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The Subtle *Arbitrios* of Cervantes: *Don Quijote* as a cautionary tale for leaders

By
Jonathan Edwin Olson

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
Master of Science
In
Spanish

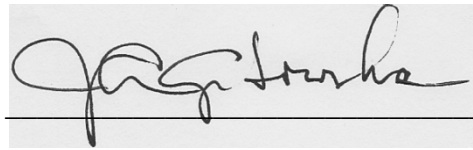
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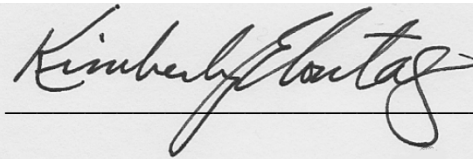
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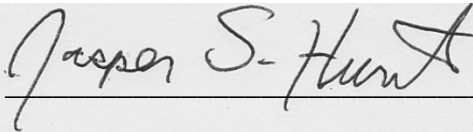
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Abstract

The Subtle *Arbitrios* of Cervantes: *Don Quijote* as a Cautionary Tale for Leaders

by Jonathan Edwin Olson

Master of Science in Spanish

Minnesota State University, Mankato

2009

Miguel de Cervantes was clearly a man who had an interest in leadership. He sought leadership positions for himself during his life, and his works often include treatments of leadership issues. However, there are only three studies of leadership in his most important work, *Don Quijote*, and all are seriously flawed due to their failure to interpret passages from the novel in their context. This study uses a historical-grammatical hermeneutic to correct this error. Through a close reading of the text, this study demonstrates that Cervantes has encoded warnings for leaders in *Don Quixote*.

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Author's Note

This study was initially conceived as an exploration of leadership in *Don Quijote*. At the time of its conception, I shared the same fears as many graduate students: either my thesis idea has already been done, or there is nothing there to write about. When my investigation into the existing literature on leadership and *Don Quijote* was completed, however, I had found only three studies of the issue. The first one that I examined was the video *Passion and Discipline*. As I watched the video, I constantly thought, "That's not right!" The same occurred in my reading of the Hartwick Case studies and *Don Quijote Para Triunfar*. In the Review of Literature, I will present the each study's view of Leadership in the *Quijote* and then address why that study is insufficient. At this juncture, it will suffice to note that the most pervasive problem was that the interpretations of passages from the book were divorced from the context of the rest of the book. This resulted in readings that were refuted by other parts of the *Quijote*, sometimes by what followed in the un-cited half of a partially cited sentence.

Despite their problems, these studies did confirm that the topic of leadership was dealt with in the *Quijote*. During my investigation, it became clear to me that *Don Quijote* was directed at leaders. This thesis specifically will show that Cervantes has encoded warnings for leaders in *Don Quijote*. In order to avoid the problems of the existing studies, I chose to use an adaptation of the historical-grammatical method of exegesis to perform a close reading of *Don Quijote*. All passages from the *Quijote* dealing with a given theme are considered in arriving at conclusions. Biographical and historical information is used to shed light upon the text, but the text remains the ultimate authority.

Throughout this study, "Don Quixote" has been used to refer to the character, while *Don Quijote* refers to the book. However, in cited passages the spelling chosen by the author cited has been left unaltered.

References to the *Quijote* will be expressed by giving book in Roman numerals, follow by a dash, followed by the chapter in Arabic numerals. “I-1” would mean chapter 1 of the 1605 *Quijote*, while “II-35” would be chapter 35 of the 1615 *Quijote*.

All quotations from the *Quijote* in Spanish are from Tom Lathrop’s Fourth Centenary Edition from European Masterpieces. The majority of quotations in English are from Edith Grossman’s recent translation from Ecco, an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, while a few passages in English are taken from Samuel Putnam’s translation from Viking Press. When citing these editions in footnotes, the book and chapter are given first, followed by the name of the person responsible for the edition quoted, followed by the page number on which it might be found in that edition. “I-47, Lathrop 388” indicates that the passage quoted may be found in book 47 of the 1605 *Quijote*, specifically on page 388 of Tom Lathrop’s edition. When citing from part of the books not assigned a chapter, such as the approbations, or when citing a gloss or footnote, only the name of the person responsible for the edition and the page number have been given.

Introduction

The opening chapter of the 1615 *Quijote* differs greatly from that of the 1605 *Quijote*. The latter was responsible for capturing readers' attention and drawing them into the story, as well as for introducing the readers to the protagonist of the tale, a hidalgo of indeterminate name living in a city of deliberately ignored title. In starting the second book, Cervantes assumes that he already has his readers' attention and resumes the narration. It almost appears that Cervantes has abandoned the diversions that took up so much of the first book, but then, as the Priest and the Barber visit Don Quixote for the first time in a month, this happens:

Y en el discurso de su plática vinieron a tratar en esto que llaman razón de estado y modos de gobierno, enmendando este abuso y condenando aquél, reformando una costumbre y desterrando otra, haciéndose cada uno de los tres un nuevo legislador, un Licurgo moderno o un Solón flamante. Y de tal manera renovaron la república, que no pareció sino que la habían puesto en una fragua y sacado otra de la que pusieron.¹

[A]nd in the course of their conversation they began to discuss what is called reason of state and ways of governing, correcting this abuse and condemning that one, reforming one custom and eliminating another, each one of the three becoming a new legislator, a modern Lycurgus, a latter day Solon, and they so transformed the nation that it seemed as if they had placed it in the forge and taken out a new one.²

Why here, of all places, would Cervantes choose to have his characters engage in a conversation about politics? In this section bridging the 1605 and the 1615 novels, he chooses to focus on the giving of advice to a leader as the way in which the hidalgo's

¹ II-1, Lathrop 438

² II-1, Grossman 459-460

madness will manifest itself. It might be considered mere coincidence, a common enough theme of conversation among the educated in Cervantes's day that should deserve little note by the reader. However, when this passage is examined in the light of the rest of the *Quijote*, it is evident that it was not happenstance that led Cervantes to place this conversation here. The introduction to a second novel in a series not only connects it back to the first book, but helps set the tone for the second book. By locating a discussion of politics here, Cervantes has left a clue about a theme running throughout his work: the behavior of people in leadership roles. Politics has a fundamental concern with determining who will lead, and the political discourse that Cervantes provides in II-I demonstrates that he has something to say to leaders.

Shortly after the passage from II-1 cited above, the Priest attempts to see if Don Quixote's sanity has truly returned. He mentions the measures that the Spanish king has recently taken to prepare to defend against a powerful Turkish fleet, and Don Quixote says that he is confident that he has a plan to offer the king that no one else has thought of. As the Barber questions him about this, he makes this statement about advice offered to kings:

“No lo digo por tanto,” replicó el barbero, “sino porque tiene mostrado la experiencia que todos o los más arbitrios que se dan a su majestad, o son imposibles o disparatados, o en daño del rey o del reino.”³

“I don't say that it isn't,” replied the barber, “but experience shows that all or most of the schemes presented to His Majesty are either impossible, or absurd, or harmful to the king and his kingdom.”⁴

³ II-1, Lathrop 440

⁴ II-1, Grossman 460

The word *arbitrios*, which Grossman has translated with “schemes,” deserves a closer look. Lathrop offers the word “judgment” as a gloss for it, which is a much closer rendering to the word’s Latin root, *arbitrium*.⁵ Covarrubias, in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, connects *arbitrio* with the word *alvedrío* – *albedrio* in modern Spanish – and he directs his readers to look up *alvedrío* for more information. Covarrubias says of the word *alvedrío*: “[C]omúnmente le tomamos por la voluntad regulada con razón o con propio apetito.⁶ [We commonly understand it as the will regulated by reason or by one’s appetite.]”⁷ In Covarrubias’s definition of *alvedrio*, he goes into much more detail about the word *arbitrio*, and what it had also come to mean:

A alvedrío de buen varón se juzgan algunas cosas para atajar pleitos, concurriendo en ello las partes, que del nombre latino *arbitrium*, le llamamos juez árbitro, y arbitrio su sentencia. Y otras veces arbitrio vale tanto como parecer que uno da; y el día de oy ase estrechado a sinificar una cosa bien prejudicial, que es dar traças como sacar dineros y destruir el Reyno; porque de ordinario los que dan estos arbitrios son gente perdida. Verdad es que a estos tales pocas vezes se les da oydos, porque como ha de passar el arbitrio por hombres de ciencia y conciencia, se los rechaçan, y entre otros males que hazen es acovardar a los que podrían darlos, por el mal nombre que han puesto a este género de suplir necesidades y remediar faltas.⁸

By the will of the good man various things are judged in order to interrupt disputes, the parties agreeing upon it, so that from the Latin noun *arbitrium*, we call a judge *árbitro*, and *arbitrio* his sentence. In other occasions *arbitrio* means an opinion that one gives; nowadays [*arbitrio*] has come to mean something quite prejudicial, that is to form plans to make money and destroy the kingdom. It is true that they rarely give much attention to such as these, because the *arbitrio* has to pass before men of science and of conscience, who reject it. Among other evils that [those who make plans to make money and destroy the kingdom] commit is that

⁵ Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. 1611 ed. Martín de Riquer. 5th ed. (Barcelona: Editorial Alta Fulla, 2003) 138

⁶ Covarrubias 108

⁷ “Appetite” has been used as the translation of *apetito*, keeping in mind that “appetite” here refers to more than a desire to eat, but a desire to do any particular thing to which one is inclined.

⁸ Covarrubias 108

of making cowards of those that could offer [good advice], because of the bad name that has been given to this manner of supplying necessities and remedying defects.

Covarrubias, while acknowledging the pejorative turn that the use of *arbitrio* has taken, also laments that this is so, because this connotation keeps people who might offer good advice from doing so. Collectively, those who offered *arbitrios* were called *arbitristas*.⁹ Cervantes, however, found a way to give advice while avoiding being numbered among those *arbitristas*.

The word *arbitrio* in modern Spanish has also come to mean the method by which you obtain or accomplish something. It is for this reason that the word *arbitrios* was chosen for the title of this present study. Cervantes's *arbitrios*, his advice for leaders, is kept from being too plainly stated by his *arbitrio*, his method of conveying the information. Instead of baldly giving his advice to leaders, he places it in the form of a humorous book. Cervantes has warnings for leaders, and his method of delivering them is to encode them within the novels. The present study will show that in *Don Quijote* Cervantes has written a cautionary tale for leaders.

⁹ Angelo J. di Salvo, "Spanish Guides to Princes and the Political Theories in Don Quijote," *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 9.2, pp. 43-60 (1989) 51, 15 August 2007 < <http://www.h-net.org/~cervantes/csa/articf89/disalvo.htm>>

Review of Literature

Introduction

James Iffland's words prove useful when we confront the 400 years of critical output that have been produced since the 1605 *Quijote* first appeared:

The spectrum of interpretations to which Don Quixote has given rise since its publication is very probably wider than that elicited by any other similarly well-entrenched "literary monument" of Western culture. It should be stressed that this somewhat baldly stated claim does not center on the sheer volume of what has been written (though here, too, it would place near the top), but on its boggling diversity and contradictoriness.¹⁰

Even a brief survey of critical opinion about *Don Quixote* would substantiate this observation. For example, *Don Quijote* is generally considered to be a novel, and it is often called the first modern novel. However, that view is not universally held. To cite just one example of a dissenting opinion, James A. Parr, while noting that *Don Quijote* is "normally decoded as a novel," holds that, although *Don Quijote* has an "affinity for the novel," it is not a novel but a Menippean satire, or an "anatomy."¹¹ Northrop Frye defines an anatomy as "[a] form of prose fiction, traditionally known as the Menippean or Varronian satire and represented by Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, characterized by a great variety of subject-matter and a strong interest in ideas. In shorter forms it often has a cena or symposium setting and verse interludes."¹²

¹⁰ James Iffland, "On the Social Destiny of "Don Quixote": Literature and Ideological Interpellation: Part I," *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, Vol. 20, No. 1, (Spring, 1987), pp. 17-36. 30 July 2007 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1314995>>

¹¹ James A. Parr, *Don Quixote: An Anatomy of Subversive Discourse* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1988)

xv

¹² Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957; Princeton Paperback ed., 3rd printing, 1973) 365

Despite the "boggling diversity and contradictoriness" of interpretation, there are some general interpretive camps that can be identified. The most traditional division of schools of *Quijote* interpretation is that of the "hard" and "soft" camps. Oscar Mandel has located the difference between the camps in their attitude towards the hidalgo: the hard camp tends to look at him as a fool and side with society against Don Quixote, while the soft camp looks at him as an idealistic hero and sides with him against society.¹³ Arthur Efron has proposed a more nuanced adaptation of this approach. He divides the critical output into idealist, perspectivist, and cautionary camps. The idealist approach is roughly synonymous to the soft camp, while the cautionary approach is essentially the same as the hard camp. The perspectivist approach claims that *Don Quijote* does not side with either the real or the ideal, but instead serves to illustrate the tension between them which exists in life.¹⁴ Efron finds all these approaches insufficient and offers the view that the conflict between the Knight and society is a false one because Don Quixote actually agrees with society's values; as he puts it, "the seemingly radical stance of the Knight is merely an exaggeration of the life-denying idealism to which the members of the Knight's world (with the important partial exception of Sancho Panza) already ally themselves."¹⁵ This view, of course, contrasts heavily with the general view of the three camps Efron identified, all of which would state that the conflict between the knight and society is most definitely not false.

¹³ Oscar Mandel, "The Function of the Norm in *Don Quixote*," *Modern Philology*, Vol. 55, No. 3, (Feb., 1958), pp. 154-163. 1 August 2008 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/434959>>

¹⁴ Arthur Efron, *Don Quixote and the Dulcinea World* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1971) 4-6

¹⁵ Efron 11

The "hard" view of the *Quijote* was the dominant view for the first century and a half after its publication. Cervantes' contemporaries saw the *Quijote* as just what it claimed to be, an invective against chivalry and an amusing parody, as P. E. Russel notes: "For more than one and a half centuries after the book was first published, readers, not only in Spain but in all Europe, apparently accepted without cavil that *Don Quijote* was simply a brilliantly successful funny book."¹⁶ During the 18th century, rationalists continued seeing the book as rightfully punishing Don Quixote for refusing to see the world as it is.¹⁷ However, attitudes began to shift; some readers, including such literary figures as Samuel Johnson and Sarah Fielding, began to identify with Don Quixote in his continued struggles.¹⁸

With the rise of Romanticism in the 19th century, the pendulum swung completely to the other side, and the "soft" school of interpretation came to dominate critical views. Carroll Johnson writes that the Romantic writers saw Don Quixote "as a version of themselves, a being morally and artistically superior to his environment, but tragically doomed to be misunderstood, derided, and finally crushed by an unfeeling society. His struggle is seen as noble, the more noble precisely because it is doomed to failure."¹⁹ This viewpoint went largely unchallenged until the middle of the 20th century. Javier Herrero traces the turning point to Alexander Parker in 1947, when he published "*Don Quijote*

¹⁶ P. E. Russel, "*Don Quijote* as a Funny Book," *Modern Language Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2, (Modern Humanities Research Association, April, 1969), pp. 312-326, 2 August 2008 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3723440>>

¹⁷ Carroll B. Johnson, *Don Quijote: The Quest for Modern Fiction* (1990; Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 2000) 25

¹⁸ John J. Allen, *Don Quijote: Hero or Fool? A Study in Narrative Technique* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1969) 4-5

¹⁹ Johnson 26

and the Relativity of Truth" in the *Dublin Review*.²⁰ Parker began a trend toward more scholarly studies that completely rejected the romantic interpretation. John J. Allen's *Don Quixote: Hero or Fool?* offered a view that, though not conforming to Efron's definition of a perspectivist view, did seek a middle ground. Allen concluded that Don Quixote is both hero and fool: a fool for his consistent egocentricity, a hero for renouncing that same egocentricity.²¹ Another approach to the question is that taken by the previously mentioned Carroll Johnson, who suggests that "there is not and cannot be a single 'correct' interpretation of *Don Quixote*. The book is to us as the windmills or the barber's basin are to its characters; it means what we need it to mean, according to what we want/need Don Quixote and Cervantes to be."²² As has been shown, Iffland's assessment of the field continues to be true today: there remains a dizzying array of critical interpretations. In spite of the hundreds of books and thousands of articles written over the last 400 years, the jury still remains out.

In view of the extensive scholarly literature available on *Don Quijote*, it is rather surprising to see how little has been written about *Don Quijote* and leadership. There is an occasional passing reference to the idea of Don Quixote as a leader; an example would be the following remark by Daniel Eisenberg: "Don Quixote's frequent references to fame obviously have authorial implications, and his desire to be recognized as a leader (the first to attempt to restore knight-errantry) seems much like Cervantes' pride in having

²⁰ Javier S. Herrero, "Dulcinea and Her Critics," *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, Vol. 2, No. 1, (Cervantes Society of America, 1982) 23-42, 1 August 2008 <<http://www.h-net.org/~cervantes/csa/artics82/herrero.htm>>

²¹ Allen 89

²² Johnson 32

been a leading author (i.e., the first to "novelar," the first to write a prose epic [...])."²³

Eisenberg makes this comment in a footnote, and he does not develop the theme. There is the occasional popular reference in articles from other fields, such as that made by Fitzhugh Mullan, who suggests in an article in the *American Journal of Public Health* that every leader, but specifically public health officials, needs "a little Don Quixote" in them: "Don Quixote, the unabashed, unapologetic, unflappable idealist, locked in on his mission, undaunted by the doubters and the halfhearted."²⁴

There are, to the knowledge of this author, only three works that treat the issue of leadership in *Don Quijote* with any detail. James March has produced a movie entitled *Passion and Discipline: Don Quixote's Lessons for Leadership*. A second work is the case study about Don Quixote from the Hartwick Classic Leadership Cases series. Finally, there is a book called *Don Quijote para triunfar* by Luis Cremades. As will be shown, all three of these works fail to provide an adequate or accurate exploration of what the *Quijote* has to say about leadership.

²³ Daniel Eisenberg, *A Study of Don Quixote* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1987) 57, 2 August 2008 <http://users.ipfw.edu/jehle/deisenbe/Study_of_DQ/ASODQ_Ch_2.pdf>

²⁴ Fitzhugh Mullan, "Don Quixote, Machiavelli, and Robin Hood: Public Health Practice, Past and Present," *American Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 90, No. 5, pp. 702-706 (May 2000) 704

Passion and Discipline: Don Quixote's Lessons for Leadership

This film is the product of James March, Professor emeritus of the Stanford University Graduate School of Business. When March talks about "discipline" in this film, he is not referring to a regimented way of living and organizing one's life, but rather to a commitment to live according to one's own identity and self-image, terms that March uses interchangeably. In presenting his views, March makes extensive use of analogy with varying levels of success; he compares Don Quixote to, among other things, a Flamenco dancer, Joan of Arc, and Totoro, a giant catlike monster, visible only to children, who helps them accomplish amazing things in their imagination.²⁵

According to March, "We follow Don Quixote not because we think he is a model leader, for he is hardly that. We follow Quixote for the light he casts on three issues of modern leadership and modern life."²⁶ Those three issues are the role of imagination and vision, the sources of persistence and commitment, and the possibility of joy.

March highlights the importance placed on vision in leadership as he discusses imagination: "Great acts of leadership have often involved the ability to see what others could not see. Martin Luther King, Jr. had a dream, and his dream mobilized a movement and changed a nation."²⁷ He attempts to compare this to Don Quixote's "vision."

However, March equates this vision not so much with Don Quixote's goals as with the "visions" – he never calls them delusions – that are created by Don Quixote's mind (for example, seeing giants instead of windmills). He cites the incident with the merchants

²⁵ Totoro is the titular character from the anime film *My Neighbor Totoro*, a film by Hayao Miyazaki. Miyazaki is better known in the west for his films *Princess Mononoke* and *Spirited Away*, the latter of which won the 2002 Academy Award for Best Animated Feature.

²⁶ James March, et al., *Passion and Discipline: Don Quixote's Lessons for Leadership* (Princeton, NJ: Films for the Humanities & Sciences, 2003) 9:14-9:28

²⁷ March 13:59-14:06; 14:25-14:33

from Toledo as evidence that "[f]or Quixote, as for the visionary leader, imagination is uncompromisingly willful, attentive not to reality but to a sense of what ought to be. Dulcinea's beauty is not an issue of evidence; it is an issue of attitude."²⁸

In the section on commitment, March posits that "[t]he primary justification for action in contemporary life is consequential. We glorify what might be called a logic of consequences [...]. In most of modern life, persistence in great actions is justified by expectations of great consequences."²⁹ March attempts to show that Don Quixote, in contrast, does not follow a consequential logic. He asserts that the problem with following a consequential logic is that leaders fail:

In a consequential world, experience leads to disillusion, and disillusion leads to a retreat from commitment. To avoid this cycle of hope and disappointment, we create illusions that leaders are effective. To support our illusions, we expect leaders to provide performances that reinforce our sense of their significance.³⁰

March contrasts this with Don Quixote, who he claims did not follow a consequential logic. March asserts that Don Quixote is not motivated by results, but by a desire to conform to his own sense of identity:

Quixote is not driven by a consequentialist logic; he does not ask what the consequences of his action will be, except in a minor way. Rather, he asks, 'what kind of a person am I?' 'What kind of a situation am I in?' 'What does a person such as I do in a situation such as this?' He says: 'I know who I am.' Quijote's passion is not for success, but for fulfilling his sense of himself. He's disciplined not by incentives, but by his identity.³¹

March goes on to imply that this kind of this identity-based logic is what allows Don Quixote to keep on getting back up and continuing onward after every failure:

²⁸ March 28:47-29:05

²⁹ March 31:29-31:39; 32:16-32:25

³⁰ March 34:20-35:13

³¹ March 36:23-36:59

In a typical modern morality tale of leadership, steadfastness on the part of leaders is rewarded by personal glory and by social benefits. Such stories and hopes commonly sustain commitment as a leader. The story of Quixote is not such a tale. With few exceptions, Quixote is ineffective in his attempts to do good. When he attacks armies, he finds himself trampled by sheep. When he attacks Giants, he's knocked from his horse by the windmill. These adverse outcomes do not weaken his resolve. They reinforce it. Quixote knows that enchanters and enemies will often frustrate him. But he sees these failures as confirming the purity of his commitment.³²

It does not matter that he failed as long as he acted according to his role as a knight errant, which March asserts that Quixote knows himself to be.

In his treatment of the issue of joy, March acknowledges that Don Quixote is a humorous book:

There is no question that the book about Don Quixote is a comic masterpiece. Scene after scene stimulates laughter. There are elements of total farce. Quixote himself is the object of the laughter. His actions are absurd. His visions are unreal. He invites ridicule. At times Quixote joins in the laughter, but most of the time he is indifferent to it. He recognizes that he is ridiculous, but accepts it as the price of pursuing his vision of himself and of the world.³³

March claims that while Quixote honors laughter, this laughter comes from more than just humor. It comes from three "affirmations."³⁴

The first affirmation is *joy in engagement*. He cites the example of the character Betty from the film *Betty Blue*:

The story of Betty Blue is a classic example of a commitment to engagement. Betty commits herself to the novel written by her lover. In the course of seeking its publication, like Quixote, she acts without concern for the damage she causes to people, to property, and to herself [...]. In the end, although her quest is successful, Betty's disregard for reality leads her to lose her sanity. But it is neither the triumph nor the

³² March 41:02-42:13

³³ March 49:58-50:42

³⁴ March 52:46-52:56

tragedy that remains with us. It is the joy we experience at seeing the passion of her engagement. These exhilarations of action, engagement, struggle, and involvement are crucial elements of the joy of life.³⁵

The second affirmation is *joy in identity*: "[...] a commitment to will, to a sense of self and discipline necessary to act without fear of consequences, to achieve a sanity of identity rather than a sanity of reality."³⁶

The third affirmation is *joy in beauty*. March says that Quixote:

[...] teaches us that beauty is not a prize that we seek to possess. We try to act so as to be worthy of beauty. When Quixote loses a fight with the Knight of the White Moon, after agreeing to terms that would compel him to admit that Dulcinea is lesser in beauty than another, he asks the knight to kill him, saying, "Dulcinea del Toboso is the fairest woman in the world, and I the most unfortunate knight on earth. It is not fitting that this truth should suffer by my feebleness."³⁷

March concludes the film by stating: "The Quixote message is about imagination that resists the limitations of reality. It's a vision of joy that rejects the corruptions of cynicism. It is a moral message, about creating a life that ennobles the human spirit. A life of commitment, it does not depend on consequences. Quixote shows us that life and leadership require passion and discipline. Being able to say 'yo sé quien soy;' I know who I am."³⁸

There are pervasive problems with the film *Passion and Discipline*, some of which relate to the idea of leadership that March presents. For example, in the section on *joy in identity*, March interviews Rod Beckstrom, a software engineer whom March considers successful, and asks him what he does when someone calls him crazy.

³⁵ March 53:33-54:04; 55:15-55:56

³⁶ March 56:08-56:24

³⁷ March 1:00:12-1:00:48

³⁸ March 1:04:11-1:05:10

Beckstrom responds, "Ignore them. If you believe in what you are doing, you listen to what they have to say to see if it has any information content you believe in, and if it doesn't, you ignore it."³⁹ While being thick-skinned is a good thing for a leader, ignoring "information content" just because you don't believe in it is the hallmark of bad information processing, not of good leadership.

I cite the above example because March is quite guilty of ignoring "information content" from *Don Quijote* when it does not help him to make his point. For example, in the section on imagination March declares, "Quixote has a vision, and with his enthusiasm for it, he induces others to join him. The long suffering and skeptical Sancho is converted. In the search for Dulcinea he embraces Quixote's use of imagination."⁴⁰ A scene is then shown from II-10, the famous scene in which Dulcinea is "enchanted," allegedly by Sancho. March goes on to say, "Like Quixote with Sancho, leaders convert others to their dreams, persuading them that an unrealistic fantasy is beautiful."⁴¹

March fails to include the context of this scene. Sancho, having previously lied to Don Quixote about having visited Dulcinea and delivered a letter from him to her (I-31), now is trying to find a way to avoid owning up to his lie. He ponders the situation, and then decides that since Don Quixote is completely crazy, he will just lie to him; he will tell him that the first woman who comes along is Dulcinea, because he thinks that Don Quixote will attribute the whole situation to enchantment. If Don Quixote does not believe him at first, Sancho's plan is to just keep on swearing and insisting that she really is Dulcinea until he is convinced (II-10). This hardly seems like behavior which can be

³⁹ March 57:17-57:28

⁴⁰ March 24:57-25:18

⁴¹ March 26:27-26:36

used to support the idea that Sancho has "embraced Don Quixote's use of imagination," at least not in a way which a leader would want to encourage in his or her followers.

Another example of this comes in the section on commitment. March states:

"Quijote is not driven by a consequentialist logic, he does not ask what the consequences of his action will be, except in a minor way. Rather, he asks, 'What kind of a person am I?' 'What kind of a situation am I in?' 'What does a person such as I do in a situation such as this?'"⁴² This "consequentialist logic" that he speaks of includes considering things like personal honor, position, wealth, or social change. March states that Don Quixote considers issues like these only "in a minor way." Yet, if this is the case, why does Don Quixote continually refer to things such as honor, position (becoming a king or emperor), wealth (not just his own, but Sancho's as well), and the positive social and military benefits that he feels will be the results of the restoration of knight errantry? The entire reason the hidalgo begins his "career" as a knight errant is because of the good that would ensue:

En efeto, rematado ya su juicio, vino a dar en el más estraño pensamiento que jamás dió loco en el mundo, y fue que le pareció conveniente y necesario, así para el aumento de su honra como para el servicio de su república, hacerse caballero andante, y irse por todo el mundo con sus armas y caballo, a buscar las aventuras, y a ejercitarse en todo aquello que él había leído que los caballeros andantes se ejercitaban, deshaciendo todo género de agravio, y poniéndose en ocasiones y peligros, donde, acabándolos, cobrase eterno nombre y fama. Imaginábase el pobre ya coronado por el valor de su brazo, por lo menos del imperio de Trapisonda.⁴³

The truth is that when his mind had completely gone, he had the strangest thought any lunatic in the world ever had, which was that it seemed reasonable to him, both for the sake of his honor and as a service to the

⁴² March 36:22-36:42

⁴³ I-1, Lathrop 24

nation, to become a knight errant and travel the world with his armor and his horse to seek adventures and engage in everything he had read that knights errant engaged in, righting all manner of wrongs and, by seizing the opportunity and placing himself in danger and ending those wrongs, winning eternal renown and everlasting fame. The poor man imagined himself already wearing the crown, won by the valor of his arm, of the empire of Trebizond at the very least.⁴⁴

March emphasizes the point that Don Quixote knows who he is, that he possesses accurate self-knowledge. "I know who I am," he cites, from the episode in which the badly beaten Don Quixote is taken back to his hometown by his neighbor (I-5). Of course, what March does not do is quote the rest of the sentence, "y sé que puedo ser, no solo los que he dicho, sino todos los doce Pares de Francia, y aun todos los Nueve de la Fama, pues a todas las hazañas que ellos todos juntos y cada uno por sí hicieron, se aventajarán las mías"⁴⁵ [and I know I can be not only those I have mentioned but the Twelve Peers of France as well, and even all the nine paragons of Fame, for my deeds will surpass all those they performed, together or singly]."⁴⁶ Throughout this entire episode Don Quixote does not even believe that he is Don Quixote, nor will he until two chapters later. That Don Quixote knows who he is becomes even more difficult to maintain in light of statements in the 1615 *Quijote*, when the narrator makes it clear that the first time Don Quixote truly believes himself to be a knight errant is when he arrives at the palace of the Duke and Duchess (II-31). If that is the first time he truly believes himself to be a knight errant, this means that Don Quixote did not truly believe that he was a knight errant, that he was truly Don Quixote, throughout all the 1605 *Quijote* and much of the 1615. Margaret Church, in commenting on the opening chapter of the 1615

⁴⁴ I-1, Grossman 21-22

⁴⁵ I-5, Lathrop 46-47

⁴⁶ I-5, Grossman 43

Quixote, observes: "Don Quixote seems partially to understand this point when he says to the barber 'I ... am not Neptune, and I am not trying to make anyone believe me wise when I am not ... I am only at pains to convince the world of its error.' [...] Don Quixote knows who he is not, but not until the end of the 1615 book does he know who he is."⁴⁷ The end of the book is indeed illuminative, when Alonso Quixano the Good (the true name and identity of the mad hidalgo) finally recovers his senses and remembers who he really is (DQ II-74). Once again, "information content" is ignored which does not contribute to the interpretation which March is attempting to advance.

A further issue is the use of clips from other films. At the start of the section on commitment, March uses a clip from the TNT and Hallmark film *Don Quixote* (2000), a film in which the liberty of artistic license has been used in a rather libertine fashion. Don Quixote is defending himself from charges leveled by the ecclesiastic during the meal with the Duke and Duchess (from II-32). In the film he says, "Are you all so content with your lives of safety and comfort? Are eating and sleeping enough for you? Do you not yearn, all of you, for a voyage of discovery, of adventure, of great deeds, lasting fame, and battles for truth and justice?"⁴⁸ Don Quixote says no such thing in II-32, nor anything even proximate to it. In fact, earlier in the 1615 *Quijote* he makes it quite clear that the life of a knight errant is *not* for everyone: "Mira, amiga, [...] no todos los caballeros pueden ser cortesanos, ni todos los cortesanos pueden ni deben ser caballeros andantes"⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Margaret Church, *Don Quixote: The Knight of La Mancha* (New York: New York University Press, 1971) xxvii / The *Don Quijote* quotation used by Church is from the Penguin Classics edition of Don Quixote translated by J. M. Cohen

⁴⁸ Peter Yates, dir., *Don Quixote*, perf. John Lithgow, Bob Hoskins, Vanessa Williams (TNT, 2000) 1:46:49-1:47:14

⁴⁹ II-6, Lathrop 471

[Look, my friend, [...] not all knights can be courtiers, and not all courtiers can or should be knights errant]."⁵⁰

Furthermore, the TNT film completely subverts the ending of Cervantes' novel. Alonso Quixana dies as he sees himself once again converted into Don Quixote and riding through the heavens on the flying horse Clavileño with Dulcinea sitting behind him.⁵¹ Cervantes, of course, had Alonso Quixano completely reject chivalric books and the life they had inspired him to lead.⁵² March's use of the clips from this film, while suggestive of how he interprets the story, further reduces the value of his investigation as an exploration of leadership in *Don Quijote*.

⁵⁰ II-6, Grossman 492

⁵¹ Yates 2:16:35-2:17:20

⁵² In addition to using "Quixana" instead of Cervantes' "Quixano" (*Quijano* is the modern Spanish spelling of the word), the film also subverts Cervantes' ending by not including in the giving of Alonzo Quijano's will the stipulation that his niece lose her inheritance if she marries a man who has any knowledge of chivalric books.

Hartwick Classic Leadership Cases: Don Quixote

The Hartwick case study is not meant to be a thorough study of *Don Quijote*; instead, it presents several selections from the *Quijote* to students and invites them to discuss what these selections say about leadership. Perhaps in order to foster open-ended discussion, there is little interpretation given to the students, and the teaching notes provide only slightly more of it than the case itself. However, even in the small amount of commentary that is given there are major problems.

One major problem with the case is that there are factual errors. Perhaps the most significant is the statement in the case study that Cervantes wrote *Don Quijote* under the name Angel Vabuena Pratt,⁵³ an assertion for which the author has found absolutely no evidence and that could be politely called "bunk." Another factual error occurs in the introduction to the Clavileño episode. The case study states that Don Quixote knows perfectly well that the horse never left the ground and that the crowd was there the whole time laughing at them,⁵⁴ an odd assertion to make since Don Quixote seems quite convinced that he had passed through the ring of air (II-41). His disagreement with Sancho is on the extent to which they traveled, not on whether or not they traveled at all.⁵⁵ Errors like this seriously affect the credibility of the study.

There are also some problems with interpretation. Consider this example from a paragraph on the difference between vertical and lateral thinking:

⁵³ Micheal K. Green, *Hartwick Classic Leadership Cases: Don Quixote* (Oneata, NY: Hartwick Humanities in Management Institute, 2001) 2

⁵⁴ Green, *Case*, 9

⁵⁵ One is forced to wonder if this is an error of interpretation or an error of transcription, and that Sancho was meant instead of Don Quixote, but either way it remains an error.

Vertical thinking emphasizes continuity, selectivity, judgment, and proof.... In contrast, lateral thinking emphasizes discontinuity, generating change for the sake of change, restructuring, seeking alternatives, and using ideas to trigger new ideas.... Lateral thinking is escaping from old patterns and generating new ones. It involves escape and provocation. Don Quixote...was not imprisoned by everyday conceptions of the world. He was constantly creating new patterns out of his experience.⁵⁶

The problem with this statement is that Don Quixote was not creating anything new, he was attempting to recreate something old: knight errantry as he believed it to have existed. Another problem is that it implies that Don Quixote was not imprisoned by his own conceptions. Yet he declares that he would pay Sancho a wage if not for the fact that he has never read that any squire ever had received a salary (II-28). He may not have been imprisoned by everyday conceptions, but his own conceptions quite literally place him in a cage for several chapters at the end of the 1605 *Quijote*.

The teaching notes pose the question several times of whether or not Quixote is a hero or a fool. Despite that, J. J. Allen's *Don Quixote: Hero or Fool*, published in 1969 and a commonly cited work in Cervantine scholarship to this day, was not one of the works that appeared in the bibliography. This is problematic in a study that was published in 2001, and is another blow to the studies scholarly credibility.

Another problem in the teaching notes is this assertion made in a discussion of creativity in organizations: "Having the requisite domain-related knowledge is central to making a creative contribution to a given field. Don Quixote had both the knowledge of knighthood and the emotional disposition to sally forth as a knight."⁵⁷ While one could make an argument that Don Quixote did indeed possess the emotional disposition to be a

⁵⁶ Green, *Case*, 21

⁵⁷ Micheal K. Green, *Hartwick Classic Leadership Cases: Don Quixote: Teaching Notes* (Oneata, NY: Hartwick Humanities in Management Institute, 2001) 10

knight, it is difficult to maintain that he had the knowledge to act as one. Don Quixote's "knowledge of knighthood" comes exclusively from chivalric books, from works of fiction which romanticize what knighthood really was. To say that Don Quixote had the knowledge to "sally forth as a knight" is the same as claiming that a person is qualified to be an agent in Her Majesty's Secret Service thanks to that person's close and repeated readings of Ian Flemming's novels featuring James Bond.

Don Quijote para triunfar

Luis Cremades sees Don Quixote as a master of the art of learning.⁵⁸ He portrays Don Quixote as a crazy idealist who learns sanity thanks to his ability to assimilate his experiences through a process of self-reflection. According to Cremades, Don Quixote has a vision: that knight errantry still has something to offer in his own day.⁵⁹ Cremades holds him up as an example of how it is possible, on the one hand, to defend one's vision and values successfully, while on the other hand to allow oneself to change and transform as one learns along the road of life. Don Quixote should be admired for the way in which he is willing to adjust to changes and confront, accept, and learn from his own errors; this allows him to better function in a changing world than those who are not capable of doing the same thing.⁶⁰ Cremades proposes that Don Quixote imitates heroes and ends up becoming a hero himself.⁶¹

The best summary of how Cremades views Don Quixote and his relation to leadership is found on page 30 of his book:

Knight Errantry in the 21st century expresses the capacity of human beings to exert influence in reality out of an ideal. If we are to be faithful to the origins, we must add: to an ideal of respect, justice, and love. An ideal that, a few centuries later, would be formulated as liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Is not Don Quixote crazy? Does he not assume these ideals grotesquely, more like a buffoon than like a knight? Is he not exerting influence in reality out of craziness? Not exactly, unless having an ideal is always to be considered crazy. The modern day *quixotes*, from Sidney to La Mancha, interact with reality, pushed on by a dream; a dream forged with the help of books and stories, of lived experience, and – on occasion – of never

⁵⁸ Luis Cremades, *Don Quijote para triunfar: guía práctica para emprendedores, líderes y directivos*, MR Prácticos. (Madrid: Ediciones Martínez Roca, 2005) 30

⁵⁹ Cremades 31

⁶⁰ Cremades 28

⁶¹ Cremades 18

ending afternoons spent contemplating the way that the clouds change shape.⁶²

There are some factual errors in Cremades' book. Some are minor, such as referring to the character of Trifaldi as a princess instead of a countess.⁶³ An odd error comes when Cremades claims that humor was an innovation in the stories of the age;⁶⁴ Chaucer, to say nothing of Aristophanes, would beg to differ. Others are more significant. For example, while trying to support his thesis that in the second book Don Quixote only sees what is actually there, he claims that it is Sancho who tells Don Quixote that Dulcinea must have been enchanted.⁶⁵ The opposite, of course, is the case. Sancho does decide to rely on Don Quixote blaming enchanter, but Don Quixote is the one who declares that what had happened must be the result of enchantment, and Sancho lets him do so twice before he says anything to support that view (II-10).

Another factual error is his claim that Don Quixote recognizes the episode of the windmills as a defeat,⁶⁶ despite the lack of evidence for that from the text; Quixote says only: "Frestón [...] ha vuelto estos gigantes en molinos, por quitarme la gloria de su vencimiento"⁶⁷ [Frestón [...] has turned these giants into windmills in order to deprive me of the glory of defeating them]."⁶⁸ He admits that he did not gain a victory, but not that he was defeated, and that is an important distinction.

⁶² Cremades 30

⁶³ Cremades 148-149

⁶⁴ Cremades 42

⁶⁵ Cremades 5

⁶⁶ Cremades 25

⁶⁷ I-8, Lathrop 62

⁶⁸ I-8, Grossman 59

Cremades claims that *Don Quijote* is the story of a visionary who never renounces his values,⁶⁹ despite the fact that said visionary most certainly does denounce them at the end of the story:

"[Y]a no soy don Quijote de la Mancha, sino Alonso Quijano, a quien mis costumbres me dieron renombre de BUENO. Ya soy enemigo de Amadís de Gaula y de toda la infinita caterva de su linaje, ya me son odiosas todas las historias profanas del andante caballería. Ya conozco mi necedad y el peligro en que me pusieron haberlas leído. Ya, por misericordia de Dios, escarmentando en cabeza propia, las abomino."⁷⁰

"I am no longer Don Quixote de La Mancha but Alonso Quixano, once called *the Good* because of my virtuous life. Now I am the enemy of Amadís of Gaul and all the infinite horde of his lineage; now all the profane histories of knight errantry are hateful to me; now I recognize my foolishness and the danger I was in because I read them; now, by God's mercy, I have learned from my experience and I despise them."⁷¹

The biggest problem with *Don Quijote para triunfar* is that Cremades tends to consider the selected passages apart from the context of the whole book, and this affects his interpretations. For example, in treating Don Quixote's defense of himself in II-32 from the charges of the ecclesiastic in the previous chapter, Cremades says that here Don Quixote is asking for humility from those who believe they know it all from merely having read about it.⁷² Cremades fails to note that this is precisely how Don Quixote obtained all his knowledge of how to be a knight errant.

As March did in *Passion and Discipline*, Cremades cites "I know who I am," and extols it as a phrase that anyone in a leadership position of any kind should repeat to

⁶⁹ Cremades 9

⁷⁰ II-74, Lathrop 862

⁷¹ II-74, Grossman 935

⁷² Cremades 145

themselves in the mirror.⁷³ Having that kind of self-knowledge may be good for a leader, but this is not a good episode to cite as support for that assertion. Don Quixote does not believe himself to be Don Quixote when he says these words; the episode begins with him thinking he is Valdovinos, a character from an old ballad,⁷⁴ and at the moment he says, "I know who I am," he has most recently believed himself to be Abindarraéz, a Moorish knight from Montemayor's *Siete libros de la Diana*.⁷⁵ It also bears noting that in I-7 the ingenious old hidalgo will declare himself to be Reinaldos de Montalbán, a companion of Roland who was featured in the body of Spanish *romanceros*,⁷⁶ before returning to believe himself to be Don Quixote after the books are burned and his library walled up.

When Cremades comments on the introduction of Sancho Panza, he declares that from the beginning Sancho is a partner (*socio*) and accomplice of Don Quixote, not an employee.⁷⁷ He asserts that Sancho shares with knight errantry the idea of his job as a way of life. This statement, of course, ignores numerous moments in which the text states just the opposite. For example, Cremades cites the following quotation from I-18 in which Don Quixote tries to console Sancho after Sancho has discovered that his saddle bags are missing:

"Sábete, Sancho, que no es un hombre más que otro, si no hace más que otro. Todas estas borrascas que nos suceden son señales de que presto ha de serenar el tiempo y han de sucedernos bien las cosas."⁷⁸

⁷³ Cremades 47

⁷⁴ Lathrop 45

⁷⁵ Lathrop 46

⁷⁶ Lathrop 24

⁷⁷ Cremades 48

⁷⁸ I-18, Lathrop 131

"You should know, Sancho, that a man is not worth more than any other if he does not do more than any other. All these squalls to which we have been subjected are signs that the weather will soon improve and things will go well for us."⁷⁹

However, Cremades fails to note how the paragraph ends: "Así que no debes congojarte por las desgracias que a mí me suceden, pues a ti no te cabe parte dellas"⁸⁰ [Therefore you must not grieve for the misfortunes that befall me, for you have no part in them]."⁸¹ Don Quixote clearly does not consider Sancho to be a "partner" in his project at this point.

At the end of I-29, the priest tells Don Quixote that he and Cardenio had been robbed by some escaped prisoners who had been freed by a man who must either be crazy, a criminal, or soulless. Cremades says that although Don Quixote does not acknowledge that he was the man who freed the prisoners, he deals with this in silence; Cremades even calls this silence quite elegant.⁸² He goes on to say that it is normal for people to dismiss such complications as unintended consequences or necessary evils, but that Don Quixote does not do this.⁸³ Rather, he claims that Don Quixote is attempting to analyze the situation to figure out what went wrong, and that from this point on Don Quixote becomes less impulsive.⁸⁴

The problem here is that at the start of the very next chapter Sancho does state exactly who freed the prisoners (I-30). Don Quixote then defends himself by saying that knights errant are not obligated to verify the reason that needful people are in need, and that whatever happens after the fact is not his concern (I-30). As for not being impulsive,

⁷⁹ I-18, Grossman 132

⁸⁰ I-18, Lathrop 131

⁸¹ I-18, Grossman 132

⁸² Cremades 72

⁸³ Cremades 73

⁸⁴ Cremades 73

he says that whoever thinks he acted wrongly, except for the priest, is not only ignorant of chivalry, but "miente como un hideputa y mal nacido, y esto le hare conocer con mi espada donde más largamente se contiene"⁸⁵ [lies like a lowborn whoreson, and will be taught this by my sword at greater length]."⁸⁶ So Don Quixote does exactly what Cremades says that he does not do: he attributes what happened to unintended consequences, and he acts impulsively right after he does so. Cremades also fails to note Don Quixote's actions in other chapters later in the novels, such as I-52, in which he starts not one but two fights – one without even the semblance of external provocation – or the episode of the lions in II-17, in which he insists on fighting lions who are locked away in cages and posing a threat to no one. In light of all this evidence, it is difficult to maintain that Don Quixote becomes less impulsive after the events of I-29.

Another example of ignoring context is found in the way that Cremades presents Sancho Panza as a faithful squire. He notes that in II-4, Sancho says that he seeks fame as the most faithful and loyal squire ever to serve a knight errant, and that if the governorship does not come, what of it? Cremades interprets this as a sign that Sancho has discovered the power of living for others and not only for oneself.⁸⁷ The problem is that this ignores the fact that Sancho is going to continue to demonstrate that what he really cares about is material gain for himself and his family, not a life of living for others. Sancho will ask for wages again in both II-7 and II-28. In II-7 Sancho chooses to stay with Don Quixote because he sees that, while Don Quixote will not have him as his squire and pay him a wage, he will still give him the governorship of an island if he is in

⁸⁵ I-30, Lathrop 240

⁸⁶ I-30, Grossman 250

⁸⁷ Cremades 112

the position to do so. In II-28, Sancho is quite ready to give up the island until Don Quixote reminds him that he was going to place him in a position of nobility, and it is only after this is mentioned that Sancho humbles himself and begs pardon. Each time Sancho chooses to continue as a squire, he chooses do so in hopes of greater material gain, not out of faithfulness to Don Quixote. When Don Quixote is attempting to convince Sancho to flog himself in order to end Dulcinea's enchantment, Sancho only agrees to do so after Don Quixote says he will pay him. Sancho makes him double the rate shortly after he starts flogging himself, and then he deceives his master once again by flogging trees instead of himself (II-71, II-72). This is not behavior that would be expected of a "faithful" squire.

In his comments on II-28, Cremades is amazed at Sancho's faith in Don Quixote,⁸⁸ yet he fails to note what will happen at the start of II-30. After the adventure of the enchanted boat in II-29, Sancho is thinking about his monetary advancement,

que por entonces le parecía que estaba bien lejos de tenerle, porque maguer era tonto, bien se le alcanzaba que las acciones de su amo, todas o las más, eran disparates, y buscaba ocasión de que, sin entrar en cuentas ni en despedimientos con su señor, un día se desgarrase y se fuese a su casa. Pero la fortuna ordenó las cosas muy al revés de lo que él temía.⁸⁹

which at the moment he seemed very far from obtaining; although he was a fool, he understood very well that all or most of his master's actions were mad, and he was looking for an opportunity to tear himself away and go home without engaging his master in explanations or leavetakings, but Fortune ordained that matters should take a turn contrary to his fears.⁹⁰

Sancho remains with Don Quixote not out of any sense of loyalty to his master, but because as luck (or Cervantes) would have it, they then run into the Duke and

⁸⁸ Cremades 143

⁸⁹ II-30, Lathrop 620

⁹⁰ II-30, Grossman 653

Duchess, and the prospect for material gain, or at least better eating, suddenly looks much brighter.

It is also useful to look at the end of the book; as Alonso Quijano lies dying we see that Sancho Panza is content, "Que esto del heredar algo borra o templa en el heredero la memoria de la pena que es razón que deje el muerto"⁹¹ [for the fact of inheriting something wipes away or tempers in the heir the memory of the grief that is reasonably felt for the deceased]."⁹² It is worth noting that this comment is made *before* Alonso Quijano has even become one of the deceased. Cremades does not deal with any of this in his presentation of Sancho as a loyal squire who has learned to live beyond himself.

⁹¹ II-74, Lathrop 864

⁹² II-74, Grossman 938

Conclusion

As has been demonstrated, none of the materials currently available adequately address the issue of *Don Quijote* and leadership. The Hartwick Case Study not only is an insufficient study for scholars, as might be expected from a case study for business students, but it also suffers from serious errors of fact. Both *Passion and Discipline* and *Don Quijote para triunfar* are marred by inattention to the details of the story; “information content” that does not agree with their interpretations is ignored. Leaving aside the value of the advice that they give to leaders, it is clear that neither of these two sources is an accurate exposition of issues of leadership in *Don Quijote*. There exists a need for further exploration to determine just what it is that Cervantes really has to say to leaders.

Methodology

The preceding survey has demonstrated that the greatest weakness of those few studies about leadership in *Don Quijote* that do exist is their tendency to ignore the context of the entire book in their analysis of passages. In order to examine a text properly, it is necessary to engage the whole text. This necessarily includes dealing with such seemingly extra-textual issues as the historical and biographical context of the text.

Those who subscribe to a New Critical or a deconstructionist approach would condemn this stance as falling into the intentional fallacy. However, in dealing with the work of Cervantes, the "fallacy" would be to not include Cervantes' biography and the historical context of the work, because he has made both part of the text. His *Galatea* appears in the library of the hidalgo (I-6), and its discovery prompts the priest to note, "Muchos años ha que es grande amigo mío ese Cervantes"⁹³ [This Cervantes has been a good friend of mine for many years]."⁹⁴ In Juan Palomeque's inn, more works of his appear, and it is strongly implied that he was the one who left the case in which those works were found. Captain Viedma relates that during his captivity in Algiers he knew a man by the name of "Saavedra;" his similarity to Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra can hardly be considered mere coincidence.

The contemporary historical context is also included in the work. The hidalgo's library contains numerous real works that existed in history. One of them, *El Pastor de*

⁹³ I-6, Lathrop 55

⁹⁴ I-6, Grossman 52

Inberia, published in Seville in 1591 and the newest in the hidalgo's library,⁹⁵ helps not only to date the time of the actual composition of the novel, but also the timeframe in which the action of the novel takes place. Real historical events are brought inside the novel. The 1615 *Quijote* addresses the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain through the inclusion of Ricote and his daughter, Ana Felix.

James Parr writes, "Anyone who has read the *Quixote* knows that the textual boundary is extremely porous, that Cervantes is both inside and outside his creation simultaneously [...]. It violates critical decorum, nonetheless, to identify him directly with any narrative voice. He is there in the text, by reference and as a presence but, by convention, he does not speak."⁹⁶ Parr is correct about Cervantes' presence in the text, but the present study disagrees that it is a "violation" of "critical decorum" to identify an author with a narrative voice.⁹⁷ Even if there were agreement with that stance, there would be little point in the critic maintaining this decorum when Cervantes has already violated it so thoroughly. He is there, the historical context is there, and it is only appropriate to consider his time and his life in the interpretation of his work. Thus, a New Critical, a deconstructionist, or any other approach that denies the validity of extra-textual information in interpreting a text is insufficient in analyzing *Don Quijote*.

The New Historical approach might seem to be indicated, since it does not reject the use of extra-textual information. However, New Historicism goes too far in its incorporation of extra-textual information when it includes such things as an interpreter's

⁹⁵ Lathrop 55

⁹⁶ James Parr, *Don Quixote: An Anatomy of Subversive Discourse* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1988) 6

⁹⁷ It should also be noted that other critics do not seem to feel that it is a "convention" to decline to identify an author with a narrative voice. For example, Daniel Eisenberg, throughout his *A Study of Don Quixote*, does not hesitate to repeatedly identify the Canon who appears at the end of the 1605 *Quijote* as a mouthpiece for Cervantes himself.

own autobiography in their critical practice. While the author of this study does feel that extra-textual historical and biographical information should be used to aid interpretation, he also believes that the foundation of literary interpretation must be in the text itself. A critic most certainly should not include *autobiographical* content as a part of his or her critical practice.

Parr, in discussing the history of Western literary criticism, writes: "Equally important in the formation of Western exegesis, however, has been the voluminous commentary on the Bible, most of which claims to offer true statements while countering false ones. When one engages in explanation and evaluation, [...] one typically emulates biblical exegesis."⁹⁸ That perspective was the catalyst for basing the present study on an approach to the interpretation of the Bible known as the historical-grammatical method, specifically as it was practiced by Martin Luther. The historical-grammatical method, as the name suggests, incorporates a close study of the historical context and grammatical features of a text. Luther added the condition that in interpreting the Bible, "Scripture must interpret Scripture."⁹⁹ A passage is not examined in isolation; on the contrary, it must be interpreted in light of all other passages that address the same issue.

This study will paraphrase Luther's condition to read: *Don Quijote* must interpret *Don Quijote*. In using a historical-grammatical hermeneutic, the author hopes to avoid the previously cited problems that arise in other critical approaches. A historical-grammatical approach allows for the appropriate use of historical and biographical information to illuminate the text while also keeping the ultimate focus on what the text actually says,

⁹⁸ James Parr 97

⁹⁹ David Kuske, Biblical Interpretation (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1995) 115

not on what a critic wishes it would say or on how he or she would deconstruct it to make it say the opposite of what it says.

The present study begins by establishing that there was an interest in advising leaders among Cervantes' contemporaries. Evidence from Cervantes' life will show that he himself had aspired to be a leader. Brief examples from Cervantes' work are also cited in support of the assertion that Cervantes was concerned with leaders. Cervantes' views on literature as a didactic vehicle are examined in order to show that he viewed a book as an appropriate medium for attempting to influence leaders.

The preceding steps establish that this study is not the product of an anachronistic projection of today's preoccupation with the idea of "leadership" onto *Don Quijote*. The text itself is then closely examined. Five key issues that are identified are considered in detail on the basis of all relevant passages from the *Quijote*. It is demonstrated that Cervantes does caution leaders; he warns leaders against:

- The reading of chivalric novels
- Valuing blood over virtue¹⁰⁰
- Judging people based on their appearances
- Trusting in what one wants to see over what one sees
- Having an improper relationship with God

Through the exploration of these themes, it will be shown that *Don Quijote* does function as a cautionary tale for leaders.

¹⁰⁰ "Blood" is used here as a translation of *la sangre*. The concept is similar to that of one's bloodline or lineage in English.

Findings

Cervantes' concern with leaders

Why would Cervantes be concerned with cautioning leaders? It is not enough to rely on his mere existence in a society with leaders as justification for the plausibility of his interest in doing so. One need only look at voter participation rates around the world in established Western democracies to see that even the opportunity to directly influence who will be in formal leadership positions is not sufficient motivation for a sizeable portion of the population to be concerned enough to vote. In the US, based on the percentage of eligible voters, only somewhere between fifty and sixty percent choose to vote during presidential election years, while in non-presidential years it is unusual when more than forty percent of eligible voters participate.¹⁰¹ When this level of apathy exists among populations that have a chance to influence who the leaders will be, it would be reasonable to think that a much higher level of apathy would exist in a population that has no ability to choose.

This does not, however, appear to have been the case in 16th century Spain, at least not among those who were literate. There is a line of works by Spanish writers of the 16th and 17th centuries about the proper way to govern.

Angelo di Salvo describes these works as forming part of a tradition that:

[...] runs from Plato through Augustine and St. Thomas and on to the political literature produced in the rest of Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Erasmus, Moore, and the Italian Neoplatonists such as Pico all reflect this tradition. Spanish writers such as Antonio de

¹⁰¹ M. P. McDonald, and S. L. Popkin, "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter," AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, 95 (2001): 966

Guevara (*Reloj de príncipes* 1529), Fadrique Furió Ceriol (*El consejo y consejeros del príncipe* 1559), Diego Saavedra Fajardo (*Empresas políticas o Idea de un príncipe cristiano* 1640), Baltasar Gracián (*El político* 1646), Quevedo (*Política de Dios y gobierno de Cristo* 1626), Pedro de Rivadeneyra (*El tratado del príncipe cristiano contra Maquiavelo* 1603 in Latin), Cerdán de Tallada (*Verdadero gobierno desta monarchia* 1581), Felipe de la Torre (*Institución de un rey Christiano* 1556), Bartolomé Felipe (*Tratado del consejo* 1589), can all be included in the rich and long Christian-Platonic tradition in the area of political thought. Important humanists such as Juan de Valdés, Juan Luis Vives and Arias Montano included the roles of princes in longer, more all-inclusive works.¹⁰²

As di Salvo points out, there is a long tradition of literature written to guide, influence, and educate leaders – especially the leaders of city-states and nations – about how to lead. In Spain, especially as one approaches the end of the 16th century and moves beyond, the literary output increasingly brings to light the problems being faced by Spain. Displeasure with the style of government that had been adopted by Philip II was already being vented, at least privately, in the late 1570s.¹⁰³ In a letter from 1580 to Fray Gaspar de Quiroga, Fray Pedro de Ribadeneira wrote that although Philip II had been loved, "now all are embittered, disgusted and incensed, and even though he is a powerful king who is obeyed and respected, he is not as well regarded and loved as before, and he is no longer master of the wills and hearts of his subjects."¹⁰⁴ Falling from the heights of naval glory reached at Lepanto, Spain and her Invincible Armada had been shown to be quite

¹⁰² Salvo 48.

¹⁰³ Antonio Feros. *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.) 50

¹⁰⁴ Fray Pedro de Rivadeneira. Fray Pedro de Ribaeneira to Fray Gaspar de Quiroga, 16 Feb. 1580, *Patris Petri de Ribadeneira Confessiones, epistolae aliaque scripta inedita*, Madrid: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1923. p. 24-25 qtd. in Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism* 51.

"vincible" in 1588, and Antonio Feros notes that views such as that expressed above by Ribadeneira "became pervasive in the late 1580s and early 1590s."¹⁰⁵

Of particular interest is di Salvo's observation about the *arbitrios* mentioned in part II of *el Quijote*, which he offers in this illuminating footnote: "The dictionary of the Real Academia Española defines 'arbitrista' as: 'Persona que inventa planes para aliviar la hacienda pública o remediar males políticos.' In Cervantes's time these became a veritable plague in Spain as can be attested to by other writers such as Quevedo."¹⁰⁶ Whatever the quality of the advice being offered, the important point at this juncture is that there existed a "plague" of people offering advice to the monarch, evidence not only of an interest in what the leadership of the nation was doing but also of a desire to influence what the leadership did.

There was clearly an interest in influencing leaders in Cervante's day. Of course, that does not establish that Cervantes himself had an interest in influencing leaders. However, the evidence from Cervante's life and works indicates that he did have an interest in leadership as well.

When Cervantes was captured on his way home to Spain in 1575, he was carrying a recommendation for a commission as an officer, a position of military leadership. During that captivity, he was a ringleader of several escape attempts, evidence that he had a leadership role in the community of European prisoners in Algiers. In 1590 he attempted to get posted to the colonies, and later in life to become the secretary to the Duke of Lemos. An example from his work can be found in the exemplary tale *Riconete*

¹⁰⁵ Feros, Kingship and Favoritism 51.

¹⁰⁶ Salvo 51.

y *Cortadillo*, where over half of the story deals with how the leader of a guild of thieves handles various situations.

There is also internal evidence from the *Quijote* itself. The first chapter of the 1615 *Quijote* contains the passage, referenced in the introduction to this thesis, in which the Priest, the Barber, and Don Quixote are talking about issues of governance. Don Quixote desires to give advice – not the best advice, but still advice – to the King about how to handle the Turkish threat. During the narration of the scene, Cervantes uses the phrase *razón de estado*. This is the Spanish approximation of the Italian *ragion di stato* (lit. “reason of state”) that was used by other writers to describe Machiaveli’s line of argument, especially in *Il Principe*.¹⁰⁷ It is the idea that a ruler may commit evil acts if those acts further the good of the state. While this in and of itself doesn't indicate that Cervantes was familiar with Machiaveli, it does show that Cervantes was familiar with the language of political discourse.

Antonio di Salvo proposes another correspondence between Cervantes' work and literature of his day when he notes the similarities between Antonio de Guevera's discussion of the Golden Age in his *Reloj de Príncipes* and Don Quixote's discourses about the Golden Age. Di Salvo suggests that not only was Cervantes probably familiar with the work, but also that Don Quixote's discourses on arms and letters serve as a response to the pacifist stance which Guevera takes in granting superiority to letters over arms.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Machiaveli did not use that particular expression in his writings

¹⁰⁸ Salvo 50-51

Another example of a connection between other works directed towards leaders and the *Quijote* can be seen in Sancho de Moncada, who wrote a set of discourses in 1619 about how to improve Spain. While Moncada's discourses obviously could not have affected Cervantes in and of themselves, there is at least one point of common interest between the two. Moncada thought that the deteriorating economic situation in Spain was due to the fact that foreigners were allowed to have posts, profit from rent, and receive other benefits. Moncada also says that foreigners had come into Spain following the expulsion of the Moriscos and taken the jobs the Moriscos had previously held. This resulted in the wealth of Spain flowing outwards, a situation he recommend remedying by adopting what modern political-economic theory would call protectionist measures, essentially, allowing only Spaniards to hold offices, collect rent, or work in Spain.¹⁰⁹

This brings to mind the episode with the Morisco Ricote in II-54 of the *Quijote*. Sancho encounters him traveling with a group of foreigners who are going through Spain as pilgrims collecting alms to take with them when they return to their native lands. The implication is that just as Spain takes off with the riches of the New World, so these foreigners are making off with the riches of Spain: "Dejé tomada casa en un pueblo junto a Augusta. Juntéme con estos peregrinos que tienen por costumbre de venire a España, muchos dellos cada año, a visitar los santuarios della. Que los tienen por sus Indias, y por certísima granjería y conocido ganancia."¹¹⁰ [I took a house in a village near Augsburg; I

¹⁰⁹ Sancho de Moncada, *Restauración política de España*, ed. Jean Vilar, 1974, Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual de Cervantes, 1999. 10 May 2008 <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/01371529211252601870035/p0000002.htm#3>>

¹¹⁰ II-54, Lathrop 762

joined these pilgrims, for many travel to Spain every year to visit the shrines, which they think of as their Indies: as sure profit and as certain gain.]"¹¹¹

Sancho's encounter with Ricote occurs after Sancho has resigned from his post as governor of Barataria. Before Sancho had departed to assume the governorship of his "insula," Don Quixote gave Sancho advice about how to rule that di Salvo describes as being "in effect a *speculum principis* in miniature."¹¹² The fact that Cervantes has Sancho take on a position of governance is yet another indication that he did indeed have an interest in leaders.

¹¹¹ II-54, Grossman 814

¹¹² Salvo 52 – author's note: A *speculum principis*, or a mirror for princes as it is usually translated into English, is a part of a genre of literature that existed throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. These books were written to give direct instruction to a ruler, usually a new ruler, about how to rule well.

Cervantes' view of literature as didactic vehicle

Establishing that it is plausible that Cervantes would have had an interest in cautioning leaders is not enough; it is still necessary to demonstrate that he would have chosen to do so in *Don Quijote*.

That Cervantes believed that books could be used as a vehicle for imparting instruction is fairly obvious from several sources. His *Novelas Ejemplares* [*Exemplary Novels*], in their title alone, indicate a desire to give an example, and the prologue to the work confirms that Cervantes has written (or at least intended to write; his success in doing so is contested¹¹³) tales designed to move no one to sin and to offer worthwhile lessons.

The *Quijote* shows more evidence of Cervantes view on books and instruction. The writers of his *aprobaciones* [*approbations*] for the 1615 *Quijote* certainly feel that he had a moral purpose. Cetina writes: "No contiene cosa contra la fe ni buenas costumbres, antes es libro de mucho entretenimiento lícito, mezclado de mucha filosofía moral."¹¹⁴ [It does not contain anything contrary to the faith or good morals, but rather offers much wholesome entertainment intermingled with much moral philosophy.]¹¹⁵ The approbation of Valdivielso concurs with the opinion of Cetina. In his approbation, Márquez Torres writes:

[...] y no hallo en él cosa indigna de un cristiano cello ni que disuene de la decencia debida a buen ejemplo, ni virtudes morales, antes mucha erudición y aprovechamiento, así en la continencia de su bien seguido asunto para extipar los vanos y mentirosos libros de caballerías, cuyo contagio había cundido más de lo que fuera justo, como en la lisura del

¹¹³ Eisenberg 157

¹¹⁴ Lathrop 428

¹¹⁵ Putnam 585

lenguaje castellano, no adulterado con enfadosa y estudiada afectación – vicio con razón aborrecido de hombres cuerdos – y en la corrección de vicios que generalmente toca, ocasionado de sus agudos discursos, guarda con tanta cordura las leyes de reprehensión cristiana, que aqueal que fuere tocado de la enfermedad que pretende curar, en lo dulce y sabroso de sus medicinas gustosamente habrá bebido, cuando menos lo imagine, sin empacho ni asco alguno, lo provechoso de la detestación de su vicio, con que se hallará – que es lo más difícil de conseguirse – gustoso y reprehendido.¹¹⁶

[...] and have found in it nothing unworthy of a zealous Christian nor anything that is opposed to decency, the setting of a good example, or the moral virtues. On the contrary, it contains much erudition and profitable reading in worthy pursuance of its aim, which is that of extirpating the vain and lying books of chivalry, whose contagious influence is far too widespread. It is likewise commendable by reason of the smoothness of the Castilian tongue as employed therein, which is here not adulterated with any tiresome and studied affectations such as are rightly abhorred by the wise. Moreover, in the correction of vices the author in the course of his astute reasoning observes so wisely the laws of Christian reprehension that the one who is infected with the disease which he sets out to cure will unsuspectingly and with pleasure drink the sweet and savory medicine that is thus provided, with no feeling whatsoever of surfeit or of loathing and will in this manner come to hate his own particular vice. All of which, the combining of pleasure and reproof, is an exceedingly difficult thing to accomplish.¹¹⁷

There is also evidence from the story itself. Towards the end of the 1605 *Quijote*, the party encounters a Canon while taking Don Quixote back to his village in a cage on a cart. This Canon, in conversation with the priest, condemns chivalric novels and groups them with stories which are not meant to teach:

Verdaderamente, señor cura, yo hallo por mi cuenta que son perjudiciales en la república estos que llaman libros de caballerías [...]. Y según a mí me parece, este género de escritura y composición cae debajo de aquel de las fábulas que llaman milesias, que son cuentos disparatados que atienden solamente a deleitar, y no a enseñar, al contrario de lo que hacen las fábulas apólogas, que deleitan y enseñan juntamente.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Lathrop 429

¹¹⁷ Putnam 586

¹¹⁸ I-47, Lathrop 386

Truly, Señor Priest, it seems to me that the books called novels of chivalry are prejudicial to the nation [...]. In my opinion, this kind of writing and composition belongs to the genre called Milesian tales, which are foolish stories meant only to delight and not to teach, unlike moral tales, which delight and teach at the same time.¹¹⁹

The Canon later says:

Y siendo esto hecho con apacibilidad de estilo y con ingeniosa invención, que tire lo más que fuere posible a la verdad, sin duda compondrá una tela de varios y hermosos lizos tejida, que, después de acabada, tal perfección y hermosura muestre, que consiga el fin mejor que se pretende en los escritos, que es enseñar y deleitar juntamente, como ya tengo dicho.¹²⁰

And if this is done in a pleasing style and with ingenious invention, and is drawn as close as possible to the truth, it no doubt will weave a cloth composed of many different and beautiful threads, and when it is finished, it will display such perfection and beauty that it will achieve the greatest goal of any writing, which, as I have said, is to teach and delight at the same time.¹²¹

The Canon, like the writers of the approbations of part II, felt that literature should convey a lesson. Cervantes also shared this view, as has been noted by Daniel Eisenberg. His words on the matter will serve as a fitting summary to what has been presented in this section:

It is beyond any doubt that Cervantes believed firmly that literature should be didactic, that it should not just entertain and produce esthetic pleasure, but educate as well; the receiving of *provecho* is what the *deleite* was intended to facilitate. This view is expressed in the literary discussions in Don Quixote; Márquez Torres, Valdivielso, and Cetina all mention it in their *aprobaciones*; it is seen exemplified in Cervantes' other works and it is stated in his prologues.¹²²

¹¹⁹ I-47, Grossman 411-412

¹²⁰ I-47, Lathrop 388

¹²¹ I-47, Grossman 413-414

¹²² Eisenberg 157

Leaders and Chivalric Romances

The *Quijote's* stated purpose is to abolish the influence of chivalric books. Could this purpose also have a connection with serving as a warning for leaders? Chivalric romances had been so favored by Charles V that a chivalric romance was written at his request.¹²³ Charles V's interest in the chivalric went beyond just reading. Prudencio de Sandoval records in his *Historia de la vida y hechos de Carlos V* that, while Charles was in Brussels in 1516, the nobles of Brussels held jousts and tournaments to entertain him.¹²⁴ He reports how Charles responded: "Y él, aunque era de muy tierna edad, entró en persona en algunas de ellas, mostrando gracia y destreza singular en todo lo que hacía."¹²⁵ [And he, even though he was still quite young, entered himself into some of them, and he showed grave and singular skill in all that he did.] This was hardly a singular occurrence; Sandoval records the following of the Christmas celebrations in Valladolid in 1517: "Hubo justas y torneos, con nuevas invenciones y representando pasos de los libros de caballerías. En algunas de éstas entró el príncipe rey."¹²⁶ [There were jousts and tournaments, with new productions representing episodes from the books of chivalry. The Prince-King participated in some of these.]

Charles is also mentioned as having jousted in 1518: "Fue Carlos V singular en usar de las armas y en el aire y postura, tanto, que afirman que de él aprendieron los

¹²³ Henry Thomas. *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (London: Kegan Paul, 2003) 149

¹²⁴ Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del emperador Carlos V*, ed. Carlos Seco Sorrano 1955. 15 May 2008 Libro Segundo, Año 1516, XVII <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/01372742011359729866024/p0000005.htm#106>>

¹²⁵ Sandoval. Libro Segundo, Año 1516, XVII <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/01372742011359729866024/p0000005.htm#106>>

¹²⁶ Sandoval. Libro Tercero, Año 1517, VI <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/01372742011359729866024/p0000007.htm#142>>

mejores caballeros.¹²⁷ [Carlos was so exceptional in the wielding of arms and in his appearance and posture that people affirmed that the best knights learned from him.]" Prudencio de Sandoval reports that at times Charles would attempt to enter the lists disguised, only to be betrayed by the way he carried himself¹²⁸ and the way he performed in the lists.¹²⁹ Sandoval last lists Charles as jousting in 1527, but jousts continued to form part of celebrations until the end of his reign.

Any French person in Cervantes' day could have cited the death of Henry II of France as a cautionary tale about giving the books too much credence. Henry Thomas relates:

[T]he revival of the romance of chivalry in France synchronised with a revival in chivalrous practice. Tournaments were revived during the reign of Francis I; they became more frequent in the reign of Henry II, who, under the influence of his mistress Diane de Poitiers, took personal part in some of them, till at length, in 1559, some twenty years after the publication of Herberay's First Book of *Amadis*, he was accidentally killed by the Scottish knight Montgomery, the Captain of his Guard.¹³⁰

Just how chivalric romances ended up being associated with the death of the King of France deserves some explanation. The story actually begins with Francis I, Henry's father. Henry Thomas writes, "King Francis I no doubt made the acquaintance of *Amadis* while a prisoner of war in Madrid, 1525-1526. About the same time, and perhaps at the same place, one of his artillery officers, Nicolas de Herberay, Siegneur des Essarts, also made its acquaintance, and undertook to translate it into French – at the King's own

¹²⁷ Sandoval. Libro Tercero, Año 1518, XIII <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/01372742011359729866024/p0000008.htm#150>>

¹²⁸ Sandoval. Libro Tercero, Año 1518, XIII <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/01372742011359729866024/p0000008.htm#150>>

¹²⁹ Sandoval. Libro Nono, Año 1521, XXXIV <<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/01372742011359729866024/p0000018.htm#425>>

¹³⁰ Thomas 215-216.

instigation, according to some of the translator's contradictory prefaces."¹³¹ Herberay finally found the time to devote himself to the translation after the Treaty of Nice in 1538, and the first book was published 1540. Henry, however, was already familiar with the work. The price of Francis' freedom in 1526 had been giving his two oldest sons over as hostages in his stead. Henry and his older brother, Francis, were held in Spain until 1530. The conditions of their incarceration became increasingly brutal, and it was apparently to *Amadís de Gaula* that Henry turned for comfort. Princess Michael of Kent describes him as having become "romantically obsessed" with the work.¹³² Having returned from exile, he seemed to find in Diane the ideal gentlewoman he had been longing for: "the most beautiful, tender lady of his lonely dreams in prison."¹³³ Henry was even called *Le Beau Ténébreux* – the French version of the moniker *Beltenebros* which Amadís adopted during a self imposed penitential exile – by members of the court long before Herberay's translations began to appear.¹³⁴

As their relationship continued, the *Amadís* continued to play a role in their relationship; "Brantome reported that Henry and Diane read the tales to each other during their afternoon tête-à-têtes."¹³⁵ After its debut in translation in 1540, the *Amadís* series enjoyed enormous popularity in France with both the court and the king, and not just as a good read: "Henry, for his part, seems to have taken the romance seriously as an ideal

¹³¹ Thomas 199

¹³² Princess Michael of Kent, *The Serpent and the Moon: Two Rivals for the Love of a Renaissance King* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004) 138

¹³³ Princess Michael of Kent 139

¹³⁴ Princess Michael of Kent 138

¹³⁵ Fredric J. Baumgartner, *Henry II, King of France 1547-1559* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988)

way of life. In that attitude he was followed by much of the court."¹³⁶ Both Baumgartner and Princess Michael of Kent credit Diane de Poitiers for encouraging the reading of the *Amadis* cycle, with both citing the fact that the last two volumes of the series published in France were dedicated to her.¹³⁷ She seemed to have used the novels to further her hold on Henry:

As the book was followed by eleven more in the series over the next seventeen years, she wove so much of the brave Amadis and his devotion to the proud Oriane in the mind of her lover that truth soon blended with fiction. All his life, Henri would be this myth and remain the willing suitor of his Lady. By constantly underlining the chivalrous side of his nature and extolling the traditional virtues, Diane molded him into a man unable to look beyond her love without losing confidence in himself.¹³⁸

In fact, Henry seems to have taken the romances as revealing not only an ideal life, but an ideal death. Catherine de Medici, Henry's wife, placed a great deal of stock in astrologers, and frequently consulted them. Luc Gauier was the astrologer to the Medici family; he had predicted, while his brother Francis was still heir apparent, that Henry would not only become king but that his reign would begin with a spectacular duel, which it did.¹³⁹ So when he predicted that Henry would die in another duel, Catherine paid attention:

In a consultation made at the request of Catherine de Medici after 1547, he warned Henry about the danger of single combat in a close field during his forty-first year.... When Henry was informed of this prediction, he reportedly said: "It does not bother me to die at the hand of someone provided he be brave and valiant and that *glorie* remain to me."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Baumgartner 103-104

¹³⁷ Baumgartner 103; Princess Michael of Kent 195

¹³⁸ Princess Michael of Kent 195

¹³⁹ Baumgartner 250

¹⁴⁰ Baumgartner 250

On June 30th, 1559, Henry chose to joust again against Sir Montgomery despite (and, indeed, because of) having performed poorly against him earlier in the tournament. After the first came up a draw, he ran a second time, also a draw, and then insisted on a third run, which proved to be the fatal one.¹⁴¹ Henry would linger on for several days, slipping in and out of lucidity, until his death on July 10th, 1559.

Henry insisted on placing himself in harm's way in a joust, and he did so to the detriment of his realms. Instead of a seasoned king, France was now saddled with a series of regencies at just the time when Philip II was coming into his own in Spain. In regards to the popularity of chivalric romances in France, however, the incredible thing is not that the death of Henry II coincided with a drop in interest in chivalric romance in Paris and at the court, but that the popularity of the romances in the rest of France continued for decades after his death, with the publishing of the romances moving to other cities such as Lyons and Antwerp.¹⁴²

While it is doubtful that Cervantes had any knowledge of the degree to which *Amadís de Gaula* was involved in the relationship between Diane de Poitiers and Henry II, it is also difficult to believe that Cervantes would not have been aware of both the circumstances of Henry's death and of his enthusiasm for the *Amadís*. Chivalric romances had clearly played a role in causing problems for Cervantes' neighbors north of the Pyrenees, and they had been a favorite pastime of a ruler in his own lands whose policies had contributed to the economic problems Spain was facing in Cervantes' day.

¹⁴¹ Princess Michael of Kent 396

¹⁴² Thomas 216

Based on this historical evidence, it is at least plausible that Cervantes viewed chivalric romances as a danger to leaders.

However, there is one final piece of evidence to consider: a statement made by Alonso Quijano at the end of the 1615 *Quijote*:

Yo tengo juicio ya, libre y claro, sin las sombras caliginosas de la ignorancia, que sobre él me pusieron mi amarga y continua leyenda de los detestables libros de las caballerías. Ya conozco sus disparates y sus embelecocos, y no me pesa sino que este desengaño ha llegado tan tarde, que no me deja tiempo para hacer alguna recompensa leyendo otros que sean luz del alma.¹⁴³

My judgment is restored, free and clear of the dark shadows of ignorance imposed on it by my grievous and constant reading of detestable books of chivalry. I now recognize their absurdities and deceptions, and my sole regret is that this realization has come so late it does not leave me time to compensate by reading other books that can be a light to the soul.¹⁴⁴

This statement is made by a would-be leader. Some might argue against this, since Alonso Quijano is no longer Don Quixote at this point. However, the would-be leader who conceived of the plan to gain honor, fame, and a kingdom for himself by reviving knight errantry did so at least 19, and perhaps quite a few more, days before hitting upon the name of “Don Quixote.”¹⁴⁵ The hidalgo came up with this plan, so it is appropriate to evaluate Alonso Quijano’s statements in the light of leadership as well. In light of this statement and the historical evidence, the author of the present study concludes that it is probable that Cervantes viewed the reading of chivalric novels as a danger to a leader.

¹⁴³ II-74, Lathrop 861

¹⁴⁴ II-74, Grossman 935

¹⁴⁵ It took the hidalgo seven days to make the first face guard for his helmet. It took four days to name Rocinante, and eight days of contemplation to arrive upon the name of Don Quixote. This gives 19 days. We are not told how long it took to make the second face guard, nor how long it took to clean and polish the armor, which makes it difficult to determine how much time actually passed. Regardless, the point that the hidalgo himself is the would-be leader stands.

A caution against a leader valuing blood over virtue

An issue germane not only to questions of leadership, but also to almost any field of inquiry, is that of what is popularly referred to as the nature vs. nurture debate: what are we born with vs. what do we learn, what is innate vs. what is environmentally conditioned? In modern studies of leadership, the idea that leaders are born, not made, is generally referred to as a trait-based or a "trait approach" model of leadership.¹⁴⁶ The basic issue of nature vs. nurture, however, stretches back far longer through history. It is seen in the conflicting epistemologies of the empiricists and rationalists, *tabula rasa* vs. self evident axioms. It was a point of contention among the competing camps of rhetoric in ancient Greece and Rome as to whether or not truly great oratory could be taught; the Sophists held that it could, Isocrates and Cicero held that natural talent was necessary.¹⁴⁷

Thus it may almost seem self-evident that this tension would exist in Cervantes' day as well. The issue is seen most clearly in the idea of blood, *la sangre*, and in the existence of a hereditary nobility. Blood purity was a major issue in Cervantes's day. Discrimination against *conversos*, converts to Christianity from Judaism or Islam (converts from Islam were also known as *moriscos*), had existed in the peninsula since before the completion of the Reconquest. An attempt was made in Toledo in 1449 to codify this into law, but this was overturned by a papal bull.¹⁴⁸ Arguments would be made in theological circles both for and against laws that barred *conversos* from holding certain positions in society and the church, but the voices against *conversos* eventually

¹⁴⁶ Peter G. Northouse, *Leadership: Theory and Practice*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc. 2007) 15

¹⁴⁷ Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg, eds., *The Rhetorical Tradition* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001) 22, 26, 35

¹⁴⁸ Albert A. Sicoff, *Los Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre*, trans. Mauro Armiño (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1985) 53, 83-84

prevailed. This long-standing discrimination would first become institutionalized in Toledo in the 1540s with statutes that limited many high level posts and privileges, both secular and religious, to people who could prove that they had no *converso* ancestry.¹⁴⁹ The ratification of these statutes by Philip II in 1556 led to the widespread adoption of similar statutes throughout Spain.¹⁵⁰ The ability to prove that one's family tree did not include *conversos* became necessary for professional and social advancement.¹⁵¹ After 1609-1614, it would become necessary to prove oneself free of *morisco* blood just to be allowed to stay in the Iberian peninsula. The rationale behind all these laws was essentially that merely having *converso* blood somehow made a person less trustworthy.

That leadership ability would pass from generation to generation is implicit in the idea of hereditary rule and the very concept of nobility. Such a concept could only be said to be in crisis by the date of the publication of the first part of the *Quijote*. The royal blood of Juana la Loca [the Crazy], mother of Charles V, did not stop her from being declared unfit to rule due to mental instability in 1506.¹⁵² Spaniards might have debated whether or not Philip II had inherited the ability to rule of Charles V – his reputation certainly suffered after the defeat of the Armada – but in regard to Philip III, his own father deemed him unequal to the task of ruling Spain.

Cervantes does deal with concepts that relate to the issue of nature vs. nurture. It will come as no surprise to *cervantistas* that Cervantes makes conflicting statements about this throughout the course of the novel; some support the idea that blood

¹⁴⁹ B. W. Ife, "The historical and social context," *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, ed. Anthony J. Cascardi (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 27.

¹⁵⁰ B. W. Ife 27

¹⁵¹ Carrol B. Johnson, interview with Barbara Nichols, *Don Quixote: 400 years on the Road* (Canadian Broadcasting Company, 2003) Disc 1, Track 1, 6:58-7:02

¹⁵² B. W. Ife 18

determines not only one's station in life but also the kind of moral character that a person will have, others that what is learned is more important and that blood is no guarantee of good behavior. By studying these statements and illustrative events, however, it is possible to come to a conclusion about what the book has to say both about nature vs. nurture in general and a warning for leaders in specific.

The issue comes up quite early in the novel: the opening sentence of the prologue to the 1605 *Quijote*. Cervantes states that he wanted to write a book that was "el más hermoso, el más gallardo y más discreto que pudiera imaginarse; pero no he podido yo contravenir al orden de la naturaleza, que en ella cada cosa engendra su semejante."¹⁵³ [the most beautiful, the most brilliant, and the most discreet that anyone could imagine. But I have not been able to contravene the natural order; in it, like begets like.]¹⁵⁴ The very first sentence of the novel appears to at least mildly support the idea that heredity, or nature, determines what one will be. So it is fitting to first examine those statements which support the idea that nature, or blood, is a reliable indicator of a person.

In I-37, there is a clear statement that supports this. We read that Zoraida's assertion that she should be called María had moved some of her listeners to tears: "especialmente a las mujeres, que de su naturaleza son tiernas y compasivas."¹⁵⁵ [especially the women, who are by nature tenderhearted and compassionate.]¹⁵⁶

When Sancho talks about being a *cristiano viejo* [Old Christian], he is referring to a concept that also supports nature as the determiner of a person's status and moral

¹⁵³ Lathrop 7

¹⁵⁴ Grossman 3

¹⁵⁵ I-37, Lathrop 310

¹⁵⁶ I-37, Grossman 328

character. An Old Christian was one who was not a convert or the descendant of a convert. The following statement from Sancho is especially illustrative of this, specifically referring to one's birth as a predictor of how one will act. After Sansón Carrasco says that Sancho might not know his own mother if he became a governor, Sancho has this to say:

"Eso allá se ha de entender," se respondió Sancho, "con los que nacieron en las malvas, y no con los que tienen sobre el alma cuarto dedos de envidia de cristianos viejos como yo los tengo. ¡No, sino llegaos a mi condición, que sabrá usar de desagradecimiento con alguno!"¹⁵⁷

"That's something that may apply," responded Sancho, "to people of low birth, but not to those who have in their souls a little of the spirit of Old Christians, like me. No, first get to know my character and then tell me if I could be ungrateful to anybody!"¹⁵⁸

As he prepares to leave his post as governor of the "insula" of Baratavia, Sancho makes several more statements in support of nature. Sancho has come to believe that people are born to do a certain kind of work: "Bien se está San Pedro en Roma. Quiero decir que bien se está cada uno usando el oficio para que fue nacido."¹⁵⁹ [St. Peter's fine in Rome: I mean each man is fine doing the work he was born for.]¹⁶⁰

When Doctor Recio tries to convince Sancho to stay, Sancho points to his lineage when he replies that he won't be changing his mind: "Yo soy del linaje de los Panzas, que todos son testarudos."¹⁶¹ [I'm from the lineage of the Panzas, and they're all stubborn.]¹⁶²

Don Quixote also makes several statements that support the position that nature is determinative. He attributes his decision to become a knight errant to his birth: "yo nací,

¹⁵⁷ II-4, Lathrop 463

¹⁵⁸ II-4, Grossman 484

¹⁵⁹ II-53, Lathrop 756

¹⁶⁰ II-53, Grossman 808

¹⁶¹ II-53, Lathrop 757

¹⁶² II-53, Grossman 808

según me incline a las armas, debajo de la influencia del planeta Marte – así que me es forzoso seguir por su camino, y por él tengo que ir a pesar de todo el mundo.¹⁶³ [and my inclination is towards arms, for I was born under the influence of the planet Mars, and so I am almost compelled to follow his path, and follow it I must despite the rest of the world.]¹⁶⁴

After Sancho says, in part 2, that he had seen Dulcinea sifting wheat in part 1, Don Quixote points out once more that this just is not possible:

"¡Que todavía das, Sancho," dijo don Quijote, "en decir, en pensar, en creer, y en porfiar que mi señora Dulcinea ahechaba trigo, siendo eso un menester y ejercicio que va desviado de todo lo que hacen y deben hacer las personas principales que están constituidas y guardadas para otros ejercicios y entretenimientos, que muestran a tiro de ballesta su principalidad!"¹⁶⁵

"Do you still persist, Sancho," said Don Quixote, "in saying, thinking, believing, and insisting that my lady Dulcinea was sifting wheat, when this is a task and a practice far removed from everything that is done and should be done by highborn persons, who are created and intended for other practices and pastimes, which reveal their rank even at a distance!"¹⁶⁶

The Duchess also seems to feel that the circumstances of one's birth determine how one will act as she chastises some of her servants: "Pero, en fin, sois malos y mal nacidos, y no podéis dejar, como malandrines que sois, de mostrar la ojeriza que tenéis con los escuderos de los andantes caballeros."¹⁶⁷ [But, after all, you are wicked and base

¹⁶³ II-6, Lathrop 474

¹⁶⁴ II-6, Grossman 495

¹⁶⁵ II-8, Lathrop 483

¹⁶⁶ II-8, Grossman 504

¹⁶⁷ II-32, Lathrop 640

and, like the scoundrels you are, cannot help showing the ill will you bear toward the squires of knights errant.]"¹⁶⁸

In regard to poetry, Don Quixote says that poets are born, not made. However, he also acknowledges that the study of poetry does have an effect on the output of a born poet. While a poet may be born, not made, the best poets still have to work at it. Despite that, nature is clearly held to be more essential than the effects of what occurs after birth; while one can study poetry, that study will never allow someone not "born with it" to surpass someone who was:

"Porque, según es opinión verdadera, el poeta nace. Quieren decir que del vientre de su madre el poeta natural sale poeta. Y con aquella inclinación que le dio el cielo, sin más estudio ni artificio, compone cosas que hace verdadero al que dijo: Est deus in nobis, etc. También digo que el natural poeta que se ayudare del arte será mucho mejor y se aventajará al poeta que sólo por saber el arte quisiere serlo. La razón es porque el arte no se aventaja a la naturaleza, sino perficónala. Así que, mezcladas la naturaleza y el arte, y el arte con la naturaleza, sacarán un perfetísimo poeta."¹⁶⁹

"[B]ecause, according to reliable opinion, a poet is born: that is to say, the natural poet is a poet when he comes from his mother's womb, and with that inclination granted to him by heaven, with no further study or artifice he composes things that say that prove the truthfulness of the man who said: Est Deus in nobis... I also say that the natural poet who makes use of art will still be a much better and more accomplished poet than the one who knows only the art and wishes to be a poet; the reason is that art does not surpass nature but perfects it; therefore, when nature is mixed with art, and art with nature, the result is a perfect poet."¹⁷⁰

The following statement, while affirming the importance of one's birth in determining who one is, implies that it is possible to cover up the fact that case, one is not high born by avoiding acting in certain ways, although Sancho is not successful in this:

¹⁶⁸ II-32, Grossman 676

¹⁶⁹ II-16, Lathrop 533

¹⁷⁰ II-16, Grossman 557

"Por quien Dios es, Sancho, que te reportes y que no descubras la hilaza de manera que caigan en la cuenta de que eres de villana y grosera tela tejido. Mira, pecador de ti, que en tanto más es tenido el señor, cuanto tiene más honrados y bien nacidos criados, y que una de las ventajas mayores que llevan los príncipes a los demás hombres es que se sirven de criados tan buenos como ellos."¹⁷¹

"For the love of God, Sancho, restrain yourself, and do not reveal your true colors lest they realize that the cloth you are made of is coarse and rustic. Look, sinner that you are: the master is more highly esteemed the more honorable and wellborn his servants are, and one of the greatest advantages princes have over other men is that they are served by men as good as they are."¹⁷²

The first line of the prologue may make a statement that gives mild support to the idea that nature determines what one will be, but Cervantes wastes little time in beginning to contradict that notion. From I-1 onward, we have a hidalgo running around claiming to be a *caballero*, a knight, dubbing himself a *Don* when he had no right to that title by the rules of his own society, as is noted in II-2 by Sancho. In his first outing, this motif is constantly repeated: whores become damsels, inn owners become castellans, inns become castles, and a lowly peasant becomes a princess worthy of constant, undying, and unconditional adoration – all in the mind of Don Quixote, at least. In his first outing, after he leaves the inn/castle he encounters Andrés being whipped by Juan Haldudo. After getting the word of Haldudo that he would stop whipping Andrés and pay Andrés his wages, Andrés tries to point out to Don Quixote that Haldudo is no knight. Don Quixote replies: "que Haldudos puede haber caballeros; cuanto más, que cada uno es hijo de sus

¹⁷¹ II-31, Lathrop 626

¹⁷² II-31, Grossman 660

obras.¹⁷³ [For there can be knights among Haldudos, especially since each man is the child of his deeds.]"¹⁷⁴

The phrase "*hijo de sus obras*" appears again when Don Quixote is defending Dulcinea:

"A eso puedo decir," respondió don Quijote, "que Dulcinea es hija de sus obras y que las virtudes adoban la sangre, y que en más se ha de estimar y tener un humilde virtuoso, que un vicioso levantado."¹⁷⁵

"To that I can say," responded don Quixote, "that Dulcinea is the child of her actions, and that virtues strengthen the blood, and that a virtuous person of humble birth is to be more highly esteemed and valued than a vice-ridden noble."¹⁷⁶

This phrase, *hijos de sus obras*, is worth noting because of where the emphasis is placed. When one thinks of an *hijo* – a child – one normally connects that with parents. This is logical. The words parent and child – *padre y hijo* – are intimately connected: you cannot have one without the other. Don Quixote, however, severs that connection. As he tells Andrés, everyone is a child, not of their parents, but of their works. This wording eliminates the relationship between the child and the parents, between one's self and one's lineage. One's parents do not determine who one is; one's blood does not decide who one will be.

An area most illustrative about what *Don Quijote* has to say about this comes from the opening chapters of the second book as Don Quixote discusses lineages with his niece and housekeeper:

¹⁷³ I-4, Lathrop 40

¹⁷⁴ I-4, Grossman 37

¹⁷⁵ II-32 Lathrop 637

¹⁷⁶ II-32, Grossman 672

Mirad, amigas, a cuatro suertes de linajes, y estadme atentas, se pueden reducir todos los que hay en el mundo, que son éstas: unos que tuvieron principios humildes y se fueron estendiendo y dilatando hasta llegar a una suma grandeza; otros, que tuvieron principios grandes y los fueron conservando, y los conservan y mantienen en el ser que comenzaron; otros, que aunque tuvieron principios grandes, acabaron en punta como pirámide, habiendo disminuido y aniquilado su principio hasta parar en nonada, como lo es la punta de la pirámide, que respeto de su basa o asiento no es nada; otros hay, y éstos son los más, que ni tuvieron principio bueno ni razonable medio, y así tendrán el fin, sin nombre, como el linaje de la gente plebeya y ordinaria.¹⁷⁷

Look, my friends, there are four kinds of lineage and, listen carefully, all the lineages in the world can be reduced to these: some had humble beginnings, and extended and expanded until they reached the heights of greatness; others had noble beginnings, and preserved them, and still preserve and maintain them just as they were; still others may have had noble beginnings but, like pyramids, they tapered to a point, having diminished and annihilated their origins until they ended in nothingness, as the tip of the pyramid is nothing compared to its base or bottom; finally, there are others, and these are the majority, that did not have a good beginning, or a reasonable middle, and therefore in the end they have no name, like the lineages of ordinary plebians.¹⁷⁸

If nature were truly the determining factor, there should only have been two lineages: the good and the bad. Don Quixote, by acknowledging both upward and downward mobility, is de facto acknowledging that blood cannot, at the very least, be the sole determiner of one's standing in life. Don Quixote has this to say as well:

"De todo lo dicho quiero que infiráis, bobas mías, que es grande la confusión que hay entre los linajes, y que solos aquéllos parecen grandes e ilustres que lo muestran en la virtud y en la riqueza y liberalidad de sus dueños. Dije 'virtudes, riquezas, y liberalidades,' porque el grande que fuere vicioso será vicioso grande, y el rico no liberal será un avaro mendigo – que al poseedor de las riquezas no le hace dichoso el tenerlas, sino el gastarlas, y no el gastarlas como quiera, sino el saberlas bien gastar. Al caballero pobre no le queda otro camino para mostrar que es caballero, sino el de la virtud, siendo afable, bien criado, cortés y comedido y oficioso; no soberbio, no arrogante, no murmurador y sobre

¹⁷⁷ II-6, Lathrop 473

¹⁷⁸ II-6, Grossman 493-94

todo caritativo; que con dos maravedís que con ánimo alegre dé al pobre, se mostrará tan liberal como el que a campana herida da limosna, y no habrá quien le vea adornado de las referidas virtudes que, aunque no le conozca, deje de juzgarle y tenerle por de buena casta, y el no serlo sería milagro; y siempre la alabanza fue premio de la virtud, y los virtuosos no pueden dejar de ser alabados."¹⁷⁹

"From all that I have said I want you to infer, you foolish women, that the confusion surrounding lineages is great, and the only ones that appear distinguished and illustrious are those that display those qualities in their virtue, and in the wealth and generosity of their nobles. I said virtue, wealth, and generosity, because the great man who is vicious will be extremely vicious, and the closefisted rich man will be a miserly beggar, for the person who possesses wealth is not made happy by having it but by spending it, and not spending it haphazardly but in knowing how to spend it well. An impoverished knight has no way to show he is a knight except through his virtue, by being affable, well-mannered, courteous, civil, and diligent, not proud, arrogant, or prone to gossip, and above all, by being charitable, for with two *maravedís* given joyfully to a poor man, he will show that he is as generous as the man who gives alms to the loud ringing of bells; no one who sees a knight adorned with these virtues can fail to judge and consider him to be of good breeding, even if he does not know him, and his not being so would be remarkable; praise was always the reward of virtue, and virtuous men cannot avoid being praised."¹⁸⁰

At first glance, this verse may seem to support the idea that nature is more important; Don Quixote says, "no one who sees a knight adorned with these virtues can fail to judge, and consider him of good breeding [...] and his not being so would be remarkable." "Remarkable" is Grossman's rendering of *milagro*, a miracle.

The key word to understanding this passage is virtue. Virtue was mentioned by Don Quixote in the previously cited passage when he was defending Dulcinea:

"A eso puedo decir," respondió don Quijote, "que Dulcinea es hija de sus obras y que las virtudes adoban la sangre, y que en más se ha de estimar y tener un humilde virtuoso, que un vicioso levantado."¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ II-6, Lathrop 474

¹⁸⁰ II-6, Grossman 494-95

¹⁸¹ II-32, Lathrop 637

"To that I can say," responded don Quixote, "that Dulcinea is the child of her actions, and that virtues strengthen the blood, and that a virtuous person of humble birth is to be more highly esteemed and valued than a vice-ridden noble."¹⁸²

If virtue strengthens the blood, it means that virtue is separate from, and not inherent in, the blood. This passage also reaffirms that it is possible for a well-born person to act poorly and for a low-born person to act virtuously; blood is no guarantee of good behavior.

The following quotation is critical for understanding Cervantes perspective:

"Porque la sangre se hereda, y la virtud se aquista, y la virtud vale por sí sola lo que la sangre no vale."¹⁸³ [because blood is inherited, and virtue is acquired, and virtue in and of itself has a value that blood does not.]¹⁸⁴ Grossman's translation actually isn't strong enough. The idea here is that if one does not have the blood to be worth something, virtue can make up for that lack of blood. This recasts the knight adorned with virtues: although the people of Cervante's day might have assumed that it would take a miracle for a person not of good breeding to be a person of high virtue, the fact that virtue is acquired, and that it can make up for any lack of "blood," makes it clear that this does not need to be the case.

When Dorotea is attempting to convince Fernando that he should keep his word to her, she proclaims: "Cuanto más que la verdadera nobleza consiste en la virtud, y si ésta a ti te falta, negándome lo que tan justamente me debes, yo quedaré con más ventajas de

¹⁸² II-32, Grossman 672

¹⁸³ II-42, Lathrop 689

¹⁸⁴ II-42, Grossman 731

noble que las que tú tienes.¹⁸⁵ [furthermore, true nobility consists of virtue, and if you lose yours by denying what you rightly owe me, then I shall have more noble characteristics than you.]"¹⁸⁶ The audacity of this statement may escape the modern reader, but in light of the fact that virtue is acquired, Dorotea's statement to Fernando borders on the radical. It must be remembered that Dorotea is not of noble blood, but merely the daughter of some rich *labradores*, laborers who worked for Fernando's father. Dorotea tells Fernando that if he lacks virtue, she, despite her lack of noble blood, would be more noble than Fernando. The idea that blood is no guarantee of good behavior is once again reinforced.

Cervantes, in his typical fashion, however, does not make it out of the chapter before making a statement that supports the opposite view: "que el valeroso pecho de don Fernando, en fin, como alimentado con ilustre sangre, se ablandó"¹⁸⁷ [that the valiant heart of Don Fernando – it was, after all, fed by noble blood – softened]"¹⁸⁸ Even so, the fact that his blood needed to be awakened at all to start acting correctly once again shows that blood is insufficient as a predictor of good behavior. In the 1605 *Quijote*, noble blood has clearly been shown to be fallible. However, although the nobleman might do something wrong, he will (with sufficient prodding) still end up acting noble in the end.

The behavior of the Duke in the 1615 *Quijote* serves as the most definitive example that blood is no guarantee of good behavior. The Duke is rather cavalier in his attitudes towards the governance of his lands: he is willing to appoint Sancho to the

¹⁸⁵ I-36, Lathrop 300

¹⁸⁶ I-36, Grossman 317

¹⁸⁷ I-36, Lathrop 303

¹⁸⁸ I-36, Grossman 319

governorship of a town solely for the sake of a laugh. His gambling debts are so bad that they prevent him from dispensing justice to the daughter of a servant in his household, and he then turns their quest for justice into yet another occasion to try to amuse himself. When his goal in this is frustrated and the daughter seems close to a satisfactory resolution of her situation – a solution which did not even jeopardize funding for the Duke's gambling habit – he is incapable of allowing this to stand and instead frustrates it. Unlike Fernando in the 1605 *Quijote*, the Duke's noble blood does not cause him to finally come through in the end. If the blood of a duke, second only to a king in nobility, is no guarantee of virtuous behavior, it calls into question the entire conceit that noble blood is of value, and that capacity to be a leader would pass from generation to generation.

On the whole, although Cervantes does make statements attributing value to noble blood, his statements to the contrary outweigh them. When the actions of characters with noble blood are taken into consideration, there can be no doubt that Cervantes is showing us that blood is not a reliable predictor of behavior. It is far more significant that a leader seek to acquire a developed virtuous character.

A caution against a leader judging people on appearances

Many episodes in the *Quijote* deal with mistaken or hidden identity due to clothing, such as the first sighting of Dorotea and her account of how she came to be in the Sierra Morena (I-28), the barber and his beard as he plays a servant of the Princess Micomicona (I-29), Don Luis dressing as a mule boy (I-42 and I-43), or the Countess Trifaldi, who turns out to have been a servant of the Duke (II-38 through II-41). Don Quixote, like any would-be leader, repeatedly is faced with attempting to judge people based on their appearances. This begs the question: can one judge a person by their clothes? To cast an even broader net, does one's appearance determine who one is?

Whether or not the clothes make the person is an issue that shows up at various points throughout the novel. For example, there is the episode with Marcela and Grisostomo, in which Grisostomo and Ambrosio choose to dress up as shepherds in order to pursue Marcela; however, despite taking on the appearance of shepherds, the two of them do not actually become shepherds – they do not take up the care of sheep as a profession. This contrasts with Marcela, who in her speech in I-14 says that "el cuidado de mis cabras¹⁸⁹ [tending to my goats]"¹⁹⁰ is part of what she does to entertain herself.

When Don Quixote and Sancho meet Cardenio for the first time, Don Quixote notices that he still has on torn-up jacket that smells of ambergris "por donde acabó de entender que persona que tales hábitos traía no debía de ser de ínfima calidad."¹⁹¹ [which led him to conclude that a person who wore such clothing could not be of low

¹⁸⁹ I-14, Lathrop 103

¹⁹⁰ I-14, Grossman 100

¹⁹¹ I-24, Lathrop 177

category.]"¹⁹² Another example is when Clara is explaining to Dorotea that Don Luis is extraordinarily well-loved by his father both for the fact that Don Luis is his only heir and also "porque él lo merece, como lo verá vuestra merced cuando le vea."¹⁹³ [because he deserves it, as your grace will agree when you see him.]"¹⁹⁴ Clara thinks that "lovability" is a quality which is apparent to the eye.

When Captain Viedma asks the priest for his help in reinitiating contact with the brother he has not seen in some 20 years, the priest tells the captain that there is no reason to think that he will not be received well by his brother, "porque el valor y prudencia que en su buen parecer descubre vuestro hermano no da indicios de ser arrogante, ni desconocido, ni que no ha de saber poner los casos de la fortuna en su punto."¹⁹⁵ [your brother's face reveals virtue and good sense, and he gives no sign of being arrogant or ungrateful or ignorant of how to evaluate the adversities of fortune.]"¹⁹⁶ The priest is claiming to be able to judge qualities such as the level of one's virtue or honesty merely on the basis of appearance.

This concept has continued to the present day. It can be seen in the phrase, "He has an honest face." However, just as experience teaches us that this is not an accurate way to judge people today, Cervantes shows that this was not a dependable way to evaluate people in his day either. Don Luis, for example, cannot be judged by the clothing he wears when he is found out to be disguised as a mere mule boy. This, of course, is an example of someone of high social rank masquerading as one of low rank.

¹⁹² I-24, Grossman 182

¹⁹³ I-42, Lathrop 356

¹⁹⁴ I-42, Grossman 377

¹⁹⁵ I-42, Lathrop 350

¹⁹⁶ I-42, Grossman 370-71

We see the converse in the second book with Sansón Carrasco, who twice appears dressed up as though he were a knight. The first time he shows up, he has a squire with him, but the squire turns out to be Tomé Cecial, a neighbor of Sancho who is no more entitled to be a squire than Sancho is. Another example would be the episode with the Countess Trifaldi, who, despite what "her" clothes would suggest, is not even a woman, but instead one of the male servants of the Duke and Duchess.

The clearest way in which Cervantes illustrates this, however, is when Sancho is serving as a governor in Barataria. While he is attempting to eat a petitioner appears, "Y en esto, entró el labrador, que era de muy buena presencia, y de mil leguas se le echaba de ver que era bueno y buena alma."¹⁹⁷ [And at this point the farmer came in, a man of very decent appearance, and from a thousand leagues away one could see that he was honest and a good soul.]¹⁹⁸ The farmer goes on to give Sancho the account of a comically deformed girl to whom he wants to marry his demoniac son, and he only needs a letter of recommendation and several hundred ducats to help get them set up. The issue of the money greatly upsets Sancho, and he begins to shout. However, as the "farmer" leaves it is made clear at the end of the chapter that the farmer is no farmer at all. Despite his supposedly good appearance, he was actually a *bellacón*, a rogue or a scoundrel. His appearance completely belied his character.

Cervantes does not deny that sometimes the book matches the cover, as was the case with the brother of Captain Viedma. However, it is also shown that the clothes do not always make the man, nor can they make a man a woman! Cervantes makes it clear

¹⁹⁷ II-47, Lathrop 716

¹⁹⁸ II-47, Grossman 762

that looks cannot be trusted to give the measure of a person. A leader cannot rely on appearances to make judgments about the qualities of people.

A caution against a leader trusting what one wants to see over what one sees

Throughout the first book, and for part of the second, Don Quixote repeatedly claims to see something which others do not. He takes inns for castles, prostitutes for virgin princesses, windmills for giants, and flocks of sheep for armies of warriors. He does this despite the fact that there is someone there to tell him that what he claims to see is not what he claims he sees.

This insistence on his own "vision" has been lauded by those who have written about the *Quijote* from a leadership perspective. The present study will show that Don Quixote's insistence on his "vision," especially as the term was used by James March, is actually part of what Cervantes was writing against.

It is useful to note that the way that March talks about Don Quixote's vision would not match directly with what modern strategic planning would consider a vision. A vision statement talks about the future: it is a statement of one's goals. A vision tells you where you want to go, but it doesn't tell you how to get there.¹⁹⁹

What are Don Quixote's goals and what is he doing to achieve them? Most people, if asked to identify Don Quixote's goals, would probably respond that his goal was to revive the order of knight errantry. He seems to say as much in I-7 when he tells the priest and the barber "que la cosa de que más necesidad tenía el mundo era de caballeros andantes, y de que en él se resucitase la caballería andantesca."²⁰⁰ [what the world needed most were knights errant and that in him errant chivalry would be

¹⁹⁹ Susan Ward, "Vision Statement," About.com: Small Business: Canada, 15 Jun 2008, <<http://sbinfocanada.about.com/od/businessplanning/g/visionstatement.htm>>

²⁰⁰ I-7, Lathrop 58

reborn.]”²⁰¹ However, this is not the whole picture. It is made clear in the opening chapter of the book that when he gets the idea to become a knight errant, he does so for a further purpose:

En efeto, rematado ya su juicio, vino a dar en el más estraño pensamiento que jamás dio loco en el mundo, y fue que le pareció conveniente y necesario, así para el aumento de su honra como para el servicio de su república, hacerse caballero andante, y irse por todo el mundo con sus armas y caballo, a buscar las aventuras, y a ejercitarse en todo aquello que él había leído que los caballeros andantes se ejercitaban, deshaciendo todo género de agravio, y poniéndose en ocasiones y peligros, donde, acabándolos, cobrase eterno nombre y fama. Imaginábase ya coronado por el valor de su brazo, por lo menos del imperio de Trapisonda [...].²⁰²

At last, when his wits were gone beyond repair, he came to conceive the strangest idea that ever occurred to any madman in this world. It now appeared to him fitting and necessary, in order to win a greater amount of honor for himself and serve his country at the same time, to become a knight-errant and roam the world on horseback, in a suit of armor; he would go in quest of adventures, by way of putting into practice all that he had read in his books; he would right every manner of wrong, placing himself in situations of the greatest peril such as would redound to the eternal glory of his name. As a reward for his valor and the might of his arm, the poor fellow could already see himself crowned Emperor of Trebizond at the very least [...].²⁰³

Knight errantry as it existed in the books of chivalry may be the fixation of the hidalgo's madness, but the reestablishment of the order of knight errantry is actually only an intermediate goal. The hidalgo does not become a knight errant in order to become a knight errant; he becomes a knight errant because he considers it to be the appropriate and necessary way to achieve other goals. He does it "para el aumento de su honra [y] para el servicio de su república"²⁰⁴ [in order to win a greater amount of honor for himself

²⁰¹ I-7, Grossman 55

²⁰² I-1, Lathrop 21

²⁰³ I-1, Putnam 27-28

²⁰⁴ I-1, Lathrop 21

and serve his country at the same time.]”²⁰⁵ The winning of honor and service to one's land are both explicitly stated goals. A third goal is not stated explicitly, but it is present in the passage: the attaining of a position of leadership for himself (at the very least as an emperor), in this case as a reward for martial achievement.

In the terms of modern strategic planning, knight errantry is Don Quixote's mission: his way of achieving the goals laid out in his vision. Don Quixote's problem is not with his vision; there is nothing wrong with his goals. The problem is with the way that he attempts to achieve his goals. Margaret Church says: "Don Quixote's vision is philanthropic; his means of carrying out his vision is frivolous."²⁰⁶ The “frivolous” way in which Don Quixote attempts to achieve his goals is closely connected to his madness.

How does Don Quixote's madness relate to this investigation? Various attempts have been made to explain the basis of the hidalgo's madness. Louis A. Murillo argues that it can be explained, in part, on the basis of the theories of the four humours, which were "the principal medical, physiological and psychological doctrines of Cervantes' time."²⁰⁷ Donald W. Bleznick has attempted to explain it through an archetypal critical approach with a decidedly Jungian flavor.²⁰⁸ Carroll B. Johnson has taken a psychoanalytical approach to the issue and concluded that his insanity is the result of the combination of a mid-life crisis and repressed incestuous desire for his niece.²⁰⁹ The present study does not consider a psychological approach to the causes of Don Quixote's

²⁰⁵ I-1, Putnam 27-28

²⁰⁶ Church xxx

²⁰⁷ Louis A. Murillo, A Critical Introduction to Don Quixote (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1990) 21

²⁰⁸ Donald W. Bleznick, "Don Quijote as Spanish Myth," Studies on Don Quijote and other Cervantine Works (York, South Carolina: Spanish Literature Publicationos Company, 1984) 1-19

²⁰⁹ Carrol B. Johnson, interview with Barbara Nichols, Don Quixote: 400 years on the Road. Disc 3, Track 1, 6:20-8:30

madness, whether valid or not, to be of value for the point at hand. This is not meant as either a positive or negative critique of such an approach. Rather, it is a recognition that any kind of root psychological causes of Don Quixote's madness are not relevant to what Cervantes is cautioning against in *Don Quijote*. After all, it is doubtful that Cervantes thought it necessary to caution leaders that they not be insane.

However, this is not to say that the expression of his madness is not important. Alexander Welsh has observed, "Cervantes' hero willed himself to be Don Quixote."²¹⁰ This observation is actually a key to understanding how Don Quixote's madness manifests itself. From the moment that the ingenious gentleman gets the idea to "revive" the order of knight errantry, he is constantly engaged in a willful act of interpreting what he perceives as though it were what he wishes it would be, despite evidence to the contrary. There is ample evidence of this in the first chapter. The first thing that the gentleman does after deciding to revive the order of knight errantry is to clean up some old arms and armor which come down to him from his ancestors. However, the helmet is not a closed helmet, but open-faced, which he perceives as an impediment to being a knight errant. To remedy this, he tries to fashion a visor out of cardboard that would make the helmet look as if it were a closed helmet:

Es verdad que, para probar si era fuerte y podía estar al riesgo de una cuchillada, sacó su espada y le dio dos golpes, y con el primero y en un punto deshizo lo que había hecho en una semana; y no dejó de parecerle mal la facilidad con que la había hecho pedazos, y por asegurarse deste peligro, la tornó a hacer de nuevo, poniéndole unas barras de hierro por dentro, de tal manera que él quedó satisfecho de su fortaleza, y sin querer

²¹⁰ Alexander Welsh, "The influence of Cervantes," *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, ed. Anthony J. Cascardi (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 93

hacer nueva experiencia della, la diputó y tuvo por celada finísima de encaje.²¹¹

It is true that in order to test if it was strong and could withstand a blow, he took out his sword and struck it thrice, and with the first blow he undid in a moment what it had taken him a week to create; he could not help being disappointed at the ease with which he had hacked it to pieces, and to protect against that danger, he made another one, placing strips of iron on the inside so that he was satisfied with its strength; and not wanting to put it to the test again, he designated and accepted it as an extremely fine sallet.²¹²

This is the first time that the hidalgo chooses to impose the way he wishes things were on reality. Knowing full well that his first attempt at fixing the helmet failed, instead of testing it again he chooses to merely declare, as though by fiat, that he now has an acceptable helmet that will protect him. This establishes the pattern for how he will deal with anything else that does not conform to how he wishes the world to be: he will declare it to be what he wishes and act accordingly. His horse is a nag in a sorry condition? He declares it to be superior to Bucephalus and Babieca. He is only a *hidalgo*? He styles himself *Don Quixote*, taking a title to which he had no right. His lady fair is a country peasant? He calls her Dulcinea del Toboso and considers her to be a noble.

Cervantes makes it clear that Don Quixote is not merely suffering from delusions. In I-18, Don Quixote sees a cloud of dust approaching and declares it to be an approaching army. Sancho points out that there is a second cloud coming from the other way, and Don Quixote declares the clouds to be caused by two armies that are going to do battle. He goes on to give a detailed description of the principal figures in both forces, but Sancho cannot see them. Instead of the sound of trumpets and drums which Don

²¹¹ I-1, Lathrop 24-25

²¹² I-1, Grossman 22

Quixote describes, Sancho hears only the bleating of sheep. Don Quixote chalks it up to Sancho's fear and he charges, ignoring Sancho's cries to stop and turn back. He manages to kill at least eight sheep before the shepherds finally manage to knock him off Rocinante with some nice sling-work.

The key about this episode is the fact that Don Quixote kills at least eight sheep. Sheep are not tall animals: most do not even reach a meter in height at the shoulder. If Don Quixote had been aiming at *men* as he charged, much less at other mounted knights, his lance would have passed harmlessly over the sheep. Yet at least eight sheep are dead. Rocinante certainly did not trample any to death. In order to have that much success, Don Quixote must have been aiming his lance at sheep; in order to aim at sheep, he must have been looking at sheep, not at warriors. This is evidence that Don Quixote is not actually suffering from a defect of his perceptive abilities: he could clearly see the sheep as sheep, or else he would have aimed too high with his lance.

More corroboration of the assertion that Don Quixote suffers from no problem of the visual faculties comes in the episode of the enchanted boat in II-29:

En esto, descubrieron unas grandes aceñas que en la mitad del río estaban, y apenas las hubo visto don Quijote, cuando con voz alta dijo a Sancho: "¿Vees? Allí, ¡oh amigo! Se descubre la ciudad, castillo o fortaleza donde debe de estar algún caballero oprimido, o alguna reina, infanta o princesa malparada, para cuyo socorro soy aquí traído."

"¿Qué diablos de ciudad, fortaleza o castillo, dice vuesa merced, señor?" dijo Sancho. "¿No echa de ver que aquéllas son aceñas que están en el río, donde se muele el trigo?"

"Calla, Sancho," dijo don Quijote, "que aunque parecen aceñas, no lo son, [...]."²¹³

At this point they saw two large watermills in the middle of the river, and as soon as Don Quixote saw them, he said in a loud voice to Sancho:

²¹³ II-29, Lathrop 619

"Do you see? There, my friend, you can see the city, castle, or fortress where some knight is being held captive, or some queen, princess, or noblewoman ill-treated, and I have been brought here to deliver them."

"What the devil kind of city, fortress, or castle is your grace talking about, Señor?" said Sancho. "Can't you see that those are watermills in the river, where they grind wheat?"

"Be quiet, Sancho," said Don Quixote, "for although they seem to be watermills, they are not [...]."²¹⁴

Don Quixote does not say, "although they seem to be watermills *to you*," he merely says that they seem to be watermills. This would indicate that they also seem to be watermills to him. The logical conclusion is that Don Quixote is seeing watermills.

When Don Quixote is getting ready to perform his penance in the Sierra Morena, he reveals to Sancho that Dulcinea del Toboso is actually Aldonza Lorenzo. Sancho is surprised to find out that Don Quixote has been doing all these things for her, now that he knows who she is. Don Quixote defends his selection of Aldonza Lorenzo as his Lady Dulcinea of Toboso:

Así que, Sancho, por lo que yo quiero a Dulcinea del Toboso, tanto vale como la más alta princesa de la tierra. Sí, que no todos los poetas que alaban damas debajo de un nombre que ellos a su albedrío les ponen, es verdad que las tienen. [...] Y así, bástame a mí pensar y creer que la buena de Aldonza Lorezno es hermosa y honesta, y en lo del linaje, importa poco, que no han de ir a hacer la información dél para darle algún hábito, y yo me hago cuenta que es la más alta princesa del mundo. [...] Y para concluir con todo, yo imagino que todo lo que digo es así, sin que sobre ni falte nada, y píntola en mi imaginación como la deseo [...].²¹⁵

In the same way, Sancho, because of my love for Dulcinea of Toboso, she is worth as much as the highest princess on earth. And yes, not every poet who praises a lady, calling her by another name, really has one. [...] And therefore it is enough for me to think and believe that my good Aldonza Lorenzo is beautiful and virtuous; as for her lineage, it matters little, for no one is going to investigate it in order to give her a robe of office, and I can think she is the highest princess in the world. [...] And to conclude, I

²¹⁴ II-29, Grossman 650

²¹⁵ I-25, Lathrop 195

imagine that everything I say is true, no more and no less, and I depict her in my imagination as I wish her to be [...].²¹⁶

This makes it clear that Don Quixote is not suffering from some sort of cognitive issue that is making him see things which are not there. He knows exactly who Aldonza Lorenzo is, he just "imagines" her to be otherwise. He is choosing to interpret things as he wishes that they were, despite being perfectly well aware on a perceptual level of what they are. It is a conscious act of will, not a result of inappropriately processed sensory data. He trusts in what he wants to see.

It is precisely this against which Cervantes is writing. Don Quixote is indeed, as romantic critics have argued, an idealist. However, *Don Quijote* is no hymn in praise of idealism. On the contrary, it is an exposé of the dangers of unrestrained idealism. Don Quixote's commitment to knight errantry as the way to achieve his goals is such that he will refuse to acknowledge any evidence to the contrary; if reality does not conform to his desires, he will act as if it did. He will impose his will upon his interpretation of reality in what the author of the present study calls a *chivalric imposition*. It is precisely because Don Quixote trusts what he wants to see that he prevents himself from achieving his vision.

The episode at the inn during Don Quixote's first sally illustrates the kind of problem that can crop up when someone only sees what they want to see. In the third chapter of the first book, as Don Quixote stands vigil over his armor, a muleteer shows up wanting to water his mules at the trough, but Don Quixote's armor is in the way. The muleteer, of course, wants to use the trough for its intended purpose: to allow the patrons

²¹⁶ I-25, Grossman 201

of the inn to water their horses or mules. Don Quixote, refusing to acknowledge the inn as an inn, warns the approaching muleteer, "¡Oh, tú, quienquiera que seas, atrevido caballero, que llegas a tocar las armas del más valeroso andante que jamás se ciñó espada, mira lo que haces y no las toques, si no quieres dejar la vida en pago de tu atrevimiento!"²¹⁷ [O Thou, whosoever thou art, rash knight, who cometh to touch the Armor of the most valiant knight who e'er girded on a sword! Lookest thou to what thou dost and toucheth it not, if thou wanteth not to leave thy life in payment for thy audacity.]"²¹⁸

Note that the muleteer is not a muleteer; Don Quixote addresses him as an "*atrevido caballero*," a "rash knight." When the muleteer brusquely casts aside his armor, Don Quixote strikes his head with his lance and restores his armor to its former location. When a second muleteer shows up and begins to remove the armor so that his mules can drink, Don Quixote does not even give him a fair warning before striking him on the head as well, cracking his skull in at least four places.

Don Quixote has not even been on the road for a full day, and his first real act is not the undoing of wrong but wrong-doing. Not only do his actions prevent the muleteers from using the trough for its intended purpose, he causes them bodily harm in order to do so. This is hardly an auspicious beginning to his attempts to attain his goal.

In the episode at the inn, however, Don Quixote's chivalric imposition is not confronted by anyone; the inn-keeper and the prostitutes play along with him. It is only

²¹⁷ I-3, Lathrop 34

²¹⁸ I-3, Grossman 32 The pseudo-Shakespearian English of this passage is due to a decision by Grossman to sometimes translate Don Quixote's speech to make it seem archaic to an English reader.

with the introduction of Sancho Panza that Don Quixote's assertions will receive consistent opposition. The episode of the windmills sets the pattern for what will happen:

En esto descubrieron treinta o cuarenta molinos de viento que hay en aquel campo. Y así como don Quijote los vio, dijo a su escudero:

"La aventura va guiando nuestras cosas mejor de lo que acertáramos a desear, porque ¿ves allí, amigo Sancho Panza, donde se descubren treinta, o pocos más, desaforados gigantes con quien pienso hacer batalla y quitarles a todos las vidas, con cuyos despojos comenzaremos a enriquecer? [...]"

"¿Qué gigantes?" dijo Sancho Panza.

"Aquellos que allí ves," respondió su amo, "de los brazos largos; que los suelen tener algunos de casi dos leguas."

"Mire vuestra merced," respondió Sancho, "que aquellos que allí se parecen no son gigantes, sino molinos de viento, y lo que en ellos parecen brazos, son las aspas, que, volteadas del viento, hacen andar la piedra del molino."²¹⁹

As they were talking, they saw thirty or forty of the windmills found in that countryside, and as soon as Don Quixote caught sight of them, he said to his Squire:

"Good fortune is guiding our affairs better than we could have desired, for there you see, friend Sancho Panza, thirty or more enormous giants with whom I intend to do battle and whose lives I intend to take, and with the spoils we shall begin to grow rich [...]."

"What giants?" said Sancho Panza.

"Those you see over there," replied his master, "with the long arms, sometimes they are almost two leagues long."

"Look, your grace," Sancho responded, "those things that appear over there aren't giants but windmills, and what looks like their arms are the sails that are turned by the wind and make the grindstone move."²²⁰

Don Quixote announces his chivalric imposition to Sancho, while Sancho opposes it. Don Quixote chooses to dismiss and ignore the protestations of Sancho Panza:

"Bien parece," respondió don Quijote, "que no estás cursado en esto de las aventuras—ellos son gigantes, y si tienes miedo, quítate de ahí, y ponte en oración en el espacio que yo voy a entrar con ellos en fiera y desigual batalla."

²¹⁹ I-8, Lathrop 61

²²⁰ I-8, Grossman 58

Y diciendo esto, dio de espuelas a su caballo Rocinante, sin atender a las voces que su escudero Sancho le daba, advirtiéndole que sin duda alguna eran molinos de viento y no gigantes, aquellos que iba a acometer. Pero él iba tan puesto en que eran gigantes, que ni oía las voces de su escudero Sancho, ni echaba de ver, aunque estaba ya bien cerca, lo que eran [...].²²¹

"It seems clear to me," replied Don Quixote, "that thou art not well-versed in the matter of adventures: these are giants; and if thou art afraid, move aside and start to pray whilst I enter with them in fierce and unequal combat."

And having said this, he spurred his horse, Rocinante, paying no attention to the shouts of his squire, Sancho, who warned him that, beyond any doubt, those things he was about to attack were windmills and not giants. But he was so convinced they were giants that he did not hear the shouts of his squire, Sancho, and could not see, though he was very close, what they really were [...] (emphasis added).²²²

The author has underlined the phrase "and could not see" because he disagrees with the translation. The phrase "*ni echaba de ver*," for which "and could not see" is offered as a translation, would be much better translated by *notice*, *note*, or *realize*.²²³ The verb phrase *echar de ver* refers not so much to the physical act of seeing as to processing and interpreting what is being seen. Don Quixote is looking at windmills; it is his chivalric imposition that has him acting towards them as if they were giants. The outcome, of course, is not favorable to Don Quixote: the knight and his horse end up first picked up off of and then knocked down onto the ground by the sail of a windmill.

This is the basic pattern followed in numerous episodes: Don Quixote makes a chivalric imposition, Sancho attempts to advise Don Quixote that what he claims is not the case, Sancho is dismissed and ignored, and Don Quixote ends up acting in an inappropriate way in the situation. It can be clearly seen in the episode with the Friars of

²²¹ I-8, Lathrop 61

²²² I-8, Grossman 58-59

²²³ Lathrop suggests "notice" as a gloss for "echar de ver" in his edition of the *Quijote* (Lathrop 61).

Saint Benedict (I-8), the episode of the Yanguesans (I-15), the episode of the flocks of sheep (I-18), the episode of the helmet of Mambrino (I-21), the episode of the galley slaves (I-22), in the issue of the identity of Dorotea (I-37 and I-46), in regards to his imprisonment in the cage and the identity of the barber (I-48 and I-49), in Don Quixote's attack upon the procession of penitents (I-52), the episode of the lions (II-17), and the adventure of the enchanted boat and the water mills (II-29). In each of these instances, Don Quixote ignores Sancho when what Sancho has to say does not fit with Don Quixote's chivalric imposition.

There is a parallel to Don Quixote's dismissal of what Sancho says when Sancho disagrees with his chivalric imposition in the tale of the *Curioso Impertinente*.²²⁴ On one level, there is a similarity between Don Quixote and Anselmo in regard to the crux of their issue. Don Quixote conceived of "el más estraño pensamiento que jamás dio loco en el mundo"²²⁵ [the strangest thought any lunatic in the world ever had.]²²⁶ Anselmo is being bothered by "un deseo tan estraño y tan fuera del uso común de otros"²²⁷ [a desire so strange and out of the ordinary.]²²⁸ Just as Sancho so often opposes Don Quixote's chivalric imposition, Lotario opposes Anselmo's desire to test the fidelity of his wife, Camila, by having someone attempt to seduce her. Just as Don Quixote dismisses Sancho's protests, Anselmo dismisses Lotario's protests. Don Quixote is committed to

²²⁴ The author has chosen to use the Spanish title to refer to this tale because of the lack of consensus about how to translate it into English among translators. Grossman titles it "The Man Who Was Recklessly Curious" (Grossman 272). Puntam rendered it the "Story of the One Who Was Too Curious for His Own Good" (Putnam 328), and Lathrop offers Putnam's translation of the title in a footnote in his edition of the *Quijote* as an explanation of what Lathrop calls a "difficult-to-render title" (Lathrop 259).

²²⁵ I-1, Lathrop 24

²²⁶ I-1, Grossman 21

²²⁷ I-33, Lathrop 263

²²⁸ I-33, Grossman 274

knight errantry as his method; Anselmo is committed to having his wife's fidelity to him tested by an attempted seduction. As a consequence of ignoring input from a follower, a leader makes a poor decision that causes him to act in an inappropriate way.²²⁹

The reasons Anselmo wants to test his wife's fidelity are worth examining. She has not done anything to warrant his suspicions, nor, indeed, the suspicions of anyone else, as Lotario notes and Anselmo admits. His desire to test her fidelity has to do with making himself feel better; his motivation is not his love for her, but a desire to see her "worth."

David Quint has associated Anselmo's desire with the affirmation of male ego:

What man would stand idly by and watch the woman he loves commit suicide when he thinks she is doing it just for his sake? Just try to find one who would not, *Don Quijote* responds. For such men are the rule, not the exception, in the tales interpolated into the early part of the narrative of *Don Quijote*, Part One. Cardenio watches from behind a tapestry in the house of his beloved Luscinda, waiting for her to retrieve the dagger she has promised to conceal in her bosom in order to stab herself rather than wed his rival, Don Fernando; when she fails to do so, he rushes away in a maddened rage (Chapter 27). Hidden in the closet of his own house, Anselmo, the protagonist of the inset story of the "Curioso impertinente," watches as his wife, Camila, citing the example of Lucretia, stabs herself (although not fatally), and he goes away with great satisfaction (Chapter 34). [...] [T]he monstrous egotism of Cardenio and Anselmo, content to watch their ladies sacrifice themselves, remains the constant in both episodes—and their respective rival, Don Fernando and Lotario, behave hardly better.²³⁰

In the chapter that the selection cited above begins, Quint argues convincingly that the "love" of the male characters – Don Quixote, Cardenio, Don Fernando, and Anselmo – is not based on a desire for a mutual relationship of appreciation but on a

²²⁹ Another example of a situation in which a leader ignores a follower would be that of Don Fernando and Cardenio. Don Fernando ignores Cardenio's advice not to seduce Dorotea by promising her marriage.

²³⁰ David Quint, *Cervantes' Novel of Modern Times: A New Reading of Don Quijote* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005) 22

desire to validate their own worth through the possession of a worthy love interest. In other words, it is based on a desire to see outside evidence of what they themselves consider their worth. While not a *chivalric* imposition, it is certainly a selfish one. Instead of accepting reality as it is and acting accordingly, they choose to act according to how they desire themselves to be seen. Thus, in their own ways, these men are just as guilty as Don Quixote of imposing what they want to see instead of what they see.

Anselmo's desire needs to be cast not only in the light of relationships, but also of leadership. When Lotario attempts to dissuade Anselmo from following his desire to test Camila, he refers to the theological position that in marriage two people become one flesh.²³¹ Based on this, Lotario says:

"Y de aquí viene que, como la carne de la esposa sea una mesma con la del esposo, las manchas que en ella caen, o los defectos que se procura, redundan en la carne del marido, aunque él no haya dado, como queda dicho, ocasión para aquel daño. Porque así como el dolor del pie, o de cualquier miembro del cuerpo humano, le siente todo el cuerpo, por ser todo de una carne mesma, y la cabeza siente el daño del tobillo, sin que ella se le haya causado, así el marido es participante de la deshonor de la mujer por ser una mesma cosa con ella."²³²

"And from this it follows that since the flesh of the wife is one with the flesh of the husband, and any stain that besmirches her, or any defect that appears in her, redounds to the flesh of the husband even if her has not given her, as I have said, any reason for her wickedness. Just as discomfort in the foot or any other member of the body is felt throughout the entire body because it is all one flesh, and the head feels the ankle's pain although it has not caused it, so the husband participates in his wife's dishonor because he is one with her."²³³

When Lotario talks about how "la cabeza siente el daño del tobillo [the head feels the ankle's pain]," this reflects the biblical concept of marriage expressed in the fifth

²³¹ See Genesis 2:24

²³² I-33, Lathrop 269-70

²³³ I-33, Grossman 282

chapter of Ephesians, a concept that would have been readily understood in the Catholic

Spain of Cervantes' day:

Submit to one another out of reverence for Christ. Wives, submit to your husbands as to the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body of which he is the Savior. Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands in everything.²³⁴

Anselmo, as Camila's wife, is her head: he is in a position of leadership in his marriage. However, Ephesians 5 does not just leave it at that; clear instructions are given to husbands about how they are to behave towards their wives:

Husbands, love your wives, just as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her to make her holy, cleansing her by the washing with water through the word, and to present her to himself as a radiant church, without stain or wrinkle or any other blemish, but holy and blameless. In this same way, husbands ought to love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. After all, no one ever hated his own body, but he feeds and cares for it, just as Christ does the church—for we are members of his body. "For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united to his wife, and the two will become one flesh." This is a profound mystery—but I am talking about Christ and the church. However, each one of you also must love his wife as he loves himself, and the wife must respect her husband.²³⁵

Anselmo clearly is not living up to his obligations as Camila's head in choosing to test her fidelity in this way. Anselmo himself says to Lotario: "[Y] ansimesmo veo y confieso que si no sigo tu parecer y me voy tras el mío, voy huyendo del bien y corriendo tras el mal."²³⁶ [I also see and confess that if I do not follow your way of thinking but pursue my own, I am fleeing the good and going after the bad.]²³⁷ By insisting on testing

²³⁴ New International Version (NIV) Ephesians 5:21-24

²³⁵ NIV Ephesians 5:25-33

²³⁶ I-33, Lathrop 270

²³⁷ I-33, Grossman 283

Camila in this way, Anselmo is allowing his own desire for ego affirmation to prevent him from fulfilling his role as a leader. By choosing what he wants to see over what he sees, he freely admits that he is making the wrong choice.

Anselmo is not the only example of a leader who allows ego to impede him from fulfilling his role. Even if we limit ourselves only to the case of a husband who fails in his role as head of his wife, we have the example of Cardenio and Don Fernando.

Cardenio would rather let Luscinda kill herself than defend her; in fact, given the view on suicide held by Catholics at this time, he was willing to let her send herself to hell just to prove her love to him.²³⁸ Don Fernando abandons Dorotea after marrying her, clearly a breach of his responsibilities as a husband. He then attempts to take a different wife, Luscinda, one who would be considered fitting to his social station in his day. In doing so, he not only further fails in his responsibilities to Dorotea, but he also abuses his position over Cardenio by lying repeatedly to him and betraying his word to him.

Moving beyond ego issues in a romantic relationship, there is the example of the Duke in the second book. Doña Rodriguez, a servant of the duke and duchess, has a daughter who was seduced by the son of a rich farmer who lives in a village of the Duke. The son had promised to marry her to gain her consent, but afterwards was unwilling to keep his word. Doña Rodriguez repeatedly attempts to get the Duke to force the son of the farmer to marry her daughter. The Duke, however, does not want to do anything to help her because he doesn't want to upset this farmer, who often loaned him money or

²³⁸ Thomas Aquinas declares in his *Summa Theologica* that suicide is a mortal sin, and that it denies the opportunity for expiation of the sin by repentance (see *Summa Theologica*, Question 64, Article 5). A mortal sin is defined by Aquinas as one in which the sinner not only sins but turns away from God and is thus deserving of damnation (see *Summa Theologica*, Question 72, Article 5).

served as a guarantor of his gambling debts. So Doña Rodriguez enlists the help of Don Quixote with the issue: Don Quixote decides to challenge this man to combat, and the Duke says that he will arrange it. When the appointed day for the conflict arrives, the man Don Quixote is going to face is not the son of the farmer but a servant of the Duke. The servant, however, looks upon the daughter of Doña Rodriguez and falls for her. Instead of fighting with Don Quixote as he is supposed to, he offers to marry the daughter and she accepts, spoiling the Duke's plan for yet another joke at Don Quixote's expense.

The Duke clearly has placed his own enjoyment above justice, preferring to keep happy a man who sometimes covers his gambling debts rather than to fulfill his role as a Duke and see that justice is done. However, the Duke's pride has been touched by this incident as well. He could have looked at the actions of his servant as a gift: the girl is satisfied with having a husband and he does not have to upset the farmer in order to get her one. Instead, as is later discovered, the Duke punishes all involved: he has the servant lashed and the girl thrown into a convent. His pride keeps him from letting the positive result stand.

The issue of ego is also central to the character of Don Quixote. J. J. Allen has observed that in II-8, Don Quixote gives a list of six of the seven deadly sins, of which only pride is connected with a chivalric manifestation: "Hemos de matar en los gigantes a la soberbia"²³⁹ [We must slay pride by slaying giants.]²⁴⁰ Despite Don Quixote's assertion that pride must be slain, it is pride that will dog him until just before the end of the novel. In fact, throughout the novel, Don Quixote is repeatedly and quite literally "knocked off

²³⁹ II-8, Lathrop 486

²⁴⁰ II-8, Grossman 506

his high horse" during the course of his adventures only to continue holding an inflated opinion of himself.

After they have been beaten up by the Galicians in I-15, Don Quixote reassures Sancho that if knights attempt to harm him, he will defend him from them:

"[...] que ya habrás visto por mil señales y experiencias hasta adonde se estiende el valor de este mi fuerte brazo."

Tal quedó de arrogante el pobre señor con el vencimiento del valiente vizcaíno.²⁴¹

"[...] for you have seen in a thousand demonstrations and experiences the extent of the valor of this my mighty arm."

This was how arrogant the poor gentleman was after his defeat of the valiant Basque.²⁴²

Cervantes clearly lays the blame for Don Quixote's boasting on arrogance. In fact, it was arrogance that had caused him to start the fight with the Galicians in the first place:

"A lo que yo veo, amigo Sancho, éstos no son caballeros, sino gente soez y de baja ralea. Dígolo porque bien me puedes ayudar a tomar la debida venganza del agravio que delante de nuestros ojos se le ha hecho a Rocinante."

"¿Qué diablos de venganza hemos de tomar," respondió Sancho, "si éstos son más de veinte, y nosotros no más de dos, y aun quizá nosotros sino uno y medio?"

"Yo valgo por ciento," replicó Don Quijote.²⁴³

"From what I can see, Sancho my friend, these are not knights but base people of low breeding. I say this because you can certainly assist me in taking the proper revenge for the offense that has been done to Rocinante before our very eyes."

"What the devil kind of revenge are we supposed to take," Sancho responded, "if there are more than twenty of them and only two of us, or maybe only one and a half?"

"I am worth a hundred," Don Quixote responded.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ I-15, Lathrop 107

²⁴² I-15, Grossman 105

²⁴³ I-15, Lathrop 106

²⁴⁴ I-15, Grossman 103

Don Quixote's subsequent beating demonstrates that he grossly overestimated his value in a fight. When faced with his obvious failure, he does say that he is at fault, but not for having overestimated his prowess: it was merely that he fought non-knights when he shouldn't have, and for this he was allowed to be defeated. Don Quixote may not blame enchanters here, but he may as well. His commitment to his chivalric imposition has become wrapped up with his ego as well: Don Quixote himself is a creation of chivalric imposition. To admit that the chivalric imposition were untrue would be to admit that he was not Don Quixote. His ego is a direct result of his chivalric imposition, and the problems resulting from his ego are a direct result as well.

The episode with the Yanguesans leads into the first visit to the inn in which much of the first book is set. His ego there is the root cause of two beatings. First, his conceit that he is irresistible to women leads to him grabbing Maritones when she attempts to keep her date with the muleteer. His opinion of his irresistibility to women results in him and Sancho both becoming victims of a beating. The brawl is interrupted by an officer of the Holy Brotherhood. The room is dark, and at first the officer believes that Don Quixote is dead. He goes to find a light, but when he returns to the room Don Quixote and Sancho are talking, and he attempts to ask Don Quixote how he is doing:

"Pues ¿cómo va, buen hombre?"

"Hablara yo más bien criado," respondió don Quijote, "si fuera que vos. ¿Úsase en esta tierra hablar desa suerte a los caballeros andantes, majadero?"

El cuadrillero, que se vio tratar tan mal de un hombre de tan mal parecer, no lo pudo sufrir, y alzando el candil con todo su aceite, dio a don Quijote con él en la cabeza, de suerte que le dejó muy bien descalabrado [...].²⁴⁵

"Well, how goes it, my good man?"

²⁴⁵ I-17, Lathrop 117-18

"I would speak with more courtesy," responded Don Quixote, "if I were you. Is it the custom in this land to speak in that manner to knights errant, you dolt?"

Finding himself treated so abusively by someone whose appearance was so unprepossessing, the officer could not bear it; he raised the lamp filled with oil, brought it down on Don Quixote's head, and dealt him a serious blow [...].²⁴⁶

Lathrop points out that Don Quixote takes offense at the seemingly innocent address, "buen hombre [good man]," because he thinks that it is being used in a derogatory sense, "pobre hombre [poor man]."²⁴⁷ However, it is not enough for Don Quixote to merely take issue with how he is addressed, he has to go and insult the officer as well. The officer fulfills the function of literally beating Don Quixote's ego down again, but he also serves as yet another illustration of how ego can interfere with achieving one's vision. The officer is supposed to be there to preserve the peace, and he's talking to someone he had assumed to be a victim in the situation. His ego-fueled reaction to Don Quixote's insult results in the officer striking him on the head. This is hardly an appropriate way for an officer of the law to treat someone he suspects to be the victim of a beating so severe that he previously thought the man was dead!

Ego is clearly an issue in the episode with the prisoners sentenced to the galleys. Despite having been warned by both Sancho and the commissary of the guards that these men were sentenced by the king's justice, Don Quixote places himself above the law of the land by deciding to attempt to free them. When he announces his intention to see them free, either peacefully or by force, the commissary once again points out that they are prisoners of the king and tells Don Quixote to move along. This results in Don

²⁴⁶ I-17, Grossman 118

²⁴⁷ Lathrop 117

Quixote shouting insults and attacking the guardsmen. The prisoners take advantage of the confusion, and they end up free. Then ego rears its head again: Don Quixote tells the prisoners that they have to take their chain and go to see Dulcinea and tell her what he has done for them in her name. The prisoners do not like this idea, and one of them, Ginés de Pasamonte, points out that they could not possibly do this, since they need to flee, but that they would happily go offering prayers for him instead of going to see Dulcinea. Don Quixote takes exception to this, and his ego gets the better of him again:

"Pues, ¡voto a tal," dijo don Quijote, ya puesto en cólera, "don hijo de la puta, don Ginesillo de Paropillo, o como os llamáis que habéis de ir vos solo, rabo entre piernas, con toda la cadena a cuestras!"²⁴⁸

"Well, then, I do swear," said Don Quixote, his wrath rising, "Don Whoreson, Don Ginesillo de Paropillo, or whatever your name is, that you will go alone, your tail between you legs, and the entire chain on your back!"²⁴⁹

Ginés does not take kindly to this, and he and the other prisoners start pelting Don Quixote with stones, knocking him off his "high horse" both literally and figuratively.

After this episode, Don Quixote briefly appears to have learned his lesson; Sancho, however, is not convinced:

"Si yo hubiera creído lo que me dijiste, yo hubiera escusado esta pesadumbre. Pero ya está hecho—paciencia, y escarmentar para desde aquí en adelante."

"Así escarmentará vuestra merced," respondió Sancho, "como yo soy turco."²⁵⁰

"If I had believed what you told me, I should have avoided this grief, but what is done is done, and so patience, and let it be a lesson for the future."

"Your grace will learn the lesson," responded Sancho, "the same way I'm a Turk."²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ I-22, Lathrop 168

²⁴⁹ I-22, Grossman 172

²⁵⁰ I-23, Lathrop 169

The readers should not be convinced, either. Don Quixote cannot learn his lesson: to learn it would be for him to cease to be Don Quixote, because he would have to admit that knight errantry was not the proper way to achieve his vision. Don Quixote will continue on with his methods, and he will continue to ignore Sancho when what Sancho has to say does not contradict his chivalric imposition.

Towards the end of the first book, Don Quixote is tricked into believing himself enchanted and needing to ride bound up imprisoned in a cage. Sancho, however, notices that his enchanters are really just the people in the inn and the priest and the barber from their town. When he attempts to point this out to Don Quixote, Don Quixote responds:

"Y en lo que dices que aquellos que allí van y vienen con nosotros son el cura y el barbero, nuestros compatriotas y conocidos, bien podría ser que parezca que son ellos mismos. Pero que lo sean realmente y en efeto, eso no lo creas en ninguna manera. Lo que has de creer y entender es que si ellos se les parecen, como dices, debe de ser que los que me han encantado habrán tomado esa apariencia y semejanza, [...] y habrán tomado las destos nuestros amigos para darte a ti ocasión de que pienses lo que piensas, y ponerte en un laberinto de imaginaciones que no aciertes salir dél, aunque tuvieses la soga de Teseo, y también lo habrán hecho para que yo vacile en mi entendimiento, y no sepa atinar de dónde me viene este daño, porque si por una parte tú me dices que me acompañan el barbero y el cura de nuestro pueblo, y por otra me veo enjaulado, y sé de mí que fuerzas humanas, como no fueran sobrenaturales, no fueran bastantes para enjaularme, ¿qué quieres que diga o piense sino que la manera de mi encantamiento excede a cuantas yo he leído en todas las historias que tratan de caballeros andantes que han sido encantados? Ansí que bien puedes darte paz y sosiego en esto de creer que son los que dices, porque así son ellos como yo soy turco."²⁵²

As for saying that those men riding here with us are the priest and barber, it well may be that they seem to be our compatriots and friends, but you must not believe for a moment that they really and truly are. What you

²⁵¹ I-23, Grossman 173

²⁵² I-48, Lathrop 394-95

ought to believe and understand is that if they resemble them, as you say, it must be because those who have enchanted me have taken on their appearance and likeness, [...] they must have assumed that of our friends in order to give you a reason to think what you think and enter into a labyrinth of imaginings from which not even the cord of Theseus will help you to escape. And they also must have done this so that I would waver in my understanding and not be able to determine the origin of this calamity; if, on one hand, you tell me that I am accompanied by the barber and priest of our village, and if on the other, I find myself in a cage and know that nothing human but only a supernatural power would be sufficient to put me in a cage, what can I say or think except that the manner of my enchantment exceeds anything I have read in all the histories that deal with knights errant who have been enchanted? Therefore you can rest easy and be assured regarding their being who you say they are, because if they really are, then I am a Turk.²⁵³

To have it proved that he was not enchanted would conflict with Don Quixote's sense of his own worth; only supernatural powers could have placed him in that cage, and anyone who says differently is just trying to make him doubt himself. Sancho keeps attempting to convince Don Quixote that he is enchanted; he gets Don Quixote to admit the need to "hacer aguas mayors o menores, como suele decirse"²⁵⁴ [to pass what they call major and minor waters.]²⁵⁵ If he were truly enchanted, Sancho argues, that would not be the case:

"¡Ha! dijo Sancho, "¡Cogido le tengo! [...] De donde se viene sacar que los que no comen, ni beben, ni duermen, ni hacen las obras naturales que yo digo, estos tales están encantados, pero no aquellos que tienen la gana que vuestra merced tiene [...]."²⁵⁶

"Ah!" said Sancho, "I've got you there [...]. From that you can conclude that people who don't eat, or drink, or sleep, or do the natural things I've mentioned are enchanted, but not people who want to do what your grace wants to do [...]."²⁵⁷

²⁵³ I-48, Grossman 419-20

²⁵⁴ I-48, Lathrop 394

²⁵⁵ I-48, Grossman 420

²⁵⁶ I-49, Lathrop 395

²⁵⁷ I-49, Grossman 421

"Verdad dices, Sancho"²⁵⁸ [What you say is true, Sancho],"²⁵⁹ is Don Quixote's reply. However, Don Quixote continues to adapt his interpretation to keep himself enchanted: while that may well have been how enchantments functioned in the past, customs change, and this could just be the way things are done now. Then Don Quixote makes it clear why he will not be convinced otherwise:

"Yo sé y tengo para mí que voy encantado, y esto me basta para la seguridad de mi conciencia, que la formaría muy grande si yo pensase que no estaba encantado y me dejase estar en esta jaula, perezoso y cobarde, defraudando el socorro que podría dar a muchos menesterosos y necesitados que de mi ayuda y amparo deben tener a la hora de ahora precisa y estrema necesidad."²⁶⁰

I know and believe that I am enchanted, and that suffices to make my conscience easy, for it would weigh heavily on me if I thought I was not enchanted, and in sloth and cowardice had allowed myself to be imprisoned in this cage, depriving the helpless and weak of the assistance I could provide, for at this very moment there must be many in urgent need of my succor and protection."²⁶¹

When Sancho bets his own freedom if he cannot gain Don Quixote's for him, Don Quixote's reply seems more indulgent than an indication that anything Sancho could discover or do would change his mind:

"Yo soy contento de hacer lo que dices, Sancho hermano," replicó don Quijote, y cuando tú veas coyuntura de poner en obra mi libertad, yo te obedeceré en todo y por todo. Pero tú, Sancho, verás cómo te engañas en el conocimiento de mi desgracia."²⁶²

"I am happy to do as you say, Sancho my brother," replied Don Quixote, "and when you have the opportunity to effect my liberty, I shall obey you completely in everything, but you will see, Sancho, how mistaken you are in your understanding of my misfortune."²⁶³

²⁵⁸ I-49, Lathrop 395

²⁵⁹ I-49, Grossman 421

²⁶⁰ I-49, Lathrop 395

²⁶¹ I-49, Grossman 421

²⁶² I-49, Lathrop 395

²⁶³ I-49, Grossman 422

That Don Quixote never truly intended to believe that he was not enchanted is confirmed when, as Sancho is getting the priest to let him out, Don Quixote continues to insist that he is enchanted.

A similar situation arises in the second book as Sancho prepares to depart to take over the governorship of Barataria. Sancho notices that the man in charge of his retinue appears to have the same face as the Countess Trifaldi. The narrative makes it clear that this was indeed the case, and the man was indeed a steward of the duke and duchess who had indeed played the part of a woman cursed with a beard earlier in Sancho and Don Quixote's stay at the palace. Sancho discusses this with Don Quixote:

"Señor, o a mí me ha de llevar el Diablo de aquí de donde estoy en justo y en creyente, o vuesa merced me ha de confesar que el rostro deste mayordomo del duque, que aquí está, es el mesmo de la Dolorida."

Miró don Quijote atentamente al mayordomo, y habiéndolo mirado, dijo a Sancho: "No hay para qué te lleve el diablo, Sancho, ni en justo ni en creyente, que no sé lo que quieres decir, que el rostro de la Dolorida es el del mayordomo, pero no por eso el mayordomo es la Dolorida. Que a serlo, implicaría contradicción muy grande, y no es tiempo ahora de hacer estas averiguaciones. Que sería entrarnos en intrincados laberintos. Créeme, amigo, que es menester rogar a nuestro Señor muy de veras que nos libre a los dos de malos hechiceros y de malos encantadores."

"No es burla, señor," replicó Sancho, "sino que denantes le oí hablar, y no pareció sino que la voz de la Trifaldi me sobaba en los oídos. Ahora bien, yo callaré. Pero no dejaré de andar advertido de aquí adelante, a ver si descubre otra señal que confirme o desfaga mi sospecha."

"Así lo has de hacer, Sancho," dijo don Quijote, "y darásme aviso de todo lo que en este caso descubrieres, y de todo aquello que en el gobierno te sucediere."²⁶⁴

"Señor, either the devil will carry me away from where I stand, suddenly and without warning, or your grace has to confess that the face of the duke's steward, here present, is the same as the Dolorous One's."

Don Quixote looked carefully at the steward and, when he had looked, he said to Sancho: "There is no reason for the devil to carry you off, Sancho, either suddenly or without warning, for I do not know what you

²⁶⁴ II-44, Lathrop 697

mean; the face of the Dolorous One may be that of the steward, but that does not mean the steward is the Dolorous One; if he were, it would imply a serious contradiction, and this is not the time to make such inquiries, for that would lead us into intricate labyrinths. Believe me, my friend, it is necessary to pray to Our Lord very sincerely to save both of us from evil wizards and wicked enchanters."

"It isn't a joke, Señor," replied Sancho, "because I heard him talking earlier, and it seemed as if the voice of Countess Trifaldi were sounding in my ears. All right: I'll be quiet, but I'll stay on the alert from now on to see if I can find anything else that will prove or disprove what I suspect."

"That is what you must do, Sancho," said Don Quixote, "and keep me informed regarding everything you discover in this matter, and everything that happens to you in your governorship."²⁶⁵

Don Quixote once again refers to labyrinths²⁶⁶ to describe where Sancho is heading by trying to verify something that would cause Don Quixote to have to question his chivalric imposition. If the steward were actually the Countess Trifaldi, this would mean that Don Quixote would have to question everything he had done to aid the Countess Trifaldi by mounting the wooden horse Clavileño. If that adventure were false, he would be forced to question the whole nature of his stay with the duke and duchess, the place in which he had finally, fully believed himself to be a knight errant. It would cause him to have to question his whole identity, and his ego cannot permit that. As was stated earlier, his ego is part of the very chivalric imposition he would have to question. There is no reason to assume that Don Quixote's desire to know what Sancho discovers about the matter is any more indication of an openness to modify his position than was his previously cited promise to obey Sancho in all things.

It has been noted Don Quixote's problems with ego stretch the length of the novel. Some commentators, such as J. J. Allen, point to Don Quixote's defeat by the Knight of

²⁶⁵ II-44, Grossman 738-39

²⁶⁶ See page 50-51, above.

the White Moon (a disguised Sansón Carrasco) as the climactic moment in which Don Quixote's pride is completely overthrown:

In the case of Don Quixote, perhaps it is enough to note that the self-confident "I am worth a hundred" of chapter XV, Part I, becomes: "This world is nothing but schemes and plots, all working at cross-purposes. I can do no more," in Chapter XXIX, Part II [...], before being definitively transcended in Don Quixote's reflection after his second encounter with Sansón Carrasco: "Each man is the architect of his own fortune. I was the architect of mine, but I did not observe the necessary prudence, and as a result my presumptuousness has brought me to a sorry end."²⁶⁷

Yet is Don Quixote's ego really gone? Allen fails to quote the very next part of Don Quixote's reflection: "Pues debiera pensar que al poderoso grandor del caballero del de la Blanca Luna no podía resistir la flaqueza de Rocinante."²⁶⁸ [(F)or I should have realized that Rocinante's weakness could not resist the power and size of the horse belonging to the Knight of the White Moon.]²⁶⁹ Despite seeming to accept responsibility for his fate, he is really only accepting responsibility for misplaced trust in Rocinante. Far from having progressed over the course of the novel, as Allen would argue, Don Quixote is doing precisely the same thing that he had done back in the fourth chapter of the first book in the episode with the merchants of Toledo. There Don Quixote had attempted to attack the men only for Rocinante to slip and for him to tumble on the ground. When Don Quixote is unable to rise, he shouts at the men: "¡Non fuyáis, gente cobarde, gente cautiva, attended; que no por culpa mía, sino de mi caballo, estoy aquí tendido!"²⁷⁰ [Flee not, cowards; wretches, attend; for it is no fault of mine but of my mount that I lie

²⁶⁷ John J. Allen, *Don Quixote: Hero or Fool? (Part Two)* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1979) 27

²⁶⁸ II-66, Lathrop 827

²⁶⁹ II-66, Grossman 893

²⁷⁰ I-4, Lathrop 43

here.]”²⁷¹ Just as the aftermath of that adventure was Don Quixote looking forward to more knightly adventures, so it is the case after his defeat by the Knight of the White

Moon:

”Camina, pues, amigo Sancho, y vamos a tener en nuestra tierra el año del noviciado, con cuyo encerramiento cobremos virtud nueva para volver al nunca de mí olvidado ejercicio de las armas.”²⁷²

”Walk on then, Sancho my friend, and let us go home to send the year of our novitiate, and in that seclusion we shall gather new strength to return to the practice of arms, which will never be forgotten by me.”²⁷³

Don Quixote, despite his defeat, still clearly feels that he will be returning to his chivalric project after spending a year away from it. Even during that year Don Quixote is planning to find a way to gain more fame. If he can't do it as a knight errant, he decides he'll spend a year doing so as a shepherd before returning to knight errantry. Indeed, as has been shown, Don Quixote cannot set aside his ego, because in doing so he would deny his chivalric imposition and cease to be Don Quixote. The solution to the problem of ego which Cervantes provides is not revealed until the final chapter of the novel, when the hidalgo recovers his senses by, as he puts it, the mercy of God.

²⁷¹ I-4, Grossman 40

²⁷² II-66, Lathrop 827

²⁷³ II-66, Grossman 894

A caution against a leader having an improper relationship with God

The nature of the hidalgo's relationship with God is explored early in the novel. As Don Quixote rides to Grisostomo's funeral in chapter 13 of the first book, he discusses knight errantry with Vivaldo, a member of the group that is traveling with him. After Don Quixote describes the life of a knight errant to Vivaldo, Vivaldo says that it seems so austere that not even the life of Carthusian monks could match it in austerity.²⁷⁴ Don Quixote responds:

"Tan estrecha bien podía ser, [...] pero tan necesaria en el mundo, no estoy en dos dedos de ponello en duda; porque, si va a decir verdad, no hace menos el soldado que pone en ejecución lo que su capitán le manda, que le mesmo capitán que se le ordena. Quiero decir que los religiosos, con toda paz y sosiego, piden al cielo el bien de la tierra. Pero los soldados y caballeros ponemos en ejecución lo que ellos piden [...]. Así, que somos ministros de Dios en la tierra, y brazos por quien se ejecuta su justicia."²⁷⁵

"Theirs may be as austere, [...] but I have some doubt that it is just as necessary in the world. Because, if truth be told, the soldier, when he carries out his captain's orders, does no less than the captain who issues the orders. I mean to say that the [members of a religious order], in absolute peace and tranquility, ask heaven for the well-being of the world, but we soldiers and knights effect what they ask [...]. In this way we are ministers of God on earth, the arms by which His justice is put into effect on earth."²⁷⁶

Don Quixote is claiming to be doing God's work. However, Vivaldo is quick to point out that, despite agreeing in general with what Don Quixote has said, one thing has always bothered him about the knights errant about whom he has read in chivalric books: at the point of doing something in which they may lose their lives, they do not commend themselves to God as a Christian should, but instead commend themselves to their lady as

²⁷⁴ Lathrop includes a footnote explaining that these monks lived in cells and devoted their time to prayer, study, and agriculture. The monks never spoke to each other. (Lathrop 91)

²⁷⁵ I-13, Lathrop 91

²⁷⁶ I-13, Grossman 89

though their lady were their God. This charge is indeed accurate, as Don Quixote had done just that in earlier episodes, commending himself to Dulcinea. This hardly seems fitting for someone claiming to be a minister of God on the earth. Despite this, Don Quixote continues to commend himself to Dulcinea instead of God throughout the first book.

Lest there be any doubt that Don Quixote does indeed idolize, in the truest sense of that word, Dulcinea, Cervantes makes the case clear in I-30. Don Quixote has just declared that he could not possibly marry the Princess Micomicona, who is played by Dorotea, although Don Quixote is unaware of this. When Sancho hears this, he swears that his master must be crazy not to wish to marry such a princess. In making his case, he not only says that Dulcinea is not more beautiful than Micomicona, but also that Dulcinea does not even come close to her in comparison. Cervantes describes Don Quixote's reaction: "Don Quijote, que blasfemias oyó decir contra su señora Dulcinea, no lo pudo sufrir."²⁷⁷ [Don Quixote could not endure hearing such blasphemies said against his lady Dulcinea.]²⁷⁸ Sancho is not insulting Dulcinea, he is *blaspheming* her. Don Quixote beats Sancho with his lance, and after the cries of Dorotea get him to stop, Don Quixote responds to him:

"¿Pensáis, [...] villano ruin, que ha de haber lugar siempre para ponerme la mano en la horcajadura, y que todo ha de ser errar vos y perdonaros yo? Pues ¡no lo penséis, bellaco decomulgado, que sin duda lo estás, pues has puesto lengua en la sin par Dulcinea! Y ¿no sabéis vos, gañán, faquín, belitre, que si no fuese por el valor que ella infunde en mi brazo, que no le tendría yo para matar una pulga. Decid, socarrón de lengua viperina, y ¿quién pensáis que ha ganado este reino; y corado la cabeza a este gigante; y hechoos a vos marqués, que todo esto doy ya por hecho y por cosa

²⁷⁷ I-30, Lathrop 245

²⁷⁸ I-30, Grossman 255

pasada en cosa juzgada, si no es el valor de Dulcinea, tomando a mi brazo por instrumento de sus hazañas? Ella pelea en mí y vence en mí, y yo vivo y respiro en ella, y tengo vida y ser. ¡Oh hideputa, bellaco, y cómo sois desagradecido, que os véis levantado del polvo de la tierra a ser señor de título, y correspondéis a tan buena obra con decir mal de quien os la hizo!"²⁷⁹

"Do you think, base lout, [...] that you can always be meddling in my affairs and that you can do anything you like and I will forgive you? If so, excommunicated knave, for that undoubtedly is what you are, think it no longer, now that you have set your tongue to wagging against the peerless Dulcinea! Do you not know, clodhopper, drudge, scoundrel, that if it were not for the valor she infuses into my arm, I should not have the strength to kill a flea? Tell me, rascal with a viper's tongue, what do you think it was that won this kingdom and cut off that giant's head and made you a marquis – for I regard all this as a thing settled and accomplished – unless it was Dulcinea's own valor making use of my arm merely as the instrument for the achievement of her own enterprises? She fights and conquers in my person, and I live and breathe and have my life and being in her. O knavish son of a whoring mother, how ungrateful you are! You see yourself raised from the dust of the earth to be a titled lord, and all this you repay by speaking ill of your benefactress!"²⁸⁰

Because he blasphemed against Dulcinea, Sancho is excommunicated

(*descomulgado*), yet another indication of Don Quixote's idolatry. Don Quixote claims that Dulcinea acts through him, and speaks of her acts as already being completed, using the past tense to refer to them: "what do you think it was that won this kingdom and cut off that giant's head and made you a marquis – for I regard all this as a thing settled and accomplished." This mirrors a grammatical construction in the Old Testament of the Bible, the prophetic perfect.²⁸¹ Hebrew has only two tenses, the perfect and the imperfect.²⁸² At times, the perfect is used to refer to an event in the future that the author

²⁷⁹ I-30, Lathrop 244-45

²⁸⁰ I-30, Putnam 306

²⁸¹ There are also a few occurrences in the New Testament, but with nowhere near the frequency that they occur in the Old Testament.

²⁸² The perfect tense has the basic idea of completeness of action; the imperfect tense has the basic idea of incompleteness of action.

is absolutely sure will come to pass. E. W. Bullinger explains: "This is very common in the Divine prophetic utterances where, though the sense is literally future, it is regarded and spoken of as though it were already accomplished in the Divine purpose and determination. The figure is to show the absolute certainty of the things spoken of."²⁸³ Don Quixote is attributing to the acts Dulcinea will accomplish through him the same certainty that is attributed to divine acts.²⁸⁴ Dulcinea, not God, is the one who gives Don Quixote life, breath, and being, contrary to Acts 17:28, "In him we live and move and have our being,"²⁸⁵ and to Job 12:10, "In his hand is the life of every creature and the breath of all mankind."²⁸⁶ Sancho should be grateful to Dulcinea, not to God, for the blessings in his life. Regarding the case of Don Quixote's idolatry, there is no need for any more witnesses; we have heard it from his own lips.

Things only get worse as the first book draws to a close. In chapter 44, the keeper of the inn in which Don Quixote and the other characters are staying is being beaten by some other patrons who attempted to leave without paying. When asked to help, Don Quixote replies that first he has to get permission from the Princess Micomicona, whom he had promised that he would undertake no other adventures until he had restored her to her kingdom. When it is pointed out to him that the innkeeper will be in the next world (i.e. deceased) by the time he gets that permission, Don Quixote replies:

²⁸³ E. W. Bullinger, *Figures of Speech Used in the Bible: Explained and Illustrated* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 2003) 518

²⁸⁴ Although the author of the present study is not aware that Cervantes had any occasion to know about this feature of Old Testament Hebrew, given the rest of the biblical allusions used in this section which indicate that Don Quixote is treating Dulcinea as God, it would be an amazing coincidence if Cervantes just happened to stumble onto this phrasing.

²⁸⁵ NIV

²⁸⁶ NIV

"Dadme vos, señora, que yo alcance la licencia que digo, [...] que como yo la tenga, poco hará al caso que él esté en el otro mundo, que de allí le sacaré, a pesar del mismo mundo que lo contradiga [...]." ²⁸⁷

"Señora, allowest me only to obtain this leave, [...] and when I have it, it will not matter at all if he is in the next world, for I shall take him out of there even if that entire world oppose me [...]." ²⁸⁸

Don Quixote is claiming the ability to restore the dead to life. Since we know that it is Dulcinea who acts through him, one might say that he is really claiming that it is she who is capable of allowing him to do this. Either way, he is staking claim to a power that Christianity would reserve to God.

Don Quixote's last act in the first book is to attack a group of penitents who are parading with a statue of the Virgin Mary. As he rides off after them, Sancho attempts to stop him, asking him: "¿Qué demonios lleva en el pecho que le incitan a ir contra nuestra fe católica?" ²⁸⁹ [What evil spirits in your bosom spur you on to go against our Catholic faith?] ²⁹⁰

In spiritual terms, the end of the first book can be seen as the lowest point. In the second book, Don Quixote has changed. He shows a much greater preoccupation with locating his mission in the context of Christianity. In II-8 he tells Sancho: "Así, ¡oh Sancho! que nuestras obras no han de salir del límite que nos tiene puesto la religión cristiana que profesamos." ²⁹¹ [And so, O Sancho, our actions must not go beyond the limits placed there by the Christian religion, which we profess.] ²⁹² Then Sancho asks

²⁸⁷ I-44, Lathrop 365

²⁸⁸ I-44, Grossman 387

²⁸⁹ I-52, Lathrop 412

²⁹⁰ I-52, Putnam 535

²⁹¹ II-8, Lathrop 486

²⁹² II-8, Grossman 506

Don Quixote why they do not follow a religious life instead. It seems to him that this would be a way to gain more quickly the good fame which Don Quixote has said they are seeking. Don Quixote responds:

"Todo es así, [...] pero no todos podemos ser frailes, y muchos son los caminos por donde lleva Dios a los suyos al cielo. Religión es la caballería, caballeros santos hay en la gloria."²⁹³

"All of that is true, [...] but we cannot all be friars, and God brings his children to heaven by many paths: chivalry is a religion, and there are sainted knights in Glory."²⁹⁴

Don Quixote recognizes that there are different ways to serve God, but he insists that chivalry, that his brand of knight errantry, is the way that he should serve. This sets the spiritual tone for the rest of the book: he will attempt to approach God through his own path, that of knight errantry.

In the episode of the lions (II-17), Don Quixote first commends himself to God and then to Dulcinea; he even gives credit to God afterwards instead of Dulcinea. He repeats this pattern of praying to God and then to Dulcinea before his descent into the cave of Montesinos (II-22). He does so before the non-confrontation with the Duke's servant (II-56), and he also commends himself to God first before his defeat by the Knight of the White Moon (II-64).

Especially noteworthy for the purposes of this study is that, when Don Quixote is giving advice to Sancho before Sancho departs for his governorship, the first thing he advises him to do as he assumes a position of leadership is to fear God: "Primeramente, ¡oh hijo!, has de temer a Dios, porque en el temerle está la sabiduría, y siendo sabio, no

²⁹³ II-8, Lathrop 487

²⁹⁴ II-8, Grossman 508

podrás errar en nada.²⁹⁵ [First, my son, you must fear God, because in fearing Him lies wisdom, and if you are wise, you cannot err in anything.]²⁹⁶ The second half of that is obviously an overstatement; Arthur Efron claims that the second half of the sentence undercuts not only the first half, but the whole of the advice that Don Quixote gives to Sancho, and that this advice is not being endorsed by Cervantes.²⁹⁷ Efron, however, goes too far. In light of the end of the novel, it is clear that Cervantes does endorse fearing God. Efron considers the whole speech to be nothing more than a set of comic juxtapositions, and he suggests that the presence of humor somehow necessitates that whatever is being discussed cannot be taken seriously or supported by the author of a work.²⁹⁸ Yet, as was demonstrated earlier in this study, Cervantes sought to mix *provecho* with *deleite*. It should come as no surprise that Cervantes would mix in some humor with serious statements. It is not necessary to deny the validity of the first half of the phrase due to the parodic element of the second half; Cervantes can be serious about both halves. It is entirely possible that Cervantes is providing another lesson here for the reader: trust God, but do not test him. To put it another way: do not assume that just because you believe in God you are incapable of making mistakes.

Despite this movement back towards God in the second book, Don Quixote does not make it all the way there for most of the book. It is only in the final chapter that the hidalgo finally recovers his senses; perhaps it is better to say that his senses are recovered

²⁹⁵ II-42, Lathrop 688

²⁹⁶ II-42, Grossman 730

²⁹⁷ Efron 15-16

²⁹⁸ Efron 16

for him. The hidalgo cries out his thanks to God for the mercies that God has shown him.

His niece asks him to what mercies he is referring, and he responds:

"Las misericordias, [...] sobrina, son las que en este instante ha usado Dios conmigo, a quien, como dije, no las impiden mis pecados. Yo tengo juicio ya, libre y claro, sin las sombras caliginosas de la ignorancia, que sobre él me pusieron mi amarga y continua leyenda de los detestables libros de las caballerías. Ya conozco sus disparates y sus embelecocos, y no me pesa sino que este desengaño ha llegado tan tarde, que no me deja tiempo para hacer alguna recompensa leyendo otros que sean luz del alma."²⁹⁹

"The mercies, Niece, [...] are those that God has shown to me at this very instant, and as I said, my sins do not hinder them. My judgment is restored, free and clear of the dark shadows of ignorance imposed on it by my grievous and constant reading of detestable books of chivalry. I now recognize their absurdities and deceptions, and my sole regret is that this realization has come so late it does not leave me time to compensate by reading other books that can be a light to the soul."³⁰⁰

Here, finally, his ego is overcome. His method is laid to rest; his chivalric imposition cast off. God, in his grace, has overcome them for him. When Sancho attempts to convince Alonso Quijano to return to knight errantry, he even gives him the chance to blame Sancho for his faults, but the hidalgo has none of it. He wants to make sure that his legacy is not the example of Don Quixote, but of Alonso Quijano el Bueno. Don Quixote had stated toward the end of the first book that he was a knight errant who "ha de poner su nombre en el templo de la inmortalidad, para que sirva de ejemplo y dechado en los verdaderos siglos"³⁰¹ [will have his name inscribed in the temple of immortality so that it may serve as an example and standard to future times.]³⁰² Now, as

²⁹⁹ II-74, Lathrop 861

³⁰⁰ II-74, Grossman 935

³⁰¹ I-47, Lathrop 384

³⁰² I-47, Grossman 409

Alonso Quijano once again, he seeks to set an example more in keeping with his newly recovered faith.

Like Alonso Quijano, all leaders are mortal, and so are leadership positions. Cervantes cautions leaders to keep their legacy in mind, and to see that it is a godly one. If leaders have not been leading in such a way, they should change their behavior while there is still time make up for it lest they too end up regretting that there is no time to make amends for what they have done.

Some time before he came to his death-bed, on the road to Barcelona, Don Quixote had come across the images of some Catholic saints, and he calls them all fellow knights errant. After remarking on what they had achieved, Don Quixote remarked:

"[Y]o hasta agora no sé lo que conquisto por fuerza de mis trabajos. Pero si mi Dulcinea del Toboso saliese de los que padece, mejorándose mi ventura y adobándoseme el juicio, podría ser que encaminase mis pasos por mejor camino del que llevo."³⁰³

"[S]o far I do not know what I am conquering by the force of my labors, but if my Dulcinea of Toboso were to be free of the ills she is suffering, thereby improving my fortune and strengthening my judgement, it might be that my feet would travel a better road than the one I follow now."³⁰⁴

Here we see evidence that Don Quixote was aware that his methods were not helping him to achieve his goals. Despite this, he stuck to his plan, and thus ensured that he would never adopt a method that would help him realize his vision. Yet in Alonso Quijano's final moments, Cervantes holds out the hope of redeeming one's legacy. If he cannot achieve his original goals, he can at least attempt to keep others from following

³⁰³ II-58, Lathrop 780

³⁰⁴ II-58, Grossman 834

his failed methods and placing their trust in something or someone other than God.

Cervantes tells leaders that it is never too late to start leading in a godly way.

Conclusion

Although the scope of this thesis has not permitted a thorough examination of all the leadership issues, let alone everything that Cervantes might have wanted to address, in *Don Quijote*, what has been examined is definitive. The present study has focused on cautions for leaders; it has chiefly examined Cervantes' views about leadership from a negative light: what not to do. It has not addressed whether there are any exemplary presentations of a leader or of leadership issues in *Don Quijote*. This is an area on which new studies could shed more light.

Another avenue for further investigation would be what Cervantes has to say about leadership in his other works. An article appeared during the writing of this thesis about the issue of leadership in *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Segismunda*, curiously entitled: "Leadership by Example: Cervantes's Deathbed Novel, Los trabajadores de Persiles y Sigismunda." The article asserts that the titular characters serve as "exemplars of the virtues not only necessary for ordinary life, but also those qualities essential to true leadership."³⁰⁵ This serves as evidence of further scholarly interest in Cervantes and leadership, as well as further evidence that issues of leadership run throughout Cervantes' literary output. More studies need to be done on other individual works, and the author of the present study submits that it would be beneficial for a comprehensive study of leadership issues in all of Cervantes works to be undertaken to see if it is possible to synthesize what they say into a Cervantine ethic of leadership.

³⁰⁵ Antonio Garrosa Resina, Manuel Jose Perucho Diaz, and Henry T Edmondson III. "Leadership by Example: Cervantes's Deathbed Novel, Los Trabajeros De Persiles Y Sigismunda." *Perspectives on Political Science*. 37. 2 (2008): 83-90. 12 June 2009 < <http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.mnsu.edu:2048/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=32854741&site=ehost-live>>

Is *Don Quijote* a cautionary tale? This question might seem overdue; the sub-title of this thesis is, after all, "*Don Quijote* as cautionary tale for leaders." The "cautionary tale" is a variety of folk tale. In a cautionary tale, the protagonist engages in some type of action that violates one or another type of taboo. The violation of this taboo always results in calamity of one form or another falling upon the protagonist, usually fatal, always grisly. The implication to the audience is that they should avoid engaging in the same behavior, lest they suffer a similar calamity. This can be as specific as the old Army reels featuring Private Snafu, most of which dealt with specific actions, such as properly maintaining a rifle so that it doesn't fail to fire. It can also be as general as the morals in Aesop's fables; the story of The Boy Who Cried Wolf and its message about not lying is a fine example.

When viewed as a whole, *Don Quijote* does not, strictly speaking, fall into the genre of a cautionary tale. Leaving aside any issues such as style, it would be disqualified for its hero *not* coming to a grisly end but instead recognizing the error of his ways and dying peacefully in his bed. However, that should come as no surprise. Indeed, to some the question, "Is *Don Quijote* a cautionary tale?" may seem moot. The *cautionary tale* is a genre of literature, and *Don Quijote* is a work that challenges the limits of any system of generic classification. As was noted earlier in the study, one cannot even state with complete certainty that *Don Quijote*, a book often lauded as the first modern novel, is actually a novel – at least not if James Paar has anything to say about it. When the genre of the work is in this much doubt, the pertinent question is not what the text is, but what the text does, or at least tries to do.

In view of that last point, it is useful to review what this study has established. It is beyond reasonable doubt that Cervantes had an interest in cautioning leaders. Not only was telling leaders what to do something of a national pastime for the educated gentleman in Cervantes' day, but his own life and works also clearly show an interest in leaders on his part. From the recommendation for a lieutenant commission that he never was able to use, to his attempts to gain a post in the colonies or to become secretary to the Duke of Lima, Cervantes was frustrated in his attempts either to be a leader himself or to be working closely with someone who was. Tales such as *Riconete y Cortadillo* and episodes from the *Quijote*, such as the discussion of razón de estado in II.1 among Don Quixote, the Priest, and the Barber, or Sancho's governance of the "ínsula" de Barataria, show yet more evidence of Cervantes's interest in leaders. Then, of course, there is Don Quixote's own desire to be a leader. He shows this both in his desire to revive knight errantry and in his ultimate desire to someday win the rule of a kingdom for himself. The book's protagonist is a would-be leader.

It is also clear that Cervantes would have viewed a book as an appropriate vehicle to convey his message. The present study concurs with Eisenberg that "[i]t is beyond any doubt that Cervantes believed firmly that literature should be didactic."³⁰⁶ Repeatedly, throughout both the *Quijote* and other works, statements are made about how literature should convey a lesson, and Cervantes's contemporaries, in their *aprobaciones*, clearly thought that the *Quijote* did.

The Europe of Cervantes day was shaped by leaders whose lives (and whose death, at least in the case of Henry II of France) were heavily influenced by their reading

³⁰⁶ Eisenberg 157

of chivalric novels. Charles V, who had a chivalric romance written for him, established policies that would repeatedly land the Spanish crown in bankruptcy during the 1500s. This study has demonstrated that it is at least plausible, and in the opinion of this study's author it is probable, that Cervantes viewed the very reading of chivalric romances by leaders, or anyone who might become a leader, as something to prevent. That this is probable is supported by the hidalgo's words in II.74, especially keeping in mind that they are spoken by a would-be leader:

“Yo tengo juicio ya, libre y claro, sin las sombras caliginosas de la ignorancia, que sobre él me pusieron mi amarga y continua leyenda de los detestables libros de las caballerías. Ya conozco sus disparates y sus embelecocos, y no me pesa sino que este desengaño ha llegado tan tarde, que no me deja tiempo para hacer alguna recompensa leyendo otros que sean luz del alma.”³⁰⁷

“My judgment is restored, free and clear of the dark shadows of ignorance imposed on it by my grievous and constant reading of detestable books of chivalry. I now recognize their absurdities and deceptions, and my sole regret is that this realization has come so late it does not leave me time to compensate by reading other books that can be a light to the soul.”³⁰⁸

The pool of potential leaders in Cervantes' day was broader than it had been 100 years prior. Power and wealth had traditionally passed through family lines, and where you could end up in life was heavily determined not just by where you began, but by who began you. In Cervantes' day, those old, familiar rules were changing. While a merchant class had slowly been rising all through the middle ages, the transmission of that class's power had still largely conformed to the old patterns, and the overall social order had been preserved. Now men of vulgar birth were making their fortunes in the New World. Some gained positions of authority there, and others returned with their newfound wealth

³⁰⁷ II-74, Lathrop 861

³⁰⁸ II-74, Grossman 935

and influence to Spain. The nobles, severely limited by tradition in their ability to engage in commerce, were no longer at the top of the economic ladder, and this inversion of their position on the social ladder was a source of tension. Blood, *la sangre*, was beginning to lose its luster. To make matters worse, the man sitting on the Spanish throne was a clear example of the fact that leadership abilities were not hereditary.

Cervantes deals with the questions this raises head-on throughout the *Quijote*. As this study has shown, Cervantes comes down firmly on the side of virtue being more important than blood, and he consistently shows that heredity is no predictor of moral action. He locates true nobility not in the blood, but in virtuous action. He both acknowledges the changes taking place in Spain and shows that to continue trusting in blood is to set one's self up for disappointment.

Cervantes clearly cautions leaders against judging people based solely on their appearance. Cervantes constantly highlights the dangers of judging a person by their looks alone – indeed, *his* appearance may very well turn out to be *her* appearance, as was the case with Dorotea. Nobles dress up as mule boys, servants dress up as *dueñas*, and not only the mad hidalgo, but also Sansón Carasco, both masquerade as knights. Throughout the whole of *Don Quijote*, Cervantes repeatedly makes it clear that you cannot use someone's looks to form an opinion on their character.

Don Quixote is continually engaged in a willful imposition of how he wishes reality were upon what he actually sees in front of him, in what this study refers to as a chivalric imposition. Because of this, Don Quixote is constantly making decisions based not on data, but on a misinterpretation of data. In addition, his own ego is also a result of

his chivalric imposition, and this causes him to ignore or rationalize away any evidence that would invalidate his chivalric imposition, because to do so would be to admit that he was not Don Quixote. Cervantes clearly shows just how dangerous willful self-delusion can be to a leader.

Finally, Cervantes cautions leaders to have a proper relationship with God. Throughout the first book, Dulcinea is put in the place of God. Although in the second book Don Quixote takes more care to attempt to reconcile knight errantry with Catholicism, he still insists on following his own path, not God's path. It is through God's power alone that the hidalgo is restored to his senses and the chivalric imposition is cast aside.

As has been demonstrated, *Don Quijote* contains cautions for leaders. While books I and II do not conform to all the generic traits of the cautionary tale, they do indeed have the same effect. From this point of view, there can be no doubt that *Don Quijote* functions as a cautionary tale for leaders.

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