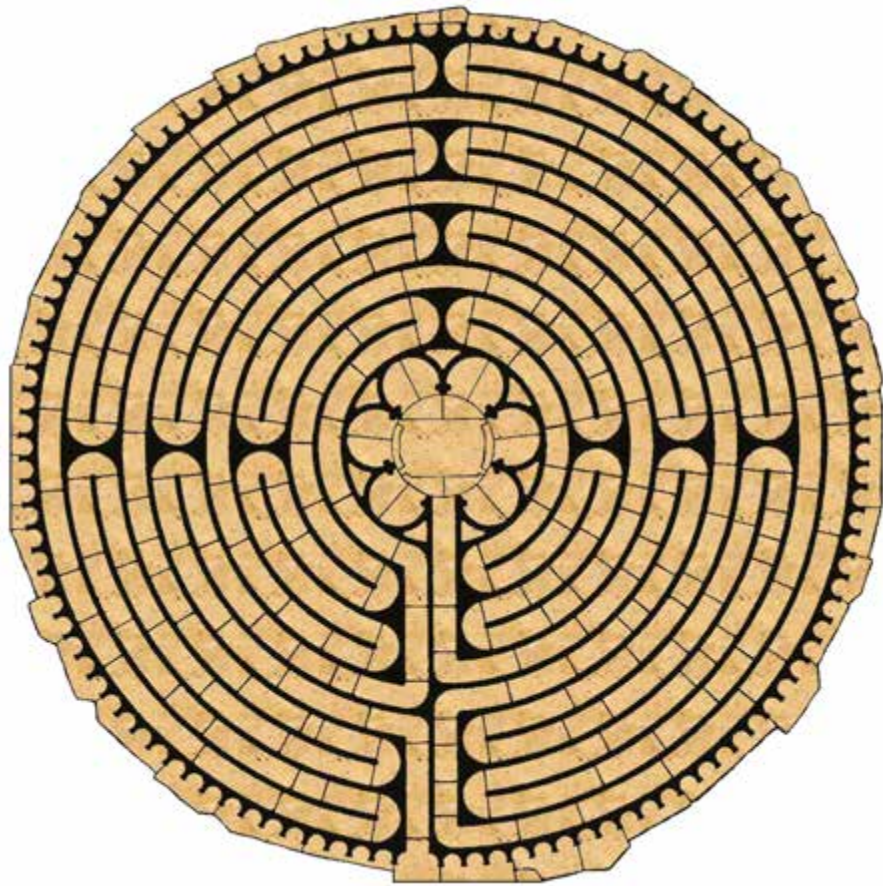


# LABERINTO

AN ELECTRONIC JOURNAL  
OF EARLY MODERN HISPANIC  
LITERATURE AND CULTURES



VOLUME 14  
2021

LABERINTO JOURNAL 14 (2021)

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Special Issue: Early Modernity in Arizona State University

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Slumming *Don Quixote* in Luis Lucia's *Rocío de la Mancha* (1963)

Daniel Holcombe  
Georgia College and State University

British tourism journalist Rob Neillands wrote in *The Times* (London) in 1988: “I had always wanted to visit La Mancha, the country of Cervantes, I don’t know why. Not from reading *Don Quixote*, because my eyelids trundle down after about six pages. Tourism has nibbled deeply around the edges of Spain, but here in the centre it might be different” (15). Reflecting upon his own interpretation and perception of Miguel de Cervantes’s *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1605; 1615) and of Spain itself, the journalist expressed three fundamental tenets regarding the centuries-old travel tradition between England and Spain that has historically inspired “readers” and viewers of illustrated editions to seek out an old-world travel experience to La Mancha and retrace don Quixote’s footsteps. First, Neillands alluded to an industry I call *Don Quixote Tourism*,<sup>1</sup> one that is inspired directly or indirectly by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra’s *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1605-1615),<sup>2</sup> which in turn, falls within an overarching class of tourism that R. Ruiz Scarfuto identifies as inspired by literature, and more specifically, literary routes (2).

Second, by his own admission, Neillands’s touristic interest was inspired not by reading the novel, but instead from an indirect knowledge of the author, the novel, and its protagonists through its most iconic narratives—quixotic imagery or iconography—that has existed in popular culture and the social imaginaries of the world for centuries. Robert Bayliss explains that this phenomenon alludes to those who have not read the novel, or who have only read portions of it (384) and includes those “readers” influenced by book illustrations, maps, and/or tour guides.

Third, the journalist’s goal was anachronistic in that, while he was clearly intrigued by the prospect of visiting Spain, he simply did not want to visit a modern country, one created for tourists, especially the famous, visibly-modernizing, coastal resort destinations that “nibbled” away at the chivalric Spain referenced by Cervantes’s novel. Rather, he sought a “different” Spain in Castile and La Mancha, representing the very core of the nation.<sup>3</sup> While English tourists have historically sought to revisit the geographies mentioned in the novel, they have been especially interested in

retracing exactly where don Quixote set forth during his idealized and comical sallies. Erich Auerbach has explained that such a comical idealism—an “*idée fixe*”—can only be described as senseless, underscoring the appeal of visiting not the protagonist’s reality but rather where he pursued his mad fantasies (344). Readers of *Don Quixote* inspired to retrace the narrative fantasies in Spain can therefore only experience comedic and mad experiences within an authentic, national Spanish core where don Quixote acted out his quixotism. A modern Spain offers no such authenticity.

Elizabeth Franklin Lewis explores England’s perspective of Don Quixote Tourism as framed by the referent of classism, detailing how Eighteenth-century English tourists were inspired by tour guides that promoted tourism based on Cervantes’s novel, and especially, its satirical, backwards gaze upon chivalry. The anachronism at the foundation of these tour guides comprises the third tenet, while underscoring the historic love-hate relationship between England and Spain.

Barbara Fuchs and Victoria M. Muñoz expound the historicity of the polemical relationship between the two societies as framed by the genre of Romance literature produced by early Renaissance Spanish authors and its influence on contemporary English readers and society. It was polemical because English society at once denied that its own literature was inspired by Spanish Romance literature while simultaneously emulating it during the formation of both an early English literary canon (Fuchs 4-5) and a concept of English imperialism (Muñoz 9). This early modern English combination of fascination and prejudice regarding Spain and the Romance literary genre—which Muñoz calls “tales of love and arms,” (7)—is concomitant with the development of the prejudicial, anti-Spanish Black Legend,<sup>4</sup> all of which set the stage for later generations to develop an early manifestation of slumming—a concept and practice not fully developed until the nineteenth century—that I argue arose within eighteenth-century English tourism inspired by *Don Quixote*.<sup>5</sup>

While this last tenet signaled in Neillands’s article seems superficial and whimsical, it is a fundamental theme that underlies the exploration of how Don Quixote Tourism has sought out a touristic experience based in slumming the lower classes. Indeed, I consider the archaic focus of such tourism as historically prejudiced because it centers on focalizing the framing referent of social class, and especially the differences between social classes, representing nothing less than the continuation of a five-hundred-year, elitist

*umwelt* regarding England's gaze upon Spain and Spaniards as a manifestation of the anti-Spanish Black Legend. It both inspires and justifies the act of seeking out a Spanish society that mimics and perpetually maintains a chivalric mindset. Just as don Quixote waxes lyrical in an anachronistic manner regarding his collection of Romance literature and chivalry novels in his library, Don Quixote Tourism has historically promoted the same stuck-in-the-past Spain that don Quixote fights so hard to uphold. Therefore, at this point I add the term "slum" to propose the concept of "Don Quixote Slum Tourism."

This essay explores the rise of Don Quixote Slum Tourism through a series of historic benchmarks that span the sixteenth to the twenty-first centuries.<sup>6</sup> Most of these benchmarks occur in England and Spain, with some references to the United States. See Fig. 1. The first benchmark is represented by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sociopolitical and cultural love-hate relationships between the Romance genre of literature produced by early Renaissance Spanish authors and its influence on contemporary English readers and society. Building upon the works of Fuchs and Muñoz, I seek to illustrate how early modern English fascination and prejudice regarding Spain and the Romance literary genre, along with the development of the anti-Spanish Black Legend, facilitated the later development of eighteenth-century slum tourism as framed by Cervantes's *Don Quixote* a full century before the concept of social slumming was "invented" even later in London. The second benchmark centers on eighteenth-century Enlightenment England and Spain, within the auspices of literary tourism, and more specifically Don Quixote Slum Tourism, which Lewis explains was particularly inspired by the unique 1780 Spanish-language illustrated edition of *Don Quixote* by Joaquín Ibarra and the Real Academia Española and illustrated by Spanish artists (43-44). Because the rise in Don Quixote Slum Tourism was also accompanied, perhaps not so paradoxically, by both the continuation of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Black Legend and anti-Spanish sentiment—alongside a foreshadowing of the nineteenth-century slumming mindset based on social class division—the third benchmark centers on the development of social slumming in nineteenth-century London. The fourth benchmark centers on Spain itself, exploring the development of a thriving Don Quixote Slum Tourism industry in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and analyzing visualizations of this tourism—within Francoist Spain—in Luis Lucia's film *Rocío de la Mancha*

(1963).<sup>7</sup> I argue that this series of historic benchmarks documents the rise of Don Quixote Slum Tourism, an ongoing extension and evolution of prejudice within English and Spanish societies based on social class, anti-Spanish mindsets, and internalized classism over the course of five hundred years.<sup>8</sup>



Fig. 1. Historic Benchmarks underlying the rise of Don Quixote Slum Tourism.



## Slumming

Before examining the earliest history underlying the rise of Don Quixote Slum Tourism, it is convenient to define the third benchmark—slumming—and explore its history. Seth Koven clarifies that the origins of social slumming are found in nineteenth-century London, through the rather innocuous desire to improve public service and social welfare. Public health and social workers attending to working-class citizens, explains Koven, felt obligated to observe the people they treated, in their own neighborhoods, to better serve them and track disease (1-2). To that end, these workers began to create maps indicating where their clients lived. The maps initially served as a public health tool to help social workers better perform their jobs but were later transformed into maps to inspire what we know today as the inherently prejudicial social act of slumming.

While social slumming was invented in late-nineteenth century London, a form of linguistic slumming had already flourished in Paris earlier in the same century. Eliza Jane Smith explains that linguistic and literary slumming developed in France through a bourgeoisie reader interest in “the temptations of vicariously exploring an uncharted criminal underworld” (1) that was based on “the use of the language slang as criminal code, which French writers employed for both economic and artistic purposes” (251). Smith underscores the degradation associated with linguistic slumming:

In nineteenth-century France, literary slumming was a twofold phenomenon: first, literary slumming referred to the degradation of literary content, primarily in the form of representing lower-class degeneracy of vice. From criminals to prostitutes (and everything in between), French writers sought to seduce their public with realistic depictions of society’s deviants in all their criminal glory. Second, literary slumming referred to the degradation of the literary standards that were formally mandated in the seventeenth century. This degradation included the publication of serial novels [...] filled with violence and sexual intrigue. (Smith 251)

Smith concludes that Nineteenth-century Parisian culture was fascinated by the “*bas-fonds* (underworld)” that offered the elite an “‘escape’ and ‘exoticism’ where emotions could be sensationalized” (2). Most relevant to the argument

of this essay is that such an infatuation with the working class and criminality entered the social imaginary.

In London, conversely, an artistic form of social slumming evolved. The commonality between French literary slumming and English social slumming in the nineteenth century centered on the bifurcation of social class and the *potentiality* of intrigue associated with experiencing classist Otherness. Moving beyond the scope and gaze of public health workers, slumming was embraced by the London elite, who began to interact with the lower classes—within their quotidian customs and experiences—for the sheer thrill, only to return to their own privileged environs afterwards. Like the centuries-old phenomenon of the Wunderkammer, slumming began not as fixed, unmoving cabinets of curiosities in elite spaces that displayed unusual specimens gathered from far and wide, but rather as public, socialized events that took the elite to the impoverished, dynamic spaces of the working class. It promoted the thrill and enjoyment of lowering oneself socially within these exotic geographies. However, the availability of these maps also appealed to people with a morbid curiosity and subsequently morphed into the creation of London tourist guidebooks for the general public, which pointed out not only the local cultural and religious attractions, but also the specific locations of these impoverished areas. Koven calls these areas sensationalized “scenes of human misery and sexual degradation made famous, the world over by the serial murderer Jack the Ripper” (1). As slumming spread around the world, it took on a pejorative connotation that Chad Heap describes as “horrifyingly exploitative” (2).<sup>9</sup>

Just as the creation of these maps—ones created for the elite to slum the lower classes in the dynamic, live, and interactive Wunderkammers of London—documented slumming in the nineteenth century, I maintain that the creation of tour guides and maps of Don Quixote’s Route a century earlier in eighteenth-century London documented the very same classist mindset evoked by the concept of Don Quixote Slum Tourism. It was a type of tourism inspired by the humor of *Don Quixote* and the desire to visit quaint, comical, and backwards medieval Spanish citizens and their live “performances” within their authentic Wunderkammer of La Mancha. Even though don Quixote’s nobility was favored in English translation and book illustration, it was an idealism that Auerbach describes as “*idée fixe*” that ensured the English reception of the protagonist and his mad adventures as decidedly comical and firmly situated in fantasy:

[Don Quixote's idealism] is not based on an understanding of actual conditions in this world. Don Quijote does have such an understanding but it deserts him as soon as the idealism of his *idée fixe* takes hold of him. Everything he does in that state is completely senseless and so incompatible with the existing world that it produces only comic confusion there. (344)

Indeed, Auerbach states that one can compare don Quixote with Dostoevsky's *Idiot* (1868-69), except, in the case of Cervantes's protagonist, there is arguably no active sense of "responsibility and guilt" (344). The fact that Alonso Quijano—as a representative of the lowest echelons of the Spanish nobility—unintentionally *slums* the lower classes in La Mancha as don Quixote, is not lost in this comparison. The intentional nobility instigated by English translators and the comical nobility achieved by don Quixote in the original Spanish narrative both ensured the character's popularity in England and solidified his archaic appeal by looking backwards towards the earlier love-hate relationship with Romance literature in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance.<sup>10</sup>

### **Spain and England Sitting in a Tree / R-E-A-D-I-N-G ... Spanish Romance<sup>11</sup>**

English tourists have long been inspired to visit Spain, first inspired by English translations of sixteenth-century Spanish Romance literature, and later by Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, both in English translation and in Spanish. In the sixteenth century, England's reader reception of Spanish Romance literature had already historically fixated on defining Spain as a rival nation, while the rise of Spanish imperialism throughout the early Renaissance and the popularity of chivalry found in the Romance genre initiated a prejudicial optic towards the country in an "us vs. them," nation-defining mentality (Muñoz 7). A century later, tourism inspired by *Don Quixote* expanded this pejorative touristic interest in Spain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, inspired again by an anachronistic and archaic expectation that a potential visit to Spain would consist of encountering a quaint, medieval, and backward thinking working class. Tourism during these centuries was

founded on a class division that, as Muñoz reminds us, was axial to England's self-definition of their own nationality as set against the Otherness represented by Spain. England, in its rise to Enlightenment, imposed its superiority over Spain and its citizens (7) through what can be labeled as a passive-aggressive, classist tourism.

Barbara Fuchs explains the long history of such a passive-aggressive mentality in the relationship between England and Spain, beginning with the rise of the early modern period. The author expounds how, as a national canon began to emerge in England, it did so "in the context of its rivalry with Spain" (4-5), never fully acknowledging a Spanish literary influence while, at the same time, emulating it (8). Fuchs documents the history of academic prejudice against Spain and its literature, later spreading to the United States via Hispanic Studies or Hispanisms:

[B]y showing how certain habits of thought—the supposed "obscurantism" of Spain, the impoverishment of Spanish cultural life as a result of the Inquisition, Spain's long decline—have created a kind of intellectual "Black Legend." Richard Kagan's work on historiography has traced how the United States has largely inherited English prejudices against Spain, and added to them a narrative of counter-exceptionalism, with Spain as the dark double to U.S. imperial glories. [...] *Don Quijote*, whose influence is so patent, was made in this vision an honorary citizen of the world [...]. (8)

Despite the development of quixotic iconography within the world's social imaginaries, resulting from Cervantes's novel being categorized as a "citizen of the world" (8), Fuchs further clarifies what she calls an "Armada paradigm," one that is reflected in the simultaneous influence of Spanish literature on English writers. Additionally, she underscores issues of religion and military conflict that ensured the continued development of the Black Legend (9) and the systemic erasure of a Spanish legacy on English culture and literature (95). The author clarifies: "Early modern English writers looked to Spain for inspiration and relied heavily on Spanish originals, yet our own academy, marked by the Black Legend and sustained an anti-Spanish prejudice, is unable to recognize those early debts" (95). Muñoz complements Fuchs's perspective by concluding that the negativity associated with the "Spanish problem" today known as the Black Legend

influenced English readers of *Don Quixote* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, laying the foundation for a prejudiced and skewed mindset towards Spain and Spanish culture as perpetually frozen in the Middle Ages (10).<sup>12</sup> From my perspective, this multi-temporal and multi-spatial history represents the origins and continued evolution of the anachronistic aspect of Don Quixote Slum Tourism.

### **Stanning an Iconic don Quixote.**

For some early modern English readers, within a prejudicial mindset inspired by the Black Legend, there could be no better literary figurehead than don Quixote to underscore Spain's backwardness and inferiority for England. Despite this, the desire to visit Spain has not historically depended solely upon having read the resplendent narratives of the novel. Rather, it can also be linked to the existence of quixotic iconography—such as that represented by the windmills and don Quixote's madness associated with attacking them—in the social imaginaries of the world's cultures. Bayliss explains how simply owning a copy of the novel provides most collectors with enough information to know about, recognize, and be inspired by the most iconic passages. This was particularly observable in 2005, during the celebrations of the 400-year anniversary of the publication of Part I of *Don Quixote*. Reflecting upon this anniversary, Bayliss expounds the public's relationship to the novel and the iconography they perceived:

[I]n January 2005, everyone was buying a novel that they knew they would never actually read in its entirety. Apart from any ostensible pleasure or profit that one could gain from reading it, owning the novel was important and constituted its own form of consumption. Included in the implications of this postmodern iconoclasm is the notion that possession of the material object, *Don Quixote*, signifies status and cultural prestige. (384)

Whereas the consumption of an iconic don Quixote explains the prestige associated with owning a copy of the novel, it also represents one of many reasons why such iconography exists in the first place, as popular culture references and representations of canonical literature, both of which depend

on the reader reception of the novel as either a comical or classic text.<sup>13</sup> This iconography—whether popular or canonical, imagined or academic—is part of what has consistently inspired tourists to visit La Mancha.<sup>14</sup>

A century earlier, in the early twentieth century, imagery of a noble don Quixote and his humorous sallies situated in madness and fantasy proved propitious to the creation of not only a positive Spanish national image, but also an increase of overall tourism in the region of Castile. Bayliss affirms how tourists were attracted to the nobility of the knight errant: “A mainstay of the twentieth-century Spanish tourism industry was guided excursions through rural La Mancha of ‘la ruta de Don Quijote’ [Don Quixote’s Route], which highlights the physical places that supposedly inspired Cervantes’s fictional representation of the region, complete with windmills and inns” (387). At the center of this increased tourism at the beginning of the twentieth century—in addition to celebrations associated with the 300-year anniversary of the novel’s publication in 1905—was the national crisis that inspired literary attempts at recuperating Spain’s greatness by authors of the Generation of 1898.<sup>15</sup>

Because Spain lost all remaining territories it held at the end of its centuries-long decline of empire after the Spanish-American War, as Christopher Britt Arredondo explains, the authors of this generation saw their own role as quixotic, in direct reaction to the loss of the Spanish Empire:

Faced, as they were, with the final crisis of Spanish imperialism in 1898, these thinkers did not only seek to make sense of modern Spain’s decline from empire but to also offer their compatriots an imaginative program for national and imperial regeneration. They identified Spain’s new role in the modern world with the *idealistic mission* undertaken by Don Quixote in Cervantes’ famous seventeenth-century novel. Inspired by the example of Don Quixote’s quest to recuperate the Golden Age of chivalry, they suggested that modern Spain also needed to *revive its chivalric values* and seek to recuperate its Golden Age. Only for these modern Spanish intellectuals, the chivalry of Spain’s Golden Age had little if anything to do with the humanist values upheld by Cervantes’ Don Quixote and a great deal more to do with the heroic, warring values that had led to the conquest and colonization of Spain’s European, American,

and Asian empire. What these thinkers had in mind, then, by promoting the iconographic association of the Spanish nation with the figure of Don Quixote, was the spiritual and cultural reconquest of Spain's empire. Their Quixotism was a formula for negating the historical, ephemeral reality of Spain's decline as an empire and affirming the essential, ever-lasting reality of the Spanish nation's imperial identity. (6, my emphasis)

In essence, Spanish culture experienced at the beginning of the twentieth century “a disillusionment, or *desengaño*, that mirrored Don Quixote's own disillusionment in Part II of Cervantes's novel” (Bayliss 386). The promotion of *Don Quixote* and its recuperation by authors of the Generation of 1898 as a national literary treasure both reinforced and further inspired twentieth-century tourism based on the novel, especially through the ongoing promotion of and retracing Don Quixote's Route and the quixotic imagery that has existed in the social imaginaries of the world's cultures for centuries. Indeed, Arredondo explains that *Don Quixote* after 1898 took on an even more active role as a cultural ambassador between Spain and the world (600).<sup>16</sup>

However, despite the efforts of the Generation of 1898 to recuperate Spain's imperial image through *Don Quixote*, and especially by evoking a heroic don Quixote, I maintain that such a focus within Spain was overshadowed by northern Europe's promotion of quixotic iconography and imagery based in don Quixote's idealistic, heroic, and comical fantasy regarding chivalry, as evidenced in translation and book illustration. This contributed to the proliferation of quixotic imagery—consisting of a decidedly non-Spanish yet heroic don Quixote pestering the working-class locals—in the social imaginaries of world cultures, and in turn, the promotion of class division and anachronisms underlying Don Quixote Slum Tourism.

Knowledge of quixotic iconography from the social imaginary is precisely why British journalist Neillands quoted at the beginning of this essay was, on one hand, able to reference the novel, but on the other, did not know exactly why he wanted to visit Spain. Instead, he inadvertently expressed his own personal interpretation of quixotic imagery that has long inspired anachronistic and classist aspects of Don Quixote Slum Tourism in the twentieth-century British social imaginary: “Besides, I like Spain, and nowhere is more Spanish than Castile, a land of clouds and castles, full of

small towns [...]. Having been to El Toboso, I feel sure that Cervantes knew exactly what he was doing when he made *Don Quixote* a man of La Mancha. He was having a dig at the locals” (15). Imagery of such classism inferred from Cervantes’s novel—such as “having a dig at the locals,” clouds, castles, and small towns expressed by Neillands—has proven both popularly persistent and nationally resilient. That is, the persistence of this imagery in our memories—both inside and outside of Spain—is especially observable in the long-term manifestation within popular culture representations in the more than four hundred years since Cervantes published *Don Quixote de la Mancha*.

### **It’s Just Easier to Look at the Pictures. How Book Illustrations Influence Quixotic Iconography and Don Quixote Slum Tourism**

Two of the most popular narratives associated with the novel, and which exist vividly in the reader’s imagination, are arguably when don Quixote battles the windmill and when the knight misinterprets a flock of sheep for two warring medieval armies. Simply reading the book creates imagery in the reader’s mind, that in turn can be passed on to others. More importantly, book illustrations both visually reproduce and reinterpret the narratives, contributing to the variety of imagery held in social and cultural imaginaries around the world. From the moment the novel was published, simple illustrations—frontispieces and chapter illustrations—began to adorn the earliest editions, adding to and encouraging the visual imagery associated with the novel, inspiring popular culture interest in the mad knight’s exploits for the first time.

Illustrators of *Don Quixote* often took liberties in their portrayals of the mad knight. Readers can trace cultural and sociopolitical agendas imposed by translators and illustrators over the centuries, most of which resulted from the desire to render don Quixote in terms relatable to their target readers. Because of this cultural interpretation, or even interference, on the part of translators and illustrators, don Quixote’s popularity began to affect interest in Spanish tourism, inspiring readers—and non-readers—to retrace the famous madman’s steps in the dusty plains of La Mancha by seeking their own quixotic pilgrimage. This underscores the importance that book illustrations have on the public imaginary and its concept of quixotic



imagery or iconography. It must be underscored again that, while quixotic imagery has inspired many tourists to visit Cervantes's Spain, most of them have read very little of the book. As Bayliss states, collectors of *Don Quixote* often let their copy or copies sit on a shelf unread (384).

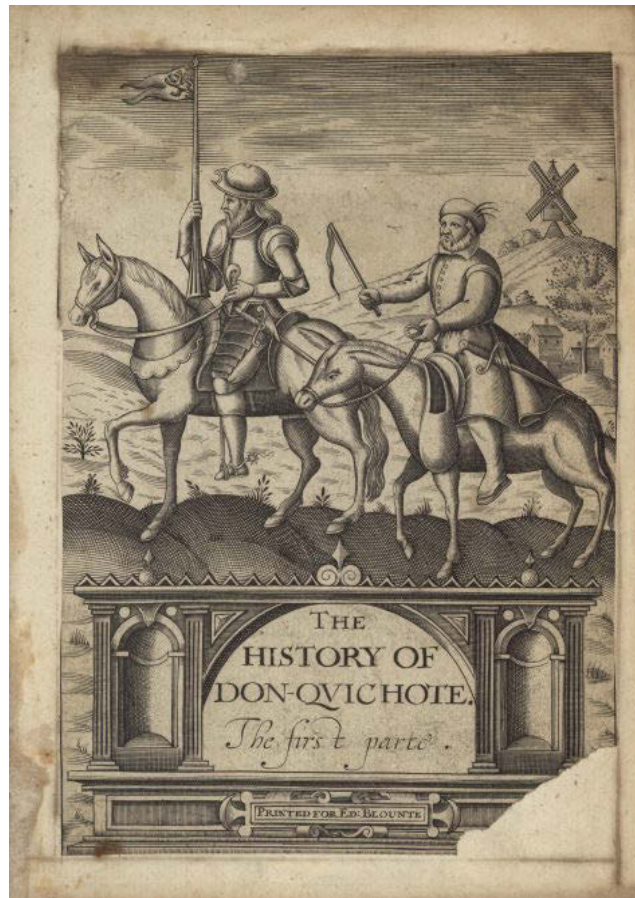


Fig. 2. Don Quixote and Sancho Panza illustrated as English citizens.  
Unknown artist. Burin engraving. *Cervantes Project*.  
Edward Blount 1620 edition of *Don Quixote* ("The History").

Visual reinterpretations of don Quixote's adventures in book illustration therefore hold a key role in the development of tourism inspired by *Don Quixote*. Just as the act of translation historically allowed translators to instill various aspects of their own culture into their linguistic reinterpretations of Cervantes's novel,<sup>17</sup> thus influencing how the public viewed don Quixote within their societies, the visual reinterpretations created by illustrators wielded even more power to change how the public perceived don Quixote in their mind's eye and collective social imaginaries (Schmidt xv). The success of such visual reinterpretations often depended on whether he was portrayed as a hero or a fool, or both.<sup>18</sup>

For example, one can see how—in both translation and book illustration—the elevation of don Quixote from a Spanish fool to an English hero would change the erudite English public's perception of Cervantes's protagonist by inserting a stark class division.<sup>19</sup> See Fig. 2. Originally perceived in Spain and England as a comedic fool, after this iconic shift in England due entirely to translation and illustration, don Quixote now represented nobility for learned readers, despite his madness. Now gone was the sad figure of woeful countenance fumbling his way throughout his adventures. Edwin B. Knowles, Jr. notes France's influence on this paradigmatic shift in late seventeenth-century English readers of *Don Quixote*, especially after the Restoration, when such readers consisted of “‘better’ people [...] in part, no doubt, because the returning cavaliers brought back something of its high reputation in France” (109). Yet more importantly, although Knowles underscores the importance of *Don Quixote* in eighteenth-century England as based on humor and satire (111), he quotes English essayist Charles Lamb's perspective on how book illustrators of *Don Quixote* were especially responsible for rendering humor in their pictorial compositions in lieu of sadness and self-deception:

Artists again err in the confounding of *poetic* with *pictorial subjects*. In the latter, the exterior accidents are nearly everything. .... Deeply corporealized, and enchained hopelessly in the groveling fetters of externality, must be the mind, to which, in its better moments, the image of the high-souled, high intelligenced Quixote—the errant Star of Knighthood, made more tender by eclipse—has never presented itself divested from the unhallowed accompaniment of a Sancho, or a rabblement at the heels of Rosinante. [sic] That man has read his

books by halves; he has laughed, mistaking his author's purport, which was—tears. (Knowles 113, original emphasis)

Rachel Schmidt expands on this perspective by explaining that it was indeed in northern Europe, primarily in France and England, where Cervantes's novel was elevated in status and "classicized" as a literary treasure—specifically through the printing of deluxe illustrated editions—long before it was canonized in Enlightenment Spain. She argues that it was deluxe illustrated editions, much more than idiomatic English translations of the novel, that facilitated such academic appreciation and subsequent erudite popularity (6-7).

However, many people, whether erudite readers or popular culture consumers, possess some knowledge of the elderly, gaunt, and crazy knight who sallies forth alongside his squat, rotund, and faithful squire, Sancho Panza (384). Bayliss attributes the popularity of *Don Quixote* to Cervantes himself:

As we reflect on the presence and function of both Don Quixote and Don Quixote in our own postmodern culture (itself a quixotically daunting enterprise), we would do well to consider the degree to which Cervantes himself is responsible—if not for what his literary creation means today, then for how it has been capable of acquiring so many different meanings in such disparate contexts. [...] And yet, the Don Quixote that results from each reinterpretation appears to be altogether different from its predecessors, serving altogether different aesthetic, cultural, and ideological ends. Don Quixote has survived independently of Cervantes [...]. (Bayliss 382-83)

Tatevik Gyulamiryan expanded this theme in 2017, examining how quixotic imagery and iconography have been continually reinterpreted (with the same characters) and re-accentuated (with new characters identifiable as quixotic) in cultural production. Such quixotic iconography exists separate and apart from the original narrative of the book, thereby offering those who have never read the novel an idea of who the old man attacking the windmill is, alongside his gaunt horse, dusty armor, and portly friend. Often, the iconography is transformed into new characters who possess characteristics identifiable as originating with *Don Quixote* (Gyulamiryan 11), a phenomenon

Bruce Burningham maintains can be observed in the duality of filmic narration in David Fincher's 1999 film *Fight Club*, among other manifestations in cultural production (54-76).<sup>20</sup> Burningham underscores the vast influence that Cervantes's overall oeuvre has held over popular culture: "We inhabit a distinctly Cervantine world; which is to say, we largely see the world through a Cervantine lens" (1).

Adding to the effect of this Cervantine lens, some of the increased interest in Don Quixote Slum Tourism can be attributed to educated readers of the novel through Spanish-language and translated editions published in Northern European countries.<sup>21</sup> Lewis addresses the novel's academic importance to Eighteenth-century academics: "Eighteenth-century essayists and critics considered *Don Quixote* as more than an entertaining or even inspiring work of fiction: they treated it as an object of study" (35). While this helped canonize the text outside of Spain (Schmidt 6-7), the role of illustrated editions must again be underscored in their role—in tandem with translations—in changing don Quixote from a comedic figure to that of a hero. Specifically, as mentioned above, special illustrated editions published in English, French, Dutch, German, and Italian appealed to the elite of these countries, especially through imagery which rendered don Quixote as a local hero, not a Spanish one. This established a clear bifurcation of social class between elite readers and the Spanish peasants that don Quixote himself slummed, especially now that he was portrayed in illustration as an English knight. Concomitantly, illustrations allowed better comprehension and interest in the novel by those who could not read, thereby underscoring the value of the novel as a popular book (Schmidt 27; Bayliss 384). Most importantly, it was the transformation of don Quixote into a local hero, one who was understandable by target readers of translations and beholders of illustrations, that created quixotic iconography in the social imaginary, for both academics studying the novel and for those who had never read the novel at all, or at least in its entirety.

Therefore, the importance of reading—or viewing the illustrations of—*Don Quixote* in Spanish-language editions must be underscored, as this allowed the English society to understand and fixate on don Quixote's *idée fixe*. However, this is not the only significant influence that book illustrations held on Don Quixote Slum Tourism. Notably, the inclusion of a single map in a Spanish-language illustrated edition, as Lewis argues, inspired the public to extrapolate where don Quixote had sallied forth. The subsequent inclusion

of this information in travel guides or travel journals especially inspired upper-class readers to retrace the famous protagonist's steps in La Mancha (Lewis 34-35).<sup>22</sup>

### Enlightenment England Slums *Don Quixote*

Eighteenth-century English Enlightenment literature scholar Elizabeth Franklin Lewis supports Bayliss's perspective by emphasizing that English tourism inspired by *Don Quixote* originated in eighteenth-century England and that the popularity of this tourism grew due to the publication of tour guides that focalized a prejudiced perspective onto Spain and its residents. These guides were based on the map of Don Quixote's Route mentioned by Bayliss, which was one of many book illustrations in the 1780 Ibarra special illustrated edition of *Don Quixote* published in Spain by the Real Academia Española, referred to above. The edition contained what Lewis describes as "important extratextual material including an analytical study, illustrations, and for the first time, a map that situated fictional events of the novel in the geography of contemporary eighteenth-century Spain. This map is the first representation of what would come to be known as Don Quixote's Route" (35). See Fig. 3. The map, as Lewis notes, was created by Tomás López, "the Royal Geographer to Charles III," and contributed to the immense popularity of *Don Quixote* in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England (36).

Lewis's perspective diverges from both Baylis and Ruiz Scarfuto, however, by describing a darker side of this tourism, which was based upon a prejudiced sociopolitical agenda that has historically inspired visitors to La Mancha. These eighteenth-century tour guides purposefully promoted Spain's quaint backwardness as an incentive to travel to Spain, and the authors of the guides used *Don Quixote* "to support claims of each nation's cultural superiority thus bolstering national pride" at the other's expense (36).<sup>23</sup>



Fig. 3. Map of Don Quixote's Route. Tomás López. Burin engraving.  
Joaquín Ibarra and RAE 1780 illustrated edition of *Don Quixote*.  
*Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* ("Map").

Such exploitation of quixotic iconography is understandable, given the popular culture allure of *Don Quixote*, which began to flourish almost immediately after its publication. This imagery has evolved into what Bayliss considers "a symbol of Spain and Spanish culture" (387). Yet the reception of Cervantes's novel as Spanish-language literary canon did not happen as one would expect in early seventeenth-century Spain, where Peter E. Russell maintains it was instead received simply as a funny book (312). Rather, the classification of *Don Quixote* as a literary text worthy of study occurred in countries such as England, as mentioned above, through translation and book illustration. It is essential to underscore that such representations later influenced Spanish scholars in the latter part of the eighteenth century when the novel was recuperated as a national literary treasure, especially through the publication of the 1780 Ibarra and RAE edition. Remarkably, this unique illustrated edition challenged popular contemporary English translations and

illustrations of *Don Quixote* that portrayed the protagonist as an English hero, as viewed in Fig. 2. By using Spanish neoclassical artists to illustrate the edition, an authentically Spanish tone was attempted, and the recuperation of don Quixote's *Spanishness* began.<sup>24</sup>

Additionally, including the map of "Don Quixote's route" ensured the popularity of an authentic Spanish-language illustrated edition not only within Spain, but also in England—despite the existence of English translations—through the development of tour guides that included this map. A tourism industry centering on Cervantes's novel and its mad protagonist don Quixote subsequently grew in popularity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries due, in great part, to the RAE map. This interest continues to the present day (Bayliss 387).<sup>25</sup>

Building upon Lewis's consideration of these tour guides as prejudicial, I also consider the reinterpretations of don Quixote as an English knight in translation and book illustration—in England—as prejudicial. Even though tour guides utilized a book illustration—the map of Don Quixote's Route—from a Spanish-language edition, the exploitive nature of the tour guides cannot be ignored. Additionally, the importance and influence of the foundational Ibarra 1780 Spanish edition of *Don Quixote* on these tour guides are necessarily underscored. On one hand, illustrated editions of Cervantes's novel, both in translation and in the original Spanish, combined to inspire tourism based on the novel, but on the other, they continued to manifest the by-then, centuries-old anti-Spanish prejudice instigated by England's love-hate relationship with Spanish Romance literature, as evidenced by the focalization of social class within these tour guides.

### **Taking it Home: Spain Reacts to Don Quixote Slum Tourism**

Towards the latter half of the twentieth century, the concept of an intriguing Don Quixote's Route—one so touted during the Enlightenment—was reduced to serve as nothing more than a touristic infomercial. Luis M. González has observed that in José López Clemente's short film *La Mancha, ruta de don Quijote* (1971), previous imagery utilized in various NO-DO shorts was recycled (93). None of the imagery used in this short film was identifiably quixotic or Cervantine, but rather promoted images of a modernizing Spain, which displaced the public imaginary's

mind's eye imagery of quixotic Spanishness. González clarifies: “El progreso y la modernidad de la zona, que ha logrado abandonar miserias pasadas gracias al turismo, forman parte del inevitable mensaje publicitario y político tan del gusto del Ministerio de Información y Turismo” (93).<sup>26</sup> Emphasizing how Francoism utilized Don Quixote Tourism to combat the anti-Spanish prejudice inspired by the Black Legend, Michael J. Levin signals their slogan “Spain is different,” explaining that “In the 1960s, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Francisco Franco’s Minister of Information and Tourism, adopted this phrase as a slogan for Spain, in an attempt to lure foreign visitors and boost the economy. But the idea of Spain’s essential ‘difference’ from the rest of Europe had deep roots, going back at least four centuries” (531). It is important to note that this slogan is contemporary to Lucia’s film analyzed in this essay. Such a mindset, reveals Levin, continues to the present day, marketing the country as “a place where the past remains alive, a sort of national ‘historical theme park’” (548). Such marketing that focuses on the past ensures a continued slumming optic towards Spanish society.

While present-day Don Quixote Tourism enjoys all the perks of modernity to ensure that tourists have access to the places made famous by don Quixote during his sallies, such as the passing of a Don Quixote Route Law “complete with GPS coordinates” (Ruiz Scarfuto 2), it is convenient to clarify that tourism based on the novel *Don Quixote* is part of a larger, historic rise in popularity of tourism inspired by literary routes. Ruiz Scarfuto relates how literary tourism is often inspired by readers who imagine landscapes and even transhumance and pastoralism as portrayed in literature “where cultural and natural routes merge to form an added value of heritage that is greater than either one standing alone” (1). This type of tourism can benefit the locations made famous in narrative and is often a reciprocal relationship:

The continuous dissemination of this literature traversing borders, language barriers, and time periods has stimulated literary routes to emerge as a function of moving the experience from an intangible heritage based on imaginary landscapes to a tangible sensory experience in situ following a plot, author’s life, or a myth. Literary routes respond to the demand of the growing target travellers, who are more literate and active today than in the past. (1)



Although Ruiz Scarfuto's interpretation of literary travel routes emphasizes a tourist's perspective, it also signals cultural and economic growth within the regions visited. According to the author, such tourism benefits everyone involved on multiple levels (1-2), which helps explain, in part, Spain's ongoing promotion of tourism based on *Don Quixote*.

Therefore, in reaction to the rising popularity of Don Quixote Tourism and the concept of a "historic theme park," Spain developed an identifiable geography of walkable routes to accommodate tourists, thereby facilitating a thriving tourist industry that still exists today in Castile/La Mancha (Ruiz Scarfuto 2-3). It is clearly dominated by tourism organizations, including those that focus on both Cervantes and *Don Quixote* to organize tours of the region. Ruiz Scarfuto clarifies:

La Mancha is the pivotal landscape in Spain where Cervantes' intellectual transformation is developed by his walking from Toledo to Seville; he contemplates his adventurous life and weaves it into the protagonist of his novel, *Don Quijote*. The official DQ literary route is a walking route and was created to celebrate this unique literature published 400 years ago. At the same time the route preserves the landscapes (natural heritage) that could offer future generations (domestic and international) a tangible experience *in situ* related to his masterpiece (cultural heritage). (3)

However, when considering the historic prejudice associated with Don Quixote Slum Tourism proposed here, it is essential to consider how much of this economic stimulus benefits local Spaniards living in this region and whether there exists a reciprocal performativity associated with this type of tourism. Specifically, do local Spaniards *perform* for the tourists in a manner that implies that they still live in the past?

Duncan Wheeler, citing Michael Richards and Anthony Close, clarifies the complex performative relationship that has developed between the classes in La Mancha:

In the post-war period, La Mancha was particularly amenable to a project of national literary recuperation at a time when the "essence of the Spanish character was usually seen as being embodied in the virtues of the Spanish small-holding peasantry of Castile." [citing

Richards] What this bypasses is the underlying tragicomedy of the fact it “was a region associated with *backward rusticity*, thus a fittingly ironic context for the hero’s *idealised literary fantasies*.” [citing Close]. (604, my emphasis; Richards 163; Close 28)

As a means of defining such an idealized and fantastical precedent centered on literature, one cannot deny that much of the interest towards establishing and classifying Spanish Otherness has been inspired, as Lewis maintains, by the exotic appeal of visiting a medieval, backward gazing, and quixotic Spain. Fuchs and Muñoz complement this by arguing that this love-hate appeal had already begun in the early sixteenth century. Therefore, throughout the four centuries since Cervantes published *Don Quixote*, Don Quixote Slum Tourism essentially has piggybacked on previous prejudice by historically seeking out backward *Spanishness* as an adventurous and exotic anachronism, as observable in Neillands’s 1988 missive, resulting from the anticipation of experiencing first-hand the touted social Spanish Otherness frozen in a past time.

Yet from a Spanish perspective, this means that the local populations of La Mancha began to receive tourists who traveled there specifically to walk in a decidedly late-medieval, early Renaissance don Quixote’s footsteps. The necessity of local working-class Spaniards in La Mancha to consistently perform at this lower-class level, from my perspective, facilitates and enables slum tourism, where both foreign and native Spanish upper-class tourists lower themselves to experience the social Otherness of quaintness.

### **Visualizations of Don Quixote Slum Tourism: Luis Lucia’s *Rocío de la Mancha***

While Neillands helps us observe ongoing, *implicit* slum tourism in Spain inspired by quixotic iconography in the social imaginary, a filmic rendering of *explicit* Don Quixote Slum Tourism in the twentieth century has had even more impact in documenting its persistence. The introduction of classism and slumming to Don Quixote Tourism is especially observable in Spanish director Luis Lucia’s *Rocío de la Mancha* (1963), a film created under the censorship of Francisco Franco’s regime, and in which the protagonist and her family survive precisely on this type of tourism. Wheeler underscores

how “internal contradictions” within Franco’s government “attempted to patent and commemorate Spain’s most renowned literary figure as a means of resurrecting the Golden Age in a manner more quixotic than Cervantine” (601-02), thereby underscoring the role of fantasy over reality in films such as Lucia’s.

Stark divisions between social classes are intended to give the film a feel-good, folkloric quality, given that the protagonist, portrayed by actress Rocío Dúrcal, sings throughout the musical film. However, the opposite spectator reception is underscored if we gaze upon the poverty focalized by the plot as the sole reason why the protagonist and her family *need* Don Quixote Tourism to survive. It is far from ironic that both the film’s plot and sociopolitical materiality—specifically, how slum tourism inspired by *Don Quixote* relates to Francoism—center on the fact that Rocío and her family are orphans, and therefore have nothing but the rags on their backs. Although more than twenty years separate the end of the Spanish Civil War (1939) and the release of Lucia’s film (1963), none of the post-war suffering in Spain appears in the film. That is, except for the orphaned siblings and a broken family unit that will come to represent the noble goal of Rocío’s quixotic sally, Francoism guaranteed that reality was rewritten in this feel-good, Disney-like film. It ensured that images of a modernizing Spain were presented to the world and that the tourists slumming Rocío and her family were not English, but rather wayward Spaniards.<sup>27</sup>

Scenes of higher-class tourists visiting the lower-class family to tour their “authentic” don Quixote windmill showcase slum tourism, from my perspective, primarily because it is implied that Rocío and her family regularly receive visitors who seek both windmills and the locals, echoing Levin’s “historic theme parks” mentioned above. While one primary scene in the film shows Rocío instigating such tourism, placing the onus on her and not the upper-class visitors, scenes of class division and limiting poverty—however quaintly rendered—are striking and cannot be ignored. Additionally, the era in which the film was produced is significant, during Franco’s regime, because governmental censorship and social norms guided the plot to overshadow any negative classist or slumming aspects by instead focusing on folkloric and musical fantasy elements. This included an orphaned Rocío’s admirable desire to reconstruct the traditional family unit consisting of two parents and children. What resulted was a filmic rendering of a utopic Spanish society under Franco, where elements that limited or

even threatened its citizens—including the Civil Guard and the government’s enforcement of antiquated expectations regarding the role of women in Spanish society—were downplayed. Peter Besas explains that even though a new censorship emerged in the 1960s “in accordance with the government’s decision to ease into a cautious liberalization,” censors still prohibited themes such as divorce, conflicts with the Catholic Church, and “scenes attacking the institutions of matrimony and family” (73).

One of the first observations the spectator notes in this film is the way adolescent protagonist, Rocío, struggles to survive in rural La Mancha.<sup>28</sup> Although the urgency of her struggle is glossed over in this musical film, she is obviously poor, a local resident, and an orphan who now necessarily serves as her family’s matriarch. See Fig. 4. Her daily struggles to provide for her younger siblings and survive the absence of her parents depend completely on tourism inspired by don Quixote’s world fame: imagery of a don Quixote that exists in the world’s social imaginaries. She and her family are quite poor; they wear worn-out clothing and depend on throwing nails onto the road to cause cars to have flat tires, so they will stop and, potentially, pay a meager fee to tour Rocío’s “authentic” don Quixote windmill while they wait for repairs. The film begins with scenes of a clearly modernizing Spain; fancy automobiles on highways are juxtaposed with primitive carts on dusty roads, further underscoring the bifurcation between urban and rural spaces and upper and working classes. Within this stark poverty, Rocío is forced to fulfill her patriarchal duty to replace her parents, eventually beginning her own fantastic and quixotic journey through which she will eventually achieve limited, moralistic social agency and upward social mobility.



Fig. 4. Rocío in poverty, caring for her siblings.  
*Rocío de la Mancha* (1963). Dir. Luis Lucia.

The film is divided into three distinct parts, the first of which centers on Rocío's struggle to survive via Don Quixote Slum Tourism. The plot of the film then shifts to Paris, with imagery of luxury, fashion, and a clear lack of *Spanishness*, as underscored by a distinctly displaced stage version of *Don Quixote* using French actors and inauthentic mise en scène. The final part of the film centers on Rocío's return to Spain, echoing don Quixote's return home after he was defeated by the Knight of the White Moon in Part II, Chapter 64 of *Don Quixote*.

Rocío's sally to Paris is central to her quest, yet the fact that it is in Paris and not in Spain is particularly relevant to the film's sociocultural, political, and historic materiality. Indeed, the film's materiality is striking, especially when considering that Francoism was still alive and well in the 1960s, dictating patriarchal and misogynist expectations that women could not achieve social agency within Spain and that such agency was not allowed to be portrayed in film. Carmen Martín Gaité explains the limiting, stay-at-

home role of women that was enforced throughout the Franco regime. Women were expected to serve primarily as family caregivers, thereby limiting their status both in public and in society (40). While in Lucia's film the exploitation of Don Quixote Tourism—which was really Don Quixote Slum Tourism—enabled Rocío to provide for her family, she did not work, per se, or have a career, thereby denying her the opportunity for upward social mobility within Spain. This was due to the influence on Spanish society by the Women's Section under the Falangist section of Francoism and was another reason why women were not allowed to have careers in Francoist Spain. Specific examples of this can be found in the literary genre of *La novela rosa*, or romantic novel. These late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century romance novels portrayed women as fiercely dedicated to their families, and were instructed not to work, which would leave their families unattended (Martín Gaité 40). Yet paradoxically, the *novela rosa* itself helped impede the modernization of Spain due to limiting the role of women in society. Analyzing the *novela rosa* in another Dúrcal film of the 1960s, *Cristina Guzmán* (1968) by Argentinian director Luis César Amadori, itself a filmic version of a *novela rosa*, Debra J. Ochoa explains this paradox: “The protagonist Cristina Guzmán's optimism was a necessary façade to encourage trust in Franco's plans for Spain. The *Sección femenina* reinforced women's traditional responsibilities in order to prevent modernization in Spain” (191). In essence, the genre of the *novela rosa* was comparable to the chivalric novels read by don Quixote and represented archaic and anachronistic models for Spanish women.

In addition to the limited role of women in Spanish society, modernization efforts of Franco's government also clashed with the lower class represented by Rocío in Lucia's film. Franco's backward-thinking concept regarding the role of women in Spanish society essentially made Rocío's quixotic journey impossible within Spain. Because *Rocío de la Mancha* was released in 1963, a time during which Franco was concerned with Spain's international image, the censors enforced cinematic renderings of Spain as utopic and modern. Such a modernized utopia clashed with the exotic appeal of Don Quixote Slum Tourism, whose focus had always been anachronistic, with a particular interest in Medieval Spain, a detail initiated by don Quixote's humorous embracing of an antiquated chivalry.<sup>29</sup> Daniel Kowalsky reminds us that Franco was historically criticized for his own anachronistic gaze, yearning for the epic grandeur of Medieval Spain, which initially held back

the country's actual modernization efforts during his earlier decades in power during the mid-twentieth century (189). Yet this focus was reversed by the 1960s, when films like *Rocío de la Mancha* were filmed.

Marvin D'Lugo explains how Spain shifted its focus from anachronistic and medieval to forward-thinking and modernizing: "The portentous changes that were to shape the 1960s in Spanish culture date back to a radical shake-up of Franco's government that occurred in 1959, when the technocrats seeking to modernize the country and to bring it into closer contact with Europe finally gained definitive control in key government ministries" (17). Concerned with Spain's international image, the government encouraged cinematic renderings of Spain not only as decidedly modern but actively modernizing, thereby diminishing the historical authenticity of the harshness of life which resulted in the decades following the Spanish Civil War.

What resulted from this redefined focus was the creation of *Nuevo Cine Español*, or New Spanish Cinema, to which Lucia's film pertains. Antonio Lázaro-Reboll and Andrew Willis explain how the New Spanish Cinema was supported by the Franco regime to help "promote a liberal image of Spain abroad" (11). Within this genre appeared the cinematic sub-genre that Rob Stone calls "cine con niño," or child cinema (39). In this sub-genre, filmic narratives centered on child protagonists and represented the same phenomenon that Spanish film expert Román Gubern calls "star-system" films, in which young actors and actresses were utilized to portray Spanish heroic figures. Some of the actors featured included world-famous performers, including Dúrcal (13). I combine these last two categorizations into a genre I call "child star system cinema."

The singing talent of Dúrcal and the accompanying soundtrack underscore that Lucia's film is indeed an example of child star system cinema. Protagonist Rocío (de la Mancha) establishes her devotion to Cervantes and don Quixote by singing the first song of the film, "Don Quixote." Although she has just explained her unfortunate lack of success in providing tours of her don Quixote windmill, such failure doesn't matter because there is always a song to sing. Additionally, Rocío is and always will be inherently quixotic, living a profound duality of reality and fantasy, as represented by the utopic quality of the film. For example, in a scene that follows the opening song, Francoist Spain asserts itself, albeit flaccidly, as Rocío and her family are seen interacting with two members of the civil guard—Spain's long-established

law enforcement agency—in a happy, carefree scene that exemplifies how the greatly feared post-Civil War national guard was positively portrayed on screen. In Lucia's film, this interaction is softened by fantasy in a transitional scene in which Rocío makes believe that she is speaking with her deceased mother by telephone—for the benefit of her siblings—to ask for guidance and underscore her role as the new matriarch, a trope repeated throughout the film. When the guards arrive, they know Rocío and her family, treat them well, smile, pat the kids on the head, and go on their merry way. See Fig. 5.



Fig. 5. Rocío and family with post-Civil War national guards.  
*Rocío de la Mancha* (1963). Dir. Luis Lucia.

The spectator observes in this scene the reason why this type of film was approved and supported by the Franco government: it presented a utopic, de-emphasized version of civil, cultural, familial, and linguistic divisions brought about by the Civil War and the subsequent fascist dictatorship. Yet for the purposes of the film's plot, the guards also serve as



a point of departure for Rocío to pursue her own quixotic journey. They act as paternal figures, symbolically providing Rocío with a father's approval, while the local priest steps in to bless and approve her role as matriarch of her family. These traditional mores are firmly established, validating her historic and nationalistic roots within tourism inspired by *Don Quixote* and her ongoing efforts to use the iconography of Spain's Golden Age literary treasure to maintain and provide for her family.

After these initial scenes, the spectator soon realizes that Rocío has a boyfriend, and she begins to show an attraction to him. He is a respectful young man who respects Rocío and her family. In a spontaneous and innocent reaction to his kindness, she kisses him on the cheek but then immediately refutes him for being too forward, when it was Rocío who initiated the kiss. Before their relationship can take them down a dangerous, very un-Catholic path, she runs away from him—around the front of his truck—and is almost struck by a passing tourist's car. Rocío's impulsive action causes the automobile to have an accident, and it appears that God has sent her a warning not to step outside of her role as a young woman in Franco's conservative Spain, to act in an un-Catholic manner, or to cross the Spanish film censors.

It is at this point in the plot that the bifurcation of social class expands. One of the passengers is an obviously wealthy woman who was injured and taken to the hospital, where Rocío, out of a sense of guilt, does not leave her side. When the woman regains consciousness, she hallucinates that Rocío is her daughter, Isabel, who in reality had just died a few months earlier in a hospital in Montevideo, Uruguay. A man traveling with her explains that the woman's real name is María Luisa Vargas, and that she is known publicly as the world-famous Spanish singer, Berta Granada, renown especially in South America for her exceptional voice. The spectator learns that, after the loss of both her voice and her daughter, Granada had just returned to Spain to find peace within her motherland when Rocío ran out in front of her car. Granada's car swerved to avoid hitting Rocío and it crashed, interrupting the singer and failed mother's patriotic return to her beloved Spain.

Because Granada has committed a trifecta of anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic, and anti-patriotic behavior—living outside of Spain, separating from her husband, and losing her daughter—she is decidedly unsuccessful in her role as wife and mother, as defined by Spanish society, and especially as

established by examples provided by the Women's Section and the genre of the *novela rosa*. The theme of the failed mother who tries to redeem herself in this film is exemplary of the commercial desire to establish a wholesome national image of Spain so desired by Franco. While Gubern concludes that the phenomenon of child star system cinema resulted from "a cross between commercialism, moralistic demands, socializing imperatives and a collective receptivity forged in the sentimental [...] cultural policies of a Catholic, nationalistic Spain," (15), Peter W. Evans underscores the folkloric element of such child star system cinema by signaling its value in repairing the Spanish national image. Through the musical and folkloric aspects of child actors' films, viewers perceived imagery of the reconstruction of Spain as a happy phenomenon. The focus on folkloric tradition through modernized optics gave permission to a post-Civil War country full of darkness to revisit or even rewrite historic and painful issues, focusing on themes such as the absence of the mother and the lack of modernity (137-38).

One of the foundational issues associated with Franco's Spain centers on the image of the absent mother. Beatriz Caamaño Alegre further clarifies the influence of the *Sección femenina*, or Women's Section, under the Falangist section of Francoism that determined women's social roles in post-Civil War Spain. It emphatically emphasized both strength and an attention to hearth and home (423-24). Gubern supports this perspective by underscoring that mothers represented a majority of spectators of these child star films in Spain and that Francoist censorship ensured that the portrayal of the traditional family unit—a father, a mother, and children—reinforced traditional family morals (14). Of course, many families were separated as a result of the Civil War, either by death, exile, chaos, prison, violence, differing ideologies, or other factors. This underscores Dúrcal's strength of character while filming *Rocío de la Mancha*, as Gubern maintains, confronting problems faced by Spanish society at that time. Such films brought to the masses "a value of moralist indoctrination and exaltation of traditional family values" (14). One can therefore see why, in Lucia's film, the act of restoring the honor of the traditional family unit represents the inspiration for Rocío's quixotic fantasy, while at the same time, distracting the viewer from her crippling poverty. The initial filmic rendering of Don Quixote Slum Tourism is displaced and essentially unfocalized.

It is at this point in the film that Rocío's fantastic and moralistic journey begins. While the Granada character represents the return to Spain

of an absent, wayward Spanish mother, she also represents a matriarchal figure for Rocío, whose quixotic sally to Paris centers on the recuperation of the absent Spanish father, Granada's husband, and their reunion. The goal is to reestablish a complete family unit. It is convenient to remember that the well-being of any patriarchal society depends on the functionality of the family to produce offspring that can, in turn, protect the motherland. This perspective also coincides with what D'Lugo explains as the Catholic ideology and international modernized image that Franco's government wished to render through high-profile projects such as this film (17). The fact that Granada's child died underscores even further her failure as a mother.

Once Granada recuperates from her injuries, she explains that her husband and Isabel's father, Francis Casanueva, is a famous musician, composer, and theater director living in Paris. She hasn't seen him in 13 years, and more importantly, he does not know about his daughter's death. After suffering several days with a high fever, Granada realizes that Rocío is the only person who can help her. Demonstrating a divine sincerity to repair her broken family, Granada donates to the local church and San Roque, or Saint Rock, the patron saint of bachelors, notably one of the characters of *Don Quixote*, and she provides money and contact information for her husband to Rocío, who—as Isabel—sets off for Paris to right the wrongs of this failed marriage.

While a celebration of Cervantes's work appears to be the focus of Lucia's film, which on the surface exploits and underscores don Quixote's international fame, the effect of the bifurcation of social class in this film is striking. The fact that Rocío's social agency can only be pursued outside of Spain—and through an elitist and quixotic alter-ego Isabel—emphasizes that the type of tourism promoted in the film invokes prejudice as based in slumming, as I have argued in this essay, to exploit the working class. I maintain that the combination of slumming and Don Quixote Tourism has created nothing less than a performative dependence on the quixotic iconography that inspired such tourism with comparatively little income for the local Spaniards, Rocío's family, while benefitting higher-class tourists through exotic and quixotic Otherness, especially the thrill that the act of slumming afforded them through their experience.

Conversely, slum tourism, specifically Don Quixote Slum Tourism, allowed Rocío to care for her family at least until she quite literally ran out in front of Granada's car and practically fell into a unique opportunity for social

climbing. Because of this, it is only fate that allows Rocío to improve her social status, not Franco's government. As if on cue, the film changes its tone, decidedly moving away from both Rocío's poverty and performance as authentically quixotic to a world of modernity, as Rocío travels to Paris to begin her quixotic quest. Up until this moment, the spectator is barraged with imagery of privation and dependence upon Don Quixote Slum Tourism, yet it is done through the utopic lens of Francoist censorship that still existed in the early 1960s.

### **Rocío's Quixotic Sally in Paris: Reuniting a Family and Ensuring *Spanishness***

Rocío travels to France as Isabel with the goal of reuniting the parental figures of the film representing the upper class, where issues of northern European reinterpretations of don Quixote that exclude his *Spanishness* mentioned above come to the fore. Rocío/Isabel eventually replaces a French actress in Casanueva's stage production of *Don Quixote*, thereby adding a Spanish authenticity to the production. Even though she is female, a Spaniard in the role is more authentic, and represents a recuperation of a Spanish don Quixote. Additionally, the French characters' anti-Spanish prejudice is palpable.

To that end, the Black Legend is apparently alive and well in France during the 1960s and Lucia's film clearly situates such prejudice outside of Spain. This helps explain why the tourists stopping to view Rocío's windmill are Spaniards and not English, for example. With such an essentialist tone to the film, Lucia incorporates Franco's insistence on portraying Spain as modernizing in the 1960s, and as a result, English prejudice towards La Mancha was simply not portrayed. Instead, Spanish tourists gaze upon Rocío's poverty as quaint and something to be appreciated, thereby excising from its citizens the historic prejudice associated with the Black Legend. Francoism actively battled the Black Legend as framed by a quixotic optic upon the promotion of an improved national image. Wheeler contextualizes this perspective by citing Esther Martínez Tórtola: "history education was conceived as therapy—a wellspring of inspirational and community-building assertions about national values and purposes that could cure the unjustified

inferiority from which Spaniards had suffered since the eighteenth century” (Wheeler 602; Martínez Tórtula 173).

In addition to modernization, another nationalistic trope highlighted in this film is the recuperation of Don Quixote’s *Spanishness*. Once in Paris, Rocío/Isabel finds Casanueva and wins him over by performing as Don Quixote in his theatrical rendition, but not before a series of misunderstandings, reflections on morality, and fits of *machismo* sabotage her performance. Because Casanueva is outside of Spain, he is intent on capturing a Spanish flavor in the actors’ portrayals within his theatrical production of *Don Quixote* but laments the fact that a French actress is cast to portray the lead role. He quickly realizes that the actress in that role—his girlfriend—does not sufficiently cover up her *Frenchness* nor convey enough *Spanishness* in her acting and singing. He gets frustrated, noting that the set reminds him of French cheese, that he is particularly unhappy with *mise-en-scène* representations of Dutch windmills “from Amsterdam,” and the fact that don Quixote’s horse, Rocinante, is robust instead of emaciated. See Fig. 6. His complaints clearly refer to nothing less than the recuperation of don Quixote as a Spaniard from the northern European reinterpretations in translation and book illustration mentioned above. In order to understand what Casanueva confronts in his play and that which Rocío/Isabel achieves in Paris, we must return to Schmidt and the canonization of *Don Quixote* in the northern European countries. When the film’s spectator remembers that translators and book illustrators in these countries reinterpreted don Quixote as a local hero and not a Spanish one, they begin to understand Casanueva’s struggle to recuperate don Quixote’s *Spanishness*. Rocío helps him achieve such an authentic Spanish performance, but her journey there has represented a clash between modernity and medieval thinking and between upper and working classes.



Fig. 6. Casanueva and the mise-en- scène of his  
*Don Quixote* theatrical production in Paris.  
*Rocío de la Mancha* (1963). Dir. Luis Lucia.

While in Paris, Rocío not only matures when confronting challenges and failures, she modernizes as Isabel. It is quite striking to the spectator how easily she adapts to the high Parisian society, despite coming from the dusty countryside of La Mancha. She sings modern songs of the sixties, dresses in contemporary high fashion, and interacts with the society surrounding Casanueva. See Fig. 7. The ease of this instant modernization underscores the Disney-like quality of the film, while fulfilling the Franco government's goal of promoting modernizing imagery of its citizens. But again, this can only take place outside of Spain and through the noble quest of healing a wayward Spanish family. The fact that Casanueva has a girlfriend infuriates Rocío/Isabel, and this complication represents a giant that Rocío/Isabel must slay in her quest to reunite husband and wife. After Casanueva and his girlfriend break up, the French actress leaves her role as don Quixote, and Rocío/Isabel replaces her as the lead in the production. Rocío/Isabel has

won her battle with the French giant, demonstrating her moralistic social agency by breaking up the immoral couple. However, her sally is only partially successful, having tried to reestablish the *Spanishness* of Casanueva's theatrical don Quixote, despite the fact that she is a female playing an iconic male character.



Fig. 7. Rocío/Isabel in Paris with Casanueva wearing high fashion.  
*Rocío de la Mancha* (1963). Dir. Luis Lucia.

It is at this crucial moment that Rocío/Isabel realizes that she has failed to reunite Granada and Casanueva; her primary quixotic mission has failed. Granada and Casanueva have decided not to get back together, signaling Rocío/Isabel's failure as a knight errant in a foreign land. See Fig. 8. She leaves the production, crying, and returns home to La Mancha defeated in battle. She no longer has a reason to exist as Isabel, her Quixote, and her depression rivals that of Alonso Quijano. This scene mirrors the

defining battle in which don Quijote loses to the Knight of the White Moon in Chapter 64 of Part II of the novel:

“You are vanquished, knight, and dead if you do not confess the conditions of our challenge.” Don Quixote, battered and stunned, not raising his visor, and as if speaking from the tomb, said in a weak and feeble voice: “Dulcinea of Toboso is the most beautiful woman in the world, and I am the most unfortunate knight on earth, and it is not right that my weakness should give the lie to this truth. Wield your lance, knight, and take my life, for you have already taken my honor.” “That I certainly shall not do,” said the Knight of the White Moon. “Let the fame of Señora Dulcinea of Toboso’s beauty live in its entirety; let it live, I say, for the satisfaction I ask is that the great Don Quixote retire to his village for a year, or for as long as I shall determine, as we agreed before entering into this battle.” (Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, II, 64; 887)

Don Quixote is forced to return to his home where he will eventually return to reality and, thoroughly depressed, pass away in his bed:

In brief, Don Quixote’s end came after he had received all the sacraments and had execrated books of chivalry with many effective words. The scribe happened to be present, and he said he had never read in any book of chivalry of a knight errant dying in his bed in so tranquil and Christian a manner as Don Quixote, who, surrounded by the sympathy and tears of those present, gave up the ghost, I mean to say, he died. (Cervantes, II, 74; 938)

After this emotional scene in the film, Casanueva realizes that Rocío is not really his daughter and decides to reunite with Granada after Rocío flees the performance of *Don Quixote*. Yet Rocío continues to think that she has failed.





Fig. 8. Rocío is defeated in her quest.  
*Rocío de la Mancha* (1963). Dir. Luis Lucia.

Rocío flees Paris and returns to her family in Spain, lamenting her failed mission. Conversely, returning to the Francoist optimism imposed on the film, she later learns that she has indeed succeeded in her quixotic sally when the reunited couple visits Rocío in La Mancha, reassuring her that a Parisian don Quixote has just returned home to ride anew: Rocío de la Mancha. Of course, this diverges from the sad ending of Alonso Quijano in *Don Quixote* because, at this point, it is implied that the couple moves back to Spain and adopts Rocío and her brothers. With the family unit repaired, the film ends with Rocío reunited with her boyfriend, who has clearly learned his lesson about the kiss, and she sings “Don Quixote” once again in the streets of La Mancha, this time surrounded by the priest, her new future parents, younger siblings, and boyfriend. All is well with a new, modern, and complete Spanish family construct that has been reinterpreted and normalized. Francoism is intact and the dependence upon Don Quixote

Slum Tourism has been cured by repairing the traditional family unit and modernizing the country.

## Conclusions

By identifying benchmarks associated with the rise of Don Quixote Slum Tourism in lieu of a linear trajectory, I have attempted to underscore not only its ongoing, immutable prejudicial characteristics based in social class but also its interconnectivity with multiple temporalities and geographies. Many factors have combined over the centuries to create the social and classist situations observed in Lucia's film. A complex relationship developed between England and Spain regarding Spanish Romance literature and its reception by English readers, inspiring early tourism to Spain that sought a chivalric experience. Quixotic iconography emerged in the social imaginaries of the world's cultures to a degree that people who have never read the novel can demonstrate knowledge of the protagonist and his sallies. Enlightenment English readers of *Don Quixote* were inspired by a single book illustration—a map—to write tour guides inciting tourists to visit La Mancha with similar anachronistic expectations that had existed in reaction to the Romance literature two centuries earlier. Social slumming developed in London in the nineteenth century, which I argue was an extension of the eighteenth-century literary slum tourism industry that used maps to promote tourism.

Spain and its citizens reacted to Don Quixote Slum Tourism by facilitating and enabling slumming. They created tours and geographies where tourists could retrace don Quixote's steps, but they did so in a manner that required an archaic performance, which in turn, enforced the anachronisms required by slum tourism.

Francoist censorship allowed tourism inspired by *Don Quixote* to be showcased in Lucia's film, but only through folkloric and utopic tones that attempted to suppress the associated slumming aspects and social disparities associated with this type of tourism. However, one can argue that Rocío succeeded in a second quest by defeating Franco's censors, underscoring a unique social agency provided by her poverty—within Spain—despite her accidental upward social movement in France. That is, while the entertainment factor of slumming that focalizes sensationalized lower-class

experiences is evident in the film, Rocío's life was eventually improved because of Don Quixote Slum Tourism.

I would finally argue that many tourists who are inspired to visit La Mancha to retrace don Quixote's footsteps are unaware that their perspective is likely classist and firmly situated within the framing referents of slumming. It is not until the benchmarks stated here are connected that slumming emerges as the primary impetus for such tourism. This, combined with an active tourism industry focused on "historic theme parks" in Spain, ensures that Don Quixote Slum Tourism will continue, perhaps for another four centuries.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Specifically, I use the phrase Don Quixote Tourism to refer to both *Don Quixote*-inspired tourism (by the novel, implying those who have read it) and don Quixote-inspired tourism (by the protagonist, implying those who know about him and who may not have read the novel). I will later signal the phrase Don Quixote Slum tourism, which reflects the same influences while adding the tradition of social and literary slumming. As concepts, Don Quixote Tourism is a broader industry while Don Quixote Slum Tourism more specifically focuses on quaint anachronisms. Both phrases are capitalized. References to the novel are in italics: *Don Quixote*. For references to the protagonist, I use don Quixote.

<sup>2</sup> “Directly inspired” here refers to those who have read the novel while “indirectly inspired” refers to those who know enough about the characters through popular culture or the social imaginary to be inspired to visit La Mancha. Other manners by which a person can become familiar with *Don Quixote* include book illustrations, tour guides, references in cultural production, and the existence and manifestation of quixotic iconography in any given society.

<sup>3</sup> The historic promotion of Don Quixote Tourism in England also likely influenced Rob Neillands’s goals, especially through the publication of maps of Don Quixote’s Route, tour guides, and illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*, all of which have historically augmented the existence of quixotic iconography and increased the popularity of such tourism in Britain, especially since the eighteenth century. The title of Neillands’s article, “Don Quixote’s Kingdom: Eccentricity and a Windmill Shortage in Cervantes Country,” further signaled the exotic nature of his intended quixotic journey into the heart of Spain while anticipating limited access to one of the most iconic landmarks associated with a mad, medieval don Quixote, that of windmills as the receptors of don Quixote’s infamous tilting.

<sup>4</sup> See Julián Juderías, Miguel Romera-Navarro, and Antonio Sánchez Jiménez for studies of the Black Legend by Spanish scholars. For a northern European perspective of the Black Legend, see Sverker Arnoldsson and William S. Maltby. For a U.S. perspective, see Philip Wayne Powell, Edith Helman, Richard Kagan, James D. Fernández, and Margaret R. Greer, et al. For Mexican and Mexican-American perspectives, see María DeGuzmán and Édgar Cota Torres. For a trans-Atlantic perspective see Charles Gibson.

<sup>5</sup> The Merriam Webster Dictionary defines the term “slum” as a verb “to visit slums especially out of curiosity [...] and more] broadly: to go somewhere or do something that might be considered beneath one’s station—sometimes used with *it*” (“Slum”). I describe slumming as historically “a social spectator sport, [where] upper- and middle-class urban residents and tourists sought to observe and interact with working-class citizens in their daily environments” (Holcombe, “Mexico City” 1).

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<sup>6</sup> I use the concept of benchmarks instead of a trajectory because I do not consider them solely linear, but rather a manifestation of both space and time. While the evolution of these concepts is temporal in that they span the centuries and build upon each other on an ongoing basis, they also interact geographically.

<sup>7</sup> A film that necessarily elicits future investigation is Terry Gilliam's *The Man who Killed Don Quixote* (2018). The film's plot explicitly renders English prejudice in Spain, against the working class, as specifically framed by *Don Quixote*.

<sup>8</sup> As a former colony of England, the United States is an active participant in the ongoing evolution of the Black Legend. The inherited prejudice is especially observable within the Hispanisms of U.S. academia. See Kagan (*Spain*; "Prescott's Paradigm") and Fernández for seminal studies of the Black Legend and U.S. Hispanism. See also José del Valle and Luis Gabriel-Stheeman.

<sup>9</sup> Slumming spread in popularity to the United States and the Americas in the early twentieth century, particularly in the musical clubs of Harlem in New York and in the "ambiente" of the cantinas in Mexico City (Holcombe, "Mexico City" 4; "Lo queer" 275). It quickly spread to Chicago and other major cities in the U.S. and then to urban areas of the Americas. See Chad Heap for the entertainment factor associated with slumming and the prejudice underlying slumming in New York City.

<sup>10</sup> Robert Bayliss confirms the anachronism:

Through a re-casting of his glorious acts of heroism (or his comic misadventures), such as battling enchanted giants and entire armies (or windmills and flocks of sheep), he has been employed both as a Romantic hero and as a foolish, *anachronistic madman*, for the purposes of representing either high idealism or utter insanity, and sometimes both. He has battled both Spanish fascism and American imperialism; he has defended and shaped national identities and cultures on both sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, the paradox of Don Quixote [...] is that despite his supposedly anachronistic nature (a seventeenth-century character who aims to revive medieval institutions of chivalry), he has proven to be truly protean and adaptable to modern and postmodern circumstances. (383, my emphasis)

<sup>11</sup> A reference to the children's playground song, "K-I-S-S-I-N-G," in which any two young individuals are summarily embarrassed publicly for a mutual attraction. The entire song states: "[Person A] and [Person B] / sitting in a tree / K-I-S-S-I-N-G. / First comes love / then comes marriage / then comes a baby / in a baby carriage."

<sup>12</sup> One can observe present-day academic perceptions of Spain as England's social and anachronistic Otherness in María Odette Canivell Arzú's recent monograph *Literary Narratives and the Cultural Imagination* (2019) in which the author explores the legends of King Arthur and Don Quixote. While the author clarifies that the intention of her book is not to serve as a "companion to literary analysis of Don

Quijote” (xxxi), she makes a fundamental comparison regarding isolationism and social Otherness held between the two nations:

Spain, in contrast to Britain, is the land of the ‘patria chica’ [...] where individuality and isolationism reigns [...] and where] the inhabitants of the peninsula think of themselves as a bit alien *somewhat other* than the rest. [...] Spain identifies itself with the tradition of *la Mancha*, a tradition that makes Spain stand alone [...].” (xiii, original emphasis)

Canivell Arzú clearly places the onus on Spain for isolating itself and promoting an archaic attention to its own small villages and ethnic groups, thus underscoring the anachronistic gaze upon Spain by the rest of Europe.

<sup>13</sup> By “classic text,” I refer to texts that are considered literary canon, in this case *Don Quixote de la Mancha* and its many editions and translations. See Rachel Schmidt.

<sup>14</sup> In 2005, the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication of Part I of *Don Quixote* inspired increased tourism in Castile and La Mancha, in part due to local events promoting the novel as well as tourist companies cashing in on the popularity. In an article in *Newsweek* in February 2005, the staff writer explained how the Real Academia Española sold over 600,000 copies of the novel in Europe and the Americas and was subsequently a best-seller, achieving an esteemed listing in Oprah’s Book Club. The author cites Boyd Tonkin, literary editor of *The Independent*, who criticized such touristic exploits: “Our whole cultural economy is based around manufactured events. [...] Publishers should be led instead by a stronger sense of what they think is important” (“Don Quixote Slept Here”).

<sup>15</sup> See especially Miguel de Unamuno, *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* (1905) and José Martínez Ruiz “Azorín,” *La ruta de don Quijote* (1905).

<sup>16</sup> An example of such ambassadorship can be found in Augusto Floriano Jaccaci’s illustrated book, *On the trail of Don Quixote* (1896), regarding the retracing of don Quixote’s “rambles.” It showcases illustrations from the novel by Spanish-born French artist Daniel Vierge. It combines the power of book illustration with anachronistic tourist inspiration: “The customs, the character, the manner of dress, and the speech of its inhabitants, have remained practically unchanged, and of its landmarks Cervantes has made such vivid pictures that one finds it easy to identify them” (ix).

<sup>17</sup> For example, Peter Motteux’s 1700 English translation shows influence of the translator’s native French cockney, which has been both criticized and lauded over the centuries. See John Ormsby for a criticism of Motteux as someone who “recently combined tea-dealing with literature” and the translation as “distinctly Franco-cockney” (2). Conversely, I consider Motteux’s colloquialisms and idioms closer to the Spanish original than the English, thereby conserving much of the humor often lost in translation.

<sup>18</sup> See John Jay Allen, who opines that one must choose whether don Quixote is a hero or a fool.

<sup>19</sup> See the 1620 Edward Blount edition of *Don Quixote* entitled *The History of Don Quixote. The first parte* (Cervantes, *The History*). Illustrations provided by an anonymous artist clearly render both don Quixote and Sancho Panza as English gentlemen. The Cervantes Project opines that don Quixote looks like Shakespeare and Sancho Panza looks like Henry VIII (“The History”).

<sup>20</sup> Reinterpretations of Don Quixote center on maintaining recognizable characters from the novel while re-accentuations attribute quixotic imagery, iconography, or other notions identifiable with the novel—such as multiple levels of narration—through the creation of new characters. See Gyulamiryan (11-12). See also Burningham for studies regarding *Don Quixote* reinterpreted in cultural production.

<sup>21</sup> Of note is the 1781 John Bowle Spanish-language edition printed in England.

<sup>22</sup> See also Bayliss. For relatively recent online periodical promotion of U.S. tourism and Don Quixote’s Route, see James Ruggia, “Celebrating Don Quixote.”

<sup>23</sup> Samet Çevik supports Lewis’s claim of such a dark side: “Literary tourism is closely related to many types of tourism including culture. For instance, visiting the graves of authors is also considered within literary tourism. It indicates that literary tourism is closely related to dark tourism” (3).

<sup>24</sup> In addition to the inclusion of the map, the RAE and Ibarra edition was unique in that it united Spanish Neoclassical artists to illustrate the edition. I say “attempted” because many of these artists simply copied existing imagery previously produced in the Netherlands and Belgium. However, the fact that the artists assembled were Spanish was significant to the edition’s material history (Schmidt 149-50).

<sup>25</sup> See mid twentieth-century English scholar D. B. Wyndham Lewis, who states: “Few spectacles are more bemusing to the tourist, as his cries of surprise and indignation illustrate, than the dignity of the Spanish beggar, today much reduced in numbers but as ever God’s envoy” (34).

<sup>26</sup> “The progress and trendiness of the area, which has managed to leave behind the miseries of the past thanks to tourism, are part of the inevitable marketing and political message so favored by the Ministry of Information and Tourism” (González 93, my translation).

<sup>27</sup> The film essentially downplays Spanishness and Spanish history to produce a feel-good portrayal of poor locals in La Mancha who depend on the kindness of strangers in search of Don Quixote’s Route. Other films of interest within this thematic referent, which represent future investigations, include Orson Welles’s *Don Quixote* (1992) and Terry Gilliam’s *The Man who Killed Don Quixote* (2018).

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<sup>28</sup> Unless otherwise clarified, all references to Rocío refer to the character, not the actress Rocío Dúrcal. For popular cultural references and details regarding both Dúrcal's and Lucia's careers, see Adrian Vogel.

<sup>29</sup> At the beginning of the Baroque Period when Cervantes wrote *Don Quixote*, concepts of chivalry and knights errant were considered passé. Reading chivalric novels from a century before represented the reason don Quixote went mad and this was funny to contemporary readers. They also represented the reason he began his sallies to right the wrongs of society as he perceived them in madness. This type of Medieval thinking is what appealed to the English readers and is what contributed to the novel's exotic appeal. For the English reception of humor in *Don Quixote*, see Ronald Paulson.



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