a sol*; Borja Cardelús’ *El último trashumante*; Eduardo Saiz Alonso’s *Diario de un viaje trashumante*; and Cecilio García de Blas Martín-Maestro’s *Caminos polvorrientos de la Mesta*. See also the blog of ecologist María Fernández-Giménez, La

Pastora de Jaca: “The Romance of Transhumance—Not!” 20 November, 2010. <http://lapastoradejaca.blogspot.com/search?updated-min=2010-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&updated-max=2011-01-01T00:00:00-08:00&max-results=9>. Llares Folk’s “ya se van los pastores para Extremadura” record and preserve traditional shepherds’ songs (*Por los caminos de la trashumancia*. Several Records, 1999).

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Mammoth Woolly Migrations:
Transhumance, Extinction, and the Cervantine Shepherd

Transcendental Metagenre Travelers:
A Background of the Reception of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*
in Spain and France

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Cervantes' works, particularly *Don Quixote*, with their essential role in world literature canon formation, have contributed to shape different theories and approaches through time, where the ultimate reasons of their success in European culture are explored. In order to contribute to this debate, this essay studies:

- a) the role of literary genres in the *Quixote*, focusing on their strategies to influence on readers, and,
- b) the potentiality of using the debate of the pre-eminence of literary genres in contrasted cultural contexts as a critical frame, in order to assess the background of readers' expectations, reception and transcendence of Cervantes' works in Spain and France.²

Among the studies on the ideological frame and reception of Cervantes' works, both the ones about this author's influence in a complex and non-uniform Spain, together with those focusing on how the acceptance of Cervantes' works has diachronically affected different cultural contexts, have contributed to create a dynamic and complex theoretical basis for the understanding of the author who revolutionized early modern narrative.

On the one hand, approaches with a focus on Cervantes' ideology include historical studies by representative critics such as Marcel Bataillon and Américo Castro, who have contributed to situate Cervantes in the context of Erasmism, thus emphasizing this author's progressive thought. On the other hand, approaches to the reception of Cervantes' works, such as Anthony Close's metacritical study in *The Romantic Approach to Don Quixote*, have proven that modern and contemporary perception of Cervantes is affected by ideological readings of both the novel and its author, as it has happened especially since the Romantic Era.

As an expansion of Maravall's idea about the existence of a continuum between courtly and popular spectacles in his Theory of the Baroque, I have recently explored how the expansion of the *comedia nueva*,

Transcendental Metagenre Travelers:
A Background of the Reception of
Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in Spain and France

the rebirth of the picaresque novel and the exuberance of Courtly celebrations during Philip III's reign (1598-1621) arose from a related political phenomenon in *Histéresis Creativa*. By the time that Cervantes published *Don Quixote*, 1605, the Spanish capital was Valladolid (1601-06), but the great efforts by Madrid to recuperate its central political influence would pay a year later. The return of the Court to Madrid was related to a culture of opportunism associated to an existing worldview being supported by Philip III. The Courtly culture promoted at his kingdom was transmitted and made present in all levels of society, facilitating the renaissance of picaresque, with its opportunistic "anti-system" morality, and related aesthetics. The newly appointed nobility by the King, chosen by the duke of Lerma, substituted the existing one faithful to Philip II, but the newcomers showed a strong urgency to being accepted and recognized among their aristocratic peers. Enhancing self-praising in extremely expensive ceremonies and public spectacles was necessary, both to confirm the validity of a new hegemonic power based on opportunism and historical manipulation (including, for instance, the falsification and hyperbolic view of ancestors in books sponsored by Lerma), and to try to shadow other traditional nobility values and lineages, many of them associated to successful heroic cases from the times of the Reconquista. The fall of Rodrigo de Calderón (1621) and the Duke of Lerma (1624), somewhat interrupted this ideological courtly trend, but not without leaving a cultural trace of literary and spectacular "bubbles," which when studied today, offers a significant metafictional context, which is present in Cervantes' literary works as well.

Cervantes and literary genres in Spain

When focusing on the sources of Cervantes' cultural background, which included his master of literary theory, drama, poetry, essay and narrative genres, respect for Aristotelian units, and awareness of current critical debates, among others, many questions arise on how specific textual sources were assimilated by this author.

On the one hand, Riley in his *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel* and *Don Quixote*, has addressed the most relevant issues related to the context of the origin of Cervantes' narrative, by exploring the ways his novels evolved from bucolic, picaresque and chivalric genres, among others, right before

the publication of Don Quixote. By approaching the narrative precedents of Cervantes' novel, Riley has contributed to theorize about his major literary ideological and aesthetic influences, concluding that, although there were specific genres and literary works which might have contributed to shaping Cervantes' narrative, specific cases with a predominant and definitive influence on Cervantes' style and narrative content are still not clearly identified.

On the other hand, in his historical texts on Cervantes' politics, *Utopia and Counterutopia in the Quixote*, and on Baroque theatre *La cultura del Barroco: análisis de una estructura histórica*, Maravall has contributed to shaping our contemporary vision of Cervantes' ideology as well. He concludes that many political ideas of his period are present in Cervantes' works, both in the *Quixote*, as the episodes of Sancho's island demonstrate, and in some relevant short dramas such as the *Election of the Majors of Daganzo* and *The Marvellous Puppets Show*. Cervantes' rejection to the "pureza de sangre" policy in these interludes shows how deeply this author was aware of the role of politics and ideology in his society as well. While Castro defends in his *El pensamiento de Cervantes* a perception of Cervantes as a progressive thinker, Maravall's study on the *Quixote*, where its main character is conceived as a reactionary subject, has contributed to confirm that same conclusion about the political ideology of Cervantes too.

Riley's exploration of Cervantes' awareness on the way genres operate in the literary world complements Castro's and Maravall's approaches, by considering that Cervantes' works being mostly progressive and inclusive is an essential part of his worldview. The combination of both critical trends contributes to our own focus on the areas of the *Quixote* where the author includes literary genres in a way in which informed readers can fully understand the manipulative ideological mechanisms shaping the main characters' worldview. Cervantes' novel contributes to this debate by showing the dangers of the confusion between reality and fiction present in the closed, limited worldview proposed in literary genres, which contributes to limit the free will of characters. As soon as the worldview embedded in literary genres affects the lives of the main characters of the *Quixote*, such as Grisóstomo, Cardenio, Ginés de Pasamonte, and Don Quixote, serious consequences follow.

The ways in which the main literary genres are presented in the *Quixote* in their picaresque, sentimental, chivalric and bucolic worldviews

Transcendental Metagenre Travelers:
A Background of the Reception of
Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in Spain and France

show that Cervantes' narrative was aimed to a very informed reader as well. Direct and indirect allusions to narrative literary genres, which comprise numerous publications of, for instance, chivalric novel series and sagas, become uniquely self-conscious in Cervantes' narrative. The perspective of some of the protagonists in Cervantes' novel relates to the use of their own voice about the nature of their commitment and belonging in the actual fictional genre universe, such as the case of Marcela (bucolic), Ginés de Pasamonte (picaresque), Cardenio (sentimental) and Don Quixote (chivalric). By understanding the implications of the presence of these characters' reflections on literary genres, especially when they openly speak on doubts about their identity in the literary tragedy associated to the limit of their literary genres, a new metafictional process is unveiled. In order to appreciate the narrative puzzle proposed by Cervantes, the receptor needs, not only to be familiar with the possibilities and limitations of the different genres present in works such as the *Quixote*, but also to have an extensive reading experience about the actual literary genres being discussed in Cervantes' works.

The four literary genres being explored in the *Quixote* had evolved to a higher literary sophistication in the European context for decades, being then used by Cervantes as essential literary devices' in a metafictional context. The voice of several of these main characters in their interaction, in the context of a metanarrative, contributes to achieving a unique sense of realism. By presenting two realities, the fictional one (based on the limits of literary genres) and the 'less fictional one' (the realistic world embedded within the actual narrative of the *Quixote*), the last one becomes automatically more realistic in the process, as if a literary *trompe l'oeil* was activated. The elevated literary habits expected from readers to understand that these literary tricks are confirmed, not only in Cervantes' reception in Spain, but also in other European cultures, where Cervantes' revolutionary literary approach was fully understood as well. In fact, the Cervantine use of the literary vs. real life dichotomy was 'contagious,' as is reflected in the reaction to the reception of his works by authors who, in the fashion of Sansón Carrasco and Avellaneda, pretended to gain fame by appropriating and have an impact in Don Quixote's story. The most renown one, who introduced several short narratives in the main plot in the fashion of Cervantes as well, was Francois Filleau de Saint-Martin in his *Histoire de*

l'admirable Don Quixotte de la Manche (1677-1678; *History of the Admirable Don Quixote de La Mancha* books 1 to 4; 1695, book 5):

The sequel begins with an Arabic narrator named Zulema who reports that CHB was incorrect about the death of DQ and who claims to have investigated the activities of DQ and SP after their return home in MC's II, 73. DQ attempts to renounce everything relating to chivalry, SP takes on a more prominent role, Dorotea and a few other characters are reintroduced, and there are some embedded narratives (which actually make up the majority of the text). Filleau's sequel was very popular in France, and was translated to German within a year. (Mancing 295)

Among the potential precedents of the presence of self-conscious characters at the end of sixteenth century is the anonymous interlude *Entremés sin título de Godoy*. This unique literary work demonstrates that picaresque characters flourished, not only in narratives, but in theatrical works, and particularly in short drama, reaching a high level of sophistication and self-consciousness which reminds Cervantes' own:

Godoy: Las mujeres de mis prendas y calidad, siendo probes, no habían de nacer en el mundo. Dígallo por mí, que aunque tengo mucho linaje, por ser probe no hacen caso de mí [...] mis amores, que los tengo lindos, y son tres, sino que el uno de ellos es viejo y corcovado y yo no lo puedo ver más que al diablo, que le hiede la boca, y no sé cómo le eche de mi casa [...] Los otros dos los quiero más que a la lumbre de mis ojos, porque tienen partes para eso; son gentiles-hombres, valientes y de buena parentela; pues ¿oficios?, hasta ahí puede llegar. El uno es lacayo de un caballero muy principal y rico; y me dice mis amores que les quiere dar su amo librea. El otro es muy honrado y amigo de la honra, y no sabe que yo trato con el otro, y me parece que si tal supiere no me hablaría más; [...]. (Cotarelo, *Colección* 57)

Such as Godoy, Cervantes' self-conscious approach associated to his main characters allows them to have their own voice within the fiction they belong to. This metaliterary trend can be linked to the existing Catholic reformist and counter-reformist trend of allowing marginal beings to have a voice. The both aesthetic and ideological choice of allowing subaltern characters to express their social discontent, and even desire, by talking self-consciously about their role in their literary genres, and by extension it their

Transcendental Metagenre Travelers:
A Background of the Reception of
Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in Spain and France

society, only limited by their free will, has a precedent in the Renaissance masterpiece text, *La Celestina* (1499). Rojas' work anticipated in more than a century Cervantes' inclusion of these self-conscious marginal characters. Cervantes' narrative, not only follows this trend, but improves it by giving the independent voice to marginal characters within the actual closed world created within the narrative genres they choose to live in.

Cervantes conceived unique characters who are defined by the existential literary paradoxes they belong to. By being so attached to the literary genres of their choice, it is not easy to distinguish between reality and fiction anymore. Don Quixote, Grisóstomo, Ginés de Pasamonte and Cardenio can then be described as metagenre reality-fiction travelers. By exploring the “Cervantine moments” they generate, the highly demanding reading expectations associated to the level of sophistication required by their ‘idle’ readers will be fully understood. This literary process contributes to create a new critical frame to explore the reception of Cervantes’ works, both in the Spanish and other European contexts, such as in French culture. In them, the background of the presence of related literary genres had an impact on readers and authors before the publication of the *Quixote* as well. Considering the wide circulation of bucolic, sentimental, chivalric and picaresque narratives, French receptors, such as their Spanish counterparts, were both able to understand Cervantes’ metafictional games, and fully appreciate the literary sophistication associated to them, as the case of Francois Filleau de Saint-Martin probes.

Cervantes and literary Genres in France

Sixteenth century France was exceptionally prolific in a variety of literary genres, in particular, in regard to prose fiction. While the late Middle Ages mainly enjoyed Arthurian – be it “dérimages” of medieval romances, or new creations such as *Perceforest*, and Carolingian romances galvanized by the recent birth of printing, or allegoric novels, such as the *Roman de la rose*, all these three genres almost disappeared in the 1530s. By then, abundant new literary materials were published in translations, first from Latin and Italian, then from Spanish and Greek. While a wide range of prose fiction was, therefore, available to the reader’s satisfaction, the reception of such texts tends to focus in reconciling the ‘benefit and pleasure’ of fiction.

Reading was often described in books' paratexts as a distraction after hard work, especially in the form of epistles offered to the patrons.

In a period of restored Antiquity fashion, a debate emerged in France about the new genre of the novel, which had not been described by Aristotle. This debate on the genre of the novel developed mainly around *Amadis*, a very successful narrative series in France, which anticipated *Don Quixote*'s related metafictional issues. In the context of the wars of Religion and the subsequent crisis in the publishing world, the debate became more impassioned. However, after the Edict of Nantes (1598), the taste for fiction would be more and more developed, and the novel will flourish again in France.

Cervantes' masterpiece *Don Quixote* was rapidly disseminated in the Spanish speaking territories. The Brussels based printer Roger Velpius gave an (unauthorized³) edition in 1607, following the second Madrid original with corrections, and its second part was published in 1616 by Huberto Antonio. These editions circulated widely in Europe, and were used for the earliest translations into English, French, and Italian. The Hispanist, grammarian and lexicographer César Oudin made the first translation into French of the whole book (Paris, Jean Fouët, 1614),⁴ the second part of *Don Quixote* being translated by François de Rosset in 1618. However, *Don Quixote* had started his successful French career as early as 1608, with Nicolas Baudouin's translation of one of the intercalated stories (I, 24 and 24), "El Curioso impertinente," in a bilingual edition.⁵ The following year, two more excerpts were anonymously translated:⁶ parts of the Marcela and Grisóstomo episode (I, 12 and 13), and Don Quixote's speech on arms and letters (I, 38). It has to be noted that these self-contained narratives belong to different genres: a sentimental novel together with a pastoral tale and a rhetorical discourse. By reviewing the most popular literary genres in France at the time of Cervantes the analysis of the reception of Spanish literature in this culture will be facilitated.

The pastoral genre culminated in France with Honoré d'Urfé's twelve Books of *L'Astrée* (1607-1627), one of the most influential works in seventeenth century. It elaborated, in more than 5000 pages, the adventures of several shepherds and shepherdesses, whose main preoccupation was love. The background of the pastoral genre, well known and popular among the French readers, dates back to the first half of the sixteenth century, with the publication of Italian *Arcadia* by Jacopo Sannazar (ca 1480,

Transcendental Metagenre Travelers:
A Background of the Reception of
Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in Spain and France

first edited in 1504), which was translated by Jean Martin in 1544. Even though there was only one edition, the French version played an important role in French literary canon. The influence of the Iberian pastoral genre will be more successful, as Jorge Montemayor's presence in France demonstrates. Four translations of *Los siete libros de la Diana* (1559) were published before 1614, nourishing the reader with a strong taste for shepherds and nature.

The picaresque genre arrived early in France as well, just a few years after the publication of the first part of the *Lazarillo* (1554), which was translated anonymously and published in Lyon as early as 1560; a second Parisian edition followed. After four decades, an additional translation was published in Antwerp in 1598, which was a censored version edited together with a spurious second part of the novel in the same volume. A bilingual edition was published in 1601 too, attesting to the success of this genre. Moreover, a second picaresque novel was also translated following *Lazarillo*'s success. The first part of *Guzmán de Alfarache* by Mateo Alemán (1599) was rendered in French by Gabriel Chappuys just one year after its Spanish release. The *pícaro* character and his social satire will inspire many narrative writers during the 18th century.

Another literary genre, of Spanish origin, which was extremely valued by French readers was the sentimental (love feelings) narrative. Foreshadowed by the success of Boccacio (*Elegia di Fiammetta* and *Filostrato* for instance) and Piccolomini (*De duobus amantibus*), the *novela sentimental* proved to be very successful in the first half of the 16th century. Diego de San Pedro and Juan de Flores had each of them two novels translated into French, added to the works of Pedro Manuel de Urrea and Juan de Segura, together with the anonymous *Questión de amor*. Particularly popular were *Cárcel de amor*, *Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda*, and *Grisel y Mirabella*, whose translations had a strong impact in the French Renaissance culture. Sometimes published in bilingual, trilingual, and even four-language editions, these short *novellas* were useful as pedagogical tools for learning languages. Originally translated from an Italian version, these texts were subsequently using Spanish originals when the skills of the translators improved. There was a passionate and avid reception for these erotic-chivalric adventures, although some *novelas* were not as successful: *Quexa y aviso contra amor*, *Penitencia de amor*, *Grimalte y Gradissa* were only published in their French version. In fact, the metafictional *Grimalte y Gradissa* was of

particular interest for Maurice Scève, its translator into French, who soon would be a major figure on the Lyonnaise literary scene.

The most successful Spanish literary genre in France was the chivalric. *Amadis de Gaule* being the first European best seller and its French version causing a real landslide in the publishing world. The *Amadis* mania remained for a decade (1540-1550), before it became controversial and finally declined. These kinds of chivalric sagas changed the reading habits, book formats, iconography, as well as the status of the novel in France. They facilitated a business enterprise, conforming a consortium of publishers and retailers ensuring the success of the series. Not only the chivalric (and erotic!) aspects of the novel were prized by the readers, but also the rhetorical parts, thanks to text selection collections such as the *Thresor des livres d'Amadis* (1559). This was a collection of the best speeches, soliloquies and letters, which became a handbook for courtiers. It had an original pedagogical purpose, being used to teach how to speak, particularly in romantic situations and contexts. Its success is owed to its translator Nicolas Herberay des Essarts, who offered a new approach to translation with his exceptional style for a book related to the Court of King Francis I of France. Paradoxically, the French *Amadis* series had more sequels than the Spanish original, and included new versions written by different authors – Italian as well as German –, to account for 24 books in total between 1540 and 1615. In spite of a strong rivalry with the Italian *Orlando Furioso*, *Amadis* contributed to create the necessary atmosphere for the translation of many other Spanish chivalric texts: *Palmerín de Inglaterra*, *Primaleon* and *Florando de Inglaterra*, among others.

In sum, French readers educated in Spanish taste were ready to welcome the French edition of the *Quixote*. Early translations of Cervantes' work probe that its reception was very much facilitated by the reading habits associated to literary genres, which had shaped the minds of French readers from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

Metafictional Genre Travelers in the Quixote

Adding to the bucolic, picaresque, sentimental and chivalric literary genres explored in the previous section in the French cultural context, the actual presence of genre protagonists who reflect upon their presence in Cervantes' masterpiece will be explored in detail in this part:

Transcendental Metagenre Travelers:
A Background of the Reception of
Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in Spain and France

a) Bucolic metafictional genre travelers

Cervantes' approach to bucolic narratives in the *Quixote* confirms the elevated expectations this author had on his readers, contributing to understanding the sophistication of his literary proposal of a new literary genre based on an actual self-reflection on literary genres. Being an established aesthetic fashion in Spain, and present both in literature and art in Europe, the bucolic narrative genre was practiced by Cervantes himself in his first major publication, *La Galatea*. In chapter XII of the *Quixote*, Cervantes presents the story of the shepherdess Marcela within the context of a sudden change in the action. The switch of narrative perspectives, allows readers to experience how manipulative discourse works. The story is narrated by Grisóstomo's friends, other shepherds who are presenting the facts of his friend's suicide only from his point of view, when Marcela, until then the target of all the blaming of the shepherds' attacks, shows up in the story to tell her truth and then disappears in the forest after being protected by Don Quixote's particular sense of justice. This experimentation on the bucolic genre limits by playing with readers' expectations in the Marcela episode might have its origin in *Galatea*, where perspectives and reception of the story of the 'two best friends' and the 'killing shepherd' is similarly explored.⁷

The first transcendental metagenre traveler after Don Quixote himself is the passionate and unfortunate Grisóstomo, having troubles in making a difference between reality and fiction as well. He is an imaginary traveler between the fiction of life in La Mancha and the reality of his own bucolic universe by choice, to which he wants to belong in a "barataria" way, by just dressing up like a shepherd, living in the forest and loving Marcela. Cervantes' description of *tercia naturaleza* in *La Galatea* contributes to illuminate readers about this author's belief in art as a unique creative tool, not only able to imitate reality, but to create the effect about the possibility of being able to surpass it. Shepherd Elicio comments this reality based on 'artificio' when talking about the 'Valle de los Cipreses':

Aquí se ve en cualquiera sazón del año andar la risueña primavera con la hermosa Venus en hábito subcinto y amoroso, y Céfiro que la acompaña, con la madre Flora delante, esparciendo a manos

llenas varias y odoríferas flores. Y la industria de sus moradores ha hecho tanto, que la naturaleza, encorporada con el arte, es hecha artífice y connatural del arte, y de entradas a dos se ha hecho una tercia naturaleza, a la cual no sabré dar nombre. (*Galatea VI*, 542)

Grisóstomo himself seems to be involved in this kind of unspeakable *tercia naturaleza* as well. His background at the University of Salamanca, with its famous magic cave, together with his studies in Astrology seem to have affected his common sense. He is behaving like a fictional shepherd, and living as if he was part of a bucolic narrative. Either by free will, by God's intervention, synchronicity, magic, or all of the above, he is able to find his matching fictional shepherdess Marcela in the forest. Following opposite motivations, Marcela uses the bucolic fiction and its landscapes to escape from a society which was punishing her beauty, by not letting her be unmarried and free. In the fashion on the bucolic narrative shepherds' debates, Grisóstomo's arguments are heard and understood by everyone, including the reader. But Marcela, who had been hidden in the forest until the speech praising the unfortunate Grisóstomo is over, will have the opportunity to tell the story of the death of Grisóstomo from her own point of view. She claims that she is not to blame for it because the rules of Catholic marriage say that she is not obliged to love him against her will. Personal freedom, in a real society, does not have to be necessarily affected by the fictionally established rules of the bucolic genre.

The punishment for Grisóstomo's metageneric transgression is capital. Such as in the case of the shepherd killer in *La Galatea*, some bucolic characters have taken their fictional dream too far. Killing or taking your own life due to living a utopia in the *tercia naturaleza* is exceptional in Cervantes' narrative. A traditional focus on the transgressive character of Marcela still allows readers to appreciate the existential tragedy of Grisóstomo as well, which makes sense as continuity with the rest of related characters trapped in their own transcendental metageneric travelling loops.

b) Picaresque metafictional genre travelers

Transcendental Metagenre Travelers:
A Background of the Reception of
Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in Spain and France

The transcendental picaresque metagenre traveler in the *Quixote* is Ginés de Pasamonte. Ginés' presence in the story is related to his statement about his choice between literary and non-literary existence:

[...] yo soy Ginés de Pasamonte, cuya vida está escrita por estos pulgares.

—Dice verdad —dijo el comisario—, que él mismo ha escrito su historia, que no hay más que desear, y deja empeñado el libro en la cárcel en doscientos reales.

—Y le pienso quitar —dijo Ginés—, si quedara en doscientos ducados.

—¿Tan bueno es? —dijo don Quijote.

—Es tan bueno —respondió Ginés—, que mal año para Lazarillo de Tormes y para todos cuantos de aquel género se han escrito o escribieren. Lo que le sé decir a usted es que trata verdades y que son verdades tan lindas y tan donosas que no pueden haber mentiras que se le igualen.

—¿Y cómo se intitula el libro? —preguntó don Quijote.

—La vida de Ginés de Pasamonte —respondió el mismo.

—¿Y está acabado? —preguntó don Quijote.

—¿Cómo puede estar acabado —respondió él—, si aún no está acabada mi vida? Lo que está escrito es desde mi nacimiento hasta el punto que esta última vez me han echado en galeras.

—Luego ¿otra vez habéis estado en ellas? —dijo don Quijote.

—Para servir a Dios y al rey, otra vez he estado cuatro años, y ya sé a qué sabe el bizcocho y el corbacho —respondió Ginés—; y no me pesa mucho de ir a ellas, porque allí tendrá lugar de acabar mi libro, que me quedan muchas cosas que decir y en las galeras de España hay más sosiego de aquel que sería menester, aunque no es menester mucho más para lo que yo tengo de escribir, porque me lo sé de coro. (DQI)

Ginés is aware of the specificities of the picaresque genre, where criminal life has been commodified, and thus is the object of interest of readers who consume this literary genre in order to virtually experience the miseries and crimes associated to marginal life. Ginés presents himself as a *pícaro*-writer,

who does not mind going to galleys. He sees this setback as an opportunity to improve his fame, and then go up in the fictional world by adding new criminal experiences worth being retold and then ‘consumed’ by readers. The dialogue between both metageneric travellers, Don Quixote and Ginés, with a focus on picaresque narrative, becomes one of the most paradigmatic Cervantine moments.

c) Sentimental metafictional genre travelers

The story of Cardenio is part of an intercalated narrative which, through several flashbacks, intermingles in an encounter between the frustrated lover, Don Quixote and Sancho in Sierra Morena. Readers learn about Cardenio’s madness, both through his own words, and through Dorotea’s account of how Luscinda had married Cardenio’s best friend, Fernando, who had ‘stolen’ the young lady from Cardenio instead. This Shakespearean “double crossing” develops around the transformation of the aristocrat of the story, Fernando, from a traitor nobleman to a repented friend and husband. He ends up restoring Dorotea’s and his own honour by accepting her marriage offer at the inn. As in the case of Grisóstomo, Dorotea is aware of the literary genre she has been forced to belong to. In her particular case it is a sentimental novel where an incontinent and capricious aristocrat is at the origin of all subsequent actions. Dorotea, like Marcela, renounces to be part of an imposing hegemonic oppressive masculine world. The freedom of Sierra Morena is seen by these characters as a bucolic utopic literary space where they can hide away from the civilization. It is a passage, a window between their literary past and their long-desired realistic future. They have arrived to a perfect scenario in time and space where it is possible to find another character who has travelled from an undesired existence into the fictional action ruled by a related literary genre universe as well. As it happens with Don Quixote himself, they find their own place when escaping from their vulgar, oppressive and unfair destinies, by choosing not being “civilized.” While Dorotea travels from a simple rural life into the universe of the sentimental narrative plot originated in Fernando’s treason of his best friend, Cardenio’s madness and trauma manifests itself when talking about chivalric novels in presence of Don Quixote. The inn will become an improvised stage where the

Transcendental Metagenre Travelers:
A Background of the Reception of
Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in Spain and France

problems of all characters are resolved in a harmonic ending, with a double wedding: Cardenio and Luscinda, Dorotea and Fernando.

Related to the story of Cardenio, there are other narratives associated to the ‘sentimental’ fiction, but with both a Bizantine (The Captive) and Italian (The tale of ill-advised curiosity) flavor. Additional transcendental metagenre travelers in these two texts are Anselmo and Zoraida. In the first narrative, Anselmo pretends to become the “author” of his own sentimental novella. In the second case, Zoraida follows a hagiographic search for her own religious identity, which is facilitated by several apparitions of Virgin Mary or Lela Marién in her room. On the one hand, Anselmo’s impertinence drives him into a social death when he decides to test his wife’s fidelity, by exposing her female desire to the charms of his best friend Lotario. Anselmo travels through the metagenre of the Italian novella to explore, in the practice, what he thinks that, in theory, does need to be probed: his wife’s fidelity to her marriage’s vow. Zoraida, on the other hand, fictionally and transcendentally transforms herself during her search for religious freedom in North Africa. She decides to change the story of her life and is inspired to choose and help Ruy in order to escape from Algiers and to marry him under their shared Catholic faith. Her cult to the image of Virgin Mary will take her to Spain, where she will be able to recreate her spiritual memories and her images in Churches and other places of Catholic cult (see Pérez de León “virtuous”) at her will.

d) Chivalric metafictional genre travelers

The most relevant transcendental metagenre traveler in Cervantes’ novel, which contributes to give a sense of unity to the whole narrative, is Don Quixote. The first chapters of the novel show his transition from his identity as a common Spanish hidalgo, Alonso Quijano, to his transformation as the main character of a chivalric novel. He then creates a refashioned historical narrative full of fantastic and hyperbolic situations, a universe where he wants to belong to. In a fascinating turn of events, he will become Alonso Quijano right before dying at the end of the second part of the novel. The metafictional transition, from Alonso Quijano to Don Quixote, and vice versa, after a dangerous fictional life of forced “adventures” in the context of a pacific and vulgar La Mancha, confirms

the self-awareness which features the rest of metafictional genre travel characters of this narrative.

Conclusion

Don Quixote: a metagenre narrative for informed readers

Cervantes shares his metaliterary ‘tricks’ and sophisticated literary ideas with his informed audience, by presenting several popular literary genres which are reflected upon by literary characters openly discussing literary issues in the actual metanarrative they belong to. The presence of the four characters who “travel” from fictional to metafictional realities - Grisóstomo, Marcela, Ginés de Pasamonte and Don Quijote – contributes to truly Cervantine moments. Some of them, like Grisóstomo, pay with their lives their challenge to God’s free will of appropriating fictional narrative contexts and pretending to force other characters to sharing his own worldview.

The cases of Marcela and Dorotea, independent women who choose to hide away from the masculinized, oppressing “narratives” where they have nothing to win, complement the worldview present in all literary genres explored by Cervantes, where a character can alternate between fictional and metafictional reality, but not without consequences. A sense of the transcendence of the different choices within the free will possibilities is associated to the ability of transit between fictional and ‘less-fictional’ worldviews.

All four transcendental metagenre travelers show how one’s life can be commodified and altered, so that it makes a great narrative, although it is not always in the main character’s own benefit. In the sentimental fiction of Cardenio, he is shown as a victim of a literary plot, where love and treason are hand in hand. In several other novellas present in the *Quixote*, characters pretend to affect the lives of others by pursuing a fixed idea, Anselmo, or even through a religious transformation, Zoraida. The first part of the *Quixote* contains a metafictional frame associated to the main character himself, who does not only contribute to give a sense of unity to the narrative, but also to present a theoretical frame for reading a special novel where characters escape from their vulgar lives at the Sirens’ song of fictional genres.

Transcendental Metagenre Travelers:
A Background of the Reception of
Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in Spain and France

Cervantes and Spanish literary genres reception in France

The reception of Spanish literature in early modern France has fluctuated, according to different political circumstances. The rivalry between the, by then, two most powerful western Europeans kings, Francis I and Charles V, developed first over the Italian wars (1494-1559) and then affected Holy Roman Empire inheritance (1519). The French defeat at the battle of Pavia in 1525 led to the imprisonment of the French king in Spain, and Charles V forced him to sign the humiliating Treaty of Madrid. Although these circumstances were not in favor of an intellectual exchange between both countries, numerous Spanish works were published in France in the original language, and many translations flourished during the sixty-five years of Italian Wars. Ironically, during his prison time in Madrid, Francis I became acquainted with Spanish literature, preferring chivalric novels, which he enjoyed very much, even though he could not read Spanish, and needed a translator.

It has to be noted, however, that translating was not a scientific discipline at this time. French translators did not hesitate to manipulate the texts, rehabilitating the French position when needed and then denigrating the Spanish authors, even dismissing them. Nevertheless, after the Peace of Vervins (1598) a more favorable period for both countries followed. The double marriage of Louis XIII of France with Anne of Austria and Philip, Prince of Asturias, with Elizabeth of France in 1615, promoted a renewed taste for Spanish culture. This hispanophilic attitude will develop throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, and will definitively favor Cervantes' reception in France.

Building on pioneer studies by Bataillon, Bardon, and Crooks, critics such as Canavaggio, Cioranescu, Duché, Losada-Goya, Pérez-Espejo, and Texeira Anacleto confirm that Spanish literature was notably influential in France during this period.⁸ Cioranescu confirms that Spanish was part of a new linguistic *quadrivium*, equal to with Italian or perhaps even better culturally placed. Many pedagogic texts (bilingual editions, grammars, dictionaries, and textbooks) were published, allowing a direct access to Spanish originals. Canavaggio's excellent survey of Cervantine's heritage and impact on Western culture pays a close attention to iconography as well. In sum, the presence and influence of literary genres such as the picaresque,

bucolic, sentimental and chivalric ones provided a necessary background to French readers. Familiar with adventures of knights and rogues, together with the love torments of shepherds and noble men, French receptors were able to pick up Cervantes' genius' literary genres games – even though originally *Don Quixote*'s reception was originally burlesque, as Anthony Close probed.

By exploring the proposed metafictional use of literary genres in the first part of the *Quixote*, a more informed study of the reception of Cervantes' masterpiece, both Spain and France, can be achieved. Our current diachronic study in progress of each of the literary genres, namely, chivalric, sentimental, bucolic and picaresque:

- a) from their original reception in Spain and France, to their evolution and influence as independent genres,
- b) understanding the influence that Cervantes' masterpiece had through his particular use of the narrative genre traditions, and finally
- c) by exploring the evolution of all four literary genres after Cervantes in Spanish and French cultures will contribute to a better understanding of the reception and impact on readers' habits of transcendental and pan-European influential authors such as Cervantes.

Transcendental Metagenre Travelers:
A Background of the Reception of
Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in Spain and France

¹ I am deeply grateful for the invaluable contribution of Prof. Duché to this essay, which includes both her elaboration of the “Cervantes and literary Genres in France” section, and her follow up discussion on the background and reception of Cervantes in France at the conclusion.

² Transcendence relates here to what Genette calls “transtextuality.” Cervantes’ works show their agency to be transcendent by their ability to create external links with other texts:

The object of poetics is not the singular text but, as maintained in The Architext and further developed in Palimpsests, "textual transcendence of the text": "all that sets a text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts" (Palimpsests 1). This textual transcendence, also called "transtextuality," takes the form of five types of relations, extending from the inclusion of one text in another (intertextuality) to the most abstract or implicit relation such as genre (architextuality) and including the critical relation (metatextuality), transformation of one text by another (hypertextuality, studied in Palimpsests) and the "intermediate zone" lying between texts and the surrounding social discourse (paratextuality, studied in Paratexts). (Pier 12)

The extensive and sophisticated use of paratexts by Cervantes can be read as a confirmation of the transcendental urgency present in his works:

The paratext marks out a preliminary space where readers are brought to the edge of the text, invited to enter it, and given important information about it — its title and genre, its author and the circumstances of its composition, its relationships to other texts and the appropriate methods for digesting or applying it. (Sherman 69)

³ Don Quixote himself is aware of these editions (see II, 3: “one edition was printed in Antwerp” says the bachelor Sanson Carrasco to Don Quixote, asking if there was a book about him).

⁴ Oudin’s translation was very successful, being republished many times.

⁵ *Le curieux impertinent en espagnol et en françois de la traduction de Baudouin*. Paris: Jean Richer, 1608.

⁶ *Homicidio de la Fidelidad y la Defensa del Honor. Le Meurtre de la Fidélité et la Defense de l'Honneur, où est racontée la triste et pitoyable avanture du berger Philidon et les raisons de la belle et chaste Maruelle, accusée de sa mort.* Paris: Jean Richer, 1609.

⁷ These embedded stories, with a byzantine flavor in an entangled plot, consist of main characters getting involved both in a love crime perpetrated by a shepherd, and in the separation of two friends, being the last one not very related to the bucolic genre (see further details in the chapter on *La Galatea* in Pérez de León *Cervantes y el cuarto misterio*).

⁸ These are only a few names, in a very long list of publications dealing with the influence of Cervantes and Spanish literature in early modern France.

Transcendental Metagenre Travelers:
A Background of the Reception of
Cervantes' *Don Quixote* in Spain and France

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“ . . . And things that go bump in the night”:
Narrative Deferral, the Supernatural, and the Metafictive Uncanny
in *Don Quijote*

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To consider the role of the supernatural in *Don Quijote* may seem an exercise in paradox: there are, after all, no ghoulies, ghosties, or long-leggedy beasties in the novel except in the imaginations of the mad *hidalgo* and his superstitious, credulous squire. The *Coloquio de los perros* features its eponymous talking dogs, the *Persiles* depicts werewolves, and both include witches, but *Don Quijote* depends too much on its fundamental dichotomy between reality and delusion to allow any such departures from the Manchegan mundane. However, on at least one occasion in *Don Quijote*, things do go bump in the night, and it may be that our over-familiarity with the text as teachers and re-readers, our foreknowledge of every episode’s outcome, might lead us to overlook the temporary possibility of the supernatural as a narrative mode in the text’s presentation of some of the *caballero* and *escudero*’s adventures. This essay will offer a preliminary consideration of that aspect of the text in Part One of the novel and pursue certain questions its treatment might raise for the second part.

Of key importance here is a specific question of narrative technique. In the initial chapters of *Don Quijote*, Cervantes repeatedly takes pains first to present the reality of any situation in which he places his *hidalgo*, then subsequently to explain Alonso Quijano’s misinterpretation of that reality. In the second chapter, for example, the narrator recounts how the knight, at the end of his first day’s ride, “vio, no muy lejos del camino por donde iba, una venta,” at the door of which loitered “dos mujeres mozas, destas que llaman del partido” (I, 2; 82). Only once this scenario is established does the text describe how Don Quijote decides that the inn is a *castillo* and the prostitutes are “dos hermosas doncellas o dos graciosas

“... And things that go bump in the night”:
Narrative Deferral, the Supernatural, and the Metafictive Uncanny
in *Don Quijote*

damas” taking the air (I, 2; 82). This initial narrative structure develops further after Sancho sallies forth with his new master. As at the *renta*, the narrator begins with the reality of the situation: “En esto, descubrieron treinta o cuarenta molinas de viento que hay en aquel campo” (I, 8; 128), a description which precedes Don Quijote’s announcement – or instruction – to Sancho, “... ves aquí, amigo Sancho Panza, donde se descubren treinta, o pocos más, desaforados gigantes ...” (I, 8; 129). Jeremy Medina positions the latter moment at the start of a symmetrical five-step sequence which Cervantes will frequently utilize in the novel: Don Quijote proclaims the scenario which he has created in his imagination, Sancho contradicts him, Don Quijote willfully acts out his fantasy with negative results, Sancho faults his master for refusing to acknowledge the reality he had accurately asserted, and Don Quijote “claims interference from enchanters” (Medina 166). The account of Don Quijote’s actual misadventure is framed on either side by Sancho’s affirmations of reality, which are respectively preceded and succeeded by the *hidalgo*’s announcements of his chivalric vision. For this repeated structural unit to function, however, the reader must first understand each mundane scene onto which the aspiring *caballero andante* attempts to impose his mimetic urges in the opening step of the sequence. In such episodes, the narration offered by Cervantes’s surrogates, whether the *primer autor* delving into La Mancha’s *archivos* or the *segundo autor* transcribing the *morisco* translator’s rendering of Cide Hamete’s found manuscript, is most likely taken by even skeptical readers as reliably providing those necessary descriptions of the settings and situations onto which Don Quijote and Sancho stumble.

When we arrive at Chapters 19 and 20 of the first part, however, the adventures of the *encamisados* and the *batanes* are presented differently. Here Cervantes’s narrator becomes less omniscient, or at least chooses to reveal less than he knows. As the pair ride their mismatched mounts through “la noche escura,” we are told that they:

vieron que por el mismo camino que iban venían hacia ellos gran multitud de lumbres, que no parecían sino estrellas que se movían. Pasmóse Sancho en viéndolas, y don Quijote no las tuvo todas consigo: tiró el uno del cabestro a su asno, y el otro de las riendas a su rocino, y estuvieron quedos, mirando atentamente lo que podía ser aquello, y vieron que las lumbres se iban acercando a ellos, y mientras más se llegaban, mayores parecían. A cuya vista Sancho comenzó a temblar como un azogado, y los cabellos de la cabeza se le erizaron a don Quijote ... (I, 19; 229)

The narrator gives us no objective preliminary explanation of this mysterious sight, restricting himself entirely to the knight's and squire's subjective sensory perspectives and to the explicit description of the physical manifestations of their fear. They remain confused by what they see in the rural darkness: “tornaron a mirar atentamente lo que aquello de aquellas lumbres que caminaban podía ser, y de allí a muy poco descubrieron muchos encamisados, cuya temerosa visión de todo punto remató el ánimo de Sancho Panza, el cual comenzó a dar diente con diente, como quien tiene frío de cuartana” (I, 19; 230). Even once the procession comes close enough for the pair to count the participants and see that what they thought were horses are mules, “Esta estraña visión, a tales horas y en tal despoblado, bien bastaba para poner miedo en el corazón de Sancho y aun en el de su amo” (I, 19; 230). It is only when the injured *bachiller* Alonso López explains the particulars of this nocturnal funeral cortège that the ominous air of mystery is fully dispelled, but for a significant portion of the episode, Cervantes withholds that necessary information, leaving readers to view what occurs through Don Quijote's and Sancho's eyes and to formulate their own interpretations.

This same narrative strategy is deployed in the following chapter, when the weary knight and squire's happiness at the sound of nearby running water is interrupted by unidentified and unidentifiable noises: “oyeron que daban unos golpes a compás, con un cierto crujir de hierros y

“... And things that go bump in the night”:
Narrative Deferral, the Supernatural, and the Metafictive Uncanny
in *Don Quijote*

cadenas” (I, 20; 237). The account of the pair’s emotions at this moment would not seem out of place in a horror novel:

Era la noche, como se ha dicho, escura, y ellos acertaron a entrar entre unos árboles altos, cuyas hojas, movidas del blando viento, hacían un temeroso y manso ruido, de manera que la soledad, el sitio, la escuridá, el ruido del agua con el susurro de las hojas, todo causaba horror y espanto, y más cuando vieron que ni los golpes cesaban ni el viento dormía ni la mañana llegaba, añadiéndose a todo esto el ignorar el lugar donde se hallaban. (I, 20; 237-8)

This time Cervantes extends the interval between the introduction of the apparently threatening sensory phenomenon and its explanation far longer than he did in the previous episode, thanks to Sancho’s inventive hobbling of Rocinante to prevent his master from leaving him alone and frightened in the darkness. Only after knight and squire debate the norms of storytelling and the night gives way to sunrise does the suspense end and do the adventurers and the readers together learn the mundane truth:

... al doblar de una punta pareció descubierta y patente la misma causa, sin que pudiese ser otra, de aquel horrisóno y para ellos espantable ruido que tan suspensos y medrosos toda la noche los había tenido. Y eran (si no lo has, ¡oh lector!, por pesadumbre y enojo) seis mazos de batán, que con sus alternativos golpes aquel estruendo formaban. (I, 20; 248)

Neither this episode nor its predecessor follows the pattern discerned by Medina: both begin with encounters, rendered mysterious to the reader by strategic narrative omissions, which provoke emotional reactions shared by Don Quijote and Sancho rather than a debate between them, and they end not with Don Quijote’s insistence on his chivalric vision but instead with his acceptance of the realities which he and Sancho belatedly comprehend.

These *aventuras* ultimately create a comic effect similar to that of earlier scenes like that of the windmills, provoking laughter by means of the contrast between imagination and actuality, but they take a different narrative route to achieve it. The anticipation of what new havoc the mad *hidalgo* will wreak among the unwitting and the unwary is initially replaced by a more fundamental question for the reader: what exactly is happening in these scenes? It is the eventual answers to that question which will render Don Quijote and Sancho's fears literally ridiculous in hindsight, as each acknowledges to a different degree when they behold the *batanes*.

In these scenes, Cervantes relies on the deferral of information, on descriptions withheld from the reader rather than immediately provided. We may thus add the two episodes to the lengthy inventory of delays essential to Cervantes's narrative technique in *Don Quijote*, his inventive variations on and playful deployments of the Renaissance literary device of *dilatio*: dilation in its sense of postponement as well as of rhetorical expansion and amplification. As Patricia Parker observes (192-98), the verb *dilatar* and its related noun and adjective forms recur throughout the novel, perhaps nowhere more famously than in the 1615 prologue's promise for the second part: "en ella te doy a don Quijote dilatado, y, finalmente, muerto y sepultado" (II, Prólogo; 37). Cervantes repeatedly extends, interweaves, and interrupts his numerous plot lines, suspending one narrative after another to leave readers in suspense. The episodes of the *encamisados* and the *batanes*, however, occupy a specific category: rather than only deferring their final outcomes, as in other instances of *dilación* (e.g., will Anselmo discover Lotario and Camila's affair? how will Don Quijote die?), they also conceal necessary information about the unexplained phenomena which, when perceived but not understood by knight and squire, initially set the episodes into motion. These chapters could be said to rely on forms of the hermeneutic code Barthes discerned at work in Balzac's *Sarrasine*, the various discursive strategies with which a text delays laying bare the truth behind its fundamental enigma (19, 75-76).

“... And things that go bump in the night”:
Narrative Deferral, the Supernatural, and the Metafictive Uncanny
in *Don Quijote*

One such strategy, evident in any murder mystery with a surplus of plausible suspects, is to distract the reader with alternative explanations. Their respective capacities for reason overcome by fear of the unrecognized and the incomprehensible, Don Quijote and Sancho immediately imagine supernatural perils, with no contradiction or even overt skepticism from the narrator. For the uneducated Sancho, the lights floating in the darkness are *fantasmas* (I, 19; 229), and the subsequent torchlit sight of the mourning-clad riders and horses accompanying their grim burden only heightens the nightmarish quality of the scene for him. Don Quijote, likewise frightened, tries to make sense of these strange sights and sounds with precedents from his chivalric novels (I, 19; 230-31), but his understanding of the scene proves no more sophisticated than Sancho's: as the *hidalgo* explains to Alonso López, he attacked the riders because he took them for “fantasmas y ... vestigios del otro mundo” and “los mismos satanases del infierno” (I.19, 233-35). Moreover, the startled *encamisados* interpreted the knight's unexpected nocturnal attack on them from much the same perspective, indicating that such beliefs were not limited to the uneducated and the mad: “todos pensaron que aquel no era hombre, sino diablo del infierno, que les salía a quitar el cuerpo muerto que en la litera llevaban” (I, 19; 232).¹ In the following chapter, neither knight or squire can make any sense of the fearsome hammering and the clanking of chains, though Don Quijote again chooses to regard the noises as an opportunity for him to display his knightly prowess and courage in the manner of his role models. It may be precisely the unknown aspects of his encounters with the *encamisados* and the *batanes*, in contrast to the willful transformations required of him by visible, tangible windmills and *ventas*, that on these specific occasions lead Don Quijote, as Gutiérrez Trápaga notes, to attempt to create for himself in imitation of his novels *aventuras guardadas*, trials reserved by magical means for only one chosen, prophesied hero who will prove his identity and worth with his triumph (16-17). He and Sancho are agreed, however, that their fright must be justified by the danger posed by the unseen sources of the noises, to the extent that Don Quijote gives Sancho instructions for

his possible death in battle and Sancho, offering a relatively early glimpse of his own quixotic mimesis, weeps at the prospect of his master's imminent demise in an adventure “donde no se puede escapar sino por milagro” (I, 20; 239).

Might first-time readers of the novel, still learning Cervantes's codes and parameters less than halfway through the first part's fifty-two chapters, consider supernatural explanations of what Don Quijote and Sancho see and hear as plausible narrative developments? Writing of the *batanes* episode, Hernán Sánchez points out that no reader can exclude that possibility with certainty until the *caballero* and *escudero* see the mills for themselves: “El lector podrá solamente suponer, dado el sendero cómico por el que señor y criado se deslizan, la sinrazón del miedo. Pero no conocerá en la noche la objetiva realidad del temor, el misterioso origen del estruendoso ruido” (924). An initial supernatural reading of either episode was not out of the question for *Don Quijote*'s original readers: though it is common to think of horror fiction only in its more modern iterations, such narratives certainly existed in Cervantes's era.² The chivalric novels which Alonso Quijano read so obsessively, as well as their medieval source material, frequently included marvelous events, though not always of the fear-inducing variety. As Rogelio Miñana points out, seventeenth-century Spanish prose fiction is replete with instances of characters returning in spectral form from the dead, reflecting the beliefs and tastes of a cultural moment in which, despite the vigilance of the Inquisition, “era grande la credulidad respecto a estas apariciones de ultratumba” (*La verosimilitud*, 127). David R. Castillo also calls attention to supernatural tales sometimes included in the miscellanea which were popular in late sixteenth-century Spain. These volumes served as the textual equivalents of curiosity cabinets, compilations stuffed with descriptions of “the odd, the shocking, and the rare” (37). The supernatural could fall into any or all of those categories, as in Antonio de Torquemada's 1570 *Jardín de flores curiosas* – a book Cervantes has the priest (whose literary judgment is decidedly suspect) scorn as “mentiroso” in *Don Quijote* (I, 6; 112) and of which he

“... And things that go bump in the night”:
Narrative Deferral, the Supernatural, and the Metafictive Uncanny
in *Don Quijote*

would subsequently make significant use in the *Persiles*. In the *Jardín*, the third *tratado*'s chapter heading declares that it contains “qué cosas sean fantasmas, visiones, trasgos, encantadores, hechiceros, brujas, saludadores, con algunos cuentos acaecidos y otras cosas curiosas y apacibles” (246). Among these accounts, Castillo notes, are narratives “employing stylistic resources that will be familiar to anyone who has ever read a horror story” (51) – and to anyone who has read the episodes of the *encamisados* and the *batanes* in *Don Quijote*, published only thirty-five years later. Indeed, Cervantes, whose novel incorporates so many other genres of his day, appears in these chapters to tease his readers with at least the possibility of such spectral manifestations as well.

Common to many such narratives, both then and subsequently, are the intertwined confusion and fear experienced by “ordinary” fictional men and women who are surprised by apparently supernatural events, feelings these texts encourage readers to share by restricting the narration to the characters’ own perceptions. Surprise, José Antonio Maravall explains, was essential to the Baroque artistic strategy of *suspensión* and was often linked to *el espanto*; it was deployed to elicit in the reader or viewer “un efecto psicológico que provoca una retención de las fuerzas de la contemplación o de la admiración durante unos instantes, para dejarlas actuar con más vigor al desatarlas después” (Maravall 437-38). This limited interval during which an emotional reaction such as surprise or fear “disrupts the subject’s ability to react or comprehend” (Childers 54) recalls – or anticipates – Edmund Burke’s 1756 conceptualization, so influential in Gothic horror fiction, of the sublime’s capacity for provoking astonishment, which Burke defined as “that state of the soul, in which all its motions are *suspended*, with some degree of horror. In this case the mind is so entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain any other, nor by consequence reason on that object which employs it” (57, italics mine).³ Torquemada appears to exercise Baroque *suspensión* in some of the ghostly encounters in *Jardín*, among them one (267-71) in which “the reader is literally pulled into the scene, asked to put himself or herself in Ayola’s place and imagine the

character's growing sense of dread as he feels his way through the impenetrable darkness in the company of a living corpse" (Castillo 51). Cervantes, as we have seen, likewise employs this technique in the episodes of both the *encamisados* and the *batanes*, detailing Don Quijote and Sancho's terror in the face of sights and sounds neither they nor first-time readers can decipher. Those familiar with the novel already know what Don Quijote and Sancho will discover at the end of each *aventura*, but new readers do not. Whether or not such readers might give themselves over to a pleasurable frisson of vicarious fear, they must by necessity share some degree of the knight and squire's perplexity during the moments of *suspensión* between the text's introductions of those sights and sounds and their elucidations. It is this interval of narrative deferral, this gap in which a reader's rational attempts at textual analysis are confounded by the absence of necessary information and by the possible induction of emotional response, which is so ingeniously exploited by Cervantes in these ultimately unconsummated flirtations with the literary supernatural.

The short-term possibility of a supernatural element in these episodes makes particularly applicable and useful to this analysis Tzvetan Todorov's mapping of what he defines as the fantastic, the marvelous, and the uncanny in literary texts. Focusing on precisely such narrative intervals of uncertainty, he describes the fantastic as present during "that hesitation experienced by a person who knows only the laws of nature, confronting an apparently supernatural event" (25). He further develops this definition by adding to the character's cognitive dilemma that of the implicit reader: "But if the reader were informed of the 'truth,' if he knew which solution to choose, the situation would be quite different. The fantastic therefore implies an integration of the reader into the world of the characters; that world is defined by the reader's own ambiguous perception of the events narrated" (31). According to Todorov, once this dilemma is resolved and the character's and reader's shared hesitation ends, there are two possibilities. If the bewildering events turn out to be true, the text enters the territory of the marvelous, in which the laws of the fictional world are

“... And things that go bump in the night”:
Narrative Deferral, the Supernatural, and the Metafictive Uncanny
in *Don Quijote*

revealed to encompass what the reader would consider supernatural phenomena; we might think here of Harry Potter’s discovery of the Wizarding World’s existence. If the events are not what they appear, we have the uncanny, in which what appears to be supernatural is revealed to have purely mundane causes. This is Gothic novelist Ann Radcliffe’s famous “supernatural explained,” as employed in countless novels in which a castle or mansion’s ghostly noises are found to originate from a concealed captive’s attic or dungeon prison. Xavier Aldana Reyes considers *Don Quijote* “an interesting proto-form” of this Gothic sub-genre (*Spanish Gothic* 8), and it is the uncanny with which Cervantes experiments in the adventures of the *encamisados* and the *batanes*, even as Don Quijote strives to view the world through the lens of the marvelous literature to which his beloved *libros de caballerías*, full of enchanters and magic, belong.⁴

With the exception of the two episodes we have already considered, Cervantes uses this interval of uncertainty relatively little in Part One, relying instead on omniscient, reliable, and all-revealing narrators to better illuminate and make fun of Don Quijote’s follies. Even when the knight is set upon in his sleep and imprisoned in the oxcart by the “contrahechas figuras” whom he takes for “fantasmas de aquel encantado castillo” (I, 46; 554-5), certainly an episode ripe for narration from the bewildered *hidalgo*’s perspective, the text describes his capture with a full account of his companions’ preparations before executing their plan. In Part Two, however, Cervantes will deploy this device more frequently and more variously than in the earlier volume. In the 1605 text, Don Quijote and Sancho stumbled upon the *encamisados* and the *batanes* entirely by accident before mistakenly but understandably attributing what they saw and heard to the supernatural. In the 1615 continuation, however, they will become the victims of elaborate deceptions intended by their perpetrators – most of whom have read the first part, including the episodes of the *encamisados* and the *batanes* – to be taken by them for supernatural occurrences.

These *engaños* fall into three groups, within each of which narrative deferral has a distinct function and degree of importance. The first such

group is also the largest: those staged by the *duques*, for whom Don Quijote and Sancho provide the occasion to mount their extravagant and fantastic practical jokes. After the knight and squire arrive at the estate, the idle aristocrats choose the nocturnal countryside, possibly in imitation of the *encamisados* and the *batanes* episodes, as the setting in which Merlín will reveal the means of Dulcinea's disenchantment: "se les pasó el día y se les vino la noche, y no tan clara ni tan sesga como la sazón del tiempo pedía, que era en la mitad del verano; pero un cierto claroescuro que trajo consigo ayudó mucho a la intención de los duques" (II, 34; 308). Rather than limit the reader's perspective to that of Don Quijote and Sancho, the narrator makes immediately explicit with that final phrase the aristocrats' complicity in what is to come, a design so successfully executed that even they are not immune to the shock provoked by the sudden light of the fires and the deafening outcry of the *bélicos instrumentos* surrounding the hunting party: "Pasmóse el duque, suspendióse la duquesa, admiróse don Quijote, tembló Sancho Panza, y, finalmente, aun hasta los mismos sabidores de la causa se espantaron" (II, 34; 309). Despite the superficial similarities between this adventure and those in Part One, here the descriptions of the unexpected sights and sounds in the darkness and of the characters' frightened reactions do not cause the reader any *suspensión* or suspicion of the supernatural, precisely because the text presents those events to them as the product of mere human invention directed at the hapless, unknowing *caballero* and *escudero*. Such statements to the reader, in this instance and others which follow it, conspicuously diminish narrative deferral in these contrived, literally artificial adventures and render it appropriately hollow and superfluous: although Cervantes does later briefly explain, for example, that it was the *duque's* *mayordomo* who "hizo la figura de Merlín y acomodó todo el aparato de la aventura pasada, compuso los versos y hizo que un pajé hiciese a Dulcinea" (II, 36; 320), the reader already knows that Don Quijote and Sancho are being gulled and by whom. There is little uncertainty to dispel, only gratuitous details to add. This dynamic holds true in the presentation of subsequent events within the *duque's* desmesne,

“... And things that go bump in the night”:
Narrative Deferral, the Supernatural, and the Metafictive Uncanny
in *Don Quijote*

even the episode in which their castle most resembles one of its countless Gothic successors: the nocturnal attack on Doña Rodríguez and Don Quijote in his chamber by unseen, unnamed, and uncanny assailants. The narrator calls them “callados verdugos” and “fantasmas” yet also undermines the supernatural aspect by specifying that one of them, described as “otra persona” as well as a paranormal being, pummels Doña Rodríguez not with some spectral instrument of torture, but with a slipper (II, 48; 403). Cide Hamete identifies the intruders as the *duquesa* and Altisidora two chapters later and explains how their attack came about (II, 50, 415-16), but in the interim there is small chance of a reader failing to immediately suspect something of the truth, especially given the *dueña*'s revelation of the *duquesa*'s intimate secrets to Don Quijote only moments before the door bursts open.

The second group of *engaños* in Part Two employs narrative deferral more substantially and consists of deceptions previously devised by individuals whom Don Quijote then encounters by chance: the linked episodes of the *mono adivino* and the *cabeza encantada*, in which the knight confronts what he takes to be instances of magical or demonic knowledge. While the *duques* are inspired by Don Quijote's presence to devise their scenarios, “Maese Pedro” had already been using his monkey to separate the gullible from their coins before he and Don Quijote cross paths at the inn and Don Antonio Moreno only includes Don Quijote and Sancho in the audience for his magical artifact's debut because they happen to ride into Barcelona shortly before its intended unveiling. Parodi notes that Don Quijote takes both these opportunities to try to verify another marvelous event which may or may not have happened (117): his visit to Montesinos's cave, the elements of which – a descent into an underworld peopled by the living dead, including a man whose heart was cut from his chest but still speaks – would certainly qualify from a different narrative perspective as supernatural, not to mention terror-inducing (Aldana Reyes, *Spanish Gothic* 8). In the first episode it is the *rentero* who (likewise deceived) explains to Don Quijote and Sancho how Maese Pedro astonishes the public with “un

mono con la más rara habilidad que se vio entre monos”: the ability to answer questions “de modo que nos hace creer que tiene el diablo en el cuerpo” (II, 25; 234). When Maese Pedro arrives and the monkey appears to speak into his ear, the puppeteer immediately kneels to Don Quijote and hails him by name, to the surprise, confusion, and fear of those who witness this uncanny, possibly diabolical feat of recognition by a total stranger. The text does not reveal that “Maese Pedro” is in fact the new identity assumed by the criminal Ginés de Pasamonte, previously encountered in Part One, until after the subsequent debacle of his puppets’ performance, and then that information is confided only to the reader (II, 27; 249-51). This latter detail demonstrates a significant shift from Part One in the novel’s handling of such revelations, one also present in the events staged by the *duques*: the narrator ends the readers’ interval of uncertainty by revealing the mysterious event to be uncanny rather than marvelous, but like the innkeeper and his other guests, Don Quijote and Sancho are left in ignorance with regard to the truth of the monkey’s alleged powers.

The same holds true, nearly forty chapters later, in Don Quijote and Sancho’s encounter with Don Antonio Moreno’s *cabeza encantada*. After the knight arrives in Barcelona and becomes the nobleman’s houseguest, Don Antonio shows him the bronze bust on its jasper table and reveals in strictest confidence its occult “propiedad y virtud de responder a cuantas cosa al oído le preguntaren” (II, 62; 511). He subsequently demonstrates its putative powers, not only to the *hidalgo* and squire but also to a small group of his own equally mystified friends, leaving them to marvel at its answers to the questions posed to it. Though the text refers enigmatically to “el busilis del encanto” of the bronze head (II, 62; 514) and to the two select confidants “que el caso sabían” (II, 62; 516), these vague phrases provide the reader with no actual explanation of its secret prior to or during Don Antonio’s demonstration; they do not even eliminate the supernatural as a possibility. As in the case of Maese Pedro’s monkey, however, the narrator indulges Cide Hamete’s insistence that readers be informed after the fact

“... And things that go bump in the night”:
Narrative Deferral, the Supernatural, and the Metafictive Uncanny
in *Don Quijote*

that Don Antonio's concealed nephew supplied the head's words and knowledge, “por no tener suspenso al mundo, creyendo que algún hechicero o extraordinario misterio en la tal cabeza se encerraba” – but “en la opinión de don Quijote y de Sancho, la cabeza quedó por encantada” (II, 62; 516-17). The knight and squire remain convinced of the head's magical abilities even as the readers learn that it is only a trick devised by the nobleman – who would appear to fancy himself a connoisseur and practitioner of Baroque *suspensión* – “para entretenerte y suspender a los ignorantes” (II, 62; 517).

The third and final group of *engaños*, perhaps the most intriguing of all, consists of Sansón Carrasco's two masquerades as Don Quijote's opponents, which unexpectedly shift the resolution of the fantastic toward the metafictional rather than the uncanny. The first of these adventures, almost inevitably, begins at night in the countryside. Sancho, of course, sleeps soundly, while his master dozes until “le despertó un ruido que sintió a sus espaldas,” at which he rises “con sobresalto” (II, 12; 124). As in the episodes of the *encamisados* and *batanes*, we have the elements of darkness and an unexpected, fear-inducing noise, but Don Quijote soon sees two mounted riders approaching and concludes from the familiar sounds of armor and weapons that one must be a *caballero andante*, who confirms his status and vocation when he begins to sing, sigh, and lament of his unrequited love for the “serenísima Casildea de Vandalia” (II, 12; 125). The knight's surprise and fear this time are brief, but his recovery is due only to his chivalric delusions, according to which the presence of another knight errant is not at all remarkable. His moment of uncertainty ends. Cervantes leaves the readers, however, in a state of confusion, since this arrival seems to contradict the fundamental opposition on which the novel so far has depended between the mundane world in which Don Quijote (and, implicitly, the reader) lives and the purely imaginary world of his marvelous literary fantasies. Though some first-time readers may suspect an impersonation, very likely only the most attentive will recall at this moment how, in response to Don Quijote's intended departure ten

chapters earlier, Sansón Carrasco reassured the distraught *ama* and “fue luego a buscar al cura, a comunicar con él lo que se dirá a su tiempo” (II, 2; 86). Others will be left in a new variation on Todorov’s interval of hesitation, concerned not with the possibility of the marvelous or the supernatural but unable as yet to make sense of the lovelorn *Caballero del Bosque*, an unexpected apparition from the chivalric literary world which the reality of the novel has repeatedly excluded and ridiculed. Only once Don Quijote defeats this liminal figure after sunrise and lifts his visor is the truth revealed in a deliberately hyperbolic description: “¿Quién podrá decir lo que vio, sin causar admiración, maravilla y espanto a los que lo oyeren? Vio, dice la historia, el rostro mismo, la misma figura, el mismo aspecto, la misma fisonomía, la misma efigie, la perspetiva mesma del bachiller Sansón Carrasco” (II, 14; 143). This discovery frightens Sancho into crossing and blessing himself, at least until he also realizes the identity of his fellow squire, but along with the lengthier explanations of Sansón’s scheme which follow, it resolves the reader’s confusion and reaffirms the laws which govern the novel’s depiction of Don Quijote’s La Mancha as a place in which there are no true knights errant, only those who adopt that literary persona out of mimesis, either direct or indirect. To borrow and adapt Todorov’s taxonomy, in this adventure Cervantes deploys the fantastic interval of hesitation to present what we might term the quixotic or metafictive uncanny: the text raises but quickly discards the possibility of a marvelous event in favor of a longer narrative interval which, until its resolution, destabilizes for the reader the distinction between “reality” and “literature” as those categories are presented within the novel.

In his presentation of the *bachiller*’s second impersonation of a *caballero andante* some fifty chapters later on the beach at Barcelona, Cervantes dispenses entirely with the trappings of early modern horror fiction: the *Caballero de la Blanca Luna* confronts Don Quijote in the plain light of morning and no inexplicable noises herald his coming. It is also more likely that a reader, having been previously deceived, might immediately suspect this unknown opponent’s true identity. Nevertheless,

“... And things that go bump in the night”:
Narrative Deferral, the Supernatural, and the Metafictive Uncanny
in *Don Quijote*

while Don Quijote in his madness accepts that a random knight, even one of whom he has never heard, might challenge him to defend Dulcinea's beauty, Cervantes reminds readers that they do not know precisely what is occurring by taking pains to describe the confusion the knight's arrival causes the *visorrey* and Don Antonio Moreno, who have of course been – like the reader – parties to the mockery already visited upon the unwitting Don Quijote in Barcelona:

Llegóse el visorrey a don Antonio y preguntóle paso si sabía quién era el tal Caballero de la Blanca Luna o si era alguna burla que querían hacer a don Quijote. Don Antonio le respondió que ni sabía quién era, ni si era de burlas ni de veras el tal desafío. Esta respuesta tuvo perplejo al visorrey en si les dejaría o no pasar adelante en la batalla. (II, 64; 534)

The city's nobles cannot identify this challenge as one of the deceptions intended for their amusement, leaving them in a confusion analogous to that of Cervantes's readers in earlier episodes: if the unknown knight is not a co-conspirator in their game, the aristocrats wonder, then who might he be? The *visorrey*, we should note, only lets the combat proceed “no pudiéndose persuadir a que fuese sino burla” (II, 64; 534), and after the outcome leaves him no wiser, he insists that Don Antonio learn the victor's identity, which is revealed, or at least confirmed, to readers by Sansón's confession to Don Antonio in the following chapter. The uncanny aspect of this adventure no longer lies in any suggestion of the supernatural as one possible explanation, but instead in the noble spectators' and the readers' inability to determine whether or why the intruder behind the visor might have deliberately assumed a (meta)literary chivalric identity. The victorious challenger's true identity must be definitively established and, far more important, his purpose must be explained to the readers in order to completely close their interval of uncertainty.

In conclusion, the contiguous adventures of the *encamisados* and the *batanes* in Part One of the *Quijote* perform two interwoven (inter)textual functions: they add early modern Spanish supernatural or horror texts to the list of literary paradigms appropriated by Cervantes, and in so doing they introduce another manipulation of narrative deferral, a specific form of Baroque *suspensión*, into the novel. Rather than laughing at Don Quijote's willful contradiction of the mundane reality of a rural inn or its resident prostitutes, at these moments we are left in the dark – quite literally – along with him when he and Sancho confront frightening, initially inexplicable phenomena. Cervantes then develops new forms of this technique in Part Two, not only in certain episodes devised by those who seek to mock the knight for their own amusement, but also in Don Quijote's two encounters with the disguised Sansón Carrasco, who has very different intentions. Intriguingly, these final examples of narrative enigmas and deferrals demonstrate how Cervantes chooses his intertextual version of the uncanny as the means by which he brings about Don Quijote's downfall and Alonso Quijano's death. Whatever fear, trembling, ridicule, or humiliation might result from the errors and impostures of those episodes in which Cervantes plays with the possibility of the supernatural, they neither deter the aspirant knight errant nor rob the *hidalgo* of the will to live. It is instead the liminal figure of the *Caballero de la Blanca Luna*, a phantom from the purely literary world which Don Quijote seeks to impose on La Mancha, who puts an end to the invented knight-errant's career and sends his creator Alonso Quijano to his deathbed. The possibility of ghosts or demons or damned souls may frighten, but in Cervantes's novel, the metafictive uncanny kills.

“... And things that go bump in the night”:
Narrative Deferral, the Supernatural, and the Metafictive Uncanny
in *Don Quijote*

¹ Hessel notes a monstrous aspect to Don Quijote himself in such episodes, comparing him to “a horrific entity that occupies the unoccupied areas and preys upon those who are unlucky enough to find themselves so far from the comforts of civilized existence” (31). See also Miñana’s considerations of monstrosity in the novel (*Monstruos* 137-203).

² On the development of horror fiction, see Aldana Reyes 2016 and Joshi. Aldana Reyes also briefly considers medieval and early modern Spanish antecedents to the Gothic in the introduction to his *Spanish Gothic* (6-11) Joan Estruch does likewise and includes Cervantes in his anthology of seventeenth-century Spanish “literatura fantástica y de terror,” but he chooses an overtly fantastic excerpt from the *Persiles*. See also García Sánchez on Spanish contributions to the literary fantastic.

³ See also Cascardi.

⁴ As noted in the introduction, Cervantes incorporates fantastic events with no definitive mundane resolution in the *Persiles* and the *Coloquio de los perros*. See Childers on his conceptualization of the “ambivalent marvelous” in these texts (55-69). Falkenberg’s notion of the “poetical uncanny” is likewise applicable (29-37).

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La enseñanza y la aceptación de las obras de Cervantes en China desde
métodos multidisciplinarios

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Resumen

¿Has leído ‘El Quijote’? Don Quijote de la Mancha ha sido la obra más representativa de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra y recibe un reconocimiento mundial. Pero según la investigación del Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS), solo el 21,6% de los españoles afirma haber leído el libro completo.¹ Los tres motivos principales por los que han leído el Quijote son: por motivos de estudio, por interés personal y por cultura general. Pero ¿hoy en día por qué el libro español más clásico no gana la popularidad incluso en su cuna? Y ¿cómo pueden difundirse en el resto del mundo, por ejemplo, en China? Otra pregunta: además de Quijote, ¿qué otras obras sabemos sobre Cervantes? Claro, Cervantes, el escritor español más célebre, debe tener más creaciones literarias maravillosas que recordar. Por ende, para solucionar estas preguntas e investigar los mejores métodos en la enseñanza y la aceptación de las obras de Cervantes en China, en este trabajo, nos centramos en los métodos multidisciplinarios para que puedan ayudar a los estudiantes de español a tener un entendimiento más amplio y profundo de este autor.

Primero, se pueden representar las obras de Cervantes y hacer celebraciones relacionadas con Cervantes. Por ejemplo, en la Facultad de Filología Hispánica de la Universidad de Estudios Internacionales de Shanghái (SISU), el 23 de abril se han celebrado el Festival Cervantes por más de treinta años. Segundo, hay que entender los factores cervantescos en las creaciones literarias chinas mediante la literatura comparada. En el campo literario chino, hay muchos autores chinos que utilizaron los factores y las técnicas de Cervantes y sus publicaciones son más conocidas

para los chinos, así que es mejor introducir las obras cervantescas comparando con los libros chinos. Por último, debemos dirigir nuestros esfuerzos a la difusión de los trabajos literarios de Cervantes. Esperamos que los institutos o compañías puedan hacer más esfuerzos en apadrinar las publicaciones cervantescas traducidas al chino y haya cada día más traductores que se dediquen a este proyecto.

Desde estos métodos multidisciplinarios, creemos que Cervantes no va a ser una imagen plana para los lectores chinos sino una figura vivida. De esta manera, es recomendable que los profesores que enseñen las obras de Cervantes utilicen las formas multidisciplinarias.

Palabras clave: las obras cervantescas, métodos multidisciplinarios, lectores chinos.

1. La breve revisión bibliográfica y las teorías de la didáctica de la literatura

En el mundo de la crítica literaria no faltan los estudios de investigación sobre las obras clásicas del gran escritor, Cervantes, pero en cuanto a la enseñanza de las obras cervantescas, sobre todo, en el aula de E/LE, todavía nos quedan un largo camino por recorrer. En “La aventura de enseñar el «Quijote» en la clase de español” Gómez del Castillo y Pérez (1998) analizan las causas que justifican el alejamiento entre el texto cervantino y la clase de E/LE y los requisitos para los profesores. Finalmente se dan algunas sugerencias específicas sobre la enseñanza del «Quijote» basada en las experiencias. En “La modernidad del Quijote y su aplicación en el Aula de ELE”, García (2005) habla de la situación actual de la insuficiente presencia de la literatura en los manuales de ELE y la utilidad de la literatura en el aula de ELE orientada en las cuatro destrezas de una lengua: la expresión oral, la expresión escrita, la comprensión oral, y la comprensión escrita. También se recomienda utilizar los materiales del «Quijote» como aplicación en la clase de ELE. “Don Quijote en Canadá” por Cristina Botella González es un diseño del aprendizaje del «Quijote»

para los alumnos canadienses en Canyon Meadow Elementary School, que menciona los procedimientos del aprendizaje de la obra clásica.

En general, no surgen muchas investigaciones sobre la enseñanza y la aceptación de las obras de Cervantes en el aula de ELE, por ende, en este artículo, vamos a investigar las situaciones en China sobre la enseñanza y las aceptaciones cervantescas con la meta de contribuir un poco para la didáctica de literatura en el aula de ELE y hacer reflexionar a los profesores sobre los métodos de la enseñanza de las obras clásicas.

Con respecto a las teorías pedagógicas utilizadas en la enseñanza de literatura en el aula de ELE, se destaca principalmente la teoría del enfoque comunicativo, que se toman la literatura como actividad comunicativa. El principio pedagógico empleado en nuestros días recibe el nombre de “enfoque por tareas”. Este método se plantea dentro del marco del enfoque comunicativo, nacido a finales de los años 60 del siglo XX, a raíz de iniciativa de varios lingüistas británicos (entre ellos Candlin y H. Widdowson). Se planteó por primera vez la necesidad de conducir la enseñanza/aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras hacia el desarrollo de la competencia comunicativa y no solo de la competencia lingüística (García 2005).

Hay muchos autores que confirman la opinión de que la didáctica de la literatura es como actividad comunicativa. Por ejemplo, para López (1996), la Didáctica de la lengua y la literatura “Es una ciencia que elabora los principios teóricos indispensables para la resolución efectiva de los asuntos relacionados con los objetivos, los contenidos, los métodos, los medios, las actividades y la evaluación de la enseñanza y del aprendizaje de la lengua y la literatura en los distintos niveles educativos.”

Además de la perspectiva didáctica, también hay que prestar atención a los lectores, o sea la aceptación de los estudiantes de estas obras clásicas. El análisis de la estética de la recepción nos ayudará a entender mejor las necesidades del lector. La estética de la recepción restituye el papel activo del lector en la concreción sucesiva del sentido de las obras a través de la historia. Se diferencia de forma casi explícita de una sociología

histórica del público que se interesa solo por los cambios de gusto, intereses o de ideologías. Hans Roberto Jauss es conocido comúnmente como la figura principal en la teoría de la recepción. “mi intento de superar el abismo entre literatura e historia, entre conocimiento histórico y conocimiento estético, puede comenzar en el límite ante el cual se han detenido ambas escuelas. Sus métodos conciben el hecho literario en el círculo cerrado de una estética de la producción y de la presentación. Con ello quitan a la literatura una dimensión que forma parte imprescindible tanto de su carácter estético como de su función social: la dimensión de su recepción y efecto” (Jauss 1981).

En este artículo, también se van a analizar la aplicación de teorías en la enseñanza de obras cervantescas, como “enfoque por tareas” y la estética de la recepción por parte de los estudiantes chinos como lectores.

2. Las dificultades del aprendizaje y la aceptación de las obras cervantescas en China

Las obras clásicas cervantescas, además de ser una parte de la literatura española, refleja de manera profunda la cultura y la historia española, convirtiéndose así en las tareas difíciles de engarzar lengua, literatura y cultura en la clase de E/LE. Para analizar las dificultades y retos, debemos centrar en dos focos: la parte del profesor y la parte del alumno.

En cuanto a los profesores, se destacan dos problemas relacionados: uno es la escasez del conocimiento adecuado de las mismas obras cervantescas, especialmente para los profesores extranjeros como los chinos que se dedican a la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera; segundo es la sobrevaloración del nivel del español de los alumnos. Actualmente la mayoría de los profesores chinos dedicados a la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera en las universidades chinas tiene el título del máster, solo pocos cuentan con el del doctorado. Con un estudio de siete años de aprendizaje del español, no todos tienen la capacidad de estudiar las obras cervantescas detalladamente y entenderlas de manera profunda. Por otro lado, a pesar de que algunos estudiantes tienen un nivel

avanzado del idioma, no cuentan con un sentido histórico y global de las obras clásicas de Cervantes con su inmensa variedad de matices culturales, caracteres anacrónicos y el propio folklorismo del lenguaje. Por tanto, fracasan en motivar el entusiasmo de los alumnos en la lectura de estas obras muy complejas.



El cómic de Quijote chino-inglés, editorial arte del pueblo Shanghái, 1983



Teatro musical “Yo soy Don Quijote de la Mancha” representado en Shanghái

La enseñanza y la aceptación de las obras de Cervantes en China desde métodos multidisciplinarios



Obras teatrales sobre *Don Quijote*, representadas por los actores
Guo Tao y Liu Xiaoye

Considerando estos problemas que nos encontramos probablemente, hay que exigirnos los requisitos necesarios para nosotros mismos antes de enseñarlas a los alumnos en la clase de E/LE. 1) Antes de comentar las obras cervantescas, hace falta introducir la biografía del autor y el contenido general de su obra. 2) La explicación histórica y social de la

época es necesaria para entender mejor las obras de fama internacional. 3) Debemos realizar la lectura minuciosa de las obras completas de Cervantes y encontrar el vocabulario básico y las gramáticas difíciles de entender para explicar bien al alumno. 4) La realización de actividades diversas desde perspectivas multidisciplinarias es recomendable.

Por parte de los alumnos, de sobra sabemos que ellos van a tener muchos problemas objetivos durante el proceso de la lectura, como el límite del vocabulario y falta de los conocimientos relacionados con la sociedad, la política y la cultura, pero el problema que nos preocupa más es la falta de motivación y el aburrimiento del aprendizaje de los materiales de estas obras mencionadas. Es el problema subjetivo del alumno , el cual nos es más dificultad de solucionar puesto que enfrente de una obra cervantesca, que también nos aleja, es una tarea enrevesada de despertar su interés de estas obras descubriendo lo útil e interesante en ellas.

Si queremos averiguar la aceptación de las obras cervantescas, primero, debemos echar una mirada al largo camino que recorren estas obras en China. “Sabemos que, durante siglos, China fue un imperio cerrado culturalmente al occidente, hasta finales del siglo XVII, con la llegada de misioneros europeos, se iniciaron algunas actividades de traducción en colaboración de letreados nativos. Hasta el año 1922, apareció la primera versión de *Don Quijote* en mandarín tradicional, convirtiéndose además en el primer libro de la literatura española traducida al mandarín. Con el título en chino “Moxiazhuan”, literalmente “Biografía del Caballero Loco”, fue publicada en Shanghai y fue traducida desde el inglés por el escritor Lin Shu y su ayudante Chen Jialin.”²

Por la emoción y la pasión de los traductores y escritores, hasta la fecha, en China aparecieron sucesivamente más de 20 versiones traducidas en mandarín, entre las cuales, la primera versión traducida directamente del español al chino es la versión traducida por Yang Jiang, una escritora famosa y la versión más aceptada por los hispanistas chinos es de Don Yansheng, catedrático del español.

Gracias a los traductores, ahora en China *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* es una obra sabida por todos, aunque pocos de ellos han leído la obra completa. Las representaciones de esta gran obra no se limitan a los libros del papel, y surgen diversas formas, como el teatro, la película, los dibujos animados, los cuales son más populares que el libro.

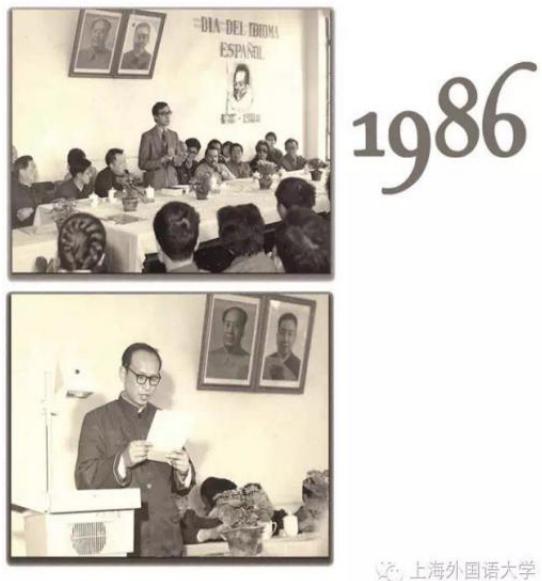
3. *La necesidad de utilizar los métodos multidisciplinarios*

Considerando los problemas mencionados, se surge la necesidad de renovar el tratamiento didáctico de la literatura, que, según la tradición en las clases de literatura español en China, los profesores siempre hablan del contenido de las obras cervantescas y hacen preguntas sobre los materiales, los cuales podrían quitar el interés de los alumnos chinos.

Antes de investigar los métodos que podemos aplicar, hay que reflexionar qué funciones tienen los profesores en las clases de literatura tratando de las obras de Cervantes. La clase de literatura no es solo una asignatura simple que ayuda a los estudiantes a aprender el vocabulario y la gramática sino una actividad literaria en la cual los lectores pueden disfrutar, apreciar, interpretar y valorar las obras literarias. Así que los profesores tienen que diseñar sus clases según el enfoque, la metodología y el tratamiento didáctico de las obras literarias respecto a la aceptación positiva de los alumnos. Para los estudiantes chinos, ¿cómo pueden aceptar las obras cervantescas de manera activa? ¿Ellos han de adquirir un nivel básico de competencia lectora? ¿En qué nivel podemos comenzar a instruirlos en las obras cervantescas?, ¿es propio de los de cuarto grado o del máster?

Posiblemente el docente va a plantearse estas cuestiones con respecto a los alumnos chinos. Afortunadamente en los años recientes, muchos profesores de ELE han analizado esta serie de preocupaciones y han hecho muchas prácticas en las universidades o Institutos con el fin de despertar el interés de los alumnos chinos y crear las oportunidades para que ellos puedan participar activamente en las obras cervantescas.

Este año, la Facultad de Estudios Europeos y Latinoamericanos de la Universidad de Estudios Internacionales de Shanghái (SISU) celebró el trigésimo Festival de Cervantes, en conmemoración del IV Centenario de la muerte de Cervantes, la máxima figura de la literatura española. En 1986, se celebró el primer festival de Cervantes con el nombre de Día del español. Hasta hoy en día, el festival ha recorrido 30 años en SISU, como habíamos dicho antes, con la tradición cultural y la función didáctica.



上海外国语大学

El primer festival de Cervantes con el nombre de Día del español dirigido por el director de la facultad del español, Zhang Xuhua

La enseñanza y la aceptación de las obras de Cervantes en China desde métodos multidisciplinarios



Los encuentros y celebraciones del festival de Cervantes en SISU

Se llevaron a cabo múltiples actividades en que se participaron los estudiantes junto con sus maestros, entre ellos, la representación teatral de la gran obra, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Según la investigación,³ en el espectáculo teatral hay 16 actores en total como de diferentes grados de la especialidad español, dentro de los cuales los del primer y del segundo grado ocupan más de la mitad (9 actores), incluido el papel Sancho Panza, quien tiene que recordar muchas palabras del guion. Según el cuestionario, 90% de los actores creen que la participación del espectáculo de *Quijote* les ayudaría en el aprendizaje del español y la comprensión de las obras cervantescas. El monólogo adaptado de la obra cuenta con 21000 palabras más o menos y los actores tardaron 1 mes y medio recordando las palabras y practicando el teatro. 45% de los actores opinan que recordar las palabras es una tarea difícil para ellos, pero no es inconveniente porque finalmente el espectáculo salió con mucho éxito. El 60% de los actores no tuvieron interés en la lectura de la obra completa, pero después de la actuación, el 80% de ellos tuvieron ganas de leer la obra completa. Por consiguiente, la participación de las representaciones teatrales es una manera eficaz de ayudar a los estudiantes chinos estudiar y aceptar de manera positiva las

obras cervantescas. Aunque los del primer y del segundo grado, no cuentan con un vocabulario suficiente como para entender la obra completa, no afecta a su interés y la capacidad de participar en la actuación.

En este tipo de actividades teatrales, aunque los profesores están detrás del escenario y no enseñan a los estudiantes directamente los contenidos de la obra, son mediadores, animadores, motivadores y dinamizadores de todo el proceso de la actuación. Antes del espectáculo de la obra, los profesores deben animar a los estudiantes a participar en esta actividad llena de sentido, organizar la representación teatral, participar en la traducción y en la adaptación de la obra completa y explicar a los alumnos si encuentran algunas preguntas o dudas en la preparación del espectáculo.

Además de las actividades literarias de Cervantes, los profesores de literatura también juegan un papel esencial en la clase de ELE. La irrupción de los “enfoques por tareas” en la década de los ochenta supuso un nuevo salto hacia adelante en la concepción de la enseñanza de las lenguas extranjeras.

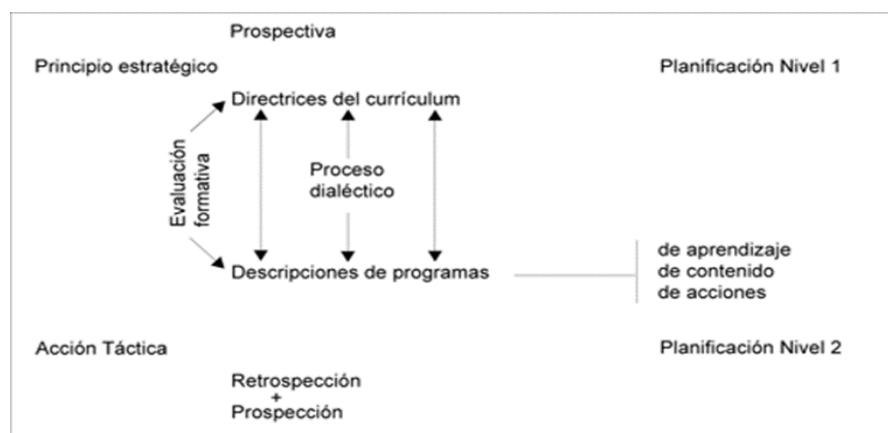


Figura 1. Un enfoque de requisitos mediante las tareas

En Candlin (1984) propongo la planificación del aprendizaje y la enseñanza del lenguaje en dos niveles (de los cuales ninguno se halla en el nivel de programa según la definición tradicional) y donde la planificación presenta dos interpretaciones distintas. En cuanto a lo que se pueden planificar en la clase, es de manera muy útil realizar un enfoque de requisitos mediante las tareas (véase Figura 1).⁴

Es decir, por ejemplo, si nuestra meta es enseñar los poemas de Cervantes, primero hay que tener principios estratégicos sobre el plan de la enseñanza. Antes de la clase, es mejor describir un poco lo que vamos a hacer con los alumnos, organizando a los alumnos para aprender el contenido de sus poemas y opinar sobre lo que piensan ellos. Como los alumnos no es posible que estén en el mismo nivel, ya que siempre hay algunos que están adelantados, las tareas hay que coordinar en diferentes niveles, por lo menos, dos niveles diferentes. La consideración del nivel y capacidad es un requisito necesario para el docente. Además, por razón del alejamiento de las obras cervantescas para los lectores chinos, los profesores deben contar detalladamente la historia, el entorno social y el resumen de la obra para facilitar el proceso de la lectura de los alumnos chinos. En la siguiente parte, analizaremos las maneras específicas incluidas las tareas en clase para enseñar las obras cervantescas.⁵

En resumen, la función del docente ante los fines de introducir las obras cervantescas en la clase de ELE para los estudiantes chinos, puede ser varias, el formador, estimulador, animador de lectores y de crítico literario. El profesor de literatura estimula los aprendizajes del alumno chino haciendo que ellos observen los rasgos específicos, los estímulos que presenta el texto concreto y los efectos que motivan en el receptor. Vamos a utilizar un esquema para ayudarnos a comprender las distintas funciones del profesor de literatura.

4. Las maneras de enseñar Cervantes en China y las posibles prácticas para la aceptación positiva

Por la dificultad y la necesidad de enseñar las obras cervantescas en China, hay que averiguar las medidas eficaces para que los alumnos chinos puedan aprender y aceptar mejor estos libros.



Una plataforma sobre recursos *online* del aprendizaje de *Quijote*

Primero, el interés es el mejor profesor. Y los profesores debemos despertar los intereses de los alumnos jugando bien nuestros papeles en el aula. Para aumentar el interés, podemos invitar a los alumnos a participar en las representaciones teatrales adaptando las obras cervantescas, como lo que hizo SISU. Para aumentar el interés, hace falta ayudar a los alumnos a aprenderlas según diferentes niveles. Como la mayoría de los estudiantes universitarios del primer y del segundo grado tienen un nivel básico del idioma, los materiales para los niños españoles en la primaria o el bachillerato pueden servir de ejemplo. Les recomiendo un proyecto llamado “P. C. El Quijote y Cervantes con las TIC”,⁶ en el que se centra la educación infantil en el aula mediante las TIC (Tecnologías de la información y la comunicación). Por ejemplo, se organizaron a los niños haciendo un doblaje del vídeo de inicio de la serie de televisión española *Don Quijote de la Mancha*; se realizaron la actividad de “describimos a

Cervantes” etc. Otra plataforma online recomendada es la siguiente webmix creada con Symbaloo:⁷

En esta plataforma, los expertos coinciden en señalar la importancia de la integración de las diferentes metodologías a fin de integrar también varias competencias a la hora de desarrollar las actividades.

Además de los esfuerzos del aula, también hay que animar al alumno a realizar la lectura fuera de clase. La lista de las obras no tiene que ser muy larga y difícil, por ejemplo, antes de leer el «Quijote», podría leer primero Mi primer libro sobre Cervantes (Editorial: Anaya Páginas: 32 Precio: 6,50 euros (s/IVA). A partir de cinco años), que es un libro infantil contando las historias de Lucas, un niño que comienza a pensar que, pese a estar en pleno siglo XXI, su vecino es en realidad Miguel de Cervantes, debido a su enorme parecido físico. Con esta obra, la autora Rosa Huertas intenta acercar a los más pequeños la figura de Cervantes de una manera divertida. El libro cuenta también con un glosario de actividades de compresión lectora.

Segundo, si ya pasamos la primera etapa, los profesores debemos profundizar la lectura de los alumnos ilustrando sus ideas y pensamientos sobre las obras clásicas. En China, quizás los lectores chinos no conozcan mucho las obras cervantescas aparte de «El Quijote», y tengan más conocimientos relacionados con la literatura china. Por este motivo, nos brinda la oportunidad de hacer la comparación entre las obras de Cervantes y las obras locales chinas, sobre todo, debemos prestar atención al campo de la literatura comparada. Los hispanistas chinos y los estudiosos han realizado algunos artículos académicos sobre este tema, por ejemplo, la comparación de imagen entre A Q y Don Quijote;⁸ la similitud y la comunicación sobreponiendo el espacio y el tiempo —la comparación del prólogo del Quijote y el primer capítulo de Las Mansiones Rojas, etc.⁹

Sin embargo, no es suficiente como para introducir a Cervantes, el gran escritor a los lectores chinos. Volviendo la mirada al aula de ELE, los profesores también podemos hacer el trabajo de comparación entre las historias o libros chinos utilizando el fruto en la clase. Aunque los

estudiantes del tercer o cuarto curso todavía no tienen un nivel suficiente para entender la obra completa, sus razonamientos no son iguales a los de los niños. Así que, probablemente, los libros infantiles no les satisfacen, y los educadores debemos enseñarles un poco sobre la crítica literaria y la literatura comparada para profundizar la comprensión de las obras cervantescas. Por ejemplo, en la primera parte, hemos analizado la teoría del “enfoque por tareas” y la estética de la recepción. Antes de utilizar estas formas de crítica literaria los profesores, es mejor explicar un poco a los alumnos, diciéndoles que estas tareas sobre las obras cervantescas están precisamente preparadas para ellos y que ellos se cuentan entre los lectores útiles y esperamos sus participaciones en estas actividades literarias investigando el sentido de las inmensas obras. Es un estímulo espiritual y un tipo de ánimo eficaz para los alumnos chinos.

Por último, los institutos y los departamentos culturales relacionados, deben ayudar y financiar la traducción y la publicación de las obras cervantescas. En China, además de «El Quijote», que no son pocas las publicaciones, el resto de las obras cervantescas todavía queda un camino largo por descubrirlas. Hace 20 años, en 1996, la Editorial Literatura del Pueblo (人民文学出版社) publicó la recopilación de las obras cervantescas contando con ocho tomos. Pero en el transcurrido de veinte años, no ha habido publicaciones de esta recopilación, ni la segunda edición. Incluso es difícil comprar esta recopilación. Los traductores como Don Yansheng, ya tiene unos setenta y ochenta años, por eso, es necesario animar a los traductores más jóvenes a realizar este trabajo de traducción, siguiendo la carrera de relevo de nuestros precedentes.

Conclusión

Nuestro tema sobre la enseñanza y la aceptación de las obras cervantescas, trata de dos perspectivas del análisis, la de los profesores de ELE, y la de los alumnos. Frente a las obras clásicas de Cervantes, no solo los estudiantes encuentran muchas dificultades como la falta del interés, la insuficiencia del nivel del idioma etc., para los profesores también es una

aventura debido a muchos factores. Considerando las dificultades y las necesidades, recomendamos que los profesores pueden realizar la enseñanza desde métodos multidisciplinarios, como las representaciones teatrales, la lectura de los libritos infantiles sobre las obras cervantescas, la comparación de aquellas con las clásicas chinas, la utilización de las TIC etc. Pero antes los profesores de ELE debemos reconocer los diversos papeles en juego en la clase, ayudando a los alumnos a realizar sus lecturas y completar sus estudios.

Las actividades intercurriculares son una gran herramienta en la que el docente no sólo enseña el idioma, ya sea como lengua materna o extranjera, sino que, a la vez, transmite a los alumnos conocimientos de literatura, cultura y pensamiento crítico, una de las principales características de la producción de Miguel de Cervantes.

Apéndice

El cuestionario sobre la representación de Don Quijote

1 你在堂吉诃德中饰演的角色为？ ¿Qué papel has jugado en la representación de Don Quijote de la Mancha?

2 你是西语专业几年级的学生？ ¿En qué grado estudias?

- A 一年级 primer grado
- B 二年级 segundo grado
- C 三年级 tercer grado
- D 四年级或研究生 cuarto grado o posgrado

3 你认为参加堂吉诃德的演出对你学习西班牙语和理解塞万提斯的作品有帮助吗？请简述（如词汇、语法、文学兴趣等方面） ¿Crees que la participación del espectáculo de Quijote te ayudaría en el aprendizaje del español y la comprensión de las obras cervantescas? Explícalo, por favor. (ej. el vocabulario, la gramática, el interés literario etc.)

Facilitaría sobre todo mi compresión sobre las obras del autor. Ya que una cosa es leer las obras, pero actuar y vivirlas es otra cosa. Las actuaciones dramatúrgicas me empujan a realizar una indagación profunda sobre la vida y el delirio de Don Quijote, mediante la cual he conseguido imitar en lo más vivaz posible la trayectoria vital y espiritual de este personaje tan calado en la mente de los lectores.

4 你的台词有多少词，记了多久？ ¿Cuántas palabras debes recordar? Y ¿Cuánto tiempo duró?

Tenemos en total 27000 letras (incluyendo las letras chinas) y el mío constituye la mitad de todas: 13500. Si excluimos la versión en chino, más o

menos sería 8000 letras en español que llevó un mes y medio aprendiendo de memoria.

5 背台词对你而言困难吗？你是积极地主动记忆还是消极地被动记忆？¿Para tí, es difícil recordar todo el monólogo? ¿Lo recuerdas de manera positiva o negativa?

Sin lugar a dudas, algunas partes me resultan difíciles en aspectos gramaticales y léxicos. Pero la mayoría no me supone tanta dificultad y la he conseguido recordar de manera positiva. Es de saber que Don Quijote es un hidalgo y su ambición es ser un caballero andante como los en los libros de caballería. Los caballeros de este tipo suelen hablar de manera más culta y fina, y su lenguaje se parece más a las expresiones poéticas que son difíciles de comprender pero fáciles de pronunciar.

6 你有兴趣读原著吗？参演之后是否提高了你对原著的阅读兴趣？

¿Tienes el interés de leer la obra completa? ¿La participación del teatro de Don Quijote aumentará tu interés de leerla?

Ya terminé la lectura de la versión en chino y parte de la en español. La dejé aparte por lo voluminoso que es pero tras la participación en este teatro me he decidido a llevar a cabo la lectura.

¡Felicitaciones! ¡Muchas gracias por tu cooperación y paciencia!

¹ http://www.lavanguardia.com/vangdata/20150707/5443_3268596/ha-leido-el-quijote.html

² “Cervantes: un viaje a China no ha realizado y un sueño sobre China alcanzado.”

http://mobile.espanol.china.com/1598/20160419/621356_1.html

³ La autora realizó un cuestionario a los actores y los trabajadores de la representación de Quijote en SISU sobre sus opiniones de las dificultades, interés, aprendizaje de las obras cervantescas etc. El modelo del cuestionario está bajo el apéndice.

⁴ La figura se desciende del artículo de Candlin C N. Hacia la enseñanza de lenguas basada en tareas[J]. Comunicación, lenguaje y educación, 1990, 2(7-8): 33-53.

⁵ El diagrama proviene de “La educación literaria. Bases para la formación de la competencia lecto-literaria”

⁶ El sitio web es <http://quijote2015.blogspot.com/>

⁷ <https://www.symbaloo.com/embed/cervantesenlaensenanza1?bgcolor=6b91ca>

⁸ 秦家琪, 陆协新. 阿 Q 和堂吉诃德形象的比较研究[J]. 文学评论, 1982 (4): 55-67.

⁹ 刘梦溪. 异地则同 易时而通——《堂吉诃德》的前言和《红楼梦》第一回比较[J]. 红楼梦学刊, 1984 (2): 127-136.

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“Yo sé quién soy.” La *quijotización* de Dulcinea y la *dulcinización*
de Don Quijote en una película de Vicente Escrivá

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—Sepsa vuestra merced, señor don Rodrigo de Narváez, que esta hermosa Jarifa que he dicho es ahora la linda Dulcinea del Toboso, por quien yo he hecho, hago y haré los más famosos hechos de caballerías que se han visto, vean ni verán en el mundo.

A esto respondió el labrador:

—Mire vuestra merced, señor, pecador de mí, que yo no soy don Rodrigo de Narváez, ni el marqués de Mantua, sino Pedro Alonso, su vecino; ni vuestra merced es Valdovinos, ni Abindarráez, sino el honrado hidalgo del señor Quijana

—Yo sé quién soy—respondió don Quijote—, y sé que puedo ser, no solo los que he dicho, sino todos los Doce Pares de Francia, y aun todos los nueve de la Fama, pues a todas las hazañas que ellos todos juntos y cada uno por sí hicieron se aventajarán las mías.

Don Quijote, Primera Parte, cap. V^{1*}

En 1963 el director de cine español Vicente Escrivá filmó una película titulada *Dulcinea* que ofrecía el protagonismo a una mujer marginalizada, una prostituta, que intenta cambiar de vida convirtiéndose en peregrina andante. Este largometraje fue declarado “Película de Interés Nacional” y representó a España para la selección a los Oscar, aunque finalmente no se alzara con la nominación. La dictadura alabó no sólo su calidad técnica, sino también su defensa de los valores morales y políticos del régimen, algo que hoy podemos poner en entredicho. Debemos recordar que el franquismo vive en estos años un momento de apertura conocido como “los felices sesenta.”² Desde 1962 a 1969 Manuel Fraga Iribarne ejerce como Ministro de Información y Turismo y nombra a José

“Yo sé quién soy:” La *quijotización* de Dulcinea y la *dulcinización*
de Don Quijote en una película de Vicente Escrivá

María Escudero como director general de cine. Escudero cambia el comité de censores y el cine disfruta de una mayor libertad gracias a las nuevas reglas de censura dictadas en 1963.³

Prestando atención al contexto histórico, el tratamiento de la mujer durante los años del franquismo puede llegar a recordar de manera alarmante a la época coetánea de Cervantes:

Spain was still in the throes of the strictest cultural, moral, and religious censorship, when you could be fined for kissing publicly and when any single woman returning home alone after 10pm risked the opprobrium of neighbors and was liable to be accused of loose morals. (Besas 69)

El personaje de Dulcinea que plantea Vicente Escrivá sigue las pautas que ya dejara marcadas en su obra de teatro *Gatson Baty*.⁴ Se trata por tanto de una figura marginal que emula a Don Quijote saliendo a los caminos para, llena de agencia, desafiar el determinismo social impuesto y cambiar su vida. En el largometraje de Escrivá hay una inversión de papeles. Podemos decir que el caballero andante sufre un proceso de “dulcinización” mientras que la prostituta peregrina se “quijotiza.”

Para explicar la “quijotización” de Dulcinea y la “dulcinización” de Don Quijote recurriremos a investigaciones recientes del campo de la neurociencia, según las cuales la identidad humana puede explicarse como una narrativa. En la película, la cinematográfica Dulcinea crea su propia narrativa y forma su personalidad. La incorporeidad que caracterizaba a la figura literaria de Dulcinea se transfiere aquí al caballero, que muere derrotado al no lograr defender su propia historia.

Según los últimos estudios de la neurociencia la identidad del hombre es una narrativa, es decir, que el ser humano se construye a sí mismo cuando se imagina su historia formada por una serie de ideas abstractas que extrae de sus experiencias. El Dr. Ramachandran,⁵ director del Centro para el Cerebro y la Cognición de la Universidad de San Diego, anuncia a este respecto que:

The idea of self is that you take all the things that have ever happened to you, pluck from your life (if you are sad you may pluck the sad things, if you are happy you may want to pluck the happy

things) and you stitch them together into a general abstract idea and mainly, the idea of self is a story that we tell ourselves, and it can change from day to day and it allows the human being to exercise that peculiarly human muscle... to experience stuff and then to abstract them into a story... that's self. ("Who am I?" min. 6:19–7:05)

De manera que Alonso Quijano en un momento determinado de su vida decidió cambiar su identidad y al construir la historia de Don Quijote se construyó a sí mismo. Pero según sugirió Daniel Dennett⁶, los demás contribuyen también con su percepción a crear la identidad de cada uno:

A human being first creates —unconsciously (the way a spider creates a web)— one or more ideal fictive-selves and then elects the best supported of these into office as her Head of Mind. A significant difference in the human case, however, is that there is likely to be considerably more outside influence. Parents, friends, and even enemies may all contribute to the image of "what it means to be me. (Dennett s/n)

No es lugar aquí para analizar la salud mental de Don Quijote ni tampoco la de Dulcinea. Es preciso mantener la distancia y reconocer en todo momento que estamos ante personajes cinematográficos inspirados por sus homónimos literarios y que nos movemos siempre en mundos de ficción donde se relativizan los diagnósticos médicos. Sin embargo, conectando con el pasaje que daba entrada a este estudio, el momento en el que Don Quijote confunde a su vecino Pedro Alonso con el marqués de Mantua guarda cierta similitud con un síndrome poco conocido llamado “Capgras delusion” según el cual un paciente lúcido e inteligente, completamente normal, sale de un coma tras un accidente y no es capaz de reconocer a su madre, a quien tacha de impostora. El Dr. Ramachandrán explica cuál es la respuesta que la neurociencia da a este extraño caso:

There's no emotional reaction to his mother, because that wire going from the visual areas to the emotional centers is cut. So his vision is normal because the visual areas are normal, his emotions are normal —he'll laugh, he'll cry, so on and so forth— but the wire

from vision to emotions is cut and therefore he has this delusion
that his mother is an impostor. (“3 clues” min. 8:00)

Este tipo de estudios podrían explicar en muchos casos esa desconexión quijotesca entre lo visto y lo percibido emocionalmente, sin que en ningún momento se produzca una grieta en la brillantez intelectual del individuo ni en su seguridad al afirmar su identidad: “Yo sé quién soy”. En la película, por el contrario, esta frase le corresponde decirla a una corpórea y bien definida Dulcinea, mientras que el hidalgo se vuelve incorpóreo, difícil de vislumbrar y dudoso de su propia identidad. Siguiendo la terminología de Salvador de Madariaga podríamos decir que se produce una “quijotización” de Dulcinea a la par que, acuñando un nuevo término, Don Quijote se “dulcinaiza:” nunca vemos la cara ni el cuerpo de Don Quijote. Escuchamos su voz dentro de la cabeza de Sancho y después en los pensamientos de Dulcinea. La única vez que resulta más tangible es en el momento de su muerte, pero ni aquí llegamos a ver su rostro. Don Quijote se quiebra en el momento final. Su identidad es puesta a prueba por la presión de los otros y en este caso cede a la imagen de Alonso Quijano que los demás tienen él. Parece negando a Dulcinea y por tanto negándose a sí mismo, a Don Quijote, a ese caballero andante que forjó en su mente.

Ahí donde Don Quijote se quebró, cediendo al opresivo círculo que se cernía sobre él antes de fallecer, Dulcinea triunfará. Ella entra en la escena mortuoria justo cuando el hidalgo acaba de expirar. Nunca se conocen. Se produce entonces este intercambio de papeles en donde Dulcinea fabrica ahora su propia narrativa y prefiere morir conforme a la imagen que creó de sí misma. Curiosamente, este escenario vuelve a estar impregnado de imaginería religiosa. Durante el juicio inquisitorial, la cámara vuelve una y otra vez al Cristo crucificado.

Conclusión

En la película de Escrivá Don Quijote es el personaje ausente, ya que nunca aparece su imagen; escuchamos su voz, vemos su cama mortuoria, pero jamás hay un encuentro entre el caballero y Dulcinea. Puesto a prueba por la Iglesia Católica, y próximo a morir, el Don Quijote de Escrivá termina por rendirse, niega la narrativa que creó de sí mismo y retorna al nombre de Alonso Quijano. No obstante, Dulcinea continúa el

trabajo iniciado por el caballero andante y se pone en camino ayudando al prójimo. Este Quijote que nos muestra la pantalla sufre una derrota emocional al negar la existencia de su dama, mientras que ella, convertida ahora en su discípula, no se resigna al papel que le correspondió vivir y con su muerte ratifica su voluntad de elección: ella elige morir como Dulcinea (=Ave) y redimir los pecados de Aldonza (=Eva). Completa así la narrativa inspirada en ella por la carta de Don Quijote y crea su propia identidad quijotesca, sin necesidad ya de caballero que, “dulcinizado”, pasa a ser un ideal inexistente. Las últimas imágenes del largometraje son muy significativas, ya que en ellas vemos a la protagonista atada al poste donde la van a quemar como bruja (=pecadora) pero en realidad se está emulando la crucifixión del mismísimo Jesucristo (=redentora).

¹

<http://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/clasicos/quijote/edicion/parte1/cap05/default.htm#np19n>

² “A decade of unprecedented prosperity in Spain which catapulted the country from its oppressive back-wardness to the brink of stylish continentalism. [...] Much of this prosperity in the early 1960s was brought on by the avalanche of tourists descending upon Spain, bringing with them not only huge sums of hard currency but also new patterns of social behavior, dress styles, even tastes in dining. [...] There was too much traveling for that, too many Spaniards going abroad and bringing in new ideas, and too many tourists coming down to Spain. Admittedly, most were happy to loll on the beaches and drink sangría, but others made contact with Spaniards and conveyed alternative ways of thinking” (Besas 71-72).

³ El nuevo comité estaba formado por censores conservadores, pero al menos estaban orientados al mundo del cine en vez de ser burócratas como los anteriores. El 9 de febrero de 1963 se publicaron nuevas regulaciones censoras—first, that a film should not be judged by its individual scenes but by its general intent; second, that if a film was considered to be “seriously dangerous” it was to be prohibited rather than cut or changed; third, that films should, of course, censure evil, but that this censure need not be shown explicitly on screen if sufficient elements were given so that the spectator’s conscience could draw the proper conclusion; four, that the evildoer need not necessarily repent at the end of the story or go to ruin from a

human or external standpoint; five, that there was no reason to prohibit the showing of individual or social ills or to avoid producing uneasiness in the spectator by portraying the degradation and suffering of others, if these scenes were in accordance with the principles of a faithful critique; finally, that there was no reason for prohibiting films that limit themselves to presenting authentic problems, even when they were not given a full solution, provided the conclusion was not contradictory to these regulations (Besas 72-73)—. En octubre de 1962, en una película titulada Bahía de Palma, de Juan Bosch, el primer bikini mostrado por Elke Sommer pudo ser visto en una pantalla pública en España (Besas 73). Pero en octubre del 69 Franco reemplazó a Fraga por Alfredo Sánchez Bella, como nuevo ministro de información y turismo. Esto puso punto final a los felices 60s. Políticamente, los años previos a este nombramiento ya habían anticipado este final dado que en septiembre de 1967 Carrero Blanco había tomado posesión de la vicepresidencia del gobierno y en diciembre de 1970 el régimen franquista volvió a otra de sus épocas oscuras al juzgar y condenar a 13 terroristas vascos en Burgos.

⁴ La obra de Baty fue estrenada en el teatro Montparnasse de París en 1941 y presentada con éxito en el teatro María Guerrero de Madrid en 1943. Posteriormente, Luis Arroyo pasó el guión a la pantalla en 1946, en lo que fuera la precuela de la película que aquí analizamos.

⁵ Neurologist V.S. Ramachandran is the director of the Center for Brain and Cognition at the University of California, San Diego, and an adjunct professor at the Salk Institute. His investigations into phantom limb pain, synesthesia and other brain disorders allow him to explore (and begin to answer) the most basic philosophical questions about the nature of self and human consciousness. He is the author of Phantoms in the Brain (the basis for a Nova special), A Brief Tour of Human Consciousness and The Man with the Phantom Twin: Adventures in the Neuroscience of the Human Brain (Ted.com).

⁶ “Daniel C. Dennett, the author of *Breaking the Spell* (Viking, 2006), *Freedom Evolves* (Viking Penguin, 2003) and *Darwin's Dangerous Idea* (Simon & Schuster, 1995), is University Professor and Austin B. Fletcher Professor of Philosophy, and Co-Director of the Center for Cognitive Studies at Tufts University” (Tufts. edu).

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“Yo sé quién soy:” La *quijotización* de Dulcinea y la *dulcinización*
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Rogelio Miñana
Drexel University

21st-Century Quixotes: Interdisciplinary Approaches and Global Classrooms



The BIG question(s)

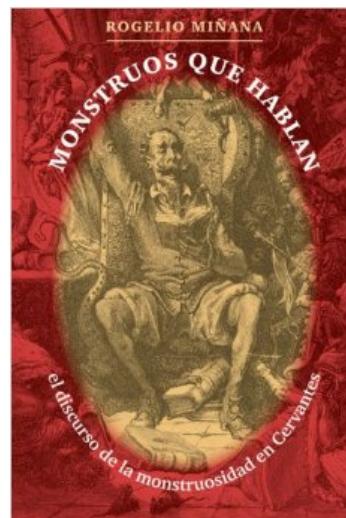
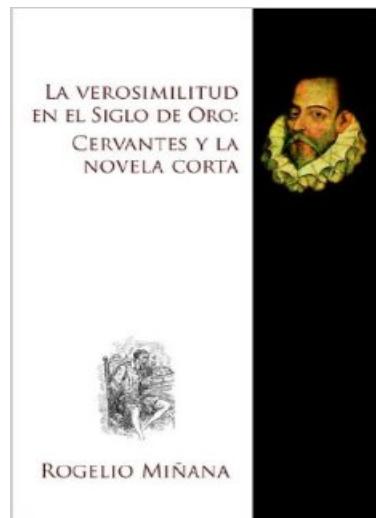


- How to foster an “international” (transdisciplinary, transnational, multilingual) education?
- How to promote language study across the curriculum?
- How to increase the number of majors and minors in our field

Transdisciplinary, Transnational, and Multilingual *Don Quixote*

My Scholarly Trajectory

- Early Modern Spanish and Latin American Prose and Theater

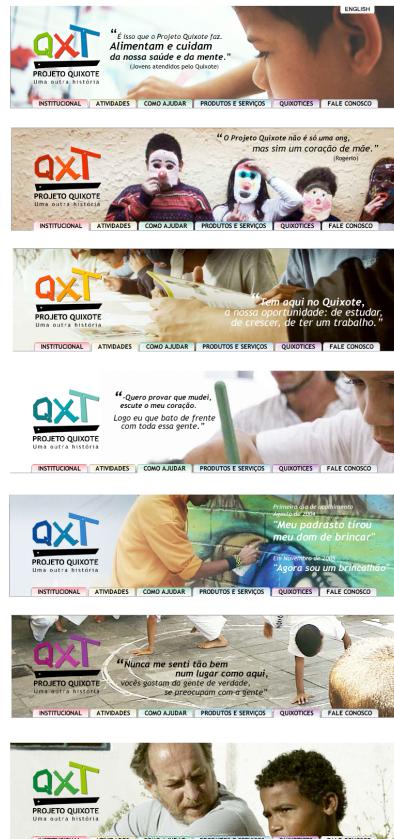


My Current Project



- Don Quijote in Political and Social Justice Discourse in 21st-Century Spain and the Americas

Projeto Quixote (São Paulo, Brasil): “Transformar a História de Jovens em Riesgo”



- *Exilados do Mundão* (Daniel Rubio, 2005): Six former FEBEM interns were given cameras to record one day in their lives
- Usina de Imagem (Image Workshop): Digital Storytelling



P Quixote posted and liked 10 months ago

Refugiados Urbanos no Programa Manos e Minas da TV Cultura



Projeto Quixote - Manos e Minas

by Manos e Minas ✓

10 months ago • 588 views

O Manos e Minas foi conferir o Projeto Quixote, que atua com crianças, jovens e famílias inteiras em situação de risco,

GSML: Scholarship and Pedagogy

Research

- cross-disciplinary, transnational, technology-enhanced, and multilingual environment
- operate in a translingual, transcultural, and transnational context (2007 “MLA Report” 3-4)
- collaborate across disciplines and departments

Teaching

- collaboration:
 - linked courses
 - team-taught
 - Community Based Learning (CBL)
 - sections in target language complementing larger courses in English
- Leave the classroom in person (CBL or study abroad) or via technology: videoconferencing, blended learning, DST, website design

Global Quixote: Reading Cultural Imperialism and Resistance in the Americas

- includes excerpts of Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote*
- studies how current social movements employ this classic text
- examines *Don Quixote* within contemporary political discourse on both sides of the Atlantic:
 - the clash of nationalisms in Spain;
 - the Zapatista revolution in Chiapas (Mexico);
 - social justice movements in Brazil; and
 - imperialism and ethnic relations in the United States

III. LA OTREDAD COMO FORMA DE RESISTENCIA: EL ZAPATISMO EN MÉXICO

10 ¿Quiénes somos, quién es “el otro”?

**Don Quijote II*, Prólogo y capítulos 1-5

*Los zapatistas: “Quiénes somos”

http://palabra.ezln.org.mx/comunicados/1996/1996_07_27.htm

24 La máscara y el espejo

* El subcomandante Marcos: máscaras, pasamontañas y espejos (*MarcosMask.pdf* y *GomezPena.pdf* – lee sólo 222-30)

* Marcos, *Don Quijote y Don Durito* (*Iffland_Durito.pdf* – lee sólo 161-62 y 170-78)

* *Don Durito de la Lacandona* (ver estos enlaces):

BBC sobre Durito y Marcos:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/spanish/latin_america/newsid_3359000/3359481.stm

Transnational Advocacy Networks and New Media: An International Studies/ Spanish Course

- examines how local as well as international NGOs employ new media to gain visibility
- linked with prof. Jon Western's IR 337, Transnational Advocacy Networks
- Voz Venezuela Project

I. TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY AND NEW MEDIA

23 DERECHOS HUMANOS EN LA ERA DE LA CONVERGENCIA DE MEDIOS

* Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos (1948)

* Jenkins, "Convergence Culture"

* Video sobre derechos humanos en español
www.youtube.com/watch?v=HSgMh2C9qtY

30 EL PAPEL DE LAS ONGS EN LA SOCIEDAD CIVIL GLOBAL

* Castells, "Global Governance"

• Mallaby, "NGOs: Fighting Poverty"

• * Opcional: Coalition for the International Criminal Court, "NGO Media Outreach: Using the Media as an Advocacy Tool"

4 JOINT CLASS #2: HUMAN RIGHTS AND NEW MEDIA

* Bennet, "New Media Power: The Internet and Global Activism"

* "Irán's Twitter Revolution.pdf" vs. "The Cyberactivists.pdf"

* Rich, "Wallflowers at the Revolution"

* Optional: "In Egypt Social Media.mp3" (transcript "In Egypt PBS.pdf")

Voz Venezuela Project

CAMPAIGN • CAMPAÑA

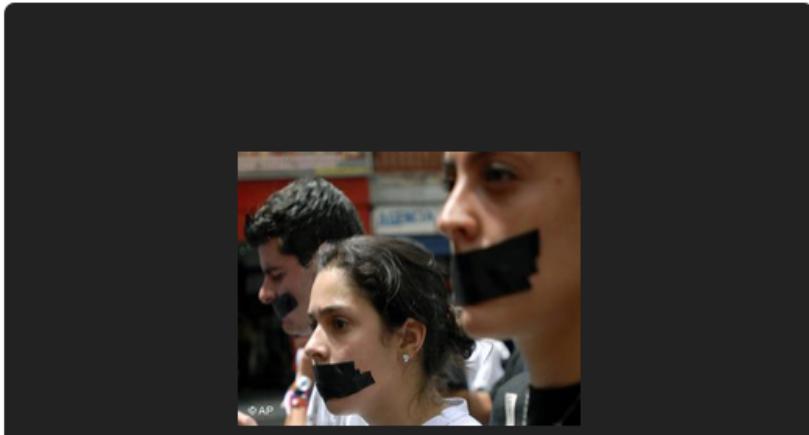
Multimedia Campaign

VozVenezuela.org seeks to be a cyberspace which presents a multi-media campaign of original podcasts and informative text to educate and empower an international community about the human rights violations, as referred to in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the country of Venezuela. We encourage the listening, downloading, and sharing of our podcasts as an alternative to Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez's television, "Aló Presidente."

Campaña Multimedia

VozVenezuela.org quiere ser un espacio cibernetico que presenta una campaña multimedia de podcasts originales y textos informativos para educar y fortalecer a una comunidad internacional sobre las violaciones de derechos humanos, como son basadas en el Artículo 19 de la Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos, en el país de Venezuela. Le sugerimos que escuchen, bajen y comparten nuestros podcasts como una alternativa al programa televisivo del Presidente Venezolano Hugo Chávez, "Aló Presidente."

These images illustrate the protests of Venezuelans against Chavez's government.
Estas imágenes demuestran las protestas de venezolanos contra el gobierno de Chávez.



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Mission Statement

Voz Venezuela, a nonprofit organization, is dedicated to upholding the rights of the Venezuelan people as stated in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Freedom of speech, protection of media, and safety of journalists are systematically violated under the government of President Hugo Chávez Frías. Voz Venezuela seeks to invoke international pressure upon Venezuela's government by launching a podcast campaign creating public awareness of the injustices against oppositional views. We work towards a Venezuela that will reinstitute the practice of protecting and respecting human rights for all its people.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Watch to learn more about Voz Venezuela's mission and purpose.



Declaración de Objetivos

Voz Venezuela, una organización sin ánimo de lucro, es dedicada a la defensa de los derechos de los venezolanos como son presentados en Artículo 19 de la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos. Libertad de expresión, protección de medios y la seguridad de periodistas son violadas frecuentemente bajo el gobierno del Presidente Hugo Chávez Frías. Voz Venezuela busca lanzar una campaña podcast para invocar una presión internacional hacia el gobierno de Venezuela, creando un conocimiento público y un diálogo sobre las injusticias recurrentes hacia la oposición. Trabajamos para una Venezuela que restablece la práctica de proteger y respetar los derechos humanos de toda su gente.

Article 19 Todo individuo tiene derecho a la libertad de opinión y de expresión; este derecho incluye el de no ser molestado a causa de sus opiniones, el de investigar y recibir informaciones y opiniones, y el de difundirlas, sin limitación de fronteras, por cualquier medio de expresión.



VozVenezuela Twitter
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Possible Models: Let's Start the Conversation

U of Arizona's School of International Languages and Cultures

- “Interdisciplinary Transcultural Education”
- Business Management, Journalism, Public Policy
- Community Engagement
- Global Studies degree with high foreign language requirement

U of Rhode Island's International Engineering Program

- graduates earn two degrees simultaneously: a B.S. in an engineering discipline and a B.A. in Chinese, French, German, Italian or Spanish
- five-year program
- one year abroad

Funding Opportunities

UISFL

- “Program provides grants for planning, developing, and carrying out programs to strengthen and improve undergraduate instruction in international studies and foreign languages in the United States”

Foundations

- Henry Luce Foundation: Higher Education Program Guidelines
- Spencer Foundation: Grants and Fellowships
- Language-specific: Max Kade (German); Trust for Mutual Understanding (Russian); Consulates and Embassies, etc.

米格尔·德·塞万提斯



*Cervantes in China
in his 400th
Anniversary*

June 21-22, 2016



THE UNIVERSITY OF
CHICAGO

Center in
Beijing

**The two-day Symposium will focus on the 400th anniversary of Spain's best-known writer:
Cervantes.**

Along with talks on Cervantes and how to teach his works in China.

Sponsors

The University of Chicago Center in Beijing

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**School of International Letters and Cultures at Arizona State University
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**Chasqui: revista de literatura latinoamericana
David William Foster, Editor**

**EMIT: Early Modern Image and Text Society.
Juan Pablo Gil-Osle, President**

**Laberinto Journal
Juan Pablo Gil-Osle, Editor**

**Instituto Cervantes, Beijing
Inma González Puy, Director**

Program

June 21, Tuesday

9:30 **Registration**

10:00 **Inagural Session**

Frederick de Armas, University of Chicago
Juan Pablo Gil-Osle, Arizona State University
Inma González Puy, Cervantes Institute
Yang Dali, University of Chicago Beijing Center

10:30- 12:00 **Session I**
 Chair: Juan Pablo Gil-Osle

Yang Hengda
Renmin University
hengdayang@163.com

Don Quijote in China

Frederick de Armas
University of Chicago
fdearmas@uchicago.edu

Cervantes Melancholia: in the Shadow of Success

Vicente Pérez de Leon
University of Melbourne
vicentep@unimelb.edu.au

Cosmovision and Dehumanization in Don Quixote II

12:00-13:30 **Lunch**

13:30-14:40 **Session II**
 Chair: Frederick de Armas

Juan Pablo Gil-Osle
Arizona State University
jgilosle@asu.edu

Hyperreality and Cevantine Cultural Encounters in Beijing 2016 (Tang Xianzu, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Borges)

Christina H. Lee
University of Princeton
chrislee@princeton.edu

The Forgotten Chinese Experience in the Early Modern Hispanic World and Why it Matters

14:40-14:45 **Break**

14:45-16:00 **Session III**
Chair: Rogelio Miñana

Christopher Weimer
Oklahoma State University
cbweimer@aol.com

**“ . . . And things that go bump in the night”:
Reading the Ghostly and the Uncanny in *Don Quijote***

Daniel Holcombe
Arizona State University
Daniel.Holcombe@asu.edu

**Salvador Dalí’s Pictorial *Fanfare for the Common Man*:
Marketing Surrealistic Renaissance Classicism through
Mid-Twentieth Century *Don Quixote* Illustrations**

17:00 **Dinner (*Speakers only*)**

June 22, Wednesday

10:00-12:00 **Session IV**
Chair: Christina H. Lee

Rogelio Miñana
Drexel University.
Rogelio.Minana@drexel.edu

21st-Century Quixotes: Interdisciplinary Approaches and Global Classrooms

Juan Pablo Gil-Osle
Arizona State University
jgilosle@asu.edu

Arizona State University's Exchanges with China

Wei Nisi
Renmin University
nisiwei@ruc.edu.cn

La enseñanza del español en China

Zhang Jingting
Universidad de Estudios Internacionales de Shanghái
amandazhang007@hotmail.com

La enseñanza y la aceptación de las obras de Cervantes en China desde métodos multidisciplinarios

12:00-13:30 **Lunch**

13:30-15:00 **Session V**
Chair: Christopher Weimer

Margaret Marek
Illinois College
mmarek@mail.ic.edu

Mammoth Woolly Migrations: Transhumance, Extinction and the Cervantine Shepherd

Maria José Domínguez
Arizona State Univiversity
mdoming3@asu.edu

**“Yo sé quien soy”: La “quijotización” de Dulcinea y
la “dulcinización” de Don Quijote en una película de Vicente Escrivá.**

Matthew Powell
Arizona State University
matrpow@gmail.com

On Ah Gan’s *Don Quixote* (魔俠傳之唐吉德, 2010): Successes and Endings of a Movie

6:00-7:00 **Visit to the Cervantes Institute, Beijing (optional)**

Map and directions

The University of Chicago Center in Beijing

20th floor, Culture Plaza No. 59A Zhong Guan Cun Street, Haidian District, Beijing, 100872
People's Republic of China



CONTACT INFORMATION

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Gusmão, Alexandre de. *The Story of the Predestined Pilgrim and His Brother Reprobate, in Which, through a Mysterious Parable, Is Told the Felicitous Success of the One Saved and the Unfortunate Lot of the One Condemned*. Trans., with an introd. and Index by Christopher C. Lund. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2016. Xxxv, 137 pp., plates.

Lund provides a fluent and graceful translation from the Baroque literary Portuguese of Gusmão's allegorical prose narrative. Gusmão, (1629-1724), who enjoyed a long and influential assignment as Brazil's first great missionary teacher, issued the first edition of his narrative in Portugal in 1682. (Brazil at the time did not have a printing press and, in any case, all works required royal approval in Portugal, where they were, therefore, issued; *História* was published in Mexico in 1815, and there are two other editions of his work in Portuguese in 1685 and 1728).

Lund provides a relatively brief contextualization for the *História*, which was evidently written for use in the instruction of children and adolescent males in the missionary school Gusmão established (the first of its kind in Brazil) in Belém da Cachoeira, some seventy miles west of Salvador da Bahia, at that time the capital of the Portuguese colony of Brazil. Lund touches in his presentation on three key issues of the text, and one wishes that he had provided greater elaboration.

The first is the matter of allegory. Although Gusmão does not use the word in his title or in the elaboration of his text, it would be difficult to disagree with Lund that *História* exemplifies a textbook example of allegory: a story that, while of superficial interest and cohesion in its own right, is meant to be displaced in the reader's interpretive understanding of the text by a putatively higher cohesive meaning, one that usually corresponds with a predetermined narrative schemata, such as, in this case, the alternative stories of redemption and condemnation of human subjects in accord with, also in this case, orthodox Catholic teaching. Since the narrative resolution can, in such a construal of allegory, never be a surprise, the interest of the text lies with the details in the elaboration of the preordained narrative double helix. While one can distinguish different takes on allegory (Lund rightly points out that even a modern text like *Moby Dick* can be read as allegorical), there are different types of Christian allegory, and although Lund refers to Dante's *Commedia* as allegory, his take is not on how it is Erich Auerbach *ur*-text of figural allegory. Rather, Gusmão, as befitting the

Renaissance's return to classical forms, may not be strictly Christological in nature, since Predestined, as the privileged Everyman, is not specifically described as Christ-like, nor his brother, Reprobate, as particularly Luciferian. My point here is that the texture of allegory in *História* might have been better described, with, consequently, emphasis on the ways in which it is, indeed, a paradigmatic Baroque text and not a medieval one.

A second line of inquiry that deserves greater elaboration is the concept of "predetermined." Since it is by the seventeenth century a so-called hot button issue, Lund does well to underscore how it does not mean predestined in the Calvinistic sense (he does not say this as much); what he does say is that in no way does Gusmão's use contradict the concept of absolute human free will that is central to Catholic theology and that Jesuit teachings (allow me to add) reinforce with their own particular vigor. Rather, I would suggest that what is at issue is that man is predestined to salvation, because that is God's plan as his incarnate son. Man fulfills that predestination if he hews to the Church's moral teaching, which the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises were perfected to reinforce and gloriously institutionalize. If one does not hew to those teachings and falls *again* into the sin from which Baptism represents the first step in escaping, he is condemned: hence the name of our hero's "unfortunate" brother Reprobate (= lost or abandoned [to sin]).

Finally, one thing I most missed in Lund's presentation of Gusmão's important text is its relationship to other Jesuit narratives of the period. Writing for an English-language audience, it is inevitable that Lund mention John Bunyan's contemporary *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), although it is highly unlikely that Gusmão knew Bunyan's text. Yet one might profitably look at Gusmão's text with reference to *El Criticón* of Spain's most famous Jesuit writer, Baltasar Gracián. Although Lund does not reference this fact, it is inconceivable for Gusmão not to have been very familiar with Gracián's writings. Published in three parts (1651, 1653, and 1657), it is also an allegory, although a much more problematical one than Gusmão's, as it epitomizes Gracián's bleak vision of human destiny; indeed, its pessimism borders on the cynical. As a consequence, the allegorical structure of *El Criticón* is impressively dynamic, and it can in no way be said to correspond to a predetermined Christian narrative schema.

Lund makes much of Gusmão's *magisterium* to the young in his Brazilian missionary activity, and this might well explain why the allegory is

so transparent in *História*, with none of the Baroque conceptualism found in Gracián. The hold of highly conventional allegory is precisely to make things easy to grasp. Indeed, the sort of narrative allegory that structures Gusmão's text is based on the binary matrix that is so much a part of Western philosophy and its derivatives. Gusmão's readers, particularly his impressionable young Brazilian students who needed, on the frontier of Western civilization, to be molded into the tradition of binary thinking, would have found nothing intellectually challenging about *História*. By contrast, Gracián wrote for a seventeenth-century Peninsular intellectual tradition whose Baroque vision was, precisely, a transcendency of the binary (one could say a queering of the binary, but that is for another discussion). In one sense, Gusmão was undoubtedly writing against the encroaching Baroque tradition in Brazil that was more attuned to Gracián than (to) Gusmão. I have in mind Gregório de Matos (1636-96), for example, who was a direct challenge to the Church's teachings in Brazil (but that, too, is for another discussion).

In sum, Lund has done a good scholarly work in providing a fine translation of Gusmão's text, but other scholars will have to provide it with greater historical and literary context.

David William Foster
Arizona State University

Barbara Fuchs. *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. pp. 186. ISBN: 9780812244755

Barbara Fuchs en su monográfico sobre la relación entre la literatura española y la literatura británica ha abierto todo un mundo para los críticos y los intelectuales interesados en las relaciones entre dos momentos fundamentales en la creación del canon español y británico. Fuchs enuncia el efecto perenne de los proyectos imperialistas ingleses sobre la literatura en castellano. De forma que el silenciamiento de las conexiones entre la literatura ibérica y la anglosajona es la sustancia de su monográfico *The Poetics of Piracy* (p. 4).

El argumento de Barbara Fuchs se podría resumir de la siguiente manera. Desde el siglo XVI y XVII ciertas tramas en lengua inglesa provienen de la literatura castellana debido a la admiración literaria que en Inglaterra existió en la época hacia los productos artísticos producidos en la península. La traducción (capítulo 1) y la emulación literaria (capítulos 2 y 3) se encuentran a la orden del día, pero las propias ambiciones imperialistas de la corona inglesa causaron que haya una ambivalencia entre la admiración y la rivalidad respecto a España y sus artes. Fuchs muestra la existencia de una apropiación de temas, personajes, y géneros que se explica por medio de “imitatio imperii studiique” (93). No obstante Fuchs va más allá de este concepto tan bien estudiado en los trabajos de Ernst Curtius, Frederick de Armas, Robert Green, etc. La autora avanza la idea de que se trata de una “piratería textual,” ya que se escamotean los orígenes. Esta ocultación de las fuentes no es la preocupación de Fuchs, como ella afirma una y otra vez. El objetivo del libro es otro; el monográfico trata de estudiar cómo se producen estos actos de ocultación sistemática y continuada en la literatura y crítica de la literatura inglesa.

Los motivos de las ocultación de las fuentes ibéricas serían la rivalidad entre el emergente proyecto imperial de Inglaterra y el omnipresente poder global de los reinos ibéricos. Esta rivalidad a un nivel lingüístico se expresa en el ansia y necesidad de crear un canon literario para la lengua vernácula—como ya lo han estudiado numerosos académicos. Fuchs muestra que la emulación literaria en Inglaterra tuvo también este objetivo de la dignificación de lengua vernácula, al igual que ocurrió en muchos otros casos europeos. Por tanto, no existe ninguna excepcionalidad

en el proceso inglés, que sirve para el propósito de producir abundante literatura con la garantía de éxito que procuran unas fuentes bien aceptadas en otras lenguas.

Las consecuencias del enmascaramiento sistemático del origen de los temas, personajes, y géneros—además de la demonización de España, los españoles (*Chess Game* by Middleton), los católicos, y los jesuitas— cristaliza en el siguiente doblete. En el verso y reverso del primer doblete tenemos la construcción de la excepcionalidad de Shakespeare junto con el silenciamiento de Cervantes. En el segundo, se encuentran el mito isabelino y la Leyenda Negra. Es decir, ensalzamiento de lo inglés basado en indiferencia y demonización de lo ibérico.

Este doblete tuvo y continúa teniendo un gran efecto en los estudios literarios de la lengua inglesa y castellana. Durante la Restauración del siglo XVIII se produjo una obra basada en *Don Quijote de la Mancha* de Cervantes, en cuyo análisis ocupa muchos de los esfuerzos de Fuchs ya que es un caso sintomático que se extiende hasta el siglo XXI. Se trata de *Double Falshood, or the Distrest Lovers* (1727) by Lewis Theobald. Fuchs says that it is “a play base don the erotic misadventures of the interpolated narratives in *Don Quixote*” (80) and she dedicates chapter four to the analysis of the history of textual piracy in Theobald’s play.

Pero el libro de Fuchs alcanza una relevancia aún mayor cuando la autora, en su último capítulo “Cardenios for our time,” arremete contra una práctica del consuetudinario pirateo de Cervantes. En este caso, renombrados académicos como Stephen Greenblatt están envueltos en el saqueo de la herencia cervantina y de la literatura en español. En su último capítulo critica no solamente las apropiaciones de Greenblatt en su Cardenio Project, sino que también extiende su visión crítica al trabajo de Doran en Re-Imagining *Cardenio*. Uno usa una página web y el otro un blog para anunciar sus proyectos artísticos. Pero ninguno consigue ir más allá en sus producciones de la consagración de *Cardenio* como un producto de Shakespeare, o como un hijo de un Cervantes exótico—vía flamenco, fiesta, duende, gitanos, etc.—(119-20).

The Poetics of Piracy es un monográfico con un gran aparato bibliográfico que apoya una investigación profunda y fructífera sobre la literatura comparada de la Inglaterra isabelina y jacobina con la literatura del Siglo de Oro español. Se centra en las imitaciones de Cervantes, y Guzmán de Alfarache, pero también toca la *Araucana*, y numerosos otros productos

artísticos españoles y británicos. Por este motivo, gran variedad de académicos y de lectores interesados en la temprana modernidad obtendrían provecho de su lectura. Un gran acierto del libro es la intrusión en el terreno de crítica de productos digitales y su uso, ya que lo pone en contacto con la tendencia de las Humanidades Digitales, que tienen tanta necesidad de atención crítica.

Juan Pablo Gil-Osle
Arizona State University

Pease G. Y., Franklin. *El mar peruano: mitos andinos y europeos.*

Lima: Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 2015.

199 pp. ISBN: 978-612-47024-3-3

Tres ensayos escritos por el fallecido historiador peruano Franklin Pease G.Y., nos acercan a las distintas formas en que los pobladores andinos y los conquistadores españoles entendían el papel del agua, en general, y el mar, en particular, en la región geográfica de los Andes centrales. A través de una aproximación interdisciplinaria, que utiliza evidencias y herramientas de la historia, la geografía, la arqueología y la antropología, el autor interpreta algunos pasajes de las crónicas escritas en el siglo XVI y XVII, que se refieren principalmente al mar peruano, sin dejar a un lado sus lagos y ríos. Los artículos, publicados originalmente entre 1980 y 1994, van acompañados por una selección de 14 textos cronísticos de los siglos XVI y XVII, y un texto recopilado etnográficamente a principios del siglo XX, los cuales incluyen narraciones de mitos indígenas, sus prácticas relacionadas con actividades marítimas y descripciones geográfico-marítimas, que complementan los temas tratados en los ensayos. No menos importantes para este fin, son las imágenes de objetos arqueológicos, pinturas, mapas y diagramas que se refieren a una interpretación del agua—el mar, los ríos y los lagos—desde el siglo XVI hasta el presente.

Con la decisiva colaboración de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima y de Mariana Mould de Pease, la viuda del autor, Nicanor Domínguez Faura ha realizado una atinada compilación y edición de los textos e imágenes que contextualizan los resultados de los análisis de Pease sobre la espiritualidad andina y su relación con la geografía marítima peruana. Este libro, además de ser un reconocimiento póstumo a los 40 años de actividad académica del autor, representa una muestra del interés creciente por los estudios de tipo interdisciplinario como la geografía histórica, de la cual Franklin Pease, como lo reconoce el presidente de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima en la presentación del libro, es uno de los pioneros.

Las palabras preliminares de Mariana Mould de Pease, compañera y testigo de primera mano en la búsqueda intelectual del autor, dan cuenta del proceso de décadas por medio del cual Pease logró tener acceso a evidencias de primera mano que le permitieron acercarse a la complejidad de las creencias de los habitantes andinos sobre su medio geográfico en el

pasado. La capacidad del investigador que tiene la habilidad de identificar hechos significativos recogidos desde diferentes disciplinas y relacionarlos de manera coherente, sin abandonar el rigor académico, queda resaltados en dichas páginas.

Los tres ensayos que constituyen la primera parte del libro, comparten la misma aproximación al pasado. Partiendo de los testimonios consignados en las crónicas del siglo XVI y XVII ofrece una interpretación, o reinterpretación en ocasiones, que utiliza datos y herramientas de la etnohistoria andina y la antropología, para reconstruir el sistema de ideas vigentes de la época. El primer ensayo se acerca al simbolismo del agua en diferentes comunidades y a su importancia en la mitología y en la economía de la costa y de la sierra. El segundo capítulo analiza los sesgos en la interpretación de los cronistas, que veían la región desde el mar hacia la tierra firma, de la mitología del mar de las sociedades andinas, que miraban desde la tierra hacia el mar. El tercer capítulo discute la influencia cultural clásica en las expediciones de descubrimiento y conquista, especialmente la de los mitos europeos y las novelas de caballería.

Los ensayos abandonan una interpretación simplista de los mitos, como mera superstición que no es digna de ser estudiada, y ofrece nuevas perspectivas sobre ellos en los estudios andinos, relacionándolos con las costumbres, formas de vida y normativas de las sociedades en las que se desarrollan. Por otro lado, argumenta que algunas de las aparentes contradicciones entre las creencias y las formas de vida de la costa y la sierra manifestadas en algunas crónicas, corresponden más a sesgos definidos por las aproximaciones de cada escritor que a división concreta real. A pesar de que este libro se concentra en los siglos XVI y XVII, tiene la virtud de presentar una mirada fresca y pertinente sobre un tema que fue, y continúa siendo, central para las sociedades andinas y que en el presente es un tema crucial a nivel global en las discusiones políticas y académicas: el agua.

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